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K. CZEGLÉDY. B. CSONGOR, G. KARA, A. RÓNA-TAS, G. URAY, I. VÁSÁRY

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ETYMA MONGUORICA

PAR

G. KARA

Cette contribution à l'étude étymologique du monguor se base sur le *Dictionnaire monguor-français* édité par A. de Smedt et A. Mostaert. Leur ouvrage qui, malgré le temps écoulé depuis 1933, l'an de son édition, n'a pas perdu de sa vigueur, abonde en inventions étymologiques. Beaucoup d'entre elles ont été reprises et développées par M. A. Róna-Tas dans son livre *Tibeto-Mongolica* (1966) comprenant les étymologies tibétaines de presque 790 mots et morphèmes du monguor.

En relisant le glossaire sbra-nag de Grum-Gržimajlo j'ai beaucoup profité de ces travaux et, grâce à quelques sources peu exploitées, j'ai établi un certain nombre de nouvelles étymologies. J'ai aussi essayé d'en attester quelques-unes qui ont été présentées dans le *Dictionnaire* de de Smedt et Mostaert, mais considérées comme problématiques.

La plupart des mots qui figurent ici remontent aux dialectes tibétains de l'Amdo et montrent certaines particularités propres à ces dialects (groupes de consonnes en position initiale, remplacement des anciens groups *gr-* et *gy-* etc. par la même affriquée palatale, remplacement de l'ancien groupe *dp-* par *χu*, cf. aussi *χ.ǥ* pour *db-*; *i* pour les anciennes voyelles *i* et *u*; *-ā* pour *-al*; *-ī* pour *-os*; *-r* pour *-d*; etc.).

Certaines étymologies proposées ici témoignent des rapports du monguor avec les autres langues mongoles, certains mots se rèvèlent d'être d'origine chinoise.

1. *arats'iaǥ* «ruines de ville, de villages, cour non habitée où il ne reste plus que les murs des maisons détruites» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 11) ∼ tib. **ra-čhag*, cf. tib. *ra-ba* «clôture, muraille, cour», *'čhag*, *čhag(s)* «to break», *snod čhag-pa* «a broken vessel», dial. *lam čhag-pa* «a practicable road . . .; an impracticable, broken-up road» (Jaeschke 167), *čha-ki čhog-ke* 破破爛爛, (房子家具) 亂七八糟 «détruit, déchiré, (maison, ameublement) sens dessus dessous» (Anduo 44).

2. *ʙīk'ar* et *īk'ar* «tente» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 25, 190) ∼ tib. *dbu-gur* «a sleeping tent» (Das 222a), *dbu-gur* et *dbu-ger* = *bla-braṅ ṅam pho-braṅ lta-bu* (ČhGr 590a) «palais», *dbu-gur* (*ūquu*) «tent» (h) (Goldstein 784), (*ufguu*)

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id. (Yu 672). DLT 617 donne, s. v. Tentorium, tib. *g-yab*, *gur*, *gur-log*, *gur-ma*, *ru-ba*, *sbra*, *dbra*, (*bla-re*, *gur-thog*, *čog-bu*). Cf. mgr. *gur* ~ amdowa *kĭr* «tente» et *rī-kar* id., tib. *gur* et *ras-gur* (Roerich 108, 146; Róna-Tas 199°). Du point de vue sémantique, ce parallèle tibéto-monguor se montre impéccable, toutefois il soulève des difficultés phonétiques: le monguor rend tib. *db-* par *ɣu-* ou *χu-* (v. Róna-Tas 163°) ou par *ɣ-* ou *rɣ* (Róna-Tas 147°) et non par *b* ou zéro, la voyelle longue et l'aspiration sont également difficiles à expliquer, mais cf. mgr. *bźiăk'ar* ~ tib. *rgya-gar* (de Smedt—Mostaert 79; Róna-Tas 122°) Grum 147°.

3. *bombo* dans *b. fudzu* «eau bénite» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 28) ~ tib. *bum-bu* = *bum-čhuṅ* «small water-pot generally used in religious ceremonies» (Das 874b), cf. DTLF 670a: *bum-pa čhu-blugs* «aqua e lagena effusa (species baptismi apud lamas) (Schlagintweit), eau répandue (espèce de baptisme)», cf. encore andowa šarpa *bun ba* «jar» (Nagano 106°), tib. *bum-pa*, mgr. *wumba* (Róna-Tas 764°), ouig. *bumpa*, mong. *bumba*.

4. *darmadu* «corpulent» et, du même thème *darma*: *darmabźiă-* «devenir gras, prospérer» et *darmarā-* id. (de Smedt—Mostaert D 46) ~ tib. *dar-ma* «middle age (in man or woman) after the 40th year», *dar-ma'i stobs* «the strength of a full-grown man, that of an adult», *dar-ma'i lus* «the body of a bull; youthful body (like that of a growing bull)» (Das 621a), *dar-ma* «the age of manhood, manly age, prime of life» et «a man, and *dar-mo* a woman in the prime of life» (Jaeschke 251b), *dar-ba*, *dar-ma* «Juventus, jeunesse», *dar-sgaṅ* vel *-ma* «qui ad plenitudinem virium pervenit, parvenu au plein développement de ses forces» (DTLF 480b), cf. nom d'un héros dans le *Ro-sgruṅ*: Nags-skyes dar-po, etc. Une autre possibilité: mong. **darama*, v. kalm. *darm* «der Rücken zwischen dem Kreuzbein und den Rippen», dah. *darama* etc. «Rücken», ma. *darama* «Nierengegend, Kreuz» (Ramstedt *KalmWb.* 78a, Kałużyński *Dagur* 121), mais la sémantique du tib. *dar-ma* semble être plus adéquate.

5. *dīsar* «temps, heure». Cf. le mot *sar* «temps» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 56) ~ tib. *dus-char*, cf. mgr. *duī* et *sar*, Róna-Tas 90° et 519° (ou 520°, tib. *chad* «mesure» à *chod* dans *dus-chod* «heure», Anduo 77, Gō 272°?).

6. *dīṣɣ* «clair, manifeste, distinct, attentivement» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 56), *dīṣɣdu* «clairement» (ibid.) ~ chin. 的實 *dí shí* «dostoverno, točno; vraiment, exactement» (Innokentij 2255°). Une autre possibilité, qui me semble cependant moins probable, est offerte par le tib. *gdos-bčas* «material, corporeal» (Das 663b) dont la sémantique et la phonétique de la seconde syllabe soulèvent des difficultés.

8. *dõŋsguor* «nom d'un lamaserie près de Donkyr (Ouest de Sining)». Cf. tib. *toṅ-khor* id. (de Smedt—Mostaert D 61) ~ tib. *Stoṅ-'khor*, Go 1909° *htoŋ-khor gon-pa* / *stoṅ-'khor dgon-pa*, J. F. Rock, *The Amnye Ma-cchen Range . . .*, p. 189: *sTong-hkhor* ~ chin. Tan-ka-erh (= *Dangar*) ~ Gō 1909° Tung-kuo-rh temple (= *Dongguor*).

7. *ɒoɢsźźiõŋ* «soupçon, doute» *ɒoɢsźźiõŋla-* «soupçonner, douter» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 59) ~ tib. *dogs* «apprehension, fear, scruple» (Jaeschke 258a), *dogs-pa = the-chom byed-pa'i bsam-pa daṅ bya-spyod-kyi miṅ . . .* (Dag 371), *dogs-pa bza'* «douter» (Gir.-Goré 98, 272, cf. encore Das 641b, 584b, etc.) et tib. *skyoṅ* «to attend to; to be given to» (e.g. *thugs-dam* meditation, *lag-len* exercise, Jaeschke 31b), c.-à-d., **dogs-skyoṅ*.

9. *ɒuom* «compte, dette», *ɒ. suăna-* «faire les comptes» etc. (de Smedt—Mostaert D 65) ~ tib. *sdom-pa* «obligation, engagement, duty» (Jaeschke 297a), mais *sdom* »summary, contents«, *spyi'i sdom* «table of contents, index» etc. (ibid.; cf. encore Das 721b, 722a, Parf. 282, etc.).

10. *ɒzɐɢi* «minuscule». Cf. tib. *zi* «something of a very small size or quantity» (Jaeschke 487a), *ɒz. lūṣɐ* «souris de très petite taille» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 70), cf. tib. amdowa *cig* «petit», *bya-yis cig-gi* «enfant, petit enfant», *cig-ge-zig*, *cis-ci-go-* (ou *-ke-*) *zig* «un peu» (Anduo 127), cf. encore mgr. *ɒzeɒze-maɒza* «petits objets, bagatelles, jeunes enfants, jeunes animaux», etc. (de Smedt—Mostaert D 70).

11. *ɒzɐŋɢāŋ* «crinière, crin, soie de porc» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 70) ~ tib. **ze-'gaṅ*, cf. tib. *ze = phag-gi gña'-ba'i spu riṅ-bo-la'aṅ phag-ze zer* «la longue soie sur le cou du porc, soie de porc» (Dag 693), *ze-ba = rta-mgo'i ze-ba daṅ dre'u-mgo'i ze daṅ me-tog-gi ze-ba daṅ bya de'i mgo'i ze-ba'aṅ* (ČhGr 762: crinière, crête, étamine), *ze-čog*, *ze-rṅog* «crinière» (Gir.-Goré 77), *ze* «hump; crest; . . .» (Jaeschke 489b), *ze* 鬃 «crinière» (Yu 854), *ze-ka*, *ze'u* «hump», *ze-ma* «eyelashes» (Das 1096b, 1097a), cf. *rji-ma*, vulg. *zi-ma*, «eye-lashes» (Jaeschke 468b, cf. Yu 810) etc. et *sgaṅ = ri'i sgaṅ . . .*; *srog-čhags gzugs-mo-la'aṅ sgaṅ žes rǰod-čiṅ*, etc. (Che II 75: crête d'une montagne, porc-épic, etc.), *rgaṅ* et *sgaṅ = srog-čhags rgaṅ-ste, de-la rgaṅ-gzugs daṅ rgaṅ-mo daṅ zer-mo yaṅ zer . . .*; *sgaṅ = sa-gži čhen-po'i mtho-sa . . ., sa-ṅos-nas 'bur-du thon-pa'i čha-šas . . .* (Dag 153, 165), *sgaṅ = rgaṅ-gzugs = gzer-mo = byi-thur* (ČhGr 168, 182: porc-épic), *rgaṅ* ou *'gaṅ gzer-ma* «hedgehog (Schmidt), or perh. rather porcupine» (Jaeschke 103b; cf. Das 301b; Goldstein 285: *sgaṅ* ridge; on, on top of, . . .; while . . .; porcupine» = Yu 243), amdowa *'gaṅ* (*ŋg-*) 蝻蝍 «porc-épic» et *sgaṅ* (*g-*) 山頂 «sommet, pic» (Anduo 22, 25), le deux formes semblent résulter d'une bifurcation sémantique.

12. *źźiaɢlõŋ* «espèce de haut-bois dont on joue dans les lamaseries» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 78) ~ tib. (*gliṅ-bu* dans) *rgya-gliṅ* «a larger musical instrument like a hautboy, used in sacral ceremonies» (Das 258b), cf., par exemple, *Chibetto mikkyō . . .*, p. 317—318.

