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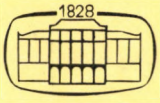

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TIBOR HALASI-KUN
Jan. 19, 1914–Oct. 19, 1991

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IN MEMORIAM TIBOR HALASI-KUN
JAN. 19, 1914–OCT. 19, 1991

With the recent passing of Tibor Halasi-Kun our ranks lost the number one student of Julius Németh, the first graduate of the "Chair of Turkish Philology and Hungarian Protohistory" established in 1930, our senior colleague and beloved friend who, as dictated by fate, left Hungary at the earliest stages of his academic career and, because of World War II and its devastating political outcome, could not revisit his homeland except for the last two decades of his active life.

Even in his early childhood, Tibor Halasi-Kun showed an affinity to geography. According to later accounts by his mother, he was hardly a small child, when once during his afternoon nap-time, he snuck out of the house to climb on a train to "see the world".

Of course, he did this with the help of the engineers, who all knew the little "wanderer", the son of the railroad director, stationed in Zagreb. His father was then the director of the Budapest–Fiume line of the Railroad System of Austria–Hungary. It took a fortunate interplay of circumstances for this instinct to develop into a lifetime ambition of the grown man.

With the end of World War I, Tibor Halasi-Kun's family was transferred to Budapest, where his father soon died. After a series of different grade-schools (Croatian, Slovakian, German), Tibor Halasi-Kun finished his secondary school education at the Calvinist Lónyai high school (gymnasium). At his graduation examination, it was a fortuitous coincidence that Julius Németh, professor of Turcology at the Faculty of Philosophy was acting as the government observer at the baccalaureate exams.

Professor Németh was struck by the obvious ability of the candidate's talent for languages, as well as his broad knowledge of geography. From then on he took upon himself to advise Tibor, who had become his favourite student, in all academic matters throughout his entire career. It was upon his suggestion that Halasi-Kun selected Turcology as his field of interest and, in 1931 entered the Faculty of Philosophy at the Budapest Pázmány Péter University where he became the student of some most outstanding scholars.

First of all, Tibor Halasi-Kun went through the whole rigorous diapason of his mentor, from Ottoman studies to the studies of the Asian and East-European Turkish and Tatar people and their old and new languages. Together with him,

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we attended the brilliant lectures of Zoltán Gombocz "The Bulgaro-Turkic Loanwords of the Hungarian Language", and enjoyed together the daring placename identifications of the Slavist J. Melich, author of the work "The Conquest-period Hungarians". He was introduced to the intricacies of the Turkish Domesday book studies by L. Fekete, the founder of this line of research in Hungary. We were mostly together with Gy. Györffy, and Denis Sinor at Professor Németh's lectures on Hungarian Protohistory. Halasi-Kun by then, as senior, had already given lectures and held seminars.

As handbooks for the teaching of Turkish, Professor Németh used his own grammar and reader, published immediately following his own graduation (Sammlung Göschen Series, 1916–17). He — most likely following the example of the Konsularakademie in Vienna — demanded from his students majoring in Turkish the intensive study of the bulky volume of Wickerhauser's Chrestomathy, in order for them to become truly acquainted with the language of Ottoman historical texts filled with words of Arabic and Persian origin.

One of J. Németh's major interests lay in Hungarian protohistory, the origin of the Hungarian people and the great impact neighbouring Turkic people exerted on the development of the Hungarians and their language. His major study on the question, "The Formation of the Conquest-time Hungarian People", appeared just one year before Tibor Halasi-Kun entered the university. And, later on, it was from this topic that Halasi-Kun selected the theme of one of his early writings, "The History of the Hungarians in the Caucasus" that appeared in the collective volume "The Protohistory of the Hungarians", edited by L. Ligeti (1943).

It was upon Professor Németh's advice that Tibor Halasi-Kun became engrossed in the study of Old-Ottoman and, consequently, selected from this range the theme of his dissertation, the "Turkish Confession of Gennadios". This compendium of explanations of the dogmas of the Christian faith, written in Turkish with Greek letters, was prepared by the Greek-Orthodox patriarch upon the request of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror, and is the earliest voluminous Ottoman transcription text known today. In his thesis, that appeared in the supplement-volume No. I of the Kőrösi Csoma Archivum, Tibor Halasi-Kun, beyond the reproduction of the basic text, offered an elaborate study on the phonetics and morphology of Middle-Ottoman. The essay is clear proof of the great value of the transcription texts which include the reconstruction of the earlier stages of the Turkic languages.

Another important line of J. Németh's broad range of interests was the study of the language-remnants of the Pechenegs and the Cumans, who came to settle in Hungary after the Conquest. Although there were many linguistic monuments of Kipchak-Turkic hiding in the Turkish Archives, beyond the publication of a few of the manuscripts, linguists did not show special interest in them. When Professor Németh called Halasi-Kun's attention to this valuable source-material, he, on his 1938–39 research trip to Turkey, focused his attention on the unearthing of such monuments in the archives of Istanbul, and dis-

covered almost two hundred manuscripts of this group. Returning home, he published a sizable essay in vol. III of the Kőrösi Csoma Archivum (1940), in which he introduced the results of his Mamluk-Kipchak research program. He emphasized most of all, the great value of his most precious trouvaille, the Mamluk-Kipchak glossary and grammar "At-Tuhfat az-zakiyya", which he characterised as the most important language record after Kashgari. Soon he published a phototypic reproduction of the manuscript in the Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica series (1942).

Halasi-Kun's academic career started soon after his return from Turkey, or rather, after having finished his obligatory military service. J. Németh nominated him assistant without pay, and the next year he got the financial means to promote him to the rank of assistant professor.

In the meantime world history had taken a catastrophic turn with the tremendous Nazi warmachine inundating Europe. At the beginning, Hungary, with clever manoeuvring, was able to avoid occupation for awhile. During this time the northern part of Transylvania, with its overwhelming Hungarian population, was reunited with Hungary. In regard to the universities, this meant that at the Bolyai (former Francis Joseph) University of Kolozsvár (Clausenburg) the old Hungarian curriculum was reintroduced and the old chair of Uralic and Altaic Studies — previously for six years the chair of Zoltán Gombocz (1914–20) — was reinstated.

Professor Németh envisaged to assign Tibor Halasi-Kun to this position, but Ladislav Rásonyi Nagy, Professor of the Chair of Hungarian Studies in Ankara having heard of the favourable news, returned home and himself a scion of Transylvania, presented himself for the Chair of Uralic and Altaic at the University of Kolozsvár. So in 1943 Tibor Halasi-Kun was sent to Turkey to take the Chair of Hungarian Studies and the post of Director at the Institute of Hungarology in Ankara. The new position brought major changes into Tibor Halasi-Kun's life and career, because at the University of Ankara he found himself in the center of a very active cultural life. Since Turkey remained the single safe island of peaceful existence during the traumatic years of World War II, Tibor Halasi-Kun with enthusiasm and devotion, was able to successfully promote the case of Hungarian studies there. Indeed, during his ten year stay in Ankara, 24 volumes of outstanding Hungarian classics were translated into Turkish under his supervision and published with his introductory essays.

Nevertheless, the furthering of turcological studies remained the essential part of Halasi-Kun's scholarly activities in Ankara. With great perseverance and care, he prepared the French translation and linguistic evaluation of the At-Tuhfah. Although as early as 1939 he announced the publication of the manuscript and in 1942 he published the facsimile edition of it, in 1945 Besim Atalay published a Turkish version of the same. In two detailed studies Tibor Halasi-Kun pointed out the numerous shortcomings of the edition (Philologica I, II).

The next major aim of Tibor Halasi-Kun remained the opening up and evaluation of the large deposits of old Treasury defters in the various archives of

Istanbul. Earlier historical treatment could extrapolate conquest time Balkan and Hungarian history only by the retro-telescoping of the later time state of the areas. Tibor Halasi-Kun, armoured with the principles of the Fekete school of diplomatic studies, from the beginning of his stay in Ankara, made serious efforts to call the attention of interested scholars to the importance of the rich historical evidence furnished by the old Turkish treasury defters. Finally, in 1947, at his urging in the frame of the Turkish Historical Society a committee was formed for the promotion of the study and publishing of the Domesday books. Though he immediately started with the reading of the defters, but the evaluation of the selected material — the defters of the sanjaks Temesvár and Segedin — could follow only at the next stage of his career in America.

With the end of the War Tibor Halasi-Kun's life has taken a new turn. The postwar communist regime ordered him back from his post in Ankara. He, well aware of, and in protest to the adverse political developments in the country, refused to return. The break, of course, had a negative impact on the official character of his assignment to Turkey. Thus, he willingly accepted the invitation of Columbia University to set up a Center for Turkish Studies there. The endeavour had the strong financial and moral support of the foreign secretary of Turkey, Köprülüzade Mehmed Fuad, the grandseigneur of the Turkish scholarly world.

Where Ottoman language curriculum was concerned, Tibor Halasi-Kun successfully followed the tradition of Németh during his 30 years at Columbia University. He translated and published the English version of Németh's Turkish Grammar and Reader, and complemented Wickerhauser's Chrestomathy with a commentated English glossary.

Once settled in this position, Tibor Halasi-Kun focused his attention on the further evaluation of the defter material he selected in Ankara, material dealing with Southern Hungary (called by the comprehensive denomination of the areas established in the subsequent century: Bácska–Bánát). His aim was to decode all local placenames and identify them with the preciseness so characteristic of his pertinent studies. In 1969, he initiated a periodical, Archivum Ottomanicum, for the publication of essays dealing with Ottoman studies. Beyond his own works, the periodical was created for the international promotion of the fledgeling American Turcology and Ottoman diplomatics. In 1975, he started yet another periodical, Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi, focusing on Inner-Asian history and linguistics, or rather philology. Both periodicals were open for American, non-American, and especially Hungarian colleagues.

Among the Ottoman conquest-period defters, the analysis of the *mufassal* defters relating to Southern Hungary was of utmost interest, because for the Turks, in their westward thrust, this area was the main gate to Europe. And thus, this was the geographic area that suffered the most losses caused by the influx of the advancing Ottoman forces.

Turkish intrusion into the Balkans started as early as the beginning of the 14th century and, by the end of the century, the people of the Eastern Balkans

had gradually become the vassals of the Turks. By this time the inner migration of the people affected had started, but it was only during the 15th century that the massive northward thrust of the local population fleeing the victoriously advancing Turkish forces reached its peak: Serbia fell ultimately into Turkish hands in 1459, Bosnia in 1463, and Albania in 1467, after the death of Skander beg, the Hunyady of the Albanians. By the time of the siege of Nándorfehérvár (Belgrade) 1521, the gate of Hungary, great masses of the Balkan population had already pushed up to the Danube and further northward, so that by the middle of the 16th century, Hungary was saturated with the peoples from the Balkans: the Roman-Catholic Croatians settled with great preference in Southwestern Hungary, while the growing pressure on Albania and Southern Serbia masses of Serbians (Rascians) and partly-slavified Wlachs–Eflaks pushed into Bačka up to the Segedin–Baya line and in the northeast up to and along the Maroš river.

After the Mohač-defeat (1526) there was nothing that could put a halt to the Turkish forces' advance on Buda (1541), who left war-ridden, depopulated, devastated areas in their wake. Fortunate for the Hungarian medievalists, wherever the war ravages disrupted archival continuity, the Ottoman defters can fill in the lacunas especially where major geographic and demographic shifts are concerned. Indeed, based on pre-conquest Hungarian registers, the defters list even barely populated or totally unpopulated areas and localities; they cite with the greatest care the double names of locations, and the change in their administrative status, if any. And since they strictly adhere to the previous administrative frames, with their help the outline of the later disappeared administrative units can be restored with surprising accuracy (so, e.g. the counties of Keve, Harám, Kraššó, Temeš). This was the reason why Gy. Györffy was anxious to incorporate Halasi-Kun's findings into his "Historical Geography of the Arpad Dynasty" prepared just at this juncture.

At the same time, the defter material furnished detailed information, though sometimes perhaps indirect, about the demographic changes in the area; for example, the numerical decrease of the Hungarian population and the great influx of people from the more southern areas is clearly demonstrated by the many villages with Hungarian names but with non-Hungarian populations, and villages with two names. From these it becomes evident to what degree the southern and southeastern territories of Medieval Hungary were taken over by Greek-Orthodox Serbians (Rascians and Krašovans), slavified Wlachs–Eflaks, Greek-Catholic Croatians and Moslem Bosniaks. It was, of course, in Turkish interest that the fields left behind by the withdrawing Hungarian population should not remain without taxpaying inhabitants, and the newly settled population was anxious to enter Turkish service so as to gain certain given benefits, and solidify their stay in the area. This can be seen, for example, from the case of the pashas of Buda, seventy percent of whom were of the Balkan, or Bosniak origin. It is, in fact, the defters taxpayer-lists that give a closer insight into the gradually developed make up of the population of medieval Southern Hungary.

Tibor Halasi-Kun's invaluable studies of Southern Hungary elucidated that not only the continuous inmarch of the huge Turkish armies brought about the ruin of the occupied area, but this lamentable state of the country was perpetuated by the extermination and flight of the Hungarian population, the mass influx of the Balkan nationalities, and the one-and-a-half century's stagnation of national blood circulation of the country. This state of affairs sealed the fate of historical Hungary.

But Tibor Halasi-Kun in his work with the defter-material extended his investigation also to the north of the Baya–Segedin line and Little Cumania, most probably prompted by his Cumanian origin. He published the evidence furnished by the *mufassal* defter 572 relating to the town Halaš (*varoş-i Halaş*), the center of Little Cumania, but also complemented the material with his observations on Cumanian history starting with the Cumans' arrival into the Carpathian Basin. The intensive study of the placenames of the area brought new insight and new results regarding the topography and the demographic developments of the area, which confirm the ethno-historical findings of Gy. Györffy.

On the whole, Tibor Halasi-Kun's invaluable essay-series based on the rich material of the Turkish *mufassal* defters clearly demonstrate the value of the defter data for the investigation of the topography, ethnography, administration and economic history of the areas, especially in territories where archival continuity was disrupted by centuries of long warring.

Soon after his departure to Ankara, Tibor Halasi-Kun's connection with his Hungarian colleagues came to a halt because of World War II, which made homevisits impossible, and after because he refused to return when ordered to by the new regime.

It is true that even in those dreary years connection between orientalists at home dropped to a minimum, because of military service, and later the occupation of the country. It was only during the mid-50s that the Kruzhok meetings (the Chair Club) of the old Budenz tradition were rekindled gradually by our master, J. Németh, with Saturday luncheons first at the Gerbeaud patisserie or the Belvárosi coffee-house, and later, as our ageing master's vigour started to fail, in restaurants closer to his home on Verpeléti Street. In the case of T. Halasi-Kun, reunion between master and pupil came about in 1957, at the International Congress of Orientalists in Munich.

Finally, with the regime's easing up to Hungarian scholars, connections with western colleagues, with K. Czeglédy, were allowed and we attended the PIAC meeting organised by D. Sinor in Bloomington, in 1962. And, on our way home we were able to visit New York and Halasi-Kun at Columbia University. But the reestablishment of regular personal contact was to come only in the 70s, when he was granted a visa by the regime authorities to make repeated visits to Hungary, so he could see the master several times before his death in 1976. Finally, in 1990, we said our last farewell to our master together, at the unveiling of a memorial plate on the wall of his home on Verpeléti Street, where Professor

Németh spent most of his adult life. Visits to Budapest grew regular and T. Halasi-Kun built up close scholarly ties with his old and new colleagues.

Tibor Halasi-Kun was a regular guest at the home of Lajos Ligeti, the promoter of the Németh-school tradition who, with the creation of two perodicals and two publication series, opened the way to the publication of Turcological and Altaistic works. He involved T. Halasi-Kun into his efforts, and incorporated the "At-Tuhfah, Kipchak Grammar and Glossary" into the series Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica, first the longtime press-ready French translation and treatise, and later an English version we agreed upon for publication with the Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, which we hope will be published in the near future.

Tibor Halasi-Kun's scholarly oeuvre was topped with the find of the "Rasulid Hexaglot", a six-language dictionary, prepared in 1374, upon the order of a member of the Rasulid Dinasty of Yemen. During the later years of the 1960s, Halasi-Kun made several research trips to Lebanon, which he then considered paradise on earth, a place with the most ideal working conditions for scholars of Oriental studies. Beirut was a place where in the German Research Institute Library the facsimile of the Hexaglot was found. In 1939, T. Halasi-Kun unearthed an Ilkhanid-Mongolian Glossary in the Istanbul Archives which immediately he offered for publication to Professor Ligeti, who was very grateful to him for this generous offer, and published it in two voluminous articles ("Un vocabulaire mongol d'Istanbul", Acta Orient. Hung. XIV, 5–99, and "Notes" ibid. vol. XVI, 107–174).

Thus, there was great excitement when the Rasulid Hexaglot turned out to contain, beyond the Arabic, Persian, Turkic (Kipchak-Oghuz), a Middle-Greek, Cilician Armenian, and an Ilkhanid-Mongolian column. This dictionary fits organically into the Golden Age of the Near Eastern economic and cultural upswing of the 14th century. The contents of the six language columns consist, varyingly, of 800–1300 word-items. Halasi-Kun chose for himself the Turkic columns, and for the others he invited specialists of the different languages: L. Ligeti for Mongolian, Peter Golden for Middle-Greek, E. Schütz for Cilician Armenian. The volume is press-ready, and our last phone conversation in early October — before his sudden death — dealt with questions pertinent to the publication of the Hexaglot, and, in connection with it, his forthcoming visit to Hungary. Unfortunately, because of fate's order, the visit did not materialize. Thus, the publication of the Hexaglot of Yemen will have to be carried out by his co-workers and his beloved linguist wife.

With this commemoration we did not intend to give a complete account of Tibor Halasi-Kun's lifelong scholarly achievement. Rather, attention was focused on highlighting his connections with the Hungarian academic world. Although for 50 years, together with his family, his wife (a student-colleague from the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Budapest, his strong support in everyday life and academic and editorial work) he lived far away from his homeland, in his heart he was always with us, and his scholarly achievements

remained until the end a part of Hungarian Oriental Studies, in their genre, methodology and thematics, in the field of Turkish linguistics and philology, as well as in his research on Turkish–Hungarian historical geography. For his outstanding merits on these linguistic and historical fields Tibor Halasi-Kun had been elected honorary member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences as well as of several other Academies and Universities.

Tibor Halasi-Kun's attractive, friendly, and indeed magnetic personality created strong ties not only with his close friends, but also with his many students from his various posts, with his colleagues and scholarly acquaintances all over the world.

His noble memory will stay with us forever enclosed in our hearts.

Edmond Schütz

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OTTOMAN ARTILLERY AND EUROPEAN MILITARY TECHNOLOGY IN THE FIFTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES*

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Although it is probable that gunpowder was discovered in China and employed in Chinese and Arab military campaigns earlier than in Europe,[1] the importance and advantages of gunpowder-weapons were first recognized by the Europeans. As early as the first decades of the fourteenth century, cannon were in use in European campaigns and siege warfare. These cannon, however, were too small and too imperfect to cause any significant physical destruction.[2] Due to the technological development of the hooped bombard, by the third quarter of the fourteenth century, relatively large pieces of artillery, mostly breech loaders, made up of wrought-iron staves and strengthened by thick iron hoops, firing large cut stone balls were employed in siege warfare.[3]

By that time cast bronze guns were also in use. Church bells were already cast in the eighth century,[4] and consequently there were craftsmen well

* The system of transcription from Ottoman Turkish used in this study is that of modern Turkish.

1 According to Joseph Needham *"the fully developed firearm had three basic features: its barrel was of metal; the gunpowder used in it was rather high in nitrate; and the projectile totally occluded the muzzle so that the powder charge could exert its full propellant effect"*. He states that *"this device"* which *"may be called the true gun, handgun, or bombard ... appeared in late Sung or early Yuan times, about +1280. ... The bombard appears quite suddenly full-fledged in the famous illustration of Walter de Milamete's Bodleian Manuscript of +1327. It depicts a characteristically vase-shaped cannon, and these are also found in Chinese illustrations. ... Give or take a few decades, the bombard cannot have come to Europe much before +1310. Many dated examples of Chinese cannon, both of bronze and iron, are known from +1330 onwards; similar ones in Europe are all much later"*. Joseph Needham, *Gunpowder as the Fourth Power. East and West.* Hong Kong University Press 1985, 14–15. Other scholars, however, express doubts about Needham's statements.

2 Charles Singer et al., ed., *History of Technology II. The Mediterranean Civilizations and the Middle Ages c. 700 B.C. to c. A.D. 1500.* Oxford 1957, 726–727, Carlo M. Cipolla, *Guns and Sails in the Early Phase of European Expansion 1400–1700.* London 1965, 21–22.

3 John Francis Guilmartin, *Gunpowder and Galleys, Changing Technology and Mediterranean Warfare at Sea in the Sixteenth Century.* Cambridge 1974, 157.

4 Charles Singer, *op. cit.*, 64.

Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

acquainted with the technology of casting. However, the application of the technology for casting ordnance became possible only in the first decades of the fourteenth century.[5] Thanks to their advantages cast bronze guns were very soon much in demand: they were less subject to corrosion, and mostly being muzzle-loaders were stronger and safer. They could take more powder for the same calibre shot, and consequently they had a greater penetration.[6]

In Western literature it is often declared that "*gunpowder blasted the feudal strongholds and the ideas of their owners*", a notion that was shared by such authorities like Hume or Adam Smith. Macaulay stated that the invention of gunpowder was, with that of printing, one of the two greatest events in the Middle Ages. Johan Huizinga went even further, when he wrote that "*the rebirth of the human spirit dates from the discovery of firearms*".[7]

Even if one finds it difficult to accept such claims and considers them — probably not without reason — exaggeration, one should accept the far-reaching consequences of the proliferation of firearms. States which possessed artillery at an early date had an advantage over armies which yet had none. From about 1450 onward artillery became a decisive weapon in siege warfare, and the value of the isolated fortresses declined visibly. French artillery knocked down unreformed English fortresses in the beginning of the fifteenth century, and Italian castles at the end of the same century. Niccolo Machiavelli, writing in 1519, stated that from 1494 onwards "*no wall exists, however thick, that artillery cannot destroy in a few days*".[8] Spanish conquests in the New World and in Nasrid Granada were the result of using firearms.[9] Gunpowder weapons decided the issue of battles, or sometimes the possession or lack of ordnance could decide even the fate of states.[10]

About the mid-fifteenth century the demand for ordnance increased rapidly. The establishment of national states with their ever growing armies and navies, the long-lasting wars between these states, the geographical exploration

[5] *Ibid.*, 64, 75. *Idem et al.*, ed. *A History of Technology. III. From the Renaissance to the Industrial Revolution c. 1500–c. 1750.* Oxford 1957, 364–365. *"It is indeed one of the ironies of history that a technique developed in the making of such essentially civilized objects eventually fostered the progress of deadly weapons."* Carlo Cipolla, *op. cit.*, 23.

[6] *Ibid.*, 24., Guilmartin, *op. cit.*, 158.

[7] For these statements cf. J.R. Hale, Gunpowder and the Renaissance: An Essay in the History of Ideas. In: *idem*, *Renaissance War Studies.* London 1983, 389–420, especially 389–390.

[8] Quotation from Geoffrey Parker, *The military revolution. Military innovation and the rise of the West, 1500–1800.* Cambridge 1992, 10.

[9] Cf., Weston F. Cook, Jr., The Cannon Conquest of Nāsrid Spain and the End of the Reconquista. *Journal of Military History.* 57. 1. 1993, 43–70.

[10] Some experts, however, remain skeptical as far as the efficiency of the early field artillery is concerned. Philippe Contamine in his classic study reminds us that these weapons could hardly have had any significant impact on the outcome of the battles and "*even a clear superiority in artillery was not sufficient to ensure victory*". Philippe Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages.* Oxford 1984, 200.

and overseas expansion all added to the demand for guns. The trade in ordnance and war material — as is often the case with that kind of activity — became one of the most profitable businesses of the time. New centres of casting and trading emerged, and — as Carlo Maria Cipolla emphasized — "*much of the European Früh-Kapitalismus had its origins firmly rooted in this very fertile trade*".[11]

Meanwhile, hand guns, which an individual foot soldier could carry, were developing in Western Europe to such a point that at the end of the fifteenth century infantrymen armed with hand guns had become a decisive military arm, a development which is considered to be one of the decisive factors of the European military revolution. The employment of artillery and infantrymen armed with hand guns had far-reaching economic and social consequences.

New systems of fortification had to be evolved against gunfire, greater ordnance had to be raised, newer and newer cannon-foundries, gunpowder factories and military plants had to be founded to meet the needs of the artillery. All these cost more, and there were only few states in Europe which were able to keep pace with the developments. Battles became more bloody, and wars cost more and more not only in money but in human lives, too.[12]

In addition, the adoption of the new weapons raised some problems within the military, too. Armies had to be reorganized according to the new requirements, and adaptability in the use of firearms could, and many times indeed did, effect the status of certain military orders. The question arises whether the Ottomans were able to keep pace with these developments.

The Ottomans and Western Military Technology

It is sometimes declared in the related literature that the border between the Ottoman Empire and its Christian enemies was impenetrable, and thus new European ideas and technological innovations were inaccessible to the Ottomans, mostly because Ottoman society, like other Islamic civilizations, was closed to the adoption of Western cultural goods considering them *bidᶜa,* i.e., an innovation or novelty not attested to in the time of the Prophet. According to a tradition attributed to the Prophet "*the worst things are those that are novelties, every novelty is an innovation, every innovation is an error and every error leads to the Hell-fire*".[13] This dictum and the doctrine behind it enabled the Muslim religious conservatives of the Ottoman Empire to hinder or delay the introduction of innovations such as Arabic letter printing, observatory and clock-making.

[11] C.M. Cipolla, *op. cit.*

[12] Cf. G. Parker, *op. cit.*, passim.

[13] Quoted by Bernard Lewis, Some observations on the significance of Heresy in the History of Islam, *Studia Islamica* I. 1953, 52.

War technology was, however, an exception to this doctrine.[14] It was in the second century of Islam, when Muslim legalists, in order to respond to the new challenges and requirements of the time, introduced the distinction between good and bad *(ḥasana* and *sayyi^{c}a)* or praiseworthy and objectionable (*maḥmūda* and *madhmūma*) *bid^{c}as.*[15] Since the basic obligation of the Muslim community was the *cihad*, the holy war against the infidels, the adoption of the infidels military technique could be considered as a good or praiseworthy innovation.

The Ottomans — who, be it remembered, belonged to the most tolerant school of Muslim law, i.e., to the *Ḥanafi mazhab* — always found the adequate means to achieve their aims and — if required — formulate the necessary ideology to legitimize them. It was in the middle of the sixteenth century, when Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, imperial ambassador to the Sultan drew his contemporaries' attention to the readiness of the Ottomans to adopt some useful inventions, and their reluctance and refusal to do the same in cases, which they considered dangerous or harmful to their culture and society. In his frequently quoted passage he stated that *"no nation in the world has shown greater readiness than the Turks to avail themselves of the useful inventions of foreigners, as is proved by the employment of cannon and mortars, and many other things invented by Christians. They cannot, however, be induced as yet to use printing, or to establish public clocks, because they think that the scriptures — that is, their sacred books — would no longer be scriptures if they were printed, and that, if public clocks were introduced, the authority of their muezzins and their ancient rites would be thereby impaired."*[16]

[14] Cf., Rhoads Murphey, The Ottoman Attitude towards the Adoption of Western Technology: The Role of the Efrencî Technicians in Civil and Military Applications. In: *Contributions à l'histoire économique et sociale de l'Empire ottoman.* Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont–Paul Dumont ed., Institutes Français d'Études Anatoliennes d'Istanbul, Association pour le Développement des Études Turques (Paris) Paris–Leuven 1983, 287–298, especially 291–293.

[15] Ignác Goldziher, *Muslim Studies,* II. London 1967, 36. Cf. also Vardit Rispler, Towards a New Understanding of the Term *bid^{c}a. Der Islam. Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients*, 68. (1991) 2. 320–328.

[16] Charles Thorrton Forster–F. H. Blackburne Daniell, *The Life and Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq Seigneur of Bousbecque Knight, Imperial Ambassador,* I. London 1881, 255. Later in the nineteenth century, when the Ottoman Empire, *"the last bulwark of Islam, suffered defeat after defeat at the hands of superior Christian forces"*, in order to support the crucial military reforms initiated by the Sultan some Ottoman legalists formulated the theory of *mukabele bi'l-misl* or reciprocation, which empowered the Muslims to fight the enemy with their own weapons. Cf. Uriel Heyd, The Ottoman ^{c}Ulemā and Westernization in the time of Selim III and Maḥmūd II. In: *Islamic History and Civilization.* Uriel Heyd ed. *(Scripta Hierosolymitana, Publications of the Hebrew University IX.),* Jerusalem 1961, 74.

The Introduction of Gunpowder-weapons in the Ottoman Empire

There are some contradictions among the experts of Ottoman history concerning the date of the introduction and proliferation of firearms in the Ottoman Empire. Îsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı in his well-known monograph on the Ottoman Army, first published in 1944, referring to a passage of the fifteenth-century Turkish chronicle written by Neşri,[17] stated that the Ottomans first used cannon at the battle of Kosovo in 1389.[18] Neşri in this passage mentions a certain Haydar, the gunner (topçu), *"who was a perfect master in the art of firing guns"*.[19] Three years later, in 1947, Îsmail Hâmi Danişmend in his Chronological Handbook of the Ottoman history referring to the chronicle written by Şikârî (d. 1584) suggested that the Ottomans cast cannon as early as 1364 and used them, together with other firearms, against the Karamanids in 1386.[20]

In the 1950s, when the world was divided between the Western and Communist countries, and the transfer of Western military know-how to the Communist enemy was punished more seriously than ever before, some Western scholars started to examine the assimilation of Western military technology by certain Islamic states. The contemporary background is clear. In 1949, three years after the Americans' first test series of atomic weapons, the Russians carried out their own atomic weapons test, preceding the British test. The year 1952 witnessed the first American hydrogen bomb, and in the next year the Russians made their own. In 1957, preceding the West, the Russians launched the first earth satellite Sputnik. It was the time when the realization that the U.S.S.R. possessed atomic weapons and the adequate technology to use them caused a fear psychosis in the U.S.A. Trials were made against leading Communists, leftist intellectuals, as well as espionage trials against some scientists accused of selling Western military technology and know-how to the enemy. And since the historian lives in his own time which influences him or her, it is quite understandable that this general climate pushed some historians to investigate the introduction of firearms in certain Islamic countries as well as the transmission of Western military technology to the enemies of Christendom in the Middle Ages and in Modern Times.[21]

[17] On Neşri and his work see V. L. Menage, *Neshri's History of the Ottomans. The sources and development of the text*. London 1964.

[18] İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilâtından Kapukulu Ocakları II. Cebeci, Topçu, Top Arabacıları, Humbaracı, Lâğımcı Ocakları ve Kapukulu Suvarileri*. Ankara 1984 (2nd edition), 35.

[19] Faik Reşit Unat–Mehmed A. Köymen ed., *Kitâb-i Cihan-nümâ. Neşrî tarihi*, I. Ankara 1949, 290–291. More references to the use of cannon cf. *op. cit.*, 296–299.

[20] İsmail Hâmi Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi* I. İstanbul n.d. 73.

[21] Cf., Stephen Christensen, European-Ottoman Military Acculturation in the Late Middle Ages. In: *War and Peace in the Middle Ages*. Brian Patric McGuire ed., Copenhagen 1987, 233–234.

David Ayalon studying the introduction and proliferation of firearms among the Mamluks found that the Mamluks used artillery in the sixties of the fourteenth century.[22] Paul Wittek, in a short contribution to David Ayalon's book, re-examined the earliest references to the use of firearms by the Ottomans, and expressed his doubts about the validity of the sources quoted by İ. H. Uzunçarşılı and others. Therefore, he was "*inclined to think that before 1400 the Ottomans had no knowledge of firearms*".[23] It is interesting that Wittek did not question İ. H. Danişmend's data and did not make any reference to his statements. Since İ. H. Danişmend's data was accepted by Carlo Cipolla[24] and other scholars[25] it is worth mentioning that the value of the chronicle of Şikârî, which was Danişmend's main source on the subject, and contains a lot of semi-legendary and doubtful accounts, as well as anachronistic statements, has not yet been established.[26] According to Paul Wittek, the first trustworthy references appearing in separate sources refer to the siege of Adalia in southern Asia Minor in 1424. Defending the fortress the Ottomans killed their besieger Karamanoglu Mehmed Beg by "*a well-directed cannonball*".[27]

Although Paul Wittek pointed out that his conclusions were a "*result of a very hasty perusal of the main sources and reference books available*" and can only "*be regarded as tentative and provisional*",[28] his unquestionable authority[29] resulted in the fact that this short contribution became a starting point for further study of the subject.[30] Paul Wittek's conclusions were somewhat modified by Halil İnalcık. An entry in the cadastral survey (*tahrir defteri*) for part of

[22] David Ayalon, *Gunpowder and Firearms in the Mamluk Kingdom: a Challenge to a Mediaeval Society*. London 1956, 2–3, 98.

[23] Paul Wittek, The Earliest References to the Use of Firearms by the Ottomans. In: David Ayalon, *op. cit.*, 142.

[24] Cipolla, *op. cit.*, 90.

[25] Cf. e.g. Gyula Káldy-Nagy, The First Centuries of the Ottoman Military Organizations, *Acta Orient. Hung.* 31. 2. 1977, 168.

[26] Cf. Claude Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey. A general survey of the material and spiritual culture and history c. 1071–1330*. London 1968, 59. and Yaşar Yücel, *XIII–XV. Yüzyıllar Kuzey-Batı Anadolu Tarihi. Çoban-Oğulları, Çandar-Oğulları Beylikleri*. Ankara 1980, 14–15.

[27] Wittek, *op. cit.*, 142.

[28] *Ibid.*, 143.

[29] On Wittek see Colin Heywood, Wittek and the Austrian Tradition, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1988) 1. 7–25. and *idem*, "Boundless dreams of the Levant": Paul Wittek, the George-Kreis and the writing of Ottoman history, *ibid.*, 1989. 1. 32–50.

[30] When explaining the different Ottoman and Mamluk attitudes towards firearms, David Ayalon, for instance, based his arguments upon this technological time lag between the Ottomans and Mamluks. According to him the positive Ottoman attitude towards the adoption of gunpowder-weapons can be explained by the fact that the Ottomans, unlike the Mamluks, became acquainted with firearms when "*the new weapon had already passed its experimental stage, and its revolutionary character had become quite evident*". See Ayalon, *op. cit.*, 98. cf. also Christensen, *op. cit.*, 234.

Albania of 1431, which mentioned a certain Ali, the son of Topçu İsmail, i.e. İsmail the gunner, enabled him to suppose that the Ottomans may have used guns during the reign of Mehmed I (1413–1421), *"and perhaps even earlier"*.[31] This chronology, established by Paul Wittek and modified by Halil İnalcık, was also accepted by Vernon J. Parry when writing his Encyclopedia of Islam article on Barud.[32]

A more or less systematic survey of the contemporary sources relating to the introduction and proliferation of firearms in the Balkan peninsula permitted Đurdica Petrović to infer that the dates suggested by Paul Wittek and Halil İnalcık may be pushed back by some twenty years or more. While recapitulating the main points of Petrović's article, I will make some additional notes on the subject and refer to some sources not mentioned by him.

According to Petrović "the first known mention of the use of cannon in the Balkan lands relates to a brief conflict between the garrison of the town of Kotor and Venetian fleet on 13 August 1378, when the defenders of Kotor employed three bombards against the warships of Venice".[33] Another source, not mentioned by Petrović, confirms the fact that among other weapons bombards were also employed in the siege of Zara in 1346.[34] It was said that there was so much noise caused by the bombards and other weapons that the people could hardly hear each other's voices.[35] As far as Ragusa is concerned, we find the first mention of firearms in 1351, when the senate of the city entered into a con-

[31] Halil İnalcık, Osmanlılar'da Ateşli Silahlar, *Belleten* 83. XXI. 509. Cf. also the entry in the cadastral survey: Halil İnalcık ed., *Hicrî 835 Tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arvanid* (2nd edition). Ankara 1987, 105. no. 284. Concerning handguns (*tüfek*) he stated that the Ottomans may have adopted them in the wars in 1443–1444 against the Hungarians. (*Op. cit.*, 510–511. cf. also Halil İnalcık–Mevlûd Oğuz, *Gazavât-ı Sultân Murâd b. Mehemmed Hân. İzladı ve Varna Savaşları (1443–1444) Üzerinde Anonim Gazavâtnâme.* Ankara 1978, 42, 52, 54, 67–68, etc.) Neşri, on the other hand, mentions *tüfeks* in the wars of 1421, 1430 and 1442. Neşri II., *op. cit.*, 565, 611, 639. Cf. also Mücteba İlgüler, Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Ateşli Silahların Yayılışı, *Tarih Dergisi* XXXII. (1979) (Ord. Prof. İ. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı Hatıra Sayısı) 301 and *idem.*, Osmanlı Imparatorluğu'nda Tüfeğin Halk Arasında Yayılışı. In: *Birinci Askeri Tarih Semineri.* Ankara 24–27. V. 1983. II. Ankara 1983, 247.

[32] Vernon J. Parry, Bārūd, *Encyclopedia of Islam.* New edition, London–Leiden 1960, 1061.

[33] Djurdjica Petrović, Fire-arms in the Balkans on the Eve of and After the Ottoman Conquest of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. In: *War, Technology and Society in the Middle East.* V. J. Parry and M. E. Yapp eds, London 1975, 170.

[34] *"Nuove macchine, bombarde addrizzante dai zaratini verso la bastia gettavano di giorno e di notte sassi in ogni parte di essa"*. Quotation from Gyula Erdélyi, Újabb adatok Nagy Lajos tüzérségéhez [New Data on the Artillery of Louis the Great, King of Hungary 1342–1382]. *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* (1928), 138.

[35] *"Tanto era lo strepito delli colpi, delle bombarde, delle balestre e delle altre arme che certamente nessuna voce si sarebba intesa."* Erdélyi, *op. cit.*, 138.

tract with a certain Nikola Teutonicus to make a *spingarda*.[36] Although master Nikola did not make the weapon in question, the mention of a *spingarda* in an official document confirms a knowledge of guns in Ragusa as early as 1351. Ten years later, in 1362–1363, a local smith in Ragusa made several *spingarda*s for the city.[37] In the light of these data, we probably have to modify the generally accepted chronology suggested by Petrović for the introduction of firearms in the Balkans. Taking into consideration the frequency of the references to the use of gun-powder weapons in Ragusa in 1378, we may assume that by that time firearms had become regular weapons in the defense of the city. On September 24, 1378 the Legislative Council of Ragusa (Consilium Rogatorum) took a decision in order to defend the city. The soldiers in the garrison were authorized to use bombards against enemy warships if required. The coastline of the city was defended by armed guards in seven different places, each headed by one captain, and all the seven guards had bombards.[38] As mentioned earlier, in August of the same year, the defenders of Kotor also used bombards against Venetian warships. By 1380, firearms were fairly commonly used in Bosnia, and it is very likely that they were also employed in Serbia between 1382 and 1386.[39] Thus, as Petrović pointed out, the Ottomans had the opportunity to be acquainted with gunpowder weapons during their raids and campaigns in the peninsula before the close of the fourteenth century.[40]

In addition, Serbian contingents serving in the Ottoman army could also have transferred the new weapons to the Ottomans. Such Serbian troops fought in the Ottoman army in 1386 against the Karamanids.[41] Their employment was more frequent after the battle on the Plain of Kosovo, since Stefan Lazarević

[36] *"Die XXII mensis novembris. Nicola Teotonicus, magister a spingardis, facit manifestum, quod ipse promittit et se obligat Sauino de Bonda, Çiue P. de Gondola et Marino de Mençio, per Minus Consilium depputatis ad hec, de faciendo unam spingardam hoc pretio et condictione, quod ipse habere debeat a Comuni omni die, qua ipse laborabit, grossos sex; et omni die, qua non laborabit, habere debeat grossos duos, donec compleverit spingardam unam. Et incepit die XXII dicti mensis novembris."* Mihailo Dinić, Prilozi za istoriju vatrenog oružja u Dubrovniku i u susednim zemljama, *Glas Srpske Kraljevske Akademije*, CLXI (1934) 97. The word *spingarda* is the earliest recorded term for guns in Dubrovnik. The first *spingarda*s were made of wrought-iron staves and hoops, but later they were also cast in bronze. The weight and the calibre of the early *spingarda*s are unknown. From the second part of the fifteenth century, we know of *spingarda*s weighing 14, 18, 64, 67, 104 and 109 kg. In an inventory from 1524, we come across a *spingarda* weighing 25.5 kg, which fired lead shots of 94 grams in weight. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 70. and Luška Beritić, *Dubrovačka artiljerija*. Beograd 1960, 25. footnote 2.

[37] Beritić, *op. cit.*, 25–26.

[38] Josephus Gelcich ed., *Monumenta Ragusina. Libri Reformationum IV. A.* 1364–1396. *(Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum Meridionalium XXVIII.)* Zagreb 1896, 166.

[39] Petrović, *op. cit.*, 170–171.

[40] *Ibid.*, 175.

[41] Neşri tarihi, *op. cit.*, vol. I. 224–225.

(1398–1427) soon became a vassal of Bayezid I (1389–1402).[42] Stefan Lazarević heading his soldiers took part in the battle at Rovine on May 17, 1395,[43] although *"not of his own free will but under compulsion"* as mentioned in his biography written by Constantine the Philosopher.[44] Stefan Lazarević and his Serbian troops fought together with their Ottoman allies at the battles at Nicopolis on September 25, 1396 and at Ankara on July 28, 1402.[45]

It is also well known that in spite of the repeated prohibitions of the Holy See, the Ragusan, Venetian and Genoese merchants exported arms and other war materials to the Ottoman Empire.[46] İnalcık, referring to a letter sent to Hungarian clergymen by Pope Gregory in 1373, stated that arms could have reached the empire via Hungary.[47] However, it is unlikely that this prohibition referred to guns since there must have been only a limited number (if there were any) of these new weapons at that time in Hungary.[48]

On the other hand, these new weapons could have reached the Ottomans via other Islamic countries. It is suggested that the Arabs used cannon as early as the third quarter of the thirteenth century. Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406) stated that cannon had been used in 1274 in al-Maghrib. Other Arabic military treatieses refer to the use of cannon in 1260 and 1303 by the Mamluks. It is also held that cannon were used in the siege of Huesca in Spain in 1324.[49] Although some schol-

[42] Bayezid acquired suzerainty over Stefan Lazarević and his dynasty after marrying Lazar's daughter, Olivera, in 1392. Cf. Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire 1300–1481.* İstanbul 1990, 42–43.

[43] The date of the battle put by Jireček and Jorga as October 10, 1394 (cf. Constantin Jos. Jireček, *Geschichte der Bulgaren.* Prag 1876, 353 and N. Jorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches,* I. Gotha 1908, 276) was corrected by Dj. S. Radojičić (cf. his La Chronologie de la bataille de Rovine, *Revue Historique du Sud-Est Européen* 5. (1928) 136–139.) and accepted by other scholars (cf. John Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391–1425): A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship.* New Brunswick 1969, 127. footnote 8).

[44] Maximilian Braun, *Lebensbeschreibung des Despoten Stefan Lazarević von Konstantin dem Philosophen.* Wiesbaden 1956, 12–13.

[45] Jireček, *op. cit.*, 355, Jorga, *op. cit.*, 294, Braun, *op. cit.*, 19, Imber, *op. cit.*, 54.

[46] Bariša Krekić, *Dubrovnik (Raguse) et le Levant a Moyen Age.* Paris 1961, 176. no. 61.

[47] İnalcık, *op. cit.*, 509.

[48] According to the experts of this question the Hungarians may have become acquainted with guns in the wars against Venice in 1378–1381. See Erdélyi, *op. cit.*, 139–141 and János Kalmár, *Régi magyar fegyverek* [Old Hungarian Weapons]. Budapest 1971, 158. Some guns, however, could have reached Hungary earlier via Ragusa, which was under the rule of Louis the Great, King of Hungary (1342–1382) since 1358.

[49] On these issues see Ahmad Y. Al-Hassan's contributions on Islamic technology. In: Joseph R. Strayer ed. *Dictionary of the Middle Ages.* vol. 11. New York 1988, 638. These references, however, must be taken with caution since the terminology used for gunpowder and gunpowder-weapons in the contemporary Arabic sources is very confused. Cf., Ayalon, *op. cit.,* 9–44, G.S. Colin, Barud in *Encyclopedia of Islam,* New edition, I. Leiden–London 1960, 1057–1058.

ars do not accept these early dates, it is without doubt that firearms were in use in 1342 and 1352 in the Mamluk kingdom.[50]

What is more, we do possess some contemporary European sources, which, in accordance with the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Ottoman narrative sources, testify to the fact that the Ottomans were acquainted with and used firearms before the close of the fourteenth century. Speaking about the Ottoman campaigns against the Karamanids, Şikârî's chronicle is not the only source that mentions firearms. According to Johann Schiltberger, while besieging Larende Bayezid I *"sent for more people and ordered arquebuses to be brought"*.[51] Similarly, there are separate sources which refer to the use of firearms by the Ottomans during the siege of Constantinople between 1394 and 1402.[52] Besides Aşıkpaşazade's reference, which was questioned by Paul Wittek, an anonymous Bulgarian chronicler and Jacopo de Promontorio-de Campis also mentioned that the Ottomans used cannon in that siege. The latter also added that at the time of his stay in the city stone cannonballs were still seen embedded in the walls.[53] These references show that the Ottomans were eager to adopt new weapons and that firearms appeared among them in a relatively early period. As pointed out by Vernon J. Parry and Colin J. Heywood, the Hungarian wars of Murad II in the 1440s were of crucial significance in the transmission of gunpowder weapons and Western military technology from Europe to the Ottoman Balkans.[54] However, in the first half of the century, cannon did not prove effective enough

[50] Ayalon, *op. cit.*, 2.

[51] *The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger, a Native of Bavaria, in Europe, Asia, and Africa, 1396–1427.* Translated from the Heilderberg Ms., edited in 1859 by Professor Karl Friedrich Neumann, by J. Buchan Telfer with notes by Prof. P. Brunn. London 1879, 9. Cf. also Petrović, *op. cit.*, 175.

[52] On the date of the siege cf. Barker, *op. cit.*, 123, 479–481.

[53] Petrović, *op. cit.*, 175. According to Jacopo de Promontorio-de Campis *"alla quale dirizzo bombarde et non li fece niente: le pietre del quale etiam al presente sonno impresse ne muri di quella"*. Franz Babinger, *Die Aufzeichnungen des Genuesen Iacopo de Promontorio-de Campis über den Osmanenstaat um 1475.* München 1957, 78. Since the various war-machines still overshadowed these early firearms, different sources speaking about the same event mention only war-machines, while others refer to the firearms too. Ruy Gonzales, de Clavijo who visited Constantinople in the winter of 1403–1404, in his report on the last siege of the city wrote that the Turks *"hurled missiles from engines"* but did not mention firearms. Cf., J. P. A. Van Der Vin, *Travellers to Greece and Constantinople. Ancient Monuments and Old Traditions in Medieval Travellers' Tales.* vol. II. Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch–Archaeologisch Institute 1980, 636.

[54] Parry, *op. cit.*, 1061. Colin Heywood, Notes on the Production of Fifteenth Century Ottoman Cannon. In: *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Islam and Science (Islamabad), 1–3 Muharram, 1401 A. H. (10–12 November, 1980).* Islamabad, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Science and Technology 1981, 59.

against the walls of the fortresses. It is symptomatic that the biggest castles were not taken by siege, but by long-lasting blockade.[55]

The situation changed during the reign of Mehmed II (1451–1481). He was probably the first Ottoman Sultan who had a special interest in artillery, military science and in war history in general.[56] His interest in military science was so well known by his European contemporaries that Robertus Valturius of Rimini, an Italian military technician (1413–1484), dedicated an exemplar of his *De re militari* to Mehmed II. This book was first printed in 1472 in Verona, but a manuscript of it was sent to Mehmed II by Sigismundo Malatesta probably before 1463.[57] Robertus Valturius' book was also well known in Europe. Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary (1458–1490), had three copies. One of them later became the property of the Ottoman sultans and was found in the library of the Palace in Istanbul in 1890.[58]

Ottoman as well as European narrative sources agree that it was Mehmed II who in the years following the conquest of Constantinople founded the *Tophane-i amire*, i.e., the state cannon foundry in the city.[59] It is striking, on the other hand, that the *Tophane* does not appear in any of the lists which enumerated the construction works undertaken in Istanbul by the Conqueror following the conquest of the city. Therefore, it was to be welcomed that some years ago Colin J. Heywood offered some hypothetical solutions concerning this problem. Studying the Chronicle of Wavrin, he noticed that in 1444 the Genoese of Pera sold cannon and culverins to the Ottomans. Since he found it improbable that these cannon were "*manufactured elsewhere and imported for resale*" he suggested that the Genoese "*were already in the 1440s manufacturing cannon in the vicinity of Constantinople*". He also recalled that the "*part of Galata most nearly adjacent to the Tophane site was the last to be fortified by the Genoese: possibly as late as the early 1440s*". According to Colin Heywood, the foundry must have been situated in this part of the city and the gateway giving access to it was named "*il Portal de le Bonbarde*". Since this name first appears in the sources of the mid-sixteenth century, it has been assumed to be a near-translation of the Ottoman *Bab-i Tophane*. However, as Colin Heywood suggested, "*it could be argued that at the time at which this area of Galata was fortified, i.e. c. 1440–1, the Genoese were already casting cannon perhaps on the site to which the new*

[55] Smederevo, for instance, "*capitulated from lack of supplies*" after "*it had been blockaded for three months*". Doukas, *Decline and Fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks, An Annotated Translation of "Historia Turco-Byzantina" by Harry J. Magoulias.* Detroit 1975, 177.

[56] Franz Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and his Time.* Princeton–New Jersey 1978, 449. Cf. also *idem.*, An Italian Map of the Balkans, presumably owned by Mehmed II, *Imago Mundi* VIII. 1951, 8 ff.

[57] Adıvar, *op. cit.*, 40.

[58] Jolán Balogh, *Mátyás király és a művészet* [King Matthias and the Arts]. Budapest 1985, 197, 325.

[59] Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, 39.

gate gave access, a gate named, from the time of its construction, in the Italian of Pera, Portal de le Bonbarde. From this, then, the conclusion follows that the Tophane was neither founded nor built by Mehemmed II, but was taken over from the Genoese on the capitulation of Pera on 30 May 1453."[60]

European Cannon Founders at the Service of the Sultans

Data found in Western narrative sources and travel books on the large number of European craftsmen who worked in the state cannon-foundry at Istanbul, provide indirect support for the above hypothesis. These data were treated by earlier scholars as a rarity or often used to demonstrate, by exaggerating the presence of European craftsmen, the great dependence of the Ottomans on Western military technology. If Colin Heywood's hypothesis is accepted, these sporadic data could confirm the Ottoman heritage, not only of the Genoese state cannon-foundries, but also of some of the craftsmen working there. This is not a unique phenomenon considering, among others, the Ottomans' similar behaviour in the fifteenth century with their the occupation of Balkan mines, when they tried to induce the Slav workers living there to stay by adopting the earlier work systems and various priorities. Since the technique used in these mines was that of the Saxons, imported by Saxon miners who settled in the Balkans in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, these Slav miners played an important role in the transfer of the Western technology of ore mining to the Ottomans. [61]

A more or less systematic survey of the pay-registers from the newly conquered Balkan fortresses also shows that the majority of the smiths, stone carvers, carpenters, masons, caulkers and ship-builders was Christian. Six Christian smiths worked at the castle of Galambóc (Golubac, Güvercinlik) between 1467 and 1468. Though in 1529 their number fell to two, there were another two

[60] C. Heywood, *op. cit.*, 60–61.

[61] Constantin Jos. Jireček, *Die Handelsstrassen und Bergwerke von Serbien und Bosnien während des Mittelalters.* Prag 1879, 43 ff. Robert Anhegger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bergbaus im Osmanischen Reich.* Bern 1945, 90–109, Mihailo J. Dinić, *Za istoriju rudarstva u sredjevekovnoj Srbiji i Bosni.* I. Beograd 1955, 1–27, Filipović, Das Erbe der mittelalterlichen sächsischen Bergleute in den südslavischen Ländern. *Südost-Forschungen* 22 (1963), 192–233, B. Saria, Der mittelalterliche sächsische Bergbau auf dem Balkan (Neue Forschungen und Funde) *Ostdeutsche Wissenschaft* 9 (1962), 131–150, G. Bandisch, Deutsche Bergbausiedlungen auf dem Balkan (Neuere Forschungen) *Südostdeutsches Archiv* 12 (1969), 32–61, Miklós Takáts, Sächsische Bergleute im mittelalterlichen Serbien und die "sächsische Kirche" von Novo Brdo. *Südost-Forschungen* 50 (1991), 31–60. The population in Ottoman mining towns as well as in the villages serving the mines in Bosnia in the second part of the fifteenth century was almost exclusively Slavic. Cf. Adem Handžić, Rudnici u Bosni u drugoj polovini XV stolječa, *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, XXVI. 1976 (1978), 7–41.

Christian stone carvers and 3 carpenters employed at the same time.[62] In 1467, in addition to 5 Gypsy smiths, 3 carpenters, 5 stone carvers, 4 masons and 4 smiths, all Christians with Slavic names, served at the castle of Resava, situated 65 to 70 km south–southeast of Galambóc.[63] In addition to these craftsmen, Christian caulkers (*kalafatçis*) were almost always found at riverside fortresses — they represented a craft that was hardly known by Turkish horsemen, especially in early times. Though later, sultans also created their own fleet at riverside castles on the Danube or the Sava,[64] this craft was practised mainly by Christians in the sixteenth century. Both in the early 1570s at the castle of Szendrő (Smederevo, Semendire) and in the first years of the reign of Murad III (1574–1595) there were 10 *kalafatçis*, all Christians, in service.[65] Their number in Belgrade in 1560, including carpenters, too, amounted to 18 and were again all Christians.[66]

The Ottomans employed former craftsmen and workers from neighbouring villages, not only to help operate Balkan mines and serve at fortresses but also relied on their knowledge at the time of sieges. As Mehemmed II found he had an insufficient trained workforce to dig mines under the walls of Constantinople in 1453, he was bound to fetch professional miners from Novo Brdo in Serbia.[67]

Among foreign experts who played an important role in creating and developing Ottoman artillery, the best known person was undoubtedly master Orban, "*a Hungarian by nationality and a very competent technician*".[68] As it is

[62] Olga Zirojević, *Tursko vojno uređenje u Srbiji (1459–1683).* Beograd 1974, 120–121.

[63] Momčilo Stojaković, *Braničevski tefter. Poimenični popis pokrajine Braničevo iz 1467. godine.* Beograd 1987, 252.

[64] C. H. Imber, The Navy of Süleyman the Magnificent, *Archivum Ottomanicum* VI. (1980), 275–277, Jusuf Gülderen, Turska brodogradilišta na Dunavu i njegovim pritokama u drugoj polovini XVI veka. In: *Plovidba na Dunavu i njegovim pritokama kroz vekove (Naučni skupovi Srbske akademije nauka i umetnosti, knj. XV, Odeljenje istorijskih nauka, knj. 3.)* Beograd 1983, 179–191.

[65] Zirojević, *op. cit.*, 144–145.

[66] Hazim Šabanović, *Turski izvori za istoriju Beograda, Knjiga prva-sveska prva, Katastarski popis Beograda i okoline 1476–1566.* Beograd 1964, 457. Cf. also Zirojević, *op. cit.*, 202.

[67] Konstantin Jireček, *Istorija Srba* I. Beograd 1952, 378, Steven Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople 1453.* Cambridge 1992, 118.

[68] Doukas, *op. cit.*, 200. Nicolae Jorga stated that he was a Romanian by origin: *"Da er* (sc. Mehmed II) *keine Meister in diesem Fache hatte, war es ihm sehr willkommen, als ein Flüchtling, Urban genannt, dem die Griechen eine 'dakische', d. h. eine ungarische oder, viel wahrscheinlicher, eine rumänische Herkunft zuschreiben, sich ihm vorstellte."* N. Jorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches,* II. Gotha 1909, 18. Referring to the fact that the Romanians had very little knowledge in the field of casting cannon at that time, Hans Joachim Kissling stated that *"eine Waffe von solcher Vollendung konnte nur von einem Meister hergestellt werden, der seine Kenntnisse an der Quelle erworben hatte. Urban ist also mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit Deutscher gewesen".* Hans Joachim Kissling, Baljemez, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,*

well known, Orban first offered his knowledge to the Byzantine Emperor. Since he was not given the stipend he wanted and the raw material he needed, Orban fled from Constantinople and went to the sultan.[69] After he was provided with the necessary supply of bronze *"in three months' time, a terrifying and extraordinary monster was forged and cast"*. The cannon was placed on the walls of Rumeli Hisar and sank a Venetian ship. The sultan then ordered Orban to cast another cannon twice the size of the former one. It was constructed in January in Edirne (Adrianople). The length of the barrel was estimated to be forty spans and its balls were said to be twelve hundredweight.[70] *"With the passing of January and beginning of February, Mehmed ordered the cannon transported to Constantinople. Thirty wagons were linked together and sixty enormous oxen hauled it along. Two hundred men were deployed on each side of the cannon to support and balance it so that it would not slip and fall onto the road. Fifty carpenters and two hundred assistants went ahead of the wagons to construct wooden bridges wherever the road was uneven. The journey lasted through February and March, and the cannon was conveyed to a spot some five miles from the City."*[71] Although during the siege of Constantinople Orban's monster could only be fired seven times a day and had to be repaired at the beginning of May, its shots did considerable damage and played a key role in the capture of the city.[72]

Another famous foreign cannon founder in the service of Mehmed II was Jörg of Nürnberg. In 1456, Ulrik Cillei sent him to Stjepan Košaca, the ruler of Bosnia, where he was employed as *Büchsenmeister*, i.e., cannon founder. Four years later, in 1460, he and his family were captured by the Ottomans. After learning of his skill in casting cannon, Mehmed II spared his life and employed him as a cannon founder. Jörg worked over twenty years for the Sultan. In 1480 he was sent to Alexandria. There he met some Franciscan monks and European

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101 (1951), 335. Kissling was probably correct in referring to the Romanian's lack of knowledge of casting guns. However, it was not the case concerning Hungary. It must not be forgotten that during the wars against the Ottomans in 1443–1444, the Hungarians already employed several cannon and possessed skilled technicians to operate them. Thus the term used by Doukas, i.e., Dacian may refer to a technician who was a subject of the Hungarian king, but could have been either German or Hungarian by nationality. There were several German experts among the cannon founders and artillerymen of the Hungarian kings in the fifteenth century. One of the first artillerymen in the service of Sigismund, King of Hungary (1387–1437), mentioned by our sources by name in 1421, was a certain *Johannes Gansar de Argentina alias de Strosburg*. Cf., Béla Iványi, A tüzérség története Magyarországon kezdetektől 1711-ig [History of Artillery in Hungary from the Earliest Time to 1711]. *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 1926, 19.

[69] Doukas stated that, *"If the emperor had given him but a quarter of the remuneration which he received at the hands of Mehmed, he would not have fled from Constantinople."* Doukas, *op. cit.*, 200.

[70] *Ibid.*, 200–201, Runciman, *op. cit.*, 78.

[71] Doukas, *op. cit.*, 207.

[72] Runciman, *op. cit.*, 97, 116, 136.

merchants, and with their help he managed to escape. First he went to Venice and then to Rome to Pope Sixtus IV (1471–1484), where he was again employed as *Büchsenmeister*. After spending some time in Rome he presumably returned to Nürnberg. He compiled a short history of the Ottoman Empire in German entitled *Geschichte von der Türckey* which was first printed in Memmingen without a date, but presumably about 1482–1483.[73]

In the sixteenth century, the Jews and the Marranos expelled from Spain and Portugal provided able and experienced cannon founders and artillerymen for the sultan. The well-known traveller Nicolaos de Nicolay, who visited the Ottoman Empire in 1551, pointed out that these Western technicians *"to the great detriment and damage of the Christianitie, haue taught the Turkes diuers inuentions, craftes and engines of warre, as to make artillerie, harquebuses, gunne pouder, shot, and other munitions"*.[74] Vincente Roca in his *History*, first published in 1556, wrote that *"here at Constantinople are many Jews, descendants of those whom the Catholic King Don Ferdinand ordered to be driven forth of Spain, and would that it had pleased God that they be drowned in the sea in coming hither! For they taught our enemies the most of what they know of the villanies of war, such as the use of brass ordnance and of firelocks."*[75] Although the Jewish role in the transfer of Western military technology to the Ottomans was of some significance, these and similar statements must be used critically and with caution. The exaggeration of the role of the Jews and Marranos in the diffusion and proliferation of firearms in the hostile Islamdom by some Western contemporaries may have been intended, as Bernard Lewis and Stephen Christensen pointed out, to cause anxiety as well as hostile feelings against Jews and Marranos in certain sections of contemporary Western society.[76] These and similar accusations could have been used as tools of propaganda in the final expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain.

However, it should not be forgotten that it was mainly with the help of cannon founders, artillerymen and miners from Germany, Hungary and the Balkans, that the Ottomans were successful in the adoption of Western military technology already in the fifteenth century. Other sources at our disposal show that there were many experts working in the state cannon foundry from different nations of Europe. The Savoyan traveller Jerome Maurand, who visited Constantinople in 1544, reported that in the state cannon foundry there were forty or

[73] A. Vasiliev, Jörg of Nuremberg, A Writer Contemporary with the Fall of Constantinople (1453), *Byzantion* 10 (1935), 205–209.

[74] Nicolaos de Nicolay, *The Nauigations into Turkie*. London 1585, fol. 130v. Cf. also Bernard Lewis, *The Jews of Islam*. London 1984, 134–135.

[75] Lewis, *op. cit.*, 135. The Ottoman Jews were also involved in importing war materials into the empire. Cf., Aryel Shmuelevitz, *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire in the Late Fifteenth and the Sixteenth Centuries. Administrative, Economic, Legal and Social Relations as Reflected in the Responsa*. Leiden 1984, 140.

[76] *Ibid.*, and Christensen *op. cit.*, 232.

fifty Germans employed by the Sultan to cast cannon.[77] The French ambassador at Constantinople d'Aramon added that in 1547–1548, several French, Venetian, Genoese, Spanish and Sicilian experts worked at the *Tophane.*[78] The ambassador himself assisted the Ottomans during the siege of Van in 1548, when giving advice to the Ottoman artillerymen how to direct fire against the walls of the fortress. Due to his advice the garrison soon surrendered.[79] Concerning the battle at Raydānīya in 1517, the sources not only mention the Jewish experts who prepared the gunpowder for the Ottomans, but also the highly skilled artillerymen from Italy, whose experience was an important factor in the superiority of the Ottoman artillery to that of the Mamluks.[80]

Though European cannon founders and artillerymen played an important role in creating the Ottoman artillery, their contribution should not be exaggerated. Mehmed II is known to have had Turkish craftsmen working independently of Master Orban in 1453, and an engineer named Saruca also managed to cast a large cannon.[81] Nicolo Barbaro reported at least 12 cannons were used by the Ottomans in 1453 to shoot at the walls of Istanbul from four points, and of the twelve only one cannon had been made by Master Orban.[82]

One should also be careful not to overvalue the role of foreign cannon casters because they worked outside the Ottoman Empire, as well. Most of the artillerymen employed in medieval Hungary were of German, and a minority of Italian, origin.[83] Another example is presented by Spain, where a lack of native cannon founders in the sixteenth century led Spanish monarchs to repeatedly employ Italian, German and Flemish cannon founders and dismiss them again upon the completion of work.[84] "*I do not think* — the Venetian Ambassador Badoer wrote in 1557 — *there is another country less provided with skilled workers than Spain*".[85] The lack of skilled workers was one of the main problems of the Spanish war industry. In 1575 at the Malaga foundry, the casting work had to be delayed since none of the cannon founders was able to cast a

[77] Léon Dorez, *Itinéraire de Jérome Maurand d'autibes a Constantinople (1544).* Paris 1901, 202–205. Cf. also Colin J. Heywood, *op. cit.,* 61.

[78] M. Ch. Schefer ed., *Le Voyage de Monsieur d'Aramon, Ambassadeur pour le roy en Levant escript par Noble Home Jean Chesneau, l'un des secretaires dudict seigneur ambassadeur.* Paris 1887. (Recueil de voyages et de documents pour servir a l'histoire de la géographie depuis le XIIIe jusqu'à la fin du XVIe siècle VIII.) Cf. Heywood, *op. cit.*, 61.

[79] Schefer ed., Le Voyage de Monsieur d'Aramon, *op. cit.*, 87–88.

[80] Stripling, *op. cit.*, 53.

[81] Selâhattin Tansel, *Osmanlı kaynaklarına göre Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in siyasî ve askerî faaliyeti.* Ankara 1958, 52.

[82] Nicolo Barbaro, *Diary of the Siege of Constantinople 1453.* Transl. J. R. Jones, New York 1969, 30.

[83] Iványi, *op. cit.*, 140–143.

[84] Cipolla, *op. cit.*, 34, I. A. A. Thompson, *War and Government in Habsburg Spain, 1560–1620.* London 1976, 235.

[85] Cipolla, *op. cit.*, 33.

cannon without help. Skilled gun founders had to be invited from Germany. When it turned out that they were heretics they were detained. The work at the foundry could have started only after the newly invited masters from Innsbruck had arrived.[86] The case was similar in Portugal, and there were insufficient native gun founders in England, too. Many of the founders who worked in Ashdown Forest were experts from France. Thanks to their assistance, by the second half of the sixteenth century a considerably strong English ordnance industry, making cast-iron guns according to a new technology, came into existence. From this time onward English technicians and English cast-iron ordnance were much in demand throughout the Continent.[87] In short, the casting of ordnance was an international business, and technicians who were hired by a certain ruler in one year, could serve his enemy in another year.

Unfortunately, the sources explored so far do not allow us to determine the ratio of foreign to Turkish cannon founders and artillerymen at the service of the Sultans. The ratio of Christian artillerymen in addition to Christian cannon casters must have been significant, especially at the beginning. Information available on the artillery of some Balkan fortresses leads us to this conclusion. In 1455 Novo Brdo had eleven soldiers — janissaries serving with crossbow (*zemberekçi*), artillerymen (*topçu*), musketeers (*tüfekçi*) — all Christians with one exception.[88] At the castle of Resava 4 *topçu*s served between 1467 and 1468 — all of them were Christians.[89] The unit of the *topçu*s and *kalafatçi*s at Belgrade in 1529 consisted of seven Christians.[90] As time passed, however, more and more Muslims acquired the craft of artillery and gradually became overwhelming in number. The 48 *topçu*s serving at Belgrade in 1560 already consisted of 35 Muslims and another 13 Christian artillerymen.[91] According to an Ottoman cadastral survey (*defter-i mufassal*), which was taken some time shortly before September 2, 1570, 36 Muslim and 10 Christian artillerymen served in Belgrade.[92] A source from the era of Murad III (1574–1595) mentions, however, only 6 Christian *topçu*s, in addition to 41 Muslim ones.[93] Though generalization on the basis of this example of Belgrade would be too daring, probably we are not far from the truth to regard this process as typical.

[86] Thompson, *op. cit.*, 243.

[87] Cipolla, *op. cit.*, 32, 37.

[88] Zirojević, *op. cit.*, 136.

[89] *Ibid.*, 139.

[90] Šabanović, *op. cit.*, 139.

[91] *Ibid.*, 455.

[92] Allan Z. Hertz, Muslims, Christians and Jews in Sixteenth-century Ottoman Belgrade. In: *Mutual Effects of the Islamic and Judeo–Christian Worlds: the East European Pattern.* Abraham Ascher, Tibor Halasi-Kun, Béla K. Király eds, Brooklyn N.Y. 1979 (Brooklyn College Studies on Society in Change, No. 3) 157.

[93] Zirojević, *op. cit.*, 117.

The Theory of Ottoman Giant Guns

In the fifteenth century, the Ottomans, like their European contemporaries, possessed many giant guns. These monstrous guns made a very big impression on some Western scholars. In 1965, in his famous book, Carlo Cipolla stated that in the second half of the fifteenth century the ways of the evolution of the Ottoman and Western artillery diverged. Unlike European technicians, who from the second half of the fifteenth century *"devoted great efforts to the production of light field artillery"*, the Ottomans *"failed to recognize the importance of the innovations and did not keep up with the new developments ... they continued to devote their main efforts to the production of siege ordnance and lagged behind the West both in the production and the use of field artillery."*[94] Cipolla's thesis was questioned by Stephen Christensen in 1987. Referring to John Francis Guilmartin's study he recalled the fact the Ottomans cast all types of cannon. However, not being familiar with the Ottoman archival sources, Christensen wrote that *"a tradition of founding giant guns may have existed among the Ottoman gun founders. If this turns out to be the case, there may have existed good reasons (of a military or a non-military nature), which could explain their choice"*.[95] The latest contribution to this question is that of Geoffrey Parker. In his book on the military revolution dealing with the adoption of Western military technology by non-European countries, he stated that *"there were three important respects in which the military revolution was imperfectly practised by Europe's most dangerous neighbours* (i.e., by the Ottomans*). First, and best-known, was the Ottomans decision to build their artillery big, whereas the Western powers concentrated on increasing the mobility and numbers of their guns. In part this may have been because the Ottoman Empire (not unlike the 'socialist' countries of eastern Europe today* /sic/*) experienced difficulty in mass-producing and stockpiling manufactured items in order to build up a surplus. It may have seemed easier to produce a handful of big guns which delivered a few decisive shots than a multitude of quick-firing small ones."*[96]

Historians relying on Turkish narrative and archival sources know, however, that the Ottomans adopted several types of European cannon, and used almost all kinds of guns from the smallest to the biggest. Nonetheless, our sight is greatly blurred by the chaos existing in the relating literature regarding the Turkish names of guns used in narrative sources. Though contradictions are also present in Turkish archival sources, these sources provide much more abundant information. In the following I put forward a few data — only for information and not as an ultimate list — to be used for setting up some classification of the Ottoman names of guns. However, it ought to be remembered that, in spite of

[94] Cipolla, *op. cit.*, 98.

[95] Christensen, *op. cit.*, 238.

[96] Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution, Military Innovations and the Rise of the West 1500–1800.* Cambridge 1988, 126.

various attempts to make a classification and impose standards, guns in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were remarkable for their individuality. *"All our great pieces of one name are not of one weight, nor of one height in their mouths"*— complained Cyprián Lucar in 1587.[97] This observation, of course, is valid for the Ottoman ordnance, too. Consequently, the following data on Ottoman guns should be considered tentative and represent a first attempt at classification of Ottoman artillery.

Cannon called *balyemez* should be listed among the biggest Ottoman guns. Evliya Çelebi states that the word itself comes from the Turkish noun *bal* meaning "honey" and the negative singular form *yemez* of a verb in third person *yemek* (to eat); they are coupled to mean 'he who does not eat honey'. Evliya Çelebi states that a piece of a *balyemez* cannon fell out of the fortress of Érsekújvár during the 1663 siege bearing the following inscription: *"Made at the order of the victorious Süleyman Han by Ali Bali, senior cannon-founder of the High Porte"*. He explains this inscription as follows: *"This man was said not to have loved or eaten any meals with honey throughout his life, therefore his cannon became known as «Balyemez topi» (cannon of the one who does not eat honey)."*[98] Here we have a clear case of a people's sense of language converting unknown foreign words so that they bear a meaning for them. Since new words created with the help of such folk-etymology hardly resemble the original ones and preserve the latter in a greatly distorted form, researchers faced tremendous difficulties in exploring the origin of *balyemez* and have not managed to come up with a result acceptable to and considered ultimate by everybody to this very day. Some researchers, particularly G. Meyer,[99] Tagliavini[100] and Uzunçarşılı[101], see the Italian words *palla e mezza* (i.e. 'a cannon and a half') behind *balyemez*. Hans Joachim Kissling thought, however, that by the time the Ottomans became acquainted with cannon Europe had already had its own names for cannon, and such a circumstantial designation for a cannon is hardly believable. He is convinced that *balyemez* is to be traced back to a very famous fifteenth century German cannon, the *Faule Metze* from Braunschweig dated 1411, which

[97] Colin Martin–Geoffrey Parker, *The Spanish Armada*. London 1989, 215. *"What is a 'pasabolante' in Granada would appear much like a 'bonbarda' in Chinchilla, and even the bombard seems to have been no more standardised than having a barrel between six and fifteen palms in length and firing a stone of 'two palms' (Chinchilla), 'nine pounds and a half' (Almería), or to be more exact, 'like that of a culebrina' (Alcázar de Madrid)."* James D. Lavin, *A History of Spanish Firearms*. London 1965, 40.

[98] Evlia Cselebi török világutazó magyarországi utazásai 1600–1664 [Travels of Evliya Çelebi in Hungary 1600–1664]. Budapest 1985, 361.

[99] G. Meyer, *Türkische Studien I: Die griechischen und romanischen Bestandtheile im Wortschatze des Osmanisch-Türkischen. Sitzungsberichte der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Classe 128*. Wien 1893, 70.

[100] C. Tagliavini, Osservationi sugli elementi italiani in turco, *Annali,* n.s.1. 1940, Scritti in onore di Luigi Bonelli, 195.

[101] Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, 49. footnote 8.

was made known to the Ottomans by German cannon founders forced into their service.[102] According to Henry and Renée Kahane and Andreas Tietze, the Turkish *balyemez* comes from Italian *bala ramada, palla ramata* (i.e., bar shot), "*designating two cannonballs joined together by an iron bar or chain*", and conveyed to the Ottomans by Greeks.[103] This version can also be found in French and Spanish sources from the seventeenth century, and the Turkish word exists both in the Romanian (*balimez* and *baliemez*) and the Serbo-Croatian (*baljemeez-topu*) languages.[104]

Both Ottoman narrative and archival sources refer to very large battering guns as *balyemez*. Evliya Çelebi mentions *balyemez*es firing shots of 25, 30, 40, 50 and 60 *okka*s in weight, also noting that there were altogether four pieces of the latter available in the whole Empire: "*there are two large ready guns at present in the intergate section at the fortress of Akkirman; a cannon of Süleyman Han using 60 okka iron balls at the fortress of Eszék and another at the river Drava*".[105] There were, however, smaller *balyemez*es, too. We know of a 20 *okka balyemez* from as early as 1538.[106] Smaller *balyemez*es were registered at the fortress of Baghdad in 1681; the number of *balyemez*es throwing 14, 16, 18, 20 and 22 *okka* shots amounted to 39 and were accompanied by 42,600 balls.[107] Two other *balyemez*es throwing shots of 11 and 14 *okka*s in weight were cast in the *Tophane* at Istanbul in 1685–86.[108]

[102] Kissling, *op. cit.*, 333–340.

[103] Henry and Renée Kahane–Andreas Tietze, *The Lingua Franca in the Levant, Turkish Nautical Terms of Italian and Greek Origin.* Urbana 1958, (Reprinted, İstanbul, 1988) 83–84.

[104] *Ibid.*, 84. Cf., also Fr. Miklositch, *Die türkischen Elemente in den südost- und osteuropäischen Sprachen.* I. Wien 1884, 20, *idem.*, *Die türkischen Elemente in den südost- und osteuropäischen Sprachen.* Nachtrag I. Wien 1888, 10, Petar Skok, *Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika* I. Zagreb 1971, 104.

[105] Evlia Cselebi, *op. cit.*, 361. The related literature in the calculation of *okka* into kg follows Walter Hinz's suggestion, i.e., 1 *okka* = 400 *dirhems* = 1.2828 kg. This calculation is based on the *Rumi dirhem* of 3.207 g. (Cf. Walter Hinz, *Islamische Maße und Gewichte umgerechnet ins metrische System.* Leiden 1955, 24.) However, according to Prof. Halil Sahillioglu's studies, "*The official dirhem in use (in coinage) down to the end of the seventeenth century was* Tabrizi dirhem *of 3.072 g and after that time the* Rumi dirhem *of 3.207*". (Cf. Halil Inalcik, Introduction to Ottoman Metrology, *Turcica* XV (1983), 318–320.) Prof. Sahillioğlu's findings are supported by some European data published recently. (Cf. Edmund M. Herzig, A Note on the Ottoman Lidre and Dirhem Around 1500, *Turcica* XX (1988), 247–249.) Since Hungarian data at my disposal correspond with the *Tabrizi dirhem* of 3.072 g, in all calculations in this study I follow one *okka* = 400 *Tabrizi dirhems* = 1.2288 kg.

[106] Cengiz Orhonlu, XVI. asrın ilk yarısında Kızıldeniz sahillerinde Osmanlılar. *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi* 12. 16. 1961 (1962), 14.

[107] İstanbul, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), Bab-i Defteri, Baş Muhasebe Kalemi Defterleri (DBŞM) Cebehane Defterleri (CBH) No. 18368, 12–14.

[108] İstanbul, BOA, DBŞM Tophane Defterleri (TPH) No. 18597, 7.

Sources at our disposal show that the Ottomans considered guns with 11 *okka* balls to be suitable for use in their campaigns. When preparing for the last campaign of Süleyman (1566), in November 1565 the *beylerbeyi* of Buda was ordered to examine the guns at the Buda castle, including all those throwing between 11 and 22 *okka* balls, to make sure the necessary repairs had been done, and sufficient cannon-balls and gunpowder were available.[109] It can be seen from the order issued in May 1566 that cannon firing shots of 11, 14 and 16 *okka*s in weight were also considered suitable for sieges. The *beylerbeyi* of Buda was then instructed to prepare cannon firing shots of 11, 14 and 16 *okka*s in weight and the 6,000 *kantar*s of gunpowder needed for sieges and for the destruction of enemy guns.[110] Guns firing 14 and 16 *okka* shots are specifically called battering guns (*kale-kup*) by Abdülkadir Efendi in his unpublished chronicle. The Ottoman troops going to the siege of Kanizsa requested 10 pieces of such *kale-kup* guns firing 14 and 16 *okka* shots in the late summer of 1600.[111] According to an inventory taken in the new fortress opposite to Kandiye (*Kandiye mukabelesinde vaki kale-i cedidde*) on August 20th, 1666, there were six *kale-kup* guns firing cannonballs of 14 *okka*s in weight.[112]

Similarly, the cannon called *çultutmaz* was listed among the battering guns. There was a *çultutmaz* cannon at the fortress of Siklós in 1600 that is known to have used 18 okka shots.[113] The lack of any data in related literature regarding the calibre of this cannon makes the relevant figures especially important. Cannon of this type was used for both the defence and sieges of castles by the Ottomans. Evliya Çelebi informs us of several *çultutmaz*es deployed for the defence of the bastions of Buda.[114]

Confiscated Christian guns were given special terminology by the Ottomans. There is a bronze cannon from Venice called *balyemez* on display in front of the Military Museum (Askeri Müze) in Istanbul being 9 span (*karış*) long and weighing 22 *kantar*s (1188 kg) as confirmed by the inscription on its barrel. Subsequent measurements showed the cannon to be 208 cm long and the bore of

[109] İstanbul, BOA, Mühimme Defterleri (MD) V/223/566.

[110] İstanbul, BOA, MD V/599.

[111] Topçular Katibi Abdülkadir Efendi, *Tarih-i Al-i Osman*. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek Handschriftensammlung, Codex Vindobonensis Palatinus Mxt. 130. fol. 133b. Cf. also Gábor Ágoston, Az oszmán tüzérség és a magyarországi várharcok egy kiadatlan 17. századi török krónika alapján [Ottoman Artillery and the Ottoman–Hungarian warfare in Hungary according to Abdülkadir Efendi's unpublished chronicle] in: Sándor Bodó–Jolán Szabó eds, *Magyar és török végvárak (1663–1694)* [Hungarian and Ottoman Fortresses, 1663–1694] (Studia Agriensia 5.). Eger 1985, 173–174. On Abdülkadir Efendi and his work cf. Markus Köhbach, Der osmanische Historiker Topçilar Katibi Abdü'l-qādir Efendi. Leben und Werk, *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/Journal of Ottoman Studies* 2 (1981), 75–96.

[112] İstanbul, BOA, Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler Tasnifi (MM) No. 3150, 110.

[113] Topçular Katibi Abdülkadir Efendi, *op. cit.*, fol. 131a.

[114] Evlia Cselebi, *op. cit.*, 270.

its barrel to be 23.5 cm in diameter.[115] Another bronze gun from Venice recorded as a *balyemez* is to be found, which is 191 cm long and has a barrel the bore of which is 23.5 cm in diameter.[116]

*Balyemez*es are mentioned by Evliya Çelebi in association with *şayka* guns. "Guns throwing stone balls that are too large to be carried by humans are called *şayka*s", — he reported. "Such guns cannot be put on carriages and transported to campaigns but only slid on sleighs and installed at castles. No one in the world but the Ottomans have cannon of this kind."[117] In the above-mentioned inventory of the castle of Baghdad we can also discover a *şayka* gun among 39 *balyemez*es.[118] These cannon were named after a boat called *şayka*.[119] Depending on their sizes, Turkish *şayka*s could accommodate 20 to 50 warriors and were equipped with 3 guns. These guns were later designated as *şayka* guns,[120] which seems to contradict Evliya Çelebi's description of these guns as so enormous as to cause problems during deployment on small river boats. Our archival sources reveal, however, that *şayka* guns — similarly to other Turkish cannon — were made with various bore sizes. A report by the *sancakbeyi* of Semendire informs us that the fortress of Semendire had both large and medium

[115] Inventory No. 342.

[116] Inventory No. 262.

[117] Evlia Cselebi, *op. cit.*, 361.

[118] İstanbul, BOA, DBŞM CBH No. 18368, 12–13.

[119] Cf. Mehmed Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü* III. İstanbul 1983, 312. The Ottoman *şâyka* was one of the most popular types of ship used in the main on rivers, especially on the Danube and its tributaries (İstanbul, BOA MD V/201/496) and along the coast of the Black Sea for transport as well as for defence of river banks. (İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilâtı.* Ankara 1984, 458.) *Şayka*s with three light cannon were 17–33 *zira* long. *Şayka*s built in Niğbolu, Rusçuk, Silistre, Hersek, Isakçı, Ibrail, Fethü'l-İslam, Vidin and Belgrade in 1690 carried 20 oarsmen (*kürekçi*), 20 troops (*cenkçi*), one artilleryman (*topçu*), one steersman (*dümenci*) and one captain (*kapudan*). (İdris Bostan, *Osmanlı Bahriye Teşkilâtı: XVII. Yüzyılda Tersâne-i Âmire.* Ankara 1992, 88–89.) Turkish *şayka*s must have been similar to the *naszád*s used by the Hungarians. Concerning the campaign of 1566, the contemporary Hungarian chronicler Miklós (Nicolaus) Istvánffy (1538–1615) wrote: "*Classis e duodecim birenibus a parte Ferdinando relictis, quibus fere piratae in mari velocitatis ac agilitatis causa utuntur, ac celocibus,* quas nos Nasadas, turcae Saicas vocant, *XXX. constabat...*" (Istvánfi Nicolai *Historiarum de rebus Ungaricis libri XXXIV.* Coloniae Agrippinae, 1622. XXIII, 476.) However, concerning the siege of Esztergom in 1594, he used these terms as synonyms: "*Aderant biremes quoque at supra has 25 navigia eiusdem formae, sed paulo minora, que nostri Nasadas aut Saicas vocant.*" (*ibid.*) *Şayka*s (known as *čajka*s in Slavic languages) were also used by the Balkan Slavs as well as by the Cossacks. (Victor Ostapchuk, Five Documents from the Topkapi Palace Archive on the Ottoman Defense of the Black Sea against the Cossacks, 1639. In: *Raiyyet Rüsumu. Essays presented to Halil İnalcık on his Seventieth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students. Journal of Turkish Studies* 11 (1987), 49. footnote 2.)

[120] Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, 458.

sized şayka guns in 1575.[121] Pakalın mentioned a 16 span long şayka gun used with shots of 22 okkas in weight.[122] A 1666 inventory of the castle of Eğriboz lists one piece of a 14 span long bronze şayka using 20 okka balls, one piece of a 12 span long bronze şayka firing 22 okka balls, one piece of a 9 span long bronze şayka firing 5 okka balls, one piece of a 8 span long bronze şayka using 5 okka balls and two other bronze şaykas firing merely 2 okka balls.[123] A 12 span long bronze şayka firing stone balls of one kantar (bir kantar seng dane atar), i.e., 54 kg in weight, was also recorded in the inventory, and was undoubtedly one of the largest guns of this type.[124] In his description of the state cannon-foundry at Istanbul, Evliya Çelebi mentioned şaykas large enough to enclose a man.[125] An inventory of the fortress of Semendire, which was taken in March/April 1687, lists one 20 span long şayka firing marble balls of one kantar (bir kantar mermer atar), one 19 span long şayka using marble shots of one kantar, one 9 span long şayka firing 12 okka balls, and one 9 span long şayka using 10 okka balls.[126] It was likely, therefore, that şaykas were first used on şayka boats sent to defend river mouths, and later carried from these boats into riverside fortresses, which enabled them to install cannon of ever larger bores.[127] Sometimes it must have been difficult to provide the necessary skilled workers to cut cannonballs for the şaykas. In December, 1570, the sancakbeyi of Alacahisar (Kruševac) was ordered to send able masters together with their necessary tools to İskenderiye (Alexandria) to cut cannonballs for the şaykas to be cast in İskenderiye.[128]

One of the most often mentioned Ottoman guns is the *bacaluşka* denoted by the terms *baciliska, bacaluşka, badaluşka, badoluşka, bedoluşka,* etc. in Turkish sources.[129] These Turkish designations reflect the distorted name of a cannon referred to in Spanish, Portuguese and Catalan, etc. sources as *basalisco*.[130] It was either made of hooped wrought-iron or cast of bronze. John Francis Guilmartin thinks that the Ottoman basilisks employed at Jiddah against the Portuguese in 1517 *"may have been large wrought-iron muzzle-loading guns"* throwing stone cannon-balls similar to ones made in 1516 and found in

[121] İstanbul, BOA, MD XXVII/58. This order was published in Latin transliteration by Uzunçarşılı. Cf. *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilâtından Kapukulu Ocakları* II. 81–82.

[122] Pakalın, *op. cit.*, 312.

[123] İstanbul, BOA, MM No. 3150, 125.

[124] İstanbul, BOA, MM No. 3150, 125. Since in the official records and registers the *Istanbul kantari* of 44 *okka*s was used, in all my calculations I follow 1 *kantar* = 54 kg, based on 1 *okka* = 1.2288 kg.

[125] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname* I. İstanbul 1314/1896–97, 437.

[126] İstanbul, BOA, MM No. 3992, 19.

[127] The word *şayka* may have been coupled to other types of cannon later on, presumably with the wish to refer to the size of such guns.

[128] İstanbul, BOA, MD XIV/707/1020.

[129] Ágoston, *op. cit.*, 174.

[130] Kahane–Tietze, *op. cit.*, 99–100.

the park of the Naval Museum (Deniz Müzesi), Istanbul.[131] Some major pieces of *bacaluşka*s exceeded as much as 10 tons in weight. Such a great basilisk (*top-i bacaluşka-i buzurg*) weighing 210 *kantar*s (i.e., 11.34 tons) was transferred to the Istanbul state cannon-foundry for recasting in the first half of the 1520s.[132] This cannon, however, must have been a *bacaluşka* rarity, since the average weight of the basilisk cast at the Istanbul state cannon-foundry between 1522 and 1526 was only 77.65 *kantar*s (i.e., 4.193 tons).[133]

In his chronicle on the 1543 campaign in Hungary, Sinan Çaus mentions an 18 span long *bacaluşka* throwing shots of 20 *okka*s in weight, which was cast in Buda for the Ottomans by a Persian cannon founder from Tabriz within 10 days. There were 3.2 tons of bronze broken bells and bronze column heads used for casting this gun.[134] A bronze *bacaluşka* registered at the castle of Eğriboz in 1666-67, being 18 span long, probably were similar, but fired iron cannon-balls of only 18 *okka*s in weight.[135]

There were, of course, shorter basilisks, as well. The above-mentioned inventory of the castle of Eğriboz enumerates an altogether 10 span long bronze *bacaluşka* from the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent (1520–1566), and another 9 span long gun, which again could fire 18 *okka* balls.[136] An inventory of the fortress of Buda, taken in December 1565, enumerates the following basilisks, referring to them as *badoloşka*: two pieces throwing 22 *okka* balls together with 400 iron cannon-balls, two pieces firing 18 *okka* balls together with 1000 iron shots, two pieces using 16 *okka* balls with 500 iron cannon-balls, and 14 pieces firing 14 *okka* balls together with their 4,000 iron shots.[137] At the same time in the castle of Pest one *badoloşka* firing shots of 16 *okka*s and one infidel *(kâfirî)* basilisk throwing cannon-balls of 18 *okka*s were entered into the inventory.[138] There were several *bacaluşka*s employed during the 1566 Hungarian campaign of Süleyman. In April 1566, the *beylerbeyi* of Semendire was instructed to send two *bacaluşka*s together with sufficient shots and one *kantar* of wick (*penbe fitili*) to the *beylerbeyi* of Timişvar (Temesvár), who had been ordered to besiege the fortress of Gyula.[139] Two *bacaluşka*s firing shots of 16 *okka*s in weight and in addition 4 guns firing shots of 14 *okka*s in weight, and another 4 guns firing shots of 11 *okka*s in weight were requested from the *bey-*

[131] Guilmartin, *op. cit.*, 11, footnotes 3, 5.

[132] Colin Heywood, The Activities of the State Cannon-Foundry (Tophane-i amire) at Istanbul in the early sixteenth century according to an unpublished Turkish source, *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 30 (1980), 214.

[133] *Ibid.*, 215.

[134] Thúry József, *Török történetírók* II. Budapest 1896, 346.

[135] İstanbul, BOA, MM No. 3150, 125.

[136] *Ibid.*

[137] Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Mxt., 599, 3.

[138] *Ibid.*

[139] İstanbul, BOA, MD V/521/1428.

lerbeyi of Buda on May 24, 1566. It was one of the *bölükbaşı*s of the artillerymen *(topçu)* called Yusuf who was sent to Buda to fetch these guns.[140] Considering the above-mentioned inventory of guns at their disposal, the *beylerbeyi* of Buda, having 8 guns (referred to as *kanun* in the source) throwing shots of 11 *okka*s in weight in addition to the guns listed before, probably had no difficulty in providing the requested cannon.[141] Selaniki stated that the Ottomans used 17 basilisks (*badaluşka*) during the siege of Szigetvár.[142]

Preceding the 1593 campaign, Mustafa Aga, the *kethüda* of the cannon founders was sent to Buda in 1592. 15 basilisk *(badoloşka*s) firing shots of merely 4 *okka*s in weight were cast under his leadership.[143] The cannon made at that time and proclaimed excellent in quality by the chronicler were still available in 1596.[144] Leaders of the Ottoman troops also relied on basilisks in the 1596 campaign. Basilisks firing 11 and 14 *okka* shots each were demanded for the troops moving against Eger and needed to be transported by the Turks at Buda to Szolnok.[145] When describing the 1598 war events, Abdülkadir Efendi mentions two basilisks throwing 14 *okka* cannon-balls that were set-up at the fortresses of Gyula and Temeşvar, respectively.[146] Basilisks were used by the Ottomans in sea-battles and sieges against fortresses alike. The guns in the Ottoman fleet stationed at Jiddah in June 1525 included a large number of basilisks, and were consistently used in attacks against Hungarian fortresses, as well. The Ottoman troops who surrounded the fortress of Tata from four sides in July 1594 also used 10 basilisks, in addition to other guns, for the destruction of the walls.[147] Many basilisks were also used in the siege of Yanık (Győr). The Grand Vizier used seven basilisks and Hasan Pasha, who commanded the Rumelian units, used six. Meanwhile, the Janissary aga assigned to force at the gate of the fortress used seven basilisks, and Saturci Mehmed Pasha leading the Anatolian troops used four to shoot at the fortress.[148] Consequently, the guns referred to by the Ottomans as *bacaliska, bacaliska, bacaloşka, bacaluşka, badaloşka, badoluşka, bedeloşka,* etc., terms originating from the European *basilisco*, were guns firing iron shots of seldomly 4, generally 11, 14, 16, 18 and 20 *okka*s in weight, ranging in length between 9–10 and 18–20 spans, and made of wrought iron at

[140] İstanbul, BOA, MD V/615/1709.

[141] Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Mxt., 599, 3.

[142] Mehmed İpşirli ed., Selâniki Mustafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Selâniki* I. (971–1003/1563–1595) 27. On Selâniki's work cf. Gy. Káldy-Nagy, Selaniki als Augenzeuge des Szigetvárer Feldzuges (1566). *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 76 (1986), 171–177.

[143] Topçular Katibi Abdülkadir Efendi, *op. cit.,* fol. 3b.

[144] *Ibid.*, fol. 52a.

[145] *Ibid.*, fol 67b–68a.

[146] *Ibid.*, fol. 102a.

[147] *Idid.*, fol. 19a.

[148] *Ibid.*, fol. 21b.

the beginning of the sixteenth century, but mainly of cast bronze following the era of Süleyman the Magnificent.[149]

Guns designated as *zarbzen* or *zarbuzan* were smaller than basilisks. Three of their types, namely *şâhi (*big*), miyâne* (middle) and small *zarbzen*s are distinguished by the sources.[150] According to a sixteenth-century Turkish source the small *zarbzen*s (*zarbuzan-i küçük*) fired balls of 300 dirhems in weight, the medium size *zarbzen*s (*zarbuzan-i vasat*) used balls of one okka in weigh and the big *zarbzen*s (*zarbuzan-i büzürg*) fired shots of 2 okkas in weight.[151] The smallest ones, however, weighed only 1 *kantar*, i.e., 54 kg, their length amounted to 6–7 spans (*karış*), and they used balls of merely 50 *dirhem*s in weight, which equalled 15.36 decagrams by taking 3.072 grams in one *Tabrîzî dirhem*.[152] These small guns were also easy to transport with two of them mounted on one horse.[153] The state cannon-foundry at Istanbul also produced some of these small *zarbzen*s before the Mohaç (Mohács) campaign. Between 1522 and 1526, 15 *zarbzen*s weighing 1.346 *kantar*s (72.7 kg) were cast by the cannon founders at Istanbul. Most *zarbzen*s, however, exceeded the size of these small guns. The output of the state cannon-foundry at Istanbul, in the four years preceding the Mohaç battle, included 625 small *zarbzen*s weighing on average 3 *kantar*s (in fact 2.983 *kantar*s, i.e., 161 kg) and 355 large ones weighing on average 8 *kantar*s (in fact 8.166 *kantar*s, i.e. 440 kg).[154] Numerous damaged scrap *zarbzen*s were delivered to the cannon-foundry for remelting and recasting between September 1524 and June 1525. Some weighed 5.5 *kantar*s, i.e., 297 kg on average, and other 4 *kantar*s, i.e. 216 kg. It is not clear, however, whether cannon weighing 35 or 30 *okka*s (43 and 36.9 kg, respectively) were mutilated guns or only broken pieces of cannon.[155]

Many guns of this type, relatively easy to transport, were used by the Ottomans in their campaigns. A significant number of *zarbzen*s cast between 1522 and 1525 most certainly were employed in the battle of Mohaç, too. The reports in narrative sources of hundreds of cannon, therefore, relate mainly to small field

[149] A 20 span long cannon, which fired cannon-balls of 5.5 *kantar*s in weight, entered into the inventory at Eğriboz as a *bacaloşka-i şayka* gun, is classified separately. Cf. İstanbul, BOA, MM No. 3150, 125.

[150] Uzunçarşılı, Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilâtından Kapukulu Ocakları II, *op. cit.*, 50.

[151] İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi D.No. 10584. Cf. L. Fekete, Die Siyāqat-Schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung. Beitrag zur türkischen Paläographie mit 104 Tafeln, I, Einleitung, Textproben. Budapest 1955, 695. n. 6

[152] İstanbul, BOA, MD VII/422/1214. This order was published in Latin transliteration by Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, 50. footnote 4. Cf. also İstanbul, MD VII/423/1215 and MD VII/485/1401.

[153] İstanbul, BOA, MD VII/422/1214.

[154] Heywood, The Activities of the State Cannon-Foundry, *op. cit.*, 214–215.

[155] *Ibid.*, 212.

guns.[156] Selânikî stated that 280 large *zarbzen*s called *şâhi zarbzen*s were carried by the Ottomans to Sigetvar (Szigetvár) for the 1566 campaign.[157] It turns out from the unpublished chronicle of Abdülkadir Efendi that the state cannon-foundry at Istanbul started to cast 300 large *zarbzen*s as early as December 1595 for the preparation of the 1596 campaign in Hungary. The work was reviewed by the Grand Vezier in March 1596, and the finished guns loaded on boats in April 1596, and delivered to Varna for further land transportation to Hungary.[158] Such large *zarbzen*s required 3 artillerymen to operate.[159]

It seems that the term *zarbzen* was occasionally used to denote much larger guns, as well. The cannon put on display around the building of the Military Museum at Istanbul include a 360 cm long cannon, which was cast in Italy in 1592, weighing 31 *kantar*s 30 *okka*s, i.e. approximately 1.711 kg, throwing shots of 3 *okka*s in weight, and the bore of whose barrel was 11 cm in diameter — this cannon was entered into the inventory as a *zarbzen.*[160] We also know of a somewhat bulkier gun registered as a *zarbzen*, which was made in Austria in 1684 with a length of 214 cm and the bore of the barrel being 15 cm in diameter.[161] Both are exceeded in size by an Ottoman *zarbzen* cast by Hayreddin bin Abdullah in 1531, the inscription of which describes its weight to be 40 *kantar*s, i.e. 2.160 kg and its length to be 16 spans. Measurements show its length to be 357 cm and the bore of its barrel 26 cm in diameter.[162] Because in the last few examples guns were named *zarbzen,* not by contemporary sources, but by experts from museums at later points of time, I have reservations in accepting and considering them typical. Contemporary narrative and archival sources apparently referred to much smaller guns by the term *zarbzen.*

The gun mentioned as *kolunburna, kolumburna, kolunburina, kolumburina,* and *kolunburuna,* etc. in Ottoman sources was a smaller field cannon. It is easy to identify the culverin used in European sources behind this Turkish term. This word was known as *culebrina* in Spanish, as *colobrina* in Provençal, as *couleuvrine* in French, and as *colubrina* in Italian sources, but also existed in the Greek language. First it was used for small arms, and later for some light guns developed from the former.[163] The designation wishes to compare the barrel to a

[156] Hungarian captives who escaped from the Ottoman camp reported that most of the Ottoman cannon were pulled by two or four horses. Cf. Jenő Gyalókay, A mohácsi csata [The Battle of Mohács]. In: *Mohácsi emlékkönyv 1526.* Budapest n. d. (1926), 197–198.

[157] Tarih-i Selâniki, *op. cit.*, 27. The Nuruosmaniye manuscript of this chronicle, however, mentions only 180 *zarbzen*s. Cf. *ibid.*, II. 867.

[158] Topcular Katibi Abdülkadir Efendi, *op. cit.*, fol. 53a–b, 55b and 57b.

[159] Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, 52. Uzunçarşılı, however, does not distinguish *şâhi zarbzen*s from guns called *şâhi.*

[160] Inventory No. 134.

[161] Inventory No. 146.

[162] Inventory No. 10.

[163] Kahane–Tietze, *op. cit.*, 175–176.

snake for it becomes taper towards the bore. Hence comes the Hungarian name "battle-snake" (*csatakígyó*) and a more common name "jet gun" (*sugárágyú*). The terms battle-snake or jet gun were not associated to a certain bore size in Hungary in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as big, medium or small jet guns alike are mentioned in our sources. Nicolaus Istvánffy notes once that the latter threw shots the size of a goose-egg, and the bigger ones threw shots weighing 3 pounds.[164]

Also *kolunburina*s used by the Ottomans were similarly varied in size. There were 3 bronze *kolunburina*s being 10 span long and throwing shots of 2 *okka*s in weight, and another being 15 span long and throwing balls of 5 *okka*s in weight written into the inventory and called *kolunburna* at the castle of Eğriboz in 1666. There was a 12 span long gun firing shots of 2 *okka*s in weight and another 12 span long bronze cannon firing shots of 10 *okka*s in weight both noted in the inventory under the term *şâhi kolunburna*.[165] In August 1666, 8 *kolunburna*s including guns firing 9 and 5 okka shots were to be found at the new fortress opposite the castle of Kandiye.[166] At the same time, a total of 25 *kolunburna*s firing 2, 3, 4, 6, and 7 *okka* shots were reported at the castle of Hanya.[167] Furthermore, the cannon registered at the castle of Risem included one *kolunburina* firing shots of 11 *okka*s in weight and 27 pieces firing shots of 14 *okka*s in weight.[168] In September 1681, 15 *kolunburina*s throwing 2, 3, and 5 *okka* shots were noted in the inventory at the castle of Baghdad. One of them, however, was a *şakaloz* (cf. the Hungarian *szakállas*) which draws our attention to the fact that guns of this type were treated by the Ottomans together with *şakaloz*.[169]

It seems that the Ottoman *şâhi* guns referred to very light, small cannon. Dictionaries tell us laconically that the *şâhi* is "*an ancient form of brass muzzle-loading cannon*", or an old, long field gun.[170] More information is conveyed to us by inventories. In August 1666, 26 *şâhi* guns firing shots of 100 and 300 *dirhem*s, and one *okka* in weight were registered at the castle of Hanya.[171] At the same time *şâhi* guns noted in the inventory at the castle of Eğriboz were 11 span long and threw balls that weighed 100 *dirhem*s.[172] In September 1681, 105 *şâhi* guns and 6 damaged ones firing shots of 50, 100, 150, 300 and 500 *dirhem*s, 1 and 1.5 *okka*s in weight were found.[173] In October–November 1691 at Temesvár,

[164] Holub, *op. cit.*, 72.
[165] İstanbul, BOA, MM No. 3150, 125.
[166] *Ibid.*, 110.
[167] *Ibid.*, 111.
[168] *Ibid.*, 110.
[169] İstanbul, BOA, DBŞM CBH No. 18368, 7, 12–13.
[170] *New Redhouse Turkish–English Dictionary.* İstanbul 1988, 1045, Pakalın, *op. cit.*, III. 304.
[171] İstanbul, BOA, MM No. 3150, 111.
[172] *Ibid.*, 125.
[173] İstanbul, BOA, DBŞM CBH No. 18368, 12–13.

cannon throwing balls of 80, 100 and 200 *dirhem*s, and also 1 *okka* in weight were registered.[174] In January 1688, Halil Pasha, assigned *serasker* for the Morea campaign, was also given *şâhi* guns firing shots of 1 or 0.5 *okka* in weight.[175] There were, of course, greater *şâhi* guns, as well — based on information derived from the fact that 300 *şâhi* cannon-balls weighing 5 *okka*s were delivered in 1686 to cover the needs of Kanije (Kanizsa).[176] In front of the Military Museum at Istanbul there is a copper *şâhi* gun from the era of Sultan Mehmed IV on display, being 303 cm long, the bore of the barrel is 11 cm in diameter and it fired balls of 3 *okka*s in weight.[177] There is a similar *şâhi* gun from the era of Mustafa III (1757–1774) made of copper, with a 11 cm barrel bore, a length of 281 cm, which also used shots of 3 *okka*s in weight.[178] The cannon on display include several such guns, which fired shots of 3 and 1 *okka* in weight, and an Italian gun again called *şâhi*.[179]

It can be seen from the above that most Ottoman guns mentioned in the sources were of European origin and the Ottomans' set of cannon comprised of all sorts of guns from the largest *balyemeze*s to *şâhi* guns throwing projectiles of merely a few grams. Records on the output of the state cannon-foundry at Istanbul and inventories taken of the war equipment at the main Ottoman fortresses enable us to draw more precise conclusions that also serve statistical purposes. 97 percent of the guns, 1.027 in all, cast at the state cannon-foundry at Istanbul, in the four years preceding the battle of Mohaç consisted of small and medium sized guns. Small *zarbzen*s on average weighing 162 kg accounted for 61 percent of all the cannons.[180] Similar conclusions can be drawn from an account kept at the Istanbul state cannon-foundry between October 14, 1685 and July 21, 1686.[181] This puts the number of guns newly cast in the period mentioned, received from the fleet or preserved in cannon-foundry stores at 416. The account also indicated the weight of the cannon-balls used for 300 guns, which enables us to examine the break-down of the guns by bore size. The relevant data are summarized in a Table as follows.[182]

Weight of balls, in *okka*s	14	11	9	7	5	3	1.5	1	0.5	0.25
Number of guns	1	1	4	4	11	19	43	94	75	48

[174] İstanbul, BOA, MM No. 177. fol. 61a–b.
[175] İstanbul, BOA, MM No. 177. fol. 42a.
[176] İstanbul, BOA, MM No. 5448, 2.
[177] Inventory No. 24.
[178] Inventory No. 35.
[179] Inventory Nos 37, 38, 401, 314, 324 etc.
[180] Heywood, *op. cit.*, 214–216.
[181] İstanbul, BOA, DBŞM TPH No. 18597.
[182] *Ibid.*, 7, 14–15.

It can be clearly seen that out of 300 guns whose bore size is known, 86 percent consisted of smaller guns throwing balls of 1.5, 1 or 0.5 *okka* in weight, and almost half of the remaining 40 cannon (19 altogether) fired balls of merely 3 *okka*s in weight.

Further valuable information can be gained about the composition of the Ottoman ordnance from a later fragmentary inventory of the Sultan's cannon-foundry in Istanbul, which categorised the 133 guns cast within 560 days between December 7, 1687 and June 18, 1689.[183] By indicating not only the number of cannon with various bore sizes, but also the weight of the individual guns, this source enables us to determine the weight of each type of gun. Accordingly, the break-down of cannon is shown as follows.[184]

Weight of balls, in *okka*s	11	9	7	5	3	1.5	1	0.5	saçma topu
Weight of guns, in *kantar*s	56	47	37	33	23	9.5	9	6	0.66
Number of guns	3	6	5	6	10	40	40	1	6

Out of 117 guns, 87, i.e., 74 percent of all the guns fired balls of 1.5 *okka*s or even less in weight. 40 guns (equalling 34 percent) fired 1.5 *okka* balls, which weighed 9.5 *kantar*s, i.e., 512 kg each. Another 40 guns (34 percent) fired 1 *okka* balls, which weighed 9 *kantar*s, i.e. 486 kg. The only gun throwing 0.5 *okka* balls was 54 kg in weight, and the six *saçma* guns only 35.5 kg each.[185]

A similar situation is attained by examining the inventories of Belgrade, one of the most important Ottoman fortress. A total of 485 guns and *şakalo*zes were registered at this fortress in 1536. They included 230 *şakalo*zes (47 percent), and 150 small sized guns named *prangi*s (31 percent).[186] In other words, 78 percent of these weapons were *şakalo*zes or specifically small sized guns. Excluding the *şakalo*zes provides us with the following results: the 255 remaining guns included 150 small sized *prangi*s (59 percent), and 60 small *zarbzen*s (23 percent), which means that 82 percent of the guns consisted of smaller can-

[183] İstanbul, BOA, MM No. 1361, 17.

[184] *Ibid.*

[185] Guns cast in the spring and summer of 1693 were, however, smaller. Guns firing 11 *okka* shots weighed 46 *kantar*s, guns using 9 and 7 *okka* balls weighed only 38 and 37 *kantar*s. (*Ibid.*, 18.)

[186] *Prangi* was one of the smallest types of gun used by the Ottomans. According to Kahane and Tietze *"the word belongs to the Mediterranean terminology of artillery ... and derives its name from braga 'ordigno di due bande di ferro che teneva unito il mascolo a alcuni antichi cannoni petrieri"*. Kahane–Tietze, *op. cit.*, 122–123.

non.[187] As Belgrade was used as the largest arms store during the campaigns against Hungary and Austria, not only the cannon needed for the defence of fortresses were stationed there, but also the guns to be used for campaigns and sieges. Therefore, the above data represent the whole Ottoman ordnance.

An inventory of the fortress of Belgrade, taken on September 24, 1691 gives us an opportunity for some comparison.[188] It is well known that the troops of the Grand Vizier Mustafa recaptured the fortress following the explosion of three gunpowder stores and artillery workshops on October 8, 1690,[189] with the date of the inventory a year later. Though the related literature states on the basis of narrative sources that the Ottomans found 300 small and large sized guns at the fortress,[190] the above inventory lists only 102 cannon and 28 mortars. The difference may partly be attributed to eventual changes in the meantime, but may also be due to the narrative sources registering *şakalozes*, as well. It is of special value that this inventory distinguished between Ottoman *(osmânî)* and infidel *(kâfirî)* guns, and also indicated the weight of balls thrown by each gun, providing us with an insight into the composition of the parties' ordnance. The Table below shows the breakdown of 95 cannon with known bore sizes.[191]

Weight of balls, in *okkas*	18	16	11	9	7	5	3	1.5	1	0.25
Ottoman guns	1	1	2	1	1	2	4	7	12	19
Infidel guns	1	1	26	1	1	6	4	5	–	–

It can be seen from the Table that out of 50 Ottoman guns with known bore sizes, 37 of them, i.e., 75 percent of all the cannon were small guns firing balls of 1.5, 1 or 0.25 *okka* in weight. On the contrary, 45 Christian guns included altogether 5 guns or 11 percent of all the guns from this category. The Ottoman guns included 8 cannon (16 percent) that threw balls of 5 *okkas* or more in weight, while 80 percent of the Christian guns comprised such larger cannon.

In the light of the sources revealed above, the view widely held in European historical literature that while European artillery tended to have ever smaller guns always easier to transport, the Ottomans adhered to their old monster gun and an ordnance dominated by these monsters as late as in the sixteenth

[187] Hazim Šabanović, *op. cit.*, 283.

[188] İstanbul, BOA, MM No. 15836.

[189] On the events see Zs. Bubucs, Hivatalos jelentés Belgrád 1690-iki elvesztéséről [Official Report on the 1690 Ottoman Capture of Belgrad]. *Történelmi Tár* 1888, 743–753, Ferenc Szakály, *Hungaria eliberata. Budavár visszavétele és Magyarország felszabadítása a török uralom alól 1683–1711* [Recapture of Buda and Liberation of Hungary from the Ottoman Rule]. Budapest 1986, 93.

[190] I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi* III/1. Ankara 1983, 527.

[191] İstanbul, BOA, MM No. 15836, 1.

and seventeenth centuries, can be hardly tenable. Hopefully, the data demonstrated here are exact enough to show that such opinions, though held by such authorities as Carlo M. Cipolla and Geoffrey Parker, are not supported by archival sources and the Ottomans had all the types of guns that were also available to their Christian enemies, and their ordnance was dominated by small and medium sized guns.

As far as the Ottomans' supposed "*difficulty in mass-producing and stock-pilling manufactured items*" is concerned we can say that there was no such difficulty, at least till the end of the seventeenth century.

The Ottoman empire possessed sufficient amount of raw materials to cast ordnance and to supply the artillery with gunpowder and cannonballs. There were important copper mines in Küre in the district of Kastamonu, in Ergani, Keban and Gümüşhane in Anatolia, whereas in Rumelia the major copper mines were situated in Ustovo, Petkovo, Üsküp, Priştine, Sarajevo, Čiprovic, Kratovo and Majdanek. Iron was excavated in large quantities in Bilecik, in Kiği near Erzurum, and in Keban. In the European part of the empire iron was supplied from the mines in Samakov in present-day Bulgaria, in Kamengrad, in Novo Brodo and in Rudnik. Near these mines furnaces were in operation making hundreds of thousand of cannonballs.[192] There were *baruthâne*s, i.e., gunpowder factories in İstanbul, Gallipoli, Saloniki, Izmir, Belgrade, Buda, Temeşvar, Bor, Van, Ercis, Cairo, Baghdad, Aleppo, etc. These powdermills were capable of manufacturing the required quantity of gunpowder.[193] In order to supply their army the Sultans forbade the export of war materials, declaring them *memnuᶜ eşya,* i.e., prohibited goods. Sometimes they imported firearms, gunpowder and lead from Europe, mainly from England. Although the Popes forbid the export of arms and war materials to the Islamdom as early as the thirteenth century, declaring these goods prohibited ones, called *merces prohibitae*, there were always European merchants who were eager to gain big profit by selling these goods to the "infidels". This prohibited trade belongs to one of the most interesting chapters of Christian–Muslim relations, and shows that these prohibitions never worked. Although the quantity of imported war material was not significant in comparison to the ammunition made within the border of the empire it could have been crucial in cases of long-lasting campaigns, such as the wars at the end of the sixteenth century against Safavi Persia and the Habsburgs, and at the beginning of the next century again against the Persians. In short, the Ottomans

[192] Vernon J. Parry, Materials of War in the Ottoman Empire, in: M.A. Cook ed., *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East.* London 1970, 219–229, Handžić, Rudnici u Bosni, *op. cit.*, passim., Rhoads Murphey, Maᶜdin, *Encyclopedia of Islam.* New Edition, 973–985.

[193] Gábor Ágoston, Gunpowder for the Sultan's Army: New Sources for the Supply of Gunpowder to the Ottoman Army in the Hungarian Campaigns of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, *Turcica* 35 (1993) and *idem*, Török lőportermelés Budán a 16. században (Turkish gunpowder-production in Buda in the sixteenth century). In: E. Kovács, Péter–Kalmár, János–V. Molnár, László ed., *Unger Mátyás Emlékkönyv.* Budapest 1991, 85–97.

were largely self-sufficient in all the basic war materials, and they were able to keep pace with the developments, and supply their war machine using mainly domestic sources and work force, at least till the end of the seventeenth century.

Why the Ottoman artillery lagged behind is, therefore, to be investigated somewhere else. Contemporary observers from Europe must be correct in suggesting that the reasons underlying the failure of the Ottoman artillery were to be found in the extremely miscellaneous composition of guns, their poor quality and the lack of knowledge of the artillerymen, and not in the gigantic feature of the Ottoman ordnance. Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli quickly saw that the weapons were so diversified in their bores and sizes, they could not make up homogeneous batteries, in spite of their large quantity. He also observed that the Ottoman guns had been cast of very poor ore: "*the cause lies in the nature of the brass used, for this was not as soft as the ore explored particularly in Hungary*".[194]

More importantly, the knowledge of the Ottoman artillerymen was even more backward than that of their European counterparts. The European masters, who had conveyed European military know-how earlier, had died by the seventeenth century and thus, European military inventions were delayed more and more in being transferred to the empire. Paul Ricaut stated that few of the *topçus* "*are expert in their art, and are ill practised in the proportions and Mathematical part of the Gunners mystery ... And therefore knowing their own imperfections in this exercise; when Christian Gunners are taken in the War, they entertain them with better usage than other Captives, quartering them in the Chambers appropriate to that profession, alloting them with the others a pay of 8 to 12 Aspers a day; but because this is too considerable a maintenance to allure men who are otherwise principled, most of them as occasions offers, desert the service of the Turk, and fly to their own country*".[195]

The Ottomans were also hit hard by the fact that the competent artillerymen and cannon-founders who had gained experience in Kandiye, had died by the time of the late seventeenth century wars, a fact reflected in the *topçubaşı*'s repeated complaints to Marsigli. Therefore, the *topçubaşı* decided to fetch Christian experts to inform him of the latest achievements of European military engi-

[194] "*Questi la maggior parte erano cannoni conquistati da' principi christiani in tempo della felicita nelle loro armi, et oltre al vederne l'armi, o inscrizioni si comprendeva dalla proporzione et esquisitezza di getto, con quale erano fatti a differenza de' Turcheschi, per lo piu scarsi di metallo, di composizione, di mistura assi cruda, come ho riconsciuto evidentemente nel tempo ne fodevano a Constantinopoli, e cio proviene dalla naturalezza di quei rami, si servono, non cosi dolci, come si trova principalmente nell' Ungaria.*" Andrea Veress, *Il Conte Marsili in Ungheria*. Budapest 1931, 26.

[195] Paul Rycaut, *The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire*. London 1670, (third edition) 200.

neering.[196] The backwardness of the field artillery, partly due to the nature of wars in Hungary, was especially striking. There were only two important field battles fought by the main forces in Hungary, the main area for Ottoman–European continental confrontations between 1526 and 1683. These were at Mezőkeresztes in 1596 and Szentgotthárd in 1644. Consequently, the Ottoman artillery had to prepare particularly for sieges and the defence of conquered fortresses for one-and-a-half centuries, and adapt the composition of their artillery and training of their artillerymen accordingly. However, the situation crucially changed after 1683, when a new age of field battles started. 15 big battles took place between 1683 and 1697. The European field artillery taking part in these battles was extensively more mobile and thus regularly had an advantage over the Ottoman artillery.

It is very likely that the series of Ottoman military failures after 1683 were mainly caused by such changes in the nature of the Ottoman–European confrontation. The Ottomans had to prepare for fortress battles for one-and-a-half centuries and during this time undoubtedly had achieved results. With the exception of the two battles mentioned above, the Ottomans were not confronted with the art of European field fighting, which had undergone revolutionary innovations in the meantime, and consequently were given little opportunity to take appropriate countermeasures.

[196] *"I di lui subordinati erano nella perfezione di poco numero, avvenga che esso lui meco piu volte esaggero, che i buoni bombardieri, e fabricatori di cannone fatti nella guerra di Candia gia erano morti, e che desiderava di poter aver uomini christiani, che gli mostrassero quel miglioramento, s'era ricavato nelle agitazioni della guerra dell'Imperio."* Veress, *op. cit.*, 26.

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DIE VERTEILUNG DER MILITÄRISCHEN TERMINI IN DEN RUNENINSCHRIFTEN

ÁRPÁD BERTA
(Szeged)

In einem vor kurzem gehaltenen Vortrag[1] habe ich versucht, ein kleines Segment der alttü. militärischen Terminologie zu untersuchen, nämlich diejenigen Wörter, die unter dem Begriff *Schlachtordnung* behandelt werden können. Während der Beschäftigung mit den alttü. militärischen Termini wurde ich unter anderem mit der Verteilung der Termini in den alttü. Denkmälern konfrontiert, und dabei konnte ich feststellen, daß es zwischen den inhaltlich ähnlichen alttü. Denkmälern in bezug auf die Verteilung der militärischen Termini recht markante Unterschiede gibt. Sie beziehen sich nicht allein auf das Vorkommen bzw. Fehlen gewisser Termini in den einzelnen Denkmälern, sondern auch auf die Frequenz einzelner Lexeme und sind insbesondere — aber nicht ausschließlich — bei den beiden größeren Denkmälergruppen des Alttü. (den Denkmälern des II. Türkischen Kaganats und des Uigurischen Reiches) auffällig. Für diese deutlichen Unterschiede im lexikalischen Bereich der militärischen Terminologie kann es zwei grundsätzliche Erklärungen geben,[2] eine sprachliche und eine historische. Die sprachliche Erklärung könnte sich vor allem darauf stützen, daß dieses Phänomen auf die dialektale Gliederung des Alttü. zurückzuführen ist. Dialektale Erscheinungen kommen im Alttürkischen nicht nur im lexikalischen, sondern auch im phonetischen, morphologischen und syntaktischen Bereich vor. Die historische Erklärung könnte dagegen davon ausgehen, daß die in der militärischen Terminologie vorhandenen lexikalischen Unterschiede auf eine mögliche Heterogenität des Heerwesens innerhalb des Türkischen Reiches hinweisen, daß die regional abweichend gebrauchten militärischen Termini auf tatsächlich existierende Gegensätze im Kriegswesen hindeuten. Zum Entstehen solcher Unterschiede zwischen dem Orchontürkischen und Altuigurischen könnte z. B. der Wechsel der herrschenden Dynastie im 8. Jahrhundert wesentlich beigetragen

[1] *Biña und yälmä* (Vortrag an dem Symposium „Laut- und Wortgeschichte der Türksprachen", Berlin, Juli 1992). Vgl. die teilweise umgearbeitete ungarische Fassung des erwähnten Vortrags in: Keletkutatás 1992 Herbst, 20–26.

[2] Neben diesen „grundsätzlichen" Erklärungen können viele andere Faktoren (so z.B. die Frage der Wortwahl und des Sprachgebrauchs der einzelnen Verfasser der Denkmäler, die Stilunterschiede zwischen den Denkmälern usw.) in Betracht gezogen werden.

Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

haben.[3] Die beiden Erklärungen schließen einander selbstverständlich nicht aus. Eventuelle — mit dem Dynastiewechsel zusammenhängende — Änderungen im türkischen Kriegswesen mußten unbedingt auch sprachliche Konsequenzen haben.

Im Rahmen dieses Aufsatzes kann das hier geschilderte Problem selbstverständlich nicht gelöst werden. Es soll lediglich versucht werden, auf eine mögliche Arbeitshypothese hinzuweisen, mit deren Hilfe — nach der nötigen Forschungsarbeit — hoffentlich die Frage beantwortet werden kann, ob für die in den alttü. Denkmälern vorhandenen lexikalischen Unterschiede im Bereich der militärischen Terminologie eine geschichtliche oder eine sprachhistorische Erklärung vorzuziehen ist.

Ich habe aus dem Korpus der Denkmäler des zweiten Türkischen Kaganats sowie des Uigurischen Reiches (d.h. aus dem Lexikon der BQ, KT, Toñ, Ixu, Ongin, Šu, Ter und Tez Inschriften) insgesamt 40 militärische Termini ausgewählt, die etwa ein Fünftel der gesamten Anzahl militärischer Termini in den genannten Quellen darstellen. Ihre Auswahl ist automatisch erfolgt, ich nahm nämlich jedes fünfte Lemma meiner kleinen Sammlung der alttürkischen militärischen Terminologie, wobei eine Liste von vierzig Lexemen zusammengekommen ist.

Obwohl diese Liste keinesfalls als eine repräsentative Zusammenstellung aufgefaßt werden kann, zeigt sie doch in großen Zügen diejenigen Ungleichheiten in der Verteilung der militärischen Termini, die ich am Anfang dieser Arbeit erwähnt habe.

Angabe	BQ	KT	Toñ.	Ixu.	Ong.	Šu.	Ter.	Tez
alp 'Held, tapfer'	+	+	+*	+*	+	–	–	–
apa tarqan mil. Titel	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
aqït- 'angreifen'	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
atlïg 'Reiter'	+	–	+	–	–	+	+*	+
är(än) 'Soldat(en)'	+*	+*	+	+	+	+*	+	–
bas- 'angreifen'	+*	+*	+	–	+	+	–	–
biña 'mil. Einheit'	–	–	–	+	–	+*	+*	–
buyruq mil. Titel	+	+	–	–	–	–	+*	+
buz- 'zerstören'	+*	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
čabiš mil. Titel	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–

[3] Ein klares Beispiel für die mögliche Rolle der historischen Ereignisse in der Veränderung der militärischen Terminologie finden wir bei den Türkvölkern in der Mongolenzeit. Die unter mongolischer Herrschaft lebenden Türken gaben ihre früheren Termini auf und beginnen, mongolische Termini anzuwenden. Die mongolische Oberschicht wurde zwar ziemlich schnell assimiliert, die Terminologie ist aber auch weiterhin im Gebrauch geblieben.

čärig 'Schlachtreihe'	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
ičgär- 'unterwerfen'	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–
kädimlig 'gepanzert'	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
küräg 'Deserteur'	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
ōplayū täg- 'wie ein Ochs angreifen'	–	+*	–	+*	–	–	–	–
oq 'Pfeil'	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
qabiš- 's. vereinigen'	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
qarġū 'Wache'	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
qilïčla- 'mit Schwert bekämpfen'	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
sanč- 'erstechen'	+	+	+	+*	+	+*	+	–
säñün 'General'	+	+	+	–	–	--	+*	–
sü 'Armee; Heer'	+*	+*	+*	+*	+	+*	–	–
sü bašï 'Heerführer'	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
sülä- 'ins Feld ziehen'	+*	+*	+	+	+	–	–	–
süñüg 'Lanze'	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
süñüš 'Schlacht'	+	+	–	+*	–	+	–	–
süñüš- 'kämpfen'	+*	+*	+	+*	–	+*	+	–
tïl 'Gefangener, der Information gibt'	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
tuġluġ 'mil. Einheit unter Kriegsfahne'	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–
tümän 'zehntausend (als mil. Einheit)'	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–
uduz- 'führen'	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
uruš 'Schlacht'					+			
yabrït- 'zerstören'	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
yadaġ 'Fußsoldat'	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–
yaġï 'Feind'	+*	+*	+	+	+*	+	+	–
yań- 'zerstreuen'	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
yarïqlïġ 'bewaffnet'	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
yälmä 'Späher'	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
yerči 'Wegführer'	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
yorï- 'ins Feld ziehen'	+*	+*	+*	–	+*	+*	+	–

(Das Zeichen + bedeutet in den entsprechenden Spalten, daß das untersuchte Lexem in dem einschlägigen Denkmal belegt ist, das Zeichen – weist auf das Fehlen des Lexems in der Quelle hin. Das * (Sternchen) kennzeichnet Lexeme, die eine ziemlich hohe Frequenz in dem Denkmal aufweisen.)

Aufgrund der Verteilung können die hier angeführten militärischen Termini in die folgenden Untergruppen eingeteilt werden.

1. Der Terminus ist in den Orchoninschriften gut verbreitet (d.h. in 3–5 Quellen belegt), aber in den uigurischen runenschriftlichen Denkmälern unbekannt. Solche Termini sind *alp* 'Held, tapfer (Krieger)', *apa tarqan* ein militärischer Titel,[4] *sülä-* 'ins Feld ziehen', *süñüg* 'Lanze', *yań-* 'zerstreuen (die feindlichen Streitkräfte)', *yarïqlïg* 'bewaffnet'.

2. Eine andere Gruppe bilden diejenigen Termini, die in den Orchoninschriften spärlich belegt sind und in den uigurischen runenschriftlichen Quellen keine Erwähnung finden. Das ist die größte Gruppe der untersuchten Termini, ein Viertel der Lexeme gehört dieser Kategorie an: so z.B. *aqït-* 'angreifen' (belegt in 2 Quellen), *buz-* 'vernichten (die feindlichen Streitkräfte)' (2), *küräg* 'Deserteur (der Information gibt)' (1), *oplayu täg-* 'stürmisch attackieren'[5] (2), *uduz-* 'führen (ein Heer, eine militärische Einheit)' (2) usw.

Diese zwei Gruppen umfassen fast die Hälfte der untersuchten Termini. Sie sind lediglich in den Orchoninschriften bekannt und stellen auch hier meistens wenig verbreitete lexikalische Elemente dar.

Außer diesen beiden Gruppen der Termini können wir noch drei, aus je 5–6 Wörtern bestehende Kategorien (3.–5.) unterscheiden.

3. Die Kategorie der Wörter, die in beiden großen Quellengruppen eine niedrige Frequenz aufweisen: so z.B. *čärig* 'Schlachtlinie, Reihe der Soldaten', *čabiš* 'Heerführer', *qabiš-* 'sich mit Streitkräften vereinigen' usw.

4. Die Kategorie der Lexeme, die in den Orchoninschriften häufig vorkommen, jedoch in den uigurischen Quellen sehr spärlich belegt sind: vgl. *bas-* '(unerwartet) angreifen', *säñün* 'General', *sü* 'Armee', *süñüš* 'Schlacht', *yadaġ* 'Fußsoldat'.

5. Die Gruppe der in den osttürkischen und uigurischen runenschriftlichen Denkmälern gleichmäßig häufig belegten Termini stellen die folgenden Lexeme dar: *är(än)* 'Soldat(en)', *sanč-* '(mit Lanze) erstechen', *süñüš-* 'kämpfen', *tümän* '10 000 (als milit. Einheit)', *yaġï* 'Feind', *yorï-* 'ins Feld ziehen'.

Schließlich sind unter den untersuchten militärischen Termini insgesamt drei Wörter zu finden, die sich, obwohl sie in den uigurischen runenschriftlichen Denkmälern stark verbreitet sind, in den Orchoninschriften entweder als unbekannt (*tuġluġ* 'milit. Einheit unter Kriegsfahne') oder als kaum belegt (*biña* 'eine militärische Einheit', *ičgär* 'unterwerfen') erweisen.

[4] Laut der chinesischen Nachrichten über die Osttürken (Liu, n. 833; vgl. auch Clauson–Tryjarski 1971: 13; Clauson ED 4a) stellt *A-po-ta-kan* den Oberbefehlshaber der Armee dar.

[5] Wörtlich: 'wie ein Ochs angreifen'.

Obwohl die Anzahl der angeführten Termini — wie schon erwähnt — beschränkt ist, kann zusammenfassend (zumindest hypothetisch) festgestellt werden: 1) etwa die Hälfte der militärischen Termini ist nur in den Denkmälern des zweiten Türkischen Kaganats belegt; 2) für eine umgekehrte Verteilung haben wir lediglich drei Beispiele;[6] 3) nur etwa ein Viertel der besprochenen militärischen Termini weist in den beiden Quellengruppen eine ähnliche Verteilung auf (s. hier die 3. und 5. Kategorie der Lexeme); 4) auch innerhalb der beiden Denkmälergruppen sind in bezug auf die Verteilung der militärischen Termini deutliche Unterschiede zu finden. Man könnte den Eindruck gewinnen, daß wir es hier mit vielen nur in einem Denkmal bzw. zwei Denkmälern vorkommenden Wörtern (d.h. eventuell nur regional gebrauchten Termini) zu tun haben.[7] Unsere Überlegungen dürfen jedoch in bezug auf die einschlägigen statistischen Angaben nur äußerst vorsichtig formuliert werden: Nicht nur die geringe Anzahl der untersuchten Lexeme, sondern auch der unterschiedliche Umfang der einzelnen Denkmäler kann zu dem gewonnenen Bild beigetragen haben.

Um wenigstens einen weiteren Anhaltspunkt zu bekommen und auf die Frage, ob die militärische Terminologie im Vergleich mit anderen Elementen des Lexikons der alttürkischen runenschriftlichen Denkmäler eine spezielle Verteilung zeigt, eine mögliche Antwort geben zu können, habe ich als Kontrollmaterial eine weitere Liste zusammengestellt. Auch die zweite Liste besteht aus 40 Lexemen. Sie enthält je 5 Elemente der untersuchten 8 Denkmäler, und die Auswahl dieser Elemente ist auch diesmal ganz automatisch erfolgt. In diese Liste habe ich nämlich das 5. Wort der 5., 6., 7., 8. und 9. Zeile der einzelnen Denkmäler aufgenommen.[8]

Angabe	BQ	KT	Toñ.	Ixu.	Ong.	Šu.	Ter.	Tez
aġï 'Schatz'	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
yaġru 'in der Nähe, näher'	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
bar- 'gehen'	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ešid- 'hören'	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
tört 'vier'	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–

[6] Merkwürdigerweise (und kaum zufällig) bezeichnen zwei davon eine gewisse militärische Einheit.

[7] In dem Korpus der Orchoninschriften ist die folgende Verteilung zu finden: Aus 40 Lexemen sind im Toñ. 27, im KT 24, im BQ 22, im Ixu. 15 und im Ong. 9 belegt. Es gibt lediglich 6 Wörter, die in allen Denkmälern bekannt sind. Die BQ-KT-Toñ.-Ixu.-Inschriften weisen 9, die BQ-KT-Toñ.-Inschriften 16 und die größtenteils parallel laufenden BQ-KT-Inschriften 19 gemeinsame Wörter auf.

[8] Wenn die entsprechende Zeile oder das 5. Wort der Zeile beschädigt war, habe ich immer die darauf folgende Zeile bzw. das nächste Wort gewählt. Um Wiederholungen zu vermeiden, habe ich auch dann so verfahren, wenn ein Lexem in mehreren Zeilen an der 5. Stelle der untersuchten Denkmäler vorkam.

qutay 'Seide'	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
kiši 'Mensch'	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
bodun 'Volk'	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+
öl- 'sterben'	+	+	+	–	–	+	(+)	–
al- 'nehmen'	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
yïġïl- 's. sammeln'	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
buqa 'Stier'	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
beryä 'im Süden'	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–
olur- 'sitzen'	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
üzä 'oben, über'	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–
čor Titel	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
är- 'sein'	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
üčün 'wegen'	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
yer 'Erde'	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–
av 'Jagd'	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
ara 'zwischen'	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–
yarlïqa- 'gnädig sein'	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–
üküš 'viel'	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–
täñrikän Titel	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
käl- 'kommen'	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–
ter- 'sammeln'	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
ïd- 'schicken'	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–
qan Titel	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
yïl 'Jahr'	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+
ekinti 'zweiter'	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–
yïlan 'Schlange'	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
anta 'dort, nachher'	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
qoń 'Schaf'	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
kesrä 'nachher'	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
laġzïn 'Schwein'	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–
uč- 'sterben; fliegen'	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+
yüz 'hundert'	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+
öñrä 'vorne, im Osten'	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
tik- 'errichten'	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
bitig 'Schrift'	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+

Die Auswertung der zweiten Liste ergibt deutliche Unterschiede in bezug auf die Untersuchungsergebnisse bei der Gruppe der militärischen Termini. Die geringe Anzahl der ausgewerteten lexikalischen Elemente erlaubt uns auch diesmal nur eine vorsichtige Formulierung. Es kann jedoch festgestellt werden: 1) fast die Hälfte der Lexeme der zweiten Liste gehört zur Kategorie der in den beiden Denkmälergruppen gut verbreiteten Wörter. Diese Kategorie war im Falle der militärischen Termini sehr schwach vertreten; 2) die Anzahl der nur in der einen Denkmälergruppe belegten Wörter ist zwar deutlich geringer, als es bei den militärischen Termini der Fall war, jedoch kommt in dieser Kategorie etwa ein Viertel der untersuchten lexikalischen Elemente vor. Etwa die Hälfte der Wörter dieser Kategorie ist sogar in der einschlägigen Gruppe sehr häufig belegt (vgl. hier z.B. *ešid-* 'hören', *üküš* 'viel', *kiši* 'Mensch', *beryä* 'im Süden' usw.); 3) die übrigen bei den militärischen Termini aufgestellten Kategorien sind sehr schwach repräsentiert.

Die Untersuchung der Kontroll-Liste weist m.E. auf zwei wesentliche Umstände hin, die — zumindest auf den ersten Blick — widersprüchlich zu sein scheinen:

1. Die bei den militärischen Termini festgestellte lexikalische Trennung der beiden Denkmälergruppen scheint im Falle der anderen Elemente des alttü. Lexikons nicht so deutlich zu sein.

2. Es gibt zwar im lexikalischen Bereich keine scharfe Trennung zwischen den Denkmälern des zweiten Osttürkischen Kaganats und des Uigurischen Reiches, jedoch darf sie nicht als unwesentlich betrachtet werden.

In der Turkologie wird im allgemeinen angenommen, daß die Sprache der beiden Denkmälergruppen im Grunde einheitlich ist. Die sprachliche Einheitlichkeit kann jedoch nicht als Homogenität aufgefaßt werden, und anhand eines größeren Korpus könnte man die (nicht nur in dem Lexikon) existierenden sprachlichen Unterschiede zwischen dem „Altosttürkischen" und „Altuigurischen der Runeninschriften" deutlich nachweisen. Es muß hier jedoch betont werden, daß Untersuchungen solcher Art immer in Betracht ziehen müssen, daß es weitere entscheidende Faktoren gibt, die die Ergebnisse beeinflussen können. Diesmal habe ich nur die inhaltlich ziemlich homogenen Runendenkmäler zur Untersuchung ausgewählt. Trotzdem ist es nicht gelungen, gewisse störende Faktoren auszuschalten. Bei der mechanischen Auswahl der Wörter der zweiten Liste wurden z.B. Wörter aufgenommen, deren Fehlen in den anderen Denkmälern selbstverständlich auf keinen Fall dafür zeugt, daß das betreffende Wort in der Sprache des Verfassers dieser Denkmäler unbekannt war: vgl. z.B. die Wörter *buqa* 'Stier' und *qutay* 'Seide'. Das häufige Vorkommen solcher Lexeme in den Runendenkmälern, die in erster Linie die schematische Beschreibung der verschiedenen Kampfhandlungen bieten, kann einfach aus semantischen Gründen nicht erwartet werden. In anderen Fällen kann die Wortwahl der einzelnen Verfasser eine entscheidende Rolle spielen. Im Falle einer erweiterten Analyse müssen diese Umstände in Betracht gezogen werden.

Kehren wir am Ende unserer Überlegungen noch einmal zu unserem Ausgangspunkt zurück. Wie erwähnt, können wir hier in bezug auf die Verteilung der militärischen Fachausdrücke anhand unserer Materialien lediglich eine vorläufige und für die zukünftige Erforschung dieser Elemente als Arbeitshypothese dienende Folgerung ziehen. Die bisherigen Ergebnisse weisen darauf hin, daß die am Anfang des Aufsatzes gestellte Frage nach der möglichen historischen bzw. sprachlichen Erklärung nicht als eine Entweder/oder-Frage betrachtet werden darf. Der deutliche Unterschied in der Verteilung der Lexeme der beiden Wörterlisten weist darauf hin, daß unsere Frage einer historischen Erklärung bedarf. Die nicht so offensichtlichen Uneinheitlichkeiten im Wortgebrauch in bezug auf die Elemente der zweiten Liste sowie die nicht unwesentlichen lexikalischen Unterschiede innerhalb der beiden Denkmälergruppen deuten jedoch darauf hin, daß die Frage keinesfalls mit nur einer rein geschichtlichen Erklärung beantwortet werden kann. Das homogene Alttürkisch gab es sicher nicht. Wir kennen leider die dialektale Gliederung dieses Idioms nicht genügend, doch Untersuchungen solcher Art können u. U. zur Erweiterung unserer diesbezüglichen Kenntnisse beitragen.

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THE *SANCAQ* OF VESZPRÉM

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The main characteristics of the Ottoman administrative division in Hungary have been well known from the second half of the 19th century. Both the publication of Turkish chronicles and the edition of archival sources offered extensive data on administrative units of longer existence, mainly on the *beglerbegiliks* (or *vilāyets*), than on the *sancaqs* or (*livās*), and lastly on the *nāḥiyes*. Less attention was directed to those provinces and districts that lived only for a few years and then disappeared or were incorporated into larger frameworks. The fullest list of Hungarian *sancaqs* has been compiled by Gyula Káldy-Nagy, where *livās* like Egervár (Egrī vār) and Becs-Becskerek (Beç-Beçkerek) are mentioned for the first time.[1]

It could not be expected that this image would significantly change even as a result of inquiries focussed explicitly on administrative history, archontology and prosopography. Consequently, it is in a way surprising that even in the case of *beglerbegiliks* two new items could be added to the list of those known so far, namely the provinces of Szigetvár (Sigetvār)[2] and Pápa (Pāpā).[3] Although on the basis of references from well-informed chroniclers, the existence of both *vilāyets* could have been postulated, this identification has not been done, perhaps because of the complicated political situation during the last years of the 16th century.[4] The Ottoman *rūznāmçes* are the best sources for our present issue; so it can be stated with security that both *paşalıqs* functioned for awhile in the

[1] Gyula Káldy-Nagy, *A Budai szandzsák 1559. évi összeírása*. Budapest 1977, 9–10 (Pest megye múltjából 3).

[2] Géza Dávid, Die Bege von Szigetvár im 16. Jahrhundert. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (In memoriam Anton C. Schaendlinger)* 82 (1992), 88–91.

[3] Géza Dávid, Ottoman Administrative Strategies in Western Hungary. In: *Ménage-Festschrift* (in press).

[4] As far as I know, Donald Edgar Pitcher was the only one who referred to the province of Szigetvár: *An Historical Geography of the Ottoman Empire from earliest times to the end of the sixteenth century*. Leiden 1972, 130.

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1590s — the *vilāyet* of Szigetvár was better organized,[5] while the territory of Pápa was limited to the castle and its immediate vicinity.

This present paper is dedicated to one of the short-lived Hungarian *sancaq*s, namely that which was centred around Veszprém.

This significant Transdanubian town, seat of a bishop, was first conquered by the forces of Ḫadīm ᶜAlī Pasha, the *beglerbegi* of Buda (Budīn), on 1 June 1552.[6] It is a question if it was made the kernel of a *livā* at once or only somewhat later. What is clear: the name of Meḥmed, the *beg* of Veszprém (Besprem or Besprīm) was introduced into the *rūznāmçe* of Buda on the 15th of February 1554.[7] What makes the situation more complicated is that in the text (crossed out later) that followed the enumeration of his estates and that served to specify the circumstances of the nomination, we come across another date as well, which corresponds to 3–12 July 1552. To make the connection clear, I quote the relevant part of the entry, trying to preserve its strange wording but emending what is absolutely necessary to understand it:

"The above mentioned *sancaq* was given the *sancaq* of Besprem (sic!) to the aforesaid, with 200,000 *aqçe ḫāṣṣ*es. Since he presented [about this] an order [dated] in the second decade of [month] *receb* of the year 959 (= 3–12 July 1552), [then] he [also] presented an imperial order [dated] --- year --- [which prescribed, that since] he accepted the villages Qayār and Keneşe, which had been components of his *ziᶜāmet* earlier, with 3–3 thousand *aqçe* higher sums [than they had been granted earlier], and he also accepted *ḫāṣṣ*es from the incomes of the *sancaq* of İstōlnī Belġrād instead of 60,000 *aqçe* [in the value of] 120,000 *aqçe* [consequently] his *tezkere* be given out to him ... (after speaking about further constituents of his revenues), due to all these, he was [proposed] to get an imperial *berāt*."[8]

From our emendations, the word [dated] put after the dates of the imperial orders needs explanation. Both the terminological practice of this group of sources, and also the real conventions, as well as the whole Ottoman way of thinking in the broader sense make this addition justifiable. On the one hand, there is a whole range of *rūznāmçe* passages, where either the word *tārīḫli,* i.e. 'dated', or the expression *tārīḫle müverraḫ,* i.e. 'written on the date' stand after the sultan's decree, which prescribes the nomination of a *beg* or grants a new *tīmār*. On the other hand, it would be difficult to suppose, that an allusion to the day was made when the newly appointed *sancaqbegi* appeared in the *vilāyet* centre (in the present case the reference to the second decade of a month makes such a postulation even less probable). It is much more likely that the date was

[5] The *sancaq*s of Pécs (Peçüy) and Pozsega (Pojeġa) were subordinated to it. Cf. my *Die Bege von Szigetvár*. 89–90.

[6] Szántó Imre, Veszprém elfoglalása és a török terjeszkedése a Dunántúlon 1552-ben: *A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 9, Veszprém 1970, 50.

[7] Wien, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Ehemalige Konsularakademie, Krafft 284, f. 95r. (Cf. Káldy-Nagy, *op. cit.* 10, Note 29.)

[8] Krafft 284, f. 96r.

indicated when the *pādişāh*, distributor of all posts, ranks and estates, showed favour towards one of his unworthy servants. Considering all this, one of the days between 3 and 12 July 1552 can be accepted as the date of appointment of the first *beg* of Veszprém.

The above text implies that Meḥmed was selected from among the *zaʿīm*s to head the newly established administrative unit. The amount of his previous incomes can also be deducted which — with their 38,100 *aqçe* — cannot be evaluated as very high, at least they do not seem to be high enough for their owner to be a potential candidate for such an important position. As we can see, nothing was impossible for the Ottoman government...

It can also be added that formerly he had possessed nine villages and a *mezraʿa* in the *nāḥiye* of Tolna (Ṭōlna), i.e. that this sub-district was designated on the heading of the enumeration, out of the settlements, however, one belonged to the *nāḥiye* of Anyavár (Anyavār), three to Palota (Pōlāta), and one to Fehérvár (Belġrād). Another peculiar phenomenon with this entry is that by February 1554, Tolna and its region became a constituent of the *sancaq* of Szekszárd (Seksār), this however, was not taken into account by the scribes. Further, the *nāḥiye* of Anyavár figured in the *defter*s of Simontornya (Şimōnṭōrna) until 1552 and that it was attached also to Szekszárd[9] — these facts were also left unnoticed.

An unusual characteristic of Meḥmed *beg*'s prebends is that he accepted — needless to say "voluntarily" — a part of the localities with a higher sum than their original value. The term *ber vech-i qabūl*, which has not been mentioned by scholarly literature so far, was used to express that Kenese be written instead of 4,000 *aqçe* with 7,000 *aqçe* into his list of incomes, Kajár instead of 5,800 *aqçe* with 8,800 *aqçe* and the villages of the *beg* of Székesfehérvár, Arslān — as we have read above — instead of 60,000 *aqçe* with 120,000 *aqçe*. This indicates, that one third of his total revenues (which amounted to 201,100 *aqçe*) were given to him in spite of accepted customs and that the central offices were ready to assist this form of tax increase.[10]

Another special feature of Meḥmed *beg*'s *ḫāṣṣ*es was that the expected revenue of several of the places assigned to him was fixed on the ground of estimation (*ber vech-i taḫmīn*). The settlements belonging to this category had the following background: 12 out of the villages mentioned as former possessions of Arslān *beg* had been within the hand of the *alaybegi* of Székesfehérvár, were transferred to the *sancaqbegi* through exchange and 6 of them in the value of 10,488 *aqçe* were granted in the above-mentioned form. Then, three *tīmār*s with

[9] Cf. Géza Dávid, *A Simontornyai szandzsák a 16. században*. Budapest 1982, 18.

[10] Later more attention was directed to keep up appearances. The original sums, i.e. those calculated in the *taḥrīr-defteri*s, were left unchanged, even if the grand total of the prebendholder's incomes was considerably lower than his nominal allotment. The formula *ber vech-i tekmīl* (i.e. 'in full value') was used in such cases — and one probably passed over in silence if the person in question used every means to squeeze out the full sum he was entitled to get. Under different names the fate of the tax-payers was more or less the same in both instances.

an income of 8,000 *aqçe* each had also been given in the same version to their owners, this is how Meḥmed *beg* inherited them. Lastly, the market-fees, duties on the slaughter-house and the fees of summons *(bāc-i pāzār ve resm-i qanare ve iḥżār)* of the castle of Veszprém were also merely estimated, with a rather insignificant sum of 3,000 *aqçe*. All in all, some 37,500 *aqçe*, what went up to 49,000 *aqçe*, due to the part accepted with double nominal value, i.e. almost one quarter of the *sancaqbegi*'s salary was fixed against the general practice. If we think it over: most of the localities concerned had not been really subjugated yet, consequently it could not be guaranteed that their taxes would be truly collectable.

Until this point, we have two such elements which do not portray Meḥmed *beg*'s financial conditions as being very favourable. To them, a third can be added. Namely, his incomes were summarized as 201,100 *aqçe*, their real total, however, remains at the level of 196,150 *aqçe*. With all probability that 10,000 *aqçe* fraction of his holdings was erroneously taken into account which he had to share in equal portions with the *beglerbegi* of Buda.

Remembering all these factors: if we include the original sums of the pertinent settlements, we can only reckon that 92,650 *aqçe* were stable or assured yearly revenues of the first *beg* of Veszprém.[11] To press out the rest depended on his skill. No doubt, he used every effort to be successful. One fears that the real losers in this game were the inhabitants of the related Hungarian localities.

Meḥmed *beg*'s villages were dispersed, beside the *nāḥiye*s mentioned so far, in the sub-districts of Leveld (Leved), Devecser (Deveçer), Veszprém, Csesznek (Çesnīk), Tihany (Tihōn), Vázsony (Vejān), Ugod (Aġōd) (?), Csobánka (Çōbānqī), Somló (Şōmlō), and Sümeg (Şīmek). Many of the localities concerned can be easily identified, several of them, however, due to misspelling or to different possibilities of reading them, cannot be located or only rather vaguely. From among them, I quote only one curious instance. One of the entries out of the three *tīmār*s referred to above can be deciphered as follows: "The village of the town Besprem". Not even the sum expected from taxes here is indicated only the total amount of the whole *tīmār*, which was 8,000 *aqçe*. It is understandable that liabilities were fixed this way before the capturing of Veszprém, but it is strange that no change occurred after it became a *sancaq* seat when it was possible to assess the tax paying capabilities of its population.

On the basis of Turkish sources, we can document Meḥmed as the *mīrlivā* of Veszprém until September or November 1556. A *ruūs defteri* note from 28 January 1555 contains the decision of the *dīvān* reflecting upon one of his proposals and sounds like this: "The *beg* of Besprem, Meḥmed beg sent a letter [in which he explained] that the castle of Besprem is situated on the marches and

[11] After having saved so much money, the court could "generously" refrain from giving someone else the 1,100 *aqçe* that presented itself between the nominal value (200,000 *aqçe*) and the total computed by the scribe but which was the result of a wrong addition. However, an officious remark was made even here: this money could not have been used for another purpose.

the castle mentioned needs a bath *(ḥamām)*. Since he had asked that the building ardour of the benefactors *(aṣḥāb-i ḫayrāt)* meet approval [it] was ordered."[12]

The same type of source preserved another short note from 23 June 1556, when a complaint of his was put on the agenda. He argued that he had lost a part of his income since 4 of his *ḫāṣṣ* villages had been given to someone else. It can be supposed that those localities were taken away, the revenue of which — as we have seen — he had to share with the Pasha of Buda.[13] In this case he only lost 5,000 *aqçe* and could have good hope that a vacancy of this size would be found for him soon — as it was ordered by the Sultan.[14]

Data concerning him from September to October 1556, have been preserved in a document which follows up certain changes in the personnel of the *cāmiᶜ* of Veszprém.[15] Although the published version (and probably also the original which I could not consult) contains only references to Meḥmed *beg*, I have no doubt about his being identical to the governor of Veszprém. The last note about him in this source, on the other hand, specified only the function without adding his name. The two different segments of the same truth strengthen each other this time.

The decreasing number of Turkish evidence is luckily supplemented by Hungarian material from a not much later period. The date of the letter that was signed by "Memhet, bek of Wesprem, regent of the majestic emperor in Wesprem and in all its districts" is 25 February 1557 and in it the vice-captain of Palota, Ferenc Újfalussy was reminded to give up the building of a *palánk*, or fort near the castle of Palota. He added that he knew that the place was planned to serve as a shelter for highway robbers and also that if his friendly warning was left unnoticed he would ravage the villages of those who would participate in the construction.[16]

On the 12th of March of the same year, Meḥmed contacted Gáspár Horváth, the captain of Nagyvázsony, asking him to intervene with Tamás Nádasdy for his setting free a Turkish captive; as ransom he offered a horse.[17]

[12] Istanbul, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Kepeci 213, p. 9.

[13] This conjecture is supported by a *rūznāmçe* passage of December 1556 where we meet the one even later holder of the localities in question: Krafft 284, f. 421v. At this stage Ḥüseyn, *aġa* of the *gönüllüs* of Buda became the usufructuary of their income in the form of *arpalıq* since the previous owner, Ḥasan was elevated to be the governor of Nógrád (Novīgrād). — For timariots of the settlements at issue in 1546 and 1559 see: Gyula Káldy-Nagy, *A Budai szandzsák 1546–1590. évi összeírásai. Demográfiai és gazdaságtörténeti adatok.* (Pest megye múltjából 6). Budapest 1985, 163: Bulgár, 308: Hídhalom, 387: Kökénös, 634: Terén.

[14] Kepeci 215, p. 47. — In reality, however, this seems to have been far from being so easy. At least no modification of this kind can be traced in the surviving *rūznāmçe* of Buda (Krafft 284) that offers the single possibility of investigation in this connection.

[15] Antal Velics–Ernő Kammerer, *Magyarországi török kincstári defterek.* II. 1540–1639. Budapest 1890, 258–259.

[16] *A Podmanini Podmaniczky család oklevéltára.* V. Ed. Imre Lukinich, Budapest 1943, 42–43, No. 22.

[17] József Hungler, *A török kori Veszprém.* Veszprém 1986, 60.

In the following period the *beg* of Veszprém appears unfortunately without name from time to time, but — as we shall see — there is good reason to suppose that one and the same person lies behind the references. We meet him, among others, on the 22nd of April 1557 when he is called to Székesfehérvár.[18] Some days later he returned to his station.[19] In November, temporarily he left Veszprém again.[20] In January 1558, he was hunting hares somewhere in the vicinity of Tihany, from where he sent a massage to the captain of the castle, inviting him to an (armed ?) meeting. The latter, however, refused to see him on the pretext that he had guests. His real reason was expressed to a third person with the following words: "I do not need his friendship".[21]

The last occasion when we hear about him as a functioning *mīrlivā* dates from the 19th of May 1558. A rather particular event is narrated by Ferenc Török of Enying (son of Bálint Török, the important politician and land-lord, who died in the Yedikule after Süleymān had taken him from Buda in 1541), which will be cited here somewhat abbreviated:[22] "I suppose that you have understood the case of Oroszlán *bék*,[23] how was his camp attacked and that even he himself was wounded, the poor men who were among them report that Oroszlán *bék*'s camp was attacked near the forest of Hard[24]... It is said that it would have been the work of the *bék* of Veszprém and that of Welÿ *bék*[25] that (or when) they fell on the camp, they went at once to Oroszlán *bék*'s camp and they killed three *kadias*, who happened to be there, at once. They wished to kill Oroszlán *bék* himself, too, but he was guarded by a *jancsár* (janissary) who was also killed at once, even Oroszlán *bék* was wounded in eight or nine places ... out of the ordinary Turks nobody was harmed, and no goods were taken away, although the pay of the people was also there. ... The same poor men, who go there, say on oath that the *bassa* (the *beglerbegi*) sent 32 *izpahia* (*sipāhī*) to Weszprém and

[18] András Komáromy, Magyar levelek a XVI. századból. II. közlemény: *Történelmi Tár* 1907, 397.

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] *A Podmanini Podmaniczky család oklevéltára*. V, 63, No. 36.

[21] Komáromy, *op. cit.* 401.

[22] *Idem.* 425.

[23] Arslān *beg* served as the *sancaqbegi* of Mohács (Mihāç) at that time. The first Ottoman note I know of showing him in this position is from the 13th of March 1558 (Kepeci 216/a, 131), but the well-informed Mihály Takaró, captain of Tihany had learned as early as the 18th of September 1557, that "at Pécs (the *sancaq* of Mohács lies behind the expression) *sáncsokság* (*sancaq*) was given to Oroszlán *bék*." (Komáromy, *op. cit.*, 401). He often figures with the same title in the customs register of Buda between June 1558 and February 1559: L. Fekete – Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *Rechnungsbücher türkischer Finanzstellen in Buda (Ofen) 1550–1580. Türkischer Text.* Budapest 1962, 406–407, 424, 450, 470, 482, 487.

[24] A settlement in Tolna county.

[25] Veli *beg* with all probability still functioned as the *sancaqbegi* of Székesfehérvár at the given point. He surely was on this post on the 9th of April 1556: Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Mühimme defteri 2, p. 58, No. 533 (?). We also encounter him here at the end of February 1557: *A Podmanini Podmaniczky család oklevéltára*. V, 42, No. 22.

had the *bék* [of Veszprém] be taken [to Buda]. Since this thing happened because of them."

Without a doubt, personal enmity motivated the agents of the action, the background of which would be difficult to guess. Whatever the reason, the *beglerbegi* could not tolerate this violation of law. The ordeal of the *beg* of Veszprém in Buda ended with his deposition. In his despair, Meḥmed — and here it will become clear that we were dealing with the same person throughout — made efforts to find high supporters. It remains a puzzle how he could get in contact with Prince Bāyezīd, who was self-confidently learning the science of ruling in Kütahya at that time until being transferred to Amasya on the 6th of September 1558.[26] We know, however, that the *şehzāde* took up his pen on the *beg*'s behalf, putting the matter at the beginning of a list asking various grants. He wrote: "Be given grace to your servant Meḥmed, the former *beg* of Besbrem either for the *sancaq* of İstōnī Belġrād or for his previous *sancaq*."[27] However well he had chosen his protector, he could not achieve his aim — at least not as far as the two administrative centres mentioned are concerned. Namely Székesfehérvár was given — after Veli *beg* had been dismissed as well — to Ḥamza *beg*, one of the best known personalities of the Hungarian provinces, who possessed this post from the 19th of September 1558 at the latest,[28] until the second half of 1562.[29] The *sancaq* of Veszprém, on the other hand, had been abolished by this time. This can be stated partly on the basis of *rūznāmçe* entries which show some of Meḥmed *beg*'s earlier holdings in the hands of other persons from the beginning of April 1559,[30] partly since not a single reliable reference on a

[26] Petra Kappert, *Die osmanischen Prinzen und ihre Residenz Amasya im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*. Istanbul 1976, 113, 118.

[27] Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, E. 2142. This document was published — with minor faults — by İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, Sancağa çıkarılan Osmanlı şehzadeleri: *Belleten* XXIX, 156 (1975), 674–675. Setting out from the consideration that Bāyezīd's chief supporter and intercessor was his mother Ḫurrem, he posited that the undated document had to be written before her death. Since, however, Süleymān's most beloved wife left this transitory world around the middle of April 1558, this supposition is overthrown. The only acceptable explanation seems to be that after his mother's death, the *şehzāde* did not immediately realize the shrinking of his possibilities, and this is why he still sent this list of demands in a comparatively firm voice.

[28] Fekete–Káldy-Nagy, *op. cit.*, 321.

[29] Velics–Kammerer, *op. cit.*, I. Budapest 1886, 149.

[30] Krafft 284, ff. 616v, 618v. The three above-mentioned *tīmār*s were assigned with unchanged sums (even Veszprém figures in the same curious form), the only difference being that the new owners got them with a lower value: two of them with 6,666 *aqçe* and one with 6,000 *aqçe*. The rest was given to other timariots as it happened with one of the 1,334 *aqçe* fragments (*idem*. f. 622r). It is important to note that on all three occasions the word vacancy (*maḥlūl olmaġın*) was entered which meant in the language of flowers that the *beg* was dismissed. The more significant portion of his *ḫāṣṣ*es is not met with until the last page of the prebends journal, but it does not alter the essence of the issue. It is probable that they became holdings of the new *mīrlivā* of Székesfehérvár, but paper work was done slowly in Istanbul, consequently the list of his *ḫāṣṣ*es was copied into some lost volume of a bit later date.

new *beg* of Veszprém can be found from the years until 1566.[31] Further, it also argues for the dissolution of the *sancaq* that in the *cizye-defteri* of Székesfehérvár from the years 1563–1565 Veszprém appears as a *nāḥiye*-centre of this *livā*.[32] It should not mislead us that Ṭur ᶜAlī *beg* was once titled as the governor of Veszprém in 1564,[33] since normally his post was given as Székesfehérvár.[34] This can be another example of the not very rare practice — as it could be witnessed, among others, in the case of Mohács–Szekcső–Pécs — when the *beg* occasionally stayed officially in another place, here in Veszprém, than his veritable seat.

While we could collect quite ample evidence on the person and the activity of the *beg* which spanned the approximately 6 year long period from the creation until the dissolution of the *sancaq*, we know nothing about the extension of the territory that was under his control. Not a single register has survived of this *livā*, neither a *taḥrīr-defteri*, nor a *cizye*-list. Not even the voluminous *rūznāmçe* of Buda with its several hundreds of folios kept between 1551 and 1559 provides us useful details in this respect.[35] This indirectly proves that — if at all — a very small region was attached to Veszprém. Supposing that this was

[31] Although a recent work (Hungler *op. cit.*, 63) quotes a seemingly contradictory datum from the 27th of April 1561 ("A characteristic typical example of spying is ... — the correspondence of Ákos Csányi has preserved this as well — when in 1561 the wife of the *Turkish beg of Veszprém* [my italics GD] was a Hungarian woman"), both a word by word citation from the pertinent letter by its former user (Gyula Erdélyi, *Veszprém város története a török idők alatt.* Veszprém 1913, 36), and the original document (Budapest, Magyar Országos Levéltár, a Magyar Kamara Archívuma, Nádasdy Missiles, Ormány Józsa, 28. csomó), kindly identified by Teréz Oborni, makes it clear that the husband was only the *porkoláb of Veszprém* (my italics GD), i.e. the owner of a lower military rank.

[32] *Die Steuerkonskription des Sandschaks Stuhlweißenburg aus den Jahren 1563 bis 1565.* Unter Mitwirkung von István Hunyadi bearbeitet von Josef Matuz. *A székesfehérvári szandzsák 1563-1565. évi adóösszeírása.* Hunyadi István közreműködésével közzéteszi Matuz József. Bamberg 1986, 217–219. (Islamwissenschaftliche Quellen und Texte aus deutschen Bibliotheken, hrsg. von Klaus Schwarz. Band 3), see also Velics–Kammerer, *op. cit.*, II. 299.

[33] Kepeci *op. cit.*, 74, 130. (Cf. Imre Karácson, *Török–magyar oklevéltár, 1533–1789.* Szerk. Lajos Thallóczy, János Kresmárik, Gyula Szekfű. Budapest 1914, 52, No. 30.)

[34] Kepeci *op. cit.*, 218, 38, 39, etc.

[35] Contrary to later practice, it remained often unspecified in this journal to which larger administrative unit a *nāḥiye* belonged to. For us this is an especially unfavourable fact, since it would seem plausible that — for want of new conquests — the *sancaq* of Székesfehérvár was shortened with some subdistricts. The rare exceptions, when subordination was still shown, portray the *nāḥiyes* of Győr (Gōr), Pápa, Sümeg, Vázsony, Szentmárton (Senmārtīn), Somló, Palota, Leveld, Csobánka, Csesznek, Szentgyörgyvár (Sengōrgvār), and two unidentifiable ones as parts of Székesfehérvár. If these denominations are compared with the *nāḥiyes* in Matuz's book (*op. cit.*, 58–75) the lack of the sub-districts of Veszprém, Tihany and Devecser can be established, meanwhile those of Szentmárton, Leveld, Szentgyörgyvár and the two with uncertain readings are surplus from our list. We can conclude, then, that the *nāḥiyes* of Veszprém, Tihany and Devecser could — at maximum — be subordinated to Veszprém, but until there is positive evidence we have to leave this question open.

the state of affairs, the *sancaq* discussed here differs from those of the rest of the empire. It could be perhaps called a *sancaq* nucleus[36] the life of which could have been lengthened by new conquests in Western Hungary. Since no real territorial increase could be achieved, moreover Meḥmed *beg* forfeited his honour, the experiment was deemed unsuccessful and the *sancaq*, that existed almost only on paper, was abolished.

Its suppression, however, was not final. When, after its loss in 1566, Veszprém fell into Ottoman hands on the 6th of October 1593 again, things were repeated, and a *sancaqbegi* was nominated in this place.[37] Fortunately, the diligent scribes in the capital preserved even his name for us: he was called Qalender *beg*,[38] who had served at Mohács somewhat earlier.[39] Beside some proposals sent by him to the Porte we know nothing else of him. Actually he did not have too much time to warm up on his new post, since in the first third of 1594 he fought a combat with Sándor Szinnyei, one of the captains of Ferenc Nádasdy and — being shot by his arrow — fell from his horse dead.[40] At present I cannot tell if the last *beg* of Veszprém was buried along with him, but it is likely that his place was not filled for a while. After 1598, however, this was not possible any more, because the castle — except perhaps from the period between 1605 and 1608 — definitively became Hungarian property.

[36] For similar examples see my *Ottoman Administrative Strategies*.

[37] Cf. Kātib Çelebi in: *Török történetírók*. III. (Transl. by Imre Karácson), Budapest 1916, 206.

[38] Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Maliye defteri 15567, 406, Kepeci *op. cit.*, 344, 475.

[39] Maliye defteri 15567, 406.

[40] Csaba D. Veress, *Várak a Bakonyban*. Budapest 1983, 143. Unfortunately without precise source indication.

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SULTAN, IMPERIAL COUNCIL, GRAND VIZIER: CHANGES IN THE OTTOMAN RULING ELITE AND THE FORMATION OF THE GRAND VIZIERAL *TELḪĪṢ*

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Originally, *telḫīṣ* meant "summary, abstract". As a term of state administration it mostly, but not exclusively, denoted the petitions submitted by the Grand Vizier to the Sultan.

The Grand Vizieral *telḫīṣ* does not belong to the favourite research topics of Ottoman studies. Except for the brief introductory passages in a few text editions, only one self-contained study has so far appeared about this important document type: Suraiya Faroqhi's doctoral dissertation in 1967.[1] Of the several questions implied by the *telḫīṣ*, she enlarged upon three: 1. she analyzed it in terms of diplomatics; 2. discussed the problems of dating, and 3. collected information about the official activity of the Grand Vizier from the *telḫīṣ* collections available to her.

When I started to study the *telḫīṣ* as part of an American–Hungarian research project, I soon realized that not only the points studied so far need further investigation,[2] but new aspects should be explored as well. No one has yet raised the question why the *telḫīṣ* "suddenly" appeared in the state administration of the latter half of the sixteenth century, or why it appeared exactly at that time. Was it simply an innovation in administration, or did it have some underlying sociological background? And why did the Sultan and his number one official replace personal contacts with a cumbersome bureaucratic way of communication? Obviously, without answering these questions, neither the function of the *telḫīṣ* nor its value as a historical source can be estimated. I therefore endeavoured to find answers to these questions. Since the institutional structure in which the *telḫīṣ* emerged rested on three pillars: the Sultan, the Imperial Council

[1] Surayia Faroqhi, *Die Vorlagen (telḫīṣe) des Großwesirs Sinān paša an Sultan Murād III.* Diss. zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Hamburg. Hamburg 1967. Though one of its chapters, the diplomatic part, also appeared in print (Das Großwesirtelḫīṣ: eine aktenkundliche Studie. *Der Islam* 45 (1969), 96–116), in the following I refer to the whole dissertation, which enlarges on the subject in more detail.

[2] A relevant attempt was made in my diplomatic study "The Grand Vizieral telḫīṣ" in preparation for the volume of studies soon to be published as part of the programme entitled "Ottoman–Habsburg Rivalry and the History of Central Europe 1566–1656 (Sources and Interpretations)".

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and the Grand Vizier, the discussion focuses on the role they played in the politics of the Ottoman Empire and the changes in their interrelationship during the fifteenth–sixteenth centuries.

By the middle of the sixteenth century, the Ottoman state had become incontestably the most powerful and prestigious entity within the Islamic world, so much so that in the eyes of European contemporaries it was identified with Islam itself. This approach was not alien to the ruling Ottoman military elite either. According to its "official" ideology, developed mainly during the preceding half century, the Ottoman Empire came to be identified with the proper domain of Islam, where the prescriptions of religious law prevailed; consequently, its rulers — who had also become protectors of Islam's two holy cities (Mecca and Medina) — could be seen as the rightful masters of the whole of Islam. Accordingly, the Sultan began, with increasing frequency, to be referred to as the *pādişāh-i İslām*.[3]

This view of legitimacy, however, which was not universally shared even within the Ottoman Empire, did not correspond with the real situation in many respects. Rather than being a religious leader, the Sultan was a sovereign in his own right, whose authority originated in his dynasty's achievements. The dynastic law — a common heritage of the Turco–Mongol and the Near Eastern political traditions, and embodied in the notion of *ḳānūn* — gave the sovereign discretion in areas not explicitly within the jurisdiction of Islamic law. In these areas, his authority was absolute and indivisible, comprising legislative, judicial and executive powers. Any of his decrees carried the force of law. At the same time, the Sultan, by virtue of the Islamic identity of his rule, was expected to enforce the precepts of religion. But by making use of their responsibility for administering religious affairs, the Ottoman rulers as it were, transformed the representatives of religious orthodoxy into state functionaries; their employment and careers were strictly linked with the state organization, and the most important appointments were controlled by "secular" authorities. This is why, despite the tremendous efforts made during the reign of Süleyman to reconcile the conflicts between the two legal foundations of the Empire, the Islamic legitimacy of the dynasty always remained dubious to a certain degree.[4]

The Ottoman realm was a traditional empire in the real sense of the term and provided the political framework for the Sultan's power. The essence of this power can be characterized by two words: redistribution and patrimonialism. Redistribution lay at the base of Ottoman polity: the collection and disbursement of material goods, which served to sustain the two main pillars of the dynasty, the military and the army of the functionaries, while the patrimonial principle

[3] M. Kunt, Ottoman Names and Ottoman Ages. *Journal of Turkish Studies* 10 (1986), 232.

[4] C. H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire. The Historian Mustafa Âli (1541–1600)*. Princeton 1986, 191–292. A large-scale new summary of other ways in which the Ottomans attempted to legitimate their rule was made by S. Faroqhi, Die Legitimation des Osmanensultans: Zur Beziehung von Religion, Kunst und Politik im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. *Zeitschrift für Türkeistudien* 2:2 (1989) 49–67.

determined the form and functions of its political system. The functionally defined social group, which operated this redistributive mechanism and enjoyed its benefits, was called the *ʿaskerī* ("military") class by the Ottomans. Within this social stratum, a more narrow echelon can be distinguished, which controlled the more important positions and in some way was almost invariably attached to the imperial household, the continuously proliferating palace organization. This ruling apparatus was theoretically divided into three separate professional career lines. In reality, however, both the governmental careers, and the institutions they were associated with, remained largely undifferentiated and thus permeable well into the sixteenth century. Due to the great conquests, and the resulting growth in administrative needs during Selim's and Süleyman's time, there was an increasing stereotyping of official jurisdictions and growing standardization of bureaucratic procedures. At the same time, there were the first signs of a separate bureaucratic body, primarily in the fiscal administration. All of this, however, was merely the overture of a long-term process. For a long time to come, the administrative system retained its personal character; the fate of a given office, its position within the hierarchy and its functions continued to depend at least as much on the personal qualities and connections of the individual office holder as on any bureaucratic or legal regulation.[5]

It is also instructive that the basic source of legitimacy, the often cited *ḳānūn-i oṣmānī*, regarding the fundamental institutions of the Empire appears to have been most vague. Whatever was definite or relatively well described in the *ḳānūn-i oṣmānī*, was in some way related to taxation (or to the *timar* system, which was merely the other aspect of the same phenomenon). The general law codes (e.g. the so-called "constitutional" *ḳānūnnāme* of Mehmed II[6]) or individ-

[5] The concept of the Ottoman Empire considered as a patrimonial system is based on Max Weber's writings on the subject; see *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft. Grundriß der verstehenden Soziologie.* II. Halbband. Tübingen 1972[5], 580–653. C. H. Fleischer seems to overestimate the bureaucratization of the sixteenth century Ottoman state organization (*op. cit.*, Chapters 7–8, and *idem*, Preliminaries to the Study of the Ottoman Bureaucracy. *Journal of Turkish Studies* 10 (1986), 135–141). Neither the numerical growth of bureaucracy nor the stability of bureaucratic offices reached such an extent as to seriously endanger the existence of the patrimonial system, which was again strengthened by the crisis of the following period (see: C. V. Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire. The Sublime Porte 1789–1922.* Princeton 1980; J. Shinder, Career Line Formation in the Ottoman Bureaucracy, 1648–1750: a new perspective. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 16, 2–3 (1973), 217–237). Here I should refer to Chapter 51 of a treatise written around 1640, entitled *Kitabu mesâlihi'l-müslimîn ve menâfiʿi'l-mü'minîn,* which contains an exciting confession of the fact that the personal and material potential of the central administration could not meet the needs of the growing Empire, not even in the middle of the seventeenth century (see: Y. Yücel, *Osmanlı devlet teşkilâtına dair kaynaklar.* Ankara 1988, 127–128).

[6] A. Özcan, Fâtih'in teşkilât kanunnâmesi ve nizam-ı âlem için kardeş katli meselesi. *Tarih Dergisi* 33 (1980–1981 [1982]), 29–56. A. Akgündüz, *Osmanlı kanunnâmeleri ve hukukî tahlilleri. I. Kitap. Osmanlı hukukuna giriş ve Fâtih devri kanunnameleri.* İstanbul 1990, 317–332, 333–345. In the same volume the other codes of Mehmed II's time can also be found.

ual *ḳānūn*-collections (like that of Tevḳīʿī ʿAbdurraḥman Paşa[7]) relating to the central state administration, were practical guides for determining hierarchies of ranks, rules of promotions and primarily described ceremonial customs. It is also evident that there were no serious attempts to regulate the provincial dignitaries and offices. While *ḳānūn* codes were usually formulated by sanctioning pre-existing practices, it is clear that they did not reflect any underlying intent to legally regulate the most important administrative posts and organs (such as Grand Vizier, Imperial Council, and *beğlerbeği*, etc.). This was a consequence of the personal and patrimonial character of the Sultan's authority. Minute legal rules would have set limits to his absolute sovereignty (mainly, because they would have implied the recognition of certain prerogatives of the "servants").[8] This does not mean that the lack of institutional "definition" was necessarily the product of a conscious Sultanic policy; the point is rather that in such a patrimonial world the need for regulations embracing the whole institutional sphere of the state simply did not arise. Under these circumstances, the *ḳānūn* — on a high abstract level — can be seen as an approach based on the sanctity of tradition.[9] In fact, it was customary law that formed the primary basis of sultanic authority and constituted certain limits to the ruler's will. The Sultan could, of course, issue an order, which was not consonant with tradition. In such cases, however, he could count on opposition from the officials or from the subject population. For example, in 1580 Murad III decreed that the Grand Vizier would not be given the imperial seal, which until then had symbolized the delegation of sultanic authority. He was soon forced to retract his decree, since without the seal, the people and the officials refused to accept the authenticity of the Grand Vizier's orders.[10] It was also in the reign of the same ruler that the influence of the palace on state affairs increased considerably. This development was condemned by members of the old ruling elite, not because it increased the arbitrary nature of the Sultan's power (it was, in a sense, merely the ultimate form of patrimonial rule), but because it was regarded as being contrary to the traditional norms of wielding royal authority. It is of interest to note that the formal strengthening of sultanic despotism occurred at a time, when the rise of forces could be seen, which eventually became capable of imposing actual limits on the Sultan's will. Wherever a political system is primarily based upon the military power of the sovereign (dynasty), with the passage of time, the army inevitably

[7] [Tevḳīʿī ʿAbdurraḥman Paşa] ʿOs̱mānlı ḳānūnnāmeleri. *Milli Tetebbular Mecmuası* 1.3 (1331/1912–13), 497–544. (Henceforth abbreviated: TAP)

[8] It is no accident that a considerable portion of *ḳānūn*s was promulgated by the centre under pressure from the involved social groups, and not by its own decision.

[9] This view was already held by K. Dilger, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des osmanischen Hofzeremoniells im 15. und 16. Jh.* München 1967, 11–12. On the other hand, A. Akgündüz emphasizes the conformity of the Ottoman legal system with Muslim religious law (*Osmanlı kanunnâmeleri*, 41–255).

[10] İ. H. Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*. 3. c. İstanbul 1972, 53–54; 6. c. İstanbul 1971, 20.

lays claim to a voice in political decisions. This usually takes place, when its indispensability becomes evident. In the Ottoman Empire, the court troops gradually emerged as a distinct political factor in the sixteenth century, which in short time grew to dominate power struggles. Parallel with this, a gradual decentralization of the provincial power structure began, and thus the exercise of the Sultan's absolute authority encountered ever greater obstacles. These developments reached their height when these new forces became capable of enthroning and deposing Sultans. But it must not be forgotten that even in these cases the right of the dynasty to dominion and the traditional forms of wielding authority were never basically put in question.

The tradition that deeply influenced the principles of Ottoman statecraft, was largely identical to the Near Eastern concept of state, which was of Sassanid origin. This concept postulated the administration of justice as the main obligation of the ruler, and by extension, of the whole state representing his authority. The *dīvān*, the central organ of the Near Eastern state organization was not only a governmental institution, but functioned as a high court as well, where any subject could submit petitions and apply for the redress of grievances. The rulers were, at least in theory, expected to appear and personally hear complaints, and to provide for the abolition of injustice.[11]

The *dīvān*, which in pre-Ottoman times had displayed considerable variety concerning its structure, became deeply rooted in the Ottoman Empire as well. In the early Ottoman period, the assignments of administering state affairs and justice seemed to have been divided between two separate *dīvān*s. One of them was a type of public audience dedicated to hearing petitioners and dispensing justice. For a long time, such open meetings — called *ḳapu*, since they took place at or near the gate of the court — were held daily and presided over personally by the ruler. Probably the audiences culminated in public banquets, an ancient custom prevalent throughout the greater part of the fifteenth century. By the time of Murad II, however, both parts of the "open court" had undergone considerable changes. The Sultan ceased to dispense justice in person and his daily appearance in public came to be confined to attendance at assemblies and meals with his courtiers and ambassadors, who were received on such occasions. During the reign of Mehmed II, public audiences were still held two or four times a week, but they had assumed a merely ritual character and their length was limited to some minutes. In the last years of his rule, it seems that Mehmed II abolished the custom of public audiences and communal meals altogether. Following a brief revival during the first part of Bayezid II's reign, the Sultan's presentation before his court took place but twice a year, on the two major religious holidays, with ambassadors being received in private.[12]

[11] H. İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age, 1300–1600.* New York 1973, 65–103.

[12] K. Dilger, *Untersuchungen*, 37–47; A. Mumcu, *Hukuksal ve siyasal karar organı olarak divan-ı hümayun.* Ankara 1986², 11–27; G. Necipoğlu-Kafadar, *The Formation of an Ottoman Imperial Tradition: the Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries.* Ph.D. thesis.

The original functions of the public audiences had gradually been transferred in part to individual officials, and in part to a second *dīvān* headed by the Grand Vizier. As early as Murad II's time, it was mainly the *ḳādī-i ᶜasker* who assumed the task of administering royal justice by listening to complaints at the outer gate of the palace, while the Vizier's *dīvān* attended to political and governmental issues, giving counsel and making arrangements for the Sultan's decisions. When in the second half of the fifteenth century, the most prominent state dignitaries (including the *ḳādī-i ᶜasker*, and *defterdār*, etc.) became ordinary members of the former Vizier's *dīvān*, the Sultan's personal right and responsibility for dispensing justice also came to be incumbent upon this institution. Thus, by the beginning of the sixteenth century, a "Great Divan" (*dīvān-i ᶜālī*) had emerged, amalgamating the functions of both the *ḳapu* and *dīvān* into a single supreme organ of government.[13] Acting in the name of the Sultan, it exercised the highest legislative, executive and judicial authority in the Empire. This meant that the *dīvān*, to a certain extent, had evolved from a body that prepared the ground for decisions into a decision-making entity. In principle, the Sultan retained the absolute right to control and decide in all matters, but in practice this right continued to be exercised only in important cases. It must be borne in mind that the *dīvān* represented an extension of the Sultan's person, his personal "property", and thus the spheres of competence allotted to it could increase or diminish, depending on the personality of the individual rulers, on the internal power struggles of the ruling elite, and other factors. Nevertheless, it was a startling new development in the world of Islamic statecraft when the tradition of multiple *dīvān*s was supplanted by a single powerful *dīvān* in the Ottoman central administration.[14]

This "classical" form of the Ottoman *dīvān* survived for about two centuries. As the *modus operandi* of patrimonial government gradually gave way to the administrative procedures of the bureaucratic state, the *dīvān* also began to lose its functions. The establishment of a separate office for the *defterdār*, at some point in the first half of the seventeenth century, and separate quarters for the Grand Vizierate *(paşa ḳapusı)* in 1654, were landmarks in this process. Al-

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Harvard Univ., Cambridge, MA 1986, 28–72. The latter was published in book form in the meantime (*Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power. The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*. Cambridge, MA–London 1991.), but during the revision several important details concerning our topic were omitted, so I refer to the original text of the thesis.

[13] G. Necipoğlu-Kafadar, *The Formation*, 108. The Imperial Council was referred to by various names even by contemporaries; in the scientific literature the *dīvān-i hümāyūn* form is accepted. I prefer the *dīvān-i ᶜālī* expression, because the sixteenth century official documents suggest that this term was more frequently applied, and in the beginning it might have been the "official" name.

[14] This means I consider the Councils of Afternoon, Friday and Wednesday (*ikindi*, *cumᶜa* and *çarşamba dīvānı*) without exception, as the extension or the supplementary organ of the "Great *dīvān*", because these councils were run 1. by the same staff, 2. within the framework of the same administrative system. Consequently, I disagree with Mumcu's differentiation to handle the *ikindi dīvānı* separately (see: *Divan-ı hümayun*, 142–146).

though the *dīvān-i ᶜālī* was not abolished as such, it was less frequently called into session, until by the eighteenth century it came to serve merely as the stage setting for certain ceremonial occasions (distributions of wages to the troops, receptions of foreign envoys, and holiday festivities).[15]

In the composition of the classical Imperial Council, two lines of underlying intent can be detected: 1. Places were reserved for those key dignitaries who were perceived to be leading members of a given group of officeholders or chiefs of a certain administrative branch. Among these, the Grand Vizier, a varying number of other viziers, and the *beğlerbeği* of Rumelia (representing the *ehl-i seyf*), the two *ḳādī-i ᶜasker* (*ehl-i ᶜilm*), the three *defterdār*s and the *nişāncı* (*ehl-i ḳalem*) were already present in the Council in the first half of the sixteenth century. Others, however, such as the *ağa* of the janissaries and the grand admiral (*ḳapudan paşa*) were allowed to take part in the *dīvān*'s deliberations only after the second half of the sixteenth century, and even then only under certain conditions (presumably the attainment of vizierial rank was one of these preconditions). 2. Members were selected in such a way as to balance out competing interests, to keep any one of them from monopolizing power. This intent was already present in the *ḳānūnnāme* of Mehmed II, which specified that political matters came under the jurisdiction of the Grand Vizier, matters pertaining to religious law under the *ḳādī-i ᶜaskers*, and financial affairs under the *defterdār*s. This separation of spheres of responsibility in practice did not imply any real autonomy of action, since in all important undertakings the members of the Council needed the assent of the other members. The Grand Vizier, for instance, could not disburse a farthing without the knowledge of the chief treasurer, while the latter was obliged to keep the Grand Vizier informed of any proposed actions, and of his reports prepared for the Sultan, etc. Analogous patterns of mutual dependence can also be observed between the Grand Vizier and the other members of the *dīvān*. In the final analysis, it was the Council itself, as a public forum for decision-making, that placed limits upon the will of the individuals in leading positions and forced them to co-ordinate their actions. After a matter of

[15] The mode and time of *defterdār ḳapusı*'s separation is not clear. According to L. T. Darling (*The Ottoman Finance Department and the Assessment and Collection of the cizye and avarız Taxes, 1560–1660*. Ph.D. Diss. Chicago 1990, 46) the *māliye* moved out of the Palace either before the end of the sixteenth, or at the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. In K. Röhrborn's article, quoted by Darling to support the above, however, there is nothing concerning this question (see: Die Emanzipation der Finanzbürokratie im Osmanischen Reich [Ende 16. Jahrhundert]. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 122 (1972), 118–139). J. Matuz thinks it possible that the *defterdār ḳapusı* developed simultaneously with the creation of the Grand Vizier's office, but he cannot support his statement with sources (*Das Kanzleiwesen Sultan Süleymāns des Prächtigen*. Wiesbaden 1974, 59). In the first half of the seventeenth century (maybe in earlier periods as well?) İ. H. Uzunçarşılı considers the existence of the *defterdār ḳapusı* a fact, which does not need further evidence, and he sees the major change of the mid-century was that the Chief Treasurer achieved one-man management in the financial administration (Defterdar In: *İA* 3. c. İstanbul 1945, 507; *idem, Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*. Ankara 1984², 329). For the *paşa ḳapusı* and the changing role of the *dīvān*: İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez*, 5, 249.

importance had been debated and a position had been taken by the *dīvān* as a whole, no one — not even the Grand Vizier — could act at will in disregarding the other Council members' opinions. Thus, the *dīvān* was an institution designed to foster interdependence and interlocking spheres of responsibility, within which to a large extent the requirement of collegiality served to curb individual power ambitions.

In particular, the Grand Vizier, the most prominent member of the *dīvān*, was expected to meet the requirement of collegiality, called *meşveret* (deliberation) in Ottoman political thought, because he stood far above the other office-holders in the political hierarchy. As the few extant judicial texts concerning this office show, the legal status of the Grand Vizier did not radically change during the period in question. In Mehmed II's time the holder of the post was considered to be the second man in importance in the Empire, the "absolute deputy" (*vekīl-i muṭlaḳ*) or "main servant" (*baş ḳul*) of the Sultan, in the same way as he was seen in the second half of the seventeenth century, during the reign of Mehmed IV. His main task was the preservation of social and political order (*niẓām-i ʿālem*), he was responsible for nearly all manifestations in the Ottoman state and society in everyday life. This broadly defined scope of duties, however, involved some specific areas which required more attention than the others. They included domestic and foreign political affairs, jurisdiction (hearing petitioners and dispensing justice), ensuring order in the capital and seeing to its supplies, supervising of the state machinery and the army — especially the salaried troops of the Court — and keeping the representatives of religious orthodoxy under control. In the Sultan's absence (which was mostly the case in the examined period), the Grand Vizier chaired the Imperial Council. Together with his related duties in other *dīvān*s, this ascribed him a decisive role in the daily running of the Ottoman state administration. To be able to fulfil his multifarious assignments, he enjoyed wide authority. Except for the inner affairs of the Palace, his word was of paramount importance: he had the power to independently decide on many political and jurisdictional matters, and on appointment in some cases.

The prestige of the Grand Vizier's post was firmly buttressed by the traditional order of values. According to the *ḳānūn-i oşmānī*, which was a summary of the conditions in the first half of the sixteenth century and a standard of measure for later times, the polity and the governmental decisions came within the Sultan's and the Grand Vizier's competence, and were confidential matters between the two. The anonymous author of a Mirror for Princes written between 1618 and 1622 expressed this in the following manner: "No one shall know the governmental affairs, but the Grand Vizier. ... Grand Viziers are the padishah's secretaries, treasurers, deputies, confidants and well-wishers; therefore, it is not permissible that the padishah should have closer and dearer servants than they".[16] This state of affairs, seen as the ideal, did exist for quite a long period of time. Many of the Grand Viziers were previously the Sultan's tutors, their close

[16] Y. Yücel, *Osmanlı devlet düzenine ait metinler. I. Kitab-i müstetab*. Ankara 1974, 19.

relationship also being indicated by the Grand Vizier's title *lala* (tutor). In the period studied, the upper echelon of the administration constituted a fairly coherent block, the Grand Vizier's role being unquestionable in the inner hierarchy. Although the influence of some Grand Viziers and their relationship with the Sultan may have been temporarily disturbed by intrigues, there was not a single officeholder or political group that was able to limit the Grand Vizier's authority, because they could not rally political support for this purpose. This was chiefly due to the fact that the Sultan had publicly participated in the management of political affairs for a long time, and through their personal contacts with the ruler, the Grand Viziers were in a position to ward off any attacks directed against them. A further protection arose from the practice that the two highest dignitaries usually took part in military expeditions together, thus there was hardly any opportunity for anyone to come between them. In addition, a kind of institutional guarantee was provided for the Grand Vizier by the equilibrium, which existed between the two main parts of the Sultan's household, the *birūn* or outer section of the Palace (the residence of the central state bodies) and the *enderūn* or inner section of the Palace (the Sultan's private quarters). This implied that in the narrow sense the Imperial Palace was subordinated to the state organization. The members of the *enderūn*, including the Sultan's closest retinue, were carefully kept away from public affairs; moreover, a kind of "state" control was imposed on them by the Grand Vizier having the right to initiate the appointment or dismissal of their leader, the *ḳapu ağası*.

Although the theoretical foundations of the Grand Vizier's post remained unchanged, he suffered a decisive loss of prestige by the end of the sixteenth century. His political importance decreased and the sphere of his duties was modified. This significant change was in part connected to the worsening economic crisis of the Empire. As the *telḫīṣ* collections from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries show, most of the Grand Vizier's energies were devoted to raising money for the payment of the Court's salaried troops, whose numbers had grown excessively. Although the financial crisis largely increased the strength and influence of the financial bureaucracy, the main responsibility still remained with the Grand Vizier in this key question. This is clearly expressed in one of Murad III's rescripts to Sinan Paşa: "It was to your care and no one else's that I entrusted the financial affairs to ...".[17] The same is confirmed by

[17] For the ascendancy of the financial officeholders: K. Röhrborn, *Die Emanzipation*. The quotation: İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Revan 1943, fol. 25b. This manuscript on pages fol. 2a–66b contains — with some exceptions — the Grand Vizier Sinan's *telḫīṣ*es, mainly from the time of his second term in office, between 1589 and 1591. The *telḫīṣ* collection has two other manuscripts: TSMK, Revan 1951, fol. 135–169, and Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Esad Efendi 2236. From among these I did not have Revan 1951 at my disposal, and I refer to Esad Ef. 2236 only when the *telḫīṣ* quoted is not included in Revan 1943, because Esad Ef. contains only about one third of the material found in Revan 1943, and the copies do not seem to have been made very carefully. Basic information about the manuscripts can be found in S. Faroqhi's thesis (*Die Vorlagen*, Chapter I, 12–13, Chapter II, 18, Chapter III, 131–132).

one of Sinan's submissions in which he sums up his achievements as Grand Vizier; significantly enough, four of the five listed points are of economic character.[18] Besides the permanent problem of the soldiers' pay, the financial needs of the proliferating Palace staff imposed a heavy burden on the Grand Vizier, who was mercilessly compelled by the Sultan to fulfil these needs, not infrequently against the ruler's own interests. All this combined to produce a situation in which the main criterion of eligibility for the Grand Vizier's post became the richness of the candidate, since when worse came to worse, these wealthy persons could be expected to pay the missing sums of money from their own riches.[19] At moments of crisis, some Grand Viziers tried to force the other leading officials to take their share of the financial burden, but usually they were flatly turned down.[20] This is why under the dual pressure of the Palace and the salaried troops, Grand Viziers at this time quickly lost their post and were replaced in quick succession.

Parallel with the deepening financial crisis, a sort of reshuffling of the power relations began within the ruling elite. Consequently, the central administration which so far had been unified, gradually disintegrated, and the influence of various officeholders and political groups increased; according to some views, to the detriment of the Grand Vizier's power. The supporters of this view claim that the decrease in the Grand Vizier's authority could equally be blamed on the Palace, the religious hierarchy, the leaders of the janissaries, finance, and the *serdārs* or military commanders of the campaigns.[21] In reality, however, the groups listed benefited from the "redistribution" of power in different degrees. Some of them continued to be under the Grand Vizier's control. Since it is beyond the scope of this paper to offer a thorough analysis of all of them, only the case of the *ağas* of the janissaries will be dealt with, who from time to time played a key role in the political struggles. It is indisputable that the holders of this post had strengthened their political position by the end of the sixteenth century. This is well attested by the following facts: they created a large clientele within the body of the janissaries; their income rose considerably; they were allowed to present themselves to the Sultan in person; several of them became Grand Viziers;[22] and finally, for short and transitional periods, they seized control over the state administration. All this notwithstanding, for most of the one

[18] Revan 1943, fol. 34b; cf. fol. 39a–39b. The most important topics: 1. the stabilization of the currency system, 2. the collection of revenues, 3. moderation of expenses (payment of the salaried troops), 4. the regulation of prices, 5. stopping enemies. The Grand Vizier played an important role in the confiscation of properties, the number of which increased at the end of the sixteenth century as a means of decreasing the financial deficit.

[19] K. Röhrborn, *Die Emanzipation*, 121. Cf. Revan 1943, fol. 4a: Sinan was proud of collecting twice as much in a year as other Grand Viziers did in two years.

[20] For Sinan Paşa's failure in such a case: Revan, fol. 3b–4a.

[21] K. Röhrborn, *Untersuchungen zur osmanischen Verwaltungsgeschichte*. Berlin–New York 1973, 13–26.

[22] *Op. cit.*, 18–19.

hundred years between the mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries, most of the interests of the Grand Vizier and the *ağa* of the janissaries coincided rather than conflicted. The *ağa* represented the Palace and the person of the Sultan against the janissaries, and not the other way round. It was one of the Grand Vizier's most important duties to prevent the development of too close a relationship between the officers and the troops. A case in point is that the *ağa* came into conflict with the janissary troops, because the latter expressed disapproval of too many of the *ağa*'s men being admitted into the corps of the janissaries.[23] However, what most closely bound the Grand Vizier and the *ağa* together was their interdependence in quenching the increasingly frequent rebellions. One of Sinan Paşa's *telḫīṣ*es written on this subject shows that in this respect the two dignitaries could be seen as allies rather than rivals.[24] It should be emphasized that Grand Viziers exercised their right to propose the appointment or dismissal of *ağa*s[25] as well as other officials, which will be discussed later.

By contrast, an expressly growing influence could be seen in the case of the distinguished leader of the religious hierarchy, the *şeyḫü'l-islām* or *müfti*. Although the holders of the post did not become members of the Imperial Council, seemingly preserving their independence from the state, by the latter half of the sixteenth century they had obtained the right to nominate candidates for the highest and most profitable professorships and *ḳādī* posts (with incomes over 300 *akçe* per day).[26] They also gained influence by undertaking the representation of the interests of the *ʿilmiye* class in its conflicts with the state administration. Quite understandably, this was what mainly aroused the Grand Viziers' indignation, for in the *müfti*'s activity the principle of representative politics appeared. This new principle was not only alien to the patrimonial system, but was also dangerous from the point of view of the Sultan's power. Sinan Paşa burst out against the *müfti* when the latter supported a *ḳādī* movement as follows: "It is no good, when everybody intervenes in political affairs; it would have been more advisable if the named *müfti* had not intervened in state affairs; instead, he ought to have been busy seeking answers to religious questions."[27] Despite all the resistance, by the end of the century, the *şeyḫü'l-islām* finally became a decisive factor in Ottoman political life, whose opinion could no longer be disregarded by the Grand Vizier.[28]

[23] Revan 1943, fol. 33b.

[24] Revan 1943, fol. 37b–38a: Having been informed that the janissaries were planning to stage a revolt at the feast, the Grand Vizier summoned the *ağa* and warned him with the following words: "If there should be any kind of disturbance at the feast, be aware that neither I nor you will remain. So keep your wits about you!"

[25] An example: Revan 1943, fol. 29a.

[26] H. İnalcık, The *rūznāmče* Registers of the *kadıasker* of Rumeli as Preserved in the Istanbul *Müftülük* Archives. *Turcica* 20 (1988), 254, 260.

[27] Revan 1943, fol. 24b.

[28] Cf. C. Orhonlu, *Osmanlı tarihine âid belgeler. Telhîsler (1597–1607)*. İstanbul 1970, No. 61.

As since Selim II's accession to the throne, the Sultans resigned from personally participating in military campaigns, the commandership of the troops was taken over by Viziers or *serdārs*, who enjoyed wide authority. This practice was doubly prejudicial to the Grand Viziers. If they were entrusted with such assignments, it could easily happen that in their absence their rivals would oust them from their position. Thus, they tried to avoid the commission or if it was impossible, they tried to get rid of the burdensome obligation as quickly as possible.[29] When, on the other hand, other Viziers were nominated to the *serdār*'s post — sometimes more than one at a time — serious debates developed between the *serdārs* and the Grand Vizier over the question of authority. For *serdārs* were entitled to allocate certain vacant posts and *timars* during military campaigns. The *serdār*'s relevant licence, however, was just as obscurely defined as was many another licence in other fields. This is one reason why the *serdārs*' activity became the source of continuous disputes, especially when it led to parallel appointments or when the appointments overlapped each other.[30] The disputes were also fuelled by the fact that the central power had to keep various interests in view at the same time. To encourage greater participation in military expeditions, the *serdārs*' broad authority to award *timars* had to be maintained, since the *dirlik* gained by the force of arms, was the main attraction for the social groups that could be mobilized for military campaigns. On the other hand, serious economic interests were at stake. It became a general practice that, to quote Sinan Paşa, "no higher office (*manşıb*) is dispensed without the payment of some money during the military campaigns", meaning that the *serdārs* pocketed enormous sums of money in return for favourable decisions.[31] Added to this, sums were collected with state assent in the territories concerned for the expenses of the military campaign. From these sums, the *serdārs* usually kept a large amount for their personal use. This is why the central administration, with the Grand Vizier at its head, raised objections, not so much against the allocations, which ranged wider than allowed (than "usual"), but against their benefiting less than desired from the income.[32] However, the Grand Viziers had the means to intervene in these transactions: the *serdārs* were obliged to have their appointments ratified by the *dīvān*. During this procedure, the Grand Vizier attempted to prevent the confirmation of grants, which he considered excessive, and tried to get hold of at least a part of the wealth accumulated at the hands of the *serdārs*.[33] The success of their efforts is indicated by the fact that only a few *serdārs* managed to have their submitted lists (*rü'üs defteri*) accepted without modifications.

However, that did not mean an end to the problems generated by the *serdārs*' activity. Grand Viziers found it particularly detrimental that some

[29] C. Orhonlu, *Telhîsler*, Nos 52, 78.
[30] K. Röhrborn, *Untersuchungen*, 25.
[31] Revan 1943, fol. 5b: *seferde akçesüz manşıb virilmezmiş.*
[32] Revan 1943, fol. 5b, 13b, 25b–26a, 36b–37a.
[33] *Ibid.*; cf. K. Röhrborn, *Untersuchungen*, 23.

serdārs took away posts without much ado from officeholders who had been personally appointed by the Grand Vizier.[34] It also happened that some Viziers went on exercising the rights of a *serdār* undisturbed even when their commission had long been withdrawn.[35] The above cases clearly reveal that the institution of *serdār* really made a breach in the Grand Vizier's power, though it should be noted that much depended on the personal qualities of the holders of the post.

Despite all this it should be stated that neither the *serdārs* nor the other dignitaries mentioned would have been able to limit the Grand Vizier's power by themselves or jointly, had they not been backed by an even greater power, that of the "Palace of Interior", the only rival not mentioned so far. In my opinion, the decrease in the Grand Vizier's power can be ascribed to the changing role of the Palace, or broadly speaking, to the changing method of executing the Sultanic power as it came to prevail in the second half of the sixteenth century.

This major change took shape gradually in the events of an approximately 100-year period. Its beginnings dated back to Mehmed II's time, and it appeared as part of a governing practice defined by the concept of "princely seclusion". After the capture of Constantinople, Mehmed II increasingly identified himself with the traditional Persian and Byzantine concept of ruling, in which the sanctity of the sovereign had salience, the isolation of the monarch from society being its external manifestation.[36] In the spirit of this tradition, Mehmed built a complex later called Topkapı Sarayı on the edge of the city overlooking the strait. In keeping with the patrimonial idea, the complex housed both the central governing organs and the Sultan's private quarters. The location of the Palace implied seclusion from the city, while in the architectural design, the separation of the administrative Court from the royal residence was manifestly intentional. The most important buildings of the Palace (the *dīvānḫāne*, *ʿarż odası*) served as a framework for the new imperial ceremony, which underlined the break with the old direct court-life and emphasized the sublimity of the monarch, who became increasingly aloof from his subjects. Mehmed II also acted in the new spirit when he introduced a new method of controlling the Imperial Council. Towards the end of his reign, he had an iron-latticed window covered with a curtain made in the back wall of the council hall, from where he could occasionally watch the work of the Council unseen. In accordance with this new style, he amended the rules of public audiences. The members of the *dīvān,* en-

[34] C. Orhonlu, *Telhîsler*, No. 21.

[35] *Op. cit.*, No. 87. This was made possible, because the generals were supplied with blank sheets with *tuğras*, blank *fermāns*, with which they could issue independent decrees. For the beginning of the use of blank *fermāns* see: J. Matuz, *Kanzleiwesen*, 74; A. C. Schaendlinger, *Die Schreiben Süleymāns des Prächtigen an Vasallen, Militärbeamte, Beamte und Richter.* Unter Mitarbeit von C. Römer. Wien 1986, IX (the earliest were from 1552). Cf. K. Röhrborn, *Untersuchungen*, 25–26.

[36] G. Necipoğlu-Kafadar, *The Formation*, 40ff. In the following I relied on this work to a large extent. I have to note, however, that K. Dilger already inferred the Ottoman sovereign's withdrawal from the changing concept of reigning (*Untersuchungen*, 47).

titled to appear before him, were no longer received publicly, but in the Sultan's private audience hall. These dignitaries presented themselves four times a week to submit their reports and gain royal assent for the decisions of the *dīvān*. By the same token, Mehmed determined (that is, radically cut back) the number of those who could appear before him. He completed his reforms with the abolition of common meals with the members of his Court.[37]

Although the model created by Mehmed II proved to be lasting, it took a long time for the conception it implied to become fully realized. The Sultans, for instance, probably visited the meetings of the Council (instead of watching from behind the curtained window) more often than is generally believed. It should be noted that there is sporadic information of Sultanic visits even from the period in which these visits did become few and far between.[38] The tendency of royal isolation, however, existed and eventually gained ground. The best proof of this was the reconstruction of the Chamber of Petitions (*ʿarż odası*), an important theatre of state administration, between 1526 and 1528 through the efforts of Ibrahim Paşa, and the erection of a new council hall (*dīvānḫāne*) in line with Mehmed's ideas in almost every respect. On the rear wall of the *dīvānḫāne*, which was connected to the "Tower of Justice" (*ʿadālet köşkü*) there was a latticed window, just as it existed in Mehmed's former council hall (with a small logia, the observation post, of the sovereign behind it, which could be approached from the *ḥarem*). The new structure of the *ʿarż odası*, the rich decoration and imposing atmosphere of the interior, as well as the new behavioral style adopted during the audiences, indicated that Süleyman further promoted the monarch's image to mystical heights. In the first decade of his reign, he introduced the practice of remaining seated when receiving ambassadors. During the audiences, he sat on a throne instead of the formerly used sofa, and unlike his predecessors, he either kept silent or only uttered a few words. The latter practice struck such firm roots in the etiquette of the Ottoman rulers that Koçi Bey described secretiveness and little talk as the main attributes of Sultanic dignity.[39]

By the end of Süleyman's reign, "princely seclusion" reached such an extent that it generated discontent in certain groups. Lütfi Paşa's well-known words of disapproval about the Sultan's inaccessibility seem to be soft scolding compared to the passionate outburst of the janissaries against the ruler's new habits, presented in a petition around 1558: "... the padishah is the padishah of Islam. He cannot know anything about anyone by living within four walls. He places all his confidence in a host of despots when proclaiming 'I have Viziers,

[37] G. Necipoğlu-Kafadar satisfactorily proves that the latticed window had already existed in Mehmed's council hall, the audience hall was built in this period, and that Dilger is wrong in considering the relevant part of Mehmed's *ḳānūnnāme* altogether as fabrications from the sixteenth century (*The Formation*, 43–49).

[38] N. Güyünç, XVI. yüzyılda ruûs ve önemi. *Tarih Dergisi* 17. 22 (1967 [1968]), 26 (data from 1573); Revan 1943, fol. 5b (from about the middle of 1590).

[39] K. Aksüt, *Koçi Bey risalesi*. İstanbul 1939, 126: *saltanatın en büyük mühimmi sır saklamakdır. Padişahlara aslâ saltanata müteallik söz aşikâre söylemek caiz değildir.*

everyone has *ağa*s and they know whose interest is what'. He is unaware of the condition of the people ... Why is that so?"[40] Although the janissaries must have exaggerated the Sultan's ignorance, their speaking of four walls was far from being unjustified. By this they referred to the fact that the aging Sultan spent more and more time in the *ḥarem*, which he had transferred from the Old Palace in the centre of the city to the new Palace. This step proved to be a milestone in the consummation of the new regal practice. Süleyman's successors recognized the *ḥarem* as the ideal stage for their changing way of life. They found this institution the most suitable place for their desire to hide themselves from the gaze of the outer world. Just a decade or two after Süleyman's death, Mehmed II's programme of royal isolation had become a reality. The Sultans of that period abandoned the male sector of their private quarters and spent most of their private life in the *ḥarem*, which was rebuilt and considerably enlarged.

As a result of this change, a new centre of power emerged in the rivalry with the *dīvān*, led by the Grand Vizier, and in the struggle for political influence, the Palace soon came to prevail. Taking advantage of their closeness to the monarch, the officeholders of the *ḥarem* and the *enderūn* had more and more say in public affairs, especially the allocation of posts. The ascendancy of the Palace was ensured by the fact that an unprecedented number of people employed or trained by the *ḥarem* and the *enderūn* were installed in the highest state offices (including posts of *beğlerbeğ*is, *sancaḳbeğ*is). The number of consulting Viziers was boosted from three or four to seven and temporarily even to eleven in the *dīvān*. As all the new Viziers were men of the Palace, with the task of keeping an eye on the Grand Vizier, power relations changed to the detriment of the traditional elite in the Imperial Council as well.[41]

The usual interpretation of these changes runs as follows: the Sultans retired from the handling of public affairs and devoted themselves to the pleasures of life, renouncing their power in favour of the *ḥarem*. This view, however, can hardly be maintained in this form. On the bases of the *telḫīṣ* collections it can be stated that the sovereigns, instead of neglecting their royal duties, intervened in the work of the administration to a so far unknown extent. Sometimes they reserved the right to ultimately decide even in the most trivial questions. It is, therefore more correct to say that by the end of the sixteenth century, the deci-

[40] İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, Şehzade Mustafa'nın ölümünde medhali olan vezir-i âzam Rüstem Paşa'nın ikinci sadaretinde yeniçerilerin ağalarından şikâyeti havi Kanunî Sultan Süleyman ile Rüstem Paşa'ya pek ağır mektupları. *Belleten* 31. 122 (1967), 199. At the beginning of his reign, Süleyman created an uproar by vesting with the *ser'asker* title his favourite, the Grand Vizier İbrahim (in 1529). According to Celalzade — who produced the diploma of appointment on behalf of the Sultan — the sovereign accounted for his decision by stating that the administration of the expanding Empire imposed too heavy a burden on him, and "it is not proper that we should be personally engaged in every affair" (see İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, Onaltıncı asır ortalarında yaşamış olan iki büyük şahsiyet: Tosyalı Celâl zâde Mustafa ve Salih Çelebiler. *Belleten* 22. 87 (1958), 401: note 27).

[41] For the number of viziers and the method of selecting them: K. Röhrborn, *Die Emanzipation*, 130ff; *idem, Untersuchungen*, 15.

sion making and executive centres had become separated in the Ottoman state; the former remained identical with the Sultan isolated from the public, with a new branch of political elite evolving around his person, while the latter was embodied by the officeholders and official machinery of the *dīvān-i ᶜālī*. Considering the change from the angle of the expanding influence of the Palace staff, one may assert that the patrimonial household spectacularly superseded the state, and the political decisions were made in the new centre, in which the Sultan continued to perform a dominant role.

Nevertheless, the padishahs did renounce something that was crucially important from the point of view of the legitimacy of their rule. As mentioned above, the Near East concept of state, the principle of the "circle of equity" demanded the monarch's personal participation in the administration of justice and the protection of the rights of his subjects. Due to the above-mentioned changes, the Sultans were less willing and able to meet this requirement, since their seclusion and absence from the meetings of the Imperial Council practically terminated all possibilities for ordinary subjects to appear before them. This situation was little altered by the fact that to honour tradition, one or two occasions were preserved — at least in theory — for petitioners to approach the Sultan. Such occasions arose during the march to the Friday prayer, during hunts and inspection tours of Istanbul, when anyone could hand over a petition to the monarch, or more precisely, to members of his retinue. The Sultans, however, hardly ever dealt personally with remedying the grievances — except for petitions treating politically delicate affairs involving the upper circles and the army. Instead, these documents were sent over to the Grand Vizier, who was ordered to investigate the cases and settle them satisfactorily.[42]

Although never before were justice and the Sultan's relevant duties referred to so frequently as in the period under consideration, there were many — especially the social strata that were losers in the political and social changes — who thought the sovereign's Court had turned its back upon this principle, despite its importance in filling the void in the legitimacy of the dynasty. If one can believe Mustafa Ali, the passionate critic of the conditions at the close of the century, Murad III himself admitted the changing of this view when he declared his opinion about righteousness: "What you call justice is a lack of revenues, and what you consider compassion for the subjects prevents the increase of dinars and dirhems."[43]

[42] For the administration of petitions (*ᶜarż-i ḥāl* or *ruḳᶜa*): K. Aksüt, *Koçi Bey risalesi*, 121, 125–126; F. R. Unat, Sadrazam Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Paşa lâyihası. *Tarih Vesikaları* 1. 6 (1941–1942), 452, 467. On the complaint process in general and as a means of political communication between state and society, compare H. İnalcık, Şikayet hakkı: *ᶜarż-i ḥāl* ve *ᶜarż-i maḥżar*'lar. *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 7–8 (1988), 33–54 and S. Faroqhi, Political Activity among Ottoman Taxpayers and the Problem of Sultanic Legitimation (1570–1650). *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 35 (1992), 1–39.

[43] C. H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*, 229.

The shift of the power centre also entailed considerable changes in the relationship between the Sultan and the Grand Vizier. The former direct intercourse was a thing of the past and it became a special favour for Grand Viziers to be allowed to appear before the monarch in person. Since the sovereigns seldom visited the Imperial Council and the number of audiences also decreased, they communicated with the highest dignitary of their Empire mostly through mediators. Grand Viziers tried to counteract their subordination in two different ways. On the one hand, they made repeated attempts to convince the ruler that personal discussions and the Sultan's personal participation in the meetings of the *dīvān* were needed for state reasons. Their efforts, however, were hardly ever crowned with success. On the other hand, they did their best to cut off the remaining ties between the monarch and the outside world. This effort, which seemingly contradicted the Grand Viziers' interests, is best reflected in Sinan Paşa's "war" against the so-called *tezvīr kāğıd*s (false papers, meaning: petitions with intriguing design). The Sultan's above-mentioned public appearances provided an opportunity, not only to those petitioners who were motivated by real grievances, but also to intriguers and groups who used the opportunity to accuse and discredit one another before the sovereign by submitting anonymous letters or petitions signed under someone else's name. Since Grand Viziers were permanent targets of these machinations, it is understandable that Sinan lashed out passionately in almost all of his reports against this practice of petitioning, making no secret of his opinion that he considered the practice very harmful. Though he did not dare to ask for a ban on this practice, he made several proposals to avoid the unnecessary complications and deter libellers. He suggested that the Sultan should leave his Palace accompanied by five or six literate *ḳapucı*s, whose task would be to peruse the petitions upon receipt, and if they contained accusations the *ḳapucı*s should arrest the petitioners. It is not known what became of Sinan Paşa's proposal, but it is certainly remarkable that this question totally disappeared from the writings of his successors.[44]

In violently attacking the *tezvīr kāğıd* or this form of royal jurisdiction in general, Sinan Paşa acted in complete harmony with a new principle, according to which the Grand Vizier became the leading mediator between the monarch and the world outside the Palace. There is no knowing exactly when this mediating role, also implied by the previous structure, became so important, but it can obviously be regarded as one of the results of the Sultan's isolation. It is also a fact concluded from the *telḫīṣ*es, that at the end of the sixteenth century, most of the reports came to the Sultan through the Grand Vizier. Tevḳīʿī ʿAbdurraḥman Paşa's *ḳānūnnāme* makes it clear that this authority of the Grand Vizier became one of the mainstays of the Ottoman political system in the first half of the seventeenth century, for he states in the first part of his work: it is "the duty of the state dignitaries and members of religious orthodoxy serving at the Imperial Threshold, and of the governors and judges living in various regions of the country, to report the cases they are obliged to report to the Grand Vizier ... The

[44] Revan 1943, fol. 14a.

right to make submissions directly to the Noble Stirrup and to report affairs concerning the High Empire is reserved for the Grand Vizier".[45]

This "privilege" seemingly enhanced the prestige of the Grand Vizier's post. In reality, however, it can be interpreted as a new sign of subjection. First of all, the obligation of reporting limited the Grand Vizier's possibilities for independent action. From this point of view, it was an important new development that the Grand Vizier's authority for appointments was considerably curtailed. His nominations for court offices (*ḳapu dirliği* including the posts of the salaried troops of the Court) became valid only with the Sultan's assent. Although the chronicler Mustafa Ali probably exaggerates when stating that since Murad III's reign the Grand Vizier could only provide for unimportant appointments within his own sphere of authority, there is no doubt that the sphere of their activity had decreased and they had to turn to the sovereign in more and more cases. While Mehmed II's *ḳānūnnāme* had allowed the *ḳādī-i ʿaskers* and the *defterdārs* to assign offices with a daily income of two *akçe bilā ʿarż* (without reporting), around 1590 Sinan Paşa described it as a serious abuse of power that during Siyavuş Paşa's Grand Viziership *ḳapu dirliğis* and *terraḳīs* (payrise) were distributed in the *dīvān* without the monarch's assent. He noted that this practice would have also been illegal fifty years earlier.[46] Koçi Bey takes an even stronger stand in his submission of 1640: "My Felicitous Sovereign, even the granting of a one-*akçe* prebend (*dirlik*) is my padishah's privilege. It is not to be tolerated that either the Grand Vizier or the *ağa* of the janissaries could assign even a single-*akçe* prebend."[47]

Dependence from the Sultan or the retinue of the monarch also became more pronounced in other questions. A large number of passages could be quoted from the *telḫīṣes* to illustrate that the sovereigns had always kept an eye on the Grand Viziers' moves, recorded their mistakes and expected them to obey all their instructions. The Grand Viziers had no alternative, but to make apologies all the time, and had little hope the Sultan would take their side. Consequently, the Grand Viziers began to feel frightened. As the author of the already mentioned Mirror for Princes aptly remarks: "While formerly the whole world was in fear of the Grand Viziers, now the bearers of this dignity have been reduced to a position of fearing the whole world."[48] This fear was especially justified when they were faced with cases like social unrest, janissary mutiny, and the *ḳādī* movement, behind which they clearly recognized the cooperation of the influential circles of the Palace and their collaborators in the state administration. In these cases, it was in the personal interest of the Grand Vizier not to give sincere information contrary to expectations, for it was not advisable to arouse the anger of those concerned. This caution explains such strange statements in the *telḫīṣes* such as "I am afraid to report anything to the noble dust under my

[45] TAP, 498–499.

[46] A. Özcan, Fâtih'in teşkilât kanunnâmesi., 40; Revan 1943, fol. 27a; cf. fol. 34b.

[47] K. Aksüt, *Koçi Bey risalesi*, 84.

[48] Y. Yücel, *Kitab-i müstetab*, 19.

Sultan's feet" or "there are numerous cases to write and report, but there is not enough courage to put forth everything in accordance with reality".[49] Grand Viziers were fully aware that these changes adversely influenced the stability of the Ottoman political system ("...See, this is the source of the lack of discipline and disruption of order"), nevertheless, they could hardly do anything against it.[50] The strong-willed Sinan belonged to a small group of those who, at least, made attempts. He made it clear at one place that as Grand Vizier he always followed the Sultan's instructions and he would do so in future as well, except — note an interesting effort to formulate a kind of "Clause of Resistance" — in cases when an order was inconsistent with the sovereign's responsibility before God or the interests of the Empire. It is characteristic of the Grand Vizier's limited authority that he deemed it necessary to add: "But we would not do so before we have reported again".[51]

As is evident from the above, at the end of the sixteenth century the Sultan and the Grand Vizier mostly communicated in writing. Those cases, which required the monarch's decision — and the number of these gradually increased — as well as the reports and petitions received from the state officials and the subject population, were restated in the Grand Vizier's submissions, the *telḫīṣes*. The Sultan imparted his decision to the Grand Vizier by writing a short order, the *ḫaṭṭ-i hümāyūn* (or *ḫaṭṭ-i şerīf*, but it was also called *işāret* or *buyuruldı*) on the *telḫīṣ* with his own hand. This procedure was the logical consequence of the above described political changes. Thus, the notion of the *telḫīṣ* represents much more than a simple type of document that "suddenly" emerged in the practice of the Ottoman administration. Underlying the *telḫīṣ* is the emergence of a new administrative mechanism, which marked a separate phase — the phase of consummation — in the long process in which the programme of "princely isolation" was realized. It was in this new mechanism, in the bureaucratized relationship between the Sultan and his highest official that the new practice of reigning became apparent. Although there was in principle adherence to the concept of state based on justice, the Sultans, in reality, turned away from it, and sought to transplant a vague copy of "divine kingship" into the political system of the Ottoman Empire.

[49] Revan 1943, fol. 29a, 13a.
[50] Revan 1943, fol. 31b, cf. fol. 40a.
[51] Revan 1943, fol. 33a.

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DUAL KINGSHIP AND THE SEVEN CHIEFTAINS OF THE HUNGARIANS IN THE ERA OF THE CONQUEST AND THE RAIDS

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The ruling system of the Hungarians in the 9th century and around the time of the conquest "Landnahme" is not exclusively a question of Hungarian history: since its roots and development could only be understood in a Eurasian perspective, it is a subject for oriental studies as well. The principality of "king" Levedi in the former Hungarian settlement Etelkuzu (Ukraina and Moldavia) derived from a glorious clan dated back to Khazar — and eventually Central Asian Old-Turkic — origin on the one hand, and so did also the totem-ancestor of the rival Arpad house, the *turul* (< Turkic *toghrul* 'hawk').[1] While Attila, their progenitor named in the Hungarian chronicles, on the other hand was believed to be the ruler of the Huns, whose forefathers lived on the borders of China before the birth of Christ.

Let me stress at this point that deriving the Hungarians from the Huns is one of the fictions of history. Attila died in his palace by the Tisza in A.D. 453, before the Sabirs, who gave their name to Siberia, drove the forefathers of the Magyars together with the Onogurs (of whom name derive the denomination *Ungar* 'Hungarian'), westward across the Volga.[2] These peoples belonged to the Hun Empire just like many Turkic and Old-Iranian tribes earlier, and several Germanic and Slavic tribes later. The origin of the peoples had little to do with the dynasties ruling over them, and the ruling elite of the nomadic princes constituted a supra-national organization. In nomadic empires, rulers also took wives from other countries and surrounded themselves with escorts of foreign bodyguards, scribes and artisans.

Living on the northern fringes of the steppe and later on the steppe itself next to and mixed with Iranian, Onogur, Khazar, Greek and Slavic peoples for thousands of years, the Hungarians became so variegated and diverse that, unlike many other peoples, they were able to preserve their ethnicity and to found a solid state. A contributory factor to that was the system of rule of Turko-Khazar

[1] Gombocz, Z., Die bulgarisch-türkischen Lehnwörter in der ungarischen Sprache. *MSFOu.* XXX, Helsinki 1912, 133; *A magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára* [Historical-etymological dictionary of the Hungarian language]. Ed.: Benkő, L., Budapest 1967–76 [= *TESz*] III, 1006–7.

[2] Moravcsik, Gy., Zur Geschichte der Onoguren. *Studia Byzantina*, Budapest 1967, 86–90.

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origin from which the 9th century dual kingship of the Hungarians in Etelkuzu (between the Don and the Lower Danube)[3] and as a next step, the Hungarian kingdom, evolved.

It has long been a point of contention in Hungarian prehistory whether the ruling system of the settling Hungarians was of the Turco-Khazar dual principality type, or from the very beginning of the conquest the glorious Arpad dynasty had supreme power. Systematic historiography requires the study of this question to start out from incontestable contemporaneous sources and evaluate the later sources in view of the time separating them from the described events and of the side whose interest the chronicler represented.

Two contemporaneous sources confirm the 9th century existence of a dual kingship among the Hungarians. The geography attributed to Jayhani, whose more precise Persian text survived in the Persian geography of Gardizi and its Arabic version that came down in Ibn Rusta's works, gave an account of the land and people of the "Magyars" living between the Don and the Danube. It indicates that the title of the higher prince of the Hungarians was *kende* (*k.nd.'*), but the person actually ruling over them was titled *jila* (*jil.'*).[4]

According to the contemporaneous record of the "Continuatio Georgii monachi", the envoy of Leo the Wise, Emperor of Byzantium, met with the two heads of the Hungarians, Arpad and Kusan (*tais kefalais auton, Arpade kai Kusane*) at the Lower Danube in 893, before the conquest of the Carpathian Basin, to discuss the question of attacking the Bulgars. The two *kefalai*s undifferentiated by title are *Arpad* and *Curzan* known from the Hungarian chronicles.[5]

German annals also contain contemporaneous data for the years right after the conquest. For the year 904, the "Annales Alamannici" notes that the Bavarians ambushed and killed the leader of the Hungarians, *dux Chussal*, at a feast.[6] The name *Kussal* is a linguistic variant of the more original *Kussan*. It is peculiar, however, that neither the name of Arpad nor those of the other settling chieftains can be traced in western sources.

As against these irrefutable data, the envoys *Bultzu karchas* (Bulcsu harka) and Arpad's great-grandson prince *Termatzu* (*Tarmach*, Tormás) delegated by the Arpad House to Byzantium in 948, presented a story to Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus about Arpad's accession to absolute power that said that "Before this Arpad, the Turks had never at any time had any other prince (*archon*), and so even to this day the prince of Turkey is from his family".

[3] Györffy, Gy., *Lexikon des Mittelalters* [= *Lex. d. MA.*] IV. 14.

[4] *A magyar honfoglalás kútfői* [Sources of the Hungarian Conquest]. Eds Pauler, Gy.–Szilágyi, S., Budapest 1900 [= *MHK*], 169–170.

[5] Moravcsik, Gy., *Az Árpád-kori magyar történet bizánci forrásai* [Byzantine Sources of the History of Hungary in the Arpadian Age] — *Fontes Byzantini historiae Hungaricae aevo ducum et regum ex stirpe Arpad descendentium*. Budapest 1984 [= Moravcsik, *Fontes*]), 59.

[6] *MGH.* SS. I, 54 = Gombos, *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungaricae*, Budapest 1938, I, 91 (incorrectly); *Magnae Moraviae fontes historici*, Brno 1969, IV, 370; in the secondary Annales Sangallenses 902: the name *Chussol* can be found: *Ibid.*, 386.

His rise to supreme power also presumes that before him there was a first leader from a "glorious clan" (*tu genus perifanes*), Levedi, whom the Khazar kagan gave a high-born (*eugene*) Khazar woman to marry. After the first Pecheneg onslaught on the Hungarians, the Khazar kagan summoned Levedi, since he was the "first voivode of the Turks" (*protos voevodos*; the Slavic interpreter rendered *archon* by *voivode*) with the intention of making him their prince. According to the mediators of tradition, Levedi turned him down with an unusual excuse for a monarch: "I am not strong enough [*adunatos*] for this rule".[7] (But he had the strength to travel from around the mouth of the Dniester and Bug to the mouth of the Volga and the Caucasus, avoiding the Pechenegs wedged in 893 between the Don and the Dnieper, to solicit help from the Khazar kagan!)

According to the subsequent account of the Hungarian leaders, Levedi — who had no son by his high-born Khazar wife (though he could have some by other wives, polygamy being prevalent)[8] — recommended the other leader Almos, or his son Arpad. The Kagan accepted the resignation and the chieftains of the Hungarians elected Arpad since "he was ... greatly admired for wisdom and counsel and valour and capable of this rule", and thus he was lifted on the shield.[9]

The authenticity of the story told 55 years after the event can be questioned for several reasons. In my view, in 948 Arpad's successors and followers used this story wiping out the dual principality to convince the Emperor in Byzantium that "Before this Arpad, the Turks had never at any time had any other prince, and so even to this day the prince of Turkey is from his family". This also runs counter to the tradition registered by the chroniclers of the Arpad House which says that Almos originating from the *turul* bird-ancestor was the first prince! It turns out from the version intended for the Greeks that in Etelkuzu there was a first king "from a glorious clan" with a "high-born Khazar wife" — Levedi — and there was a second king, Almos, whose noble origin is unmentioned, but whose "valour and capability" are emphasized. Tacitus differentiates two types of rulers by nobility and valour, saying: "*Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt*" (Germania 7).[10]

Should there be a Greek textual variant saying that Almos was the first leader from a glorious clan, and Levedi — his glorious clan unmentioned — was the second leader, it would indeed be justified to consider whether Almos had the dignity of *kündü* and Levedi that of *gyula*.

[7] *Constantine Porphyrogenitus De Administrando Imperio,* Eds Gy. Moravcsik–R. J. Jenkins, Washington 1967 [= *DAI*], 170–173.

[8] Zeki Validi Togan, A., *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, Leipzig 1939, 100: As Ibn Fadlan noted, the Kazar kagan had 25 wives, all daughters of submitted peoples, and 60 beautiful concubines.

[9] See note 7.

[10] Györffy, Gy., Arpad, Persönlichkeit und historische Rolle. *Acta Antiqua Acad. Scient. Hung.* 1978, 115–136.

In the Hungarian chronicles one can detect two versions of the fact that one of the seven Hungarian chieftains of the conquest was called *kündü* (*Cundu ~ Kund*). According to an archaic variant of a legend from the Arpadian age, the final settlement in Hungary had two protagonists, *Arpad filius Almus* and *Kusid filius Kund* sent to Svatopluk (+894) to purchase land. They are also included among the seven chieftains: *Almus* (Almos)'s son *Arpad* in the first place, *Zobolch* (Szabolcs) in the second, *Gyula* in the third, then *Cund*'s son *Kusid* in the fourth.[11] According to Anonymus, who used the Proto-Gesta Hungarorum, but also conveys the tradition, the first of the chieftains was *Almos*'s son *Arpad*, second was *Eleud* (Előd)'s son *Zobolsu* (Szabolcs), and the third was *Cundu*'s son *Curzan* (Kurszán). After the settlement, the latter had his seat in the large amphitheatre called *castrum Curzan* in Attila's town Óbuda, in what preceded the Romans' Aquincum in Budapest's suburb of Óbuda today.[12]

Should anyone find a Hungarian chronicle variant which mentions that Almos's father or ancestor had been *kündü*, there would be a reason to argue whether Arpad's or Curzan's forefathers had borne the *kündü* title of sacred princeship. Since, however, Almos's ancestors bore some other name and title, and another chieftain's dynasty is derived from *Cundu*, the association of the Arpad house with the dignity of *kündü ~ kende* is unwarranted.

The sources unanimously show Arpad as the chief commander of the final settlement — that is, in the role originally attributed to the *gyula*. According to Arabic and Persian sources, "every Hungarian obeys the commands of their leader called *jila* in matters of war, defence and other affairs". and "the Hungarians do what the *jila* orders them to do".[13] What else could that be than the definition of the authority of the generalissimo, the "Heerkönig" of the Germans?

[11] *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*, ed.: E. Szentpétery, Budapestini 1937–38. [= *SRH*], I, 165–166, 287–291. The name *Kusid* might also come from misreading *d* for the letters *ol* in the form *Kusiol* of the more original *Kussol*, yet it is unlikely because the writer of the chronicle preserved the name in the age of Stephen V (1270–72), Master Ákos, provost of Óbuda (Mályusz, E., *Az V. István-kori Gesta* [The Gesta from the Age of Stephen V], Budapest 1970; *Johannes de Thuróczi Chronica Hungarorum*, II/1. *Commentarii*. Ed.: E. Mályusz, adjuv. J. Kristó, Budapest 1988, index.) knew well from Anonymus's Gesta the name of the chieftain settling in Óbuda, *Cundu's son Kurzan*, which was also used around 1263 in the name of the *Korzan genus* (clan) possessing land in and around Óbuda (*Századok* 1899, 722; for this clan, see Karácsonyi, J., *A magyar nemzetségek a XIV. század közepéig* [Hungarian clans up to the mid-14th century], Budapest 1901, II, 305–307), but he must also have known the still extant large military amphitheatre in Óbuda called *castrum Kurzan* in the Middle Ages (Györffy, Gy., Kurzan und Kurzans Burg. Angaben zur Frage des Doppelkönigtums und zur Geschichte von Óbuda zur Zeit der Landnahme. In: *Budapest Régiségei* [Antiquivities of Budapest], XVI. 1956, 35–40).

[12] It must be related to the awareness of the earlier possession of the Attila castle that an offspring of the Kartal-Kurszán clan born around 1250 was given Attila's Hungarian name *Etele* (Karácsonyi, *op. cit.*, II, 306–307).

[13] *MHK* (see note 4) 167–168.

Among the Hungarians the dignity of *kündü* was not yet endowed with the extreme characteristics of the sacred king isolated from the mortals which it became in the 9th–10th centuries among the Khazars and which can be observed among several Asian and African peoples, but it remained what it used to be in the Turkic Empire and among other Turkic peoples: the designation of the weaker or younger kagan of divine origin, but lesser authority, beside whom it was often the commander of the army who was the chief decision-maker.[14]

Neither Levedi, possibly bearing the title *kündü*, nor Curzan were involved in commanding the army; their principal role was establishing contacts with foreign countries. That implied dynastic marriages which belonged to the role of the kagan and not the commander-in-chief in the Khazar Empire; several other countries can be cited where this issue belongs with the divine king and not the head of government. Levedi's first wife was a Khazar princess and he was obliged by his position to go and negotiate in Khazaria in person. After Arpad, Levedi's successor, the young Curzan also received the envoy of the Greek Emperor seeking support against the Bulgars. The Hungarian chronicles traditionally declare that Kündü's son *Curzan* (the more original form *Kussan* is replaced here by *Kusid*) entered into an agreement with the Moravian prince Svatopluk.[15] Presumably, the Bavarians lured *Kussan*, here called *Kussal*, into the trap after the occupation of Pannonia in 900, on the pretext of concluding peace on the border, perhaps also promising a princely bride.

Curzan's assassination by the Bavarians turned Arpad from *de facto* into *de jure* ruler as well, which is also confirmed by his burial in Óbuda, next to *castrum Curzan*.[16] There is no way of knowing what the title of Arpad originally was, but his successors referred to him as great prince of Turkey (*megas archon*) in Byzantium. Probably he did not lay claim to the title of *kende* or *kündü*, but in the Turkic terminology he was entitled to be called *Arpa khan* by the local Turks.[17]

The fact that *Bultzu* and *Termatzu* in 948 in Byzantium kept silent about Arpad's fellow ruler, stating that there had been only one prince; they omitted the oldest of Arpad's sons prince Levente called *Liuntika* in the Greek source[18] and when listing the rest of his sons and grandsons they only mentioned *Falis* ~ Falitzi (Fajsz), that he was endowed with princeship, suggests that between Arpad and Fajsz none of the listed sons of Arpad bore the title of prince.

It demonstrates well the defectiveness of Hungarian tradition that the Proto-chronicle and in its wake Anonymus knew only one son of Arpad, *Zulta*

[14] Györffy, Gy., A nemzetségtől a vármegyéig, a törzstől az országig [From Clan to County, from Tribe to Country], [résumé: Du clan hongrois au comitat, de la tribu au pays]. *Századok* 1958, 565–595, 950–951.

[15] *SRH* (see note 11) I, 288.

[16] *Ibid.*, 106.

[17] The title *qaghan* was also adopted by the Norman-Rus, see Ibn Rusta: *MHK* 182; Hudūd al-ᶜĀlam, *"The Regions of the World"*... by V. Minorsky, London 1937, Index.

[18] *DAI* I, 170, 301.

(Zolta) from whom *Toxun* (Taksony) and the royal family derived, and they did not even register the name of Fajsz. From among the rest of Arpad's offspring, Anonymus mentions only *Jelech* (< Turkic *iligh* 'prince', *Üllő* and *Jelő* in Hungarian proper names) in the ancient form *Hülec* as Arpad's kin, and the later lived *Tas*, whom Anonymus mistakenly added to the seven conqueror chieftains.[19]

Neither do the Hungarian chronicles inform us of any domestic strife or struggles for power during the reign of the Hungarian chieftains in the 10th century. This is all the more surprising since the richly documented 11th century sources of Hungarian history preserved the memory of nearly ten "civil wars" between Cupan (Koppány) of the Arpad dynasty (+997) and Prince Almos blinded in 1114, six of which led to dethronement. Since in that age, seniority, primogeniture or the capability of ruling were enough pretext to unsheathe the sword, in the era of the raids (899–955) the restoration of a dual principality was probably added to these sources of conflict also familiar in the East.

Doubts about the continuity of the Arpad dynasty in power seem to be confirmed by Emperor Constantine's work "De Ceremoniis", which records the address of a letter to be sent to the Hungarian rulers during the joint reign of the same Konstantinos VII and Romanos (919–944): "To the princes of the Turks" (*Eis tús archontas tón Turkón*). The letter was to be sealed by a golden seal worth two solidus similarly to the letter sent to the king of the Franks.[20] Some scholars inferred the anarchy of chieftains from these lines. But I think it is possible that Arpad's autocratic rule the old system returned, bringing back the duality of *kündü* and *gyula* with the possible addition of the leadership over the Kabar and Székely tribes who had joined the Hungarians in the 9th century might also be considered as prince. Before discussing this in detail, something needs to be said about the authenticity of the lists of Hungarian chieftains in the Hungarian chronicles.

Two different lists have preserved the names of the seven chieftains conquering the land of final settlement.

The list of names recorded around 1100 by the lost "Gesta Ungarorum", which survived in the Hungarian chronicles written around 1270–80, is not authentic. Confirmation of this is that the sixth and seventh chieftains are *Leel* and *Bulchu*, killed by the Bavarian Prince Henry after the Hungarians' defeat at

[19] Pais, *SRH* I, 61, 74; Györffy, Gy., *Système de résidence d'hiver et d'été chez les nomades et les chefs hongrois au Xe siècle: Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* [= *AEMA*], I (1976), 56–61. On the Byzantian form of the name *Ielech* see the place name1211: *Jelec*, 1214: *Jelech* (Erdélyi, L., *A Pannonhalmi Szent Benedek-rend története* [The History of the Benedictine Order in Pannonhalma], Budapest 1902-, I, 622, 629).

[20] *Constantini Porphyrogeniti ... De ceremoniis,* rec. I. I. Reiske, Bonnae 1829. I, 691; Moravcsik, Gy., *Fontes,* 34.

Lechfeld (955).[21] It can be verified that the writer of the chronicle compiled the list from legendary names.[22] It struck me after a time that the first and second chieftains Arpad and Szabolcs (*Zobolch*) were not to be understood as temporally simultaneous, but successive leaders.

As for Szabolcs, he might have been Arpad's brother or nephew, because he was a descendant from the same ancestor called Előd (*Eleud*) and his descendant Beatus Maurus de genere Chak (+1337) is reported by a contemporaneus biography to have stemmed *ex illustri stirpe regum Hungarorum*.[23] When it is added that his residences could be traced partly to the counties of Bihar-Nyírség and Hevesújvár possessed by the heirs to the throne and the princes, and partly to the vicinity of Arpad's residences around Székesfehérvár and Pécs, one can regard Szabolcs as the second *gyula* following Arpad in the dignity.[24]

In the steppe nomadic leaders changed their quarters along the rivers in the spring and autumn, shuttling between the lower winter residence and upper summer residence. This is confirmed not only by Arpad's migration southward of his summer residence on Csepel Island (beginning in southern Budapest) and south of Székesfehérvár, but according to the place names indicating such residence, and also by the seasonal migration of his sons and grandsons. They moved in four directions from the royal *curtis* centre called Halom next to the archiepiscopal seat in Kalocsa, along four tributaries of the Danube: Tarhos, his son Tevel and his son Tormás moved along the river Kapos; Üllő and his son Tas went southward of the area along the Csepel branch of the Danube, Jutas and his son Fajsz followed the Sárvíz springing near Veszprém to the Danube, while the youngest, Zolta and his son Taksony moved along the river Vajas flowing from Kalocsa to under the town of Bács (Bač).[25]

In addition, the sons of Arpad possessed the two dukedoms (ducatus), that of Bihar–Szabolcs east of the Tisza and that of Nyitra (since 1920: Western Slovakia), while their relatives on the male and female lines owned the counties of Aba- and Hevesújvár in the valleys of the Tarna and the Hernád, the northern tributaries of the Tisza.

The name of the oldest son *Levente* was recalled by two place names. One is *Levente* in Abaújvár county, the residence of the nobleman *Tenger ... de Luente* of 1297, later called *Tengerfalva* and today *Tengeritanya* along the river

[21] Reindel, K., *Die bayerischen Luitpoldinger 893–989,* München 1953, 216–220; Györffy, Gy., Landnahme, Ansiedlung und Streifzüge der Ungarn. *Acta Hist. Acad. Scient. Hung.* 1985, 266–268.

[22] Györffy, Gy., *Krónikáink és a magyar őstörténet* [The Hungarian Chronicles and the Early History of Hungary] (résumé: *Les chroniques hongroises et l'histoire primitive des Hongrois*) [= *Krónikáink*], Budapest 1948, 98 sqq., 185 sqq.

[23] Gombos, A. F., *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungaricae*, Budapest 1938. III, 2553.

[24] Györffy, Gy., *AEMA* I (1976), 83–89.

[25] *Ibid.*, 45–81, 93–98.

Hernád,[26] the other is *Laventenburch* (1054)[27] recently called *Lundenburg* or *Břetslav* next to the southern centre of Moravia conquered in 902. Levente's reign in Moravia can be associated with the tradition recorded by Anonymus which reported that Arpad's "only" son Zolta married the daughter of the Prince of Bihar, *Morout ~ Menomorout*, found and defeated by the Magyars between the Tisza and Transylvania. Menomorout was made up by the chronicler; *Morout* (< *Moravci*), an ethnonym derived from the name of the river Morava, was the old Hungarian name for the Moravians. It survived in tradition as the name of a defeated leader of the Carpathian Basin. The tradition that Arpad's son married into Moravia can best be associated with Arpad's oldest son Levente,[28] since of his five sons the youngest, Zolta, was born only around 900.

Neither can Anonymus's list of the seven chieftains be regarded as authentic; he compiled it around 1200, partly in the knowledge of the old chronicle, and partly on the basis of the family traditions of the barons. The seven chieftains according to his list were: Almos's son Arpad, Eleud's son Szabolcs (*Zobolsu*), Kündü's son Curzan, Ónd's son Ete, Tosu (Tas)'s son Leel, Huba, and Tühütüm (in today's placename: Tétény) and his son Horca. Added to these are "seven Coman", i.e. Kabar leaders and another seven leading personages, plus five champions.[29] Anonymus himself did not know when exactly the persons mentioned lived between 895 and 955, or what family ties bound them together. With the help of the residence of the clans derived from them and the place-names of the Arpad age their quarters can mostly be located.

Misunderstanding the oral tradition, Anonymus also recalled the Hungarian tribal areas in another form. In old Hungarian *dux* was *úr* (< *uru*) 'lord, chieftain, dux', the territory of his dominion, the *ducatus* was *uruzag*, today *ország*, 'country'. An account of the fights of the chieftains for a land to settle required enemy leaders and their countries as well. He had no other information than popular etymologies connected to certain names and the tradition that prior to the kingdom there were various *duces* and their *ducati* here whom the Arpads had put down. In fact, the countries of the defeated *duces* did not exist before 895, they were the *uruzag*-s of the *uru*'s, the Hungarian equivalent for *dux*. It has long been known that the model for the Transylvanian country of the chieftain *Gelou* (*Gyalu*), defeated according to Anonymus by Arpad's chieftains, was the

[26] Dl 89 261; in the publication (Hazai oklevéltár [Codex Diplomaticus Patrius], Budapest 1879, 157) it is incorrectly written as *Duente*; Csánki, D., Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában [Hungary's Historical Geography in the Age of the Hunyadis], Budapest 1880- [= Cs.], I, 219: *Tengerfalva*; today *Tengeri-tanya*.

[27] Györffy, Gy., *Der Donauraum zwischen Bayern, Mähren und Ungarn im 10. Jahrhundert; Bayern, Ungarn und Slawen im Donauraum. (Forschungen zur Geschichte der Städte und Märkte Österreichs, 4.)* Linz/Donau 1991, 44–45; *Diplomata Hungariae Antiquissima*, Ed.: G. Györffy, Budapest [= *DHA*] 1992. I, 156.

[28] *SRH* I, 49ff. Cf. Vajay, S. de: *Der Eintritt des ungarischen Stämmebundes in die europäische Geschichte,* Mainz 1968, 38.

[29] *SRH* I, 54–55, 61; Györffy: *Krónikáink,* 108ff., 185–186.

Transylvanian country of chieftain Gyula which existed until 1002. About Glad, the leader of the country in the region of the Maros–Temes, Anonymus himself remarks that the Hungarian dux Ajtony (+1008) derived from him. Before 1100, the *ducati* of Bihar–Szabolcs and Nyitra were territories possessed by princes of the Arpad house. Of *Salan*'s country on the left bank of the Tisza, it can be demonstrated that once it was the land of the settling ancestor *Ónd* of the aristocratic family *Kalan*, stretching from the *Ondava* (< Slavic *Ond* + *ava*), the upper affluent of the Tisza, to Titel at its mouth.[30]

A comparison of the tradition preserved in the sources with the conditions of residence appears to indicate that after the death of the absolute ruler Arpad, the banks of the Danube were again possessed by two princes. I infer from place names preserving the names of the chieftains and from the relationships of land possession that Arpad was succeeded by Szabolcs in ruling over the stretch of the Danube region from Csepel Island down to the Drava, while the Danube section possessed earlier by Curzan went into the hand of Tühütüm (> Tétény), at least from Tétény (Tadten) next to the lake Fertő (Neusiedler See) to Tétény under Budapest. The personal name *Tühütüm* derives from a dignity name which comes from the well-known *tigit* form of *tegin* 'prince of a ruling house' used as a title by the Turk kagans, supplied with the possessive suffix *-m*.[31]

To prove the revival of the title *künd(ü) ~ kend(e) ~ kend* in the 10th century, one may cite the fact that the occupation "kende's vine-dresser" (1274–1275: *Kendzeleus*) indicating a court servant in the Arpad age appears in a place name in the Eastern-Balaton region, *Kendszőllős*, and the occupation of *kendbocsár* (1299: *kendbuchar*) 'kende's cup-bearer' occurs in Jutas, by Veszprém.[32] These must be reflections of a court structure from the age of the raids, rather than from the Etelkuzu or the period before 904. Accordingly, I am obliged to modify partly an earlier hypothesis of mine, in which I assumed that the emergence of all *Kend* settlements along the borders of Hungary and the resettling of the *populi kék-kend* 'Sky-blue-Kend' groups from the seat of the kende, Buda, to guard the frontiers, might have been only the work of Arpad, after the death of Curzan (904); the relocation might be ascribed partly also to the defeating of a later-lived *kende*, too.[33]

By 942 the ruling system, in which the first leader of the Hungarians bore the *gyula* title, had been restored. This is indicated by the fifth volume of the Cordoban Arab Ibn Ḥayyān (+1076)'s Andalusian History which has recently

[30] Györffy, G.: *Formation d'États au IXe siècle suivant les "Gesta Hungarorum" du Notaire Anonyme: Nouvelles Études Historiques publiées à l'occasion du XIIe Congrès International des Sciences Historiques*. Budapest 1965 [= *Formation d'États*], vol. I, 27–53.

[31] For the chieftains Szabolcs and *Tuhutum* (Tétény) cf. Györffy, *AEMA* I. (1976), 85–90, 119–121. For the origin of the name, see Melich, J., *Magyar Nyelv* [= *MNy*] 1925, 126; Németh, Gy., *HMK* 295. Cf. also Kiss, L., *Földrajzi nevek etimológiai szótára* [= *FNESz*] [Etymological Dictionary of Geographical Names], Budapest 1988[4] I, 262, II, 641.

[32] Györffy, *Budapest Régiségei,* XVI (1956), 25.

[33] *Ibid.*, 22–27.

been discovered in Morocco. On the basis of 10th century written reports, the author gives a detailed account of the Hungarians' incursions into Spain in 942, together with the names of the seven Hungarian leaders (*amīr*),[34] probably as told by the five warriors captured by the Arabs and incorporated into the caliph's guards. The assumption that the list contains the names of the officers of seven companies of the army raiding Iberia is disproved by the fact, apart from the widespread meaning of *amīr* 'leader, provincial governor', that it also includes names of well-known chieftains.[35] Based on the readings of K. Czeglédy and I. Elter, the following names can be regarded as identified: 1. *Tjila* (*Gyula*), 2. *Eğer*(*Ecser*), 3. *Vulğudi* (*Bulcsu*).[36]

First-named Djila (in Hungarian chronicles: *Gyula ~ Gyyla ~ Gyla ~ Geula ~ Jula*, etc.)[37] originally was not a personal name, but a dignity name[38] borne, in my view, by Arpad after Almos, then by their nephew Szabolcs (pronounced as Sabolč). In 942, however, Szabolcs cannot have been alive, so a son or grandson of Arpad could be thought of. Barring the omission of some names from Levente's line by Tormás and the other delegates when listing Arpad's descendants, we have to look for a name in the family tree presented by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, which can be traced on the right side of the Danube possessed by the princes. Since of Arpad's grandsons, only the quarters of the leader Fajsz (in Greek source *Falis ~ Falitzi*)[39] can be verified, stretching from the island called Szigetköz above Győr to Tolna county, one may assume that Fajsz, who ruled six years later, had earlier used the title of gyula.

[34] *Al-Muqtabas de [V.] Ibn Ḥayyān*, Ed.: P. Chalmeta. Madrid 1979, 483, and fascimile of page 324 of the manuscript: Table III.

[35] What principally confutes K. Czeglédy's hypothesis is that the persons concerned are seven commanders of the raiding army (*MNy* 1979, 282) also adopted by I. Elter (*Ibid.*, 1981, 419) is that the Hungarian regnant princes did not go on faraway raids together with the chieftains (Györffy, *ibid.*, 1980, 309). My assumption that the persons in question are the seven chieftains has now been adopted by others.

[36] In the knowledge of the Arabic source, P. Chalmeta interpreted the name of the first leader as follows: "Ils étaient sous les ordres de 7 chefs (*umara'*) et ils donnaient au plus grand le titre de *han* (*san*)" (*Rivista degli studi orientali* L (1976) 343); in possession of Chalmeta's new text edition (see note 34), I. Elter interprets and translates the text as follows (with K. Czeglédy's rectifications in []): *wa-kānū ʿalā sab'at umarā' yusammà aḥaduhum[u] l-aʿẓam šā'nan minhum Tyila(h) wa-yalīhi .h.r wa-l.h.w.d.y wa-x.ms.m.'.n wa-l.x.s wa-'.x.w.d wa-h.d.h.d.y* "belonged under seven chieftains. The highest of them in rank was called *Djila*. He was followed by *'.h.r ['.ğ.r]*, (then) *l.h.w.d.y [w-l.ğud y]*, (as well as) *x.s.m.'.n [b.š.m.'.n]*, (then) *l.x.s* and *.x.w.d*, and (finally) *h.d.h.d.y [h.r.h.r.y]*". (I. Elter, *MNy* 1981, 419, K. Czeglédy, *idem.*, 420–421).

[37] *SRH* I, 525.

[38] I. Varadi, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 82 (1989), 52 sqq, presented disputable arguments about this problem, ignoring the results of others.

[39] *Idem.*, 197, 205–207. The correspondence between the Hungarian name *Fajsz* and the Greek names *Falis ~ Falitzi* is proven by the old and widespread form *faly-* and *faj-* of the Hungarian verb *fal-* 'devour' (Gombocz Z.–Melich. J., *Magyar Etymologiai Szótár*, Budapest 1914–1930. I, 833; *Új magyar tájszótár* [New Dictionary of Hungarian Dialects]. Budapest 1988, II, 264).

The reading of Eğer (today Ecser) named second in the row is clear and irreplacable by other names from the Arpad age. Although the Hungarian chronicles did not know of a leader by this name, it can be spotted in several place names. The village of *Ecser* (*Echer*) in Fejér county belonged to the estates of the Chak dynasty derived from Szabolcs in the region of Székesfehérvár,[40] therefore its name-giver is most probably the successor of Szabolcs. In accord with that, several place names along the upper stretch of the Tarna, by the streamlet called *Ecser*, preserve the name of a perished village.[41] The Tarna itself joins the Zagyva at the medieval *Szabolcs* village by Szolnok. Neither can it be accidental that the Körös flows from the old village *Szabolcs* above Nagyvárad (Oradea) towards its confluence with the Tisza at *Ecser* puszta. The village of *Echer*, mentioned in 1138, is considered by J. Karácsonyi to be a 10th century princely estate together with prince Almos's other grants in 1108 to the royal chapter Dömös.[42] *Ecser* below Pest indicates that until 942 the left bank of the Danube around Budapest was his domain (Cs. I. 36).[43]

I have no doubt about the reading of the third chieftain *Vulšudi*, i.e. Bulcsudi, although the Arabic scribe omitted one of the two initial vav letters. This is a frequent mistake made in copied texts by foreigners.[44]

In my view, the group of characters *x.sman* for the 4th leader is to be read as Bašman. Three villages by that name in the Arpadian age merged between the rivers Vág and Nyitra.[45] A related name is that of the village of *Bossány* along the upper section of the Nyitra river, whose early form *Bosyan* can be understood as the Slavic popular etymology of the personal name *Bašman*.[46] In the ducatus of Nyitra, several place names preserved names of Arpad's sons and

[40] Györffy, Gy., *Geographia historica Hungariae tempore stirpis Arpadianae* [= *Gy.*]. Budapest 1984, II, 360.

[41] Györffy, I., *MNy* 1929, 73; *Magyarország földrajzi névtára* [Gazetteer of Hungary]. II. Heves county. Budapest 1980 (index and map).

[42] Cs. I., 69; Gy. I., 663, 894.

[43] Karácsonyi J., in: *Árpád és az Árpádok* [Arpad and the Arpad House]. Ed.: D. Csánki, Budapest 1907, 145.

[44] Regarding K. Czeglédy's reading *W.l.ğ.udi* (*MNy* 1979, 278; 1981, 421) I. Elter expresses doubts about Czeglédy's reading of the Arabic conjunction *w(a)* at the beginning of the name (*idem.*, 416–417) which are a little objectionable, for it is a frequent lapsus to omit a repeated syllable from a foreign name, see e.g. instead of *de Debrecen*, *de Brecen* and instead of *de Derechke*, *de Rechke*, committed several times by the Italian scribe of the papal tithes for 1332 (see e.g. Gy. I., 610–611, 613, III, 77–80). In the case of a Bulgarian interpreter the reason why a third vav is missing is that in Bulgar-Turkic names the initial *b-* takes the phonemes *u-* or *a-* e.g. *bagain* > *Оугаинъ* (*ugain*) etc. (Mikkola J., *JSFOu* XXX/3. 19–20; Györffy, *Századok* 1954, 73–74).

[45] *MNy* 1980, 310, see Györffy, *Krónikáink és a magyar őstörténet. Régi kérdések — új válaszok*. Budapest 1993, 227. According to Rašīd-ud-dīn a Coman leader called *Bačman* was captured by the Mongolians in 1236/37 (Marquart, J.: *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*. Berlin 1914, 116, 146, note).

[46] Of its early forms see 1337: *Bossyan* (*Monumenta Ecclesiae Strigoniensis*. Ed.: L. Dedek-Crescens. Strigonii 1924, III, 296).

grandsons.[47] Nothing is known of Bašman, who reigned here in 942. According to the chronicles and the place names, the land of Bašman was captured by Lél (Lehel) well before 955.

The name of the seventh chieftain is read by the text editor P. Chalmeta as *Hadhadi*, and by K. Czeglédy as *Harari*. On the basis of the great similarity between the Arab letters re and dal I rectified it to *Harhadi*. In support of my correction, Anonymus mentioned the seventh leader *Horka* was the son of Tühütüm; the princely dynasty of the Gyulas of Transylvania derived from him.[48]

The quarters of the chieftains known from 942 appear to be incomplete around the Tisza region. I recently realized that the final Arabic letter in the name of the 5th leader is not *sin* but *re* (confirmed by a comparison with the final *je* + the elaborately written *sin* of "yaum al-khamis" in line 4 of the same page of the facsimile, see by Chalmeta, fol. 324). The correct reading of the letters *l.x.r* is *L.b.r.* (لبر), which can be identified with the Coman name *Лавор* ~ *Лавер* in the Russian Annals.[49] Knowing that in Old Turkic no initial *l-* existed, this is none other than the Slavic form with the metathesis of the liquid *l* of the Turkic personal name *Alp-er* 'valiant man' and the derivative Hungarian place name *Alpár*.[50] *Alpár* place names usually occur together with Ónd. Near Újvidék (Novi Sad) in the Báčka, two deserted *Alpár* villages can be traced and two extinct villages called Ónd were also in this area.[51] In Anonymus's Gesta, the fortress of *Alpár* was the seat of the land of leader Salan, where Arpad sent Ónd (*Ound*) on a mission, and after the conquest, Ónd's estate extended to this point; one third of it was occupied by his descendants, the Bár-Kalán clan in the Arpadian age.[52] The third village called *Alpár* is above the village of *Ónd* along the streamlet Szerencs flowing into the Tisza.[53] Finally, Melich's ingenious etymology of the name of the river *Laborc*[54] also belongs here, with some modification. Anonymus mentioned that the Slavs around the upper Tisza held that the name of the river *Laborc* (*Lobor*cy) comes from the legend that the conquering Hungarians killed by this river included the governor of Ung Castle, Laborc, *duca* by

[47] Györffy, *AEMA* I. (1976), 143.

[48] Györffy, *MNy* 1981, 511–512; *AEMA* I. (1976), 109–111.

[49] *Letopis po Ipatskomu Spisku*. Sankt Peterburg 1871: for the year 1183 *Лаворъ*; after Karamzin III. 54–57 by Marquart, J.: *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*. Berlin 1914, 155: *Lawer*.

[50] *FNESz* I.[4] 48–49.

[51] Cs. II. 142; Gy. I. 206, 228, 231; at the villages of Sári and Pécel, cf. map of Bács county.

[52] *SRH* I. 54, 83–84; Gy. I. 890.

[53] *Idem*., 62; Cs. I. 358.

[54] *MNy* 1923, 68–71; *A honfoglaláskori Magyarország* [Hungary at the Time of the Settlement] Budapest 1925–29 [= *HonfMg*] 18–19; for its literature cf. *FNESz* II.[4] 5. Besides the cases of the metathesis of a liquid cited by Melich, the Kazar name of a chieftain *Xat'irlit'ber* < **Qadyr-Iltäbär* in an Armenian record can be mentioned (Czeglédy, *MNy* 1947, 290; Golden, P.B.: *Khazar Studies*. Budapest 1980, I. 197–198).

title, subordinated to Salan.[55] Melich traced back the word Laborc to a Bulgaro-Turkic name *Alp-Bars* 'heroic tiger'.[56] No Bulgarian leader is known by that name, but *Loborcy* (Slovakian and Ruthenian *Laborec*) can be derived from *Labor* + *ьci*, the Slav form *Labor* of the name *Alpár* suffixed with the Old Slavic *-*ьtji* ending.[57] This suffix can be found, for example, in the old Russian village name *Ol'žiči*, mentioned in the Russian Annals by 947, after which derives its name from the fact that at the confluence of the river D'esna in the Dnjepr by Kiev, the village belonged to Princess Olga.[58]

The connection between Laborc and Ónd is also borne out by the fact that the tributary of the Laborc, the *Ud(a)va* is the Slavic variant, with the omission of the nasal of the river name *Ondava*, also pointed out by Melich.[59] Thus the names of Ónd and Alpár can be traced along the Tisza from the Bodrog river to the Lower Danube. (Apart from these, the only other village called *Alpár* is next to Várad on the Körös).[60]

Alpár's case proves that the old "lands" of the Carpathian Basin described by Anonymus for the 9th century were truly the *uruszag*-s 'lands' of early Hungarian *úr* 'chieftain'-s whom Arpad's dynasty in the 10th century put down, but whose existence was preserved by tradition as defeated enemy leaders.[61] In this case, Alpár possessed the land of the settling chieftain Ónd on the western bank of the Tisza. Most probably he was Ónd's heir.

A similar explanation can be adduced for the name of the sixth leader *G.rud* or *G.rod*. In my view, it ought to be searched for in large areas in which no quarters of Hungarian chieftains are known from the lists of chieftains. Accordingly, in 1984 I placed the leader *Glad* or *Galád* registered by Anonymus, possibly of the second generation after Árpád, into the region of the rivers Maros–Temes (around Temesvár) on the table showing the territory, resp. quarters of the leaders.[62] In a description of the landmarks of the royal estate Halom next to Kalocsa from 1061 the name is *Galod*,[63] but his name is also preserved by five or six place names in the Maros–Temes region: *Galad* ~ *Galod* ~ *Galadva* ~ *Kalodva* ~ *Kladova* ~ *Kladeşt*.[64] Though Anonymus's Gesta calls *Glad* an

[55] *SRH* I 51–52.

[56] *HonfMg* 18–19.

[57] Šmilauer, V., *Handbuch der slawischen Topomastik*. Praha 1970, 30.

[58] Trautmann, R., *Die altrussische Nestorchronik: Povest' Vremennych Let*. Leipzig 1931, 40, 276.

[59] Melich: *HonfMg* 129; Györffy, *AEMA* I (1976), 116–118, 146–147; *Századok* 1990, 22.

[60] Gy. I. 594.

[61] Györffy, *Formation d'États* (see note 30), 27–53.

[62] *Magyarország története tíz kötetben* [A History of Hungary in Ten Volumes]. Ed.: Pach, Zs. P. I/1 (1984), 629.

[63] *Dipl. Hung. Ant.* I, 168.

[64] *EtSz* II, 827–830; Györffy, *AEMA* I (1976), 126–127, 151; T. Halasi-Kun, The Realm of Glad/Gilad, precursor of Ajtony according to some Ottoman data. In: *Studia Turco-Hungarica* V. Budapest 1981, 113–118.

enemy chieftain found in this region and defeated by the settling Hungarians, he is at the same time named as the ancestor of the Hungarian chieftain Ajtony (SRH. I, 49, 89–91). Examples of alternating *-l-* ~ *-r-* as in *Galod* ~ *Garod* can also be picked from Arabic records. For example, in his Oxford map, Idrisi gives the name of the island *Vulcano* as *al Burkan*[65] while *Bulgaria* is recorded by him as *ard Brugan*.[66]

The fact that tradition recalled the land of Alpár and Galad as leaders of defeated countries proves that after 942 a new reshuffling of power took place. Another indication of the transformation is that the first prince Gyula, so-called by his dignity name and not by his personal name, surrendered his *gyula* title to the chieftain reigning in Transylvania.

I have already mentioned who the title *gyula* might conceal. In my interpretation, the lists of leaders in the Hungarian chronicles begin with successively and not simultaneously ruling leaders. Thus, the first Arpad was followed by Szabolcs, succeeded by Gyula. This conforms in time to the Arabic list of 942, which names Tjila, whose personal name is unknown. Since from before 948 to probably 955, Fajsz was the ruler,[67] he presumably bore the title gyula back in 942, and after domestic strife and a war between 942 and 948, he remained on top, just like Bulchu and Harka, and unlike the crushed Alpár, Galád and Bašman. Following that warfare he might have relinquished his *gyula* title to Harka, who had won the Eastern Hungarian and Transylvanian territories, from whom the Gyulas came down. It may have occurred that after the victory, he assumed a higher title than *nagy úr* (*megas archon*, *magnus senior*, high lord). If one finds the profession name *kendbocsár* 'cup-bearer' in the village of Jutas named after Fajsz's father, it might be presumed that after victorious warfare, Fajsz again assumed the title "kende". Should this be the case, the list of Arpad – Szabolcs – Gyula – Kündü of the Hungarian chronicles would chronologically tally with the succession of princes. It is even more probable that he was the first to use, at least in reference to foreigners, the title *korol*, or *király* 'king'. The first reference of the Hungarians' rulers by the title *korol* and *rex* is to be found in the 10th century Methodius legends (applied anachronistically to the Hungarian king reigning in 882, the kende).[68] Arguing with Péter Király, who regards the names *korol* and *rex* as later interpolations,[69] I think it possible that the Frankish-Bavarian name "Karol" (after Charlemagne) struck root in the extinct Karantan-Slavic language of Pannonia in the form *korol* 'king', which was then borrowed by Old Church Slavic. This title could be assumed by the descendants of Arpad, on the pretext of being the successors to the German *Karol* in possessing Pannonia. In support of this one may adduce that the old Slavonic name for Prince

[65] Schiaparelli, C., *Atti dei Lincei: Mem. so. mor. Ser. 2a.* Vol. VIII. Torino 1883, map.
[66] Miller, K., *Weltkarte des Idrisi.* Stuttgart 1928, map.
[67] For the Grand Prince Fajsz see *AEMA* I (1976), 75–76, 138, and above.
[68] *MHK*, 354.
[69] *MNy* 1974, 269–285, 406–430.

Fajsz's residence next to Zagreb was *Kraljevec*,[70] that Liudprand writing in Otto I's court between 958 and 962, called Prince Takson *Hungariorum rex* (anachronistically, on account of an earlier event), and that in a letter of 972 to Bishop Piligrim, Otto I referred to Prince Géza as *rex*.[71]

Regarding the struggle for power within Hungary in the age of the raids, certainly the 10th century history of the Hungarian princes was not so peaceful as Anonymus described it around 1200. Already before Géza's red-handed reign (970–997) there were struggle for power or for the restoration of dual principality. For lack of direct written records, we must fall back upon inferences from hints. One is a remark by Constantine Porphyrogenitus made in 948 that "these eight clans [= tribes] of the Turks do not obey their own particular princes";[72] the other war is referred by the chronicles in connection with Prince Csaba (Chaba)'s flight to Greece abroad and the resettling of his Székely people in the marsh-land.[73] Another allusion is that a ruler, the *Kék-kend* 'Sky-blue-Kend' and his vassal-people appear transferred to the borderlands.[74]

These phenomena cannot be dated with certainty. In view of the above said, several civil wars following the change at the top could be hypothesized, e.g. after the assassination of Curzan kende (904) or the death of Arpad (907?). Probably the end of the dual principality of Szabolcs *gyula* and his presumable rival Tühütüm (Tétény), and the accession of the new gyula (perhaps Fajsz) marked the outburst of inner fighting, and even more certain was the civil war after the fall of Alpár and his fellow chieftains confirmed by the fights against enemy leaders in Anonymus's Gesta Hungarorum on the one hand, and by the submission of the gyula title to the second prince, on the other. There must have been domestic warfare after the toppling of Fajsz in 955, an indication of which is that his name fell into oblivion. It remains a moot question whether the descendants of Levente, elder son of Arpad omitted from the Hungarian chronicles, had a role in these struggles and to which the defeat of the enigmatic Chaba is connected.

After discussing the chieftains of Hungarians in the age of the raids, let me touch on who the raiding warriors were. It has come to light that it was not the entire people who were involved in the raids, but only the mounted military escort of the chieftains amounting to some one-fifth of the population. Tribal place names preserve their memory.

[70] Around 1340: *Craleuch alio nomine Fayz*; 1342: *villa Fayz olim, nunc Craleuch vulgariter nuncupata* (Tkalčić, J.: *Monumenta historica episcopatus Zagrabiensis*. Zagrabiae 1873. II, 47, 117; cf. Györffy: *AEMA* I (1976), 75.

[71] *Liudprandi opera. Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum.* Ed.: J. Becker, Hannover–Leipzig 1915, 151; *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Epistolae selectae*. III. Ed.: K. Strecker, Berlin 1925, 100–101.

[72] *DAI* I, 179.

[73] *SRH* I, 43, 161–162, 277–278; cf. Györffy, *Krónikáink*, 32–33; *MNy* 1980, 312–317; *Keletkutatás* 1992 Autumn, 66–69.

[74] See note 33 above.

It is commonly known that the names of the disintegrating seven Hungarian tribes were recorded by Emperor Constantine on account of the mission of Bulchu and Termach (Tormás) to Byzantium (948): their equivalents in Hungarian place names are: *Nyék, Megyer, Kürt-Gyarmat, Tarján, Jenő, Kér* and *Keszi*.[75] On the basis of geographical location and statistics, Sándor Török determined the names of the three Kabar tribes: *Berény, Örs*, as well as the variants of the name of the Alans: *As ~ Asian* in the Slavic form *Osján*, Hungarian *Varsány* and Turkic *Oszlár* (< *As-lar*).[76]

That the majority of Hungarian place names derived from tribal names date to the 10th century is proven by the multitude of relevant village names already included in Saint Stephen's charters. For example the appendix to the charter issued for Pannonhalma (1002) features Varsány, that of the episcopate of Veszprém (1009) contains two Kér and a Berény, and the Greek charter for the nuns of Veszprém (about 1018) has Berény.[77] It is still unsettled when the naming began. There is no confirmation that it began right after the settlement (895–900), but Emperor Constantine's remark that the tribes did not obey their leaders indicates that the trends began long before 948. Their settling around the county of Somogy is chiefly associated with the defeat of Koppan (997),[78] but after King Stephen had organized the state, the naming of military settlements after tribes came to an end.

The villages with tribal names were normally not named after the ethnic identity of the common people living in them, but after the tribal identity of the military elements settled in them in smaller numbers — in the 10th century the military escort of the chieftains, later mostly warriors of the royal castles. The proof of this is the fact that in later times only the militant castle-soldiers and the Székely middle layes of mounted warriors gave to their clans (or branches) tribal names; it never happened with clans of nobleman or court commoners, who called her *genus* generally after her ancestors from the time of St. Stephen.[79]

Since the settlement of the military escort their mission resulted the stability of princely power and related to the extension of the domination of the

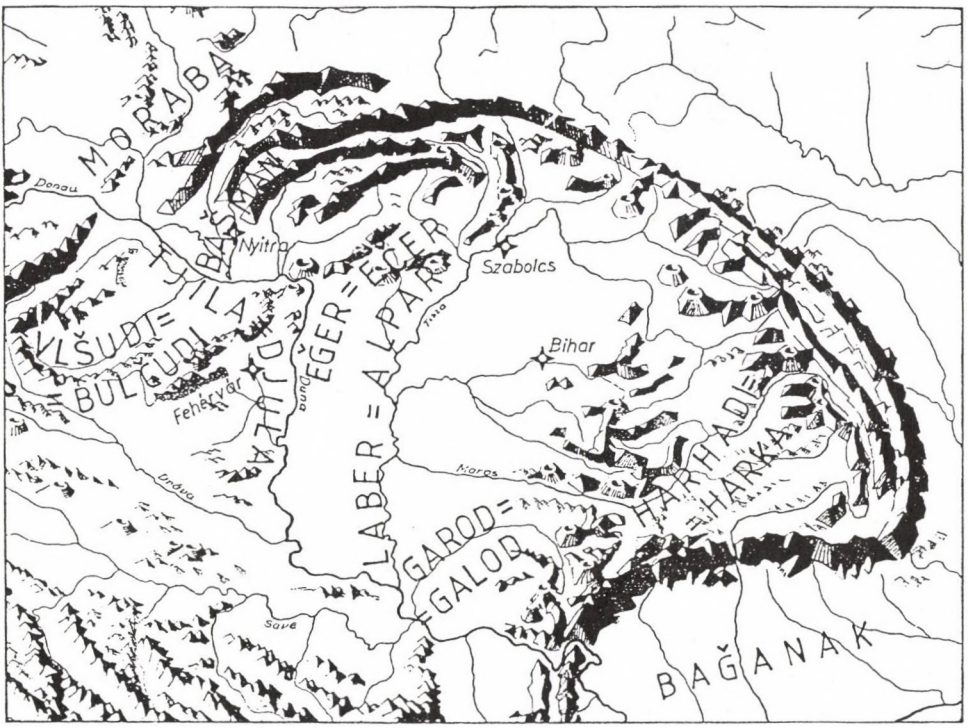
[75] Moravcsik, Gy., *De Administrando Imperio*. Budapest 1949, 174–175; *Byzantino-Turcica*. II. Berlin 1958, for some names. Cf. Németh, Gy., *A honfoglaló magyarság kialakulása* [Development of the Settling Magyars]. Budapest 1930, 221ff; Kniezsa, St., *Ungarns Völkerschaften im XI. Jh.: Archivum Europae Centro-Orientalis*. IV. 1938, 248, 376–386; A more recent, possibly complete enumeration: Török, S.: *Századok* 1982, 995ff.

[76] *Idem.*, 986–1059. For bibliography see also Kiss: *FNESz* Budapest 1988 I–II[4] after each name.

[77] *Dipl. Hung. Ant.* I, 41, 52, 85.

[78] Györffy, Der Aufstand von Koppány. In: *Studia Turcica*. Red.: L. Ligeti. Budapest 1971, 199–203.

[79] Id.: *A magyar törzsi helynevek* [Hungarian Tribal Place Names]. *Névtudományi Vizsgálatok* [Studies of Names]. Ed.: Mikesy, S. Budapest 1969, 27–33; *A magyarság keleti elemei* [Oriental elements of the Hungarians]. Budapest 1990, 89–90, 167–168.



The Seven Chieftains of the Hungarians A.D. 942

Arpad house, the soldiers in question must have been first of all warriors settled to guard territories revolting against the central will or areas of crushed chieftains. The military population was first recruited from the soldiers of Arpad and his allies, then from the military escort of defeated chieftains belonging to various tribes. Both the clustered occurrence of such names and their absence appear to prove this hypothesis. The meagre number of tribal place names between Budapest–Csepel Island and the confluence of the Drava is most striking, although it was the original tribal area of Arpad and his sons. Also few such names can be found in the Nyírség, a territory of Arpad's sons, and finally in Transylvania, the land of the Gyulas related to the Arpad house who voluntarily surrendered in 1003. One hardly finds any such names around Kalocsa and the fortress of Szabolcs which belonged to the Arpad dynasty throughout. Often clusters of them can, however, be detected around e.g. Buda, Komárom (Komarno) and Temesvár (Timişoara), where it served the interest of the resettling ruler to occupy a former centre of opposition.

A comparison between the territories most densely dotted with tribal place names with areas of tribal chieftains defeated between 942 and 948, and whose lands are described by Anonymus as the lands of enemy leaders crushed before

the conquest, reveals an astonishing territorial coincidence. Tribal names become denser in the regions around the four Alpár settlements in Bács, Csongrád, Abaújvár and Bihar counties, around the quarters of chieftain Galád in the Temesvár–Arad region, and near the residence of Bašman between the Vág and Nyitra. Typically, of the 21 Tarján (< Turk. *tarkhan*) place names, 9 are along the Tisza, along the migratory route of Alpár, mostly together with Kér and Örs place names.

It would be a mistake to date these place names to the same time. Tribal relocations might have occurred earlier, after the defeat of Curzan's descendants once or twice before 942. This might have led to the emergence of tribal place names around Buda. Similar reasons might account for the occupation of the quarters of Prince Fajsz and his followers who lost a battle in 955, by tribal troops in Veszprém–Somogy, of Lél's areas in Nyitra, Bulchu's quarters on the northern shore of the Lake Balaton (Kál Basin) and the winter seat of Súr in Pozsony (Bratislava). The crushing of Chaba can be associated with the occupation of the Székely territories along the Körös rivers and the Ipoly, which probably resulted in their relocation on the borderlands in Transylvania and North-western Hungary. In addition, there might have been other, unknown domestic struggles chiefly under Prince Géza and the defence of some early castles at the beginning of St. Stephen's reign. No evidence has been presented concerning the later emergence of tribal place names; there might have been infrequent name transfers connected to relocations of villages, and some fields were named later too after family names like *Megyeri* and *Kéri*, but they can easily be screened from among the old names.

The military escort of the chieftains who set out from Etelkuzu and the Carpathian Basin to launch campaigns into faraway lands became, after the settlement, the militia of Christian evangelizing and the executive force of the kingdom, and joined with other elements, it became the constituent of the lesser nobility, of the historical middle class.

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ENTSTEHUNG UND QUELLENWERT DER KRIMTATARISCHEN *TIYIŞ DEFTER*S

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Die Gattungen und die Größe der Einnahmen des Chanats der Krim, die die benachbarten Länder Rußland, Polen, Moldau, Walachei und die Tscherkessen als Tributleistung erbracht haben, wurden von Halil Inalcık zusammenfassend dargestellt.[1] Seine Thesen riefen das Interesse der Forschung für diese Problematik neuerlich wach. Inalcık behauptete, daß das jährliche Tributeinkommen des Chanats der Krim die Grenze von 100 000 Golddukaten überschritten habe. Obwohl in seiner Abhandlung die untersuchte Epoche nicht direkt angezeigt wurde, sollte es sich um die Verhältnisse des 17. Jahrhunderts handeln, da Rußland und Polen im 18. Jahrhundert nicht mehr zu den tributpflichtigen Ländern des Chanats gehörten. Die Konklusionen von Inalcık basieren auf russischen Quellenpublikationen, aber die Interpretationen dieser Quellen ermöglichen auch weitere Überlegungen. Auf den Versuch, die geschätzte Gesamtsumme des Tributeinkommens des Chanats der Krim zu revidieren, muß verzichtet werden, weil derzeit viel zu wenig diesbezügliche Finanzunterlagen erschlossen wurden.[2] Zur Bestimmung der Bedeutung des Tributeinkommens im Finanzwesen des Chanats der Krim ist vor allem die kritische Untersuchung einzelner Überlieferungen finanzieller Natur zweckdienlich. Deswegen stehen die *tiyiş defter*s, die die von den russischen Zaren an die Chane der Krim bezahlten Tribute samt den daran beteiligten Personen enthalten, im Mittelpunkt dieser Abhandlung.

[1] Halil Inalcık, *Power Relationships between Russia, the Crimea and the Ottoman Empire as Reflected in Titulature. Appendix. Notes on Tribute Paid to the Tatars*: Passé Turco–Tatar Present Sovietique. Études offertes à Alexander Bennigsen. Paris 1976, 175–211. Weiterhin wird ausschließlich der *Appendix* zitiert (208–211).

[2] Für die erste Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts ist eine genaue jährliche Darlegung des russischen Tributs vorhanden. A. A. Novosel'skij, *Bor'ba Moskovskogo Gosudarstva s tatarami v pervoj polovine XVII veka.* Moskva–Leningrad 1948, 437–438. Für den von Polen bezahlten Tribut in der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts siehe Zbigniew Wójcik, Some Problem of Polish–Tatar Relation in the Seventeenth Century. The Financial Aspect of the Polish–Tatar Alliance in the Years 1654–1666. Polish–Tatar Relation in the Seventeenth Century. In: *Acta Poloniae Historica* XIII (1966), 87–102. Für die Tributpflichtigkeit von Moldau und Walachei V. Mihordea, Raporturile Moldovei si Tarii Romaneşti cu Tatarii in secolele XVI–XVIII. In: *Revişta de Istoria* 6 (1979), 1069–1095.

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Wie bekannt, wurden die russischen Großfürsten zuerst von den Mongolen, dann von den Chanen der Goldenen Horde zur Tributleistung gezwungen.[3] Nach der Auflösung der Goldenen Horde (1502) wurde sowohl der politische Einfluß als auch das Recht auf den von den Russen bezahlten Tribut auf das Nachfolge-Chanat der Krim übertragen. Doch verbinden die krimtatarischen Chroniken den Anfang der Tributpflichtigkeit Rußlands erst mit den Ereignissen des Jahres 1571. Es war die letzte krimtatarische Belagerung von Moskau, die von Chan Devlet Giray durchgeführt wurde. Das sollte dazu beitragen, daß der bestehende russische Tribut vergrößert wurde. Aus den russischen Quellen geht nämlich hervor, daß die Gesandten des Moskauer Großfürsten bei der Ablieferung des Tributs für die Chane der Goldenen Horde schon am Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts auch in die Krim Geschenke geschickt haben. Wie es von Sagit Faizov erforscht wurde, waren das die sogenannten *devjatye pominki* „neun Geschenke", die aus neun Gegenständen bestanden und die Gutwilligkeit des neuen Chanats auf der Krim für Moskau gewährleisten sollten.[4]

Am Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts verschwindet die Bezeichnung *devjatye pominki* aus den Quellen, und der russische Tribut wird einfach *pominki* „Verehrung" genannt. Diese terminologische Transformation zeigt an, daß das, was vorher wirklich nur ein Geschenk war, sich in Tribut gewandelt hat, ein Teil des gesamten *pominki*, der, welcher der krimtatarischen Aristokratie, den Beys und Mirzas gezahlt wurde, in den Quellen als *žalovan'e* „Ehrengeschenk" bezeichnet wird. Das mögliche Einführungsdatum des *žalovan'e* könnte das Jahr 1516 sein. In diesem Jahr hat der russische Gesandte seinem Herrn gemeldet, daß er von dem Chan Mehmed Giray (1515–1523) eine Liste mit den Namen der zu Tribut- bzw. Ehrengeschenken berechtigten Personen bekommen hat.[5] Wahrscheinlich könnte diese Liste, die weder in krimtatarischer Ausfertigung noch in russischer Übersetzung erhalten geblieben ist, die Urquelle der späteren *tiyiş defter*s sein, weil man sich in den Verhandlungen während des 16. Jahrhunderts ständig auf das *defter* von Mehmed Giray Chan berief.

Die *defter*s wurden nach langen mühsamen Auseinandersetzungen, die zwischen dem russischen Gesandten und dem Beauftragten der Chane erfolgten, auf der Krim zusammengestellt.[6] In ihnen schrieb man vor, wie viele und welche Art von pelzgefütterten Gewändern und Fellen von den Chanen und den anderen krimtatarischen Würdenträgern angefordert und in welcher Größe Bargeld aus der Schatzkammer des Zaren gezahlt werden soll. Von den gemeinsam angefer-

[3] Bertold Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde. Die Mongolen in Rußland.* Leipzig 1943. B. D. Grekov–A. J. Jakubovskij, *Zolotaja Orda i jejo padenije.* Moskva–Leningrad 1950.

[4] Sagit Faizov, Evolucija dani-otkupa vo vzaimootnošenijah Russkogo Gosudarstva i Krimskogo Hanstva v poslednej četverti XV–XVII vv. (Terminologičeskij, juridičeskij i funkcional'nij aspekty). In: *Slavjane i ih sosedy. Osmanskaja imperija i narody Central'noj, Vostočnoj i Jugo Vostočnoj Evropy i Kavkaza v XIV–XVIII vv. (Tezisy XI konferencii)* Moskva 1992, 64–67.

[5] S. M. Solov'ev, *Istorija Rossii s drevnejših vremen.* Moskva 1859–65. III. 249, 596.

[6] Für die Verhandlungen der russischen Gesandten in den Jahren 1636–1638 siehe Novosel'skij (1948), 262–282.

tigten *defter*s wurde ein Exemplar nach Moskau geschickt. Dort hat man es ins Russische übersetzt, und nach der Zustimmung des Zaren wurden die Geschenke nach den in den *defter*s festgelegten Namen vorbereitet. Mit dieser Aufgabe wurde ein spezielles Amt, das *Kazennyj dvor*, beauftragt.[7] Der zusammengestellte Tribut, den man in Moskau als *pominki* „Verehrung" betrachtete, wurde durch eine Gesandtschaft feierlich nach *Bāġčesarāy* geschickt. Die „Verehrung" wurde in dem *divan* des Chans (*körünüş*) verteilt. Danach haben der Chan, der Kalga und die Repräsentanten der krimtatarischen Aristokratie einen Eid (*şert*) auf den Koran geleistet, daß die Tataren nach dem Empfang des mangelfreien und vollständigen Tributs die russischen Gebiete nicht plündern werden. Der Eid wurde auch mit einer goldbesiegelten Urkunde bekräftigt.[8]

Nach solchem langwierigen Amtsverfahren hätte man annehmen können, daß eine große Anzahl von Abrechnungen über den russischen Tribut in tatarischer Originalfassung erhalten geblieben ist. Zur Zeit verfügen wir nur über drei aus den Jahren 1635, 1637, 1638 stammende *tiyiş defter*s in krimtatarischer Ausfertigung.[9] Zur exakten Bestimmung der Tributgröße sind diese Überlieferungen jedoch nicht genügend, weil sie eine Reihe von Unsicherheitsfaktoren aufweisen. Aus den krimtatarischen Originalausfertigungen kann man nämlich nur die Summe des Geldgeschenkes und die Sorten von verschiedenen Pelzgeschenken erfahren, nicht aber die Gesamtsumme des Tributs. Zur Lösung dieses Problems trägt aber ein in zeitgenössischer russischer Übersetzung publiziertes *tiyiş defter* wesentlich bei, welchem bisher wenig Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt wurde.[10] Dieses *defter* hat man im Jahre 1633 in der Regierungszeit des Chans Canibek Giray zusammengestellt. Es besteht aus zwei Teilen: der erste Teil ist die russische Übersetzung der nicht vorhandenen krimtatarischen Ausfertigung, der zweite Teil enthält die ausführliche Beschreibung der Pelzgeschenke, wobei auch ihre Werte in Rubel angegeben werden. So verfügen wir über vier fast gleichzeitig ausgestellte *tiyiş defter*s, von denen das eine als Schlüssel zu den Auswertungen der anderen dienen kann. Mit der Hilfe des russischen Exemplars besteht also die Möglichkeit, den Geldwert der Pelzgeschenke und so die Gesamtsumme des russischen Tributs genau zu bestimmen.

Vor der inhaltlichen Analyse des *defter*s müssen einige terminologische Probleme geklärt werden. Obwohl in dem Briefwechsel der russischen Zaren und der Chane der Krim das Wort *defter* meistens ohne Attribut steht (höchstens

[7] A. A. Novosel'skij (1948), 439.

[8] Diese sind die sogenannten *„šertnye gramoty"*, von denen in zeitgenössischer russischer Übersetzung 70 Stück veröffentlicht sind. N. N. Bantyš-Kamenskij, *Reest delam Krymskogo Dvora ot 1474–1779.* Simferopol' 1893.

[9] V. Vel'aminov-Zernov–H. Feyzhanov, *Materialy dlja istorii Krymskogo Hanstva.* Sanktpetersburg 1864, No. 31, 35, 40.

[10] F. F. Laškov, *Pamjatniki diplomatičeskih snošenij Krymskogo Hanstva s Moskovskim Gosudartsvom v XVI–XVII vv.* Simferopol' 1891, 59–71.

mit einem Personennamen ergänzt),[11] wird der allgemein angenommene Terminus *tiyiş defter* verwendet, um sie von den gleichnamigen Dokumenten der osmanischen Verwaltung zu unterscheiden.

Ein anderes Problem besteht darin, daß in den Quellen der Begriff in einer längeren Form *tiyiş* und einer kürzeren *tiş (ti:ş)* erscheint. Beide sind während des ganzen 17. Jahrhunderts parallel gebraucht. In der turkologischen Fachliteratur wird das Wort sowohl mit vorderen als auch mit hinteren Vokalen benützt. Die Formen mit hinteren Vokalen gehen auf eine krimtatarische Chronik zurück, woher der Ausdruck auch von den anderen Geschichtsschreibern der Krim übernommen wurde.[12] Der russische Historiker, Smirnov, der diese Chroniken für sein Buch über die Geschichte des Chanat der Krim verwendet hatte, bevorzugte selbstverständlich die Form mit hinteren Vokalen.[13] Da sein Buch bis heute das einschlägige Nachschlagewerk der Geschichte des Chanats ist, haben Generationen von Turkologen die Form *tış* benützt, obwohl sie äußerst fraglich ist. In den obengenannten *tiyiş defter*s findet man nur die Formen mit vorderen Vokalen, und in den Fällen, welche stichprobenweise aus der Korrespondenz der russischen Zaren mit den Chanen der Krim ausgewählt wurden, kamen ausschließlich Formen mit vorderen Vokalen vor.[14]

Um noch beim Wort *tiyiş* zu bleiben, kann die neueste Etymologie dieses Begriffes, die Peter Golden vorschlug, nicht umgangen werden. Er hatte die kulturellen und linguistischen Aspekte der slavisch-altaischen Beziehungen behandelt[15] und behauptete, daß das russische Wort für Tribut *vyhod* „Ausgang, das Ausgehende" eine Spiegelübersetzung des arabischen *haraǰ*, gleicher Bedeutung, wäre. Da keine direkten russisch-arabischen Berührungen nachgewiesen werden konnten, dachte er daran, daß die Kenntnis des arabischen Wortes durch die Vermittlung einer kiptschak-türkischen Sprache zustande gekommen sein sollte. Es existiert wirklich auch eine Spiegelübersetzung des *haraǰ* im Türkischen, das Wort *çıkış* „Ausgang", das auch für die Bezeichnung des Tributs verwendet wurde. Von hier stammt die Idee Goldens, daß das Wort *tiş ~ tış* „Tribut" etwa mit *tış* (alttürk. *taš *tāš*) „der äußere Teil" in Zusammenhang stehe. In seinen Konklusionen hat er auch zugegeben, daß seine Etymologie in gewissem Maße

[11] *Canibek Giray han defteridir* „Defter des Chans Canibek Giray" oder *Bahadir Giray han defterince* „nach dem Defter von Bahadir Giray" Veljaminov-Zernov–Feyzhanov (1864), 175, 389.

[12] Seyyīd Muhammed Rīzā, *Es-Seb' us-Seyyār fī ahbār-i mulūk-i Tātār*. A. K. Kazembek, Kazan' 1832, 99.

Halim Giray, *Gülbūn-i Hānān yahūd Qırım tārihī*. Arifzāde 'Abdulhakim Hilmi, Istanbul 1327/1911, 52.

[13] V. D. Smirnov, *Krymskoe Hanstvo pod verhovenstvom Ottomanskoj Porty do načala XVIII veka*. Sanktpetersburg 1887, 427.

[14] Veljaminov-Zernov–Feyzhanov (1864), 133, 139, 140, 145, 149, 156, 157, 160, 175, 204, 231, 237, 323, 361, 366, 404.

[15] Peter B. Golden, Vyhod: Aspects of Medieval Eastern Slavic–Altaic Culturo–Linguistic Relations. In: *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 7 (1987–1991), 83–101.

gezwungen wirkt. Meiner Meinung nach ist diese Etymologie auch deswegen problematisch, weil von ihm die längere *tiyiş* Form für einen Schreibfehler gehalten und so außer acht gelassen wurde. Es scheint also, daß die alte Etymologie von Samojlovič aus dem Jahre 1917 berechtigt ist. Nach Samojlovič stammt das Wort *tiyiş* aus dem türkischen Werb *tegmek, değmek* „berühren, betreffen, gebühren, zukommen". Es ist mit einem deverbalen Nomensuffix (und nicht mit einem reziproken Suffix, wie Golden behauptete) gebildet worden und wird im Sinne „das Gebührende, das Zukommende, also Tribut" gebraucht.[16]

In ihrer inhaltlichen Form weisen die *tiyiş defter*s eine zweifache Gliederung auf.[17] Sie bezeichnen den Tribut als *hazine* und *tiyiş*: ... *yazılġan hazine ve tişdir ki zikr olunur* „... das sind die geschriebenen *hazine* und *tiyiş,* wie es erwähnt wird ..." (No. 35), ... *hazine ve ... tişdir ki zikr olunur* „... das sind die *hazine* und *tiyiş,* wie es erwähnt wird ..." (No. 40). Diese Gliederung scheint den in den russischen Quellen befindlichen *pominki* und *žalovan'e* zu entsprechen. Diese Behauptung kann auch dadurch bestätigt werden, daß in russischen Übersetzungen *pominki* und *kazna* (< türk. *hazine*) parallel gebraucht werden. Die Benennung *tiyiş* sollte dann also die *žalovan'e* bedeuten, was urprünglich das für die Gefolgschaft des Chans bestimmte „Ehrengeschenk" bedeutete und vom Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts an als eine allgemeine Bezeichnung für den Tribut verwendet wurde.[18]

Inalcık hat schon darauf hingewiesen, daß der konstante, auf die älteste Zeit zurückgreifende Teil des *defter*s das *uluġ hazine* „großer Schatz" ist. *Uluġ hazine* wurde nur dem Chan, dem Kalga und dem Nureddin erteilt. Das *uluġ hazine* bestand aus hochwertigen Fellen, dann aus mit teuerem Pelz gefütterten, mit vergoldeten Silberknöpfen und Verschnürungen versehenen Gewändern und aus dem *noqrat akçesi*, das 4000 Rubel Bargeld für den Chan, 500 Rubel für den Kalga und 100–200 Rubel für den Nureddin ausmachte. Im Jahre 1633 betrug der Gesamtwert des Geldes und Pelzes für den Chan 4935, für den Kalga 903 und für den Nureddin 115,5 Rubel.

Außer Pelz und Geld ordnete man einen nicht unbedeutenden Bestandteil des Tributs, das sogenannte *qoltqa* „[die verlangte] Zugabe", dem *uluġ hazine* zu. Der Anteil der Größe des Geldbetrages und der Pelzgeschenke war innerhalb des *uluġ hazine* konstant, aber das *qoltqa* wurde jedes Mal extra ausgehandelt. Das *qoltqa* bestand ausschließlich aus Pelzwaren und wurde nur dem Chan und dem Kalga geliefert. In *tiyiş defter*s russischer Fassung ist das Wort *qoltqa* als „da v zapros" wiedergegeben. Das russische Idiom weist auf die Umstände der

[16] A. N. Samojlovič, „Tiyiš (tiš)" i drugie terminy krymsko-tatarskih jarlykov: Izvestija Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk 6 (1917), 1277–1278.

[17] Nach Inalcık: "A regular *defter* listed the *uluġ khazīne* and *nokrat akčası* for the khan, kalgay and nuradin, *koltka* for the khan's household, *tıyış* for the dignitaries et the palaces and government" (211)

[18] Veljaminov-Zernov–Feyzhanov (1864): *qoltqa namında keleturġan tiyiš „tiyiş*, was unter dem Namen *qoltqa* zu bekommen pflegen" (p.176), *qarındašımız qalġa İslam Giray sultan hazine tiyišidir* „das ist das *hazine-tiyiş* unseres Bruders, des Kalga Islam Giray Sultans" (216).

Entstehung dieses Tributteils hin. So könnte es mit der Belagerung Moskaus durch die Tataren, unter der Führung von Devlet Giray Chan, in Zusammenhang gebracht werden. Das wäre auch die Erklärung dafür, warum die Tributpflichtigkeit von Moskau in den krimtatarischen Chroniken vom Jahre 1571 an gerechnet wird. Auch Faizovs Forschungsergebnisse bestätigen indirekt die verhältnismäßig spätere Entstehung des *qoltqa*. Der Ursprung des *qoltqa* ist wahrscheinlich darauf zurückzuführen, daß ein großer Zuschuß zu dem Tribut von Moskau gleich nach der Eroberung von Kazan (1551) und Astrahan (1556) angeboten wurde, damit die russische Besitznahme der beiden Chanate anerkannt wird. Lange Jahre währten die Verhandlungen zwischen den russischen und tatarischen Gesandten, bis eine Einigung erzielt wurde. Im Lichte dieser Geschehnisse ist es verständlich, warum der Wert des *qoltqa* eine ziemlich große Summe, ungefähr die Hälfte der Pelzgeschenke des *ulug hazine*, ausmachte. Im Falle des Chans betrug der Geldwert von *qoltqa* 465 Rubel, beim Kalga waren es 225 Rubel.

Der sich ständig verändernde und umfangreichste Teil des *defter*s macht das sogenannte *tiyiş*-Kapitel aus. Ausgenommen den Chan, Kalga und Nureddin haben alle Familienmitglieder der Giray-Dynastie, die Repräsentanten der größten Stämme, die *Bey*s, die höheren und niedrigeren Würdenträger des Hofes ausschließlich nur *tiyiş* erhalten. Ihre Geschenke bestanden aus Fellen und Pelzmänteln von verschiedenen Sorten und Werten. Bargeld war eine Seltenheit unter den Personen, die zu *tiyiş* berechtigt waren (No. 31, p. 142). Die Sorte der Pelzmäntel und Felle machte die Rangordnung der Beschenkten deutlich, die im *tiyiş defter* von 1635 in vier Klassen eingeteilt waren:

Zobelpelzmäntel (*samuryān*) haben nur die Familienmitglieder der Giray-Dynastie, die vornehmsten Anführer der Stämme und die höchsten Würdenträger des Hofes der Chane bekommen.

Marderpelzmäntel (*zerdevciyān*) gehörten der geistlichen Elite des Hofes (*şeyhülislam, kadiasker, defterdar* usw.)

Eichhörnchenrückenpelzmäntel (*sırt*) wurden den Mirzas des Hofes und dem Repräsentanten des Stammes Kiptschak geliefert.

Eichhörnchenwammenpelzmäntel (*karın*) standen den niedrigen Beamten des Haushaltes des Chans zu.

Obwohl auch das im *ulug hazine* gelieferte Pelzgeschenk für Chan, Kalga und Nureddin aus diesen vier Pelzsorten bestand, waren aber ihre Pelze und Felle von ausgezeichneter Qualität und von hohem Wert. Während der Zobelpelzmantel des Chans 120 Rubel wert war, kostete derselbe für den Kalga 80, für den Nureddin 50 und für die höheren Würdenträger des Hofes nur 20 Rubel. Die Felle, die man paarweise oder im Bund (*sorok*) verrechnete, hatten auch verschiedene Preise. 1586 schwankte der Preis des Zobelfelles in Moskau um 0,5–7,5 Rubel per Stück, je nach Qualität; für den Bund verlangte man 10–300

Rubel.[19] Aber 100 Rubel per Bund war schon ein Ausnahmepreis. 1633 hat Canibek Giray Chan sechs Bunde Zobelfelle bekommen. Der erste war 80, der zweite 60, der dritte 50, der vierte 30, der fünfte und der sechste Bund 25 Rubel wert. Der ganze Wert der Pelzwaren und Felle, den nur der Chan Canibek Giray erhielt, erreichte insgesamt eine Summe von 1640 Rubel. Wenn es in Betracht gezogen wird, daß der Tribut nach Novosel'skij in der Zeit 1613–1650 nur in drei Jahren (1619, 1644, 1645) nicht geleistet wurde, kamen die Chane der Krim in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts zu einem beträchtlichen Betrag durch die russischen Pelzgeschenke.[20] Im Jahre 1633 war der Gesamtwert der gelieferten Pelz- und Fellwaren 5150 Rubel, und dazu kamen 4850 Rubel Bargeld, so belief sich der Gesamtbetrag des russischen Tributs auf genau 10 000 Rubel. Von der Gesamtsumme des Tributs hat der Chan 54 Prozent erhalten. Der Kalga beteiligte sich mit 11 Prozent, der Nureddin mit etwas mehr als 2 Prozent und die weiblichen Mitglieder der Giray-Familie mit 3,5 Prozent. Aus diesen Angaben geht hervor, daß etwas mehr als 70 Prozent des Tributs bei der Dynastie blieben.[21]

Wenn die 10 000 Rubel auf Golddukaten umgerechnet werden, sind es noch immer nicht mehr als 12 500 Dukaten. Da in der krimtatarischen Originalfassung erhalten gebliebene *defter*s eine leichte Erhöhung der Anzahl der tributberechtigten Personen zeigen, kann man für das Jahr 1638 mit 1000–1500 Rubel mehr rechnen. Das macht ungefähr 15 000 Dukaten aus. Wenn die Verhandlungsergebnisse in den russischen Quellen nachgeprüft werden, stellt es sich heraus, daß der russische Tribut für dieses Jahr mit 25 000 Dukaten bestimmt wurde.[22] Woher kommt der Unterschied? Novosel'skij vermutete schon, daß der Unterschied nicht nur in der Preisdifferenz zwischen Moskau und der Krim lag. Hier handelte es sich um eine Umrechnungspraxis, der man sich auch an den anderen europäischen Höfen bei der Abrechnung des für die osmanische Pforte bestimmten Tributs bediente. In diesem Zusammenhang ist es sehr aufschlußreich, wie die einmalige Bezahlung von 200 000 Dukaten nach dem Frieden von Zsitvatorok (1606) von der kaiserlichen Hofkammer in Wien umgangen wurde.

[19] M. B. Fehner, *Torgovlja Moskovskogo Gosudarstva so stranami Vostoka v XVI veke.* Moskva 1956, 59, 61.

[20] Novosel'skij (1948), 439. Zum Vergleich hat im Jahre 1551 Hadrian Grek für Kanuni Sultan Süleyman Pelzwaren und Felle im Wert von 8000 Rubel gekauft. Alexandre Bennigsen–Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay, Les marshands de la Cour Ottomane et le commerce des fourrures moscovites dan la seconde moitié du XVIe siécle. In: *Cahier du Monde Russe et Sovietique* 13/3 (1972), 363–390. 1595 wurden für den Schah Abbas Waren im Wert von 4000 Rubel in Moskau eingekauft, darunter 1000 Rubel für Zobel-, Fuchs- und Einhörnchenfelle ausgegeben. Fehner (1956), 58.

[21] Dieser Prozentsatz entspricht den Rechnungen von Novosel'skij. Nach ihm blieben im Jahre 1614 85 Prozent des Tributs in des Händen der Giray-Dynastie. In den 30er Jahren schwankte der Prozentsatz um die 70 Prozent, Mitte des Jahrhundert ist er auf 50 Prozent gefallen (p. 440).

[22] Novosel'skij (1948), 439.

Aus den Kammerabrechnungen geht nämlich hervor, daß im absoluten Wert nur etwas mehr als die Hälfte des Gesamtbetrages geleistet wurde, weil man nur einen Teil der Forderungen in Bargeld tilgte; für die verbleibende Summe lieferte man Uhren, Goldschmiedearbeiten und Edelsteine, die mit viel höherem Wert als beim Kauf angerechnet waren.[23]

Abschließend steht es fest, daß man sogar auch im Falle des russischen Tributs, worüber einige Quellenpublikationen doch zur Verfügung stehen, nur mit äußerster Vorsicht vorgehen soll. Die heutige Quellenlage ermöglicht die Tributgröße zwar für einige Jahre, nicht aber für eine längere Periode zu bestimmen. Für die weitere Entwicklung des Tributeinkommens des Chanats darf nicht außer acht gelassen werden, daß in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts wesentliche Änderungen in den russisch-tatarischen Beziehungen stattfanden. In den Jahren 1658–1680 schickten die Russen keinen Tribut in die Krim, und die letzte Bezahlung des *tiyiş* erfolgte im Jahre 1685,[24] bis dann im Frieden von Konstantinopel (1700) die Tributpflichtigkeit Rußlands aufgehoben wurde.

[23] Gottfried Mraz, *Von der Tributleistung zur Repräsentation. Die habsburgisch-türkischen Ehrengeschenke vom Frieden von Zsitvatorok bis zum Frieden von Karlovitz mit einem Rückblick auf das 16. Jahrhundert.* Hausarbeit am Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung. Wien 1976.

[24] Faizov (1992), 67.

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THE IDEA OF INDIVIDUALIZATION AND GENERALIZATION IN TURKIC LANGUAGES

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Waiting for a good historical grammar

Turkic linguistics is still a field in which much work should be done. As regards diachronic studies, so far no modern languages, to the best of my knowledge, can be traced back to their Middle and Old Turkic predecessors with a reliable, full-fledged historical grammar,[1] and only one language, Turkish, has a historical dictionary. In order to study other modern languages, we have to rove around in a jungle of contributions dispersed in numerous periodicals which are devoted to specific problems. On the other hand, some earlier works started before many of the modern languages were standardized and described, e.g. Radloff, Bang. Since the comparative method was easier to apply than the historical method, comparative studies preceded historical ones. However, their application was often unsystematic. At the same time it must be stressed that we have good grammars of particular historical languages from the Old and Middle Turkic period. In the 1980s, a Soviet team came out with a three-volume comparative-historical grammar, Tenišev 1984, 1986, 1988 that could have been a good continuation of Ščerbak's comparative studies, 1970, 1977, 1981, 1987 (for references, see Tenišev 1986 and 1988), in which both historical and contemporary material have been looked upon. Despite the title, the series of grammars edited by Tenišev is more comparative than historical. It discusses a wide range of languages, but historical documention is rather scanty there.

So when I was studying a certain phenomenon which I devote the present paper to, I could not find what I was looking for in the grammars indicated above. Therefore, I thought it did not exist and consequently, came to a false conclusion. It is symptomatic that nobody realized this when I presented my pa-

[1] In spite of the title, Fozilov's historical morphology of Uzbek does not deal but with the Old Turkic period prior to the 11th century, Fozilov (1965:6); in Levitskaja's historical morphology (1976), historical material on Bulgarian and Chuvash is very scanty, she starts with contemporary forms, provides dialectal equivalents, compares them with Old and Middle Turkic literary, then, modern languages, M:rzäzadä's documentation in his historical morphology of Azerbaijani (1962) is abundant, yet we cannot see the chronological process of the development of particular forms as clearly.

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per at the Conference of Turcology in Kazan, 1992. Only afterwards, while studying a Middle Turkic text could I correct my view. In such circumstances, it turns out that the death of any scholar such as Tibor Halasi-Kun who had in his brain all what we do not have in grammars is a great loss for Turcology.

1. Individualizing and generalizing pronouns and adjectives

The idea of individualization and closely related generalization is lexicalized in Turkic languages. The sets of lexemes conveying these notions do not subsume but several elements and, therefore, are usually presented by morphological descriptions. If not, they are the subject of a syntactical analysis which attempts to elucidate the question of congruence and word order.

Denotatively, the individualizing and generalizing words are defined in the following way:

— the former refer to each element of a set of entities taken individually and involve such English words as *each* and *every*

— the latter refer to all elements of a set of entities seen as a group and encompass such English words as *all* and compounds containing *every-*, e.g. *everybody*; *everything*.

In addition to this, there are completizing words that denote a set composed of one or more elements regarded strictly as a whole, a complete wholeness. These include such English lexemes as *whole, thorough, entire, complete, all (the).*

As can be seen, one and the same lexical unit may overlap in both English and Turkic languages, for instance *barča, bütün*. Consequently, they have more than one of the above meanings. It is because denotation of the majority of these lexical units varies that they are dependent on the meaning of the noun determined by them. If a noun as *bodun, χalq* 'people' denotes a group of entities, denotation of a given determining word will vary according to what the speaker has in his/her mind: a quantity of entities or a single group understood collectively. Supposedly, this was one of the basic reasons for later diversity we can see throughout the languages.

In traditional descriptive grammars, 'all', 'every', 'each' and the like were usually taken for *indefinite pronouns, indefinite determiners* or/and *indefinite adjectives.* More detailed semantic subdivision makes a distinction between generalizing and indefinite pronouns, subgrouping them into nominal, adjectival and numeral pronouns. Furthermore, some of them, especially when suffixed, can also function as adverbials.

It is not my intention to go into a theoretical discussion about whether or not the term indefiniteness is well justified, although both generalizing, individualizing and completizing words seem to be identifiable and, therefore, rather definite than indefinite. In any case, some grammarians even in the realm of Turcology call the words in question just to the contrary *definite*, e.g. Prik (1976:

104), Juldašev (1981), whereas others, most properly, prefer another term, notably *generalizing pronouns* (*obobščitel'nye mestoimenija*), e.g. Ubrjatova et al. (1982: 206) or *obobščajuščie*, Kononov (1960: 183).

On the lexical level, the notion of individualization and generalization may be expanded to such word classes as nouns, personal pronouns, adjective/numeral, adverbials, including postpositions, e.g. *sayïn* 'each; every', but more specifically 'whenever; whatever; each time (place)'.

In this paper, emphasis is laid on individualizing words as more diversified, except for the later loan-words.

2. Ancient Turkic

Although the notions we are interested in seem to belong to the basic semantic concepts reflected by the languages in either grammar or lexicon, we should not deduce from this supposition that words expressing such meanings as 'all', 'every' and 'each' had pertained to the basic vocabulary of Ancient Turkish. Notably, the idea of generalization and individualization could have been conveyed by means of grammatical morphemes, though not thoroughly grammaticized, as for instance the concept of definiteness, expressed by 3P possessive suffix, cf. Gabain (1950: 158). I think this inference may be supported by the fact that some folklore texts make little use of generalizing and individualizing words. In a folk tale told in the Telenghit dialect of Altai, the sentence *albatïnï aylandra bazala ayaq ašqa d'alïp bolboon* is translated by Baskakov into Russian in the following way: 'He went round asking all people (all the nation) but could not exchange the cup for food' (1958: 87). Indeed, the PS on *albat* conveys this sense rather than 'his; his own people'.

Another way of expressing the ideas in question might have been a combination of indefinite pronouns with particles, which we can find nowadays in Altai and Yakut, see below.

Finally, generalization, individualization and completization were expressed, just like many adverbs and postpositions, by means of verbs meaning 'to finish; to complete; to disappear; to be all' which followed the words they referred to, and verbs in converbal form, e.g. *alqu, bütün*.[2] Note that the notion of generalization could have been standardized for as early as Ancient Turkish, since *bar* and the related forms had probably been inherited even by Chuvash, *pur-* and, then, by Yakut, *barïta*, cf. Levitskaja (1976: 37); Ubrjatova (1982: 206), whereas there is no such word or grammatical device for 'each; every'. The use of *sayïn* is restricted. This word, in modern languages, may follow the noun denoting time units as *day*, *hour*, *year* or so and participles used cenver-

[2] Although Gabain (1950: 106) assumes that *bütün* was originally a postposition and became then "indefinite numeral", we could not find any evidence supporting this claim. Moreover, *bütün* appears to emerge late in the Islamic period, see examples supplied by DTS 134.

bally as predicates of temporal clauses, e.g. *men barγan sayïn, sen kelgen sayïn*, etc.[3]

However, the infiltration of foreign languages started soon, since the language of the inscriptions, from the 7th–8th century, exhibits the existence of Sogdian *qamuγ*, cf. Kononov (1980: 168) and DTS.

3. Old Turkic languages

In the subsequent lines, I wish to survey the Old Turkic languages we can document, that is Orkhonic Turkish (7th–8th), Orkhonic Uighur (8th–9th), Yenisseic (presumably 9th century), literary Uighur that continued the old language tradition even in the 17th century, the language of Karakhanid dynasty (11th–about 1230) and Old Anatolian (13th–beginning of 14th).[4]

As mentioned above, comparative and historical grammars do not provide much information about the question. So will turn to grammars describing this heterogeneous period.

In her grammar of Old Turkish, Gabain (1950) does not discuss individualizing and generalizing words in a separate section, yet some remarks on them may be found in the section of syntax, e.g. *qamaγ ädgü qïlïnčlarta* 'by all good deeds', p. 168. Then, there is the morphology of indefinite numerals where the following words are presented: *qamaγ* 'all', *qamaγu* 'altogether', *qamaγun* 'together', *barča* 'all', p. 106 and the section discussing postpositions, *alqu* 'all', p. 135, *sayu* 'every; each', p. 138, *bütün* 'all', p. 106. Of these, *sayu* denotes individual objects, *yir ~ bardïγ* (Orkhonic Turkish), also Tekin (1968: 232), 'you went to each place'; *täbrätük ~* (TT 119) 'at each movement; whenever (he) moved'. Gabain gives no examples for *tegmä*.

In Tekin's grammar (1968: 144), we find *qamaγï* 'all; all of them' and *sayu*, (see above).

In the morphology section of his grammar, Kononov (1980) discusses 'generalizing pronominal words', pp. 168–9. These are: *qamaγ ~ qamuγ* (of Iranian origin), *barča, barï ~ baru, üküš, qop* 'all'. As may be seen, these are

[3] Although this restriction has never been explicitly formulated and even some of the current dictionaries accept the use of *sayïn* with other kinds of nouns, e.g. Tatar *Bülmä ~ kerep yörü* 'to enter each room one after another', TTAS II 614, such occurrences are not very frequent. This restriction on usage is not observed in Mongolian which has a very similar construction, e.g. *cag (ödör, sar, jil) bür* 'every hour (day, month, year)' and *χün bür* 'each man, every man', though *büχen* is more usual here. This parallel has been drawn just to stress that the same Mongolian-type pattern is reflected in Tuvan, see below.

[4] The question of periodization of Turkic languages has not been settled so far, see Róna-Tas (1991) and Hazai's critical remarks to this book, Hazai (1992: 85–90). Therefore, it is safer to speak about varieties of Old Turkic languages than about Old Turkish.

'generalizing words', indeed, neither of them conveys individualizing meaning. Note that *üküš* is usually known as 'many' and not 'all', cf. DTS 624.

DTS gives three examples for *tegmä* 'every; each' taken from the Cairo copy (14th century) of Qutadgu Bilig (1069–1070), *qalïn bolsa qoldaš ögär tegmä til* 'if there are many friends, everybody (lit. each tongue) praises'; *köŋül sïrrï ačma sözün tegmägä* 'do not reveal the secret of (your) heart to everybody', *tegmä biriŋä at urmiš öŋin* '(he) called each of them by a different name', p. 548.

Tegmä is also present in Kašgari's dictionary (11th century). The following quotations are taken from Atalay's edition of the Turkic specimens and the translation of an Arabic text, Atalay (undated).

bu er tegme nenğni ödhürgen (bu adam herşeyi seçen) 'this man has chosen everything', p. 157

tegme yanğaktın budun akıştı (her taraftan halk akıştı) 'people have been flown from all sides', p. 241

tegme türlüğig (her türlü hastalık) 'each kind of disease', p. 296

tegme kişi 'everybody; every man', p. 433

tegme yerden 'from each place', p. 523.

In runiform inscriptions, *tegmä* appears only once, but the reading of this part of the text is uncertain, Malov (1952: 25–7): *tegmä*, Orkun (1940: 180) $b^{i}r$ $b^{e}rt^{i}ğ^{i}mä$.

In conclusion, we can say that Old Turkish languages known to us from inscriptions possessed several generalizing words: *barï, barča, qop* and *qamuγ*, but only one individualizing word *sayu* was widely used. In each case, *sayu* was put postpositionally after the word determined, e.g. *bodunïn sayu* (Ton, 8th) 'to the all nations3POSSACC', Kononov (1980: 202). From later documents, we know further generalizing words, such as *alqu, tüzü ~ tözü* and *yumγu*. In particular, we have much evidence of *sayu* from Uighur manuscripts, e.g. *orun sayu tüzüdin* '(from) everywhere completely', Hazai, Zieme (1971: 29), *säkiz tümän tüw tüpüm sayu* (Maitr, 8th) 'each of 80 000 pieces of my hair', Şinasi Tekin (1980: 102), *ay sayu* (Usp, 12th–14th) 'every month', DTS 482, *kün sayu* (Chuast,?) 'every day', ibid.

There were no semantic restraints on its use. *Sayu* could follow nouns denoting time, place, as well as individual objects.

Another word for 'each' and 'every', *tegmä*, emerges in Islamic literature. We have no firm evidence for it neither from inscription nor from non-Islamic manuscript literature. As for the origin, *tegmä* is probably a derivative of the verb *teg-* 'to reach; attain; touch' formed with the suffix *-mA*. However, this argument is not convincing for Clauson writes the following about *tegme < teg-* : "the semantic connection with *teg-* is obscure. In SW Osm *degme / deyme*; not to be confused with *tégme*, part. in *-gme* from *té-*", Clauson (1972: 482).

4. Middle Turkic languages

The Middle Turkic period is well documented in the history of many languages. For this reason, in the following lines I will attempt to reveal the most differentiated features rather than to supply vast material of similar and identical occurrences which does not bring but little clarity.