13. *źźiãŋsgar* «le gros grain du chapelet lamaïque», *manie źź.* «le gros grain du chapelet» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 82) ~ tib. **bgraṅ-dkar* ou *graṅs-dkar*. Le mot commun pour «chapelet» est *phreṅ-ba* (parfois avec *'phr-*) ou *phreṅ-ma* (cf. Sum II 142), mais un autre terme, parallèle au chin. 數珠 *shùzhū*, est attesté, par exemple, dans le Kanǰur, Rgyud Ma 282b3 (éd. de Pékin):

bgraṅ-phreṅ, cf. Jaeschke 361a: *bgraṅ-'phreṅ* «rosary», *Chibetto mikkyõ*, p. 283: *'phreṅ-ba* ou *bgraṅ-'phreṅ*; pour ce qui est à la première syllabe, v. tib. andowa *gyaṅs* ~ *graṅs* «nombre» (Anduo 34). «Grain de chapelet» est *'phreṅ-'bru* (Gir.-Goré 140) ou *rag-ša* «a bead of a rosary» (Jaeschke 522a, en fait, c'est un nom de plant) ou *phreṅ-dog* = mong. *bongso* (Sum II 142), *phreṅ-rdog* = mong. *bömörčeg* (ibid. et Wuti 3247, 3248, nos 12212, 12216); la «tête» du chapelet s'appelle *modo-'jin* (= chin. *fotou* «la tête du Bouddha» = ma. *uǰu*, mong. *toluγai*: Wuti 3247, n° 12213); la «tête» du chapelet *phyag-phreṅ* est nommée *mdud-'jin* dans une version du *Ro-sgruṅ* (Damdinsürüng, *Töbed-mongγol Siditü kegür-ün üliger* I, Ulaanbaatar 1963, p. 17), le nom mongol de ce grain figure sous forme de *tō* chez Pozdneev, *Očerki*, p. 154 (trad. anglaise éd. par M. J. Krueger: «The largest of these beads, which is considered the first of the rosary, is called the 'too'», p. 220), il doit être identique au mong. *toγa* «nombre», ma. *to*, qui désigne, selon Wuti 3249, n° 12219, les grains qui séparent le dizaines formées de grains «ordinaires»; en tib. il est *graṅs-'jin* (ibid.). Aucun de ces termes ne nous explique pas la deuxième syllabe du mot monguor, mais le nom ancien d'une fonction militaire, tib. *brgya-dpon* «centurion» (cf. ČhGr 195, Jaeschke 123b, Parf. 132, Goldstein 301, Yu 259, etc.) dénote également, en dialecte de l'Amdo, le gros grain du chapelet, qui est, selon l'explication chinoise (Anduo 57), le plus souvent de couleur blanche, donc le mot monguor ou son modèle tibétain signifie le grain (*graṅs*) blanc (*dkar*).

14. *bźisgā* «nerfs» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 94) ~ tib. **rgyud/rgyus-ka*, amdowa *ǰïïrka* «fibre, tendon» (Roerich 121, tib. *rgyus-pa*), tib. de l'Amdo *rgyud-* in *rgyud-pa* «maigre», *rgyud-nag* «la viande la plus maigre» ou «mouton très maigre» (Anduo 60), Gō 314° donne *gyu-r/ka* = *rgyud-dka'* «sinew» (lire *rgyud-ja*); c'est la forme *rgyus-pa* qui est bien connue dans nos dictionnaires (Jaeschke 113a, Das 319a, ČhGr 181, Goldstein 284, Parf. 125, Yu 241, Wuti 1312, n° 4966), néanmoins v. Dag 165, *rgyus-pa* = *ša-gnad-kyi sne-mo'i rus-pa-daṅ 'brel-ba'i kha-mdog ser-skya sra-mo de'i miṅ-ste, yul-skad-du «rgyus-rka» yaṅ zer*. Il est improbable que la seconde syllabe dans *rgyus-rka* soit un mot coordonné; sa consonne initiale sert à maintenir la finale de la syllabe précédente, selon la pratique de l'orthographe dialectale de l'Amdo. En outre, les deux mots, *rgyud* des Tantras (fil, cordon, corde) et *rgyus* de l'anatomie (nerf, tendon) doivent être apparentés. (Cf. birman écrit *kro* «nerf, tendon, veine etc.» et *krauḥ* «corde, cordon etc.»?) — En ce qui concerne. la finale de la première syllabe du mot monguor, cf. encore infra *nisʙa* ~ tib. *sñid-pa*.

15. *galāŋ* «grande trompette à sons graves employée aux fêtes dans les lamaseries». Cf. tib. *dge-gliṅ* id. (de Smedt—Mostaert D 129). Cette étymologie des auteurs du *Dictionnaire* est attestée par 12° ici plus haut, cf. encore Das 258: «*dge-gliṅ*, generally written *rgya-gliṅ*».

16. *ɢasniän* «missive, message, nouvelle» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 130) ~ tib. **bka'-sñan*, cf. *bka'* dans *bka'-phrin* «message» (terme honorifique) et *gtam-sñan* «good, joyful news, glad tidings» (Jaeschke 197a), *sñan-rgyud* = *bka'-rgyud* «oral instruction of the Lamas» (ibid.), où *sñan-pa* signifie «renown, glory, fame, praise, rumour; well-sounding» etc. (Jaeschke 196b—197a); amdowa *sñan* (*hn-*) dans *sñan-žu* «requête, pétition» (Anduo 68).

17. *ɢaśɒ́źi lama* «lama du deuxième ordre dans la dignité» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 130) ~ tib. *dka'-bču*, selon Sum I 51 = mong. *arban berke-yi medegči, dgabǰu*; Pozdneev, *Očerki*, p. 198, trad. Krueger, p. 274: degré savant des lamas, deuxième au-dessus de *rab-(')byams-pa*, le degré le plus bas (selon Waddell, *Lamaism*, p. 186, ce dernier doit être le plus haut), cf. encore Cybikov, *Buddist palomnik*, p. 291 et Das 50a (*dka'-bču* «a Buddhist scholar who has acquired such great proficiency in sacred literature as to be able to interpret the meanings of a term in ten different ways»). Le *b-* tib. est représenté par *ś* en monguor.

18. *ɢäŋɢar* «tasse à thé, gobelet». Cf. tib. *koṅ* «cup» + *ko-re* (in compounds *kor*) «cup for drinking» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 130). Pour ce qui est de la première syllabe, cf. encore Che II 7: *koṅ-bu, rkoṅ-bu, rkun-bu-rnams ni* = *snod čhuṅ-ṅu* (p. 8) *mar-me 'bul-snod lta-bu*, selon l'interprétation chinoise: «ces trois mots (*koṅ-bu, rkoṅ-bu* et *rkun-bu*) signifient le petit récipient de la lampe à beurre ou pour l'eau pure (bénite)»; Dag 7: *koṅ-bu ni dpaṅs mtho-ba'i phor-ba čhuṅ-ṅu'i miṅ*; Anduo 51: *mčhod-rkoṅ* 淨水碗 «tasse à l'eau bénite». La seconde syllabe est-elle peut-être identique à *dkar* dans *dkar-yol*, dial. *žal-kar, sol-kar*, «porcelain, chinaware» (Jaeschke 10a), cf. encore ici mgr. *k'arɒza*.

19. *χuɢ̱uē̱* «fable, historiette, comparaison, exemple» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 178—179): ce mot doit être identique avec *xuę* enregistré par Schroeder, v. Róna-Tas 217°, tib. *dpe*.

20. *χuɢ̱uo* «ventre, entrailles' (de Smedt—Mostaert D 179) ~ tib. *dbo* = *mi phyugs-kyi braṅ-man-gyi lto-ba'i ṅos-kyi miṅ-ste*: *g-yag-gi dbo-rcid* (*pho-ṅos-kyi rcid-pa*); *mi dbo-lug čes-pa lta-bu* (Dag 552), *dbo* = mong. *čabi* (Sum II 301), *sbo* 肚的上部 (Che I 278), *sbo, dbo* = mong. *čabi* «pach, brjušina, brjuški; aine, la peau molle entre les jambes de devant, la fourrure du ventre des animaux» (Kow. 2091), *dbo* «the belly-side of fur» (Jaeschke 389a), *sbo* «the upper part of the belly» (Das 938a), 胸, 脯胸 «poitrine» (Yu 696), «život (= ventre)» (Parf. 367), «side of the body; belly» (Goldstein 807), *sbo khrog-pa* = *sbo 'ur-ba* = *naṅ-khrol grod-pa sgrog-pa'am lto-khog 'ur-ba 'bo-ba'aṅ* (ČhGr 615: «gargouillement du ventre»), DTLF 731: *sbo* «Abdomen, stomachus; ventre», *sbo* = *'bo, 'bos, dbo*, etc. «tumescere; s'enfler, se gonfler» (714), les deux mots semblent remonter au même thème.

21. *χuɢ̱uon* «Bonpo» (de Smedt—Mostaert 179) ~ tib. *dbon-po* «a certain sect of Lamas, clad in red, shorn, and married; a Lama skilled in astrology,

who for instance, when a person has died, performs those ceremonies, that serve to avert harm from the survivors» (Jaeschke 389a), cf. encore Yu 675 *woenfbo* (et *oenfbof*, écrit *om-po*).

22. *ī-* «être, exister, être présent». Cf. verbe substantif du turc osm. *i-* (?) (de Smedt—Mostaert D 187). — Au lieu du turc *i-* (*er-*) nous devons chercher l'origine de ce mot dans le mong. *bü-* «être», cf. mgr. *wī* «est» (ibid. 483), *ī* «présent Ier du verbe *ī-* «être, exister» (ibid. 187), bien plus, *ī* «ne pas» (187), *ʙī* «négation devant l'impératif». Cf. mong. *buu* [= bü], moghol *bi* (24). Cette dernière étymologie fut aussi acceptée par M. Poppe dans l'*Introduction* (p. 286), de même, il a affirmé l'identité du mgr. *wī* avec mong. *bui* (= *büi*). En vertu de l'alternance du *ī* initial avec *ʙī* ou *wī* qui est attestée dans plusieurs mots du monguor, on ne peut exclure la possibilité d'un pareil changement dans le mot en question. Cf. encore Todaeva, *Mongorskij jazyk*, p. 336 (toutefois *bayi-* a son histoire séparée, cf. mgr. *ʙē̱-*). Les rapports de la négation *ī* avec *ʙī* sont encore à éclaircir.

23. *īk'ãŋ* «lit en briques et qui peut être chauffé». Cf. chin. *k'ang* 炕 id. (de Smedt—Mostaert D 190). En ce qui concerne le premier élément, v. mgr. *īla-* «faire brûler, chauffer le lit en briques». Cf. chin. *ouei* «entretenir le feu en y mettant de temps en temps un peu de combustible» (ibid.): c'est 煨 *wēi* «to roast in ashes; to stew slowly'', | 炭 *wēi tàn* «to burn charcoal» (Mathews 7072°).

24. *īlam* «bleu clair». Cf. chin. *lan* (ancien *lam*) 藍 «bleu», *īlam* *ʙos* «toile bleue claire» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 190). La première syllabe est chin. *wèi*, cf., par exemple, Iwanami *Chūkokugo jiten* (red. Kuraishi T., 1963/1980), s. v. 蔚藍 *wèilán* = jap. *koi ranshoku* (ou *ai iro*), «bleu foncé», Mathews 7113° *wèi* ou *yù* dans *yùlántiān* «a clear, deep blue sky».