4.1. Anatolian Turkish and Old Ottoman

We start with Turkish because its development can be traced back to as early as the 13th century. Turkish possessed at least two words that served as both generalizers and completizers, which expressed 'all' and 'wholeness': *bütün*, *kamu*, apart from a further set of loan-words, such as *cümle, heme, cemi, hepsi*, etc. Presently, both functions are also fulfilled by *tüm*, cf. Mustafayev, Starostov (1977: 875).

As for *kamu*, we do not have any transparent evidence that it could serve for 'each, every' alike, although Tarama Sözlüğü 2193 accounts for it as '1 bütün, hep, her'. Occurrences such as

kamu yerde ve kamu gönüllerde (15th) can be interpreted as 'everywhere (on each place) and in all hearts', but also as 'in all places and all hearts', given that the plural suffix is deleted Tarama Sözlüğü 2194.

As can be seen, the denotational scope of *kamu* for 'all' was quite usual, e.g.

kamu evlerden bu ev ayruksırak (14th) 'this house is different than all other houses', ibid.

A separate paragraph should be devoted to the adjective *dükeli ~ düğeli,* which is probably Old Turkic *tükel* +PS, similar to *hep(i)si*, and also used adjectivally.[5] Notably, although it has not explicitly been said, *dükeli* was used for both 'whole', 'all' and 'every, each'. Since Tarama Sözlüğü provides a lot of examples for the two former meanings, I will not but indicate its use except for the latter meaning:

dükeli yerde mansur u muzaffer (15th) 'victorious and triumphant everywhere', Tarama Sözlüğü 1308;

dükeli ḥālda 'in each case', Adamović (1985: 29), translated as 'in jedem Fall'.

Probably the most frequently used Old Anatolian and Ottoman word for the idea of individuality was *değme*. Historical material will be quoted from Tarama Sözlüğü, 1044–1048.

In the earliest language documents, *değme* occurs with a noun denoting time, ~ *gün* (13th) 'every day'. In another place *değme* appears with suffixes as a

[5] Note that in some languages, for instance in Crimean Tatar, double possessive-suffixed numeral adjectives are still frequently used in phrases like *čoqusï adamlar* 'many people'.

generalizing word, ~ *lerden niçe niçe sorasın* (13th–14th) 'that you ask for some from all'.

In 14th century documents, we can find examples of *değme* defining persons and objects, ~ *kişi* 'each man; everybody', *anın* ~ *bir beytine* 'to each of its lines', place, ~ *yerde* 'in each place; everywhere'. The dictionary provides various quotations up to the 20th century. In a number of later texts, ~ defines persons, e.g. ~ *kişi, zat, yâr, oğul atası*. It frequently precedes the indefinite word *bir, biri*, defining a noun, e.g. ~ *bir âkıl* (14th–15th) 'each one who is wise', ~ *bir şahzadeyı* (16th) 'each son of kingACC'.

When occurring with *nesne, kimse* 'whatever; whoever', it denotes 'nothing, nobody' and is used in negative sentences, e.g. *göz* ~ *nesneyi görmez* (15th) 'the eye sees nothing'; ~ *kimse bilmez* (15th) 'nobody knows'.

For 'every time; each time', there was a combination of ~ and *gez* 'time', ~ *gez ki çıkar idi* (13th) 'whenever (he/she) went out' in common use.

Of course, ~ may be used as a subject or a syntacteme by itself, e.g. ~ *fehmetmez benim esrarımı* (15th) 'not everybody (or nobody?) understands my secret'.

If it occurs with person suffixes or *biri-*, the sense of such a statement is generalizing, e.g. *çün ayruk yerdeniz* ~ *birimiz anarız* ~ *miz yerli yerimiz* (15th) 'when you will be in a separate place, we all will remember our proper places'.

In Sami's dictionary (1899), *değme* is explained as 'olmaz; adi; rastgele; tesadüf, her kim, her ne olursa' and exemplified as follows: ~ *adamın harcı değildir* 'this job is not for everyone'; *böyle yazı* ~ *kâğıt üzerine yazılamaz* 'such a script is not to be written onto each kind of paper'; ~*de* 'beyond the possibility; impossible', p. 615.

The word *değme* can also be found in modern dictionaries, e.g. Redhouse (1968: 279): *değme* 'every; any' ~ *adam bu işi yapamaz* 'not every man can do it'.

An explanation similar to Sami's is provided by Mustafayev and Starostov's Turkish–Russian dictionary (1977), 'normal; usual, etc.', presenting the example by Redhouse and the other by Sami, p. 214.

Finally, *değme* is also evidenced in Türkçe Sözlük:

değme s 1. Her, herhangi bir, gelişigüzel, rastgele: < *Öyle sanıyorum ki bu gözlemler değme yazarların harcı değildir*> – S. Birsel. < *Deli gönül değme çaydan bulanmaz / Coşarsa dalgası kendinden olur*> – Âşik Veysel. 2. seçkin, seçme.

In the modern language *değme* is principally used in negative sentences in the sense 'whatsoever; by chance; haphazard'. More exactly, in such sentences there is a kind of semantic difference between *kimse* 'nobody' and *değme* 'not every'.[6]

[6] Semantic shift went still further in Tatar, where *tijmä* means 'let it be so', cf. TTAS III: 109.

4.2. Khwarezmian Turkish

The individualizing word *tägmä* which is tracable back to the Karakhanid period, was widely used in Khwarezmian Turkish literary language. This word appears in a Koran commentary from the 12th–13th century whose vocabulary is recorded in the dictionary compiled by Borovkov (1963). The choice of this language document as a starting point is well justified, since the language reflected there shows many archaic properties typical of the earlier Karakhanid period, and some later innovations brought in about the time of the writing of the copy, Borovkov (1963: 11–3). The material of this commentary provides the following examples of *tägmä*, which is translated into Russian as 'vsjakij; každyj':

~ *närsä* 'everything'
~ *kün ičindä* 'on each day; every day'
malik alur ädi ~ kämini küčäjü 'the king took every ship by force'
~ *bir* 'each one'
~ *birinkä miŋ är bärdi* 'he gave thousand men (soldiers) to each one'
~ *birisi* 'each of them'
kim an-Nağm suräsin oqısa näčä musulman bar ärsä ~ si sanınč on müzd bärgäj 'each one who reads down the chapter <Star> (of Kuran) will be rewarded by ten times a total number of all Moslems'.

The bulk of works ascribed to Khwarezmian literature appeared in the 14th century. The word *tägmä* was commonly used in each major literary work. In the following, I will quote examples from Eckmann (1976) and Bodrogligeti (1969). References to other documents may be found in the latter. The former glossary gives two quotations:

bütünlükin id̲tïmïz tägmä ögür ičindä bir yalavač 'surely, we sent forth a messenger among every nation'
käs käs qïldïmïz olarnï on iki ögür, tägmäsi bir oγušlar, ögürlär 'we divided them into twelve tribes, each of them is a nation, a people'.

In addition, there is a phrase *tägmä yolï kim* translated 'as often as', Eckmann (1976: 282).

In Bodrogligeti's edition of the Khwarezmian Turkic version of Saᶜdī's *Gulistan*, we find the following phrases with *tegmä*:

~ *bir näfäs* 'each breath'
~ *bir kün* 'each day'
~ *bir niʿ mätkä* 'for each blessing', pp. 37; 64.

In Chaghatai literature which is regarded as a continuation of this period, but which brings to life quite a new language and style, the use of *tegmä* could not have been common since basic sources give no evidence for it, e.g. Eckmann's manual, Ščerbak's grammar of Old Uzbek (that is, Chaghatai), Abuška, Pavet de Courteille's, Şeyh Süleyman Efendi's dictionary, etc.

4.3. Middle Kipchak

In the documents from the period of the Golden Horde preserved up to date, we can see an extensive use of *barča* for 'all', but to my knowledge *tegmä* or *tiymä*, as we would expect the phonetic shape of this word, is not attested.

However, other Middle Kipchak documents do provide us with examples of the individualizer analyzed. Notably, *tegmä* is present in Codex Cumanicus, Grønbech (1942: 239), in Tuḥfa az-Zakiya, where it emerges in two alternating forms *dägmä ~ timä*, translated into Russian 'każdyj, vsjakij', Fozilov, Zijaeva (1978: 290; 381). On p. 168 *timä* is matched with *har* 'every; each'. The note on p. 255 says that *har nämä, har näsnä* and *timä* are used in the same sense as *har*.

Attention should be paid to such adverbial usage as *timä kälsäm* 'whenever I come', p. 222, which is just like *män kälgän sayïn*. Very interesting is from this standpoint Nizami's poem *Ḫusrev ū Šīrīn*, translated in 1341 into Kipchak Turkish by Quṭb and preserved in a copy from 1383.

Notably, beside *tegmä* which was normally used for 'each, every', e.g.

~ haftä ičrä 'every week'

~ bir sač 'each piece of hair', cf. Zajączkowski (1958: 167; 229);

it appears that the generalizing word *qamuγ* is used in this function, too,

qamuγ išniŋ ažunda vaqty bar 'in the world there is time for everything (lit. each thing)'

qamuγ ᶜāšyqny birteg sansa bolmaz 'you should not think that each lover is alike'

qamuγ miskīn qanyndan qansa bolmaz '(he) does not flow from everybody's (lit. each poor man's) blood', ibid. 230; 232.

Probably the editor of this document was of the same opinion, for he translated this word not only 'wszystek, wszyscy', but also into 'każdy', Zajączkowski (1961: 130), cf. my introductory remark in section 1 above.

At the same time it must be emphasized that *qamuγ* was normally used as 'all' along with its counterpair *barča*,

barča qyzlar 'all girls', p. 100.

Evidence for *tegmä* can also be provided by later Kipchak language documents, e.g. in Münyetü 'l-Guzāt (1446/7):

tigme kurla 'each time', p. 116

tigme ok arası 'each space between arrows', p. 108, cf. Uğurlu (1987).

On the basis of historical documents, some of the modern Kipchak languages, e.g. Crimean Tatar and Karaim, may be traced back to this 14th century somewhat mixed literary language. However, neither of them gives evidence for a generalizer other than the Persian *har ~ här*. Yet, similar to what has been said about *qamuγ* above, the generalizing adjective *barča*, in a Karaim prayer from 1734 seems to join both functions:

barča gúnáχlariŋzdán 'from all your sins', p. 63

barča musančymyz 'our all hope', ibid.

but a line below

barča gúnáχni da ajtyŋyz aŋar which may be accounted for as 'tell Him each of your sins', ibid.

and

barča kišigá 'to every man; to everybody', p. 64, Sulimowicz (1972).

5. Modern Turkic languages

The postposition *sayïn* for 'every; each', as a continuation of Old Turkish has been inherited by a number of modern languages. According to Tenišev (1988: 494), it exists in Karaim, Noghai, Altai, Kazakh, Karakalpak, Karachai and Balkar, Crimean Tatar, Uzbek (*sayin*), Bashkir (*hayĕn*), Tatar (*sayĕn*), Yellow Uighur (*se:n*) furthermore in a bit different form in Shor (*saya*) and Turkmen (*sayi*). This list does not include all languages. We can add Kirghiz, Kumuk, Khakas (*say*), Dobrudja Tatar (*sayïp*) etc.

Generalizing words, called *sobiratel'nye mestoimenija*, formed in modern Turkic languages attributive syntagmas in which they determine nouns. The most common, according to Tenišev (1986), are those derived from *bar* by means of such suffixes as *-I, -ča,* and *-Liq*. They exist in Turkmen, Kirghiz, Uighur, Karaim, Chuvash, Yakut, Tatar, Kazakh, Shor and Karakalpak, p. 37. Another generalizer commonly used is *bütün* with the related forms. Among others, it can be found in Kazakh, Noghai, Kumuk, Turkmen, Uighur, Uzbek, Turkish, etc. With regard to its origin, the authors of the grammar assume it is derived from the stem *büt-* by the suffix *-In*. Furthermore, somewhat different variant also emerges in Kirghiz and Kazakh, notably *bütkül*, ibid. Finally, it is said there that some languages developed their own words, of which Altai *ködörö*, Bashkir *totoš*,[7] Gagauz *žümna*, Karakalpak *öŋkey*, Noghai *savlay* and Turkmen *külli* are mentioned, p. 38. In pattern sentences, we also see Bashkir *här*, Karakalpak *χämme* and Tuvan *tödü*.

5.1. Chuvash

Chuvash also possesses a range of individualizing pronouns, including the Persian *här*, well known from other Common Turkic languages. It appears in the compound forms *χarpĕr, χarkam*, Levitskaja (1976: 37). In addition, another loan-word *kašni ~ kašnă ~ kašnăy* (from Russian *každyj*) is commonly used, ibid., e.g. *kašni kunaχ* 'every day'; *kašni kaś, kašni ir* 'every evening, every morning', Róna-Tas (1978: 159; 250).

[7] Beside other generalizers, such as *köllö, barï, hämmä*, Juldašev (1981: 158; 428). Note that *bötön* denotes in Bashkir 'entire, whole, thorough', whilst *bötä* means 'all'. In the role of the individualizer, *här* is in common use.

Beyond the above forms, Chuvash, as Levitskaja points out in a footnote, developed its own lexical units to express the idea of individualization (opredelitel'nye obosoblennye), namely *takam ta* 'everyone' and *temĕn te* 'everything', by combining the indifinite pronouns 'somebody; something' with the particle *tA*.

Ašmarin presents some examples of the use of *takam ta* in the meaning 'every, each', e.g.

Ana takam ta pallatˇ 'everybody knows about him'

takam ta pĕllet 'everybody knows', p. 154. Similar examples are found in standard dictionaries.

5.2. Yakut

In her grammar of Yakut, Ubrjatova (1982: 204–8) makes a distinction between collective and generalizing pronouns. The first group includes two basic words, *barï* and *bütün*. From the examples given, it turns out that the latter is in fact a well-known common Turkic word for 'whole', that is a completizer. *Barï*, which was common in Old Turkic languages as well, may be presented in such a syntagma as

barï oγolor 'all children', p. 205.

Apart from this attributive usage, *barï* may also be used as a pronoun in the sense of 'all', which is an universal feature for so many languages. Besides, it can take the possessive suffix *-tA* and combine with another word *buqa* (< Mongolian *büχe*), ibid.

The second group subsumes a set of several words and combinations of words. One of them is pronoun *χas* (common Turkic *qač* 'how much; how many', *bir* ~ 'some') which, according to Ubrjatova, also means 'each' when used attributively, e.g.

χas i:r 'each place', p. 207.

Other words for 'each, every' are *barïta* and *baγarar* combined with *kim* for persons and *tuoχ* for other entities and objects, but in the sample sentences they are used only as pronouns, not adjectives, e.g.

Kim baγarar üleγe üöreχχe bïra:pta:χ 'Everybody has the right to work, to learn',

χaraŋaγa tuoχ barïta ulata:n köstör 'In the darkness everything seems to be large', p. 207.

However, as Ubrjatova remarks, the latter are close to collective (i.e. generalizing) words. Therefore, we will regard *χas* and its combinations with *barïta, bi:rdi:, ikkili:* true individualizing words only, see also note by Dyrenkova (1940: 101).

5.3. Altai

Dyrenkova discusses both definite and indefinite pronouns in one section of her grammar, Dyrenkova (1940: 100–1). Of these, *bastïra* and *ončo* are used for 'all' and *ne-le, qažï-la* for 'each, every',

ne-le kiži biler 'each man (everybody) knows',

qažï-la kiži biler 'id' (the translation provided in the grammar is apparently a misprint), p. 101.

In addition, Dyrenkova points to another possibility of expressing the idea of individuality,

bis kiži to:zïna eki körükteŋ öltürdibis 'we killed two Siberian squirrels each', ibid,

where *kiži to:zïna* (*tozïna* is another misprint) < man-number-3PS-DAT, that is 'counting by man'.

Qažï-la is composed of the adjective *qaži* (Common Turkic *qaysi*?) and a particle. The same particle combines with the interrogative pronoun *ne* in the former compound. Note that this strategy may also be instantly traced in some other languages, e.g. Kirghiz *qaysï birin aytayïn* 'shall I tell all?', translated as 'You cannot tell all, can you?' cf. Judahin (1965: 323).

In a bilingual dictionary, Russian *vsjakij* and *každyj* 'each, every' are translated with Altai *qažï la* and *qandïj la*, whereas *ne le* is lacking, Kogunbaeva (1991: 66; 83).

Unfortunately, I could not find any evidence for 'each, every' in the folklore texts published by Baskakov (1958, 1985), although 'all' was present in many sentences in various forms: *pačan, parčïn, parčazï* 'all of them', *ködörö ~ ködöre, ködörözi* 'all of them', *pastïra*, e.g.

ködörö balazï kïstar poltïr 'all his children were girls', Baskakov (1985: 91), Chalkandi dialect.

In the same dialect, we find the use of *sayïn* with nouns expressing time, e.g. *kün ~* , ibid, also with the particle *lA, kün le ~*, p. 125.[8]

As signaled in the introduction, Altai dialects make use of 3rd person possessive suffix for expressing the idea of 'all'.

Some other modern Turkic languages spoken in South Siberia also possess their own lexical devices for 'each, every', e.g. Khakas *polγan na*.

5.4. Tuvan

Tuvan possesses a large series of words that convey the idea of a general subgrouping. Many of them are borrowed or at least shared with Mongolian. Ishakov and Pal'mbah (1961) mention the following: *bügü* (< Mongolian *büχ*),

[8] Note that the use of *sayïn* does include the combination with *här* in some modern languages, for instance Tatar *här yïl sayïn dijärlek* 'almost every year'.

bügüde (< Mongolian *bügd*) 'all', *bürün* (cf. Mongolian *büren*) 'all the; all; entire', *χamïq* (cf. Mongolian *χamag*, which, though, may be a loan-word from Old Turkish *qamuγ*, but certainly not from the Persian *häme*, as those authors suppose) furthermore *tödü, šuptu, do:za* (which stems from *do:s-* 'to complete'; however, in my opinion has a more likely connection with Turkic *tawus-* 'id' and not with Mongolian *tögsöχ*) and *dögere*, p. 240.

To express individuality, Tuvan has the word *bürü* placed postpositionally after the noun it refers to, e.g.

kiži bürüzü 'everyone'.

In contrast to *sayïn*, it takes possessive and case suffixes, e.g.

baziim bürüzünde 'on each step', p. 244.

6. Conclusion

Modern Turkic languages, except for several instances of overlapping, distinguish between the general and the individual. In some cases, when the distinction between what stands for 'all' and what stands for 'each' is irrelevant, a word usually denoting the idea of generality may also designate the notion of individuality, if the noun determined is not marked by a plural suffix, e.g. Middle Kipchak *qamuγ sač* 'each piece of hair', Karaim *barča gúnáχ* 'each sin'. Thus it turns out that the concept of individuality is more marked. To avoid the ambiguity, languages often indicate by additional devices that they refer to the latter, e.g. Tatar *här ... sayïn*, Old Anatolian and Middle Turkish *değme bir*, current *her bir*. On the other hand, if the noun without a plural mark encloses a group of entities taken as a collective wholeness, a word assigned normally for generality may occasionally also denote the idea of that wholeness, e.g. Middle Crimean Tatar *barča χalq* 'the whole people'.

Presumably, polysemy of some high frequency words resulted in polysemy of functional words expressing either generality, individuality or wholeness.

Although many Turkic languages, apart from the vernacular terms for the first idea, use loan-words, e.g. Crimean Tatar *episi*, Karakalpak *hämme*, e.g. *episi adamlar, hämme adamlar* 'all men; people', this tendency in modern languages is not dominant. In contrast, the second idea is generally expressed by loan-words whose influx agrees with a cultural and linguistic impact: Islamic languages mostly use *här*, Tuvan took over the Mongolian borrowing *bürü*, Chuvash adapted the Russian *každyj*. Only central Turkic languages, including Yakut, developed or preserved their own words.

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NOTES ON BEKIR ÇOBANZADE'S LIFE AND ACTIVITY IN HUNGARY (WITH THE PUBLICATION OF A NEW DOCUMENT)

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1. Çobanzade's stay in Budapest

The most reliable account is still that published by A. Battal Taymas (1954). The main points of it may be summarized as follows. In 1915, after graduating from the *Sultaniye* school in Istanbul, Bekir Sıdkı Çobanzade[1] set out for Budapest to continue his studies at the Péter Pázmány University (Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetem). Here he was admitted to the Baron Joseph Eötvös College (Báró Eötvös József-Collegium, currently the Eötvös József Kollégium) where he lived at the cost of the Hungarian government. During his college years, Çobanzade attended some lectures and conducted seminars himself, Taymas (1954: 240). In a footnote, Taymas mentioned that he had seen the original of Çobanzade's doctoral diploma,[2] which was then in Cafer Seidamet Kirimer's possession. Taymas provides a detailed description of the attestation of this document by the contemporary chancellor (*kancılar*) of the Turkish Consulate to Budapest, Mr. Enis Behic. The notes of attestation written in Arabic letters in the top right corner read: "Mr. Bekir Sıdkı, after completing the courses in Turkic Philology, History of Arabic Literature and History of Hungarian Literature at the University in Hungary passed the examinations and was awarded a Ph. D. degree (*felsefe doktoru*). The certificate issued by the Council of Professors at the aforesaid university was seen by the [staff of the Turkish] Consulate to Pest on December 9 (*Kanunülevvel*), 1334. The certificate was awarded on May 15, 1919."

Similar information was repeated by this author in another paper on Çobanzade, Taymas (1955: 23–4).

[1] Çobanzade was a nickname, adopted by the scholar and poet himself. His true name he used in Hungary was Bekir Sidki. In the present paper, Sıdkı, used as a surname, will be written in Turkish orthography, yet not as the present-day Sıtkı. Besides, according to Taymas (1954: 239), Çobanzade signed his writings in Istanbul with the following names: *Çobanzad Bekir, Çobanoğlu Bekir Bavbek, Bekir Cavbek, Kırımlı Çobanoğlu Bekir Sıdkı, Bekir Sıdkı*. So it was, as we will see later, in Hungary.

[2] This diploma along with Çobanzade's report book of the University of Budapest, according to information kindly supplied to me by Dr. Hakan Kirimli (1992), is kept in the archives of the *Emel Foundation* in Turkey.

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Among Crimean Tatar writers and scholars who dealt with Çobanzade, the largest space was devoted to the subject by Safter Nagaiev (1991: 75–216). The latter essay, entitled 'Soldier of the Cultural Revolution' (Медений инкъиляб аскери) is, to my best knowledge, the lengthiest elaboration upon Çobanzade. It is written in a reporter style, vivid and picturesque. At the end, a bibliography of Çobanzade's works, pp. 103–211 and a bibliography of works on Çobanzade, pp. 211–216, are annexed.[3]

There is no agreement as to the time Çobanzade arrived in Budapest. According to Tagirzade, Guliev (1990: 77), it was in 1914, according to Taymas (1954: 240) just upon graduating, which must have been between December 8–31, 1915, so in Taymas (1955: 23). Ašnin (1967: 208) and Nagaiev (1991: 91) think it was in 1916. Unfortunately, the document published here says nothing about this date. However, we have got an indirect hint owing to which we are able to deduce the time of this event. Notably, Çobanzade writes: he had passed the basic examinations (*alapvizsga*) in the May of 1918, after having attended six semesters (see the document). Therefore, he must have started his studies in Budapest in the second half of 1915. Unluckily, the Guide to Courses available at the University in the academic year 1915/1916 does not indicate Çobanzade's name,[4] cf. Tanrend. This may be due to the fact that he probably came to Budapest after the courses started, but certainly after the other students had registered and the Guide had been prepared for print. The courses of the first semester 1915/1916 began on September 15, while those of the second semester on January 23, 1916. As can be seen, supposedly the date provided by Taymas is right.

Another unclear point in Çobanzade's biography is the period immediately preceding his arrival in Hungary, i.e. 1914–1915, but the earlier years are not quite clear, either. In an attempt to fill this gap, I will compare the existing *curricula vitae* with what Çobanzade wrote about himself.

On the one hand, we see that the authors, except Tagirzade and Guliev whose account is apparently inaccurate, agree that Çobanzade completed his study in Turkey in 1915, see for example Ašnin, ibid. Taymas indicates the exact time of his promotion, "8 (21) XII. 1915", ibid.

On the other hand, Nagaiev's detailed information contradicts both Ašnin's and Taymas' statement. He writes that Çobanzade came back to the Crimea in 1914, Nagaiev (1991: 90), and on this point he is probably right. Then, he continues:

[3] It is worth noting that Nagaiev corrects Çobanzade's birth place, which he says had formerly been mistakenly shown as *Argïn* (a village in *Kefe* district), such as for instance in the biographical note in Čoban-Zade, Latif-Zade (1971: 7). However, we suspect that this error was not common, but in Crimean Tatar media, since worthwhile publications such as Taymas and Ašnin (1967) indicate his birth-place correctly as *Karasubazar*. In addition, the latter provides the full date of Çobanzade's birth, May 5, 1893, Ašnin (1967: 208–16).

[4] It is to be noted that subsequent issues of the Guide for the years 1916–1920 do not provide lists of students, so we cannot find any trace on this path.

"Soon after that World War I broke out. As he was the single boy in the family, he was not called up for military service. His parents were happy to live together with their son.

Bekir went to Odessa to study Slavic languages. He started his courses in a high school, but soon informed his parents that he was called up for the army. [...] Thereafter, he wrote in a letter that he was taken captive to a camp in Austria, then got in touch with the Hungarian communists and with their help had been released." Nagaiev (1991: 91).

Although I could not verify these facts, it seems to be highly impossible that 'Hungarian communists' could have intervened on his behalf in that way. Nor can we suppose that Çobanzade could have transferred such information in his correspondence.

In another place, Nagaiev puts forward a somewhat different scenario, when he paraphrases a talk he had in 1979 in Budapest with Prof. Rásonyi. It should be stressed, as Nagaiev wrote, Prof. Rásonyi was then eighty years old and he told the story with reservations. I think it is worth quoting the corresponding paragraph from Nagaiev's book.

"— It is difficult to say anything about this. First, it is unlikely that he freely came to Budapest in the time of World War I. I suspected that he used to go to the camps and see Russian captives there. He got very humiliated for such 'visits'. Gyula Németh,[5] when he learned about it, worried about it and rebuked him. In such cases, he always distanced himself from us. Actually, as it turned out they met when he was labouring on a landlord's farm. Gyula Németh paid the whole fine and saved Bekir from the bureaucrats' hands. However, it was very hard for him to get permission." Nagaiev, *op. cit.* 108.

Now, let us look at Çobanzade's own words he wrote when introducing himself to Hungarian readers in 1918: "At the outbreak of the World War, I was in Odessa among Miljukov's[6] pupils. After a good many difficulties, I managed to get to Istanbul again, where I was acquainted with a generous Hungarian man, the reverend Lipót Mosonyi. [...] Not a long time elapsed when my desire could be realized: I reached the capital of Hungary."[7] If this account is credible, we may infer:

1. Çobanzade graduated from the *Sultaniye* in Istanbul much earlier than Taymas states, but certainly before the starting point of the war.

[5] It should be recalled that in Nagaiev's view, Németh first became acquainted with Çobanzade in 1909, when he went to the Crimea and visited the school in *Karasubazar* where Bekir Sidki studied. For the second time, he met him around 1913 in Istanbul in the *Sultaniye*.

[6] Seemingly not identical with Pavel Nikolaevič Miljukov (1859–1943), annotated in the Great Soviet Encyclopedia.

[7] In "Egy tatár ifjú a hazájáról", *Budapesti Hírlap* 72 (March 28, 1918), 3–5; see also my Turkish translation of this newspaper article in *Emel* 189 (1992), 5–9.

2. Upon completion of his studies in Turkey, he must have gone home, spent some time in *Karasubazar* with his parents, and then travelled to Odessa to continue his studies.

3. Thereafter he again went to Istanbul. Unfortunately, the documents say nothing about how and when it happened. Owing to the fact that it was war time, he either deserted or, as Nagaiev writes, was taken captive.

If we take Çobanzade's account as true, we must scrap Nagaiev's allegation of his contacts with communists. At this point, it should be noted that Nagaiev, a committed communist, eagerly labelled Çobanzade a comrade of his political ideology. We can see throughout his book that he looks at reality through an ideologist's glasses, wrongly interprets facts and eventually pronounces false statements. This is a regrettable fact since otherwise his book presents a wide range of curious and precious details and is very well written. It should be remembered that Nagaiev is one of the most popular Crimean Tatar writers and talented reporters. Here is a list of some of Nagaiev's errors.

1. The address of 'Budapest University' that Nagaiev visited before writing his report was not 5, 'Voci' (correctly Váci) Street, p. 101, but 1, Pesti Barnabás (Street); now this street regained its old name and, since 1992, has been called Piarista Close (Piarista köz) again.

2. The building cannot be three centuries old, since it was built in 1901[8] as the Piarist College. It was closed after 1945 and handed over to the University, idem.

3. "When I walked along the long corridor with its incrustation of marble [...] I imagined that sixty years ago our great compatriot Bekir Çobanzade [...] had also walked the same way", writes Nagaiev. It is not true since, as is obvious from point 2, this building, not the corridors of which, but the staircases are encrusted and not with marble, but with glazed tiles, did not belong to the University then. The chair of Turkic Studies was at that time in one of the main University buildings: Museum Road 6/8 (Múzeum körút 6–8),[9] idem.

4. Information about Eötvös University that it has been a scientific and cultural centre in Hungary for three centuries, idem, is inexact, for it was founded in 1635 by a renowned Jesuit scholar Péter Pázmány and then called after the founder's name, cf. the proper name provided formerly by Taymas, above, and renamed Loránd Eötvös University after 1945.

Furthermore, it is not clear on what grounds Nagaiev insists that Çobanzade had been in contact with the communists during his stay in Hungary. Firstly, Çobanzade published his articles in such periodicals as *Magyar Figyelő* and *Budapesti Hírlap,* which were regarded as conservative resp. national–conservative, see Szabolcs ed. (1965: 35; 37); Pintér (1943: 61; 76). Secondly, it is unlikely that, as Nagaiev (1991: 92) states, Çobanzade edited a communist newspaper *Orient* (Šarq). My inquiry about this enigmatic periodical in Hungarian libraries and information centres yielded no results. No journal from that period

[8] By the architect Imre Steindl, known as the designer of the building of Parliament.

[9] Which, quite curiously, in 1918 was renamed Sultan Mehmed Road.

bearing such a title is recorded in any catalogue in Hungary and none of my colleague orientalists has ever heard of it. Hence I suspect this *Orient* solely exists in Nagaiev's fantasy.[10] Thirdly, in communist newspapers edited in 1918–1919 e.g. *Vörös Proletár, Vörös Lobogó* and *Vörös Újság* there is no mention of Çobanzade and his alleged collaboration with any political party. As could be seen, even reports from Oriental countries, including the Soviet Union, were usually presented from foreign agencies there. For instance, *Vörös Újság* reported on the Soviet victory over the Crimea in the issue of April 22, 1919, p. 5, based a report from Geneva. Lastly, if Nagaiev had heard of Çobanzade's editorial activity from a credible source, he would have mentioned this fact in his bibliography of Çobanzade's work. Actually, he included in this bibliography many items he heard second-hand.

2. Çobanzade's studies and scientific activities

Having no documents at our disposal, we cannot say anything certain about his studies at the University and Eötvös College. However, looking at the guide of courses for students for the first semester of the 1915/1916 academic year and the subsequent years, we can suppose what seminars and lectures could met his interest.

1st semester, began on September 16, 1915:

1. Basic Arabic grammar with exercises, by Ignác Goldzieher.
2. Reading in Arabic prose literature, idem.
3. Arabic literature through centuries, by József Schmiedt.
4. Recent products of Turkish literature, by Ignác Kúnos.
5. Ottoman Turkish grammar, by Gyula Németh.
6. Introduction to Turkish linguistics, idem.
7. Reading in Turkish documents on Hungarian history, idem.
8. Practical Turkish, by Abdul Latif.

2nd semester, began on January 23, 1916:

1. Mehmed Emin's poetry devoted to the war, by Ignác Kúnos.
2. Turks until the end of the 13th century, by Gyula Németh.
3. Orkhonic inscriptions, idem.
4. Ottoman literature prior to 1450, idem.

etc., cf. Tanrend.

It may be assumed that Çobanzade attended courses for both the beginners and advanced students. Due to his linguistic abilities, he very soon became familiar with Hungarian. He must have been popular with Hungarian intellectuals,

[10] However, I cannot give a definite answer to this question. Although highly improbable, we can assume that an occasional brochure or something like that was indeed published under this title.

since a journalist, Gyula Pekár wrote the following lines about him in 1918: "A young poet from Karasubazar (Crimea), Bekir Sidki, who after graduating from the Russian University in Odessa and then from the Turkish University [!] in Constantinople, became a fellow of Eötvös College, is now completing his studies at Budapest University and speaks better Hungarian than many pub-born Pest dwellers." Cf. *Budapesti Hírlap*, March 16, 1918.

In the subsequent years, Çobanzade could have read about a wide range of subjects by such outstanding scholars as Ignác Goldzieher, Ignác Kúnos and the young Gyula Németh, who started his career then very early, in addition to the lectures and seminars in Hungarian and perhaps Finno–Ugric languages and literatures he was interested in.

The claim that Çobanzade himself taught at the Chair of Turkic Studies is not supported by the Guide and cannot be proved.[11] Besides, it must be stressed that no documents on the Chair's history prior to 1965 are available in Budapest. This is because all the archives and the library of professor Gyula Németh, who was the head of the Chair between 1916 and 1965 until he retired,[12] went to Szeged where a Chair of Altaistics was founded at the University. I asked my colleagues there to look for the documents connected with Çobanzade, and hopefully they will find further details.

Unfortunately, so far we have not seen either the manuscript of Çobanzade's doctoral dissertation or any reliable note of it. So we do not know even the exact title and scope of his thesis. According to Ašnin, it was "Minimye narušenija assimilacii glasnyx v 'Codex Cumanicus'", *op. cit.* Nagaiev provides a slightly different title "Codex Cumanicus as a literary language document and some problems of the articulation basis in Turkic languages" (Kodeks-Kumanikus yazma edebi yadikarlïγï ve türki tillerde artikulaciya temeli problemalarï), *op. cit.* 92. In the paper of Tagirzade and Guliev, the heading of his dissertation sounds "Kažuščiesja singarmoničeskie nesootvetstvija v 'Kodekse Kumanikuse' i problemma artikulacionnoj bazy v tjurkskix jazykax", *ibid.* In Hungary, only one of my senior colleagues, Prof. István Mándoky, could affirm that he saw this

[11] Nagaiev claims that Čobanzade, after getting a Ph. D. degree, was appointed a professor in 1918 and started teaching at the University, *op. cit.* 92. Tagirzade, Guliev (ibid.) wrote that between 1919 and 1920 he worked at the University of Budapest as the lecturer of Turkish. These authors have apparently misunderstood Taymas' information that Çobanzade had given some seminars at Eötvös College at the time he simultaneously studied at the University, *op. cit.* Notably, it was customary at this College that students, particularly gifted ones, conducted seminars themselves. Yet Taymas' wording 'seminerler yapmıştır' may be a bit ambiguous. A somewhat different statement is to be found in Ešref Šemi-Zade's preface to Çobanzade's poems. He wrote that Budapest University awarded Çobanzade a professor title (oğalïqqa qaldïra), but does not insist that he taught here, saying only that in the summer of 1919, Çobanzade was invited by the University of Lausanne to read lectures, cf. Čoban-Zade, Latif-Zade (1971: 9).

[12] The Chair of Oriental Languages at the University of Budapest was founded in 1870 when Ármin Vámbéry was appointed an ordinary professor. After his retirement in 1905, the post of the head remained vacant, practically to 1916, when Gyula Németh became extraordinary, then in 1918 ordinary professor.

dissertation when he was a student of Turcology in 1963–68. According to his personal communication, it was a good thesis and he had even taken some notes of it. Prof. Mándoky said the thesis must have been kept somewhere, but he had no idea where. To our great sorrow, Prof. Mándoky passed away shortly after he had kindly given me that hint.[13]

With regard to Çobanzade's plans, we see from the document published below that he, in accordance with Prof. Németh's encouragement and suggestion, was thinking of an ambitious project: "to write a history of Turkic prose".

Hungarian Turcological Bibliography for the period 1914–1925 shows only two papers by Bekir Sidki. The first was published in *Túrán*, the second in *Magyar Figyelő*, cf. Moravcsik (1926: 213). The former is probably his single article published in a newsletter of a semi-scholarly character. This article is also indicated by Taymas (1954: 240).

Beyond these two publications, I was able to find two others published in 1918:

"Kulturális tatárjárás" [Tatar cultural invasion], *Magyar Figyelő* 8,7 (1918), 169–72 [signed Szidki Bekir].

"Egy tatár ifjú a hazájáról" [a young Tatar about his homeland], *Budapesti Hírlap*, 72 (28.03.1918), 3–5.[14]

It is likely that other writings published by Çobanzade in a Hungarian daily will be discovered in the future.

3. Çobanzade's literary works

The negative results of my inquiry should not surprise anybody. This is because Bekir Sidki came to Hungary as a poet, not as a scholar. His inclination to philology and linguistics, although no doubt deeply underlying his personality, was basically developed and enhanced by such scholars as Goldzieher, Kúnos, and Németh. However, it became dominant just upon completion of his studies. And above all we may assume that his patriotism, love of the Crimea and desire to serve his Turkic brothers far afield with knowledge and experience must have affected his decision to forgo the songs in favour of undertaking scholarly activity.

Happily, Çobanzade's literary output is better known to us. In the oriental collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences there is a photocopied volume of his literary works, entitled *Kaval Sesleri,* catalogue number

[13] Concerning Çobanzade's Ph. D. degree, Taymas (1954: 240; 1955: 24) writes he received it in 1919, as to Nagaiev, see above, Tagirzade and Guliev (1990: 77) state that it was in 1920. The full title of the degree is provided by Taymas (1955: 24): "Türk filolojisi, Arab edebiyatı, Macar edebiyatı tarihi doktoru".

[14] This paper was translated by the author of these lines into Turkish and published as "Bir Tatar Gencinin Anayurdundan: Kırım" in *Emel* 189 (1992), 5–9.

72690. This volume contains verses, a longer poem *Tandu*, a short story in prose *Harmanda bir Şair* and proverbs. The volume is composed of two fascicles, the first was typed with a Turkish typewriter,[15] pp. 2–28, the other handwritten, pp. 29–72. Both parts are preceded by a short preface by the author, also typewritten, p. 1. The first poem, *Tandu*, was written in Budapest and dated December 3, 1916, the last verse written in Budapest was dated March 7, 1920. Then, as noticed above, Çobanzade went to Switzerland, from where the first verse is dated March 31, 1920. The bulk of the works in *Kaval Sesleri* are dated between 1919 and 1920.

The provenance of the volume is unknown. We only know that it was delivered to the Library by Prof. László Rásonyi. Prof. Rásonyi, who studied Turcology and sat College seminars together with Çobanzade, was later a teacher at Ankara University and supposedly gained access to this volume in Turkey. Concerning the compiler of *Kaval Sesleri*, only the initials 'i.o.' in the note on page 44 and 72 give us some hints. Notably, we can guess that the notes were taken by İbrahim Otar.[16] Furthermore, we can see that 'i.o.' probably collected Çobanzade's works from more persons and more copies.

Since the aforementioned volume is kept in the Library as a manuscript, it is rather unknown to specialists, although probably more copies exist among Crimean Tatars in Turkey. For this reason, I present its contents in the following. Each item on the left is matched with the place and time of writing, if provided. Pagination is like that in the fascicles.

[preface][17]	Budapest, 25.12.1919	1
Oy suvuk şo gurbet	Budapest, 13.04.1918	2
Zavallı Türük	Budapest, 30.01.1919	4
Bir izin beriniz[18]	Budapest, 01.02.1919	6
Rast kele	Budapest, 08.02.1919	8
Kaytarma	Budapest, 28.02.1919	9
Budapeşt Akşamı	Budapest, 15.03.1919	10
Soguşka dostlarım[19]	Budapest, 19.03.1919	11
Tandu	Budapest, 03.12.1919	14
Öz özüme	Budapest, 23.12.1917	27

[15] With the addition of some diacritical signs for Crimean Tatar vowels and consonants, e.g. *ñ*, *χ*.

[16] Despite many requests addressed to my Crimean friends in Turkey to explain this secret and to help me contact İbrahim Otar, nobody has given me any indication. When I was in Istanbul and tried to meet him in 1988, he was said to have gone on holiday.

[17] Under the typewritten 'Aralık', there is a handwritten 'Dekabr', that is December.

[18] The suffix *-NIz* on the verb *ber-* is in the text repeatedly written *-ñiz*.

[19] The middle part of this verse is handwritten.

Kart Çerkes	Budapest, 07.02.1920[20]	29
Kelecek	Budapest, 07.02.1920	30
Keçmişteki suçlarımız	Budapest, 07.02.1920	34
Çoyun col işçileri	Budapest, 13.02.1920	36
Umut!	Budapest, 17.02.1920	38
Müslüman balası, Müslüman balası	Budapest, 02.03.1919	40
Akçam bolsa	Budapest, 04.03.1920	41
(İsmi yok)[21]		43
Kızıl şarap, eski şarap içiyim[22]	Budapest, 07.03.1920	44
Tokay şarabı	Innsbruck–Vorarlberg, 31.03.1920	45
Yahşı ölüm!	Lausanne, 05.04.1920	47
Kart Çingene	Lausanne, . . 04.1920	48
Kimse bilmiy	Lausanne, 17.05.1920	50
Bolayım kahveci, tek şehir caşı	Lausanne, . . 05.1920	51
Bir Saray Kuracakman!..	Lausanne, 22.05.1920	52
Kalk Esma, kardaşım!	Lausanne, 13.05.1920	54
Kurt Nebi Çoban	Lausanne, . . 04.1920	55
Boşuna	Lausanne, . . 04.1920	57
. . . . .	1920	59
Harmanda bir şair	Budapest, 02.02.1920	60
Çobanzadenin defterindeki ata sözleri[23]		67
[five çıñ]		70
Yanık Kaval[24]		71

Of these verses, only one, *Bir izin beriŋiz*, was published in the poet's volume *Boran. Şiirler* [Storm.Poems] (1928: 20) in the Crimea during his life, then also in Taymas (1954: 261; 1955: 33–34). Fragments of some others appeared in Taymas (1954), two titles, *Umut* and *Bir Saray Kuracakman*, in Taymas (1955). Furthermore, Taymas, in the latter contribution, published extensive

[20] In the text: '7 Şubat 1920 den sonra'.

[21] Each stanza of this poem is preceded by a stroke. On the top, this is indicated by the editor's note: "bu çizgi ile başlamış". On the bottom of the page, there is the following note "Bu şiirin başı ve sonu yok; tarih atmamış; takriben Mart 1920 Budapeşte olacak. Elyazısı, son kıt'ada pek düzgün değil. Son kıt'a (= son dört mısra) yukarıkilere ve şiir şekline uymuyor. Her halde müsvedde halinde. i.o." [This verse does not have the beginning and the end; it is undated, written presumably in March 1920 in Budapest. The handwriting in the final part is not quite clear. The last part (= final four lines) does not fit the form of the poem. Anyway, it must have been a draft. i.o.]

[22] In the margin, by the fifth stanza, there is an Arabic word in parentheses with the note "okuyamadım. 'oñdırır' olmaması lâzım.) i.o." [I could not read it. The reading cannot be 'oñdırır'].

[23] Without any indication of date and place.

[24] This last verse, on pages 71–72, ends with an editor's note "Bu şiir, defterlerde yok; ayrıca daktiloda fena yazılmış olarak elimize geçti; yanlışlıkları olabilir. i.o." [this verse is not present in the fascicles, moreover, the copy was badly typed, so there may be mistakes].

portions of *Tandu* and two stanzas of *Kalk Esma, Kardaşım*. However, the latter is quite different from what we find in *Kaval Sesleri*.

It is hoped that all these poems will soon be offered in a good, critical edition to those to whom the poet addressed them, i.e. to the Crimean Tatars. Perhaps in the new national writing, based on the Latin alphabet. However, this edition needs much work. In my view, an attempt should be made to discover and compare existing copies, then to choose the most reliable ones and provide a detailed commentary.

4. Conclusion

What seems to be certain from Çobanzade's own words, is:

1. He was admitted to Eötvös College on October 12, 1916.
2. He studied in Hungary for six semesters; in May 1918, after passing examinations he graduated, then proceeded to work on his doctoral thesis, which he completed in April 1919 and then passed the doctoral examinations.
3. In the autumn of 1919 he prepared himself for pedagogical examinations and was planning to write a history of Turkish prose under the supervision of Prof. Gyula Németh.
4. On October 15, 1919, when he submitted this application, he was still in Hungary as a fellow of the College.
5. He was awarded a doctoral degree, since he used this title (Dr.) in a formal application.

As can be seen, he was absent from the list of college fellows in 1920. We do not know where he lived in 1915/1916 until he became college fellow and then in 1920, when he left it, but still stayed in Hungary. As it can be seen from his application, Çobanzade was faced with material problems. It should be remembered that times were very hard then. After all, Hungary finished the war as a defeated country. This fact might have additionally affected his decision to leave.

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Annex

Bekir Sidki dr., II emelet D 17.

A Collegiumba felvétett: 1916 évi október 12-ikén

Lehallgatott szemeszterek: hat félév.

Alapvizsgázott: 1918 év május havában.

Szakvizsgázott: 1919 év április havában.

Jelenlegi tanulmánya: A megirt dissertációm tárgykörébe vágó kérdésekkel foglalkozom és pedagógiai vizsgára készülök.

Munterve: Németh Gyula tanár úr utbaigazitása szerint, megírni a török próza történetét.

Yttmaradási indokolás: A tulajdonképeni hazánmal már öt- hat éve nincsen semmiféles összeköttetésem; Konstantinápolyba utazoném is ez időszerint lehetetlen, mert pénzbeli segitségben sehonnan sem részesülök és az utazás nagyonhéz és hihetetlenül költséges.

Budapest, 1919, október hó 15.

Translation of Çobanzade's application to the Rector of Eötvös College:

Dr. Bekir Sidki, 2nd floor D17

Admission to the College: October 12, 1916

Duration of study: six semesters

Basic examinations[25]: May 1918

Special examination[26]: April 1919

Present studies: I am concerned with the questions connected with the dissertation I have written and I am preparing myself for the pedagogical examinations.

Research project: According to Prof. Gyula Németh's suggestion I am planning to write a history of Turkish prose.

Motivation for my further stay here: I have not had any contacts with my homeland proper for five or six years. Nor can I afford a travel to Constantinople, for I get no financial support from anywhere. In addition, the journey is very difficult and extremly expensive.

Budapest, October 15, 1919

[25] That is examinations taken to obtain the basic degree.

[26] That is examinations taken before the awarding of the Ph. D. degree.

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KRIMTATARISCHE RÄTSEL (ESZTERGOM 1915)

ZSUZSA KAKUK
(Budapest)

Im Laufe der Sommermonate des Ersten Weltkrieges besuchte Ignác Kúnos ständig die — wegen ihres mohammedanischen Glaubens — in separaten Lagern untergebrachten „russischen" Kriegsgefangenen. Diese Gefangenen waren natürlich keine Russen, sondern Abkömmlinge verschiedener türksprachiger Völker. Kúnos sammelte in den Lagern in der Nähe der Städte Esztergom (Ungarn), und Eger (heute: Cheb) ein reiches Folklorematerial in kasantatarischer, mischer- und krimtatarischer Sprache. Das Material gelangte nach dem Tode von Kúnos (1945) in die Orient-Sammlung der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.[1]

Kúnos sammelte das ganze krimtatarische Material im Gefangenenlager bei Esztergom im Sommer 1915. Den Liedern folgt die hier vorgelegte, nicht allzu reiche, aus 142 Stücken und 25 Varianten bestehende Rätselsammlung. Die Anordnung der Rätsel folgt keinem Prinzip. Neben dem tatarischen Text, besser oder schlechter, ist die ungarische Übersetzung zu finden (manchmal ist sie lückenhaft oder sie fehlt überhaupt).

Dieses — wenn es bemerkt werden darf — etwas unordentlich aufgezeichnete Material habe ich in Ordnung gebracht, sprachlich und inhaltlich geklärt und systematisiert. Vor der Vorstellung des Materials möchte ich einige Bemerkungen über die Struktur, die stilistischen, inhaltlichen und sprachlichen Eigenheiten der Rätsel machen.

[1] Siehe meine früheren Berichte: *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* XVI (1963), 83–97; *Jubilee Volume of the Oriental Collection 1951–1976*. Budapest 1978, 115–126; *Sovetskaja Tjurkologija* 1987, No. 3, 53–57. — Im krimtatarischen Material war zu jener Zeit nur eine aus 444 Blättern bestehende Volksmärchensammlung zu finden. Beim Durchstudieren des Materials fiel es mir auf, daß die krimtatarischen Lieder fehlen. Da sowohl im kasantatarischen, wie im mischertatarischen Material Märchen und Lieder gleicherweise vorhanden waren, fand ich es unmöglich, daß Kúnos von den Krimtataren keine Lieder gesammelt hätte. Meine Vermutung hat sich bestätigt: Bei der Familie Kúnos — unter den anderen schriftlichen Denkmälern aus dem Gefangenenlager — fand ich das krimtatarische Lieder enthaltende Handschriftenbündel; so ist die Sammlung vollständig geworden.

Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

1. Den Rätseln geht sehr oft ein Prolog voran, oder sie werden mit einem Epilog abgeschlossen.

Die häufigsten Prologtypen sind: Personifikation (z.B. *Biz edik, biz edik,* No. 5; *Aq ulanǯïχ,* No. 87; *Bir kičkene balaǯïq*, No. 95), oder anstatt einer Person steht ein Tier (z.B. *Bir kičiǯek pil*, No. 89; *Bir ufaǯïq aq tana*, No. 126). Die Einleitung bedeutet, daß die Frage stellende Person etwas hat: dies kann eine Person oder ein Tier sein (z.B. *Bir qarïm / qïzïm / kelinim / ulïm bar*, No. 15, 81, 125, 142, oder *Bir ügüzim / atïm / itim / išïγïm / qašqïrïm bar*, No. 84, 106, 92, 124, 94). Für eine häufige Einleitung gilt „kommt irgendwoher", z.B. „von unten" oder „von oben", und in solchem Falle wird das Subjekt des Satzes von einem lautnachahmenden Wort ersetzt (z.B. *Ašadan keliy opaysa*, No. 35. *Yuqardan keliy lika-lika*, No. 41; *Taudan keliy, taštan keliy*, No. 38). Selten kommt die klassische Einleitung vor: *Masal masal maseki* (No. 33) oder *Entešeli, mentešeli* (No. 69). Die einleitende Zeile steht im allgemeinen in keiner sinngemäßen Beziehung mit der Fortsetzung oder mit der Lösung, in Hinsicht auf Reim oder Rhythmus paßt sie aber vollkommen zur Fortsetzung.

Etwas seltener wird ein Epilog angewendet. Die üblichen Formen sind: *Unï bilmegen e šek / aχmaq / tentek* (No. 22, 48, 72); *Aqlïŋ bolsa bil* (No. 89). Sinngemäß verbindet sich auch der Epilog nicht mit dem vorangehenden Satz, aber was den Reim und den Rhythmus anbelangt, so ist die Verknüpfung immer vollkommen (siehe z.B. No. 48, 89).

Ihrem Aufbau nach können die Rätsel aus einer Zeile oder aus zwei, drei, vier oder mehreren Zeilen bestehen.

Die einzeiligen sind meistens verstümmelte (No. 102, 104) oder erweiterte Aussagesätze (No. 54), das verbale Prädikat steht gewöhnlich in Gegenwart (No. 121), seltener in Vergangenheit (No. 66). Es gibt öfters einzeilige Rätsel in Lokativkonstruktion (No. 27, 134). Ein Fragesatz kommt nur einmal vor (No. 63).

Die Zweizeiler sind reimende und silbenzählende Verse in *Beit*-Form. Die allgemeinsten sind die siebensilbigen Zeilen (mit einer 4 + 3-Teilung) (No. 131, 141), seltener die achtsilbigen Verszeilen (mit Teilung 4 + 4) (No. 11, 136). Dabei gibt es auch Kurzzeiler aus insgesamt vier oder fünf Silben (No. 49, 82). Die Reimformel der Zweizeiler ist immer *a – a*.

Dreizeilige Rätsel gibt es insgesamt 10 unter den 142, und auch von ihnen sind fünf nicht eigentliche Dreizeiler, da sie nur durch den einleitenden Prolog und den abschließenden Epilog zu Dreizeilern gestaltet werden (No. 72, 81). In der dritten Zeile übertrifft die Silbenzahl der eigentlichen Dreizeiler immer die der vorangehenden zwei Zeilen, ihr Reim ist gewöhnlich ein grammatischer; die Reimformel ist *a – a – a* (No. 58, 118).

Die vierzeiligen Rätsel erinnern an die charakteristischeste literarische Gattung der türkischen Volksdichtung, an die vierzeiligen *Manis*. Aus gewöhnlichen siebensilbigen Zeilen bestehende echte Vierzeiler — wo alle vier Zeilen sich auf das Rätselwort beziehen — gibt es insgesamt fünf in unserer Sammlung; sie sind aber alle sehr schön, mit passenden stilistischen Mitteln: Alliteration, Parallelen oder Antithesen und vollkommenen Reimen (No. 3, 85). Viele Vier-

zeiler werden mit einem Prolog eingeleitet (No. 5, 57), und es kommt auch eine in Dialog-Komposition vor (No. 65). Auch hier kommen aus kurzen, vier- oder fünfsilbigen Zeilen bestehende Verse vor (No. 78, 98).

Eine der schönsten Formen der türkischen Rätsel ist das *Tekerleme*-artige, ein aus mehreren Elementen aufeinandergeschichtetes Rätsel. In unserem Material gibt es ein derartiges, und zwar ein zehnzeiliges (No. 47), und seine sechszeilige Variante (No. 48). Die einzelnen Elemente wurden separat auch als Zweizeiler aufgezeichnet.

2. Über die stilistischen Charakterzüge — in erster Linie über den Rhythmus und den Reim — haben wir schon früher einige Bemerkungen gemacht. Bezüglich des Reimes möchte ich hervorheben, daß der *Redif*-Reim (No. 41, 133) und der grammatische Reim verhältnismäßig häufig vorkommen (No. 132, 138).

Charakteristisch für die innere Struktur der Rätsel ist die Symmetrie oder die parallele Struktur, die beiderseits aus gleichen Elementen errichtet (No. 91, 130) oder aus in Gegensatz gesetzter Symmetrie aufgebaut werden kann (No. 12, 28, 62).

Eine der typischsten stilistischen Charakterzüge ist die Alliteration, die in unendlichem Reichtum in diesen Rätseln erscheint. Die Alliteration kann einleitend sein (No. 1, 7), im Wortinnern stehen (No. 68, 117), es kommen alliterierende Wortpaare vor (No. 45), auch die Lösung kann alliterieren (No. 24, 33), und auch die reimenden Worte am Zeilenende (No. 142). Es kommt vor, daß zwei Laute miteinander alternativ alliterieren (No. 67) oder Wortpaare mit stimmhaftem oder stimmlosem Anlaut wechselweise alliterieren (No. 123).

Eine große Rolle spielen die lautnachahmenden und klangmalenden Wörter, wie z.B. *čïχ-čïχ* um das Tröpfeln, *dindin-dindin* um das Geknatter der Spindel, *dübür-dübür* und *lap-lap* um die Schritte des Kamels, *fïrt-fïrt* um das Huschen des Besens usw. zu veranschaulichen.

3. Als das meist gebrauchte Prinzip zur Anordnung der Rätsel pflegt der Gegenstandskreis des Lösungswortes zu dienen. Unsere Rätsel können dem Gegenstandskreis gemäß folgendermaßen eingeteilt werden (in Klammer stehen die Zahlen des Gegenstandskreises): Himmel und Erde (14) – Pflanzen (16) – Tiere (15) – der Mensch (19) – das Haus und seine Einrichtung (33) – die Kleidung (15) – die Speisen (16) – der Verkehr (7) – die Waffen (4) – Schreiben–Lesen–Musik (3).

Es gibt unter den Rätseln viele, die im Kreise der Türken als wohlbekannte Sprichwörter dienen und allbekannte Gedankenassoziationen sind (No. 2, 4, 129). Es gibt aber auch schwer lösbare, in wohlbekannten Sammlungen nicht erscheinende einzelne Stücke (No. 15, 39).[2] Jene Rätsel sind sehr schön, deren

[2] In meiner Untersuchung konnte ich es nicht unternehmen, die Rätsel der Krimtataren mit jenen anderer Türksprachen — eventuell noch entfernteren Sprachen — zu vergleichen. Im Bereich meiner Möglichkeiten sammelte ich das krimtatarische Material (auch das Dobrudscha-

Lösung mehrere, aneinander anknüpfende Wörter darbieten, z.B. *Künler, aftalar, aylar, sene* (No. 8), *Üzüm kütügi, yapraγï, salqïmï, šarab* (No. 17). In den Lösungen können auch nicht zusammengehörende Wörter nebeneinander geraten, z.B. *Qašqïr, baliq, qavun, sabun* (No. 45).

4. Über eine der wichtigsten Fragen, die Sprache der Rätsel, können wir — leider — nur im allgemeinen sprechen.

Die Mitteiler von Kúnos — über die wir keine Angaben haben — stammen aus verschiedenen Gebieten der Krim-Halbinsel. Demgemäß ist die Sprache der Rätsel auch gemischt. Im Grunde bieten sie kiptschakische Charakterzüge dar, wie z.B. das anlautendes *ǯ* gegenüber dem *y* (z.B. *ǯanïnda* 'neben', *ǯav-* 'fallen', *ǯiber-* 'schicken'), anlautendes *t* gegenüber *d* (z.B. *tayaq* 'Stock', *teri* 'Haut', *tüš-* 'hinunterfallen'), die Bewahrung des Nasals *ŋ* (z.B. *biŋ* 'tausend', *taŋ* 'Tagesanbruch', *yaŋï* 'neu'; auch in suffigierten Formen: *baŋa* 'mir', *aqliŋ* 'dein Verstand' *qapïnïŋ* 'des Tores'), der Gebrauch der Vergangenheitsform *-γan, -gen*, (z.B. *kelgen* 'kam', *ketken* 'ging', *asïlγan* 'aufgehängt worden') und zahlreiche, nur in kiptschakischen Sprachen vorkommende Wörter oder kiptschakische Formvarianten (z.B. *aran* 'Stall', *ečki* 'Ziege', *tüye* 'Kamel', *yuqu* 'Traum', *üy* 'Haus' usw.).

Zur selben Zeit kommt auch *y-* im Anlaut vor (z.B. *yapraq* 'Baumblatt', *yarïχ* 'glänzend', *yedi* 'sieben', *yir* 'Platz'), ein anderesmal gibt es Aussprachevarianten (z.B. *ǯul ~ yul* 'Weg', *ǯïlan ~ yïlan* 'Schlange', *ǯïmïrtqa ~ yïmïrtqa* 'Ei'), anstatt anlautendem *t* kommt *d* vor (z.B. *de-* 'sagen', *dulaš-* 'herumgehen', *dürt* 'vier') und auch andere, nicht kiptschakische Erscheinungen finden sich.

Wenn wir die Sprache unseres Materials mit der Sprache der 1988 in Taschkend herausgegebenen krimtatarischen Rätseln vergleichen, kommen wir zum interessanten Resultat, daß sie die gegenwärtige türkisierte krimtatarische Gemeinsprache widerspiegelt. Der Vergleich zeigt eindeutig, daß die Sprache des von Kúnos notierten Textes archaischer ist und noch mehr die alten kiptschakischen Eigenheiten bewahrt als die heutige krimtatarische Sprache. In unserem Material gibt es z.B. anlautendes *ǯ* gegenüber dem heutigen krimtatarischen *y* (*ǯet-* ~ gemeinspr. *yet-* 'erreichen', *ǯïlγa* ~ gemeinspr. *yïlγa* 'Flußbett, Tal'), es gibt *t* anstatt gemeinspr. *d* (*tau* ~ gemeinspr. *daγ* 'Berg', *temir* ~ gemeinspr. *demir* 'Eisen'), es gibt keine labiale Assimilation (*ulïm, ulï* ~ gemeinspr. *oγlum, oγlu* 'mein Sohn, sein Sohn', *üsti* ~ gemeinspr. *üstü* 'die Oberfläche von etwas'). Auch in der Formenlehre ist die Verschiedenheit fühlbar, z.B. in der Konjugation stehen wir auch solchen Formen gegenüber: *qaplay, qaplamay* ~ gemeinspr. *qaplar, qaplamaz* 'bedeckt, bedeckt nicht', *üleysiŋ* ~ gemeinspr. *ölersiz* 'du stirbst', *ketken* ~ gemeinspr. *ketti* 'ging weg'.

Auf Grund von all diesem kann festgestellt werden, daß obwohl die Umstände und die Art der Textaufzeichnungen von Kúnos den strengen philologischen Anforderungen nicht entsprechen, sie in sprachhistorischer Hinsicht

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tatarische inbegriffen) und benützte die riesige türkische Sammlung von I. Başgöz und A. Tietze. Siehe die Abkürzungen.

nicht ganz belanglos sind, ja sogar aus gewissem Gesichtspunkt wertvolle archaische Varianten liefern. Und eben wegen der recht lückenhaften Kenntnis der alten krimtatarischen Sprache ist dies von großer Bedeutung.

TAPMAƷALAR — RÄTSEL

Himmel und Erde

1. *Čaγaraqta kiyiz yuq* — Auf dem Schornstein ist kein Filzdeckel
   Čal tekede mïyïz yuq — Auf dem grauen Ziegenbock sind keine Hörner
   Kük — Himmel

2. *BaƷa tübesinde* — Am Dache des Schornsteins
   Yarïm ütmek — Ein halbes Brot
   Ay — Mond

Vgl. Fil. No. 63: *Dam üstünde / Yarïm etmek = Ay*; Tapm. S. 17: *Dam üstünde / Yarïm ötmek = Ay*; Başgöz No. 191.10: *Dam üstünde / yarım ekmek = Ay*.

3. *Yaŋï tuγay bir bala* — Es wird ein Kind neu geboren
   Xïrχïna Ƹetmiy — Es erreicht nicht die Vierzig
   Üliy deseŋ ülmiy — Wenn du sagst: es stirbt — stirbt es nicht
   Tünyadan ketmiy — Es scheidet nicht aus der Welt
   Ay — Mond, Monat

Vgl. Tapm. S. 17: *Doγdï deseŋ bir bala / Qïrq künge yetmey / Öldi deseŋ šu bala / Dünyadan ketmey = Ay*.

4. *Dam üstünde* — Am Dache
   Bir sele fïndïχ — Ein Korb Haselnuß
   Yïldïzlar — Sterne

Var.: *Üyiŋ tübesinde / Bir sele fïndïχ = Yïldïzlar*. Vgl. Fil. No. 64: *Dam üstünde / Bir elek funduk = Yïldïzlar*; Tapm. S. 20: *Ev töpesinde bir elek fïndïq = Yïldïzlar*.

5. *Biz biz edik biz edik*	Wir, wir waren, wir waren
Ottoz-eki qïz edik	Zweiunddreißig Mädel waren (wir)
Bir taχtaγa tizildik	Auf ein Brett aufgereiht
Taŋ atχanda čezildik	Beim Tagesanbruch waren wir zerstreut
Yïldïzlar	Sterne

Vgl. Radl. No. 76: *Hay biz ädik, biz ädik / bir hisapsïz qaz ädik / bir yipčikkä dizildik / sabaha däk üzüldük = Yïldïz*; Fil. No. 28: *Ay biz idik / Biz idik / Otuz iki kïz idik / Taχtačïkka tizildik / Taŋ atkanda ǯoyïldïk = Yïldïzlar*; Mándoky No. 26: *Bɪz bɪz bɪz edɪk / otuz ekɪqïz edɪk / taq-tašïqqa ǰayïldïq / tan atqanda ǰoyulduq = ay man yïldïzlar.*

6. *Öksek minare*	Ein hohes Minarett
Yešil χubare	Eine grüne Kuppel+
Biŋ bir seček	Tausendundeine Blume
Bir lale	Eine Tulpe
Kük, yïldïzlar, ay	Himmelsgewölbe, Sterne, Mond

+Die Deutung des Wortes *χubare* — ungewiß. Vgl. Radl. No. 139: *Öksäk minarä / üstü mor χarä / yüz biŋ čäčäk / bir lalä = Kök, bulut, yïldïz*; Tapm. S. 21: *Yüksek minare / Üstü mor χare / Yüz biŋ čeček / Bir lâle = Kök, yïldïzlar, ay*; Başgöz No. 873.2 i: *Yüksek minare / yeşil kattare / bin bir çiçek / bir lâle.* — S. No. 21.

7. *Alaman ayaq*	Ein mischmasch+ Bein
Altïn tayaq	Ein goldner Stab
ǯuvarsa ǯetmez	Wenn man es wäscht, gelangt man nicht hin
ǯalaŋ ayaq	Barfüßig
Saγïm	Fata Morgana

+Vgl. Radl. No. 184: *Čït čït idär čïtqa qonar / alaman ayaq altï tayaq = Sa'at*; Ksk. *alaman tasïr* = ala sapïran, astan-kesten, opïr-topïr (Qazaq tiliniŋ frazeologiyalïq sözdigi. Almatï, 1977).

8. *Üč-yüz-atmiš siyïrčïq*	Dreihundertsechzig Stare
Qïrq-segizi čipčik	Achtundvierzig Sperlinge
Un-eki quš bir turna	Zwölf Vögel+ ein Kranich
Unï bilmey tek turma	Wer's nicht errät, bleibe für sich
Künler, aftalar, aylar, sene	Tage, Wochen, Monate, ein Jahr

+In Kúnos' Übersetzung; „weißer Vogel" (= Schwan). — Vgl. Mándoky No. 23: *Bır sürüm bar: / on ekı aqquš, ellı ekı ana qaz / üš yüz altmiš beš bala qaz / sen bunlarγa jewab yaz! = jïl, jïldaqï aylar, aptalar, künler.*

9. *Leylada qar* — In der Nacht — Schnee
Teŋizde tuman — Im Meere — Nebel
Saχat — Stunde

10. *Čevresi isar, ičinde sizay* — Die Umgebung ist eine Burg, innen tröpfelt's
Yešel čümen adïm alïy — Der grüne Rasen schreitet voran
Teŋiz — Meer

11. *Taudan keliy, taštan keliy* — Kommt vom Berge, kommt vom Stein
Egerlenmiš aslan keliy — Es kommt ein gesattelter Löwe
Üzen — Fluß

Vgl. Radl. No. 3: *Daγdan gälir tašlar gibi / ägärlänmiš atlar gibi = Su*; Tapm. S. 23: *Daγdan kelir, taštan kelir / Egerlengen arslan kelir = Sel*; Mándoky No. 56: *tawdan kelır tašlarday / eyerlengen atlarday = su*

12. *Bir yuryanïm bar* — Hab' eine Steppdecke
Šihanï qaplay — Sie bedeckt die Welt
Teŋizni qaplamay — Das Meer bedeckt sie nicht
Qar — Schnee

Var.: *Alay tünyanï qapata / Teŋizni qapatamay = Qar*. Vgl. Fil. No. 37: *Bir kiizïm var / Dünyan kapatïr / Dengizi kapatmaz = Kar*; Tapm. S. 23: *Bir čaršafïm bar / Bütün dünyanï qaplar / Deŋizni qaplamaz = Qar*; Başgöz No. 694.33: *Bir yorganım var / Dünyayı kaplar / Denizi kaplamaz = Kar.*

13. *Anavi üyde čï̈χ-čï̈χ* — In jenem Haus tropf, tropf
Mïnavi üyde čï̈χ-čï̈χ — In diesem Haus tropf, tropf
Tamčï — Tropfen

14. *Taraš ufaq, fino küpek* — Ein struppiger, kleiner Schoßhund
Tiremek sïvamaq — Gestutzt, verputzt
Balaq-pača — Bein-Klaue
Qoba qaya deligi — Grube, Felsenhöhle
Mayra — Höhle, Grotte

Pflanzen

15. *Bir qarïm bar* — Ich hab' eine Frau
Qïrχ yamaudan — Aus vierzig Flecken
Qaftanï bar — Hat sie ihren Kaftan
Terek — Baum

16. *Pïn-pïn pïnmaz* — *Pïn-pïn pïnmaz*
Yirge tüšse sïnmaz — Fällt zum Boden, zerbricht nicht
Yapraχ — Baumblatt

17. *Babasï buqrï χoǯa* — Sein Vater ist ein verknorrter Hodscha
Anasï yayma qatïn — Seine Mutter eine wohlbeleibte Frau
Qïzï gülbe-šeker — Seine Tochter Rosenzucker
Ulï qattï Bekir — Sein Sohn ein kräftiger Bekir
Üzüm kütügi, yapraγï — Weinstock, Blätter,
salqïmï, šarab — Trauben, Wein

Vgl. Fil. No. 33: *Babasï bukru χoǯa / Anasï yayma χatïn / Kïzï gülbe šeker / Oglï deli Bekir = Üzüm (kütügi), dal ve yaprak, üzüm, šarab*; Tapm. S. 57: *Egri-bukri babasï / Yayma qadïn anasï / Šekerden tatlï qïzï bar / Zeerden aǯǯï oγlu bar = Üzüm tüpi, yapraq, salqïm, šarap.*

18. *Attïr, uttïr, Arnauttïr* — *Attïr, attïr* — Arnavut
Üzini avïzï yoχ-tïr — Mund hat sie keinen
Üzi adam tišley — Beißt doch den Menschen
Qïǯïtqan otu — Brennessel

Var.: *At-tïr, ot-tïr / Avïzi yuχ / adam tišliy = Xičïtqan ot.* Vgl. Tapm. S. 65*: Attïr, ottïr, arnauttïr / Aγïzï yoq, özü tišley = Qïǯïtqan*; Başgöz No. 517.7: *Hattur, huttur, Arnavuttur / ağzı yoktur / adam kapar = Isırgan.*

19. *Šaular ičinde qïllï χïyar* — In der Pluderhose eine haarige Gurke
Mïsïr buγdayï — Mais

Vgl. Fil. No. 94: *Yešil šalvar / İčinde tükli χïyar = Mïsir bogday*; Tapm. S. 65: *Yešil šalvar ičinde tüklü χïyar = Mïsïrboγday.*

20. *Baš ašaγa, baš yuχarγa* — Kopf hinunter, Kopf hinauf
Baqla — Saubohne

21. *Min-min minâre* — *Min-min* Minarett
Yešil-dir yapraγï — Es hat grüne Blätter
Biŋ-bir čeček — Tausendeine Blüten
Bir lâle — Eine Tulpe
Xïyar — Gurke

S. No. 6.

22. *Qat-qat tüšek* — Schicht über Schicht Matratzen
Uni bilmegen ešek — Wer es nicht errät, ist ein Esel
Qapïsta — Kohlkopf

Vgl. Başgöz No. 111.20: *Kat kat döşek / bunu bilmeyen eşek = Lahana.*

23. *Qat-qat qatlama* — Schichtenreicher Strudel
Qatlamadan appačïχ — Viel offener, wie ein Strudel
Xapïsta — Kohlkopf

Vgl. Radl. No. 73: *Qat qat qatlančiq / qatlamadan apačiq = Qapïsta*; Tapm. S. 61: *Qat-qat qatlančïq / Qatlamadan ap-ačïq / Terek deseŋ, yapraq / Yatqan yeri topraq = Qapïsta*; Mándoky No. 49: *qat qat qatlanšïq / qatlamadan app-ašïq = laana.*

24. *Qat-tïr qatlama kübük* — Schichtig wie der Strudel
Tïγïrïy qarpuz kübük — Wälzt wie die Wassermelone
Qapusqa — Kohlkopf

25. *Bir qïrmïzï qïzǯāz* — Ein rotes Mädchen
Tübinde bir eki qïlǯāz — Ein-zwei Haare darunter
Soγan — Zwiebel

26. *Ubïr üyde bir šey bar* — In irgendeinem Hause gibt es was
Šatïr-šatïr tunï bar — Es hat eine rauschende Pluderhose
Sarïmsaχ — Knoblauch

27. *Yir tübinde qïzïl χoraz* — Unter dem Boden roter Hahn
Učqundur — Rote Rübe

Vgl. Tapm. S. 60: *Yer tübünde qïzïl χoraz = Soγan.*

28. *Keč küčer, erte pišer* — Sprießt spät, reift früh
Dut — Erdbeere

29. *Allah yasay yapïsïn* — Allah baut ihr Haus
Pïčaq ačay qapïsïn — Messer öffnet das Tor
Qarpus — Wassermelone

Vgl. Radl. No. 47: *Alma* [recte: *Allah*] *yapar yapusun / pïčaq ačar qapusun = Xarpuz*; Fil. No. 13: *Alla yapar yapïsïnï / Pčak ačar kapïsïnï = Karbuz*; Tapm. S. 62: *Tabiat qura binanï / pïčaq ača qapïnï = Qavun, qarpïz.*

30. *Er tarafï tögerek* — Jede Seite rund
Künde pišken bir yemek — Speise, die in der Sonne gereift ist
Qarpuz — Wassermelone

Vgl. Fil. No. 120: *Künešte pišmiš aš kurdik = Xarbuz.*

Tiere

31. *Üzi bar, küzi yoq* — Selber ist er schon, Augen hat er keine
Slavčan+ — Regenwurm

+Vgl. karatsch. *sūalčan*, tat. *sualčan*, osm. *solucan* Regenwurm.

32. *Yer tübinde mayli qayïš* — Unter dem Boden öliger Riemen
Yïlan — Schlange

Var.: *Ǯul ǯanïnda qayïš = Ǯïlan*. Vgl. Codex Cumanicus No. XXVIII: *Yazda yawlï kayïš yatïr = ol yïlan dïr* (Tietze S. 86); Fil. No. 89: *Yer tübinde / Mayli kalač = Yïlan*; Var.: *Yer tübende / Yagli kaiš*; Mándoky No. 33: *J̌er astïnda mayli qayïš = J̌ïlan*; Başgöz No. 692.8: *Yer altında yağlı kayış = Yılan.*

33. *Masal masal maseki* — Märchen, Märchen, Märchen-klein
Tïrnaqǯïγï un-eki — Nägelchen hat sie zwölf
Kite-kite izi yoq — Geht voran, hat keine Spur
Qap-χara küzi yoq — Pechschwarze Augen hat sie keine
Qarïnǯa — Ameise

Vgl. Başgöz No. 11.7: *Canı var kanı yok / yolda gider, izi yok = Karınca.*

34. *Pindi pindi pindi ketken* — *Pindi pindi pindi* ist es gegangen
Qaraŋïq-ta siŋdi ketken — In dem Dunklen ist es verschwunden
Šindi čïqay küresiŋ — Wirst bald sehn, daß es erscheint
Küle-küle üleysiŋ — Vom schrillen Lachen wirst du sterben
Kirpi — Igel

Var.: *Pindiy pindiy ketken / Qaraldïγa siŋdiy ketken / Šindi keliy küriysiŋ / Küle-küle üliysiŋ = Kirpi.* Vgl. Tapm. S. 42: *Pindi, pindi, pindi ketti / Čalïlarγa siŋdi ketti / Šimdi čïqar körersiz / Küle-küle ölersiz = Kirpi.*

35. *Ašadan keliy opaysa* — Kommt von unten *opaysa* (springend)
Küzleri dampaya — Seine Augen *dompaya* (glotzend)
Baqa — Frosch

Vgl. Fil. No. 10: *Ašadan kele pusa pusa / İki gözü dombal kisa = Baka*; Başgöz No. 308.1: *Bacakları masa masa / gözleri var dombalasa = Baka.*

36. *Öksek öksek učaylar* — Oben droben fliegen sie
Qarčïγalar yasaylar — Errichten die Fassaden
Eti haram, čurbasï qalaq — Ihr Fleisch verboten, ihre Suppe — großer Löffel
Unï boq, mullalar — Ihr Mehl ist Dreck, Mollahs
Balqurt — Biene

37. *Taudan keliy tau kibik* — Kommt vom Berge, wie ein Berg
Elleri butaχ kibik — Seine Arme, wie Äste
Eyilirken su ičey — Niedergebeugt schlürft er Wasser
Čaγïrïy ulaχ kibik — Röhrt wie ein Zicklein
Kiyik — Hirsch

Var.: *Tau-dïr tau kübük / Qollarï budaχ kübük / Egiliy su ičmege / Baγïrïy ulaχ kübük = Kiyik.* Vgl. Başgöz No. 222.3: *Dağdan gelir dak gibi / kolları budak gibi / eğilir su içmeğe / bağırır oğlak gibi = Geyik.*

38. *Taudan keliy, taštan keliy* — Kommt vom Berge, kommt vom Stein
Yamaulï göt eništeŋ keliy — Dein Schwager mit fleckigem Hintern kommt
Ečki — Ziegenbock

Vgl. Başgöz No. 324.11: *Dağdan gelir, taştan gelir / götü açık enişten gelir = Keçi.*

39. *Dabïr-dubur kelgenner* — *Dabïr-dubur* sind gekommen
Süyri bašlï erenner — Derwische mit Kegelschädel
Sačayï da yibrišim — Und die Fransen wie Seidensamt
Xuda peštamallarï — Gottes Badeschürze
Ečki — Ziegenbock

40. *Eki küzi yumuγan* — Beide Augen zugeschlossen
Uǯaq bašïnda tïmaγan — Knapp am Herde zusammengeballt
Mišïq — Katze

Vgl. Radl. No.145: *Oǯaq bašïnda qumγan / köščüklärin yumγan = Mä-či*; Fil. No. 106: *Oǯak batïnda* [sic] *kuman / İki küzün sïrt yumgan = Mišik.*

41. *Ašadan keliy lika-lika* — Von unten kommt *lika-lika*
Yuqardan keliy lika-lika — Von oben kommt *lika-lika*
Qoyroγïnda beŋi bar — Am Schwanze Muttermal
Xurma-dayïn ǯanï bar — Dattelartig seine Seele
Quyan — Hase

42. *Dürt tuyaχlï sandïγum* — Meine Kiste mit vier Hufen
Tünterilse tükülmiy — Wenn sie umkippt, fließt nichts heraus
Sïγïrnïŋ emčikleri — Kuheuter

Vgl. Başgöz No. 199.11*: Cılıktır, dikilmez / baş aşağıdır, dökülmez = İnek memesi.*

43. *Dürt lap-lap* — Vier *lap-lap*
Kiyiz qaplap — Filzbedeckt
Eki tireviš — Zwei Stützen
Bir bulγaviš — Ein Rührlöffel
Tiye — Kamel

Vgl. Tapm. S. 39: *Dört ayaqlï lap-lap / Kiyiz terisi qaplap / Eki örkeči doŋ-doŋ / Bir bïlγavuč = Deve.*

44. *Dübür-dübür dürteü* — *Dübür-dübür* vier zu vier
Erǯeb alay ekeü — Redscheb hält es zwei zu zwei
Ǯaper alay ǯanγïz — Dschafer hält es allein
Tiye — Kamel

45. *Tauda Toliman* — Am Berge Toliman
Suda Suleyman — Im Wasser Suleiman
Künge pišken aš — Sonngekochte Speise
Köbük qusγan taš — Schäumender Stein
Qašqïr, balïq, — Wolf, Fisch,
qavun, sabun — Melone, Seife

Vgl. Fil. No. 120: *Dagda Taliman kürdïk / Suda Suleyman kürdïk / Yerde et sakalï kürdïk / Künešte pišmiš aš kürdïk / Kubuk kuskan taš kürdïk = Ayu, balïk χoros, χarbuz, sabun.*

Der Mensch

46. *Šu bayïrniŋ altïnda* — Unter diesem Hügel
Urpï-čurpï — *Urpï-čurpï*
Urpï-čurpïniŋ altïnda — Unter dem *urpï-čurpï*
Qalemtraš — Federmesser
Qalemtrašniŋ altïnda — Unter dem Federmesser
Yarïχ yïldïz — Glänzender Stern
Yarïχ yïldïzniŋ altïnda — Unter dem glänzenden Sterne
Buqlï teke — Dreckiger Widder
Buqlï tekeniŋ altïnda — Unter dem dreckigen Widder
Ǯalmap ǯutar — Leckender Schlucker
Sač, qaš, küz, — Haar, Augenbraue, Auge,
burun, aγïz — Nase, Mund

Vgl. Tapm. S. 28: *Anav qïrniŋ üstünde / İprek-siprek / İprek-siprek tübünde / Qalem sïzar / Qalem sïzar tübünde / Yarïq yïldïz / Yarïq yïldïz tübünde / Püsür toqlu / Püsür toqlu tübünde / Ǯalmap yutar / Ǯalmap yutar tübünde / May čïbïrtïr / May čïbïrtïr tübünde / Alïp berir = Baš, sač, qaš, köz, burun, aγïz, saqal, qol, ayaq.* — S. No. 47.

47. *Čegerli oba tübinde* — Unter dem buschigen Hügel
Yarïχlï yïlduz — Glänzender Stern
Yarïχlï yïlduz tübinde — Unter dem glänzenden Sterne
Sïčqaq toqlu — Scheißendes Lamm
Sïčqaq toqlu tübinde — Unter dem scheißenden Lamme
Yalmap yutqan — Leckender Schlucker
Baš, küz, burun, avuz — Kopf, Auge, Nase, Mund

Vgl. No. 46.

48. *Yedi tešikli tuqmaq* — Siebenlöchriger Schlegel
Uni' bilmegen aχmaq — Wer es nicht errät, ist ein Tölpel
İnsan bašï — Kopf des Menschen

Vgl. Fil. No. 95: *Yedi delikli tokmak / Onu bilmeyen aχmak = Adamïŋ baši*; Tapm. S. 31: *Yedi tešikli toqmaq / Oni' bilmegen aχmaq = Baš.*

49. *Eki arančï'χ* — Zwei Ställchen
Bir baγanačï'χ — Ein kleiner Balken
Burun — Nase

Vgl. Tapm. S. 35: *Eki aranïm bar / Ortasïnda bir diregi bar = Burun.*

50. *Fuqara tašlïy bayčï'γa* — Der Arme wirft es ins Weingärtchen
Sümük — Rotz

Vgl. Başgöz No. 503.19: *Fakirler yere atar / zenginler cebine kor = Sümük.*

51. *Qaraŋγï' aran ičinde* — Im dunklen Stalle
Qïzïl tana qatalay — Wälzt sich ein rotes Kalb
Til — Zunge

Vgl. Tapm. S. 32: *Qaranlïq aran ičinde / Qïzïl ögüz qatalay = Til.* — S. No. 52.

52. *Tepesi ürtük bir aran* — Mit Dach bedeckter Stall
İčinde at uyniy — Drinnen tänzelt ein Pferd
Til — Zunge

S. No. 51.

53. *Ay abalar abalar* — Hei Muhmen, Muhmen
Ekisi qapïnï' bekler — Zweie hüten das Tor
İše čabalar — Sie macht sich an die Arbeit
Til — Zunge

54. *Aran tolo aq ferik* — Stall voll mit weißen Hühnern
Tiš — Zähne

Vgl. Fil. No. 49: *Bir aranïm var / İči tolu beyaz tavuk = Tišler*; Tapm. S. 29: *Aran tolu aq tavuq = Tišler.*

55. *Avzï bar, tiši yoq* — Mund hat sie, Zähne hat sie keine
Vulva — Vulva

Vgl. Başgöz No. 809.1: *Guguk, kaşı yıkık, dişi yok da dili çıkık = Vulva.*

56. *Bir anattarïm bar* — Hab' einen Schlüssel
Er šeyi ačar — Alles öffnet er
Aqïl — Verstand

57. *Nedir, nedir, ne destedir* — Was ist's, was ist's, was für Bündel?
Zinǯirnen kafestedir — Angekettet in einem Käfig
Ne yirdedir, ne kükte — Nicht auf Erden, nicht im Himmel
Br Allaniŋ elinde — Allein in Allahs Hand
Ǯan — Seele

Vgl. Başgöz No. 704.1: *Nedir, nedir, ne destedir? / zincir ile kafestedir / ne yerdedir, ne göktedir / bir Allahın emrindendir = Can.*

58. *Al ǯavlïqqa quyïlmaz* — Nicht in rotes Tuch gelegt
Bazarlarda satïlmaz — Nicht im Laden wird's verkauft
Undan tatlï šey bolmaz — Süßeres Ding gibt es keins
Yuqu — Traum

Var.: *Bazarγa satïlmay / Yavluqqa quyïlmay / Undan tatlï šey bulmay = Yuqu.* Vgl. Fil. No. 112*: Bazarda satïlmaz / Ǯavlukka salïnmaz / Ondan tatlï / Šey olmaz*; Tapm. S. 29*: Ašqa qatïlmaz / Bazarda satïlmaz / Ondan da tatlï šey olmaz = Yuqu*; Başgöz No. 687.15*: Çarşıdan alınmaz / mendile konulmaz / tadından doyulmaz*; var. a.: *ondan tatlı bir şey olmaz = Uyu.*

59. *Beš adam kitey* — Fünf Leute gehen weg
Dürdi qaytïy — Vier kehren zurück
Ülü — Ein Toter

Vgl. Başgöz No. 218. 6 m: *Sekiz ayaklı / beş bedenli / dört nefesli = Ölü.*

60. *Bir arïq tüye* — Ein mageres Kamel
Ne kükte bola — Gibts nicht im Himmel
Ne yirde üle — Stirbt nicht auf Erden
Kendi maydan üle — Stirbt in eigenem Fette
Küpri üzere ülgen — Jemand stirbt an der Brücke

61. *Ǯul ǯanïnda kirtli sandïq* Zugesperrte Kiste am Wege
Mezar Grab

Vgl. Fil. No. 131: *Yol yanïnda / Kirtli sandïk = Kabir*; No. 90: *Yer tübende / Klitli sandïk = Tabut, χazine*; Başgöz No. 777.4: *Yer altında kitli sandık = Mazar.*

62. *Ǯemātï čoχ* Die Gemeinde ist zahlreich
Ǯamisi yoχ Moschee gibt es keine
Mezerlik Friedhof

Vgl. Başgöz No. 142.3 a: *Çarşısı çoḫ / gideni çoḫ / geleni yoḫ = Mezarlık.*

63. *Tatlïdan tatlï nedir?* Was ist am süßesten vom Süßen?
Mahbetlik Liebe, Freundschaft

64. *Ǯilt-ǯilt etey* Treibt *ǯilt-ǯilt*
Ǯilγalarγa qunay Läßt sich im Tale nieder
Čingene Zigeuner

Das Haus und Einrichtung

65. *Biri diy: Allah ayaγïm* Einer sagt: Allah, mein Fuß
Biri diy: Allah belim Einer sagt: Allah, meine Taille
Biri diy: Allah bašïm Einer sagt: Allah, mein Kopf
Biri diy: Ǯilama qardašïm Der andere sagt: Bruder, weine nicht!
Üyiŋ tayaγï, üy arqalïγï Der Stützpfeiler des Hauses,
üyiŋ yarmalarï, üstte-ki der Balken des Hauses,
tufraq die Schindel des Hauses,
die drüber gebreitete Erde

66. *Ïsarγa sïγïrǯïχ ǯauγan* Auf die Burgmauer fielen Stare
Ǯapma Verputz

67. *Aviǯγa sïγa* Es paßt in die Hand
Ambarγa sïγmay Es paßt nicht in den Speicher
Sïrïq Stange

Vgl. Başgöz No. 720.2: *Ele sığar / ambara sığmaz = Dayak, deynek, sırık.*

68. *Dam üstünde dam delik* — Am Dach ein Dachloch
Basamaq — Treppe

69. *Entešeli mentešeli* — *Entešeli mentešeli*
Dürt küšeli, bir pašalï — Viereckig, mit einem Pascha
Qapu — Tor

70. *Eki yata, ekisi tura* — Zwei liegen, zwei stehen
Biri qunaq uzata — Der eine läßt den Gast heraus
Qapu — Tor

71. *Qapï üstünde qara qizžāz* — Am Tore ein schwarzes Mädchen
Kilit — Torschloß

72. *Anavi üyde bir čeltek* — An jenem Haus ein Sieb (Gitter)
Mïnavi üyde bir čeltek — An diesem Haus ein Sieb (Gitter)
Unï bilmegen tentek — Wer dies nicht weiß, ist ein Blödling
Penžere — Fenster

Vgl. Tapm. S. 82: *Anav evde bir čeltek / Mïnavï evde bir čeltek / Bunï bilmegen zïr tentek = Penžere.*

73. *Bazarlarda qayγana* — Rührei von den Basaren
Üyge kelip šayχana — Ins Haus gebracht schaukelt's
Bešik — Wiege

74. *Yarma terek* — Spaltholz
Anama kerek — Meiner Mutter ist es nötig
Tekne — Trog

75. *Fïrt anda, fïrt munda* — *Fïrt* dort, *fïrt* hier
Fïrt qapïnïŋ ardïnda — *Fïrt* hinter dem Tore
Süpürge — Besen

Vgl. Fil. No. 20: *Anda pat, mïnda pat / Var, kapu arasïnda yat = Sebertki*; Tapm. S. 93: *Em mïnda, em anda / Em qapï artïnda = Sipirki*; Başgöz No. 99.1: *Çat burda, çat şurda / çat kapının arkasında = Süpürge.*

76. *Belčigini budurγan* — Die schlanke Taille festgebunden
Bezgelek avasïna uynay — Tanzt er zur Stimme des Rebhuhns
Sïpïrtqï — Besen

Vgl. Tapm. S. 83: *Belini sïqïp baγlaγan / Šeytan avasïna oynaγan = Sipirki.*

77. *Ašaγïdan keliy fil* — Von unten (von weitem) kommt ein Elefant
Uʒïna tasma til — An der Spitze eine Riemenzunge
Aχïllïsï süyliy — Der Gescheite kann's sagen
Aχmaγï tiŋŋey — Der Dumme schweigt
Xantar — Waage

Vgl. Radl. No. 17: *Bir käsäčik mil / ortasïnda til / yüs yigirmä yïl / aqïllï olan aŋlar / aqïllï olmayan diŋlär = Qantar*; Tapm. S. 94: *Bir kičkene fil / Arqasïnda tasma til / Aqïlïŋ olsa, oylan da, bil = Qantar.*

78. *Čïn-čïn-čïn amam* — *Čïn-čïn-čïn* Bad
Qurnasï tamam — Sein Becken ist vollkommen
Br qïz aldïm — Ich nahm mir ein Mädchen
Babasï imam — Sein Vater ist ein Imam
Sāt — Uhr

Vgl. Radl. No. 85: *Čït čïtlï hamam / qurnasï tamam / bir gälin aldïm / babasï imam = Sa^{c}at*; Fil. No. 59: *Čïn, činnï χammam / Kubbesi tamam / Bir gelin aldïm / Babasï imam = Saat*; Tapm. S. 117*: Čït-čït amam / Qurnasï tamam / Bir kelin aldïm / Babasï imam = Saat*; Başgöz No. 170.12*: Çın çını hamam / kubbesi tamam / bir gelin aldım / babası imam = Saat.*

79. *Bir qašqïrïm bar* — Hab' einen Wolf
Arqasïnda biŋ türlü yarasï bar — Am Rücken tausenderlei Wunden
Odun kütügi — Holzklotz

Vgl. Fil. No. 43: *Bir attïŋ / Kïrk yarasï var = Kütük*; Mándoky No. 21: *bır atïm bar, qïrq ǰerınden ǰaralï = J̌aŋïrïq.*

80. *Bir küčüʒük alâmet* — Ein winziges Zeichen
İči tolu kiyâmet — Das Innere voll vom Jüngsten Tag
Sïlaq quydïm, quru čïqqan — Legte es naß hinein, trocken kam's heraus
Sali alla Muhammed — Glorreich sei Mohammed der Große
Furun, ataš, ütmek — Backofen, Feuer, Brot

Vgl. Fil. No. 12: *Alla, alla alâmet / İči tolï kiyamet / Ak saldïm, qïrmïzï aldïm / Salli alla moamet = Furun*; Başgöz No. 539.16: *Ağzı açık alâmet / içi kızıl kiyamet / yaş soktum, kuru çıktı / salli alâ Muhammet = Fırın.*

81. *Bir qïzïm bar* — Hab' eine Tochter
Kelgende quǯaqlay — Umarmt mich beim Kommen
Ketkende quǯaqlay — Umarmt mich beim Gehen
Soba — Ofen

Vgl. Başgöz No. 728.20 a: *Bir kızım var / gelen geçen ona sarmaşır = Soba*

82. *Arabčïq čüker* — Der kleine Araber bückt sich
Ešeǯik miner — Der kleine Esel steigt herauf
Saǯayaq — Dreifuß

Vgl. Başgöz No. 940 c: *Arap apışır / çengi biner = Sacayak.*

83. *Qïzïlïn yaptïm* — Das Rote bedeckte ich
Uzunïn suχtïm — Das Lange hab' ich hineingesteckt
Qïlïn qïlγa qattïm — Das Haar zum Haar gefügt
Ateš, mandal, uyqu — Feuer, Riegel, Traum

Vgl. Başgöz No. 973: *Kalkın kızlar, yatalım / kılı kıla katalım / kızılcığı gömelim / uzuncuğu sürelim = Kapı sürgüsü.*

84. *Bir ügüzim bar* — Hab' einen Ochsen
Kitse kelmiy — Wenn er geht, kommt er nicht
Yatsa turmïy — Wenn er liegt, steht er nicht auf
Ašasa tuymïy — Wenn er ißt, wird er nicht satt
Duman, kül, ateš — Rauch, Asche, Feuer

Var.: *Biri kitey kelmiy / Biri yatïy turmïy / Biri ne berseŋ ašay / Su berseŋ üliy = Tütün, kül, ataš.* Vgl. Tapm. S. 101: *Üč ögüzim bar / Biri ašar — toymaz / Biri keter — kelmez / Biri yatar — turmaz = Ateš, Tütün, Kül*; Başgöz No. 929: *Yer yer doymaz / gider gelmez / yatar kalkmaz = Ateş, duman, kül.*

85. *Uzun-uzun uvalar* — Lange-lange Täler
Kükke aγar-duvaγar — Es fließt-qualmt gegen den Himmel
Baγrï ala kigenek — Sein Bauch sind bunte Fransen
Yïmïrtqasïn kim tapar? — Wer findet sein Ei?
Yanan atešiŋ dumanï — Rauch des brennenden Feuers

86. *Üy ičinde üyim bar* — Im Hause hab' ich ein Haus
Taχtaǯïqta tuyïm bar — An Brettchen hab' ich ein Brautfest
Kül — Asche

87. *Aq ulančïχ* Weißes Büblein
Perčeminden asïlγan Beim Haarbüschel aufgehängt
Čïraχ Laterne

Vgl. Tapm. S. 80: *Aq oγlančïq / Perčeminden asïlγan = Čïraq.*

88. *Min-min minare* *Min-min* Minarett
Minare üstünde balïq Am Minarett ein Fisch
Balïγïŋ bašï yarïq Der Kopf des Fisches zerspalten
Lampa Lampe

Vgl. Tapm. S. 88*: Qale ičinde qamere / Qamere ičinde balïq / Balïqnïŋ bašï yarïq = Lampa*; S. 89: *Min, min, minare / Minare ičinde kamere / Kamere ičinde deŋiz / Deŋiz ičinde balïq / Balïq yanïnda yarïq = Lampa.*

89. *Bir kičïǯek pil* Ein winziger Elephant
Aqlïŋ bolsa bil Wenn du Verstand hast, mußt's wissen
Lampa Lampe

90. *Üz buynïnï üzi ašay* Sie ißt ihren eigenen Hals
Lampa Lampe

91. *Tauγa barsa χuturïy* Wenn sie in die Berge geht, wütet sie
Üyge kelse uturïy Wenn sie heimkehrt, setzt sie sich
Balta Axt

Vgl. Fil. No. 66: *Daga varsa kudurur / Evge gelse durur = Balta*; Tapm. S. 95: *Daγγa barsa qutura / Evge kelse otura = Balta.*

92. *Bir itim bar* Hab' einen Hund
Ïrïldap kük čača Er bestreut bellend den Himmel
Pički Messer

Vgl. Başgöz No. 647.6: *Ağaca yukarı kara köpek ürer = Bıçkı.*

93. *Bir ügüzim bar* Hab' einen Ochsen
Üzi sičay, üzi kürey Das selber Geschissene schaufelt er selber zusammen
Buryu Bohrer

Vgl. Fil. No. 34: *Bir ögüzüm var / Kendi sičay / Kendi kürey = Burgu*; Tapm. S. 95: *Bir ögüzim bar / Özü qaza, özü kürey = Buryu.*

94. *Bir qašqïrïm bar* — Hab' einen Wolf
Em üksüriy, em tüküriy — Er hustet auch, spuckt auch
Bïrau — Bohrer

95. *Bir kičkene balačïq* — Ein kleines Büblein
Bašïnda qara qalpačïq — Am Kopf ein kleines schwarzes Käppchen
Mïχ — Nagel

Vgl. Tapm. S. 94: *Bir kičkene balačïq / Bašïna kiygen dablačïq = Mïχ*; Başgöz No. 510: *Bir ufacık Arapçık / başında var tablacık = Mıh.*

96. *Attïm tüštim yurtïŋïzγa* — Bin in euer Haus geworfen
Tayγalattïm butïŋïzγa — Konnte zu eurem Schenkel kriechen
Saban — Pflug

97. *Ayt dedik Ïrïqqa* — Sag schon, sprachen wir zu *Ïriq*
Kirip kitken ǯïrïqqa — In das Zerspaltene gegangen
Artïnda-ki tomalaq — Wurde das hinten folgende Runde
Sala berdi ǯoroqqa — In die Furche hineingeworfen
Saban — Pflug

Kleidung

98. *Astïm qazan* — Ich hängte den Kessel auf
Saldïm qoyroq — Warf einen Schwanz herein
İrdi qazan — Der Kessel zerschmolz
Qaldï qoyroq — Der Schwanz blieb übrig
Ayaq qabï — Fußbekleidung, Schuh

Vgl. Başgöz No. 672.1 a: *Aldım kazan / koydum kuyruk / eridi kazan / kaldı kuyruk = Ayakkabı, kundura.*

99. *Yalpaq yatïy* — Das Glatte (Schlüpfrige) liegt
Uzun kirey — Das Lange geht herein
Ayaq qabï — Schuh

Var.: *Yalpaχ yatïy / Uzun suγay = Papuč* — Das Glatte liegt / Das Lange wird hineingesteckt = Pantoffel.

100. *Eki ügüzim bar* — Hab' ich zwei Ochsen
Baγlasaŋ kitey — Wenn du sie bindest, gehen sie
Čezseŋ uturïy — Wenn du sie löst, setzen sie sich nieder
Čaruχ — Sandale

Vgl. Fil. No. 117: *Baglasaŋ ǯüre / Čezseŋ toktay = Čarik*; Tapm. S. 77: *Eki ögüzim bar: / Baγlasam — keterler / Baγlamasam — ketmezler = Ayaqqap.*

101. *Eki yaγïndan tuttïm* — Von beiden Seiten faßte ich ihn
Urtasïna tiktim — Steckte ihn in die Mitte hinein
Čizme — Stiefel

Vgl. Başgöz No. 87.5: *İki kulağından tuttım / dibine kadar soktum = Çizme.*

102. *Tizden quyï* — Vom Knie abwärts ein Brunnen
Čizme — Stiefel

Vgl. Fil. No. 114: *Bir kuyum bar tizden = Čizma*; Başgöz No. 87.4: *Dize kadar kuyucuk = Çizme.* — S. No. 104.

103. *Yünlü avzïn ačay* — Öffnet seinen haarigen Mund
Čïplaq ičine qačay — Läuft nackt hinein
Čorab, ayaq — Strumpf, Fuß

Vgl. Başgöz No. 699.2: *Kıllı ağzını açtı / çıplak içine kaçtı = Çorap.*

104. *Belden quyï* — Von der Taille abwärts ein Brunnen
Šalvar — Hose

Vgl. Fil. No. 113: *Bir quyum bar belden = Štan.* — S. No. 102.

105. *Etli qaziχ, yünli tešik* — Ein fleischiger Pfahl, ein wolliges Loch
El, kürkiŋ yeŋi — Arm, Ärmel des Pelzes

106. *Bir atïm bar* — Hab' ein Pferd
Qoyroγïnen χora örey — Es webt mit dem Schweif einen Zaun
İyne — Nadel

Vgl. Tapm. S. 85: *Bir ögüzim bar / Quyruγïnen qora bekler = İne.*

107. *Bir kiškene pilatir* Ein winziges *pilatir*
šümne χalqïn šïlatïr Läßt die ganze Welt weinen
İyne Nadel

Vgl. Fil. No. 27: *Ufašïlïq monatïr / Bütün dünya donatïr = Yine* (recte: *İyne*).

108. *Alčaq terek* Niedriger Baum
Anama kerek Ist für meine Mutter nötig
Öreke Spindel

Vgl. Tapm. S. 82: *Alčačïq terek / Anama kerek = Öreke*; Mándoky No. 4: *alšajïq terek / anama kerek = öreke*.

109. *Teni arïq, baši sarïq* Sein Körper ist mager, sein Kopf ein Turban
Dindin barïy, dindin keliy Geht *dindin*, kommt *dindin*
Üreke Spindel

110. *Eŋri-bügri* Krumm und schief
Qïzlarγa kire Paßt ins Mädchen
Küpe Ohrring

Vgl. Başgöz 255.4: *Eğrice kiren / kızlara giren = Küpe*.

111. *İstambulda taχ-taχ etey* In Istanbul macht es *taχ-taχ*
Yongasï bunda yetey Die Späne reichen bis hierher
Taraq Kamm

Vgl. Fil. No. 6: *İstambulda taq eter / Yengasï munda tüšer = Taraq*.

112. *Aran aldïnda aχ tana* Vor dem Stall ein weißes Kalb
Küzel-im dep maχtana „Bin schön" — sagt es prahlend
Küzgü Spiegel

Speisen

113. *Su tübinde sarï altïn* Unter dem Wasser gelbes Gold
Darï Hirse

Vgl. Fil. No. 73: *Su tübinde / Sarï altïn = Dugu* [= *Darï*]; Tapm. S. 66: *Suv tübünde / Sarï altïn = Tüy*.

114. *Kâγïttan qazan astïm* Hängte einen papiernen Kessel auf

Qaynadï pišti Es sprudelte, kochte
Aqïllïγa ayttïm Ich sagte dem Klugen
Aŋadï bildi Er verstand, er wußte
Aqïlsïzγa ayttïm Ich sagte dem Dummen
Šaqïldadï küldi er klatschte, er lachte
Yïmortqa Ei

Vgl. Tapm. S. 69: *Kâγïttan qazan astïm / Qaynadï pišti / Aqïllïγa ayttïm / Aŋladï bildi / Aqïlsïzγa ayttïm / Šaqïldadï küldi = Yïmïrta.*

115. *Aq ǯāmiyi dulaštïm* Ich ging um die weiße Moschee rings herum
Qapïsïnï tapmadïm Das Tor fand ich nicht
Yïmïrtqa Ei

Vgl. Başgöz No. 259.25*: Ak camiyi dolaştım dolastım / kapısını bulamadın = Yumurta*

116. *Tigenek bir suyï* Eine Art Dornenstrauch
Čoban čoqrï, čuqïr Des Hirten Grube — Loch
Börek Börek

117. *Sarï su ičinde sandal uyniy* Im gelben Wasser tanzt ein Boot
Čiberek Eine Art Börek

Var.: *Sarï su ičinde sandal uynay = Yantïq*. Vgl. Radl. No. 128: *Sarï suda sandal oynar = Qatlama*; Fil. No. 69: *Sarï su üstünde / Sandal yaldar = Čibürek*; var.: *Parlak su üstünde / Sarï sandal oynar = Čibürek*; Tapm. S. 71: *Sarï suvda sandal oynay = Čiberek.*

118. *Dürt büklengen* Viermal gebogen
Segiz qatlanγan Achtmal geschichtet
Qulaǯïγï burulγan Sein Öhrlein gewunden
Tatar böregi Tataren-börek

119. *Astï χasïr, üsti χasïr* Drunten Matte, droben Matte
Ičinde may sasïr Drinnen stinkt Fett
Köbete Köbete (eine Art Kuchen)

Vgl. Fil. No. 4: *Astï χasïr / Üsti χasïr/ İči may sasïr = Köbete*; Tapm. S. 68*: Astï χasïr / Üstü χasïr / İči ise may sasïr = Köbete.*

120. *Šapïr-šupur su ettim* *Šapïr-šupur* kochte Wasser
Sičrïp baŋa tiymedi Hüpfend reichte es nicht bis zu mir

Temr-aqaya toŋ pištim Schneiderte dem Temir Agha eine Hose
Aqčasï baŋa tiymedi Sein Geld reichte nicht bis zu mir
Qatlama Strudel

121. *Alčaǯïq yirden qar yavay* Von niedriger Stelle fällt Schnee
Elek Sieb

Vgl. Radl. No. 24: *Ašačïq äwdä qar yaγar = Un älämäsi*; Fil. No. 14: *Alčaǯïk damdan kar yagar = Elek*; Mándoky No. 5: *alšaqtan qar ǯawar = elek*; Başgöz No. 678.8: *Alçacık dağdan / kar yağar = Elek.*

122. *Alčaq aran* Niedriger Stall
Tübi boran Sein Unterteil — Wirbelwind
Elek Sieb

Var.: *Alčaχ aran tübinde boran = Un elegi.* Vgl. Fil. No. 54: *Tögerek aran / Tübi — boran = Elek*; Mándoky No. 57: *töbesı aran, astï boran = elek men un.*

123. *Salïndïrïp ǯiberdim* Schaukelnd ließ ich ihn herunter
Šapïrdatïp čïqarttïm Plätschernd zog ich ihn hinauf
Qova Eimer

Vgl. Başgöz No. 102.5: *Sallanır, girer / sulanır, çıkar = Kuyu kovası.*

124. *Bir mišïγïm bar* Hab' eine Katze
Qoyroγïndan asïla Ist beim Schwanz aufgehängt
Qol tava, izgara Stielpfanne

Vgl. Fil. No. 76: *Kara mišïk / Koyrugundan asïlïr = Tava.*

125. *Bir kelinim bar* Habe eine Braut
Kelgen kečken unï üpey Kommende, gehende küssen sie
Mešrebe Trinkschale

Vgl. Fil. No. 42 var.: *Bir gelinïm var / gelende öper / gidende öper = Mešerpe*; Tapm. S. 84: *Bir kelinim bar / Kelgen, kečken önï öpe = Mešrebe.*

126. *Bir ufaǯïq aq tana* Ein winziges weißes Kalb
Mïyïzïm bar dep maqtana „Ich habe ein Horn" — so prahlt es
Čayniq Teekanne

Vgl. Tapm. S. 90: *Stol üstünde bir ögüz / Qursaγïnda bar boynuz = Čaynik.* — S. No. 112.

127. *İki elim beline* — Meine zwei Hände um die Taille
Zumpam deligine — *Zumpam* ins Loch
Qayve tuqmaγï — Kaffeemörser

128. *Kük kürültiy* — Der Himmel donnert
Kügen čatlay — Der Schlehdorn birst
Azrail süyley — Azrail spricht
Melek tiŋley — Der Engel lauscht
Tegirmen — Mühle

Var.: *Kük güdürdiy / Kügen čatlay / Zare eney / Yer tübinde melek dinney = Tegirmen.* Vgl. Tapm. S. 115: *Kök güdürdey / Čardaq dürüldey / Melekler diŋley / Boγday čatlay = Degirmen.*

Verkehr

129. *Dürt qardaš* — Vier Brüder
Birbirini quvalay — Jagen einander
Tutamay — Können sich nicht fassen
Toχtasa toχtay — Angehalten, bleiben sie stehen
Araba tegerčikleri — Wagenräder

Vgl. Başgöz No. 812.1: *Dört çingene / birbirini kovalar*; 812.2: *Dört kardeş koşarlar, koşarlar, birbirini tutamazlar = Araba tekerlekleri.*

130. *Attan öksek* — Höher als das Pferd
İtten alčaq — Niedriger als der Hund
İger — Sattel

Vgl. Fil. No. 31: *İtten alčak / Attan yüksek = Eger*; Tapm. S. 101: *Attan jüksek / Köpekten alčaq = Eger;* Mándoky No. 15*: attan üysek, kepekten alšaq = eyer.*

131. *Men kiteymen, u kitey* — Ich gehe, er geht (auch)
Para kübük iz etey — Seine Spur einer Münze gleich
Tayaχ — Stock

Var.: *Kitey kitey / Aqčaǯiq qadar iz etey = Tayaχ.* Vgl. Tapm. S. 89: *Men ketem, o kete / Kapik qadar iz ete = Qoltuq tayaq;* Mándoky No. 41:

men ketemen, o kete / para para ɪz yasay = baston ; Başgöz No. 813.8: *Ben giderim, o gider / para kadar iz eder = Değnek.*

132. *Ay piškiriy-piškiriy* Hei er pustet-pustet
Felan yerge qïčqïrïy Irgendwo schreit er
Čimendifer Zug

133. *Kelip bara ǯulï yoq* Es kommt und geht, hat keinen Weg
Qaramaγa küzi yoq Keine Augen zum schauen
Qarnï bar, ǯanï yoq Hat einen Bauch, hat keine Seele
Bašï bar, tili yoq Hat einen Kopf, hat keine Zunge
Gemi Schiff

Vgl. CC XXXVIII: *bu bardï izi yoχ = ol kemä dir* (Tietze 105); Tapm. S. 115: *Kete-kete, izi yoq / Burnu bar, közü yoq = Gemi*; Başgöz No. 83.9*: Gider gider, izi yok / burnu kara, gözü yok = Gemi.*

134. *Su üstünde yongaǯïχ* Auf dem Wasser Spänchen
Qayïq Boot

Vgl. Başgöz No. 83.7: *Su içinde teknecik = Kayık.*

135. *Üzi uzun, kületkesi yoq* Er selber ist lang, hat keinen Schatten
Yul Weg

Var.: *Uzun kitey / kületkesi yuq = Yul.* Vgl. Tapm. S. 102: *Boyu uzun, kölgesi yoq / Onsïz körüšüv de yoq = Yol*; Başgöz No. 624.7: *Uzun kavak, gölgesi yok / saksağan konar, yuvası yok = Yol*; 624.8: *Uzun ok gölgesi yok = Yol.*

Waffen

136. *Astï taχta, üsti taχta* Sein Unterteil ein Brett, sein Oberteil ein Brett
İčinde bir zālïm soχta Innen ein grausamer Softa
Xiliǯ Säbel

Vgl. Radl. No. 16: *Astï taχta, üstü taχta / İčinde zalïm soqta = Qïlïč*; Fil. No. 5: *Astï taχta / Üsti taχta / İčinde bir / Zalim softa = Qïlïǯ*; Tapm. S. 117: *Astï taχta, üstü taχta / İčinde bir zalïm soχta = Qïlïč*; Mándoky No. 12: *astï taqta, ùstı taqta / ıšınde bır zalım soqta = qïlïš.* S. noch Başgöz No. 212.

137. *Ašadan keliy viznen* — Von drunten kommt es mit Geraschel
Yedi biŋ yïldïznan — Mit siebentausend Sternen
Tüfek — Flinte
(recte: *Quršun*) — (recte: Gewehrkugel)

Vgl. Tapm. S. 119: *Uzaqtan kelir vïz-vïznen / Yedi biŋ yïldïznen = Quršun, Sačma*; Başgöz No. 342.*4 Dağdan gelir hız ile / yedi bin yıldız ile = Tüfenk, Silah.*

138. *Mundan üfürdim* — Von hier blies ich hinein
Xaršï'ya tükürdim — Spuckte den Gegner an
Tüfek — Flinte

Vgl. Fil. No. 52: *Bundan tükürdïm / Qaršuya düšti = Tüfenk*; Tapm. S. 118: *Mïnda öküre / Uzaqqa tüküre = Tüfek;* Başgöz No. 342.17*: Püf diye üfürdüm / karşıki tepeye tükürdüm = Tüfenk.*

139. *Quviš terek* — Ein hohler Baum
İčinde qutï'ryan börü — Drinnen ein wütender Wolf
Tüfeknen barut — Flinte und Schießpulver

Schreiben, Lesen, Musik

140. *Bir ügizimiz bar* — Wir haben einen Ochsen
Sï̈ǯaq qurdï qusa — Er spuckt heiße Würmer
Qalem — Feder

141. *Bir appačïq ǯïmïrtqa* — Ein sehr offenes Ei
İči tolo qïrmïsqa — Das Innere voll von Ameisen
Kitab — Buch

Vgl. Fil. No. 77: *Kat kat kapusta / İči dolu karïnǯa = Kitab*; Tapm. S. 106: *Qat-qat qapïsta / İči tolu qïrmïsqa = Kitap*; Başgöz No. 86.1*: Kat kat kapuska / içi dolu karınca = Kitap.*

142. *Bir ulïm bar Meχail* Habe einen Sohn *Meχail*
Šamarγa qāil Für Ohrfeigen geeignet
Qulaqlarï temirden Seine Ohren aus Eisen
Arqasï-da teriden Sein Rücken aus Haut
Dayre Trommel

Vgl. Tapm. S. 110: *Bir oγlum bar, adï Smail / Özü kötekke pek meyil / Arqasï teriden / Qulaqlarï demirden = Dare*; Başgöz No. 245.10: *Oğlumun adı Nail / dayak yemeğe mail / entarisi deridir / kulakları geridir = Davul.*

Abkürzungen

Başgöz = İlhan Başgöz, Andreas Tietze, *Bilmece: A Corpus of Turkish Riddles*. University of California Press. Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 1973, 1063 pp.

CC = Codex Cumanicus: Andreas Tietze, *The Koman Riddles and Turkic Folklore*. University of California Press. Berkeley and Los Angeles 1966.

Fil. = V. I. Filonenko, *Zagadki krymskih tatar. Krïm tatar tapmadžalarï*. Simferopol 1926, 57 pp.

Mándoky = E. Mándoky, Devinettes tatares de Bulgarie: *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 21 (1968), 369–379.

Radl. = Wilhelm Radloff, *Die Mundarten der Krym* (= Proben VII.). Sanktpeterburg 1896, 371–390.

Tapm. = Tapmadžalar. Toplaγan išlegen ve tertip etkenler Ševket Asanov, Abljaziz Veliev. Taškent 1988, 135 pp.

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AN OLD TURKIC NAME OF KIEV[1]

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The most important meanings of Chuvash *mănă, măn* are the following: 'great, big, wast, wide, basic, original, old, dense, low (of sound)'. Chuvash also has another word for 'great' *pĭsăk*. Although Ashmarin writes in his Dictionary (VII, 305) that the meaning of *măn* is "generally speaking" the same as that of *pĭsăk*, this is in fact not the case, there is a difference in the usage of the two words. First of all *măn* is used in kinship terminology with the meaning 'elder, great': *mănakaj* 'the elder sister of the father', *mănasanne* 'great-grandmother, mother of the grandmother', *mănasatte* 'great-grandfather, father of the grand-father', *măninke* 'the wife of the brother of the grandfather', *mănkokki* 'the brother of the mother', etc. It occurs in wedding ceremonies as: *mănkĕrü* 'the elder groomsman'. The word is frequently used in geographic names denoting the greater in opposition to the little as: *Măn Xoračka* 'Bolshoe Karachkino, Greater Karachkino', *Măn Xura Šĭv* 'the Greater Black Rivule' and according to Ashmarin the river Dneper is also called *Măn Šĭv* 'Great River'. We see the word in names of vegetables as *mănxăyar* 'pumpkin', *măn mĭra, măn măyăr* 'nut' or groups of animals, such as *măn kĕtü* 'stud'. It occurs in historical terms as *mănpü* 'grand duke' whereas 'Tsar' is *ĕmpü* which had originally the same meaning. We find the word in the old Chuvash calendar as in the name of 'Easter' *munkun* a *calque* of Russian *velikodnju* or *măn kărlač* 'January', in the terminology of folk religion: *măn čük* 'a kind of pagan prayer', *Măn kel-ilen* 'the name of a god'. All this points to the fact that we are dealing with a relatively old part of the Chuvash lexicon.

The origin of the word is obscure. Paasonen (1908, 89) compared the word with Yakut *mängä* 'great, wide', but this word is, as it was already pointed out by Pekarskij in his Dictionary (1917) a loan from the Mongolian *möngke, mengke*, itself a loan from Turkic cf. Turkic *beŋü* 'eternal'. Räsänen suggested in his Morphology (1957, 50) that the Chuvash word *numay* 'many, numerous',

[1] An earlier version of this paper was read at the PIAC meeting 1987 in Bloomington. I had the opportunity to discuss some of the problems involved with Tibor Halasi-Kun who showed a keen interest and gave me useful advice for which I am sincerely indebted. This paper is devoted to his memory.

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which can be found also in Türkmen *lomay, nomay* 'wholesale (Russian *optovyj*)' could perhaps be connected to Chuvash *măn*. Räsänen claimed further that the word also has in Chuvash such forms as *mon, mun*. He extended his comparison to Yakut *mogol, mogul* 'great' and Korean words. First we have to state that in Chuvash there do not exist forms, such as *mon, mun*. The *-u-* of *munkun* 'Easter' is due to regressive assimilation and is a late feature. We find the word *numay* also in Üzbek with the meaning 'rich, round (of a sum)'. The full vocalism of the first vowel of the Chuvash word and its final *-ay* shows that Chuvash *numay* is a late loanword. Original and early final *-ai* diphthongs became *-i* in Chuvash. The Yakut and Korean parallels have to be, for the time being, excluded. Perhaps the word is of foreign origin. If *numay* is a metathetic form of **munay* it can be an extension of Old Turkic *bun* 'basis, foundation', Sogdian *pwn*. In his etymological dictionary (1969, 326) Räsänen gave up his etymology, reconstructed a form *man* and suggested a comparison with the old Ottoman *mankafa* 'blockhead, fool, stupid'. Jegorov had no suggestion for the etymology of the word (1964, 326).

An important contribution to the solution was the publication of new Volga Bulgarian inscriptions by Hakimzjanov in the 1986 volume of Acta Orientalia Hungarica. In the inscription of 1308 we find a geographical name which was written as *Muwn Suwar yali*. Above the *mim* there is a *damma* and after it a *waw* and a *nun*. Hakimzjanov read it as *Mün* and gave no explanation. In my paper read in 1987, I pointed out that the word has to be read as *Mon* and the word is identical with the Chuvash *măn*. It had the meaning 'great'. The word has to be connected with the words which we find in the geographic names *Mangishlak* (*Man Kishlak*), *Man Kend* (both in the *Divan* of Kashgari) and in the old name of Kiev which occurs as *Men Kermen* in the Secret History of the Mongols. The original reading may have been *Man Kermen* in the Kipchak language which is the source of the Mongolian data. Since the original of the Secret History was written with the Uighur alphabet there was no difference between the forms *Man* and *Men* (see the late Uighur copy in Blobzang Bstandzin's *Altan Tobchi*, ed. Ligeti 1974, 194) and it may be that the form *Men* is only the reading of the Mongolian who took part in the compilation of the text in Chinese transcription and was uncertain of the correct reading. It is also possible, that the change occurred already in Kipchak and from an earlier *Mankermen* the name changed to *Menkermen* in the source language. Kipchak *Man Kermen* is a translation of the Slavic name of Kiev: *Velikij Gorod* 'the Great City'. Thus the word *man* 'great' can be traced back to the eleventh century in the Karakhanid Empire and to the thirteenth in the Desht-i-Kipchak.

There does exist, however, an unsurmontable difficulty in connecting Chuvash *măn* with Old and Middle Turkic *man*. The vowel of the Chuvash word is a reduced one, and in the Viryal dialect the word has a reduced labial vowel: *mŏn*, in the Anatri dialect the labial element was lost and it is a reduced illabial: *măn*. The *mănă* forms seem to be late secondary forms, that is, the final reduced vowel did not pertain to the original word. The reduced Chuvash vowels *ă/ŏ*

cannot go back to an original *a*. An original *a* would be in Chuvash *o/u*, that means that if *man* were the original form then it would be in Chuvash **mun*. This difficulty was overseen by T. Tekin, who dealt with it in his book (1988, 190–191) using the 1308 inscription. He read *Mun* instead of *Mün* and compared the word with *man* of *Man Kishlak, Man Kend*, without mentioning the name of Kiev. Tekin pointed out that original *a* changed to a *u* in Chuvash but it escaped his attention that the word does exist in Chuvash and is not pronounced with *u* but with a reduced vowel. Fedotov published a monograph in 1992 on his etymological studies of Chuvash words. He compared the Chuvash word with the geographical name *Mangishlak*, he also referred to Räsänen's earlier comparisons and added that according to Vámbéry and Barthold, the *Man* element in *Mangishlak* originally had the meaning 'ten thousand'.

Before offering a new solution to the enigmatic origin of the Chuvash word I will recapitulate what we know: a Turkic word *man* from the eleventh century Karakhanid territory and from the early thirteenth century Desht-i-Kipchak had the meaning 'great' and was connected with names of cities. At the same time we find a word among the Volga Bulgars in the form *mon* with the same meaning. To the latter pertains a hitherto misread data in the work of Abul Hamid al-Garnati, who wrote his work in 1155, where he described his journey from the Volga Bulgars to Hungary. In the work the author mentions the name of the capital of the Slaves. The name is written in the edition of Dubler as *Gwr Kwman* عو ر كو ما ن which has been emandated by Hrbek (1954) to *grd Kwy'w* that is 'gorod Kuyaw'. Pritsak (1955) read the place as *Gwr Krm'n* 'Gur Kermen' and added that *gur* would be the same as in the Karakitai title *gurkhan* while Kermen is the Turkic name of Kiev. Korzuhina suggested that we have to read *Gwr Kwman*, i.e. Gur Kuman which she interpreted as the 'city of the Cumans' and claimed that this were the late name of Sharkel. This was rejected by Bolshakov (1971) who turned back to the reading of Hrbek. Al-Garnati's work was also translated into Hungarian by T. Iványi with remarks by K. Czeglédy. They accepted the reading of Hrbek and Bolshakov.

In my 1987 paper I accepted the *Kermen* reading of Pritsak, but suggested that the first word should be read *mwn* instead of *gwr* which is a very easy misreading in the Arabic script: مون instead of عور. *Mwn Kermen* was the Volga Bulgarian name of Kiev. Al-Garnati used the Volga Bulgarian and not the Kipchak name of the city because he came from the land of the Volga Bulgars. The year of the compilation of the work was 1155, the time of the journey has to be placed between 1131 and 1153. This means that besides the data of *Mon Suwar* from 1308 we now have the data *Mon Kermen* from the first half of the twelfth century. This means that the Bulgarian *mon* was already different from the Karakhanid and Kipchak *man* in the twelfth century.

It may be very likely that the two words somehow pertain together; but the labial reading of the Bulgarian data and the present Chuvash data exclude a direct connection with *man*.

If the word is of Turkic origin we have to reckon with the existence of an initial *b-*. The nasalisation of the initial *b-* before nasal stops is a well-known feature in Old Turkic. It is enough to point to the change of the pronoun *ben* to *men* or that of *biŋ* to *miŋ*, cf. Mongolian *minggan* 'thousand'. The Old Turkic word *ban* 'ten thousand' did pertain to this category. It is rare, but it occurs in Uighur texts (see Clauson 1979, 346). Barthold (1936) pointed out that the name of Mangishlak appeared only in the 12th century. In the new edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islam (1988) Y. Breghel corrected this, and referred to Kashgari's item. There we read: "*Man Qišlaq* a place in the land of the Oghuz". To this Breghel adds that in the work of Biruni there is a name of a harbour in the land of the Oghuz which is called *Binqishlag*. To Breghel's remark we can add that this *Bin* is surely *biŋ* 'thousand', but in the meaning 'great'. It is unlikely that *man* is coming from *miŋ*, more likely it is coming from the Old Turkic *ban* 'ten thousand' with the same semantic change 'great number' > 'many' > 'great'. A similar change can be detected in the meaning of Old Turkic *tümen* which was borrowed into Hungarian as *tömény* (see Gombocz 1912, 131). The word *tümen* 'ten thousand' replaced the word *ban*.

The foreign origin of *tümen* has been clear for a long time. It is an early loan from Tocharian, cf. Tocharian A *tma:n*, Tocharian B *tumane*. Clauson mentioned in his dictionary that according to a verbal communication of Pulleyblank, the Tocharian word might be of Chinese origin, a borrowing from a form like **tman*. The Chinese origin of the Tocharian word has already been suggested by Blochet, but he compared a binominal structure. The first part might have been Chinese *to* 'many' and the second a word to which we shall come back (see Doerfer, TMEN II, 641). According to Windekens (1976, 642), the Tocharian word is a loan from Persian, or more precisely from Middle Iranian. Doerfer, after reviewing the earlier opinions, excludes the Persian origin of the word. Doerfer thinks it is unlikely that the Turkic word would be of Tocharian origin. His argument is that the Turkic word is front vocalic. This is, however, not conclusive. We do not know how "palatal" the Tocharian language was, however a shift to a more palatal pronunciation can be observed. We find similar features in earlier loans as Tocharian *okso* → Turkic *öküz*. On the other hand, *tümen* was a cultural loan, a *Wanderwort* and in such cases the phonetical changes and substitutions had a different history.

The Old Turkic *ban* 'ten thousand', as it was mentioned by Clauson (1972, 346), is of Chinese origin. It has the form *wan* in the present language of Peking. The earlier forms have been reconstructed by Karlgren (1957, 267a) as Old Chinese (Archaic Chinese according to Karlgren) *miwăn*, and Middle Chinese (Karlgren: Ancient Chinese) *miwɐn*. Kantonese has *ma:n* (this was the form referred to by Blochet). This means that the initial was nasal which became in most Chinese dialects denasalised. This change is also reflected by Vietnamese as was pointed out by Pulleyblank (1985, 357). Vietnamese has the Chinese word *muôn*, while in Sino-Vietnamese we find *vàn, van*. On the basis of the Sino-Vietnamese data, Pulleyblank reconstructed *muan*^{h} for Early Middle

Chinese and *vjan` > vaan`* for Late Middle Chinese (see also Pulleyblank 1991, 318). Takata (1988, 370) referred to the Tibetan transcription of the Middle Chinese form which occurs as *'ban*. To this we can add that this orthography reflects a pronunciation which was on its way to change from a stop *b-* to a fricative *β*.

The Old Turkic word *ban* is a clear reflex of the same form as the Tibetan. It cannot be excluded that the Turkic *man* is a form which reflects that the Chinese initial was originally a nasal and later prenasalised oral stop. It is also possible that the form *man* is the result of an inner Turkic change from *ban* or it may be even the result of both. On the other hand, Old Bulgarian *mon* is a borrowing of an earlier Chinese form of the same word, perhaps even from another dialect and reflects the Chinese form **muon*.

If these considerations can be substantiated by further research we can make the following statements:

1. The ancestors of the Bulgarian language and that of Common Turkic were already separated when they borrowed these words.

2. Chuvash **mon > mŏn, măn* and Turkic *ban > man* are independent borrowings from Chinese.

3. The ancestors of the Chuvash came from a territory where they had the possibility to borrow early Middle Chinese words. This was not necessarily at the Chinese border. Such words wandered on the Silk Route as did e.g. Turkic word of Chinese origin: *yenčü* 'pearl'. Such words may have become even parts of geographic names as it happened with *yenčü* in *Yenčü Ögüz*, the Old Turkic name of the Syr Darya in the Kül Tegin inscription.

4. Kiev had two closely related Turkic names: *Man Kermen* was the Kipchak-Oghuz name and *Mon Kermen* was the Volga Bulgarian name.[2]

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[2] The Chinese form borrowed by the ancestors of the Chuvash points to a Chinese form earlier than the end of the 6th century. The form borrowed by the Common Turkic may originate from the 7th or 8th century. The idea of Pulleyblank that a much earlier form of the same word had an initial *t-* and this would be the source of the Tocharian word is uncertain, but if it would be proved this would mean that the word, through Tocharian entered Turkic and thus Old Chuvash *mon*, Old Eastern Turkic *ban*, Oghuz-Kipchak *man*, and Old Eastern Turkic *tümen*, would ultimately go back to the same Chinese word.

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A HUNGARIAN SPAHI IN THE 16TH CENTURY: THE MYSTERIOUS "ANDREYA LITTERATUS" OF ESZTERGOM

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I. In his excellent book *Harács-szedők és ráják* [Tax Collectors and *re'ayas*] — which in my opinion greatly inspired the studies on 16th century Hungary under Turkish occupation — Gyula Káldy-Nagy illustrated the fate of the Turkish garrison towns, deserted by their native population and inhabited only by the invaders, by the example of Esztergom. We can read the following in the relevant chapter of the book:

> "The house inventory of 1570 supports those words in Celalzade's narrative according to which after the siege all infidels were driven out off the fortress and invaders settled down in their places. The brutal removal of the native population was provoked by their stout resistance and unwillingness to submit. It can be concluded from a note from 1570 explaining Hacı Ağa's purchase of a house: 'Hacı Ağa's house. Formerly it was the so-called Andreya litteratus's property, who obeyed and submitted at the taking of the fortress. He sold the house to the above-mentioned Hacı Ağa for 6000 akces after the siege of the fortress and also gave a writing attesting the right of ownership.'
>
> According to the timar-defter of 1546 the obedient and submissive Andreya litteratus was given a timar-estate, which realised an income of 3000 akces. This means that if someone submitted, he could stay in Esztergom, but those who did not, were forced to leave the town and were not allowed to return any more; according to the house inventory of 1570 not even one native inhabitant owned a house in Esztergom. The same was the fate of the inhabitants of Visegrád and Nógrád in 1544, when the Turks occupied these strongholds and moved into the natives' homes. In Visegrád 103, and in Nógrád 234 houses were registered in 1570 [in Eszter-

Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

gom 812 — insertion by me, F. Sz.], and all became the invaders' property; no one from among the native inhabitants had a house."[1]

As opposed to the Balkan region, where the system of the "Christian spahis" was fairly widespread and consequently well known,[2] in the Hungarian

[1] Its subtitle: *Török világ a XVI. századi Magyarországon* [Turkish World in 16th Century Hungary]. Budapest 1970. (Kőrösi Csoma Kiskönyvtár [Kőrösi Csoma Pocket Library] 9.) 140–141. We have to note that the explanation for the drastic change in the population of Esztergom does not seem satisfactory because:

a) According to Sinan *çavuş*, the most important Ottoman chronicler of the military campaign of 1543, the Christian inhabitants were driven out only from the castle itself, but their presence was tolerated in the outskirts. "From among the other giaours those belonging to the *re'aya* class were held in the castle and only the soldiers were released one by one, completely, and they were allowed to pass through to the other side of the Tuna. And the *re'aya*s got permission to stay here with their families, all belongings and properties, afterwards they moved to the outskirts and settled down there." (From among the inhabitants of the fortress 164 children and 80 adults turned Muslim.) *Török történetírók* [Turkish Chroniclers] II. 1521–1566. Translated by József Thúry. Budapest 1896. (Török–magyarkori történelmi emlékek II. Írók [Historical Recollections from the Turkish–Hungarian Period. II. Writers] 2.). 343.

b) Although women and children also participated in the defense of the fortress, the inhabitants of Esztergom did not seem to take such an active role that would justify this punishment (cf. Lajos Némethy, *Emléklapok Esztergom múltjából* [Pages from the Past of Esztergom]. Esztergom 1900, 13–23; Imre Szántó, Küzdelem a török terjeszkedés megállításáért Magyarországon 1541–1547 [Struggle for the Stopping the Turkish Expansion in Hungary 1541–1547]: *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József nominatae. Acta Historica* XI (1972) 86–87; *idem.*, *Küzdelem a török terjeszkedés ellen Magyarországon (Az 1551–52. évi várháborúk)* [Struggle against the Turkish Expansion in Hungary (The Fortress Warfare of 1551–1552)]. Budapest 1985, 23–24; Csaba Csorba, *Esztergom hadi krónikája* [The Military Chronicle of Esztergom]. Budapest 1978, 97–98, etc.).

c) The outstanding strategic importance of Esztergom — that is, it protected Buda against military attacks from the north — in itself accounts for the above-mentioned moving of the inhabitants, which happened accordingly, not immediately after the taking of the fortress, but later.

According to this the refugee inhabitants of Esztergom after 1543 kept their common origin in mind and considered themselves as members of a community even in their new — unfortunately unknown — place of living. At least we can conclude from this that still in 1578 the "profugi cives Strigonienses" applied to the Treasury for that 800 forints, which the administration owed them. The Hungarian National Archives. Archives of the Hungarian Treasury. Expeditiones camerales. Tomus 626. (21st March the report of the Hungarian Chamber to Archduke Ernő.)

[2] Branislav Djurdjev, Hrišćani spahije u severnoj Srbiji u XVI. veku [Christian Spahis in Northern Serbia in the 16th Century]: *Godišnjak Istorijskog Drustve Bosne i Hercegovine* 4, 1952, 165–169; Halil İnalcık, Od Stefana Dušana do osmanskog carstva [From Stefan Dušan to the Ottoman Rule]: *Prilozi za orientalnu filologiju istoriju jugoslovenske naroda pod osmanskom vladavinom* 3–4 (1953) 23–53; *idem.*, Stefan Duşan'dan Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na. XV. asırda Rumeli'de hıristiyan sipahiler ve menşeleri. In: *Fuad Köprülü Armağanı.* İstanbul 1953, 207–248; *idem*, *Fatih devri üzerinde tetkikler ve vesikalar* I. Ankara 1954; A. Stojanoski, Kon prašanjeto za hristjanite-spahii vo Makedonija [Contribution to the Question of the Christian Spahis]. *Glasnik na*

parts under Turkish occupation we hardly know of any Hungarian subject who entered into the service of the Turkish supreme command or civil administration and as a reward was given an estate in payment.[3] (Although among the renegades there were considerably few Hungarians, the statement naturally does not apply to those, one-time Hungarians, who became Muslims and consequently became lords of estates.[4]) Thus, one's curiosity is inevitably aroused by what deed "Andreya litteratus" deserved his special treatment by the invaders, and his award. The Christian name itself — which at first glance seems to be the phonetically deformed variant of "Andreas litteratus" (though in that case it would conform to the Italian, rather than the Hungarian pronunciation rules) — does not offer any essential proof, and we similarly cannot conclude from the circumstances of its occurrence. A continuous and manifold professional inquiry — the guiding star of a historian with some philological inclination —, however, seems in this case to help us clear up this seemingly unsolvable mystery.

Institutot za nacionalna istorija Makedonije, 1960, 304–316; Milan Vasić, O knežinama Bakića pod turskom vlašću [On the Military Leadership (knežina) of Bakić under Turkish Rule]: *Godišnjak* ... 9 (1958) 221–239; *idem.*, Knežine i knežovi timarlije u zvorničkom sandžaku u XVI. vijeku [Serbian Military Leaders (knežina) possessing Timar-Estates in the *sancak* of Zvornik]: *Godišnjak* ... 10 (1959) 247–277; Bistra Cvetkova, Novije dannüe o hristianah-spahijah na Balkanskom poluostrove v period tureckogo gospodstva: *Vizantijskij vremenik* 13 (1958) 184–197; *idem.*, *Les institutions ottomanes en Europe.* Wiesbaden 1978.

[3] Géza Dávid, *A simontornyai szandzsák a 16. században* [The *sancak* of Simontornya in the 16th century]. Budapest 1982, 79–81; Christian spahis in the sancak inventory of the sancak of Buda in 1546: Gyula Káldy-Nagy, *Kanuni devri Budin tahrir defteri (1546–1562)*. Ankara 1971. (Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları 177.) 7, 8, 86, 88; and in the *timar defteri* of the *sancak* of Szeged in 1560: Előd Vass, *Kalocsa környékének törökkori adóösszeírásai* [Taxlists of the Environs of Kalocsa from the Turkish Period]. Kalocsa 1980. (Kalocsai múzeumi dolgozatok [Studies of the Museum of Kalocsa] 4.) 45 and 150.

[4] There is no monography on the Hungarian renegades yet. From the latest monographies — which exclusively concentrate on the Mediterranean — we are only informed that there were Muslims of Hungarian origin as well: Bartolomé and Lucile Benassar, *Les chrétiens d'Allah (L'histoire extraordinaire des renégats XVIe et XVIIe siècles)*. Paris 1989; From relevant popular writings of the Hungarian special literature: Sándor Takáts, A török és magyar raboskodás [Turkish and the Hungarian Captivities] = *Rajzok a török világból* [Sketches from the Turkish World]. I–III. Budapest 1915–1917, I. 160–335; Lajos Tardy, Magyar rabszolgából tebriszi basa [From a Hungarian slave the Pasha of Tebris]. = *Régi hírünk a világban* [Our Reputation in the Old World]. Budapest 1979, 88–91; Ferenc Szakály, Magyar diplomaták, utazók, rabok és renegátok a 16. századi Isztambulban [Hungarian Diplomats, Travellers, Captives and Renegades in Istanbul in the 16th century]. In: *Szigetvári Csöbör Balázs török miniatúrái* [The Turkish Miniatures of Balázs Csöbör of Szigetvár]. Ed. by *idem.* Budapest 1983, 45–54. (Bibliotheca Historica); Ferenc Szakály – Lajos Tardy, Auf der Suche nach einem aus Ungarn stammenden Dolmetscher des Sultans. In: *Osmanistik–Turkologie–Diplomatik (Festgabe an Josef Matuz)* Hrsg. von Christa Fragner und Klaus Schwarz mit einem Vorwort von Bert G. Fragner. Berlin 1992 (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 150.), 289–301.

II. In a survey of publications dealing with the Turkish–Hungarian relations in the first half of the 16th century we often come across the name of a certain Hungarian Adrian or Adoryan litteratus, who was in Turkish service. Sándor Takáts, who dealt in his works with this personality again and again, summed up all available information on him as follows: "The scribe and secretary of Kasim [Kazzun], nominated to the post of the Pasha of Buda in 1548, Chadim Ali [Ali, the Castrated or Capoon Ali] and Tujgun, Pashas of Buda was called Adoryan litteratus. In the 16th century his name was well known; because he along with his son-in-law, János Magassy, rendered many great services to the Hungarians. In the 16th century in the letters of warriors of the border castles, and in imperial deputies' reports the name of this Adoryan litteratus often occurs. He wrote equally well in Hungarian, Latin and Turkish."[5] Takáts, however, had actual sources confirming Adoryan's scribal and secretarial activity in the service of the Pasha of Buda, but only from the year of 1551 on. And we also cannot find any earlier mention of him in the special literature and the publications of source material.

On 14th May in the above-mentioned year King Ferdinand himself reported to General Gianbattista Castaldo, commander-in-chief in the Hungarian area of war, that in the close entourage of the Pasha of Buda he had three spies, who were more trustworthy than the others, and sent him more precise reports. One of them was Adoryan, and the other was his son-in-law, János Magassy.[6] István Palisnai, royal internuncio, who visited Buda in the same year, also praised Adoryan to the King for giving him a helping hand in the ransoming of Christian captives. From this time on until 1557 Adoryan litteratus appears considerably often in the Turkish connected diplomatic papers of Vienna, and in the correspondence among the captains of border fortresses. In 1553 he paid marked attention to an imperial legation to the Porte, lead by András Verancsics, bishop of Pécs; once he gave advice in matters of ransoming captives, another time he copied a confidential letter for them, sent from Transylvania to Buda. Those who were sent by Hungarians for intelligence work tried to insinuate themselves into his confidence; in 1557, for instance, a man sent by Pápa stayed in his house for nearly two weeks.

His correspondence with the magistrates of Eger landed Adoryan litteratus in a somewhat tragicomic situation in 1554. After the captain of Eger, as usual, sent on one of Adoryan's reports to Vienna, a careless clerk in Vienna attached it in its original form "carefully" to the King's letter, in which the King complained about the contents of the report to the Pasha of Buda. Although the enclosure in Latin was returned to its writer, Adoryan became extremely angry with the in fact innocent inhabitants of Eger, to whom he never supplied infor-

[5] A magyar és török íródeákok [Hungarian and Turkish Scribes]. = *Rajzok, op. cit.* I. 74.

[6] Sándor Takáts, Kalauzok és kémek a török világban [Guides and Spies in the Turkish World] = *Rajzok, op. cit.* II. 179–180; in his study written on the scribes he stated incorrectly that the data came from Castaldo's letter, written to King Ferdinand: *op. cit.* I. 74.

mation again.[7] More precisely: he most probably just pretended to be in danger and be offended. The secret agents of Vienna in the Seraglio of Istanbul — and, of course, not only they — practiced their doings so overtly and carelessly as if they were not afraid of being detected and facing the consequences. As it turns out from the above example their employer did not really expend care on covering them. From this we cannot but conclude that most of these secret agents undertook intelligence work with the knowledge and consent of their Turkish bread-givers; that they were disinformers, rather than real informers. It is even more probable that it belonged to those scribes', working for the Imperial Divan, Pashas and Beys — usually Christans renegades' — normal "official" duties to let themselves be recruited, and this fact was well known by their Hungarian employers as well. It gives the impression of a monumental "who can cheat whom better" game within which there could be vast differences in the quantity and quality of real news filtered out. And it was naturally not without risks, because a bewildered Turkish potentate — in order to protect himself — could easily decide that his interpreter overdid his prescribed and implicit commission, or that he did not pretend to help any more, but truly spied on the behalf of his former compatriots. (Although, to tell the truth, I greatly doubt the unselfishness and patriotism of the renegade secret agents of the time.)[8]

III. At first glance there would be not much point in looking for any connection or continuity between the "obedient and submissive" Andreya litteratus of Esztergom, and Adoryan litteratus, the "scribe and secretary" of the Pasha of Buda, nevertheless, some newly found references seem to connect them. Studying the life and literary activity of the Fugger-factorer, Hans Dernschwam, who

[7] Antal Gévay, *A budai pasák* [The Pashas of Buda]. Vienna 1841, 6. (June 1551); *Verancsics Antal m. kir. helytartó, esztergomi érsek összes munkái* [The Collected Works of Antal Verancsics, Royal Governor, and Archbishop of Esztergom] III. The First Mission to the Porte (1553–1554). Published by László Szalay. Pest 1858. (Monumenta Hungariae Historica. Scriptores IV.) 22. (July 1553); S. Takáts, Scribes, *Rajzok, op. cit.* I. 74–75. (1551, 1553, 1554); *idem, Guides, Rajzok op. cit.* II. 180 and 183. (May 1551 and April 1557); Miklós Nagy, A Ghyczyek a magyar nemzet történetében [The Ghyczys in the History of the Hungarian Nation]: *Turul* 43 (1929) 15. (November 1557)

[8] This problem is totally disregarded in Sándor Takáts dataful writings, and it is not discussed either in the later summaries (cf. Gyula Erdélyi, Magyar hírszerző-szolgálat a török hódoltság idején, különös tekintettel a budai pasalik területére [The Hungarian Intelligence Service in the Time of Turkish Occupation, with Special Regard to the Territory of the Pashalik of Buda] *Török hódoltság-korabeli okmányok a Magy. Kir. Hadilevéltárban* (*Buda visszafoglalásának 250. éves fordulójának emlékére*) [Documents in the Hungarian Royal Military Archives from the Time of Turkish Occcupation. (On the Commemoration of the 250th Anniversary of the Recapture of Buda)] Budapest 1936, 33–58; We showed the importance of the question: Egy végvári kapitány hétköznapjai (Horváth Márk szigeti kapitány levelezése Nádasdy Tamás nádorral és szervitoraival, 1556–1561) [The Everyday Life of a Captain of a Frontier Fortress (The Correspondence of Márk Horváth, Captain of Sziget with Palatine Tamás Nádasdy and His Servitors, 1556–1561)] *Somogy megye múltjából (Levéltári évkönyv)* 18 (1987) 56–57.

lived in Hungary, Lajos Tardy found Mehmed Pasha of Buda's written order of the 30th August 1543. It is addressed to the seven Lower Hungarian mining towns. The Pasha requests them to send him delegates in order to negotiate, and ensures them that if they are obedient he will let them keep their privileges given by the Hungarian Kings. The Latin text of the letter is as follows:

> "Nos Mehemeth bassa inuictissimi ac potentissimi [*sic!*] caesaraeae [*sic!*] m*aiesta*tis in regno Hungariae locumtenens etc. Salute*m* et fauore*m*. Prudent*es* et circumspecti nobis dilecti. Optime vobis constare potest, q*uo*m*odo* inuictissimus ac potentissimus [*sic!*] cesarea m*aies*tas, imp*erato*r Turcaru*m*, dominus dominus no*ste*r clementissimus hoc regnu*m* Hungar*iae* pro maiori parte dominio suo subiugauit residuumq*ue* in dies subiugare intendit. Nos in dies expectauimus homines v*est*ros de septem ciuitatibus montanaru*m* ad nos mittere et vos sub fidelitatem caesareae m*aiesta*tis subdere. Qouque vsq*ue* hodiernum diem nullum homine*m* ve*st*rum ad nos misistis, quare hortamur vos, vt sitis fideles caesarae m*aiesta*ti et ho*min*em vestrum fidedignum ad nos mittatis, cum quo tractemur. Nos autem assecuramus et certificamus vos omnes, vt quemcunq*ue* ad nos miserint, secure venire et redire permittemus nosq*ue* in eadem libertate, quibus reges praedecessores eosdem tenuerunt, tenebimus. Imo assecuramus haru*m* nostraru*m* vigore et testimonio l*itte*rarum sigilloq*ue* no*st*ro vsuali [*sic!*] imp*re*ssione roboratoru*m* median*te*. Ex castris Strigonien*sibus* in campo viridi positis, XXX Augusti M D XLIII."[9]

Those who are familiar with Medieval Hungarian Latin diplomatics recognise from the first reading that the letter was composed either by someone who worked in the Hungarian Royal Chancery up until then, or by someone who was familiar with the documents issued by the Chancery. A man who knew perfectly the succession order of royal mandate formulas, who knew precisely how to address which potentate, and had perfect knowledge of which words are usually fully written and which are abbreviated, etc. It is especially interesting to note his slip-of-the-pen when he — as he was used to doing in the Hungarian

[9] Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (München) Codices Latini Monacenses, No. 965, 309; Published in Hungarian: Hans Dernschwam, *Erdély – Besztercebánya – Törökországi utazás* [Transylvania – Besztercebánya – Travel Diary in Turkey]. Published by Lajos Tardy. Budapest 1984, 61–62. (Bibliotheca Historica). (I express thanks to Lajos Tardy for giving me the xerox copy.) We thought the inclusion of the Latin text important because according to our present knowledge *it is the first from the so far known issues of the Pasha of Buda.* The latest repertorium of the documents from the archives of Vienna concerning the Ottoman period indicate the first such document from 1544. Ernst Dieter Petritsch: *Regesten der osmanischen Dokumente im Österreichischen Staatsarchiv* I (1480–1574). Wien 1991. No. 79. (Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs, Ergänzungsband 10/1.)

Kings' diplomas — entitled the Hungarian Kings the predecessors of the Pasha of Buda ("reges praedecessores"); it is pure luck that he did not attach the usual "nostros" attribute to "praedecessores".

In this case we do not have to guess who was the writer of the mandatum, for Dernschwam — in one of whose manuscripts a copy of the letter survived — in a note written on the margin by his own hands gives us detailed information on the circumstances of its production, and he also names the writer:

> "Litteras illas composuit Paulus de Warda epi*sco*pus [*sic!*] Strigonien*sis*, qui maiores *pro*uentus suos in mo*n*tanis h*ab*uit, sed ap*u*d Solimanu*m* Turca*m* vna cu*m* Petro Perenni a*n*no 1529 ad obsidione*m* Wienense*m* ductus, quesiuit o*mn*em practica*m*, vt liberare*tur*, qu*em* ego, H*ans* D*ernschwamm* reperri tu*n*c Bude spoliatu*m* soluta obsidione Wienensi. Eius aut*em* secretarius apud Turca*m* existens, qui has l*itte*ras composuit, fuit Hadrian Dyack Strigonien*sis*, cu*m* quo se*m*per episcopus habuit intelligenti*am*, vt basscha Buden*sis* co*m*municaret prou*entus* Strigonien*ses* non sine suspitione. Tales *pro*ditiones exercent in hodiernu*m* diem Vngari *q*uasi rapto viventes et patri*am pro*dentes, nam quo jure Pa*n*noni*am* pr*i*mi*tus* acquisiueru*nt*, eo etia*m* ea*m* amissuri s*un*t. Ita, ut n*on* aliter Turci expelli poterint, nisi vna c*um* Vngarie infideli*bus*, hoc est Turcis adherenti*bus*, quos dic*un*t toreck belet, die mit ein Turken vnderfuttert sein."[10]

The above remark, which is difficult to interpret because of the mixing of times (1529, 1543, and sometime between 1543 and 1568) was translated by Lajos Tardy:

> "This diploma was actually produced by Pál Várdai, archbishop of Esztergom, who drew most of his income from the mining towns. In 1529, as a prisoner of Süleyman, the Turkish Sultan, together with Péter Perényi, Várdai was carried off to the siege of Vienna; there he employed all his tricks in order to escape. After the removal of the blockade against Vienna I, János Dernschwam found him in a greatly worn down condition. He was in communication with Adoryan litteratus of Esztergom, his secretary, who was with the Turks and who wrote the letter in order to pursuade the Pasha of Buda to share with Várdai, the bishop the incomes from Esztergom, but not without some ulterior motives. Up to the present the Hungarians committed treason, just as those who lived on robbery and who were traitors. Because as they got hold of Pannonia, they will lose it in the same way. Otherwise the Turks could only have been driven out together with the perjurers, that is the Hungarians,

[10] Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München, Codices Latini Monacenses, No. 965.

who joined the Turks, and who are said to be padded with Turkishness inside (<toreck belet>)."[11]

Let us not pursue the really muddled connections of the archbishop of Esztergom with the Turks,[12] and whether the Hungarian political generation in the hard times after Mohács deserved Dernschwam's frequent summary outbursts — similarly to the above quoted one[13] — against the Hungarians or not.[14] We have to examine thoroughly, however, those parts of his remarks which concern the writer of the mandatum. In his first sentence, Dernschwam states categorically that the letter was written by Pál Várdai ("composuit"); thus Tardy reduced this remark without reason with the insertion of the word "actually". Nevertheless, he acted correctly, since later Dernschwam himself corrected the categoric statement of the first sentence, for he says that the mandatum was written by Adoryan litteratus of Esztergom, who stays in the near surrounding of the Pasha of Buda. The latter line excludes the possibility present in the first sentence, that Pasha Mehmed's letter of command was a forgery. In the other case it could easily endanger Adoryan, the writer of the letter, who was in the Pasha's entourage, because it was to be expected that the mining towns would respond to the notice in one way or another. Consequently, we interpret correctly the meaning of the first sentence if we suppose that the idea of sending a mandatum was inspired by the archbishop of Esztergom who had a strong interest in the tax income of the mining towns. He accompanied the Pasha in his second journey to Esztergom in secret. The text can be interpreted in this way, but it still leaves some obscure points unsolved, because neither in 1543 nor in later times were the mining towns captured by the Turks, moreover they were not particularly threatened. This means that the archbishop could have been able to get his share from the mining incomes without difficulty.[15] It seems that Dernschwam's suspicion, which was well grounded, was suggested by his loathing for Várdai[16] and

[11] H. Dernschwam, *op. cit.*, 62–63.

[12] Cf. Bálint Hóman and Gyula Szekfű, *Magyar történet* [Hungarian History]. III. Budapest 1935, 23; István Nemeskürty, *Önfia vágta sebét* (*Krónika Dózsa György tetteiről — Ez történt Mohács után – Elfelejtett évtized*) [His Wound Cut by His Own Son (A Chronicle on the Deeds of György Dózsa — This Happened after Mohács — The Forgotten Decade)]. Budapest 1975. passim; Christine Turetschek, *Die Türkenpolitik Ferdinand I. von 1529 bis 1532.* Wien 1968. (Dissertationen der Universität Wien 10.) passim.

[13] Cf. Zsuzsanna Hermann, Hans Dernschwam könyvei között [Among Hans Dernschwam's Books]: *Az Egyetemi Könyvtár Évkönyvei* 4 (1968), 167–178.

[14] To this question cf. Gábor Barta, A törökös ideológia kezdetei [The Beginnings of the Turkish Ideology in Hungary]: *Keletkutatás* Autumn 1987, 8–19.

[15] Ferenc Kollányi, Az esztergomi érsek pisetum-joga [The *pisetum* Right of the Archbishop of Esztergom]: *Katholikus Szemle* 3 (1889); cf. Erik Fügedi, *Kolduló barátok, polgárok, nemesek (Tanulmányok a magyar középkorról)* [Mendicant Friars, Bourgeois, Nobles (Studies on the Hungarian Medieval Ages)]. Budapest 1981, 488–489.

[16] Cf. e.g. H. Dernschwam, *op. cit.*, 229.

most probably by the fact that, in contrast to us, he knew well the nature of the connection between the archbishop and Adoryan litteratus.

If we disregard Dernschwam's confusing remark it is easy to decipher the aim of the mandatum. From the 16th and 17th centuries there came down to us hundreds of mandates of this kind, with which the Turkish officeholders in Hungary or their representatives — with threats, or the force of fear — urged the population of those territories to submit which the Turkish military force could not reach. The tone of these letters spread from the use of abusive language "decorated" with the frequent mentioning of gallows to gentle persuasion, but if they had no effect they usually ended in Turkish punitive military expeditions. The practice of conquering by letters is as old as the occupation of the middle part of Hungary, and originated from no less authority than István Werbőczi, former chancellor of Hungary, who was nominated by the Turks to be the Chief Justice of Hungarians.

Little more than two weeks had elapsed after the capture of Buda, when on 14th September 1541 Werbőczi sent a letter to the Hungarian towns threatened by the Sultanic army. He tried to reassure them that "his Majesty, the Sultan under the threat of capital punishment ordered the captains of the royal [i.e. Sultanic] army sent to conquer the upper parts towards Pozsony that they should not dare to cause any personal or financial damage to the population of Hungarian nationality — not even if they belong to Ferdinand, that is to the German party. You can be sure that you will not suffer any harm or loss from the Turkish invaders. Because when they return here, Pasha Soliman, his Majesty's governor in Buda and in this country, will send certain troops to keep them in check that they should not go to your land, but return on the same way on which they went".[17] Undoubtedly Werbőczi was sincerely worried about the lives of the Hungarians, moreover it is also possible that for his request the Sultan or the Pasha of Buda promised to save the territories concerned. It, however, does not change the fact that by his letter Werbőczi strengthened the belief in the invaders' fairness. From this it is only one step to call upon them to stop resisting and to submit voluntarily.

István Tétényi, judge of Buda and at the same time the notary of the Pasha of Buda ("judex civitatis Budensis, notarius locumtenentis"), the successor of Werbőczi, who died at the end of 1541, undertook a similar role. On the 6th of July 1543 in a proper circular he appealed to "the judges and jurymen of all towns, civitas and villages, moreover to all nobles, church and secular lords". He informed them that Pasha Mehmed — through his instrumentality — promised: those who personally or by the way of their delegates deliver the tax and victualia will get a letter of protection from the Pasha in Latin and in Turkish, which will save them, their families and possessions from the damage of the local and imperial Turkish army. This threat — presented as a favour — had a great influ-

[17] Vilmos Fraknói, *Werbőczi István életrajza* [Biography of István Werbőczi]. Budapest 1899, 328. [Magyar történelmi életrajzok (Hungarian Historical Biographies)].

ence because all the addressees knew well that the imperial army was nearing irresistably the heart of the country. (It captured Siklós fortress on July 7th and arrived in Buda on the 22nd.)[18]

The letter compiled by Adoryan litteratus in Pasha Mehmed's name fits well into this trend, since it was written when it became evident that the Sultan's attack will not reach the territories north of Esztergom. (After capturing Esztergom the Turkish army turned to the south and on August 30th it was engaged in assaulting Székesfehérvár.) But still it was worth trying for the Turks to obtain the mining towns by the force of threat.

It is of great importance to thoroughly examine this particular piece of information concerning Adoryan. We are lucky to obtain a datum, clearly proving that in Várdai's retinue in Esztergom there really was a servitor, called Adoryan. It is true that in the beginning of 1541 he was quite far from the inner circles of the archbishop because he was merely a vice steward of the household in the service of Mihály Muthnoky, steward of the household, and he had duties like giving orders to the *comes* of Kövesd that the local serfs could hunt in the snow field.[19]

The luckier we are to find Adoryan litteratus in Várdai archbishop's household, the more disappointed we are to see the humble post he held there two years before composing Pasha Mehmed's mandatum. (For the two persons mentioned, no doubt, are the same.) Dernschwam's remark refers to a more intimate relationship, to a more personal office (secretary, scribe), and also the letter shows Adoryan to be a more educated man. The high quality of the letter makes us think of a man, who was often in the Chancery. Moreover, we are also familiar with one of Várdai's scribes and interpreters from 1541, who was considered to be competent in Turkish affairs. He was called Péter Pécsi Kis. In the days after the loss of Buda he accompanied the delegation led by Sigismund Herbestein and Nicolas a Salmis among others. This delegation handed King

[18] In fact he was speaking in the name of Mehmed Pasha of Buda ("manifesto, quod illustrissimus spectabilis et magnificus Mehmet bassa, locumtenens potentissime atque invictissime caesaree maiestatis ad supplicationem meam concessit"). Ráday Collection, Budapest. Jerney Collection. Tomus XV. III. passage No. 1, quotes: Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (Wien). Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (hereafter abbreviated as ÖStA HHStA) Hungarica Fasz. 52. 1543. Jun. f. 36.; using the latest — Lajos Fekete, *Budapest a török korban* [Budapest in the Turkish Period]. Budapest 1944, 174. (The History of Budapest. Edited by Károly Szendy III.); Hungarian councillors commented on the event in the following way: "Accesit eodem ferme tempore, quod Thurca magnis itineribus in regnum hoc contendens per Mehmethbeg prefectum suum Budensem litteras passim in regno curat circumferri sub nomine judicis illius loci, quibus litteris incolumitas et securitas iis omnibus proponitur, qui illi adheserint impetrata facturi." Pozsony, 19th of June 1543. ÖStA HHStA Hungarica Fasz. 53. 1543. Jun. f. 34.

[19] *Középkori leveleink (1541-ig)* [Our Medieval letters (up to 1541)]. Edited by Attila Hegedüs and László Papp. Budapest 1991, No. 227. [Régi magyar levéltár (Old Hungarian Archiv)1.]. It is not mentioned in the rich data collection concerning Muthnoky, which we possess thanks to Géza Szabó, the literary man.

Ferdinand's presents to the Sultan and carried on negotiations with him.[20] It happened as described by one of those concerned:

> "Eotunc dominus comes a Salmis videns ob pestilentiam servitorum suorum penuriam in arce Strygoniensi me et Jeronimum Dwdyth alias Schardelath ... precatus a reverendissimo quondam domino Paulo de Warda archiepiscopo ecclesiae Strygoniensis *domino meo* [insertion by me — F. Sz.] interpretem, scribam et servitorem impetraverat ..."[21]

Thus, Adoryan could hardly be in Várdai's entourage if the archbishop sent Pécsi Kis to accompany Salem. It does not exclude, however, the possibility that during the two years until the capture of Esztergom he could climb so quickly in the hierarchy of the court of Esztergom. It contradicts this supposition, however, that in the first half of 1543 Várdai named Sebastian litteratus of Syrmia as his secretary ("secretarium meum")[22] who earlier served Elek Thurzó, the governor also as his secretary.[23] The latter remark is of special importance, especially if one knows that Pécsi Kis went in for a par excellence career in the Chancellery: first he served under Tamás Szalaházy for quite a long time in King Ferdinand's Chancellery ("in officiis cancellarie serviens"), later he was the "military" secretary ("officium secretarii bellici agens") of Tomaso Lascano, captain of Esztergom, after his death Pécsi Kis got to Várdai's court. With full knowledge of these facts it is very strange that a vice steward of a household could have been promoted to be the archbishop's confident. It should be kept in mind that Dernschwam's above quoted remark, which proved to be unreliable, did not state it in the case of Andreya litteratus.[24]

IV. This means that we have an Adoryan litteratus in the archbishop's administrative apparatus from whom we may rightly suppose that he had a house in Esztergom, and we know of, at least, one deed of his with which he could deserve not only the exemption of his house, but also an official estate. (István Tétényi, Judge of Buda obviously became a spahi for his above-mentioned con-

[20] On the mission see Herberstein's memoirs: *Österreichische Geschichts-Quellen* I. Hrsg. von G. von Karajan. Wien 1855, 330–337.

[21] Joseph von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches grossentheils aus bisher unbenützten Handschriften und Archiven.* III. Vom Regierungsantritte Suleimans des Ersten bis zum Tod Selim's II. (1520–1574). Pest 1828, 707–708.

[22] Pozsony, 14th of May 1543. Pál Várdai — Ferdinánd. ÖStA HHStA Hungarica Fasz. 51. 1543. Mai f. 61.

[23] Pozsony, 15th of May 1543. Albert Peregi. *ibid.,* Mai f. 74.; It is interesting to note that János Dessewffy also came to Várdai from Thurzó: *ibid.*, Turcica Fasz. 6 (1544) f. 8.

[24] Pécsi Kis's application for possession without date. *ibid.*, Hungarica. Fasz. 49. 1542 Sine dato f. 34.

quering letter and other services.)[25] Moreover, we can point out that he did not only stay in August 1543, during the Turkish assault against Székesfehérvár, with the Pasha of Buda, who was ordered to defend the newly gained borderland of Esztergom,[26] but he — this time, or later — moved to Buda. Since in three Turkish inventories of Buda (1546, 1547, 1559) in Olasz Street we find an Adoryan litteratus who, though he lived among the Christians, as a spahi enjoyed exemption from the taxes and services of his neighbours ("sipahi ba berat"). That he is the Adoryan, who moved to Buda from Esztergom is evident from a note in the state tax list of 1547, according to which he is "the Judge of Esztergom".[27] (This expression might be explained by the fact that Adoryan was formerly judge in Esztergom.) The obviously damaged form of "Andreya litteratus" is not very far neither from "Adoryan" nor from "Adrian litteratus" that the information concerning them could not apply to the same person.

Although we did not carry out aimed research work concerning the question, we have to note that according to our present knowledge concerning Adoryan litteratus he is mentioned as the scribe of the Pasha of Buda between 1543 and 1551. We still take the identity of Adoryan = Adrian = Andreya litteratus as certain, because he is mentioned in the early 1540s and later mentioned repeatedly after 1551. We also strongly believe that in the future new sources will be found filling, partly at least, the indicated eight-year gap, not only because the name Adoryan was not very common in the 16th century,[28] not because two succeeding scribes and interpreters of the Pasha of Buda were called by the same name and not because we do not know the Pasha's other interpreters by name in the given period, but because we already have a clue that he worked in the court of the archbishop of Esztergom as a vice steward of the household.

[25] S. Takáts, Scribes = *Rajzok op. cit.*, I, 72, as a spahi see in the works cited in Note No. 24.

[26] He gained temporarily the post of the Bey of Esztergom — Sinan *çavuş* informs us. J. Thúry, *op. cit.*, II, 345.

[27] In chronological order: 1546: Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *Kanuni devri, op. cit.*, 7. ("Aderyan litteratus married ... , Mihály, his son, single, János, his brother, single"); 1547: Lajos Fekete, Buda, Pest és Óbuda polgári lakossága 1547-ben és 1580-ban [The Civil Population of Buda, Pest and Óbuda in 1547 and 1580]: *Tanulmányok Budapest múltjából* 6, 1938. 129, and *idem.*, *Budapest a török korban, op. cit.*, 418. ("Adrian litteratus"); 1559: Gyula Káldy-Nagy, *A budai szandzsák 1559. évi adóösszeírása* [The Cadastral Survey of 1559 of the *sancak* of Buda]. Budapest 1977, (Pest megye múltjából 3.) 35. ("Aderyan litteratus, spahi, married, his son Mihály, single, died, his brother, János single".) The 1559 *tabur defteri* of the *sancak* of Buda gives one of his income sources: "Somodor *puszta*. Without *re'aya*. It is the timar-estate of Aderyan diak." The annual income of this *puszta* amounted to 328 akçes. It must have been at that time this prebend was taken away from him, for according to the further part of the entry "it was designated for grazing land of dray-horses". *Op. cit.*, 46.

[28] Among the officeholders of the Royal Supreme Court in the Jagielloian age there is no Adoryan. György Bónis, *Jogtudó értelmiség a Mohács előtti Magyarországon* [The Legal Intellectuals in Hungary before Mohács]. Budapest 1971, see the index.

In 1543 he joined the Turks, having sold his personal properties in Esztergom and he moved to Buda and served as an interpreter and scribe for the Pasha of Buda that rendered his identity with the later mentioned Adoryan likely. Who else could have been the interpreter of the Pasha of Buda, characterized by Várdai in 1547 as a good acquaintance and faithful man without indicating his name?[29]

To illustrate how a Hungarian in Turkish service was recruited here is István Tétényi's example who — obviously for writing a letter of submission — also became a "Turkish" spahi. János Horváth, the captain of the neighbouring Vác (perfectus) drew Albert Peregi, the prefect of the Hungarian Chamber's attention to Tétényi, who served the Pasha by writing a letter in Latin sometimes before the 7th of March 1547.[30] Horváth noted that Tétényi charges no more than he spends on the Turks living in his house, his informants. This time the Chamber took steps quickly: on the 8th of March Horváth already reported that he received Peregi's slip addressed to Tétényi and he forwarded it to the addressee through Tétényi's son. (This son, Horváth said, could regularly transmit messages between him and his father, but he has to be paid as well.)[31] Tétényi immediately responded: on the 12th of March Peregi had already transmitted his message to Ferdinand who stayed in Nuremberg.[32] Ferdinand authorized Peregi to employ the spy.[33] (The agreement for some reason was not reached; after his famous letter of submission on the 6th of June 1543 we do not hear of Tétényi any more in connection with these kinds of affairs. Várdai on the 28th of February recommended to Ferdinand another secretary of the Pasha of Buda, who got

[29] "interpres passae antehac quoque fidelis, sed nunc juratus frater effectus huius nuntii domini locumtenensis". Summarium eorum, quo nuntius XVI Aprilis discendens ex Buda attutit XVIII die eiusdem mensis Posonium. ÖStA HHStA Turcica Fasz. 7. Konv. 1. 1547. (I–VII:) f. 22–23.; cf. S Takáts, Scribes = *Rajzok, op. cit.*, I, 73 and 74, Note No. 1. Thus, it might well be supposed that this is the interpreter with whom Dessewffy used to have breakfast and dinner with during his delegation in the previous year and whom he questioned what the Sultan's intentions were. His report on the 25th of Sept 1546. The date is not indicated. *ibid.*, Konv. 1. (1546. VI–XII.) f. 96.

[30] "In mecum multa contulit de exploratore bono et fideli, quem Bude se non magno negotio ordinare posse dicit. Nomen autem hominis illius esse dixit Stephanum Thethemy et mihi optime notum, hunc etiam bassa Budensis et secretarium in scribendis Latinis litteris habet, prefecit deinde civitati et Hungaris, qui adhuc illic sunt, judicem, quesivi autem, quantum mercedis postularet, non amplius illum velle supertendit, suffecturus sit, quam quod suffecturum sit hiis impensis, quas ipse numumque ad eos Thurcos facere, quos ex Constantinopoli venientes debebit hospitio et convivio excipere, ex talibus etiam esset fidum sibi ordineturus, qui ex Constantinopoli et aliis partibus Thurcarum nova semper ad eum referent." (Peregi suggested 100 gold coins.) ÖStA HHStA Hungarica Fasz. 50. 1543 Marz f. 19. (Pozsony)

[31] *Ibid.*, f. 25.

[32] *Ibid.*, f. 21.

[33] *Ibid.*, Fasz. 51. 1543 Apr. f. 21.

into the Turks's hand as a child and whose winning would be not very expensive.)[34]

V. When in 1559 the archdeacon of Bars, a church district which belonged to the archbishopric of Esztergom, called on the Catholic parsons of his district to pay in the cathedraticum, due to the archbishop, the parsons tried to disclaim the request by stating that the decima collectors do not hand over the due one sixteenth part (sedecima) of the decima, and the sancakbey of Esztergom sent along to them the following open letter:

> "Mehmet Beegh sanciacus Strigoniensis etc. vobis universis et singulis plebanis, judicibus possessionatis ecclesias habentibus, licet plebanis conventibus sub sanciaciatu nostro residentibus. Committimus et mandamus vobis firmiter, ut intra sex dierum spacia censum ecclesiarum ad tres annos preteritos statim et sine mora huc Strigonium importare et ad manus hominum illustrissimi domini passae Budensis ad exaccionem talium censuum deputatorum modis omnibus administrare debeatis et teneamini et tandem presentes litteras nostras per omnes possessiones adferre facere modis debeatis et teneamini. Secus facere nulla vocione presummatis sub nostra gravissima indignacione. Presentibus perlectis exhibenti restitutis. Strigonii, decima Mai anno 1559." [35]

> "We, Mehmed sancakbey (sanciacus) of Esztergom to you all, and individually to parsons, judges and landlords of church properties, whose parish is vacant in the territory of my sancak, we strictly order that within six days bring immediately to Esztergom the due census of the last three years and pay it to the hands of the men of the Pasha of Buda. You are obliged and bound to do your utmost to help the collectors, sent to collect this tax. Finally, see to it that my letter would reach all villages. And you dare not act otherwise, because that will entail our heaviest resentment. After having read it, give this letter back to its presenter. Esztergom 10th May 1559."

[34] "Nuntius dixerit esse quendam Christianum, qui puer olim in hostes inciderat, secretarium nunc passae, qui non magna mercede obtulit, se consilia hostium et varias Christianorum proditiones tam ex curia Vestrae Maiestatis, quam aliunde detecturum [*sic!*] visum est, ambobus nobis rem tanti momenti cum domino Ungnod, qui prope esset, communicandum esse." *ibid.*, Turcica Fasz. 5. Konv. 6 (1544) f. 8.

[35] L. Némethy, *op. cit.*, 41–42; published in Latin: Vojtech Bucko, *Reformné hnutie v arcibiskupstve ostrihomskom r. 1564. (Pramenný prísperok k slovenským cirkevným dejinám)* [Reform Movement in the Archbishopric of Esztergom in the Year 1564 (Sources Concerning Slovak Church History)]. Bratislava 1939, 209–210.

As it can be seen in this case, Mehmed Bey of Esztergom issued a letter as a mediator to the parsons of the Bars district, since the expected money was not his due, but that of the Pasha of Buda, and its collection was the duty of the men of the Pasha of Buda. The minutes of a meeting on the state of the church even names the person responsible for the collection. It was Adoryan litteratus who, it is obvious from the context, can be hardly anyone else but "our" Adoryan as it is rightly supposed that this mandatum, too — similarly to that of August 1543 — was composed into precise and strict formulas by him. Thus, he was still in the Pasha's service in 1559, which is not surprising because the special literature earlier could trace his history only until 1557. It is very probable that at the same time we witnessed here one of his last deeds in his capacity as a scribe, since on the 19th of February at the latest not him, but his successor, Agha Hidajet signed one of the letters of Rustem, Pasha of Buda.[36] It can hardly be by chance that this date is suspiciously close to the date (June 1559), when Guzelge Rustem succeeded Tujgun in the office of the Pasha of Buda.[37] In the yearly inventory of the sancak of Buda of 1562 we cannot find Adoryan litteratus or his family,[38] either because the head of the family who assimilated so successfully into the Turkish administration had died in the meantime, or because he left the place. Since we can follow his career only through an eighteen-years period (1541–1559), and in 1546 he lived with his under aged children and unmarried brothers, in 1559 he could not have been very advanced in years, it is possible that he will turn up again in our sources. It is also possible that he continued his career on the Christian side.

The latter depends on whether he was converted to the Muslim religion or he gave not his soul, only lent his pen to the invaders. Most probably he was not converted because — similarly to István Tétényi — he was registered in the Christian mahalle. (If Tétényi could perform the duties of the town magistrate of Buda in addition his post of interpreter he could not have been converted by any means.) We still do not know, however, in 1543 why he got rid of five of his books — a small library at that time — since there was among these, besides the works of Doctors of the Church and decrees of general councils, a volume of Plato. Consequently, his action cannot be explained merely by an attraction to Protestantism.[39]

[36] S. Takáts, Scribes = *Rajzok, op. cit.*, I, 75.

[37] A. Gévay, *op. cit.*, 6–7.

[38] Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *Kanuni devri, op. cit.*, 13–14.

[39] From the fact of the selling of his books we are informed from a note of 1543 in the book by József Erdélyi Dominican, parson of Tolna. László Földváry, *Adalékok a dunamelléki ev. ref. egyházkerület történetéhez* [Contribution to the History of the Danubian Church District of the Reformed Church] I. Budapest 1898, 164; András Kubinyi, Polgári értelmiség és hivatalnokréteg Budán és Pesten [Civil Intelligentsia and Officeholders in Buda and Pest in the Jagielloian Age]: *Levéltári Közlemények* 39, 1969, 227, Note No. 159.

We know, however, of Adoryan litteratus's son-in-law, János Magassy that he was indeed a renegade. The following passage of Miklós Oláh, archbishop of Esztergom obviously refers to him in his letter of the 25th of September 1557 written in Vienna to Tamás Nádasdy, palatine and royal governor: "Misit etiam huc ad Maiestatem Suam quendam *çavuş* passa Budensis, qui antea Christianus fuit, filius illius Magasy, qui fuit olim servitor [?] domini Georgii episcopi Quinqeecclesiensis."[40] The above-mentioned fact would have highly paralyzed Adoryan litteratus's efforts to get back into the Hungarian society, since in 1560 Miklós Oláh dispossessed the noble lady Anna Isó from her possessions in the county of Tolna just because she gave her daughter in marriage to the secretary of the Bey of Koppány[41] (who — as a result of the above — could well have been of Hungarian origin, moreover he was most probably a Hungarian).

All these possible combinations, however, are not hypotheses supported by direct information, but are in the domain of conjecture, and it is time to finish the presentation of Adoryan litteratus's life, who moved from Esztergom to Buda and who made a career for himself there, until we find new information on him.

[40] The Hungarian National Archives. The Archives of the Hungarian Treasury. Archive of the Family. The Nádasdy Missiles. Pack No. 25. Oláh Miklós's letters. It is mistakenly referred by S. Takáts, Scribes = *Rajzok, op. cit.*, I, 28–29; The bishop of Pécs mentioned in the letter could be György Sulyok (1526–1537), or possibly György Szatmáry (1505–1521), later archbishop of Esztergom. (*A pécsi egyházmegye schematizmusa 1981.* [The Schematism of the Diocese of Pécs 1981]. Pécs 1981. 153.). On another "Hungarian" *çavuş* living in the same period: Gábor Barta: *Kié az ország?* [Whose country is this?] Without indicating the name or place 177, (Labirintus).

[41] Ferenc Szakály: Tolna megye negyven esztendeje [Forty Years of County Tolna after the Battle of Mohács (1526–1566)]. *Tanulmányok Tolna megye történetéből* 2 (1969) 43.

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IN MEMORIAM

DR ZSIGMOND TELEGDI
(1909–1994)

Dr. Zsigmond Telegdi, Professor Emeritus of Eötvös Loránd University, Faculty of Humanities, passed away on 5th March this year, at the age of 85. It is not an exaggeration to say that his death means a great loss to two different but, in many respects interconnected branches of philology: General Linguistics and Iranian Studies. Zsigmond Telegdi was an organizer, professor and distinguished scholar in both fields at the Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest for almost 60 years.

He started his studies in Budapest, at the Faculty of Humanities and the National Institute for Rabbinical Studies, and completed them after a two year stay abroad (Boroszló–Wrocław and Paris). After defending his doctoral thesis in 1933 he became the professorial assistant of Prof. Gyula Németh at the Chair of Turkic Studies the same year. Apart from a ten year break (1936–1946) he continously gave lectures at the university, for almost 50 years, until the end of 1993.

Initially he focused his attention on Semitic philology. It happened during his stay abroad that beside Arabic and Turkish he became increasingly interested in Iranian languages as well. He studied under the guidance of C. Brockelmann at Boroszló and attended the lectures of E. Benveniste, M. Cohen, H. Masset, V. Minorsky in Paris, but he always considered Gyula Németh, whom he respected very much both as a scholar and a person, the example he wished to follow. E. Benveniste, a distinguished scholar of the period, advised the young linguist to change the subject of his doctoral dissertation because of its great difficulty. Zsigmond Telegdi's answer to this challenge was not less than a work describing and classifying the Iranian loanwords of the Talmud on the basis of the newly-discovered Middle Iranian linguistic materials (*A talmudi irodalom iráni kölcsönszavainak hangtana*). The French version was published in 1936 and it is still considered to be the best elaboration on the subject.

After laying its foundations, in 1950 Zsigmond Telegdi became the first director of the Institute of Linguistics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. In 1952 he was reinstated at the Eötvös Loránd University: he was appointed to an assistant professorship at the Chair of Turkic Studies.

In the 1950s his radically new approach to language and linguistic history meant a turning point in his scholarly research. Zsigmond Telegdi's works pub-

Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

lished in the 1930s mostly followed the traditional path of historical linguistics. The period when linguistics was identical with the history of languages was essentially over by the late 1920s. Iranian Studies, however, remained preoccupied with traditional topics and scholars were mainly interested in phenomena that could be termed "old", which, of course, led to significant results and increased our knowledge considerably. Zsigmond Telegdi completely broke with the traditional approach and started to deal with New Persian, the language spoken today. What he was searching for was not the "old" preserved in it. His specific research made him study the changes in New Persian vocabulary, the descriptive and historical grammar of the language and also the problems of general linguistics, the solution of which he considered unavoidable. In 1958 he described his opinion on the subject in the following way:

> "In the history of the Persian language I studied the relevant questions, but when I tried to go deeper, I faced general problems I could not possibly avoid... This is why for the past almost 10 years, beside doing my research in Iranistics, I also devoted time to studying general linguistics. I gave a summary of the current trends and some of the latest results in my lectures on the *theory of the word* in the academic year of 1956/57."

In 1958 he was appointed head of the newly established Department of General Linguistics and Phonetics. He held this post until 1973. At this department he arranged for the instruction of Iranian Studies on a regular basis and he made possible the specialization for general and applied linguistics. Beside his numerous works on various subjects of Iranian Studies and general linguistics he wrote a textbook for students that was published under the title *Bevezetés az általános nyelvészetbe* (Introduction to General Linguistics) in 1977. It was the result of many years of ardous work and he considered it important. Even after retiring he continued to give lectures on the history of linguistics. These lectures were unique, and when they stopped, the vacuum could not be filled. Zsigmond Telegdi also took classes in Persian teaching the works of classical authors at a very high level almost until his death.

Unfortunately the official recognition he got was much less than he would have deserved. The Saxon Academy elected him a member for his Humboldt-oeuvre. The real appreciation of his life spent in devoted scholarly work is the generation of linguists working in various fields who learnt from him either directly or indirectly, experienced his inexhaustable knowledge of languages, his sense of analysing, witnessed his modesty and the high standards he set not only for his students, but also for himself.

Finally I would like to refer to his response to the tributes he received at a function celebrating his 80th birthday on 19th December 1989 in the Linguistic Society of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. These few sentences are so characteristic of him and the message they convey has not lost anyhing of its force:

"Dear colleagues, let me express my sincere gratitude and thanks for the words of appreciation I have received. I know they are not to be taken literally. A long life has taught me to see my limitations, deficiencies and shortcomings very clearly. But my long life has also given me an opportunity to witness the great development, deepening, proliferation and diversification of linguistics for half a century, since the 1920s — and I am very grateful for it. I consider it an important task for a future educational reform to secure the proper place for general linguistics in Hungarian university curriculum. The proper place it well deserves; a position corresponding with its achievments and not with the present position it occupies."

Éva Jeremiás

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CRITICA

LOUIS BAZIN, *Les systèmes chronologiques dans le monde turc ancien. (Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica*, vol XXIV.), Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, Editions du CNRS, Paris 1991. 571 p.

Enfin nous avons une réincarnation imprimée du livre de l'éminent turcologue qui a publié le texte dactylographié en 1974: cette deuxième rédaction (achevée en 1988) contient une version révisée de son important travail sur les différents calendriers qui étaient en usage chez les anciens peuples turcs, les Turcs du VIe au VIIIe siècle, les Ouigours manichéens, bouddhistes et chrétiens, le peuple de l'épigraphie du Haut-Iénisséi, les Comans, les anciens Bulgars et les Turcs islamisés. Les systèmes discutés sont les variantes turques du Calendrier des Douze Animaux, le calendrier ouigouro-mongol, le double calendrier des Turcs nestoriens, le comput des Comans, les premières recensions islamiques des calendriers turcs, les calendriers populaires, etc., reflétés en documents d'écritures runiforme, sogdienne, manichéenne, syriaque, brâhmî, etc. Voici quelques remarques sur les termes techniques et sur certains détails:

Turc *yaŋï ay*, mongol *sine sara* 'new moon': voir aussi mandchou *iče biya*; lamoute/ewen *bēg anŋamtan* (47) est une composée possessive, 'la nouveauté de la lune', cf. kirghiz *ay jaŋïsï*.

Pour ce qui est le nom turc de la lune intercalaire (passim, v. dans l'index des notions, 561), cf. encore le moyen mongol *š-ün*, forme ouigoure du chin. du nord *žün* des Yuan, moderne *run*, dans le fragment d'un calendrier mongol du 14ème siècle (*Altorient. Forschungen*, vol. 4, Berlin 1979, 194).

Kirghiz *müčöl* '(âge en termes du) cycle des Douze Animaux' (p. 59): cf. mongol *möče/möči* 'membre; quart', *möčilge(n)* 'cycle (duodécimal, etc.)', kalmouke *möč(n)/müč(n)* et *möčlgn* comparés au mot kirghiz par Ramstedt (KalmWb. 267, 269).

Moyen mongol *hon/oon* 'année (du calendrier)': il semble être impossible de rattacher ce mot au turc *ot* 'herbe'; cf. kitan *po* 'saison', jürči *pon/fon*, mandchou *fon* 'temps; saison'. Le mot kitan pour l'année du calendrier fut *ai* (son équivalent dans le système des 'petits caractères' est déchiffré par Činggeltei et al.; cf. mandchou *aniya*, nanaï *aigan'a* et ewenki *annga*).

Quant au kazak *täülik/täulik* 'durée de 24 heures' (42–43; Sauranbaev, RKazSl., 798a; cf. aussi karakalpak *täŭlik* (Baskakov, RKkpkSl., 988a), tatar de Kazan *täülek* (Ganiev, RTatSl., 616a), tchaghataï *täwlük* (Radl. III, 1127–8 cite Bâbur), il est difficile de comparer ce mot avec le nom-verbe mongol *tegüs* 'parfait(ement)' et 'achever, finir', parce que sa consonne intervocalique est une occlusive qui ne disparaît pas (voir aussi kazak *tüges*)[1].

[1] Je n'ai trouvé que kirg. *töölük* 'de la taille d'un chameau' qui n'a rien en commun avec le mot kazak en question. En outre, la voyelle *ä* du kazak se manifeste devant *u* dans le nom de mois *säuir* 'le quatrième mois, avril' (Isqaqov, *Qazaq tiliniŋ tüsindirme sözdigi*, vol. 8. Al-

Si l'on cite les formes turques du russe *sútki* (kazak *sötke*) et celles de l'arabe *sâ'at* (kazak *saγat*), il faudrait également mentionner les mots turcs empruntés au russe *čas* et le turc *čay* ou *čaγ* 'mesure; temps' (voir, par ex., dans le *Weiwuerguan Yiyu*, vocabulaire sino-ouigour, édité par M. Shôgaito), aussi connu du moyen mongol.

En ce qui concerne les noms des mois dans le calendrier des Mongols médiévaux (dont M. Bazin offre une analyse soigneuse)[2] et les renseignements des calendriers populaires, on peut y ajouter les données de A. P. Dul'zon (*Čulïmsko-tjurkskij jazyk*, in: *Jazyki narodov SSSR*, Moskva 1966, 463) sur les mois des Turcs du Haut- et du Bas-Čulïm. Ces deux listes parallèles montrent le comput des chasseurs et des pêcheurs:

1. H *čïl-zïrtï* 'le chêne de l'année' — B *yïl sïrtï ay* 'le mois du (grand) chêne de l'année'; 2. H *tülgay* 'le mois du renard' — B *qïrlang ay* 'le mois du petit chêne'; 3. H *küčügen ay* 'le mois de l'aigle' — B *küjügän ay* id. 4. H *qarγay* 'le mois du corbeau' — B id.; 5. H *kögay* 'le mois du coucou' — B id.; 6. H *arïq palïq ay* 'le mois du poisson maigre' — B *qïr dïγ ay* 'le mois des petits barrages'; 7. H *izig yürgen ay* 'le mois de l'œuf chaud du poisson' — B *uluγ tïγ ay* 'le mois des grands barrages'; 8. H *quzuq ay* 'le mois de la noix (= 'noix' de cèdre, de pin sibérien)' — B *axwalγay (aq palïq ay)* 'le mois du poisson blanc (= du saumon blanc)'; 9. H *čazïy ay* 'le mois de la chute des feuilles' — B *yariš ay* 'le mois de la lune claire'; 10. H *čalač qaq ay* 'le mois des arbres nus' — B *qïzïr γaq ay* 'le mois des feuilles rouges'; 11. H *čarïm qïš čarïm čay* 'demi-hiver, demi-été' — B *yalac qaq ay* 'le mois des arbres nus' (c = ts); 12. H *kičïγ sooq* 'le petit froid' — B *kijïγ ay suaγï* 'le mois du petit froid' (litt. 'le petit froid du mois', j = dz); 13. H *uluγ sooq* 'le grand froid' — B *uluγ ay suaγï* 'le mois du grand froid' (avec la même structure que dans no. 12).

Certains termes parallèles à ceux de ces listes sont cités par M. Bazin (364–368) des langues sud-sibériennes après le *Versuch* de Radloff, vol. I, col. 7, voir 364. Cf. aussi les listes des noms de mois des Turcs de l'Altaï, de Šor, des Sagaï, des Soyon, des Küärik de Bas-Čulïm, des Baraba, des Qïrγïz = Kazak, des Qara Qïrγïz = Kirghiz, des Comans, etc., Radl., I, col. 6–9. La liste donnée par Dul'zon offre une version différente et plus ample.

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maty 1985, 240), cf. uzbek *sawr* 'Taureau'; dans les mots *däuir* 'période' (Isqaqov, vol. 3, 1978, 89, cf. uzbek *dawr*), *käuap* 'viande rôtie à broche' (Isq., vol. 4, 1979, 531, cf. uzbek *kabob*, tatar de Volga *käbap*), *zäuir*, nom d'un des livres de l'Islam (Isq., vol. 4, 380, cf. uzbek *zohir*, avec l'*h* pharyngal), *käuir* 'ennemi (*žau, dŭšpan*)' (ibid.; cf. uzbek *kofir*), *mäue* 'fruit (*žemis, židek, žüzim; mîua*)' (Isq., vol. 7, 1983, 169; cf. uzbek *mewa*, kirg. *mïyba* et *mömö*), *mäurit* 'moment, temps' (ibid.; cf. uzbek *mawrid*), etc. La plupart de ces mots sont d'origine arabo-persane et on voit ici un changement *a* > *ä* sous l'influence d'un *i* ou d'un autre élément palatal (par ex., le kâf arabe); mais le kazak a aussi *täŋri* 'dieux' (Isq., vol. 9, 1986, 66; tatar de Volga *täŋre*, kirghiz *teŋir*), *säurek/säürük* 'étalon de quatre ans, jeune étalon' (Isq., vol. 8, 240: "žaŋadan üyir ala bastaγan žas ayγïr"; Radloff cite également *sauruq* id. de Budagov) et d'autres mots turcs anciens dont la première syllabe est maintenant la voyelle *ä*. Cf. aussi Á. Berta, *Lautgeschichte der tatarischen Dialekte*. Szeged 1989, 119–124, sur le développement du nouveau phonème *ä*, avec *äyrän* < *ayran, yäš* < *yaš; ešläpä* < russe *šljápa; čäčäk, bär-* 'battre' et *ber-* 'donner' etc.

[2] Cf. aussi dans le *Menggu Yiyu* ou *Zhiyuan Yiyu* déchiffré par Louis Ligeti: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XLIV (1990) 75, n°s 475–487, et mon index alphabétique dans le même volume, e.g., *küküler/kühüler*, 310, et *kelebdür*, 304 et 306, *ügöljïn*, 304, 306 et 332–33, respectivement, Mostaert, *Textes oraux ordos*, 132, note, etc.

B. Bazïlxan offre deux listes des noms de mois kazak et d'autres termes de calendrier dans l'appendix de son *Moŋγolša-qazaqša sözdik*, Ulaanbaatar et Ölgiy 1984, 877–881; *kökek* '(le mois du) coucou' correspond au mois de mars et d'avril respectivement, leur équivalent mongol correspond à juin. Sauranbaev indique treize noms traditionnels pour dix des douze mois (sans mai et novembre); ils représentent une autre version.

Les Tchouvaches ont conservé leurs noms de mois particuliers: *măn kărlăč* 'le grand froid; janvier(–février)', *kěšěn k.* 'le petit froid; février(–mars)' (cf. V. G. Egorov, *Êtimologičeskij slovar' čuvašskogo jazyka*, Čeboksary 1964, 101; il compare *k.* avec khakass *xïrlas*), *puš uyăx* 'le mois libre; mars(–avril)' (Egorov, 170), *aka uyăxĕ* 'le mois d'ense-mencer', *śu u.* 'le moi d'été', *śĕrtme u.* 'le mois du champ en jachère', *ută u.* 'le mois du foin', *śurla u.* 'le mois de la faucille', *avăn u.* 'le mois de battre', *yupa u.* 'le mois du tombeau' (cf. Egorov, 349, *y.* 'pilier tombale'), *čük u.* 'le mois du sacrifice (d'automne); novembre', *raštav u.* 'le mois de Noël (russe *rožděstvo*)' (voir N. P. Petrov, *Russko–Čuvašskij slovar'*. Moskva 1971, et M. I. Skvorcov, *Čăvašla–vïrasla slovar'*. Muskav 1982). La comparaison de ces renseignements mérite une étude spéciale et demande plus d'espace de celle que j'ai ici.

M. Bazin propose nombre de corrections importantes dans l'interprétation des monuments épigraphiques. Par exemple, selon sa traduction de la phrase initiale, l'inscription runiforme de Süüji (< Següji) doit être datée du temps de l'Empire des Kirghiz, c.-à-d., des années après 840 (96–97). Voilà le passage en question: *Uyγur yerintä Yaγlaqar qan ata kel[tim (?)]* traduit par Ramstedt comme suit: « Im lande der Uiguren war ich, Jaglakar-Kan-Ata, ein Ankömmling. » Selon M. Bazin, 1) le héros kirghiz (*Qïrqïz oγlï män* 'moi, fils de Kirghiz') ne pût avoir le nom *Yaγlaqar*, nom du clan impérial des Ouigours, 2) le « Lallwort » *ata* 'papa, père' n'était pas usité comme l'élément de l'anthroponymie ou de la titulature des souverains ouigours, ainsi cet *ata* doit être l'adverbe de *at-* '(re)jeter' ou, et 3) le suffixe *ta* fonctionne ici comme ablatif. Par conséquent il traduit la phrase: « Du pays des Uygur, je suis parvenu à rejeter le Khan Yaglakar. » Quoiqu'ingénieuse elle soit, cette traduction elle-même présente au moins une difficulté grammaticale: l'objet de la phrase est un nom ou titre de personne qui, comme l'objet défini, demanderait le suffixe de l'accusatif (cf., par ex., A. N. Kononov, *Grammatika jazyka tjurkskich runičeskich pamjatnikov VII–IX. vv.*, L. 1980, 152–153).

Le problème a été déjà signalé par S. E. Malov dans sa chréstomathie *Pamjatniki drevne-tjurkskoj pis'mennosti* (Moskva – Leningrad 1951, 77) où il donne trois traductions parallèles: « Ja, Jaglakar-chan-ata, prišel iz ujgurskoj zemli » (1) ou « ... iz ujgurskoj zemli, nazyvaemoj Jaglakar-khan » (2) ou « ... iz ujgurskoj zemli ot Jaglakar-chana » (3) il donne aussi la version russe de la traduction de Ramstedt, mais sans le nom ou titre du khan ouigour: « ja prišelec v zemle ujgurskoj » (4) 1. Il revêtit le texte et son interprétation d'un commentaire sur quelques problèmes du texte (avec quatre variantes russes pour la phrase initiale) et surtout de la critique sévère de la traduction de A. N. Bernštam dans son livre *Enisejskaja pis'mennost' tjurkov, teksty i perevody* (M. – L. 1952, no. 47, 84–90). Malov cite quelques exemples où le suffixe *da* ou *qa* est écrit séparément, après les deux-points, et il pense qu'il n'est pas impossible qu'il s'agisse ici du suffixe du locatif-ablatif. On pourrait également lire *U.: yerintä: Yaγlaqar: qan: ta: käl[tim]* « Je suis venu à la contrée des Ouigours, chez le khan Y ». En ce cas le héros de l'inscription serait réellement un *Ankömmling* kirghiz, mais sans aucun *ata* 'papa' ou *ata* 'rejétant'. Bien entendu, le problème reste non résolu. (En outre M. Talât Tekin a trouvé notre *Lallwort* à la fin de la ligne 4 de l'inscription de l'Onggingol [= rivière de l'Onggi, *Onggi-yin γool*][3], où,

[3] Bien sûr, la toponymie mongole des sites de ces inscriptions ne se range pas parmi les questions les plus importantes, néanmoins, pour le mongolisant, il n'est pas facile de se

à son avis, Išbara Tarqan parle de son père: *[El] ätmis atam [...]*, mais le passage en question est très fragmentaire, presque illisible).[4]

Quant au nom de l'année du dragon (126–127, 153), voir aussi en ouigour runiforme *ulu yïl* (*y*^{a}*yl*^{a}*d*^{ī}*m:uluyïlqa:)* dans l'inscription de Terkh/Terki (ouest, ligne 2), S. Klyashtorny: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXXVI (1982), 341 et facsimile.

Dans l'analyse minutieuse des données tirées des inscriptions runiformes des Turcs orientaux (chapitre III, paragraphes 41–89, 152–208) on trouve nombre de précisions concernant les passages portant sur la technique chronologique, la data et l'essence de l'événement qui y est raconté.

Suivant l'interprétation du titre Köl Bilgä Xān que donne Kâšγarî (cf. encore Dankoff et Kelly, *Compendium*), M. Bazin lit (137), avec raison (malgré Clauson, ED), *Köl tegin* avec *ö* longue, confirmé par le Turkmène et le Yakoute) au lieu de la leçon traditionnelle Kül, et son argumentation contient le titre mongol du Dalai Lama. On peut y ajouter *dalay-in qan* du texte du sceau de Güyük, 1246 (cf. Pelliot, Les Mongols et la papauté, etc.).

C'est à l'aide de l'analyse paléographique et chronologique que l'inscription de l'Onggi est définie ici comme le texte qui est probablement le plus ancien parmi les épitaphes datés (paragraphes 41–52). L'argument paléographique semble être ici moins important, car la période entre 719 — qui est, selon M. Bazin, la date la plus probable de la mort du héros de l'épitaphe de l'Onggi, et la date de la mort de Köl-tegin n'embrasse que 12 ans, elle semble trop courte pour expliquer les différences paléographiques; de plus, certains éléments « archaïques » (ou « archaïsants »?), comme par ex. le signe pour *k°* en forme de B latin, réapparaissent dans les inscriptions de Šine Usu et de Terkh. (Voir encore Dmitrij D. Vasil'ev, *Grafičeskij fond pamjatnikov tjurkskoj runičeskoj pis'mennosti aziatskogo areala*. Moskva 1983, 119.) Vraisemblablement il s'agit aussi de différences territoriales, de plusieurs « écoles » et styles qui existaient parallèlement.[5]

Aussi courtes et problématiques comme les monuments de Talas (199–208, paragraphes 81–89), les inscriptions de Khoit Tamir, notes hâtives et négligentes des envoyés ou voyageurs et probablement celles des militaires, ne sont guère faciles à déchiffrer (chapitre IV, paragraphes 3–11, 209–21). Selon M. Bazin, elles appartiennent à la période entre 735 et 760/763. La célèbre ville de Bešbalïq était le lieu de destination de plusieurs envoyés, par ex. d'In(i) Öz Inänčü. Son nom, In'öz I. est restitué par M. Bazin sur le modèle de *b'ödkä* < *bu ödkä*. Il a raison de voir ici le nom de ville au cas absolu, mais sa leçon *pe[y]* comme une forme ouigoure du chinois *bei* 'nord' (de *Beiting*) est indéfendable, car ce temps-là la consonne finale du chinois du nord n'avait pas disparue; un texte ouigoure tardif a encore *pig* or *big*, c.-à-d. *peg* ou *beg*. La même remarque

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reconcilier avec les anciennes ou nouvelles distorsions des noms mongols comme Ikhe-Khušotu au lieu de *Ikh Khöšööt/Yeke Kösiyetü*, Ikhe-Askhete au lieu de *Ikh Asgat/Yeke Asqatu*, Khoytu-Tamïr au lieu de *Khoit Tamir/Qoyitu Tamir*, Terkhin-Tariyat au lieu de *Terkh/Terki* ou *Tariat/Tariyatu* etc.

[4] Pour *ata* 'père' en ouigour cf. Klaus Röhrborn, *Uigurisches Wörterbuch*, Lieferung 4, Wiesbaden 1988, 254–255, aussi Suv 608_{10-12}: *ol üč tegitlär xua čäčäk*$_{11}$ *tüš yemiš idigäli atalari ilig bägkä*$_{12}$ *ötünüp ayïtïp qaltïlar* 'les trois princes demandaient humblement à leur père *(ata)*, le seigneur souverain, (la permission) de cueillir des fleurs et des fruits et (après l'avoir reçu, ils) restaient (dans la forêt)".

[5] D'ailleurs la traduction anglaise de l'expression turc ... *eliŋä qïlïntïm* 'I ... grew up for (i.e. as a subject of) the realm of ...' = 'je ... suis devenu adulte sous le règne de' donnée par Clauson est en effet moins précise que l'interprétation de M. Bazin: 'je suis venu au monde sous ...', mais le sens ne diffère que légèrement de celui proposé par M. Bazin.

porte sur le prétendu équivalent ouigour **pe* du chinois *bai* 'blanc' au lieu de *paγ*; l'ouigour **gä-sï* (avec dat.-loc. *qa*?) pour le chinois *Hexi* (< *γa-si* > *Qašin* dans l'Histoire secrète des Mongols) est non moins difficile. Et la Rivière Blanche, Baishui, dont la source est « noire » (Wunichuan, Rivière de la Boue Noire) dans la province de Shaanxi (voir *Zhongguo gujin diming da cidian*, Minguo 20, 245c; le nom de cette rivière est aussi le nom d'une préfecture), près du 35e parallèle, au nord de Xi'an, semble être trop méridionale pour être le lieu de séjour d'été d'un envoyé ouigour (si non en route entre l'Ötükän et la capitale des Tang) (Chang'an = Xi'an), et le nom *TBČΓ* (Malov: *Tabčaγ* ou *Tabïčaγ*?) semble être trop aberrante pour *Tabγač*, la Chine. La forme *bartïγ* après le datif-locatif *qa* interprété comme 'tu es parti pour' se montre un peu étrange. Le verbe *yayla-* 'estiver' demande usuellement le locatif, ainsi que *Qara bašïγ*, l'accusatif défini est assez bizarre.

A l'aide de l'étude de Pierre Houang (*De calendario sinico et europaeo*, Zi-ka-wei 1910), M. Bazin a établi que dans le calendrier chinois dont le système se manifeste dans certains monuments de l'ancien ouigour, l'ordre des Cinq Eléments avec les Douze Animaux du cycle sexagésimal était différent de celui qui était en usage plus tard chez les Tibétains et Mongols et qui était communément connu (238–40, cf. les ordres différentes de ces Eléments dans le *Wuxing bu zalu* du *Gujin tushu jicheng*, fasc. 8, f. 59rc, 59vb). Ainsi il a pu corriger la datation et établir la date exacte de plusieurs monuments du Xe siècle, par exemple les inscriptions sur pieu éditées par F. W. K. Müller (251–273).

Dans la traduction des colophons des épitaphes runiformes l'auteur souligne la prétendue origine chinoise du mot *biti-* en le traduisant 'écrire (au pinceau ...)', toutefois cf. L. Ligeti: *Mongolian Studies*. Budapest 1970, 298–299, note 60: même si nous admettions que le mot turc représenterait un emprunt assez ancien à l'ancien chinois, il serait difficile d'expliquer la morphologie aberrante. En général, un mot chinois emprunté comme un verbe doit recevoir le suffixe *la* (cf., peut-être, *tïngla-*), de plus, le mot et le caractère chinois pour désigner le pinceau à écrire (> ouigour *biir* > mongol; cf. mandchou *fi* < chin.) qui devait être assez rare chez les Turcs anciens signifiaient originairement une plume de bambou ou de bois.

L'expression *ööz qonuq(i)* 'Hôte Intime', métaphore pour l'âme (chapitre IV, 63–64, 280–81), semble signifier 'le logement de l'âme' (comme l'a interprété Rachmati) plutôt qu'un Hôte Intime. La même expression est attestée dans un quatrain cité par Kâšγarî: *bardï közüm yaruqï / aldï özüm qonuqï / qanda ärinč qanïqï / amdï udïïn odγurur* (j'ai omis les signes des voyelles longues), selon MM. Dankoff et Kelly (I, 95) « The delight of my eyes has gone, he took away my spirit (when he departed). Where can he be now? He wakens me from sleep. » (Cf. encore Brockelmann, Besim Atalay, DTS.) En dépit de cette interprétation qui suit la traduction arabe, le parfait parallélisme des vers a et b, ainsi que la manque du suffixe de l'accusatif à la fin du mot *qonuqï* évoquent la possibilité d'une autre traduction de ces vers comme suit: « La lumière de mes yeux est partie, (celui qui est) la demeure de mon âme (= où mon âme séjourne = mon bien-aimé) l'a emporté. »

Il est difficile d'accepter que l'expression ouigoure *kunči* (en fait *qu-nči*, à la rigueur *quači*, où *q* peut rendre le moyen chinois *γ* ou *χ*) soit une forme métathétique de **čunki* < chin. *zhongqi* 'statio principalis' (288, 366; *zhong* = central, *qi* = vapeur, saison).

Un chapitre entier (XI, 498–525) est consacré aux vestiges d'un calendrier des Pléiades qui forme une partie essentielle des travaux de M. Bazin sur l'histoire de la chronologie turque.

Il a déchiffré ici l'inscription runiforme d'une fusaïole de l'Ile d'Ol'khon où il voit une séquence de quatre termes importants: *ärlig* (qui doit être une ancienne forme dialectale de *ärklig*) 'Vénus matinale', *arqar ay* 'la lune de la brebis sauvage', *bičin* 'Coupure', lever acro-

nymique des Pléiades (dérivé du verbe *bič-/bič-* 'couper', 505, différent de *bičin* 'singe'[6]), *qiš* 'hiver' et *ülgär* (< *ülkär*) 'les Pléiades'.

A titre de parallèle pour *arqar ay* (leçon de H. N. Orkun pour les caractères les plus clairs du texte), M. Bazin cite le kirghiz *qulja ay* 'la lune du bélier sauvage'[7] correspondant aux mois de juin et de juillet; pour ce qui est à *ülkär*[8], il le dérive du verbe *ül-* 'divider', aoriste avec l'intensif *-k-* (509), ainsi les deux termes, *b.* et *ü.*, étant synonymes: 'coupure' et 'ce qui divise', parallèle à l'arabe *qâsim* et sanskrit *kṛttikâ* (le noyau de ces idées fut publié par l'auteur dans les *Acta Orient. Hung.* X (1960) 295–97).

Malgré quelques incertitudes de la leçon de plusieurs caractères de cette inscription très laconique, M. Bazin a réussi à donner une interprétation plausible du texte et à construire un édifice imposant d'hypothèses concernant ce calendrier ancien et l'étymologie de ses termes astronomiques.

La bibliographie (13–32) est arrangée en groupes thématiques; les titres sont marqués par des lettres, par ex., BK = les Neuf notes de Paul Pelliot, où B = calendriers et chronologie, K = onzième dans le groupe; OB = l'édition du Codex Cumanicus par Kaare Grønbech, où O = manuscrits autres qu'ouigours ou islamiques, B = deuxième dans le groupe, etc. La bibliographie de la nouvelle rédaction ne montre que peu de titres nouveaux. On ajouterait, par ex., l'édition du Dîwân de Maḥmûd al-Kâšγarî par Robert Dankoff et James Kelly (*Compendium of the Turkish Dialects*, Harvard University, 1982–1985), le dictionnaire du turc avant le 13ème siècle (1969) par Sir Gerard Clauson (qui cite, en outre, le mot *čer* 'temps' de MK), le dictionnaire étymologique d'Ervan V. Sevortjan (le volume avec les mots à voyelle initiale a paru en 1974, le volume des mots à *b-* date de 1978), le manuel de l'astrologie mongole édité en 1969 par Antoine Mostaert, ses notes sur quelques passages de l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols* dans le *HJAS*, l'index et la traduction de ce monument édités par Igor de Rachewiltz, les récents travaux sur l'inscription ouigoure runiforme de Terkh (l'article de Sergei Kljaštornyj et celui de Talât Tekin dans les *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXXVI (1982) 335–366, et XXXVII (1983) 43–86, respectivement) et sur l'inscription de Tes (Täz; S. G. Klyashtorny, The Tes Inscription of the Uighur Bögü Qaγan: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXXIX (1985) 137–156), sur l'inscription arabo–bulgare de 1307 (par A. Róna-Tas: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXX (1976) 153–186), les inscriptions des Bulgars de Volga (par A. Khalikov et J. Muhametšinov: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXXI (1977) 107–125; cf. encore F. S. Chakimzjanov, *Êpigrafičeskie pamjatniki volžskoj Bulgarii i ich jazyk*, Moskva 1987), les inscriptions des Turcs chrétiens en écriture syriaque et ouigoure, publiées récemment dans le *Kaogu (Archaeologia sinica*, Beijing), les *TMEN* par Gerhard Doerfer, etc.

Bien sûr, ce livre plein de faits et abondant en idées servira longtemps au monde savant, à ceux qui étudient l'histoire linguistique et culturelle des pays turcs, de la Haute Asie et de la Sibérie.

G. Kara

[6] Voir aussi Han Woo Choi, On the Origin of Old Turkic *bičin/bečin*: *CAJ* 33 (1989) 218–227; il croit que ce mot remonte à un composé hypothétique de deux mots chinois, mais via iranien, cf. persan *bûzîna* (et grec *pithēn*) 'singe', Doerfer, *TMEN* II, 383, aussi citant Ramstedt et Ščerbak; M. Choi ne mentionne pas l'étymologie proposée par M. Bazin pour l'autre *bičin*.)

[7] Quant au mot *qulja*, sa relation avec *quča* (502) est improbable; ce mot, tout comme *oona* (501), vient du mongol, cf. mong. *uγulja* et *γulja*, khalkha *ugalj*, kalmouk/oirat *uγlz/gulz*, le bélier du mouton sauvage, Ovis ammon (cf. Räsänen, VEWT citant Poppe). Les termes des mois du 'Faux Chevreuil' et du 'Vrai Chevreuil' du kirghiz sont parallèles aux mois de la 'Fausse Huppe' et de la 'Vrai Huppe' du moyen mongol (*Menggu Yiyu*, s.v. *ügöljin*).

[8] Moyen mong. *ülger* dans *le Menggu Yiyu*.

The Cambridge History of Central Asia. Ed.: DENIS SINOR. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1990.

Early Inner Asian history has been a neglected stepson of western history writing. Huge series of reference books has been published on the history of the different spheres of European civilisation, the ancient Middle East, Iran or Eastern Asia but scholars with their focus on early Inner Asian history have produced articles or monographs devoted only to some aspects of this field. The explanation is quite simple. It is a great and sometime hazardous venture to summarize the history of this part of the world, Professor Sinor calls Central Eurasia, where some of the crucial problems have not been solved yet and scholarly debate is still going on. From time to time scholarly work is hindered by the small amount of sources available and sometimes even these provide us only with vague information often difficult to be interpreted. This is why scholars and students of Inner Asian have long been looking forward to having a good reference book they could consult and rely on. Cambridge University Press decided to publish a series of volumes dedicated to the history of Inner Asia long time ago in its Cambridge History series but for reasons unknown this plan was later abandoned and only the first volume came out and even that was destined to wait a lot after it had been ready for print. This long interval might be the reason why this very useful volume is unfortunately not quite up-to-date at some places that can be best seen in the bibliography part where for example in the list of books attached to the paper on Tibet the latest entry is from 1973. The volume starts with a thought-provoking introduction by Professor Sinor, the editor, in which he sets the frames for the papers to come, by showing a new way to define the phenomenon called Inner Asia. Instead of the most common but rather arbitrary geographical definition Professor Sinor provides us with a culture-oriented approach. According to him that part of the geographical entity known as Eurasia should be called Inner Asia where pastoral nomad societies live surrounded by their sedentary neighbours, the sedentary civilizations of Europe, the Middle East, India, South-east Asia and East Asia. He shows us how the boundaries of this area changed from time to time. How, in the course of centuries, the westernmost frontiers of Inner Asia shifted to the west under the Huns including the Roman province Pannonia and how the Greek territories in Asia Minor became Inner Asian while being occupied by the Saljuks. Through the examples of cultural interactions between nomadic and sedentary peoples he explains the unavoidable process resulting in the shrinking of Inner Asian territories by our times. Unfortunately the papers to come could not keep this definition in view. It seems as if the authors and sometimes even the editor himself could not support this culture-oriented approach. They themselves felt the need of some more definite criteria for defining Inner Asia and they gave preference to the old geographical ones. Therefore it is quite understandable that the chapter on the geographical settings deals with areas looked upon as Inner Asian only on the basis of traditional geographical criteria not treating Asia Minor and the Carpat Basin, etc. that according to this previous definition at certain times could also have belonged to the cultural entity Inner Asia. Moreover a full chapter is devoted to Tibet that excluding the old geographical explanation, solely on the basis of Professor Sinors cultural definition should not be regarded as Inner Asian. As for the quality of contributions, the case is similar to other huge scholarly works written by several authors, where we have to accept its being somewhat uneven. Unfortunately some of the authors tend to get lost in minor details, considerably irrelevant to the original purpose of this very volume, namely providing the reader with a good summary of early Inner Asian history. This is the case with Ying-shih Yü's not at all objective article on the Hsiung-nu, treating the subject too one-sidedly from the Chinese point of view, and the paper on Tibet by Helmut Hoffman dwelling too long on the details of Tibetan dynastic

history. The most remarkable parts of the book are the excellent contributions by Herbert Franke on the Kitans and Jurchens, Peter B. Golden on the peoples of the Russian forest belt and the southern Russian steppes; on the Karakhanids and early Islam; and by Professor Sinor himself who disregarding his sometimes dubious statements gave a reliable and elaborate outline of the history of the Türk empires. It is most unfortunate that in his paper on the Uighurs Colin Mackerras stops relating the events of Uighur history with the dissolution of the Uighur qaganate in 840 and not a word is mentioned about the later Uighur political entities, the Uighur statelets of the Tarim basin and the Kan-su Uighurs, though their cultural influence bore great importance in Inner Asia. This valuable book could have possibly made more useful by including more maps. It would have been much adviseable to attach a detailed map to each article showing the relevant geographical and historical factors. It might also have contributed to the efficiency of this manual had the Editor found it useful to add a separate chapter supplying good and abundant illustrations, drawings and photographs of the archeological findings so many references are made to, mainly in A. P. Okladnikov's paper on Inner Asian prehistory and A. I. Melyukova's article on the Scythians and Sarmatians. In spite of being the first one, this book is a most trustworthy and indispensable reference work for everyone interested in Inner Asian history.

Benedek Péri

ANDO, SHIRO: *Timuridische Emire nach dem Mu'izz al-ansāb. Untersuchungen zur Stammesaristokratie Zentralasiens im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert.* Klaus Schwarz Verlag, Berlin 1992; 337 pp.

The Mu'izz al-ansāb, one of our most important historical sources mainly for the ethnical composition of the *ulus* of Chaghatay, has long been waiting for an elaborate scholarly study it truly deserves. Though a relatively longer paper by Sholeh A. Quinn (*Central Asiatic Journal* 33 (1989) 229–53) dedicated to one aspect of this subject namely the relationship of the Mu'izz al-ansāb with an other important but somewhat earlier geneological work by the famous historian Rashīd ad-Dīn, the *Shu'ab-i Panjgānah*, showed that there are scholars interested in this field but nevertheless we had to wait for a full philological and historical analysis until 1992. The most striking feature that the reader notices at the first reading of Shiro Ando's work is his utmost scholarly care when collecting and handling his material which makes him a well-fitting member of Professor Hans Robert Roemer's school where Ando graduated from. The book consists of three parts each of them divided into small chapters. *Teil A* (*Einleitung*, 1–51) starts with an unfortunately too short and rough sketch of the relevant historical events (*Historischer Überblick*, 1–6) followed by an exhaustive list enumerating all the important sources with a short summary of their contents (*Quellenübersicht*, 6–13). The last chapter of *Teil A*, a detailed study of the Mu'izz itself (*Das Mu'izz al-ansāb*, 13–51) is a most remarkable work, the *sine qua non* of all studies on a hitherto unpublished historical source available only in the form of manuscripts. This chapter contains a short outline of the history and state of research (*Stand der Forschung*, 13–14), a list of all the manuscripts known to the author together with a comparative analysis of their contents (*Die Handschriften*, 14–20). It also tries to solve the problem of authorship, to define the exact date of composition (*Zur Entstehung*, 20–45) tracing back the history of the manuscripts and their connections (*Zur Textüberlieferung*, 45–47) and to evaluate the Mu'izz as a historical source (*Zum Quellenwert*, 47–51). *Teil B* (*Prosopographische Betrachtung der timuridischen Emire*, 51–218) is the core of Ando's work. In this part the author thoroughly analyses the historical data found in the Mu'izz relevant to the field of his research concentrated on reconstructing the role of high officials called *amīrs* in the Timurid state. He puts special stress on the

ethnic background of these officials arranging his material according to tribes in chronological order. In *Teil C* (*Regierungsorganisation und Militärwesen Timurs und seiner Nachfolger*, 218–271) Ando presents the results of his research. He describes the structure of the Timurid state and supreme command by defining the smaller units of this tribal administrative system (e.g. *īl, ulūs, tūmān, ūmāq, qabīla*) and explaining the role of the various classes of high officials all regarded as *amårs* (e.g. *tuwāčī, amīr-i dīwān, ḥākim, dārùga, muhrdār*, etc.). The tribal division of these civil servants and military officers is analyzed diachronically by the author who intends to show us the changes in the balance of power between the tribal components within the Timurid realm from the reign of Timur down to the reign of Ëusayn Bayqarā. *Teil D* (*Schlussbetrachtung*, 271–278) is dedicated to a short summary of the results Ando has reached so far while conducting researches in the analysis of the Mu'izz al-ansāb. The book is finished with an *Appendix* containing geneological diagrams for each tribe, respectively, and a bibliography giving abundant material for further reading.

Benedek Péri

GISABURO N[ORIKAWA] KIYOSE, *Japanese Linguistics and Altaic Linguistics*. Tokyo: Meiji shoin. 1991. v, 385 pp. ¥ 8,400.

The title of this slovenly printed, bewilderingly edited, and outrageously expensive book is so deceptive and misleading (as are also most of the book's contents) that at the outset a reviewer's principal concern must be to provide a *caveat emptor!* warning to any and all potential purchasers of this book, lest they be seduced by the volume's egregiously inaccurate title into spending a great deal of money for nothing.

The normal expectation based upon a reading of the book's two titles, either that in English cited immediately *supra*, or its Japanese calque *Nihongogaku to Arutaigogaku*, would surely be that in these pages Kiyose proposes to concern himself with the relationship, or at least with the intersection, between the linguistic study of Japanese and the linguistic study of the Altaic languages, typically (if not ideally) with the goal of throwing light upon the history, or upon the structure, of Japanese on the one hand and upon Altaic on the other — or perhaps upon all of these issues. But Kiyose's book directly and immediately betrays this normal expectation. Its lofty title, if it means anything at all, turns out, upon inspection of the book's contents, to signify nothing more than "let me tell you some things that I, the author, claim to know about Japanese, and some other totally unrelated things that I claim to know about Altaic". And totally absent is even the merest hint of any intersection between or connection among these two enormous fields. Furthermore, the contents of the volume are given another almost surrealistic slant because the author makes it clear throughout that he does "not believe" (*sic!*) that there are or ever were any Altaic languages in the usual and accepted meaning of the term. In other words, one of the two things that he claims to be writing about in these pages does not, in his opinion, even exist.

With his focus (to use the term lightly) thus directed toward what are for him two totally disparate and unrelated targets (Japanese and Altaic), the second of which he further assures us over and over again is wholly non-existent, Kiyose and his book soon leave the world of linguistics and history — not to mention that of historical linguistics — to embark upon a science-fiction voyage off and out into nowhere in the hot pursuit of nothing. And the reader who, misled by Kiyose's title, turns to this book in the hope of being able to become acquainted with recent achievements — or at least opinions — by Japanese scholarship on the important question of whether or not Japanese "is an Altaic language" will be entirely disappointed.

Nor does the deceptive advertising implicit in the book's title stop with the title-pages. It extends to the book's contents, which are not, as the reader might be entitled to expect, a connected or integral study or treatise upon the

topics mentioned, but merely a mechanical, unaltered, unrevised and uncorrected reprint of earlier, unconnected publications by Kiyose, all available elsewhere. All that the book under review actually contains are reprints of twenty articles by Kiyose originally published between 1971 and 1989, some in Japanese, some in English; those originally published in Japanese appear here in that language but with the addition of English summaries. Presumably the aim of this bilingual presentation was to make the content of Kiyose's previously published *oeuvre* accessible to readers on both sides of the Pacific; but as so often with this sort of "English summary" technique (with which we are all already only too familiar from many Japanese academic journals), it really does not provide the reader unable to cope with the Japanese originals with anything that a more-often-than-not misleading road-map to unknown regions.

Kiyose divides this reprinting of his own previous publications into four parts, each further provided with a title that is quite as mischievously misleading as is the title of the volume as a whole.

Kiyose's § 1, 3–113, reprints five of his earlier articles on the (fragmentary) description of Japanese morphology and syntax. The title of this section, "Japanese Grammar and Historical Grammar" is totally misleading and gives not a hint of what these reprinted papers concern themselves with. Instead of the promised "grammar" and "historical grammar", all that these papers do is to argue over and over again against the paper-tiger proposition that "Japanese is an agglutinative language". This, Kiyose alleges, is something that is "commonly said" (e.g., 54); but we are never told by whom or where it is commonly said, nor why anyone would go to this enormous amount of trouble in order to refute it.

No one who has participated in the progress and development of Western linguistic science since the 1930s still takes seriously the descriptive or analytic powers of the old, worn-out "isolating; agglutinative; inflecting; polysynthetic" categories of the last century. These entirely protean terms, along with the misleading implications of linguistic universality that they embody, mostly go back to Finck (*Die Klassifikation der Sprachen*, Marburg, 1901; *Die Haupttypen des Sprachbaus*, Leipzig, 1910) and Steinthal (*Charakteristik der hauptsächlichsten Typen des Sprachbaues*, Berlin, ^{2}1893), i.e., to a world of linguistic science in which virtually everything in all languages appeared to be quite simple and well-ordered. But this was mostly because so little was then known of the enormous variety and diversity in morphological structures and systems that the next several decades of investigation would encounter: "[a] variety ... so great that no simple scheme will classify languages as to their morphology. ... [A]ny one language may be in some respects more analytic, but in other respects more synthetic, than some other language. Another scheme ... divided languages into four morphologic types, *isolating, agglutinative, polysynthetic*, and *inflecting*. ... These distinctions are not co-ordinate, and the last three classes were never clearly defined" (Bloomfield, *Language*, New York 1933, 207–208). Ever since Bloomfield at the very latest, no one familiar with the main-stream of Western linguistic science has taken any of this at all seriously.

No one, that is, except Kiyose, who fills many pages in this book with shrill imprecations to the effect that "Japanese is agglutinative" and that "Japanese Verbs Do Not Conjugate", without ever realizing that he is merely beating not only a dead but in fact a totally paper tiger. In one minor detail of this terminological muddle Kiyose is perhaps at least partially correct. Japanese verbs do not, properly speaking, "conjugate", rather they "inflect". The sets of verbal forms that the (partially) indigenous Japanese grammars call *katsuyō* are paradigms. The morphological situation in Japanese *vis-à-vis* these forms was accurately and succinctly summed up fifty years ago in one of the numerous basic treatments relating to his chosen subject of which Kiyose reveals himself to be entirely unaware: "In Japanese, most words are uninflected; among the in-

flected words, the members of a paradigm always differ from each other in exactly the same features of meaning. Thus the paradigm /ageru/ ...: /agéyóo/ ...: /agéréba/ ...: /ageta/ ... etc. illustrates all the difference in meaning which can be expressed by inflection. Japanese, accordingly, has only one category of inflection, though the affixes and the internal change are not the same for all bases" (Bloch and Trager, *Outline of Linguistic Analysis*, Baltimore 1942, 68). These are the plain and simple facts of the language, and no amount of Kiyose's strident dential or denunciation of the paradigms (e.g., *Nihon no dōshi wa katsuyō shinai*, 26) will ever make them go away.

Even leaving aside these unedifying dead- and paper-tiger beatings, if Kiyose's attempts at the morphological and historical analysis of complex Japanese linguistic forms, in particular those of the Japanese verb, to which the rest of his attention is devoted in this part of the book, were informative or original, there might be some value in these pages. But this is not the case. Kiyose plunges head-first into the intricacies of Japanese secondary word-formation with nothing but his "native speaker intuition" to guide him, together, to be sure, with a smattering of the traditional English-based "grammar" of his native language that is still commonly taught in Japanese secondary schools. He shows himself entirely unaware of the existing Japanological literature of America and Europe, in which all these issues of Japanese morphology with which he concerns himself have, over the past half-century in particular, been exhaustively discussed. He also and equally immediately shows that he lacks the training in comparative linguistics (the comparative method of the neo-grammarians) that might otherwise have made it possible for him to live up to the promise inherent in the title of this section of his book and discuss "historical grammar" in the light of the morphological structuring of the Japanese verb. But this he does not manage to do even once anywhere in these more-than-a-hundred pages.

Particularly striking evidence for Kiyose's failure (or better, inability) to address questions of genuine historical-linguistic concern may be seen in his sheer invention of what he dubbs "juncture" or "union" consonants and vowels which he conjures up in order to "explain" certain presumed earlier stages in Japanese morphology. Here we have an apparently self-generated **-r-*, there an **-s-*, here a strange vowel *'Ø'* "which changed the preceding stem's final vowels *-i, -ë, -ö* and *-e* to the zero phoneme" (*loc. cit.*). We are asked to believe that these phonological chimera conveniently appeared and disappeared during the history of the Japanese verb simply in order for Kiyose to be able to "account" for the evidence of the attested forms; but what he neither explains nor accounts for is why *these* particular phonemes: why *r* here and *s* there, rather than the other way around, or for that matter rather than any other of the many consonants available in the Japanese phonological inventory? Kiyose postulates an **r* when he "needs" an *r*, and an **s* when he "needs" an *s*. Even to point out that in his free-wheeling choice of one consonant now, another then, to "explain" the attested forms encountered among the Japanese verb paradigms Kiyose is gloriously demonstrating the pitfalls of the *Petitio principii* fallacy would be to do his argument too much credit. The scientific identification of the kind of historical "juncture" or "union" vowels and consonants postulated by Kiyose would be possible only by bringing comparative evidence from other, related languages into the discussion. This is of course never done, because Kiyose holds that there are no such other languages. And so all these disappearing and appearing "union" consonants and vowels, like all the rest of the pseudo-historicity of this entire section, are nothing more than sheer fantasy on the part of Kiyose. No serious or valid reason is suggested for us to believe any of this entire science-fiction scenario about appearing and disappearing **s* and **r* apart from the fact that Kiyose tells us that it happened. For most historical linguists, that will be not enough.

The title of § 2, "Japanese Phonology and Historical Phonology", 117–230, is once more

entirely misleading. Actually, virtually nothing is discussed in the seven previously published papers that make up this section of the book that might by any stretch of terminological amnesty be dignified with the designation of "phonology", and what little there is in the section that does deal with linguistic history is at best scientifically trivial phonetic speculation concerning a small corpus of mostly uninteresting if slightly earlier Japanese written records.

An enormously involved discussion attempting to "prove" that in the Heian period the ancestor of New Japanese /h/ (with phones [h, ɸ]) was pronounced [p], 162–179, is entirely unconvincing because of its uninformed treatment of the philological materials upon which it is based (e.g., it confuses *siddham* script with *devanagari*, 163, 171). But even if Kiyose had been able to prove his contention (and thus overthrow the generally received opinion to the effect that the phoneme in question was a bilabial fricative as early as the Old Japanese period, with the pronunciation as the stop [p] valid only for pre-Old Japanese), the issue would still be entirely a phonetic, not a phonological matter, and hence almost entirely trivial so far as the history of the language is concerned.

Other parts of this section offer unfair and misleading accounts of the work on Old Japanese phonology by earlier Japanese scholars (200, on Hashimoto Shinkichi), while repeating the most elementary of all errors of the uninformed reader who for the first time approaches the received Old Japanese phonological reconstruction, to the effect that the vowels *i*, *e*, and *o* of that system are "identical with New Japanese and hence present no problem", while the "extra" vowels *ï*, *ë*, and *ö* are the ones that "require study". Nothing could be further from the facts. One need only understand that Old Japanese is, as its name clearly indicates, older than New Japanese to realize that no Old Japanese vowel can possibly have been "identical" with any New Japanese vowel. Kiyose is quick, throughout this section as well as throughout the book as a whole, to castigate the published views of others as "not mak[ing] sense" (163), or as "nonsensical" (201), or as "not mak[ing] too much sense" (204), without in any instance citing specific reasons or concrete evidence in support of his rude allegations. His own statements about the identity of the Old Japanese vowels with those of New Japanese might similarly be categorized, if one wished to descend to his chosen level of discourse: truly, it does not make "too much sense", if it is not downright "nonsensical", to claim on the one hand to be doing "historical phonology" and then to allege on the other that what we hear in the twentieth century is identical with what they heard in the seventh.

In § 3, "Altaic Languages and Japanese", 233–279, one might expect finally to come to the heart of the matter, and to encounter a serious discussion of the *pro*'s and *con*'s of a genetic relationship between Japanese and Altaic. But in the three previously published articles whose unaltered and uncorrected reprintings constitute this section, nothing of the sort happens. Japanese is hardly ever mentioned, nor is Altaic. As a consequence the idea if any underlying this sectionheading is as obscure as everything else in this book.

The first of the three articles reprinted in this section is an intemperate and entirely *ad hominem* polemic dealing not (as promised) with Altaic but with Uralic and Japanese. Its blatant imputations of ignorance and incompetence on the part of everyone but Kiyose preclude its further consideration in these pages, except for two points (248, 235) which will be discussed *infra*. The second reprints a paper on "Tunguz [*sic!*] and other elements in the languages of the [Old Korean] Three Kingdoms" (257–269). First published in 1986, this contribution was extensively criticized and effectively refuted three years later ("Prolegomenon to a History of Korean", *Korean Studies* 13 (1989) 92–112). Kiyose ignores all the points made in the 1989 refutation of his paper, which he reprints intact (except for adding a few more typographical errors to the already generous samples of the same that disfigured his original paper).

The third paper reprinted in this section is entitled "Universal Order of Meaningful Elements in Ural-Altaic, Korean, and Japanese" (270–279). It rejects any possibility of a genetic relationship among any of these languages "because of the scarcity of probable cognates among basic words" (270), an allegation that it neither substantiates nor documents: the reader is expected simply to take it on faith. Kiyose then goes on further to allege that "the order of meaningful elements in Ural-Altaic, Korean, and Japanese is determined by only a single rule in both sentence formation and word formation ..." and that as a result it "has nothing to do with the genetic relationship among them" (279). Unexplained is the question of how there can be an "Ural-Altaic" if there is no "Altaic".

Greenberg and Chomsky come in for their lumps here ("Greenberg relates merely 'how', and never 'why' ...", and Chomsky has a "negative attitude", 273), while Kiyose proposes to solve the entire question of linguistic universals on the one hand and the non-genetic relationship of all these languages on the other with a single orphic if not very positive statement: "Perhaps [*sic!*] the fixation of word order is due to some common rules and, therefore, it may be predicted that these languages will never change word order except under the influence of foreign languages belonging to other languages families" (275). As so often in this book, Kiyose's employment here of English "perhaps" in what are otherwise straightforward, no-holdsbarred and extremely authoritarian *dicta* makes (a kind of) sense only if the bewildered reader realizes that for Kiyose, "perhaps" serves as a calque for the ubiquitous Japanese verbal tentatives (... *de arō*, ... *dewa nakarō*, etc.) with which Japanese writing in Japanese like to embellish their syntax in order to disguise otherwise decisive statements with a protective sugar-coating of the socially more acceptable genial indecision. But English "perhaps" does not work this way. All it does is to lead the reader to conclude that Kiyose, for all his assertive decisiveness, is himself actually not very sure of his own views. But here, and for once, Kiyose is without question right about one thing at least: the superficial parallels in word-order that his handful of examples illustrate (e.g., "modifiers always precede the modified words or clauses", "the subject ... precedes the predicate", etc.) are quite inadequate for any serious historical hypothesis or inquiry. This is because essentially they are little more than secondary lexical artifacts tautologically erected on the basis of the meanings of the descriptive terminology employed (a subject is called a subject because it precedes something; modifiers are so identified because they precede their heads, etc.). Of course, such simplistic and trivial statements cannot be invoked to *prove* genetic relationship, or for that matter, to support any other historical-linguistic postulations. But to go the further step, as Kiyose does, and allege that these superficial, internally circular terminological "similarities" *disprove* genetic relationships is to venture into very deep waters indeed, waters to treacherous that few will wish to follow Kiyose into their depths. Once more, most of Kiyose's difficulties stem directly from his unfamiliarity with the existing linguistic literature.

The final section of this puzzling book is itself very puzzling in its own right. § 4, 283–295, claims to deal with "Aspects of the History of the Altaic Languages". But in fact, none of the six papers here reprinted do anything of the sort.

The first alleges that early New Korean *ŏ* was pronounced like the *e* in English *set*. But this flies directly in the face of the evidence of the Manchu transcriptions of Korean, as well as the received opinion of Manchuists concerning the pronunciation of Manchu *e*. Kiyose has arrived at his conclusion by a circular process of argumentation too convolute to recapitulate here, except to point out that its linchpin is "the pronunciation of written Mongolian /e/", and that the "pronunciation" of a "phoneme in a written language" is, to say the least, an elementary contradiction in terms. The second paper attempts to cross the boundaries that divide phonetics form phonology (this last a terrain in which Kiyose is particularly ill-at-

ease) by studying Manchu *s*. Essentially, it deals with a non-problem concerning the phonemic status of apparently anomalous phonetic segments in loanwords, a question well ventilated in the Americanist literature (and for that matter, with many citations of Japanese data) in the 1950s; but again all this literature, together with its solutions, is unknown to Kiyose. The third and fourth papers recapitulate Kiyose's alleged reconstructions of Jurchen first published in 1977. The fifth provides totally unreadable reproductions of rubbings of a few Kitan and Jurchen fragments copied mechanically from (fairly) recent publications by others, without any significant elucidation of their content or any attempt at reading by Kiyose, whose principal contribution is wavering between the spellings "Jurchen" and "Jourchen", sometimes using both on the same page (e.g., 368, 369, 376). Finally, the section (as well as the book) concludes with a few pages of rather orphic comment by Kiyose on a bibliography of Japanese Mongolistic works for the period 1900–1972. Kiyose laments the fact that other Japanese publish in Japanese, and further suggests that adding page-number references to their footnotes and bibliographies would benefit us all. This last exhortation is the best part of this section, which is by the same token also the best paper reprinted in the entire book, even though what encouraging the Japanese to use page numbers has to do with "Aspects of the History of the Altaic Languages" is not clear.

Once through the book, the reader cannot but help confronting the larger question of Kiyose as an Altaicist, or more precisely, as an anti-Altaicist.

Kiyose never presents an integral account of the details of his scientific position on this issue, nor does he cite any concrete evidence in support of the same. Never once mentioned is the all-important issue of the proper reconstruction of the Altaic liquids (or of "lambdacisms" or "rhotacisms") nor any hint that Kiyose is even aware of the existence of an already substantial and still slowly growing body of literature documenting the existence of *s* and *š* reflexes for Proto-Altaic $*l_2$ in both Old Japanese and Old Korean. Nor is there any discussion, either *pro* or *con*, of the important implications of this evidence for future discourse on the Altaic hypothesis. But even given the fragmentary and frequently chaotic presentation of these unedited, unaltered reprints of his earlier, scattered *opera minora*, it is no very difficult matter to extrapolate at least the gist of what Kiyose's position on these matters is.

For Kiyose, "the term 'Altaic' is used ... as a convenient collective for Turkic, Mongolian, and Tunguz, and 'Ural-Altaic' as a name does not designate a language family" (274). Unanswered is the great question of why, if all these languages are so utterly unrelated to one another, the designation "Altaic" is, as Kiyose alleges, so "convenient"? Quite to the contrary. If his allegations were in any way true or valid, then the designation "Altaic", in his title as well as hundreds of times in his text (e.g., "Jurchen, one of the Altaic languages", 321; in Japanese; "archaic Altaic *u*", 209, and *passim*) would in actual fact be most inconvenient, as well as misleading and more than a little disingenuous.

If there truly are no "Altaic languages" in the received sense of that collocation, i.e. as the later changed forms of an original Altaic linguistic unity, then what in the world is it about all these languages that still makes it "convenient" to lump them together under this designation? If there was no original Altaic linguistic unity, then how can Kiyose write of a vowel as being "mid back, rounded, just like *o* in Archaic Altaic languages" (209)? There are no significantly ancient written records for any of the Altaic languages, at least nothing old enough to merit the designation "Archaic". If there never was a Proto-Altaic, i.e. if one cannot have recourse to the comparative method (which presumes genetic relationship), how then does one acquire information about what constituted "*o* in Archaic Altaic languages"? And what does Kiyose mean when he writes plainly and unequivocally of "Proto-Altaic" (323, in Japanese, *genshi Arutai shogo*)?

Mahāyāna dialectic was fond of isolating and defining subtle and elusive entities by

endlessly repetitious statements of what they were not, rather than by attempting the always more difficult task of describing what they presumably were. But even this well-known rhetorical technique may hardly be invoked to explain why, if what Kiyose alleges about these long-suffering languages is true, he still continues to treat, discuss, and in fragmentary fashion even analyze them as a somehow connected, if not actually related linguistic unit. If, with the Mahāyāna logicians, this is all a case of that famous white horse that is really not a horse at all, then perhaps it is time for the anti-Altaicists to face up to the task of making their terminological usage uniform with their well-known views by ceasing to use the term "Altaic" entirely — and in the process incidentally liberating the term "Altaic" for those others of us who will then be able to employ it in a rational and non-contradictory manner.

At any rate, and even though Kiyose's reasons for continuing to treat the "Altaic" languages as set or unit despite his conviction that there never existed any such set or unit remain obscure, the path by which he has arrived at this particular position is if anything all too obvious. He is of this opinion merely because several people have told him that it is true, beginning with his teachers in Japan, then later in Bloomington. He has believed them, and he cites them by name (p. ii and *passim*). He gives chief credit for having evolved a theory "that the relationships among Ural-Altaic languages do not involve any *Ursprache*" to Denis Sinor (265); and from time to time he drops the names of others in the field who have argued in similar fashion. But Kiyose neither has nor offers any argument of his own against Altaic. His position on this question is entirely a matter of faith, and the little that he has to say on the question in these pages is presented entirely in terms of authority-figures. Altaic must be an illusion and a deception because so many famous people have told him that it is.

Kiyose's simplistic faith in what his teachers have told him, and in what he has read in the anti-Altaicist literature to which they directed him, is touching; but it is also frightening. To listen to lectures and to read papers and books and on the basis of what one learns and discovers in the process to make up one's mind upon an issue is one thing. But as here, and as with Kiyose, to grasp only the "final solution" and thereafter to maintain it stoutly and stridently, solely upon the recitation of a litany of well-known names, is another quite different matter. Most significant, and also most frightening, is Kiyose's total willingness to dismiss the entire field of comparative Altaic scholarship in this cavalier, name-dropping fashion, while being himself not even in the least concerned ever to examine the evidence that has been presented on the other side of the question, or to submit new evidence of his own that might possibly bear on the issue, one way or another. *Magister locutus est, causa finita est.*

Only apparent exceptions are provided by an occasional passage that may hint at evidence, but which upon closer inspection always fails to live up to its promise. E.g., the following: "In spite of the attempts of many scholars to prove a genetic relationship between Korean and Japanese, none has proven successful in the strict sense of comparative linguistics, because of the scarcity of probable cognates among basic words in the two languages, and it is difficult to be convinced of the existence of a Proto-Korean–Japanese stage in the development of the two languages" (p. 270). This allegation is accompanied by a single footnote citing Kanazawa's well-known 1910 book on the comparison of Korean and Japanese, and S. E. Martin's paper in *Language* 42 (1966) 185–251. Martin's paper studied a grand total of 265 putative Korean–Japanese cognate sets. Many of Martin's cognate proposals duplicate Kanazawa's, but not all; at any rate, the body of lexical evidence that Kiyose so cavalierly dismisses at the very least embraces a total of 265 items, and by any stretch of the term also contains a significant sample of "basic words in the two languages". How can Kiyose simply allege that there is a "scarcity of probable cognates" in these sources, without disputing the evidence point-by-point and word-by-word? So also for his allegation about the difficulty "to

be convinced" (not to mention his implicit misunderstanding of Martin's "Proto-Korean–Japanese" postulation, which would not have been a "stage in the development of the two languages" but the earliest stage in the history of both languages when both languages were the same language). If 265 cognate sets represent a "scarcity of probable cognates", how many does Kiyose require? Here as throughout Kiyose merely parrots his teachers and name-drops the "authorities" of the anti-Altaistic literature; and to the well-known categorical denials of "Altaic" already abundantly available in print, he adds nothing except a sense of numbering repetitions.

Within this book there are only two possible exceptions to the above categorization, two passages in which Kiyose ventures to submit evidence of his own that he believes argues against "the Altaic hypothesis", and against any connection of his native tongue with the for-him non-existent Altaic. Neither carries the least power of conviction.

The first is Kiyose's proposal that the preservation of older Chinese lexical forms in the Sino-Japanese loanword vocabulary somehow adds credence to the views that all lexical and morphological parallels between Mongol, Turkic and Tungus are to be explained away as borrowings (p. 248). Further, he alleges that these same Sino-Japanese loans legitimatize the postulation, ably refuted by N. N. Poppe three decades ago, that would see in Mo. *dayir* 'brown' a borrowing from Turkic **dayïz* 'id.', despite the fact that no such form as Turkic **dayïz* attested (Old Tk. **yayïz* is the earliest documented form), that there are no original Turkic forms in **d-* at all, and the "Turkic **dayïz*" necessary to this borrowing hypothesis is known only to the extent that it may be recovered ("reconstructed") on the basis of the assumption of regular sound change as well as on the inter-related assumption of the existence of an earlier Altaic linguistic unity. Kiyose would persist in this feckless circularity on the grounds that some older forms of Chinese words are preserved in Sino-Japanese loans.

Of course, the two questions have absolutely nothing to do with one another, nor does the former in any way follow from the latter. We know from the historical record where the Sino-Japanese loans come from; they come from China. But whether Mongol *dayir* was in actual fact borrowed from Turkic is precisely what we do NOT know: *this* is the hypothesis that the anti-Altaisticts are attempting to substantiate. So Kiyose's contribution in effect adds nothing new to this long-since more than adequately refuted argument, except yet another transparent layer of the *Petitio principii* fallacy.

The second is Kiyose's suggestion that instead of looking toward Altaic, where "the verbal stems denote the second person imperative", students of Japanese linguistic origins should "turn ... their attention from the languages neighboring Japanese to the Uralic languages far to the north", because "in Uralic the verbal stems are mere grammatical abstractions which do not actually occur in speech", and "in this respect Japanese is more like Uralic type [sic!]" (p. 235). In that case, why not solve the entire problem by looking at neither Altaic nor Uralic but instead at Indo-European, where we may cite both bare-stem imperatives, alongside parallel forms with early loss of the final vowel, as Lat. *dīce, dūce, face* but later *dīc, dūc, fac*, and *fer*, cf. Gk. *φερε*, Skt. *bhára* — i.e. something for everyone, Altaic and Uralic included?

If the reader of this review has persisted up to this point, it will surely have become clear that this book has nothing to teach us about Altaic, and nothing reliable to tell us about Japanese — and this indictment is not even to mention the way Kiyose betrays the promise implicit in his title to tell us something about both, and specifically about the relationship of Japanese to Altaic. But it would be unfair to leave the reader with the impression that Kiyose's self-anthology does not achieve anything. There are three points in which it is noteworthy.

The first is the book's blatant display of the utter scorn and disdain in which Kiyose holds

everyone else in the field of Altaic linguistics, and in most cases those in anti-Altaistic linguistics as well, with the exception-that-proves-the-rule always being provided by the solitary figure of Denis Sinor. Otherwise, for Kiyose to cite another colleague is almost always to denigrate him. The admittedly somewhat iconoclastic (if not downright eccentric) hypothesis of Hattori Shirō, the dean of Japanese Altaistic scholars, to the effect that Old Japanese had six, not eight, vowel phonemes is dismissed curtly ("[it] does not make too much phonemic sense", 204). Murayama Shichirō is alternately upbraided for "hold[ing] an unshakable belief in his own interpretation and ha[ving] introduced his reading on occasion" (368), both apparently near-criminal acts in Kiyose's views. (But in the case of other colleagues, Kiyose is highly incensed to discover them sometimes altering their previously published views in the light of further study and investigation [e.g., 253, note 56]; clearly, he himself is in no danger of ever doing such a thing.) Murayama is also scored for insisting on calling what is clearly and obviously a "root" just that and not a "stem" (307). Kiyose admits (*loc. cit.*) that he himself does not understand Murayama's reasons for making this perfectly obvious terminological distinction, but nevertheless he criticizes the senior colleague sharply (as if Murayama were somehow responsible for Kiyose's lack of comprehension?). Of another colleague Kiyose alleges that he is "not to be counted as an Altaicist in a literal sense" (266, note 15). Since apparently Kiyose himself is so to be counted, the conclusion imposes itself that for Kiyose the only "Altaicist in a literal sense" is someone who "believes there never was an Altaic" — new light on *lucus a non lucendo*, to say the least.

He breaks his monotonous routine of personal polemic only to pay cloying tribute to the late Izui Hisanosuke, a distinguished European-trained classicist (Greek and Latin) and historical linguist who for many years held a chair at Kyoto University. Thanks to having heard Izui's lectures at Kyoto years ago Kiyose now feels justified in categorizing himself as having "mastered the methodology of historical linguistics according to the 'Izui–Meillet' School (ii), even though in the same breath he confesses that he found Izui's lectures "extremely difficult to grasp" (*loc. cit.*); that at least must surely be true enough, from the evidence of this book. Alas, neither Izui nor Meillet now may defend himself from Kiyose's allegations; but reading even a few pages in this volume will immediately reveal their fallaciousness.

The second outstanding point in this book is the truly astonishing English in which much of it (i.e. everything that is not in Japanese) is written. Incomplete and ungrammatical — and hence often incomprehensible — sentences abound. The spelling of the English is astonishingly inaccurate. The least courtesy that Kiyose might have shown his readers would have been to persuade someone literate in the language to correct his proofs, sparing us such forms as 'geneitic' (206), 'histosically' (211), 'Japenese' (273), 'representig' (297), 'togeter' (278); 'cencept' (307), and 'vowes' (347), to cite only a few representative specimens gleaned from a tiny portion of the book. Someone with so-called "native-speaker" familiarity with the English language is more often than not hard put to solve these riddles of spelling (not to mention those of grammar, which would take too much space to cite); but what is the otherwise well-informed foreign reader of English to make of such blunders as 'blacelet' (262) for 'bracelet'? The reader unfamiliar with Japanese phonetics and phonology might begin the necessery decoding of Kiyose's text by randomly substituting *r* for *l* and *l* for *r* throughout; the net result will be somewhat closer to the real thing than these pages are as they now stand. At the same time, the reader should be warned that *r* in Kiyose's citations of linguistic forms is frequently a misprint for γ, and sometimes *vice versa*: e.g., Middle Tr. *qoru* 'swan'" (262) for *qoγu* (this word was correct in the 1986 original paper, 20, that Kiyose is reprinting, and hence is yet another example of the slovenly printing and proofing of the present book). Kiyose castigates in the harshest terms possible colleagues who in his

opinion are guilty of approaching the Turkic languages "by relying upon secondary sources that are the results of studies by earlier scholars, being themselves unable directly to confront the primary texts and sources" (250); the implication that Kiyose instead voyages to the Orkhon and personally verifies the forms on the stones everytime he cites an early Turkic word is hardly borne out by this and other blatant examples of his mangling of the simplest linguistic evidence.

The utter chaos of Kiyose's English grammar and orthography is no mere detail: it is the outward sign of a profound inner lack — especially of the lack of the attention to detail necessary for all scientific work. Unable to reproduce correctly the forms and syntax of a language easily available to him at first-hand, Kiyose nevertheless considers it not inconsistent to speak with great authority about niceties of pronunciation and orthography in languages long-since dead, languages that neither he nor anyone else living has ever heard (cf. esp. the papers in his § 4).

Finally, there is a third and last point in which this book truly excells in usefulness. Scholars who do not read Japanese publications frequently entertain unfounded but understandably generous expectations concerning the accomplishments of Japanese colleagues on the subject of the genetic relationship and "origins" of the Japanese language. Knowing of modern Japan's many striking accomplishments in many other branches of science and learning, colleagues outside of Japan often too readily assume that in this area too there must be a large treasure-house stuffed with important discoveries, if only someone could read the language in which the Japanese persist in publishing. Kiyose's book, much of it written in (a kind of) English, unwittingly shows all this to be almost entirely another case of the emperor's new clothes. With only a few and mostly tediously minor exceptions, nothing of any consequence has been accomplished in this field by Japanese scholars in the post-WW II decades — and even most of this Kiyose either ignores or stridently denounces. This particularly poor emperor actually proves to have no clothes at all, new or old: and to that sad but true fact, Kiyose's book bears all too eloquent testimony. Also surely informative for scholars otherwise unfamiliar with Japanese scholarship on these questions will be Kiyose's constant invective, personal animus, and unrestrained polemic that he directs against those who differ with his views, especially when his critics are non-Japanese. Most Japanese scholarship is rather more discrete in its rhetoric, but its underlying assumption of gross ignorance and stupidity on the part of all non-Japanese colleagues are part-and-parcel with Kiyose's intemperate expressions. The only difference is that Kiyose comes out bluntly and says clearly what most other Japanese only think but will not express explicitly. Here too, as with the emperor's new clothes, Kiyose does the rest of the world a small service. But apart from these three points, there is nothing else of value here.

Roy Andrew Miller

M. REZA HAMZEH'EE: *The Yaresan A Sociological, Historical and Religio-Historical Study of a Kurdish Community.* Schwarz, Berlin, 1990 (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen; Bd. 138)

The author of the book endeavours to draw an overall picture of a Kurdish community called Yaresan. The Yaresan are a Shiite sect, who, however, ignore proper Islamic rules: they do not go to mosques, they drink alcohol, and worship Ali, etc. (Encyclopedie de l'Islam 1913). Nevertheless, Hamzeh'ee asserts that in spite of the obvious inclination of the movement to Ali, Yaresan is an independent religion, even if deeply rooted in Iranian and Islamic culture. The aim of the book is to primarily present the community as it lives today (cults, habits, and social organization) i.e. to give a sociographic survey of the Yaresan. Secondly, on the basis of sociological terms and methods, the author attempts to place this movement in a larger Iranian context, paying

attention to the general historical background, as well. The exposition follows a strict logical line, perhaps a bit too logical and positivist. Hamzeh'ee considers the Yaresan teachings to be the product of a social movement. All religious movements in Iran — he says — were disguised reflections of political discontent and resistance. His method lies in discovering the interaction between the historical events and the socio-religious movements that responded to them. One of the major difficulties of the task was the scarcity of books and information regarding the Yaresan. The existing primary literature is only some travelogues, historical references, and the holy texts of the community itself.

According to Hamzeh'ee there are four tendencies that are equally characteristic of almost all Iranian social and religious movements. These are: millenarism, egalitarianism, nativism and dualism. All these are — he claims — the ideological responses to oppression and foreign superiority, under which Iran has very often suffered.

The Yaresan teachings are really a beautiful blend of ideas. The main sources are Zoroastrianism and Islam, but other influences can also be traced (e.g. Manicheism). It is very difficult, however, to say how and when this mixture gained its present-day form, and when the components were added to it. Here we can only enumerate some typical features of the Yaresan teachings: belief in the successive manifestation of Divinity (incarnations), metapsychosis, belief in several ranks of angels, dualistic opposition of Good and Evil (but both are revered as in Zurvanism), etc. After describing the dogmatic features, the author deals at great length with the rituals, institutions and social organisation of the community. According to him, these are the clues to answer the most important question: Why did the Yaresan survive at all? Since the majority of the Iranian socio-religious movements disappeared after a while (e.g. Mazdakism, Qarmatism, Sarbedarans, and Khoramdinis, etc.) the question is not incorrect. Hamzeh'ee considers that, firstly, the closed, isolated structure of the society; secondly the strong solidarity and social cohesion between the members are the two factors that contributed to their survival. To maintain their isolation, and promote solidarity with one another, they have sophisticated initiation rituals (Sar-sepordan), brother-sisterhood contracts (Shart-o Eqrar), meditations (Fekr-o zekr), endogamy, and ceremonial meetings, etc., all these being regulated by strict rules. It is also important that although many of the Yaresan live scattered throughout Kurdistan, forming independent social units (Khandans), these small communities are held together by several different institutions (brother-sisterhood contracts, and marriage, etc.). So there is a horizontal loyalty created among all of them, lacking any strict pyramidal hierarchy.

Hamzeh'ee seems very self-confident in applying the cause and effect principle to social and religious matters. To a certain degree, this supposition should be correct, but often the development of movements and teachings follow an autonomous line, and the connection between political situations and religions are far more sophisticated than they could be rendered to each other on such an almost mathematical logical basis.

The final conclusion the author arrives at is that the Yaresan teachings are very similar to those tendencies that were pursued by other Iranian socio-religious movements in the first centuries of Islam in Iran. All these movements reacted to the historical environment, and the permanent conflict situation was, in fact, one of the very reasons for the survival of some of these movements.

At the end of the book some excerpts are presented from Yaresan religious texts to supplement the subjects discussed in the book. However, the majority of these texts are taken from a book called *Haqq ol-haqāyeq*, which is a twentieth century Persian-language compilation of the Yaresan tradition. Although it is a recognised book, it is too young for us to be quite sure how much of its content is genuine Yaresan teaching, and how much is due to borrowing and the general syncretical tendencies of the region. A fairly substantial bibliog-

raphy as well as an index with a Persian-Arabic transcription make the book even more useful. Care should be taken, however, with the transcription throughout the book, since not only the Persian, but also some well-known Arabic names are transcribed according to the modern Persian pronunciation.

Ferenc Szatmári

IWONA KABZINSKA-STAWARZ, *Games of Mongolian Shepherds*, Library of Polish Ethnography, ed. by A. Wozniak No. 45, Institute of the History of Material Culture, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw 1991, 154 pp.

The material collected by the author during ethnographical expeditions of the Polish Academy of Sciences furnished the basis of this book. Field research was carried out among the Khalkhas, some Oirat groups (in Western Mongolia): the Ölöts, Mingats, Dörböts, Zhahchins and Uriankhais. The author studies the Mongolian games combining the functional–structural method and semiotics putting the whole material in the historical perspective. She considers the symbolic representation of games, their meaning and function in a definite context well ranging over the areas of belief, myths, legends, rites, shepherds' magic as known from the literature and from her own field work.

There are two fundamental parts of games as regards seasonal character: spring games and summer–autumn games. Winter is regarded by the Mongols a period when there are no games. New Year celebrations started the year's games: they served to ensure happiness, multitude and abundance in the coming year and to frighten away the harming spirits who are still asleep this time and are easy to overpower.

The popular knucklebone games had a special magical-protective significance and was a symbol of fetility and continuation of life. Throwing the astragaluses was not only a game but it was practiced for future telling, as well. Board games: chess, checkers, the game of a *buga type* (wolf and sheep) and other are explained by the author as the conflict between good and evil, while "stone" games played with the use of especially marked stones mean recreation and continuation.

The beginning of summer was celebrated by the Mongols with games called *naadam* consisting of the "three games of men": horse racing, wrestling and archery. The *naadam* goes back to times when a strong horse, a skilled archer, a good wrestler was the hero of fight and quarrels in wars between nomads. The ceremony of archery was also a symbolic event of destructing the evil forces. The author mentions strict prohibitions accompanying some games in certain periods, the informants explained these taboos with the fear of the anger of the powers of nature.

A special chapter is devoted to the "Main information on Mongolian games rules (based on field research)" that, at the same time, is a small vocabulary of relevant terminology. Illustrations help to get nearer to the subject. A rich list of bibliography ends this valuable little book that is an excellent overview of Mongolian games and a considerable contribution to an until now neglected field of Mongolian culture. For this the author deserves our grateful thanks.

Alice Sárközi

MARIE-DOMINIQUE EVEN, *Chants de chamanes mongols. Études mongoles et sibériennes*, Cahier 19–20 (1988–1989), Labethno 1992.

Nearly twenty years have passed since the publication of B. Rinčen's *Matériaux pour l'étude du chamanisme mongol.* Vol. III in 1975, when Marie-Dominique Even took the courage to translate them. This long delay is due to the well-known difficulty of the task, and M-D. Even succeeded in carrying out an excellent work. The amount of source-material has been growing as new collations of texts are constantly published. (T. Mansang, *Mongγol böge mörgül.* Öbör Mongγol-un Arad-un Keblel-ün Qoriy-a, 1990, C. Dulam, *Darxad böögijn ulamžlal*, Ulaanbaatar, 1992, S. Qurčabaγatur, *Mongγol-un böge mörgül-ün tayilγ-a*

takilγ-a soyol, Öbör Mongγol-un soyol-un keblel-ün qoriy-a, 1991, etc.), however, their translations are not carried out in the same speed. A valuable exception is the work of Prof. Heissig who published about eighty prayers, invocations, etc. of folk religion belonging to European libraries together with translations, commentaries and analyzes.

This volume of *Études mongoles* gives the translations of 126 texts, some of them rather fragmentary, edited by Rinčen. Most of them were collected by the editor himself between 1927 and 1963, during a period when shamanism — after being suppressed by the official Buddhist religion for centuries — had to face the persecution of the "new regime". A part of the collected material was also destructed by the authorities while in manuscript.

In the present publication M-D. Even regrouped the material according to their geographical origin: present-day Mongolia (Darkhat, Khalkha, Uriyankhai, some text recorded in Ulan Bator, in the Gobi region), Uriyankhai of the Altai, Buriat (Khori, Barga), Inner-Mongolia. The collection of texts was not systematical, most of them were recorded in Northern Mongolia, showing the fact that this is the territory where shamanism was best preserved, however it also indicates that the possibilities of the collectors were restricted.

The texts are mostly invocations to well-known spirits, like Boryuljin, Manjilai, Buqa noyon, the mythical founder of the Exirit-bulagat Buriats, Dayan Derx, the mountain deity, Čaγan Ebügen, an all over popular protector of the living beings of nature, Sülde tengri, an ancestor god, Ataγa tengri, the supreme ruler of heaven, the protector of horses, to the Tabun sakiγulsun, to the shaman ancestors (ongγons), to the soul of the Bear. Some of the texts were recited when people went for hunting: *Γanjuγa-yin daγudaqu*, or in case of disease or disaster:

M-D. Even not only translates the texts, but on the basis of parallel songs and ethnographical material she gives the identification of the invoked spirits, the circumstances the texts were presented.

At the end of the book a detailed analysis of the material is given. The language of the texts is not different from the one used in everyday life unlike to the language of Lamaism. Even-though, it is rich in poetical forms: rythm, initial rhymes characteristic to Mongolian poetry, and parallelism. The author presents the known classifications of shaman texts given by B. Sodnom and S. Badamxatan, then she decides the points of her own analysis: the type of the ritual, the phase of the ritual, the categories of the invoced spirits, the degree of lamaisation.

The book is supplemented with a valuable bibliography and a glossary of the most important terms of shamanism used in the book.

The publication of the volume is a real gain for the students of Mongolian shamanism. It is to be hoped that further similar translations and analyzes of the known material will be published by the author and that her highly appreciated activity will stimulate others to follow her footsteps. We are grateful to the author for having made this rich material accessible and more understandable to us, and for putting further material at disposal helping the systematization of the Mongolian folk religion.

Alice Sárközi

J. W. DE JONG, *The story of Rāma in Tibet. Text and translation of the Tun-Huang manuscripts. = Tibetan and Indo-Tibetan Studies.* Institute for the Culture and History of India and Tibet at the University of Hamburg, vol. 1. Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden 1989, 136 pp.

The text of six Dunhuang Old Tibetan manuscripts of the Rāma story, important monument of the history of the Indo-Tibetan literary relations is re-edited (85–136, reprinted as published by Professor de Jong in the *Indo-Iranian Journal*, vol. 19, 1977), commented (47–74) and translated (4–45) in the volume under review. Its Index of Tibetan words in the Commentary (79–83) is a useful list for any further investigations on particular expressions,

orthographical forms, and difficult passages in these and other manuscripts. In his commentary to these passages, the author frequently uses Sumatiratna's large Tibeto–Mongol dictionary. In some cases the interpretation of Sumatiratna's interpretation may be corrected, e.g., Tib. *mig bcar-ba* = Mong. *nidü tesürekü* 'a swollen eye' is rather '(to have) an/the eye burst' which is nearer to *nidü bülterebe* 'an/the eyeball fell out' (58). Sumatiratna's Tib. *yid gcugs-pa* = Mong. *inaγlal amaraγlaγsan* 'to love' (59), probably for *inaγlan a.*; if so, we have to do with a verbal compound, modal adverb of *inaγla-* 'to have friendly/intimate relations' + perfect noun of *amaraγla-* id., as a whole, 'beloved' or '(one who was/has) loved'. The quotation from Sumatiratna's explanation of *'gran-pa = yaṅ-na mi bsam-pa*, etc. does not contain the whole but the part on I,1156, which is in fact the interpretation of Tib. *sdo-ba* = Mong. *esergüčekü: jörčikü:*, etc. The full passage (1155–1156): Tib. *sdo-ba ni 'gran-pa-ste / bla-ma'i sku-la bsdo-ba žes-pa lta-bu'o // yaṅ-na mi bsam-pa da mi brci-ba-la yaṅ 'jug-ste / mu-thi-la'i phreṅ-ba-las / phran-bu khe-la bltas-nas ñen-sdo daṅ / žes-pa lta-bu'o //* = Mong. *möčigerkekü: inu temečeldükü böged: baγsi-yin bey-e-luγ-a möčigerkekü kemekü metü bolai: es[e] bögesü ülü sanaqu ba ülü toγomsorlaqu-dur ču oroqu böged: ulaγan subud ereke-eče: yalim ügei qonǰiyan-dur qaraǰu sadun-iyan γongsoyil[γ]aqu kiged: kemegsen metü bolai:* 'To rival is to compete, it is like to say: to rival with the teacher's person. Or it also means [lit. enters into] not to think/care, not to esteem, it is like to say to hurt one's relative for [lit. looking] a profit less significant than a red pearl [Mong. *ulaγan subud; ulaγan* also means 'cheap' or 'bare'; Tib. *mu-thi-la* 'mother of pearl'(?), Jäschke, cf. Čhos-kyi grags-pa 642, *mu-thi-li = muktikāli'i zur-čhag-ste mu-tig-gi phreṅ-ba*] rosary.' [1156] Tib. *sdo-ba* = Mong. *esergüčekü: jörčikü: ülü toγaqu: basuqu do-romǰilaqu. qolboqu qoor kikü:* (see de Jong's translation with his question mark for *qolbo-* as well as Sumatiratna's Tib. *sdo-doṅ* = Mong. *qolboγ-a ǰali*, another question to be answered). Sumatiratna's Mong. *qamuγ üiledbüri inu buruγudun oduǰuu* 'fleeing all activity, he went' can be also interpreted as 'all his activities went wrong' (57, A 86).

For E 2, *bka'-mčhid*, 47, see also *Bod rgya chigs-mjod čhen-mo* I, 71: *phyag-bris*, handwriting or written message of a superior. For E 6, *lhubs*, 48, see Yus Ta'o-čhon/Yu Daoquan's *Bod rgya šan-sbyor-gyi Lha-sa'i khaskad chig-mjod* (Pe-čin 1983), 1054b, *lhub* = Chin. *piāoyáng* (Mathew's nos 5205, 7259) 'to float' (Sumatiratna II 1340 *lhub = qolkindaγ* 'loose', etc. may be a remote cognate); thus the phrase *dar-zab-kyi lo-ma lhubs-pa-dag ni* can be interpreted as 'the fine silk leaves that floated'. Tib. *sil-sil* in D 8 and E 7 may be a variant of *zil* 'brightness, splendour, brilliancy ...' and *zil-ma* 'dew' (Jäschke 488) just as *sil-sil* (and *sil-li-li*, cf., e.g., Sumatiratna II, 1154) is connected with *sil-* in *sil-ma* 'the tinkling sound of a cymbal' (Jäschke 573, *sil-sñan*).

The phrase *thugs-brce-bar dgoṅs-pa* is also found in the frame story of the hungry tigress (*'Jaṅs-blun* and *Suv.*).

As to A 167, *skom-chugs*, etc., 62, see also *Bod rgya chig-mjod čhen-mo* I, 97b: *rkom-chugs = lag-pa'am dbyug-pa'i rce-mor brten-pa'i om-chugs.*

To D 29, *'greṅ*, p. 50, see also G. Uray, *'Greṅ* in *Acta Orient. Hung.* XIX (1966), 245–256.

For the phrase A 70 *rgyal-po čhuṅ-ma'i der myi gzigs-su myi ruṅ-bar bskul-ma btab-ste* (see p. 16: 'The king warned that the younger queen must by all means look at it (?)[.],' commented on 56), I propose the following interpretation: '(The queen) warned the king that it is not proper (if he does) not look at (= visit) the consort's (bed, *der* lit. 'that [place]'), and then ...' or '(The queen) warned that the king should/must look at, etc.'

To be added to the works quoted (77–78): C. Damdinsüren, *Ramayana Mongold delgersen ni* (Ulaanbaatar 1976, 179 pp.) containing a good comparative study of the various Mongolian versions of the Rāmayaṇa and their Tibetan sources.

G. Kara

MICHAEL NYLAN, *The Shifting Centre: The Original "Great Plan" and Later Readings. Monumenta Serica Monograph Series* XXIV. Institut Monumenta Serica, Sankt Augustin. Steyler Verlag, Nettetal 1992. 211 pp.

This book dedicated to M. A. N. Loewe, "a great teacher and generous scholar", is also considered by the author as he puts it in the Acknowledgements a big footnote. The original work was stolen in New York City in 1985, and as the author's friends tried to get it back in vain, they him to do the whole work again. Readers will find this circumstance very fortunate, for the final version is the result of the whole work redone, and thus the structure of the whole has been pondered over very carefully.

The author who is grateful for the assistance of his many famous sinologist friends for helping him while writing the book under review expresses his special thanks to Paul Serruys "regarding the format of this monograph".

As it is mentioned in the Introduction the book is a translation cum commentary of a chapter titled *Hung fan* of the *Book of Documents* (*Shu ching*), usually translated as the "Great Plan" and referred to only as the "Plan" throughout the work. This short text, which is one of the sources if not the main source for the theory of early Confucian China, played an important role in the China of scholars, and therefore it is an important treatise to know about. Since Nylan quotes long passages in the original Chinese and gives the Chinese characters for the Chinese terms he uses also in the main text, his work is somewhat more "Chinese" than it is usual. The case is similar with his evaluation of ancient Chinese literary works and scholarship, let it be Confucian or of other tradition, because usually Chinese scholars either use ancient texts to display their close relationship to Chinese tradition or they put forward their new ideas supporting them with evidence based on the works of ancient authors. Due to this attitude they prefer writing commentaries to writing monographies, often adding to the sacrosanct ancient works they comment on. This book can be assessed in the same way as the ancient text commented on in it that refers to the Five Elements or Five Agents (*wu-hsing*), and consequently, *Yin-yang* theory, cosmological and political theory traditionally connected with centrality, a metaphorical expression for China till modern times in the word of "Chung kuo". This is how the author avoids the mistake of the first Europeans who thought the expression "the centre of the world" referred to the rulers of the country and the scholars working there, but the original meaning of this expression is connected with the central and centralized character of the country. So it means that there is a political notion attached to the term, that the short-sighted scholars failed to realize. This concept is characteristic of the end of imperial times rather than to the early period of Chinese history, when Chinese culture was the model for Eastern Asia, and the name *Chinese* evolved from a prevalent political concept and from the ideals of Confucian philosophy.

The author handles the ancient text and the later references with ease and gives a good account of them in the history of Chinese literacy. He is interested in the change of contents through the ages, namely how the "centre" in society, that is the position of the ruler, and the centre of the literate people changed according to the necessities and possibilities. Nylan claims that the text in question must have been subjected to a different interpretation in the Sung period (11th–12th centuries) than in Han times, when the original meaning of the text was given, and when the original concept of power was expressed with this term as the source, and later on explained for later generations. In order to show that even at the time of new ideas commenting on this old text could be of erudition, the author admits that this interpretation goes back to the comparatively modern author Kang Yu-wei (1858–1927) and his essay on this problem.

In the first chapter, the original text is explained. In the second, the related changes are followed from the Han period (206 B.C.–

8 A.D.), that is from its early years. The third describes the Chinese philosophy of the Sung period, while the Appendix provides the reader with an account of the efforts of Chinese philosophers to date the Plan that they think to have been written sometime around the 4th century B.C. Finally the text of the "Great Plan" is presented in two versions: as published by Bernhard Karlgren (1950) and James Legge (1884). The author supplies the reader with the translation of both texts indicating his reasons for the decisions he made.

The book ends with a bibliography, an index, and a list of illustrations.

Ildikó Ecsedy

SABINE WERNER, *Die Belagerung von K'ai-feng im Winter 1126/27. Nach Kapitel 64–69 des San-ch'ao pei-meng hui-pien, kompiliert von Hsü Meng-hsin. Münchener Ostasiatische Studien*, herausgegeben von Wolfgang Bauer, Herbert Franke, Wolfram Naumann, Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer Band 61. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1992, 2, 2, 1, 2, 201 pp.

Research on the important Sung dynasty which in recent times has aroused increasing interest, began in 1977/78 as a dissertation on a modern period of Chinese history under the guidance of Professor Herbert Franke, an eminent scholar of the Chinese Imperium and its Sung period. Both as the head of the seminar of the Philosophischen Fakultät der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität and the leader of the Sung Project, began by Etienne Balázs in Paris, Professor Franke supervised the work on the history in question, which represents a guarantee of Sabine Werner's scholarship and the high level of this handsome book. The author became versatile in ancient Chinese history, as it is required by her subject, because it is true that period is not "modern" in the European, that is world historical sense — the patriarchal world of Chinese Confucianism remained attached to the past and tradition — and it remained so during the European time of modern achievements, with several inventions providing the possibilities of European development and even borrowing some of them, that is the beginning, which provided for the advance of really modern European history, characterized by industry and the discovery of new continents. Later on the European development became different, advantageous for mankind in many respects, so that China had to defend herself against it when attacked, and sinology became so "foreign" that the participation of mankind in this science became increasingly important; this can be seen in the second list of contents, written in English in the German book, also making it available to English-speaking and reading territories, and the number of readers increased in this way is really worthwhile, because this important book deals with an important period of Chinese history.

The author follows Etienne Balázs's initiative to translate and study local history as seen in the memorial writings of the people liking a certain territory, being experts of a certain place and town as well as their time and other characteristics. The period at the end of the Northern Sung — Northern only because the following dynasty period was characterized by the South, where the leaders of the Chinese official world, headed by the emperor, found refuge in the South against the victorious foreign armies invading the Northern part of the Empire — was an epoch when posterity knows more about the Chinese population living in foreign empires than in China herself, because foreigners described foreign manners. That is why the Khitai founded empire, accepted by the Chinese under the dynastic name Liao (916–1125) and the Jurchen Chin empire (1115–1234), giving a country beside Jürci to the Chinese population, can represent both populations, that is the foreigners and Chinese, informing us of the subjects of both the foreign and Chinese states, respectively, from the chronicles describing the period of the change from the unified Chinese Empire to the partial states, after the victories of the neighbours. This enables us to read with special interest about the important city of K'ai-feng in Honan,

founded at least two centuries earlier than this book indicates, which was important because of its role in the Chinese history of trade inside China and with the foreigners as well.

This book is a good translation of an interesting work, covering the birth of the Southern Sung Dynasty and the historical circumstances of the period, shown both by the texts and the maps, attached to them, which are included in this work.

After a Foreword, enumerating the historical circumstances of the research, and an Introduction, describing the translated work, Chapter One outlines the life and literary work of the author of the writing translated here and the 12 texts cited by the work. (Details of the author's life and other biographies are given in the Indexes at the end of the book.) In Chapter Two the author analyzes the relationship between the Chinese Empire and the Chin Empire at the end of the Northern Sung Dynasty. Chapter Three gives information about the main persons of the time, the emperors and the officials, respectively. Chapter Four gives instructive details about the life of the court officials and scholars around the Sung Emperor. In Chapter Five: military commissioners are characterized, that is the defence of the river and city of K'ai-feng, and the Huang-ho river is described with its changes, which were often more dangerous than foreign invasions. Chapter Six presents the Sung Dynasty and its efforts against foreigners. Chapter Seven gives a report on the preparations to combat foreign invasion, and Chapter Seven describes the measures taken to defend the city. Full details are given in Chapter Eight. After a short summary (unfortunately only in German) there is the promised translation of Chapters 64–69 of the work *San-ch'ao pei-meng hui-pien.*

After the literature there is a description of the places concerned, K'ai feng and its neighbourhood, biographical notes — an important and useful part of the book for the reader — and finally good maps. Chinese characters are given in the indexes, before the maps.

Ildikó Ecsedy

Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum. Herausgegeben von RÜDIGER SCHMITT. Wiesbaden 1989. 529 Seiten und 1 Faltkarte. Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

This polyglot (English, German and French) work is a summary — a follow-up to the traditional historical division of the Iranian languages into Old Iranian, Middle Iranian and New Iranian and their dialectological division into Eastern and Western Iranian. In most cases, the discussion of the individual languages and linguistic records, which includes the data pertaining to the history of the relevant research, comes from the most competent authors: R. Schmitt (Altpersisch), J. Kellens (Avestique), W. Sundermann (Partisch, Mittelpersisch), N. Sims-Williams (Sogdian, Bactrian), H. Humbach (Choresmian), R. E. Emmerick (Khotanese), R. Bielmeier (Sarmatisch, Alanisch, Jassisch, Altossetisch), G. Lazard (Le persan), P. Lecoq, J. Blau, J. Elfenbein, P. O. Skjaervo, J. Payne, Ch. M. Kieffer, F. Thordarson (New Iranian dialectology).

The various historical periods with the discussion of the individual dialectological groups within them are preceded by general introductions (R. Schmitt: Altiranisch, Mitteliranisch, G. L. Windfuhr: New Iranian), while the book itself is introduced by a chapter (Einleitung) presenting the concepts and definitions of the specialist area (R. Schmitt) and the reconstructed prehistory of the Iranian languages (M. Mayrhofer).

This significant accomplishment surpasses the much-lengthier latest summary of its kind (*Osnovy*) so far in the series of similar general works (*Grundriss, Handbuch, Osnovy*), both as regards the processing of linguistic material and the set of philological apparatus.

The discussion of the Iranian languages follows the traditional periodisation, which attaches the periods of the history of languages to the great historical areas (Old Iranian until the fall of the Achaemenids B.C. 4th/3rd cent., Middle Iranian until the fall of the Sasanians and the spread of the Islam, 8th/9th cent.). This

scheme is, of course, the result of a necessary compromise, and is connected to the history of the most important member of the group, *Persian*, while in the case of the other Iranian languages and dialects, which are scattered over a very large geographical area, it only provides very loose reference.

This periodisation is traditional, yet it seems to differ significantly from the previous ones at one point, even if implicitly (footnote 4, 26). The subject of its description is "die iranischen Sprachen geschichtlicher Zeit" (26) and there is only a short introduction referring to their prehistory, which relies only on *linguistic reconstruction*. (The same chapter is one of the lengthiest in the *Grundriss*.) Although the reconstruction of the common ancestor ("uriranisch" 4) is based upon the well-founded and plausible sound-laws of the tradition historical and comparative linguistics, it will, on principle, never be capable of a full reconstruction of linguistic reality. It is a *hypothesis*, which concerns certain elements of a hypothetical language system. Given that the editor does not dwell on such questions at all, I hope I judiciously think it is right that prehistoric reconstruction is less emphatic than earlier — not being, strictly speaking, part of the history of Iranian languages. Nevertheless, the traditional historical-comparative approach dominates the majority of chapters, where a hypothetically reconstructed Old Iranian serves as a reference point for explanations for linguistic changes in later periods. From this and from the scarcity of linguistic records in ancient times it follows that also in the grammatical reconstruction of the linguistic records of the 'historic' times there are a great many hypothetical elements and the phonological and phonetic probability of the linguistic forms of Old and Middle Iranian is problematic. Because of the difficulties arising from the different orthographical systems and textual tradition it is impossible to reconstruct complete, synchronically functioning grammars. In this respect the "Nebenüberlieferung", a set of Iranian names drawn from non-Iranian sources is of valuable help, whose systematic collection is the editor's merit. This linguistic material has put some of the sound changes previously assigned to the early periods in 'time and space', so it gave them a touch of 'reality'.

So while the subject of the chapters describing the languages of the first two periods (Old Persian, Avestan, Middle Iranian) is the *historical development* (Sprachentwicklung) itself incorporating the necessary philological data, the approach used to process the New Iranian epoch is primarily *historico-typological*. Historical, in as much as the dialectological classification is based on traditional genetic relationship, which continues to dominate phonological and phonetic descriptions, but in the section on morphology and syntax the organizing principle is the typological similarities and dissimilarities of the grammatical structures, especially in the introductory chapter (Windfuhr). However, the question is whether the application of a specific socio-linguistic terminology (e.g. local, regional, national standards, superstrates, genetic and isoglottic relationships, etc. 246–249) and that of too general grammatical categories (251–261) really means a conceptual novelty in the Iranian dialectology. Henceforth my remarks will concern mainly this chapter.

In the New Iranian period the linguistic material became bulkier, quite understandably. The dominant language of the era and the region is *Persian* — its classical and modern varieties. Besides, a multiplicity of unwritten dialects appeared in the dialectological collections and traces (mainly lexical elements) of these dialects were identified in Persian literary texts, indicating the linguistic variety of earlier ages. However, a systematic and complete linguistic atlas is still missing (cf. Yarshater 1961). Geiger's summary (*Grundriss*), which was based on very mixed material, investigated mainly those phonetic and morphological features, which connected these dialects with the earlier stages genetically. In this way precisely those, mainly morphological and syntactical differences were disregarded, which characterize these dialects. The innovations in the latest phase of the New Iranian languages (e.g. in the

verbal morphology) are crossing precisely these dialectological lines drawn earlier on the grounds of a genetic relationship, and they are doing so differently in the case of each isogloss. Essentially this historico-comparative method characterizes Morgenstierne's sketchy summary (*Handbuch* 1958). Nevertheless it is an essential difference that in the meantime important dialectological collections were published (e.g. Andreas, Mann, Hadank, Christensen, Bailey). So his descriptions are much more professional, and as he is an excellent linguist, he is much more careful in the classification of dialects referring to the insufficiency of data. It was after Morgenstierne's work, which processed the dialectological material until 1954 that important works dealing with individual dialects were published (e.g. MacKenzie, Eilers, Lazard, Yarshater), as well as an extremely traditional summary mainly based on old material (*Osnovy* 1982). Much of the material published in Iran communicates the lexical material provided by amateur collectors of specific regions, although there are descriptions, which show more professionalism (e.g. Sâdeq Kiâ, Sotude, Majidi). However, the bibliograpy of the *Compendium*, which is really rich in details, cannot make us forget the highly rudimentary stage of research.

This deficiency is not made up for either by the historico-typological works (e.g. Oranskij 1979, Rastorgueva 1975) published mainly in the former Soviet Union, or by the series of mainly American dissertations often quoted here (e.g. Stilo 1971, Krahnke 1976) which have tried to apply the descriptive technique of the generative grammar. The application of any fashionable linguistic model as a theoretical framework, cannot, however, replace an exact grammar describing a dialect with its own terms.

I have found it necessary to make these preliminary remarks because the introduction (Windfuhr 246–262) does not mention the difficulties associated with the heterogeneous and insufficient material, unlike other introductions. With this he makes the false impression that the entire linguistic material is at his disposal.

Consequently, the question arises what results the approach which proved right otherwise, might yield on such material. The general morphological and semantic categories postulated in the introduction are too general, as it were. Sometimes they seem to be expressly wrong (e.g. stress "on the verbal ending in the present" 253). The sweeping generalizations are especially conspicuous when we think of the changes of the verbal category within a period of some thousand years (e.g. of the functions of verbal prefixes). These generalizations, or, rather, oversimplifications may, of course, be true on a very high level of abstraction. Yet it remains a question, whether they are really useful if they rely on incorrect descriptions of randomly selected languages, dialects and registers (cf. the comparison of present-day spoken forms with literary forms: progressive formation, inferential, passive, etc.).

The most important one among the West Iranian dialects is obviously the *Persian*, which has exercised a very strong influence on the languages of the region in the past thousand years, though to varying degrees. Thanks to G. Lazard primarily, we know relatively much. For this very reason it cannot be regarded as a mere coincidence that he kept emphasizing the difficulties and problems when describing the *Persian* language. We know a lot, says Lazard, but very little of the details ("La structure du persan est encore très insuffisamment exploreé ... beaucoup de questions essentielles restent obscures" 265). The reason for his choosing a special approach, though he knows the most of the details today, might precisely be this. His approach is to describe the verbal and nominal morphosyntax in as broad categories as possible. The subject of his description is the *Modern formal (literary) Persian* (the educated colloquial style of Teheran), which is preceded by a historical introduction and closed by a short chapter on the old (Classical) and modern varieties (*Tajik* and *Kabuli Persian* or *Dari*). This means that *Classical Persian* (8th/9th

cent. to approx. 19th cent.) which is the most significant 'variety' of Persian, as well as the genetically closest *Tajik* and *Dari* appear only as chronological ("les formes anciennes" 288) and dialectal varieties ("les variétés modernes" 289) described on less than a page. (It is true, though, that referring to *Tajik* and *Dari* L. raised the question of 'dialect or language' and supported the idea of the latter, at least as far as *Tajik* is concerned.)

With regard to the description of the 'structure' of Persian, the short phonological chapter is followed by the discussion of the problems of morphosyntax and those of the lexicon (derivations, compounds, loan-words, etc.). The way morphosyntax is analyzed is really novel. The essence is that L. regards the two basic types of minimal sentence (*raft-am* 'I went' and *marīż-am* 'I am ill'), i.e. a verbal form and a copular construction of an adjective and the verb 'to be' as *identical* patterns, as a structure of a *lexeme* and a *clitic* morpheme ("prédica-teurs"). This generalization was undoubtedly made possible by the close similarity of the two series, the personal suffixes (A: *-am, -i, -O/-ad, -im, -id, -and*) and the clitic form of the verb 'to be' (B: *-am, -i, -ast, -im, -id, -and*). However, this analysis is made highly questionable by the fundamentally different paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations of the two basic types. The internal structure of the two constructions is different, i.e. in the first case the lexeme is a *stem*, in the second, a *word*, and their external relationship to other words within the sentence, their complementation are also different (cf. the negative forms: *na-raftam* 'I did not go', and *marīż nistam* 'I am not ill'). The analysis of the so-called compound verbal forms also evokes a lot of difficulties (which L. himself mentioned). In this theoretical framework the first member (past participle) of a Perfect form (*rafte-am* 'I have gone') would be a noun, which is excluded by the fact that it fits in the verbal paradigm (cf. *na-rafte-am* 'I have not gone'). In a later chapter, in a discussion of the sentence ('la proposition' 279) L. also attached the non-predicative (pronominal' clitics (C: *-am, -at, -aš, -emân, -etân, -ešân*) to this group. However, I think that the treatment of the three series of clitic morphemes (A, B, C) under the same heading is not justified by the similarity of form, which can be regarded as a mere coincidence. It does not go together with structural or semantic parallelism. Otherwise morphosyntax was dealt with correctly, especially the description of the semantic oppositions in the verbal syntax.

In the treatment of nominal morphology, which is very narrow in its scope, the colloquial elements, as distinct from the formal (or literary) style are frequently alluded to, though not without proper justification. This also calls attention to the fact that there are essential differences between the two registers. Unfortunately no mention is made of two radically different uses of the pronominal clitics as a possessive affix or as a verbal complementation.

What stings most, however, is the absence of *Classical Persian*. The *Compendium* gives a detailed account of the historical antecedents of "Persian" (Sundermann's chapter on *Middle Persian* is excellent and well-elaborated), while the period from 8th/9th cent. to approx. 19th cent. in the history of the Persian language and grammar has been practically done away with. Consequently, the profound differences and changes within the *Pre-classical, Classical* and *Modern Persian* (even the periodisation is doubtful) or the overlapping or excluding layers of the literary (common, spoken) language have remained unmentioned. A great many questions pertaining to the 'variations' were not dwelt on at all. Moreover *Tajik* and *Dari* are not described at all. This is not understandable as especially the *Tajik* language, one of the most significant languages of the region, is characteristically different from *Persian*, and its influence is felt in minor modern East Iranian languages (e.g. Pamir languages, *Yaghnobi*), where the multilingual population uses its simplified version as a 'lingua franca'.

The classification of the Western Iranian dialect groups is based "on a combination of genetic relationship, geographic proximity, and

ethnic identity and less so on typology" (294). Most of the descriptions of the dialects akin to *Persian* come from Lecoq (the Caspian and North Western, Central and Southern dialects). *Kurdish* and *Zaza* are treated by J. Blau, followed by *Balōčī* done by J. Elfenbein and the least-known languages of Southeast Iran by P. O. Skjaervo. The descriptions are generally very sketchy: they are usually constituted by an enumeration of the set of phonemes, a meagre morphology and certain elements of the syntax (the ways of producing word structures, e.g. the *ezafe*, which appears sometimes in morphology, sometimes in syntax), as well as a list of the characteristic elements of the vocabulary. In the descriptions of the *Balōčī* and the Southeastern dialects prehistory is alluded to more often than with other dialects. This simple way of describing the individual dialects is really conducive to typological comparisons. This is what the editor (G. L. Windfuhr) does in the introductory chapter. However, there is a great risk that precisely those properties remain unexploited that could give these dialects an individual character. Even a consistent terminology is missing. Let me quote as an example one of the most complicated cases of nominal syntax, the use of pronominal clitics. The terms used by Lecoq *pronoms enclitiques* (346), *pronoms affixes* (321), *affixes pronominaux* (321), etc. They are not simply the variations of the same technical term, but — if they are used consistently in a grammatical description — their reference is different. If the term is (clitic) *pronoun*, this is a reference to its function in the sentence, if it is an *affix* it refers to the place it occupies in the morphological structure of the word.

Similar inconsistencies can be found in the description of the verbal syntax. For instance, the terminology of verbal prefixes (*affixes modaux* 321, *préfixe modal* 305, *morphèmes temporels préfixés* 331, *préfixe perfectif* 343) refers partly to the position and partly to the function of the element. The question is whether the latter expresses modality, tense or aspect (cf. *préfixes modaux: duratif-perfectif* 342). This terminology partly recapitulates the changes that have taken place in the history of verbal syntax, partly it is a consequence of inconsistent terms. Yet, it is precisely these questions of the historical changes, which fail to occur in this volume. It is also questionable whether the traditional division of the verbal paradigm based on two stems (Past and Present) can consistently be followed through in a synchronic description (Lazard's term is Rad. I and Rad. II), as there exist dialects already where on the grounds of the conjugated forms derived from them the stems no longer demonstrate the traditional historical division (e.g. *lārestānī* forms the continuous pres. from the 'past' stem 367, while *Zâzâ* forms the imperf. from the present stem 339).

Summing up what has been said, the *Compendium* is a valuable contribution in spite of the critical observations made. As it is generally the case in Iranian studies the 'Old' is respected as a continuation of a very valuable historical linguistic tradition. In the description of the early periods, innovation is felt in a change of proportions, but we are offered predominantly traditional, exact and reliable grammatical descriptions and philological knowledge. The introduction of the New Iranian period promises a more modern approach linguistically, but it is not to be encountered in the individual descriptive items. With such sketchy outlines of the living modern languages this technique of description is acceptable, but a consistent analysis is important. The influence of *Persian* is felt, without its most important period being included. This is the most marked shortfall of the *Compendium*, and it is only to be hoped that the best expert on the period, G. Lazard will make up for it in the near future. Finally, a thematic and an authors' index are badly needed (the *Compendium* contains only a linguistic index and an overcomplicated system of indexing), and Summary references ought to be included.

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Éva Jeremiás

MARINA KUNKE, *Nomadenstämme in Persien im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*. Klaus Schwarz Verlag, Berlin 1991 (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen Band 151) 189 S.

Wer die Gelegenheit hatte, den romantischen und ruhigen Zug der heutigen Nomaden Irans mit Pferden, Schafen und Lastautos zu sehen, kann es sich vielleicht nicht vorstellen, was für eine politische Rolle die Nomadenstämme in der Geschichte von Persien spielten. Seit dem Altertum gaben sie die Mehrheit der herrschenden Dynastien (vom 11. bis zum 19. Jh. ausschließlich), und ihre Anzahl beträgt auch heute Millionen.

Trotz ihrer historischen Wichtigkeit wissen wir verhältnismäßig wenig über ihre Sitten, ihr Leben, ihre inneren Verhältnisse usw.: Den Staat interessierten sie nur als Steuerzahler. Über die Nomadenstämme sind wenige persische Geschichtsquellen bekannt. Eine berühmte Ausnahme ist z.B. Bidlisis Kurdengeschichte (Bidlisi, *Šaraf-nāme*, Hrsg. V. Veliaminof-Zernof, 2 Bde. St. Petersburg 1860). Eine andere ist das jetzt zum ersten Mal von der Autorin herausgegebene und übersetzte *Tohfe-ye Šāhi* („Königliches Geschenk", im weiteren TŠ), eine aus der Zeit des Šāh Solṭān Ḥosein (1128/1716) stammende Handschrift von 33 Seiten, (s. 37–71) im Besitz der University of California, (s. 34). Das Manuskript wurde in Isfahan hergestellt und enthält die kurzgefaßte Darstellung von 14 Stämmen iranischen Ursprungs, weiter 10 türkischen und 6 arabischen Stämmen (s. die Zusammenstellung der Autorin in einer Tabelle, 108–109).

Das TŠ umfaßt die hinsichtlich der Steuerzahlung wichtigeren Stämme Persiens, doch die Autorin äußert sich nicht darüber, ob die obengenannte Zahl die Gesamtheit der Stämme umfaßt. Vermutlich ist das nicht der Fall. Aus der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jh. erwähnt Ármin Vámbéry, teilweise nach seinen persönlichen Erlebnissen, s. in Ungarisch: *A török faj ethnologiai és ethnographiai tekintetben*. Budapest 1885, 685 S.; in Deutsch: *Das Türkenvolk*. Budapest 1885 teilweise nach Lady Sheils Buch (Glimpses of Life and Manners in Persia, London 1856) insgesamt 19 Türkenstämme. Das TS berichtet im ganzen nur über 11 (s. Tabelle 109.).

Die ergänzend beigefügten Kommentare der Autorin, die auf Angaben europäischer Reisender des 19. Jh., den Forschungen der Verfasserin im British India Office (London) und geographischen Werken beruhen, sind wesentlich, weil sie aus dem Buch mehr machen als eine bloße kommentierte Ausgabe und Übersetzung des Textes aus dem 18. Jh. Die bezüglichen Angaben der Autorin, die sich zum Teil auf alte Urkunden stützen, führen unsere Kenntnisse bis zum 19. Jh. weiter.

Der dritte (Schluß-) Abschnitt des vorliegenden Buches (155–162) ist ein kurzer, neuartiger Exkurs aus der „klassischen" Orientalistik in das Gebiet der modernen Politikwissenschaft: Anwendung der Modelle der Stabilitätskrisen des Staates am Modell des Iran

1722 (Identitäts- und Legitimationskrise in Persien).

Das Werk ist ein nützlicher Beitrag zu unseren Kenntnissen über die inneren Beziehungen der Stämme von Persien im 18. und 19. Jh.

István Nyitrai

JOSETTE ELAYI, *Recherches sur les cités phéniciennes à l'époqe perse*. Supplemento n. 51 agli *Annali* — Vol. 47 (1987), fasc. 2, Napoli 1987.

Phénicie. Ce mot évoque en nous des notions superficielles et peut-être même fausses. Josette Elayi, qui nous permet assurément de corriger nos idées sur ce sujet, essaye de rassembler toutes les disciplines qui sont en relation avec la Phénicie à l'époque perse, et à l'aide de la pluridisciplinarité et de l'interdisciplinarité elle nous offre un certain schéma socio-politique des cités phéniciennes sous la domination achéménide, grâce auquel nous pouvons approfondir nos connaissances. Elle nous signale dans son avant-propos, que les sources sont peu nombreuses et qu'il faut les traiter avec beaucoup de prudence pour ne pas répéter les erreurs des recherches précédentes.

On ne sait pas si les Phéniciens, (d'ailleurs le mot lui-même vient du grec), avaient un nom commun, une identité « phénicienne » propre dans la mesure où ils se distinguaient par l'ethnique de chaque cité. Sidon, Tyr et Arados étaient les cités-Etats les plus prospères et puissantes à l'époque, et avec les autres cités phéniciennes, elles bénéficiaient de la plus grande liberté (bien qu'elles aient été aussi controlées de façon périodique et permanente dans l'Empire perse à cause de leur puissance militaire, surtout maritime que le Grand Roi pouvait utiliser dans la Méditerranée orientale) et de leur prospérité économique.

Le premier chapitre s'occupe du territoire de la cité: « Le support territorial de l'Etat était un territoire civique, en ce sens que le territoire politique se confondait avec les biens fonciers des citoyens. » (87) Ce sont les noms des agglomérations les plus importantes qui ont été choisis lorsqu'elles sont devenues des Etats. Elles ont donc conservé leur caractère de centre politique (ex.: Arados).

Le titre du deuxième chapitre est « La royauté ». Elle était unique, héréditaire et viagère. Le successeur était le fils aîné ou non, ou un parent. Le roi, vers la fin de sa vie, pouvait (créant ainsi une co-régence) initier son successeur aux fonctions politiques royales: sacerdotale (demander la continuité de la dynastie aux dieux, donner des offrandes, bâtir et restaurer des lieux de culte), guerrière (être commandant de la flötte — ou des forces terrestres — en cas de guerre — pendant ce temps son fils ou un organisme représentatif remplaçait le roi dans la cité), diplomatique (relations avec l'Empire perse et avec d'autres Etats), judicière (être un roi juste). Si le successeur était encore mineur, sa mère assumait quelquefois les fonctions politiques — elle était co-régente.

Dans le chapitre intitulé « Les organismes représentatifs » l'auteur constate que le pouvoir du roi était limité. Les royaumes phéniciens étaient loin d'être une tyrannie, en effet la communauté civique avait des organismes représentatifs, qui — malheureusement — ne sont pas bien connus, mais qui n'auraient pas été seulement consultatifs, par exemple la communauté civique de Sidon possédait les fonctions diplomatiques et guerrières en commun avec le roi.

La population se composait de citoyens (plusieurs catégories bien séparées existaient selon des critères comme la naissance, l'âge, la fortune etc.), de non-citoyens qui se divisaient en hommes libres (plusieurs catégories là aussi: citoyen d'une autre cité phénicienne, grec, occupant perse; selon les métiers — artisan, mercenaire, commerçant etc.) et non-libres (et/ou demi-libres).

L'auteur finit par « Les différentes formes d'Etat »: « Les systèmes politiques phéniciens étaient des systèmes complexes, vraisemblablement mixtes, comportant de nombreuses variantes, et irréductibles à aucun autre, si proche fût-il. » (69) Les cités-Etats phéniciennes ont certains traits qui s'apparentent avec le

système des cités-Etats grecques, mais l'auteur, à la manque de sources justificatives, ne peut pas montrer le sens de ces emprunts. Selon elle, il n'est pas exclu qu'à cette époque un régime politique analogue existât dans des cités non-phéniciennes de la région.

L'œuvre[1] contient beaucoup de questions qui attendent d'être résolues (c'est-à-dire dans la plupart des cas elles attendent de nouvelles sources), montre la diversité sociopolitique du Proche-Orient Antique ainsi que la multiplicité des connaissances de l'auteur et ses préparatifs minutieux et approfondis. Je propose l'œuvre de Josette Elayi à tous ceux qui veulent approfondir et élargir leurs connaissances sur la Phénicie à cette époque-là[2], découvrir les résultats récents de la recherche dans ce domaine.

Loránd Szabó

MØLLER, EVA: *Ancient Near Eastern Seals in a Danish Collection*. The Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Ancient Near Eastern Studies. University of Copenhagen, 1992. Museum Tusculanum Press. 94 pp.

The research of seals and cylinder seals is a complex and difficult task. It is even more difficult to estimate and classify them if they are brought to light by uncontrolled excavation and the layers the finds derive from are unknown. Beside sealings on dated tablets, material, size, shape, techniques of workmanship, choice and treatment of motifs help the researchers during examination.

The *Ancient Near Eastern Seals in a Danish Collection* by Eva Møller is an organized and thorough work. 142 seals and cylinder seals acquired in Baghdad without known provenances are assembled according to chronological order (the middle chronology was used for dating). Only when dating within a period proved to be uncertain were the seals arranged according to subject. The material of the collection covers four and a half millennia, extending from ca. 4000 B.C. to 642 A.D.

Each chapter begins with a prefatory part containing the general characteristics of the material of the period and the principal problems. The author concentrates mainly on the material of the collection, while using the comprehensive knowledge gained from seals hitherto, and thus the cardinal lines of the history of the seals is outlined in front of us.

Chapters 8–10 have very short openings and the description of the seals — which always follow the introductory part — is very detailed in these places, except for chapter 13 that has neither an opening nor a detailed description. Eva Møller coloured our knowledge by showing not only period specific seals, but also exceptions, and she directs our attention particularly to them. The character-drawing of the finds is basically descriptive. Moreover she calls our attention to connections, parallels, similarities and contrasts. In addition we learn lots of interesting details of the use and importance of seals, and the research problems.

The scheme of the book and the short summary of the chapters' contents are the following:

1. Introduction

2. Prehistoric Stamp Seals — The Late Ubaid to Jamdat Nasr Periods, ca. 4000–3100 B.C.

It contains a detailed description of 26 stamp seals. Strong Iranian and slighter Elamite

[1] La typographie du fascicule est très bonne, il n'y a presque pas de coquille (117 note 474: *Jérémie*, XXIV, ... — il manque un X) ou d'autre erreur (119 note 507: ... I *Samuel*, XXX, 26 et 43 [?] ...; je regrette que l'auteur renvoie les notes à la fin de l'ouvrage — il faut toujours feuilleter (Josette Elayi, *Economie des cités phéniciennes spus l'Empire perse*. Supplemento n. 62 agli *Annali* — Vol. 50 (1989), fasc. 1, Napoli 1990 — est très bon de ce point de vue, les notes sont au fond des pages).

[2] Pour ceux qui cherchent une bibliographie, l'auteur l'a publiée dans un fascicule d'*Annali* sous le titre suivant: Josette Elayi, *Economie* ... voir au-dessus.

influence is observable. It is easier to focus on the design and distribution, rather than searching for the origin and history of the seal shapes. The majority of them are made of grey limestone, but unusual materials are also shown.

3. Late Uruk — Jamdat Nasr — Early Dynastic I Periods, ca. 3300–2700 B.C.

It gives the description of 25 cylinder seals. This period indicates a major, continuous phase in the development of the cylinder seals. Naturalistic and geometric forms are found here, but no chronological order based only on this feature can be set up. Demand for seals increased as a result of the development of the social and economic structure of the early city centres, so simplification and mass-production can be noticed. Based on these seals, commercial connections of the period can well be sketched out. They are made of limestone or serpentine. The colours range from light grey to dark grey and black. Exceptions can be found here, too. The shape of the seals became long and thin by the end of the period.

4. The Early Dynastic II–III Period, ca. 2700–2340 B.C.

It contains the description of 9 cylinder seals. This is the period of the expanded use of the cylinder seals. The period is characterized by contest scenes. In the latter half of the period, seals began to carry inscriptions. This collection illustrates the development of seal design. They are made of limestone, shell or gypsum. They are white, whitish or light brown. The collection being small it is impossible to give an overall picture on Early Dynastic glyptic art and its regional traits.

5. The Akkadian and Post-Akkadian Periods, ca. 2334–2193 and 2192–2112 B.C.

A description of 11 cylinder seals is presented here. The beginning of this epoch shows a close attachment to the forms of the previous period. An eastern affinity is also observable. None of the seals bears inscriptions in this period. During the second part, the three-figure presentation scenes tend to dominate the repertory, but they are unrefined. The dominant material of the age is the serpentine, but in this collection the whitish materials of the previous period can be found, too.

6. The Neo-Sumerian Period, ca.2112–2004 B.C.

There are detailed descriptions of 6 cylinder seals in this chapter. One can find traditional motifs (presentation to a seated goddess and three-figure contest scenes) worked up in a specially artistic manner. A great percentage of Neo-Sumerian seals were inscribed, but only one in the present collection has retained an inscription (although completely broken away). From this point onwards, the recutting and reusing of seals began, which makes dating difficult. The materials of the cylinder seals are chlorite and serpentine.

7. The Old Babylonian Period, ca. 2000–1600 B.C.

It contains the detailed description of 8 cylinder seals. The execution is cruder. The new dominant motif is the king with a mace facing a suppliant goddess. Around 1775 B.C. the number of written documents increased, and caused the mass-production of seals by drill and cutting wheel. The seals are well spread, and their distribution reflects the widespread trade enterprises of the period. Generally haematite and other iron oxides were used for seals almost to the exclusion of all other materials, but exceptions can also be found in this collection.

8. The Second Half of the Second Millennium B.C.

Three cylinder seals are thoroughly described. One cannot find period specific examples in this collection.

9. Neo-Assyrian–Neo-Babylonian Periods, ca. 883–539 B.C.

It contains the description of 13 seals and cylinder seals. Increased artistic activities can be observed. The Neo-Assyrian stamp seals have not yet been exclusively studied, but in this chapter one can find some examples in a detailed description. The prevalent motif is the worshipper before a divine symbol.

10. The Second Half of the First Millennium B.C.

The description of 2 seals and 1 cylinder seal is included. They do not form a group, and are difficult to attribute to a definite area or style.

11. Seleucid Period, ca. 311–140 B.C.

It contains the description of 3 bullae and 1 stamp seal. The bullae were originally set in finger rings, they are rather worn out, and they do not have inscriptions. They reflect the age of parchment and papyrus.

12. The Sasanian Period, ca. 224–642 A.D.

It contains the description of 30 stamp seals. They bear no inscriptions, so it is very difficult to date them. They are grouped according to motifs. The most popular themes are: male bust, zebu, senbird, gazelle/stag, peacock, flower and scorpion.

13. Seals of Uncertain Date

The last chapter contains 4 cylinder seals only with the most important data.

The author encloses as an appendix a potsherd with incised decoration, which can be bought into connection with seals on the base of its motif. Moreover she provides us with an ample bibliography.

The language of the book is exquisite. The printing is precise, the structure is clearly arranged. The pattern is hardly discernible in the photographs of some of the smaller seals. They would be seen well if they had been photographed with another exposure. When, however, in some instances the motif is graphically represented besides the positive impression, the result is a fortunate solution, the motif can be well seen.

The book, carrying new material, gives food for research, and as such can particularly be recommended to specialists, but nonprofessionals can also benefit from it, since the compound function of seals — legal, ritual and artistic — bring us closer to becoming acquainted with the ancient Near East.

Henrietta Cseke

MARJORIE SUSAN VENIT, *Greek Painted Pottery from Naukratis in Egyptian Museums. American Research Center in Egypt Catalogs,* Volume 7. The American Research Center in Egypt, Inc. by Eisenbrauns Winona Lake, 1988. XI + 210 pp., 85 pls.

This book redeems an ancient debt of archaeology. M. S. Venit undertook the difficult task to collect and publish the pottery found during the excavations in Naukratis in the nineteenth and the twentieth century. The material came to be scattered all over the world. Its bulk is now in the British Museum and in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. The latter one has been published in its entirety, but other important collections such as that of the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria have received no attention. The book includes all the painted pottery fragments from Naukratis which became known up to now.

As a Greek trading settlement Naukratis played an important role since the 7th century B.C. in the international exchange of commodities. The intensity of commerce is well reflected in the great variety of pottery types found during the excavations carried out on the territory of the city. As it is well known, there was a considerable demand for Aegean and later for Greek pottery in Egypt from the Middle Kingdom.

The fragments are sorted by their supposed place of production, e.g. Ionian, Attic, Laconian and within these groups they are divided into sub-groups, such as *kantharoi, skyphoi*, droop cups, bell *kraters*, etc.

East Greek pottery made its first appearance in Egypt in the 9th–8th century (1). Apart from the bird bowls and the so-called wild-goat vessels Chiot, Fikellura, Clazomenian and Ionian ware could be distinguished within the group of East Greek pottery.

Corinthian vases are not particularly numerous in Naukratis, but as far as it can be seen from the fragmentary material, all major types were exported to Egypt. As it seems, the round *aryballoi* were an article much called for. We find an interesting observation on 61; in view

of the popularity of Attic wares, Corinthian potters brought a red wash on the surface of their vases as a kind of imitation of red colour Attic clay.

Attic vases constitute the largest group represented in Naukratis. Attic imports are attested as early as the 7th century, but the most important period is the time between 560 and 530 B.C. (71). Worth of noting are the fragments of the Lydos workshop whose vases are represented with frequency in Etruria. The latest black-figured vases from Attica in Naukratis date to the first quarter of the 5th century Laconian vases, on the other hand, are the least well-represented group in Egypt (113), the cup being the shape which became to a certain extent popular overseas.

The reviewer has to stress the importance of the indices. They have the titles as follows. I. Painters and Workshops. II. Collections and Proveniences. III. Shapes. IV. Fabrics and Styles. V. Motifs. VI. Chronological Periods.

All items included in the catalogue are reproduced in black-and-white photos, mostly of good quality. In addition, most of the fragments receive also a drawing. A number of characteristic pieces appear in profile drawings.

Although a modest material at first glance, the fragments represent an important contribution to the better understanding of the commercial contacts between Naukratis and the rest of the Greek world.

László Kákosy

DAVID P. SILVERMAN, *The Tomb Chamber of Ḫsw the Elder*. Part 1: Illustrations. *American Research Center in Egypt Reports*. Vol. 10 Eisenbrauns Winona Lake 1988. IX + 146 pp.

The book is introduced by a Foreword written by William D. E. Coulson and Albert Leonard Jr. the Co-Directors of the Naukratis Project (Western Delta) and by a Preface by the author. An Introduction, again by the author, surveys the former history of researches concerning the tomb of Khesu, the Elder at the Kom el Hisn.

The excavation in the tomb of Khesu formed part of the Naukratis Expedition initiated by a number of American and Canadian universities and other institutions. The present first part is a volume documenting the inscriptions and reliefs in the tomb. The second part is due to contain the translation and commentary on the texts.

The tomb, although discovered as early as 1910 by C. C. Edgar, received little attention in the past decades. The researches of the author of the book have thrown light on the importance of the inscriptions which contain long passages of the Coffin Texts. As shown by its name, this corpus of funerary literature was mainly used as inscriptions on the walls of coffins. Up to now the bulk of these texts was attested from Middle Egypt. Most of them were written during the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom, though their first appearance can be dated to the reign of the VIth Dynasty.

The importance of the texts in the funerary chamber of Khesu lies first of all in the fact that they come from the Delta, and due to their length they make possible a comparison with the texts from El-Bersheh, Siut, etc. This work has been already begun by Silverman (*Yale Egyptological Studies* 3 (1989) 29 ff).

The book under review presents facsimile drawings of the hieroglyphic inscriptions and the reliefs on the exterior and interior surfaces of the walls of the funerary chamber. Some parts of the walls and the ceiling were inaccessible for tracing. These parts were copied by hand and are reproduced in standardized hieroglyphs. The photographs were partly made during the recent researches, some others some from the archive of the Oriental Institute and thus they document the earlier preservation of the walls. Two maps represent the survey area. The drawings are made in a clear style preserving, wherever possible, the original features of the inscriptions. The same is true in case of the drawings of the reliefs of which the fowling scenes and a representation of offering are remarkable compositions.

Due to the hard working conditions, the photos are of rather different quality. The inscriptions are mostly illegible but this deficiency is compensated by the drawings. To sum up, this documentary work yields a solid basis to further studies on the texts and pictures of the tomb of Khesu.

László Kákosy

The Heritage of Ancient Egypt. Studies in Honour of Erik Iversen. CNI Publications 13. Edited by JÜRGEN OSING and ERLAND KOLDING NIELSEN. The Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Ancient Near Eastern Studies. University of Copenhagen 1992. Museum Tusculanum Press, 123 pp., 2 frontispieces, 17 figs.

This nicely produced *Festschrift* was published in honour of the prominent Danish Egyptologist who during his long activity has thrown new light on the central problems of Pharaonic art by means of his profound studies on the canon of human figures in pictorial representations. His other main field of research was the heritage of Anciant Egyptian civilization as well as the image about Egypt European scholars and artists formed for themselves. He was interested, furthermore, in Egyptian philology, religion and geography.

After a Foreword by J. Osing, in the first richly documented article (*Der Tempel der ägyptischen Spätzeit als Kanonisierung kultureller Identität*) Jan Assmann elaborates his views on the canon in Late-Egyptian temples. While the Jewish biblical canon represented a religious legitimation of a group of works as written under divine inspiration, in Egypt it was the temple which had undergone a similar sanctioning and had to follow strict regulations in its architecture, inscriptions and cults. Moreover, a kind of moral code was expressed in the inscriptions of the temples.

Sergio Donadoni (*Principi e obelischi a Roma*) studies one of the numerous lines of Egyptianizing trends in the last-century Italy. He publishes and comments on the modern hieroglyphic texts of the obelisks in honour of King Charles X of France drawn up by Champollion, furhermore the inscriptions of the Borghese obelisks as well those of the two Torlonia obelisks. He demonstrates that the distorted forms of the modern hieroglyphic imitations gradually became correct copies of the Ancient Egyptian prototypes.

Elmar Edel (*Afrikanische und asiatische Ortsnamen in ptolemäischen Listen*) deals with two stone blocks originating in Xois. Both of them bear highly problematic ethnic names. In some instances the author suggests identifications differing from those of M. Görg (*Bibl. Notizen* 10, 1979, 16–18).

Iorwerth Eidon Stephen Edwards (*A Naophorous Figure of Irhorudjanefu*) uses the opportunity of publishing a statuette of a priest holding the naos of Osiris before him (Saite Period, County Museum and Art Gallery in Truro, Cornwall) to discuss the purpose underlying the naophorous figures. He concludes that the owners of statues of this kind hoped that the god would put them in his following in the netherworld, thus providing divine protection to them.

Paul John Frandsen (*On the Root nfr and a "Clever" Remark on Embalming*) presents in interesting analysis of the word *rɜ-nfr* in one of the ostracon versions (oDeM 1077,3) of Pap. Anastasi 1,3,3. It turns out that *rɜ-nfr* stands here for *pr-nfr*. The meaning is something like "funerary workshop" or "embalming compound". The most interesting part of the study deals with the morpho-syntactic properties of the word *nfr*.

Sarah Israelit Groll (*A Model of Divine Anger [Turin 102]*) investigates several Deir el-Medina texts from the point of view of the definition of the noun-units. She emphasizes the semantic difference between nouns without article (Ø zero article) and those with the definite article. The absence or presence is not merely a grammatical question; the zero article which lacks a deictic component does not establish a face-to-face familiarity between the deity and the worshipper as it happens in the case of the definite article.

Wolfgang Helck (*Die "Geschichte des Schiffbrüchigen" — eine Stimme der Opposition?*) aims to discover in the epilogue of the tale the tone of opposition against the dynasty and more specifically the king whose clemency is doubted by the head of an expedition which failed to attain its aim.

Jean Leclant's contribution (*A propos des Aegyptiaca du haute moyen-âge en France*) will draw the attention of Egyptologists to a group of *Aegyptiaca* hitherto usually neglected. The reader will find relevant data about *Aegyptiaca* found in Merovingian tombs and churches of the Middle Ages in France. It emerges from the evidence that the decline of the Roman Empire did not put an end to the history of the objects related to the Isis-religion.

In Herman de Meulenaere's article (*Parva Memphitica*) two topics are treated, and both concern the history of Egyptology.