25. *k'arᴅza* et *k'arᴅzaɢ* «petit gobelet» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 197): si ces deux formes sont les variantes du même mot, c'est tib. amdowa *kar-cig* (∼ *dkar*°) chin. 小杯子 id. qui est leur source commune (Anduo 2); si non, la première forme remonte-t-elle peut-être à un mot composé **dkar-rja*, cf. *dkar-yol* «tasse» et *čhu-rja* «water-pitcher» (Csoma), toutefois *rja* signifie un récipient (jarre, cruche, etc.) différent d'un «petit gobelet». Quant à l'aspiration initiale des formes du monguor, cf. ici plus bas *p'arlõŋ*.

26. *k'ãŋmā* «petit tapis». Cf. tib. *kha-gaṅ-ma* «quadrate, square, e.g. pieces of cloth so shaped» (Jaeschke 35a) (de Smedt—Mostaert D 196). Malgré les difficultés phonétiques et sémantiques (l'absorption de la première voyelle et de la seconde initiale par aspiration; différence de sens «petit tapis» — «carré d'étoffe») l'étymologie semble être plausible. Cf. *k'ā* «carré d'étoffe» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 193, Róna-Tas 227°).

27. *larɢō* «gant», *arasę larɢō ɗźiōā sᴅāɢ̱u ɢ̱aᴅi-* «couper du bois de chauffage ayant les mains protégées par des gants de peau» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 221), *largō* «perčatki» (Todaeva, *Monguorskij jazyk*, p. 342) ∼ tib. *lag-mgo*

id., «a glove with only a thumb, a mitten» (Jaeschke 541b), *lag-mgo ni lag-pa'i mkhrig-ma yun mjub-mo-dań bčas-pa'i miṅ* (Dag 766), *lag-mo* 手套 (Anduo 186).

28. *larō* «asthme» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 222) ~ tib. *glo-ro*: tib. dial. Ouest *gló-ro* prob. «pulmonary consumption» (Jaeschke 82a).

29. *maχaвīye* «le corps». Cf. le mot *maχa* «viande, chair» et le mot *вīye* «corps» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 230). Ce mot composé montre une parallélisme avec l'ouigour *ät'öz* «corps», terme bouddhique composé des mots *ät* «viande, chair» et *öz* «soi-même; personne» (cf. mong. *beye* «corps; personne; soi-même»).

30. *marṣɒ̄* «gouttière, chéneau, tuyau» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 233) ~ tib. **mar-rdol*, cf. tib. *mar* «sous, vers le bas», par exemple, dans *mar 'gro* «descendre» (DTLF 743; etc.) et *rdol* «to come out, . . .to issue from, of a well of water . . ., to flow or run off, of the water of a lake" (Jaeschke 288b).

31. *marṣɒzāŋ* «nom d'une localité située entre Sining et Nien pe (en chin. Pe ma seu)» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 233) ~ tib. *dmar chaṅ* dans Dmar-chaṅ lha-čhen, amdowa *mar-saŋ-χla-chin*, chin. 白馬寺 Baimasi (Gō 1912°).

32. *maṣɒdaq* «discours prononcé à la louange du gendre le jour du mariage». Cf. mong. *mayta-* «louer» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 233). Si l'on accepte l'origine mongole de ce mot, la sémantique de son thème semble être trop générale et on doit supposer un changement de sens «louange» >«louange du gendre». Il est cependant fort probable que ce mot est emprunté au tibétain. Pour ce qui est du premier élément, cf. tib. *mag-pa* «sponsus, gener; fiancé, gendre» (DTLF 741, cf. encore Gir.-Goré 137), = *bu-mo'i khyo-ga'am bu-mo'i bdag-po* (ČhGr 628), «son-in-law; bridegroom» (Jaeschke 410a; Das 951b; Parf. 372; Yu 707; etc.). Le deuxième élément qui doit signifier «le discours à la louange» est moins clair. Voici deux possibilités qui semblent être vraisemblable. L'une est *rtags* = mong. *sinǰi, belge, temdeg, učir* (Sum I 846, «trait, marque, signe, cause») = tib. *naṅ-sems phyi-ru mṅon-pa'i rnam-pa-ste: dpa'-bos dpa'-rtags bstan, mkhas-pas mkhas-rtags bžag* etc. (Dag 304), *bkra-šis rtags* «prognosticon felicitatis; présage heureux» (DTLF 418), *rtags* «signe, manual, badge, token, mark, characteristic, prognostic etc.» (Das 534b; cf. Jaeschke 212a; Anduo 78 *rtags*, prononcé *htak*) >mgr. *ṣɒdaq* «signe, marque, pronostic, signal» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 371; Róna-Tas 611°), d'où le verbe *ṣɒdaqla-* «marquer d'une signe, interpréter (augure)». L'autre est *rtogs* dans *rtogs-brǰod* qui traduit skr. *avadāna* (cf., par exemple, Jaeschke 215a, Das 539a) et qui rend également «histoire, biographie, conte, récit» (cf. Goldstein 489, Yu 429, Dag 307) = mong. *üliger, čadig, domoγ, onol, ügülel* «conte, *jātaka* ou récit, légende; théorie, sentence» (Sum I 853, *rtogs* = mong. *taniqu, medekü* «(re)connaître, savoir»), selon Dag 307: *rtogs-brǰod ni rtogs-pa brǰod-pa-ste sñan-ṅag-gi 'ud-brǰod-pa'i sgo-nas bšad-pa* etc., où *'ud* = *don ṅo-bo'i gnas chul-las 'das-pa'i skad-čha'i miṅ* (Dag 709; Csoma: «swaggering, bragging, bombast, fustian» Jaeschke 499b); *chig-rgyan-gyi rnam-pa žig-ste, ñan-pa-po daṅ klog-pa-po'i blo-la 'čhar bde-ba daṅ skad-čha'i nus-pa ǰe čher gtoṅ-ba'i čhed-du chad-las*

'das-pa'i chig-gis bya-dṅos mchon-pa žig yin (Dag 709), c.-à-d., hyperbole, figure de style qui consiste à employer des expressions qui dépassent la mesure (commune) pour augmenter l'effet favorable à l'âme de l'auditeur ou du lecteur et (pour augmenter) la force de la parole.

33. *murᴅzā* «famille d'un lama (quand on s'adresse à lui)», *tš'ini m. ändźīguna* «ta famille, d'où est-elle?» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 248), cf. tib. amdowa *myi-rca* «la famille de la personne tuée» (sic. chin. 被殺人之家屬, Anduo 64), mais *rca* = *gñen daṅ ñe-du'i miṅ-ste*: *mi-rca*, *mi-rca maṅ lta-bu* (Dag 623). Quant à la première voyelle du mot monguor, cf. mgr. *murɢuō* «il n'est pas nécessaire» < tib. *mi dgos* (de Smedt—Mostaert D 249; Róna-Tas 476°) et le mot suivant.

34. *murṣᴅaɢ* «pomme d'Adam». Cf. mong. *omuruγun* «sternum, poitrail» (?) (de Smedt—Mostaert D 251). Le point interrogatif est justifié. Ce mot remonte au tib. amdowa *myid-dag* = *mid-pa* «tube digestif, oesophage» et «larynx» (chin. 食管 et 喉頭); *myid-pa ni mid-pa žes-pa'i 'bri-chul gžan-te «myid-thag» kyaṅ zer* (Dag 596), cf. encore *ltag* «the upper part of any thing» (Das 542a; Jaeschke 217b; etc.). Le sens «pomme d'Adam» semble être particulier au monguor.

35. *nala-* «mesurer», *t'arāni n.* «mesurer le grain» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 256). Verbe dérivé du tib. *ñag* ~ *ña-ga* «a steel-yard» (Jaeschke 184b), *ñag*, *ña-ga*, *ñag-gaṅ* «one measure on the steel-yard» (Das 474a), *ña-ga* «bezmen», *ñag* delenie (na tibetskom bezmene, ravnoe $4^1/_2$ uncii), *ñag-šiṅ* «koromyslo bezmena» (Parf. 190a, 191a, b), *ña-ga* = *ñag* «once tibétaine; petite balance» (Yu 375), *ña-ga* = *'ǰal-byed sraṅ* (ČhGr 302), *ñag* = *sraṅ-ča daṅ rgya-ma'i spyi-miṅ-ste*, *ña-ga žes-pa'i chig bsdus-pa* etc. (Dag 262).

36. *nāla-* «châtrer», *nālaᴅzan mori* «cheval hongre» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 256): cf. tib. amdowa *rna yed* [= byed] «châtrer» (Anduo 102: 騸(羊)閹, «verbe»).

37. *naṗẓ̧ō*, *narṗẓ̧ō* «défaut, vice» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 258) ~ tib. *nor-'khrul* «Peccatum» (DLT 438) *nor-'khrul yod* «Pecco, . . ., peccare» (DLT 439, ibid.: *nor-'gro*), *nor-'khrul* «ošibka, zabluždenie« (Parf. 291).

38. *nᴅzam* «large écharpe que les lamas mettent sur les épaules». Cf. tib. *gzan* «manteau» (?) (de Smedt—Mostaert D 265). En dépit de la finale (*m*), il est sûr que le mot monguor est identique avec le tib. *gzan*; ce fait est attesté par l'identité du sens. Les autres formes du monguor, *ɢ̈ᴇᴅzän* et *rᴇ̈ᴅzan*, enregistrées par Schroeder ont été traitées par M. Róna-Tas (155°). Cf. encore Gir.-Goré 101: *gzan* «écharpe des lamas (pour couvrir leurs bras nus)» = *stod-gos gru-bži riṅ-bo žig-gi miṅ* (Dag 698b 4), *gzan-gos* et *rṅul-gzan* = mong. *orkimǰi* (Sum II 760) «krasnaja perevjaz' črez plečo u lam; écharpe rouge qui ceint les lamas» (Kow. 472, de Saγang Sečen), cf. encore Das 1103a: *gzan* described as *grva-pa'i bsnams-rgyu'i gzan*, a plain shawl gen. of liver or orange colour which a Buddhist monk wraps round his body; cf. encore Yu 858; c'est une des 13 pièces du costume monacal (v. Mvy CCLXXI).

39. *nᵭžuän* «mouton apprêté en son entier et qu'on sert non découpé» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 265). C'est probablement tib. *mgron* «feast, treat, banquet, entertainment», *zas-mgron* «an entertainment consisting in eating», *ǰa-mgron* «a tea-party», *čhaṅ-mgron* «a treatment with beer or wine» (Jaeschke 92a; cf. Das 288a), *mgron* «radušnyj priëm, chorošaja vstreča» (Parf. 298) = *sne-len-*[< *sna-len*]*-gyi miṅ-la 'ǰug-pa ni*: *čhaṅ-mgron byas, ǰa-mgron byas, zas-mgron byas žes-pa lta-bu* (Dag 143) ou *sna-len* = *mgron-por bsu-ba byed-pa'i miṅ-ste*: *mgron-la sna-len byas lta-bu* (Dag 448, aussi *sne-len*); Che ne donne que *mgron* et *'gron-po* (I 88, 92, II 93) avec la seule signification «hôte», Anduo 151: *mgron-po* (*ndzᵭ-*) id. Cf. encore amdowa *Dᵭrôn-lha* «divinité protectrice des fêtes», tib. *mgron-lha* (Roerich 133). Pour ce qui est du vocalisme, cf. DONDOG ~ DUÄNDOG, Róna-Tas 80°. La sémantique se révèle moins simple: on doit supposer un changement de sens «hôte» ~ «festin, banquet, régal» > > «le principal mets du régal: le mouton apprêté en son entier» (pour ce dernier, v. mong. *büküli miqa*).