1. A drawing in Kircher's *Obelisci Aegyptiaci interpretatio hieroglyphica* (1666) represents one of the twin figures of the statue group Louvre A 47. 2. The sarcophagi #29.304 and 29.305 in the Egyptian Museum (Cairo) were not discovered by A. Mariette, but by the general consul of Austria in Cairo, Anton Ritter von Laurin. Moreover, the author comes to the conclusion that the sarcophagus #29.305 was originally made for Painmu and later usurped by Djedḥor.

Karol Myśliwiec (*Une statue-groupe en haut-relief de Ramsès IV*) publishes a statue-group now in the Orabi Museum (Zagazig). It depicts a deity with the figure of Ramesses IV before him. (It should be noted here that this statue-type also appears in inscriptions, e.g. Urk. IV. 2118, 16–19, Haremhab.) The author identifies the broken statue as Atum. He suggests that the sculpture found in a tomb at Tell el-Faraun (ancient Imet) may originally have been erected in a temple in Per-Ramesses.

Jürgen Osing subjects in the first part of his article (*Zu zwei literarischen Werken des Mittleren Reiches*) the hymns to Sesostris III from Kahun to a metrical analysis. Fortunately, he does not use the horrible externals of the "rhythmic translations" such as brackets, etc. The second work examined is the inscription of the leather roll in Berlin (pBerlin 3029). The complete transliteration, translation and commentary will promote future researches on this text.

To sum up, in spite of the somewhat misleading title this collection of high-standard contributions on various domains of Egyptology will certainly meet with a favourable reception by Egyptologists as well as by specialists of cultural history.

László Kákosy

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JÁNOS HUNYADI AND THE PEACE "OF SZEGED" (1444)

PÁL ENGEL
(Budapest)

The fifty years or so that had passed from the first Ottoman raid on Hungary (1390) sufficed to create the impression in contemporaries that the Ottoman power was invincible. Doomed were all the efforts to force it back to Asia, and later, to at least contain its expansion. King Sigismund sustained a grave defeat at Nicopolis (1396) and under Golubac (1428), and in 1439, having crushed the Serbian buffer state and captured Smederevo, the sultan became the immediate neighbour of the Hungarian kingdom from Turnu Severin to Belgrade. In the course of their conquests, the Ottomans did not suffer serious defeats anywhere in Europe including Hungary, and the successful defence of a castle (e.g. Belgrade in 1440) or the annihilation of a raiding party was regarded a splendid achievement. This assessment of the military situation was suddenly and radically altered by the appearance of Hunyadi.

János Hunyadi had been involved in anti-Ottoman warfare since 1435, distinguishing himself on several occasions. From 1441, as the governor (Voivode) of Transylvania he had at his disposal a major military force, which enabled him to display his organizing skills apart from his formidable sense of tactic. In 1442 he managed to rout a major Ottoman army that had been plundering South Transylvania. That already created a sensation, but when in September of the same year he defeated the beylerbeyi of Rumelia, the commander of the European Ottoman troops, the whole country resounded with his name. His victories and the encouragement by Pope Eugene IV made Hungary launch an offensive, the first one since the campaign of Nicopolis. Under the commandership of King Vladislav I (of Hungary and Poland) and Hunyadi, its army advanced well into the Ottoman empire, and Sultan Murad II only managed to turn it back in the heartland of Bulgaria, beyond Sofia, in the almost impassable gorges of the Balkan Range. Having crushed all the Ottoman troops sent upon them, the Hungarians returned home to Belgrade undefeated in January 1444, after a four-month campaign. Though meagre was the palpable result of the venture besides taking captives and they had not conquered a yard from the enemy, the moral success was enormous. It turned out that the sultanic troops were not invincible, at least for a Hunyadi, and this made more optimistic statesmen believe that nothing was impossible. The long campaign had massive international reception followed by busy diplomatic activity which resulted, within a few

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weeks' time, in the decision to launch a campaign against the "infidels" by the Christian coalition of the Pope, the Hungarian king, the duke of Burgundy, Venice and Genoa. The project aimed at no lesser a target than liberating the whole of Europe. In practice, the allies planned to send their fleet to occupy the Dardanelles, cutting off communication between the European and Asian provinces of the Ottoman Empire, and the Ottoman land forces stuck in the Balkans were to have been simply pushed into the sea under Hunyadi's commandership. Preparations began, and King Vladislav and the Hungarian magnates solemnly swore to the papal envoy, Cardinal Julian Cesarini, the mastermind of the planned offensive, to launch the campaign at the diet in Buda in April 1444.[1]

The subsequent events that took place between the spring and autumn of 1444 are widely covered in the scholarly literature. Everything what happened, including the military preparations, the unexpected peace treaty and its even more unexpected breach, finally the autumn campaign and the disaster at Varna which killed Cardinal Cesarini and King Vladislav, constituted such an intricate, even mysterious, set of events that neither the contemporaries nor posterity could find their way among them. As time passed, views on the value and meaning of extant information, the chronology of events and the motivation of the actors became widely diversified, even contradictory, and nearly all dissertations devoted to the subject contained new convincing details. The stock of sources has been expanding, unexplored records being uncovered even in our days. All this notwithstanding, research still faces several undecided questions including, as the gravest one, the chronology and explanation of the events centering on the peace treaty and its breach.

Of the contemporaries, Jan Dlugosz (1415–1480) of Poland provides the amplest and most thorough account of the events in the 12th book of his History of Poland, in which he described the reigning of Vladislas "of Varna" in Poland and Hungary some decades after the events. Though in 1444 he was not present, he used the accounts of eye witnesses (e.g. the Italian Andreas de Palatio) and as a diplomat of Casimir IV, he had the opportunity to glance into confidential papers. This latter aspect makes his work especially intriguing. However, by the time he edited all this information, misunderstandings and contradictions had slipped into his account. The core of our problem also being hidden among these, it seems most appropriate to summarize the relevant sections of Dlugosz's story.[2]

***

According to the Polish chronicler, King Vladislas convoked the diet for the day of Saint George (April 24th) in Buda in order to take steps for an anti-

[1] A review of the Turco–Hungarian wars and their literature can be found in F. Szakály, Phases of Turco–Hungarian warfare before the battle of Mohács (1365–1526). *AOH*, 1979, 85–91 for the period at issue.

[2] Dlugosz, XIII, 701–714. The Przezdziecki edition was not accessible for me.

Ottoman war. Since several barons and two bishops were for launching the campaign, after a long discussion a tax was voted to cover the costs, the date for the troops to start was fixed and Hunyadi was assigned the task of providing the necessary war materials.

While the entire country was feverishly preparing for the final showdown, the former prince of Serbia George Branković — who lived in Hungary and also attended the diet — and Hunyadi started secret (*clandestine*) talks with the sultan. Informed by his spies of the major preparations by Christendom, Murad was frightened. In Anatolia a war was about to break out, and he thought he would be between hell and high water if he could not achieve peace in time with the Hungarian king at any cost, even for money. He solicited his father-in-law Branković for intercession, offering him his lost countries in return for the peace. The despot thought he could more easily regain Serbia in this way than with warfare, so he gladly accepted the offer. He appeased Hunyadi by promising all the fortresses and estates he had been given by Albert and Vladislav in Hungary to him in a secret agreement (*occulta pactione*) provided that the Ottoman–Hungarian peace was signed. The war lord undertook to support the matter, and the agreement was concluded with the sultan without consulting Vladislav (*Wladislao inconsulto*). While Murad dispatched his envoys, Hunyadi and the despot informed the king in a letter asking him to come to Szeged on August 1st to give audience to the delegation (*rogatur, ut Segedinum proxima die Augusti descendat*).

Though not interrupting the military preparations, Vladislav complied with the challenge. As Dlugosz notes, he was already in Szeged when Murad's envoys arrived and put forward their peace proposal to the royal council. The conditions being most favourable, Vladislav and the magnates finally enunciated in favour of accepting them. The envoys promised to surrender the fortresses in Serbia within eight days (*castrorum restitutionem intra octo dies repromittentibus*), and Vladislav signed a peace with them for ten years, swearing a public oath to adhere to the peace.

No sooner had the Ottoman delegates left Szeged than foreign reports began arriving on manoeuvres of Christian fleets urging the Hungarian troops to set out, or, as the letter of July 30th written in Mistra by John VIII, emperor of Byzantium, expressing concern about the peace talks between the sultan and the Hungarian king. (Dlugosz included the emperor's letter in full.) All this brought the idea of the war into the fore again. The king hesitated, and yielding to eloquent pressure by Cesarini, eventually he made up his mind to breach the just concluded peace. One supporting factor was that several days had passed (*plures dies praeterea absumti*), and the Ottomans had not restored the promised castles even in twenty, let alone eight, days (*elapsis no octo solum, sed viginti diebus*). Having apostolic authority, the cardinal annulled the agreement signed with the foe of Christianity, and Vladislav, ignoring his pledge (*temerato iuramento*), decided to continue the war. Lest some subsequent event should make them change their minds, Cesarini took a new oath (*nova iuramenta*) from the king and his

counsellors. Its exact text is given by Dlugosz (*in hac forma*). The diploma including the oath was issued in the name of Vladislav on August 4th, 1444 in Szeged (*in Segedin, quarta die Augusti*), endorsed by the Hungarian lords present including, of course, János Hunyadi, Voivode of Transylvania.

Then — Dlugosz goes on — the king resumed war preparations collecting a larger than ever army and set out from Szeged around September 20th. In the meantime, however, he deeply regretted what he had done, for in the meanwhile the sultan fulfilled the terms, giving back the castles of Smederevo, Golubac and the rest of the fortresses and freeing Branković's two sons. Gnawed by remorse for his breach of faith, on November 3rd he crossed the Danube and pushed into Bulgaria. The defeat at Varna happened on the eve of Saint Martin's day (November 10th).

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Research has long exposed major inaccuracies in Dlugosz's account. As regards the autumn events, on September 20th the king had been far from Szeged, in Orşova, crossing the Danube on September 22nd, not November 3rd. Nevertheless, the chronology of events has usually been based on his report, first of all because the main temporal guide, the oath on August 4th, was only registered by his chronicle. No wonder this date became the fixed point of nearly all relevant historical works.

This, however, entailed numerous difficulties never overcome so far. First of all, the date of signing the peace was almost impossible to reconstruct, for here Dlugosz seemed to contradict himself. On the one hand, he asserted that the king received the Ottoman envoys at the beginning of August, and on August 4th he already swore the oath breaching the agreement. So before signing and breaking the agreement there remained *one, or two, or at most three days*. On the other hand, Dlugosz declared that under the provisions of the agreement the sultan was to restitute the Serbian castles within eight days, and Vladislav only breached the peace when this condition had remained unfulfilled *not only after eight, but after twenty days*.

It compounds the problem that, oddly enough, neither statement of the Polish chronicler can be easily discarded. As for the latter, in his letter to the Polish estates dated in Orşova on September 22nd Vladislav admitted that the Ottomans had given back the main fortresses, he only pretended that they failed to fulfil the rest of the conditions (*reliquum quod restabat faciendum no compleverunt*), and gave this as the reason for resuming the war.[3] Thus, either it must be presumed that the king's statement lacked all justification, or it must be recognized that, as Dlugosz states, between the signing and breaching of the peace treaty at least a week (but probably a far longer period of time) elapsed. As for the dating of the Szeged talks by Dlugosz, it completely tallies with the

[3] Quoted from a Polish codex by I. Schwartz, I. Ulászló király 1444. évi kiadatlan levele [An unpublished letter of King Vladislav from 1444]. *Történelmi Tár*, 1895, 400.

other sources available. Vladislav is known to have been in Buda on July 23rd, so there is no reason to doubt an eye-witnesses' remark claiming the king set out from there on the day of Saint Jacob, i.e. July 25th.[4] This perfectly agrees with Dlugosz's statement that the king was called to Szeged for August 1st, since covering the road between Buda and Szeged in the mid-15th century took four to five days.[5]

As can be seen, it is nearly impossible to cram all the events into the short period prior to August 4th. One might presume that the date of signing was a week earlier, July 28th, but in this case the king was to have acted on the eighth day without waiting for reports on the Ottomans' compliance with the peace provisions in Serbia. But even this dating is unsatisfactory, because the king and his retinue cannot have arrived in Szeged before around July 29th the earliest. All this notwithstanding, modern researchers reluctantly accepted the view that the peace was ratified in Szeged, some time at the end of July.[6]

Apart from these chronological difficulties, there remain some pieces of mysterious information we are at a loss about. Such is, first, the instruction sent by the state council of Venice on September 9th to Alvisi Loredano, its admiral in the Dardenelles. Both Cardinal Cesarini and the ambassador of the republic to Hungary, Giovanni Reguardati, the council wrote to him, had ensured the Signoria in their letters written *in Várad* (today's Oradea) *on August 12th and 14th*, respectively, that they would keep Venice informed about the negotations the Ottoman sultan was then having with the Hungarian king and the despot. The council, they wrote to Loredano, was uncertain about the outcome of the talks for, according to the cardinal and the ambassador, the Hungarian king and the barons were decided to set out for the extermination of the Ottomans that same year, irrespective of what was said above (*predictis non obstantibus*)[7]. The

[4] "Der küng ain zeit waz hoven, und ruwen bis Sant Jacabs tag. Da machet er ainen anslag an dy Türken zu zihen... Also der kung von Ungern zach in dy stat pis gen Wardein.": Die Gedichte des Michel Beheim. (Hrsg. Gille, Hans und Spriewald, Ingeborg) 1. Berlin 1968, 335–336. — The diploma of July 23 (II. die Marie Magdalene): Hungarian State Archives, Collectio Ante-Mohácsiana, DL 13 791. The king dated a document in Buda on the 22nd as well: Hungarian State Archives, Photographical Collection, DF 262 121.

[5] Besides the distance and the speed of progressing, this is supported by the following stations in Hunyadi's itinerary: 2 July, Pest – 7 July, Szeged (1446); 30 Dec., 1448, Szeged – 3 Jan. 1449, Buda; 25 July, Szeged – 26 July, Kecskemét – 30 July, Buda, 1451. See P. Engel, Hunyadi János kormányzó itinerárium a (1446–1452) [The itinerary of the regent János Hunyadi], *Századok* 118 (1984) 980–985.

[6] Earlier, the most accurate dating possible was achieved by J. Radonić (*Zapadna Evropa i balkanski narodi prema Turcima u prvoj polovini XV veka*. Novi Sad 1905, 208, 212) (28 or 29 July). Later views are even less convincing. Most recently, Bistra Cvetkova (*Pametna bitka na narodite*. Varna 1979, 288) dated the meeting to 25/26 and the ratification of the peace to "the end of July". Hungarian historiography also sticks to the late July dating.

[7] "Certi reddimur per litteras, quas habemus a ... cardinali ... quam a ... secretario nostro ... datas Varadini in regno Hungarie die 12 et 14 augusti nuper decursi, quod ab ipsis legato et secretario informationem plenariam habueritis de' nonnullis praticis habitis per imperatorem Teucrorum tam cum ... rege Hungarie et Polonie, quam etiam cum illustri domino despoto, quas tamen nescimus, si locum habiture sint, cum idem ... legatus ... ac secretarius noster nobis scribant,

republic, they informed Loredano, would be pleased with the campaign; should it be cancelled, however, the admiral ought to refrain from attacking the sultan, for it was not Venice's intention to launch a war by herself.

In addition to this official Venetian source, of paramount importance is an entry of the Serbian annals stating that the despot concluded a peace with the sultan on the day of Our Lady, August 15th and was restored in his former seat, Smederevo on August 22nd.[8] It is noteworthy that exactly a week separates the two dates, that is, the period of time stipulated, according to Dlugosz, for the surrendering of the castles. What peace pact can this Serbian piece of information refer to? If one insists that the Ottoman–Hungarian peace was signed in late July, it must be a Serbian–Ottoman separate peace treaty, which, however, is not confirmed by a single source. Anyway, it would be hard to explain what could make the sultan take the gratuitous step of surrendering the castles he had taken great pains to win to the Serbian prince who lived in enemy territory and was completely harmless to him.

Another enigma to be solved is hidden in the diploma of July 3rd, known to research for a long time from György Fejér's edition and preserved in the original form among the Brandenburg papers of the state archives in Nuremberg as an item of the former Hunyadi archives.[9] It says that on the noted day Branković and his son Lazar ceded one of their largest domains, that of Világosvár, to Hunyadi and his heirs for ever by the testimony of the chapter of Várad. It was granted to him, they alleged, as a recompense because returning from the long campaign Hunyadi had recaptured the greater part of Serbia for them (*ipsum regnum Rascie pro maiori parte eisdem ... restaurasset et recuperasset*), and in the same year he also equipped a huge army for 63,000 gold pieces of his own to recapture the entire territory. The document raises several problems. First, only much later, in March 1445, did Hunyadi register himself as the owner of Világosvár and its accessories. Why this delay? Second: the diploma suggests that on July 3rd some sort of agreement had to be concluded between the despot and the Voivode that would have implied the presence of Hunyadi. Recently published sources, however, reveal that on that day — and the day before — Hunyadi was in Braşov.[10] Why was he absent from an event of such exceptional significance for him? The most enigmatic problem is, however, that by the indi-

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serenissimum dominum regem predictum ac barones Hungarie predictis non obstantibus promisisse velle procedere exercitualiter anno isto ad exterminium Teucrorum." S. Ljubić, *Listine o odnošajih izmedju južnoga Slavenstva i mletačke republike*. 9. knj. Zagreb 1890 (Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum Meridionalium, 21), 212.

[8] To the year 6952 (=1443/44): "Umiri se (despot) s'carem' meseca avgusta 15 (na uspenje Bogorodici); ... priimi opet' Smederevo despot' avgusta 22" (in several variants). L. Stojanović, *Stari srpski rodoslovi i letopisi*. Sr. Karlovci 1927, 234 (Nr. 676, 677). Cf. K. Jireček, *Istorija Srba*. (Rev. Radonić, J.) 1–2. knj. Beograd 1952, I. 369.

[9] Georgius Fejér, *Genus, incunabula et virtus Joannis Corvini de Hunyad*. Budae 1844. 71–75. (Photo: DF 267 426).

[10] ZW, V. 140–141. On the registration of Világosvár see József Teleki, *A Hunyadiak kora Magyarországon* [The age of the Hunyadis in Hungary], vol. 10. Pest 1853, 159.

cated date not a single castle, let alone "the greater part of Serbia" could have been restored by Hunyadi to Branković. That was to take place in August, as a result of the peace. What does the relevant passage of the diploma refer to then?

The reader should be finally reminded of the unsolved problem of the despot's domains in Hungary. We do not know when and under what circumstances Hunyadi came into possession of a major part of them. We only know that years later, in 1448, this triggered off a strife between Hunyadi and Branković, leading to armed conflict in 1450. Upon the intervention of the magnates, the parties eventually came to an agreement. Branković was willing to agree that the castle of Mukačevo, the towns of Asszonypataka (today's Baia Mare), Szatmár, Németi (Satu Mare) and Debrecen, and the estates of Böszörmény and Dada — all having been on the governor's hand "for a longer time in return for a certain debt" — would remain in his possession as security at a value of 155,000 golden forints.[11] After another bout of fighting, the matter was finally settled in 1451 with the cryptic statement that the controversial estates would have to remain on Hunyadi's hands "for a certain appropriate reason".[12] It is not known what caused Branković's immense debt and when and why he had to abandon his huge estates.

Research into the mysteries of the Szeged peace was shifted out of the deadlock by Oskar Halecki some half a century ago. It is possible that he was the first scholar for a long time to read the oath of Vladislav sworn on August 4 carefully. At any rate, he discovered that the document made no mention of the breaching of any peace, and it only contained the renewal of the king's former pledge made in April. He based his statements on a thorough analysis of the text and an unbiased reader must admit that his relevant reasonings are completely convincing. He himself, however, was far from being unbiased. As a representative of Polish Catholic historiography, he tried to use his discovery to exonerate before the jury of history both the young king of Poland accused of multiple perjury and Cardinal Cesarini, blamed usually for the defeat. Thus Halecki went too far in his conclusions, trying to prove that the peace was not ratified at all, Vladislav merely kept beguiling the sultan with promises and the peace recorded in the sources was only concluded by Branković as a separate peace.[13]

At first Halecki's special opinion was rejected on all sides, first of all because hosts of contemporary written sources could be adduced in support of

[11] Lajos Thallóczy–Antal Áldásy (ed.), A Magyarország és Szerbia közti összeköttetések oklevéltára 1198–1526. [Collection of documents on Hungarian–Serbian relations 1198–1526]. Budapest 1907. Magyarország melléktartományainak oklevéltára [Archives of Hungary's provinces, 2]. 159.

[12] Fejér, *Genus*, 153 (the original diploma: DL 37 614). Since Frigyes Pesty's outdated work (*Brankovics György rácz despota birtokviszonyai Magyarországon és a rácz despota czim* [The Serbian despot György Branković's properties in Hungary and the title of the Serbian despot]. Budapest 1877) there has not been any reliable work on Branković's possessions in Hungary. Cf. Jirecek, *op.cit.*, II. 355–357.

[13] O. Halecki, *The crusade of Varna. A discussion of controversial problems*. New York 1943. (The final version of the former Polish and French publications.)

the peace. His critics did not accept his argumentation concerning the contents of the oath either, so they had to adhere to the customary dating of the peace to July. This, in turn, left the mentioned problems unsolved.[14]

Later, however, Halecki's theory was buttressed from an unexpected angle. Research had long lacked a source that would describe the circumstances of the peace treaty from the viewpoint of the Ottomans. However, an unpublished Ottoman chronicle has been found recently, which did so. It gave a fairly detailed account of the negotiations of the Ottoman envoys in Hungary and revealed that the peace was ratified by the Hungarian king, Hunyadi and the despot together. The latter went directly to Serbia escorted by the envoys and received Smederevo and the rest of the castles under the provisions of the peace treaty. This shattered the theory of the separate peace, and confirmed that the date August 15th in the Serbian annals actually refers to the endorsement of the Ottoman–Hungarian peace. Halecki was thus right — if that needs confirmation at all — in interpreting the document of August 4th differently. Halil Inalcik, the researcher of the Ottoman chronicle, managed to give a clear schedule of events on its basis.[15] Most astonishingly, however, there are still monographers who stick to the traditional view.[16]

No doubt there remain some vague points. An understanding of the real motives of the events would require the clarification of Hunyadi's mysterious role.[17] In what follows, this will be attempted through a short review of the critical events of 1444, and an exploration of the motives of the protagonists.

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Already during the long campaign Sultan Murad was worried to note the shift in the power set-up, and when informed by his spies of a so-far unparalleled offensive being prepared by Western Christendom, he decided to halt it at any cost. Through the mediation of his wife Sultana Mara he sent an envoy in late

[14] Halecki's thesis was first confuted thoroughly by F. Pall, Autour de la croisade de Varna. La question de la paix de Szeged. *Bulletin de la section historique, Académie Roumaine*. 1941, 144–158, and *idem*: Un moment décisif de l'histoire du Sud-Est européen: la croisade de Varna. *Balcania*, 1944, 102 sqq., then by J. Dąbrowski, *L'année 1444*. Cracovie 1952, 33 sqq. (Both date the peace to the end of July.) It followed from this, that the idea of the separate peace had to be accepted: F. Babinger, Von Amurath zu Amurath. Vor- und Nachspiel des Schlacht bei Varna (1444). *Oriens*, 1950, 139 sqq.

[15] H. Inalcik, Pitanje Segedinskog mira i kriza turske države godine 1444. *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 1962–1963, 269–306, esp. 300 sqq. Since then, the Ottoman chronicle has appeared in print: *Gazavat-i Sultan Murad b. Mehemmed Han*. Izladi ve Varna savaslari (1443–1444). (Ed. Halil Inalcik–Mevlud Oguz). Ankara 1978. For the knowledge of its content (35) I am indebted to Dr Pál Fodor.

[16] See note 6.

[17] Hungarian historiography has always been forced to play a minor role in the investigation of the problem, since it has rejected references made by the sources to Hunyadi's role as "slanderous". Cf. from earlier literature e.g. Dávid Angyal, A szegedi béke (1444) [The Szeged peace]. *Budapesti Szemle* 1910, 207–231, more recently Lajos Elekes, *Hunyadi*. Budapest 1952.

February to his father-in-law Branković, who had lived in his Hungarian estates from 1439, offering him to return his land and free his two sons, if the despot managed to talk Hungary out of the planned war.[18]

Well aware that even in case of a Christian victory he stood little chance of getting back Serbia, Branković was only too glad to undertake the task. But it was not an easy one. The long campaign having ended, Hungary was ecstatic over her triumph, preparing for an offensive promising unheard-of success. It ought to be also considered that in the public war for the Hungarian throne going on since 1440 Vladislav's party used the ease of the anti-Ottoman offensive as an ideological tool. His followers had argued for his election saying that a country menaced by the heathen needed a strong-handed, grown-up ruler, not an infant king. A successful conquest in the Balkans would have incredibly increased Vladislav's prestige and power, and chances were most auspicious at that moment for the expansion. Thus, the cause of the war was tightly interlaced with the interests of the "Polish party", fervently being supported by its exponents including the highly influential great chancellor Simon Rozgonyi, Bishop of Eger, and the bishop John de Dominis of Várad. Enthusiasm flared high at the diet in April, and on April 24th, the day of Saint George, the king made a solemn pledge to the papal legate, Cardinal Cesarini, to launch the campaign in the summer. Of course, Hunyadi was to be the commander-in-chief, whom the king entrusted with the preparations.[19]

The prevailing atmosphere was thus quite unfavourable for Branković to propose peace plans to the diet. With good tactical sense, he therefore approached Hunyadi. He offered him a part of his huge Hungarian estates if he managed to get the peace proposed by the sultan accepted. Not averse to the offer, Hunyadi made an agreement with the despot. On April 25th he obtained a letter of credence for a certain Stojka Gisdanić, who must have been Branković's exponent, empowering him to pursue peace talks with the sultan as Vladislav's envoy. The letter pretended that the king took obligation to subsequently ratify what "his" envoy would agree with Murad. Vladislav, however, was by then bound by his pledge to Cesarini, and it is highly unlikely that he was

[18] What follows below was earlier summed up in a sketchy way (Pál Engel, János Hunyadi. The decisive years of his career, 1440–1444. In: *From Hunyadi to Rákóczi. War and society in early modern Hungary*. Ed. B. K. Király et al. New York 1981), but then, unfortunately, the studies of H. Inalcik were not known to me (cf. note 15) which I came across through the good offices of János Hóvári and Ferenc Szakály. I found them the more convincing, for without a knowledge of this Ottoman chronicle I was also forced to come to the same conclusion as Inalcik did concerning the dating of the peace and several other questions.

[19] In its resolution of March 6th, the greater council of Raguza put a barge at a Greek monk's disposal as far as Spalato, who was to see the despot as an envoy of the despot's daughter, the empress (que ipsum ire debentem ad dominum despotum conducere debeat usque Spaletum): N. Iorga, *Notes et extraits pur servir à l'histoire des Croisades au XVe siècle*. Série II–III, Paris 1899–1902, 401. This datum was already interpreted by Radonić, *op.cit.*, 201, as part of the sultan's peace offer.

seriously deliberating a peace. The sources suggest that he had no knowledge of the subsequent talks, which is also confirmed by his deeds.[20]

Not much later, some time in May, the barons levied an extraordinary tax of one golden florin to cover the costs of the campaign, and in June tax collection was going on.[21] On July 2nd the king informed the republic of Florence that he would launch the campaign "decided upon by the will of the entire country" in the course of the summer, along a different route from the long campaign, towards Nicopolis. He also noted that he had called on his troops to encamp at Várad on July 15th, and asked the subjects of the republic to promote the success of the expedition with their prayers.[22] On July 5th he called on the leader of the Albanian rebels, Skander bey, to join the Christian offensive with his troops.[23] It must have been around mid-July that a letter of the Venetian state council dated 4th July arrived in Buda. It let Cesarini know that the joint Venetian and papal fleet had set out towards the Dardanelles on June 22nd.[24] The Christian war-machine had come into swing. At last Vladislav set out from Buda on July 25th "to destroy the accursed Turks" (*alla destrution delli maledeti Turchi*),[25] as he indicated his program in his letter to the Bosnian ruler written the day before.[26] However, he did not head directly to Várad, but made a detour to Szeged.

[20] Venice answered Cesarini's letters of April 26th and 27th on May 12th, which to her greatest pleasure, had informed her "dominum regem omnino statuisse ac manibus vestris unacum baronibus et aliis dominis ac primatibus regni illius adversus perfidos Teucros hac presenti aestate potenti exercitu se transferre": Vilmos Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összekötettései a római Szent-székkel a konstanczi zsinattól a mohácsi vészig* [Hungary's connections with the Holy See from the Council of Constance to the defeat at Mohács]. Budapest 1902, 425. — As illustration to the propaganda of the Vladislav party, see, for example, the famous diploma of the Orders dated July 17th, 1440, on the election of the king: "... cupientes necessitati nostre et huius regni, cuius pro nunc confinia per insultantium inimicorum, paganorum scilicet et aliorum, morsus asperos continue lacerantur, oportune providere...": J. M. Bak, *Königtum und Stände in Ungarn im 14.–16. Jahrhundert*. Wiesbaden 1973, 142.

[21] According to Andreas de Palatio, Branković and Hunyadi struck an agreement with the sultan "inconsulto rege": quoted by Fraknói, *op.cit.*, 426. Dlugosz cites him almost verbatim, XIII. 702. — Vladislav's letter of credence to Ciriaco Pizzicolli was published as part of the correspondence he discovered: F. Pall, *Ciriaco d'Ancona e la crociata contro i Turchi*. Vălenii-de-Munte 1937, 55.

[22] Elemér Mályusz, *A magyar rendi állam Hunyadi korában* [The Hungarian state in the age of Hunyadi]. Sz. 1957, collected the sources on the tax (the earlier being dated July 21).

[23] "De omnium regnicolarum nostrorum voluntate decrevimus restaurato validiore exercitu presenti estate et alia via per quendam passum Danubii ... contra Theucros ipsos versus Nichapolim esse revertendum. Proinde discessimus abhinc ..., XV die presentis mensis in civitatem nostram Varadini gentes nostras convocabimus, indeque versus Danubium ... procedemus": Iorga, *Notes*, II, 404.

[24] S. Katona, *Historia critica regum Hungariae*. XIII. Budae 1790, 300.

[25] Iorga, *Notes*, III, 175.

[26] Ragusa's envoys to Bosnia refer to the king's letter of July 24th on Aug. 15: "la qual scrive al deto re de Bosina, digando chome de presente se mette in ordene per andar alla destrution delli maledeti Turchi...": Iorga, *Notes*, II, 407.

In the meantime, the secret peace talks had borne fruit. The envoys of Branković arrived in Adrianople, the seat of the Sultan, in early June and on June 12th they signed a preliminary peace with him on behalf of their sovereign and Hunyadi, as well as the king of Hungary.[27] In return for a ten-year truce, the sultan obliged himself to return Serbia and Albania to the despot together with 24 castles including Smederevo, Golubac, Novobrdo and others, that is, the territory he had come in possession of during the campaigns between 1427 and 1441. He promised to release his captives including Branković's two sons, and undertook to pay the Hungarian king 100,000 gold pieces as war indemnity and put 25,000 warriors at his disposal whenever he needed them against his foes.[28] The return of the castles and perhaps the fulfilment of the rest of the conditions were due within eight days of the confirmation of the agreement by the king's and Hunyadi's oath. Murad thought his concerns about Europe would be resolved by the treaty. Having corroborated the clauses of the agreement by his own oath and despatched his envoys with gorgeous presents to Hungary, Murad set out on July 12th with a light heart to put his enemy in Asia Minor in its place.[29]

Having heard of the Adrianople agreement, Branković immediately got down to fulfilling his obligation toward Hunyadi. While the Voivode was engaged levying the requirements for the war in Transylvania[30], he recorded his testimony before the chapter of Arad on July 3rd about transferring his lordship of Világosvár "for ever" to Hunyadi on his own and his heirs' behalf. Probably he had the other, now extant, deed or deeds written at the same time in which he yielded other estates — Mukačevo, Baia Mare, Satu Mare, Debrecen and Böszörmény — to Hunyadi, not as a perpetual grant but as security. The value of the loan against this security was however so large that the transfer could actually be seen as final. The extinct diploma declares that Világosvár went into Hunyadi's possession in return for having recaptured and returned to Branković "a greater part of Serbia" and having spent 60,000 gold pieces of his own preparing the current war.[31] The lost diploma presumably contained an acknowledgement of having returned *all* Serbia. When Hunyadi got word that the estates concerned were at his disposal under the former agreement, his turn came to fulfil his promise. In mid-July he informed the king that an Ottoman delegation

[27] The sultan's letter of credence was published: Pall, *Ciriaco*, 63. The letter all but anticipates the subsequent events by making the reservation that the Hungarian king must swear an oath "recte et fideliter, sine aliquo dolo".

[28] Dlugosz, XIII, 703, gives an account of the peace conditions, but a more detailed summary can be found in the Polish estates' address of Aug. 26: A. Sokolowski–I. Szujski, *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*. I. Krakow 1876. (Monumenta medii aevi historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia, 2. tom.) Pars 1, 141–142.

[29] Vladislav was informed by the emperor of Byzantium of the Sultan's crossing on July 12th. Dlugosz, XIII, 706. Cf. Babinger, *op.cit.*, 236 sqq.

[30] See Hunyadi's issues in Transylvania between 2 and 15 July, *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, ed. G. Gündisch. Köln–Wien 1975, V. 140–144.

[31] See note 9.

had arrived in Hungary with a highly advantageous peace proposal, and he asked the king to go to Szeged by August 1st to give them audience.[32]

In the teeth of Cesarini's protests, the king and the barons complied with the challenge. They did not interrupt the war preparations, but the news was flattering, for — as Dlugosz aptly noted — "the Hungarians were used to begging for peace for a long time, not granting it".[33] They must have been even more astonished to hear the articles of the proposed treaty. The Polish nobles flatly termed them "incredible" (*conditiones pacis nunquam credibiles*), and in their petition to Vladislav they could not find words to express their surprise hearing that the power "which is not in the habit of abiding by a truce if it is asked to" was now soliciting for peace (*pacem quam servare nunquam etiam rogatum consueverat rogaverit*).[34]

It was indeed an exceptional moment, and it is no wonder that the joint efforts of the sultan, Branković and Hunyadi eventually bore fruit. What exactly happened could not be known even by contemporaries, because the talks soon resumed behind closed doors (*legatione hac in secretum consilium reiecta*);[35] but the fact is that, in principle, the royal council consented to accepting the peace offer. At the beginning, the cardinal desperately protested, but suddenly he fell silent, and when the king's decision was made public, he did not oppose it (*non adversante etiam Juliano*), to his contemporaries' no little surprise.[36] He had his own plan ready by then.

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Though seldom admitted by modern historians, Hunyadi's steps were governed by his limitless ambition throughout his life. He was determined to rise, to become the first man in the country in fame, rank, wealth and power. What immediately proves the greatness of his personality is that he achieved all that. His ambitiousness was such a household word, that not even Bonfini felt obliged to keep silent about it. As he noted, already King Sigismund would say in irritation that the whole world was not enough to satisfy Hunyadi's ambitions.[37] It cannot be accidental that Branković tried to achieve his goal by

[32] In the postscript to its letter of July 31, the council of Ragusa, with reference to a just received letter of the despot's envoy to Buda noting that the king was about to leave Buda for Szeged (esse per partirse de Buda per andar a Seghedino), gave its ambassador to Buda instructions in case they should anticipate a peace agreement (vedendo alguna esser per concludersi): József Gelcich, *Raguza és Magyarország összeköttetéseinek oklevéltára* [Documents on the connections between Raguza and Hungary]. Budapest 1887, 459.

[33] Dlugosz, XIII, 702.

[34] See note 28.

[35] Dlugosz, XIII, 703.

[36] According to the contemporary Polish chronicler, Philippus Callimachus: Schwandtner, I, 503. Dlugosz also seems to have meant the same (Iuliano cardinali ne quidquam dissuadente [XIII, 704]).

[37] "Id egre Sigismundum tulisse ferunt ac sepe dixisse Ioannem Corvinum ad spes magnas non esse provocandum, quando, veluti ab ambitiosa eius iuventa manticinabatur, ne toto quidem

bribing Hunyadi. He offered the Voivode such great wealth for his intervention that he must have been unable to decline. If it indeed became his, he would all of a sudden surpass all his rivals. After the arrival of the Ottoman delegation, the success of the plan depended on him alone. He knew that if he persisted in his intention, eventually he would have to succeed, for all the hopes at home and abroad were tied to his commandership. If he withdrew, the campaign would immediately be hopeless. Thus, as Dlugosz informs us, he was sure of himself (*Ionnes woiewoda potiundae pacis spem haud dubiam repromittit*).[38]

Cesarini was fuelled by a different ambition. Rome's leading politician for some 15 years, he had been obsessed with the idea of restoring the waning prestige of the Holy See, which for him stood for the cause of Christianity. His perspective was different from Hunyadi's. In 1439 it was he who called for the unification of the western and eastern churches at the Council of Florence, and when the plan was met with passionate resistance by the Constantinople masses, all his efforts were concentrated on reviving the idea of the crusades to get near Byzantium and force her to consent to the union. To this end, he had been working in Hungary since 1442, and his ambitious plan was nearing consummation in the summer of 1444. Hunyadi's stubborn opposition now jeopardized not only the cause of a holy war but also Rome's centuries-old dream. The cardinal, as a politician responsible for the future of Christianity, had to prevent that at any cost.[39]

One is reduced to speculations concerning his bargaining with Hunyadi. The war lord must have made it clear to his adversary that he was personally interested in concluding the peace, therefore Cesarini was faced with a double task: he had to talk Hunyadi into taking part in the campaign, and he had to ensure the booty he was hankering after.

He attained his first goal by promising the kingdom of Bulgaria to him in case of victory. He got the king — whom he apparently easily influenced — to give Hunyadi a written security about that.[40] The other problem — that of the peace — was a harder nut to crack, but he settled it somehow. It could no longer be delayed, for the allies were getting worried. News of the secret negotiations was quick to seep out, and the arrival of the Ottoman delegation increased their mistrust. They demanded an explanation and a guarantee. The latter they received, the former was tarrying.

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orbe is expleri posset": Bonfini, Antonius de, *Rerum Ungaricarum decades*. (Ed. I. Fógel et al.) III. Lipsiae 1936, 219. Cf. Dlugosz's, XIII, 661, succinct and apparently felicitous description: "homo obscuro loco natus, sed celsioris animi et magnarum rerum cupidus".

[38] Dlugosz, XIII, 701.

[39] Cf. R. Jenkins, *The last crusader*. New York 1963.

[40] "Rex Wladislaus finito bello ipsum in Bulgariae regem praeficere, de quo et publicas literarum promissiones habebat, pollicebatur": Dlugosz, XIII, 708.

Having accepted the peace offer and dismissed the envoys of the sultan for some time, Vladislav made a new pledge to Cesarini on August 4th. To dispell "anyone's doubt or suspicion", and to put the minds of everybody concerned — the Venetian ambassador and the cardinal, who were present, the prince of Burgundy and the commander of the galleys of the Venetian doge — at rest, he reiterated his former decision: he would launch a campaign against the Ottomans that same year. He agreed to reach the Danube ferry at Orşova by September 1st, and to advance from there *in Romaniam et Graeciam*, that is, towards Byzantium. He promised to act in this way, whatever might happen, or as he somewhat circuitously put it, "irrespective of the fact whether he concluded or would conclude a peace or agreement with the sultan or his envoys, no matter how that treaty was or would be worded and whether it was or would be signed under oath or not". The diploma recording the king's solemn oath was sealed by the Hungarian magnates as well, with Hunyadi heading the list of the secular barons. He had it registered in the deed that he would be 4 or 5 days late for the gathering place of the troops.[41]

As has been seen, the text of the oath has come down to us in Dlugosz's work. His obviously mistaken commentary gave rise to the misconception in scholarship that the diploma declared the cancellation of the peace with the sultan. As Halecki already pointed out, nothing of the sort is spelt out in the text. The text is so unambiguous in this regard, that it is really puzzling how this misunderstanding could and can still prevail. There is no reference in it to any former treaty which had to be cancelled. The main purpose of the oath is made emphatically and unmistakably clear by the king: in view of the uneasiness caused by the arrival of the Ottoman delegation and the audience given to it (*propter adventum oratorum Amurati imperatoris Turcorum fieri postulatum*), he wished to give the allies perfect assurance that he and his magnates would fulfil their obligations in case of a war, and this the warring parties could surely count upon.

It was of course redundant to record this declaration in the form of an oath, since the king had sworn an oath by that earlier — in April, as the diploma itself notes. The renewed oath had a seemingly secondary goal apparent only to the insiders. The artful wording of the oath was owing to this goal. By his new oath, — and actually this was why he swore it — the king *expressly annulled any agreement that was, or would be, concluded with the Ottomans*, be it "concluded under oath" (*etiam iuramento firmatis vel firmandis*). The significance of this subtle formulation was soon to become clear.

The peace, shrewdly suggested by the document, was soon to be struck, not in Szeged however but in Várad (today's Oradea), where the king was originally bound to go, and where he can be documented to have stayed until the end of August.[42] From here did Cesarini and the Venetian ambassador inform

[41] Dlugosz, XIII, 708–710.

[42] Diplomas issued by him in Várad survived from the following days: Aug. 20 (DF 244 364), Aug. 27 (DF 212 169), Aug. 28 (DL 44 379).

the Signoria and the commanders of the allied fleet on August 12th and 14th, respectively, of the ongoing negotiations. The solemn ratification of the peace on August 15th, recorded by the Serbian annals, could only take place here.[43] On the Serbian part Branković, on the Hungarian part Hunyadi made an oath by its articles "on behalf of the king himself and the entire Hungarian nation", as Thuróczy put it. Vladislav, apparently, was unwilling to risk his salvation.[44]

Opinions differed as to the validity of the peace. The sultan's envoys regarded it as valid and acted accordingly. Within the stipulated eight days, on August 22nd, they gave over Smederevo to the despot and soon emptied the rest of the fortresses. They probably also paid the tribute money, for in his letter of 22 September explaining the reasons for breaching the peace Vladislav did not miss it. Hence, the sultan was expecting a long peace and the attack launched shortly afterwards took him unawares. He accused the Hungarians of perjury, and so did Branković. Having received his country back, he consistently kept aloof of the Ottoman–Hungarian fightings.

The Hungarians, of course, were of a different opinion. As early as August 4th the king made his stance clear about possible future oaths, and consequently, the Várad agreement was seen annulled by him. He immediately breached it as soon as he could do it with at least a semblance of decency. In the meantime he continued the preparations first in Várad, then in Temesvár, and in mid-September he marched down to Orşova. On 22nd of the same month, when Hunyadi had arrived with his troops, he crossed the Danube and started pushing forward in Bulgaria. In his letter sent on the same day to the Polish state council still rejoicing over the peace, the king argued that the Ottomans did not satisfy the conditions apart from returning some castles, "therefore we must do what we have decided in agreement with our country and what we have pledged by oath..."[45]

Hunyadi himself went, after the oath in Szeged, to Temesvár, where he issued a diploma on August 11th "as the captain-general and leader of the army of the most Christian king of Hungary".[46] On August 15th he played his role in the peace-comedy, then he went to Transylvania to collect his troops. On August 28th he was in Szászsebes, on September 15th he was on his way to the camp in Orşova, having left Karánsebes.[47]

[43] See notes 7 and 8.

[44] Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*. I., Textus. Ed. Elisabeth Galántai et Julius Kristó. Budapest 1985, 251. Vladislav's pledge of August 4th also alluded that the peace would be concluded *in his name*.

[45] "Sed quum Turci prefati, emologati in parte maiori pace ipsa per dimissionem magnorum et notabilium castrorum, reliquum quod restabat faciendum non compleverunt, puta in relaxatione filiorum despoti et ceterorum aliorum castrorum suorum, ymmo terras suas ignis incendio concremarunt et concremare no desistunt, unde necesse nobis erat facere illud, quod cum toto regno nostro conclusimus et iuravimus, ire videlicet contra ipsos." Cf. note 3.

[46] "Supremusque capitaneus armorum et dux militie exercitus Christianissimi regis Hungarie": Fejér, *Genus*, 63.

[47] For Aug. 28: *Urkundenbuch*, V, 146; for Sept.15: *Codex diplomaticus patrius*. Ed. Imre Nagy et al., Győr–Budapest 1865–1891, VII, 464. The diploma was dated "in Themesel"; on its

As regards the breaking of the treaty, Cesarini settled it with meticulous circumspection. He used to teach canonic law in Padova, and he was apparently at home in the highly intricate web of valid and false oaths. Although the Várad agreement had to be *ab ovo* invalid, he thought it wise to annul it formally by his apostolic authority — "for the sake of greater security", as Dlugosz writes.[48] All this notwithstanding, he must have been aware that the strategem he had to apply was highly dangerous. In his letters he made desperate efforts, without success, to convince the allies it was him and not the rumours that they should believe. By the time, however, that the Hungarian army could set out, the leaders of the fleets had lost patience and the makeshift coalition had fallen into pieces despite all Cesarini's efforts. Making use of the disrupted moral climate in the fleet, the sultan managed to return to Europe in time and annihilate the Hungarian army at Varna on November 10th.

The dead included the king and the cardinal, but Hunyadi survived the disaster. Though his troops perished, he himself had some gain to pride himself on: his cunning moves had earned him the enormous estates given away by Branković. After returning, he first toured these lands. When in March he had lawfully entered into possession of his estate in Világosvár, he went further north and raised another new acquisition, the market town of Mukačevo (*oppidum nostrum*) to the rank of a free city (*libera civitas*) in a letter-patent which he issued in another of his new properties, Böszörmény, on April 14th.[49] Next year, he was elected governor of Hungary.

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The circumstances of the peace were enveloped in mist from the very beginning. The events in Szeged were still largely public, but the Várad agreement was hidden by the veil of secrecy. Silence was the only political thing, for the bargain of Cesarini and Hunyadi, being of a delicate nature, would hardly have elicited much support. The mystery how things were arranged after all threw even the eye-witnesses into speculations. They realized that oath-breaking had happened, but they could not put things together. They simply could not find out that the peace was concluded after, not before, the public oath of Vladislav. So they associated the peace with the Szeged talks, where the sultan's envoys first appeared, and where the oath was sworn. The subsequent disaster was chiefly blamed on Cesarini. Thuróczy already sounded this view, and Bonfini downright called the cardinal "the cause of all evil" whose death was the punishment of God.[50]

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whereabouts D. Csánki, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában* [Historical geography of Hungary in the age of the Hunyadis]. Vol. II. Budapest 1980–1913, 66.

[48] "Pro cautela ampliori": Dlugosz, XIII, 707.

[49] The facsimile of the deed is published in Andor Sas, *Szabadalmas Munkács város levéltára* [Archives of the free town of Munkács]. Munkács 1927, 10. Today it is only available in the transcript of Matthias made in 1458: DF 274 904.

[50] "Malorum omnium auctorem": Bonfini, III, 151. See also Thuróczy, *loc.cit.*

Some, however, knew or guessed more. They included Andreas Pannonius, a noted theological writer, who submitted fatherly admonitions to Hunyadi's son King Matthias 23 years later, in 1467, exhorting him to adhere to the Christian virtues.

Andreas Pannonius used to be Hunyadi's soldier for five years and it is highly likely that he participated in the Várna campaign. Immediately afterwards he broke with his secular past and entered the Carthusian order. One wonders if he made this choice because he knew too much. At any rate, he settled in Italy, devoted his life to the sciences and earned great fame as a theologian of humanistic erudition. In his exhortations he often mentions the king's father, always in a tone of a devotee, yet in recalling the deeds of the hero, he could not restrain himself from explicating his views on the oaths.

"First and foremost, wise king, I admonish you in the words of the apostle Jacob: Never swear any oath". For, as Saint Augustine warns, although it is no sin to pledge by something true, it is a very grave sin to pledge by something false and, therefore, the Lord forbids true oaths as well. "Recall, Your Majesty", he concludes, "the history of the Pannonians' country, and you will find, if I am not mistaken, that Vladislav of blessed memory, king of the Pannonians, as well as Your Majesty's father, the far-famed army commander, and some other illustrious barons of the Pannonians pledged an oath in artful words to the ferocious emperor of the Ottomans for the sake of a peace (*pro foedere pacis componendo saevissimo imperatori Thurcorum calliditate verborum iurasse*), when the country of the Pannonians got back two fortresses, Smederevo and Golubac. Then, three months later, breaching the oath sworn in artful words by the peace treaty, they attacked with an immense army the land of the Ottomans, and then the reputation of Christians for credibility was lost among the heathen for ever."[51]

[51] Vilmos Fraknói–Jenő Ábel, *Két magyarországi egyházi iró a XV. századból. Andreas Pannonius, Nicolaus de Mirabilibus.* [Two Hungarian ecclesiastic writers in the 15th century] Budapest 1886 (Irodalomtörténeti emlékek, 1.) 19–22. Cf. Fraknói's introduction, XI sqq.

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ZWEI AUSLÄNDISCHE DIPLOMATEN ALS GÄSTE BEIM GROSSEN BESCHNEIDUNGSFEST 1582

GISELA PROCHÁZKA-EISL
(Wien)

Im Sommer des Jahres 1582 veranstaltete Sultan Murād III. für seinen Sohn Meḥmed, den späteren Sultan Meḥmed III., anläßlich dessen Beschneidung ein 52-tägiges Fest auf dem Platz des ehemaligen Hippodroms in Istanbul. Zu diesem Fest wurden nicht nur sämtliche islamische, sondern auch alle europäischen Herrscher einladen. Ein anonymer Dīvānschreiber verfaßte zu diesem Anlaß das *Sūrnāme-i Hümāyūn*, eine Festbeschreibung in üppiger Kunstprosa, die uns den Ablauf der Feierlichkeiten detailliert schildert.[1]

Im folgenden wollen wir anhand eines relativ unbeachteten bzw. widersprüchlich wiedergegebenen diplomatischen Rangstreits, der sich zu Beginn der Feierlichkeiten ereignet hat, die politischen Umstände, die ihn erst ermöglichten, ein wenig näher beleuchten. Den Ausgangspunkt der Untersuchung bildet eine Textstelle im *Sūrnāme-i Hümāyūn*, f.7v–8r:

„Die Festsetzung der Sitzplätze der Gesandten der Ḫāqāne der Zeit und ihr Streit, ihre Diskussion und ihr Disput untereinander:

... Und ihrem Rang gemäß gab man [den Sitzplätzen] Aufschriften, vervollständigte und vervollkommnete, schmückte und vergoldete sie. Dann wurden die Worte darüber abgeschlossen und in Übereinstimmung mit folgender Meinung zu Ende gebracht, (nämlich) daß der Gesandte des üblen Qızılbaş, der der Herrscher von Qum und Kāşān, İbrāhīm Ḫān ist, zuerst auf dieser Freudenfeier und hohen Festversammlung den Vorsitz vor allen anderen habe; ober ihm sollte niemand, unter ihm sollten die restlichen Betrachter nach Rang geordnet sitzen un sich niederlassen. Da

[1] Was die Identität des Autors anbelangt, sind im erwähnten Text folgende biographische Angaben zu finden: Er ist um die vierzig Jahre alt und im *Dīvān* als Schreiber angestellt. (Wiener HS des *Sūrnāme-i Hümāyūn*, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek PAL.VIND.Cod. HO.70, f.2v und 2r). Er stammt aus der Stadt Foča in der Herzegowina (Istanbuler HS, Topkapı Sarayı, H.1344, 429. Die Istanbuler Handschrift stand mir übrigens nur in Kopie zur Verfügung, es fehlen Teile des Anfangs und des Schlusses) und trägt den *maḥlaṣ* İntiẓāmī (Wiener HS f.70v). Ob er damit vielleicht mit dem bei Bursali Meḥmed Ṭāhır (*Osmanlı Mü'ellifleri* II/1, Istanbul 1338H, 79) erwähnten İntiẓāmī-i Bosnāvī identisch ist, wird an anderer Stelle zu diskutieren sein. Die bis jetzt vielfach getroffene Annahme, daß der Verfasser des Werkes der damalige *şehnāmeci* Loqmān (ein Perser aus Urmiye) sei, ist jedoch auf keinen Fall aufrechtzuerhalten. (Angenommen z.B. von R.E. Stout, *The Sur-i Hümâyun of Murad III* (A Study of Ottoman Pageantry and Entertainment). The Ohio State University 1966, Diss. 1961 und M. And, *Turkish Miniature Painting*, İstanbul 1987[4]).

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nun der Gesandte des Übeltäters, der der König von Wien ist, ein Freigeist und Lump seiner Zeit war, wurde er dieser Vorkehrungen gewahr und schwätzte darüber.

Der erwähnte Gesandte holte ein Rechtsgutachten von Seiner Ehrwürden, dem Muftī, welcher der Şeyḫü l-İslām, Ruhm der Menschheit, Löser der Probleme der Welt und Enthüller der höchsten Auszeichnungen der Menschen ist, ein (und sagte): (8r) ‚Es ist in der Sprache der Geistlichkeit des edlen mohammedanischen Scheriatsrechts und in den Worten der erhabensten (Religionen), der edlen aḥmedischen Religion berühmt und bekannt, erwähnt und geschrieben, daß es ein genauso verdienstliches Werk sei, einen (einzigen) üblen Qızılbaş zu töten wie siebzig Ungläubige. Nun folgt doch daraus, daß er stärker als wir auf der Stufe des Unglaubens ist. Da es klarer als der Tag und heller als die Sonne ist, daß die Dinge sich so verhalten, geruht diesem Niederen aus Eurer edlen Gunst ein erlauchtes Rechtsgutachten zu schenken' — als er so flehte und bettelte, und als es bekannt wurde, daß der Muftī der Zeit und Erwählte der Welt auf diese Weise ein Rechtsgutachten ausgestellt hatte, kam der Gesandte der Qızılbaş an, und damit er sich nicht unter die Erwähnten mische, errichtete man seinetwegen an anderer Stelle noch einen Zuseherplatz, und (so) trennte man ihre Schüsseln. Und sie handelten gemäß dem Ḥadīṣ ‚Bewirtet den Gast, auch wenn er ein Ungläubiger ist' und führten ihre Vorkehrungen aus."[2]

Diese Szene wurde weder bei den osmanischen Chronisten noch in den Berichten der europäischen Beobachter erwähnt, und so stellte sich vorerst natürlich die Frage, ob sie überhaupt der Wahrheit entspricht. Dazu kommt noch der Umstand, daß europäische Teilnehmer sehr wohl einen Rangstreit des österreichischen Gesandten erwähnen, jedoch spielte sich dieser mit Germigny, dem Gesandten Heinrichs III. von Frankreich ab. So drängte sich zuerst der Verdacht

[2] *ta'yīn şüden-i mesīrehā-yı elçiyān-ı ḫāvāqīn-i zamān u mücādele-i // īşān bā yek dīger ü mübāḥeşe vü munāẓara: ... ve miqdārlarınca 'unvān verilüb mükemmel ü müretteb müzeyyen ü meheẓẓeb eylediler // pes kelām şunuñ üzerine itmām ve bu re'y muqteżāsınca iḫtitām buldıki // evvelā qızılbaş-ı bed-me'āş elçisi ki Qum (u) Kāşān ḥākimi İbrāhīm Ḫāndur // ışbu meserret-i 'ulyā vü cem'īyet-i 'uẓmāda cümleye teşaddür edüb mā-fevqine // kimesne oturmayub mā-dūnında ġayrı sāyirler semtlü semtince oturub // qarār edeler pes Peç(!) qırālı bed-fi'ālüñ elçisi bir rind-i cihān u nuḥsınd(!)-ı // zamān olmaġın bu tedārükden ḫaberdār ve bu yüzden qışşa-güẓār olub // şeyḫü l-islām faḫrü l-enām ḥallāl-i müşkilāt-i 'ālem ve keşşāf-ı müfażżalāt-ı (8r) // benī ādem olan müftī ḫażretlerine elçi-i mezbūr istiftā eder ki lisān-ı // 'ulemā-yı şer'-ı şerīf-i muḥammedī ve zebān-ı fużalā-yı dīn-i münīf-i aḥmedīde // meşhūr u ma'rūf u meẓkūr u mevṣūf durki bir qızılbaş-ı bed-me'āşi // öldürmek yetmiş miqdārı kāfir öldürmek şevābın bulurmış pes bu taqdīrce // küfür mertebesinde bizden eşedd olmaq lāzım gelür aḥvāl çūn bu yüzden // idügi günden eẓher ü güneşden enverdür iḥsān-ı şerīfüñüzden fetvā-yı // münī-fe-i bu haqīre iḥsān buyuruñ deyü taẓarru' vü niyāz edicek müftī-yi // zamān güzīde-i cihān daḫı bu maqūle fetvā verdügi şuyū' bulduqda // surḫ serüñ elçisi varub meẓkūrlarına qarışmayicek(!) ġayri yerde anlaruñ içün // daḫı bir mesīre peydā edüb çanaqların ayırdılar ve akrimū ḍ-ḍayfa // wa-law kāna kāfiran ḥadīşi ile 'āmil olub tedārüklerin qayırdılar.*

auf, daß hier der Schreiber des *Sūrnāme* aufgrund des Gerüchtes, daß es Rangstreitigkeiten gegeben habe, einfach fabuliert habe.

Nicolaus Haunolth, dessen Bericht eine der zuverlässigsten europäischen Quellen zu diesem Fest darstellt, schildert die Anordnung der Sitzplätze folgendermaßen.[3]

Links neben dem Palast des İbrāhīm Paşa wurde aus Holz eine dreistöckige Tribüne aufgezogen, in jener ganz zuoberst die Wesire und Beglerbege ihre Logen hatten, darunter die Bege und Aġas, je nach Rang zusammengefaßt, ganz unten schließlich die christlichen Botschafter in getrennten Logen, wobei der österreichische Botschafter den ersten Rang innehatte. Die persische Botschaft erhielt Logen auf der anderen Seite des Platzes zugeteilt, genau gegenüber der dreistöckigen Tribüne.[4] Die Franzosen hatten ebenfalls eine eigene Tribüne „schier zu Ende des Platzes" neben den Persern und waren daher neidisch auf die Österreicher. Der französische Botschafter Germigny[5] nahm folglich mit der Ausrede, daß er krank sei, nicht an den Feierlichkeiten teil.[6]

Zwei Briefe des damaligen kaiserlichen Gesandten Friedrich Preyner (bzw. Breyner)[7] bestätigen uns, daß es wegen der Sitzordnung Schwierigkeiten gegeben hat:

[3] Paraphrastische Wiedergabe; N. Haunolth: „Particular Verzeichnuß/mit was Ceremonien/ Gepräng und Pracht das Fest der Beschneidung deß jetzt regierenden Türkischen Keysers Sultan Murath/ diß Namens deß dritten/ u. Sohns/ Sultan Mehemet genannt/ welches vom andern Junij biß auff den 12.Julij deß 1582.Jars gewehret und continuiert hat/ zu Constantinopol celebriert und gehalten worden". In: H. Lewenklaw von Amelbeurn, *Neuwe Chronika Türkischer Nation.* Franckfurt am Mayn 1595, 468–514. Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* (GOR) IV, 124ff. nennt bei seiner Schilderung der Feierlichkeiten zwar auch das *Sūrnāme* als Quelle, hat jedoch offensichtlich primär Haunolth konsultiert, da seine Version der Szene mit jener von Haunolth identisch ist.

[4] Haunolth *op.cit.*, 470. Diese Beschreibung der Sitzordnung steht mit sämtlichen anderen Quellen in Übereinstimmung und kann als gesichert angenommen werden.

[5] Dank Spuler steht uns ein übersichtlicher Lebenslauf des Gesandten zur Verfügung: Es handelte sich um Jacques Germigny, Baron de Germoles, der dieses Amt von 1579 bis 1584 innehatte. (Cf. B. Spuler, Die europäische Diplomatie in Konstantinopel bis zum Frieden von Belgrad (1739) 3 Teile in: *Jahrbücher für Kultur und Geschichte der Slaven*, N.F. Band XI, Hefte 1–3, 1935, 353.)

[6] Dies war die offizielle Entschuldigung für die Pforte; vor den anderen christlichen Gesandten und Beobachtern behauptete Germigny, sein allerchristlichster König habe ihm als Christen die Teilnahme an derlei heidnischem Treiben verboten. Cf. Hammer, GOR IV, 120; Haunolth, *op.cit.*, 512 und Gesandtschaftsbericht des österreichischen Gesandten Preyner (Österreichisches Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (=HHStA) Staatenabteilungen Turcica 46 (1582 Jänner/August), f.17r vom 8. Juni 1582, der vermerkt, daß die Krankheit nur vorgetäuscht sei, in Wirklichkeit der *christianissimo* König die Teilnahme nicht wünsche.

[7] Johann Freiherr von Preyner hatte 1580 den vorherigen Gesandten Joachim von Sinzendorf abgelöst. Im August 1584 starb er an den Folgen eines Reitunfalls in Konstantinopel. (Cf. Spuler, *op.cit.*, 327). Die Informationen über ihn und seine Aktivitäten sind spärlich; wichtig waren seine Bemühungen um eine Erneuerung des Friedens zwischen den beiden Ländern, was aufgrund ständiger Grenzübergriffe notwendig geworden war. (Cf. Spuler, *op.cit.*, 327 und Zinkeisen III., 566).

„Dise Tag hat man auf *Hippodromo*, da dis Fest sollen gehalten werden auf die *logement*, die für die Potschafften deputieret sein angeschrieben, an das Erste die Persianische Potschafft, an das ander Frankreich, und erst an das dritt Teutsch, das ist E.kay.Mest. und volgendt die andern Potschafften... denn das nicht allein Frankreich, sondern auch die Perser nicht allein mit *cediern*, sondern für inen allen die Vordern, so wir es billich haben wöllen."[8]

Preyner erwähnt nicht, daß er zum Muftī gegangen sei, hat aber bei anderen hochrangigen Persönlichkeiten protestiert und angedroht, nicht zu erscheinen, falls man ihm keinen besseren Platz zuweise. Zuerst wandte er sich an den Großwesir Sinān Paşa, welcher sehr zornig geworden sei und versichert habe, daß nicht er es war, der solche Dinge veranlaßt habe und daß man die Perser selbstverständlich nicht zu ihnen setzen werde. Preyner schickte als nächsten Schritt seinen Sekretär, den Tiroler Dr. Pezzen und einen Dolmetscher zu İbrāhīm Paşa, dem damaligen Beglerbegi von Rūmėli; dieser erklärte, daß er täglich mit dem Sultan wegen der Feier Besprechungen habe und aufgrund seiner ihm zugewiesenen Aufgabe als *Düğüncü Başı* („Hochzeitsmeister") die Möglichkeit habe, alles — „... bey seinem Kopf, wie die Türcken gepflegen zu reden" so zu regeln, daß alle Beteiligten zufrieden seien.[9]

Wir erhofften eine Darlegung der Vorfälle aus französischer Sicht durch die bei Charrière[10] abgedruckten Berichte Germignys an Heinrich III., doch gilt die Korrespondenz vom Mai 1582 bis in die ersten Monate des Jahres 1583 als verschollen, so daß auch Charrière über den wahren Grund des Fernbleibens Germignys beim Fest nur Vermutungen anstellen kann bzw. auf Hammer verweist, der seine Informationen wiederum aus Haunolths Bericht bezogen hat.

Das schlechte Verhältnis zwischen Frankreich und den Habsburgern, das ein wichtiger Grund für die guten Beziehungen der Franzosen zur Pforte war, äußerte sich immer wieder durch Rangstreitigkeiten zwischen den Vertretern der beiden Länder in Konstantinopel[11], womit der hier behandelte Streit an sich nicht weiter bemerkenswert wäre. Die Tatsache, daß die Pforte dem Wunsch des kaiserlichen Gesandten auf eine Änderung der Reihenfolge nachgab, scheint demnach nicht in der allgemeinen politischen Linie der Pforte zu liegen, vielmehr sind die Gründe im Charakter und Ruf Germignys und in seiner schlechten persönlichen Beziehung zu Sinān Paşa zu suchen.[12] Allgemein war Germigny

[8] Bericht Preyners (HHStA., *op.cit.*) f.15r–v, 26. und 28. Mai 1582.

[9] *Op.cit.*

[10] Cf. E. Charrière, *Négotiations de la France dans le Levant*. Paris 1848–60, Tom. IV, 124, Anm.1.

[11] Cf. M. Köhbach, Ein diplomatischer Rangstreit in Istanbul im Jahre 1587. In: *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 36, Wien 1983, 261–268.

[12] So hatte Germigny offenbar einen wichtigen Formfehler begangen, indem er es verabsäumt hatte, Sinān Paşa zur rechten Zeit einen Antrtittsbesuch abzustatten. Cf. Hammer, *op.cit.*, 112. Ein echter Streit zwischen den beiden war jedoch erst anläßlich der Umwandlung der Kirche S.Francesco in Galata in eine Moschee entsanden. Germigny äußerte seinen Protest zu dieser Ent-

zwar nicht so ungeschickt wie sein Nachfolger Lanscosmes, doch auch er zeichnetet sich nicht unbedingt durch diplomatisches Fingerspitzengefühl aus.[13] Insofern war es ganz richtig von Preyner, sich direkt an Sinān Paşa zu wenden, wußte er doch, daß dieser sicher nicht zugunsten von Germigny entscheiden würde und noch dazu allgemein als habsburgerfreundlich bekannt war.

Die osmanischen Chroniken erwähnen die Sache mit keinem Wort. Der französische Festgast Palerne und in weiterer Folge auch populäre Kompilatoren wie Baudier lösen das Problem so elegant wie unverfroren, indem sie berichten, Germigny habe zwar nicht teilgenommen, sehr wohl aber den ersten Rang innegehabt, nach ihm erst sei der kaiserliche Gesandte gekommen.[14]

Der Streit zwischen französischem und österreichischem Gesandten war offenbar nur einer unter mehreren. Warum es hingegen auch mit dem persischen Gesandten zu einem Konflikt kommen konnte, aus dem Preyner als Sieger hervorgeht, scheint uns ein geradezu exemplarischer Fall zu sein, was den Umgang der Osmanen mit den Persern, insbesondere in Kriegs- und Krisenzeiten betrifft.

Die erste Hälfte des Jahres 1582 stellte nur eine kurze Atempause in einem jahrelangen kriegerischen Konflikt mit Persien dar, der 1579 mit der Eroberung des Kaukasus durch die Osmanen begonnen hatte und bis 1590 dauern sollte. Der Großwesir und *ser'asker* Sinān Paşa bemühte sich im Frühjahr 1582 vom Feldlager in Erzurum aus um Friedensverhandlungen und veranlaßte die Weiterreise des von Şāh Muḥammed Ḫudābende geschicken Gesandten nach Istanbul. Dieser sollte sich dort in erster Linie um den Frieden bemühen, aber auch die Einladung zum Beschneidungsfest wahrnehmen. Sinān Paşa selbst bat auch um die Erlaubnis zur Rückkehr nach Istanbul und traf kurz nach dem persischen Gesandten İbrāhīm Ḫān dort ein. Dies wurde vom Sultan nicht unbedingt gutgeheißen, hatte jedoch vorderhand noch keine Konsequenzen.[15]

Über den Zeitpunkt des Eintreffens der persischen Delegation in Istanbul informieren der französische Gesandte Germigny in einem Brief vom 1.4.1582 an Heinrich III. und der österreichische Gesandte Preyner in seinem Bericht vom 31.3.1582[16]. Am 29.3.1582 kam İbrāhīm Ḫān samt Frau[17] und mehreren hundert

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scheidung durch eine ähnlich spektakuläre Aktion, wie sie sein Nachfolger Lanscosmes fünf Jahre später lieferte. Cf. Hammer IV, 112f., und Köhbach, *op.cit.*, 264–5.

[13] Charrière, *op.cit.*, 125, Anm.1 zitiert eine Relation von de Juys, die auf häufige diplomatische Fehlgriffe Germignys und auch auf das Mißfallen der Pforte wegen seines Fernbleibens beim Fest hinweist.

[14] Cf. J. Palerne, *D'Alexandrie à Istanbul (Péregrinations dans l'Empire Ottoman 1581–1583).* Ed. v. D'Yvelise Bernard, Paris 1991, 278 und M. De Languedoc Baudier, *Histoire Generalle de Serrail, et de la Cour Du Grand Seigneur Empereur des Turcs.* Paris 1626, 74.

[15] Germigny schreibt am 14.4.1582 an Heinrich III., daß Sināns Rückkehr aus dem Osten ihm beim Sultan keine Sympathien eingetragen habe und damit zu rechnen sei, daß die nicht wenigen Feinde Sināns dies auszunützen wüßten. Cf. Charrière IV., *op.cit.*, 122f.

[16] Cf. Charrière IV., *op.cit.*, 118 und HHStA., *op.cit.*, (Jänner/August 1582), f.189r.

[17] İbrāhīm war übrigens der Sohn der Schwester des Schah (Lewenklaw 513) und scheint auch Mitglieder der Herrscherfamilie mitgebracht zu haben, da 'Ālī die Anwesenheit einer Tochter und eines Sohnes des Schah im Gefolge erwähnt; cf. Muṣṭafā 'Āli, *Camī'ül-ḫubūr der mecālīs-i sūr*, HS aus dem Topkapı Sarayı HO 203, 53f. (hier und im folgenden eigene Paginierung).

Begleitern an, der Beglerbegi von Rūmėli ritt ihnen mit drei- bis vierhundert Pferden entgegen und geleitete sie feierlich nach Üsküdar. Die Straßen zu ihrem Quartier wurden zu ihrem Schutz von 2–3000 Janitscharen gesäumt.

Der Gesandte, den wir hier ein wenig genauer vorstellen wollen, war ein Turkmene vom Stamm der Kaçaren[18], hatte das Amt des *vālī* der persischen Städte Qum und Kāşān inne und hieß İbrāhīm Ḫān; beim osmanischen Chronisten Selānıkī scheint er mit dem Beinamen „Tavâcı“[19] auf, beim persischen Geschichtsschreiber Eskandar Monşī als „Çābūk Torkmān“[20]. İbrāhīm zog nun mit prächtigem Zug und vielen Geschenken im Gepäck in Istanbul ein.[21] Der osmanische Geschichtsschreiber Muṣṭafā ʻĀlī, der eine gereimte Festbeschreibung verfaßte, listet die prächtigen Geschenke, insbesondere die Bücher, mit akribischer Genauigkeit auf. Er stellt die Anwesenheit des persischen Gesandten als eine Unterwerfungsgeste der Perser hin:

„Besonders der Erwählte des Landes der Perser, schickte einen Gesandten und unterwarf sich damit gleichzeitig“[22]. ʻĀlī betont auch, daß der „glückhafte“ Gesandte vorerst ausgesprochen ehrerbietig behandelt wird[23], Ehrenkleider erhält und seine absolute Unterwerfung erklärt.[24] ʻĀlī stellt fest, daß die persische Delegation vom Sultan so sehr mit Speisen, Schmuck, Ämtern und anderen Wohltaten überhauft worden sei, daß dies letztlich der Auslöser für den Übertritt zum Islam (!) gewesen sei.[25]

İbrāhīm nahm also an der Beschneidung teil. Bemerkenswert ist dazu Haunolths Feststellung, daß die Tribüne der Perser erst aufgestellt wurde, als das Fest schon begonnen hatte, und zwar am 5. Juni, dem 5. Tag des Festes.[26] Da wir aus Preyners Korrespondenz wissen, daß die anderen Sitzplätze bereits im Mai 1582 errichtet worden waren, läßt dies wohl darauf schließen, daß die endgültige Festlegung der Plätze erst zu diesem späten Zeitpunkt entschieden wurde. Das

[18] Und zwar von der Sippe der (*y*)*igirrni dört*; cf. F. Sümer, *Safevî Devletinin Kurtuluşu ve Gelişmesinde Anadolu Türklerin Rolü*. Ankara 1975, 188.

[19] Cf. M. İpşırlı, *Tarih-i Selânikî* (971–1003/1563–1595), 2 Bde., Ed. Fak.Yay. No. 3371, İstanbul 1989 (=Selānıkī/İpşirli) 133 „tavâcı“ bzw. 147 „tevâcî“. H. Uran, *Üçüncü Sultan Mehmed'in Sünnet Düğünü*. İstanbul 1942, 39 nennt İbrāhīm — wohl fälschlich — „Nevaci“.

[20] Cf. Eskandar Beg Torkman (Monşī), *Tarīḫ-e ʻālam-ārā-ye ʻabbāsī* in der Übersetzung von R. M. Savory (History of Shah ʻAbbas the Great). Colorado 1978, 390.

[21] Germigny bemerkt in einem Brief vom 14.4.1582 an Heinrich III., daß ein *bölükbaşı* und 100 Janitscharen abgestellt worden seien, um İbrāhīm und seine Leute durch die Stadt zu begleiten und um Sorge zu tragen, daß sie keinen Kontakt zur Bevölkerung hätten. Auch weiß Germigny zu berichten, daß es noch nicht sicher sei, ob der Gesandte angehalten werden würde, auf der Beschneidungsfeier zu erscheinen.

[22] *bā-ḫuṣūṣ iftiḫār-ı mülk-i ʻacem // élçi gönderdi qullıġ eyledi hem (ḫafīf)* 10.

[23] Ob İbrāhīm es allerdings besonders feinsinnig fand, daß man als Trophäen von den letzten Scharmützeln im Osten jede Menge abgeschlagener Perserköpfe auf den Platz trug, kommentiert ʻĀlī nicht näher.

[24] *Op.cit.*, 53 und 55.

[25] Cf. ʻĀlī, *op.cit.*, 172–174. Eine besondere Ehre für die Perser sieht ʻĀlī in der Aufstellung eines eigenen „Schlößchens“ für die Perser (173): *ṣoḥbetleri inʻām-ile iḥsān-ile manṣūṣ // bir qaṣr yapılmışdı hemān anlara maḫṣūṣ. (hezec)*.

[26] Cf. Haunolth, *op.cit.*, 470.

späte Aufstellen der persischen Tribüne ist wohl das, was der Autor des *Sūrnāme-i Hümāyūn* mit „... und man trennte ihre Schüsseln" meint. Auch Preyner hätte am 5. Juni einziehen sollen, verweigerte dies jedoch, da sein Stand noch nicht schön genug hergerichtet war.[27] Erst drei Tage später, nach einer nochmaligen Einladung, bei der man ihm Zuckerfiguren in seine Residenz schicken ließ, bezog er am 8. Juni seinen Stand[28].

Die persische Delegation, die übrigens in Übereinstimmung aller Berichterstatter den prächtigsten der Logenplätze innehatte, blieb nicht bis zum Ende des Festes. Haunolth vermerkt, daß sie am 22. Juni, also einen Monat vor dem offiziellen Ende des Festes, ihren Stand abbrachen. Der Grund war aber nicht, wie Haunolth feststellt, die Verärgerung darüber, daß sich Mitglieder der Delegation zur Sunna bekehren ließen.[29] Vielmehr langte während der Feierlichkeiten ein Kurier von ʿOṣmān Paşa aus Şirvān ein, der meldete, daß die Perser einen osmanischen Angriff abgewehrt hätten. Dies erzürnte Sultan Murād so sehr, daß er İbrāhīm und seine Leute vom Fest entfernen und in einer Blitzaktion den Zuschauerstand abreißen ließ. Dem unglückseligen Gesandten wurde das Haus des Ṣoqullu Meḥmed Paşa in Kadırga Limanı als Gefängnis zugewiesen.[30]

İbrāhīm und seine Leute sollten noch geraume Zeit in Istanbul bleiben. Indirekt wurde İbrāhīm der Anlaß für die Absetzung des Großwesirs Sinān Paşa, da bei einer Audienz beim Sultan kurz nach dem Fest herauskam, daß offenbar Sinān den Frieden eifrig forciert hatte und nicht die Perser ihn erbeten hatten.[31] Nach diesen Vorkommnissen, die auch Solaqzāde[32] beschreibt, verliert sich die Spur des Gesandten vorläufig. Erst zwei Jahre nach dem Fest, in der ersten Dekade des Ša'bān 992H (August 1584) wird İbrāhīm wieder zum Sultan vorgelassen, um die Erlaubnis zur Heimreise einzuholen.[33] In der Zwischenzeit waren nahezu alle seine Leute durch die Pest hinweggerafft worden. Selānikī, der zu dieser Zeit das Amt des *devāddār* innehatte, schildert İbrāhīm Ḫān als eine völlig verängstigte Figur, die angesichts der Audienz so eingeschüchtert war, daß sie nur Unsinn stammelte, um dann zitternd und bebend und noch dazu erfolglos wieder abzuziehen.[34] In den *Menāqib-i Hünerverān* des Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī

[27] *Ibid*, 474.

[28] *Ibid*, 477.

[29] *Ibid*, 492.

[30] Cf. Lewenklaw, 113 und ʿĀlī, 164f. Zur Festbeschreibung ʿĀlīs sei noch angemerkt, daß es sich formal um ein sehr interessantes Werk handelt, was sich gerade am Beispiel der Beschreibung der persischen Gäste sehr gut feststellen läßt: Die einzelnen Kapitel schildern — ungeachtet der chronologischen Abfolge! — verschiedene Aspekte der Festlichkeit ausschließlich aus der jeweils relevanten Perspektive. Dies führt dazu, daß die Gefangennahme İbrāhīms, nach der ja seine Zuschauerloge sofort abgerissen wurde, im Text mehrere Seiten *vor* der lobenden Beschreibung besagter Loge vorkommt.

[31] Cf. İbrāhīm Peçevī, *Peçevî Tarihi*, ed. M. Uraz. İstanbul 1968, 313–314.

[32] Solaq-Zâde Tarihi (ed. V. Çabuk. Ankara 1989). 2. Bd., 338–341.

[33] Hier und im folgenden: Selānikī/İpşırlı, 146–147.

[34] Dem widersprechend berichtet Lewenklaw, daß İbrāhīm die Erlaubnis zur Heimreise erhalten hätte, jedoch nur bis Erzurum kam; dann wurde er wiederum gefangengenommen. Lewen-

scheint er als Schönschreiber (*ḫaṭṭāṭ*) im Gefolge eines Emīn/Emīr Mu'izzeddīn auf; schenkt man 'Ālī Glauben dürfte sich seine Begabung allerdings in Grenzen gehalten haben.[35]

> „... Und er machte sich durch verdorbene Schriftzüge einen schlechten Namen; den Beweis seiner Unkenntnis schrieb er mit eigener Hand nieder. Die jenigen, die es sahen, bedauerten seine Vergeudung beim Goldaufstreuen und die sinnlose Verschwendung von Schmuck und Zier beim Auflegen von Blattgold. Und sie wußten, daß es reiner Wahnsinn ist, derart verwirrte Schriftzeichen in Bücher zu schreiben (und sagten): ‚Wenn doch wenigstens sein Schreibrohr leer würde und ihm doch die Bedeutung (des Spruchs), dem Verrückten gebührt kein Stift' klar würde...' "[36]

Eskandar Monşī vermerkt, daß İbrāhīm sieben Jahre lang in Istanbul geblieben sei und erst anläßlich der Thronbesteigung von Şāh 'Abbās die Erlaubnis erhalten habe, nach Hause zurückzukehren.[37] Doch schon 1587 (!) scheint er in der gleichen Quelle anläßlich seiner Einsetzung als *darūġa* — also Gouverneur/Statthalter von Isfahan — noch einmal auf.[38] Wie İbrāhīm diese sieben (?) Jahre — außer schönzuschreiben — zugebracht hat, darüber schweigen die Quellen. Jedenfalls hinderte ihn die lange, unfreiwillig in Istanbul zugebrachte Zeit nicht daran, 1597 noch einmal mit einer Delegation an die Pforte zu reisen.[39]

Was uns bemerkenswert scheint, ist der Umstand, daß die Sitzordnung mit — nicht ganz unbekannten — religiösen Argumenten untermauert und auch exekutiert wurde. Daß Preyner offenbar sehr selbstbewußt Vorrang vor einem Qızılbaş aufgrund der Religion gefordert hat, weiß er mit dem auch im *Sūrnāme* erwähnten Spruch, die Tötung eines einzigen Qızılbaş sei verdienstvoller als jene siebzig anderer Ungläubiger, wohl zu begründen. Es handelt sich bei diesem Spruch um ein Zitat aus *al-aḥkām ad-dīnīya*, einer polemischen Schrift von aş-Şırwānī, die Süleymān I. vorgelegt worden war.[40] Aş-Şırwānī erklärt diese Aussage damit, daß die *qızılbaş* die Fundamente des Islams untergrüben, was man von den anderen *ahl al-ḥarb* nicht behaupten könne. Den christlichen Gesandten waren die ständigen Polemiken gegen die schiitischen Perser wohlbekannt, und offenbar war dieser Ausspruch in relativ kurzer Zeit zu einem geflügelten Wort geworden, so daß man sich seiner auch in christlichen Kreisen

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klaw erwähnt nicht, was weiter mit ihm geschah, doch muß man davon ausgehen, daß er nach Istanbul zurückgebracht wurde.

[35] Muṣṭafā 'Ālī, *Menāqib-i Hünerverān*. İstanbul (Türk tārīḫ enğümeni külliyātı), 1926, 54.

[36] *„...ve ol maqūle ḫuṭūṭ-ı ma'yūba ile bed-nāmlıq ėdüb ğehli ḫöğğetini gendü eliyle ṣabt ėderdi. görenler zer-efšānındaki esrāfa ve ḥall-kārīsindeki zīb ü ziynet-i bāhirü l-etlāfa te'ssüf ėderlerdi. ve bu maqūle müševveš-i ḫuṭūṭa kütübe yazmaq maḥż-ı ğunūn idügini bilüb bārī ḫāmesi dükense ve gendüsi ‚dīvānerā qalam nīst' meflhūmına maẓhar düšse..."*

[37] Monshī/Savory, 391.

[38] *Ibid*, 501.

[39] Cf. Selānıkī/İpşırlı, 675.

[40] Cf. E. Eberhart, *Osmanische Polemik gegen die Safawiden im 16. Jahrhundert nach arabischen Handschriften*. Freiburg i.B. 1970, 173. Dieser Ausspruch ist nicht nur mit 70, sondern auch mit 40 und 100 Ungläubigen belegt.

geschickt zu bedienen wußte.[41] Überdies war dies sicher auch ein Faktor, der den Muftī bei seiner Entscheidung beeinflußte.

Die Auffindung des Rechtsgutachtens, das der damalige Şeyḫü l-İslām und Muftī Muḥammed Effendi Çivizāde[42], geb. 937H. (1530/31) erstellt hatte, war im Rahmen dieser Arbeit nicht möglich.[43] Dies soll jedoch kein Grund sein, die Existenz eines solchen — sei es nun mündlich oder schriftlich erfolgt — in Frage zu stellen. Denn Rechtsgutachten, die den Unglauben der Qızılbaş bestätigen, sind in größerer Anzahl bekannt, insbesondere natürlich, wenn es darum geht, Kriege gegen sie zu rechtfertigen.[44]

Çivizāde hatte in Übereinstimmung sämtlicher Quellen einen ausgezeichneten Ruf als hochgebildeter, unbestechlicher und gesetzeskundiger Gelehrter. Seine Rechtsgutachten sind durch ihre Ausdruckskraft berühmt; es war bekannt, daß er bei der Ausstellung derselben keinerlei Teilhaber wünschte und nicht einmal einen Hilfsburschen beizog.[45] Ein weiteres religiös bedingtes Argument wird mit dem Ḥadīṣ „Bewirte den Gast, auch wenn er ein Ungläubiger ist." geliefert.[46] Noch heute ist übrigens im Türkischen dieser Ausspruch in Form von Sprichwörtern anzutreffen: „Konuğa hürmet eyle, eğerçi kâfir de olsa." und „Misâfirin gâvur olsa hizmet et."

[41] So vermerkt Germigny anläßlich des Eintreffens des persischen Gesandten, daß die Türken den Schiiten gegenüber wesentlich größere Abneigung hätten als gegen die Christen. Cf. Charrière IV, 122. Salomon Schweigger erzählt in seiner Reisebeschreibung aus den Jahren 1577–1580 folgende Begebenheit: Ein Janitschar habe ihm, als ein Perser an ihnen vorbeigegangen sei, gesagt „dieser siebentzig seyn nicht so gut als du". Cf. S. Schweigger, *Ein neuwe Reißbeschreibung auß Teutschland Nach Konstantinopel und Jerusalem.* Neuauflage. Graz 1964, 72.

[42] Er ist nicht mit seinem Vater Muḥyī ed-Dīn Şeyḫ Meḥmed Efendi Çivizāde zu verwechseln, der dasselbe Amt fünfzig Jahre vorher innehatte (1539–1541 oder 42). Muḥammed Efendi Çivizāde hatte am 26. Ẕī-l-ḥicce 989H (= 21.Jänner 1582) den *ma'zūl* Muḥammed Efendi Ma'lūlzāde in diesem Amt abgelöst, nachdem er zuvor sämtliche Stadien einer klassischen Karriere als Geistlicher durchlaufen und damit zuletzt das Amt des Heeresrichters von Rūmėli innehatte. Die Bemerkung 'Ālīs, 158, beim Fest sei noch Ma'lūlzāde („Ibn Ma'lūl") Muftī gewesen, muß ein Irrtum sein, da auch in der Süleymaniye-HS des *Sūrnāme* ein Marginalvermerk Çivizāde als Muftī ausweist.

[43] Çivizāde hat zwar wie die meisten Şeyḫü l-İslām eine Fetvāsammlung hinterlassen, was aber nicht bedeutet, daß diese (nur) eigene Rechtsgutachten beinhaltet. (Dazu kommt noch, daß Fetvās meist kein Datum, sondern nur den Wochentag aufweisen; Çivizāde und sein Vater unterschrieben außerdem beide stets nur mit „Çivizāde"...). Wir konsultierten — erfolglos — die *kutub as-siyar* der berühmten Fetvāsammlung des Şeyḫü l-İslām 'Ālī Efendı (gedruckt İstanbul 1289).

[44] Cf. Hammer, GOR II 537f., H. Krüger, *Fetwa und Siyar.* Wiesbaden 1978, 124ff., Eberhart, *op.cit.*, 155ff.

[45] Zu Çivizāde cf. M. Süreyyā, *Sicill-i 'Oṣmānī* IV, Istanbul 1308H, 126; weiters C. Baysun in *İslam Ansiklopedisi* 3, 439, Na'īmā Bd. I, 109 (Ed. Istanbul 1928) und *'İlmīye Sālnāmesi*, Istanbul 1334, 402–403, R. C. Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul.* London 1986, 71 und A. Altunsu, *Osmanlı Şeyhülislāmlarī.* Ankara 1942, 40.

[46] Dieser Ḥadīṣ konnte zwar genau in diesem Wortlaut in den gängigen Sammlungen nicht festgestellt werden, was jedoch nicht weiter problematisch scheint, da der Ḥadīṣ „Beim Gesandten Gottes — Gott segne ihn und spende ihm Heil — kehrte ein Gast ein (und er war) ein Ungläubiger", der inhaltlich die gleiche Aussage aufweist, belegt ist. Cf. Wensinck, *Concordance de la Tradition Musulmane.* Leiden 1955, Tom. III, 526: „Inna rasūla llāhi [ṣ] ḍāfahū ḍayfun [wahuwa] kāfirun".

Rechtlich hatte Preyner den Status eines *musta'min*, d.h. eines Nichtmuslims, der sich im muslimischen Gebiet aufhielt, doch kein Untertan (*zimmī*) war. Personen dieses Status war es gestattet, Rechtsgutachten zu verlangen; Heyd merkt in seiner Studie zum osmanischen Fetvā[47] an, daß es sogar christlichen Ausländern gestattet war, ein Fetvā zu erwirken.

Insgesamt haben wir hier ein — wenn auch kleines — Beispiel vor uns, daß die Polemiken gegen die Qızılbaş, insbesondere deren mindere Bewertung den Christen gegenüber nicht nur ein religionswissenschaftlicher Gedanke osmanischer Theoretiker war, sondern daß man offenbar auch tatsächlich bereit war, *in praxi* danach zu handeln.

47 U. Heyd, Some Aspects on Ottoman Fetvā. *BSOAS*, XXXII, 1969, 38.

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THE TURCO–MONGOLIAN TRADITION OF COMMON ORIGIN AND THE HISTORIOGRAPHY IN FIFTEENTH CENTURY CENTRAL ASIA

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Historical tradition in Central Asia has never been an easy topic for scholarly research. The Late-Timurid and Post-Timurid periods are especially far from being well researched. There are but a few studies at our disposal.[1] This article aims at making clearer some points of the Turco–Mongolian tradition of common origin as reflected in the fifteenth century historiography of Central Asia.

The *Jāmiᶜ at-tawārīx* of Rašīd ad-Dīn (1247–1318) is considered to be the first point where the Mongolian tradition of the *Altan debter* had become a part of Islamic culture. The process how it was composed is also well known to us.[2] Here I would like to point out that we have not only one, but five different versions of the text relating this tradition: A Mongolian variant of the original one written by Pulad Čingsang, a variant by Rašīd ad-Dīn, another version by his pupil Qazwīnī, the fourth one is that of the school of Šaraf ad-dīn ᶜAlī Yazdī, and the fifth one is that of the late Golden Horde.[3]

[1] K. Jahn, Study on Supplementary Persian Sources for the Mongol History of Iran. In: D. Sinor (Ed.), *Aspects of Altaic Civilisations*. Bloomington–The Hague 1963, 197–204; A. Z. V. Togan, The Composition of the History of the Mongols by Rashīd al-Dīn. *CAJ*, VII (1962) 60–72; W. Hinz, Quellenstudien zur Geschichte der Timuriden. *ZDMG* XC (1936) 358–361; F. Tauer, Timurlular devrinde tarihçilik. *TTK Belleten* 1965, 50–65; I. Aka (Ed.), *Tacʼüs-Selmani Târîh-nâme*, 3–8; B. Ahmedov, *Istoriko-geografičeskaja literatura Srednej Azii XVI–XVIII vv.* Tashkent 1985.

[2] E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia III. The Tartar Dominion (1265–1502)* Cambridge. ²1951, 72–73; Togan, The Composition, 60–67; Jahn, Supplementary Sources, 197–198.

[3] The text of the *Altan Debter* was known also to some other authors in the Middle East the texts of whose, however, have not become a part of a historical tradition. One of these texts is the inedited Arabic MS *Mulḥaqāt aṣ-ṣurāḥ*, an other one is preserved in the *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār* of Al-ᶜUmarī (1301–1349). The text of this latter is as follows: *fanaqūlu wabillāhi t-awfīqu qīla inna jingiz ḫān yantahā ilā imraʼati tusammā [alān] quwā kānat mutazawwajata bizawjin awladahā waladayni smu aḫadihimā [bukunūt] wal-āḫiru [balkunūt], waʼabnāʼu hāḏayni l-waladayni yusammayāni ʿinda l-moġoli [d-dar-lakīn], ṯumma māta zawjuhā wabaqiyat murmalata biġayri zawjin, faḥamalat faʼunkira ᶜalayhā l-ḥabalu, waḥumilat ilā man lahu l-ḥukmu baynahum liyanẓur fī amrihā, fasaʼalahā mimman ḥamalti? faqālat: mā ḥamaltu min aḥadin illā ana kuntu qāᶜidata wafarjī makšūfa, fanazala nūrun daḫala fī farjī ṯalāṯa marratin, faḥamaltu minhu hāḏā l-ḥamla, waʼanā ḫāmila biṯalāṯata ḏukūrin liʼanna duḫūlu ḏālika n-nūri*

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I. According to Rašīd ad-Dīn, Japheth was the ancestor of all northern nomads known under the common name *turk*.

All of them had descended from the four sons of Dīp Bāqūy xān, the grandson of Japheth. Their genealogies and prehistory are dealt with in the first part *(bāb)* of the first volume *(mujallad)*.[4] We can find the genealogy of Oġūz xān and the members of his retinue as a separate section here,[5] the genealogy of the Mongols coming from Ergene qon[6] is incorporated in the genealogies of their defeated enemies.[7] Rašīd ad-Dīn emphasised that the Mongols were the progeny of those tribes who not having abandoned their pagan rites were expelled to the East by Oġūz xān, but, by the time of Rašīd ad-Dīn they too became monotheists.[8] The history of Oġūz xān continues with the genealogies of his descendants, *i.e.*, the *Turkmens* in the third volume *(mujallad)*[9]. This conception was also preserved by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, the historian of the Timurid Šāhrux mīrzā (1405–1444). This, hitherto unedited work (completed in 1427/8) is known under both titles *Majmūʿa-i Ḥāfīẓ-i Abrū* and *Zubdatu't-tawārīx*, and was mainly based on Rašīd ad-Dīn's *Jāmiʿ at-tawārīx*. It should be considered a version of Rašīd ad-Dīn's work re-arranged according to the classical chrono-

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kulla marratin biwaladi ḍakarin, famhilūnī ḥattā aḍaʿu, fa'in waḍaʿtu ṭalāṭata ḍukūrin faʿmalū miṣdāqa qawlī, wa'illā fara'yukum fiyya, fawaladat ṭalāṭata awlādin ḍukūran fī baṭnin wāḥidin: būqun qūtāġī wabūsun sāljī wabūḏunjar, wahawlā'i ṭ-ṭalāṭata hum al-musammūna bin-nūrānīyyina nisbatan ilā n-nūri llaḍī ddaʿat ummuhum annahu nazala fī farjihā, walihāḏā yuqālu ʿan jingiz ḫān innahu bnu š-šamsi, wabuḏunjar ʿalayhi ʿamūdu n-nasab jingiz ḫān, ... The text is edited by K. Lech, *Das mongolishe Weltreich, Al-'Umari's Darstellung der mongolische Reiche in seinem Werk masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār.* (Asiatische Forschungen 22) Wiesbaden 1968, 2–3 [Arabic script], while the translation (*ibid.*, 92) runs: „Nach unseren Angaben ... soll Ğinkiz Ḫān's Familie (*nasab*) auf eine Frau namens Ālān Quwā zurückgehen, die mit einem Mann (Dobun Mergen geheißen) verheiratet war. Von ihm besaß sie zwei Söhne Bukunūt und Balkanūt, deren Nachkomen bei den Mongolen (heute) unter dem Namen *Darlakīn* bekannt sind. Nach dem Verlust ihres Gatten blieb die Frau verwittet zurück, wurde jedoch, ohne (von einem zweiten) Gemahl (zu wissen) schwanger. Man schalt sie deswegen und brachte sie zur Untersuchung ihres Falles vor den Richte (*man lahū l-ḥukm bainahum*). Befragt, durch wen sie in diese Lage gekommen sei, erwiderte sie: Durch keinen Mann! Ich saß (eines Tages lediglich) mit unbedeckten ‚Leib' da, als ein Licht herabfuhr und dreimal in meinem Schoß drang — jedesmal mit einem Knaben. Deshalb bin ich in andere Umstände geraten und gehe nun mit Drillingen schwanger. Gebt mir Zeit bis zur Niederkunft; wenn ich drei Knaben das Leben schenke, so erkennt, daß ich die Wahrheit gesprochen habe. Wenn nicht, so tut mit mir, was ihr wollt. Sie brachte Drillinge, und zwar drei Jungen, zur Welt, Būqun Qūtāġī, Būsun Sālğī und Būḏunğar. Man hat sie weben des lichts, das sich nach Behauptung ihrer Mutter in ihren Schoß senkte, — *Nūrānniyūn* genannt. Deswegen heißt es von Ğinkiz Ḫān auch, er sei der Sohn der Sonne.

Auf Būdunğar baut sich nun der Stammbaum Ğingiz Ḫān's auf: ..."

[4] Its most correct edition is: Hetagurov–Romaskevič–Alizade (Eds), Rašīd ad-Dīn Faẓlallāh *Jāmiʿ at-tawārīx* vol. I/1. Moscow 1965.

[5] *Op. cit.*, 89–129.

[6] Cf. G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen (TMEN)* I. Wiesbaden 1963, 127–8, 440.

[7] Hetagurov et alii (Eds), Rašīd ad-Dīn Faẓlallāh, *Jāmiʿ at-tawārīḫ*. 352–371.

[8] *Op. cit.*, 110.

[9] K. Jahn (Ed.), *Die Geschichte von Oġuzen des Rašīd al-Dīn's*. Denkschriften d. öst. Akademie der Wissenschaften: Phil.-hist. KL. 100. Graz–Wien–Köln 1969.

logical methods and continued up to 1416 and 1426. The work was compiled in several phases and versions.[10]

This period was also the time, when the compilation of Rašīd ad-Dīn became known in Turkic. Togan mentions a manuscript of the Public Library in Samarqand, containing a 15th century Turkic version of Rašīd ad-Dīn.[11] A 16th century Chaghatay version of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū under the title *Tarīx*[12] was written down in Nisa by somebody introducing himself merely as Salur baba. A part of this work, dealing with the history of the *oġuz*.[13] was analysed by S. G. Agadžanov and treated as an independent source.[14] Another 16th century Chaghatay source which was based mainly on the *Tārīx-i Ġāzānī* by Rašīd ad-Dīn is the *Tawārīx-i Guzīda; Nuṣrat-nāma*. This work whose author is not known, was composed between 1502 and ca. 1504 at the order of Muḥammad Šaybānī.[15]

We also have another Turkic version of this work which served as the basis for *Jamiᶜ at-Tawārīx* compiled in the seventeenth century in Kasimov. [16]

II. The first attempt to rewrite this story as a part of a combined "Turco–Mongolian" tradition was made by Rašīd ad-Dīn's disciple and successor, Ḥamdullāh Qazwīnī, the author of the *Tārīx-i Guzīda*[17] in 1330. He merged the two traditions, the Turkic and the Mongolian, which were treated by his master[18] as two separate ones. Qazwīnī's text runs as follows:

> „...Qara xān had a son, Oġuz xān, who was called Oġuz ata by the ancestors of the Mongols. He became a ruler of this people. Following his death, this place was ruled by the successors of Yafaṣ b. Nūḥ for a thousand year. It happened at the time of Farīdūn, that his son Tūr led a huge army against them. Oġuz's tribe was defeated and massacred. The only male survivors, Nöküz and Qiyan, were seeking a refuge. Accompanied by their wives, they fled toward a combe, that 'had no firm road to go forward from' *(yakrāh-i sāxt pīš nadāšt)*. They settled down here and had many

[10] Tauer, Timurlular devrinde, 53–9; Togan, The Composition, 69. For a catalogue of contents of this work see Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Majmūᶜ at-tawārīx*. MS IVAN UzSSR 69, ff. 13ᵛ–18ᵛ.

[11] Togan, The Composition, 65.

[12] MS IJaL AN TSSR 526-É.

[13] MS IJaL AN TSSR 526-É, 240–259. (The MS is paginated.)

[14] S. G. Agadžanov, *Očerki po istorii oguzov i turkmen Srednej Azii IX-XIII vv.* Ashkhabad 1963, 29, 137, 151–153.

[15] A. M. Akramov (Ed.), *Tawārīẖ-i guzīda — Nuṣrat-nāme*. Taškent 1967, 24–25; Ahmedov, *Istoriko-geografičeskie sočinenija*, 12.

[16] I. M. Berezin, *Jāmiᶜ at-tawārīx. Sbornik letopisej, tatarskij tekst* II. Kazan' 1851, 18–27; Š. Š. Abylov, Zamigyt-tävarix. In: Abylov–Xisamov–Miŋnegulov (Eds), *Tatar ädäbijjäti tarixy* I. Ed. Kazan' 1984, 333–343.

[17] Browne, *Literary History*, 72–73; E. G. Browne (Ed.), *The Tárīkh-i-Guzídah*, 79–80; Jahn, Supplementary Sources, 200.

[18] K. Jahn, Zu Rašīd al-Dīn's „Geschichte der Oġuzen und Türken". *Journal of Asian History* I (1967) 45; K. Jahn, *Die Geschichte von Oġuzen und Türken Rašīd al-Dīn's.*

children. Owing to their large quantity of animals they became wealthy. Tribes and clans were formed from their progeny. This valley is called Ergene qon by the Mongols. The tribe of Qiyan is called Qiyat[19], the progeny *(tuxma)* of Nöküz is Darlakīn. Their reputation is greater than that of those who were outside."[20]

III. Qazwīnī's variant was recomposed and enlarged in 1419 AD by Šaraf ad-Dīn ᶜAlī Yazdī, the famous stylist of the age. This work was carried out to the initiative and perhaps even with the personal collaboration of Ibrāhim sulṭān, the grandson of Timur ruling over Shiraz and the western parts of Iran (1415–1435). The author used this hitherto unpublished text as a Prolegomenon (*muqaddima*) to the *Ẓafarnāma* his famous biography of Tamerlan (1425).[21]

The story begins with Yāfaṣ, the ancestor of the Mongols. The nomad way of life was invented by one of his seven sons, Turk, a contemporary of Kayômarth, the first ruler of Iran.[22] The people preserved their original monotheism until Alinja xān, son of Kök xān, the third descendant of Yāfaṣ, came to power.[23] Alinja became the father of the twins, Moġol and Tatar. The realm was divided between them. Having registered the names of each of the eight descendants of Tatar, the author focuses on the line of Moġol who had nine progenies to come to power.[24] His grandson, Oġūz, was born as a monotheist (*xudā-parast*) and therefore rejected his mother's breast till she embraced monotheism. She saw him three times in her dreams calling her to do so. When he was one year old he declared that his name was Oġūz. As he grew up, he refused to live with his two older wives, who remained pagans, and took a third one, who promised to follow his religion. For his faith, he had to fight with his father Qara xān, and his kinsfolk. In the end Qara xān died and Oġūz forced his brethren and tribesmen to flee eastwards. They found refuge at the *xān* of the Tatar.[25] Oġūz gave a name to each group of his followers. His six sons were divided into two groups with three people in each. They and their successors ruled over the Mongols for a millennium after the death of Oġūz till Sävinč xān of the Tatar and Tūr bin Farīdūn came and defeated them.[26] Only two men could escape, Qiyan, the son of Īl xān the last Mongol ruler, and Nöküz his nephew. Accompanied by their wives, they fled towards Ergene qon. Two groups came to exist in this place: the Qiyat formed by the progeny of Qiyan, and the Darlakin,

[19] This term also occurs in the *Secret History of the Mongols* § 63, which is speaking about the marriage of Čingis khan. For an etymology of this word *vd*: G. Doerfer, *TMEN* I, 446.

[20] E. G. Browne (Ed.), *Tārīx-i Guzīda*. 558; MS IVAN UzSSR 8, f. 285ᵛ; MS Bibl. Firdousi 540, f. 162ᵛ.

[21] Browne, *Literary History*, 364–5; Tauer, Tarihçilik, 59–60.

[22] MSS MTAK (Budapest) Perzsa Qu.6, ff. 24ᵛ–27ᵛ; IVAN UzSSR 39, ff. 13ʳ–14ʳ.

[23] MSS MTAK (Budapest) Perzsa Qu.6, f. 27ᵛ; IVAN UzSSR 39, f. 15ʳ.

[24] MSS MTAK (Budapest) Perzsa Qu.6, f. 27ʳ–ᵛ;and IVAN UzSSR 39, f. 15ʳ–ᵛ.

[25] MSS MTAK (Budapest) Perzsa Qu.6, ff. 27ᵛ–29ʳ; IVAN UzSSR 39, ff. 15ᵛ–16ᵛ

[26] MSS MTAK (Budapest) Perzsa Qu.6, ff. 29ʳ–32ʳ; IVAN UzSSR 39, ff. 16ᵛ–18ʳ

by those of Nökür.[27] As the people became numerous, they had to find a way out of this combe. It became possible for them only after melting the rocks containing iron.[28] When they came out, they turned against the Tatar and drove them from their old homelands. In this place, Alanqoa, the wife of Dobun Bayan, their ruler, became pregnant from the light, which was falling onto their tent.[29] She gave birth to three sons, Yaqun Qataġān, who became the ancestor of the Qataġan, Yusqin, who became the ancestor of the Saljut, and the youngest one, called Bodončar became the ancestor of the Chingisids.[30] Ṯümene xān, one of his grandsons, had seven sons from his first wife and male twins from the other one. The twins were called Qabul xān the third ancestor of the Chingisids and Qačuli bahadur, the seventh one of the Timurids. It was Qačuli bahadur to whom, the future of their clans was revealed in a dream.[31] The same version is given in the *Rawżatu's-ṣafā* of Mīrx^{w}ānd,[32] and used in the third part of X^{w}āndamīr's *Ḥabību's siyar*.[33] Although the author cites Rašīd ad-Dīn[34] describing the link between the Kings of Turkestan and Japheth, his conception seems to be much closer to that of Mīrx^{w}ānd. The text relates the story of the *yada tašï*,[35] and then runs to the history of Turk bin Yāfaṯ and his descendants in the same manner as Mīrx^{w}ānd. This method was then followed by Ḥāfiẓ-i Tāniš-i Buxārī, the author of the *Šarafnāma-yi šāhī* or *ʿAbdullāhnāma* written down as a biography of ʿAbdullāh II xan of Bukhara (1550–1589).[36] His plan was also followed by Molla Urganjī, the continuator the *Šajara-i turk* of Abū l-Ġāzī.[37]

The text was borrowed from X^{w}āndamīr by the Indian Timurid historiography which like the Iranian and Central Asian ones was very eager about the problems of legitimation.[38] This lineage is well represented by the *Akbarnāma*

[27] *Sic* in the quoted MS. Most of MSS has the word with [Z], but, however, the form in [R] seems to be more correct. As the difference is formed merely by one dot, there is a good reason to seek the original form of this legendary name in Mo. *nökör*. For this word cf. Doerfer *TMEN* I, 521.

[28] MSS Perzsa Qu.6 ff. 32^{r}–33^{r}; IVAN UzSSR 39. ff. 18^{r}-19^{r}.

[29] MSS MTAK (Budapest) Perzsa Qu.6 ff. 33^{r}–34^{r}; IVAN UzSSR 39. ff. 19^{r}–20^{r}; Beyazit Umumî Kütüphanesi. Istanbul 4975, 40–41.

[30] Their progeny got the collective name *Nirun*, while that of the two sons of *Dobun Bayan* were called *Darlakin* again cf. MTAK Perzsa Qu.6, f. 34^{r}. For an etymology of the word *nirun* see: Doerfer, *TMEN* I., 529–30, and for that of *darlakin*: Doerfer, *TMEN* I, 327.

[31] MSS MTAK Perzsa Qu.6, ff. 36^{v}–37^{v}; Beyazit U. K. 4975, 45.

[32] A. Jambert (Ed.), *Vie de Djengiz-khan par Mirkhond*. Paris 1841, 3–37.

[33] Doktor Moḥammad Dabīr Siyāqī (Ed.), X^{w}āndamīr, Ḥabību's siyar. Tehran 1362, 2–16.

[34] "*dar Jāmiʿ at-tawārīx-i Rašīdī masṭūrast ki Yāfaṯ-rā Abūlja xān mīgufta'and*" cf. the Tehrān edition, vol. III, 4.

[35] *Ḥabību's-siyar*. Cf. the Tehrān edition, vol. III, 4–6.

[36] M. A. Salahetdinova (Ed.), *Šarafnama-ji šahi*. Moscow 1983, ff. 10a–19b. The Russian translation also follows the original pagination.

[37] P. I. Desmaisons (Ed.), *Šajara-i Turk, Histoire des Mongols et Tatares par Aboul Gazi Béhadour Khan*. SanktPetersburg 1871, 5–35.

[38] Таиег, Timurlular, 63; Ahmedov, *Istoriko-geografičeskaja literatura*, 35. For general problems of Indian historiography of the Timurid period see: Storey, *Persian Literature*. Vol. II/3.

of Faḍl ad-Dīn ᶜAllāmī,[39] by whom the lineage of Qabul xan was replaced by that of Qačuli bahādur.

IV. Qazwīnī's variant is very important because it also contains a remark on the original ethnogenetical legend i.e. the descent from a wolf.[40] Although it had not become official, this motif can be found in several later compositions, which were not linked directly between each other. A later rewriting of this motif is to be seen in a Chagatay work whose author is not known, the *Tawārīx-i guzīda; Nuṣrat-nāma*. In this version the two wolves are replaced with seven dogs.[41] These parts of the texts provide us with a clear evidence that there had to exist a variant of the Mongolian tradition, other than that of Rašīd ad-Dīn. Changes in the Chagatay work show that this variant was not merely a literary one, but it existed in popular form, perhaps in the sphere of the former Golden Horde, amongst the Nogais, a part of whom lived also in the lower Syr Darja.[42] This is to be known from the final part of this text where the difference is explained as a heritage of Noqai xan, whose name means "dog" in Mongolian.[43] The only remaining question is that of the origin of this textual variant. Bahaeddin Ögel mentioned in his *Turkish Mythology* that he thought the motive of Ergene qon to be a survival of the ethnogenetical legend of the ancient Turcs.[44] On the other hand, we have a clear evidence of the contamination of this text with the passage on Alan-γo'a in the Secret History of the Mongols. In a later source, the *Tarīx-i Muqīm-xānī*, which was written by Muḥammad Yūsuf Munšī, for Muḥammad Muqīm xān of Balkh (from 1696 onwards), and then of

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London 1939, 516–650; A. L. Srivastava, Sources In: R. C. Majumdar–J. N. Chaudhuri–S. Chaudhury (Eds), *The Mughal Empire*.(The History and Culture of Indian People VIII). Bombay 1974, 12; Zs. Renner, A mai indiai történetírás néhány vitatott kérdése [On Some Problems of Modern Indian Historiography]. *Történelem és kultúra* [History and Culture] 3. Budapest 1987, 80–81.

[39] Maulavī Abdur Rahīm (Ed.), *The Akbarnámah by Abul Fazl i Mubárak i 'Allámí*. Vol. I. Calcutta 1877, 48–88, MS. TTK. Y/754, ff. 30ʳ–39ᵛ.

[40] Browne (Ed.), *The Tárík-i Guzídah*. 558; MSS IVAN UzSSR 8, f. 258ᵛ. Bibl. Firdousi 540, f. 162ᵛ. "*wa baᶜžī moġūlān gūyand ki nöküz wa qiyan do zan būda'and darān dara gorg bāēšān jamᶜ šuḍa wa ēšānrā az ān farzandān āmada wa ēn riwāyatē žaᶜīfast*".

[41] Akramov (Ed.), plate 13. "*... ol moġūl ili-ning qarïnčqa it-läri bar ermiš. alar qačïb ergirnik qon tegän qaya-ġä bersä-lär tengri-ning buyruqï birlä yeti kiši yeti qïsraq at birlä ol ergene-ning qon tegän qaya-ġä kirmiš-lär. bular tapïb öltürä-bilmämiš-lär. taqï tängrï-ning buyruqïdïn ol yeti kiši yeti it birlä jimāᶜ qïldïlar. ol yeti it ol qaya ičindä qalïb uruġlab köp bolub beš yüz yïldïn song fermān birlä ol yetidin moġūl ili bolub turur.*"

[42] L. Krader, *The Peoples of Central Asia*. Indiana University Publications, Uralic and Altaic Series. Vol. 26. Bloomington–The Hague 1963, 87.

[43] Akramov (Ed.), *Tawārīx-i guzīda, Nuṣrat-nāma*) plates 13 and 14: "*bu söz-ni noqay xan išitib burta čina-niŋ uruġï tegäni bu sözdin üläm bulmïš ertäki-lär it uruġï yaman dey-almayïn böri uruġï demiš-lär*".

[44] B. Ögel, *Türk mitolojisi*. Vol. I. Ankara 1971, 21–22. For some more detailed data on this topic cf. J. A. Boyle, The Alexander Romance in Central Asia. *Zentralasiatische Studien* IX (1975) 269–71. He points out that these motives must have been connected with an old Nestorian tradition of the "Alexander Romance" which have been also entered Islamic tradition.

Bukhara (1702–1707)[45] we read the original version of the pregnancy of Alan-γo'a, i.e. with the mention of the he-wolf.[46] This later motive, although unknown in the other pieces of official historiography, has many parallels in popular historiography and folklore. The late 17th century Tatar legend, which was recensed by Abylov under the title *Dastany näsle Čingiz* in the *Tatar ädäbijäti tarixy* is very close to his early 18th century Bukharan parallel.[47]

Thus, we can conclude that this hitherto unknown variant must have been very close to — or perhaps the same as — that of Pulad Čingsang.[48] His text was a variant of the original *Altan debter*. He made his work on the order of the Ilkhanid ruler Ġāzān (1295–1304). His text was then used by Rašīd ad-Dīn as a source of his Mongol history.[49] Here we must point out that the text in Rašīd ad-Dīn's work must undergo some alterations. These changes were due to the conception of the author to compose an encyclopaedic World History of all nations. The other lineages of the text that were investigated here, i.e. that of Qazwīnī and Šaraf ad-Dīn ᶜAlī Yazdī did not share this conception. An other variant of the text seems to have been preserved in the texts of the *Tārīx-i Muqīm-xānī* and *Dastany näsle Čingiz*, and had earlier been contaminated into the story about Ergene-qon in the texts of Qazwīnī and the *Tawārīx-i guzīda; Nuṣrat-nāma*. This variant must be formed in the sphere of the Golden Horde.

* * *

As we have seen, at the end of the 15th century there were two main versions existing in Persian historiography, one was that of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, based on Rašīd ad-Dīn, and the other one was that of Šaraf ad-Dīn ᶜAlī Yazdī (died in 1454 AD), based on Qazwīnī.

Moreover, the *Ẓafarnāma* provides us with a clear evidence that the composition of such works did not happen spontaneously. As to the second half of the 15th century, there were two clearly different interpretations of political power. The first attempt was that of Šāhrux, who tried to reinforce his political

[45] *Tārīx-i Muqīm-xānī*. MS. Bibl. Firdousi (Dushanbe) 521, f. 3ʳ; A. A. Semenov (Transl.), *Muhammad Jusuf Munši, Mukim-hanskaja istorija*. Tashkent 1956, 5; Ahmedov, *Istoriko-geogra fičeskaja literatura*, 82.

[46] *Tārīx-i Muqīm-xānī*. MSS. Bibl. Firdousi (Dushanbe) 521, ff. 4ᵛ–5ʳ; MTAK (Budapest) Perzsa O.44, ff. 9ᵛ–10ʳ: "*šabē ān bānū-yi kašwar dar xargāh-i xud xufta būd dīd ki az hawā nūrē ẓāhir šud wa az rawzana dar āmada mubaddal bahay'at-i aᶜrābī ašhal čašm gardīd wa narm narm nazdīk āmada wa āhasta āhasta bāz dardīd wa baṣūrat-i gurg suḍa az xargāh bar āmada raft*". This part of the text had been omitted in Semenov's translation.

[47] Abylov, Dastannar. In: Abylov–Xisamov–Miŋnegulov (Eds), *Tatar ädäbijjäti tarixy* I. Kazan' 1984, 349–350. A Kazakh parallel of this text was published by V. Radloff. Cf. V. Radloff, *Proben*. Vol. III/1, 63–68 (Kazakh original); *Proben*. Vol. III/2, 82–89 (translation).

[48] On this author and his text see: Togan, The Composition, 67; Jahn, Supplementary Sources, 198–9.

[49] On the history of this text *vd.* P. Pelliot–L. Hambis, *Histoire de Campagnes de Gengis Khan, Cheng-wou ts'ing-tcheng lou*, traduit et annoté par. Tome I. Leiden 1951, xiii–xv.

legitimation through Islam, trying to abandon all Mongolian customs.[50] On the other hand, both Timur and his other successors (except Šāhrux) were eager to keep all Mongolian traditions alive, for the purpose of getting true legitimation in this way.[51] We can find clear evidence of this in the fact that a history, very close in manner to that of Šaraf ad-Dīn ᶜAlī Yazdī was written by, or on the invocation of Uluġ beg (1405–1448), the son and lieutenant of Šāhrux in Transoxania, the *Tārīx-i arbaᶜa ulūs*. Although the work has not come down to us, we are well informed about its contents. This work was used by Xʷāndamīr,[52] and if Ahmedov is right, it was later summarized in a hitherto unedited work, written in 1525 for the Sheybanid Keldi Muḥammad of Tashkent by a person called ᶜAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī Naṣrallāhī, the *Zubdatu'l-āṣār*.[53] It also has to be mentioned that both Mīrxʷānd and Xʷāndamīr had the closest connections with and enjoyed the protection of Mīr ᶜAlī Šīr Navā'ī (1440/41–1501), the poet and intimate minister of the Timurid Baysongur Mīrzā of Herat.[54]

As a summary of all these facts, we must point out the importance of some *political* approaches such as linking the Mongolian tradition with that of the Islam, a task originally carried out by Rašīd ad-Dīn, and two approaches to the legitimation of the Timurid rule thereafter, one being assigned to Ḥāfiẓ-Abrū in the favour of the Islamic way followed by Šāhrux, and the other one being a pro-Mongolid way followed by Šaraf ad-Dīn ᶜAlī Yazdī. Although, in the lifetime of Šāhrux the Islamic way seemed to be victorious, during the second half of the 15th century the tendency turned to favour the other one. This was apparently due to the historical changes in the position of the Timurids.

List of abbreviations

Names of fonds

(The names of the former Soviet fonds are shown according to their official forms in 1989/90, when the author paid a visit to them. All units written in Cyrillic alphabet are transliterated

[50] V. V. Bartol'd, Khalif i sultan. In: *Sočinenija*. Vol. V, Moscow 1966, 48–49.

[51] Bartol'd, *op.cit.*, 44–45. Cf. also the interesting mention in the *Ḥabību's-siyar* of Xʷāndamīr (Ed. M. C. Defrémery, Paris, MDCCLII, 4. [text], 52. [transl.] who speaking about the Chagataid rulers of Transoxania shows that Qaračar noyan, the fifth ancestor of Timur was, by the will of Čingiz xān the adjutant of Čaġatay. According to Defrémery (*op.cit.*, 52, note) this mention, however, had been rejected as early as D'Ohsson, (D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols* II. 108–9, note).

[52] Defrémery, *Histoire* 3; W. Barthold, *Turkestan down the Mongolian Invasion*. ("E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, New Series. V) London 1928, 56; *idem*, Ulugbeg i ego vremja. In: *Sočinenija*. Vol. II/2, Moscow 1964, 141.

[53] Ahmedov, *Istoriko-geografičeskie sočinenija*, 30, 32–33; MS LOIVAN SSSR D104, ff. 5ᵛ–7ʳ.

[54] V. V. Bartol'd, Mir Ali-Šir i političeskaja žizn'. In: *Sočinenija*. Vol. II/2. Moscow 1964, 257.

mechanically without any regard to the language. Geographical names are given according to the everyday usage.) The author expresses his greatest thanks and acknowledgements to all of them for putting their fonds to his disposal.

Bibl. Firdousi (Dushanbe) Respublikanskaja Publičnaja Biblioteka po imeni Firdousi.
IJaL AN TSSR Institut Jazyka i Literatury Akademii Nauk Turkmenskoj SSR (Ashkhabad).
IVAN UzSSR Institut Vostokovedenija Akademii Nauk Uzbegskoj SSR (Tashkent).
LO IVAN Leningradskoe Otdelenie Akademii Nauk SSSR (Leningrad [St. Petersburg]).
MTAK (Budapest) A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára (The Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences).
TTK Türk Tarih Kurumu (Ankara).

Bibliographical abbreviation

TMEN *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*. I–IV. Wiesbaden 1963–75.

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WITSEN'S "DAGUR" MATERIAL*

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The utmost importance of Nicolaes Witsen's[1] *Noord en Oost Tartaryen*[2] (hereafter *NOT*) is well known to Altaic linguists.[3] The significance of the *NOT* in the field of Mongolian studies has been recognized by such scholars as Ligeti, Mostaert, Doerfer, Kara, Clark, but no comprehensive attempt has been made to analyse the characteristics of the "Dagur" material.

Nevertheless, in the literature of Mongolian, references to this "Dagur" word-list are quite numerous. The first author who offers a coherent notice and intelligent discussion of this subject is Baddeley[4] but his statement has remained totally neglected by modern research.[5] Thus, the history of the discussion about Nicolaes Witsen's work on "Dagur" language dates back to the *Rapport préliminaire* of Ligeti.[6] As can be seen from his footnote, Ligeti completely accepted Witsen's own statement as to the origin of the "Dagur" word-list. The identification of this word-list in the later times also has not been questioned by him. Detailed evidence and argument in favour of the identification of this word-list

* I wish to thank Prof. Kara for the useful suggestions given and for his valuable comments on an earlier version of this article.

[1] A very thorough investigation of the life and work of Witsen was published by I. Baski, A Crimean Turkic-Tatar Glossary from the 17th Century. *AOH* XL: 1 (1986) 107–110. Because of his elaborate description I may thus content myself here with stating that the most recent treatment of the *NOT* is Hamarhanow and for the rest referring to Baski's work.

[2] J. F. Baddeley, *Russia, Mongolia, China*. New York 1911, 1-li and cl, gives a brief description of the editions of the *NOT*.

[3] Not to mention the significance of the *NOT* from another, for example historical point of view. In this respect see, among others, P. Pelliot, *Notes critiques d'histoire kalmouke*. Paris 1960. The importance of the *NOT* is well recognized by scholars working in the field of Chinese studies, as we can safely assume from the article on "Early Chinese studies in Holland" written by Duyvendak, with a reference on Witsen's biographical work (J. J. L. Duyvendak, Early Chinese studies in Holland. *T'P* 32 (1936) 304, n. 2).

[4] J. F. Baddeley, *op. cit.*, 1-li and 203.

[5] The only exception I have found is Krueger's reference (J. R. Krueger, Written Oirat and Kalmyk Studies. *MS* II (1975) 104).

[6] L. Ligeti, *Rapport préliminaire d'un voyage d'eploration fait en Mongolie Chinoise 1928–1931*. Budapest 1933, 45. n. 1 (Reprint: 1977).

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has not been presented by Ligeti, but elsewhere in a footnote he admitted that this material might be of Dagur, more precisely, Hailar-Dagur origin.[7]

Doerfer's review[8] on Martin's *Dagur Mongolian Grammar* is the first to use philological analysis in determining the Dagur characteristics of Witsen's Dagur glossary. His analysis is extremely neat and sharp, but the samples from which it is made are very small, and one would have liked a more resolute attempt at collecting Dagur features from the "Dagur" glossary of Witsen. Despite the hospitality of this glossary to words from Mongolian dialects, it cannot be said that it has been overwhelmed by Dagur element. On the contrary, if we extend our examination to the whole glossary we find that the evidences from Kalmyk is quite overwhelming and Doerfer's gathering of the linguistic material embraces all the "Dagur" features available in Witsen's "Dagur" glossary. Moreover, certain points in Doerfer's analysis are not convincing. The Dagur word for breast-strap is *xandrəγ* from Mong. *qantaryа* and not **kumindurge*;[9] the y-prothesis shows an underlying Cyrillic orthography cf. Nos. 364, 377 and 455 and their Kalmyk parallel with *y*-prothesis; the value of the *oe*(*r*) is not *u*(*r*) in the *Moerin* but *ö* as is quite validated merely by the vicissitude of this letter. However, the readings of Witsen's notations are subject to conflicting interpretations and the problem will not be solved if only extracts from this glossary are examined. It is only in the light of the whole material that the so-called Dagur features may be put in the proper perspective. Doerfer's arguments must be re-examined considering the possibility of Witsen's inconsistent notation. Such a suggestion might be misconstrued, but this is still the most reasonable solution to the problem of the identification of the "Dagur" glossary as a coherent one. Moreover, one might try to find independent reasons for the oddness of each of the examples either qouted or disregarded by Doerfer. But I think this is not the right step to make. We must look on the glossary as an non-coherent one as did Kara.

On the basis of lexical evidence Kara has brought doubt on the commonly accepted identification of the "Dagur" material.[10] According to him this word-

[7] L. Ligeti, Mots de civilisation de Haute Asie en transcription chinoise. *AOH* I:1 (1950) 185. "C'est à ce mème groupe de dialectes (viz. of an emigrated Boutkha group amongst the Hailars) que semblent remonter les matériaux dahours publiés par Witsen...". Interesting in this connection is also a group of Dahurs who "se trouvaient au nord-est du territoire yakoute." (G. Kara, Le glossaire yakoute de Witsen. *AOH* XXV:1–3 (1972) 432.)

[8] G. Doerfer, *ZDMG* 113 (1963) 418–419 and some of the examples are briefly repeated in his TMEN e.g. I, 508.

[9] Cf. G. Kara, *Zhiyuan yiyu* Index alphabétique des mots mongols. *AOH* XLIV:3 (1990) 306–307.

[10] G. Kara, Les mots mongols dans une liste de marchandises chez Gmelin (1738). *AOH* XIII:1–2 (1961) 178. n. 10: "la liste de mots de Witsen *Naem Lijst der Dauersche tael* (...) n'est pas khalkha, mais n'est pas dahour non plus". References to the related material can be found in his book, G. Kara, *Chants d'un barde mongol*. Budapest 1970, 5. See also J. F. Baddeley, *op. cit.*, 203, "(Henning) mentions that Witsen gives a list of 'Dahur' words, but omits to say that they are merely Mongol", "Specimens of both Kalmuk and Mongol (this term refers to the 'Dahur' word-list) are given by Witsen in his great work".

list consists of Eastern Mongolian and Kalmyk (Oirat) dialects. That the word-list under discussion is not of Dagur origin is also affirmed by Clark, who completed the arguments of Kara with Western Buryat examples.[11] Such comparisons seem to be perfectly possible if we realize that certain grammatical features are common to Kalmyk and Buryat. Some of these features are listed by Cydendambaev.[12] However, as far as lexical correspondences are concerned, no doubt was left that the most similar language to the "Dagur" word-list was Kalmyk, while Buryat showed some important discrepancies.

The data presented by these scholars will be quoted in the word-list. As far as I know, apart from these rather succinct observations there is only one somewhat more elaborate reference to the "Dagur" material of the *NOT*, the article of Hamarhanov. He writes about the "Dagur" part of the *NOT* with special caution and with his translation of the original Dutch heading "(vocabulary) collected in Dahuria"[13] he did not intend to suggest an absolute identification of it.

Finally, in view of the possible importance of this monument for the history of Dagur, this glossary and the above-mentioned references to it seem to be rather neglected in the monographs on this language (Martin, Poppe, Todaeva).[14] However, the last decades have witnessed a considerable rise of interest in Dagur language. Many contributions have been made by a growing number of scholars, both Western and Eastern, over the second part of this century[15] then the publication of the "Dagur" glossary will be of benefit for the future research.

The sources from which Witsen derived his materials should be carefully sifted. What is abundantly clear is that some of the source materials of Witsen might have come from collections of other men.[16] In his article on the source of Thévenot's Mongolian Grammar, Aalto pointed out that "Le savant et infatiga-

[11] L. V. Clark, Two Eighteenth Century Buryat Glossaries. *MS* III (1976) 55 and 81, n. 18 where Clark provides further references for the identification of the "Dahur" word-list.

[12] Cf. C. B. Cydendambaev, Ob oirat-mongol'skih elementah v ètničeskom sostave i jazyke burjat. In: *Problemy altaistiki i mongolovedenija. Vypusk 2. Serija lingvistiki*. Moskva 1975, 319–329.

[13] A. Z. Hamarhanov, O kulture i byte mongol'skih narodov v trude N. Vitsena 'Severnaja i vostočnaja Tartarija'. In: *Kul'turo-bytovye tradicii burjat i mongolov*. Ulan-Ude 1988, 145. "slovar' ... prinjatogo v Daurii".

[14] Cf. what Kałużyński writes on the significance of the Dagur collection of Dagur of Muromskij (S. Kałużyński, Fedor Muromskij i sobrannye im v Kul'džinskom rajone lingvističeskie materialy. *RO* 32:2 (1969) 72) and cf. also Doerfer: "die 'Dahurs' (Daguren) sind keine Tungusen, sondern Mongolen, wie bereits Witsen (1962) gewußt hat und was später von Poppe (1935, ohne Kenntnis seines Vorgängers) neu entdeckt worden ist" (G. Doerfer, *Oriens* 20 (1967) 276).

[15] Bibliographies concerning the related works are given by Kara (G. Kara, Le dictionnaire étimologique et la langue mongole. *AOH* XVII:1–2 (1965) 18, note 54, and G. Kara, *Zhiyuan yiyu* 342), Weiers (M. Weiers, Bemerkungen zur Phonetik der dagurischen Mundart von Butha. *ZDMG* 128 (1978) 125–126) and Stary (see G. Stary's review of *Manjurica* by A. O. Ivanovskij. *CAJ* XXVIII (1984) 315).

[16] The same is true of the collection of Stralenberg, cf. L. V. Clark's review on *The Kalmyk-Mongolian Vocabulary in Stralenberg's Geography of 1730* by J. Krueger. *MS* III, (1976) 119–120.

ble compilateur Nicolaas Witsen cite dans son *NOT* (2e édition, Amsterdam, 1705), vol. I, 266, sous la rubrique "Mugaelesche Woorden", la plupart des exemples de Thévenot, sans cepandant nommer sa source".[17] Another instance of the same problem is offered by Alekseev. In his important work *Sibir'*, which provides complete survey of the travellers from Europe to Siberia, Alekseev mentions the fact that Witsen in Amsterdam received letters from his correspondents with materials to his *NOT*.[18] Baddeley adds in his *Russia, Mongolia, China* another important contribution to the subject: "Mr. Bielokuroff gives, in an Appendix, a list of all passages in Witsen relating to Siberia, and points out, especially, those attributed to "a certain Slavonic writer" or "traveller" as being, according to S. I. Sokoloff, probably Krijanich's."[19]

All these considerations have been made in order to bring to the fore the basic characteristics of the *NOT*.[20] We can now conclude that there is a probability that the Dagur glossary was not collected on the spot. A thorough research into the Dagur glossary has led me to the conviction that the origin of this list is Witsen's Kalmyk glossary.

The "Dagur" word-list should be taken as an abstract from the Kalmyk glossary. The two sets of words are, with the few exceptions specifically mentioned below, entirely identical. That leaves only one point to be made in this article: to give a terse analysis of the glossary which by nature is of a subordinate character.

However, the value of the word-list for future research could only be correctly assessed if the information contained therein were thoroughly checked. In what follows I propose to examine Witsen's "Dagur" glossary in the light especially of the evidences of the Kalmyk glossary.

Naem Lijst de Dauersche tael

The "Dagur" glossary is found only in the second, enlarged edition of the *NOT* and seems to be a quite independent interpolation to a geographical part of the

[17] P. Aalto, L'Esquisse de la Grammaire Mongole qu'on trouve chez Melchisédech Thévenot. *CAJ* VIII:3 (1963) 155.

[18] Cf. M. P. Alekseev, *Sibir' v izvestijah inostrannyh putešestvennikov i pisatelej*. Irkutsk 1932, XL VII–XL VIII, where he writes from Russian scientifical point of view: "K podobnym že pomoščnikam nauki sleduet pričislit' mnogočislennyh russkih korrespondentov Vitsena" then he gives a list of some of these people. Cf. also G. Doerfer, *Ältere westeuropäische Quellen zur kalmükischen Sprachgeschichte. Witsen 1692 bis Zwick 1827*. Wiesbaden 1965, 10: "Die Texte Witsens sind vielfach von ihm selbst gesammelten Feldaufnahmen, sondern Reproduktionen der Aussagen russischer Gewährsmänner".

[19] J. F. Baddeley, *op. cit.*, 213 and on the same page of the quoted passage, we find that "With the kind help of a Dutch correspondent I have made efforts — so far fruitless — to recover Witsen's lost correspondence from the East".

[20] Cf. also Mikola's statement: "Die Texte wurden übrigens nicht von Witsen selbst, sondern von russischen Reisenden, Kaufleuten usw. zusammengetragen." (T. Mikola, *N. Witsens Berichte über die Uralischen Völker*. Szeged 1975, III).

book. The word-list is preceded only by a short notice of Witsen. As far as his identification of the Dagur word-list is concerned the author does not give valuable information regarding the nature of this language.[21]

If Baski's assumption "that Witsen came into possession of the Crimean Turkish-Tatar lexical material through Russian mediation" is correct — and I have no objection to his opinion as is stated above —, the same is true in the case of the "Dagur" word-list.[22] There is sufficient evidence to show that Witsen relied upon Russian language mediation. His writing some of the "Dagur" words reflects an underlying Cyrillic orthography[23] (letters *ju*, *e* and *ë* in Nos. 18, 32, 217; see also the confusion of Cyrillic *t* with Latin *m* in Nos. 243, 444, and the Russian words in the glossaries, No. 383).

The glossary under discussion adds, of course, nothing to our knowledge of Dagur language. In the great majority of examples of the glossary one can find West Mongolian traces. Of the numerous examples available only some will be given here. Thus special Kalmyk words are Nos. 29, 35, 152, 165, 205, 306, 312, 352 etc. Because of its subordinate character, it would serve no purpose to make here a full-length study of the grammatical phenomena of the "Dagur" word-list. It is clear that the grammatical problems of this glossary are to be solved by a study of the Kalmyk word-list. We shall mention only some of the features of the "Dagur" word-list.

Phonology

Letters and their sound values

a	a or ā
b	b
ch	x
d	d
e	e, i (19), ê (23)
ei	e (14)
g	g, x (12)
i	i
io	u - ü
j	y

[21] "Here follows a word-list of a language which is in use in the region of Dagurs at the Amur river and belongs to China; nearby the Great Wall which separates China from Tartaria..." (N. Witsen, *Noord en Oost Tartarye* I-II. Amsterdam 1705, 68).

[22] Cf. J. F. Baddeley, *op. cit.*, CXLVIII: "There is no evidence whatever in support of the tradition that Witsen paid a visit to the Caspian Sea; much less that he crossed the border of Asia. He made this one journey to Russia; spent in all, but a few months in that country; and never in all his life set foot in Asia."

[23] Cf. G. Kara, Les mots mongols, 178, n. 10, and for Russian mediation cf. Baddeley, who also provides example of how "Witsen, evidently using a Russian version, blunders comically: ..." (J. F. Baddeley, *op. cit.*, 246).

k	k, (unvoiced) g, x (35. *Kotoe*)
l	l
m	m
n	n, nn (10)
nn	n
o	o, ô (20)
oe	ü , ö , u , or sometimes o
p	b, w
r	r
s	s, z (34. *Suruken*)
sch	š (16. *Schidun*)
ʃ	s (274. *Oerlaʃen*)
ʃch	š
t	t
tʃch	č , or ǰ
tz	ts (137. *Tzabidar*)
u	ü, üü,
y	i
z	z (123. *Zerda moerin*), s (40. *Tabazak*)

Accentuation

In some cases Witsen indicates stress in the final syllable of the word by using the acute stress marker: 75. *Kajerlá*, 166. *Jeré*. Cf. also the unreasonable notation No. 434 *Kereké* for **köörög** where the Kalmyk word-list offers another way of indication of stress on the same root 301a *Kerekie*. The sporadic reduplication of the final *n* also seems to indicate accentuation 21. *Amann*, 36. *Kokinn*, 77. *Kexenn*.

In some instances Witsen uses hyphen to suggest presence of length: cf. 84, 85, and 86. *Na-antʃche*. However, the feature to which this impression is due does not always seem to be of phonetic nature, some of the instances where Witsen uses hyphen may safely be disregarded: 90. *Ka-aziar*.

Morphology

The following examples may serve as illustration of the morphological nature of the word-list. The picture drawn from the occurrence of the morphological phenomena is far from being complete owing to the brevity of the glossary.

Verbs. The most frequent instances of the Vocative forms are the Imperative (stem form): 81. *Bay*; 236. *Iré*; and Voluntative: 406. *Aboeldoeja*. One time Concessive Classical 76. *jeptoegay*. and one time Colloq. form can be found 474. *Jom*, *koele*, *bayge*.

As to the Indicative forms only two forms are listed: Praes. Imperf: 217. *tolonay*; Praet. Perf. 82. *Bi, Oezetſchi Irebá.*

Verbal Nouns. Nom. perf.: 77. *Kexenn*; Nom. Futuri: 200. *Idekoe*. From Personal pronouns are added to verbal forms: 80. *Oezièt ſchí.*

Nouns

Dat.: 91. *Tſschiridoe*

Abl.: 208. *Galas*

Early European research on Mongolian (and especially on Kalmyk) should be taken into consideration, but within the scope of this paper I shall not analyze all of them. Here I will confine myself to cite exhaustively from the Kalmyk glossary of Strahlenberg and Witsen. In some cases the confirmations of my readings are found in the fact that we find a general inconsistency as far as the ortography of these Kalmyk word-lists is concerned. On the other hand in addition to the contemporary glossaries I endeavoured to collect and include anything of importance which other scholars had quoted on the words included the "Dagur" glossary.

In order to gain an overview of the most characteristic features of the "Dagur" word-list, it must be examined more closely. This we propose to do by means of an analysis of the whole material.

The similarities between Witsen's "Dagur" glossary and Kalmyk glossaries are as follows: pages from 118 to 121b include the Kalmyk glossary from 1692; pages from 297 to 304 include the Kalmyk glossary from 1705. The later glossary is an enlarged version of the earlier word-list. The connection between the "Dagur" and the later Kalmyk glossary is also unmistakeable. The following sequences are identical in both glossaries: Nos. 276–287 with KWi 303a, Nos. 311–313 can be found in KWi 302b etc.

The arrangement of the entries is as follows: The number preceding each word was added by me. The first data printed in bold and italics is Witsen's "Dagur". The words put in square brackets and printed in extends is my own transliteration of Witsen's word according to the general rules of the glossary. Still in the square brackets enclosed in single quotation marks is the translation of the Mongolian words if Witsen's rendering is incorrect. These are followed by Witsen's Dutch interpretation then in square brackets my English translation of the previous Dutch entry. Examples from various sources and Mongolian languages, first of all from Kalmyk (with special regard to Witsen's Kalmyk glossary) and my comment are added with occasional condensed summaries of the related literature. The list of the quoted languages does not claim to be complete. It is mainly based upon Kalmyk entries from various sources. In the final round brackets are the written Mongolian words.[24]

[24] A preliminary reading of Witsen's Dagur words was prepared by Mrs. D. Urtnasan, then researcher in the Research Group for Altaic Studies, Budapest.

Vocabulary

1. ***Kumin*** [**kümin**] beduid een Menſch [signifies a man] West Mong. form, see Kara, 1961, 178, n. 10; KWi 119b *Kumiun*, 298b *Kumiun koem* of *Cumin*, 120a, 299b *Kumiun*; R 246a *kümn*, Oir. *kümün*, *küün*; 249b Dag. *huu* (kümün).

2. ***Tolochoy*** [**toloxoi**] een Hooft [head] KWi 119b *Tolgoi*, 298b *Tolgoi* of *Tolochoi*; R 399a *tolγää*, *tolγā*; Bur.C *tulgàj*, *tulgaj*, *tologój* (toluγai).

3. ***Eken*** [**eken** 'head'] de Herſſenen [brain] KWi 301b *Elijen* of *Yken* 'De Harzenen'; R 118a *ekn*; Dag. *heki* (ekin).

4. ***Oeſun*** [**üsün**] Haair [hair] KWi 119b *Uſuin*, 299a *Uſuin* of *Oeſun*, of *Uſiun*; KMV 139 *ussu*; R 460a *üsn*; Dag. *xusu*; Bur.C *uhun'* (üsün).

5. ***Magnay*** [**magnai**] Voorhooft [forehead] KWi 119b *Mognay*, 298b *Mognay*, *magnai* of *Mina*; R 257a *mangnää*, Ö *mangnā*; Dag. *manggil*; TMEN No. 369 (manglai).[25] The sequence No. 5–10 from KWi 298b.

6. ***Koemoeskoe*** [**kömöskö**] Oogenhaair [eyebrow] KWi 119b *Kemeske*, 298b *Kemeske*, *koumoeskuo* of *Cumuſcu*; KMV 97 *kamischa*, *kumuska*; R 239b *kömskə*; (kömüske).[26]

7. ***Nudun*** [**nüdün**] Oogen [eye] KWi 119b *Nudun*, 298b *Nudun*, *nudur* of *Niudun*; cf. Dag. *nid*; KMV 104 *nudu*; R 282a *nüdn*; Khar. N. *nüdä*; Bur.C *nidù*, *njjúdún'* (nidün). unpalat, broken.

8. ***Soermoeſoen*** [**sormusun** 'eyelash'] Oogenlede [eyelid] KWi 119b *Sormiſun*, 298b *Sormiſun* of *Siurmuſun*; R 332b *sormsn*, *sor^{o}msn*; (sormusun).[27]

9. ***Chamar*** [**xamar**] de Neus [nose][28] KWi 119b *Chamar*, 298b *Chamar* of *Cabar*; cf. KMV 110 *kamaranussu* (= qabar-un üsü); R 164b *xamr*; Bur.C *kabàr*, *xabár* (qabar).

10. ***Tana*** [**tannā** 'palate'] Neusgaten [nostril] KWi 119b *Tana*, 298b *Tana* of *Tanai*; R 379b *tangnää*; (tanglai).

11. ***Mijuk*** [**miyük** or **miyik**] Knevels [moustache] KWi 299a *Urikin Sachal*, *Mnuk* of *Mijuk*; cf. KWi 119b *Urukin Sachal* 'Knevels'. The use of *m-* is more characteristic of Western Mongolia. (miyik).[29]

[25] For the words meaning "front" cf. G. Kara, Le dictionnaire, 6, note 17. Cf. also N. Poppe, Über die Bildungssuffixe der mongolischen Bezeichnungen der Körperteile. *UAJb* 45 (1973) 231 who quotes some of the related words as Bur. *māxai* 'Stirn der Tiere', vgl. Mo. *mangqan* 'Pferd mit weißer Stirn', *mangqar* id., Kh. *mangxang* 'einen Fleck auf der Stirn habend' etc.

[26] Cf. Shiotani Shigeki, Mongol xelnii *anisga* ba *xömsög* gedeg ügiin utgin xuwirlin tuxai, yalanguya ügiin bütciin ni talaar awč üjsen ni. (The paper was presented to the Conference of Mongolists, held in Ulanbator in 1992.)

[27] P. Pelliot, Les mots à *h* initile aujourd'hui amuie dans le mongol des XIIIe et XIVe siècles. *JA* 1925, 207.

[28] About the *b* - *m* alteration cf. L. V. Clark *MS* III (1976) 125. A more serious challenge for the theory of the initial labial plosive in the Turkish languages is the article of Clauson. (G. Clauson, The initial labial sounds in the Turkish languages. *BSOAS* XXIV (1961) 298–306.)

[29] Cf. Clauson's entry "bıḍık 'moustache'. Survives in some NE and NW languages as mıyık. (G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. Oxford 1972, 301.)

12. ***Sagal*** [**saxal** or **saqal**] de Baert [beard] KWi 119b *Sachal*, 299a *Sachal* of *Sagal*; KMV 120 *tzakall*, *zakall*; R 308a *saxl*; DQ 13; Bur.C *chakàl*, *xakál'*, *axal'* (saqal).

13. ***Oeroer*** [**urur** read **urul** or **urûl**] Lippen [lips] KWi 119b *Uriul*, 299a *Uriul ourur* of *urur*; KMV 136 *urol*; R 451a *url* (*ûrl*); Bur.C *urùl* (uruγul).[30]

14. ***Eirgun*** [**örgün** or **ergün** 'jaw'] Baerthaairen [the hair of the beard] West Mong. form cf. KWi 301b *Uirgoun*; R 299b *örgn*; Kh. *erû*; Dag. *eruu*; Bur.C *urgù*, *urhun'* (erügüü).[31]

15. ***Dero Oeroer*** [**doro** 'under' (instead of **dord**) **urul**] d'onderſte Lippe [the lower lip] KWi 301b *Dero oerour*, and *Dero Urur*; R 95b *dor°*; Dag. *dor* (*daur*) (doro/dooradu, uruγul).

16. ***Schidun*** [**šidün**] Tanden [teeth] KWi 119b *Schudun*, 298b *Schudun*, *ſchidun* of *Scydiun*; KMV 122 *schiudun*, *schudu*; Khar. N. *šidä*; R 370b *šüdn* (sidün). unbroken 263, 458.

17. ***Kelen*** [**kelen**] de Tong [tongue] KWi 119b *Kelen*, 298b *Kelen* of *Kielen*; KMV 93 *kele*, *kelle*; R 224a *keln* (kelen).

18. ***Nior*** [**nür**] 't Aengezicht [face] KWi 301b *Niudiur*; KMV 105 *nuur*, *nuuhr*; R 283a *nûr*; Witsen's form seems to coincide with the palatalized Bur. *n'ûr*,[32] but his *-io-* may go back to the graphic appearence of Russian letter *ju*, cf. Nos. 32, 217 (niγur).

19. ***Kojer Tſchikin*** [**koyir čikin**] d'Ooren [the two ears] **koyir** 'two' cf. KWi 121a *Chojer*, 300b *Chojer* of *Koer*; KMV 116–117 *chogir*, *kojor*; R 181b *xojr*; Oir. *xoyor*, *xoyar*; Kalm. Mil. *choir*; **čikin** KWi 119b *Czykin*, 299a *Czykin* of *Koerczikin*; KMV 75 *cicke*, *tzika*; Khar. N. *čixä*; R 439a *tšikn*; Bur.C *tschikìn*, *šikjún'*, *čikin'*; TMEN No. 1106 (čikin, qoyar).

20. ***Kol*** [**xôl** 'throat'] de Gorgel [gorge] West Mong. form cf. KWi 119b *Choul* 'Hals', 298b *Choul* of *Kudijun* 'Hals'; KMV 115 *kolloi*; R 192a *xôl*; Dag. *hooli* (qoγolai).

21. ***Amann*** [**aman**] de Mond [mouth] KWi 298b *Aman* of *Uſta* (Russian word), KWi 301b *Aman* 'De kaken (jaw)'; KMV 62 *ama*; R 9b *amn*; Dag. *ama*; TMEN[33] No. 32. (aman). Cf. No. 414?

[30] As to the classical form cf. N. Poppe, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der altmongolischen Schriftsprache. *AM* 1 (1924) 670. "Schriftspr. falsch geschrieben *uruγul*" but in a later article he wrote: "Was die Form urul 'Lippe' anbelangt, so geht sie auf *°hurul* zurück ... kalm. *url/ûrl*, bur *urəl* ... Die Form *urul* ist in vorklassischen Werken ziemlich of belegt. Neben dieser Form existieren aber das mo. *uruγul*, kh., ordos (ord) *urûl*, dag. *orûl* 'Lippe', die auf mmo. *°huru'ul* zurückgehen." (N. Poppe, Bemerkungen zum vorklassischen Schriftmongolisch (anläßlich des Buches von M. Weiers) *ZAS* 3 (1969) 111.)

[31] Cf. Sečen, Oyirad ayalγun daki erten-ü mongγol kelen-ü üges. *Öbör mongγol-un baγsi-yin yeke suryaγuli erdem sinǰilegen-ü sedkül* (1987) 1, 63 and N. Poppe, Über die Bildungssuffixe, 237.

[32] N. Poppe, Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies. Helsinki 1955, 66; and cf. V. D. Kolesnikova, O nazvanijah lica i naružnosti v altaiskih jazykah. In: *Problemy altaistiki* 59–68.

[33] The absence of any reference in TMEN to Witsen's "Dagur" glossary is not otherwise indicated. Where not the whole entry in TMEN deals with the word in question the page numbering is referred to.

22. ***Koedun*** [**küjün**, read *df* instead of *d*] de Hals [neck] KWi 299a *Gezyge* of *Koedun* "Nek' [nape]; KMV 98 *ktzu, kussu, kudsun*; R 249a *küzün*; (küjügün).

23. ***Em*** [**êm** 'clavicle, shoulder'] 't rechte ſchouder blad [the right shoulder blade] KWi 301b *Em*; R 130b *êm*; Oir. *êm*; Bur. *êm*; Bur.C *em, em'*; Khalkha *egem*; TMEN No. 652 (egem).[34]

24. ***Duem*** [**jüü êm** 'left clavicle shoulder'; read **jüün**, *df* for *d*] 't linker ſchouder blad [the left shoulder blade] KWi 301b *Duem*; **jüü** Kalm. Mil. *dschiun*; R 485b *züün* (egem, ǰegün)

25. ***Kartſchaganak*** [**qarčaganak** written form for 'anus'] Elleboogen [elbow] The misunderstanding may be due to the first syllable of the word, cf. KWi 299a *Togoy* of *Kartſchagainon* and 119b *Togoy* for 'elbow'; R 170b *xarts^{a}γanaγ*; (qarčaγanaγ).

26. ***Gur*** [read **gôl** 'aorta' cf. also amin γool[35] or rather **gur** with an erroneus Dutch interpretation due to a misunderstanding perhaps caused by the gesture of the informant and aggravated by the indirect recording; R 155b *γur*, 157a *γûr* 'wrist'] een Hart [heart] or Witsen confused here two Dutch words: "Hart" with "Hert 'hart'" and we should read Dag. *gurês* instead of *Gur* cf. also Mong. *jür*, and TMEN No. 168; Dag. *golo* 'centr, seredina' (γool TMEN No. 307).

27. ***Alexan*** [**alixan**] 't vlakke Hands [the palm of the hand] West Mong. form cf. KWi 119b *Alichan*, 299a *Alichan* of *Alecan*, 302b *Alekain*; KMV 61 *allaga*; R 7a *al'xan*; Khalkha *alga* (alaγan).

28. ***Jerekey, kumokoy*** [**erexei**[36] 'thumb' with Cyrill *e-*, **xomoxai** 'index finger'] de groote Vinger [thumb] KWi 299a *Jenekei* of *amokoi*; R 125a *erkê xurγan*; Bur.C *erekej*; R 184b *xomxää xurγn*, 197a *xumxää xurγan* (erekei, qomuqai).

29. ***Schirgutſchi, koergun*** [read **šigeči kurgun**, from ***Schigutſchi k.***; West Mong. form] de kleinſte Vinger [the small finger] KWi 301b *Szyhuczi Curhun*; R 356a *šig^{a}tsi, šiktši* D;[37] KMV 122 *schigitzci*; Khar. N. *xigäzi*; R 198a *xurγn*; KWi 119b, 299a *Kurgur*, (cf. čigčigei, quruγun).

30. ***Kaboeſoen*** [**kabusun**] een Ribbe [rib] KWi 301b *Cabuſun* of *Kaboeſun*; R 174b *xawsn*, 179a *xäwsn* D; cf. TMEN No. 267 for *qabirγa* (qabisun).[38]

[34] For a fuller treatment of the word in Mongolian languages cf. L. Ligeti, Les fragments du *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi* mongol en écriture 'Phags-pa. Le mongol préclassique et le moyen mongol. *AOH* XVII (1964) 289, in Oirat language cf. Sečen, *op. cit.*, 61.

[35] Listed also by Kara among others: *ulaγan γool, γool-i tasala-* (G. Kara, Le dictionnaire, 25).

[36] P. Pelliot, Les mots à *h* initile, 209–210.

[37] L. Ligeti, Les fragments, 289 and N. Poppe, Geserica. *AM* 1926, 7.

[38] As to the classical forms *qarbisun, qabisun, qarbing, qabirγa* see N. Poppe, Über die Bildungssuffixe, 239.

31. ***Koemoefoen*** [**kumusun**] de Nagels aen de Vingers [the nails of the fingers] KWi 301b *Cumuzun*; KMV 95 *komussu*, *kumusun*; R 197a *xumsn*; Khar. N. *xomasa* (kimusun).

32. ***Jeptfchun*** [read **epčün** or **öpčün** with Cyrill *e*-] de Borſten [breast] KWi 119b, 299a *Ebtfen*, 301b *Yptšchu* and *Epczin* KMV 79 *opchu*, *utziu*; R 298a *öptsüün*, *öptšüün*; Dag. *erčû* from Mo *öröče*; Bur.C *opsù*; cf. TMEN I, 111 (ebčigün).[39]

33. ***Noergoen*** [**nurgun**] de Rugge graed [backbone][40] KWi 119b, 299a *Nurgun*, 301b *Poergoen* Cyrill *p* = *n*; R 281b *nurγan*; Bur. *ñurgan*; Khar. N. *nurun*; Bur.C *nirgùn*, *njûrhun'*; TMEN No. 390 (niruγun).

34. ***Suruken*** [**zürüken**] 't Hert [the heart] KWi 119b *Zuiriken*, 299a *Zuiriken* of *Zuriukien*; R 483b *zürkn*; Dag. *ǰurug* (*ǰurgu*) (ǰirüken).

35. ***Kotoe*** [**xotu** 'stomach'] de Buik [belly] West Mong. form cf. KWi 119b *Ghotu*, 299b *Ghotu* of *Cotou*; R 190a *xotᵘ*; Oir. *xoto*; Dag. *xotôd*; Bur. *xodôdo* (qodaγadu - *kota-gā-du).[41]

36. ***Kokinn*** [**kökin**] de tippen van de Borſt [nipples] KMV 97 *koko*; R 237a *kökn*; TMEN No. 343 (köke).

37. ***Koedofoen*** [**gudusun** 'limb, member (of the body)'] de bovenſte arm pypen [the uppermost bone of the arm, humerus] R 153b *γudᵘsn* (γudusun).

38. ***Benko Oezun*** [**belküüsün** or **belköüsün**] de Lendenen [waist] KWi 301b *Betkouzun*, 302b *Belko ouzum* ''t Middel-lijf (the middle of the body)'; R 42a *belküüsn* (belkegüsün).

39. ***Kojefoen*** [**küyisün** or **küüsün**] de Navel [navel] KWi 301b *Xoezun*, 302b *Koyzoen*; R 234a *kî*, 234b *kîsn*; (küisün).

40. ***Tabazak*** [**dabasak**] de Blaes [bladder] KWi 119b *Dubaſak*, 299a *Dubaſak*, of *Tabazak*; 301b *Tabazak* Een puiſst [pustule]!; R 80b *dawsᵃG*, 81a *dawsn* (dabusaγ).

41. ***Kuja*** [**guya**] de Dyen van de beenen [thigh] KWi 301b *Kuia* 'De lenden (loins)' and 302b *Kouia* 'Boven-beenen' KMV 85 *guja*; R 153b *γujⁿ*; Dag. *guayi* (γuya).

42. ***Ebuduk*** [**ebüdük**] een Knie [knee] KWi 119b *Ebedun*, 299a *Ebedun* of *Ebiudiuk*, 302b *Ybuduk*; KMV 80 *obaduo*; R 302b *öwdəg*; cf. Dag. *toačîyə* (ebüdüg).

43. ***Oofchki*** [**ôški**] de Longe [lungs] KWi 119b *Ofchki*, 299a *Ofchki* of *Oofichki*; R 292b *ôškᵊ*; West Mong. form cf. Dag. *aurki* (aγuški).

44. ***Jelechen*** [**elexen** or **elegen**] de Lever [liver] KWi 119b *Eliken*, 299a *Eliken* of *Elechen*; 301b *Elechen*; R 119b *elkn*; Dag. *xələxə* (eligen).[42]

[39] Cf. Mong. *ebür* and *emüne*, P. Pelliot, Les mots à *h* initile 231, note 1; and most recently W. Rozyčki, Primary **h*- in Mongol: the Evidence Considered. *CAJ* XXXVIII:1 (1994) 75–76, without referring to the article of Pelliot.