40. *nᵭžumoᵭ* «plante qui donne une couleur violette et que les lamas emploient pour colorier les offrandes» (en chin. *tseu-ts'ao* 紫草) (de Smedt—Mostaert D 266) ~ tib. *'bri-mog* = *lo maṅ skye-ba'i rcva-ldum rca-ba kham -nag mar-khu-la bcos-na mar-khu khrag-mdog lta-bur 'gyur-ba žig yin-žiṅ rca-ba sman-du bkol čhog* (Dag 566), c.-à-d., une plante vivace dont le rhizome de couleur brune foncée, étant bouilli dans du beurre, la colore en rouge sang, en outre, le rhizome peut servir à une décoction médicale, cf. Gō 1542° *bri-mox* «a medical herb», ČhGr 608: *'bri-rmog* = *dmar-rci žig*, chin. *zicao* (v. supra), Sum II 334: *'bri-mog* = mong. *barimoγ ebesü* (cf. encore II 912, s. v. *ri-rci*); Wuti 15012° id.; «a kind of herb the root of which is used in Tibet as a dye for cakes, etc., giving a purple colour to these offerings made to spirits» (Das 930b), Lithospermum erythrorhizon ou Arnebia euchroma (Pálos 22), etc.

41. *nᵭźiär* «cadeaux qu'on donne à l'occasion des funérailles à tous ceux qui y assistant» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 267) ~ tib. *'gyed* = *dṅos-rjas bgos-nas thob-pa'i skal-ba'i miṅ-ste*: *'gyed-skal žes-pa lta-bu* (Dag 148) = mong. *ǰid* (< tib.), *tügegel, ergül* (Sum I 410), «alms in money or eatable things; *'gyed gtoṅ-* to distribute alms. This expression is defined by Tibetan writers as *chogs-la dṅul lta-bu mi re-re-la 'grems-te ster-ba*, to bestow silver and the like in an assembly, distributing to each man» (Das 295a, ibid. *'gyed-pa* «to give an entertainment, banquet; to hold a feast»), *'gyed-dṅul* «denežnye požertvovanija (duchovenstvu, monastyrju)» (Parf. 114), cf. encore *'gye* etc. «Dando cedere, dividere, spargere; céder, diviser, distribuer», *sbyin-pa 'gye-* «eleemosynas distribuere; distribuer des aumônes» etc. (DTLF 207—208); Cybikov, *Buddist palomnik*, p. 300: «*čžed* nazyvajut obyknovenno slučajnuju razdaču požertvovanij». Quant à la diphthongue, cf. mgr. *nᵭźiänaᵭ* ~ tib. *rgya-nag* (de Smedt—Mostaert D 267; Róna-Tas 374).

42. *nźźigsa* «brique crue». Cf. tib. *rcig-pa* «to build», *sa* «earth» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 268). Au lieu de cette étymologie avec la difficulté de la correspondance mgr. *-źź-* ~ tib. *-c-*, c.-à-d., une affriquée palatale qui rend une affriquée alvéolaire, on peut rappeler amdowa *čig-ce* ou *čig-che* 土磚, 泥磚, 馬糞磚 (燒的) «brique crue (de terre, d'argile), brique de crottin ([brique] cuite)» (Anduo 36). Malgré les crottins cuits (?), la sémantique ne présente aucune difficulté; quant à la phonétique du mot monguor, son initiale (*n*) paraît inorganique (cf., faute de mieux, mgr. *nɒari* ~ tib. *ḍa-(ma)-ru*, de Smedt—Mostaert D 262, Róna-Tas 359°) et sa finale (*a* pour *e*) est, pour le moment, sans analogie, mais même la forme amdowa citée fait partie des mots à l'orthographe vulgaire.

43. *nźźioɢsõŋ* «maîtresse», *nźźioɢsõŋgɐ t'ani-* «prendre une maîtresse» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 268) ~ tib. *grogs-bzaṅ*, cf. *grogs bzaṅ-bo* in *grogs bzaṅ-bor ṅo rtag*, s. v. *rtag* (Dag 304), *grogs bzaṅ(-po)* «friendship, also sweetheart» (Das 250b). Mgr. *-s-* pour tib. *-z-* (*bz-*) est un peu troublant, mais non sans analogie: v. mgr. *śźźiērɑɢsɛ̄*, forme un peu aberrante qui rend tib. *Spyan-ras-gzigs* (de Smedt—Mostaert D 390; Róna-Tas 655°). Pour ce qui est de la deuxième syllabe, on pourrait également penser à *gsoṅ* «sincère» ou *gsoṅ/gsaṅ* «secrète», mais les dictionnaires ne donnent pas un mot composé avec ces éléments et signifiant «maîtresse», (')*grogs-mo*, *dga'-rogs* ou *sniṅ-sdug*, etc. (v. DTLF 216, et Gir.-Goré 14, s. v. *amant(e)*).

44. *nisʙa* «bélier chatré» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 278) ~ tib. *sñid-pa* id. = ma. *irge χonin*, mong. *irge, qoni*, tourki *irik qoy*, chin. 騙羊 (Wuti 16151°). Jaeschke ne donne que *sñid* = *rñid* etc. «to wither, to fade» etc. (195b), cf. encore Das. Le mot du Wuti semble être assez rare.

45. *nṭṣ'uoɢla-* «se tromper, commettre une erreur, commettre une faute». Cf. chin. *ts'ouo* 錯 id. (?) (de Smedt—Mostaert D 286). Le thème du verbe monguor est probablement le tib. *'phrog* «to make one lose a thing», cf. *bdag-gi glaṅ phrogs* «(by his negligence) he has made me lose my ox» Dzl., *sdom-pa 'phrog-tu byuṅ* «my vow is lost to me, i.e., the meditation I had vowed has been disturbed, thwarted» etc. (Jaeschke 361b). Toutefois il est difficile d'accorder la signification du verbe monguor (cf., par exemple *mōr nṭṣ'uoɢlawa* «il s'est trompé de chemin») avec celle du mot tibétain qui est, avant tout, «rapiner, piller».

46. *p'arlõŋ* «bottes en cuir» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 302): cf. tib. *pags*, *lpags* «cuir» et *lham* «bottes», ainsi **pags-lham* «bottes en cuir», mot composé sur le modèle de *pags-žva* «kožanaja šapka» (Parf. 301), *pags-žva* et *pags-stan* (Dag 455), *pags-žva* «chapeau en cuir» (Yu 578: *bagfxaf* «pímào»), etc. Quant aux initiales des deux syllabes (*p'*— et *l*—) au lieu de (*p*— et *lh*—), cf., par exemple, mgr. *p'ɑɒu* au lieu du mong. *batu*, mgr. *k'arɒzɑg* au lieu du tib. amdowa *kar-cig*, mais chacune des deux syllabes diffère ici de la forme usuelle: amdowa avec *w-* (Anduo 112: *bags-pa* ~ *pags-pa*) et *p-* (cf. Nagano, *Amdo Sherpa*

0038° skin: *paɔpa, ʃpaks pa*, etc., avec des formes à *w-* enregistrées par Gō, Roerich et Nishida), ainsi que *xam* pour *lham* (de Smedt—Mostaert D 153; Róna-Tas 204°, mais cf. *laɢãŋ* pour *lha-khaṅ* et, en particulier *tš'ila* pour *khyi-lha*, Róna-Tas 257°, 728°).

47. *p'ī* «lit en briques qui peut être chauffé» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 302), *pī* «kan, otaplivaemaja ležanka» (Todaeva, *Monguorskij jazyk* 355): ce mot qui est synonyme de *ik'ãŋ*, v. supra, remonte au chin. 坯 *pī* comme dans 土坯 *tǔpī* «brique crue» (cf. encore mong. khalkha *tuipū* id.). Il faut ainsi supposer un changement «brique» >«lit en briques», *pars pro toto*.

48. *p'ūrᴅoɢ* «balle de fusil, cartouche». Cf. *p'ū* «fusil» (< chin. *p'ao* 炮) (de Smedt—Mostaert D 307): en ce qui concerne la deuxième syllabe de ce mot hétérogène, sa source est le tib. *rdog* «objet en forme de sphère», cf., par exemple, Dag 408a: *rdog-po = dṅos-rjas goṅ-bu'am ril-mo'i miṅ-ste: rdo rdog-po gčig*; . . .*chig bsdus-na* «*rdog*» *'bri chog-ste* etc.

49. *rᴅomla-* «se promener, rôder, errer çà et là», *ɢaᴅaχõŋɢe rᴅomla-* «se promener à l'extérieur» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 310): cf. tib. *ldom = gnas ṅes-med-du 'gro-ba-ste : spyi-chogs rñiṅ-bar dbul-bo phyogs kun-tu ldom lta-bu* (Dag 413), c.-à-d., aller (et venir) sans but, comme jadis les mendiants vagabondaient de tous côtés; *ldum-po = 'khyam-po* «vagabond» (Che I 198, chin. 流氓 ; 二流子), *ldom-bu byed* = mong. *kesüǰü yabumui* «vagabonder», *ldom-bu-pa* = mong. *tenümel, kesügči, γuyilinči, ǰolbi, tengsimel* (,) *nabčin-i idegči* «vagabond, errant, mendiant, rôdeur, chemineau, celui qui mange des feuilles», *ldoms* = mong. *γuyuqu γaǰar* «lieu à mendier» et, enfin, *ro-sñoms zas-kyi ldom-bu-la byon* = mong. «*amtan tegsi-tü idegen-ü*» *idegen γuyur-a ögede bolbai* «il partait pour demander l'aumône, des vivres d'un goût égal« (Sum I 1146—1147), cf. amdowa écrit *ldom* «rôder» et *sdom-po* «vagabond» (*ldom* et *sdom* étant homonymes, Anduo 97, chin. 流浪 et | | 者). Le mot en question est identique à celui qui figure dans la plupart de nos dictionnaires avec la signification de «aumône», etc.

50. *rᴅoŋgī* «qui ne fait que courir çà et là, rodeur; vagabond». Cf. le mot précédent (de Smedt—Mostaert D 310). En effet cf. le mot précédent et *-gi*, morphème possessif et qualificatif (cf. Róna-Tas, pp. 172—173).

51. *rᴅzoɢ* «pyramide triangulaire faite de pâte de froment grillé et de beurre qu'on expose en offrande pendant la danse religieuse» (après la danse on la jette ou on la renverse); *rᴅzoɢla-* «jeter ou renverser le *rᴅzoɢ*, éviter une mauvaise influence dans les maladies ou autres malheurs (en jetant des pyramides de pâte?)». Cf. le mot précédent (de Smedt—Mostaert D 311). Le verbe monguor est évidemment dérivé du nom précédent, mais c'est le sens du dernier qui atteste l'origine tibétaine du thème: *zlog-pa* «to turn off, to avert» etc. (Jaeschke 492a, cf. encore *bzlog* «the contrary, the reverse», 498b), «Avertere, elongare; détourner, éloigner» (DTLF 881), *zlog-gyur = gtor-ma'i zlog-'gyur*, chin. 施食(佛)之禳退法 «cérémonie ou méthode de renverser le sacrifice des

aumônes (chez les bouddhistes)» (ČhGr 768), *zlog-pa ni rmoṅs-dad-kyi čho-ga žig-gi miṅ* «renversement, c'est le nom d'un rituel superstitieux» (Dag 697), *zlog-thabs* (*dogvtacbh*) «méthode de défense», 防止的方法, 制止的方法 (Yu 857), etc. En ce qui concerne la correspondance mgr. *rdz-* ~ tib. *zl-*, v. Róna-Tas 495° et Nagano, *Amdo Sherpa* 0160° et 0166°.

52. *rdzuloɢ* «manière de relever les habits en les serrant avec la ceinture et en les laissant pendre en sac» (mode tibétaine), d'où le verbe *rdzuloɢda-* «faire bouffer les habits au dessus de la ceinture, bouffer au dessus de la ceinture (habits)» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 311). Le thème dissylabique est certainement tibétain: cf. tib. amdowa *rji/rjis/rjis* 捲(袖) «retrousser (les mancherons)», *phu-riṅ rjis-daṅ* «on a retroussé les mancherons» (Anduo 137), mais tib. *rje* (*byed-'brel las-chig da-lta-bu*) *gos-'dab sogs yar bkyags-pa'am dril-ba'i don-te*: *phu-ruṅ rje-mkhan*; *phu-thuṅ rje*; *ñal-thul rje lta-bu* etc. (Dag 665, avec les autres formes *brje*, *brjes*, *rjes*), «to tuck up, truss up (clothes), to cock (a hat)» etc. (Jaeschke 469a, cf. Das 1059b, DTLF 839), de plus, *rji-lo* = mong. *daɣdaɣar* : *qubčasun-u ǰerge-yin yaɣum-a masi oqor-i daɣdaɣar kememüi* «on dit retroussé quand un vêtement ou une chose pareille est trop court» (Sum II 659, cf. encore Kow. 1662: *d. degel* «un habit retroussé»), *rji-lo byas* = mong. *deg-deyimüi* : *aliba qubčasun-u biy-e qančui degegsi odqu* (ibid., Nomtu-yin Rinčin donne ici une interprétation intransitive en mongol, habit et mancherons étant relevés), cf. encore Wuti 3327, n° 12519: tib. *brjes-lo* dans *brjes-lo byed* = ma. *fosomi-* (Hauer 306: «durch Einstecken in den Gürtel das Kleid aufschürzen»), mong. *šudaɣla-* (Kow. 1540: «retrousser ses habits et les mettre sous la ceinture), tourki *qisturadu* (cf. Clauson ED 666), chin. 掖衣襟 *yē yījīn* «retrousser la jupe». La seconde syllabe, *-lo* doit être une forme faible de *log* «retourner, renverser» etc., cf., par exemple, mgr. *loɢla-* «revenir» dans *lama loɢlaźia* «le lama est rentré dans le monde» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 224; la dérivation de tib. *lugs* «méthode, moyen» etc. semble moins probable; cf. encore Róna-Tas 283° et 287°).

53. *rgän* «autrui». Cf. tib. *gžan* id. (?), *rgäni sdźiärni bī awu* «ne prenez pas les objets d'autrui» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 314). Les difficultés phonétiques de l'étymologie tibétaine de ce mot sont insurmontables. A l'analogie du mot mong. *kümün* «homme, autrui», cf., par exemple, khalkha *xünī yum* «objet d'autrui», etc., on peut penser à mong. *irgen* «gens, peuple, sujet» comme la source du mot monguor en question. Quant au vocalisme, cf. mgr. *miergän* ~ mong. *mergen*, mais mgr. *yerge* ~ mong. *irge* (de Smedt—Mostaert D 236, 492).

54. *rgōźi* «tumulte, tapage» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 314): cf. tib. *rgol*, synonyme de *rcod*, «attaquer, se quereller, disputer de» etc., par exemple, *dmag brgyab-pa'i don-te*: *dgra-la rgol-ba . . .*; *dgag-pa rgyag-pa'i don-te*: *rgol-lan byed-pa*, etc. (Dag 155), Sum I 429: *rgol* = mong. *esergüče-*, *temeče-*, cf. encore Wuti 8136°, 8137°, Jaeschke 104, Das 303a, Parf. 118, etc.; la deuxième

élément est probablement tib. *rgyu* «raison, fondement» or *rgyu* «aller, marcher» (Dag 161, 162; cf. Jaeschke 104ab; Das 315b, 316a; Parf. 123; rgyu I—IV; etc.).

55. *rmā* «habitation, demeure, ferme, cour habitée et entourée de hauts murs». Cf. tib. *ra-ba* «enclosure, fence, the space inclosed by a fence, wall» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 316). Bien qu'ils puissent porter aussi des sens analogues, ces mots montrent des différences phonétiques (*mā* pour *ba*) qui interdisent une étymologie commune. Peut-être le mot monguor remonte-t-il au tib. *rmaṅ* «base, fondements, fondation» (v. Jaeschke 424a, Das 985a), *rmaṅ = rcig-pa'i 'og-rim dma'-šos-kyi miṅ-ste: rcig-pa'i rmaṅ-gži, rmaṅ-rdo* (Dag 602), *rmaṅ = khaṅ-pa'r rcig-pa'i gtiṅ-gi gži'am* (ČhGr 659), *rmaṅ* = skr. *mūla* = mong. *yender, sayuri, uy, iǰayur, iruyar, bayuri* (Sum II 480), *rcig-rmaṅ* = mong. *kerem-ün iǰayur* (ibid.), *rmaṅ-gži* = mong. *sayuri* (ibid., 481), etc., en outre, mong. *sayuri* et *bayuri* signifient non seulement «base, fondements», mais aussi «terrain à dresser une tente» et «terrain où on a dressé une tente» (cf. encore khalkha *sūri, sūir* «habitation, demeure, ferme»). Quant à la finale disparue, cf. mgr. *sʙa* ~ tib. *spaṅ* (de Smedt—Mostaert D 330; Róna-Tas 531°).

56. *sagu* «plante médicinale dont la racine ressemble à la carotte» (en chin. *ma ing tseu*) (de Smedt—Mostaert D 320) ~ tib. *sa-gos = gi-waṅ* = mong. *yaǰar-un qubčasu siroi giwang*, (Sum II 1116), où *gi-waṅ* est, selon Csoma, «name of a concretion in the entrails of some animals, used for medicine», c'est aussi *gi'u-waṅ, gi-bam* (Jaeschke 68b), *gi-gvaṅ, gi-waṃ* ou *gi-haṅ = ba-glaṅ-gi-waṅ-ṅam glaṅ-chen-gi-waṅ lta-bu* (ČhGr 116), emprunté au chin. 牛黃 *niúhuáng*, bézoard. Dag 108 et Das 218a donnent une description assez détaillée de cette substance; Das en mentionne même une variante minérale, cf. encore Yu 148—149 et mong. *giwang čilayun* «pierre de bézoard (lapis bezohard), ammonite» (Kow. 2554), mais mong. *siroi giwang* «bézoard de terre» ou *yaǰar-un qubčasu* «robe de terre» qui est probablement un médicament minéral dont le nom tibétain, *sa-gos*, semble être devenu, par extension de sens, le nom d'une plante médicinale chez les Monguors.

57. *samdi* «thé», *samdi wari-* «présenter le thé». Cf. *sandi* id. (de Smedt—Mostaert D 322): ce mot doit être identique au tib. amdowa *rcam-sdur* 糌咱巴湯 (Anduo 126), soupe de farine grillée. Le premier élément du composé se retrouve dans mgr. *samʙa* et *ṣdzam* (v. Róna-Tas 505°); pour ce qui est au deuxième élément, cf. tib. amdowa *ldir* (麪)碎子 «miettes (des pâtes de farine ou de pain?)» (Anduo 95, homonyme de *sdur* «comparer», c.-à-d., *dəz*) et *ldur-ri* 麪茶 «thé aux pâtes de farine» (ibid.); *ldur* (*byed-med las-chig*) = *čhus baṅs-nas žig-pa'i chad-la bsleb-pa'i don-te*: *ša bcos-nas ldur-soṅ*; *phye-thug ldur lta-bu* (Dag 411), cf. encore tib. *lde'u, sde'u* «a kind of peas» and = *lde-gu* «mixture, syrup; ointment» (Jaeschke 291ab, Das 711ab), *ldur-phye, čhu-ldur* «peas or barley-flour boiled in water for cattle» (Das 711a). Il n'est pas impossible que le mot amdowa *ldur* «bouillir» (dont *ldur-ri* «bouillie»?) eut le même

thème que *gdu/gdus* «bouillir» (Anduo 94), cf. Das 660a «to stir up together, . . ., to mix up drugs», *thug-pa gdu-ba* «to make up into a broth», etc.

58. *sarla-* «être semblable à, ressembler à, illustrer par un exemple» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 329): ce mot semble être identique à *sarla-* «mesurer; se mesurer à la lutte» (< tib. *chad*, mesure, de Smedt—Mostaert D 329, cf. Róna-Tas 520°); tib. amdowa a *chad/chod*, rendu en outre par chin. 標準 *biāozhǔn* «exemple, étalon, modèle» (Anduo 130, 133). Voici l'hypothétique ramification du sens: «mesurer, comparer» ← «mesure, modèle» → «se mesurer, se comparer» → «ressembler à».

59. *sɒar* «consistance, état gluant d'un corps», *nie gurir sɒar ugua* «cette pâte n'a pas de consistance» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 333) ~ tib. *ldar* = (*byed-med las-chig*) *čhus bańs-nas sñi-bar gyur-pa-ste*: *čhu-yis šog-gu ldar lta-bu* «étant mouillé par l'eau, s'amollir, comme le papier s'imbibe de l'eau» (Dag 409—410), *ldar-ba* «vlažnyj» (Parf. 278).

60. *sgaɣla-* «serrer, être arrêté au passage (haleine, urine)». Cf. *ṣgā-* «presser»; *χōloni sgaɣla-* «serrer le gosier, étrangler», *nie k'un ūr sgaɣlaźźia* «cet homme a suffoqué», *ṣēɒze sgaɣlaźźia* «il a une difficulté d'uriner» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 345). Ce mot dérive en effet du tib. *bkag* ou *dgag*, v. *'gegs* «Impedire, obstruere, prohibere; empêcher, obstruer, défendre» (DTLF 202), cf. encore *dbugs 'gag* «suffoquer» (Gir.-Goré 276), *gčon-'gag* «stranguria; rétention d'urine», etc. (DTLF 199, s. v. *'gag*).