[40] B. Ja. Vladimircov, *Sravnitel'naja grammatika mongol'skogo pis'mennogo jazyka i halhaskogo narečija. Vvedenie i fonetika.* (reprint) Moskva 1989, 235.

[41] See N. Poppe, On Some Altaic Case Forms. *CAJ* XXI:1 (1977) 68.

[42] P. Pelliot, Les mots à *h* initile, 211–212 quotes the Dag. *xelix*.

45. ***Schinbu*** [read **šilbi**, the orthography seems to be affected by the Dutch word, cf. No. 338] 't Scheenbeen [shin-bone] KWi 119b *Schilbi*, 299a *Schilbi* of *Szylby*; R 357b *šilwi* (silbi).

46. ***Boentſchuk*** [**bunčuk** read **bulčin** for the confusion of the two words see Witsen's Kalmyk] de Kuiten [calf] KWi 119b *Bulozin*, 299a *Bulozin* of *Buntzick*; R 61a *bultšn*; cf. KMV 142 *bontzioch* and for **bunčuk** see the Turco-Mongol form (bulčing).

47. ***Kol*** [**köl**] een Voet [foot] KWi 119b, 298b *Kiel* 'Voet', 119b *Kel* 'Voeten', 299a *Kel* 'Voeten'; KMV 97 *kull*, *chul*, *kul*, *köll*; R 237b *köl* (köl).

48. ***Kolin Tabak*** [**kölîn tabak**] Voetzoolen [sole of foot] KWi 301b *Kolintabak*, 302b *Kolintalak*; R 385b *kölîn tawaG* (köl-ün, tabaγ).

49. ***Kolin Oezegey*** [**kölîn ösgei**] de Hielen [heel] KWi 301b *Kolin uzehen*, 302b *Kolim* (!); R 301b *öskê* (köl-ün, ösügei).

50. ***Jetſchegeymeni*** [**ečige** or **ečege mini**] mijn Vader [my father] R 129a *etsᵊgə*; Dag. *ečig*; Bur.C *essygſy*; TMEN No. 63; R XV *mini*, *minê* (*etsgə*, *etskə*); je- (ečige, minu).

51. ***Turcksen*** [read **turoksen töröksen** 'born'] oudſte Broeder [elder brother] R 407a *törsn* (törügsen).

52. ***Duni*** [**düü ni** 'his/her younger brother'] mijn jongſte Broeder [my youngest brother] KWi 119b *Dun*, 298b *Dun*; R 106b *düü*; Dag. *deu*; Bur.C *dumené* (degüü).

53. ***Okien duni*** [**okin düü ni** 'his/her younger sister'] Suſter [sister] R 284a *okn düü* (degüü, ökin).

54. ***Jebegen*** [**öbögön** or **ebügen** 'old man' with Cyrillic *e*- (Kara, 1961, 178, n. 10)] groot Vader [grand father] R 302b *öwgn*, 298a *öpkᵒ* 'Großvater'; Dag. *euke*; TMEN No. 4 and 5 (ebüge or ebügen).[43]

55. ***Jemekeni*** [**emegen** with unvoiced *-g-*] groot Moeder [grand mother] R 121b *emgn* (emegen). Dag. *emeg* 'wife' je- cf. 54's affectation.

56. ***Koergoen*** [**kürgün**] Swager [son-in-law] KMV 99 *kurihon*; R 247a *kürgn*; TMEN No. 340[44] (kürgen).[45]

57. ***Koeredu*** [read **küre düü** = **kürgen düü** 'a younger brother-in-law'] Vrouwen Broeder [the wife's brother] R 247a *kür/kürgn düü*; Dag. *deu xurgen* (kürgen degüü).

58. ***Katim jetſchegey*** [**xadam ečege** or **xadm ečige** or cf. Tü. **qādïn**?][46] ſchoon Vader [father-in-law] R 158b *xadm* (qadum).

[43] Cf. the suffix *-kān* (N. Poppe, Über die Bildungssuffixe, 226).

[44] In addition to the references in TMEN, see Poppe's note of the word *kürgen* (N. Poppe's review of G. Doerfer, Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen. *CAJ* X:1 (1965) 78).

[45] Cf. S. Georg's review on *Aspects of Altaic Civilization III — Proceedings of the Thirtieth Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference Indiana University, Bloomington/Indiana June 19–25, 1987*. D. Sinor (Ed.). Bloomington/Indiana 1990. *ZAS* 24 (1994) 229–230.

[46] The final *n* would be characteristic to a word of Turkic origin, see G. Doerfer, Türkisch *-n* tschuwaschisch *-m*? *UAJb* 39 (1967) 54 and *idem*, Die Entsprechung der türkischen Langvokale. *UAJb* 40 (1968) 42.

59. ***Katim jeke*** [**xadam eke**] ſchoon Moeder [mother-in-law] R 158b *xadm ek*^{a} (qadum eke). Dag. *eg*, cf. Dag. *ekee* 'sister' from Mo. *eke*.

60. ***Tſchikenebie*** [**či ken biy** or ...**kenii**... 'who are you'] zyt gy een menſch? [are you a man?] R 438a *tši*; Bur.C *tschi* (či, ken, bui). Dag. *bei*.

61. ***Tſchikie neren Kembie***[47] [read *n* for *k* **činî neren ken bî**] hoe werd gy genoemt? [what is your name?] R 275b *ner*^{a}, *nern* (činu, nere, ken, bui). Mo. *ken* cf. Dag. *anin*.

62. ***Kama Odoenatſchi*** [**xamā odunāči** 'where are you going?'] waer zyt gy geweeſt? [where have you been?] **xamā** 'where' West Mong. form R 164a *xamā*; **odunāči** 'you are going' R 283a *od-* (qamiγa, odu-). Cf. No. 445.

63. ***Saziegey*** [read **šājagai** 'magpie'] Waerd [drake] R 354a *šāz*^{a}*γää*, *šāzγā*; Khar. N. *šaazigai* (siγaǰaγai).

64. ***Bol*** [**bôl**] een Slaef [slave] KMV 68 *boll*; R 53b *bôl* B; TMEN No. 90[48] (boγol).[49]

65. ***Albatoekoen*** [**albatu kün**] een Onderdaen [subject] **albatu** cf. R 9a *alwa*; Dag. *albata* (albatu, kümün).

66. ***Tarataratſchinkum*** [**tarā tarāčin kümn/küün**][50] een Akkerman, of Boer [ploughman, or tiller] **tarā** unpalatalized as the KWi 120b, 300a *Taran* 'Tarwe' cf. No. 159; Bur.C *tarján*; R 380b *tarān*; Dag. *tare:*; TMEN No. 119; R 387 *tär'-*; **tarāčin** R 380b *tarāntši*, *tarātšn*; Bur.C *tarjátschin* (kümün, tariyan, tariyačin).

67. ***Tſchuſoen Karchoe*** [**čusun garxu** 'blood comes out'] hy bloed [he bleeds] **čusun** R 434b *tsusn*; KMV 76 *zuzli*; Khar. N. *čusa*; Bur.C *šuxu*; **garxu** R 145b *γarxa* (čisun, γar-).

68. ***Minntſchiſainkum*** [**min či sain kümn**, cf. No. 66] in de waerheit gy zyt een vroom man [you are a good man, indeed] **min** 'same, very', **či** 'you'; **sain** 'good' R 319b *sään*; Bur.C *sajn*; TMEN No. 248 (či/čü, sayin, kümün, mön).

69. ***Minntſchi iniak*** West Mong. ***biſchoemokumin*** [**min či inäk bišu, mû kümün**] Gy zyt in der daed een boos man [you are a bad man, indeed] **inäk** R 208b *inic*; Ord. *ina*; TMEN No. 668 (či, inaγ, kümün, maγu, mön).

70. ***Jende*** [**ende** with Cyrillic *e-* (Kara, 1961, 178, n. 10)] alhier [hier] R 122a *end*^{e}; Dag. *ende* (ende).

71. ***Tennde*** [**tende**] daer [there] R 391a *tend*^{a} (tende).

72. ***Otó*** [**odô**] nu [now] R 283a *odā*, 293a *ödgê* B; Dag. *edee* (edüge).

73. ***Baiazie*** [**baizê** 'wait a moment!'] of ***Bansjap*** [?] datelik [in this moment], immediately (bayiǰa- + emphat. particle; ?).

[47] Cf. F. W. Cleaves, 1952, 452.

[48] Cf. N. Poppe's review of G. Doerfer's Türkische und mongolische Elemente, 78–79 for correction to Doerfer's entry.

[49] Cf. D. Gongor, *Xalx towčôn* II. Ulaanbaatar. 1978, 175–182.

[50] Cf. Sh. Hattori, Some Problems on the Reconstruction of the Mongolian Sounds of the Secret History of the Mongols: On the Word *Gu'un*. In: *Tractata Altaica*. Wiesbaden 1976, 261–272.

74. ***Baza*** [**basa**] noch meer [more] KMV 66 *bassa*; R 35b *bas*; Dag. *bas(a)* TMEN 371 (basa).[51]

75. ***Kajerlá*** [**xairlā** 'deign to give!' perhaps with an emphatical length on the second syllable] ik bidde [I pray] KMV 112 *chælgidgi*, *chajarlide*, *kajorladgi*; R 180a *xäärl-* (qayirala-). Cf. No. 454.

76. ***Tengeri Kajer jeptoegay nada ſain Ketſch*** [the sentence in broken Western Mongolian reads **tengeri xair ögtügäi** 'Heaven be merciful (to you)!' **nada sain kêč** 'do good to me!'] om Godes wil doet my goed [For God's sake, do good to me] (ki-, ög-, qayir, sayin, tngri).

77. ***Kexenn*** [**keksen** 'made'] ik heb gemaekt [I have made (it)] R 223a ke-, 231a *kikᵊ*, *kixə*, *kexə*, *kêxə* (kigsen, Oirat keqsen). Cf. No. 79.

78. ***Kóemin, jebet, mat*** [**kümün** 'man, someone' for 'he', **öböd** with voiceless *d*, stemform, 'to be sick, to feel pain', read **mûd** (cf. No. 342) with a rather low *û* and voiceless *d*, stem form, 'to become worse'] hy is niet welte pas [he is not well] (ebed-, kümün, mɑγuda-).

79. ***Kekoe*** [**kekü** future noun of **ke-** 'to make'] ***ketſchi*** [**keči**, imperative, 'make!'] ziet, ik wil het maken [you see, I will make it] (ki-, Oirat ke-). Cf. No. 77.

80. ***Oezièt ſchí*** [**üzääči** 'look at!' see Dutch interpretation to next and No. 82] de Hamelen [wethers]. One Mongolian entry seems to be missing. (üje+geči).

81. ***Bay*** [**bai** 'stop/cease!'] ***bitegey ay*** [**bitegey ay** 'have no fear!'] ik hebbe aengezien [I have seen] see Mongolian 80. **bai** cf. KMV 65 *bæa* **bitegey** 'do not' cf. 279, 402. R 47a *bitškê* (*bitšgê*, D *bitšê*) **ay** KMV 64 *ainæ* (ayu-, bitegei, bayi-).

82. ***Bi, Oezetſchi Irebá*** [**bî üzeji irebää** 'I have seen'] gy hebt gezien [you have seen] **bî**[52] 'I' KMV 67 *by*, **üzeji** R 460b *üz-*; KMV 137 *uaza*, *usigi*, *usedgi* (bi, ire-, üje-).

83. ***Karboeia*** [**xarbuya** 'let us shoot!'] ***namoe ſoemukazitſchy*** [**numu sumu xagîči** 'shoot with the bow and arrow!' In the last word the Cyrillic *g* was perhaps confused with *z*, or it is simply a misprint, but see also No. 84.] ſchiet met den Boog [shoot with the bow] R 281b *numn*; KWi 119a, 298b *Numun*; Dag. *nem*; Bur.C *nomù*; KMV 142 *chachoda* 'when he shoots'; KWi 119a, 298b *Sumun*; Bur.C *chomù* (numun, qarbu-, sumun; cf. Kitan and Oirat[53] *xa-* instead of *qarbu-*; see also next).

84. ***Ka-azi itſchi bo-ogakatſchi alaba*** [**kaji** (or **xaº**) **êji** (< **baiji**) 'shooting', or **xajiji** (< **xaji aji**) '(after) having shooted', **bû** with a low vowel in the first syllable, **+gā**, subject possessive marker form; **xa(či?)ji alaba** '(one) killed

[51] On the history of the word with reference to Jurchen related word, see L. Ligeti, Les inscription djurtchen de Tyr. *AOH* XII (1961) 19.

[52] As a matter of fact, numerous other words, common to Mongolian dialects, can be found in our word-list and hence their treatment will be limited to mere listing. Nevertheless, these words are of some benefit in determining "les éléments du lexique mongol qui sont généraux" (G. Kara, Le dictionnaire, 5, as an example in the note 14 he quotes the *bi* in Mongolian languages).

[53] Cf. Sečen, *op. cit.*, 56.

(one) with a gun' -či from -ǰu + orki-] ſchiet met een Roer [shoot with a gun] (ala-, buu; qa- see No. 83).

85. ***Ka-azitſchi*** [**kaǰi** (or **kagîči**?), see above, Nos. 83–84] hy heeſt hem geſchooten [he has him shooted] KWi 120a, 299a *Chakzan*. (qa-).

86. ***Na-antſche bitugeta jene jamar*** [**nanči** 'strike (dead)', **bitügê** 'do not', **ta** 'you (plur. or honor.)', **ene** 'this', **yamar** 'what kind of (?)'] ſla dood, of ga voort ['strike dead' or 'go away!'] R 214b *jamārn*; Dag. *yamr* (bitügei,[54] ene, nanči-, ta, yambar).

87. ***Jenemó*** [**ene mô** 'this is bad'] ſlim, ofte qaed [sly or very bad] **mô** TMEN No. 361 (ene, maγu).

88. ***Boala*** [**büü ala**] ſlaet niet [do not kill] KMV 60 *ala*; R 7a *al-* (buu =bü, ala-). Dag. *ala-*, Dag. *buu*.

89. ***Nada atza*** [**nada aca(ra)** 'bring (it) to me'] geeſt het my [give it to me] cf. R 16a as^{a}, R 18a ats^{a}; R 16b *asr-* (ača(ra)-, nadur).

90. ***Ka-aziar*** [West Mong. **gazar** (or Eastern **gaǰar**? cf. No. 389) With a semivoiced *g*] d' Aerde [earth] KWi 118, 298a *Guzar*; KMV 83 *gadzær*, *gadzar*, *gatzar* 90 *seglesangadser* (see Kara, 1961, 178, n. 10, about the Khalkha influence on Stralenberg's notation, cf. No. 203); R148a *γazr*; Kalm. Mil. *chasár*; Khar. N. *gazira*; Bur. *γazar*; Dag. *gaǰir*; Bur.C *gasſyr*, *gazar'* (γaǰar).

91. ***Tſschiridoe mordoba jeré*** [**čiri(g)tu mordoba ere**] mijn Man is op krygsdienſt vertrokken [my husband joined up the army] R 427b $tser^{i}G$, $tserikt^{a}$ $mord^{a}xa$; KWi 120a, 299a *Czerik*; the first word has an Inner Mongolian initial, cf. e.g. Ordos *čirik*, also Dag. *čiril* but cf. also KMV 102 *morin čerig - morintzirch* [= *morin cerk*], 74. *čerig-ün kümün - tzirghinkuhn* [= cergîn küün] TMEN No. 1079 (čerig, ere, morda-). Dag. *er*.

92. ***Azia-azyeknada*** [**aǰā ? nada**] wyſt ofte toont my [?] (aǰi-, aǰiya-?, nada).

93. ***Joenefun*** [**ünesün** with Cyrill *ju-* (Kara, 1961, 178, n. 10)] Aſſche [ash] R 458a *ümsn* (ünesün).

94. ***Jelezinn*** [**elesin** with Cyrill *e-*] Sant [sand] R 120b *elsn*; Dag. *eler*; Bur.C *elehùn*, *ilxun'*, *exxun'*; TMEN No. 25 (elesün).

95. ***Iki Acha*** [**iki axa** 'the eldest of the elder brothers'] Groot [great] cf. KWi 119b, 298b *Acla*, and KWi 120a, 300b *Eke* 'Groot', cf. No. 214; KMV 63 *acha*; R 3b ax^{a}; Dag. *aga*, *akā*, Bur.C *achaì*, *akaì*, *axá*; TMEN No. 22 (yeke, aq-a).

96. ***Bitſchik*** [**bičig** 'anything written'] een Brief [a letter] R 47a $bitš^{i}G$; KMV 67 Kalm. Mil. *bitschik*; Dag. *biteg*; TMEN No. 717 where we find this "Dagur" entry (bičig).[55]

[54] Cf. L. Ligeti, Deux tablettes de T'ai-tsong de Ts'ing. *AOH* VIII (1958) 210–211.

[55] Cf. A. Róna-Tas, Some Notes on the Terminology of Mongolian Writing. *AOH* XVIII (1965) 126–127.

97. ***Katſchar*** [**xaǰār** 'bridle'] een Paerds toom [bridle of a horse][56] East-Mong. form, Rud. *xaǰār*; KMV 112 *kasar*; R 174b *xazār*; Oir. *xazār*; Dag. *xadāla* (qaǰaγar).

98. ***Bitſchikan*** [**bičikan**] klein [small, little] KMV 67 *bitziachan, bitzechan*; R47a *bitškn*; Bur.C *bitschiakun, bičikin', bičixan', bišaxan'* (bičiqan).

99. ***Nom*** [**nom**] een Boek [book] R 279a *nom* (nom).

100. ***Koetoergoe*** [**xudurgu** with a semi-voices *d* 'crupper'] 't achter tuig op een Paerd[57] [back harness of a horse] KWi 120a, 299b *Chudurga* 'Voorſtuk'; KMV 118 *chadruga*; R 195a *xudrγn*; TMEN III, 477–478 (qudurγa).

101. ***Chorchonn*** [read **oxorxon**] Kort [short] cf. R 284a *ox^{o}r* (oqorqan).

102. ***Tſchingede Koemindurga*** [**čingede kömüldürge**][58] ſlae luſtig [tighten the breast-strap of the harness] R 437a *tšangγad^{a}-*; R 239a *kömldrgə*; (čingγada-, kömüldürge). Cf. No. 147.

103. ***Dure*** [**dörê** or **döröö** 'stirrup'] ſtyg-beugels om te Paerd te gaen zitten [stirrup] KWi 120a, 299b *Deria*; KMV 78 *doræ*; R 99b *döree*; Dag. *durêngi, durû*; cf. TMEN Nos. 204, 598 (döröge).

104. ***Doenda Oetoe*** [**dunda utu**] Breet [broad] R 102a *dund^{a}*; Dag. *duanda*; Bur.C *dùnda, dúnda* (dumda, urtu).

105. ***Narinmeni*** [**narin** (or **närin**?) **men** '(that) is narrow'] Enge [narrow] West Mong. form, KWi 121a, 300b *Naren*; R 273a *närn*; Dag. *nar'îng*; TMEN No. 380 (mön, narin). Cf. No. 234.

106. ***Tſchidin*** [read *r* for *n* **čidir** 'hobble for three feet', unbroken] een Paerd geſpannen aen drie beenen [a horse hobbled on three feet] R 445b *tšüdr* (čidür).

107. ***Turge ala-azyilikeneitſchi*** [read *e* for *r* **tüügi alaǰi-l ?yuu kenää-či?** 'what do you do killing that?'] waerom zoude men hem ſlaen? [why should one kill him?] West Mong. form R 7a *al-*; KMV 60 *ala* (ala-, či, ele, ki-, tegüni, yaγun?).

[56] For a more detailed account of the word cf. L. Ligeti, Les inscription djurtchen, 22, note 19.

[57] Cf. L. Ligeti, Les inscription djurtchen, 22–23; G. Doerfer, Ist das Japanische mit den altaischen Sprachen verwandt? *ZDMG* 124:1 (1974) 114.

[58] Witsen's reading seems to be influenced by the transcription of the word *koemin*. The need for further studies about the term *kömüldürge* have already been expressed by Vietze (H-P. Vietze, Zu einigen Wörtern zentralasiatischer Herkunft im Deutschen und benachbarten Sprachen. In: K. Sagaster–H. Eimer (Eds), *Religious and Lay Symbolism in the Altaic World and Other Papers*. Wiesbaden 1989, 432) who, however, does not seem to be aware of the contributions to a better knowledge and understanding of the Mongolian words ending *-dUrGA* which have been made by Poppe (N. Poppe, Über die Bildungssuffixe, 232) and Doerfer (G. Doerfer, Ist das Japanische, 113); cf. also L. Ligeti, Les anciens éléments mongols dans le mandchou. *AOH* X:3 (1960) 235. In his article on Karagas shaman dress, Hartwig presented a description of the shaman's drum where he wrote: "In der Höhe der Öffnungen kreuzen zwei leicht geschwungene Stäbe, deren Sinn unbekannt ist, den Griff: der obere heißt *chomuldruk* [?], der untere *kutucha* [?]" (W. Hartwig, Gedanken über ein Schamanenkostüm. *Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig* Bd. XV, 1956, 42). The two words are *xömüldrük* and *qudurga*, as the drum is the riding horse of the shaman.

108. ***Nari Iret*** [**nār ire-t(a)** or **irêt** 'having come'?] Komt hier [come here] R 273a *nārān*, *nārn*[59] (inaru, ire-, ta, 2nd person plur.). Cf. No. 237.

109. ***Olanſaer*** [**olansar** 'strap of the saddle'] eene gordel of band van ledere Riemen [a girdle or band of leather strap] KWi 120a, 299b *Olonczy* 'Zyde ſtukken aen de zadel [side part of the saddle]' R 285a *olntsaγ* (olongčar, Kow. olongčor sur).

110. ***Tſchagan moerin*** [**čagān mörin/mürin** ? perhaps morin with palatalized or palatal *o* or *ö*] een geel-greuw Paerd [a yellowish-grey horse] Eastern form (Kara, 1961, 178, n. 10) **čagān** 'white' KMV 73 *zagan*, *tzagan*; R 419a *tsaγān*; while for *č-* cf. Kalm. Mil. *Tschagan*; Dag. *čiγaan*; Khar. N. *čagaan*; Bur.C *tsagán''* TMEN No. 177; **mörin/mürin** ? according to Doerfer *murin* cf. TMEN No. 374; KWi 120a, 299b *Morin*; R 266b *mörn* D Ö, *mör'n* D, *morn* T; KMV 102 *mori*, *muri* Kalm. Mil. *moriú*; Bur.C *murìn*, *múrin*; DQ 20, (čaγan, morin).

111. ***Borooelan moerin*** [**boro ulān mörin** 'greyish red horse'] een lieht of wit graew Paerd [a light or whitish grey horse] R 51b *bor^{o}*; KMV 70 *boro*; TMEN No. 785; for **ulān** R 448a *ulān*; Bur.C *ulàn*, *ulán*; cf. TMEN No. 398 (boro, morin, ulaγan).[60]

112. ***Charabora moerin*** [**xara boro mörin**] een donker graeuw Paerd [a dark-grey horse] (boro, morin, qar-a).

113. ***Koeren moerin*** [**küren m.** 'a dark brown horse'] een donker vos Paerd [a dark foxy horse] R 248a *kürng*; TMEN No. 328 (küren, morin).

114. ***Kara moerin*** [**xara m.** 'a black horse'] een donker bruin Paerd [a dark brown horse] Kalm. Mil. *Kara* (morin, qara).

115. ***Alak moerin*** [**alak m.** 'a piebald horse'] een ſchek, of gevlakt Paerd [a mottled or pied horse] R 6b *al^{a}γ*; Dag. *alag*, *alax*; cf. TMEN No. 518 where we find this entry (alaγ, morin).

116. ***Boeroe moerin*** [read **bûrûl m.** 'a roan horse'] een vael, of ſchimmel Paerd [a fallow or white horse] cf. 140 R 65b *bûrl* (buγurul, morin).

117. ***Tzabidar moerin*** [**cabidar m.** 'a fallow horse with white mane and tail'] een vos Paerd met een witte ſtaert [a foxy horse with white tail] R 424a *tsäbdr*; (čabidar, morin).

118. ***Chula moerin*** [**xula m.** 'a light bay with a black stripe along the spine'] een donker geel Paerd, en witte maenen, met een zwarte ſtreek op de rug [a dark yellow horse with white mane and a black stripe alomg the spine] R 195b *xul^{u}*; (morin, qula).

[59] For the old directive ending cf. N. Z. Gadzhieva, The Role of Altaic Languages in the Reconstruction of the Turkic Syntactic Archetype. In: L. Ligeti (Ed.), *Researches in Altaic Languages*. Budapest 1975, 63, with additional reference.

[60] Cf. L. Ligeti, Les anciens éléments, 238–239.

119. ***Chartar moerin*** [read **xaltar m.**] hoog bruin Paerd, met een witachtige mond [a light brown horse with a white muzzle] R 163a *xaltr*; (morin, qaltar).[61]

120. ***Scharga moerin*** [**šarga m.** 'a fallow horse'] een geel Paerd [a yellow horse] R 350a *šarγa mörn* 'falbes Pferd' (morin, sirγa).

121. ***Gongor moerin*** [read **xongor m.** 'a fallow/light bay horse'] een donker geel Paerd [a dark fallow horse] R 185b *xongγar mörn* 'hellbraunes ross' (morin, qongγur).[62]

122. ***Kare moerin*** [Russ. **kārij** for Mong. **kêr m.**] een bruin Paerd [a brown horse] Dag. *keir' mor'*[63] (keger, see below, No. 132, morin).

123. ***Zerda moerin***[64] [**zêrde m.**] een vos Paerd [a foxy (reddish brown) horse] West Mong. form R 474b *zêrdᵊ*; Dag. *ǰeerde*; TMEN No. 158 (ǰegerde).

124. ***Ka-aktʃchigon*** [read **xookči güün** or **göön** 'an isabel mare'] een bruine Merri [a brown mare] **xookči** R 192a *xôxš* D; TMEN I, 182; **güün** R 140b *güün*; KMV *guu*, *kgu*; Bur.C *gu* (gegün, *qoγaγčin, qou-a+γčin).

125. ***Adzarga moerin*** [**ajarga m.**] een Hengſt [stallion] East Mong. form cf. Kara, 1961, 178 R 2b *ajrγa*; KWi 120a, 299b *Azygar*; KMV 60 *adsarga*; Dag. *ad'rəγ*, *ajrəγ*; Bur.C *asarga*; cf. TMEN No. 648, where we find this entry. (ajirγa).

126. ***Schiro moerin*** [read **ǰirô m.**] een pasganger [an ambler] Dag. *ǰiroo* cf. also Written Oirat *ǰirô*, but R 115a *ǰorā*; Khar. N. *zoraa* (ǰiruγa/ǰoriya, morin).

127. ***De*** [**del**] de maenen van't Paerd [mane of a horse] R 85b *del* (del).

128. ***Sul*** [**süül**] de ſtaert [tail] R 342a süül; Bur.C *chul* (segül).

129. ***Tʃchikin*** [**čikin**] d'ooren [ear] cf. No. 19 (čikin).

130. ***Ztzagmay*** [read **cagān mangnā** or cf. Kalm. **zaγlma** 'kobčik'] de bles voor de kop [blaze (white spot) on the head] R 463a *zaγᵘlmää* (ǰaγalmai).

131. ***Galdzan moerin*** [**galjan m.**] een Paerd met een bles [a horse with a blaze on the forehead] West Mong. form, R 142b *γalzn*; Khalkha *xaljan* (qalǰan)

132. ***Kergaldzan moerin*** [**kêr galjan m.**] een bruin Paerd met een bles [a brown horse with a blaze on the forehead] (keger TMEN I, 485, qalǰan, morin).

133. ***Zerdagaldzan moerin*** [**zêrd galjan** or **jêrd g. m.**] een vos Paerd met een bles [a dark red horse with a blaze on the forehead] cf. Nos. 123, 131 (ǰegerde, qalǰan, morin).

134. ***Charagaldzan moerin*** [**xara galjan m.**] een donker bruin Paerd met een bles [a black horse with a blaze on forehead] (qar-a, qalǰan, morin).

[61] Details on the favorite colours of horses, among others on *qaltar*, in Turkic, see I. Cirtautas, Die Lieblingspferdefarben der Türken. *CAJ* X:3–4 (1965) 157–160, and Benzing's review-article on the book Cirtautas (Der Gebrauch der Farbbezeichnungen in den Türkdialekten); in Mongolian, see N. Poppe, Pferdenamen in der Geschichte und Sage der Nomaden Zentralasiens. *OE* 9:1 (1962) 97–104.

[62] For a discussion on the origin of the word, see P. Pelliot, Les formes avec et sans *q-* (*k-*) initial en turc en mongol. *T'oung Pao* 37 (1943) 77–78, n. 1.

[63] S. Kałużyński, Dagurisches Wörterverzeichnis. *RO* XXXIII (1969) 114.

[64] Cf. T. G. Bugaeva–V. I. Cincius, O nazvanijah nekotoryh metallov v altaiskih jazykah. In: *Problemy*, 84.

135. ***Borogaldzan moerin*** [**boro g. m.**] een donker graeuw Paerd met een bles [dark grey etc.] (boro, qalǰan, morin).

136. ***Choelagaldzan moerin*** [**xula galjan m.**] een donker geel Paerd met een bles [a dark yellow horse etc.] cf. Nos. 118, 131 (morin, qalǰan, qula).

137. ***Tzabidar Galdza moerin*** [**cabidar galja(n) m.**] een vos Paerd met witte maenen, bleſſe en ſtaert [reddish-yellow with white mane and tail] cf. Nos. 117, 131 (čabidar, morin, qalǰan).

138. ***Boro Oelan Galdza moerin*** [**boro ulān g. m.**] een licht graeuw Paerd met een bleſſe [a light grey horse with a blaze on forehead] (boro, morin, qalǰan, ulaγan).

139. ***Gongorgaldza moerin*** [**kongor galja m.** 'a fallow/light bay horse with a blaze on the forehead'] donker geel Paerd met een bleſſe [a dark yellow with a blaze on the forehead] cf. Nos. 121, 131 (morin, qalǰan, qongγur).

140. ***Boerogaldza moerin*** [**boro galja m.** 'a roan horse with a blaze on forehead'] een ſchimmel met een bles [a white horse with a blaze on forehead] cf. Nos. 116, 131 (boro, morin, qalǰan).

141. ***Chaltargaldza moerin*** [**xaltar xalja m.**] donker bruin Paerd met een koperroode muil, en een bleſſe [a dark brown horse with a copper-red muzzle and (with) a blaze] cf. Nos. 119, 131 (morin, qalǰan, qaltar).

142. ***Schargagaldza moerin*** [**šarga xalja m.**] een geel Paerd met een bleſſe [a yellow horse with a blaze on forehead] cf. Nos. 120, 131 (morin, qalǰan, siryа).

143. ***Argantſchi*** [**argamǰi**] een Paerde-ſtrik van haair gemaekt [a lasso made of horse-hair] R 13b *aryамǰi*; TMEN No. 457 (aryамǰi).

144. ***O-o-doen*** [**ûdun** 'bridle'] 't gebid in de mond [the bit in the mouth] West Mong. form cf. R 453b *ûd*^{a} (aγuda).[65]

145. ***Nochtou*** [**noxtu**] een halſter [halter] R 278b *nokt*^{o}; TMEN No. 384 (noγta).

146. ***Iki kaanetoen*** [**iki** ? Mo. könög 'bucket'?] een korf met haver [a basket with oat] (yeke).

147. ***Koemin durga*** [**kömöldörge**] een borſt-riem [breast-strap] (kömüldürge). Cf. No. 102.

148. ***Macha*** [**maxa**] Vleeſch [meat] KWi 301b *Machan*; R 254a *max*^{a}*n*; Bur.C *mjakàn, mjaxán', mjakan'* (miqa).

149. ***Oeker*** [**üker** 'cattle'] een Koeye [cow] KWi 299b *Korovay, Oukeri* of *Uker*; R 456b *ükr*; Kalm. Mi. *ukér*; Bur.C *ukyr*; TMEN No. 397 (üker).

150. ***Tſchar*** [**čar** written form 'ox'] een Os of Stier [ox or bull] cf. KWi 299b two consecutive entries *Tzer boecha* of *bucha* 'Stier' and *Buchay* 'Os', 120a *Tzer*; R 422a *tsar*; Khalkha *šar*; Khar. N. *šjara* (čar/šar).

[65] It seems to be rather a vague idea but I cannot resist the temptation to compare this word with the Mong. *oγodasun* 'underarm of a garment' treated by Rozycki (*op. cit.*, 77) and compared with several words in the sense 'hole, pit, depression' but *aγuda*, a word that should be regarded as being of the same original meaning.

151. ***Boecha*** [**buxa**] een jaerige Stier [one year old bull] KWi 120a *Buchay*; KMV 70 *bucha* 'dove', cf. Clark, 1976, 121; R 58a *bux*^{u}; Dag. *bak* (*bag*); Bur.C *bukà*, *buxá*; TMEN No. 752 where Doerfer quotes this "Dagur" entry (buqa). Cf. No. 150.

152. ***Koy*** [**xöi** 'sheep'] een wyfje van een Schaep, of Oye [a female of a sheep or ewe] West Mong. form[66] KWi 120a, 299b *Choin* 'Ram', and 299b *Emechoin* of *Koy* 'Schaep'; R 194a *xöön*, *xöö*; Oir. *xoyin*, *xonin*; Kalm. Mil. *choin*[67] KMV 115 *Choy*; Dag. *xon'i*; Bur.C *konì* (qonin).

153. ***Ergikoy*** [**irge xöi** 'whether'] een Schaep [sheep] R 209a *irgə* (irge, qonin).

154. ***Ima***[68] [**imā**] een Geite [goat] no breaking! Dag. *imaa*; Mgr. *imā*; Shirongol *iman*, *ima*; Khar. N. *imaa*; R 214b *jamān*; KMV 88 *giam*, *gama*, *jama*, Pl. *gamat*; Khalkha *yamā* (imaγan).

155. ***Serko*** [**serke**] een Bok [castrated goat] R 325b *serkə*; TMEN No. 213 (serke).

156. ***Jebir*** [**eber**] de hoornen [horn] KMV 79 *oeber*; R 129a *ewr* Ö, *öwr* D (eber).

157. ***Koeroeska*** [**xurusxa** 'skin of a newly born lamb'] een Lam [lamb] R 199a *xursxa* Ö, *xür'sxa* D (qurisqa).

158. ***Koelir*** [**gulir** with a semivoiced *g*-] Meel [flour] R 153b *γujr*; Dag. *gol'* (golil/golir); Ord. *γulir* (γulir/γuril).

159. ***Boetatara*** [**buda tarā** with semivoiced *-d-*] Weit [wheat] R 57a budān 'gekochte speise mit mehl od. grütze' KMV 70 *buda*; Dag. *badā* (budaγan, tariyan).

160. ***Boertʃchak*** [**burčag**] Erweten [pease] R 62b *burtsaγ*; KMV 70 *burtzak*; Dag. *borčoo*; TMEN No. 730 where Doerfer quotes this "Dagur" entry (burčaγ).

161. ***Schara toʃoe*** [**šar tosu**] Booter [butter] Cf. No. 326. R 403b *šar*^{a} *tosn*; for **tosu** KWi 118 *Toʃun*; Bur.C *tohùn*; for **šar** Dag. *sar*; Bur.C *schabsschara* (sira, tosun).

162. ***Okit*** [read **öökün** *n* for *t*] Vet [fat] R 304a *öökn* (ögekün).

163. ***Karatara*** [**xara tarā** 'rye'] Manna of Grut [?] R 168a *xar buudää*, 168b *xar zarma* (qar-a, tariya).

164. ***Okin*** [**okin**] een Maegt, of jonge Dochter [a maid or young daughter] KWi 119b, 298b *Okin*; R 284a *okn*; KMV 108 *okyn*, *okin*, 109 *oekyn*, *okyn*; Dag. *ugin*, *uyin*; Bur.C *okìn*, *ukin'*, *okin'*; TMEN No. 48 (ökin).

[66] Cf. Poppe's review on the *TMEN* (*CAJ* X:1 (1965) 77).

[67] Cf. P. Poucha, Kalmückische Ausdrücke beim tschechischen Jesuiten Johannes Milan — Franciscus Emilianus. *RO* 32 (1968) 63: "Milan scheint hier aber nicht das kalmückische, sondern das türkische Wort reproduziert zu haben." According to Poppe (N. Poppe's review of G. Doerfer's *TMEN*, 77) there is another instance where doubt may arise whether the word *qoin* should be taken as of Turkic or Western Mongolian origin.

[68] L. Ligeti, Les inscription djurtchen, 11; Bazin in his article quoted only the Mongour unbroken data (L. Bazin, Noms de la «chèvre» en Turc et en Mongol. *Studia Altaica Festschrift für Nikolaus Poppe zum 60. Geburtstag am 8. August 1957*. Wiesbaden 1957, 28–32).

165. ***Koboen*** [**köbüün**] een Jongen [boy] West Mong. form cf. KWi 119b, 298b *Kebeu* 'Zoon'; R 242b *köwüün*; Oir. *köböün*, *kübüün*; TMEN No. 321 (köbegün).[69]

166. ***Jeré*** [**ere** 'man'] een getrouwt Man [a married man] KWi 119b, 298b *Eré* of *Cun*; R 123b *er*^{ə}; Bur.C *erè*; TMEN No. 638 (ere).

167. ***Gergén*** [read **gergen** 'wife' or **gergein** 'of wife' Gen. form] een Huisvrouw [housewife] R 134b *gergn* (gergei).

168. ***Oekoebá*** [**üküba**] hy is dood [he is dead] Praet. perf. R 456b *ük*^{ü}-; cf. KWi 120a, 299a *Ukiuſy* 'He is doot'; Bur.C *ukä* (ükü-). Cf. No. 442.

169. ***Jemedoe*** [**ämidu**] hy leeft [he is alive] KWi 120a, 299a *Amidu*; KMV 62 *amedo*; R 22b *ämdə*; Dag. *amidu*; Bur.C *amidú* (amidu).

170. ***Ili bi*** [**ili bi** 'it is clear'] 'tis by U [it is at you] R 206a *il*^{ə}, *îl*^{ə} (ile bui).

171. ***Bainoenadatſchamayjum kelekoe*** [**bainu nada čamtai** (cf. No. 295) **yum kelekü**] ik hebbe met U iets te ſpreeken [I have something to tell you]. The word order is from the Russian language (bai-, čimatai kele-, nada, yaγuma cf. No. 173).

172. ***Kelé*** [**kelê**] ſpreeken [to speak, say] cf. KWi 121a, 300b *Keleje* and 121a, 300b *Kelezy*; R 223b *kel*^{ə}-; cf. praes KMV 93 *kelenæ*, *kelene*, *kelæne*; Dag. *ele-* (kele-). Cf. Nos. 435, 436.

173. ***Ko-otſchin iletſchin*** [read **xûčin îme-čin**] een oud Dier [an old thing] R 202b *xûtšn*; Khar. N. *xoočin*; TMEN No. 295; R 220b *jûmn*, Ö *jumn*, D *jomn - imn - im - m*; Oir. *îm*; Dag. *yum*, Dag. Martin *ime* = Mong. *yaγum-a* (činu, qaγučin, yaγuma). Cf. Nos. 171, 339.

174. ***Schipſchiná*** [**šib šinê** with emphatical length on the last syllable] een niuwt Dier [a new thing] R 355a *šiB šinə* (sib sine). Cf. No. 173.

175. ***Dzo-Olochon*** [read **jalôxon** 'young' with dimin.] een jonk Dier [a young thing] Dag. *ǰalôxān* (ǰalaγuqan).

176. ***Dzolokoeminiki*** [**jalô kümün iki** syntax!] een jong ſterk Menſch [a young strong man] cf. No. 177 KWi 301b *Dztolo koemin ochoja* 'Een Jongeling kan ſterk arbeiden' R 465b *zalû*; cf. KWi 119b, 298b *Zalos*; Dag. *ǰaloo* (ǰalaγu, kümün, yeke).

177. ***Ochojá*** [**oxoyā**] hy maekt [he is making] cf. the Kalm. word R 284a *ox*^{o}- 'beischlaf ausüben'. Seemingly No. 178 makes this meaning less probable but cf. KWi 301b *Emegen kokszijn Achodzy Czytahu uhey* [emegen kökšin oxoǰ čidaxu ügei] Een oud Man kan niet werken. On the other hand **orki-**, the possible improvement of the reading, also can be attested, No. 379 (orki-, oqu-?). Cf. Nos. 176, 414.

[69] As for the classical form J̌iγučidai J̌irannige supposes an original *köü* form which changed to *köbegün* in the consequence on the rules of Uigur-Mongolian writing system (J̌iγučidai J̌irannige, Mongγol kelen-ü ner-e üge-yin γaγča toγan-u kelberi-yin asaγudal-du. *Mongγol kele bičig* No. 92 (1985) 5, 32). However, the West Mongolian forms indicate a spoken language form of the *köbegün*, cf. Sečen, *op. cit.*, 67.

178. ***Atzá ochoja*** [**aca** 'bring' **oxoya** 'let's do (it)'] te maeken geve [to make give] KWi 301b *Aca ochoja* 'Voor niet of vergeefs arbeiden' and 302b *Atza ochoja*; cf. No. 89 (ača, oqu-).

179. ***Oenér, boiskoybolboe*** [**ünêr ?**] voorzeeker [surely, certainly] KWi 301b *Uner, bokſoi bolbu* 'Waerlijk, zeker' and 302b *Ouper bosko bolbor*; R458a *ünêr* (bolusi ügei, üneger). Cf. No. 426.

180. ***Ene mokoemin koetal*** [**ene mô kümin xudal**] hy liegt, hy is een quaed menſch [he is lying, he is a bad man] R 194b *xudl* (ene, kümün, maγu, qudal).

181. ***Tſchimogoy*** [**či mogoy**] een Slange [a snake] Perhaps the ***Tſchi*** belongs to the previous ***koetal*** cf. KWi 301b *Ene mo Kumun Kutalczy mohoy* and 302b *Jememo kounun paltzi Mogoi*; R 263 *moγää*; KMV *mogoi*; Kalm. Mil. *moogöé*; TMEN No. 375 (moγai). Cf. No. 180.

182. ***Tſchi ili Eme aboexen*** [**či ili eme abugsan**] hebt gy algevryt, of zyt gu getrouwt [are you married?] KWi 301b *Czy eme abuxet* of *Taijemeabou xcen*; *eme* R 121a *em*^{a}; Bur.C *emè*, *eme* (abu-, či, ele, eme).

183. ***Boskoe*** [**bosxu** 'to stand'] het ſtaet [he is standing] KWi 301b *Bosku* of *Boſſ*; KMV 69 *poss*, *boss*; R 52b *bos-*; Dag. *bos-*; Selenga-Bur. [= Northern Khalkha] *bosxo*, Bur. East *bodoxo*, Bur. West *bohoxo* cf. No. 239 (bosqu).

184. ***Boskoebiſchoe*** [**bosxu bišu**] he ſtaet niet [he does not stand] KWi 301b *Bosku biſzu*; (bosqu, busu).

185. ***Tſchamadoe Eme baynoe*** [**čamadu eme baynû**] hebt gy wel een Vrouw ? [have you got a wife?] KWi 301b *Tzamadou emebanou*; R 437a *tšamd*^{a} (bai-, čama-dur, eme).

186. ***Bida Emeteyboe*** [**bida emeteybu(i)** 'we are married'] hy is getrouwt [he is married] The mistranslation reflects a real dialogue. KWi 301b *Bida emeteibu*, 302b *Bid jemetenbou skor outer*; R 44a *bid*^{a}, *bidn*; KMV 68 *bida*; Dag. *bed*; Bur.C *bida* (bida, emetei).

187. ***Koedinaſittay dzonbayne*** [**kedüü nastai zon baina**] hoe oud zyt gy ? [how old are you?] KWi 301b *Tczamai koudy Naſſytai dtzal* of *Dtzon baines*?; R 222b *kedüü nastê* (bay-, ǰon,[70] kedüi cf. No. 460, nasutai).

[70] For *zon* "man" cf. Unkrig, Das Programm des Gelehrten Comités der Mongol Volksrepublik. *Ostasiastische Studien* (1929) 76–77; X. Perlee, 'Dzon' xeemex ügiin tuxai. *Studia Linguae et Litterarum* Tom XIV. Fasc. 5., 15–16; H. Serruys, The Mongol Word Pair *Qarayiqu–Barayiqu*. *CAJ* XVI:2 (1972) 120; C. B. Budaev, *Burjatskie dialekty*. Novosibirsk 1992, 142. In Kalm. Mil. can be found: "*Karatón*, sunt velut exorcistae, qui fugant serpentes et lupos" (cf. K. Chabros, *Beckoning Fortune. A Study of the Mongol dalalγa Ritual*. Wiesbaden 1992 (Asiatische Forschungen 117) 64) where the corrected reading of the *Karatón* should be *kara zon*, cf. also Benzing note on the word in Turkic language (J. Benzing, *Kritische Beiträge zur Altaistik und Turkologie*. Wiesbaden 1988, 25). For the treatment of the word with regard to other languages see, P. Poucha, Das Mongolische im Zusammenhang mit einigen anderen Sprachen. *ZDMG* Suppl. 1 (1969) 735.

188. ***Il*** [**ǰil** or **il**][71] een Jaer [year] KWi 121a *Syl*, 300b *Syl Ilh* of *If*; R 109b *ǰil*; KMV 91 *gihl*; Dag. *ǰil* (ǰil).[72]

189. ***Ibill*** [**öwl**] Winter [winter] KWi 121a *Ebuil*, 300b *Ebuil* of *Ibijf*; R 303a *öwl*; KMV 80 *ebell*, *ubill*, *ubol* Dag. *uγul*, *uwul*, *u:l*; Bur.C *ubul'* (ebül). Cf. No. 463.

190. ***Kaboer*** [**xabur** or **kabur**] Lente [spring] KWi 121a *Chabar*, 300b *Chabur*, *Kabari* of *Kabur*; KMV 110 *chabur*, *kabuhr*; R 174a *xawr*; Dag. *xaur*; Bur.C *xabur* (qabur). Cf. No. 461.

191. ***Doeloechan*** [read **dulāxan**] Warm [warm] KWi 302a *Duoulachan*; KMV 78 *toulachan*; R 101b *dulān*; Dag. *dulākan*; Bur.C *dulakan*, *dulang* (dulaγaqan). Cf. No. 465.

192. ***Koyton*** [**köötön**] Koud [cold] KWi 301b, 302a *Koiton*; KMV 98. *chutien*, *kuiten*; R 234b *kîtn*; Dag. *kuitun* (küiten). Cf. No. 464.

193. ***Poera Oeroba*** [**borā oroba**], of ***Oerotſchi*** [**oroǰi**], Regen [rain], the sentence with Praet. Perf. and Coll. Praet. Imperf. actually means 'it rained'. The first word should be emended into **borô** as it is attested in Eastern Mongolian, while Oirat *borān* 'storm'[73] or ***Poera*** is a scribal error for ***Koera***, cf. KWi 302a *Koura ouroba*; R 51b *borān*; KMV 69 *bor*; Bur.C *borógon*, *borogón*; TMEN No. 100; for "rain" cf. also KWi 118, 298a *Chura* (boroγan, oro-).

194. ***Moespoerga ſchoergán*** [**mös borā šûrgan**] Ys [ice] Dag. deest; the form *poerga* may be due to the Russian word *purgá* 'snow-storm' and compare with KWi 118, 298 *Churingan* from qura + siγuryan; KWi 302a *Mus*; Bur.C *muluxung'*, *mumogun'* (boroγan, mösün, siγuryan).[74]

195. ***Oeſun*** [**usun**] Water [water] KWi 118, 298a *Uſur* of *Sun*, 302a *Uſiun* of *Oeſſun*; KMV 137 *usu*, *Sui*; R 452a *usn*; Kalm. Mil. *uschun*; Dag. *os*; Bur.C *ugùn*, *uhun'*, *usun'*; TMEN No. 47 (usun).

196. ***Taboeſoen*** [**dabusun**] Zout[75] [salt] KWi 120b, 300a *Daba ſun*, 302a *Tabuſun*, 302b *Tabuſſoen*; R 80b *dawsn*; cf. KMV 76 *dabustai* - from *dabusutai*; Bur.C *dabuhùn*, *dabuhun'*, Dag. *kata* (dabusun).

197. ***Tſchaſoe Oeroba*** [**času oroba**] of ***Oerotſchi*** [**oroǰi**] 't Sneeuwt [it is snowing] KWi 302a *Tzcaſou ouroba*; **času** 'snow' KWi 118, 298a *Czaſun*; KMV 74 *zassu*, *tzasso*; R 423a *tsasn*; Khar. N. *časa*; Bur.C *ssagùn*, *tsahun'*, *tsasun'* (časun, oro-).

[71] As Aalto pointed out in his study on the Kalmuck "Frauensprache" there are some cases where *y-* is found instead of the original affricate (P. Aalto, Frauensprachliche Erscheinungen im Mongolischen. *ZAS* 5 (1971) 127–137). Oghuz Turkic or Western Bur. (cf. N. Poppe, *Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies*. Helsinki 1955, 35, 116; C. B. Budaev, *Leksika burjatskih dialektov*. Novosibirsk 1978, 25) influence is improbable. Erroneous notation?

[72] See L. Bazin, *Les systèmes chronologiques dans le monde turc ancien*. Budapest 1991, 65 for a discussion of this word.

[73] Cf. D. Sinor, An Altaic Word for 'Snowstorm'. *Studia Orientalia* (Helsinki). 47 (1977) 219–231; R. I. Meserve, A Natural Calamity of Inner Asia: The Buran. *UAJb* 64 (1992) 105–116; Sečen, *op. cit.*, 60–61.

[74] About the Altaic background of the word cf. R. A. Miller, Anti-Altaist *Contra* Altaist. *UAJb Ural-Altaic Yearbook* 63 (1991) 54–55.

[75] Cf. Engkebatu, 148.

198. ***Ibuſun*** [**ebüsün**] Gras[76] [grass] KWi 119a *Ebeſiun*, 298a *Ebeſiun* of *Ibuſſun*, 302a *Ibiuſiun*; KMV 79 *ebesu*, *obos*; R 303a *öwsn*; Dag. *eus*; Bur.C *öbuhùn*, *ubugú* (ebesün). For the *i*- cf. Nos. 188, 189.

199. ***Ide macha*** [**ide maxa**] eet Vleeſch [eat from the meat] Syntax! KWi 302a *Idemachan*; R 254a *max^{a}n*; KMV 101 *machan*, *machai*; Khar. N. *maxa* (ide-, miq-a).

200. ***Idekoe*** [**idexü** 'to eat'] Ik eete [I eat] KWi 302a *Idekou*, 120b, 300a *Idenei*; R 205a *idə*-; KMV 87 *idee*; Dag. *ide*-; Bur.C *idkù*, *idikú*, *iduxú* (ide-).

201. ***Tſchatba*** [**čadba** 'I am full'] of ***tſchatba idekoe biſchoe*** [**čadba idexü bišu** 'I am full. I will not eat (more)'] ik ben verzaed of zat [I am satiated] KWi 302a *Satbajedekou* and the following item *Czatba*; R 423a *tsad^{a}*- KMV 73 *zadoba*, *cadba*; (čad-).

202. ***Elezmoe*** [read **ölösmü**] ik ben hongerig [I am hungry] KWi 302a *Jelemum* 'Hem hongert' and *Jelerma* 'Hongerig'; R 295a *öls*-; Bur.C *ölydbſy* (ölös-).

203. ***Moengoe*** [**möngö**] Zilver [silver] KWi 302a *Moungou*; R 266a *mönggn*; KMV 102 *mungun*, *mungu*, *nunghö* (for KMV see Kara, 1961, 178, n. 10, cf. No. 90); Dag. *mungu*, *munge*; Bur.C *mongù*, *mungu*; TMEN No. 377 (mönggün).[77]

204. ***Altinn*** [**altn**] Goud [gold][78] KWi 302a *Altyn*; KMV 61 *alta*; Dag. *alta*; R 8a *altn*; Bur.C *alta*, *altan*; TMEN Nos. 26, 529 (altan).

205. ***Koemin tſchaptſchi, oetul*** [**kümin čabči, utul** '(hey) man, chop (it), cut (it)' or 'slay a man, cut (him)' ?] een Menſch houwen [to hit a man] KWi 302a *Kumin Czapozy utiul* of *Koeminga ptzi outyl*; **utul** West Mong. form R 453a *utl*-, 284a *oktl*-; KMV106 *achtol*, *ochtol*; Bur.C *otollu*; **čabči** R 437b *tšaptš^{i}*-, *tšäptš^{i}*-; KMV 72 *zaptzchi*, *schapschicko*; Khar. N. *čjabiči*; Dag. *čerč*-; TMEN No. 1039 (čabči-, kümün, Oir. utul-, cf. Mong. oγtal-).

206. ***Tulia Oetul*** [**tülê utul** 'chop firewood' perhaps *ia* for a wide Oirat long vowel cf. 208] een Hond *houwen* [a dog bark] the Dutch misinterpretation "dog" may be due to the homonym *houven* 'to hit' and *houven* 'to bark' and makes proof of Witsen's awareness of the meaning of the Mongolian word (oγtal-/utul-, tüliyen).

207. ***Gal, tule*** [**gal tülê**] legt vuur aen [kindle a fire] KWi *Halatiule* of *Galtule*; R 141b *γal*; KWi 118, 298a *Gal*; KMV 83 *gall* Kalm. Mil. *gal*; Dag. *gali*; Bur.C *gall*, *gal'* (γal, tüle-).

208. ***Galas tulia*** [**galās tülê** 'make a fire' with an unjustified ablative suffix and *ia* for *e* cf. 206 or read **gal asâ, tüle**?] maekt een klein vuurtje [to make a small fire] KWi 302a *Halas tiul* (γal, tüle-).

[76] Poppe, 1974, 119–120.

[77] Cleaves, The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1338 in Memory of Jigüntei, *HJAS* 1951, 96; T. G. Bugaeva–V. I. Cincius, *op. cit.*, 78.

[78] Cf. T. G. Bugaeva–V. I. Cincius, *op. cit.*, 69.

209. ***Oeba*** [**ûba** '(he) drank'] of ***jaboe*** [**yabu** 'go'] drinkt [(he) drinks] KWi 302b *Oliba*, 120b, 300a *Udak*; R 454a û-; KMV *oo*; Bur.C *uukù*, *uukú*, *uxú* (û-, yabu- TMEN No. 401).

210. ***Boeli*** [**boli** 'stop it'] genoeg of vol [enough or full] KWi 302b *Bouli*; R 50a *bolǰ*^{i} Ö (boli-).

211. ***Baga oeboe*** [**baga ûbu**] drinkt weinig [(one) drinks a little] KWi 302b *Baga oebaus* (baγa, û-).

212. ***Bida ſoktoba*** [**bida soktoba** 'we are drunken'] ik ben dronken [I am drunken] cf. KWi 302b *Bida ſcoktoba bitzichan*; R 330a *sokt*^{a}-; Bur.C *choktobò* (bida, soγta-).

213. ***Baga*** [**baga**] weinig [little] KMV 65 *baga*; R 28a *baγ*^{a}; TMEN No. 91 (baγa).

214. ***Iki*** [**iki**] veel [much, a lot] KWi 303a *Iky*; R 205b *ik*^{ə}; Dag. *xiγ*; Bur.C *ikè*, *ike*; TMEN No. 406 (yeke). Cf. No. 95.

215. ***Iki tabi*** [**iki tabi**] legt veel [put much] KWi 303a *Iki taby* (talbi-, yeke).

216. ***Baga tabi*** [**baga tabi**] legt weinig [put a little] KWi 303a *Baga taby* (baγa, talbi-).

217. ***Jendo olon tolonay*** [**yôndo** (or **yûndu**) **olon tölönei** or **tôlonai** from toγala- 'to count'] waerom telt gy zoo veel? [why do (you) pay (so) much'] **yôndo** cf. Written Oirat *youn* 'what'; je^{o} - jô^{o} cf. Cyr. *e*, *ë*; KWi 303a *Endo jolontoſe*; R 221a *jûnd*^{u} ; Dag. *yô*, *yû* 'what', *yûgû*, *yugû* 'why, how' (olon, tölö-, yaγun).

218. ***Setkil tſchamadoe baynoebi*** [**setkil čamadu baynû** 'have you an idea' (bi 'I' to No. 219) ?] hebt gy verſtant? [do you understand?] KWi 303a *Scetkiltzamadou*; R 327a *setkl* (bai-, bi?, čimadu, sedkil).

219. ***Bayne*** [**baina** '(I) am' = yes cf. 218] jae ik hebbe verſtant [yes, I am understand] answer to the previous question; cf. KWi 303a *Naibaine* (bai-).

220. ***Setkil tamgatoe oegey*** [**setkil tāmagtu**[79] **ügei**] een gek heeft geen verſtant [a fool man does not understand (it)] KWi 303a *Setkil Tamgatou ougei*; R 386b *tāmaγ* 'D erfinderisch, leicht erratend, Ö. id. od. Rätsel zu erratendes, Annahme, Mutmassung' (sedkil, taγamaγ-tu, ügei).

[79] The word *tāmaγ* meaning "suspicion" seems to be the base for our data. For a discussion of the word in the folklore terminology, see L. Lőrincz, La terminologie du folklore kalmouck. *AOH* 18 (1965) 158. One may, however, question whether the reading *tamga* is not also possible. We find several references to the use of the Mongolian word *tamaγa* in metaphorical sense. An expression "The *tamghāchî* of my grief for you" in a Persian poem has been discussed in some detail by Minorsky (V. Minorsky, Pûr-i Bahā's 'Mongol' ode. *BSOAS* XVIII (1956) 265, 268. This passage, of course, is of little value in explaining Witsen's sentence but warn us that it would be premature to exclude the possibility that we should read "sedkil tamgatu". Other indication on metaphorical usage of the *tamγa* can be found, or, at least metaphorical usage of the word can be deduced from what has been written in Aubin's article: "On ne clôt hermétiqement que les lieux publics ... et, à défaut de cadenas, on utilise ... un système de scellés d'origine chinoise: un fil retenu par deux cachets de cire frappés du sceau de l'occupant de la pièce ainsi défendue." (F. Aubin, Cadenas et clef — note d'ethno-linguistique mongole. In: *Tractata*, 16). Cf. also the well-known process and terms *tamaγa negekü*, *tamaγa qaγaqu*.

221. ***Kerſoo ſainkoemin*** [**kersüü sain kümin**] een wys en verſtandig Man [a wise and intelligent man] KWi 303a *Kerſſo oſſain koumin*; R 228a *kersüü*; KMV 94 *krisu, kirsu* (kersegüü, kümün, sayin).

222. ***Sokele kelen baynoe*** [read **sonin kelen bainû** 'is there any news'] wat nieuws is 'er [what news is there] KWi 303a *Tokele kelen banious*; R 331a *son'n* (bay-, kelen, sonin).

223. ***Ap*** [**aw** Imper.] of ***aboetſch*** [**abûč** Praecat. or rather 'the act of taking' cf. TMEN IV, 307-310 with no reference to Witsen's "Dagur"] neemt weg [take away] KWi 303a *Aboutzi*, 304 Ap; KMV 59. *abschi*; R 19ab *aw-*, XVII *awî-tš*^{i}; Oir. *awîč*; Dag. *au-* (ab-). Cf. No. 393.

224. ***Otchoe*** [**odxu** 'to go away'] hy is voort gegaen [he has gone away] KWi 303a *Otchou*; R 283a *ɔdxa, otxa, od-* (odqu).

225. ***Odoexen*** [**odugsan**] hy is verreiſt [he departed] KWi 303a *Odouxcen* (oduγsan).

226. ***Ketſche erebe*** [**keǰê** or **kezê irebe**] wanneer zal hy komen? [when did he come] KWi 303a *Ketze enebe*; R 230a *kezee* (irebe, keǰiye).

227. ***Oetur*** [**ötür**] haeſt [hurry] KWi 303a *Outer*; R 302b *ötr*; KMV 108 *utur* (ödter/öter). West Mong. form.

228. ***Argoen*** [**argûn**] of ***ajar*** [**ajār**] langzaem of still [slowly or quietly] KWi 303a *Anchoen*; R 14a *arγûl*, R 4b *ajār*; KMV 141 *ajahr*; cf. Dag. *alguur*; TMEN I, 129 (arγaγun, ayār, aya-bar).

229. ***Kolo*** [**xolo**] wyd, verre [wide, far] KWi 303a *Kolo*; KMV 115 *koloh, kulla, kolæ*; R 182a *xol*^{o} ; Dag. *xol(o)* (qola).

230. ***Orochon*** [**oirxon**] naby [near] KWi 303a *Orochon*; R 304b *öör*^{ö}; KMV 106 *aigra, oyra* - 'oyira'; Dag. *wairkan* (oyiraqan).

231. ***Odo kerektey*** [**odô keregtei**] 't is daer na van nooden [to need it now] KWi 303a *Odokerekei*; R 227b *kerəktê*; KMV *kerecte*; Dag. *keregtî* (edüge, keregtei).

232. ***Koiney kerektoe*** [**xönö keregtei** the value of *oi* is *öö* in Nos. 284, 401, 464] 't is daer na van nooden [to need it later] KWi 303a *Koine kerektou*; R 194a *xön*^{o}; KMV 117 *koino* (qoyina).

233. ***Koemin ebetſchi*** [**kümn ebetči** Praet. Imperf.] die menſch is ziek [the man is sick] KWi 303a *Koumin Yebetzi*; R 302b *öwd*^{ö}-; Dag. *eude-* (ebedčügüi, kümün). Cf. No. 456.

234. ***Minn tere*** [**min tere**] 't is zoo [it is too] West Mong. form, KWi 303a *Mihntere*; **min** 'the same' R 261a *men, min*; Oir. *mön, mün*; KMV 102 *mon*; **tere** 'that' R 393a *ter*^{ə}; KMV 131 *tera, tere*; Dag. *meter* - mön tere (mön, tere). Cf. 105.

235. ***Tere biſchoe*** [**tere bišü**] niet dat [not that] KWi 303a *Terebiſchou*; R46b *biš*^{i}; Dag. *bišin* (tere, bisiü).

236. ***Iré*** [**irê** with emphatical length] Komt [come] KWi 303a *Inie*; R 209b *ir-*; Dag. *ire-* (ire-).

237. ***Nari, iré*** [**nār irê**] komt hier [come here] KWi 303a *Nari ine* (inaru, ire-). Cf. No. 108.

238. ***So*** [**sû** 'sit down'] of ***ſo-onay*** [**sûnai** '(I) sit'] of ***ſo-otſchi*** [**sûji** Adv. Imperf. or rather Praet. Imperf.?] zit neêr [sit down] KWi 303a *Koiliffo onai* and cf. KWi 120b, 300b *Sonay* 'Slapen'; KMV 119 *ssu*, *scho*; R 339a *sû-* (sayu-).

239. ***Bos*** [**bos**] ſtaet op [stand up] cf. KWi 120b, 300b *Boſunay* (bos-). Cf. No. 183.

240. ***Kalaba*** [**xalaba**] verbrand [burned up] KWi 303a *Kalaba*; R 162 *xal^{a}-* (qalaba).

241. ***Tſchi mandoe teme karanay*** [**či mandu demei xarānai** 'you course me in vain'] waerom ſcheld gy my? [why do you course me?] KWi 303a *Tzimandouteme karanai*; R 168b *xarā-*; KMV 114 *kahra*, *chaara*, *karadschi* (či, demei cf. No. 470, mandur, qariya-).

242. ***Bida tſchamadoe karanay oegey*** [**bida čamadu, xarānai ügei** 'we do not course you'] ik heb u niet te nae geſproken [I have not spoken anything to you] Erroneous syntax, KWi 303a *Bida tzamadou karana ouge* (bida, čimadur, qariya-, ügei).

243. ***Tſchamadoe io koemaldoechoe bainé*** [**čamadu yû xudalduxu** or **kudalduxu bäinä**] wat hebje te koop [what have you to sell] *m* may be here for a Russian *t* (cf. Nos. 425, 444) representing a Mongolian semivoiced *d*; **xudalduxu** ≠ Oir. *xuld-*; KWi 303a *Tzamadou tee* of *Jokoutal douch bane*; R 196a *xuld^{a}-*; but cf. KMV 117 *chodaldo*, *kadholdanei*, *kadabdotzschi* (bai-, čimadu, qudalduqu,[80] yayun).

244. ***Koedoli oegoeju*** [**kedüül ögöyüü** praes. fut. or rather nom. imp. + interrog.?] wat zal men geven? [How many people give (it)?] KWi 303a *Koud ougouie*; R 222b *kedüüln* (kedügüle, ög(gü)-).

245. ***Olon erene*** [**olon irene**] gy eiſcht te veel [you demand too much] Oirat meaning, cf. KWi 303a *Olon enene*; R 124a *er-* 'hoffen wünschen, fragen wollen, verlangen'; KMV 83 *ærigi*; but cf. also Dag. (Tod. 140) *eri-* 'iskat', prosit'' (eri-, olon). Cf. No. 336.

246. ***Bagan oegoenay*** [**bagxan** or **bāxan ögönê**] gy bied te weinig [you offer too little] **bāxan** West Mong. meaning, KWi 303a *Baga oegoenai* R 37b *bāx^{a}n*; **ögönê** R 294a *ökk^{ö}*, *ök-*; KMV 108 *uganæ*, *ugontzchi* (bayaqan, öggümüi). Cf. Nos. 428, 438.

247. ***Kandaga*** [**xandaga**] een Elant [elk] KWi 299b *Kandagai* 'Hart'; KMV 113 *kandagai*, *kandagay*; R 165b *xand^{a}yā*; Dag. *xandag*; Bur.C *kandagài*; TMEN No. 291 where we find Witsen's "Dagur" and Kalmyk entries. (qandayai).

248. ***Tſchuná*** [**čono**] een Wolf [wolf] KWi 120b *Czono*, 299b *Czono* of *Tzouna*; KMV 75 *tzunno*, *tzionu*; R 444a *tšon^{o}*; Khar. N. *čoni*; TMEN No. 191; Dag. deest, cf. *guskê*; Bur.C *tschinò* (činu-a).[81]

[80] For an analysis of the word in Manju-Tungus and Mongolian languages, see L. Ligeti, Les inscription djurtchen, 21.

[81] Cf. N. Poppe, On Some Mongolian Names of Wild Beasts. *CAJ* IX (1964) 164–170. According to Doerfer "Auch hier deuten die modernen Dialekte wieder klar auf *^{o}čino*, mit kurzem

249. ***Kaleó*** [**xaliû** 'otter' cf. 258] een Bever [beaver] KWi 299b *Kalec* (misprint for *Kaleo*); KMV 113 *kalio*, *kaloo*; R 177a *xäl'üün*; TMEN No. 260 where we find Witsen's "Dagur" entry (qaliγun).

250. ***Oetoegoe*** [**ötögö**] een Beer [bear] KWi 120a, 299b *Etege*; and 299b *Outougou*; Oirat *ötögö*[82] R 302a Ö *öt^{ö}gə*, *ötk^{ö}* for Ramstedt's entry cf. TMEN I, 160; Dag. *eturkeen*;[83] Bur.C *öttugù* (ötege).[84]

251. ***Boelagan*** [**bulagan**] een Sabel [sable] KWi 299b *Boulagan*; KMV 70 *bolaga*; R 60a *bulγan*; Dag. *balγa*; Bur.C *bulgàn*; TMEN No. 94 (bulaγan).

252. ***Oeèn*** [**üjen**] een Hermelyn [ermine] KWi 299b *Ouen* 'Armyn'; R 456a *üjng*, *üjn*; KMV 139 *uja* (üyen).

253. ***Dotor*** [**dotor** 'the internal or inner part of a thing; lining'] een voeder of rok van Peltzen of bontwerk [a leg-warmer or skirt of pelt or furs] Witsen confuses the part with the whole object, a "point-and-ask" error. KWi 299b *Dotor*; R 97b *dotr*; Dag. *dotor*, *duatar*; Bur.C *dotòr* (dotor).

254. ***Koetagá*** [**xutaga**] een Mes [knife] KWi 119a, 298b *Chutaga*, 299b *Koutaga*; cf. TMEN No. 349 where we find Witsen's "Dagur" and Kalmyk entries; R 452b *utxa*; KMV 96 *kutaga*, *utaga*, *otaga*; Khar. N. *xitaga*; cf. Dag. *on'či* (kituγa).[85]

255. ***Boelat*** [**bulad** with semivoiced *-d* cf. KWi] Stael [steel] KWi 299b *Boulat*, a Turkic form, see Kazak *bulat*, Russian *bulat*; and with rounded 2nd syllable: KMV 69 *bolos*; R 50a *bol^{o}D*; Dag. *bolto*, *bolot* ; Bur.C *bulat* (bolud).[86]

256. ***Choey*** [**xui**] ſcheide [sheat] KWi 299b *Chouy*; KMV 118 *choi*; R 204a *xüü*; (qui).

257. ***Kureſun*** [**gürêsün**] een wild beeſt [a wild beast] KWi 299b *Kuruſſen*; KMV 87 *gurussun*; R 138b *görêsn*; Dag. *gurees*; Bur.C *gurjohòn* (görögesün).

258. ***Soep*** [**sub** with semivoiced *-b*] een Otter [otter cf. No. 249] KWi *Scoup* 'Emmer'; R 329a *soB* D (sub).

259. ***Oenegen*** [**ünegen**] een Vos [fox] KWi 120b, 299b *Unigen*; R 458b *üngn*; KMV *unega* (ünegen).[87]

260. ***Sul*** [**süül**] een ſtaert [tail] KWi 299b *Scul*; KMV 121 *tziul*; R 342a *süül*; Dag. *seuli* (segül).

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auslautendem *o*" and "...*čino* auch in der mongolischen Schriftsprache zu lesen ist..." (G. Doerfer, Zur Schreibung des auslautenden *o* der mongolischen Schriftsprache. *CAJ* X:1 (1965) 58 and 59).

82 Cf. U. Posch, The Syllabic Groups and their Further Development in the Written Oirat Language. *CAJ* III (1958) 212.

83 Further details about the Dagur word and especially for an enlightening discussion of its mythological background, see C. Humphrey, A Daur Myth About the Bear and the Boy Who Becomes a Man. *Opuscula Altaica. Essays Presented in Honor of Henry Schwarz*. Ed.: E. H. Kaplan–D. W. Whisenhunt. Washington 1994, 323–332.

84 N. Poppe, On Some Mongolian, 170–174.

85 Cf. Doefer's article on the subject (G. Doerfer, Oiratisch Madaga 'Messer'. *CAJ* IX (1964) 23–28).

86 For the Bur. *s/d* alternation, cf. L. V. Clark's review on *The Kalmyk-Mongolian Vocabulary*, 123–4.

87 N. Poppe, On Some Mongolian, 162–164.

261. ***Kerme*** [**kerme** 'squirrel'] een bonte rok van eekhoorntjes, of graeuw werk [a multicolored skirt made of squirrel or grey material] Witsen or his source seems to have confused two different words, **keremün** 'squirrel' and **kürme** 'a short jacket', cf. KWi 299b *Keremie* 'Enkhoorn'; R 227b *kermn*; KMV 94 *kirma*, *krime*, *taramæ* (keremün).

262. ***Suka*** [**süke**] of ***oliber*** [**ôliber**] een Byl ['adze' with bookish Instrumental?] **süke** KWi 299b *Scuka*; R 340a *sük*^{a}; KMV 126 *suka*, *tzuka*, *suki*; Bur.C *phukè*, *huke*; **ôliber** R 292a *ôli*; Dag. *umil* = *oγoli* (oγoli, süke).

263. ***Schibé*** [**šibê** 'palisade'] een Suil [pillar] KWi 300a *Schibe* Elſt; Ord. *siwê*; R. 362a *šiwê*; TMEN No. 227 where we find Witsen's "Dagur" word (sibege).

264. ***Keté*** [**kete**] een vuurſlag [steel for striking fire, lighter]KWi 300a *Kete*; R 228b *ket*^{a}; KMV 95 *kite*, *kætæ* (kete).

265. ***Oela*** [**ula**] Tondel, of dat tuig, dat men gebruikt in den vuurſlag [tinder, or a tool for using in lighter] KWi 300a *Oula*; R 448a *ul*^{u}; Khalkha *ul*, *ûl* (ulu).

266. ***Kim, tegba,*** [**ken tegbä** 'who did it so?'] wie heeft geſproken [how did you say?] R. 225b *ken*; R 389b *tegə-* Ö (selt., gewöhnl. *tîg*^{ə}-); KMV 130 *tægæ* (ken, tege-).

267. ***Darri*** [**dari**] Boſſekruit [gunpowder] KWi 300a *Dauy* (!); R 82a *där*, *däre* (dari).

268. ***Tſchokor*** [read **čakûr** or rather **cakûr**? (the 1st syllable rounded vowel may represent a non-stressed *o* = *a* in a Russian transcription)] de vuurſteen [flintstone] KWi 300a *Tzokor* ; KMV 74 *zakkur*, *tsakur*; R 420a Ö *tsakuur*, 424b *tsäküür* (čakiγur).[88]

269. ***Tuletſchí*** [**tülêči** read **tülejê**] 't is aengebrand [it is burnt] KWi 301b *Tiuleczy*, 302b *Tulctzy*, cf. KWi 118, 298a *Tuleney*; R 414b *tül-*; KMV 133 *tolo*, *tulitzchi*; (tüleǰügüi).

270. ***Koekoer*** [**kükür**] Swavel [sulphur] KWi 300a *Koukoer*; R 245a Ö *kükr*; KMV 98 *kukhur*; (küker).

271. ***Duruſun*** [read **nürüsün**] Koolen [coal] The same misspelling as in the KWi 300a *Duruſcoun*, 301a *Nuruſſun*; R 283b *nüürsn*; KMV 104 *nuursu* (negüresün). Cf. No. 433.

272. ***Oentabá*** [**untabā** 'he fell asleep'] hy ſlaept [he slept] KWi 300a *Ountaba*; R 450a *unt*^{a}-; KMV 136 *unta*, *untaghi*; Dag. *want-*; Bur.C *untakù* (untaba).

273. ***Oentaba, biſchoe*** [**untabā bišû** 'he fell asleep, did not he?] hy ſlaept niet [he did not sleep] KWi 300a *Ountaba biſchpa* (!); Bur.C *uly untakù* (unta-, bisiü). Cf. Nos. 184, 201.

274. ***Oerlaſen*** [**ûrlasan**] hy is toornig [he is angry] KWi 300a *Ourlaxei*; R 455a *ûrl-*; cf. Dag. *aur* (aγurlaγsan).

[88] For the ending *-γur* cf. N. Poppe, Mongolian *-γur* and Evenki *-wûn*. *CAJ* XIII (1969) 256.

275. ***Oerlagoe oegey*** [**ûrlaxu ügei**] gy zyt niet toornig [he is not angry] KWi 300a *Ourlagouougei*; (aγurla-, ügei).

276. ***Joedo, ibi, jardzi, ſananay ebre katzar,*** [read **yûndu ili yärǰ** (or **jāǰ**) **sananai ebrên gajar** with **ibi** read Russian **ili** 'or'] waerom zyt gy bedroeit, om in U Vaderland te zijn [why are you worried to be in your fatherland?] A sentence in Russian word order with Oirat **ebrên** 'self' R 129b, 127b *ewrään*, *erwään*; cf. Dag. wêrê; KWi 303a *Jundo oſti jadztzi kana jebre katſchar* (γaǰar, öber-iyen, sana-, yaγa- cf. No. 473, yaγun-du). The sequence of Nos. 276–287 can be found in KWi 303a.

277. ***Bi ili bida ſananay ebren katzar oegey,*** [**bi ili bida sananai ebrên gajar ügei**] ik en bedroeve my niet om mijn Vaderlands wille [I do not worry about my fatherland = I am not homesick] A sentence in broken Oirat, as above in No. 276, with Russian *ili*;[89] KWi 303a *Bi ili bida kananai jebren katzar ougei* (bi, bida, γaǰar, öber-iyen, sana-, ügei).

278. ***Joendo oelganay*** [read **jûnda uilana**] waerom ſchreit gy? [why did you cry?] KWi 303a *Jundou oulganai*, cf. KWi 120b, 300a *Ulanay*; Dag. *waila-*; Bur.C *ililaku* (*il* = *u*) (uyila, yaγun-du).

279. ***Bitugey oelgá*** [**bitügei** or **bitegei uila**] ſchreit niet [do not cry] KWi 303a *Bituge oulga* (bitegei, uyila-).

280. ***Irgen ſain*** [**irgen sain**] gy zyt al te vrolik [you are very cheerful] KWi 303a *Ixgen* and the very next entry *Kain* (read **sain**) **irgen** R 209b *irgn*; Dag. *irgen*; TMEN No. 16 and II, 51 (irgen,[90] sayin).

281. ***Kaiſoen boeltſchi*** [**kaisun** or **xaisun bolǰi** '(the food in) the kettle is ready'] de ketel is vaerdig, of het eeten is gekookt [the kettle is ready, or the meal is cooked] No. 281 forms two successive entries in KWi 303a *Kaiſcoun* and *Boultzi*; **xaisun** 'kettle' R 180b *xääsn*; KMV 112 *kaissun* (bol-, qayisun).

282. ***Baza, oedui*** [**bazâ üdüi** 'it is not yet prepared' or read **basa ödüi** 'again, this much' ?] 't is noch gereed [it is not yet prepared] KWi 303a *Baza ouduy*; R 117b *edüü* (üdüü D.) For basa 'again, more', cf. No. 74. (baǰaγa-, or basa?, edüi).

283. ***Koeduſun*** [**godusun**] Laerzen, Stevels [boots] KWi 120a, 299b *Godoſun*, 303a *Kouduſcoui*; KMV 85 *godussan*, *kutusun*; R 152a *gosn*; Dag. *gočôr*; Bur. dial. *godohon*; Bur.C *gotuhùn* (γutulsun).

284. ***Oimuſun*** [**öömüsün** cf. No. 232] opper-rok [sock] KWi120a, 299b *Oimoſun*, 303a *Oimouſun* 'Kouſen (stockings)'; KMV 106 *orimissun* and surprisingly enough it is here that Krueger quotes the Kalmyk word for trousers; R 304b *öömsn* (oyimasun).

285. ***Tſchamtſchi*** [**čamči**] een Hembt [shirt] KWi 303a *Tzamtzi*; R 421b *tsamtsn* (Ö selten, aus Khalkha), syn. *kîləG*; (čamča).

286. ***Oemudun*** [**ömüdün**] Broek [trousers] KWi 303a *Oumudun*; KOM 143a *ömüdü* (ömüdü).

[89] Cf. G. Doerfer, *Ältere westeuropäische Quellen*, 10.

[90] Cf. Gongor, *op. cit.*, 157–166.

287. ***Kentſchir*** [**kenčir**] Linne goed [linen thing] Western-Mongolian form, KWi 303b *Kentzix* 'Ongetrouwt (unmarried!)'; KMV 95 *Kindschur*; R 226a *kentšr*; TMEN III, 608–609 where we find Witsen's "Dagur" (kenčir).

288. ***Schar*** [**šar**] geverſt Linne goed [linen thing] (cf. Chagatay *čar* 'ein Zeug von geringer Qualität', Radloff III, col. 1859).

289. ***Baſma*** [**basma**] bont Linnen [multicoloured linen] of Chagatay origin cf. TMEN No. 695 with Witsen's "Daur" word quoted (basma).

290. ***Zajan, tamaydoe tſchamá, temi,*** [**zayān tanaydu čamtai** (cf. 295) **demî**] het geloof by U is zoodanig [the belief (read geluk 'luck' instead geloof?) for you is as such', perhaps for 'such is your life'] KWi 303a *Zajan Tamaizdoutzamai imi* (čimatai, demei (cf. No. 470) or teyimü, tanai-du, ǰayaγan).

291. ***Mandoe*** [**mandu** 'for us'] by My [for me] KWi 303a *Mandoe*; R XV *nanda* 'for me', *manda* 'for us'; KMV 100 *mandu* 'for us' (mandur).

292. ***Tſchamadoe*** [**čamadu**] by U [for you] KWi 303a *Tzamadoe*; R 437a *tšamda* (čimadur).

293. ***Manay*** [**manai** 'ours'] Mijn [mine] KWi 303a *Manay*; R 255b *manää*; (manai).

294. ***Tſchini*** [**čini**] Dijn [your] KWi 303a *Tzini* of *Tzamai*; R 440a *tšini* (činu).

295. ***Tſchamay*** [read **čamtai**] Neve [with you] cf. No. 294; R 437a *tšamtää* (čimatai).

296. ***Goebdé*** [**gübde**] hy ſlaet [he beats] R 137b *göbde-*; (göbde-).

297. ***Many ikn*** [**manaixan**] Onze [ours] (manuqai).[91]

298. ***Daſorabá*** [**tasurabā** 'it is torn'] gy ſcheurt [you tear/break apart] R 382a *tasr-* (tasura-).

299. ***Jamar, tſchi, kitſcho-o koem,*** [**yamar či kičüü kümn** 'what a severe person are you'], wat zyt gy voor een goed Man? [what a good person are you] KWi 303a *Tmartzi* (for the confusion of *I* with *T* cf. Nos. 364, 396) for **kičüü** cf. R 229a *ketsüü küün* 'ein ausserordentlicher, tüchtiger mensch, ein wilder mensch'; TMEN No. 327 (či, kečegüü, kümün, yamar).

300. ***Tengri*** [**tengri**] den Hemel [sky] KWi. 118, 297 *Tengri* 'Godt, Hemel'; R 392a *tengr*; Bur.C *tyngerì*, *tingeri*; cf. TMEN No. 944 where we find this entry (tngri).

301. ***Eoelén*** [**üülen**] de Wolken [cloud] For the ortography and my suggested reading cf. the next item and KWi 118, 297 *Eolen*, 301b *Eulen* of *Julen* and Oirat *öülen*; R 461a *üüln*; Dag. *eulen*; Bur.C *üülete*, *úlete* = Mong. *egületei* (egülen).

302. ***Eoedeun*** [read **odun** seems to be affected by the previous entry[92] or cf. KWi 118 *Eke Odun*, 297 *Eke Odun* of *Udon*, ook Eudiun] de Sterre [star] R 283b *odn*; Bur.C *odùn*, *odon* (odun).

[91] For grammatical analysis see what Poppe writes about the double case forms: "the suff. *-qai* is added to the gen. forms of pronouns" (N. Poppe, On Some Altaic, 57).

[92] A parallel phenomenon can be observed also in the case of other word-collection, cf. W. Leslau, The Position of the Dialect of Curia Muria in Modern South Arabic. *BSOAS* XII (1947–1948) 16.

303. ***Naran*** [**naran**] de Zon [sun] KWi 118, 297 *Naran*; R 272a *narn*; Bur.C *nara*, *narà*, *njará* (naran).

304. ***Saran*** [**saran**] een Maend [moon] KWi 118 *Saran*, 297 *Saran* of *Scarano*; R 313a *sarn*; Kalm. Mil. *schará*; Bur.C *chorà*, *charà*, *hará*, *sará* (saran).

305. ***Oedur*** [**ödür**] een Dag [day] KWi 121a *Ediur*, 300b *Ediur*, *Udiur* of *Oudur*; KMV 80 *oedur*, *udurburi* - edür büri; R 293a *ödr*; Bur.C *odùr*, *odjur* (edür).

306. ***Soey*** [**söi**] de Nacht [night] West Mong. form, see Kara, 1961, 178, n. 10; KWi 121a *Sey*, 300b *Sey* of *Sivi*; Bur.C. *chei*, *hjû*, *huj*;[93] R 335a *söö*, *söön*; Dag. *sung*; cf. No. 460 (söni).

307. ***Enedur*** [**enedür**] van daeg, of heden [this day or today] KWi 298a *Inedur*; KMV 82 *endur*; R 296b Ö *öndr*, 122a D *endr* (önöge edür).

308. ***Oertſchayba, odo ajas,*** [**üür** (**ör**?) **čaiba** (with Southern Mongol or bookish *č*), **odô ayas**[94] Özb. *ayas* 'kalter Wind, Frost' quoted by Doerfer in TMEN No. 629 'it has been dawned, now is cold' or rather **ašad**? R 17a *ašdᵃ*, *ašᵈda* etc. 'zuletzt, endlich' cf. Witsen's Kalmyk list] 't is al klaer dag [it is daylight now] KWi 298a *Ourtzaba ovo aſad* 301b *Ur Czaiba odo, ajas*; R 425a *ör tsäänää* 'es tagt' (ayas or asida, čayi-, edüge, ör).

309. ***Baza oerum*** [**basa örön** 'also dawn'] 't is noch vroeg [it is still early] KWi 298a *Baka ourux*, 301b *Baſa uriur*; R 301a *örüün* (basa, ör(ügün)).

310. ***Askoen*** [**askun**] 't is Avond [it is evening] West Mong. word, see Kara, 1961, 178, n. 10 and DQ 18; KWi 121a *Achun*, 300b *Achun*, *alkoun* of *Aſcun*; R 16b *asxan*; KMV 141 *askun*;[95] Oir. *asaγan* (asqun).

311. ***Karangoe*** [**xarangû** 'darkness'] 't is duiſter [it is dark] KWi 118 *Charanguy*, 298a *Charanguy* of *Caranhu*, 302b *Karangou*; KMV 114 *charongoi*; R 170a *xarangγû* (fgγui). The sequence of Nos. 311–313 can be found in KWi 302b.

312. ***Mangadoer*** [**mangadur** 'tomorrow'] morgen [morning] West Mong. form, see Kara, 1961, 178, n. 10; KWi 302b *Mangadur*; R 256b *mangγᵃdr*, *mangγadûr*; KMV 100 *mongadur* cf. Khalkha *margāš*; Ord. *maryātu*; Dag. *buni*, *bunidur*, *bundur*; Bur.C *margaschi* (manaγar edür, maryasi).

[93] See Clark's note No. 18 on the Bur. parallel to Witsen's "Dagur" word (L. V. Clark, Two Eighteenth Century, 81).

[94] In our Mongolian dictionaries the word *ayas* cannot be found with the meaning of "clear" but with the meaning of "(favorable) circumstance", cf. *ayasün salxi* "favorable wind" (G. Hangin, *A Modern Mongolian–English Dictionary*. Bloomington 1986, 40). Considering the several inaccuracies of Witsen's word-list I do not find difficult to reconcile these meanings.

[95] For a valuable short treatment of the word see Krueger's explanation (J. R. Krueger, *The Kalmyk-Mongolian Vocabulary in Stralenberg's Geography of 1730*, Stockholm, 1975.) In addition to the works mentioned by him cf. N. Poppe, The Turkic Loan Words in Middle Mongolian. *CAJ* I (1956) 38; G. Kara, Notes sur les dialectes oirat de la Mongolie Occidentale. *AOH* VIII (1959) 127.

313. ***Noko, oedoer*** [**nökööd̈r**] over morgen [the day after tomorrow] KWi 301b *Nocoudiur*, 302b *Noko oudur*; R 279b *nökêdr*; KMV 106 *nagodhur*; Bur.C *nogódur* (nökögedür).

314. ***Koeran ſará*** [**guran sara**] Maert [March] KWi 301a *Kuran Sara*; cf. KMV 144 *jæren* 'October'. For March cf. R 313a *moγää sara*; Dag. *yalam b'ê* (γuran, sara).

315. ***Boegoe ſará*** [**bugu sara**] April [April] KWi 301a *Buhu Sara* of *Boegoe Sara*; KMV 70 *bugu*, *buγu*; R 58a *buγu*; Bur.C *bugù*; For April cf. R 313a *mörn s.*; Dag. *duyun b'ê sar* (buγu, sara).

316. ***Doelan ſará*** [**dulān sara**] May [May] KWi 301a *Doulan Sara*, 301b *Doulan*; For May cf. R 313a *xöön sara* (dulaγan, sara).

317. ***Ekki boergán*** [**eki** or rather **iki burxan**] Juny [June] KWi 301a *Jihy* of *jeki burchan Sara*; **burxan** KWi 118 *Bourhan*; Kalm. Mil. *Burchan*; Dag. *barkan*; Bur.C *burchàn*, *burxán*; For Juny cf. R. 313a *mötšn s.* (burqan, yeke).

318. ***Baga boergan ſará*** [**baga burxan sara**] July [July] KWi 301a *Baha* of *Baga burchan Sara*. For July cf. R 313a *takā s.* (baga, burqan, sara).

319. ***Goetſcha ſara*** [**quča sara**] Auguſtus [August] KWi 301a *Hucza Sara* of *Goera Sara*. For August cf. R 313a *noxā s.* (quča,[96] sara).

320. ***Koe oebi boergan*** [**xubi burxan** i.e. **k. b. sara**] September [September] KWi 301a *Kuubi* of *Koejoeby Sara*. For September cf. R 313a *γaxā s.* (burqan, qubi).

321. ***Kodzir boergan*** [**xuǰir** or **quǰir burxan**] October [October] KWi 301a *Kodztier Sara*; cf. KMV 144 *goschi* 'July'. For October cf. R 313a *xulγan s.*; Dag. *ǰuām b'ê sar* (burqan, quǰir).

322. ***Edzin***[97] [**ejen** i.e. **e. sara**] November [November] KWi 301a *Edztzin Sara*. For **ejen** Ord. *eDzin*, Dag. *eǰin*. For November cf. R 313b *ükr s.* (eǰen).

323. ***Kokoek*** [**kökük** i.e. **k. sara**] December [December] KWi. 301a *Kocuc* of *Kokoek Sara*; Ord. *Gö'^{k}xöö*; Dag. *gekkû*. For December cf. R 313b *bars s.*; Dag. *ǰorgon b'ê sar* (kököge).

324. ***Oelar ſará*** [**ular sara**] January [January] KWi 301a *Utar* of *Oelan Sara*. For January cf. R 313b *tûlää s.* (sara, ular).

325. ***Oesken ſará*** [**ösken sara?**] February [February] KWi 301a *Ushier* of *Ousken Sara*. For February cf. R 313b *lû s.* (sara).[98]

326. ***Schibegé*** of ***ſchilboe***[99] [**šibû**] een Vogel [a bird] KWi 303a *Schibege*, 120b, 300a *ShazaSchobun* 'Uil' cf. sira; KWi 120b, 300a *Bokſcheuga* 'Mus' 'sparrow'; R 366a *šowuun*; KMV 121 *schiabon*, *schowoon*; Ord *šiwû*; Khar. N. *šobuu*, *šubuu* Except for Ordos and KMV, all other languages have

[96] For a discussion of this word and the related *qulǰa*, see G. Kara's review on L. Bazin, Les systèmes, *AOH* XLVII:1–2 (1994) 206, n. 7.

[97] L. Ligeti, Les inscription djurtchen, 15.

[98] L. Ligeti, *Rapport préliminaire*, 45, n. 1, quotes both Dagur and Kalmuck names of the months. For the terminology cf. Budaev, *Leksika*, 271–272; J. Tsoloo, Mongol sar toollin xeden neriin tuxai. *Sinǰlex uxaan akademiin medee* 30:3 (1990) 57–66 and Bazin, *Les systèmes*, 391–395.

[99] Cf. L. Ligeti, Les fragments, 288.

breaking i. Witsen's entry *Schibegé* may be an erroneous recording perhaps a confusion with the No. 263 *Schibé* (sibaγun).[100]

327. ***Galon*** [**galûn**] een Ganze [goose] KWi 120b *Galon*, 300a *Galonk* and 120b, 300a *Galon* 'Wilde gans'; R 142b *γalûn*; KMV 84 *galo*, *gælon*, *galon*, *galla*; Dag. *galô*; Bur.C *galùn*, *galún* (γalaγun).

328. ***Nogoſoen*** [**nogoson**] een Entvogel [duck] KWi 120b *Nogoſun*, 300a *Nogoſun* of *Nogoſcoun*; KMV 106 *nogussum*; R 281a *nuγ^{u}sn*; Bur.C *noguhù*, *nogohun'* (nuγusun).

329. ***Tſchay*** [**čay**] een Berkhoen [mountain hen] KWi 303a *Tzai*. The word is not given by the dictionaries. But cf. the well-known *čaγan čen sibaγun*[101] or we have here the word *čayi-* 'to grow white'[102] (čen?).

330. ***Koen*** [**xun**] een Swaen [swan] KWi 120b *Chun*, 300a *Chun* of *Koun*; KMV 118 *chun*, *chuan*; R 197a *xun^{a}* (qun).

331. ***Toegroen*** [**togrûn**] een Kraen [crane] KWi 120a, 300a *Togron*, 303b *Tourgoun*; R 397a *toγrûn* (toγoruu).

332. ***Kartſchugan*** [**xarčugan** or rather **xarčugai** cf. the similarity of the Cyrill *n* and *i* and TMEN No. 278 where Doerfer writes: "jedoch scheint es aus sprachgeographischen Gründen kaum, daß sich damit die ural. Formen mit *-n* erklären lassen". For the confusion of *i* and *n* cf. also No. 351.] een Havik [hawk] KWi 120b, 300a *Chartsga*, 303b *Cartugan*; R 170b *xarts^{a}γää* (*xartsxā*) (qarčaγai).

333. ***Julo*** [**yolo**] een Arent [eagle] KWi 303b *Julo*; R 219a Ö *jol šowûn* (yolu).

334. ***Jundo ireboe*** [**jund irebu** 'why did you come?'] Waerom gaet gy? [why do you go?] (ire-, yaγundu).

335. ***Ju, tſchamadoe koetaldoe, bayne*** [**yû čamadu xudaldu bayna**] wat hebje te koop? [what have you to sell] (bai-, čimadu, qudaldu, yaγun).

336. ***Olon erene*** [**olon erene**] gy vraegt al te veel [you demand too much] (eri-, olon). Cf. No. 245.

337. ***Baga oegoenay*** [**baga ögönei** '(you) give little'] gy bied te wenig [you offer too little] KWi 302b *Bagay ugunay*; (baγa, ögö-). Cf. No. 246.

338. ***Schiniu*** [read **šine** the orthography affected by the Dutch word, cf. No. 45] nieuw [new] KWi 302b *Szynia*; R 358a *šin^{a}* (sine).

[100] In a critical survey of Kara's book Doerfer discusses at some length the word *sibaγun*. Doerfer emphasises the need for a further systematic study on the South-Mong. related entries in order to attain a complete picture of the vowel of the initial syllable (G. Doerfer review on G. Kara, *Chants d'un barde mongol*. Budapest 1970. *UAJb* 43 (1971) 242–243).

[101] Cf. M. Tatár, Quacksalbereien und Beschwörungen bei den Mongolen (char dom). In: *Altaica Collecta. Berichte und Vorträge der XVII. Permanent International Altaistic Conference 3–8. Juni 1974 in Bonn/Bad Honnef*. Herausgegeben von W. Heissig. Wiesbaden 1976, 264 and the texts of *Temegen-ü* and *Sibaγun-u dalaγa* (Chabros, *Beckoning Fortune*). Cf. also D. Čoiǰilsüren, Šuwūni dallagin tuxai. In: A. Luwsandendew (Ed.), *Mongolin Sudlalin Jarim Asūdal.*. Ulānbātar 1964. (Studia Mongolica T. IV, Fasc. 10–21), 206–207, who presents valuable insight about the word *čen* or *čing sibaγun*, meaning 'pen'.

[102] About the obsolate stem **čā-*, cf. A. Róna-Tas, Some Notes on the Terminology of Mongolian Writing. *AOH* XVIII (1965) 131–132.

339. ***Ko-otʃchin*** [**xûčin**] of ***iledzin*** [**îme-čin** (or **elegsen** 'worn')] oud [old] KWi 302b *Kooczyn*; (činu, qaγučin, yaγum-a). Cf. No. 173.

340. ***Kadzay bainoe koemin*** [**gazā bainu** (statement or rather question read **bainû** in the light of the following entry) **kümin**] op't Hof is volk [there are people on the yard] KWi 302b *Aszynn kumin kadzcaba kumin gazā* West Mong. form R 148a *γazā* ; Oir. *γadā*, *γazā*; Bur. *gazā*; Dag. *gād* (bai-, γadaγ-a, kümün).

341. ***Aʃchinoe koemin*** [**āšinu kümin**] daer komt volk [there (is) coming a man] KOM 17. *āšinai*; R 21b *āš-* (ayisu-, kümün). Cf. Nos. 340, 363.

342. ***Baʃoem, mo, ta mat,***[103] ***nochin, koin,*** [**bāsum, mô, ta mat, noxîn köwüün?** or rather **kökin** cf. No. 36 and Witsen's Kalmyk glossary] gy ſlimme draek, gy gek, of honts-zoon [you slime dirt, you mad, or son of dog] In KWi 302b and 303b this sentence appears in two parts: *Bacyn mo kumin*, and the very next entry *Terenochoin kokin*; and *Baʃcum Motamat* 'Vuilen Drek (filthy dirt)' and the very next entry: *Nochoin kokin* (nipples of a dog, cf. No. 36) 'Gy Teven kind (you son of bitch)'. For **noxîn** cf. KWi 119a, 298b *Nohoy*, 120a, 299b *Nochay*; R 278b *noxä*; Kalm. Mil. *nochöe*; KMV 105 *nochoy*; Dag. *nowu*, *noγ*^{w}; Bur.C *nokòi*, *noxoj*; TMEN No. 386; for **bāsum** cf. R 37b *bāsn*; KMV 65 *basan*; (baγasun, köbegün, maγu, maγud-, noqai-yin). Cf. Nos. 220, 78.

343. ***Bi, teoeni, medekoe, ogey*** [**bi tüüni medekü ügei** 'I do not know it'] ik kan het niet maeken [I can not make it] KWi 302b *By teuni medeku ugey*, 303b *Biteouni Medekou oegoui* (bi, medekü, tegüni, ügei).

344. ***Goll*** [**gol**] Rivier [river] cf. KWi 120b, 300a *Gar* (!) 'Rivier of vliet', 302b *Hat* (!), 303b *Gol*; R 149b *γol*; KMV 85 *goll*; Dag. *gol*; Bur.C *gol*, *gol'* (γoul).

345. ***Nor*** [**nûr**] een klein Mier, of ſtilſtaent water [lake] KWi 302b Nor, 303b *Nox*; KMV 103 *nurr*; R 282a *nûr* ; Bur.C *nor*; TMEN No. 381 (naγur).

346. ***Schabar*** [**šabar** 'mud'] ſtraet drek [muddy street] KWi 118, 298a, 303b *Schabar*, 302b *Izabar*; R 353a *šawr*; KMV 122 *schabar*; Bur.C *šabor'*, *šabar'* (sibar).

347. ***Aoelá*** [**ûla** or **aûla** or **oûla**[104] The orthography seems to be influenced by the Written Oirat spelling. See Doerfer, Quellen, 13; similar phenomenon occurs in Strahlenberg's collection, Krueger, 1975, 61.] een Berg [mountain] KWi 119a, 298a *Ola*, 302b *Auta*, 303b *Adula*; KMV 60 *ola*, *ula*, *gola*; Dag. *aula*; Mog. *aula*; R 454a *ûl*; Bur.C *úla*, *ula* (aγula).

[103] Cf. Dag. *madan* 'samyj krajnyj, predel'nyj'? Without definite segmentation of the related word we can take into consideration the Bârin word *tamaal* 'cursing' (Sečenčoγtu, Baγarin aman ayalγun-u öbermiče ončaliγtai üges-ün tuqai. *Mongγol kele udq-a ǰokiyal* (1983) 4, 55) or a broken Mong. *balmad* 'brute' form as a possible solution to our problem. These explanations, in their present form, are very far from being able to claim absolute credence, since in the case of No. 78 the same word can be found. The curses present rather a difficult problem of the folklore. However important would be their analysis, no systematic study has been devoted to the Mongolian curses. See also an unsolved curse in a Chinese–Mongol song, A. Waley, Chinese–Mongol hybrid songs. *BSOAS* XX (1957) 584.

[104] J̌amiyan, Tod üsgiin jöw bičix düremd urt egšgiig xerxen temdeglesen tuxai asuudald. *Mongolin sudlal*. Tom VII. Fasc. 20, 260.

348. ***Tzoen*** [**colon** or rather read **čilûn** or **čolûn**?] een ſteen [stone] KWi 119a, 298a *Czelon*, 302b *Coun*, 303b *Tſooun*; KMV 75 *tzolo* oder *Tzolon*; Written Oirat *čiloun* DQ. 8; R 444a *tšolûn*; Khar. N. *čuluu*; Bur.C *tsscholó*, *čelon'*, *šalun'*; TMEN I, 557 (čilaγun).

349. ***Moerin, emeldá*** [**mörin emêldää** 'saddle a horse'] zadelt voor my een Paerd [saddle a horse for me] KWi 302b *Murin Emelda*, 303b *Moerin jemloi*; Dag. *emeel* 'saddle' *emeellee-* 'to saddle' (emegelde-, morin).

350. ***Tzial irebé*** [**cār irebê**] ik gae maer wandelen [I go wander more] KWi 302b *Dzciat irebe*; R 424a *tsār*^{a}, *tsārān* (ire-).

351. ***Jartá moerin*** [**yartai** or **yartää mörin**] een Paerd, van den zadel gedrukt [horse with the sore caused by the saddle wrongly put on] KWi 302b *Jartan Murin*; 303b *Jartai Moerin*; R 215b *jar*^{a} (morin, yara).

352. ***Na-alká*** misprint for ***Ka-alká*** [**xālga**] een weg [way] KWi 119a, 298b *Chatga* 'Poort', 302b *Kaatka* 'Een Weg', 303b *Kaal* 'Weg, of Landſtreek'; R 175a *xālγa*; KMV *chelaga*; Dag. deest, cf. Dag. *t'ørøgulu* 'way'[105] TMEN No. 313. The meaning "way" is peculiar to the West Mong.[106] (qaγalγa).

353. ***Oener ſain*** [**ünêr sain** 'really good'] 't is recht [it is right] KWi 302b *Uner ſain*, 303b *Ouner kain* (scribal error for *ſain*); R 458a *ünêr sääxan* 'wirklich gut, sehr gut' (sayin, üneger).

354. ***Moertſchi*** [read **murîčiji**? and one word is missing, cf. KWi 302b *Murazy* of *Tiupſiun odunay*] 'tis krom [curved, awry] KWi 303b *Mourtzi* (muruyi-).

355. ***Boeroe odoenay*** [**buru odunai** '(you) go wrong', cf. KWi 302b *Buru odunay* and 303b *Boerou odounai* or rather read **oeloe^{o} - üülünai**? '(you) speak'] gy hebt onracht gereden [you have said wrongly] **üülünai** R 457a *ül-*; KMV 146 *ælæn*; **buru** Dag. *borô* (buruγu, odu- or ül-).

356. ***Dologon*** [read **dogolon** 'lame'] hy hinkt [he makes lame] KWi 302b *Dogolon*, 303b *Dogolon*; KMV 78 *togolan*; R 93a *doγ^{o}ln*; Dag. *doglon* TMEN No. 205 (doγolang).

357. ***Tſchikin, tuley*** [**čikin düley**] doof [deaf] KWi 302b *Czikin Tiuley*, 303b *Tziki* of *Tulei*; R 105a *düllê*; Dag. *dulî* (čikin, dülei).

358. ***Nudun, oegey*** [**nüdün ügei**] blind [blind] KWi 302b *Niudiuri ugey*, 303b *Nudun* of *Oegei* (nidün). Cf. No. 7.

359. ***Konginn*** [**köngön**] licht [easy] KWi 302b *Kongin*, 303b *Konugin*; R 246b *küngn*, *güngn*, 138a *gönggön*; Dag. *gûgen* (könggün).

360. ***Koendi*** [**kündü**] zwaer [heavy] KWi 302b *Kundy*, 303b *Kuondi*; R 246a *künd^{ü}*; (kündü).

361. ***Ta, baian, bi oegey, taygoen, tſchamadoe, joem, tuletſchi, agey*** [**ta bayan bi ügeitei küün. čamadu yûm töleji ügei** 'You are rich, I am a poor man. (I have) nothing to pay you.'] gy zyt ryk, en ik arm, waerméezal ik betaelen? [You are rich. I am poor. Why should I pay to you?] No. 361 forms three successive entries in KWi 303b *Tabatan*, *Biouge* and *Tzamadou Tuletzi*

[105] M. Weiers, *Bemerkungen zur Phonetik*, 129.

[106] Cf. J. R. Krueger, Written Oirat, 111 and Sečen, *op. cit.*, 56.

oegei; **bayan** KMV 66 *bayan, baigan*; R 29 *bajn*; Dag. *bayun*; TMEN No. 714; **ügetei** R 456a *ügêtê* (bayan, bi, čimadu, kümün, ta, tölö-, ügei, yaγuma).

362. ***Bida, jamar ſain, tchamadoe, oedzeba*** [**bida yamar sain čamadu üjebää** 'How nicely did we treat you?'] waer mede zullen wy u betaelen, voor dat goed, dat wy van u ontfangen hebben [By what should we pay you back for the goodness that we received from you?] KWi 303b *Jamar cain bida tzamadou oedzteba* (bida, čimadu, sain, üje-, yamar).

363. ***Irebé*** [**irebê**] of ***aſchinoe*** [**ãšinu**] hy is gekomen [he has come] KWi 302b and 303b *Irebe* (ayisu-, ire-). Cf. Nos. 236, 341.

364. ***Ire edoey*** [**irêdüi**] hy is noch niet gekomen [he has not yet come] KWi 302b *Tire eduy* and 303b *Ire jedoey* (for the confusion of *I* with *T* cf. Nos. 299, 396) (iregedüi).

365. ***Oſtá, irtſchere, oegey*** [read **ogto ičê ügei**] hebt gy geen ſchande of ſchaemte? [are you not ashamed?] KWi 303b *Opto itzne oegei*; R 284a *okt^{a}*; KMV 106 *ochtu*; R 212a *its^{i}-* (iči-, oyto).

366. ***Dzoegan*** [**jujān** or **zuzān**] dik [thick] KWi 303b *Dzcugan*, 303b *Dztzouga*; R 481b *zuzān*; KMV 92 *dzudzan*; Khar. N. *zuzaan* (ǰuǰayan).

367. ***Nimgen*** [**nimgen**] dun [thin] KWi 303b *Nimgen*, 303b *Niingen*; R 276b *nimgn*; cf. No. 368 (nimgen).

368. ***Nimgen araſoen*** [**nimgen arasun**] een dun vel [thin leather] No. 368 forms two successive entries in KWi 303b *Nimgen* and *Araſcoen* of *Coton*; **arasun** 'leather' R 14b *arsn*; Dag. *arsa, aras*; Bur.C *arasú* (arisun, nimgen).

369. ***Oetoe*** [**utu**] hoog [high][107] West Mong. meaning, cf. No. 104; KWi 121a, 300b *Utu*; 304 *Oetu* of *Utu*; R 452b *ut^{u}*; KMV 136 *urtu*; Bur.C *uto, utu, utù* (*urtu*).

370. ***Bochoni*** [**bogoni**] laeg [short] KWi 304 *Bochony*; R 49a *boγ^{o}ni*; Dag. *bogoni* (boγoni).

371. ***Koelagatſchi*** [**xulgači** 'stooler'] hebt gy geſtoolen [have you stolen] KWi 120a, 299b *Chula chaiczy*, 303b *Kulahazy*, 304 *Koelagatzi*; R 196a *xulxātši*; KMV 118 *kulugadschi* (qulayayiči).

372. ***Aliki koemin*** [**aliki kümün** 'which person'] wat voor een menſch? [what kind of people] KWi 304 *Alikikoemin*; R 22b *äl^{i}ki, äl^{i}kn'* (aliki, kümün).

373. ***Nokor***[108] [**nökör**] kameraet [friend] KWi 303b *Nokor*, 304 *Nokoxtei*; R 279b *nökr*; Dag. *nuwur* ; Bur.C *njûri*; TMEN No. 388 (nökör).

374. ***Keteſchi*** [**kötöči** 'servant'] een Kok [a cook] KWi 303b *Keteczy*, 304 *Ketetzi*; R 242a *köt^{ö}tši, köt^{ö}tšn*; TMEN No. 325 (kötelči).[109]

375. ***Tere koemin dorodo*** [**tere kümün durad** 'to mention' or rather **dûda** from *dayuda-* 'to call' Oirat *douda-*] roept die menſch by my [call that

[107] The mening 'tall' also can be found in the Mogol, cf. M. Weiers, Das Moghol-Vokabular von W. R. H. Merk. *ZAS* 5 (1971) 175.

[108] Cf. J. Németh, Wanderungen des mongolischen Wortes *nökür* ‚Genosse'. *AOH* III:1–2 (1953) 1–23.

[109] A fuller treatment of this word can be found in L. Ligeti, Les mots solons dans un ouvrage chinois des Ts'ing. *AOH* IX (1959) 237.

man to me] KWi 304 *Tere koemin do.odo* (!); R 104a *dûd^{u}-* (daγuda-, kümün, tere).

376. ***Oedur beer*** [**ödör bür**] dat is altijd [always] KWi 304 *Oedur* of *Ber*; R 67a *ödr bür^{i}*; KMV 80 *udurburi* (büri, edür).

377. ***Edun*** [**ödün**] een veer van een Vogel [feather of a bird] KWi 304 *Jedun* of *Ediun*; R 293a *öd^{o}*, *ödn*; KMV 108 *udon* (ödün).

378. ***Dzebir*** [read **ǰiber**] een vleugel [a wing] KWi 304 *Dztzebir*; R 114a *ǰiwr*; Khar. N. *zibärä* (ǰiber/ǰigür).

379. ***Oezun, kotolodzi, orkitʃch*** [**usun kötölǰi orkič**] voert my over deze Rivier [carry me over this river] KWi 304 *Oeʃcun kotolodztzy*, *Orkitzi;* **kötölǰi** R 242a *kötl-*; **orkič** R 289a *ork^{o}xa*, *orkka*, *okko*; Oir. *orki-* (orki-, usun, kötel-).

380. ***Toskoer*** [**tosxûr**] een Boot [boat] KWi 304 *Toksour*; R 403b *tosxûr* Ö 'Nachen' (tosqaγur).

381. ***Kayboer*** [**xaibûr**] een Roer, daer mede een Schip geſtiert werd [an oar to navigate a ship] KWi 304 *Meclo* of *kaybur* R 181a *xääwr* (qayibur).

382. ***Tʃchiptʃchi, oeʃoeno otbó*** [read **čibkiǰ usun otba**] een menſch is verdronken in 't water [a man was drowned] KWi 304 *Tziptzi* of *Czipozi*; R 441b *tšipk^{a}-*, *tšiwê-* (čibke-, od-, usun).

383. ***Amin*** [**amin** 'life'] een Ziel [spirit] KWi 304 *Amen* of *Doeʃcha*; R 22b *ämn*, *ämən*; Dag. *am(i)*; (*amin*).

384. ***Machan koemin*** [**maxan kümn** 'fleshy man', an artificial translation instead of °**küüni/kümnî beye**] een menſchen lichaem [a human body] KWi 304 *Machan koemin* (kümün, miqa).

385. ***Oe-oeta*** [**ûta**] een Velyzen of leere Tas [sack made of pelt or skin] R 455a *ût^{u}* (uγuta).[110]

386. ***Tuoekey*** [**tüüxei** 'raw'] vochtig [wet] cf. No. 401; KWi 303b *Tiuukiey*; R 418a *tüükee*; (teükei).

387. ***Dzoelekón*** [**jöölxön** or **zöölxön**] week [weak] KWi 303b *Dzce* of *Elekon*, 304 *Dztzeielekon*, of *To.oelatzo*, of *koʃchnoitz* (cf. No. 388); R 115b *ǰööln*, *ǰöölkn*, 479a *zööln*; Dag. *ǰeuleeken* (ǰögeleken).

388. ***To-oelay*** [**dûlaya**? 'let us sing'] of ***To-oelaitʃchi*** [**dûlāči** 'singer'] zingt [(s)he sings] KWi 303b *Toulay*; R 104a *dûl-*, *dulātši*; KMV 76 *dohla*; Dag. *dau* (daγula-, daγulači).

389. ***Tʃche-ekén*** [**ǰääxän** Western or **čööken** 'few' Eastern form cf. No. 90] klein [small] KWi 303b *Czeeken*, 304 *Tzi jeken*; R 108a *ǰāxan*; R 432b *tsöökn* (ǰiγaqan).

390. ***Tekʃchi-de-ere*** [**tegši dêre** 'straight over'] boven [over] KWi 303b *Jekszy deere*, 304 *Tekʃchi deyere*; *tegši* 'straight' R 390a *tekši*; *dêre* 'over' KMV 77 *dæræ*; R 91b *dêr^{a}*; Dag. *dêr* (degere, tegsi).

391. ***Doro*** [**dor**] onderwaerts [under] KWi 304 *Doro*; R 95b *doro*; (doora).

[110] For references to the word *uγuta* in connection with proposed etymologies cf. H. Serruys, *Hun-t'o: tulum*, Floats and Containers in Mongolia and Central Asia. *BSOAS* XLIV (1981) 105.

392. ***Tabi*** [**tabi** 'put'] legt daer heen [put it there] KWi 303b *Tabi* of *Jabi*, 304 *Taby*; R 387b *täw-*; KMV 127 *tawi*, *tabinu*, *tawidghi* (talbi-).

393. ***Ap*** [**ab**] of ***Aboetſch*** [**abuči** or rather **abuč**] neemt [take] KWi 303b *Ap*, 304 *Ap*; (ab-, abuča). Cf. No. 223.

394. ***Bi, aboexenoegey,*** [**bi abugsan ügei**] ik heb 't niet genomen [I have not taken] KWi 303b *Bi Abuxen uhey*, 304 *Biaboexcen oegei* (ab-, bi, ügei).

395. ***Ko-or bay*** [**xoor bai**] gaet weg [give away] Western-Mong. form KWi 304 *Koor bai* ; R 192b *xôrn bää* 'zurück!' (bayi-, qoγaru).

396. ***Izegey*** [read **isege**] geſleept [(s)he carried away] KWi 303b *Izehey*, 304 *Tzegei* (for the confusion of *I* with *T* cf. also Nos. 299, 364); R 211a *iškê* (isegei/esegei).

397. ***Jaſoen*** [**yasun**] een been [bone] KWi 304 *Jaſſoen* of *Jaſun*; R 217a *jasn*; KMV 89 *sanaigassu- ǰaγan-u yasun*, 139 *gasun*; Dag. *yas*; TMEN I, 553 (yasun).

398. ***Abatſchatay*** [read **abčatai** ?] een ſchult [debt; fault, sin] KWi 303b *Abaczaczatay*, 304 *Abatzatai*; R 20a *awtsa* 'inneres Wesen, Charakter', but it is difficult to reconcile this meaning with that of the Dutch word thus a different and less complicated explanation offering the meaning 'debt' would be more acceptable here, *awtsā* = *awlaga* 'a debt to be collected' (Hangin, 6, 5) (abučaγ-a-tai).

399. ***Tere, keney, koemin, kama, odoenay*** [**tere kenê kümin xamā odunai** 'who is that man and where does he go?'] wat voor volk reiſt daer [what kind of people travels there?] KWi 304 *Tere kene koemktzoemnir, odoena*; **kenê** R 225b *kenê*, *kenää*, *kenî* (tere, ken-ü, kümün, qamiγ-a, odu-).

400. ***Ko-oeray*** [**xûrai**] droog [dry] KWi 303b *Kouray*; 304 *Koourai*, R *xüürää* (xüürê) (qaγurai).

401. ***Noiton*** [**nöötön** cf. No. 232] 't is vochtig [wet] KWi 304 *Noiton*; R 280b *nöötn*; KMV 105 *noiton*; Dag. *noiton*; Bur.C *noíto*, *nojtun'* (noyitan).

402. ***Bitugey, ko-oelaba*** [**bitügei xugulaba**? cf. 403] breekt niet in ſtukken [do not break into pieces] KWi 304 *Bituge kooelba*; R 195a *xuγ^{u}l-*; Oir. *xuγul-*; Bur. *xuxal-*; wrong sentence, prohibitive + Praet. Perf. (bitügei, quγul-).

403. ***Koe-oeglobá*** [**xuguluba**] 't is al gebrooken [it is completely broken] KWi 303b *Kuugloba* 'Hy heeft niet gebroken', 304 *Kuoeglaba* (quγul-). Cf. No. 402.

404. ***Koleſun*** [**kölösün** 'sweat'] hy zweet [he sweats] KWi 303b *Koleſtun*, 304 *Koleſſun*; R 238a *kölsn*; Dag. 94. *huls* (kölösün).

405. ***Karboe*** [**garbu** 'he went out'] hy is voort gegaen [he went away] KWi 303b *Karbu*, 304 *Karbou*; R 145b *γar-*; Dag. *gar-* (γar-).

406. ***Aboeldoeja*** [**abulduya** Volunt. 'let us wrestle'] hy is een worſtelaer [he is a wrestler] KWi 303b *Abuldua*, 304 *Abuldoeja*; KOM 12b *abulda-* (abulduya).

407. ***Aboeldoexen*** [**abuldugsan**] ik hebbe geworſtelt [I have fought] KWi 303b *Abulduxen*, 304 *Abuldouxeen* (abuduγsan).

408. ***Moerin baybá*** [**mörin baiba** 'the horse stopped'] mijn Paerd is moede [my horse is tired] KWi 304 *Onourin baiba*; R 39a *bää-*; KMV 65 *bææ-*; (morin).

409. ***Bitʃchetchoereba*** [**bi čičirebe** 'I trembled/shuttered'] ik ben moede [I am tired] KWi 304 *Bitzetzeroba*; R 442b *tšitšr-*; KMV 75 *tsitschiri, tzischiriku*; TMEN No. 996 (bi, čičire-).

410. ***Biʃdoerata*** [**bi duratai** 'I like it'] ik wil, of begeer [I will or I am desirous] R 103a *durtê*; (duratai).

411. ***Bi, oe-oegoe, oegey*** [**bi ögöö ügei** 'I have not given'] ik wil 't niet hebben [I will not have it] KWi 304 Bi *owoegoe oegei*; cf. No. 246 (bi, öggüge ügei).

412. ***Bajerlaba*** [**bayerlaba**] ik bemin [I rejoice] KWi 304 *Baerlaba*; R 29b *baj^{a}r-*; cf. conv. imperf. KMV 67 *bajarladie* (bayarlaba).

413. ***Emés*** [**ümüs**] Kuſt [kiss] KWi 304 *Jemes*; R 458a *üm^{ü}s-*; KMV 139 *unus* (ünüs-).

414. ***Am baraba*** [**am baraba** '?' or rather **ämi baraba**? not noted elsewhere, cf. *nasun bara-* 'to die'] mijne lieve Ziel [my dear soul] I cannot provide definite confirmation neither of my suggestion. Nos. 412, 413, 414, 415 seem to form a little conversation with sexual allusion on the Mongolian part, misunderstood or blunted by Witsen. KWi 304 *Ambaraba*; **baraba** cf. KMV 66 adv. imperf. *barudgi*; Dag. *bara-* (aman?, amin?, baraba). Cf. 21?, 383?

415. ***Oretegé*** [**ööröö tege**? instead of **uruγu - uruu**? or **orondoo**?] hy leit neder [he lays down] KWi 304 *Oentee*; cf. No. 414 (öbere, tege- ?).

416. ***Koruk, naitzi menin*** [**köörök naij mini**] mijn lieve Vriend [my dear friend] KWi 304 *Koruk naitzi Menim*; R 243b *köörkö, körkê* (kögerükei, minu, nayiǰa).

417. ***Medeney*** [**medenê**] ik weet [I know] R 259b *med^{ə}-, mednê*; KMV 100 *medini, müdena* (mede-).

418. ***Medekoe, oegey*** [**medekü ügei**] ik weet niet [I don't know] KWi 299a *Medekou oegei* (mede-).

419. ***Oeran, ſoerga, namay, nom bitʃchik,*** [**uran surga namai nom bičig**] Meeſter leert my leezen en ſchryven [master, teach me to read and to write] erroneous word-order; **uran** R 451b *urn*; KMV 136 *uran*; Dag. *waran*; TMEN No. 593; **surga** R 338a *surγa-*; KMV 125 *sorga, surgha-*; (bičig, namai, nom, surγa-, uran).

420. ***Oener, kelexen*** [**ünêr kelegsen**] of ***tʃchiker*** [**čikêr**] zegt de waerheit [said the truth] KWi 299a *Uner kelexcen*; Kalm. Mun. 649a *čikər* 'pryámo, pryamój'; TMEN No. 1005 (čikeger, kele-, üneger). Cf. No. 468.

421. ***Beké*** [**beke**] Inkt [ink] KWi 299a *Bekie*; KMV 67 *bække*; R 41a *bek^{e}*; Dag. *beg* (beke).[111]

422. ***Nakboer*** [read **nakbun**] Inkt kooker [inkpot] KWi 299a *Nokoux*; R 270a *naγwn* D (naγbun).

[111] Cf. A. Róna-Tas, Some Notes on the Terminology of Mongolian Writing. *AOH* XVIII (1965) 130.

423. ***Oedzug*** [**üzüg** or **üjüg**] een Pen, daer men mede ſchryft [a pen to write] KWi 299a *Oedztzux*; R 460b *üz^{u}G*; KMV 137 *utsuo* (üjüg).

424. ***Tana, tere koeminoedoe, ſoergoebá*** [**tanā tere kümindü surguba** 'you have taught that man'] gy hebt dezen menſch wel geleert [you have taught well that man] KWi 299a *Tana Terekoe mindu ſurgiba*; R XV, 378a *tanää* (kümün, surγa-, tana, tere).

425. ***Boelchoelan,*** [**bolxulān** 'if it is so'] ***boelmoegay*** [read **boltugai** 'let it be' with Cyrill *t* , cf. Nos. 243, 444] zal het zoo zijn, of niet [must that be so, or not] KWi 299a *Bulchan* 'Het zal komen' and the very next entry *Boultuchai* 'Zoo jae' (bolqu-luγa - bolqulā, boltuγai).

426. ***Ize boelchoelani, bagay*** [**ese bolxulāni, baiya** or **boliya**?] kan het niet anders wezen, zoo is het genoeg [If it cannot be else, then it is enough.] R128a *es* (bolqu-luγa, ese).

427. ***Tere koemin, oekbá,*** [**tere kümin ögbää**] deze menſch heeft gegeven [that person gave (it)] (ögbe, tere, kümün).

428. ***Oegoenay*** [**ögönää**] ik zal geven [I shall give] cf. Nos. 246, 438 (ög-).

429. ***Aldá*** [**alda**] een vadem lank, of ***cubitus*** [a fathom long or cubitus 'elbow'] KWi 299b *Alda*; R6a *aldə*; cf. KMV 61 *aldatulæ - alda tüliye*; Dag. *alda* (alda).[112]

430. ***Oetoe tuo*** [**utu töö**] een ſpan lank [a span long] R 408a *töö*; cf. KMV148 *thoe* from Kalm. *toB* 'Kanone' or *töö* 'span' (töge, urtu).

431. ***Izé, oegba*** [**ese ögbä**] hy geeft niet [he did not give] KWi 301a *Iſegba* (ese, ög-).

432. ***Oetun*** [read **utān**] Rook [smoke] KWi 301a *Outan*; R 452b *utān*; KMV *utaa, utaan, uutha* (utaγan).

433. ***Nuruſun*** [**nüürüsün**] Koolen [coal] KWi 301a *Nuruſſun* (negüresün). Cf. No. 271.

434. ***Kereké*** [**köörge**[113] 'bellows'] Vlam [flame] Nos. 432, 433, 434 belong together. In the case of this last entry the informant misunderstood the question concerning the flame and this discrepancy may have been caused by the "gesture language" used by the collector of the word-list during the questioning. KWi 301a *Kerekie*; R 243b *kööröG* (kögerge).

435. ***Tſchikendoe, kelekſen*** [**či kendü kelegsen** 'to whom said you'] tot wie ſpreekt gy? [to whom speak you?] KWi 301a *Tzikanndoe kelexen*; KMV 93 *kelesen* (či, kele-, ken-dür).

436. ***Kelebá*** [**kelebää** 'spoke'] geſproken [spoken] Praet. perf. KWi 301a *Keleba*; (kele-). Cf. No. 172.

[112] De Rachewiltz has the most perceptive treatment of the value of the measure of length *alda* I have seen: 1.55–1.60 m. (I. de Rachewiltz, Some Remarks on Stele of Yisüngge. In: *Tractata Altaica*. Wiesbaden 1976, 490).

[113] For the length in Mongolian and Turkic related words, see G. Doerfer, Die Entsprechung der türkischen Langvokale. *UAJb* 40 (1968) 46. For the etymology of the Mong. *kögerge*, cf. Benzing's review on Poppe's *Vergleichende Grammatik* (J. Benzing, *op. cit.*, 15).

437. ***Tſchagalak*** [**čagālag**] Feeſtdag [fête-day] KWi 301a *Tzagalk*; (čaγalaγ).[114]

438. ***Oekkoe*** [**ögkü**] ik zal geven [I shall give] Nom. fut. KWi 301a *Ukoukoe* (ögkü). Cf. Nos. 246, 428.

439. ***Koejak*** [**xuyag**] een Panſſer, of Harnas [armour or cuirass] KWi 119a, 298b *Kochujak* (read **köö xuyag** Mun. 320a *kö-xuyg* and TMEN No. 346), 301b *Koujak*; R 195b *xuj^{n}G*; cf. TMEN I, 112 (quyaγ).

440. ***Jæta*** [**jida**] een Speer [a spear] KWi 119a *Zyda*, 298b *Zyda*, and 301b *Jeta*; R 108b *jid^{a}*; KMV 90 *schida*; Dag. *gida*, *g'ad* (jida).

441. ***Tſchetſchi*** [**čiči** Imperat.] ſteeken [to sting, to poke, to stick] KWi 301b *Tzetzy* 'Wanneer (when)'; R 442b *tšitši-* (čiči-).

442. ***Tſchetſchir, oekoebá*** [read **čičij ükübää** with supefluous *r*] hy heeft dood geſtooken [he has stabbed (him) dead] KWi 301a *Tzetzir ukoeba* (čiči-, ükü-). Cf. Nos. 168, 441.

443. ***Iki koendoe lubunada, Nojen,*** [**iki kündülübüü nada noyen**] ik bidde mijnen Vorſt [I beg my sovereign] KWi 301a *Iki kounduluba* and the very next entry *Iki koundululba nada noen*; **kündülübüü** R 246a *künd^{ü}l-*; KMV 99 *kunduligi*; **noyen** R 278b *nojn*; KMV 105 *nogen*; TMEN No. 389 (kündülebe, noyan, yeke).

444. ***Ikki bamoe, koelé*** [**iki batu külê** Cyrillic *m* = *t* cf. Nos. 243, 425] Bind hem vaſt [bind him fast] Imperativus. KWi 302a *Iky batu koulie*; R 36a *bat^{a}*(batu, küli-, yeke).

445. ***Oergoetſchi odoenatſchi*** [**orgoji odunāči**] dat hy wegloopt [you (will) escape] No. 445 seems to be connected with Nos. 444 and 446, cf. KWi 302a Op dat hy niet ontloopt, bind hem, *Los* (!) *odoenaitzi ourgutzi t'alle*; **orgoji** R 288b *orγ^{n}-* (odu-, orγo-). Cf. No. 62.

446. ***Tialjé*** [**täälyää** 'let us, let (it) free'] maekt hem los [make him free] R 388b *tääl-* (tayil-). Cf. No. 445.

447. ***Doera mini, oera tuſchmekí*** [**dura mini ura (üür) tüšmeki** or rather **tüšl mini**] verquikt my in mijn ouderdom [refreshes me in my old age] KWi 302a *Dura mini oura Tuſchmeni*; R 103a *durn*; cf. KMV 79 *duracine*; R 417b *tüšl*; R 461b *üür* 'Kamerad(schaft)' (dura, minu; tüsi-, ügür).

448. ***Sain, nimi amarachtoe*** [**sain mini** (or read **îm**) **amaragtu** 'good, (it is) my favourite'] doet my goeds [give me goods] KWi 302a *Cayn mini Amaxochtoe*; R10a *amrraγ*; TMEN No. 554 (amuraγ, minu, sayin).

449. ***Bi, tſchiney, ſain, toerki marthachoe, oegey*** [**bi činî sain tuski martaxu ügei** 'I shall never forget your goodness'] ik wil uwe goed dadigheden niet vergeten [I shall never forget your good deeds] KWi 302a *Bytzine caintourki*; **tuski** R 412a *tusk^{a}*, *tusk^{i}*; **martaxu** R 257b *mart^{a}xa* (martaqu, tuski).[115]

[114] About the fête cf. G. C. Cybikov, *Izbrannye trudy*. I–II. Novosibirsk 1991, 163–164.

[115] Buck listed only the basic form: Mong. *tus*. (F. H. Buck, *Comparative Study of Postpositions in Mongolian Dialects and the Written Language*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1955. 56–57, 117, 128.

450. ***Tſchi medé*** [**či medê** 'you (should) know' with emphatical length or stress] gy weet wel [you know well] KWi 302a *Tzi medene* (či, mede-). Cf. No. 417.

451. ***Sanazboe*** [**sonosbu**] ik hoor [I hear] KWi 302a *Canazboe* with Cyrill *s*; R 31b *son^{o}sxn* Ö, D, *songs^{o}xn*, *sonsxn* D; KMV 125 *sonotzchi* (sonus-).

452. ***Sanazboetſchi*** [**sonosbu či**] hoort gy [did you hear?] KWi 302a *Canazbutzi* with Cyrill *s* (či, sonus-).

453. ***Tana-iki-koendoelexen*** [**tanā iki** or **tanaixi** (cf. No. 297) **kündülegsen**] gy hebt my begenadigt, of begunſtigt [you have pardoned me, or honoured] KWi 302a *Taini kounduleske*; R 378a *tanää*, *tanêk^{i}*, *tanääk^{a}* (kündülegsen, yeke). CF. No. 443.

454. ***Kajerlá*** [**xairlā** 'be merciful'] ik bidde weeſt my gunſtig [I beg you take me into your graces] KWi 302a *Kaerla* (qayirla-). Cf. No. 75.

455. ***Ene, tere, emi, ſain koemin, kama, turuxen*** [**ene, tere, îm, sain kümin kama türügsen**] waer werden zulke goede liedens gebooren? [where are this (and) that (persons) such good people born] KWi 302a *Jenetere jems ſcain koeminnama Turxen*; R 213b *îm^{a}* (ene, eyimü - îmi, kümün, qamiγ-a, sayin, tere, törö-).

456. ***Tolochoy ibedeney*** [**toloxoi ebedenei**] mijn hooft doet my zoer [my head is aching] KWi 302a *Tolochai ibedene ili ibettzi* (ebed-, toluγai). Cf. No. 2.

457. ***Oejá*** [**uyā**] naeit toe [sew it to] KWi 302a *Ouia*; R 447b *uj^{a}xa*; Mong. *oyo-*, *uya-* - Oir. *uy-* (oyo-).

458. ***Schirboeſu, noſoe*** [**širbüsü nôs**] draed van darmen gemaekt [yarn made of bowels] KWi 302a *Schirbuſſu noſſoe*; R 371b *šürwsn*; KMV *schirbisun*; R 279b *nôsn*; KMV 105 *nassan*, *unussu*; Ost-Mong. *nonggosu* "Daunen";[116] Bur.C *nohon*, *nohún'* (noγusun, sirbüsün).

459. ***Iſchin*** [**išin**] een ſteel, of handvat van een Degen, Mes, of diergelijke [the handle of a knife or the like] KWi 302a *Iſchin Suke*; R 210b *iš* (esi).

460. ***Koeddi, ſuy konobá*** [**kedüü or kedün söi xonobā**] hoe veel nachten zyt gy uit geweeſt [how many nights did you spend?] KWi 302a *Kady ſſui konoba*; R 185a *xon^{o}xa* (*kedüi* cf. No. 187, *qono-*, *söni* cf. No. 306.).

461. ***Kaboer*** [**kabur**] Lente [spring] KWi 121a *Chabar*, 300b *Chabur*, *Kabari* of *Kabur* (qabur). Cf. No. 190.

462. ***Dzon*** [**jun**] Zommer [summer] KWi 121a *Zun*, 300b *Zun Dztcon* of *Mous*; R 480b *zun*; KMV 92 *suun*; cf. Bur.C *našir'* (jun).[117]

463. ***Ibul*** [**öwl**] Winter [winter] KWi 121a *Ebuil*, 300b *Ebuil* of *Ibijf* (ebül). Cf. No. 189.

464. ***Koiton*** [**köötön** (cf. No. 232) or **küüten**?] Koud [cold] KWi 302a *Koiton* (küyiten). Cf. No. 192.

465. ***Doe-oelachan*** [**dulāxan**] Warm [warm] KWi 302a *Duoulachan*, 303b *Duulachan* (dulaγaqan). Cf. No. 191.

[116] Cf. N. Poppe, Die tschuwassischen Lautgesetze. *AM* 1 (1921) 781.

[117] Bur. Dag. deest. Cf. G. Kara, Le dictionnaire, 6, note 18.

466. ***Subuſun*** [**subusun**] Paerlen [pearls] KWi 302a *Scubuſſun*, 303b *Siubichiun*; KMV *subus*; 123 R 332b *sowsn* D, 339a *suwsn* Ö (subud).

467. ***Toptſchi*** [**topči**] de knoopen aen een kleet [button for clothes] KWi 302a *Toptzi*; R 401a *toptš*^{i}; KMV 131 *toptzy*; Dag. *torč* (tobči).

468. ***Oener kelexen*** [**ünêr keleksen**] gy hebt de waerheit gezeit [you have said truth] KWi 302a *Ounen kelexcen* (kele-, üneger). Cf. No. 420.

469. ***Natſchi kelexen*** [**nādǰi keleksen**] ik hebbe uit klucht geſprooken [I said it in jest] KWi 302a *Natzi kelexcen*; R 272b *nād-*, *nād*^{a}-; KMV 103 *nadschi*; Oir. *nād-* (kele-, naγad-).

470. ***Temey, keleba*** [**demei keleba** '(you have) said (it) in vain'] vergeefs gy my beſchuldigt [you accuses me in vain] KWi 302a *Temei keleba*; R 86a *demî*; cf. KMV 78 *demeughe*; Dag. *demî* (demei, kele-).

471. ***Maní geretſchi, biné*** [**mani gereči bainê** 'we have (our) witness' with emphatical stress] ik heb getuigen [I have prooves][118] KWi 302a *Mani geretzi banou*; R 134b *ger*^{a}*tši*; Dag. *gerčin* (bai-, gereči, manu).

472. ***Kamtoe, odoejá*** [**xamtu oduyā**] laet ons t'zaem gaen [let's go together] KWi 302a *Kamtu odouya*; R 165a *xamt*^{a}; KMV 113 *chamtatata* (oduya, qamtu).

473. ***Mandoe jadzi, irebe oegey*** [**mandu yāǰ irebe ügei** wrong sentence cf. the Kalmyk glossary] waerom komt gy nooit by ons? [why did not you come to ùs?] KWi 302a *Mandou irdztzyn* 'Gy komt by ons niet' R 217ab *jāγxa*, *jāxa*, *odā jaγîjā* (*jāîjā*) (ire-, mandur, ügei, yaγa- cf. No. 276).

474. ***Jom, koele, bayge,*** [**yûm külê baig** (or read **baij**?) 'wait something' = 'wait for a while' or rather 'bind it, wait' cf. No. 444 and Witsen's translation] neemt achtinge op mijn goed, of draegt zorge [pay attention to my things or take care of (it)] KWi 302a *Ene mani jamkoule bane*; **baig** R 39b *bäägᵃ*; **külê** R 245a *külê-* 'warten'; KMV 98 *kula*, *kuleie*, *kuleine*, *kulene*, *kolagati*, *kuludgi* or R 245a *küli-* 'binden, festbinden' (bai-, küli- or küliye-, yum).

475. ***Oedze, bitun*** [**üze, bütün**] ziet, alles is wel [look, all is well] KWi 302b *Oudztzebitun*, 303b *Udzeeba bitiun*; **bütün** R 70 *bütn*; TMEN No. 719 (büten, üǰe- cf. No. 82).

476. ***Kagaratſchi oetuluxen*** [**xagaraǰi utuluksan**] 't gat is door geſlagen [the hole is broken through] KWi 302b *Kagaraczy outuluxcen* of *utius uxen*; **xagaraǰi** R 160b *xaγ*^{a}*r-*; KMV 111 *kagahr* (oγtal-/utl- cf. No. 205 , qaγaraǰu).

477. ***Bekoeli, oegoetá*** [**büküli ögö ta**] kuft ende geeft [give the whole] KWi 302b *Bekouly ougouta*, 303b *Bekuli uhamaz*; R 66a *bük*^{ü}*l'*; Dag. *buguli* (büküli,[119] ög- cf. No. 246).

[118] The entries from No. 471 onwards seem to be sentences of a little conversation, cf. the following function of the *gereči*: "Chose courante, les biens confisqués vont au dénonciateur («témoin», *gereci, gerecilegsen kümün*)". (J. Legrand, *L'administration dans la domination sino-mandchou en Mongolie Qalq-a*. Paris 1976, 152–153.

[119] For this word and for the ending *-li* cf. Gadzhieva's short notice (N. Z. Gadzhieva, The Role of Altaic Languages in the Reconstruction of the Turkic Syntactic Archetype. In: *Researches in Altaic Languages*. Ed. by L. Ligeti. Budapest 1975, 64).

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The literary heritage of Mongol peoples wandering on the vast plains of Central Asia, has long been attracting the attention of scholars who, sparing neither pains nor financial means, did everything to procure manuscripts and xylographs written in the Old Mongolian script which used to be prevalent in every corner of the Mongolian speaking world. As a result of these efforts quite a few collections have been established within libraries and museums in Russia, Europe, USA, Japan.

Scholars have been assidiously collecting and catalogueing the Mongol literary sources in the Republic of Mongolia where very rich and most valuable collections of Mongol manuscripts and xylographs have been founded at the State Public Library in Ulanbator and at Institute of Languages and Literature of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences. A considerable number of Mongol manuscripts are to be found also in various archives in the People's Republic of China.[1]

Though there is another region that used to belong to the sphere of Mongol literacy, not much information has been published so far on the written sources preserved there for hundreds of years. This region is Tuva. Only two of the Mongol manuscripts written in this part of Central Asia have been mentioned in scholarly literature until now. One of them was described in an article by G. D. Sanžeev[2]. L. S. Pučkovski called the attention to the other in his catalogue treating a part of the Mongol collection of the Oriental Institute.[3]

[1] For the collections of manuscripts and xylographs in Mongolian and for the available catalogues and descriptions see W. Heissig–C. Bawden, *Catalogue of Mongol Books, Manuscripts and Xylographs.* Copenhagen 1971, XIX–XX; А. Г. Сазыкин, *Каталог монгольских рукописей и ксилографов Института востоковедения АН СССР.* Т. I. Москва 1988.

[2] Г. Д. Санжеев, Кызыльская рукопусь монгольской эпической повести Хан Харангуй. In: *Тюрко–монгольское языкознание и фольклористика.* Москва 1960, 265–350.

[3] Л. С. Пучковский, *Монгольские бурят-монгольские и ойратские рукописи и ксилографы Института востоковедения.* Т. I. История права. Москва–Ленинград 1957, No. 265.

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Thus the present catalogue is a first publication containing information on the Mongolian manuscripts and xylographs collected and preserved in collections in Tuva.[4]

The manuscript library at the Tuvan Ethnological Museum "Sixty Heroes" (TRKM) is arranged into three divisions: the collection of Tibetan, Tibeto–Mongolian, and Mongolian manuscripts. The Mongolian manuscripts and xylographs from TRKM described in this catalogue were examined, analyzed and prepared for catalogueing by our research group during our study trips to Kyzyl in 1983–1985.

We have already published a preliminary report[5] on the Mongolian division of the library giving a full description of its collection and providing the reader with a thematical list of the various written sources preserved there. In the above mentioned article we also paid special attention to rare manuscripts of greater scientific importance. Therefore we consider it sufficient to give only a short sketch of the Mongolian collection of TRKM as it was in 1985.

The number of Mongolian manuscripts and xylographs in the collection totals 938. Printed books are represented by 23 Peking[6], 52 Buriat[7] xylographs and two other type-set publications in Buriat.[8] The rest of the collection is made up of 861 manuscripts, 8 of which are written in Zayapanditian "clear script".[9]

Almost all the manuscripts are relatively new (written at the beginning of the 19th–first half of the 20th century) and they mainly consist of treatises belonging to the branch of literature termed "popular Buddhism". These items contain many examples of the texts written for meeting the needs of people for manuals describing the various practices they considered necessary in their religious, ceremonial, and every-day life. A large number of the manuscripts and xylographs are treating subjects relevant to the Buddhist canon and are included in the Kanǰur.[10]

[4] Mongolian manuscripts and xylographs are preserved also in the Tuvan Research Institute for Languages, Literature, and History.

[5] А. Г. Сазыкин, *Собрание монгольских рукописей и ксилографов Тувинского республиканского краеведческого музея им. 60-ти богатырей (Кызыл). Тюркские и монгольские письменные памятники. Текстологические и культуроведческие аспекты исследования*. Москва 1992, 45–58.

[6] No. 1, 130, 131, 134, 135/936, 137, 139, 140, 141, 159, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 633, 738, 44, 745, 746, 915. The index "M" is omitted here and further in this article.

[7] No. 96, 97, 98, 99, 100,101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115 (2 copies), 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 138, 142, 143, 160, 4677, 470, 634, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664 (2 copies), 680, 732, 733, 767.

[8] No. 435, 682.

[9] No. 280, 572, 657, 658, 659/834, 776, 835, 884.

[10] At these entries we always included references to the Kanǰur published by L. Ligeti.

Our statement that the collection preserved at the TRKM covers almost all literary genres, once prevailent among most of the Mongol peoples is well illustrated by the following thematical index.[11]

Mongolian epos and folklore: No. 52, 70, 167, 187, 208, 250, 282, 349, 396, 440, 443, 517, 533, 562, 621, 645, 658, 659/834, 729, 896.

Literature: No. 65, 67, 89, 94, 95, 96, 101, 105, 119, 130, 132, 133, 140, 147, 211, 258, 261, 275, 301, 333, 385, 488, 506, 527, 535, 628, 629, 757, 758, 768, 913.

Popular religious beliefs:

Cult of tengris: No. 205, 241, 259, 356, 551, 553, 578, 694, 759, 786.

Cult of Cingis-khan: No. 57, 307, 567, 568, 785.

Cult of emperors: No. 193, 869.

Cult of Geser: No. 45, 149, 224.

Cult of fire: No. 35, 158, 249, 727.

Cult of the Earth and mountains: No. 151, 174, 189, 229, 231, 239, 305, 308, 365, 376, 490, 586, 610, 639, 821.

Cult of the White old man: No. 15, 220, 300, 323, 324, 389, 479, 480, 620, 781, 905.

Rites in connection with cattle-breeding: No. 198.

Rites in connection with hunting: No. 190, 191, 227, 234, 247, 248, 334, 336, 531, 569, 581, 808.

Charms and protecting signs: No. 355, 392, 432.

Buddhist canonical literature (Kanǰur): No. 1, 8, 79, 81, 103, 104, 111, 117, 120, 131, 135/936, 139, 141, 148, 159, 165, 257, 264, 269, 272, 278, 303, 306, 309, 311, 313, 408, 435, 438, 441, 445, 455, 459, 462, 476, 505, 510, 518, 532, 536, 537, 540, 548, 554, 556, 601, 607, 612, 622, 623, 624, 632, 635, 642, 662, 666, 668, 686, 693, 696, 697, 708, 710, 712, 720, 725, 731, 732, 738, 741, 744, 745, 751, 753, 754, 755, 760, 762, 776, 777, 780, 810, 817, 818, 874, 875, 910, 915, 941.

Buddhist dogmatical works and commentaries: No. 114, 116, 136, 138, 196, 289, 302, 471, 491, 572, 652, 660, 733, 765, 918.

Works on Buddhist religious and ritual practices: No. 78, 83, 84, 85, 129, 215, 221, 369, 481, 550, 594, 614, 627, 633, 636, 667, 747, 748, 763, 778, 888.

Prayers: No. 3, 4, 12, 13, 28, 49, 54, 55, 66, 68, 100, 122, 124, 125, 142, 144, 150, 153, 160, 163, 168, 184, 203, 213, 223, 228, 230, 235, 252, 260, 271, 276, 283, 284, 287, 293, 304, 310, 319, 321, 322, 340, 342, 343, 348, 378, 381, 387, 421, 431, 433, 434, 439, 458, 482, 485, 500, 558, 559, 565, 566, 570, 587, 590, 604, 605, 611, 616, 617, 643, 656, 669, 672, 673, 681, 692, 700, 704, 715, 724, 742, 794, 814, 815, 822, 833, 870, 885, 908, 927.

[11] Samples of certain genres are simply not available in the collection of the TRKM. We could not locate, for example any historical or genealogical works. Neither did we find dictionaries and we could identify only a few hagiographical works.

Magtals, yöröls: No. 17, 36, 50, 76, 97, 123, 171, 197, 201, 266, 285, 318, 347, 366, 386, 398, 399, 423, 453, 463, 507, 508, 511, 512, 571, 589, 593, 599, 641, 644, 676, 684, 687, 689, 703, 711, 719, 721, 737, 816, 820, 830, 836, 842, 845, 851, 868, 878, 880, 903, 928.

Tarnis: No. 14, 16, 20, 60, 173, 195, 225, 226, 240, 243, 291, 314, 364, 374, 388, 452, 484, 557, 564, 576, 602, 603, 606, 608, 683, 750, 824, 825, 828, 835, 939.

Didactic works: No. 41, 42, 51, 61, 90, 91, 92, 93, 110, 115 (2 copies), 118, 121, 126, 127, 143, 145, 152, 206, 238, 274, 280, 312, 315, 325, 326, 375, 390, 416, 487, 489, 495, 501, 509, 588, 592, 634, 638, 640, 654, 663, 664 (2 copies), 680, 682, 698, 699, 705, 713, 734, 749, 761, 766, 790, 796, 852, 856, 860, 861, 863, 877, 879, 898, 906, 916, 931, 933.

Divination: No. 38, 62, 64, 72, 73, 75, 162, 209, 279, 317, 344, 400, 401, 417, 493, 504, 543, 584, 690, 726, 728, 823, 846, 854, 865, 866, 881, 904, 917.

Hagiography: No. 102, 743, 756.

Buddhist cosmology: No. 82, 273, 771.

History of Buddhism: No. 107.

History and description of Buddhist holy objects: No. 71, 134, 739.

Grammars: No. 106, 108, 109, 900.

Alphabets: No. 2, 5, 24, 25, 53, 74, 98, 99, 112, 113, 146, 164, 175, 210, 219, 222, 244, 262, 268, 286, 292, 328, 329, 335, 394, 405, 426, 427, 428, 429, 467, 468, 469, 470, 521, 522, 523, 529, 538, 555, 560, 573, 575, 577, 580, 583, 595, 609, 637, 646, 648, 671, 714, 716, 722, 723, 736, 807, 839, 853, 857, 858, 876, 902, 907, 921.

Medical works: No. 6, 39, 86, 87, 88, 137, 204, 338, 499, 534, 541, 547, 591, 597, 598, 625, 626, 630, 651, 665, 746, 764, 770, 840, 922, 937, 938.

Calendars, calculations for calendars: No. 40, 232, 446, 519, 542, 779, 791, 887.

Astrology, fortune-telling, omens: No. 7, 9, 10, 11, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 37, 43, 44, 46, 47, 48, 58, 59, 63, 69, 77, 80, 154, 155, 156, 157, 161, 166, 169, 170, 172, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180,181, 182, 183, 185, 186, 188, 192, 194, 199, 200, 202, 207, 212, 216, 217, 218, 233, 236, 237, 245, 246, 251, 253, 254, 255, 256, 265, 267, 270, 277, 281, 290, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 316, 320, 327, 330, 331, 332, 337, 339, 341, 345, 346, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 367, 368, 371, 372, 373, 377, 379, 382, 383, 384, 391, 393, 395, 397, 402, 403, 404, 406, 407, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 418, 419, 420, 422, 424, 430, 436, 437, 442, 444, 447, 448, 449, 451, 454, 456, 457, 460, 461, 464, 465, 466, 473, 474, 475, 477, 478, 483, 486, 492, 494, 496, 497, 498, 503, 513, 514, 520, 524, 526, 528, 530, 539, 544, 545, 546, 549, 552, 561, 563, 574, 585, 596, 600, 613, 615, 618, 631, 647, 649, 650, 653, 655, 657, 670, 674, 675, 677, 678, 679, 685, 688, 691, 695, 701, 702, 706, 707, 709, 717, 718, 730, 735, 740, 752, 769, 772, 773, 774, 775, 782, 783, 784, 788, 789, 792, 793, 795, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 809, 811, 812, 813, 819, 826, 827, 829, 831, 832, 837, 838, 841, 843, 844, 847, 848, 849,

850, 855, 859, 862, 864, 867, 871, 872, 873, 882, 883, 884, 886, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 897, 899, 901, 909, 911, 912, 914, 919, 920, 923, 924, 925, 926, 929, 930, 934, 935, 940.

Other works: No. 56, 214, 450.

Manuscripts containing Tibetan text in Mongolian script: No. 242, 263, 288, 294, 370, 380, 425, 472, 502, 515, 516, 525, 579, 582, 787.

In compliance with the system set up for compiling the catalogue, the manuscripts and xylographs are entered into the list according to the title on the front page. The other title variants at the beginning and end of the text that are often the mere repetition of the front page title with some changes, were not taken into consideration. In those cases where there are no titles available, the first lines of the text are cited.

Short remarks stating the subject of the text are attached to the entries only in those cases where it is impossible to make out the content of the work solely on the basis of the title or the fragments given.

Since some kolophons are quite well known to scholars from the various catalogues and descriptions of the xylograph editions, where they have already appeared in print, these were not included in our catalogue. Xylographs having been discovered first in the collection of TRKM, together with their kolophons, are treated in details in the article referred to above.

Our short catalogue of the Mongolian manuscripts and xylographs preserved at the TRKM should be considered as a preliminary report rendering it possible to introduce a wide range of hitherto unknown written sources to scholarly research. The present catalogue, of course, does not make it superfluous to compile a more detailed and thematically arranged description of this significant collection which we hope to publish in due time.

M-1. Naiman ǰaγu-tu sudur orosiba; (Tib.) Mdo-sde brgyad-brgya-pa bzhugs--so (1a). Date of publication: 1723. Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 135.
Peking xylograph, 101 ff., 22×8.5 (17×6), 15 lines.

M-2. Γučin čaγan üsüg orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2ff. 22×9, 16 lines.

M-3. Itegel-ün sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 21.5×8.7, 16 lines.

M-4. Arban burqan-u ǰarliγ orosibai. J̌aγun üsüg-tü tarni orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, ff. 1–4 (end is missing.), 14.5×7, 15 lines.

M-5. Beginning (1b): A. o. u. na. no. nu... Mongolian alphabet.
Manuscript, folded, ff. 1–3 (end is missing.), 8×23, 8 lines.

M-6. Aliba em dom-un ǰüil ene bolai (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 17×6.5, 17 lines.

M-7. Tngri-yin noqai-yin ǰüil (1a). Astrology.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 21.5×7, 16 lines.

M-8. Unal-iyan namčilqui sudur oršibai (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 1041.
Manuscript, 4 ff., 21×9, 21 lines.

M-9. Beginning (1b): Ilete minu ene tölge aryad bey-e-dür ögöd bolǰu iren soyurq-a: ... Fortune-telling by means of the six syllables of the phrase "mani".
Manuscript, 6 ff., 20.5×6.5, 19 lines.

M-10. Ary-a Manjušri-dur mörgüged ükügsen-ü kegür talibiqu sayin mayu yaǰar-a-un šagǰi-[n]u sudur oroši yba. Masi sayin edür čisun bičibe (1a).
Manuscript, 8 ff., 20×6.3, 17 lines.

M-11. Kereyen-ü kele ba šayaǰayai-yin kele medekü sudur qamtuda oroši ba (1a).
Manuscript, 12 ff., 18×7, 13 lines.

M-12. Yekede dayursaqu neretü qayan-u ubadis (1b).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 20×9, 13 lines.

M-13. Yüm čüng-ün quriyangyui kemekü sudur oroši ba (1a).
Manuscript, 13 ff., 22×8.5, 15 lines.

M-14. Čayan sikürtü quriyangyui orosiba (1a). Tarni.
Manuscript, 3 ff., 20×8.2, 20 lines.

M-15. Čayan ebügen-ün sang ene bui (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 17.8×7.5, 14 lines.

M-16. Čay-yan šikür-tü-yin quru-yangyui oroši ba (1a). Tarni.
Manuscript, 3 ff., 17.5×7.5, 12 lines.

M-17. Erdeni Noyan qutuy-tu-yin irügel orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 17.5×6.5, 13 lines.

M-18. Beginning (1a): Šin-e-yin 1. 7. 13. 19. 25-u ede edür mör yaryaǰu yabu-basu... Fortune-telling before setting off for a journey.
Manuscript, 1 f., 14×8, 24 lines in all.

M-19. Giyay-a düyeg-ün dotorča edür üǰekü (1a). Divination about the auspicious and inauspicious days of a month.
Manuscript, 26 ff., 17.7×7.5, 11 lines.

M-20. Yeke küčitü altan quyay neretü kölgen sudur oroši ba (1a). Tarni.
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22×8.5, 15 lines.

M-21. Edür söni-yin čay-un kemǰiy-e: keriy-e šayaǰayai-yin kele medekü bičig oroši ba (1a).
Manuscript, 8 ff., 22×9, 18 lines.

M-22. Noqai-yin ama-yi üǰekü sudur ene bui: edür čay kemǰiy-e üǰekü ene bui (1a).
Manuscript, 7 ff., 22×9, 19 lines.

M-23. Nara sara bariydaqu-yi üǰekü sudur ene bui (1a).
Manuscript, 7 ff., 22×8.8, 21 lines.

M-24. Ačitu yučin čayan üsüg oroši yba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 19.5×8, 16 lines.

M-25. Γučin čayan üsüg-ün toloyai kemegdekü oroši ba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22×8.8, 14 lines.

M-26. Šigemüni burqan bayši-yin ǰokiyaγsan erdeni-tü altan saba orošiγulba (1a). Divination about the dead.
Manuscript, 11 ff., 22×8, 20 lines.

M-27. Edür söni-yin čaγ-un kemǰiy-e. Sünesün-ü üǰel sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 9 ff., 21×8, 19 lines.

M-28. Itegel-ün sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 6 ff., 21×8, 13 lines.

M-29. Günen-e düyeg-ün dotor-ača γaruγsan: edür üǰekü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 14 ff., 17.5×7, 15 lines.

M-30. Naiman saγudal-un sudur orosiba (1a). Fortune-telling.
Manuscript, 10 ff., 18×7, 14–15 lines.

M-31. Keriy-e dongγodqu ba: šaγaǰaγai šaγšiqu-yi šinǰikü anu (1a).
Manuscript, 1 f., 17×7, 39 lines in all.

M-32. Ere kümün-ni baras-ača ǰöb toγola: em-e kümün-ni bičin-eče buruγu toγolaǰu mede (1a). Divination about the fate of human beings.
Manuscript, 6 ff., 17.5×7, 17 lines.