61. *sōŋk'uor χuē* «foire du quinze de la première lune, fête des lanternes» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 176, s. v. *xue*[2] < chin. 會 *hui*): le premier mot se rencontre sous la forme de *suŋk'uor* «offrandes faites aux dieux: pains, thé, pièce de toile, mouton etc.» (on les expose pendant la danse religieuse et, la cérémonie finie, les lamas qui y ont pris part se les partagent). Cf. mong. *čonggur* «prémices offerts en sacrifice» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 362). Les deux formes dérivent du tib. *chogs-'khor*, skr. *guṇacakra*, «sacrificial offering, a quantity of victuals, trinkets, and other articles being disposed in a circle as an oblation» (Jaeschke 451b—452a), *chogs-kyi 'khor-lo rol* = *lhan čig-tu za-ba'i don-nam dga'-ba'i ston-mo* (ČhGr 702), *čiɣulɣan-u takil-un kürdü*, *čiɣulɣan-u qurim* (Sum II 597), etc. Même le mot mong. *čonggor* «les prémices (p. e. quelques gouttes de thé ou de vin, quelques morceaux de viande) offerts en sacrifice» (Kow. 2193) est emprunté au tibétain.

62. *sgemolōŋ* «prière faite par vingt-quatre des principaux lamas aux jours de foire« (de Smedt—Mostaert D 343) ~ tib. *smon-lam*, cf. *AOH* XX (1967), p. 380.

63. *sunoɣsā* «exorciste, prêtre de la religion Bon qui fait des exorcismes». Cf. *sunoɣ* «exorcisme» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 362). Le dernier mot emprunté au tib. *sṅags* est expliqué par M. Róna-Tas (582°), tandis que la dernière syllabe doit dérivér du tib. *'chal*, généralement traduit par «chercher» (cf. encore amdowa *ts'ā*, Roerich 140), mais ayant aussi le sens de «savoir, pouvoir,

vouloir, devoir» etc. (Che I 325, II 274), *šes-pa'i brda-rñiṅ-ste*: *gar soṅ čha ma 'chal lta-bu* «mot ancien pour 'savoir', par exemple: ne pas savoir le lieu où quelqu'un est allé» (Dag 653, *'chal*$_2$, cf. Jaeschke 459a, Das 1043a), ainsi tib. **sṅags-'chal* (< *chal*) «celui qui se connaît aux formules magiques». Toutefois il n'est pas impossible que ce mot du monguor remonte au tib. *sṅags-pa*, amdowa *ṅokᵘ̯a* «charmeur, sorcier, adepte des Tantra» (Roerich 116), cf. encore mong. dial. (par exemple khalkha) *saŋgaswā* «exorciste, sorcier» dont l'aspect phonétique s'écarte des normes pour les mots mongols d'origine tibétaine (les deux *s* devraient être disparus), en outre, selon Sum I 543, tib. *sṅags-pa* = *mantrī* = mong. *tarniči* ou *sangγasba*.

64. *surla-* «courir çà et là sans rien faire, flâner, s'occuper de bagatelles» (< **sulala-* ?). Cf. mong. *sula* «lâche, non tendu, qui a des loisirs» (?); *t́ś'i yān surlani* «pourquoi cours-tu çà et là sans rien faire?», etc. (de Smedt—Mostaert D 365). Cf., toutefois, Gir.-Goré 128: Flâner. . . . = Tuer le temps: *nam-la 'chor*. (Contre l'étymologie mongole: mgr. *sulā* ~ mong. *sula*; contre l'étymologie tibétaine: je n'ai qu'un seul exemple de *'chor*, la voyelle *u* du mot monguor pour tib. *o* est troublante.)

65. *ṣänᴅän t́ś'iᴅźiaɢ̱* «l'iris jaune» (en chin. *kiu houang tch'ouan ts'ao*) (de Smedt—Mostaert D 368) ~ chin. 山丹 *shāndān* «lys» (v. Mathews 5630°: 1, «the lily»), Lilium concolor, à fleur rouge, *shandān hua*, Ixora chinensis, et Lilium concolor, var. coridion = *huang shandan*, à fleur jaune (*Zhewuxue dacidian*, pp. 100 et 1019).

66. *ṣe̱na yän* «tabac à priser» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 374) ~ tib. *sna* «nez» et chin. *yān* 煙 «tabac», cf. tib. *sna-sman* «snuff» (Jaeschke 316b), *sna-rdul*, *sna-da* et *sna-dud* «tabac à priser» (Gir.-Goré 279, s. v. Tabac: *du-ba*, primitivement «fumée» ~ chin. *yan*), cf. encore tib. amdowa *sna-do* ou *sna-du* 鼻烟 id., Anduo 101; quant à l'initiale du premier mot, cf. golok *ṣ̱na*, amdowa *x̱na* (Roerich 133), Róna-Tas 553°, Nagano, *Amdo Sherpa* 0008°.

67. *ṣɢ̱aɢ̱* «la trame d'un tissu». Cf. mong. *sirkeg* «soie écrue» (?) (de Smedt—Mostaert D 378). Du point de vue sémantique, mong. *arqaγ* «bord, bordure, lisière d'une étoffe» donne une meilleure solution (Kow. 150). Ce mot s'interprète dans le *Qorin nigetü toli* de 1717 comme suit: *aliba torγan-u qoyar qaǰaγu-yin irmeg-i arqaγ kememüi* (éd. J̌iyang-ǰiya-keü 1979, p. 43) «on appelle lisière le bord d'une pièce de tissu de soie qui en limite de deux côtés la largeur» (cf. khalkha *arxag*, Cewel 52). Le mot mongol est emprunté au turc (probablement au moyen turc): *arqaγ* «the woof (or weft) of a woven material» (Clauson ED 216). Cf. encore Wuti 3186, n° 11991. Le même ou un autre *arqaγ* est attesté dans les fragments de Sarai (éd. Poppe; Ligeti MLMC II 279) où il figure parallèlement à *qaγ[alγ]-a* «porte» et *bosoγ-a* «seuil».

68. *ṣɢeʙlie* «qui se fait avec peine, difficulté ou ennui; peine qu'on se donne pour faire quelque chose, remercîments adressés à quelque'un pour la peine qu'il s'est donnée», *ᴅonᴅoɢ̱ ṣɢ̱eʙliewa* «l'affaire est pleine de difficultés»

(de Smedt—Mostaert D 379) ~ tib. amdowa *dkab-las* ~ *dka'-las* 困難 (Anduo 7) «difficulté», *dkab-las bko'i* 使發出困難 (ibid.) «causer des difficultés», cf. *dka'-las*, par exemple, chez Jaeschke 9b, Das 50b, DTLF 21, Gould 7, Goldstein 48, Yu 18, la forme avec *-b* est particulier pour amdowa. Cf. encore Róna-Tas 640° (mgr. *ṣɢamu* ~ tib. *dka'-mo*), amdo šarpa *kaN mo* «difficult» (Nagano 0948°) et 280° (mgr. *lē* ~ tib. *las*) ou 285° (mgr. *lisɢa* etc. ~ tib. *las-ka*, le monguor a conservé la finale de *las*, v. ici *supra* 14°, mgr. *ɓźisɢā*), on trouve même dans certains dialectes du Tibet central *liäɢa* pour *las-ka*, v. par exemple, Gžis-ka-rce *liɛ*[3] *ka*[1] (Jin Pong, 34).

69. *ṣorɒ̃ŋ* «sillon creusé par l'eau qui sort d'un conduit» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 383): cf. tib. *šor* dans *čhu-šor* «. . .aqua erumpit; . . .l'eau s'échappe» (DTLF 997), *gšor* = *yur-ba-ste čhu'i lam yin* (Che II 329) «canal, rigole», *gšor* «a basin or reservoir of water» (Jaeschke 566b: «seems to be not much known; but in Zam. *yur-ba'i gšor* is to be found») = *yur-ba* ou *yur-ba'i gšor* «passage for water, a water-channel» (Das 1251) et *doṅ* «sillon des champs» (Gir.-Goré 268), «a deep hole, pit, ditch; a well, a deep cistern» etc. (Jaeschke 258a, cf. Das 641b) = mong. *köb*, *γool ba niγur-un ali gün γaǰar* (Sum II 1103), c.-à-d., l'endroit profond d'une rivière ou d'un lac.

70. *ṣūr* «bâtonnets dont on se sert pour manger». Cf. *širongol* (S. t.) *šör* id., mong. *sigür-* «saisir une proie avec les griffes en volant» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 385). L'étymologie proposée soulève des difficultés sémantiques. Le mot monguor en question semble être emprunté au chinois: cf. 箸 ou 筯 *zhù* «bâtonnets à manger» + *er*, particule diminutive qui marque les mots signifiant des objets (Giles 2563° donne *zhu* avec *zi*, particule synonyme de *er*: *zhuzi* «chopsticks», mais *huozhur* «a poker»). Quant à l'initiale, v. mgr. *ṣuän* ~ *ṭṣ'uän* «barque, bateau» < chin. *chuan* (de Smedt—Mostaert D 383). Chez Gir.-Goré 33, s. v. bâtonnet, on trouve un autre mot chinois: *kha-thur*, *k'ouai-tse* (chin.), *a-šaṅ*.

71. *śɓźiãŋ* «feutre, tapis de feutre» ~ tib. *phyiṅ* id., tib. amdowa *phyiṅ* ~ *byiṅ* 毡 id. (Anduo 156: ibid. homonymes *žiṅ* «terre» et *byaṅ* «nord», prononcés *çaŋ*), cf. Grum 47°.

72. *śɓźiär* «objet, chose, ustensile, instrument, meuble». Cf. tib. *rjas* «thing, matter, object» (?) (de Smedt—Mostaert D 388). Le même mot, écrit *šdžiar*, «predmet, vešč'», figure chez Todaeva, *Mongorskij jazyk*, p. 385. Il est d'origine tibétaine, mais il dérive de *spyad*, v. Gir.-Goré 298, *spyad-pa* «ustensile», cf. encore DTLF 622: *spyad-dṅos* vel *dgos* «res usui necessariae, supellex; objets d'un usage ordinaire, fourniture; *phor-spyad* «vasa culinae, fictilia; ustensiles de cuisine, vaisselle» etc.

73. *śɓźüęr* dans *sunoɢsā śɓźüęr moṣęna* «le Bonpo dit une prière pour chasser les mauvais esprits» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 392) ~ tib. *spyod*, cf. Das 808b: «to bring into subjection, over-power, coerce, e.g., demons, deities, etc., to make subject».

74. *śƀźüęrвa* «Bonpo exorciste». Cf. le mot précédent (de Smedt—Mostaert D 392). C'est tib. *spyod-pa-ba* = *mu-steg-kyi bye-brag* = mong. *bisilγayči, tirtaka-yin öbermiče* (Sum II 70) ou *dayangči* [= *diyanči*] (ibid., 71), ou bien *brtul-bžugs spyod-pa'i rnal-'byor-pa* «a Yogi, one who practices mysticism» (Das 809a). Amdowa *spyod-pa* «conduite, allures» (Anduo 42) est prononcé avec *htç-*.

75. *śƀźüerlo-* «faire des siennes, se conduire méchamment». Cf. mong. *uǰidla-* «faire des débauches, prendre trop de liberté, importuner, molester» (?); *iliē śƀźüęrloni* «le mauvais esprit fait des siennes» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 393): en fait, le thème de ce verbe est le même que celui des deux mots précédents, c'est tib. *spyod* «se conduire; conduite», ainsi le mot monguor montre une structure parallèle à celle du verbe mong. *ayasila-*.

76. *t'ōrвa* «courroie sur le poitrail du cheval et à laquelle est attachée la touffe de crin ou de soie (*mänťś'ioę*)» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 424): il s'agit ici du composé tibétain *mthur-mda'* = mong. *čilbuγur* (Sum I 958), selon DTLF *mthur-mgo* = *thur-mgo* = *thor-mgo* = *thor-mda'* «capistrum, habena sine freno; licou» (467, 464), selon Dag 347 *mthur-mda' ni rta boṅ 'dogs-byed-dam 'khrid-byed-kyi thag-pa'i miṅ*, cf. encore Jaeschke 241b, Das 601b, Wuti 1139, n° 4302, etc., amdowa *mthur-^{m}da* «rein» (Gō 856°, cf. Anduo 86 *mthur-mda'* 馬籠頭繩) et *t'ïr-dā* «longe (attachée à la bride)» (Roerich 128).

77. *ťṣ'ęg* «trône, siège». Cf. tib. *stegs* id. (?); *p'urǫāni ťṣ'ęg* «trône de la divinité», *lama ťṣ'ęg ɒārina* «le lama fait l'intérim de Bouddha vivant» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 439). Au lieu de *stegs* dont l'initiale est inconciliable avec celle du mot monguor, il s'agit ici du tib. *khri* «trône» avec un suffixe non-identifié (cf. encore *khri'u* «siège»).

78. *ťś'irā* «discussion publique dans laquelle les lamas débattent des points de doctrine», *lama ťś'irā sarlana* «les lamas ont des discussions doctrinales» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 456) ~ tib. *čhos-ra*, cf. Cybikov, *Buddist palomnik*, p. 311: « . . .učebnye dvory «čojra». Zdes' proischodjat bogoslovnye disputy i čitajutsja ustanovlennye molitvy», R.-A. Stein, *La civilisation*, p. 141, fig. 10: «controverse-examen dans la cour (*čhos-ra*)», tib. amdowa *čhos-ra* (Anduo 52: 講經院), *čhos-ra grva-chaṅ*, prononcé *chī-ra-gra-saŋ* «building for general studies» (Gō 1715°), cf. encore khalkha *čoir*, mong. *čoyira* id.

79. *warwa* «entremetteur de mariage». Cf. tib. *bar-mi* «mediator» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 483) ~ tib. *bar-pa* «entremetteur, -euse» (Gir.-Goré 112), «mediator, -rix» (DLT 368), *bar-ba ni spyi-chogs rñiṅ-bar žiṅ-khaṅ-sogs ño-choṅ byed-par ṅo-sprod byed-mkhan-gyi mi* (Dag 519), *bar-ba* et *bar-ma* 中人 (Anduo 113, prononcé *waz-*, «médiateur, agent de liason»). Cf. mgr. *war*, Róna-Tas 756°.

80. *yäŋk'ar* «entremetteur de mariage», *warwa yäŋk'ar* id. (de Smedt—Mostaert D 488). Cf. amdo šarpa *yaṅ xo* «match» (Nagano 0549°).

81. *yäsguõŋ* «bûcher», *yäsguõŋ tę̄-* «dresser un bûcher» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 491): cf. tib. *sgoṅ* (*byed-'brel las-chig*) = *me steṅ-du bud-šiṅ-sogs*

spuṅs-pa'i don-te: *me-la sol-ba sgoṅ, bud-šiṅ sgoṅ, me-sgoṅ brgyab lta-bu* (Dag 169); la première syllabe doit être identique au tib. *ya* = *thog-gam mtho-sa ste* «haut, élevé, supérieure, hauteur» etc.; cf. encore mgr. *yäsguor* «cercle» etc. ~ tib. *-skor* (de Smedt—Mostaert D 491; Róna-Tas 781°).

82. *yäyi* «grain grillé en son entier» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 491) ~ tib. *yos-brṅos*, cf. Dag 728: *yos* = *brṅos-nas chos-pa'i 'bru-rdog-gi miṅ-ste*: *gro-yos, nas-yos, yos-brṅos lta-bu*; Gir.-Goré 141: *yos-rṅo* «griller de l'orge pour la tsangpa (*rcam-pa*)», Jaeschke 516b: *yos* «slightly roasted corn, mostly barley or wheat« etc., Das 1149a: *yos* (*nas lta-bu*) «parched corn» etc., syn. *rṅos-pa*, etc.

83. *yürla-* «alterner», *dē niändza naqṣẹndāni naqē̱ didiedu dusgumage warźźi k'ardzamage yürla* «après celui-ci, présentez à l'oncle maternel la coupe nuptiale et passez le gobelet pour que chacun boive à son tour» (discours du *lorźźiwā*) (de Smedt—Mostaert D 496). Cf. tib. *g-yar, g-yor* «to borrow, to lend, to hire» et *pha-g-yar* «step-father» (Jaeschke 3517b), *g-yar* = *raṅ-gi dṅos-rjas gnas-skabs-su gžan-la bkol-du bčug-pa*; *gžan-gyi dṅos-rjas gnas-skabs-su bed spyad-pa* (Dag 730); *g-yar-ba* = mong. *ǰigelekü, aγsuqu*; *g-yar byas-te* = mong. *ulariγulǰu* (Sum II 860) ?

84. *yūwa* «parents d'un lama», *lama yūwadu śźiwa* «le lama est allé chez ses parents» (de Smedt—Mostaert D 496) ~ tib. *yul-pa* «inhabitant, native» (Jaeschke 513a), mais tib. amdowa *yo'i* = *yul* 家 «famille» (Anduo 175), mgr. *yür* (cf. Róna-Tas 787°). Cf. la sémantique du mot turc *yurt*.

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Index des mots mongols, chinois et tibétains

Mots mongols

arqay 67°, *bü-* 22°, *bụü* 22°, *irgen* 53°, *miqa beye* 29°

Mots chinois

díshí 6°, *pī* 47°, *shāndān* 65°, *wēikàng* 23°, *wèilán* 24°, *yān* 66°, *zhùr* 70°

Mots et syllabes tibétains

kar-cig 25°
**koṅ-dkar* 18°
dkag / 'gegs 60°
dka'-bču 17°
dka'-las = dkab-las 68°
-dkar 13°, 18°
**bka'-sñan* 16°
-skor 8°
-skyoṅ 7°
kha-gaṅ-ma 26°
khri, khri'u 77°
-'khor 8°, 61°
-gaṅ- 26°
-gi 50°
-gur, -ger 2°
-gos 56°
**graṅs-dkar* 13°
grogs-bzaṅ 43°
gliṅ 15°, *-gliṅ* 12°
glo-ro 28°
-mgo 27°
mgron 39°
'gaṅ 11°
'gyed 41°
**rgol-rgyu* 54°
rgya-gliṅ 12°
-rgyu 54°
rgyus-pa 14°
-sgoṅ 81°
**braṅ-dkar* 13°
sṅags-pa (ou *-'chal?*) 63°
-brṅos 82°

čig-ce (ou *-che*) 42°
-bču 17°
čhos-ra 78°
-'čhag 1°
ña-ga, ñag 35°
-sñan 16°
sñid-pa 44°

-rtags 32°
stoṅ-'khor (= -skor) 8°
thor-mda' 76°
mthur-mda' 76°
-dag (= -ltag?) 34°
dar-ma 4°
dus-char 5°
**dogs-skyoṅ* 7°
-doṅ 69°
mda' 76°
ldar 59°
-ldur 57°
ldom 49°, 50°
-rdog 48°
-rdol 30°
sdom 9°
nor-'khrul 37°
rna 36°
sna 66°

-pa 14°, 42°, 44°, 74°, 84°
pags-lham 46°
dpe 19°
spyad 72°
spyod 73°, 75°
spyod-pa (-pa ou *-ba)* 74°
phyiṅ 71°
'phrog 45°
-ba 74°, 79°
bar-ba 79°
bum-bu 3°
dbu-gur, -ger 2°
dbo 20°

dbon 21°
'bri-mog 40°
-ma 4°, 26°

**mag-rtags* 32°
mar-rdol 30°
mi-rca 33°
mid- v. *myid-*
-mog 40°
myid-dag 34°
dmar-chaṅ 31°
rmaṅ 55°
smon-lam 62°

-cig 25°
cig-ge-zig 10°
-ce 42°
-rca 33°
rcam-ldur 57°
**rcod-rgyu* 54°
-chaṅ 31°
chad 58°
-char 5°
-che ou *-ce* 42°
chogs-'khor 61°

'chor 64°
rji-log 52°

ze-' gaṅ 11°
zlog 51°
gzan 38°
-bzaṅ 43°

**ya-sgoṅ* 81°
**yaṅ-khar* 80°
yul-pa 84°
yos-brṅos 82°
g-yar 83°
-ra 78°
**ra-'čhag* 1°
-ro 28°
lag-mgo 27°
-lam 62°
-las 68°
-log 52°

šor-doṅ 69°
sa-gos 56°
-lham 46°

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NAME-GIVING AMONG THE MONGOLS

AN ETHNOGRAPHICO-BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY

BY

JUDIT VINKOVICS

In many parts of the World, the reliability of the statement "nomen est omen" is trusted. According to the belief of the Mongols, name influences or may influence its holder's life, and fate. The mystical connection supposed to exist between a person and his name, appears even in the question *Tany nêr chên gêdêg vê?* "What is your name?" [lit. Who is your name called?], an everyday inquiry after a stranger's name.[1] This same connection will be referred to later in relation with changing the name and taboo of names.

Name-giving. According to the belief in the fate-affecting role of names, special precautions are taken by the parents in selecting an adequate name for their child and in arranging the name-giving ceremony. Two types of name-giving are considered to have existed among the Mongolian nations: the Lamaistic ceremony and the more ancient custom surviving from pre-Lamaistic times. On the basis of the data in previous special publications it may be supposed that the Buddhist ceremony existed parallel to the ancient name-giving custom even from the Yüan Era on, among the different Mongolian nations, and continue to exist even today.

According to the more ancient ceremony, the name is given by the parents (formerly probably by the mother, later by the paternal side of the family cf. Bese 1983. p. 87) or by a respected (in most cases: elder) person (Jagchid-Hyer 1979. pp. 76—78). Its traces are preserved in numerous data of the special literature.

According to the records of Georgi, the Kalmouck commoners were giving names to their children in an arbitrary way at the end of the 18th century (Georgi 1780, p. 412). According to the informations given by Kozlov, the Tsaidam Mongol parents named their children themselves (Kozlov 1950,

[1] Luvsandêndêv, A. (1957), Mongol oros tol'. Moskva. p. 286. cf. also Khalkha *Tany nêr chên bê* Cêvêl, Ja. (1966), Mongol chêlnij tovč tajlbar tol'. Ulaanbaatar. p. 398. High-style: *Aldar nêr chên gêdêg vê* Žagvaral, R. (1976), Mongol chêlnij chündêtgêlijn üg. Ulaanbaatar. p. 107.

p. 138) at the end of the 19th century. Potanin reported that the Shirongol Mongol father went out to the main road holding his child in his arms and asked a name for him from the first passer-by (Potanin 1950, pp. 412—413).