M-33. Beginning (1b): 1. 9. 17. 25 ene edür ebedbesü luus-un baling-daki (...) dungli üiled ... Astrology.
Manuscript, 6 ff., 17.5×7.3, 15 lines.

M-34. Kery-e-yin kelen-ü edür söni-yin čaγ-un kemǰiy-e-yin üǰükü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22×9, 18 lines.

M-35. Γal γal-un tengeri takiqu (...) yosu orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 7 ff., 21.5×8.5, 17 lines.

M-36. Γangǰuur-yin quruyangγui neretü yeke kölgen sudur orošiba (1a). Magtal.
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22×8.5, 16 lines.

M-37. Beginning (1b): Ere sara bögesü Buda dagini-ača ǰöb toγola: ... Divination about lost property and cattle.
Manuscript, 4 ff., 21×8, 15 lines.

M-38. Beginning (1a): Ôm sayin amuγulang boltuγai: eke boluγsan ǰiryuγan ǰüil qamuγ amitan-u tusa-yin tulada: ... Fortune-telling.
Manuscript, 1 f., 22×9, 27 lines altogether.

M-39. Bükün-e tusalaqu eldeb ǰüil em-ün nayiralγ-a kemekü orošibai; (Tib.) Kun-phan sna-tshogs sman-spyor zhe-bya-pa bzhugs-so (1a).
Manuscript, 38 ff., 22×9, 20 lines.

M-40. Edür üǰekü sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 16.8×7, 16 lines.

M-41. Γurban erdeni-yin suryaγuli neretü sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 22×8.5, 20 lines.

M-42. Nimgen buyan-tan arad-un tulada nomlaγsan nigen edür söni-dür sakiqu egüni nigülesügči bodisug-un qubilγan qaγan-u ǰarliγ-ača nigen tedüi bičigsen sudur orošiba (1a). On keeping vows.
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22×9, 12–25 lines.

M-43. Ür-e-yin ǰiruqai sayitur nomlaγsan büküni quriyangγui-ača dokiyal ba neyilel uyilačin-nuγud orošibai (1a). Astrology.
Manuscript, 68 ff., 22×9, 20 lines.

M-44. Naran saran ükükü-yin ür-e-yi üǰegülkü sudur orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 7 ff., 22×8.8, 22 lines, not finished.

M-45. Arban ǰüg-ün eǰin ačitu Geser boγda mergen qaγan-u sang-un sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 6 ff., 22.5×9, 13 lines.

M-46. Beri abqui-yin: ǰil-ün ǰokiqu-yi: qubčasun esgekü-yin: ǰil-ün qarši: ükügsen kümün yasu baruqui-yi: ger-ün sünesü sudur bügüde-yi ene bui (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 17.5×7, 16 lines.

M-47. Dalua-[n]u tölge-yin sudur orošiba: sayin (1a).
Manuscript, ff., 1–5, 7–11, 17×7, 13 lines.

M-48. Dar-a eke-yin egüde-eče eriken-ü tölge orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 7 ff., 22×8.8, 19 lines.

M-49. Itegel neretü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22×9, 20 lines.

M-50. Ганggi lodoi kemekü sudur orošiba (1a). Magtal.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 21.5×8.3, 16 lines.

M-51. Lišičati qaγan-u suryaγuli neretü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 8 ff., 22×8.5, 17 lines.

M-52. Oyun-u tülkegür oroošiba (1a)
Manuscript, 12 ff., 19.5×9, 18 lines.

M-53. Ačitu γučin čaγan üsüg orosibai (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 18.5×6.7, 19 lines.

M-54. Itegel yabuqu sedkil egüsgekü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 18×7.3, 14 lines.

M-55. Itegel neretü yeke kölgen sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 21×8, 11 lines.

M-56. J̌iran ǰil-ün tus tus kümün-ü lakapala-yi medekü anu (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 21×8, 23 lines.

M-57. Olǰa kešig-ün Sülde tngri-yin sang kiged nasu buyan erketü kiy mori čoγ učiral-yi delgergülügči nertü sang sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 17.5×7.3, 11 lines.

M-58. Töbed-ün qaγan-u čaγ-tu keriyen-ü kele medekü bičig ene bui (1b).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 17×7, 17 lines.

M-59. Eldeb ǰüil düyig-ün üǰel orošibai (1a). Fortune-telling.
Manuscript, 28 ff., 17×6.8, 17 lines, charts.

M-60. Qutuγ-tu qara kele aman-i getülgekü sudur kemen orosibai; (Tib.) 'Phags-pa kha-mchu nag-[po] zhi-bar byed-pa zhes-bya-[ba] bzhugs so (1a). Tarni.
Manuscript, 4 ff., 18.5×7.5, 20 lines.

M-61. Erlig nom-un qaγan-u ǰarliγ orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, copy-book format, 17 ff., 8.8×22, 7 lines.

M-62. Beginning (1a): Qongšim bodisadu Mila burqan qoyar ǰarliγ bolorun...
Manuscript, folded, 8 ff., 7×26, 4 lines.

M-63. Degedü burqan-u nom-un arban qoyar ǰil-ün tölge-[n]ü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 13 ff., 21.5×8.5, 10–11 lines, with illustrations.

M-64. Boγda-yin ǰarliγ sudur orosiba (1a). Fortune-telling.
Manuscript, 7 ff., 22×8, 15 lines.

M-65. Noγoγan Dar-a eke-yin namtar-a orosibai (1a).
Manuscript, 16 ff., 22×8.5, 17 lines.

M-66. Itegel orosiγulba (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 22×9, 16 lines.

M-67. Čaγan Dar-a eke taγuǰi orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 27 ff., 21.5×7.5, 18 lines.

M-68. Itegel nertü sudur orosiyγulba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff. + 1 empty f., 22×8.5, 31 lines in all.

M-69. Ür-e-yin ǰiruqai sayitur nomlaγsan büküni quriyangγui-ača dokiyal ba eneyilel uyilačin-nuγud orošibai (1a). Astrology.
Manuscript, 83 ff., 22×8.8, 18 lines.

M-70. Činggis boγda-yin nomlaγsan oyun-u tülkegür (16a).
Manuscript, 16 ff., 17×7, 15 lines.

M-71. Byarong Ka-šôr-un taγuǰi orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 25 ff., 22×9, 20 lines.

M-72. Boγda Taranata J̌ibǰungdamba qutuγ-yin gegegen-ü altan ǰarliγ suryaγuli neretü yeke kölgen sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 10 ff., 22×9, 19 lines.

M-73. Blam-a sangči čoyidan čoγči čoγnamla ǰančub bardo tegüni ǰebsüči-deki ǰingsaγ ǰiva tadγaki bančir sangčiy tobarišuγ (1a). Tibetan title in Mongolian script. The text of the work in Mongolian. Fortune-telling.
Manuscript, 13 ff., 9×22, 7 lines.

M-74. Ačitu γučin čaγan üsüg orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 1 f., 21×8.5, 19 lines.

M-75. Noyiyan gegegen-ten-ü Engke amuγulang-un γučin γurbaduγar ǰarliγ bolai (1a).
Manuscript, 6 ff., 22×9, 15 lines.

M-76. Ганggilodai orosiba (1a). Magtal.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 21×8, 21 lines.

M-77. Mengge-yin sudur orošiba (1a). Fortune-telling.
Manuscript, 8 ff., 22.5×9, 19 lines.

M-78. Beginning (1b): Namo gürü Manju-γošay-a: itegel yabuγuluγad sedkil egüsgeküi-yi sedkil ködelküi... Description of a Buddhist ritual.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 18×7.5, 14 lines, not finished.

M-79. Eke sudur orošiba (1a). Prayer-repentance. Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 1041.
Manuscript, 6 ff., 22×7.5, 22 lines.

M-80. Γaǰar-yin šinǰi sudur ene bui (1a).
Manuscript, 6 ff., 17×6.5, 15 lines.

M-81. Qutuγ-tu degedü yekede tonilγaγci neretü sudur orošiba (vol. 1, f. 1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 1021.
Manuscript, vol. 1: 29 ff., vol. 2: ff. 1–35, 39×13.5, 29 lines.

M-82. Čiqula kereglegči neretü tegüs udq-a-tu sašitar orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 55 ff., 35.5×10.5, 27 lines.

M-83. Čoγ-tu eke ayaγ-qa tegimlig-ün yosun-u yeke nigülsügči-yin bütügel-ün arγ-a orosibai (1a).
Manuscript, 32 ff., 24.5×11, 16 lines.

M-84. Čoγ-tu eke ayaγ-q-a tegimlig-ün yosun-u yeke nigülesügči-yin bütügel-ün arγ-a orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 23 ff., 35×11, 27 lines.

M-85. Doloγan sayibar oduγsad-un takiqu-yin ǰang yosun-luγ-a neyilekü küsel-i qanγaγči erkes-ün qaγan neretü orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, ff. 1–3, 5–42, + 1 f. (end is missing), 36×10, 27 lines.

M-86. Rašiyan-u ǰirüken naiman gesigütü niγuča ubadis-un ündüsün-eče qoyitu ündüsün kemekü orosiba. Dötüger debter (1a).
Manuscript, ff. 1–94 (end is missing), 36×11, 26 lines.

M-87. [Rasiyan-u ǰirüken naiman gesigütü niγuča ubadis-un ündüsün]. Chapters 8–12, 27.
Manuscript, 15 ff., 29×10.5, 26 lines.

M-88. [Rasiyan-u ǰirüken naiman gesigütü niγuča ubadis-un ündüsün]. Chapters 20–21.
Manuscript, 18 ff., 35×11, 31 lines.

M-89. Tonilγaγči baγši qutuγ-tu Güiši blam-a-yin tuuǰi orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 10 ff., 33×7.5, 24 lines.

M-90. Slôb-dbôn Badma Sambha-va baγši-yin ǰokiyaγsan arkin-u namtar kiged qorilγ-a orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 17 ff., 22×9, 14 lines.

M-91. Ariki-i namtar nomlaγsan šišitar orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 18×8, 17 lines, not finished.

M-92. Arikin-u namtar nomlaγsan šašitar orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 10 ff., 22×8.8, 20 lines.

M-93. Arakin-u namtar nomlaγsan šašitar orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, ff. 1, 3, 12–18, 17.7×7.5, 14–19 lines.

M-94. [Čoyiǰid dagini-yin tuγuǰi]. Beginning (5a): ... bürkügsen bayinam okin köbegün kegüked kiged ayil qosiγu oroγan bügüde ireǰü ...
Manuscript, ff. 5–6, 8–11 (end is missing), 22×9, 22 lines.

M-95. Čôs-ǰid dagini-yin tauǰi kemegdekü yeke kölgen sudur orošiba; (Tib.) Chos-spyod mkha'-'gro'i rnam-thar zhes-bya-ba theg-pa-chen-po'i mdo bzhugs-so (1a).
Manuscript, 47 ff., 35.5×11, 22 lines.

M-96. Čoyiǰid dagini-yin tuγuǰi orosiba (1a).
Buriat xylograph, 69 ff., 44×9 (38×6.8), 31–32 lines. See Сазыкин, *Каталог*, No. 317.

M-97. Ariy-a-balu-a: Noγoγan Dara eke: Čaγan Dara eke 3-u maγtaγal kemegdekü orošiba (1a, title in handwriting).
Buriat xylograph, 34 ff. + 1 f., 35.5×11 (23.5×9), 14 lines, with illustrations.

M-98. Mongγol-un arban naiman üsüg orošiba (1a).
Buriat xylograph, 3 ff., 44×9 (37×6), 29 lines. See Сазыкин, *Каталог*, No. 1386.

M-99. Töbed geyigülegči γučin üsüg kiged dörben egešig-lüge selte orošiba (1a).
Buriat xylograph, 2 ff., 44.5×9 (37.5×6), 28 lines, title on the margin: "Töbed üsüg". See Владимирцов, 1565, No. 8; Сазыкин, *Каталог*, No. 1458.

M-100. Ene qoyitu ǰaγuridu-yin ayul-ača aburaγči ǰalbiral qarangγui-yi arilγaγči ǰula kemegdekü orošiba (1a).
Buriat xylograph, 4 ff., 44×9 (36.5×6), 30–31 lines, title on the margin: "Qarangγui-yi arilγaγči ǰula".

M-101. Bodi sedkil tegüsügsen köke qoγolai-tu saran köküge neretü sibaγun-u tuγuǰi orčilang bükün-i ǰirüken ügei kemen medegčid-ün čikin-ü čimeg kemekü orosiba (1a).
Buriat xylograph, 166 ff., 54×10.5 (47.5×8), 39 lines, title on the margin: "Tuγuǰi". See Владимирцов, 1563, No. 75; Сазыкин, *Каталог*, No. 262.

M-102. Enedkeg-ün nayan dörben siddi-tan-u čidig orošiba (1a).
Buriat xylograph, ff. 1–190 (f. 191 is missing), 44.5×9 (37.5×6.5), 29–30 lines, title on the margin: "Siditanu domoγ". See Владимирцов, 1566, No. 69.

M-103. Qutuγ-tu qoos sudur-un nom-un ǰüil orosibai (1a, 1b). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 857.
Buriat xylograph, 106 ff., 43×11 (37.5×7.5), 31–32 lines.

M-104. Qutuγtu sayin maγu üile-yin siltaγan kiged ür-e-yi üǰegülegsen kemegdekü sudur orosibai (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 1118.
Buriat xylograph, 27 ff., 43×8 (38×6), 34–35 lines.

M-105. Mergen teneg-i šinǰilekü sayin nomlal čaγan lingqus-un baγlaγ-a kemegdekü šastir ... orošiba (1a).
Buriat xylograph, 8 parts: 23 + 21+ 19 + 23 + 20 + (ff. 1–3, 5–19, 21) + 22 + 16 ff., 44×9 (37.5×6.5), 28–29 lines. See Сазыкин, *Каталог*, No. 359.

M-106. Degedü šasin erdeni-ber Mongγol oron-i tügegülügsen uγ-i üǰegülügsen iraγu kelen-ü kürkirel neretü orosibai (Tib.) Bstan-pa rin-chen mchog--gis hor-yul khyab-pa'i khungs-bstan-pa'i skad-snyang-ro zhes-bya-ba bzhugs-so (1a).
Buriat xylograph, 27 ff., 43.5×9 (38×6), 35–36 lines. See Сазыкин, *Каталог*, No. 490.

M-107. Tobčilan ǰokiyaγsan šasin-u ǰiruqai orosiba (1a).
Buriat xylograph, 6 ff., 44×9 (37×6), 28 lines, title on the margin: "Šasin-u ǰiruqai". See Poppe, TB, No. 101-o.

M-108. J̌irüken-ü tolta-yin tayilburi üsüg-ün endegürel-ün qarangγui-yi arilγaγči oγtaryui-yin maṇi kemekü orosiba (1a).
Buriat xylograph, 24 ff., 44×9 (37.7×6.2), 25–27 lines. See Сазыкин, *Каталог*, No. 1332.

M-109. Mongγol üsüg-ün ilγal-i üǰegülügči todorqai toli neretü orosibai (1a).
Buriat xylograph, 37 ff., 44.5×9 (36×6), 30–31 lines. See Сазыкин, *Каталог*, No. 1347.

M-110. Qubitan-i nom-dur duridqaqu daγulal orosibai (1a).
Buriat xylograph, ff. 1–3, 44.5×9 (38.5×6), 31–32 lines. See Bese, Budapest, 48, Mong. 240.

M-111. [Qutuγtu sayin maγu üile-yin siltaγan kiged ür-e-yi üǰegülegsen kemegdekü sudur orosibai]. See M-104.
Buriat xylograph, ff. 4–27, 43×8 (38×6), 34–35 lines.

M-112. Mongγol-un nige ǰaγun üsüg orosiba (1a).
Buriat xylograph, 3 ff., 44.5×8.5, (36×6), 29–31 lines. See Сазыкин, *Каталог*, No. 1372.

M-113. Mongγol-un ǰaγun qorin üsüg orosiba (1a).
Buriat xylograph, ff. 1–2, 44×9 (36.5×6), 29–31 lines. See Сазыкин, *Каталог*, No. 1360.

M-114. Bôdhi-sadu-a cary-a avatara orosiba (1a).
Buriat xylograph, 143 ff., 44×9 (37×6), 30–31 lines. See Владимирцов, 1555, No. 14.

M-115. (copies 1–2). J̌aγuriduyin qabčaγai-ača getülgeküyin ǰalbaril ayul-ača getülgegči baγatur kemegdekü-yin tayilburi ubadis-i geyigülügči ǰula orosibai (1a).
Buriat xylograph, 22 ff., 44×9 (38×6.5), 35 lines, title on the margin: "Gegen ǰula".

M-116. Гurban törölkiten-ü angqar-un abqu-yin ǰerge bükün-i bürin-e üǰügülügsen bôdhi mör-ün ǰerge oroširа (1a).
Buriat xylograph, 276 ff., 44×9 (37×5.5), 30–31 lines.

M-117. Qutuγ-tu vačir-iyar oγtaluγči nertü sudur orošiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 771.
Buriat xylograph, 42 ff., 35×9 (30×6.5), 23–24 lines.

M-118. Nasun-u ečüs-tür čiqula tusa-tai ubidis endegürel-tü üǰegdel-i qoγosun činar-tur getülgegči kemegdekü orošibai (1a).
Buriat xylograph, 33 ff., 44×9 (36.5×6), 30–31 lines.

M-119. Getülgegči Milarasba boγda-yin mgur-nud-ača kedün ǰüil tegüǰü bičigsen orosibai (1a).
Buriat xylograph, 20 ff., 44×9 (37.5×6), 31–32 lines.

M-120. Qutuγ-tu sayin yabudal-un irüger-ün qaγan orosiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 731.
Buriat xylograph, 14 ff., 35.5×9 (26×7), 21–22 lines.

M-121. Degedü nom sanaγulqu möngke busu-yin yosu-yin nertü orosibai (1a).
Buriat xylograph, 5 ff., 44×9 (37×5.5), 29–32 lines.

M-122. Γurban sanvar-tan-u yerü-yin namančilal orosiba (1a).
Buriat xylograph, 2 ff., 44×8.8 (38.5×6), 29 lines. See Bese, Budapest, 48, Mong. 250.

M-123. Itegel Abida burqan-u oron Sukavadi-dur törökü irügel orosibai (1a).
Buriat xylograph, 3 ff., 44×9 (39×6.5), 32–33 lines.

M-124. J̌iryuγan üsüg ma-ṇi ungsiqu yosun orosiba (1a).
Buriat xylograph, 1 f., 44×9 (37.5×6). 27 lines in all, title on the margin: "Maṇi uriIγ-a". See Poppe, TB, No. 101-t.

M-125. Migǰim-a-yin ǰalbaril orošiba (1a).
Buriat xylograph, 1 f., 44×9 (36.5×6.5), 26 lines in all, title on the margin: "Migǰim-a-yin ǰalbaril".

M-126. Qubitan-i nom-dur duridqaqu daγulal orosibai (1a).
Buriat xylograph, 7 ff., 44×9 (38.5×6), 31–32 lines.

M-127. 1) Saliqai šaγšabad-tan-i kesegen tasuluγči sudur-ača tegüǰü bičigsen sayin ǰarliγ-un üges-nügüd orošiba (1a).
2) Šaγsabad saliqayiraγčid ber el šara-yi bariγsan-u gem erigüü inu (18a).
Buriat xylograph, 18 ff., 44×9 (37.5×6), 29–30 lines.

M-128. Qutuγtu sayin maγu üile-yin siltaγan kiged ür-e-yi üǰegülegsen kemegdekü sudur orosibai (1a). See M-104.
Buriat xylograph, 27 ff., 44×9 (38×6), 34–35 lines.

M-129. Tüšid-ün ǰaγun tngri-tü kemen aldaršiγsan blam-a yôga orošiba (1a).
Buriat xylograph, 5 ff., 44×9 (38×6), 28–29 lines, title on the margin: "Blam-a yôga".

M-130. Sayin üge-tü erdeni-yin sang Subhašida kemegdekü šastar orošiba (1a).
Peking xylograph, 79 ff., 31×10.5 (24.5×7.5), 19 lines, title on the margin: "Subhašida". See *Каталог* БАД, No. 468; Сазыкин, *Каталог*, No. 208; Bese, Budapest, 47, Mong. 8; Farquhar, Description, No. 61; Krueger, Chicago, L-285; PLB, No. 138; Poppe, TB, No. 79.

M-131. Qutuγ-tu degedü altan gerel-tü sudur orosiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 177.
Peking xylograph, 11 parts: 24 + 25 + 32 + 22 + 24 + 27 + 19 + 14 + 9 + 25 + 25 + 1 ff., 42.5×12 (37×9.3), 30–31 lines. See Bawden, Dublin, No. 1904; PLB, No. 177.

M-132. Modon kümün-ü tuγuǰi sudur kemegdekü orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 223 ff., 35.5×11, 23–24 lines.

M-133. Sayitur nomlaγsan erdeni-yin sang neretü šastar-un tayilburi orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 73 ff., 35×11, 33 lines.

M-134. Degedü oron tabun üǰügür-tü aγula-yin garčaγ (73a).
Peking xylograph, ff. 2–74, 40×11.5 (36.5×8), 15 lines. See Казанский каталог, No. 164; *Каталог* БАД, 77, No. 465; Сазыкин, *Каталог*, No. 1642; Bese, Berkeley, No. 66; Bese, Budapest, 47, Mong. 4, 223, 254; Farquhar, Description, No. 73; MHBL, No. 497–499; PLB, No. 7; Poppe, TB, No. 152–153.

M-135/936. [Bančaraksa] kemekü tabun sakiyan neretü orosiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 179–183.
Peking xylograph, part 1: 43 ff.; part 2: 55 ff.; part 4: 21 ff.; part 5: 15 ff. + 1 f., 43×12 (37×9), 30–31 lines. See PLB, No. 97.

M-136. Yeke bodi mör-ün ǰerge orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 parts: 359 + 146 + 6 ff., 50×12, 41 lines.

M-137. Rasiyan-u ǰirüken naiman gesigütü niγuča ubadis-un ündüsün ... kemekü orosiba (1a).
Peking xylograph, 4 parts: 10 + 67 + 368 + 98 ff., 57×11 (51×8), 40 lines. See Владимирцов, 1556, No. 58; Казанскйй каталог, No. 183; Сазыкин, *Каталог*, No. 1529; Aalto, Hedin, 73, H-69, H-4684, H-3513-b; Bese, Berkeley, No. 21; Farquhar, Description, No. 48–48-a, 49; Krueger, Chicago, L-478; Ligeti, Collection, No. 3607; MHBL, No. 633; PLB, No. 126; Poppe, TB, No. 117.

M-138. 1) Sačalal ügei yeke Jongkaba-yin ǰokiyal yeke bodi mör-ün ǰerge orosiba; (Tib.) Mnyam-med Tsong-kha-pa chen-pos mdzad-pa'i byang--chub lam-rim chen-mo bzhugs-so (1a).
2) Yeke bodi mör-ün ǰerge-eče dumdadu törölkiten-ü üy-e bolai (1a).

3) Bodi mör-ün ǰerge-eče yeke törölkiten-ü üy-e bolai (228a).
Buriat xylograph, 3 parts: 241 + 90 + 231 ff., 44×11.5 (38.5×7.5), 30–31 lines, title on the margin: "Yeke mör-ün ǰerge".

M-139. [Eldeb üliger-ün dalai kemegdekü sudur orosiba]. See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 1103.
Peking xylograph, ff. 6–39, 41–117, 119–260, 265–268, 56×19.5 (49×15), 30–31 lines. See *Каталог* БАД, 81, No. 484; PLB, No. 71; Poppe, TB, No. 33.

M-140. [Getülgegči Milarasba-yin tuγuǰi delgerenggüi ilγaγsan gbum daγulal kemegdekü].
Peking xylograph, ff. 2–153, 155–229, 231–276 (end is missing), 59×20 (52×15), 33 lines, title on the margin: "Mgur-gbum". See Казанский каталог, No. 151; *Каталог* БАД, 80, No. 482; Сазыкин, *Каталог*, No. 283; Aalto, Hedin, 79, H-1175; Bese, Berkeley, No. 7; Krueger, Chicago, L-316; MHBL, No. 147; PLB, No. 130; Poppe, TB, No. 141.

M-141. Qutuγ-tu degedü altan gerel-tü erketü sudur-nuγud-un qaγan neretü yeke kölgen sudur (224b). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 177.
Peking xylograph, ff. 2–224 + 1 f., 50×9.8 (46×7.5), 37 lines, title on the margin: "Altan". See Bese, Berkeley, 23–24, Mong. 17; Farquhar, Description, No. 10; MHBL, No. 186; PLB, No. 176; Poppe, TB, No. 37; Zwilling, Wisconsin, No. 16–17.

M-142. Itegel yabuγulqu-yin yosun orošiba (1a).
Buriat xylograph, 7 ff., 20.8×7 (17.8×5.5), 13–14 lines, title on the margin: "Itegel".

M-143. Beginning (1a): Ene čaγ-tu ebedčin ükül neng olan boluγsan tula teb deger-e egün-eče aburaqu-yin arγ-a erke ügei olqu keregtei... Extracts from various treatises on the principles of Buddhist fasting.
Buriat xylograph, 11 ff., 22×9 (17.7×7), 15 lines.

M-144. Čoγtu jandan-u γučin tabun burqad-un emün-e gem unal namančilaqu yosun orošiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 1041.
Manuscript, copy-book format, 11 ff. + 3 empty ff., 20.5×8, 19–20 lines.

M-145. Arikin-u namtar nomlaγsan šašitar orošiba (cover).
Manuscript, exercise-book, 7 ff. + 1 empty f. + cover, 16.5×20.5, 10–14 lines.

M-146. Mongγol üsüg-ün čaγan toloγai (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff. + 1 empty f., 17.5×11, 15 lines.

M-147. Bilig-ün činadu kiǰaγar-a kürügsen vačir-iyar oγtaluγči-yin tusa erdem-ün tayilburi nertü sudur orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 115 ff. + 1 empty f., 21.5×8.8, 14–18 lines.

M-148. Qutuγtu sayin yabudal-un irügel-ün qaγan-u sudur orošiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 731.
Manuscript, 16 ff., 22×9, 17 lines.

M-149. Geser boγda qaγan-u sang orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 21.8×8.7, 16 lines.

M-150. 1) Arban burqan-u ǰarliγ orošibai. J̌aγun üsüg-tü tarni orošibai (1a).
2) Itegel kemekü sudur oroγulba (12b).
Manuscript, ff. 1–14 (end is missing), 22×8.5, 18 lines.

M-151. Qangγai-yin arban γurban sang orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 9 ff., 21.7×8.7, 13–17 lines.

M-152. Boγda Pa-damba blam-a-yin ǰokiyaγsan altan erike neretü šastir orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 10 ff., 22×8.5, 13 lines.

M-153. Yüm čüng-ün quriyangγui kemekü sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 22 ff., 14×6, 13 lines.

M-154. Beginning (1b): Debel edegekü anu. Fortune-telling.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 17.5×6.5, 19 lines.

M-155. Üsün abqu-yin edür üǰekü sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 14×5.8, 11–12 lines.

M-156. Üsü abqu-yin edür üǰekü sudur orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 21.8×9, 16 lines.

M-157. Tendeče garaγ odo qoyar-un maqabud-yi učirulqui ene metü bui (1b).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 21.5×7.5, 16 lines.

M-158. Badm-a Sambau-a bagši-yin ǰokiyaγsan γal-un takilγ-a orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 11 ff., 21×8, 18 lines.

M-159. Qutuγ-tu ölǰei qutuγ orosiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur No. 791.
Peking xylograph, 25 ff., 27×8.5 (24×6.5), 16–17 lines. See Poppe, TB, No. 41.

M-160. Türgen ǰalaraqu-yin ǰalbiral tegüs qubitan-u egerel-i qangγaγči orosibai (1a).
Buriat xylograph, 3 ff., 22×7 (18×5), 13–14 lines.

M-161. J̌egüden-ü sayin maγu-yi üǰekü sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 7 ff., 22×8, 17 lines.

M-162. Vačir-a-dar-a boγda gegen-ten-e naimaduγar düri-yin suryaγuli orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 7 ff., 22×8.5, 20 lines.

M-163. Čaγan šikürtü-yin doγba sudur orošiba (1a). Prayer.
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22×9, 13 lines.

M-164. Гučin čaγan üsüg orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22×8.5, 17 lines.

M-165. Bilig barimad neritü sudur-a orosiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 162.
Manuscript, 4 ff., 22×9, 18 lines.
M-166. Naiman külil-ün baraišidi kemekü mergen tölge orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 99 ff. + 3 ff. charts, 22×9, 16 lines.
M-167. Šašitar oyun tülekegür neretü Čingges boγda-yin nomlaγsan sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, ff. 1–8 (end is missing), 22×9, 17 lines.
M-168. Naiman külel-ün sang takil orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 17×7, 13 lines.
M-169. Ebedügsen kümün-ü külil graγ odo edür sara ǰil-dür ebedügsen-i šinǰilelyi orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 20 ff., 22×8.8, 17 lines.
M-170. J̌egüden šinǰilekü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 22×9, 20 lines.
M-171. Arban doγšid-un maγtaγal ene bui. Ene nomlaγsan sudur orosiγulba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22×8.5, 20 lines.
M-172. Qara noqai-yin aman üǰekü nom orošiba (1a). Astrology.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22×9, 14 lines.
M-173. Süke nertü bečig orošiba (1a). Tarni.
Manuscript, 3 ff., 17.5×7.3, 17 lines.
M-174. Altai Kököi sang-un sudur orosibai (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22×8.8, 17 lines.
M-175. Ačitu γučin čaγan üsüg orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 6 ff., 16.5×7, 10 lines.
M-176. Tabun dagini-yin tölöγküi sudur anu sayin maši (1a).
Manuscript, copy-book format, 7 ff., 13×8.5, 9 lines.
M-177. Arban γurban sang ba: lüngden sang: yisün ǰoγos-un merige-yi tus tus orsiγulbai (1a). Prayer and fortune-telling by means of coins.
Manuscript, ff. 1–25 (end is missing), 8.5×6.5, 9 lines.
M-178. Beginning (1b): Ôm namo ... sibaγun delgeregsen ... Fortune-telling by means of the six syllables of the phrase "mani".
Manuscript, 14 ff., 17×6.5, 17 lines, f. 1 damaged.
M-179. Beginning (4a): ... mindu yabuqu ebedčin-e edegekü sayin siltaγan inu... Fortune-telling by means of the six syllables of the phrase "mani".
Manuscript, ff. 4–7 (end is missing), 14.5×6, 13 lines.
M-180. Keriy-e kelen-ü sayin maγu-yi singsilekü-yin sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 6 ff., 19×7, 15 lines.
M-181. Kerey-e daγun-u sayin maγu-yi sinǰilekü neritü sudur bui (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 17.8×7.2, 14 lines.
M-182. Ükügsed-ün toγan-ni delgeringgüi nomlaγsan altan saba orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 54 ff., 22×8, 15 lines.
M-183. Ükügsed-ün toγai-yi delgerengüi-e nomlaγsan altan saba orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 31 ff., 22×8.5, 18 lines.

M-184. Itegel yabuγulqu sedkil egüsgekü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 6 ff., 17×7, 13 lines.
M-185. Edür-ün sayin-u maγu-yi üjekü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 7 ff., 21.5×8.5, 17 lines.
M-186. Naiman külil-ün üjel-ün sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 20.5×8.5, charts.
M-187. Čingges boγda-yin sašitar nertü oyun-u tülkegür orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 21 ff., 17×7.5, 13 lines.
M-188. Arban qoyar jil-ün üjel orošiba. Γajar-un qara em-e güikü-ni üjekü-yi orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 8 ff., 20×9, 15 lines.
M-189. Naiman luus-yin sang orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 20×9, 17 lines.
M-190. Buu-yi sang-un sudur orsiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 19.5×9, 17 lines.
M-191. Γanjuγ-a takiqu sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 17.5×7.5, 12 lines.
M-192. 1) [Arban qoyar jil-ün üjel]. Fortune-telling.
2) Beginning (5b): Ay-a Jimšiling neretü aγula-yin orgil-du oron-ača ebügen dürtü-tü ... Cult of the White Old-man.
3) Beginning (11b): Ere kümün bögesü Luγaγan odon-ača naran jöb... Astrology.
Manuscript, ff. 1–2, 4–15, 20.5×8, 20 lines.
M-193. Tngri tedkügsen yeke qaγan-dur ačiγulqui sang takil ergükü:: Takilγači-yin yosun orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 6 ff., 22×8.5, 18 lines.
M-194. Šibaγun-u daγun-i šinjin-ü sudur bui (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 21.5×8, 13 lines.
M-195. Gamšin naγbo neretü sudur orosiba (1a). Tarni.
Manuscript, 5 ff., 17.7×7.5, 12 lines.
M-196. Degedü boγda Sugkavadi-yin oron-dur tonilju törökü-yin arγ-a šiltaγan--ni nomloγsan-u jüil bolai (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 17×7.5, 14 lines.
M-197. Ülemji irügel kemegdekü sudur orošiba-a (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 33×7.5, 31 lines.
M-198. Aliba mal-un dalalγ-a sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 18.5×9, 16 lines.
M-199. Gungγ-a tung-un dotor-ača γarγaγsan edür üjekü sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 13 ff., 22×9, 17 lines.
M-200. Arban qoyar dambaral-un sudur orosiba. Törögsen-ü sayin maγu jaya-γan-u üjel bolai (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22.5×9, charts.
M-201. Qamuγ burqad-un maγtaγal orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 21×8.5, 23 lines.

M-202. Er-e em-e yisün menggen-ü ǰiruqai ene bui (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 18×7, 17 lines.
M-203. Itegel-ün sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 17.5×7.5, 17 lines.
M-204. Aliba čiken-ü em-ün nayiralγ-a orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 18×7.5, 15 lines.
M-205. Luus-un bsang: orošiγulbai (1a).
Manuscript, ff. 1–4 (end is missing), 17×6.5, 16 lines.
M-206. Ariγun oron-du kötölkü arγ-a-yi sudur orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 7 ff., 22×8.5, 15 lines.
M-207. Edür-ün sayin-u maγu-yi üǰekü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, ff. 1, 13 (end is missing), 20×9.3, 12 lines.
M-208. Činggis boγda-yin bayiγuluγsan šašitar oyun-u tülkegüür neretü sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 12 ff., 26.5×7.5, 27 lines.
M-209. Sukavadi-yin oron-ača baγuǰu iregsen ariγun bey-e-yin činar-tu arban oron-u eǰen boγda J̌ibǰundamba-yin ene ǰarliγ-yi küliyeǰü sonosuγtun (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 27×8.5, 24 lines.
M-210. Beginning (1b): A. e. i. o. u... Mongolian alphabet.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22×8.5, 23 lines.
M-211. Erte čaγ-tu nigen γulingči kümün toti šibuγu bariγad egüreǰü yabuγsan-u tuγuǰi (1a).
Manuscript, 10 ff., 18×7, 13 lines.
M-212. Naiman ayimaγ luus baγuqu γarqu üǰekü sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22×8.8, charts.
M-213. Itegel yabuγulqu sedkil egüsgekü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 21.5×8.5, 16 lines.
M-214. Edüge morin-u üsün-ü ǰüil-i šinǰilekü anu (1a). Hippology.
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22×8.5, 20 lines.
M-215. Qutuγtu degedü sonosuγad tonilγaγči nertü yeke kölgen sudur orošiγulba (1a).
Manuscript, 14 ff., 22×8.5, 19 lines.
M-216. Qoyitus-un altan saba kemegdekü sudur orošiγu-ba (1a).
Manuscript, 8 ff., 19.5×9, 13 lines.
M-217. Arban qoyar sarayin toγtaγal-un üǰel: naiman külil-ün sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 21.5×8.5, charts.
M-218. Arban qoyar ǰil-ün kürdün-ü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 8 ff., 21.5×7.5, 19 lines.
M-219. Гučin üsüg orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 21×8.5, 21 lines.
M-220. Qutuγ-tu čaγan ebügen-ü sang-un sudur (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 21×7.5, 12 lines.

M-221. Qutuγ-tu degedü sonosuγad tonilγaγči neretü yeke kölge sudur orošiγulba (1a).
Manuscript, 9 ff., 22×8.5, 17 lines.
M-222. Mongγol üsüg orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22×8.5, 14 lines.
M-223. Yüman čüng-ün quriyangγui sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 13 ff., 22×8.5, 17 lines.
M-224. Geser boγda-yin sang sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 21.5×8.5, 17 lines.
M-225. Qara sükürtü yeke kölgen sudur orošiba (1a). Tarni.
Manuscript, 8 ff., 22×8.7, 15 lines.
M-226. Rimanda terigüten morin-u jiryuγan jüil orošiba (1a). Tarni.
Manuscript, 10 ff., 18.5×7, 18 lines.
M-227. Basa ene dotor-a Manaqan tngri-yin sang-un orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 6 ff., 21.5×8.5, 13–16 lines.
M-228. Itegel yabuγulqu sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 17.5×7, 18 lines.
M-229. Tangnu-yin sang-un sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 6 ff., 20.5×8, 15 lines.
M-230. Ariγun sang-un sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 21×8.5, 18 lines.
M-231. Usun-u sang sudur orošiba: boltuγai (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 21×8.5, 15 lines.
M-232. Edür söni-yin čaγ-un kemǰiy-e üǰekü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 21.5×8.5, 14 lines.
M-233. Yisün mengge-yin sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 16 ff., 21×9, 17 lines.
M-234. Γangǰuγ-a uriqu sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 21.5×8.5, 17 lines.
M-235. Ene Šigemüni burqan-i jiryuγan üsüg ner-tü nom-un eyin kemen nomlabai (1b).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 22×8.5, 18 lines.
M-236. Nayan 1 mayu iru-a üǰekü sudur orosibai. Ene dotor bey-e tataqu čike qangginaqu keriy-e kiged šiγaǰaγai-yin dayun γarqu-yi (1a).
Manuscript, 23 ff., 21×8.5, 14 lines.
M-237. Nayan tülkegür. Nayan nige mayu iru-a-yi šingǰilekü-yin aryγ-a-yi üǰekü sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 43 ff., 22×8.5, 16 lines.
M-238. Möngken busun-un suryaγulai-yin neretü sudur oršiba boltuγai (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 21.5×8.5, 21 lines.
M-239. Tanu-yin sang sudur orošiba kemen (1a).
Manuscript, ff. 1–4 (end is missing), 18×8, l3 lines.
M-240. Rimanda tergüten morin-u jiryuγan jüil orosiba (1a). Tarni.
Manuscript, ff. 1, 3–14, 21.5×8, 14 lines.

M-241. Mör-ün sang sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 21.5×7.5, 16 lines.
M-242. Lhamo-yin šoo (1a). Tibetan text in Mongolian script.
Manuscript, 3 ff., 17.5×7.5, 13 lines.
M-243. Rimanda teregüten morin-u jiryuyan jüil orošiba (1a). Tarni.
Manuscript, 10 ff., 21.5×9, 20 lines.
M-244. Γučin čayan üsüg orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 20×7.5, 15 lines.
M-245. Beginning: Ilaju tegüs nögčigsen Mangjusiri-dur mörgümüi: Töbed-ün qayan-u čöb-ün čay-tur kereyen-ü kele-yi singji-i medejü... Fortune-telling by means of listening to the sounds of birds.
Manuscript, 1 f., 46×19, 45 lines in all.
M-246. Beginning (1b): Nigen čayan mengge-dür töröbesü: ... Fortune-telling.
Manuscript, 12 ff., 17.5×7.5, 11 lines.
M-247. Manaqan tengriyin sangun sudura (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22×8, 15 lines.
M-248. Manaqan tngri-yin sang sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 22×8.5, 17 lines.
M-249. Γal-un tngri takiyur qayačig yosu orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 12 ff., 18×7.5, 14 lines.
M-250. Čingges boyda-yin nomlaysan oyun-u tülkegür neretü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 10 ff., 22×8.5, 20 lines.
M-251. Jegüden-ü üjel-ün sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 21.5×8, 17 lines.
M-252. Itegel yabuyulqu sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 20×9, 16 lines.
M-253. Beriyin üjel orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22×9, 28 lines in all.
M-254. Sara jiruqai (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 22×9, 21 lines.
M-255. Ür-e-yin jiruqai sayitur nomlaysan büküni quriyangyui-ača dokiyal ba uyilančin-nuyud orošibai (1a). Astrology.
Manuscript, 83 ff., 22×9, 17 lines.
M-256. Altan saba kemekü sudur orosiba bolai (1a). Divination about the dead.
Manuscript, 18 ff., 22×8.5, 15 lines.
M-257. Qutuy-tu sayin yabudal-un yirügel-ün qayan kemegdekü orošiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanjur, No. 731.
Manuscript, 12 ff., 19.5×9, 15 lines.
M-258. Bodi sedkil tegüsügsen köke qoyolai-tu saran kökege šibayun-u tuyuji (1a).
Manuscript, 1 f. (end is missing), 50×24, 27 lines.
M-259. Mör-ün sang oršiba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 17.5×7, 15 lines.

M-260. Beginning (1b): Ôm ā hûm: ôm baǰar a[m]rita kundali ha-na ha-na... Prayer recited at the time of lighting the incense sticks.
Manuscript, 3 ff., 17.5×7, 14 lines.

M-261. Čaγ-un ǰim-a-yi todorqailaγči čaγasun šibaγu kemekü soyaγa sudur orošiba (1a). Surgal "Paper Bird".
Manuscript, 19 ff., 17.5×7, 15 lines.

M-262. Γučin čaγan üsüg kemekü orošibaγu (1a).
Manuscript, 9 ff., 22×9, 16 lines.

M-263. J̌amsarung-un egüden-eče γarγaγsan vačir sumu kölgeki sudur orošiba (1a). Tibetan text in Mongolian script.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22×9, 15 lines.

M-264. Baǰar vadaran-a neretü tarini orosiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 590.
Manuscript, 6 ff., 22×9, 16 lines.

M-265. Aliba üǰel-ün sudur orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 18×7, 15 lines.

M-266. Arban doγšid-un maγtaγal ene bui (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 17.5×10.5, 14 lines.

M-267. Naiman külil-ün sudur orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 16 ff., 22×8, 18 lines.

M-268. Γučin čaγan üsüg orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22×9, 16 lines.

M-269. Bilig baramid neretü yeke kölgen sudur orosiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 162.
Manuscript, 5 ff., 22×8.5, 17 lines.

M-270. J̌egüden šingǰilekü sudur ene bui :: oroširulba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 22×8.5, 20 lines.

M-271. Yüm quriyangγui neretü sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 15 ff., 18.5×6.5, 16 lines.

M-272. Qutuγtu Doraǰiy čodba neretü yeke kölgen sudur orošiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 771.
Manuscript, 35 ff., 22×8.5, 23 lines.

M-273. Beginning (1a): Čiqula kereglegči udqas-yi ügülesügei: ...
Manuscript, copy-book format, 12 ff., 13×8, 13 lines.

M-274. Saba sim-a-yin aqui yosun-i taγalaqui neretü sudur orasiba (1a).
Manuscript, 6 ff., 33×6.5, 30 lines.

M-275. Bilig činadu kiǰaγar kürügsen vačir-iyar oγtolaγči-yin tusa erdem-ün tayilburi nertü sudur orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 107 ff. + 1 empty f., 22×9, 19 lines.

M-276. Mörgül orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 21×8, 15 lines.

M-277. Eyin kemekü inu nar-a bariγdaqu sar-a-yi bariγdaqu tngri dongγodqu γaǰar ködelkü-yin odo γariγuyin ene qamuγ eldeb ǰüil-yi üǰekü-yin ǰarliγ bičig oroširulbai (1a).
Manuscript, 10 ff., 18×7, 17 lines.

M-278. Qutuγtu Mayidar-un irügel-ün qaγan orsiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 732.
Manuscript, 7 ff., 20.5×7.5 14 lines.
M-279. J̌angǰiy-a qutuγtu-yin tarqaγsan ǰarliγ anu (1a). Divination.
Manuscript, 1 f., 34.5×22.5, 16 lines in all.
M-280. Getülgeqči Pa-dambayin zokōqsan zürükiyin altan erikin kemēkü šašatir oroširoi (1a).
Oirat manuscript, 6 ff., 22×9, 20 lines.
M-281. Toγtamal qungli kemekü nar-a sar-a-yin sayin maγu üǰekü sudur (1a).
Manuscript, 25 ff., 20.5×8.5, 15–20 lines.
M-282. Šašatar oyun tülikegüri neretü Činggis boγda-yin nomlaγsan sudur oroširiba (1a).
Manuscript, 13 ff., 21×7.5, 18 lines.
M-283. Itegel oroširiba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 21.5×8.5, 22 lines.
M-284. Itegel yabuγulqu sedkil egüskekü yeke kölgen sudur oršiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 22×9, 17 lines.
M-285. Čaγan Dar-a eke kemekü sudur oroširiba (1a). Prayer.
Manuscript, 4 ff., 22×9, 19 lines.
M-286. Ґučin čaγan üsüg oršiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22×8.5, 17 lines.
M-287. Qamuγ nom-un qan itegel kemegdekü sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 21.5×8.5, 20 lines.
M-288. Irügel-ün qaγan kemekü sudur oroširiγabai (1a). Tibetan text in Mongolian script.
Manuscript, 13 ff., 17×7, 13 lines.
M-289. Mani-yin tayilburi sudur oroširiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 17.5×7.5, 17 lines.
M-290. Beginning: Baras-tur baγubasu ebedčin bögesü odoqan edegekü: ... 12 pictures for fortune-telling.
Manuscript, 12 ff., 7.5×18, 5–7 lines.
M-291. Varabada-yin niγuča tarini oroširiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 20×8, 16 lines.
M-292. Beginning (1b): A. e. i. o. u ... Mongolian alphabet.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22.5×9, 18 lines.
M-293. Itegel orosiba. Öljei qutuγ oroširituγai (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 19.5×7.5, 20 lines.
M-294. J̌amsurung-un egüden-eče γarγaγsan vačar sumu güilgekü sudur oroširiba (1a). Tibetan text in Mongolian script.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22×8.5, 19 lines.
M-295. Sarayin qar-a edür-ün qar-a čaγ-un qar-a-yi nomlasuγai (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 15×7.5, 11 lines.
M-296. Mal imnekü ǰasaqu-yi üǰekü sudur: sünesün-i üǰekü (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 17×7, 14 lines.

M-297. Edür üǰekü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 8 ff., 17×6.5, 13 lines.
M-298. Naiman külil kemekü sudur-ača tobčilabai (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 22×8.5, 19 lines.
M-299. Arban qoyar ǰil-ün kürdü ergigülügči sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 6 ff., 21.5×8.5, 19 lines.
M-300. Čaγan ebügen-ü sang-un sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 22×8, 15 lines.
M-301. Ling törküm-tü Čoyičid kemekü bi γadaγadu bey-e dotoγadu uqaγan qaγačaγsan-u buyan nigül qoyar-un ilγal-i nom-un qaγan nomlan ǰakaγsan ene bolai (1a).
Manuscript, 37 ff., 35×11, 34–35 lines.
M-302. J̌iryuγan üsüg-ni ači činar nomlaγsan ǰiryuγan ǰüil qamuγ amitan-u tonilγaγči Qongšim bodisadu-yin qubilγan ǰiryuγan üsüg arvis tarni orošiγulbai (1a). Commentary on the phrase "mani".
Manuscript, 24 ff., 22×9, 14 lines.
M-303. Beginning (1b): Qamuγ amitan nasun ürgülǰide blam-a-dur itegemüi: burqan-dur itegemüi nom-dur itegemüi ... Prayer-repentance. See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 1041.
Manuscript, 4 ff., 22×8.5, 16 lines.
M-304. [Itegel yabuγulqu-yin yosun].
Manuscript, ff. 1–3 (end is missing), 22×8.5, 17 lines.
M-305. Beginning (1b): Ôm ā hûm: kemen 3-ta ügüle: ôm suvasti namô gürü qamuγ naiman ayimaγ ta ... Cult of the Earth and mountains.
Manuscript, 3 ff., 21.5×8.5, 17 lines.
M-306. Bilig barimad neretü yeke kölge sudur orošiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 162.
Manuscript, 4 ff., 22×8.5, 17 lines.
M-307. Yisün sülde-yin sang orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 17.7×7.7, 13 lines.
M-308. Altai qan-i ubsang orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 21×6.5, 15–16 lines.
M-309. Qutuγtu degedü čaγan šikürtü nertü yeke kölge sudur orošiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 208.
Manuscript, 29 ff., 22×8.5, 21 lines.
M-310. Itegel neretü yeke kölge sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22×8.5, 19 lines.
M-311. Beginning (1b): Ene qutuγ-tu vačir-iyar oγtoluγči bilig-ün činadu kiǰaγar-a kürügsen ... Tarni.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 21.7×8.7, 19 lines.
M-312. Oγtaryui-du arsalang tabsang seregen [= širegen] degere γurban erdeni-dür itegel yabuγulun duradqu neretü yeke kölge sudur orošiγulba (1a).
Manuscript, 21 ff., 22.5×8, 17 lines.

M-313. Bilig baramid neretü yeke kölgen sudur oroši*γ*ulba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 162.
Manuscript, 4 ff., 22×9, 15 lines.

M-314. Qutu*γ*-tu ǰoddo*γ*ba-yin quriyang*γ*ui neretü yeke kölgen sudur oroši*b*a (1a). Tarni.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22×7.5, 18 lines.

M-315. Beginning (1b): Blam-a ba*γ*ši šabi bolquy-a kilbar: ... Admonition.
Manuscript, 7 ff., 22×8.5, 18 lines.

M-316. Beginning (1b): Aliba sayin ma*γ*u qoyar-yi il*γ*an soyurq-a: Ariy-a-balu--a-dur mörgümüi: qamu*γ* amitan-i nigüleskü-ber ene tölge-yi adislan soyurq-a: ... Fortune-telling.
Manuscript, 6 ff., 21.5×8.5, 17 lines.

M-317. Beginning (1a): Ôm sayin amu*γ*ulang boltu*γ*ai: Sukavadi-yin oron-ača tabin qoyar töröl-degen ... Divination.
Manuscript, folded, 4 ff., 8.5×19, 7–8 lines.

M-318. Qutu*γ*-tu No*γ*o*γ*an Dhar-a eke nere-tü yeke sudur oroši*b*a (1a). Magtal.
Manuscript, 12 ff., 22×9, 17 lines.

M-319. Yüm čüng-ün quryang*γ*ui kemekü sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 9 ff., 21.5×8, 18–19 lines.

M-320. Altan delekei-yi egüber šingǰilekü-yin sudur oroši*b*ai (1a).
Manuscript, 10 ff., 21.5×8.5, 17 lines.

M-321. Itegel oroši*b*a: ölǰei qutu*γ* oroši*t*u*γ*ai (1a).
Manuscript, 6 ff., 21×8, 11–12 lines.

M-322. Eke-yin ači-yin sudur oroši*b*a (1a). Prayer.
Manuscript, 6 ff., 21.5×9, 14 lines.

M-323. Čay*γ*an ebügen-ü sang neretü sasitar (1a).
Manuscript, 6 ff., 22×8.5, 21 lines.

M-324. Čay*γ*an ebügen-ü sang neretü sudur oroši*b*a (1a).
Manuscript, 7 ff., 21.5×8.5, 17 lines.

M-325. Bo*γ*da J̌ibčungdamba-yin ǰarli*γ* bičig oroši*b*ai (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22×9, 20 lines.

M-326. Badma Sambau-a ba*γ*ši ber Bsong-sudubčing qa*γ*an-u nomla*γ*san šašitar (11a).
Manuscript, 11 ff., 22×8.5, 18 lines.

M-327. Getelgegči Dar-a eke-yin bariqu tölge sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 7 ff., 20.5×8, 13 lines.

M-328. Beginning (1b): A. e. i. o. u ... Mongolian alphabet.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 21×8, 18 lines.

M-329. Beginning (1a): A. e. i. o. u ... Mongolian alphabet.
Manuscript, 1 f., 21×8, 16 lines in all.

M-330. J̌üg-yi üǰükü anu (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22×9.5, charts.

M-331. Naiman külil (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 21.5×8, charts.

M-332. [Naiman külil].
Manuscript, f. 2, 22×9, charts.
M-333. Čaγan Dar-a eke-yin taγuǰi (1a).
Manuscript, 23 ff., 22×9, 18 lines.
M-334. Manaqan tngri-yin sang-un sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22×9, 19 lines.
M-335. Mongγol-un nige ǰaγun tolγai üsüg orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 7 ff., 20.5×8, 12 lines.
M-336. Γanǰuγ-a takiqu sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, ff. 1–2 (end is missing), 22×9, 12 lines.
M-337. Adaγusun mal ed tavar ǰabqaγsan üǰekü sudur (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 21.5×8.5, 18 lines.
M-338. Beginning (1a): Γurban erčitü (...) unaγči qara keǰig kemekü ... Extracts from a medical work.
Manuscript, folded, 3 ff., 22×9, 22 lines.
M-339. Üǰel orošiba (1a). Omens, astrology.
Manuscript, ff. 1–11 (end is missing), 22×9, 23 lines.
M-340. Itegel sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 22×9, 15 lines.
M-341. Lhamo-yin šoo yeke kölgen sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 56 ff., 22×8.8, 18 lines.
M-342. Mörgül orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 21.5×9, 22 lines.
M-343. Mani orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 21.5×8.5, 19 lines.
M-344. Beginning (1a): Ôm sayin amuγulang boluγai: Sukavadi-yin oron-ača tabin qoyar töröl-degen ... Divination.
Manuscript, folded, 5 ff., 8×26, 6–7 lines.
M-345. Keriy-e saγaǰaγai-yin kelen medekü edür söni-yin čaγ-un kemǰiy-e medekü bičig ene bui (1a).
Manuscript, 6 ff., 22×8.5, 18 lines.
M-346. Beginning (1b): Yeke sara bögesü tngri-eče nara ǰöb toγola: ... Divination about lost property and cattle.
Manuscript, 4 ff., 22×8.5, 18 lines.
M-347. Γanggal-lodai kemekü sudur orošiba (1a). Magtal.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 21×8.5, 18 lines.
M-348. Yüm čüng-ün quriyangγui kemekü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 12 ff., 22.2×9, 15 lines.
M-349. Činggis boγda-yin bayiγuluγsan šašitar oyun-u tülkegür neretü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 11 ff., 22×9, 18 lines.
M-350. J̌abqaraγsan-ni mergen üǰelgen sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 18×7.2, 14 lines.

M-351. 1) Altan saba nertü sudur orosiba (1a). Divination about the dead.
2) Qamuγ bilig baramad-un neretü sudur orošiba (35a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 162.
Manuscript, copy-book format, 39 ff., 21.5×9, 16 lines.
M-352. Altan saba-[n]u sudur oroo[siba]. Divination about the dead.
Manuscript, 13 ff., 22×8.5, 19 lines.
M-353. Naiman luus-ud-un baγuqu: γarqu-yi üǰekü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 22×8.5, charts.
M-354. Edür söni-yin čaγ-un kemǰiy-e nomlasuγai (1b).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 21×8, 21 lines.
M-355. [Ariγun sang].
Manuscript, 3 ff., 17.5×8, 15 lines.
M-356. Ačitu mör-ün sang orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 16.5×7, 15 lines.
M-357. Kery-e šaγaǰiγar-yin kelen medekü bičig orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 8 ff., 21.5×8, 16 lines.
M-358. Bey-e tataqu-yi üǰekü sudur ene bolai (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 22×8.5, 14 lines.
M-359. Manǰuširi-yin egündeče ǰokiyaγsan merged tölge ene bui (1a).
Manuscript, 10 ff., 5.5×17.5, 3–5 lines.
M-360. Kümün ber: mal-un sünesü üǰekü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 17.5×7.5, 14 lines.
M-361. Arban qoyar ǰil-ün kürdü ergigülügči sudur oroši γulba (1a).
Manuscript, 8 ff., 17.5×7.5, 16 lines.
M-362. Naran-u üǰekü sudur oroši γulba (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 22×8.5, 17 lines.
M-363. Kümün-i qubčisu esgeküi-yi üǰekü anu (1b).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22×9, 17 lines.
M-364. Yeke küčütü doγšin neretü ayiqu metü niγur-yin γarγaγsan süke neretü bičig ene bui: qoorton ǰaγan-i unuγsan (1a). Tarni.
Manuscript, 3 ff., 21.5×8.5, 18 lines.
M-365. Sabdaγ-un sang sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22×9, 14 lines.
M-366. Manǰuširi-yin maγtaγal-un sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 21×8, 13 lines.
M-367. Günγ-a düyeg-ün dotor-ača γarγaγsan edür üǰekü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 15 ff., 20.5×8, 15 lines.
M-368. Qubči qara (1a). Divination about lost property and cattle.
Manuscript, 5 ff., 21×8, 14 lines.
M-369. Beginning (1b): Namo gürü tertener-yi čidaγči: ǰegüü inu γurban üǰügür-tü ǰis ǰegüü kiǰü ... Description of a Buddhist ritual.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 21.5×8.5, 16 lines.

M-370. Vačir sumu güyükü sudur ene bui: yeke kölgen sudur orošiγulba (1a). Tibetan text in Mongolian script.
Manuscript, 6 ff., 22×9, 19 lines.
M-371. Sara büri-yin šineyin: tabu arban dörbe: qorin γurba: eden-e: negüǰü bolqu ügei bolai (1a). Divination for the days of a month.
Manuscript, 4 ff., 13.8×7.2, 10 lines.
M-372. Γaǰar šigči üǰegdekü sudur orošiγulba (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 17.7×7.2, 18 lines.
M-373. Mani-yin tölge sudur orošiγulba. Šoo ene bui (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 17.8×7.5, 21 lines.
M-374. Eldeb ǰüil buu tarini ene bui (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 21.5×8.5, 18 lines.
M-375. Dörben čülüge kemekü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 15×6.7, 11 lines.
M-376. Naiman ayimaγ-un sang orošibai: basa ene dotor čaγan ebügen-ü sang orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 22×8.5, 20 lines.
M-377. Beginning (1b): Sarayin qar-a edür-ün qar-a čaγ-un qar-a nomlasuγai: ... Predicting the inauspicious months, days and hours.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22×9, 28 lines in all.
M-378. Mörgül orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 21.5×8.5, 15 lines.
M-379. Miq-a tataqu-yi üǰekü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 20×8, 18 lines.
M-380. Čidan γomboo neritü yeke kölgen sudur (1a). Tibetan text in Mongolian script.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22×8.5, 21 lines.
M-381. Itegel yeke kölgen sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 21.5×8.5, 21 lines.
M-382. Beginning (1b): Baras: moγai: biči: γaqai ene dörben edür-tür γaǰar-yin sünesü oγtarγui-dur orosiqu: ... Geomancy.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22×8.5, 25 lines in all.
M-383. Naiman külil-ün kürdü: naiman saγudal-un učiral: kiy-yin morin delgeregsen baγuraγsan-u üǰedü sudur orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 13 ff. + 1 empty f., 21×8.5, 16 lines.
M-384. Edür šöni-yin čaγ-un kemǰiy-e-yi üǰekü: kümün mal-un sünesü kiged keriy-e šaγaǰaγai-yin daγud medekü ene bui (1a).
Manuscript, ff. 1–5 (end is missing), 17.5×7, 16 lines.
M-385. Čaγasu sibiγu neretü suryaγuli orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 24 ff., 21×7.7, 19 lines.
M-386. Γangǰuur-yin quryangγui orošiba (1a). Magtal.
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22×9, 16 lines.
M-387. Altan gerel-ün quriyangγui orošiba (1a). Prayer.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 17.5×7.5, 20 lines.

M-388. J̌adô[n]gba-yin quriyanggai [= °gγui] neretü yeke kölgen sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 17.5×7.5, 9–11 lines.

M-389. Čaγan ebügen-ü sang orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 17.5×7.5, 17 lines.

M-390. Badm-a baγši Badm-a Sambau-a baγši ber Bsông-sudubčing qaγan-u saštir orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 12 ff., 17.7×7.2, 14 lines.

M-391. Qubči kemekü sudur orošiba sayin (1a).
Manuscript, 6 ff., 11×6, 12 lines.

M-392. Maγu: buǰar tüdker-yi qariγulqu sang sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 18×7.5, 12 lines.

M-393. Čoγtu Okin tngri-yin šoo-[n]u sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, ff. 1–32, 34–42, 44–71, 20×7, 20 lines.

M-394. Mongγol-un üsüg orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 22×8.8, 18 lines.

M-395. Nidü tataqu-yin singǰikü: čike qangginaqu-yin singgekü ba: ǰirüken ködölkü-yin singǰikü sudur orošiγu[l]ba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22×9, 20 lines.

M-396. Erte urida Činggis boγda-yin bayiγuluγsan [oyun tülkigür] sašitir neretü yeke kölgen sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 10 ff., 26×8.5, 23 lines.

M-397. Beginning (1b): Čoγ ili[= ǰali]-yin ǰüg: kešig-ün ǰüg: bey-e-yin ǰüg: ... Fortune-telling by means of the eight elements.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 17×7.5, charts.

M-398. Γang-ǰuur-yin quriyangγui neritü yeke kölge sudur orošiba (1a). Magtal.
Manuscript, 5 ff., 22.5×9, 10 lines.

M-399. Ganggi-lodoi kemegdekü sudur oršiba (1a). Magtal.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 21.5×8.8, 30 lines in all.

M-400. J̌angǰiy-a qutuγ-tu-yin ǰarliγ qayirlan tarqaγsan anu (1a).
Manuscript, folded, 3 ff., 7.2×17.7, 7 lines.

M-401. J̌angǰiy-a qutuγtu-yin ǰarliγ qayirlan tarqaγsan anu (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22×9, 17 lines.

M-402. Beginning (1a): Toloγai orčin mengge bolbasu bayan bolumui: manglai--du qaγas-tu mengge bolbasu sayin bolqu: ... Fortune-telling.
Manuscript, 3 ff., 17.7×8.3, 15 lines.

M-403. 1) Töbed-ün qaγan-u qan-du keriyen-ü kele medekü bičig ene bui.
2) Keriye: šiγaǰiγai-yin kelen medekü bičig orošiba.
Manuscript, 1 + 1 f., 22×9, 26–29 lines.

M-404. Beginning (1b): Er-e kümün bögesü luγan odon-ača nara ǰöb toγola: ... Astrology.
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22×9, 20 lines.

M-405. Beginning (1a): A. e. i. o. u ... Mongolian alphabet.
Manuscript, 1 f., 20.8×9, 20 lines.

M-406. Arban qoyar ǰil-ün süg-yin sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 1 f. (folded into two), 21.8×17.5, chart.
M-407. Beginning (1a): Γal-dur učiraγsan kümün dayisun-i kegür bari baγulγaqu kiged ... Fortune-telling by means of the eight elements, astrology.
Manuscript, 11 ff., 22×9, 14–22 lines.
M-408. Beginning (1b): Qamuγ amitan nasun ürgülǰide blam-a-dur itigemüi: burqan-dur itigemüi: nom-dur itigemüi ... Prayer-repentance. See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 1041.
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22×8.5, 20 lines.
M-409. Basa šaγaǰiγai daγuu medeküi-yin temdeg: edür čaγ-un temdeg (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 17.5×8, 16 lines.
M-410. Yesün menggen-ü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 14 ff., 17.7×7.5, 14 lines.
M-411. Naran saran ükükü-yin ür-e-yi üǰegülkü sudur orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 9 ff., 22×8.7, 18 lines, unfinished.
M-412. Yeke mergen ǰegüden-ü tayilbar orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 21.5×8.2, 20 lines.
M-413. Nara sara graγ bariγdaqu γaǰar ködelküi-yi üǰekü yosun-i orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 8 ff., 17.2×7.2, 14 lines.
M-414. Naran sara ükükü-yin ür-e-yi üǰegülkü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 9 ff., 17.7×7.2, 18 lines, unfinished.
M-415. Doloγan γaruγ-un sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, folded, 4 ff., 17.5×5.5, 19 lines.
M-416. Tengeri-yin köbegün üiles-yi bütügegči ber qoyitu amitan-u uqaγa[n]: qarangγui arilγan negegči neretü šašatar orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 17 ff., 17.5×7.5, 12 lines.
M-417. Boγda Taranata J̌ibaǰungdamba qutuγtu-yin olan amitan tusa-yin tulada nayidabar tarqaγsan ǰarliγ anu (1a).
Manuscript, folded, 8 ff., 8.5×23, 3–5 lines.
M-418. Beginning (1a): Čaγan mengge-dür törögsen kümün uridu töröldü asuri--yin kümün törögsen bui: ... Fortune-telling.
M-419. Beginning (1b): Arban qoyar ǰil-ün ibegel-i toγolbasu: quluγun-a luu bičin 3 ibegel: ... Fortune-telling.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22.2×9, 20 lines.
M-420. Arban qoyar ǰil-ün kürdün-ü sudur orosiba: ene bui (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 21×9, 20 lines.
M-421. [Itegel yabuγulqu-yin yosun]. Beginning (1b): Bi kiged oγtaryui-yin kiǰaγar-a-luγ-a sačaγu eke boluγsan qamuγ amitan ...
Manuscript, 4 ff.,17.5×7.5, 15 lines.
M-422. Arban ǰüg-ün eǰen ačitu Geser qaγan-u yisün mergen čaγan tölge oroši-γulba (1a).
Manuscript, 10 ff., 6.5×10.5, 6 lines.
M-423. Ganggilodoi. Nigen čaγasu (1a). Magtal.
Manuscript, 1 f., 21.5×8.5, 38 lines in all.

M-424. Megǰime-yin šoo sudur orošibai: mergen inu ene bui (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 21.5×8.5, 17 lines.

M-425. Beginning (1b): Ôm čaγda γonbolan ǰančalu: čaγda lama surudba sümči todbabu: ... Tibetan text in Mongolian script.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 20.5×7.5, 21 lines.

M-426. Γučin čaγan üsüg orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22×8.7, 20 lines.

M-427. Beginning (1b): A. e. i. o. u ... Mongolian alphabet.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22×9, 21 lines.

M-428. Beginning (1b): A. e. i. o. u ... Mongolian alphabet.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 21×7, 16 lines.

M-429. Γučin čaγan üsüg orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22×8.8, 16 lines.

M-430. Charts with explanations for fortune-telling by means of the eight elements.
Manuscript, 4 ff., 22×9, charts (ff. 1b–3a), 21 lines (ff. 3b–4a).

M-431. Itegel-ün sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22×8.7, 20 lines.

M-432. Beginning (1a): Qonin-u quriyan-du telge buu ene bui ... Description of the 27 protecting signs.
Manuscript, 4 ff., 14×7.2.

M-433. Mörgül orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 20×8, 16 lines.

M-434. Itegel-ün sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 17.7×7, 14 lines.

M-435. Qutuγtu vaǰir-iyar oγtoluγči ner-e-tü yeke kölgen sudur orosibai (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 771.
Printed in type-set characters, 45 ff., 22×9 (15.5×6), 19 lines, ff. 1b–2a printed in "golden" paint on Russian paper.

M-436. Kereyen-ü kele medekü sudur: orošiγulba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 17.5×7.5, 15 lines.

M-437. Šiγaǰaγai-yin daγun-u sayin ba maγu-yi šingčinekü ner-e-tü sudur orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 7 ff., 13.5×7, 10 lines.

M-438. Üliger dalai yeke kölgen-ü sudur-un dotor-ača γaryaγsan Altan erdeni neretü qan köbegün orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 22×9, 19 lines.

M-439. Itegel yabuγulqu sedkil egüsgekü nere-tü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 21.5×8.5, 18 lines.

M-440. Činggis boγda-yin nomlaγsan oyun-u tülkegür (15b).
Manuscript, ff. 2–15, 21×8, 17 lines.

M-441. Qutuγtu čaγlaši ügei nasun kiged: belge bilig-tü neretü yeke kölgen sudur orošibai (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 366–367.
Manuscript, 16 ff., 22×9, 17 lines.

M-442. Ačitu Vačir Dar-a Okin tengeriy Baldan Lhamoo-yin šoo-[n]u sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 88 ff., 22×8.5, 3 Tibetan–Mongolian lines (ff. 1b–5a), 6 Tibetan lines (f. 5b), 17 lines in Mongolian (ff. 6a–88a).

M-443. Oyun tülkegüür ner-e-tü šašitar orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 20 ff., 22×8.5, 18 lines.

M-444. Altan saba neretü yeke kölgen sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, ff. 1–5 (end is missing), 22×9, 20 lines.

M-445. Qutuγtu čaγan šikürtü neretü yeke kölgen sudur orošiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 208.
Manuscript, ff. 1–18, 26–29, 21.5×9, 14 lines.

M-446. 1) 29-duγar on čaγan baras ǰilün: naiman sarayin qorin-u edüre-eče ekilen bičigsen ǰiruqai bui (1b). Calendar for 1950.
2) Edür-ün ǰil kökegčin üker kalindar-yin toγ-a anu 7 bui (8b). Calendar for 1925
Manuscript, 10 ff., 20.2×8.5, in the form of charts.

M-447. Yeke mergen ǰegüden tayilbur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 20×8.5, 22 lines.

M-448. Beginning (1b): Ene dörben oron-du doloγan garaγ bui: ... Astrology.
Manuscript, 23 ff., 22×9, 17 lines, charts.

M-449. Naiman külil-ün mergen tölge sudur ene amui (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22×8.5, charts.

M-450. Beginning (1a): Šaǰin amitan-u tusadur nom ungšiγulqu ebedčin ǰasaqu erke bui bolbasu ǰüi anu: ... Letter. A: Salčiγ Uriyangqai-yi ǰakiruqu bügüde-yin daruγ-a. Addressee unknown.
Manuscript, folded, 6 ff., 9×22.5, 7–8 lines.

M-451. Naiman külil (1a).
Manuscript, 1 f. (folded in two), 20.7×17.5, chart.

M-452. Qutuγtu qara kele ama yala-yi amurliγulun üiledügči neretü yeke kölge sudur: yekede kelelegsen vačar qara kele ama-yi amurliγuluγči taγtaγal tarni kemegdekü orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 8 ff., 21×8.5, 15 lines.

M-453. Čaγan Dara yeke kölgen sudur (1a). Prayer.
Manuscript, 4 ff., 17.7×7.2, 18 lines.

M-454. Gün toγon dotor-ača gerü (?) nasa neretü edür üǰekü sudur orošiba (1a). Predicting the auspicious and inauspicious days of a month.
Manuscript, 16 ff., 17.7×7, 13 lines.

M-455. Bilig baramid neretü sudur orošiba: basa ene dotor arban burqan-u tangγaraγ orošiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 162.
Manuscript, 4 ff., 20.5×8, 20 lines.

M-456. Arban ǰüg-ün eǰin ačitu Geser qaγan-u yisün čaγan tölge orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 10 ff., 6×17, 5–6 lines.

M-457. Yisün mengge naiman külelün qamuγ burqan quvaraγ-nuγud-yin sudur orašabai (1a).
Manuscript, 6 ff., 21.5×8, 15 lines.

M-458. Daγurisqaqu neritü qaγan-u ubidas orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 6 ff., 22×8.7, 19 lines.

M-459. Bilig baramid neretü sudur orošiba: basa ene dotor arban burqan-u tangγaraγ orošiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 162.
Manuscript, 6 ff., 22×8.8, 16 lines.

M-460. 1) Beginning (1a): Quvangli yosu tabun oboq-un ger-i ǰasaqu anu: Güngdegün oboγ kemekü anu široi-yin maqabud: ... Fortune-telling.
2) Beginning (1a): Törö gereltü-yin terigün on čaγaγčin moγai ǰil-eče čaγan noqai kürtele 30 ǰil saγubai: ... Years of reign of three Manju emperors.
3) Debil qubčasu edür-ün sayin odo anu (1a). Astrology.
Manuscript, 1 f., 21.5×8.5, 17 lines.

M-461. Beginning (1a): Nige. čaγan: 1. 5: qoyar qara: 2. 4: ... Fortune-telling.
Manuscript, 4 ff., 18×6.5, 17–18 lines.

M-462. Qutuγtu čaγan šikürtü neretü yeke kölgen sudur orošiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 208.
Manuscript, 37 ff., 17.5×7, 12 lines.

M-463. Beginning (1b): Ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen tegünčilen irigsen dayini-yi daruγsan üneger toγuluγsan ... Magtal. See M-36.
Manuscript, 4 ff., 18.5×8, 14 lines.

M-464. Qaγučin kegüri ködelgekü-yi üǰekü bičig ene bui (1a).
Manuscript, 1 f., 21.5×8.5, 17 lines.

M-465. Beginning (1a): Kümün-ü üsü abqu-du ... Fortune-telling.
Manuscript, 6 ff., 18.5×8.5, 16 lines.

M-466. Beginning (2a): Egüber tölgelekü yosu anu: er-e kümün-i ram-ača ǰöb toγolan: ... Fortune-telling, astrology.
Manuscript, ff. 2–3, 5–7, 21.5×8.5, 15 lines, charts.

M-467. Beginning (1b): A. e. i. o. u ... Mongolian alphabet.
Buriat xylograph, 4 ff., 22.2×7 (17.5×5), 17 lines.

M-468. Γučin čaγan üsüg: itegel yabuγulqu yeke kölgen sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 22.5×9, 18 lines.

M-469. Üǰekü suryaqu γučin čaγan üsüg (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22×8.5, 19 lines.

M-470. Beginning (1b): A. e. i. o. u ... Illustrated Mongolian alphabet.
Xylograph, copy-book, 13 ff., 9.5×13.5 (7.3×10.5), Russian paper.

M-471. Mani-yin tayilburi sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 20×8.5, 18 lines.

M-472. J̌amsurung-un egüden-eče γaryaγsan očir sumun-u güilgekü sudur oroši-ba (1a). Tibetan text in Mongolian script.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 21×7.8, 17 lines.

M-473. Naiman külil-ün:: barana-šidi:: kemekü mergen tölge-yin:: sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 17.5×7, 16 lines, charts.
M-474. Beginning (1b): 1. 1. 1. oroγsan qor-a arilqu-yi üǰegülbesü arilqu ügei ariluγsan čaγ-tur oroqui-yi asaγubasu oroquy-a berke ... Fortune-telling.
Manuscript, 88 ff., 17.7×7.5, 15–17 lines.
M-475. Beginning (1b): Erketen odo: 2. 11. 8 ... Astrology.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22×8.5, charts.
M-476. Ene qutuγ-tu vačir-yin sudur orošiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 89.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22×8, 14 lines.
M-477. J̌abaqaγsan-u mergen üǰelgen-ü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 22.5×8.8, 18 lines.
M-478. J̌il edür qonoγan: külel gariγan-iyar ebečin üǰekü sudur orašibai (1a).
Manuscript, ff. 1–2, 4, 22×8.8, 23 lines.
M-479. Ui-tang-sang-yin tabun Manǰuširi čaγan ebügen neretü yeke kölge sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22×8.8, 16 lines.
M-480. Čaγan ebügen-ü sang-un sudur yeke kölge sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22×8.8, 22 lines.
M-481. Qutuγ-tu degedü sonosuγad tonilγaγči neretü yeke kölge sudur orošiγulba (1a).
Manuscript, 10 ff., 22×8.8, 22 lines.
M-482. Agganistai-yin oron-dur tuγuγuluγsan J̌ibsungdamba-yin mani sudur orosiγulba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22×8.8, 16 lines.
M-483. Šiluγun-u tölge anu (1b).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 21.5×7.7, 18 lines.
M-484. Yeke küčütü altan quyaγ neretü kölgen sudur orošiba (1a). Tarni.
Manuscript, 3 ff., 25×9, 20 lines.
M-485. Itegel yabuγulqu sedkel egüsgekü orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 22×9, 16 lines.
M-486. Qongšim bodisadu-yin ǰirüken-eče sačiruγsan ǰir[γ]uγan üsüg-ün tölge orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 13 ff., 21.5×8.5, 19 lines.
M-487. Tngri-yin köbegün üile-yi bütügegči ber qoyitu amitan-u uqaγan-u qarangγui-yi arilγan negegči neretü sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 11 ff., 21×8, 15 lines.
M-488. Qutuγtu bilig-ün činadu kiǰaγar-a kürügsen vačir-iyar oγtoluγči-yin ači tusa erdem-ün tayilburi (128b).
Manuscript, ff. 2–130, 21×8, 15 lines.
M-489. Sünggčüi torba kemen orošiba (1a). Admonition.
Manuscript, 5 ff., 22×9, 19 lines.

M-490. Čorǰi blam-a Agbvangdorǰi ǰokiyaγsan tengri delikei γaǰar oron-u sang takilγ-a orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 9 ff., 22×9, 18 lines.

M-491. Ma-ni-yin tayilburi (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 9×22, 7–8 lines.

M-492. Tegüs čoγ-tu Okin tengri-yin šoo moo orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, ff. 1–3, 5–21, 23–25, 27–54, 22×9, 18 lines.

M-493. Boγda J̌ibčungdamba-yin ǰarliγ-un bičig (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22×9, 22 lines.

M-494. Ger-ün sünesü orošiqu-yi üǰekü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 21.5×8.5, 30 lines in all.

M-495. Beginning (1b): Ôm sayin amuγulang boltuγai: ay-a aγula bolbaču Γangdiša aγula metü-ni čöken: modo olan bolbaču ... Admonition.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22×8.8, 19 lines.

M-496. Γaǰar-un šinǰi sudur ene bui (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 22×8.5, 18 lines.

M-497. Beginning (1a): Šini-yin nigen-ü edür toloγai-yin üsü abubasu maγu γasalang bolqu damǰig ügei: ... Fortune-telling.
Manuscript, 1 f., 21.5×8.5, 20 lines in all.

M-498. Nayan nige maγu yeru-a-yin eldeb ǰüil-ün sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 8 ff., 22×8.8, 22 lines.

M-499. Eǰen Činggis nomlaγsan eldeb ǰüil-ün em dom-un sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 11 ff., 21.5×8, 19 lines.

M-500. Mongγol itegel-ün sudur orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 22×9, 17 lines.

M-501. Sudubčing qaγan-u sašitar kemekü maši ariγun γayiqamšiγ ene surγaγuli sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, ff. 1–6 (end is missing), 21×8.5, 17 lines.

M-502. J̌ingdan γombo kemekü mörgül-ün sudur maγtal orošiba (1a). Tibetan text in Mongolian script.
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22×8.5, 19 lines.

M-503. Erdenis-ün altan saba kemegdekü sudur orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, ff. 1–21, 23–44, 18×7.5, 16 lines.

M-504. Dalai blam-a Γalsangǰamso-yin ayiladuγsan loǰong oršibai (1a). Copied from the Mongolian edition published in 1922.
Manuscript, copy-book format, 8 ff., 8.5×12.5, 6 lines.

M-505. Čaγan sikürtü neretü yeke kölgen sudur orsiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 208.
Manuscript, 25 ff., 22×9, 17 lines.

M-506. Qongsim bodi-sadô Čaγan Dar-a eke: Noγaγan dar-a-yin eke-yin tuuǰi amitan-du daγurisaqu kerig (1a). Story about Naran Gerel.
Manuscript, 64 ff., 22×8.5, 17 lines.

M-507. Γangǰuur-yin quriyangγui sudur orsiba (1a). Magtal.
Manuscript, 5 ff., 17.5×7, 12 lines.

M-508. Šaǰin amitan tusa-yin tulada γaruγsan boγda J̌ibčungdamba-yin altan bolai (1a). Magtal.
Manuscript, 4 ff., 17.5×7, 13 lines.
M-509. Lobon-miǰid-dorǰi-yin suryal (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 22×8.5, 18 lines.
M-510. Čaγan šikürtü neritü sudur orošiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 208.
Manuscript, 12 ff., 18.5×8.5, 19 lines.
M-511. Čaγan Dar-a eke kemekü sudur orošiba (1a). Prayer.
Manuscript, 5 ff., 16.5×6.5, 17 lines.
M-512. Γanǰuur-yin quriyangγui-yin sudur (1a). Magtal.
Manuscript, 3 ff., 21×8.5, 19 lines.
M-513. Kümün-ü suudal üǰekü bičig (1a); Kiy mori-[n]u delgeregsen baγuraγsan-ni medekü bičig jene bolai (2b).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22×8.8, charts.
M-514. Qamuγ maqabud-un quriyangγui-yin ayimaγ saba todoraγuluγči amidu-yin toγolalγ-a döčin doloγan čilaγu-tu-yin ergigülkü belgeten-lüge selte orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 19 ff., 22×9, 25 lines.
M-515. Paγba qamču naγbo šibar ǰidba šiǰaba šüngsü (1a). Tibetan text in Mongolian script.
Manuscript, 8 ff., 22×9, 17 lines.
M-516. Beginning (1b): Ram bbam: ôm ma ni pad me hûm: ǰi ǰiba baraγ ya tüng süm na: ... Tibetan text in Mongolian script.
Manuscript, 4 ff., 17.7×7, 13 lines.
M-517. Činggis boγda qan-u nomlaγsan oyun tülkegür neretü sudur (5a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 20.5×7.7, 13 lines.
M-518. Öljei-tü irügel-ün qaγan-u sudur orošibai (1a); Qutuγtu sayin yabudal-un irügel-ün qaγan (1b). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 731.
Manuscript, 17 ff., 21.5×7, 14 lines.
M-519. Ayungγ-a kiged arban qoyar sar-a-yin šinǰi-yi üǰekü sudur orsiba (1a). Treatise on the weather prevailent in each month of the year.
Manuscript, 3 ff., 8.5×21.5, 7–8 lines.
M-520. 1) Kümün-ü sünesü anu (1b).
2) Mal-yin sünesü (2a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22×8.5, charts.
M-521. Beginning (1b): A. o. u. na. no. nu ... Mongolian alphabet.
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22×9, 14 lines.
M-522. Beginning (1b): A. e. i. o. u ... Mongolian alphabet.
Manuscript, 3 ff., 21.5×8.5, 19 lines.
M-523. Beginning (1a): A. e. i. o. u ... Mongolian alphabet.
Manuscript, copy-book format, 3 + 1 empty ff., 10×8.5, 8–9 lines.
M-524. Törögsen köbegün-ü garaγ odo edür sara-yin üǰel orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 12 ff., 17.5×7.2, 20 lines.

M-525. Beginning (1b): Ôm ā : ǰiγta γombola ǰangsalu ǰigdan blam-a ... Tibetan text in Mongolian script.
Manuscript, 3 ff., 8×22, 6 lines.

M-526. Beginning (1a): Sünesün-ü garaγ sayin: ... Astrology.
Manuscript, 7 ff., 21×7, charts.

M-527. Suvašidi kemekü sudur orosiba (1a). Subhašita.
Manuscript, 17 ff., 15×6.8, 12 lines.

M-528. Doloγan γaraγ (5a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 17.7×7, 16 lines.

M-529. Γučin čaγan üsüg orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 12 ff., 21×8, 15 lines.

M-530. Sarayin ibigel-yi üǰekü bui (1a).
Manuscript, 1 f., 22×9, 42 lines in all.

M-531. Manaq-a-yin sang orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22×9, 16 lines.

M-532. Eke bilig barimad-un sudur orošiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 162.
Manuscript, ff. 1–5 (end is missing), 22×9, 12 lines.

M-533. Činggis boγda-yin nomlaγsan oyun-u tülkegür orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 12 ff., 17.2×6.7, 16 lines.

M-534. Beginning (1b): Ekener kümün köggčin [= könggečin] yadabasu uquna-a-yin eber-ün üǰügür qusuǰu qoroǰin-a bučalγaǰu ögbesü könggečimüi: ... Methods of giving assistance at childbirth.
Manuscript, 3 ff., 21×8, 19 lines.

M-535. Čindamani-yin čimeg-eče tasulǰu bičigsen qorin nigen üliger-üd orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 42 ff., 22×9, 17 lines.

M-536. Qutuγtu Doraǰi čodba neretü yeke kölgen sudur orošiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 771.
Manuscript, 28 ff., 22×9, 20 lines.

M-537. Qutuγtu vačir-iyar oγtolaγči ner-e-tü yeke kölgen sudur orosibai (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 771.
Manuscript, 62 ff., 20×7, 19 lines.

M-538. Γučin čaγan üsüg: itegel yabuγulqu sedkil egüskekü yeke kölgen sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 20×9, 17 lines.

M-539. (Tib.) Dpal-ldan Lha-mo'i sho-mo 'brud bsdus-pa bzhugs-so [sic] (1a). Fortune-telling by means of dice.
Manuscript, 27 ff., 18×7.5, 5–6 Tibetan, 16 Mongolian lines.

M-540. Beginning (1b): Ene qutuγ-tu vačir-iyar oγtoluγči bilig-ün činadu kiǰa-γar-a kürügsen γurban čaγ-un burqad-nuγud-un... Tarni.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 17.5×7.5, 15 lines.

M-541. Olan em-ün em-li-be-sü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 11 ff., 22×9, 17 lines.

M-542. Qorin naiman odon eǰelegsen edür salkilaqu boroγan baγuqu kiykü ba bürkükü-yi üǰekü anu (1a).
Manuscript, 1 f., 11×17.5, 10 lines.
M-543. Beginning (1b): Tügemel elbegtü-yin arbaduγar on ene čaγtu Begeǰing Sung-ta γoču-nang-γai-bu-du aγula-du ... Divination.
Manuscript, folded, 12 ff., 5.5×22, 8 lines.
M-544. Nögčigsed-ün qoyitu mörtür bütügekü burqad-un ner-e orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, folded, 4 ff., 21.5×8.5, 16 lines.
M-545. Beginning (1b): Nim γaraγ-tur töröbesü saran qonoγ edür sayin bolqu: ... Astrology.
Manuscript, 10 ff., 22×9, 21 lines.
M-546. Γaǰar-un eǰen tengri-yin qara noqai-yin ergigülkü yosun (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22×7, 21 lines.
M-547. Mgôn-gban-dar-un ǰokiyaγsan nikün-ü čaγan-i ǰasaqu ubidis orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 21.5×8, 21 lines.
M-548. Čaγan sikürtü neretü sudur orošiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 208.
Manuscript, 50 ff., 17.5×6.5, 12 lines.
M-549. (Tib.) Dpal-ldan Lha-mo'i sho-mo'i mdo (1a). Fortune-telling by means of dice.
Manuscript, 15 ff., 22×8.5, 20 lines.
M-550. Öber öber-e daγaγči eke-yin bütügelün arγ-a orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, folded, 6 ff., 8.5×11. 6 lines.
M-551. Arban γurban sang-un ariγun takil-un sudur orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 17 ff., 21.5×8, 14 lines.
M-552. Šoo-yin sudur joroošiba (1a).
Manuscript, ff. 1–3, 5–7, 21.5×8, 19 lines.
M-553. Mör sang orosiulabai (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 22.5×9, 16 lines.
M-554. Qutuγ-tu γurban eredenis-ün unal namančilaqu čoγča kemekü sudur orošiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 1041.
Manuscript, ff. 1–11 (end is missing), 22×9, 12 lines.
M-555. Qadamal-un gyali üsüg bürin-e tegüs orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 17.7×7.2, 5 horizontal lines.
M-556. Eke bilig barimad sudur orosiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 162.
Manuscript, 6 ff., 21×8.5, 18 lines.
M-557. Arban qoyar ǰil-ün yirüge orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 17×7, 13 lines.
M-558. Itegel yabuγulqu sudur orošiba: itegel kemekü (1a).
Manuscript, ff. 1–2, 4, 22×9, 15 lines.
M-559. Baǰar-saduva-yin bisilγal-un sudur kemegdekü orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 8 ff., 21.5×8.5, 14 lines.
M-560. Γučin čaγan üsüg orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 21.5×8, 21 lines.

M-561. J̌abqaraγsan-ni mergen üǰelgen sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22×9, 17 lines.
M-562. Činggis boγda-yin nomlaγsan oyun-u tülkegür neretü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 11 ff., 22×8.5, 20 lines.
M-563. Keriy-e šaγaǰaγai-yin kelen medekü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 17.5×7, charts.
M-564. Čoγtu Mahakala γurban yirtenčü-yi erkeber bolγaγči (1a). Tarni.
Manuscript, 5 ff., 22×9, 22 lines.
M-565. Altan gerel-yin quriyangγui sudur orosiba: ariγun sang-un sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 21×8, 17 lines.
M-566. Γurban erdeni-dür itegel yabuγuluuγad bodi sedkil egüskekü kemegdekü orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 22×8.8, 21 lines.
M-567. Činggis boγda-yin sülde-yin sang-un sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 21×8, 19 lines.
M-568. Yisün sülde tngri-yin sang-un sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 21.5×8, 16 lines.
M-569. Γanǰuγan-u takilγan-u orošiba: sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 7 ff., 21.5×8, 12 lines.
M-570. Beginning (1b): Ôm Mayidar: ôm Mayidar: hûm pad: ... Tarni.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 17.7×7.5, 15 lines.
M-571. Arban doγšid-un maγtaγal ene bui (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22×9, 21 lines.
M-572. Maniyin tayilbuur orošibo (1a).
Oirat manuscript, ff., 1–11, 13–17, 21.5×8.5, 21 lines.
M-573. Ačitu γučin čaγan üsüg orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 20×8, 16 lines.
M-574. Beginning (1b): Yeke sar bogsu tngri-eče nara ǰöb toγola: ... Divination about lost cattle.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 17×6.5, 8 lines in all.
M-575. Üǰeg ene bolai (1a). Mongolian alphabet.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 17.5×6, 16 lines.
M-576. Beginning (1a): Byuu raγmu byuu raγmu byuu byuu raγmu ... Tarni.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 17.5×7, 15 lines.
M-577. Γučin [čaγan üsüg] orosiba boltuγai (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 20.5×8, 16 lines.
M-578. Tebčid šerijim (1a). Mainly Tibetan text in Mongolian script.
Manuscript, 5 ff., 21.5×7.5, 17 lines.
M-579. Daši šarab-yin sang (1a). Tibetan text in Mongolian script.
Manuscript, 5 ff., 23.5×8, 19 lines.
M-580. Ačitu γučin čaγan üsüg orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 18×7.5, 15 lines.

M-581. Manaqan tngri-yin sang-un orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 21.5×8, 17 lines.
M-582. Blamgi rnam-gbyor dgā-ldan lha-brgya ma bjugs-sô (1a). Tibetan text in Mongolian script.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22×8.5, 21 lines.
M-583. Гučin čaγan üsüg oršibai (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 20×9, 15 lines.
M-584. J̌angǰiy-a qutuγtu-yin tarqaγsan ǰarliγ anu (1a).
Manuscript, folded, 3 ff., 3.5×22, 9 lines.
M-585. Sayin maγu kümün-ü singǰilekü sudur-a orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 21.5×8.5, 19 lines.
M-586. Tangnu-yin sang sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 20.5×7.5, 15 lines.
M-587. Itegel-ün yabuγulqui-yin yeke kölge sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 21.5×8.5, 15 lines.
M-588. Sübdü-abčing qaγan-u mergen šašitar kemegdekü orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 6 ff., 21×8.5, 18 lines.
M-589. Ganggi-baldandoi (1a). Magtal.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 21×7.5, 19 lines.
M-590. Dar-a eke-yin sang orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 20.5×8, 16 lines.
M-591. Dom-un sudur orošiyba (1a).
Manuscript, 32 ff., 22×9, 19 lines.
M-592. Ariγun oron-du kötölekü arγ-a-yin sudur orsiba (1a).
Manuscript, 8 ff., 20×8.5, 19 lines.
M-593. Čaγan Dar-a eke kemekü yeke kölgen sudur orošiba (1a). Prayer.
Manuscript, 5 ff., 18×7.5, 15 lines.
M-594. Ôm gürü-a davau ǰegüdülegsen sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22×9, 21 lines.
M-595. Ečege eke γučin čaγan üsüg orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 20×9, 14 lines.
M-596. (Tib.) Bkra' skar-'byung khams-rnams kun 'phrod sbyor-ba zhes bya-ba bzhugs-so (1a). Astrology.
Manuscript, 23 ff., 22×9, 17 lines, charts.
M-597. Rašiyan-u ǰirüken naiman gešigütü niγuča ubadis-un ündüsün-eče em-ün amtan kiged šinggel-yi üǰegülügsen arban yisüdüger bölög (5b).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 22×9, 22 lines.
M-598. Rasiyan-u ǰirüken naiman gešigütü niγuča ubadisun ündüsün-eče yosun-yi delgen nomlaγsan qorin naimaduγar (5b) γučiduγar (8a) bölög.
Manuscript, 12 ff., 21.5×8.5, 19 lines.
M-599. Ganggilodai kemekü sudur orošiba (1a). Magtal.
Manuscript, f. 1 (end is missing), 21.5×8.5, 15 lines.

M-600. Beginning (1a): Oroi-yin nige ene odun-a töröbesü qaγan bolaqu: ... Astrology.
Manuscript, 1 f., 31×11, 57 lines in all.
M-601. Vačar neretü yeke kölgen sudur tarni (1a).
Manuscript, 7 ff., 11.5×8, 8–9 lines.
M-602. Qutuγtu altan quyaγ orošiba (1a). Tarni.
Manuscript, 5 ff., 14×5.2, 14 lines.
M-603. J̌andub quriyangγui neretü yeke kölgen sudur amurliγuluγči kölgen sudur (1a). Tarni.
Manuscript, 6 ff., 10×8, 9 lines.
M-604. [Yüm čüng quriyangγui].
Manuscript, 4 ff., 10×7.5, 9 lines.
M-605. Beginning (1b): Ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen burqan ǰalan metü Sümer aγulan qaγan-a mörgümü: ... Prayer.
Manuscript, 7 ff., 10×7.5, 10 lines.
M-606. Beginning (1b): Ene tarini-yi ügülegdekü: namô radna dar-a yan-a yan-a ... Tarni.
Manuscript, 4 ff., 10×7.5, 9 lines.
M-607. Qutuγ-tu degedü altan gerel erketü sudur-nuγud-un qaγan neretü yeke kölgen sudur (3a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 177.
Manuscript, ff. 1–4 (end is missing), 11.5×6, 11–13 lines.
M-608. Tendeče Sarašovati Okin tngri ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen burqan-a eyin kemen öčibei (1a). Tarni.
Manuscript, 12 ff., 10×5.8, 11 lines.
M-609. Beginning (1b): A. e. i. o. u ... Mongolian alphabet.
Manuscript, copy-book format, 6 ff., 8×12.5, 6–7 lines.
M-610. Tangnu-yin sang sudur orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 10.5×8.5, 10 lines.
M-611. Yeke küčütü daγurisqaqu neretü qan-u ubadis qara buγ-a kölgetü qan-u ubadis neretü sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 8 ff., 11×8.5, 10 lines.
M-612. Čaγan sikür-tü neretü sudur busud-ta ülü ilaγdaqu tarni oršibai (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 208.
Manuscript, 23 ff., 11×6.8, 7 lines.
M-613. Arban ǰüg-ün eǰen ačitu Geser qaγan-u yisün mergen čaγan tölge orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 10 ff., 7×11.5, 6–7 lines.
M-614. Öber öber-e daγaγči eke-yin bütügelün arγ-a orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 7 ff., 14×5.5, 11 lines.
M-615. Šaγaǰaγai-yin daγun-i medekü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 12×5.5, 16 lines.
M-616. Arban burqan-u tangaraγ kemekü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, folded, 9 ff., 5.5×8, 4–5 lines.

M-617. Arban burqan-u tanggaraγ sudur oršiba (1a).
Manuscript, 11 ff., 7.5×5, 7 lines.

M-618. Beginning (1a): Sayin galab-un mingγan burqan-dur mörgümüi: sayin galab-un mingγan burqan-u tamγ-a-yin ači tusa erdem inu: ... Interpretation of dreams.
Manuscript, 1 f., 44×13, 46 lines in all.

M-619. Beginning (1b): Ôm nag ranǰa činbo cam bürü bürü ... Tarni.
Manuscript, 9 ff., 10×6, 7 lines.

M-620. Čaγan ebügen-ü sang ba sudur qoyar ene dotor-a ürgülǰi oršiba (1a).
Manuscript, 31 ff. + 1 f., 11×4, 7 lines.

M-621. [Arban ǰüg-ün eǰen Geser qaγan-u tuγuǰi orosiba].
Peking xylograph, 7 parts: ff. 4–52 + 5 + 12 + 27 + 69 + 7 + 5 + 1 ff., 50.5×18 (46×13.5), 25–26 lines. See Казанский каталог, No. 141; *Каталог* БАД, 81, No. 489; Сазыкин, *Каталог*, No. 11; Bese, Berkeley, No. 5; Bese, Budapest, 46, Mong. 83; Farquhar, Description, No. 77–78; Heissig, Copenhagen, 26–27, Mong. 469; Krueger, Chicago, L-61; Ligeti, Collection, No. 3602; MHBL, No. 38; PLB, No. 35; Poppe, TB, No. 114.

M-622. Qutuγ-tu Bañča-rags-a kemekü tabun sakiyan neretü yeke kölgen sudur orosiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 179–183.
Peking xylograph, 5 parts: 36 + 46 + 32 + 17 + 13 + 1 ff., 53×18 (46.5×14), 25–26 lines. See Bese, Budapest, 26, Mong. 28; Bawden, Dublin, No. 1909; MHBL, No. 189–190; PLB, No. 9; Poppe, TB, No. 7.

M-623. Qutuγ-tu degedü yekede tonilγaγči neretü sudur orosiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 1021.
Peking xylograph, 3 parts: 34 + 38 + 32 + 1 ff., 52×17 (46.5×14), 25–26 lines. See Bese, Budapest, 27, Mong. 37; Bawden, Dublin, No. 1902; MHBL, No. 272; PLB, No. 14; Poppe, TB, 26.

M-624. Qutuγ-tu degedü altan gerel-tü erketü sudur-nuγud-un qaγan oro-siba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 177.
Peking xylograph, 10 parts: 23 + 24 + 22 + 22 + 24 + 28 + 20 + 23 + 28 + 21 + 1 ff., 49×18 (46.5×13.5), 25 lines. See Bese, Budapest, 23, Mong. 16, 25, Mong. 27; MHBL, No. 185; PLB, No. 57; Poppe, TB, No. 36.

M-625. Rasiyan-u ǰirüken naiman gesigütü niγuča ubadis-un ündüsün-eče qoyitu ündüsün kemekü orosiba (1a). See M-137.
Peking xylograph, part 4: 98 ff., 58×12 (50×8), 40 lines.

M-626. Rasiyan-u ǰirüken naiman gesigütü niγuča ubadis-un ündüsün-eče ... kemekü orsiba (1a). See M-137.
Peking xylograph, part 1: 10 ff.; part 2: 67 ff.; part 4: 98 ff. + 2 ff., 57×8 (50×8), 40 lines.

M-627. Yamandaga Maqakala Erlig qaγan Ökin tngri dörben doγsin sudur-un orosiba (1a); Bisman tngri sudur orosiba (1a).
Peking xylograph, 5 parts: 44 + 27 + 20 + 35 + 11 ff., 45.5×10.5 (40.5×8), 30 lines. See PLB, No. 76–77.

M-628. Šen-čin-qôi-yin teüke (cover). Translated from the Chinese novel "The Drunken Monk".
Manuscript, 2 copy-books: 50 ff. (Chapters 15–16) + ff. 1–54 (end is missing, chapters 19–20), 12.5×24, 9 lines.

M-629. [Naran-u Gerel-yin tuγuǰi].
Manuscript, copy-book format, fragments, ff. 5–11 + ff. 12–22 (end is missing), 17.5×22, 13 lines.

M-630. Degedü yeke Otočisun qaγan Dgôn-mčôg Bandar-un ǰokiyaγsan ǰaγun ekitü gün narin ubadis-a-yin üge orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, ff. 1–2, 5–9, 11–45, 47–49, 56–58, 60–108, 111–135, 31×8, 22 lines.

M-631. Nögčigsen kümün-ü tegüs qubi-tu-yin talbaqui γaǰar-ud-un šinggeküi yasun-i tanin orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 21 ff., 22×8.5, 15 lines.

M-632. Bodi-saduva-yin unal namančilaqu orosiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 1041.
Manuscript, 4 ff., 32×7.5, 28 lines.

M-633. Γurban učir-tu orosiba (1a).
Peking xylograph, 4 ff., 37×8.5 (32×5.5), 28 lines, title on the margin: "Γurban učir". See PLB, 57, No. 4.

M-634. Ürgülǰi aman-u ungšilγ-a bolγabasu angqarun abulγ-a irekü-yin gün ubdis orošiba (1a).
Buriat xylograph, 3 ff., 22×7 (17.5×6), 16–17 lines, title on the margin: "Gün ubdis".

M-635. Qutuγtu sayin yabudal-un irüger-ün qaγan-u sudur orošiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 431.
Manuscript, ff. 1–9 (end is missing), 22×9, 17–19 lines.

M-636. Ölösün orosiqui-yin ǰang üile egün-e orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 6 ff., 32×9, 30 lines.

M-637. Ačitu γučin čaγan üsüg orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22×8.7, 15 lines.

M-638. Möngke busu-yin surγaγuli sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 17.7×7, 19 lines.

M-639. Altai-yin sang (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 13×6.5, 12 lines.

M-640. Beginning (1b): Namo gürü Naganjan-a türbel ügei-dür sögöddüged saba-yin γurban gem-i nomlabai:: ... Buddhist ethics.
Manuscript, 8 ff., 22×9, 19 lines.

M-641. Qutuγtu getülgegči Čaγan Dar-a eke-yin maγtaγal orosiγulbai (1a).
Manuscript, 6 ff., 17.5×7, 11 lines.

M-642. Qutuγ-tu čaγan sikür-tü nertü yeke kölgen sudur oroošiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 208.
Manuscript, 7 ff., 20.5×7.5, 18 lines.

M-643. Qoyar eke-tei mani sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22×8.7, 17 lines.
M-644. Γangγui-loodai sudur orosiba (1a). Magtal.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 20×8.5, 20 lines.
M-645. Činggis boγda-yin šašitar oyuγun-u tülkegür kemen sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, ff. 1–12 (end is missing), 20×8, 17 lines.
M-646. Ačitu γučin čaγan üǰüg orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 8 ff., 22×9, 23 lines.
M-647. Boγda Giser qaγan-u urida medel-iyer mergen tölge-[n]ü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 20×9, 21 lines.
M-648. Beginning (1a): Ere: a: em-e: e: erisü: i: ... Mongolian alphabet.
Manuscript, copy-book format, 6 + 1 empty ff. + cover, 22.5×9, 17 lines.
M-649. Mergen üǰel-ün sudur oroba (1a). Divination about lost cattle.
Manuscript, 3 ff., 17.5×7, 17 lines.
M-650. Beginning (1b): Er-e kümün bögesü Luγan odon-ača nara ǰöb toγola: ... Astrology.
Manuscript, 4 ff., 17.5×7, 15–19 lines.
M-651. Rašiyan-u ǰirüken naiman gešigütü niγuča ubadis-un ündüsün-eče nomlaqui-yin ündüsün kemekü orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 25 ff., 35.5×11, 31 lines.
M-652. Yeke ubadini nom-un qaγan-u büm ǰarliγ-ača bodi mör-ün ǰerge-yin kötölbüri oyun-u qarangγui-yi arilγaγči kemegdekü oršiba (1a).
Manuscript, ff. 1–3, 6–9, 11–35, 32×10, 23 lines.
M-653. Šine oračiγuluγsan qas qaγurčaγ neretü bičig tergün bülüge (1a).
Manuscript, ff. 1–8, 11–15 (end is missing), 22×9, 19 lines.
M-654. Kümün-ü nom-un surtaγal bayarlan qurala-laγči kemekü orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 21 ff., 22×9, 20 lines.
M-655. Altan saba-yin tobči (1a). Divination about the dead.
Manuscript, copy-book format, 43 ff., 21×8.5, 3 Tibetan–Mongolian, 19 Mongolian lines.
M-656. Arban burqan-u ǰarliγ orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22×8.5, 26 lines.
M-657. Šazaγayin keleni sudur orošbo (1a).
Oirat manuscript, f. 1 (end is missing), 22×8.5, 22 lines.
M-658. Oyouni tülküür kemēkü sudūr oroširoi (1a).
Oirat manuscript, ff. 1–11 (end is missing), 20.5×8.5, 18 lines.
M-659/834. Blaman γurban baqši birman γurban nasatu küüken (1a).
Oirat manuscript, 9 ff., 22×8.5, 21 lines.
M-660. Bôdhi mör-ün ǰerge-dür angqan-a oyun sudulqu nom-un egüden-i negegči kemegdekü orosiba; (Tib.) Byang-chub lam-gyi rim-pa-la blo-sbyong-ba-la thog-mar blo-sbyong-ba chos-kyi sgo-byed ches-bya-ba (1a).
Buriat xylograph, 106 ff., 44.5×9 (34.5×7.5), 30–31 lines.

M-661. Čoyiǰid dagini-yin tuγuǰi orosiba (1a). See M-96.
Buriat xylograph, 69 ff., 44×9 (38.5×6.5), 31×32 lines.
M-662. Qutuγ-tu vačir-iyar oγtaluγči nertü sudur orošiba (1a). See M-117.
Buriat xylograph, 42 ff., 34.5×9 (30×6.5), 23–24 lines.
M-663. Šimnu em-e-yin buruγu irügel ba umai-yin čisun-ača uryuγsan tamaki--yin quriyangγui q[ori]γul orosiba (1a).
Buriat xylograph, 4 ff., 35×9 (30.5×7), 2 Tibetan–Mongolian lines.
M-664. Badm-a Sambhau-a baγsi-yin ǰokiyaγsan arakin-u γaruγsan uγ kiged sayin maγu-yi teyin nomlal neretü orošibai; (Tib.) Slob-dpon padma 'byung-gnas-kyis mdzad-pa'i chang-gi 'byung khungs dang bzang ngan rnam-par phye-pa'i rnam bshad zhes-bya-ba bzhugs-so (1a).
Buriat xylograph, 20 ff., 45.5×9 (30.5×7), 23–24 lines.
M-665. Rasiyan-u ǰirüken naiman gesigü-tü niγuča ubadisun ündüsün-eče qaγas qoyaduγar nomlaγsan ündüsü kemekü nertü orsiba (1a).
Manuscript, 76 ff. + fragment of f. 77, 36×11, 26 lines.
M-666. Qutuγ-tu bilig-ün činadu kiǰaγar-a kürügsen včir ebdegči neretü yeke kölgen sudur orošiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 771.
Manuscript, 23 ff., 35.5×11, 27 lines.
M-667. Sonosqun tonilγaγči ene bui: ǰaγuridu-dur tonilqu-yin arγ-a yekede sonosuγad tonilγaγči yeke kölgen sudur orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 52 ff., 35×10.5, 35 lines.
M-668. Bilig barimad ner-e-tü sudur orošiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 162.
Manuscript, ff. 1–8 (end is missing), 21×8, 13 lines.
M-669. Itegel yabuγulqu sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff. + fragments of f. 5, 20×9, 13 lines.
M-670. Arban qoyar ǰil-ün süi-yin sudur orošiba (1a). Fortune-telling.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22.2×9, charts.
M-671. Beginning: Aγ-a. baγ-a. qaγ-a ... Mongolian alphabet.
Manuscript, 1 f., 20.5×8, 18 lines in all.
M-672. Itegel yabuγulqu sudur orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 18×7.5, 16 lines.
M-673. Mani orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 19.2×7.5, 15 lines.
M-674. Beginning (4a): ... šoo-ni-yin nüke γurba-dur baγubasu ... Fortune-telling.
Manuscript, ff. 4–50, 21.2×8.3, 21 lines.
M-675. Tabun daginis-un mergen sayin üǰel-ün sudur orašiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff. 22×9, 19 lines.
M-676. Γangǰur quruyangγui nerütü sudur orosiγu (1a). Magtal.
Manuscript, 3 ff., 21.5×8.5, 15 lines.
M-677. Kereyen saγačiγai-yin kelen medekü-yin sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22×9, 19 lines.
M-678. Kümün mal-un sünesü edür čaγ-un üǰel-ün sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 22×9, 17 lines.

M-679. Sayudal-un ǰasal nasun yal-un üǰekü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22×8.5, 17 lines.
M-680. Möngke busu-yi bišilγaqu yosun-u surtal šilüglegsen orosibai (1a).
Buriat xylograph, 13 ff., 22×7 (17.7×6), 13 lines.
M-681. Mongγol-un kelen-ü itegil orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 6 ff., 18×7.5, 13 lines.
M-682. Ečege eke-yin ači qariγulqu yosun orošibai (1a).
Printed in type-set characters, copy-book format, 11 ff. + 1 empty f., 21.5×8.8 (17.8×6.5), 14 lines.
M-683. Qamuγ dayisun-ni γaryaqu yaγun sudur ene bui: altan quyaγ süke nertü sudur ene bui (1a). Tarni.
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22×9, 16 lines.
M-684. Erke-tü Nidüber üǰegči maγtaγal orsibai (1a).
Manuscript, 7 ff., 22×8.5, 3 Tibetan–Mongolian lines.
M-685. Naiman külil orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 20×7.2, charts.
M-686. Bilig barimad neretü sudur orošiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 162.
Manuscript, ff. 1–7 (end is missing), 17.5×7, 15 lines.
M-687. Čaγan Dar-a eke orošiba (1a). Prayer.
Manuscript, ff. 1–6 (end is missing), 17.5×6.5, 11 lines.
M-688. Beginning (9a): Šoo-[n]u nüke γurba-dur baγubasu ... Fortune-telling.
Manuscript, ff., 9–97, 17.5×7, 13 lines.
M-689. Γangǰuur-un quriyangγui orošiba: yeke kölge sudur tegüsbe (1a). Magtal.
Manuscript, 4 ff., 17.5×7.5, 14 lines.
M-690. Boγda J̌ibčun-damba-yin ǰarliγ orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 22×9, 22 lines.
M-691. Sara edür ba čaγ qara-yi üǰekü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22×8.8, 16 lines.
M-692. Itegel yabuγulqu sedkil egüsgekü dörben čaγlaši ügei-yi bišilγaqu kemen orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 21.5×8.5, 22 lines.
M-693. Qutuγ-tu γurban erdenis-ün unal-un namančilaqui čoγča kemekü sudur orošiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 1041.
Manuscript, 7 ff., 21.5×8.5, 7 lines.
M-694. Arban γurban sang sudur yeke kölge sang orosiγulba (1a).
Manuscript, ff. 1–7 (end is missing), 22×8.5, 19 lines.
M-695. Naiman külil-ün sayin maγu ǰüg-yi üǰekü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 19×8, charts.
M-696. Qutuγ-tu včir neretü Dorǰi gǰodba: neretü yeke kölgen sudur orošiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 771.
Manuscript, 38 ff., 21.5×8.5, 18 lines.

M-697. Qutuγtu bilig-ün činadu kiǰaγar-a kürügsen vačir-iyar oγtoluγči neretü sudur orosiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 771.
Manuscript, ff. 1–4, 6 (end is missing), 22×9, 15 lines.
M-698. Degedü ǰarliγ ungsiquyin sanal orosibai (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 20.5×8, 15 lines.
M-699. Subdubčing qaγan-u šašitar kemegdekü sudur orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, ff. 1, 3–9, 22×7.7, 16 lines.
M-700. Itegel yabuγulqu sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 20.5×8.5, 18 lines.
M-701. Nayan nige maγu yoru-a-yi üǰekü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 16 ff., 22×8.5, 18 lines.
M-702. Nayan nige maγu yiru-a-yi üǰekü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 10 ff., 16×6.5, 18 lines.
M-703. Ganggi-lodoi kemegdekü orošiba (1a). Magtal.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 19.5×8, 16 lines.
M-704. Itegel yabuγulqu neretü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, ff. 1, 3–5, 21×8.5, 16 lines.
M-705. Ečige eke tan-u ači qariγulaqui neretü sudur oršiba (1a).
Manuscript, 9 ff., 22×9, 20 lines.
M-706. Lhamho-yin šoo tölge talbiǰu üǰekü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 68 ff., 17.5×7, 14 lines.
M-707. Arban qoyar sar-a edür naiman graγ odo kiged sayin maγu ǰüg-i üǰekü sudur orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 20 ff., 18.5×7.5, 14 lines.
M-708. Bilig barimad-un sudur orošiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 162.
Manuscript, 9 ff., 16.5×7, 11 lines.
M-709. Dala-[n]u tölge-yin sudur orošiba: basa kedün eke üǰil bui (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22×8, 22 lines.
M-710. Ačitu Šigemüni ba bodišadu-nar-un adislaǰu ayiladduγsan qutuγtu nögči-küi čaγ-un belge bilig neretü yeke kölgen sudur orošibai (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 879.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 21×7.5, 18 lines.
M-711. Qutuγtu getülgegči Noγoγan Dar-a eke-yin qorin nigen mörgül maγtaγal orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 19 ff., 17.5×6.5, 11 lines.
M-712. Qutuγ-tu γurban erdenis-ün čoγča kemekü sudur orošiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 1041.
Manuscript, ff. 1–5 (end is missing), 18.5×7.5, 16 lines.
M-713. Möngke busu-yin suraγuli-yin sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 22×8.5, 18 lines.
M-714. Ačitu γučin čaγan üsüg orosibai (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 20.5×8.5, 21 lines.
M-715. Itegel yabuγulqu sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 19.5×8.5, 18 lines.

M-716. Гučin čaγan üsüg orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 20.5×8, 18 lines.
M-717. Гaǰar-un šinǰi-li sudur ene bui (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 22×9, 18 lines.
M-718. J̌egüden-ü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 21×8.5, 18 lines.
M-719. Čaγan Dar-a eke neretü sudur orošiba (1a). Prayer.
Manuscript, 5 ff., 17×7, 16 lines.
M-720. Qutuγtu čaγan sikürtü neretü yeke kölgen sudur orosiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 208.
Manuscript, 34 ff., 14.5×6, 14 lines.
M-721. Yerügel-ün orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 17.5×7, 14 lines.
M-722. Üsüg orošiba öljei qutuγ orošituγai (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 18×7, 18 lines.
M-723. Mongγol üsüg orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 21.5×8.5, 15 lines.
M-724. Itegel yabuγulqu sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 22×9, 16 lines.
M-725. Bilig baramid-un sudur orošiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 162.
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22.5×8.5, 20 lines.
M-726. Tügemel elbegtü-yin arbaduγar on-du tngri-yin ǰarliγ bičig: Begeǰing Sung-ta-qoyu-nang-γai-bu-du aγula-du genedte oγtaryui daγun γaruγad Ping-bu-layan-ši-vang-yan-gung kemekü qota-dur unabai ene delikei-degen amitan-du buyan nigül qoyar-yi ilγan salγaǰu süsüg törögülügsen ǰarliγ bičig orošiba (1a). Divination.
Manuscript, 9 ff., 22×9, 20 lines.
M-727. Гal-un tngri takiqui sudur orosiγulbai (1a).
Manuscript, ff. 1–12 (end is missing), 17.5×7, 12 lines.
M-728. Beginning: Boγda J̌ibčundamba qutuγtu gegegen-ten-ü lüngden ǰarliγ-yi tarqaγaγtun: ... Divination.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 11×17.5, 11 lines.
M-729. Eǰin Geser qaγan-yin nigen bölög (1a).
Manuscript, 6 ff., 22×9, 20 lines.
M-730. Eldeb ǰüil-ün üǰel ene bui (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22.5×7, 17 lines.
M-731. Bilig barimad neretü sudur tegüsbe (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 162.
Manuscript, ff. 1–4, 6, 17.5×7, 16 lines.
M-732. Bgga-ggyur dotor-a orosiγsan qutuγ-tu todorqai aγuǰim naiman gegen kemegdekü sudur orosiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 709.
Buriat xylograph, ff. 1–2, 22.5×7, 13–15 lines.

M-733. Amuγulang-tu Sukavadi-yin oron-dur töröl-i bariγči irüger degedü oron--u qaγalγan-i negegči neretü (25a).
Buriat xylograph, ff. 3–25, 22.2×7 (17×4.5), 13–14 lines, title on the margin: "Sukavadi irüger".

M-734. Kümün-ü nom-un surtaγal bayarlan quramlaγči kemekü orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 22 ff., 22×9, 16 lines.

M-735. Qutuγ-tu Manǰuširi-yin tölge orosiba (1a). Charts for fortune-telling.
Manuscript, 12 ff., 7.5×18, 5 lines.

M-736. Ačitu γučin čaγan üsüg orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 20×9, 17 lines.

M-737. Čaγan Dar-a eke-yin maγtal oršiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22×9, 23 lines.

M-738. Qutuγ-tu oγtaryui naiman gegegen neretü sudur (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 709.
Peking xylograph, 35 ff., 27×8.5 (23.5×7), 16–17 lines. See MHBL, No. 211–213; PLB, No. 202.

M-739. 1) Yeke Byarong Ka-šôr suburγan-u tauǰi orošibai (1a). 46 ff.
2) Beginning: Suburγ-a sitügen-ü učir medeǰü mörgübesü sayin kemen nomlaγsan tula tegündür anu angqan učir ... Didactics. 4 ff.
3) Tügemel elbegtü-yin arbaduγar on-du tngri-yin ǰarliγ bičig Begeǰing Süng-ta-qoyu-nang-γai-bu-du aγulan-du genedte oγtaryui-yin daγuu γaruγad Ping-bu-layan-šan-vang-yan-sung kemekü qota-dur unubai: ene delekei-dekin amitan-du buyan nigül qoyar-i ilγal silγaǰu süsüg törökü--yin ǰarliγ bičig orosiba. 20 ff.
Manuscript, note-book, 46 + 4 + 7 empty ff. + 20 + 15 empty ff. + cover, 14.5×8.5, 15 lines.

M-740. Ariy-a-balu-yin tabun ǰoγos-un tölge-yin sudur (25a).
Manuscript, copy-book format, 25 ff. + cover, 17.5×7, 16 lines.

M-741. Qutuγtu čaγan sikür-tü ner-e-tü yeke kölgen sudur orosiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 208.
Manuscript, 51 ff., 17.7×5.5, 12 lines.

M-742. Qariγulγ-a-yin daγbu kemekü sudur orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 17.7×5.5, 12 lines.

M-743. Burqan Badm-a Sambau-a baγsi-yin yeke kölgen sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, ff. 1–121, 123–217 + 3 ff., 50×12.5, 44 lines.

M-744. Qutuγ-tu degedü altan gerel-tü erketü sudur-nuγud-un qaγan orosiba (1a). See M-624.
Peking xylograph, 10 parts: 23 + 24 + 22 + 22 + 24 + ff. 3–28 + 20 + 23 + 28 + 21 + 1 ff., 49×18 (47×13.5), 25 lines.

M-745. Qutuγ-tu Bañča-rags-a kemekü tabun sakiyan neretü yeke kölgen sudur orosiba (1a). See M-622.
Peking xylograph, 5 parts: 36 + 46 + 32 + 17 + 13 + 1 ff., 49.5×16 (47×13.5), 25–26 lines.

M-746. Rasiyan-u ǰirüken naiman gesigütü niγuča ubadis erdem-ün ündüsün-ü nomlaγsan arγ-a emgeg-ün enelgeküi qalaγun-i arilγaγči gadbur-a čaγ busu-yin salm-a-yi oγtoluγči ildün neretü sastir orosibai (1a).
Peking xylograph, ff. 1–170, 51×11 (46×8), 38 lines. See Сазыкин, *Каталог*, No. 1552; Bese, Berkeley, No. 19; Farquhar, Description, No. 50-a; Krueger, Chicago, L-458; Ligeti, Collection, No. 3606; MHBL, No. 634; PLB, No. 137; Poppe, TB, No. 115.

M-747. Sonosuγad yekede tonilγaγči neretü yeke kölgen sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 38 ff., 51×12, 44 lines.

M-748. Doloγan sayibar oduγsad-un takiqu-yin ǰang yosun-luγ-a eneyilekü küsel-i qanγaγči erkes-ün qaγan neretü bui (78b).
Manuscript, ff. 6–79, 36.5×10, 26 lines.

M-749. Tngri-yin üile-i bütügegči ber qoyitu amitan-u uqaγan-u qarangγui-i arilγan negegči šašitar orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 6 ff., 35×11, 26 lines.

M-750. Čoγ-tu včir kimüsütei kemegdekü toγtaγal orošiba (1a). Tarni.
Manuscript, folded, 14 ff., 31.5×10, 21 lines.

M-751. Bilig-ün činadu kiǰaγar-a kürügsen vačir ebdegči neretü yeke kölgen sudur orošiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 771.
Manuscript, 19 ff., 35.5×11, 31 lines.

M-752. Yeke ubidun-a nom-un qaγan-u ǰarliγ-un bütügel-eče üre-yin ǰaruqai sayin nomlal-un bügüde-yin qurayangγui kemegdekü orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 30 ff., 35×11, 30 lines.

M-753. Qutuγ-tu bilig-ün činadu kiǰaγar kürügsen vačir-iyar oγtaluγči neretü yeke kölgen sudur (1b). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 771.
Manuscript, ff. 1–23 (end is missing), 31.5×9.5, 25 lines.

M-754. Qutuγ-tu bilig-ün činadu kiǰaγar-a kürügsen vačir ebdegči neretü yeke kölgen sudur orošiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 771.
Manuscript, 23 ff., 35.5×11, 29 lines.

M-755. Üliger-ün dalai (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 1103.
Manuscript, 288 ff., 35.5×11, 26 lines.

M-756. Boγda Neyiǰi-toyin dalai Manǰusiri-yin domoγ-yi todorqoy-a geyigülügči činadmuni erke kem[e]gdekü orsiba (1a).
Manuscript, 48 ff., 34×10, 42 lines.

M-757. Beginning (1b): Erte čaγ-tur Töbed-ün Čakravad-un qaγan-u köbegün nigen oi-yin čečeglig-tür qubitu sayin nököd-iyen daγaγulǰu ... Didactics (on Padma Sambhava's meeting with Gunga-ǰal).
Manuscript, 8 ff., 34×10, 36 lines.

M-758. Bilig-ün činadu kiǰaγar kürügsen včir-iyar oγtoluγči-yin tayilburi (1a).
Manuscript, 61 ff., 35.5×11, 27 lines.

M-759. Beginning (1b): Qutuγ-tu burqan baγsi-yin egüdügsen: Qormusta tngri-yin ǰalbariγsan-dur: ... Cult of tengris.
Manuscript, 4 ff., 34×10, 26 lines.

M-760. Qutuγ-tu sayin ba maγui kiged ači üre üjügülügči sudur (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 1118.
Manuscript, 13 ff., 35.5×11, 20 lines.

M-761. Ariγun oron-dur kötölkü arγ-a-yin sudur oršiba (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 29.5×11, 20 lines.

M-762. Včir-iyar ebdegči orsiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 771.
Manuscript, ff. 1–6, 8–34, 31.5×10, 25 lines.

M-763. Sonosuγad yekede tonilγaγči-yin terigün [dumdadu] γurbaduγar bölög orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 parts: 14 + 25 + 25 ff., 35×11, 27 lines.

M-764. Rasiyan-u ǰirüken naiman gesigütü niγuča ubadis-un ündüsün-eče qoyitu ündüsün kemekü orasiba. Dötüger debter (1a).
Manuscript, 107 ff., 35.5×11, 27 lines.

M-765. Sûkavadi-yin oron-u ǰokiyal-yi ügülegsen üge ariγun oron-u erdem-yi todorqay-a üjegülkü bilig-ün toli kemegdekü orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 28 ff., 35×11, 27 lines.

M-766. Yirtenčü-yin erketü köbegün-ü tuγuǰi orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, ff. 1–13, 15, 39.5×11, 33 lines.

M-767. Bodi sedkil tegüsügsen köke qoγolai-tu saran kökege sibaγun-u tuγuǰi orčilang bükün-i ǰirüken ügei kemen medegčid-ün čikin-ü čimeg neretü--yi teneg mungqaγ bügüde medeküy-e amur-i erkileǰü ügülegsen kemekü (1b). See M-101.
Buriat xylograph, 166 ff., 53.5×10.5 (47×8), 39 lines.

M-768. Toti sibuγu tuγuǰi kemekü oraširba (1a).
Manuscript, copy-book format, 23 ff. + cover, 13×25, 8 lines.

M-769. Üküsged-ün toγan-i altan saba oroširba (1a).
Manuscript, copy-book format, 25 ff., 13×27, 8 lines.

M-770. Beginning: ... qariγu kimemüi: γuγud-un ür-e-yi dusul (...) ǰaγar buyu šaγaǰang-un gilderge ... Manual of therapeutics, pharmacopoeia.
Manuscript, copy-book format, 68 ff. (beginning is missing), 11×22, 8 lines.

M-771. Čiqula kereglegči neretü šastir orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, copy-book format, ff. 1–83 + fragments of ff. 84–93, 13×26, 11 lines, ff. 75–83 defective.

M-772. Šine orčiγuluγsan eldeb keregtü qas qaγurčaγ neretü bičig terigün bölög: erdenitü altan qaγurčaγ anu (1a).
Bilig-ün činadu kiǰaγar-a kürügsen vačir-iyar oγtoluγči tayilburi neretü sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, copy-book format, 95 ff. + cover, 23×17, 12–21 lines.

M-773. Šin-e orčiγuluγsan eldeb keregtü qas qaγurčaγ neretü bičig-ün quriyang-γui terigün debter bülüge erdeni-tü altan qayirčaγ (1a).
Manuscript, copy-book format, ff. 1–73 (end is missing), 17.5×22, 13 lines.

M-774. Tayangnačuγ (?) orosibai (1a). Fortune-telling, bad omens.
Manuscript, copy-book format, 26 ff., 13×26.5, 7 lines.
M-775. Eldeb kereg-tü qas qaγurčaγ ner-e-tü bičig orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 134 ff., 11.5×22, 7 lines.
M-776. Xutuqtu ölzöi dabxurlaqsan kemēkü yeke kölgöni sudur oršibo (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 791.
Oirat manuscript, 9 ff., 43×13.5, 28 lines.
M-777. Qutuγ-tu yekede tonilγaγči ǰüg-üd-tür delgeregsen gemsin γasiγudaqui--bar nigül-i arilγaǰu: burqan-i bütügel-ün ǰokiyaγči neretü yeke kölgen sudur (1b). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 1021.
Manuscript, 3 parts: 57 + 52 + 42 ff., 31×9.5, 20 lines.
M-778. Sonosuγad yekede tonilγaγči-yin terigün [dumdadu] γurbaduγar bölög orosibai (1a).
Manuscript, 3 parts: 20 + 29 + 26 ff., 33×9.5, 27 lines.
M-779. Tümen on-du edür čaγ-un sayin-ni songγoǰu ürgülǰiden üǰekü möngke toγtaγal anu: altan toliy (1a). Calendar.
Manuscript, 84 ff., 12×22, charts.
M-780. Bodi-sado-yin unal namančilaqu sudur orošiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 1041.
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22×8, 15 lines.
M-781. Aldar čaγan ebügen-ü sang orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22×8.5, 15 lines.
M-782. Qara noqai-yin aman üǰekü nom orosiba (1a). Astrology.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 21.5×8.8, 16 lines.
M-783. Yesün menggen-ü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 12 ff., 21.5×8, 15 lines.
M-784. Nayan nige maγu iru-a-yi üǰekü sudur ene bui (1a).
Manuscript, 8 ff., 21.5×9, 22 lines.
M-785. Sülde tengri-yin sang sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22.5×9, 17 lines.
M-786. Mör-ün sang-un sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 22×8.8, 17 lines.
M-787. Vačir: sumu güylgekü sudur orosiba (1a). Tibetan text in Mongolian script.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 21×8.5, 16 lines.
M-788. Altan saba-yi sudur ene bui:: orosiba (1a). Divination about the dead.
Manuscript, ff. 1–6 (end is missing), 21.5×8.5, 16 lines.
M-789. Eldeb ǰüil edür-ün üǰel orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 36 ff., 18×7.2, 17 lines.
M-790. Tngri-yin köbegün üile-yi bütügegči ber qoyitu amitan-u uqaγan-u qarangγui arilγan negegči neretü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 10 ff., 20×8, 19 lines.

M-791. Tümen on-u čaγ uliral-un toγan-u bičig. Möngke toγtaγal (1a). Extract from a calendar.
Manuscript, 4 ff., 20×8, 18 lines.

M-792. [Tabun dagini-yin tölge]. Divination about missing properties and cattle.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 17.5×7, circles and charts for the fortune-telling, with explanation.

M-793. Günγ-a düig-ün dotor-ača γaγaγsan edür: üǰekü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, ff. 1–4 (end is missing), 19.5×8, 19 lines.

M-794. Itegel yabuγulqu sudur orosiba: itegel yabuγulqu bolai (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 21×9.5, 16 lines.

M-795. Beginning (1b): Sayin galab-yin mingγan burqan-dur mörgümüi: ene sayin galab-yin mingγan burqan-i tamγay-a-yin: tus erdem inu: ... Interpretation of dreams.
Manuscript, 7 ff., 13×6.5, 9 lines.

M-796. Nigüü yirtinčü-yin dörben čilüge nomlaqu sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 17.5×7, 16 lines.

M-797. Mal-un ǰabqaragsan-i üǰekü: mergen kemen sudur orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 19.5×6.5, 19 lines.

M-798. Er-e em-e kümün-ni sayin maγu yabuqu kiged: dambaral-un üǰekü yesün kürdü kümekü sudur orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 19.5×6.8, 19 lines.

M-799. Naiman külil neretü yeke kölgen sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, ff., 1–5, 8–9, 19.5×7, 16 lines.

M-800. Qorin naiman odon-dur γaraγ dokiyal sayin maγu ilγal üǰekü sudur orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 6 ff., 19.5×7, 19 lines.

M-801. Beginning (2a): ... aγar-yi türgen: ideküi-dür duratai: iriken-dür duratai: ügen-ni olan: ... Fortune-telling by means of birth marks.
Manuscript, ff. 2–10, 19.5×7, 19 lines.

M-802. Beginning (1a): Ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen Manǰuširi-dur mörgümüi: Töbed-ün qaγan-u čöb-ün čaγ-tur kerey-e kele-yin šinǰi-yi meden ... Fortune-telling by means of listening to the voice of birds.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 17.7×7.5, 15 lines.

M-803. Günγ-a duyig-un dotor-ača γaruγsan edür üǰekü sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 13 ff., 17.7×7.5, 16 lines.

M-804. Tabun daginis-un mergen üǰel-ün sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 22×9, 20 lines.

M-805. Mergen üǰel-ün sudur orosiba (1a). Divination about missing cattle.
Manuscript, ff. 1–4 (end is missing), 20.5×8, 14 lines.

M-806. Aliba üǰel-ün sudur orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 10 ff., 17.5×6.5, 14 lines.

M-807. Ačitu γučin čaγan üseg orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 21×7, 15 lines.

M-808. Γangǰuγ-a takiqu sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 17.5×6.5, 18 lines.
M-809. Γurban-u qubǰi-a bičig (1a). Fortune-telling.
Manuscript, 8 ff., 18×7, 14 lines.
M-810. Qutuγ-tu vačir-iyar oγtoluγči bilig-ün činadu kiǰaγar-a kürügsen kemegdekü yeke kölgen sudur orošiba (1a). Tarni.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 17.5×7, 14 lines.
M-811. Arban ǰüg-ün ačitu mergen Geser qaγan-u sayin maγu qoyar-i ilγan sal[γa]qu ačitu Geser boγda-[n]u mergen tölge orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 21.5×8.5, 18 lines.
M-812. Ene dotor-a bey-e tataqu čike qanginaqu nayidaqu keriy-e kiged šaγaǰaγai-yin daγun γaruqu medekü sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 9 ff., 17.5×7, 14 lines.
M-813. Arban qoyar ǰil-ün kürdü ergegülügsen sudur orošiγulba (1a).
Manuscript, 6 ff., 19.5×8.5, 17 lines.
M-814. Qara buγ-a kölgetü neretü daγurisqaqu qaγan-u ubadis sudur orošiγulba (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 22×9, 18 lines.
M-815. Qara buγ-a kölgetü neretü daγurisqaqu qaγan-u ubadis sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 22×9, 16 lines.
M-816. Noγoγan Dhar-a eke neretü yeke kölgen sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 8 ff., 22×8.5, 17 lines.
M-817. Vačir-iyar teyin böged: ebdegči neretü tarni (1b). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 590.
Manuscript, 4 ff., 22×8.5, 20 lines.
M-818. Bilig barimad neretü yeke kölgen sudur orošiγulba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 162.
Manuscript, 4 ff., 22×8.8, 21 lines.
M-819. Tabun dagini-yin üǰel sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 22×8.5, 18 lines.
M-820. Γangǰuur-yin quriyangγui neretü yeke kölgen sudur orošiba (1a). Magtal.
Manuscript, 7 ff., 22×8.5, 18 lines.
M-821. Tangu-yin sang sudur orošiγulbai (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 22×9, 18 lines.
M-822. Itegel orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 21.5×8.5, 17 lines.
M-823. J̌angǰiy-a qutuγtu-yin tarqaγsan ǰarliγ anu (1a).
Manuscript, folded, 4 ff., 9×22, 7 lines.
M-824. Qutuγ-tu sidkegsen sidisün γarquyin oron ed-ün eǰin eǰin doγor-a-tu kiged adaγusun ayimaγ-yi ilaγuγči tarni (1a).
Manuscript, 6 ff., 21×8, 20 lines.
M-825. Qutuγ-tu naiman gegen nertü yeke kölgen sudur orošibai (1a). Tarni.
Manuscript, 3 ff., 19.5×7, 17 lines.

M-826. Mayui-yin mayui iru-a ene bui (10b).
Manuscript, ff. 2–13, 22×8.5, 17 lines.
M-827. Beginning (1b): Namô gürü Manǰusiri: nigen šini-dü kemebesü kereg tusa: keregleküi yaǰar-un negeküi ba: čayan ǰüg-yi ergeleküi ... Predicting for the days of a month.
Manuscript, 6 ff., 17.5×7.5, 16 lines.
M-828. Naiman gegen neretü ǰuu tarni (7b).
Manuscript, 8 ff., 20.5×7.5, 19 lines.
M-829. Adiy-a gray-tu čayan ulayan-i dayaysan čidkür dayaysan ... Astrology, fortune-telling by means of the eight elements.
Manuscript, 4 ff., 17.7×7.2, 25 lines.
M-830. Čayan Dara-a eke neretü sudur orosiba (1a). Prayer.
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22×9, 25 lines.
M-831. Keriy-e šayiǰiyai-yin kelen medekü bičig orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 9 ff., 22×9, 15 lines.
M-832. Nigen ǰüil yurbalčin šoo-[n]u sudur orošiba (1b).
Manuscript, copy-book format, 6 ff., 10.5×15.5, 9 lines.
M-833. Yüm-ün quriyangyui sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 15 ff., 21×8.5, 16 lines.
M-834. See M-659.
M-835. Ekeyin zürken tarni oroširoi (1a).
Oirat manuscript, folded, 6 ff. + 3 ff., 7×9, 7 lines.
M-836. Beginning (1b): Lh[a]su J̌uu-yin Širigeyid Daši-lungboo Budalang-giyin boyda Dalai-blam-a-tan ... Magtal.
Manuscript, 3 ff., 21.5×7.5, 19 lines.
M-837. Okin ögküi üǰekü beri abqu-yi üǰekü sudur oroširai (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22×9, charts.
M-838. Nayan nige mayu yiru-a-yi üǰekü sudur oroširai (1a).
Manuscript, 15 ff., 22.5×9, 13 lines.
M-839. Beginning (1b): A. e. i. o. u ... Mongolian alphabet.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22×9.5, 19 lines.
M-840. Nidün ebedčin-i anayaqu ary-a inu (1b).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 21.5×7.5, 17 lines.
M-841. Aliba sayin mayu qoyar šo sudur (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 21.5×8.5, 17 lines.
M-842. Ganǰur-yin quriyangyui bolai (1a). Magtal.
Manuscript, folded, 4 ff., 7.5×21, 6 lines.
M-843. Gerün sünesü üǰekü bičig ene bui (1a).
Manuscript, 1 f., 20.5×7.2, 25 lines in all.
M-844. Gerün sünesü üǰekü bičig ene bui (1a).
Manuscript, 1 f., 8.5×22, 9 lines in all.
M-845. Ayayi yerügel sudur ene bui oršiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 17.5×7, 12 lines.

M-846. Burqan-u qutuγtu ǰarliγ-yin temeg (?) bičig (1a). Explanation of the rules of monastic life.
Manuscript, 5 ff., 22×9, 20 lines.
M-847. Kery-e šaǰaγai kele medekü anu (1a).
Manuscript, 1 f., 17×7, 46 lines in all.
M-848. Basa beri baγulγaqu yosun inu (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 17.5×7, 13 lines.
M-849. Qudaldu qudalduqui edür inu (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 17.5×7, 13 lines.
M-850. Migčim-a-yin šoo-[n]u sudur orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 7 ff., 17.5×7, 12 lines.
M-851. Γanggi-lodoi kemegdekü orošiba (1a). Magtal.
Manuscript, 1 f. (end is missing), 22×8.5, 16 lines.
M-852. Γurban erdeni-yin suryaγuli neretü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 6 ff., 17.5×11, 14 lines, the manuscript is defective.
M-853. Beginning (1a): A. e. i. o. u ... Mongolian alphabet.
Manuscript, 1 f., 20.5×10, 20 lines in all.
M-854. J̌angǰiy-a qutuγtu-yin ǰarliγ qayirlan tarqaγsan anu (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 8.8×22, 8 lines.
M-855. Mengge-yin belge üǰekü sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 9 ff., 17.5×7, 14 lines.
M-856. Tngri-yin köbegün üile-yi bütügegči ber qoyitu amitan-u uqaγan-u qarangγui-yi arilγan negegči neretü šasitar orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 10 ff., 22×9, 18 lines.
M-857. Ačitu γučin čaγan üsüg orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22×9, 17 lines.
M-858. Beginning: A. e. i. o. u ... Mongolian alphabet.
Manuscript, 1 f. (folded in two), 17×21.5, 12 lines in all.
M-859. Qara noqai-yin erge[gü]lküi yosu üǰekü bičig ene bui (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22×8.5, 15 lines.
M-860. Γurban erdeni-yin suryaγuli neretü sudur orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 21×8.5, 19 lines.
M-861. Süng šai torba ma šügsü (1a). Didactics.
Manuscript, 5 ff., 22×8.8, 18 lines.
M-862. Γaǰar-yin šinǰi sudur ene bui (1a).
Manuscript, 6 ff., 20.5×7, 17 lines.
M-863. Erlig nom-un qaγan-u ǰarliγ-un bičig orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, ff. 1–18 (end is missing), 21.5×9, 15 lines.
M-864. Šin-e orčiγuluγsan eldeb keregtü qas qaγurčaγ neretü bičig qoyaduγar debter. Mör γarqu-yi ongγoču üǰekü kürdün anu (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 11×18, 6–8 lines.
M-865. Boγda J̌ibčundamba qutuγtu gegegen-ten-ü lüngden ǰarliγ-yi tarqaγtun (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 11×17.5, 11 lines.

M-866. J̌anǰiy-a qutuγtu-yin ǰarliγ qayiralan tarqaγsan anu (1a).
Manuscript, folded, 7 ff., 18×5.5, 5–6 lines.

M-867. Kei morin-u sayin maγu-yi üǰekü (1a).
Manuscript, 6 ff., 17.5×7, 15 lines.

M-868. Beginning (1a): Lh[a]su J̌ugai-yin [J̌uu-yin] Serei Γanγad [Γaldang] Daši-lumbo Budalang-yin boγda Dalai-blam-a-tan ... Magtal.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 17.5×7.5, 16 lines.

M-869. Boγda eǰen-yin sang orosiba (1a). Cult of emperors.
Manuscript, 4 ff., 17.5×7.5, 17 lines.

M-870. Arban qanggal kiged qamuγ burqan-u mörgül sudur orosibai (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 17.7×7.5, 19 lines.

M-871. Degedü dangsuγ blam-a-yin üǰel orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 12 ff., 17.5×7.5, 14 lines.

M-872. Nara sara ükükü-yin ür-e-yi üǰegülkü sudur orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, 10 ff., 21.5×7, 15 lines.

M-873. Qas erdeni-yin qaγurčaγ kemegdekü toγ-a bičig orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 7 ff., 17.5×7.5, 17 lines.

M-874. Vačir-iyar oγtoluγči nertü sudur orošibai (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 771.
Manuscript, 51 ff., 21×8, 16 lines.

M-875. Qutuγtu oγtaryui γaǰarun naiman gegen yeke kölgen sudur-a orašibai (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 709.
Manuscript, 26 ff., 19.5×7.5, 15 lines.

M-876. Ene inu Mongγol-un angqan-u ǰokiyaγsan nigen ǰaγun üsüg kememü (1b).
Manuscript, copy-book format, 7 ff., 16.5×21.5, 8–10 lines.

M-877. Boγda Badamba blam-a-yin ǰokiyaγsan altan erike neretü šastir orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 8 ff., 17.5×7, 17 lines.

M-878. Γangǰuur-yin quriyangγui-yi orošiba (1a). Magtal.
Manuscript, 4 ff., 21×8.5, 16 lines.

M-879. Lobon-miǰid-dorǰi-yin suryal (1a).
Manuscript, 6 ff., 22×9, 18 lines.

M-880. Abural γurban suryaγ-tu (1a). Magtal.
Manuscript, 3 ff., 21.5×9, 16 lines.

M-881. Boγda J̌ibčundanba-yin: ǰarliγ bičig orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 6 ff., 22×9, 18 lines.

M-882. Beginning (1b): Ene inu graγ odon-u yeke dokiyal bui ... Astrology, fortune-telling by means of the eight elements.
Manuscript, 23 ff., 17.5×7, 17 lines.

M-883. Čoγ tegülder čaγ-un kürdün-eče nomlaγsan γaǰar-un sülden-dür oron-ača üsüg anu: arban qoyar sar-a-yin ali bolqu: arban qoyar ǰil-ün ür-e nomlaqu anu (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 21.5×9, 35 lines in all.

M-884. Namô Maṇzušriy menggeyin toli (1b).
Oirat manuscript, ff. 1–8 (end is missing), 22×9, 18 lines.
M-885. Itegel yabuγulqu sedkil egüsgekü sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 20×9, 15 lines.
M-886. Beginning (1a): Jilbüri-yin čaγan sarayin šineyin nigen-eče arban kürtel--e köke quluγun-a bui bolbasu ... Predicting the auspicious and inauspicious days.
Manuscript, 1 f., 21.5×8.5, 38 lines in all.
M-887. Tanšug kemekü qaraγčin γaqai jil-ün čaγ ularil-un toγan-u bičig ene (1a). Extracts from the calendar for 1923.
Manuscript, 4 ff., 17×7, 15 lines.
M-888. Beginning (1b): Edüge čereg kiged degerme ba: jaryu kiged esergü tesergü temečeküi alin-i üiledbesü: ... Buddhist rituals.
Manuscript, 8 ff., 22×8, 4 Tibetan lines + 18 Mongolian lines.
M-889. Beginning (1a): Quluγun-a-du baγubasu aliba yaγum-dur yeke sayin: jabqaγsan olqu: ... Prediction for each year of the 12 year circle.
Manuscript, 12 ff., 9×11, 7 lines.
M-890. Beginning (2b): Šitügen barilduqu boluγsan-i nomlaγsan: Manjuširi erketü tegün-e mörgügsen-eče: šitün barilduγsan kiged inu ... Predictions for the days of a month.
Manuscript, 14 ff., 17.5×7, 15 lines.
M-891. Tngri γajarun sünesü üjekü bičig ene: basa čaγ-un nara γaraqu singükü kiged: 12 jil-ün ibegel qarši-yi üjekü inu (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 17.5×7, 16 lines.
M-892. Barayija kemegdekü sudur orošiba (1a). Manual of predictions for the days of a month.
Manuscript, 11 ff., 21×8.5, 20 lines.
M-893. Eldeb jüil üjel ene bolai (1a).
Manuscript, 6 ff., 21×8, 19 lines.
M-894. Köke Mangjuširi-yin nomlaγsan yororsi ba: tngri γajar-un sünesü: basa dörben čaγ-un naran γaraqu šingekü kiged 12 jil-ün ibegel qarši üjekü anu (1a).
Manuscript, folded, 4 ff., 22×8.5, 17 lines.
M-895. Erdeni-tü qayirčaγ neretü naran-u sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, ff. 1–6, 11–13, 18, 22×8.5, 16 lines.
M-896. Činggis boγda-yin nomlaγsan oyun-u tülkür orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, ff. 1–7, 9–13, 15–16, 22×8.5, 16 lines.
M-897. Qobči qara nerü-tür sudur orosiba (1a). Divination about missing properties and cattle.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 21.5×8.5, 14–31 lines.
M-898. Tngri-yin köbegün üile-yi bütügegči ber qoyitu amitan-u uqaγan-u qarangγui-yi arilγan negegči neretü šašitar orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 9 ff., 21.5×8, 21 lines.

M-899. Aliba üǰel-ün sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 3 ff., 22×8.7, 17 lines.
M-900. Mongγol üsüg-ün quriyangγui ǰirüken-ü tolta kemekü ǰaγun üsüg orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 8 ff., 23×8, 16 lines.
M-901. Šaγaǰaγai-yin sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 1 f., 22×9, 19 lines.
M-902. Γučin čaγan üsüg orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 18×7.5, 18 lines.
M-903. Beginning (1b): Lhasu J̌uugi-yin, Šeri keyid Daši-lumbo Budalang boγda Dalai-blam-a ... Magtal.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22×8, 20 lines.
M-904. Boγda J̌ibčundamba qutuγtu gegegen-ten-ü lüngdün tarqaγtun (1a).
Manuscript, folded, 3 ff., 9.5×24.5, 9 lines.
M-905. Čaγan ebügen-ü sang ba sudur qoyar ene dotor-a ürgülǰi orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, ff. 1–2, 4, 6–8, 17.5×6.5, 12 lines.
M-906. Ebügen ǰalaγu qoyar ügüleldügsen ügen-ü tobči (1a). Didactics.
Manuscript, ff. 1–10 (end is missing), 22×9, 19 lines.
M-907. Γučin čaγan üsüg orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 22×8.5, 18 lines.
M-908. Itegel yabuγulqu sedkil egüsgekü sudur orosiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 17×7.5, 15 lines.
M-909. Getülgegči degedü burqan-dur mörgümüi: čilaγun belgedekü (1a).
Manuscript, ff. 1–2 (end is missing), 21.5×8.5, 15 lines.
M-910. Bodisadu-a-yin unal namančilaqu orošiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 1041.
Manuscript, f. 1 (end is missing), 21×9, 9 lines.
M-911. Mani-yin šoo šoo inu ǰaγan-ij soyuγ-a java-tung eden-i ken ber keyikü bolai (1a).
Manuscript, ff. 1, 6, 21.5×8.5, 18 lines.
M-912. Γangda-yin tölge orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, ff. 1–2, 4–6, 17×7, 14 lines.
M-913. Sayin Mani-badara-yin ene tuγuǰi (36b).
Manuscript, ff. 3–22, 32–36, 21.5×9, 19 lines.
M-914. J̌aγun eketü-yin sudur (117b). Collection of fortune-telling manuals.
Manuscript, ff. 2–118, 16×7, 8–9 lines.
M-915. Qutuγ-tu degedü altan gerel-tü erketü sudur-nuγud-un qaγan orosiba (1a). See Ligeti, Kanǰur, No. 177. See M-141.
Peking xylograph, ff. 1–2, 10, 18–24, 89–183, 192–198, 201–223 (end is missing), 51×10 (46×7.5), 37 lines.
M-916. [Kümün-ü nom-yin surtaγal bayarlan qurumlaγči kemekü orošiba].
Manuscript, copy-book format, ff. 6–18 + cover, 11×24.5, 8 lines.

M-917. Beginning (1b): Sayin šajin-ni mangdaγuluγči Töbed-ün oron-du Arsilumbo keyid-ün qamuγ-yi ayiladduγči: boγda Bangčin-erdeni-yin gegegen qamuγ amitan-ni nigülesügči ... Divination.
Manuscript, 2 ff., 8.5×22, 9 lines.

M-918. Maṇi-yin tus erdem kemegdekü orošiγsan bolai (Tib.) Ma-ni'i phan-yon zhes-bya-ba bzhugs-so (1a).
Manuscript, 6 ff., 22×9, 3 Tibetan–Mongolian lines.

M-919. Beginning (1a): Nim-a garaγ-tur mör: γarγaju yabubasu yabuyal: udaγa bolqu üile: kereg ülü bütükü ... Astrology.
Manuscript, 1 f., 22×9, 28 lines in all.

M-920. Doloγan γariγ üjekü sudur ene bui (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 17×7, 15 lines.

M-921. Γučin čaγan üsüg orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 2 ff., 19.5×7.5, 20 lines.

M-922. Badm-a Sambuu-ba baγši gegen-iyer ayiladuγsan ǰarliγ-tu eke boluγsan qamuγ amitan-u nisvanis-ača bütügsen dörben ǰayun dörben ebedčin tegün-eče čöb-ün čaγ-tur orobas-un sačuraγsan anu naiman tümen dörben mingγan bolqu: čaγ-tu qara dom arγ-a erkem tusatai kemen ǰarliγ-tur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, 4 ff., 21.5×8, 20 lines.

M-923. Beginning (2a): ... murada: baγši-yin ǰala: tabun ada-yin ǰüg-tür γai γarγa: ... Fortune-telling by means of the eight elements.
Manuscript, ff. 2–17, 21×7, 17 lines.

M-924. Beginning (3a): ... saγuγsan kümün busu kümün-eče γal abču sünüge: široi-dur saγuγsan kümün široi abču γarγ-a: ... Fortune-telling by means of the eight elements.
Manuscript, ff. 3–21, 18.5×7.5, 16 lines.

M-925. Qobči γaraγ-yin tölgö orsiba. Mal-yin tölgö (1a).
Manuscript, 5 ff., 11.5×7, 13 lines.

M-926. Qongšim bodisung-un ǰirüken-eče γaruγsan ülü aldaqu tölge (13b).
Manuscript, ff. 3–13, 21.5×8.5, 12 lines.

M-927. Itegel yabuqu sudur orošiba (1a).
Manuscript, f. 1 (end is missing), 19.5×6.7, 23 lines.

M-928. Ganggi-lodoi kemegdekü sudur orošiba (1a). Magtal.
Manuscript, f. 1 (end is missing). 22×8.8, 16 lines.

M-929. Beginning (2a): ... qan-dur bolqu: qoyar sara-yin nara bariγdabasu: nara uryuqui ǰüg-ün ulus-tur ǰobalang bolqu: ... Astrology.
Manuscript, ff. 2–12, 18×7.5, 13 lines.

M-930. Beginning (1a): Tunγ-a tulγ-a dongadbasu buyan kesig nemekü: ... Fortune-telling by means of listening to the voice of birds.
Manuscript, 1 f., 21.5×8, 20 lines.

M-931. J̌arliγ-un bičig qamuγ-tur orošibai (1a).
Manuscript, f. 1 (end is missing), 22×9, 15 lines.

M-932. 1) Tabun daginis-yin mergen kürdü oršiba. Arban qoyar jil-ün kürdü (18b).
2) Naiman külil-ün sudur. Naiman sayudal-un oron (24b).
Manuscript, note-book, 27 ff. + 20 empty ff. + cover, 14.5×8.8, 10–16 lines.

M-933. Beginning (1b): Degedü yurban erdeni-dür mörgümüi: ečüs-tür öčüken nasun-u čay iriküi ba: čay-un bayural bolqu-yin üy-e-dü bilig bay-a nasuda sonos: ... Admonition in verse.
Manuscript, 3 ff., 10×16.5, 10 lines.

M-934. Mangjuši-ri-yin egüden-eče jokiyaysan mergen tölge ene bui (1b). Charts for fortune-telling.
Manuscript, ff. 1–2, 4, 6–10 (end is missing), 6.5×11, 6 lines.

M-935. Beginning (1a): Sayin čay-un mingyan burqan-du mörgümüi; ene sayin galab-un mingyan burqan-u tamy-a-yin ači tusa erdem inu: ... Interpretation of dreams.
Manuscript, folded, 15 ff. + 2 empty ff., 4×10.5, 4 lines.

M-936. See M-135.

M-937. Ilaju tegüs nögčigsen amiduruyulun jokiyayči Vangdurui gereltü:: Otačis-un qayan burqan ming-ya-nu ündüsü:: orošiysan bolai (1a). Rasiyan-u jirüken naiman gesigütü niyuča ubadisun ündüsün-eče nomlaqui ündüsün (60b).
Manuscript, 61 ff., 35.5×11, 30 lines.

M-938. Beginning (1b): Kümün-ü nidü sarakiysan-du yuuyu bar uda-basu sayin: ... On healing eye diseases.
Manuscript, 16 ff., 35.5×9, 23 lines.

M-939. Qara šiküretü sudur orošiba (1a). Tarni.
Manuscript, 9 ff., 29×10, 13 lines.

M-940. Barayičadu kemekü nayiman külil-ün mergen tölge (1b).
Manuscript, note-book, 59 ff. + cover, 10×16, 11 lines.

M-941. 1) Qutuytu čayan sikürtü neretü yeke kölgen sudur orosibai (1a). See Ligeti, Kanjur, No. 208.
2) Qutuytu qara kele ama yal-a-yi amurliyulun üiledügči neretü yeke kölgen sudur (48b).
Manuscript, note-book, 52 ff. + cover, 12×7.5, 9 lines.

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DATURA RITUALS IN THE *VAJRAMAHABHAIRAVA-TANTRA*[1]

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Abstract

The occurrence of a plant known as *da dhu ra* is investigated in the pre-11th century *Vajramahabhairava-tantra*, an Indian Buddhist tantric text extant in Tibetan translation. Internal evidence from the texts, and linguistic evidence, identifying *da dhu ra* as *Datura metel* is given despite current certainty of the New World origin of the genus *Datura*.

Introduction

To demonstrate the endemicity to the Indian Subcontinent of *Datura metel*, any native Indian text containing convincing references to *D. metel* and datable to pre-Columbian times would be sufficient. This paper attempts to provide formal evidence for the endemicity of *D. metel* to the Old World firstly by presenting the *Datura* rituals of the *Vajramahabhairava-tantra* having dated and localized this text, and secondly by glancing at the history of the Sanskrit word *dhattūra* '*D. metel*' and its descendants in modern Indian languages.

The presentation of such evidence is only necessary because current botanical research insists that all *Datura* species in the Old World are post-Columbian imports from the New. Symon states:

"There is no convincing evidence of their [= *Datura*'s] establishment in the Old World prior to the [European] discovery of America ... *Datura* should be removed from any list of cosmopolitan genera."[2]

Or again, Symon and Haegi are almost as definite:

[1] This paper is one of the results of a year's study trip to India on a Leverhulme Trust Study Abroad Studentship. The author wishes to thank the trustees of the Leverhulme Trust for making this and related research possible.

[2] D. E. Symon, Gondwanan Elements of the Solanaceae. In: *Solanaceae III: Taxonomy, Chemistry, Evolution.* Ed. Hawkes–Lester–Nee–Estrada. Kew 1991, 142.

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"In Asia, as in Europe, the total absence of *Datura* among the numerous recognizable descriptions and illustrations of a wide range of plants in many and varied works argues strongly against its origin in the Old World."[3]

And, concerning *Datura* in India, they say:

"Original Hindu and Sanskrit literature has not been available to us. Lancaster (1965) records *D. metel* amongst the sacred flowers used by the Hindus. As many other flowers of undoubted American origin e.g. *Tagetes, Polianthes, Magnolia grandiflora* L. and *Mirabilis* are so honoured this is no evidence of antiquity in India but rather of the rapid adoption of attractive exotic plants."[4]

Such attitudes contrast with those of earlier European scholars who were convinced — as far as *Datura stramonium* in Europe was concerned — of *Datura*'s Old World origin. The Afro-Asian origin of *Datura* is mentioned in Linnaeus[5], with the plant having apparently already been intorduced by the Romani into North Germany in the 16th century.[6] 19th and early 20th century works retain and reinforce this view. The *Pallas Lexicon* of 1896 is certain of the plant's importation into the Kingdom of Hungary by the Romani — all the way from India.[7] In 1929 P. Graebner thought the plant originated in Central Asia or southern Russia,[8] which view harmonizes well with the idea of its importation into India by the Aryans.

These views may well be mistaken in the case of *D. stramonium* which does seem to be genuinely American, while the status of *D. metel* in South-east Europe is open to question. In defence of Haegi and Symon it has to be conceded that a non-native genus naturalized in Europe shortly after Columbus' discovery of the New World would seem to be a prime candidate for American import status, but perhaps the coincidence of simultaneous importation of a *Datura* species from India by the Romani can be accepted — extraordinary though it would be to have two species of the same exotic genus entering Europe at the same time from opposite points of the compass.[9]

[3] D. E. Symon–L. A. R. Haegi, Datura (Solanaceae) is a New World Genus. In: *Solanaceae III* ..., 202.

[4] *Ibid.*, 201.

[5] C. Linnaeus, *Species plantarum.* Holmiae 1953.

[6] Cf. J. Van Dieken, *Pfalzen im ostfriesischen Volksglauben und Brauchtum.* Aurich 1971, 73.

[7] *Pallas Lexicon.* Vol. XII. Budapest 1896, 396.

[8] P. Graebner, *Lehrbuch der allgemeinen Pflanzengeographie.* Leipzig 1929, 133.

[9] Extra research, both botanical and linguistic, is needed to shed light upon the complex situation in Europe, and especially upon the *stramonium/metel* duo in Eastern Europe and West Asia.

Datura in the *Vajramahabhairava-tantra*

Datura metel, under the name *dhattūra*, has been known in India for centuries. There are references to it in the *Amarakośa* (100.78), Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* (VII.1.24 and 2.42) and the *Matsyapurāṇa* (95.24)[10], and doubtless also in many more texts. The *Vajramahabhairava-tantra* rituals given in this paper are particularly useful as they comprise connected rituals (rather than just brief references) involving *dhattūra* in typical magical uses.

The *Śrī-vajramahabhairava-tantra* (= Vbt.) is an Indian Buddhist tantric ritual text of which we possess versions descended from a pre-13th century Tibetan translation of a lost Sanskrit (or Sanskritized Prakrit) original. The Sanskrit version was known to the compiler of the Tibetan collection in which the Tibetan translation of the Vbt. is included, hence a latest possible date of c. 1300 can be suggested for this text based on the known dates of the compiler Bu ston (1290–1364), though doubtless the text is much earlier. The dates of the revealer of the text, the pandit Lalitavajra, are much less certain, though the Tibetan historian Taranatha writing in 1608[11] considered him a contemporary of the dialectitian Dharmakirti (fl. c. 650–700). A date of c. 600 is accepted for the beginnings of Tantric written literature in India, so the emergence of the Vbt. can be dated to sometime between the widely separated pair of dates 650–1200.

The area of origin of the Vbt. according to its own colophon (148r[12]; translated in Siklós[13]) and according to the history of Tāranātha[14] is the land of U rgyan, the Tibetan equivalent of the Sanskrit toponym Oḍḍiyāna which is usually identified with the present-day Swat district of northern Pakistan. A South Indian location for Oḍḍiyāna has also been suggested,[15] but either way the Vbt. remains an essentially typical Indian tantric work.

The Vbt. deals with the rituals of the wrathful Buffalo-headed deity Vajrabhairava (a manifestation of the Buddhist Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī). Notable amongst these many and varied rituals are a set of five, three from the 2nd chapter and two from the 4th. These all contain references to a plant known in the Tibetan text as *da dhu ra*. These references follow:

[10] Cf. S. Ch. Banerji, *Flora and Fauna in Sanskrit Literature.* Calcutta 1980, 38.

[11] D. Chattopadyaya, *Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India.* Calcutta 1970, 242.

[12] References are to the Peking Blockprint of the Tibetan Bka' 'gyur (catalogue: Ui 1934) and to B. Siklós, *The Vajrabhairava Tantras. Tibetan and Mongolian Texts with Introduction, Translation and Notes.* Unpublished PhD thesis, University of London 1990.

[13] B. Siklós, *The Vajrabhairava Tantras...*, 123

[14] Chattopadyaya, *op.cit.*, 244.

[15] Lokesh Chandra has argued for a South Indian location for Oḍḍiyāna. L. Chandra, Oḍḍiyāna: a new interpretation. In: *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson.* Ed. M. Aris–Aung San Suu Kyi. Warminster 1980.

A. Vbt. ii.136r.

Tibetan text: ji ltar gsad par 'dod pa'i sngags pas dur khrod kyi ras la | dug dang | khrag dang | lan tshwa dang | ske tshe dang | nim ba dang | dha du ra'i khu ba yis rdo rje 'jigs byed chen po'i 'khor lo le tshe bcu drug pa bya rog chen po'i sgro rtse'i smyu gu 'am | mi'i rus pa'i smyu gus gcer bu skra bshig pas kha lhor bltas te | ma he'i gdong gi sbyor bas bri bar bya'o || me gnyis kyi dbus su bsgrub bya'i ming dang bcas par gzhag la de yi ge bcu pas bskor zhing hum brgyad bri || zur rnams su phat kyi yi ge rnams bri || bdag nyid tsha ba'i mar gyis lus byugs la | thod pa gnyis kyi dbus su 'khrul 'khor rab tu bcug jla sgyed bu gsum gyi steng du bzhag nas dur khrod kyi mgal pas me rab tu spar te | rkang pa g.yon pas mnan la yi ge bcu pa'i sngags bzlas so || de yis skad cig gis the tshom med par 'chi'o ||

Translation: The mantrin who desires to kill should, in union with the Buffalo-headed One [= the deity Vajrabhairava], naked, with dishevelled hair and facing south, draw the sixteen-section wheel of Vajramahabhairava [= Vajrabhairava] on a shroud in venom, blood, salt, black mustard, *nimba* (*Azadirachta indica*) and *Datura* juice using a pen made from a raven feather or from human bone. When he has placed it in between two fires along with the name of the victim of the rite, he surrounds it with the ten syllables and writes eight HŪṂs. In the corners the syllable PHAṬ is to be written. Anointing himself with warm butter he places this magical device within two crania. When he has placed it above three hearths, he should kindle a fire with cremation wood. Then he tramples it with his left foot and recites the ten syllable mantra. By this means the victim will doubtless die instantly.

B. Vbt.ii.137v.

Tibetan text: || gzhan yang dbye ba'i rab tu sbyor ba ni bya rog dang 'ug pa'i gshog pa dang | bram ze dang gtum po rnams kyi skra gcig tu byas la | dha du ra'i shing la me rab tu sbar te | du ba med pa'i mes bsregs la | de'i thal ba blangs la yi ge bcu pa'i sngags bzlas nas bud med dang skyes pa gnyis kyi bar du thal ba bzhag na | de skad cig gis 'byed par byed do ||

Translation: Also, for the rite of separation, he puts together the wings of a crow and an owl and the hair of a brahmin and an outcaste and kindles a fire of *Datura* wood. Burning these items in this smokeless fire he takes the ashes and, if he puts the ashes in between a woman and a man after reciting the ten-syllable mantra, they will instantly be separated.

C. Vbt.ii.138v.

Tibetan text: || de nas sngags pas smyo bar bya bar 'dod na dha du ra'i 'bras bu blangs la | sha chen dang lha cig tu shing srin gyis zos pa'i phye ma dang bsres nas bza' ba dang btung ba la ni sbyin no || sngags kyang bzlas pa bya ste | de skad cig gis smyo bar 'gyur zhing zhag bdun gyis 'chi'o ||

Translation: Then, if the mantrin wants to drive someone insane, he takes *Datura* fruit and, mixing it with human flesh and worm-eaten sawdust, offers it in food and drink. He recites the mantra and the person will instantly go insane and then die within seven days.

D. Vbt.iv.144r.

Tibetan text: de nas nor nor ma yin par bya bar 'dod na || ras bal gyi me la dha du ra'i 'bras bu dang bcas par mtshan mo yi ge bcu pa'i sngags brgya rtsa brgyad sbyin sreg byas na shin tu chud zos par 'gyur ro ||

Translation: Then if, wanting to turn wealth into poverty, he performs a hundred and eight burnt offerings at night in a fire of cotton using *Datura* fruit, [that wealth] will indeed become trifling.

E. Vbt.iv.144v.

Tibetan text: de nas bya rog gi tshang dang 'bras kyi phub ma dang lhan cig tu dha du ra'i shing gis me rab tu sbar nas | yi ge bcu pa'i sngags gang gi ming dang bcas par nam phyed na sbyin sreg byas na | nyi ma bdun gyis skrod par 'gyur ro ||

Translation: Then, if he performs burnt offerings at midnight with a crow's nest and rice husks using the ten syllable mantra along with the victim's name after kindling the fire in *Datura* wood, [the victim] will be driven away within seven days.

The Identification of *da dhu ra*

The plant *da dhu ra* occurs only in these passages in the Vbt. Whilst passage A might be the most interesting for students of magic, passage C is more significant for those wishing to identify *dha du ra* on the basis of its described effects after ingestion. A member of the Solanaceae certainly suggests itself as a suitable candidate, but through lack of any physical description of the plant the

quoted passages can at best only suggest the identification of *da dhu ra* as *Datura metel* on the basis of toxic effects common to other Indian Solanaceae. Nonetheless the Vbt. occurrences at least provide a roughly datable (and definitely pre-Columbian) record of the word *da dhu ra* on the basis of which the linguistic evidence can be investigated. This evidence leads inescapably to the conclusion that it is indeed *Datura metel* which is referred to in the Vbt.

The written Tibetan word *da dhu ra* (met with in aspirated versions *dha du ra* and *da dhu ra*) is a transliteration of the Sanskrit *dhattūra.* White thornapple, *Datura metel*, is given as the usual equivalent in the dictionaries[16], and while other solanaceous plants are possible confusion species, the identification is well established in the standard sources (with other distinct Sanskrit names serving for other common Solanaceae).

The basic Sanskrit term *dhattūra-* has descendants in many Indian languages, in all of which it means primarily *D. metel.* These words have been placed in six phonetic categories by Turner[17]:

1.	Prakrit	*dhattūra-*
	Ṣiṇā-dard	*dătŭ́ro-* m.
	Kashmiri	*datur^{u}-* m.
	Sindhī	*dhātūro* m.
	Panjābī	*dhatūrā* m.
	Kumaunī	*dhaturo*
	Gaṅgoi	*dhatur*
	Nepāli	*dhaturo*
	Assamese	*dhāturā*
	Oṛiya	*dhăturā*
	Hindī	*dhatūr, -a* m. (hence also *dhatūriyā* m. 'poisoner')
	Mārwāṛī	*dhaturo*
	Gujaratī	*dhatūrɔ, dhāt~* m.
2.	Maithilī	*dhathūr*
3.	Assamese	*dhūturā*
	Bengali/Oṛiyā	*dhuturā*
	Hindi	*dhutūrā* m.
	Marāṭhī	*dhutrā, dhotrā* m.
4.	Bengali	*dhuthurā*
	Maithilī	*dhuthur*
5.	Oṛiya	*dudurā*
6.	Prakrit	*dhutta-*

[16] Cf. M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit–English Dictionary.* Oxford 1899; V. Sh. Apte, *The Student's Sanskrit–English Dictionary.* Delhi 1959.

[17] R. Turner, *Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages.* London 1966.

It is immediately apparent that the consistency with which the word is preserved in the meaning of *D. metel* in all major Prakrit-based (and thus Sanskrit-based) Indian languages makes a transfer in meaning from an indigenous Solanaceous (or any other) plant to a supposed post-Columbian import very unlikely indeed. Sanskrit *dhattūra* simply must mean the same as its many descendants listed above. The distance in space and time which separates languages such as Gujarati and Assamese also positions the word *dhattūra* clearly in the vocabulary of ancestral Prakrit dialects which precede any seaborne contacts mediated by Europeans with the New World. The word also seems to be original Aryan and not a loan from Dravidian, this having been observed in 1891 by Dymock, Warden and Hooper[18] who consequently also thought that *D. metel* might be an import from Central Asia.[19]

Conclusion

There may be other evidence which could be adduced in support of Old World *Datura*[20] but any position arguing for the endemicity to the Americas of the *Datura* genus in general, and the species *D. metel* in particular, must be insecure purely on the basis of the above rituals. The Indian lexical evidence also means that any botanist wishing to argue against the endemicity of *Datura* in India needs to:

1. disprove the well-established equation of Skt. *dhattūra* to *Datura* (and thereby contradict all lexical sources);

2. explain the improbable switch in meaning from a Skt. word *dhattūra* not meaning *Datura* to words based on the Sanskrit *dhattūra* in modern Indian vernaculars meaning *Datura*;

3. identify the original Sanskrit *dhattūra* bearing in mind that distinct names for other common solanaceous species exist in Sanskrit.

All the three tasks are probably impossible, an impossibility which can lead only to one conclusion — *D. metel* was present in India prior to European contact with the New World. Any such conclusion necessitates the revision of

[18] W. Dymock–C. J. H. Warden–D. Hooper, *Pharmacographia Indiaca I–II: A History of the Principal Drugs of Vegetable Origin met with in British India.* London–Bombay–Calcutta 1891, II, 585.

[19] It might be worth checking (earlier) Central Asian etymologies for *D. metel*, though precisely locating the home of *D. metel* is not necessary for arguing against its American origin. In later eras theoretical knowledge of the ritual and toxic uses of *Datura* spread to the Lamaist lands of Central Asia since Tibetan, Mongolian and Manchu translations of the Vbt. all exists, and it is possible — though not proven — that Datura seeds could have been traded throughout the Lamaist world just as many other Indian ritual plants were.

[20] *Datura metel*, regarded as native to the Americas, has never been found in a 'native' wild state there. The issue of the lack of a wild type for *D. metel* in the Americas is avoided by calling the plant "essentially a collection of cultivars", these cultivars supposedly originating in pre-Columbian America rather then in Europe. Cf. Symon–Haegi, *op.cit.*, 205.

current botanical opinion regarding the origins of the genus *Datura* in general and the species *D. metel, D. ferox* and *D. leschenhaulti* in particular.

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ON THE GENRE OF THE *TRUYỆN*

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1. A summary of literary genres

The word *truyện* itself is a Vietnamese equivalent of the Chinese word *zhuàn* (傳) that means "biography", "memoire", "oral tradition", "history", "*story*" on one hand while it can be related with the Vietnamese word *chuyện* on the other. This latter exclusively means "tale", "story". It is worth mentioning that in North-Vietnam the pronunciation of these two words is similar [ʧwiạn].

As we will see, *truyện* approximatively served the same purpose in the history of Vietnamese literature as the picaresque novel, the *xiǎoshuō* (小說) in China during the age of the Ming (1368–1644) and the Qing (1644–1911) Dynasties; the Vietnamese equivalent of this term (*tiểu thuyết*), however, did not develop according to the patterns of the Chinese-type novel but on the bases of the European (and, since for more than a century Vietnam was under French authority, mainly on the base of the French) type in recent times. The Vietnamese terminology of the theory of literature also uses this word meaning "(modern) novel".[1]

Truyện, as many other genres of the ancient Southeast-Asian literatures, is, according to the approach of the European theory of genres, a transitional genre between folklore and literature. The point is not only that a lot of *truyện*s live and spread in the oral tradition, without having been recorded up to the present time[2] but above all that the larger part of the *truyện*s are works of folkloric intention and their authors themselves have meant them for retelling, for existence in the oral tradition.[3] Regarding the Vietnamese term *truyện*

[1] According to Pham Đình Hổ *truyện*s are "novels written in the national language" (*tiểu thuyết quốc ngữ*), cf. *Vu trung tùy bút*. Hànội 1972, 64. But it must be known that 小說 of the Ming age has not got any prose or epic equivalents in Vietnam. Epic prose in that time had not been born yet. (Although in Chinese there is one: according to the kind verbal message of professor Phan Cự Đệ the work, written in classical Chinese *Hoàng Lê nhất thống chí* [The Strive of the Emperors of Dynasty Lê For the Political Unity] is regarded in East-Asia, naturally, as a work of literature.)

[2] See Đặng Thanh Lê, *Truyện Kiều và thể loại truyện Nôm*. Hà-nội 1979.

[3] See L. Szegő, A meggyötört lélek sóhaja [A Sigh of the Tormented Soul]. *Ezredvég* 1991. No. 2, 37–42.

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khuyết danh ("lesser-known *truyện*") one can observe that the less representative pieces of this genre have, practically speaking, dissolved in the ocean of the folklore.

But what is the *truyện*? In the entirety of the available literature one can only find one definition of character of theory of genres[4], the one by Maurice Durand: "They are more or less long compositions, most often created by anonymous authors and written in the national language and form, mainly in *lục bát*."[5] This definition, however, leaves open the question whether they are of lyric, epic or dramatic character. This problem is all the more exciting as some Vietnamese colleagues, having got not too perfect a knowledge of European poetics, sometimes tend to be somewhat uncertain in this respect. The only expert who has treated this subject in a monographic (or, rather, pseudo-monographic) way, Mrs Đặng Thanh Lê, for instance, during a personal conversation of ours stressed the *narrative* ("*tự sư học*") character of this genre. This, however, only means that we have got to deal with a genre of *epic* character, which is not contradicted by the lyricism that shines in numerous *truyện*s nor by the fact that a lot of *truyện*s also contain some dramatic details.[6]

So if wanting to define *truyện* precisely, one also has to take the necessity of epic character into consideration and — if the meaning of the word "novel" can be extended to the products of the ancient East-Asian literatures — it must be defined as a Vietnamese novel in verse, story in verse, written in national forms and possessing numerous links with folklore.[7]

2. The problem of the written forms

Vietnam, although bordering directly on China, moreover, as a result of the of the Chinese ambitions of expansion, being an integral part of the vast Northern empire upon several occasions (for example, from 111 B.C. to 939 A.D., i.e. from the reign of the Western Han Dynasty until the Late Jin Dynasty for more than an entire millenium), in her relations to the Chinese culture has always occupied the position of the marches, the province which could be described as all but barbaric.

From the point of view of our subject that has two important consequences. The first is that the break-up of Vietnamese society never led to the

[4] I concluded collection of materials in 1989.

[5] M. Durand, Problemes posés par le "Kim Vân Kiều". In: *Mélanges sur Nguyễn Du*. Paris 1966, 1.

[6] Phrases beginning with *Chẳng nói... / Nàng nói...* ("He said... / She said..."), sometimes running through dozens of lines must be regarded as so.

[7] The uncertainty in using the term "novel" is, perhaps, groundless only in the case of Nguyễn Du's *Truyện Kiều* as this work possesses every attributes of a "novel in verse" in the European sense. (Besides, see below.) The appearance of epics in the form of novels in verse in Vietnam is unparalleled, by the way, in the whole Far-East. (Cf. I. I. Nikulin, *V'etnamskaja literatura X–XIX vv.* Moscow 1977, 141.)

evolution of such sharp divisions as those of the Chinese: Nguyễn Trãi, the great medieval poet and military leader exemplifies best that ancient clerks always remained close to the people in Vietnam[8], the second is that Vietnam had always been much poorer in financial and technical terms, and therefore had not had such a well-developed book-printing as China. (The pieces of *vè*, an epic genre of the Vietnamese folklore, written in verses, spread scored on bamboo-harle.)

If we also add the uncertainty surrounding the survival of already existing *truyện*s in their written form, the path of these pieces towards the folkore becomes obvious.

3. The origin of the *truyện*

In the (rather scant) special literature on the subject there can be found a recurrent idea, according to which the *truyện* is a specifically urban genre; that of the merchants who stand out against the ideology of patriarchal feudalism and gain their inspiration from the peasantry, i.e. from folklore.[9]

There are several authors who share Hưu Ngọc's view as to the urban origin of the genre of *truyện*, but others incline towards the view that the authors of the *truyện*s are to be found not among the merchants but rather among clerks, mainly of lower ranks. According to the verbal message of Mr Trường Đăng Dung, the excellent historian of literature it is probable, for instance, that the authors of certain *truyện*s might be some clerks who, either because they failed at their official examinations and so had been compelled to live in the country for a longer time or had been called to the village by their office, where the life among the peasants made it possible for them to get acquainted with the topics of the earlier novels in verse as pieces of the folklore. One has also got to take into consideration that the spiritual leaders of medieval Vietnam, the Buddhist Church renounced any literature written in the national language (cf. E. Galla, A legújabb vietnámi irodalomról [On the Latest Vietnamese Literature]. In: *Helikon*, 1979. No. 1–2, 119) so the interest of the authors turned lawfully to the folklore. (In detail see I. I. Nikulin, *V'etnamskaja literatura X–XIX. vv.* Moscow 1977. 141.) Anyway, it is certain that the authors of the written-down *truyện*s could not be merchants for the simple reason that in ancient Vietnam literacy in their circles could not be called all-pervasive. And this is not contrary to the fact that the majority of clerks (*hàn sĩ* or *bần sĩ*) condemned folkore, not regarding it as real literature.[10]

Starting from the certainty of the urban origin of the genre, one must remember the birth of the Chinese short epic poetry: this genre — in point of

[8] On Nguyễn Trãi cf. Trần Huy Liệu, *Nguyễn Trãi*. Hà-nội 1966.

[9] Hưu Ngọc, Introduction. In: *Anthologie de la littérature populaire du Viet-nam.* Paris 1982, 31.

[10] Nguyễn Đổng Chí, *Kho tàng truyện cổ tích Việt-nam.* Hà-nội 1958. Vol. I, 61.

fact, in prose — came into existence under urban circumstances as well.[11] Chinese *báihuà* (白 話) fiction and Vietnamese *truyện* are apparently products of very similar social *milieux* and one is perhaps not mistaken if drawing a parallel between these societies and European society which — also in feudal conditions — became the cradle of the picaresque novel.[12] It cannot be mere chance that one of the Chinese sources of the *truyện*-literature, the "Wonderful Spectacles of Present and Ancient Times" (*Jīn Gǔ Qí Guān,* 今 古 奇 觀) is sometimes also compared with the Decameron of Boccaccio, similarly of feudal times.[13] In her afore-mentioned work Đặng Thanh Lê makes the point that the *truyện* is a *specific* genre of feudal Vietnamese society.[14]

4. The rise of the *truyện*

The history of Vietnamese literature divides this genre into two main parts: that of the words written in Chinese, and those in Vietnamese language.

*Truyện*s, written in Chinese (*truyện cổ*, "old *truyện*s") can be regarded as the first works of Vietnamese epic literature because — although certain authors believe that they did not have much impact on the later *truyện*s, written in the national idiom[15] — they did, in any case, appear earlier. (The genres of the "wonderful tale", *truyện thần kỳ* and the "religious tale", *truyện tôn giáo* were alive long before the 17th century; the former in works written in Chinese like e.g. *Việt điển u linh*, i.e. "Dictionary of Souls which have not Reincarnated yet", written in prose or *Lĩnh Nam chích quái*, "The Strange Order for the Division of the South", the latter like e.g. *Tam tổ thực lực* ("The True History of the Three Ancestors") or *Thượng sĩ ngữ lục* ("The Oral History of the Sergeant").

These *truyện*s, written in Chinese characters, are nothing but adaptations of some Sino-Vietnamese folk tales (= *truyện cổ tích dân gian*) or legends (= *truyện cổ tích*) in Chinese verse or (more rarely) in Chinese prose.[16] So in this group of *truyện*s the above-mentioned two notions: that of the *truyện* and *chuyện*, are obviously inseparable.

It also deserves attention that the topics of the Chinese-language Vietnamese tales are often of Indian origin[17] although these topics, arriving from India

[11] Cf. e.g. F. Tőkei, Kína fejlődésének további megrekedése: a Ming dinasztia kora [Further Stagnation in the Development of China: The Ming Dynasty]. In: F. Tőkei–P. Miklós, *A kínai irodalom rövid története* [A Concise History of Chinese Literature]. Budapest 1960, 147.

[12] See A. Szerb, *A világirodalom története* [History of World Literature]. Vol. II. Budapest 1941, 22–23.

[13] See F. Tőkei, Utószó [Postscript]. In: *Mostani és régi idők csodálatos látványai* [Splendours of Modern and Ancient Times]. Budapest 1960, 519–527.

[14] Đặng Thanh Lê, *op. cit.*, 57.

[15] Cf. Đặng Thanh Lê, *op. cit.*, 44.

[16] Literature informs us about their thematical classification abundantly, cf. e.g. Phạm Thế Ngũ, *Việt-Nam văn học lịch sử*. Vol. I, 14–15, Phạm Văn Diêu, *Vặn học Việt-nam*. Sàigòn 1960, 300–301; or Nguyễn Đổng Chí, *op. cit.*, *ibid.*

[17] Cf. I. Nikulin, *V'etnamskaja literatura*. Moscow 1971, 113.

and finding their way into Vietnamese literature through the folklores of the national minorities living in Vietnam, had hardly any influence on the *truyện*s written in the Vietnamese vernacular.

Their prosody presents a rather stereotyped picture: they fall into stanzas of eight lines (*bát cú*), each of which has seven syllables while the inner structure of the stanzas is as follows:

lines 1 – 2: *đề* ("introduction")
lines 3 – 4: *thực* ("explication")
lines 5 – 6: *luận* ("criticism")
lines 7 – 8: *kết* ("conclusion")[18]

Vietnamese poetics calls this type of stanzas *thất ngôn bát cú*, i.e. "seven syllables – eight lines". The most common rhyme scheme of these stanzas is a-a-x-a-x-a-x-a. Nikulin stresses that closeness of these stanzas of eight lines to the lyric is an evidence of the relative under-development of the epic poetry of this time and it results, among other things, in the incoherent manner the plot of the *truyện*s was presented. (Each stanza must be regarded as an independent unit, they sometimes have titles of their own.) Naturally, this incoherence did not produce any difficulties for the contemporary audience who knew the plot well.[19] The relative shortness of the works is also characteristic of the *truyện*s: none of the most famous pieces, e.g. *Lâm tuyền kỳ ngộ* ("Re-encounter at the Spring of Muddy Water"), *Truyện Vương Tường* ("The History of King Tường"), *Tô công phụng sứ* ("Duke Tô's Commission") or *Chiếc giày thơm* ("The Fragnant Slippers") of the 17th century exceed 150 lines. Although, as a matter of fact, there are some longer ones, too: the *Thiên Nam ngữ lục* ("The Oral History of the Southern Sky"), written by Trinh Can (1682–1705) consists of 8136 lines.[20]

The 17th century is the brightest period in the history of the *truyện cô°* and the *truyện cô° tích*[21] but this is also the age when the *truyện*s written in the national *Nôm*-script revive.[22]

Vietnam in the 18th century was characterized by the weakening power of the Lê-Dynasty (1428–1802), and by the crisis of the feudal social arrangements, while in the spiritual life an unprecedented stabilization of the strongholds of Confucianism took place. As regards written literature, this is the period when the use of the *Nôm* characters becomes really widespread although the usage of the Chinese characters does not disappear.[23]

[18] See Bùi Công Hùng, *Góp phân tìm hiêu nghệ thuật thơ ca: Văn Nghệ.* 1983, 192.

[19] I. Nikulin, *V'etnamskaja literatura X–XIX. vv.* Moscow 1977, 143.

[20] One of the most comprehensive collections of Vietnamese tales and legends in Nguyễn Đổng Chí's *Kho tàng truyện cổ tích Việt-nam* in six volumes. Hanoi 1958.

[21] One can conclude this from the above-mentioned work of Nguyễn Đổng Chí.

[22] On the *Nôm* script recapitulatively see L. Szegő, Quốc ngữ. In: *Világirodalmi lexikon* [Encyclopedia of World Literature]. Vol. 11, Budapest 1989, 301–302.

[23] See Nguyễn Lộc, *Văn học Việt-nam.* Vol. I. Hà-nội 1976, 70–110. When mentioning the consolidation of the Confucian way of thinking, however, we must point out a phenomenon, widely known amongst those who know South-East Asia even superficially. The strong, free and

The prevalence of the *Nôm* letters becomes visible in almost every sphere of literature: some memoires are written in this script and even with *lục bát*-rhyming: one can think, for instance, about the *truyện Mai đình mộng kỳ* ("The Wonderful Dream") by Nguyễn Huy Hô (1783–1841) or the *Bất phong lưu truyện* ("The History of the Lack of Wealth") by Lý Văn Phúc (1785–1849).

It has to be borne in mind that in this age prose literature is only represented by some didactic works — the so-called "official prose", — e.g. an essay by Lê Quý Đôn from 1760, as well as one by Nguyễn Huệ from 1788; prose works of fiction, however, are lacking at that time in Vietnam. If one considers that the *Nôm*-script was condemned, held in disdain and even proscribed by the scholars at the top of the social hierarchy (it is well known that emperor Trịnh Tác once ordered the burning of every work written in *Nôm* and even the wooden blocks which served for the printing of them) it seems to be a matter of course that authors intended their works for the oral tradition. Nevertheless, there is a greater possibility that words written in verse will be memorized than those in prose — and no wonder, one can confidently refer to the oral survival of the Greek epics of ancient times, written in hexameters.[24]

The general use of *Nôm* characters in this age made it both urgent and necessary to popularize literature. More people were able to master the several thousands of *Nôm* letters than the tens of thousands of Chinese characters and even in the smallest villages there could be found at least one clerk who was able to read out the works, written in *Nôm* to the illiterate masses.[25] The oral tradition was so widespread that there is a Vietnamese work of national prosody even in Chinese: the *Nhật trình Bắc sứ* ("History of the North — i.e. China — from Day to Day") by Nguyễn Huy Oánh (1722–1789).[26]

At the same time it must be mentioned here that the style of the spoken Chinese vernacular is not to be found anywhere in the Chinese language Vietnamese literature[27] — so the works, written in *Nôm*, as they have been composed in a living language, play the part of the Vietnamese *báihuà* (白 話) as well.

Propagation of the *Nôm* script in this age brought literature nearer to folklore as well, and as far as the contents of the works are concerned — just because their authors were recruited from the scum of the society of scholars,

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autonomic individuum which — in an indivudualized form — appears as the hero of many *truyện*s and which will surface in the West only in the second half of our century and chiefly in American literatrue, is a kind of antithesis to the Confucianism which constrained the human personality in such a thorough manner that no European equivalent can be found. Maybe the matter is comparable to the craving for equality, flowering in the age of the Western capitalism and free competition.

[24] It is known, however, that epics in verses had some traditions e.g. in Laos, bordering on Vietnam, too. Cf. L. Finot, Récherches sur la littérature laotienne. *BEFEO* XVIII:5 (1917) 116.

[25] See Nguyễn Lộc, *op. cit. ibid.*

[26] As mentioned by Nguyễn Văn Hoàn in his article Thể lục bát từ ca dao đên Truyện Kiều. In: *Tạp chí văn học.* 1974/1. 43–58.

[27] According to the verbal message of Đặng Thanh Lê it only appears in some poems of Hồ Chí Minh, written in Chinese in our century.

from its stratum which was closest to the people itself — they were characterized by an opposition to the feudal-patriarchal order that constrained the individuum and, at the same time and quite naturally, by coming to the front in the humanist way of thinking.[28]

The most important peculiarity of the new and unique epic genre of the 17–18th centuries, the *truyện*s written in *Nôm* characters, is the individualistic modelling of its heroes[29], which was rendered possible — among others — by the dramatic construction of the *sujet*s of the works. (It is not a mere accident that this genre had a very powerful impact on one of the representative genres of Vietnamese folk theatricals, the *chèo*[30]: there are several *truyện*s of the 18th century which have spread in the form of *chèo* during the past two centuries.)[31]

Professor Phan Cự Đệ once told me that the most characteristic way of versification in Vietnamese literature, written in *Nôm* script, the *lục bát* is inadequate for subtle psychological analysis[32], yet for authors intent on better structuring their works the Chinese-type meter of seven syllables was supplanted by the *lục bát*-structure which operates with lines of 6–8 syllables.[33] It is more than probable that *lục bát* became the specific form of the lengthy genre, the *truyện*, because the peasant masses, having already committed to memory the *ca dao*s[34], created in *lục bát*, found this metrical structure easiest to memorize.

5. Creating method of the *truyện Nôm*s

In her work Đặng Thanh Lê with a sweeping gesture classifies every *truyện*, written in *Nôm*, as "realistic novel" (*tiểu thuyết hiện thực*).[35] In the language of the official Vietnamese aesthetics, built on the ideology of Zhdanov and his ilk this simply means that the *truyện Nôm*s are *good*. From the point of view of romantic or realistic treatment of their material, however, these works show some characteristic features which are connected to their sources. (It is another matter that in talking of the novelistic nature of the *truyện*s there arise some problems to be explained later.) The definition by Pham Đình Hổ[36] mixes up the *tiểu thuyết* ("modern novel") with the Chinese 小說 and although

[28] It is an understood thing, of course, that humanism as a philosophical drift in Vietnam is not part of an organic system and instead of opposing the world of feudal ideas it integrates itself with it — as Trường Đăng Dung brought to my notice in the course of a conversation.

[29] See Hữu Ngọc, *op. cit.* 21.

[30] On *chèo* cf. L. Szegő, A vietnami színház [Vietnamese Theatre]. *Film, színház, muzsika.* 1981/32.

[31] *Truyện Kiều* by Nguyễn Du was also adapted for *chèo*, cf. L. Szegő, *Nguyễn Du és a Truyện Kiều.* (Doctoral dissertation), Budapest 1984, 83.

[32] The only exception is the *Truyện Kiều.*

[33] A verbal message by Đặng Thanh Lê.

[34] On these genres of folk songs cf. L. Szegő, K voprosu o rifmovke tradicionnoj poezii V'etnama. *AOH* XLV (1991) 331–343.

[35] Đặng Thanh Lê, *op. cit.*, 57.

[36] See note No. 1.

linguistically speaking these two words mean the same, the differences of genre between *War and Peace* by L. Tolstoy and Shi Nai'an's *Water-Side Story* (*Shŭi Hú Zhuàn*, 水滸傳) are obvious — notwithstanding that both of them are epic, in prose and long.

Speaking about a realistic method of creation in all *truyện*s would be, however — in contradiction to Đặng Thanh Lê's viewpoint — a serious irresponsibility. After all, if realism means the "reflecting of the world" in the creative method of the given works (in the sense of Georg Lukács's ideas), one has to deprive of this epithet the overwhelming majority of the folkloric works of the whole world[37], nevertheless lots of works of the genre of *truyện* (if not most of them) stem from the Vietnamese folklore or can be regarded as works of folk poetry.[38]

The peculiarity of the epic folklore is the romantic manner of looking at things: after all, heroes, rising up from the everyday world and honoured by the ancient tradition of remembrance and immortalization must unavoidably be dissimilar to the average, to the standard, and for their individualization the extreme, polarized, black and white description of their attributes is necessary. (Ultimately, perhaps, the romanticism of literature can be traced back to the intention of fixing something or someone in the consciousness of the community.)

Saying this we do not want to deny, of course, the obvious realism of some *truyện*s (above all that of Nguyễn Du's *Truyện Kiều*) not only in style but markedly and first of all in its construction — but we are convinced that the *Truyện Kiều* or the *Nhị độ mai* rise above the rows of other *truyện*s, the majority of which consist of romantic works that with their realism surpass, just, the limits of the folk poetry.

One must not disregard the most important function of the *truyện*s: when these works appeared at the first opportunity they provided food for the soul of the Vietnamese, more than folklore or mythology.

If one concretizes the characteristics of one of the important Vietnamese folklore genres, the *vè*[39] is most illustrative of the genre of the so-called "historical folk songs" (*ca dao lịch sử*), the place of which is between folk poetry and "literary" *truyện*s. Works of this genre were also born in the 18th century, in the age of the great peasant insurrections and they can be characterized by having heroes from the peasantry; by the fact that these heroes are attached to their mothers by an ardent love; they begin their career as shepherds; they get in

[37] Cf. everything Vilmos Voigt writes in connection with the relevance of the terminology used for defining the methods of creation to the analysis of folkloric pieces. See Folklór. In: *Világirodalmi Lexikon* [Encyclopedia of World Literature]. Vol. III. Budapest 1975, 226.

[38] It has been mentioned that many *truyện*s had "descended" into folklore. It must also be referred to that they were publicized by singsong girls (*người đi hát rong*) coming of the peasant masses — as a history of literature hints at it: Lê Trí Viễn–Phan Côn–Phạm Văn Luân–Đặng Thanh Lê–Lê Hoài Nam, *Lịch sử văn học Việt-nam*. Vol. III. Hà-nội 1971, 217.

[39] On *vè* more particularly see Tran Gia Linh, *Vè: Từ điển văn học* vol. II. Ha-noi 1984, 534–535.

conflict with the ruling classes and their revolt is, in the beginning, totally spontaneous. It is not too difficult to recognize them for the heroes of the folk tales, and with an objective eye one discerns the basically romantic way of characterization of human beings in the historical folk songs.[40]

It must be added that from a philological point of view the rhyming of the historical folk songs is *lục bát*, the same as that of most *truyện*s.

6. Types of *truyện*

In his work I. I. Nikulin divides the whole literature of *truyện*s into two main groups: the first of them are the *truyện*s created by authors, uneducated in literature while the second are the ones composed on the basis of Chinese epic compositions, which must be held the work of learned clerks. He describes the pieces of the first group as being close to the folklore and having a plebeian spirit while occasionally hampered by weak prosody. In the case of the works of Chinese origin he stresses that they were born in somewhat aristocratic circumstances with faultless metrics — although their national character can be queried because the story takes place in the home of the *sujet*: in China or in Korea.[41]

Đặng Thanh Lê classifies the literature of *truyện*s according to similar viewpoints, dividing their authors into "populist" (*bình dân*) and "lettered" (*bác học*) ones.[42]

In the works, quoted by Vũ Tố Hảo's article on the history of the Vietnamese literature[43], however, one can find more elaborate definitions of the first category: on the one hand their authors stress the undoubted nearness of popular *truyện*s to folklore[44], on the other they mention the opinion of some authors according to which these compositions are works of populistic authors.[45] Vũ Tố Hảo adds that the "populistic" *truyện*s have to be the records of texts publicized by the oral tradition earlier (i.e. before the 17–18th centuries) — so he classifies them as real folkloric works.

Well, if this assumption is correct — and nothing can be found to contradict it — we reach the point at which we can declare: the *truyện Nôm*, that is, the *truyện*s written in *Nôm* letters and having *lục bát*-rhyming, originate from

[40] In detail see Cao Huy Đỉnh, *Tìm hiểu văn học dân gian Việt-nam.* Hà-nội 1974, 151–156. We must probably put the work *Thạch Sanh* in this category, too, as it is evidently of folkloric origin. (Nowadays it has been published as a children's book in Vietnam many times.)

[41] See I. Nikulin, *op. cit.*, 100–103. A *truyện* taking place in Korea is the *Quan Âm Thị Kính*, 768 lines written in *lục bát* at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries.

[42] See Đặng Thanh Lê, *op. cit.*, 61–72.

[43] Vũ Tố Hảo, Mối quan hệ giữa truyện Nôm bình dân và văn học dân gian. *Tạp chí văn nghệ*. 1980/4, 108.

[44] See e.g. *Giáo trình lịch sử văn học Việt-nam* Vol. IV. Hà-nội 1965.

[45] E.g. Cao Huy Đỉnh, *op. cit.*, 121–129.

the Vietnamese folklore, they constitute a special epic genre of the latter.[46] And in this case the *truyện*s of written literature (even the ones which are constructed upon *sujet*s borrowed from Chinese epic literature with practically no changes) are to be treated as part of the national literary treasure of the Vietnamese people.

Contrasting this literature of *truyện*s, written in *Nôm* and being of folkloric origin with the literature of *truyện cổ*s, which, although written in Chinese, but close to folkore in the same way, one must come to the conclusion again that literature in Vietnam (written in whatsoever characters) has never been separated from folklore so unambiguously as in Europe or even in China. And this points to the fact that the ancient Vietnamese society was relatively homogeneous.[47]

7. The novelty of the contents of the *truyện Nôm*

The above-mentioned differences between Chinese and Vietnamese literature are reflected in the social status of women as well. (It is enough to browse in a Vietnamese literary history to see: how numerous are the representatives of the weaker sex among the writers and poets, that is, among the intellectuals of East-Asia since early medieval times.) Obviously, it is impossible to speak about the emancipation of women in ancient Vietnam in the European sense but one cannot get away from the fact that they were not traditionally excluded from the ruling class as vigorously as in China. One should just remember the long period of the occupation of Vietnam by the Chinese, mentioned above, when Vietnamese independence was attained (although only for a short period) by a national insurrection, led by two women, the Trưng Sisters in 40–44 A.D.

The relatively free coexistence of men and women made possible the appearance of love poetry, almost unknown in China[48], in the early Middle Ages: one can think about e.g. the amorous poems of Nguyễn Trãi (1380–1442), Lê Thanh Tông (1442–1497) or Nguyễn Bỉnh Khiêm (1491–1585).

The genre of the *truyện*, as mentioned above, from the beginning preferred to show the inner life of its heroes in detail, while on the other hand the romantic description is also prevalent.[49] It has also been mentioned that the usual metrical structure of this genre, the *lục bát* has its roots in the folkloric genre *ca dao*

[46] We can see no reason for distinguishing the genres of the apparently folkloristical *ca dao lịch sử* and the novel in verse which differs from it mainly and only in the choice of subjects. As far as the superiority of *truyện Nôm vs.* folkloristic *truyện*s is concerned, it is enough to remember the relation of the ballads of János Arany *vs.* The store of Székely folk ballads as an analogy.

[47] On this problem see G. C. Hickey, *Village in Vietnam.* Yale U.P. 1964.

[48] True, in 1991 the Lianing University published an anthology: 古代愛情詩詞鑒賞緯典 [An Encyclopaedia of Ancient Love Poetry], ed. by Li Wénlu and Song Xulián but this does not make love lyrics as significant a genre in ancient Chinese literature as, e.g. the poetry of trubadours was in Europe.

[49] The most striking example for this is the *truyện Thạch Sanh.*

which is basically lyric[50], so it is not to be wondered at that in many *truyện*s lyricism, evoking profound human sentiments gets a decisive function.

Besides the most significant *truyện*, Nguyễn Du's *Truyện Kiều* one can also mention the *Nhị độ mai* ("The Plum-tree Blossoms Twice"), the *Hoang Trưu*, the *Quan Âm thi Kính* ("Thi Kính, the Goddess Quan Âm" — which is the Vietnamese name of Guān Yīn 觀 音, the femalized Chinese equivalent of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara) and many other pieces of this genre.

One has got, for all that, to take into consideration one of the important conclusions of Nikulin, i.e. that the profound and sometimes, perhaps lengthy descriptions of the feelings of the heroes (mainly in the earlier works, those of the 17th century) is attributable to the insufficient development of the narrative genre.[51]

All this is logical and orderly, and it leads to the also logical conclusion that the heroines of the Vietnamese *truyện* appear in quite a different light than the ones of the Chinese epics of the Ming dynasty or even those of European renaissance literature.[52] The female characters of the Vietnamese epics in verse are active personalities who are not there only to advance the *sujet* but are characters in their own right, often described in greater detail than the male heroes and they are able to govern their fate themselves. The best example of this is the title heroine of Nguyễn Du's *Truyện Kiều* while among the pieces, born in the 17th century, we could mention Phương Hoa, the female protagonist of the *truyện* of the same title. (This work, written in the national language, consists of 1100 lines and tells the story of the daughter of an imperial councillor; it is abundatly seasoned with Buddhist mysticism. Its author, as those of most *truyện*s, is unknown.)

The figure of the active woman who is intended for, and also strives to be, more than a mere instrument of men's pleasure already appears in some quite early *truyện*s: such are the *Trinh Thử*[53], the *Bạch-Viên ton các* ("The Royal Palace of Bạch-Viên"), the *Tống-Trân Cúc-Hoa* ("Tống-Trân and Cúc-Hoa")[54] but first of all the *Nhị độ mai*.[55]

So it can be said that the Vietnamese *truyện* differs from all earlier genres but also from the Chinese 小說 which, however, served for as its model; even

[50] See Vũ Ngọc Phan, *Tục ngữ, ca dao, dân ca Việt Nam.* Hà-nội 1971, 33–35 and L. Szegő, K voprosu o rifmovke tradicionnoj poezii V'etnama. *AOH* XLV (1991) 331–343.

[51] See I. Nikulin, *V'etnamskaja literatura X–XIX. vv.* Moscow 1977, 143. In the meaning of "narrative style" he uses the term *povestvovatel'nost'*.

[52] See Văn Tân–Nguyễn Hồng Phong, *Lịch sử văn học Việt-Nam.* Hà-nội 1963, 190.

[53] By the way, this piece is based upon a Chinese story, written by an unknown author.

[54] The title of the work is composed of the names of its hero and heroine. This is also a ghost-story but with the question of eternal marital love at the centre of its plot — while sociologically, it explores the fate of Cúc Hoa, i.e. of its female protagonist.

[55] This *truyện* is also of Chinese origin and is known by the title *Trung, hiến, liết, nghĩa nhị độ mai truyện*, too. A work of 2826 lines, the heroine of which is Mai Sinh (i.e. Hanh Nguyên, the Vietnamese equivalent of the Chinese heroine Xing Yue) it must be regarded, according to the opinion of many, as a creation of Lý Văn Phúc (1785–?). In the last century it was published in French, in the translation of Théophile Piry.

more, it exceeds them as it treats women as its heroes and regards the feminine fate, the problem of the subjugation of women as its fundamental ideological question.

Considering the defencelessness of women all over Asia (of course, at this time not only in Asia) and their oppressed position we have to state that the espousal of the underprivileged as a kind of *democratism* is a general characteristic of this genre as a whole.[56] Something else also deserves attention, it has been referred to by Nguyễn Lộc, as well[57] : while in the age of Lý-Trần (11–14th centuries) the spiritual life of Vietnam was conditioned by Buddhism, in the age of the evolvement of the genre of the *truyện*, under the rule of the Lê Dynasty the Confucian ideology, which oppressed the individual, was prevalent.

The flourishing of romanticism, the appearance of *truyện*s, with their individualized heroes can even be regarded as a kind of reaction against patriarchal Confucianism which became dominant in state life and therefore in the intellectual life of the Vietnamese clerks and scholars. Regarding the whole genre in such a way, however, one must always perceive its fundamentally progressive character.[58]

8. The development of the literature of *truyện*

Examining either the earlier *truyện*s, written in Chinese or the later ones, written in *Nôm* characters, one has got to remember the fact: how right Durand was, describing the pieces of this genre in his definition, quoted above, as "works of most often unknown authors". According to our knowledge, the names of the authors of most *truyện*s have really not survived[59], but if one considers the many retellings of *truyện*s during a hundred or a hundred and fifty years, one might not be surprised at the overwhelming majority of these works becoming anonymous — even if the very first reciters mentioned the names of the authors worthy of note. (These people were almost uneducated singsong girls and they performed the *truyện*s at markets, smaller village reunions which obviously did not help to keep the names of the authors in the minds of the similarly uneducated audience.

[56] In the second part of our century, when intellectual terror overran the literature of the North, and later of the South, finally this remained the only possibility for the manifestation of the democratic sentiments of the authors — see e.g. some pieces of the romantic lyrics of Huy Cận, Chế Lan Viên or even Tố Hữu, praising women.

[57] Nguyễn Lộc, *op. cit.*, 76.

[58] After two centuries this progressive character begins to be missing from the genre — the work of *Cai Vàng tân truyện* [New Story of Gold] of the 19th century takes a stand against the headway of private property, slowly appearing in Vietnam as well.

[59] In the case of those which can be connected with the names of authors, the person of the author is often disputed. (The most widely known piece of uncertain authorship is the *Nhị độ mai*, mentioned above. We must remark, however, that Vietnamese history of literature traditionally places, for example, the *Truyện Trưng nữ vương* [Story of the Trưng Female Kings], written not in *lục bát*, amongst the *truyện*s. (The latter's author is Phan Bội Châu {1867–1940}.)

The public apparently could not separate this genre from other pieces of epic folklore: the folk tale, the *vè*.)

Their recording and publishing came relatively lately. The first printed collections of *truyện*s were probably published in the 19th century and a part of them does not bear even the publishers' or the collectors-inventors' names. Đặng Thanh Lê refers to a collection, entitled *Trống quân tân truyện* ("New Stories, Related in 'trống quân', i.e. in the dialogue of male and female chorus"), consisting of 36 pieces of the best of the genre, e.g. the *Kiều*, the *Phương hoa*, the *Thạch Sanh*, the name of the collector-editor, however, cannot be found in the whole work.[60] The collection *Tây Sơn danh tướng anh hùng truyện* ("A Heroic Story of the Famous Leaders of the Rebellion of the Brothers Tây Sơn"), in which there can be found three novels in verses, written in *lục bát*: *Tây Sơn tiềm long lục* ("The Secret Spiritual Power of the Brothers Tây Sơn"), *Cân quắc anh hùng truyện* ("The Story of a Courageous Woman") and *Tây Sơn danh tướng chinh Nam truyện* ("The True Vietnamese History of the Famous Leaders of the Rebellion of the Brothers Tây Sơn"), all of them from the brush-pen of unknown authors, was published in 1876 by a similarly anonymous compiler.

There are, however, some collections of *truyện*s, the compilers of which are known. Nguyễn Dư of the 16th century collected 20 novels in verses, entitled altogether *Truyền kỳ mạn lục* ("A Collection of Strange Stories") and we know that the collection *Công Dư Tiệp ký* ("the Story of Công Dư Tiệp = Gong Yuji"), even more abundant, is a compilation of Vũ Phương Đề.[61]

9. *Truyện*s, written in *Nôm* from the beginning to the age of the Nguyễn-Dynasty

The prehistory of this genre is dated by the history of literature from the beginning of the Lê-age, that is from the times before the 18th century. The allegorical fable stories *Trê Cóc* ("The Catfish and the Frog") and *Trinh Thử* have undoubtedly been written at this time. It deserves attention that although both of them are written in *Nôm* letters, they use the *lục bát* rhyming only in their dialogues. (One must know that the *Trê Cóc* is one of the shortest *truyện*s.) The Vietnamese history of literature also places the works *Vương Tường* ("King Vương"), and *Tô công phung sú* ("The Commission of Prince Tô"), based on Chinese stories into the genre of *truyện* although these are only dialogues in verses so, according to our concepts, can hardly by qualified as novels. (The same applies to the *truyện Bạch-Viên tông các* {"The Royal Palace of Bạch-Viên"}.) In earlier works only the *sujet* connects the verses of 4 or 8 lines, on which the *truyện*s are based.

[60] See Đặng Thanh Lê, Nhân vật phụ nữ qua một số truyện Nôm. *Nghiện cứu văn học* 1968/1–2, 102–114. By the way, in her book *Truyện Kiều và thể loại truyện Nôm* she speaks about this collection as one containing only 31 pieces. (57.)

[61] See Thanh Lãng, *Bảng lược đồ văn học Việt nam.* Sài-gòn, without date.

A Chinese story serves as the basis of the *truyện Nữ tú tai đi hoa tiếp mộc* ("An Educated Woman Becomes a Streetwalker") as well: namely the piece No. 34 of the 今古奇觀. But — as has been mentioned — the stories, treated on the pages of the *Nhị độ mai*, the *Phan Trần*, the *Hoa Tiên* and at last but not least the *Truyện Kiều* are similarly of Chinese origin. In connection with the double authorship of the *Hoa Tiên* it must be told that the first 1500 lines of this work of 1858 lines were written by Nguyễn Huy Tư of the village Trường Lưu of the county La Sơn in the province of Hà Tĩnh (now called Nghệ Tĩnh) while the last part of the love story, delineating the image of an ideal society in the Confucian sense of the word is the creation of Nguyễn Thiên. It is worth mentioning that this *truyện*, following the constructional traditions of the Chinese novels of the past, is divided into four *hội*s (cf. Chinese *huí*, 回). It was first published by the eminent Vietnamese lyricist Cao Bá Quát (1809–1853) in 1843.[62]

The fact that the knowledge of the Chinese basic stories necessitated an impeccable faculty of reading Chinese letters (minimally the mastery of at least 10–15 thousands of characters) makes one realize that all the authors of the *truyện*s of Chinese origin must have been *poetae docti*, i.e. clerks of higher grades. (Official advancement in medieval East-Asia depended on, among other things, the degree of literacy.)

For creating a *truyện*, however, it is enough if its author — besides several thousands of Chinese characters — only knows the *Nôm* letters; so we can deem probable that the authors of *truyện*s of folkloric origin as, e.g. *Thị Mầu Lên chùa* ("Thị Mầu — the negative heroine of the *truyện Quan Âm Thị Kính* — Goes to the Pagoda"), *Hoàng Trừu giả gái* ("Hoàng Trừu dresses up as a woman"), *Công chúa đội đèu* ("The Royal Princess Answers")[63] or those of some novels in verses, based on ancient Vietnamese legends, like *Trương Chi*, *Tấm Cám* or *Thạch Sanh* must have been scholars from the bottom of the official hierarchy or ones who were stuck there. So one can presume that the groups of *truyện*s of two types of authors ("learned" and "populist" ones) match exactly the novels in verses of subjects drawn from Chinese literature, and the folklore of Vietnam.

Progressing in chronological order, we are going to subject the so-called "early" (*trước thời hạn*) *truyện*s to examination. Taking into consideration the development of the genre, too, we can regard the 18th century as the age of early novels in verses, written in *Nôm* letters and this is the century, the novel *Truyện Song Tinh* ("The story of Song Tinh"), written by Nguyễn Hưu Hào (?–1713) came down to us from. (We only know about the author that from 1704 until his death he was a governor of the territory Quang Bình and probably wrote this work in the 17th century.) The work of Nguyễn Huy Tự *Truyện hoa tiên* ("The Story about the Decorated Note-paper") must be classified as one of the earlier

[62] The literature on *Truyện Kiều* is so abundant that we are not going to deal with it here in detail.

[63] For greater detail about these works see Đặng Thanh Lê, *Truyện Kiều và thể loại truyện Nôm*. Hà-nội 1979, 49–98.

*truyện*s as well. Its base has been the Chinese work *Đệ bát tài tử hoa tiên ký* ("Notice about the Decorated Note-paper of the Eighth Man of Genius").

The later pieces of this genre were born at the end of the Lê-age (in the last years of the 18th, and in the first ones of the 19th centuries). Among the most important works of known authors the *truyện Từ Thức*, consisting two parts, deserves attention. Its introductory 620 lines, on which the *Truyện Kiều*, written by Nguyễn Du has exerted an evident influence, was created by an unknown master at the very end of the 18th century and is known by the history of literature under the title *Từ Thức tân truyện* ("Từ Thức's New Story") while it has been amplified by Lê Khắc Khuyến (of the village, formerly called Nguyệt Viên {now called Hoằng Quang} of county Hoằng Hóa in province Thanh Hóa) by his 800 lines of folkloric origin.

Besides these there are some other *truyện*s, worthy of attention, e.g. *Thi tập* ("Collection of Poems") by Bà Huyên Thanh Quan (?–?), *Tê trận vong tướng sĩ* ("Exequies for the Warriors") by Nguyễn Văn Thành (?– 1817), *Khắc Trai thi tập* ("Collection of the Poems of Khắc Trai") by Lý Văn Phúc (1785–1849) or *Nhị thập tứ hiên* ("Twenty-four Stories on Filial Love") by the same author.

Besides these works, the history of literature also marks *Thí văn tập* ("Collection of Poems") by Nguyễn Công Trư (1778–1858) as a dignified work. It must also be mentioned that one of the most significant poetesses of 18th century Vietnam, Đoàn thị Điểm (1705–1748) published a collection of Chinese tales under the title *Truyện kỳ Tân Phả* ("Novels on the basis of Xin Po's Notes") which later wholly and completely got into the collection *Truyện kỳ mạn lục* of Nguyễn Dư, mentioned above.[64] It is of interest that according to the opinion of a Vietnamese historian of literature, Dương Quảng Hàm, one of the pieces of this collection, the *truyện Bích câu kỳ Ngộ* ("Emeraldine Chinese Notes in Verses") of 648 lines and of a vigorously Confucian mentality must be regarded as a work of Đạng Trần Côn (1710–1745), the other important poetess who was Đoàn thị Điểm's co-author of the world-famous *Chinh phú ngậm* ("Laments of the Soldier's Wife").[65]

This is the place where some other works have to be mentioned as well: *Văn tế Võ Tính và Ngô Tòng Chu* ("Funeral Oration above Võ Tính and Ngô Tòng Chu") and the *Hồi loan khởi ca* ("Song on the Occasion of the Imperial Return") by Đang Đức Siêu; the *Điểm mê khúc* ("Tempting Elegy") by Trần Hựu, the *Đố liên tập* ("Collectiong of Couplet Poems") by Nguyễn Hưu Tạo (?–1713), his *truyện* of 2216 lines *Trương tự văn tập* ("Autobiography in

[64] This collection, also known under the title *Tục truyện kỳ* contains the next allegorical stories:

— *Hải khâi Linh từ* [The Haven of Linh Từ]
— *Vân bát thần nữ* [Eight Clouds of the Female Spirit]
— *An Ấp liệt nữ* [The Wise Woman An Ấp]
— *Bích câu kỳ ngộ* [A Strange Story]
— *Long hổ đấu kỳ* [Notes about the Battle of the Dragon and the Tiger]

[65] See Dương Quảng Hàm, Bài thơ Đặng Trần Côn. *Tạp chí văn nghệ* 1959/7, 21–52.

verses") and the novel *Tố Khuất* by Võ Danh. All these works have been written by authors whose names are known.

We also know that *Truyện Trạng Quỳnh* ("Story of Trạng Quỳnh") was created by Nguyễn Quỳnh (?–?) and the *Truyện Trạng Lơn* by Trạng Lơn. About this latter author we must remark that according to the history of literature by Nguyễn Tưởng Phương *Lược Thảo lịch sử văn học Việt-nam* he is known otherwise as Nguyễn Nghiên, a famous poet of the past.[66] His *truyện*, for that matter, is *not* written in *lục bát*.

Vietnamese historiography regards — more or less rightly — the age of the Nguyễn Dynasty (1802–1945) as a period of social decline. (If one takes into account that the French armed forces could successfully attack Vietnam during that time and the country lost her independence for almost an entire century, there is scant reason for doubting the rightness of such an opinion.)

By this time the significance of the genre of *truyện* decreases in literature which could have been the result of the fact that the future of printed works became more and more secure (so authors did not need to commit their works to the chancy means of recitation and in this way the importance of composing in *lục bát* ceased) and, on the other hand, Vietnam began (although slowly) to form acquaintances with the epics of remote (Western) peoples. For instance, Thang Lãng makes mention of the possibility that the awakening of the *truyện* could be achieved by the translation of whole foreign novels into Vietnamese in *lục bát*.[67]

Quite naturally, we must allude to some famous authors of the declining age of the literature of *truyện*s like Nguyễn Đình Chiểu (1822–1888), a composition of whom (*Lục Vân Tiên*), first published in Vietnamese in 1883, in Paris, even if it does not reach the length of the longtest *truyện* in *lục bát Phạm Công Cúc Hoa* ("Phạm Công and Cúc Hoa") written by an unknown poet in 4600 lines, with its 2080 lines could deservedly gain fame and popularity in Vietnam. Its story, being not in want of some amorous motives is about a scholarly man who falls victim to evil intrigues. It was very popular in the Southern part of Vietnam for decades.

It is worthy of mention that this *truyện*, although written in *lục bát*, contains an inset poem of four-syllable lines and couplet rhymes.[68]

Vietnamese history of literature attaches serious aesthetical value to the *truyện Phạm Tải – Ngọc Hoa* ("Phạm Tải and Ngọc Hoa")[69] and although the fundamental note of the majority of these works is determined by Buddhist and Taoist occultism (e.g. in the case of *Trương Chi, Tấm Cam* {"Tấm and Cam"}, *Tống Trân Cúc Hoa* {"Tống Trân and Cúc Hoa"} or the *Phật bà Quan Âm*

[66] See Thanh Lang, *op. cit.*, 135.

[67] See Thanh Lãng, *Văn chương chữ Nôm*. Hà-nội 1953, 113. The author refers here to a *truyện* of the title *Bần nữ thân* [Poor Female Soul] without specifying the original source.

[68] In the *truyện Tống Trân — Cúc Hoa* there is such an insert of twenty lines.

[69] See Lê Hoai Nam, "Phạm tải — Ngọc Hoa" — một *truyện* Nôm khuyết danh có giá trị. *Ngiện cứu văn học* 1960/8. 30–42.

{"Quan Âm Bodhisattva"}) in some other *truyện*s like *Lục Vân Tiên* or *Mai Đình mộng ký* ("Note about the Dream of Mai Đình") one can find a relatively realistic representation of Vietnamese life.

Aiming at completeness we can mention the tale of 954 lines *Phan Trần* the *truyện Tây sương* ("The Western Region") or the works *Lý Công* (of 1352 lines), *Mà Phụng*, *Nguyệt Hoa*, *Nhị thập tứ hiên* ("Twenty-four Stories on Filial Love"), the love story *Thoại Khanh — Châu Tuấn* ("Thoại Khanh and Châu Tuấn"), the *Hoang Trứu*, the *Nữ tú tài* ("An Educated Woman"), the *Hịch tướng sĩ* ("War Order") or the *Lưu Bình — Dương Lê* ("Lưu Bình and Dương Lê").

The *truyện Lưu nữ tướng* ("Female General Lưu") of 2165 lines has surely been written in the 19th century — true, at the beginning of it,— and the history of literature also places the *truyện Bạch Viên Tôn Các* of an unknown author in the same age. One cannot define the date of birth of the *truyện Lục súc tranh công* ("The Tiff of Six Animals") with such an exactness but many are inclined to suppose that this short novel in verses, containing 444 lines and having been written in couplet rhymes of lines of mainly seven but sometimes four syllables, is also a product of the age of the Nguyễn Dynasty.[70]

10. The death of the genre

During the last period of the reign of the Nguyễn Dynasty, in the 20th century, the pace of arriving of Western industrial goods, pouring into Vietnam, evidently grows qiucker owing to the French colonial administration.[71] Vietnam — not at least because of the development of her productive forces — quits the Middle Ages and evolves her own industrial culture which has consequences on the development of book-printing as well.

Literature becomes influenced by the West. This shows itself, among others, in the phenomenon that epic prose obtains space[72] while oral rendering of literary works — as society separates to urban and rural masses — is being driven back to the peasant folklore.

To sum up, by the 20th century the genre of *truyện* lost the *lack* that called it into existence and had been keeping it alive earlier: the lack of publishing. The circumstance that Vietnamese script in Latin characters, the *Quốc ngữ*[73] becomes general and widely known cannot be regarded as something of minor importance either; the former audience changes into a mass of readers, the opposition of scholars and illiterate masses in Vietnamese society ceases to exist. The appearance of artistic prose would not have had to lead necessarily to the decay

[70] See *Hộp tuyển thơ văn Việt Nam.* Hà-nội 1978, 869.

[71] At the beginning of World War I more than 14 thousands industrial workers were registered in Vietnam.

[72] Vietnamese history of literature regards Hồ Biểu Chánh (whose original name was Hồ Văn Trung, 1884–1958) as the creator of Vietnamese epic prose.

[73] See L. Szegő, Quốc ngữ. In: *Világirodalmi lexikon* [Encyclopedia of World Literature]. Vol. VII. Budapest 1989, 300–301.

of the genre of *truyện*, since the national literature of so many peoples of the world underwent a phase of development in which authors went back to some earlier genres, often recreating them.[74]

It can only be guessed why the *truyện* of Vietnamese literature has not become yet an object of such a "rénaissance". Perhaps one is not mistaken in suspecting that this phenomenon can be connected with the similar disappearance of other old genres (especially those written in Chinese characters). In our century Vietnamese literature has visibly abandoned its national and traditional genres, and nowadays it is searching, as regards form, a looser and more direct manner of expression.

[74] We must think about the ballads of János Arany, mentioned above, the doinas of the Romanian M. Eminescu, the "rebirth" of the Russian "poema" of the last century in the oeuvres of A. Blok or V. Mayakovski — and then the numerous glimmers of the antique epos in modern times have not even been mentioned.

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NOMINAL LEXICAL CATEGORIES IN EGYPTIAN

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To my Parents

Numerous traces of a former morphological distinction between different nominal semantic classes have already been pointed out in almost all branches of the Afrasian language family. This phenomenon has well attested typological parallels in several other language families, e.g. Proto-Indo-European, Hurro-Urartean, Hattic, North Caucasian, Yeniseyan (Ket).[1]

Thus, following his master N. V. Jušmanov, I. M. D'jakonov has elaborated his well-known theory on the existence of nominal postfixes (suffixes) marking different classes of animals in Proto-Semitic, viz. *-r var. *-l in the names of useful animals; *-b was characteristic in the names of dangerous or harmful animals.[2] Similar results in other AA branches also strengthened I. M. D'jakonov's theory on PS *-r/*-l and *-b, which met a wide acceptance in Afrasian (Semito-Hamitic) linguistics.[3]

The PAA feminine marker *-(a)t is also supposed to have been a nominal postfix of the category of passive objects previously.[4]

[1] Cf. K. Petráček, *Altägyptisch, hamitosemitisch und ihre Beziehungen zu einigen Sprachfamilien in Afrika und Asien. Vergleichende Studien.* Univerzita Karlova, Praha 1988, 97; V. Blažek, Současný stav nostratické hypotézy (fonologie a gramatika). *Slovo a Slovesnost* 44:3 (1983) 243.

[2] I. M. Diakonoff, Problems of Root Structure in Proto-Semitic. *Archív Orientalní* 38 (1970) 461, note 23; I. M. D'jakonov, *Jazyki Drevnej Perednej Azii.* Nauka, Moskva 1967, 210; I. M. D'jakonov, *Semitohamitskie jazyki. Opyt klassifikacii.* Nauka, Moskva 1965, 28, note 40; 52, note 2; I. M. Diakonoff, *Afrasian Languages.* Moscow 1988, 57; I. M. Diakonoff, On Root Structure in Proto-Semitic. In: *Hamito-Semitica.* The Hague 1975, 140.

[3] P. Fronzaroli, Studi sul Lessico Comune Semitico. VI. La Natura Domastica. *Rendiconti delle Sedute dell' Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di Scienze Morali, Storche e Filologiche.* Serie VIII, vol. XXIV, fasc. 7–12 (1969), 307, note 113; V. M. Illič-Svityč, *Opyt sravnenija nostratičeskih jazykov (semitohamitskij, kartvel'skij, indoevropejskij, ural'skij, dravidijskij, altajskij). Vvedenie. Sravnitel'nyj slovar' (b–ḳ).* Moskva 1971, 192–193; A. S. Kaye–P. T. Daniels, Comparative Afroasiatic and General Genetic Linguistics. *Word* 43:3 (1992) 443; K. Petráček, *op. cit.*, 97; Chr. Ehret, The Origin of the Third Consonants in Semitic Roots. An Internal Reconstruction Applied to Arabic. *Journal of Afroasiatic Languages* 2:2 (1989) 199; Jungraithmayr's remarks for Diakonoff's *On Root Structure in Proto-Semitic.*

[4] I. M. D'jakonov–V. Ja. Porhomovskij, O principah afrazijskoj rekonstrukcii (v svjazi s rabotoj nad sravnitel'no-istoričeskim slovarëm). In: *Balcanica. Lingvističeskie issledovanija.* Moskva 1979, 83.

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Ehret[5] has identified the Cush. parallel of PS *-b "animate suffix" as *-b "deverbative suffix forming nouns for parts of the body".

Still there is Cush. *-m, *-u̯ in the names of dangerous, harmful animals, and *-r, *-l in the names of the useful ones; in Chadic *m̥-, *n̥- terminated the semantic category of useful animals.[6]

Jungraithmayr[7] has observed Chadic *-l, *-r, *-n, *-m, *-k in animals' names.

Chadic *-k was also a postfix in the names of body parts.[8]

The Chadic Sura prefix kà- terminating the names of things woven of reed, baskets etc. has been compared by Hodge[9] to an independent lexeme in Egyptian, namely *k "basket woven of reed" (the word is reconstructible on the basis of the hieroglyphic sign for k; the word may have contained originally a weak consonant as well).

PS *-b and *-l/*-r have only very few convincing parallels in Egyptian: PS *ᶜai̯-r- "ass-foal" ~ Eg. ᶜ(j)-3 "ass"; PS *nai̯i̯-al- "a sort of antelope" ~ Eg. nj-3-w "ibex" ~ Cush. Beḍawye nā'i "goat"; PS *ᶜig-l-"calf" < "young antelope" ~ Eg. *ᶜg-3/*ᶜg-n "Kalb" (for the reconstruction see also P. J. Watson[10]; PS *'imm-ar- "ram" ~ Eg. jm-3.t "female ibex"; PS *ḏi'-b- "Wolf" ~ Eg. z3-b "jackal".

Besides these rare external parallels so far no evidence gained by internal (Egyptian) comparison and reconstruction has been pointed out to show that the use of markers for different nominal semantic categories was characteristic also of the Egyptian branch of the Afrasian language family. Now, as one of the results of step-by-step biconsonantal reconstructions within Egyptian, the existence of three nominal postfixes of this kind can be postulated in Egyptian.

1. One of the several functions of the Eg. postfix -č was to mark the semantic class of snakes and worms. The examples are: hm-č "Benennung einer Schlange" (Pyr., Wb II 491, 7), hm-č.t "id. (fem.)" (Pyr., Wb II 491, 8) < *hm "Schallwurzel" (for the reconstruction see also G. Conti[11]), cf. hm-hm.tj "als Bez. für böse Wesen, unter Anderem in Schlangengestalt" (Sp., Wb II 491, 4; act. "der Brüller" or "the hissing one"?), hm-hm.tj "der Brüller, as Bez. für den Löwen (Gr., Wb II 491, 3), hm-hm.t "Geschrei, Gebrüll" (MK, Wb II 490), hhm (or to be read hm-hm?) "vom Zischen der Schlange" (Gr., Wb II 502, 12), hmj "Jubelgeschrei" (Gr., Wb II 490, 3), hm "ein Ausruf der Genugtuung" (NE, Wb II 490, 2), hm-hm "brüllen" (Gr., Wb II 491, 2) etc.; fn-č "Schlange, Wurm"

5 Chr. Ehret, *op. cit.*, 109–110,199.

6 I. M. D'jakonov–V. Ja. Porhomovskij, *op. cit.*, 83.

7 See his remarks for Diakonoff's *On Root Structure in Proto-Semitic.*

8 N. Skinner, North Bauchi Languages. Common Roots. *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 4:1 (1977) 32, note 146.

9 C. T. Hodge, Hausa-Egyptian Establishment. *Anthropological Linguistics* 8:1 (1966) 52; C. T. Hodge, Afroasiatic S- Causative. *Language Sciences* 15 (1971) 42–43.

10 P. J. Watson, The Interchange of 3 with n in Egyptian. *Göttinger Miszellen* 37 (1980) 45.

11 G. Conti, *Studi sul Biliteralismo in Semitico e in Egiziano. 1. Il Tema Verbale N1212.* Istituto Linguistica e di Lingue Orientali, Firenze 1980, 54–56.

(Pyr., Wb I 577, 5) < *fn "rollen, winden", cf. n-fn-fn "von der Behandlung eines Webstoffes: svolgere (?)" (Med., Wb II 252, 11; Conti[12]), n-fn-f (< *n-fn-fn) "Schleichendes, Gewürm" (Sp., Wb II 252, 10; W. Westendorf,[13] act. "rollende, wogende, schlängelnde"), fn-ḫ (with rope-determinative) "winding (?)" (in the expression fnḫ-jb "Klug" < "of winding mind"?, MK, Wb I 577, 1); šn-č "eine Schlange" (Pyr., Wb IV 519, 2) < *šn "rollen, winden", cf. *šn "loop of cord" (the word is reconstructible on the basis of the hieroglyphic sign for šn[14], šnj "to encircle (originally with a rope)" (Pyr., FD 267), šnw "cartouche" (originally "a loop formed by a double thickness of rope"[15]; FD 268), šn "Ring" (MK, Wb IV 488, 9), šnw "Seil, Strick" (MK, Wb IV 509).

This postfix -č can be connected with an independent lexeme in Egyptian, namely the monoradical root *čVu̯ (?, the reconstruction of the weak component as *-u̯ is uncertain) "to bind" > "rope, snake", cf. *č "Seil mit zwei Ösen" (the word is reconstructible on the basis of the hieroglyphical sign for č, Wb V 337, 3), čč.t "dies Fesslerin" (Pyr.[16]), ččw "eine Schlange" (Pyr., Wb V 414, 2), n-čč "fesseln" (Pyr., Wb II 367, 2), n-čč "Fessel" (Pyr., Wb II 367, 9), jn-č.t "Fessel" (Pyr., Wb I 102, 14), jn-č "fesseln" (CT, FD 24), n-kt (dissimilation from *n-čt < *n-čč) "Fessel" (NK, Wb II 348, 3), (?) b-čw "Bez. der Giftschlange" (NE Mag., Wb I 485, 11), b-n-d (*b-n-t < *b-n-č) "einwickeln" (NE, Wb I 465, 2), b-b-n-č "Strick, Band (?)" (Pyr., Wb I 455, 15[17]), s-čw "als Name einer Schlange" (NK, Wb IV 357, 9).

It is interesting that, from both semantic and phonological point of view, Eg. -č (< *-k or *-kᵘ on PAA level) "postfix marking the semantic class of snakes" and *čVu̯ "to bind, fesseln" show a surprising similarity to the above-mentioned morphemes Eg. *k "basket woven of reed" ~ Chadic Sura kà- "prefix in the names for things woven of reed, baskets etc.".

2. Eg. -3/-r (< *-r) denotes the lexical category of internal organs of body connected with breathing. The examples are: zm-3 "Lunge" (act. "the blowing, booming one", Pyr., Wb III 445, 15) < PAA *ʒam "to blow, to play a wind instrument"[18], cf. Ar. zm-zm "murmeln"[19], Eg. zb-3 (< *zm-3?) "Flöte blasen" (OK, Wb III 433, 4–6), zm-3 "Jubel, Freude" (act. "shouting in happines"; Gr., Wb III 452, 1); wf-3 "Lunge" (BD, Wb I 306, 3) < *wf "to blow", cf. *f (act.

[12] Conti, *op. cit.*, 54.

[13] W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch.* Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, Heidelberg 1977, 515, note 2.

[14] A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar.* Oxford [1]1927, 507, No. V7–8.

[15] A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar.* London [3]1957, 74.

[16] G. Thausing, Aegyptische Confixe und die ägyptische Verbalkonstruktion. *WZKM* 68 (1941) 24.

[17] Thausing, *op. cit.*, 24.

[18] A. R. Bomhard, A Survey of a Comparative Phonology of the So-Called "Nostratic" Languages. In: *Linguistic Change and Reconstruction Methodology.* Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin–New York 1990, 348; A. R. Bomhard, Očerk sravnitel'noj fonologii tak nazyvaemyh "nostratičeskih" jazykov. *Voprosy Jazykoznanija* 3(1989) 44.

[19] Fr. Calice, *Grundlagen der ägyptisch-semitischen Wortvergleichung.* Selbstverlag der Orientalischen Institutes der Universitäts Wien, Wien 1936, 780 §.

*wf?) "horned viper" (act. "the hissing one"?, the word is reconstructible on the basis of the hieroglyphic sign for f, and the Demotic fj "viper", Gardiner[20]; Wb I 571, 12), wfj "Art Schlange" (Pyr., Wb I 306, 5). For the semantic shift in *f and wfj cp. Ar. fḥḥ "to hiss (of snake)" < PS *pḥ "to breathe"[21]; *nf-r "Luftrohr" (the word is reconstructible on the basis of the hieroglyphic sign of the phonetic value nfr, Wb II 252, 12[22]) < *nf "to blow, breathe", cf. nf.t and nf "breath, wind" (Med., FD 131), nf.t "Wedel, Fächer" (OK, Wb II 250, 10), nfj "ausatmen, hauchen" (NE, Wb II 250, 11), nf3 "ausniesen, ausschnauben" (CT, Wb II 252, 3), fn-ǧ (*nf-ǧ?) "nose" (OK, Wb I 577, 10–15) < PAA *nVf "to blow"[23].

Recently, the Czech afrasist Václav Blažek[24] has suggested to me that the Eg. postfix -3/-r may also be compared to independent Afrasian lexemes with monoradical structure, cf. PS *'ir-at- "breast" ~ Berb. Tuareg ta-rū-t "lungs", Šilḥ t-ur-tt "Lungenflügel", t-ur-in (pl.) "lungs" ~ East Cush. *'ir-/*'ur- > Burǧi í-ra "stomach", Somali uur "id.", Rendille ur "id.". This correspondence would indicate that the Eg. postfix pointed out by me by means of internal Egyptian reconstructions is of Proto-Afrasian origin.

3. Another function of -č was to mark the semantic class of liquid materials. The examples are: sf-č "oil" (OK, Wb IV 118; FD 225) < *sf "to pour out, to flow", cf. sf-sf " Wasser spenden" (XXII., Wb IV 118, 1), sf-r "eins der Salböle" (early OK, Wb IV 115, 1), sf "mischen (mit Flüssigem oder Körnigem)" (Med., Wb IV 114); jr-č.t "milk" (OK, Wb I 117) < *i̯Vr (hence *i̯V') "milk", cf. j3.t "milk-goddess" (Pyr., FD 7; Wb I 26, 16–17[25]), j3.t.t "milk or cream" (OK, Wb I 27, 1; FD 7), jr.tj "milky" (Pyr., Wb I 116, 6), jrj.t "milk-cow" (XVIII., Wb I 114, 18; FD 28).

Perhaps the same -č occurs (as a root-determinative) also in the verb z3-č "Wasser sprengen" (Pyr., Wb III 422, 11) < *z3/*zr "to flow", cf. z3-b "fliessen" (Pyr., Wb III 420, 3–4), zwr "to drink" (Pyr., FD 217), zr-m.t "Art Bier" (MK, Wb III 463, 7).

As a conclusion it can be proposed that morphological distinction between nominal lexical categories existed in the Egyptian branch of Afrasian language family. A few nominal postfixes in Egyptian seem to be of Common Afrasian origin. Nevertheless, the use of -$č_1$, -3/-r, and -$č_2$ was characteristic merely of

[20] Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*. Oxford 1927, 466, No. 19.

[21] A. Zaborski, Biconsonantal Verbal Roots in Semitic. *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Językoznawcze* 35(1971) 79, 169 §.

[22] See also D. J. Wölfel, Eurafrikanische Wortschichten als Kulturschichten. *Acta Salamanticensia. Filosofía y Letras* 9:1(1955) 44.

[23] S. S. Majzel', *Puti razvitija kornevogo fonda semitskih jazykov*. Moskva 1983, 217–218; Bomhard, *Toward Proto-Nostratic. A New Approach to the Comparison of Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Afro-Asiatic*. Amsterdam 1984, 204.

[24] V. Blažek's letter to G. Takács on 25 March 1994, 2.

[25] R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*. I–II. Clarendon Press, Oxford 1969, 131, note 2.

Egyptian — the comparable cognate morphemes (if there are any) in the other branch did not have the function of a postfix.

The limited number of the examples for the three new Eg. nominal postfixes seems to indicate that these postfixes became non-productive very early: possibly in the Old Kingdom or even on "Proto-Egyptian" level (that is before 3000 B.C.).

Abbreviations

AA: Afrasian, Ar.: Arabic, BD: Book of the Dead, Berb.: Berbero-Libyan, CT: Coffin Texts, Cush.: Cushitic, Eg.: Egyptian, Gr.: Greeko-Roman Period, Mag.: Magical Texts, Med.: Medical Texts, MK: Middle Kingdom, NE: New Egyptian (Late Egyptian), NK: New Kingdom, OK: Old Kingdom, PAA: Proto-Afrasian, PS: Proto-Semitic, Pyr.: Pyramid Texts, Sp.: Late Period. Wb: A. Erman–H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache.* I–V.[2] Akademie-Verlag, Berlin 1957–1971. FD: Faulkner, R. O., *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian.* Clarendon Press, Oxford 1962.

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'ALIŠER NAVĀ'Ī AND THE ČAĠATAY ALPHABET

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'Alisher Navā'ī's *Muḥākamat al-luġatain* and *Majālis an-nafā'is* contain valuable and unique information concerning vowel and consonant phonemes in Čaġatay. Navā'i states about the vowel *a:* "There is, for example, a relationship and reciprocity between *alif* (ا) and *hā* (ه), so that a word ending in *alif* rhymes with a word having a final *hā.* Thus, the word ارا (*ara* 'space, interval') rhymes with سرا (*sara* 'palace, mansion') and درا (*dara* 'bell, pendent'), and also with سره (*sara* 'currency, coinage') and دره (*dara* 'valley, gully')".[1] Thus, it is apparent that in Čaġatay there were two *a* vowels: *a* normal length vowel represented as alif (ا), and a second, a short *a* indicated by a *hā'-i hawwaz* (ه). However, there is yet another long *ā* vowel in the manuscripts which is represented as *alif-i mamdūda.* That is, Čaġatay contained three *a* vowels. Of these three *a*'s as represented by *alif*, one is of phonemic importance, and the remaining two are considered its variants. These examples illustrate that the vowel *a* in Čaġatay was differentiated by length or shortness.

As for the round vowel *o*, the poet classifies them as long and short, e.g. تور (*tor* with normal *o*: 'snare, trap'), تور (*tor* with short *o*: 'a stand upon which birds roost'), تور (*tor* with even shorter *o*: 'the place of honor in the house'), تور (*tor* with the shortest *o* as imperative of *tormak*: 'to roll up the curtain or cloth of a tent entrance').[2] These data provide evidence of four kinds of Čaġatay *o*'s distinguished by length.

The examples also show the existence of four *o* vowels in Čaġatay which are classified by width and narrowness. The first *o* is of normal length, and the remaining three become progressively shorter. As a result of classification by width and narrowness, the length or shortness of a vowel becomes apparent.[3]

Furthermore, *Muḥākamat al-luġatain* contains useful data on the vowel *i.* Much like *o*, the poet classifies the types of *i* according to their length. "However, even for the *yā*, there are no more than three types of vocalic readings: بیز

[1] Ališer Navā'ī, *Sočinenija v desjati tomah.* Tashkent 1970, vol. 10, 118. Translations based on manuscript of *Muḥākamat al-luġatain.* See M. Quatremere, *Chrestomathie en turc oriental.* Paris 1841, 13.

[2] *Ibid.*, 117.

[3] *Ibid.*

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this is what the Sart call قدود *qadud* ('gland'), بیز (Persian) ما *mā*, (Arabic) نحن *naḥn* ('we') and finally بیز meaning what the Sarts call درفش *darafsh* ('awl')."[4] In these examples the following phonemes are used: in the first word i^e (*bi^{e}z* 'gland', now in the Özbek language *-bez*), in the second word normal *i* (*biz* 'we'), and in the third word long *i*: (*bi:z* 'awl', now in Özbek dialects *biyiz*, in the standard language *bigiz*).

In the following examples the poet provides some information concerning the *u* phoneme and its short variant. There is a similar reciprocity between the *wāw* and the *ḍamma*. Thus, ایرور (*erur* the aorist of 'to be') rhymes with حر (*ḥur* 'free') and دُر (*dur* 'pearl') and غرور (*ġurūr* 'vanity') and ضرور (*ḍarūr* 'necessity'). It is apparent from the examples that Navā'ī represents the terms in the following manner: *u* as *wāw* and short *u* as *ḍamma*.[5]

The poet wrote the following regarding *i* and its short variants: "A relationship also exists between the *yā* and *kasra*, so that آغیر (*āġir* 'heavy'), and باغیر (*baġir* 'liver') rhyme with صادر (*ṣādir* 'emergent') and قادِر (*qādir* 'strong, powerful')". Thus, Navā'ī identified normal *i* by the terms *yā*, and short *i* by the terms *kasra*, respectively.[6]

The aforementioned examples illustrate the existene of 13 vowels in Čaġatay: 1) *alif* with *madda*: long *ā*; 2) *a* of normal length; 3) short *a*; 4) the vowel *u*; 5) short *u*; 6) the vowel *o*; 7) *o* of primary shortness; 8) *o* of secondary shortness; 9) *o* of tertiary shortness; 10) the vowel *i*; 11) short *i*; 12) long *i:*; 13) the vowel i^e. Of them nine are considered to be phonemes: 1) *a* of normal length; 2) the vowel *u*; 3) the vowel *o*; 4) *o* of primary shortness; 5) *o* of secondary shortness; 6) *o* of tertiary shortness; 7) the vowel *i*; 8) long *i:*; 9) the vowel i^e. The remaining four are understood as variants of long *ā*, and of short *a*, short *u*, short *i*. As is apparent from the examples of 'Ališer Navā'ī, the vowel *a* is categorized by length, while the vowels *i*, i^e, *u* and *o* are classified by width.

In the eighth part of *Majālis an-nafā'is*, dedicated to Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bayqara, there is revealing data concerning Čaġatay consonants. The poet confirms the existence of 26 consonants in Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bayqara's *ġazals*: 1) *bā* (ب), 2) *tā'-i qarašat* (ت), 3) *ṣa* (ث), 4) *jīm* (ج), 5) *ḥā'-i huṭṭī* (ح), 6) *khā'-i mu'jama* (خ), 7) *dāl* (د), 8) *ẕāl* (ذ), 9) *rā* (ر), 10) *zā'-i mu'jama* (ز), 11) *sīn* (س), 12) *šīn* (ش), 13) *ṣād* (ص), 14) *ḍād* (ض), 15) *ṭā'-i muhmala* (ط), 16) *ẓā'-i ẓaẓig* (ظ), 17) *'ain* (ع), 18) *ġain* (غ), 19) *fā* (ف), 20) *qāf* (ق), 21) *kāf-i fārsī* (گ), 22) *lām* (ل), 23) *mīm* (م), 24) *nūn* (ن), 25) *hā'-i hawwaz* (ه), 26) *yā* (ی). We must also add the consonants *bā'-i 'ajamī* (پ) and *jīm-i fārsī* (چ) to this list, because they are noted by Navā'ī in *Khazāin al-ma'ānī*: "*pe harfining pariwašlarining parvazi*"; "*čim ḥarfining čabuklarining čehrakušayligi.*"

Furthermore we must also include *kāf-i 'arabī* (ک), *wāw* (و), and *ng* (نگ), in the list of consonants. These consonants undoubtedly existed in Čaġatay, as

[4] Ališer Navā'ī, *Sočinenija v desjati tomah*. Tashkent 1970, vol. 10, 118.

[5] Mir 'Ali Shir, *Muḥākamat al-lughatain*. Introduction, translation and notes by Robert Devereux. E. J. Brill, Leiden 1966, 17.

[6] *Ibid.*

they are noted by the lexicographers Ṭāli' Īmānī, Mahdīkhān and Faẓlullah Khān. Thus, Čaġatay contained 31 consonants altogether. Now the question arises, how many of them were actually used in the Čaġatay of the fifteenth century? 'Ališer Navā'ī's work answers this question entirely. He wrote that the following letters were not used in Čaġatay because one could not form Özbek words with them: 1) *ṣa* (ث), 2) *ḥā'-i huṭṭī* (ح), 3) *ẕāl* (ذ), 4) *ṣād* (ص), 5) *ḍād* (ض), 6) *ṭā'-i muhmala* (ط), 7) *ẓā'-i ẓāẓig* (ظ), 8) *'ain* (ع).

For example, concerning *ṣa* (ث) Navā'ī states in *Muḥākamat al-luġatain* that "famous Turkic poets do not compose with these letters, and furthermore they can't even write them".[7]

Navā'ī provides analogous opinions concerning the other consonants.

The letter *ḥā'-i ḥuṭṭī* (ح):

"The poet also do not string together Turkic poetry with this letter."[8]

The letter *ẕāl* (ذ):

"Up to the present, poems have not been written with this letter, and even outstanding poets such as Mawlānā Lutfī and Mawlānā Sakkākī, who are the wordsmiths of Māwarānnahr, have not acquired it."[9]

The letter *ṣād* (ص):

"Cultivated poets, composing in Turkic, avoided this letter and never embellished poems with it."[10]

The letter *ḍād* (ض):

"Eloquent poets composing in Turkic also avoided this letter and there has never been a poem embellished by it."[11]

The letter *ṭā'-i muhmala* (ط):

"Poets writing in Turkic also did not compose with this letter and in their writings did not use words containing this letter."[12]

The letter *ẓā'-i ẓaẓiġ* (ظ):

"This letter also belongs to those letters which, due to the difficulty of composing poem with them, refined and eloquent poets writing in Turkic have entirely avoided."[13]

The letter *'ain* (ع):

"Such rhymes and radifs (additional rhymes) were invented by his majesty Sulṭān Ṣāhibqirān (Sultan Husayn Bayqara), and before him poems with such rhyme were not composed, and one cannot find them in any of the divans."[14]

As we have seen the consonants indicated are not characteristic of Čaġatay consonantism. If we exclude them from the list, then we are left with the 26 existing consonants. Thus, according to 'Ališer Navā'ī, there existed 32 sounds

[7] Ališer Navā'ī, *Sočinenija v desjati tomah*. Tashkent 1970, vol. 9, 155.
[8] *Ibid.*, 156.
[9] *Ibid.*, 157.
[10] *Ibid.*, 161.
[11] *Ibid.*
[12] *Ibid.*
[13] *Ibid.*, 162.
[14] *Ibid.* I would like to thank Mike Thurman for translating this article from Russian.

in the Čaġatay of the fifteenth century, nine of them vowels and 23 of them consonants. The material analyzed so far has produced interesting results concerning vowels, which are classified by length: *a*, and width: *i, i, u, o*, just as in the ancient dictionaries of Čaġatay. This is unlike modern linguistics, which accepts the distinction as "front" and "back".

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THE ROYAL CLAN OF THE TURKS AND THE PROBLEM OF EARLY TURKIC–IRANIAN CONTACTS

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"No doubt the Turks are a detached branch of the Hsiung-nu. They belong to the A-shih-na clan". Thus begins the narration in the Chou-shu about the emergence of a new dangerous neighbour of China in the middle of the 6th century. According to the Turkic legend reproduced by the Chinese historian the mother of the A-shih-na clan was a she-wolf. One of her second generation descendants called himself A-shih-na. His descendants, "the children and children's children multiplied. Little by little they constituted several hundred families". All this took place on the "mountain North of Kao-ch'ang", i.e. on the Eastern T'ien-Shan to the North of Turfan oasis. The mother of A-shih-na was one of the "local women" married to a son of the she-wolf. The other version of the genealogical legend says that the family name chosen by him was the family name of his mother. The motif of the mixing of the she-wolf's descendants with the local population of Eastern Turkestan (called Hu by the Chinese) is contained not only in all the versions of Turkic genealogical legends but also in the Chinese sources. The term Hu was used to designate the sedentary population of the Western Region speaking Iranian and Tocharian languages[1].

In the 5th century, after the forced transmigration to the foot-hills and valleys of the Mongolian Altai, the A-shih-na headed the local tribal union hence called Turk. In the middle of the 6th century A-shih-na became the tribal name of the Turkic Khaganat's ruling dynasty. Known only in the Chinese hieroglyphical transcription this name commonly accompanied the personal names of the Khagan and his relatives. According to S. E. Yakhontov's reconstruction, the Chinese characters used for the transcription of this name were pronounced at that time as *â ṣi nâ ~ a ṣa nâ*.

In ancient Turkic inscriptions the A-shih-na name is never mentioned. Even in the inscriptions mentioning the names of the first Khagans their tribal name is omitted. Moreover, in the ancient Uighur Runic inscriptions the tribal name of the Uighur dynasty Yaγlagar is mentioned several times. A possible explanation of this unusual situation could be the use in inscriptions of another

[1] С. Г. Кляшторный, *Древнетюркские рунические памятники как источник по истории Средней Азии.* Москва 1964, 103–106; D. Sinor, The legendary origin of the Türks. In: *Folclorica: Festschrift for Felix J. Oinas.* Bloomington 1982, 223–230.

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name than that in the Chinese sources for the ruling clan. The etymology of the A-shih-na name could help the solution of this question.

The Turkic etymology of this name is usually linked with the verb *aš-* "to climb a mountain" (P. Boodberg) or *eš-* "to jump" (K. Shiratory). The accidental character of these proofs makes these etymological attempts unconvincing. So let us analyze three new hypotheses.

a) The hypothesis of S. G. Klyashtorny.[2] Since the Turkic legends and Chinese sources link the origin of the A-shih-na name with the tribal onomastics of the indigenous population of Eastern Turkestan, the original form of the name should be searched for in the local Tocharian and Iranian languages. A hypothetical prototype of the name could be the Khotan-Saka word *āṣāna* "worthy, noble". But the Chinese rendering of the second vowel can be only *i* - *ə*.

b) The hypothesis of H. W. Haussig.[3] In the historical work by Theophilaktus Simokatta (circa 602) a war is mentioned in Taugast, i.e. in China between the "red-dressed" and "black-dressed". Haussig thinks that the battle place (Taugast) was located to the South of the Amu-Daria and identifies the "red-dressed" with the Ephtalites and the "black-dressed" with the Turks, regarding this episode as being an echo of the Turk–Ephtalite war. In Haussig's view the Turks are called "black-dressed" in accordance with the name of their ruling clan, A-shi-na thus linked with the ancient Persian *axšaēna* "dark coloured".

c) The hypothesis of Ch. I. Beckwith.[4] In the surviving fragments of "The History" by Menandre (the end of the 6th century) the first ruler of the Turks is mentioned: "As for Arsilas, it is a name for the most ancient monarch of the Turks". The name Arsilas is commonly interpreted as the distorted Turkic *arslan* "lion", but Beckwith regards it as being the Greek rendering of the A-shih-na name. This hypothesis is strong from the historiographical point of view but vulnerable for two scarcely probable, phonetically strained interpretations: missing of *-r-* and conveyance of *-n-* as *-l-*.

The common feature of the two former hypotheses is the exclusion of the Turkic origin of the A-shih-na name and the preference of the Iranian one. The origin of the tribal name is linked with Eastern Turkestan where colour symbolism was present in the royal onomastology. The royal clan of the Kucha State was named "white" (Tochar A: *Kutsi*; Sanskr. *arjuna*; Chinese literal translation *bo*)[5].

In this context Haussig's hypothesis is not historiographically solid, as supposing the link between the tribal name A-shih-na and ancient Persian axšaēna can be supported by a satisfactory etymology. The required form is

[2] С. Г. Кляшторный, *Древнетюркские рунические памятники* 162.

[3] H. W. Haussig, Byzantinische Quellen über Mittelasien in ihrer historischen Aussage. In: *Prolegomena to the sources on the history of the pre-Islamic Central Asia.* Budapest 1979, 55–56.

[4] Ch. I. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia.* Princeton 1987, 206–208.

[5] H. W. Bailey, Thaugara. *BSOAS*, vol. VIII, 1937, 900; Liu Mau-tsai, *Kutscha und seine Beziehungen zu China.* Wiesbaden 1969, Bd. I, 7; Bd. II, 228.

presented in the Sogdian *'xs'yn'k* (*əxsānē*) "blue, dark", Khotan-Saka *āṣṣeina* ~ *äššena* "blue"; Tocharian A *āśna* "blue, dark"[6]. It is the Khotan-Saka etymology of A-shih-na (*āṣṣeina* ~ *āṣṣaṇa*) meaning "blue" which is phonetically and semantically solid. Proofs for the letter statement are found in the texts.

In the great Orkhon inscriptions the people who founded the empire and inhabited the country were called *kök türk*, the name commonly translated as "the blue Turks". Leaving aside various interpretations of the meaning of the word *kök* in this phrase one can notice its ideal semantic coincidence with the reconstructed meaning of the *A-shih-na* name ("blue"). The obvious literal translation witnesses the knowledge by the Turks of the original meaning and foreign origin of the name. This is quite probable, due to the polyethnical components in the First Turkic Khaganat's culture which lost their popularity in the "nationalized" (as L. Bazin put it) political and cultural environment of the Otüken headquarters in the Bilge-Khagan epoch.

The mention in the Orkhon texts of the phrase "kök türk" which can be translated as "the Köks and Türks", "A-shih-na and Türks", witnesses the mention here of the Turkic royal family. It is also clear that the Turks understood the two-fold nature of the Turkic tribal union in the time of the almost legendary first Turkic khagans.

* * *

Addition

Considering the term *türk* S. Tezcan also dealt with the phrase *kök türk*. He labeled it unclear and claimed that the word *kök* here might mean "clan, tribe". The author rejects the underlying ethnonymic concept of the term *türk* and explains it as "the nobles of the Empire".[7]

Recently, A. Róna-Tas has treated the origin and the semantical aspects of the term *türk* focusing on its possible Iranian (Khotan-Saka) origin.[8]

Both authors discuss in great detail the theories on the subject as presented in scholarly literature.

[6] H. W. Bailey, *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*. Cambridge 1979, 26.

[7] S. Tezcan, Gibt es einen Namen Kök-Türk wirklich? In: *Türkische Sprachen und Literaturen. Materialen der Ersten Deutschen Turkologen-Konferenz, Bamberg, 3–6 Juli 1987.* Wiesbaden 1991, 358–359, 364, 374.

[8] A. Róna-Tas, *An Introduction to Turkology*. Szeged 1991, 10–13.

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СЕКРЕТНАЯ МИССИЯ ГЕНЕРАЛА Н. Г. СТОЛЕТОВА

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Отношения между странами в военной области обычно бывают известны в меньшей степени, чем в области политики, экономики, культуры или науки. Это объясняется тем, что официальные отношения в военной сфере — специальные агенты при дипломатических миссиях, обмен военными делегациями, присутствие на смотрах и маневрах — были установлены довольно поздно. Разведка в войсках противника, то есть неофициальные военные отношения, существовала, по-видимому, очень давно, но никогда не офишировалась. В последнее время о шпионаже стали писать и говорить открыто, но достоверные сведения можно получить только о современности или недалеком прошлом, пока живы свидетели и есть документальные подтверждения деятельности того или иного лица. Документы, повествующие о секретных миссиях российских военных в XIX веке, попадают в руки исследователей большей частью совершенно случайно, поэтому в последствии может выясниться, что на самом деле первым российским шпионом в Индии был не герой этой статьи генерал-майор Николай Григорьевич Столетов, а кто-нибудь другой.

Николай Григорьевич Столетов (1834–1912) происходил из семьи владимирского купца третьей гильдии; так же как его младший брат будущий известный физик Александр Григорьевич Столетов, окончил курс в Московском университете кандидатом математических наук, и в 1854 г. поступил вольноопределяющимся в армию. С участия в Крымской войне 1853–1856 г.г. началась его военная служба. В 1859 г. он окончил Николаевскую академию генерального штаба. Наиболее значительными вехами его военной карьеры было завоевание восточного берега Каспийского моря и основание города Красноводска в 1869 г., научная экспедиция по изучению русла реки Аму-Дарья в I половине 70-х г.г., командование болгарским народным ополчением и руководство на начальном этапе обороной Шипки в русско–турецкой войне 1877–1878 г.г. и дипломатическая миссия в Афганистан в 1878 г., которая в русской историографии так и называется «миссия Столетова».

В послужном списке, где отмечались все или почти все изменения в служебном положении военного, есть запись, что генерал-майор Н. Г.

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Столетов возвратился из Афганистана 6 сентября 1878 г. и был далее прикомандирован к Главному штабу, следующее назначение в I Стрелковую бригаду последовало только 11 апреля 1881 г. Чем занимался Н. Г. Столетов 2 с половиной года не ясно, но ни в смотрах, ни в учениях он не принимал участия и в отпуску не значился.

Дошедшее до нас письмо Н. Г. Столетова военному министру графу Д. А. Милютину от 19 февраля 1880 г. из Женевы[1] отвечает на этот вопрос и раскрывает еще одну сторону его деятельности.

В сентябре–октябре 1879 г. Н. Г. Столетов высадился, по-видимому, в Карачи, поднялся вверх по Инду, проехал по Пенджабу под именем «экс-профессора одного из шведских университетов, проживающего в Швейцарии», далее проехал через всю Северную Индию в Калькутту, где уже не скрывая свою национальность, «пытался познакомиться с английскими официальными сферами»: встретиться с вице-королем лордом Литтоном, губернатором Бенгалии и другими чиновниками англо-индийской администрации, но под разными предлогами ему было в этом отказано. Чтобы не возбуждать подозрения он всем говорил, что совершает кругосветное путешествие и заехал в Калькутту отдохнуть, но власти не доверяли русскому военному: от знакомых американцев и французов он узнал, что за ним учрежден строгий полицейский надзор. «В заключении имею честь доложить, — пишет Столетов, — что мною приняты меры, чтобы не только не скомпрометировать наше правительство, но и мою личность — все это удалось вполне. Здесь я говорю, что провел осень и зиму в Италии и Египте.» Поскольку Николай Григорьевич хотел как можно раньше представить свои наблюдения военному министру, то он поспешил покинуть Индию, и на обратном пути уже из Европы послал письмо с кратким отчетом о своей поездке.

Таковы маршрут и внешняя сторона командировки генерала Столетова, но наибольший интерес, на наш взгляд, представляют выводы, которые он приводит в своем письме.

«1. Трудно представить, до какой степени ненавидят нас индийские англичане.

2. О наших войсках и наших деятелях все европейцы высокого мнения, особенно веско имя генерала Кауфмана.[2]

3. О своих европейских войсках и предводителях англичане отзываются весьма нелестно. Лорд Литтон считается человеком ничтожным, лгущим без всякой меры. Общий голос, что в Индии теперь нет способных людей.

[1] Центральный государственный военно-исторический архив России, Ф. 400, оп. 21, д. 1137, 32–36 с об. Автограф.

[2] Кауфман Константин Петрович (1818–1882), генерал-адъютант, с 1867 г. — генерал-губернатор Туркестана.

4. Хвалят туземные войска, особенно из сейков и гуркасов,[3] но думают, что на них мало надежды в случае русского вторжения.

5. В Афганистане[4] было несколько случаев трусости и неповиновения европейских войск целыми частями, — и в редакции газет прислано много писем о грустном положении там дел — письма эти запрещено печатать.

6. В декабре прошлого года, когда была паника, все говорили, что русская политика в афганских делах соображена с полным знанием местных обстоятельств и глубоко обдумана, что только люди, ничего не понимающие, как лорд Литтон и его клика, могут смеяться над этой политикой и называть ее нерешительною.

7. Думают, что трудно предвидеть конец афганских усложнений, что они продлятся до начала войны с Россией.

8. Туземцы убеждены, что война Англии с Россией начнется скоро, надежды на нас огромные во всех классах туземного общества.

9. Англичане и в европейской, и в туземной прессе употребляют все усилия, чтобы парализовать наше обаяние, рисуя внутреннее и внешнее наше положение в самых мрачных красках: газеты, прибавления и афиши на всех языках по нескольку раз в день возвещали наши неудачи в Туркмении,[5] худые, грозящие неизбежной войной, отношения наши к Германии и, наконец возрастание и распространение нигилизма в чудовищных размерах. При вкоренившихся в туземцах убеждениях, что англичане никогда не говорят и не пишут правды, мне не трудно было в туземных знакомых кружках опровергать газетные сообщения. Особенно, что касается раздутых туркменских неудач, в действительность которых, по крайней мере в той степени, как они в Индии описывались, я сам, достаточно зная туркмен и страну, не верил.

10. Московское покушение произвело на туземцев подавляющее впечатление.[6]»

Эти выводы и весь тон письма не оставляют сомнений, что Н. Г. Столетов считал столкновение России и Англии, завоевание Индии делом решенным, его письмо как бы подталкивало русское правительство к этому, служило ему обоснованием. Такие мысли и настроения не были случайными или навеянными этой его поездкой. Н. Г. Столетов вынашивал план завоевания Индии еще во время своей службы в Средней Азии. В 1870 г. им била составлена Докладная записка о состоянии английских военных сил в Индии и настроении туземцев, где он обосновал правильность такого шага, а потом составил конкретный план

[3] Сикхи и гуркхи составляли наиболее боеспособную часть индийской армии.
[4] Здесь и далее имеются в виду события II англо–афганской войны 1878–80 г. г.
[5] Автор имел в виду неудачную I Ахал-Текинскую экспедицию 1879 г.
[6] 19 ноября 1879 г. была совершена попытка взорвать царский поезд.

похода.[7] Записка в случае ее одобрения мыслилась, по-видимому, как руководство к действию его Красноводскому отряду.

Н. Г. Столетов не был единственным, кто считал неизбежным столкновение России и Англии где-нибудь на Востоке: в Средней Азии, Афганистане или Индии. Именно здесь, как предрекал Арминий Вамбери, должны были встретиться лицом к лицу две великие державы, именно здесь интересы Великобритании вступали в противоречие с интересами Российской империи.[8] Признавая необходимость цивилизаторской миссии европейских народов на Востоке, он считал, что только Англия способна выполнить эту задачу. Испытав на собственном опыте как подавлялись свободолюбивые устремления силой русского оружия, Вамбери не верил, что такая армия может нести свободу, а не новое иго. С другой стороны, сам он никогда не бывал в Индии и не видел, как на деле осуществлялось управление этой великобританской колонией, каковы были результаты «просвещенного» раджа англичан.

Как военный, Н. Г. Столетов подходил к вопросу завоевания Индии очень конкретно и тогда, в 1870 г., и после своей поездки в 1880 г. «В конце концов я вполне убежден, что разоряемая англичанами, несчастная Индия готова принести всякого рода жертвы, чтобы сбросить позорное тяжелое иго, но страна безоружна. Туземные владетели, хотя и имеют войска и некоторую власть над своими подданными, но сами лично находятся можно сказать без преувеличения в плену у англичан: в таком положении сделать шаг, значит поставить на карту все, никакое отступление и исправление невозможно: вот, чем объясняется их осторожность и выжидание. Чтобы произвести общий взрыв в Индии нужен какой-нибудь новый веский фактор, а именно: или наша война с Англией, или решительные неудачи англичан в Афганистане (чего нельзя ждать без нашей, по крайней мере негласной помощи оружием и волонтерами), или война Англии с Турцией, или с Персией.»

Российское правительство посылало в Индию блестящего военного, теоретика и практика, служившего в Средней Азии, знакомого с историей Индии, ее армией, способом управления, положением англичан, то есть способного оценить обстановку в стране в тот конкретный период времени, но у Н. Г. Столетова было уже вполне сложившееся отношение к Индии, как к стране, которую Россия рано или поздно должна была завоевать. Это также было известно, и выводы человека с такими предубеждениями можно было предвидеть. Надо учесть и тот период времени, когда Н. Г. Столетов оказался в Индии: шла англо–афганская война, одним из поводов к которой было сближение России и Афганистана, дипломатическая миссия Столетова; это было время

[7] Отдел письменных источников Государственного Исторического музея, ф. 307, д. 10, 1–10.

[8] Á. Vámbéry, Zentralasien und die Englisch–russische Grenzfrage. In: *Gesammelte politische Schriften*. Leipzig 1873.

крайнего обострения российско–английских отношений, любое подталкивание к войне могло привести к началу военных действий...

Выводы Н. Г. Столетова, его видение развития политики России на Востоке не совпало с курсом правительства. Возможно именно этим, частичным провалом разведывательной миссии Н. Г. Столетова, можно объяснить то, что в дальнейшем в его биографии не было ярких моментов, хотя внешне все обстояло очень благополучно: он дослужился до генерала от инфантерии, стал членом Государственного совета.

Одно письмо. Ни упоминания в послужном списке, ни намека, что Н. Г. Столетов бывал в Индии, хотя бы в качестве путешественника. Что это? Хорошо соблюдавшаяся секретность российского Главного штаба? Или нежелание историков, занимавшихся личностью Н. Г. Столетова, обнародовать эту сторону его деятельности?

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CRITICA

GUNNAR JARRING, *Prints from Kashgar — The Printing-office of the Swedish Mission in Eastern Turkestan, History and Production, with an Attempt at a Bibliography by ...* Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 1991, Transactions, Vol. 3. Stockholm 1991, 140 pp.

This volume is very welcome. Jarring, who was an eye-witness of its history, provides us with an excellent study on the first printing office in Eastern Turkestan. The production of which was of great importance from the point of view of both the culture and the politics. The press was founded in 1901 and its work ceased in 1938. The original aim of its foundation was religious propaganda. The main bulk of its production became, however, cultural and political. By other words, its activities became retroversed. Instead of the original aim at the service of religious propaganda towards the local Muslim community, the printing facilities were used by this very community for their own purposes. Translations from European literatures and educational materials were printed as well as government proclamations, bank-notes and periodicals under the rebellious regimes between 1933 and 1938. Their period is also introduced in a brief but excellent evaluation. The main part of the book, i.e. the bibliography itself (31–116) has an unestimable value. We can see here the list of the first *incunabula* in Eastern Turkī. The system of the vocabulary and that of the indices and references are similar to the former works of the author.

Mihály Dobrovits

RECEP ALBAYRAK HACALOĞLU, *Azeri Türkçesi dil kılavuzu, Güney Azeri Sahasi Derleme Deneme Sözlüğü*. Ankara 1992, XX+315 pp.

This work, which was edited by the author and printed at the press of the Türk Tarih Kurumu is aimed at to be a language guide of the Turkish reader in the Azerbaijanī as it is spoken in South-Western Azerbaijan (Īrān). It has been based on an uncoverable misconception that the Azerbaijanī — called here as Azerbaijanī Turkish (*Azeri Türkçesi*) — be a variant (*lehçe*) of (Turkey) Turkish. Although this view is quite common in the Republic of Turkey the author practically deals with his material as that of a dialect (*şive*) or a local variant (*ağız*). He reduced his material till it became a mere list of local words which are not in everyday usage in Turkey. The book does not deal with either the phonology or the syntaxis of Azerbaijanī. The words are arranged in it according to the spelling in Turkey. No additional signs are introduced to show, when [ä], [x] or [ġ] must be pronounced and no regard is paid to any orthography used for Azerbaijanī.

Mihály Dobrovits

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DAVID PINAULT, *Story-Telling Techniques in the Arabian Nights. Studies in Arabic Literature.* Supplements to the Journal of Arabic Literature, edited by M. M. Badawi and J. N. Mattock, Volume XV. E. J. Brill, Leiden–New York–Köln 1992, XI+262 pp.
ISSN 0169-9903; ISBN 90-04-09530-6.

Despite great efforts and numerous promising results concerning our knowledge of the structure and evolution of the widely popular Thousand and One Arabian Nights, this famed collection remains shrouded in the veil of inextricability on account of the extremely complex and manifold transmission and buoyant vitality of this Protean amalgam of enchanting stories, where the complexity and inextricability of the original (or originals?) is aptly matched by the very similar character of its Western translations. Given this state of affairs, all researches into this interesting and intriguing field are most welcome and the scholarly world is grateful for each result that promises to shed more light on the intertwined fabric of this delightful complex of Oriental lore.

David Pinault offers a selective, yet rather detailed literary analysis of a number of tales chosen arbitrarily from the collection. He is mainly interested in the way a story is told: what story-telling techniques are applied in the various tales with the aim of captivating the attention of the audience. In addition to comparing the variants current in the standard versions of the Arabian Nights, Pinault has drawn widely on still unpublished manuscripts containing material closely related to or resembling the corpus of tales selected by himself. He pinpoints four story-telling techniques to which he pays special attention: 1. Repetitive designation ("Under this heading I group repeated references to some character or object which appears insignificant when first mentioned but which reappears later to intrude suddenly on the narrative"; 16); 2. *Leitwortstil* ("... the term designates the 'purposeful repetition of words' in a given literary piece. The individual *Leitwort* or 'leading word' usually expresses a motif or theme important to the given story; the repetition of this *Leitwort* ensures that the theme will gradually force itself on the reader's attention"; 18); 3. Thematic patterning and formal patterning ("By thematic patterning I mean the distribution of recurrent concepts and moralistic motifs among the various incidents and frames of a story. In a skilfully crafted tale, thematic patterning may be arranged so as to emphasize the unifying argument or salient idea which disparate events and disparate narrative frames have in common"; 22. "By formal patterning I mean the organization of events, actions and gestures which constitute a narrative and give shape to a story; when done well, formal patterning allows the audience the pleasure of discerning and anticipating the structure of the plot as it unfolds"; 23); 4. Dramatic visualization ("I define dramatic visualization as the representing of an object or character with an abundance of descriptive detail, or the mimetic rendering of gestures and dialogue in such a way as to make the given scene 'visual' or imaginatively present to an audience"; 25). These are the basic methods whose use is scrutinized in detail in a number of stories, with careful comparison to variants and similar tales outside the framework of the Arabian Nights. Great interest is taken in the literary device of *inner frames,* which has become associated with the Arabian Nights in Europe, although it seems to be of Indian origin. As may be evident by now, the author lays special emphasis on the careful distinction between the oral performance of a variant and its purely literary transmission. Pinault's expatiations on the differences in the style of the variants and their apparent reformulation are highly important in a much wider context: they yield intriguing and illuminative cases that must be considered carefully by those interested in the transmission of manuscript texts in general. Valuable insights are offered concerning a more sophisticated appreciation of the exact relationship between the various printed editions of the Arabian Nights and also concerning related stories in manuscripts so far unpublished.

An important addition to our knowledge of this enchanting collection of Oriental tales.

István Ormos

H. J. POLOTSKY (1905–1991), *Ausgewählte Briefe*. Introduced, edited, and annotated by Edward Ullendorff. With contributions by A. K. Irvine and Yoram Bronowski. Äthiopistische Forschungen, herausgegeben von Ernst Hammerschmidt, Band 34. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1992, 145 pp.
ISBN 3-515-06066-9.

In recent years we have had the privilege of being able to steal a glance into the studies, and sometimes even the private lives, of some eminent Orientalists by means of the publication of diaries and letters. Ignaz Goldziher's two diaries have justly attracted considerable attention, and parts of his correspondence with Theodor Nöldeke and Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (as well as the correspondence of the latter two) have aroused great interest among Orientalists, to name but a few that have come the reviewer's way.

The significance and importance of these publications is manifold. In addition to the remarkable quantity of purely factual information from the fields of study of the parties involved, the reader also gains an insight into some aspects, theoretical as well as practical, of the working methods of these savants, that otherwise remain hidden under the surface of their works. But above all, we are able to acquire a far more complete picture of the complex personalities of these outstanding geniuses than would normally be the case. Though not an essential prerequisite of scholarly work, a natural human curiosity is satisfied in this way, especially with regard to the fact that the individuals in question are extraordinary personalities. While the picture emerging from these publications is rather perplexing in Goldziher's case, especially as regards his adult diary, the present work under review, a wide selection of Hans Jakob Polotsky's[1] letters to Edward Ullendorff, is a sheer pleasure to read. It contains 137 letters from the period between 1949 and 1990, in addition to a Foreword by the Editor of the series, Ernst Hammerschmidt, an instructive and detailed Introduction, two obituaries, a memorial article, a photo of Polotsky, his review of Ullendorff's Tigrinya Chrestomathy, the title page of "Lingua Sapientissima", the 1984 Cambridge Symposium in honour of Polotsky, and finally a facsimile of the guests' signatures at the Cambridge Lunch in honour of Polotsky on 4/5/84. Not a few of Polotsky's letters are irretrievably lost, while in others "omissions were indicated, either on account of the personal character of his remarks or for reasons of delicacy, when some comments on colleagues still alive were obviously not appropriate for inclusion at this stage" (13). In a few cases, whole letters have been omitted. While the reviewer can fully understand the necessity of this method and its justification, still he is somewhat sad to see that not all the material available has been published. It would have been great fun to follow Polotsky's suggestion "to enter all the real names in the index *without* related page-references, so as to encourage our colleagues to guess at the contexts to which those names belong" (16; fn. 3). (The identity of many persons is "concealed by fictitious initials" in the text; 14). Be that as it may, we are grateful for the letters as they are. Anyone interested in Semitic studies in general and the languages of Ethiopia in particular, as well as in a truly outstanding personality, will browse through these letters with much profit and great enjoyment. The reviewer admits that he was unable to put down the volume until he read it to the end.

István Ormos

[1] On him see Simon Hopkins, H. J. Polotsky (1905–1991). *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* XXXV (1990) 115–125; Ariel Shisha-Halevy, In memoriam Hans Jakob Polotsky (1905–1991), *Orientalia* 61 (1992) 208–213.

Adab al-mulūk [= Adab al-mulūk fī bayān ḥaqā'iq at-taṣawwuf]. Ein Handbuch zur islamischen Mystik aus dem 4./10. Jahrhundert. Herausgegeben und eingeleitet von Bernd Radtke. Beiruter Texte und Studien, herausgegeben vom Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Band 37. In Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart, Beirut 1991, 34 SS. dt. Text, 145 SS. arab. Text. ISBN 3-515-05079-5.

Die Lebensweise der Könige. Adab al-mulūk. Ein Handbuch zur islamischen Mystik. Eingeleitet, übersetzt und kommentiert von Richard Gramlich. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, herausgegeben von der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Band L, 3. Kommissionsverlag Franz Steiner, Stuttgart 1993, 167 SS. ISBN 3-515-06244-0.

Der vorliegende Band 37 der Reihe „Beiruter Texte und Studien" stellt die Erstausgabe des Textes eines wichtigen arabischen Handbuches zur islamischen Mystik aus dem 4./10. Jahrhundert dar, das in einer einzigen Sammelhandschrift im Schiraser Ḍahabī-Konvent Ḫānqāh-i Aḥmadī enthalten ist (Nr. 83). Durch die Kurze Anzeige aus Īrağ-i Afšārs Feder in der Teheraner Zeitschrift *Yağmā* 18 (1344/1965) 251–254 darauf aufmerksam geworden, lieferte Fritz Meier eine ausführliche Beschreibung dieser Handschrift in *Oriens* 20 (1967) 60–106 unter dem Titel „Ein wichtiger handschriftenfund zur sufik". Er fand, daß von den 12–13 in dieser Handschrift enthaltenen Schriften nicht weniger als etwa 8 Unika und neu waren, von denen er als die wichtigste die gleich am Anfang der Handschrift stehende anonyme Schrift „Adab al-mulūk" bezeichnete, und lieferte gleich eine längere Inhaltsangabe davon. Er unternahm anschließend auch den Versuch, die Abfassungszeit der Schrift festzustellen und die Frage der Autorschaft zu klären, ohne bei der letzteren zu eindeutigen Resultaten gekommen zu sein.

Diese Schrift wird uns nun von Bernd Radtke, einem Schüler Fritz Meiers in einer Textaufgabe vorgelegt. Die Schrift besteht aus 28 Kapiteln, einem längeren Vorwort und einem Nachwort. Der Gebrauch des Textes wird von ausführlichen Indizes erleichtert, von denen besonders der 52 Seiten starke Index der technischen Termini hervorzuheben ist. Den arabischen Text ergänzen ein Vorwort und eine informationsreiche Einleitung. In der letzteren gibt der Herausgeber, in Anlehnung an Meiers obengenannten Artikel, eine kurze Beschreibung der Handschrift, der er dann den Versuch folgen läßt, die Autorschaft der Schrift zu klären, wobei er als vorläufige Lösung den Vorschlag unterbreitet, als einen möglichen Verfasser Abū l-Ḥasan (oder Abū l-Ḥusayn) ᶜAlī ibn Ğaᶜfar ibn Dāwūd as-SĪRAWĀNĪ aṣ-ṣaġīr zu betrachten. Eine Inhaltsangabe orientiert den Leser über die in den jeweiligen Kapiteln behandelten Themen, wobei auch auf Parallelen in anderen Handbüchern zur Mystik verwiesen wird und auch aufschlußreiche Erläuterungen beigesteuert werden. Gleich hier finden wir einen Hinweis auf jene Stelle im Text, wo der Titel der Schrift begründet wird: „Weil sie [= die Sufis] in ihrem Streben allein Gott im Auge haben, sind sie die wahren Könige der Welt und auch des Jenseits. Weil die Sufis Könige seien, habe er sein Buch Adb al-mulūk genannt, in dem er Leben, Lehren und Sitten der Sufis beschreiben wolle" (23) („...wa-tarğamtuhū bi-Adab al-mulūk li-anna ṣ-ṣūfiyya zahadū ᶜan ğamīᶜ asbāb ad-dunyā fa-ṣārū mulūkan wa-starāḥū wa-ṭābat qulūbuhum wa-nufūsuhum wa-kayfa lā yastaḥiqqūna ism al-mulūkiyya wa-laysa lahum himma ġayr Allāh ᶜazza wağalla..."; 6f.).

Eine deutsche Übersetzung dieser Schrift hat nun Richard Gramlich in Band L, 3 der Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes geliefert. Die Übersetzung wurde auf Grund von Radtkes Ausgabe und einer Photokopie der obengenannten Handschrift fertiggestellt. Die überaus nützlichen Kommentare weisen reichlich auf die Quellen der Schrift und auch auf textliche Parallelen in anderen sufischen Werken hin. In der knappgehaltenen Einleitung, die Radtkes Einleitung zur Textausgabe gut ergänzt, macht der Übersetzer den

Versuch, die Stelle unserer Schrift unter den Werken ähnlichen Inhalts zu bestimmen. Er geht auch auf die Frage der Autorschaft ein, ohne dabei zu einer eindeutigen Lösung zu gelangen. Der Inhalt der Schrift wird in einer kurzen Übersicht skizziert.

Mit diesen beiden Bänden haben Herausgeber und Übersetzer eine bisher kaum bekannte und schwer zugängliche, doch wichtige Schrift zur islamischen Mystik sowohl der Forschung als auch einem breiteren Leserkreis erschlossen.

István Ormos

Drei Schriften des Theosophen von Tirmiḏ: Das Buch vom Leben der Gottesfreunde, Ein Antwortschreiben nach Saraḫs, Ein Antwortschreiben nach Rayy. Herausgegeben, übersetzt und erläutert von Bernd Radtke. Erster Teil: Die arabischen Texte. Bibliotheca Islamica, gegründet von Hellmut Ritter, im Auftrag der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft herausgegeben von Ulrich Haarmann und Erika Glassen, Band 35/a. In Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart, Beirut 1992, X, 78, 295 SS. ISBN 3-515-05210-0.

Der vorliegende Band 35/a der Reihe Bibliotheca Islamica enthält in kritischer Ausgabe den arabischen Text dreier Werke des großen islamischen Mystikers des 3./9. Jahrhunderts Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī at-Tirmiḏī, genannt al-Ḥakīm at-Tirmiḏī: Kitāb sīrat al-awliyā', Ǧawāb al-masā'il allatī sa'alahū ahl Saraḫs ʿanhā und Ǧawāb kitāb min ar-Rayy. Die Schrift Kitāb sīrat al-awliyā' („Das Buch vom Leben der Gottesfreunde") liegt bereits in einer gedruckten Ausgabe unter dem Titel Ḫatm al-awliyā', hrsg. v. ʿUṯmān Yaḥyā, Beirut 1965 vor, da aber diese Ausgabe völlig unzureichend und die besprochene Schrift als das wichtigste auf uns gekommene Beispiel der islamischen Mystik des 3./9. Jahrhunderts zu werten ist, schien eine Neuausgabe der erwähnten Schrift gerechtfertigt. Zur Ausgabe wurden vier Handschriften herangezogen und weitere fünf Textzeugen der Nebenüberlieferung berücksichtigt. Die kurze zweite Schrift Ǧawāb al-masā'il allatī sa'alahū ahl Saraḫs ʿanhā („Ein Antwortschreiben nach Saraḫs") kann als eine knappe Zusammenfassung der Ansichten Tirmiḏīs betrachtet und zur Erläuterung von manchen Abschnitten der Sīra herangezogen werden. Die Textausgabe erfolgte auf Grund dreier Handschriften. Die dritte Schrift Ǧawāb kitāb min ar-Rayy („Ein Antwortschreiben nach Rayy") ist ein vielleicht von Tirmiḏī, vielleicht von seinen Nachfolgern zusammengestelltes Kompendium, dessen ersten Teil der eigentliche und den Titel liefernde Brief an den Mystiker Abū ʿUṯmān al-Ḥīrī darstellt; sie wurde auf Grund von fünf Handschriften herausgegeben.

Die Textausgabe erschließt der breiten Öffentlichkeit eminent wichtige Werke der islamischen Mystik des 3./9. Jahrhunderts, die über ihre Bedeutung für die Entwicklung der islamischen Mystik im engen Sinne des Wortes hinaus auch nicht zu übersehende Berührungspunkte mit der philosophischen Literatur haben und außer der sunnitisch-orthodoxen Theologie auch für die Entwicklung der schiitischen religiösen Ideen von hohem Belang sind. Diese verwickelten Probleme verspricht uns der Herausgeber im zweiten Teil des Buches gründlich darzulegen, der eine Übersetzung der hier edierten Schriften und ausführliche Kommentaren enthalten soll.

István Ormos

BERND RADTKE, *Weltgeschichte und Weltbeschreibung im mittelalterlichen Islam*. Beiruter Texte und Studien, herausgegeben vom Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft: Band 51. In Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart, Beirut 1992, XI + 544 SS. ISBN 3-515-05947-4.

Die vorliegende Arbeit setzt sich zum Ziel, an Hand der Untersuchung der den islamischen Weltchroniken vorangestellten kosmographischen und vorislamischen Teile sowie der methodologischen Reflexionen z.B. über das Verhältnis von Tradition und eigener Erfahrung

die Frage zu beantworten, welche historiographischen Methoden von den einzelnen Geschichtsschreibern angewendet werden, wie ihre Erkenntnislehre aussieht, alles Probleme der Reflexion über die eigenen Methoden, die bereits im 14.–15. Jahrhundert von Ibn Ḫaldūn eingehend diskutiert wurden. Im Zusammenhang damit sucht die Arbeit eine Antwort auf weitere Fragen zu erhalten, wie z.B.: Wie sieht die Welt des jeweiligen Geschichtsschreibers aus, in der sich die Weltgeschichte abspielt? Wer sind die Protagonisten der Weltgeschichte?

Sämtliche bedeutenden islamischen Weltgeschichten arabischer Sprache wurden berücksichtigt nebst einer Auswahl von Chroniken in persischer Sprache, insgesamt etwa bis zum Jahre 1500. Die osmanische Geschichtsschreibung wurde aus praktischen Gründen außer Acht gelassen. Zum Vergleich wurden lateinische, griechische, syrische und christlich-arabische Weltchroniken herangezogen. Das zu untersuchende Material wird in Kapitel II (8–138) detailliert dargestellt, um im darauffolgenden zentralen Kapitel III (139–205) die Erkenntnismethoden der einzelnen Autoren zu ermitteln sowie die Elemente ihres Weltbildes darzustellen. In Kapitel IV (206–447) wird als Beispiel die Kosmographie der Weltchronik Ibn ad-Dawādārīs und seiner Vorlage, der Mir'āt az-zamān des Sibṭ ibn al-Ǧawzī analysiert.

Im zentralen Kapitel III („Die Auswertung") geht der Verfasser zuerst kurz auf den Begriff „Wirklichkeit" ein und zählt die Haupttypen mittelalterlicher Geschichtsschreibung sowohl islamischer als auch christlicher Provenienz auf. Äußerst wichtige theoretische Fragen werden in Abschnitt 2 („Die Stellung der Geschichtsschreibung unter den Wissenschaften") erörtert; über das bereits im Titel angedeutete Problem hinaus werden Fragen, wie z.B. die der Unterscheidung zwischen belehrender und unterhaltender Historiographie und die nach den Kriterien der Beurteilung des Wahrheitsgehaltes einer Nachricht (Erkenntnisprinzipien; die Rolle von Autorität, Augenschein und Analogieschluß) untersucht, und es wird auf eventuelle Parallelen in der antiken Kultur hingewiesen bzw. die Möglichkeiten direkter oder indirekter Beeinflussung erörtert. Spezielle Aufmerksamkeit wird der sog. heilsgeschichtlichen Darstellungsweise gewidmet, und ihre wichtigsten Vertreter im arabischen und persischen Raum werden aufgezählt und ihre Methoden jeweils kurz charakterisiert. Etwas ausführlicher wird nur auf die Geschichtsauffassung ihres ersten und gleich größten Vertreters, Ṭabarī, eingegangen. Die Hauptmerkmale der kulturgeschichtlichen Historiographie werden dargestellt und ihre Schattierungen bzw. Wechselbeziehungen zu anderen Darstellungsweisen erörtert, und auch eventuelle außerislamische Quellen und Vorlagen werden diskutiert. An die Erörterung der Probleme der eventuellen Literarisierung der mamlukischen Geschichtsschreibung schließt sich eine kurze Skizzierung des Kosmos der Vertreter der kulturgeschichtlichen Darstellungsweise an.

Schließlich folgt in Kapitel IV („Das Beispiel") eine gründliche Wiedergabe und Kommentierung des kosmographischen Teils des Kanz ad-durar des Ibn ad-Dawādārī, der wegen seines kompilatorischen Charakters Interesse beanspruchen dürfte. Die Geographie des Werkes wird nur summarisch abgehandelt. Dabei werden Ibn ad-Dawādārīs Quellen, vor allem die entsprechenden Partien aus der Mir'āt az-zamān des Sibṭ ibn al-Ǧawzī ausführlich angegeben nebst Varianten, Parallelen bei anderen islamischen Historiographen, Parallelen sowie eventuellen Vorbildern bei christlichen Historiographen, Variantenapparat zur Textedition, biographischen Hinweisen, bibliographischen Angaben zu den sekundären Quellen und einem erweiterten Kommentar.

Der Rezensent ist sich bewußt, daß in seiner Muttersprache verfaßte Schriften außerhalb der Grenzen seiner Heimat kaum gelesen werden, immerhin möchte er darauf hinweisen, daß Ignaz Goldziher im Jahre 1895 eine — wie bei seinen auf Ungarisch verfaßten Werken üblich — allgemeinverständliche, für das breite Publikum bestimmte, 49 Seiten starke Abhandlung mit dem Titel „Die Geschichtsschreibung in der arabischen Litera-

tur"[1] veröffentlichte, welche eine Erwähnung in dem forschungsgeschichtlichen Überblick (4ff.) sowie in der Bibliographie wohl verdiente. Goldziher berührt die unseren Verfasser interessierenden theoretischen Fragen kaum, er richtet sein Augenmerk vielmehr auf die Herkunft dieser Literaturgattung, welche er in den offiziellen Königsgeschichten der Sassaniden gefunden zu haben meint.

Das hier angezeigte Werk ist sowohl als ein wichtiger Beitrag zur Erschließung der theoretischen Ansatzpunkte der arabischsprachigen Geschichtsschreibung als auch als ein an Hand der in ihm enthaltenen äußerst zahlreichen Einzeldaten in der Zukunft unentbehrliches Nachschlagewerk zu begrüssen.

István Ormos

LAILA NABHAN, *Das Fest des Fastenbrechens (ʿīd al-fiṭr) in Ägypten. Untersuchungen zu theologischen Grundlagen und praktischer Gestaltung*. Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, begründet von Klaus Schwarz, herausgegeben von Gerd Winkelhane, Band 147. Klaus Schwarz Verlag, Berlin 1991, 269 SS., 26 Abb. ISBN 3-922968-0.

Die hier zur Besprechung empfohlene Arbeit, welche als Inaugural-Dissertation der Universität Mainz vorgelegt wurde, liefert eine gründliche Untersuchung eines der wichtigsten islamischen Feste, des Festes des Fastenbrechens (ʿīd al-fiṭr) im modernen Kairo. Nach der „Einleitung", in der die Autorin kurz die „Problemstellung" skizziert und die Literatur sowie den Forschungsstand beschreibt, wendet sie sich dem eigentlichen Hauptteil des Werkes zu. Zuerst werden beide Bestandteile des Ausdruckes ʿīd al-fiṭr auf ihre Etymologien hin untersucht, wobei unterstrichen wird, daß die Ansichten der europäischen Orientalisten und der einheimischen Gelehrten über die Etymologie des Wortes ʿīd auseinandergehen: während die ersteren dieses Wort im allgemeinen für eine Entlehnung aus dem Aramäischen halten, betrachten es die letzteren als eine genuin arabische Bildung. Neben der offiziellen Benennung des Festes werden auch volkstümliche Namen erwähnt. Angesichts der spärlichen, aber auch ungemein komplizierten Quellenlage sind Nachforschungen über den Ursprung des Festes beträchtlich erschwert; was sich aber dennoch genau bestimmen läßt, faßt die Autorin im folgenden Kapitel zusammen und versucht gleichwohl die Stellung des Festes innerhalb des islamischen Festkalenders zu bestimmen. Aufschlußreich und zugleich spannend sind die Ausführungen über die theologischen Grundlagen und die religiöse Bedeutung des ʿīd al-fiṭr. Nun folgt eine ausführliche Beschreibung der einzelnen Elemente des Festes, wobei sich die Verfasserin weitgehend auf reiche eigene Beobachtungen stützt, die sie in den Jahren 1981–1986 in Kairo gemacht hat: über die einfachen Beobachtungen hinaus hat sie auch einschlägige Interviews geführt, z.B. mit Šayḫ aṭ-Ṭayyib an-Naǧǧār, dem Rektor der al-Azhar-Universität zum Thema der Etymologie des Wortes ʿīd („... eine Diskussion über Erkenntnisse von Semitisten war nicht möglich"), mit Dr. Ramaḍān ʿAbdattawwāb, Mitglied der Laǧnat az-zakāt (Kommission für Almosen) zur Herkunft des Ausdrucks yawm al-waqfa, oder mit Sulaymān Nūr ad-Dīn, dem ehemaligen Wirtschaftsminister zu den ökonomischen Aspekten des Festes. Sie zieht aber auch Zeitungsartikel, Kochrezepte und Schlagermusik zu ihrer Untersuchung heran. Bei der Beschreibung des Festes werden folgende Themen abgehandelt: Ru'yat hilāl aš-Šawwāl, Zakāt al-fiṭr, Takbīrāt al-ʿīd, Ṣalāt al-ʿīd, Ḫuṭbat al-ʿīd, Ziyārāt al-maqābir, gegenseitige Besuche und Austausch von Glückwünschen, Festspeisen, Musik und Unterhaltung. Von diesen seien an dieser Stelle zwei als besonders interessant und aufschlußreich hervorgehoben: 1. Die Ausführungen zum Thema Ru'yat al-hilāl liefern höchst interessantes Material zur

[1] Ignaz Goldziher, Historiography in Arabic Literature. Transl. J. De Somogyi. In: *Gesammelte Schriften* III, Hildesheim 1969, 359–394. Vgl. Bernard Heller, Bibliographie des oeuvres de Ignace Goldziher. Imprimérie Nationale, Paris 1927, 49 (Nr. 179).

Problematik des Gegensatzes „Tradition und Moderne", wo über das eigentlich rechtliche Problem hinaus, dessen Lösung auch von den modernen Naturwissenschaften erschwert wird, unter Umständen eventuell auch sekundäre Aspekte, wie z.B. der Stolz auf das Vorhandensein modernster astronomischer und meteorologischer Geräte überhaupt berücksichtigt werden müssen; 2. Die Berechnung der Summe der Zakāt al-fiṭr stellt wiederum ein aufschlußreiches Beispiel des Problems der praktischen Anwendung des islamischen Rechts dar. Auf etwa 20 Seiten werden dann Stellungnahmen zum Fest in der Presse erörtert: Zu diesem Kapitel, in dem manche interessanten Beobachtungen und Bemerkungen zur politischen Lage bzw. zur Rolle und Betätigung der Massenmedien im heutigen Ägypten zu finden sind, stammt das Material vorwiegend aus dem Archiv von al-Ahrām, wo die Verfasserin frei zu recherchieren die Gelegenheit hatte. Die Autorin zieht — soweit vorhanden — auch geschichtliche Angaben aus der Literatur in Betracht und befragt des öfteren ältere Kairoer nach den Gebräuchen in alten Zeiten.

Eine ausgewogene, an wichtigen Detailinformationen reiche Arbeit. Zwei kleine Bemerkungen: Der Name des bekannten Platzes in Kairo ist nicht ᶜAbd-Dīn-Platz, sondern ᶜAbdīn-Platz (aus *ᶜābidīn) (59). In dem Literatur- und Abkürzungsverzeichnis ist die Zahl der Druckfehler groß.

István Ormos

JODY RUBIN PINAULT, *Hippocratic Lives and Legends. Studies in Ancient Medicine.* Edited by John Scarborough, Volume 4. E. J. Brill, Leiden–New York–Köln 1992, X + 159 pp. ISSN 0925-1421; ISBN 90-04-09574-8.

The present work is the expanded and revised version of the author's doctoral dissertation. She has chosen to investigate in detail three legends about eminent feats of Hippocrates that occupy a prestigious place in the extant lives, both Western (Greek and Latin) and Eastern (Arabic), of that highly elusive figure. There is very little authentic contemporary material concerning Hippocrates (two references in Plato and one in Aristotle) and his first extant biography was not written until five hundred years after his death. Thus it is a generally accepted fact that the three lives of Hippocrates surviving from antiquity (the life of Hippocrates according to Soranus, the article in the Suda and Joannes Tzetzes' verses about Hippocrates), let alone later versions, are not based on authentic source material but are later inventions, mainly from Hellenistic times, devoid of any real historical value. At the same time, it has been recognized recently that these stories, their growth and transformation, deserve serious study on account of their relevance to the periods of these respective processes. Now that it can be seen clearly that the lives are all based on pseudepigraphic material attached to the Corpus Hippocraticum, after a careful description of the three lives of Hippocrates that have survived from antiquity and their interrelationship, the author subjected three legends from the lives to detailed study: how Hippocrates stopped the plague (epidemic) at Athens by burning a fire; how he diagnosed King Perdiccas' lovesickness and how he cured him of it; and how Hippocrates refused to work for Artaxerxes, King of the Persians, because he was an enemy of the Greeks. While the stories concerning the Athenian plague and Artaxerxes are not older than the middle of the 4th century and not younger than the 1st century B.C., the story about King Perdiccas of Macedon was not associated with Hippocrates before the 1st century A.D. Against the background of recent comparative studies of ancient biographies in general, the author investigates in detail how the aspects of these legends that are emphasized by their respective authors change from time to time in so far as they correspond to the standards and ideals of the actual societies in question. This general tenor is pursued further in the investigation of Hippocrates' lives in Arabic: after some general remarks on the subject, as a first step two influential representatives are selected and subjected to close scrutiny — the versions in

as-Siğistānī's "Ṣiwān al-ḥikma" and in the "Muḫtār al-ḥikam" of al-Mubaššir ibn Fātik — and the investigations yield the conclusion that in this case it is the ethical that is thrust into the foreground, with the identity of the persons in question, in our case Hippocrates, playing a negligible role in the process. This is relevant in the case of the stories about Perdiccas and Artaxerxes, which were absorbed into the ethical-biographical tradition in Islam, while the story of the plague became associated with therapeutical pharagraphs on epidemics, just as was the case in Byzantium and Western Europe, where it survived even until after the Renaissance.

Three appendices enrich the contents of this illuminating volume: Appendix A contains the Greek and Latin texts of the classical lives of Hippocrates; in Appendix B the English translations of the Hippocratic lives of as-Siğistānī, al-Mubaššir ibn Fātik and Ibn Ğulğul are presented; and finally in Appendix C we find the English translation of the Pseudo-Hippocratic correspondence between Hippocrates and Artaxerxes.

The author does not read Arabic, as she states herself in the Introduction (3) but had the privilege of enjoying the assistance of Franz Rosenthal and her husband, David Pinault, a circumstance that guarantees the reliability of her conclusions in this field of studies, too.

A short remark: The Book of the Chapters is of course the Book of the Aphorisms (143).

István Ormos

EDWARD ULLENDORFF, *From the Bible to Cerulli, A Miscellany of Ethiopian and Semitic Papers*. Äthiopistische Forschungen, herausgegeben von Ernst Hammerschmidt, Band 32. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1990, 235 pp. ISBN 3-515-05593-2.

The volume under review is the third in a series to contain a wide selection of Professor Ullendorff's articles in the fields of Semitic studies in general and Ethiopian studies in particular: this time *scripta minora,* or even *minima* as the author himself is inclined to call them on account of their relatively limited length[1]. In Part I *(Aethiopica)* 21 short writings deal with various aspects of Ethiopian culture. Part II *(Semitica)* consists of 16 minor writings offering some intriguing insights into such disparate areas of Semitic civilization as South Arabian etymology, Ugaritic grammar, the history of Hebrew, and Goldziher's *Tagebuch,* just to pick out a few random examples. Part III *(In Memoriam)* is a collection of 20 obituaries of distinguished scholars of Ethiopian and Semitic studies as well as of some outstanding Ethiopians.

As far as the general assessment of this volume is concerned, the reviewer would like to draw the attention of the reader to what he wrote in his review of the predecessor of this volume, the author's *Studia Aethiopica et Semitica*[2]. Once again one is struck by the ais delicate sense of balance, his very human way of handling problems, and his mastery of the English language, all of which together transform these *scripta minora* into real works of art.

In the present case the reviewer would like to single out a few items from this rich selection that he has found particularly appealing. "Ethiopia and the Bible" (21–33)[3] is a masterly crystallization of some of the main conclusions reached elsewhere concerning the process of the translation of the Bible into classical Ethiopic. A particularly challenging side-issue of the complex of problems connected with the previous subject is tackled in "Hebrew Elements in

[1] Edward Ullendorff, *Is Biblical Hebrew a Language? Studies in Semitic Languages and Civilizations*. Wiesbaden 1977; *id.*, *Studia Aethiopica et Semitica*. Äthiopistische Forschungen, herausgegeben von Ernst Hammerschmidt, Band 24. Stuttgart 1987.

[2] István Ormos, Review of Edward Ullendorff, Studia Aethiopica et Semitica. In: *Acta Orientalia Hung*. XLIV (1990) 437.

[3] *Conferenza tenuta nella seduta del 13 Marzo 1969*. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Quaderno 155. Roma 1971, 15.

the Ethiopic Old Testament" (34–42)[4]. "The *Confessio Fidei* of King Claudius of Ethiopia" (57–74)[5] gives the Ethiopic text as well as the English translation — along with a number of illuminating remarks — of a highly important theological document from 16th century Ethiopia. The reviews of Rosén's *Contemporary Hebrew* (150–155)[6] and Kutscher's *A History of the Hebrew Language* (158–213)[7] abound in thought-provoking observations, while the latter also facilitates the perusal and assessment of a highly important work which was born under ill-fated circumstances. On p. 155 we read: "I was struck by the sentence (footnote 212) lir'ot lo ra'iti oto, 'aval dibarti 'ito ba-telefon 'I did not actually (my translation) see him, but I talked to him on the phone'." This construction, which is quite common in Hungarian, and, to my knowledge, also in Russian, is dealt with at length by Gideon Goldenberg in his "The Tautological Infinitive", *Israel Oriental Studies* I (1971) 36–85. It would be interesting to find out where Israeli Hebrew has it from! The review of Goldziher's justly renowned *Diary* (155–157)[8] is, I think, a balanced and, as is called for in this case, a more or less emotionless evaluation of this most controversial opus, which pulls over the figure of Goldziher an even thicker veil than we can ever hope to lift. The review of Gelb's *Thoughts about Ibla* (177–180)[9] helps the student of Semitic linguistics to evaluate certain important data better, while at the same time adding some illuminative insights into the highly important (or perhaps unimportant?) problem of the classification of Semitic languages. The obituaries, which constitute Part III of the present volume, are mostly based on close personal contacts and are tokens of admiration, though founded on sound judgment, and thus they also contain many important pieces of information hardly obtainable elsewhere. Just to select a few of them: Enno Littmann (194), Ras Bitwoded Makonnen Endalkatchew (195), Joseph Schacht (202), Lady Drower (207), Mangestu Lemma (210), Enrico Cerulli (212).

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[4] *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 9 (1987) 42–50.

[5] *Journal of Semitic Studies* 32 (1987) 159–176.

[6] *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* XLII (1979) 548–553.

[7] *Journal of Jewish Studies* 1983, 208–213.

[8] *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* XLII (1979) 553–555.

[9] *Journal of Semitic Studies* 23 (1978) 151–154.

GERD WÄDOW, *T'ien-fei hsien-sheng lu. „Die Aufzeichnungen von der manifestierten Heiligkeit der Himmelsprinzess". Einleitung, Übersetzung, Kommentar. Monumenta Serica Monograph Series* XXIX. Institut Monumenta Serica, Sankta Augustin. Steyler Verlag, Nettetal, 1992. 174 pp.

In keeping with its title, this useful book is about a woman-Goddess in the Chinese Pantheon *Fei*, who was admired as the Heavenly Goddess *T'ien-fei*. The whole text is translated and published, with a preface, and introduction, which makes the book easy to handle. However it is necessary to have in hand the early text about the Heavenly Kingdom or rather the Heavenly Empire, where all the Gods and Goddesses are mentioned according to their ranks, as officials of the "Country" of the Heaven above the Chinese imperial world. It is a treatise (Dissertation) written in 1991 under the guidance of Professor Dr. Rolf Trauzettel, whose name and work are acknowledged with affection at the beginning of the work, alongside the gratitude of the author to the other sources of the book and the knowledge given in this book to the reader by the Professor Dr. Lee Ming-huei, Academia Sinica in Taipei, Taiwan.

As mentioned in the introduction, the author is rightly surprised at the recognition of the "official" character of the Chinese Heaven, knowing the Western religion and the search for the usual comparisons in the Western and Eastern hemispheres, characterized by the concerned society, the people who adored the Gods

and Goddesses of the religion, of the Heaven in question. In such a harmonized world, it is natural that Heaven must be ruled by the same laws orientating the Chinese earthly world, even if the part in question is entitled "religion". At the very beginning, it was clear which personality belonged to the supernatural and which to the natural world, and it was only at the turn of the first millennium A.D. when the official character of the other world developed, with every rank and title. The Goddess in question in the titles of state culture in the second millennium, is summarized by the author from point of view of the people's culture, reviewing the folklore treasure of the Sung, Yüan, Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, respectively.

The author reviews both the object of the work in question and the related texts, which generally ended in the last century, and were published in 1960, in Taipei. These are given in an unusually lengthy form, and the expensive character is of this is illustrated by the indebtedness of the author to a Bank in Taiwan. Naturally the fourteenth century, when the admiration to this Heavenly Goddess (T'ien-fei) was expressed, was the period when the religion was affected by the earthly world of official character, and therefore not only the religious topic, but the biography of the supernatural personality is also taken into consideration. Legendary and realistic, religious and official details are equally described and everybody interested in Chinese folk religion will be glad to read both the Chinese text and its translation, and the commentaries concerning the text and its topic.

The book begins with the representation of the Goddess in a picture, generally admired by her disciples in China; this characterization is given in a textual form at the beginning. After comments on the translated text and dates of the chronicles, etc., there is a description of the rites concerning the Goddess, her birth and other prodigious relationships. The text is illustrated (seven pages at the end), and a good index concludes this summary of the special character of the Chinese Heaven.

Ildikó Ecsedy

JULIA CHING – WILLARD G. OXTOBY, *Moral Enlightenment. Leibniz and Wolff on China. Monumenta Serica Monograph Series* XXVI. Institut Monumenta Serica, Sankt Augustin, Steyler Verlag, Nettetal 1992. XIII, 288 pp.

This interesting book, the result of research of more than a decade, deals more with Western philosophy than with China itself, however, this does not change the usual lore of comparative writings, because it represents an attractive description of the philosophies mentioned in the title. This attractive volume provides an interpretation of Chinese culture and the whole world of China, thus contributing to the development of the West. It offers the best results of the East, namely China, to the attainments of the West. Luckily, one of the authors: Julia Ching is a well-trained sinologist and her comparative knowledge of philosophy is best seen in this book, while the other author: Willard G. Oxtoby is a well-known expert of comparative history of religions, thus no mistake or lack of the Chinese or religious realities is to be noted. Furthermore, the libraries giving the material in both Germanies and in several other countries during the last decades, together with the archives, deserve the gratitude of readers, in a similar way to the authors, who after thanking Professors Wolfgang Franke (Hamburg) and Tilemann Grimm (Tübingen) for their expert help, dedicate the entire work to the collegial help of Hans Küng.

Western philosophy esteemed and misunderstood China. France and Western Europe admired the political content of Chinese official life, and European political claims were strengthened until the desire of revolutionary ideas of 1789, while German philosophy gained practical ideas for governing and daily life, respectively. This is shown in this volume, which considers the views of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716) and his younger friend Christian Wolff (1679–1754) on China, primarily concerning Chinese Confucian philosophy. The first citation from Leibniz is dated from 1716, while that of Wolff is from 1726. Their admiration refers to China of the

early 18th century. This was the heyday of the Ch'ing Dynasty of Manchu origin, when China reached its biggest size and the related culture became the ideal model of Eastern Asia, and when missionaries brought its fame to the West, although too often only what they hoped to see in China. They and their Western readers never took into consideration the basis of Chinese philosophy, namely that Chinese history was different from Europe and its past, first of all in the quality of law, rather paying attention to the interest of mankind and governing it, namely to government rather than to law and order in China on principle and in a philosophical aspect. The practical side of Chinese philosophy can first of all refer to the aim of taking care of the community, which is why the law of the universe is important from the point of view of the human community, i.e. the state. This is a source of misinterpretation, but this does not change — luckily — the fact that China's philosophy contributed to the history of law and the practical philosophy of Western Europe, first of all in the 18th century. In China this represented a period of the commentaries when the Ming-period interpretation of the past was most important for Confucian scholars, dominating the thought of the Chinese official state.

The cross-cultural examinations made by the authors are based on the original philosophical texts of Leibniz and Wolff, respectively, and on other kinds of writings, which are not easy for the modern reader to find. The German mother-tongue helps, and Latin is utilized, in this time almost as much as the German. Each Latin text is checked against the German version, in the case of letters, too.

After the list of illustrations, there is a report of the Chinese classics and commentaries, and the Chinese tradition concerning philosophical works. After this, in Part One a good essay is provided on the philosophical structure of the Chinese tradition. In Part Two with good footnotes, there are the views of Leibniz on China, and in Part Three the views of Wolff, with his own discoveries of arithmetics, primarily binary theory, the "practical" philosophy of the latter and the arguments of Chinese culture. Finally, Part Four is an epilogue on the critical ideas of Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) on the "mysticism" of Taoism, etc., and the historically fatal conclusions of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831).

Many authors already dealt with this subject with varying degrees of expertise, and it was time to deal with it thoroughly, which this impressive volume does, with a selected bibliography and a good Index.

Ildikó Ecsedy

DONALD B. WAGNER, *Iron and Steel in Ancient China. Handbuch der Orientalistik, Handbook of Oriental Studies,* Vierte Abteilung: China, herausgegeben von E. Zürcher, Neunter Band. XIV, map, 1–573 pp. E. J. Brill, Leiden – New York – Köln 1993.

After a book concerning the basis of Chinese life in the XXth century, too, in the time of civil war, founding China before and after the imperial rule (cf. the book by Vogel, reviewed by the same person, *Acta Orient. Hung.* XLV: 2–3, pp. 451–452), this book deals with the other basis of China, ancient and modern as well, namely with iron and its modified forms, say steel, on the territory of the Chinese Empire, even if only in the first years of the real imperial power. The book itself deals — told by the author in the Preface as well — only with the first years of the imperial house Han, that is it ends in the second century B.C., but the importance of the problem and the versatile elaboration of the topic provides for the reader a great and unified picture serving as a creditable basis for the whole economic life, mainly industry of imperial China.

The reader of the first book mentioned — that of Vogel — might be shocked by the modernization of terminology, required so by modern times, but read with doubts concerning ancient times of different sources, now may be calmed by the methods of the author and the period of traditional sources only, that is one type of sources harmonizing with the period in

the centre of the published work. That is why we may read with satisfaction the report about the ancient Chinese works cited, not only because in Scandinavian territories, especially in Denmark maybe, this is the first similar report, but the whole explanation is in connection with the old Chinese culture, archaeology and economy, it is so to say an explanation of the methods of interpreting the source in question, the traditional sources being analyzed from point of view of the topic in question, not regarding the whole sources, only the thematic sphere of the book is unveiled before the reader of the book.

The whole book differs from the different treatments of the tradition, mainly by the interest of the author in the nature of culture, always being wider that the topic of a publication, and its descriptions require different factual knowledges, e.g. of metallurgy, the elaboration of the treated iron and steel in ancient China, when the author speaks about the first weapons and ritual objects in the territory what became China in later periods. We have to mention, because in the book many things are written, but at the first moment the reader waits for the declaration that China means there the traditional territory named so in imperial times, that is the territory of Chinese culture itself, almost independent from its political relations, so difficult to be determined sometimes.

This publication is a result of more than a decade of research. As the author tells, the study of metallurgy concerned begin in 1981 with Dr. V. F. Buchwald at the technical university of Denmark, with visits in China (in 1984 and 1987), under the guidance of Prof. Noel Barnard and Dr. Joseph Needham, the above names meaning the highest expertness in the territory and in the ancient Chinese science and civilization as well (the author acknowledges their help as well as of the other persons', friends', Chinese and European teachers' helping activity in the Preface, pp. VII–VIII).

A short context and explanation of the chapters following it is to be found in the Preface, but a short conclusion can be met in the separate chapters as well, and the result important for the author and for the reader can be read in different parts of the work as well, the conclusion being written in the English language of the book as well as in the Danish mothertongue of the author.

The reader is provided in the first chapter an introductory orientation about the bronze implements of ritual and military character, that is about the bronze age in ancient China. The second chapter summarizes the earliest evidence of the use of iron in China. This part of the book shows first time the expert usage of the author of archaeological materials; at the end we find not only the Chinese title, but its translation, too, thus making it available for everybody, not able to read the whole periodical, article etc. in China, in a Chinese library and so on.

South-East and South Western territories are important for the reader and for the topic as well, that is why in the third chapter the state of Wu and the discovery of iron is but welcome. In the fourth chapter a survey of early iron objects is given. In the fifth chapter we read about ironworks and ironmasters in the third century B.C., and in the sixth chapter the author writes about the ancient Chinese wrought iron and steel artifacts (cast iron being out of use in ancient Europe, but a later development in China as well), while in the seventh chapter cast iron Chinese artifacts are reported about, often giving a picture of the mentioned objects, about their names with Chinese characters at least, the Chinese character itself often being a source of the object in question.

We are given — after the concluding remarks — the pages where we find the pictures in question; translations of the Chinese works concerning the metallography of the age, a list of references and abbreviations, and finally a good index is added. Chinese characters are to be met, when the readers needs them.

Ildikó Ecsedy

Correction to volume XLVII:1–2

In our previous issue, due to an unfortunate mistake, *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*. Ed. Denis Sinor. Cambridge 1990, appeared with a wrong title in B. Péri's review. We apologise to all concerned.

the editor

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