About the turn of the century and even at the beginning of this century, traces of this more ancient ceremony are found. Among the Darkhats living at Khöwsögöl-nuur, the name is given by the father three days after the delivery (Badamchatan 1965, p. 177). Among the Mingats, the new-born child is given his name by the midwife after three days alike (Sonomcêrên 1975, pp. 60—61). Among the Kalmoucks according to the publication by Darbakova, female children are given their names by their grandmothers, male children are given their names by their grandfathers (Darbakova 1970, p. 236). Among the Buriats according to the data by Basaeva, children are given their names by one of the elderly guests participating in the ceremony, or more rarely, by the parents themselves (Basaeva 1980, p. 89). Among the Khorchin Mongols, the child was named by the head of the clan within a month after birth (Kuo-yi Pao 1966, p. 419), and among the Monguors, the grandfather on the paternal line names the child in most cases, but in the case of the early death of the previously born children, the head of another, more fruitful family does the ceremony (Schram 1954, pp. 100—101). Especially in poor families, the custom described by Potanin can also be found; the first new-comer is asked to name the new-born off-spring (Schram 1954, p. 101).

Thus, we may conclude that the deliberate way of name-giving must have been fairly wide-spread among the Mongols. Though, unfortunately, we have only faint hints about the ceremonial part of this earlier name-giving custom, on the basis of the etymology of the names given so and recorded by European travellers we may suppose that it showed belonging to the pre-Lamaistic faith of the Mongols.

On the basis of records by European travellers (e.g. Radlov), the accidental way of name-giving i.e. the new-born child is named after the first object seen, the first word uttered or the name of the first visitor after birth, is described by Krueger (concerning the Khalkha Mongols — Krueger 1962, p. 82) and by Darbakova (concerning the Kalmoucks Darbakova 1970, p. 240), but the Kalmouck researcher Monraev has expressed his doubts in this respect (Monraev 1971, p. 65).

According to the publications available to me, i.e. from the 18th century, the two name-giving ceremonies have existed parallel to one another. At the end of the 18th century, Georgi also recorded that the descendants of the Kalmouck aristocracy were given names determined by Lama-astrologers, according to the rules of astrology (Georgi 1780, p. 412). Pallas provides us even with a sketched description of the Kalmouck "baptism" (Pallas 1776—1801, p. 242).

At the end of the 19th century, Pozdneev offered the most detailed information on the sacred "washing" ceremony and, in connection with it, on the ceremonial part of name-giving and the methods of name determination as well (Pozdneev 1887, pp. 412—426).

The naming ceremony was connected to the ritual washing of the child. The general rule was that it would not be carried out earlier than the third day after birth but according to the common Mongolian practice it was held in the first month. First, the father went to an astrologer, a monk whom he informed about the exact time, date and circumstances of the birth and asked him to determine if the child was born under a lucky star and to set up the day, and the necessary ceremonies, the persons participating in them and the holy books to be read. For this, the astrological book *Vaidūrya dkar-po* and the medical work *Glaṅ-thabs* were used.

The child would have a fortunate fate in the following cases:

— if he is born in a proper way
— if he falls on his back after getting out from the womb
— if the navel string is rolled up around his chest
— if he begins to cry out loud directly after birth
— if the crown of his head is high
— if the bones of his skull are hard
— if the top of his head is not large
— if his hairs stand upwards
— if his body is clean
— if his ears jut out
— if he sucks strongly and trembles during sucking.

The lack of these omens or their manifestation in an insufficient measure and especially the birth with inborn teeth (which is a sign of Shamanic abilities) were considered as bad omens and so special, additional works had to be read beside the common prayers in order to avoid misfortune. The number of the participating Lamas was also determined by the astrologer. According to the basic rule, the participation of four *gelong*s was needed with the condition that one of them must be the astrologer visited. On such occasions it sometimes happened that about 100 monks gathered at the residences of well-to-do Khans but the commoners tried to reduce the costs by inviting 1 Lama from the monastery and 3 wandering monks or by inviting only the astrologer.

Reading prayers determined according to the *külil* of birth was followed by the washing ceremony. Water and milk were mixed in a bowl and some holy grasses were sprinkled on them. After reading some prayers, the mixture was blessed by reading some *dhāraṇīs* and placing a holy book on it. First, the Lama sprinkled some drops of this mixture into the mouth of the child three times with the middle finger of his left hand and then poured some

drops of this liquid into the right hand and washed the child's face and head thus cleaning him from the crimes committed in previous incarnations. According to the 8 *külils* a special *dhāraṇī* was assigned to the child.

According to Pozdneev (p. 416) the astrologer determined the name by two methods described in the 12th chapter of *Vaidūrya dkar-po* in accordance with the date of the birth. Both methods (that of the 5 *yarays* and that of the 28 constellations) are detailed in the footnotes of pp. 416—419. This data was adapted by other scholars (e.g. Žambalsùrên and others) although only a brief reference to these methods could be found in the 12th chapter of a printed *Vaidūrya dkar-po* deriving from Mongolia, which is kept under Reg. No. B 9164 in the Tibetan Collection of the Leningrad Section of the Institute of Oriental Studies, on the basis of a short examination carried out under the auspices of the Soviet Tibetologist L. S. Savickij. It can be supposed that the detailed description was based on oral information put down by the Russian scholar on the spot, although some written sources must have existed on the matter. Because of their importance, revealing these written materials deserves further research.

After the name-giving, the name of the child's protective deity, and the colour of the horse to be sacrificed on his behalf were made known by the astrologer. After the washing ceremony, the child had to wear the five *bus*, small slips of paper with the proper *dhāraṇīs* as protection against mischievous spirits.

Among the Khalkhas (Njambuu 1976, p. 125), Kalmoucks (Darbakova 1970, p. 238; Monraev 1971, pp. 63—64; Êrdniev 1970, p. 203), Khorchins (Kuo-yi Pao 1966, p. 420), Alar-Buriats (Basaeva 1980, p. 90) and Chakhars (Vreeland 1957, p. 175) name-giving was arranged with the assistance of a holy Lama most usually together with the "washing" ceremony (Khalkha: Vreeland 1957, p. 74; Njambuu 1976, p. 125; Kalmouck: Darbakova 1970, p. 236—237; Mingat: Sonomcêrên 1975, pp. 60—61; Chakhar: Vreeland 1957, p. 175) or separate from it (Darkhat: Badamchatan 1965, p. 177). Among the Buriats name-giving takes place simultaneously with the ceremony *ùlgêêdê oruulcha* (Basaeva 1980, p. 89). Among the Dagur Mongols the child was given his final name at an age of 7 at the same time as the hair-cutting ceremony took place (Vreeland 1957, p. 256). Concerning the Khorchin Mongols, according to the memories by Kuo-yi Pao neither a special name-giving nor special hair-cutting ceremony was existent about the 30-ies of this century (Kuo-yi Pao 1966, pp. 419—420).

The name of the ceremony appears in different forms among the different Mongolian nations: Khalkha *chùùchêd ugaach/aršaalach* "to wash the child/in holy water" (Njambuu 1976, p. 125), Kalmouck *meljagudyn churim* "the fest *milangyud*" (Darbakova 1970, pp. 236—237), Chakhar *sarlin öi* "the jubilee of the first month" (Vreeland 1957, p. 175).

In general, a name was given three days after birth (Khalkha: Vreeland 1957, p. 74; Kalmouck: Pallas 1776—1801, p. 242; Erküt: Mostaert 1934, p. 10), 3—6 days after birth (Kalmouck: Darbakova 1970, p. 236), 7—16 days after birth (Khalkha: Njambuu 1976, pp. 125—127), in the first month (Kalmouck: Šalchakov in Kul'tura i byt kalmykov 1977, p. 80; Rubel 1957, pp. 121—122; Chakhar: Vreeland 1957, p. 175; Monguor: Schram 1954, p. 100) or in the first year (Caidam Mongols: Kozlov 1950, p. 138) and, as previously mentioned, at the Dagurs at an age of 7 (Vreeland 1957, p. 256) in the framework of a more or less rich festive banquet.

What kind of name was bestowed on the Mongolian child at that special occasion? The Mongols had only one personal name traditionally (Žukovskaja 1980, pp. 9—10), and the majority of the personal names consisted of s. c. "speaking" names, i.e. they were of common noun origin, thus being understandable and commentable among the Mongolian speaking population. According to Č. Sodnom (1964. p. 39.) two main types of name existed and still exist among the Mongols: the desiderata and the category of protective names.

Protecting names. After longer childlessness (barrenness) or after the deaths of earlier born children in infancy, the new-born in general was given names that could deceive the demons harmful to the child. These names refer to the following misleading precautions (1) the child does not belong to his parents (Khalkha: Rintchen 1956, p. 22); (2) the child is not a human being (Khalkha: Rintchen 1956, p. 22; Vjatkina 1960, pp. 233—234; Chakhars: Potanin 1950, p. 133; Buriats: Aldarova 1976b; Kalmoucks: Monraev 1971, pp. 64—65; Khorchins: Kuo-yi Pao 1966, pp. 418—419); (3) the child is not a male one (Khalkha: Rintchen 1956, p. 22; Buriats: Aldarova 1976b; Kalmouks: Monraev 1971, pp. 64—65; Monguors Schram 1954, p. 101; Khorchins: Kuo-yi Pao 1966, pp. 418—419). As a remarkable fact it should be mentioned that even geographical names were classified among protective names by Darbakova (Darbakova 1970, p. 239).

Changing the name. Believing in the fate-influencing effect of names, some serious illnesses in succession, and bad luck were assigned to the "not real" name by the Mongols, so severely ill children were given a new name in the framework of some special ceremonies with the intention of securing recovery for him (Khalkha: Žukovskaja 1980, p. 14; Buriat Basaeva 1980, p. 89; Kalmouck: Šalchakov in Kul'tura i byt kalmykov 1977, p. 84; Dagur Onon 1972, p. 12; Shirongol Potanin 1950, pp. 412—413).

Some cases from the Yüan Era are quoted by V. V. Barthold on the compulsory change of name for the namesakes after the death of an illustrious man (Barthold 1970, p. 206). This phenomenon can be connected with the taboo of names of the dead. The Bulgarian researcher, Tafradžijska cites a change of name realized on the basis of the ruler's command at the 13th century (from *Jirqo'adai* to *Jebe* Tafradžijska 1974, p. 291). In general, we

can state that greater rise in rank or accession to the throne were accompanied by a change of name (see e.g. the name *Činggis*). Having arrived to the home of her father-in-law, the Kalmouck bride was given a new name at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries (Darbakova 1970, p. 240 ; Êrdniev 1970, p. 199).

As in other religions, the Lamaist monks of Mongolian descent at the beginning of their holy career changed their names when making the *ubasi* oath (Vreeland 1957, p. 109). The brief description of this latter ceremony can be found at Pozdneev (Pozdneev 1887, p. 128).

Taboo of names. This was a very common custom among the Mongols. In the various Mongolian languages and dialects it was called by different names (in the 13th century : *qoruq*, Khalkha *cêêr*, the person the name of whom is tabooed : *hêcùù nêrt* ; Kalmouck *berlxə*, *berṃsɨxə*, *xadʋmlxʋ*, *hadmalgan* : Ordos *nere gälāxu*). The pronunciation of a name was prohibited in case of death (Barthold 1970, p. 206) so the names of the ancestors are tabooed, too (Êrdniev 1970, pp. 268—269).

For the children it was prohibited to call their parents or elder relatives by name (Khalkha : Žambalsùrên 1970, p. 18 ; Inner-Mongolian : Montell 1945, p. 44, p. 53 ; Dagur : Vreeland 1957, p. 253 ; Onon 1972, p. 46 ; Chakhar : Vreeland 1957, p. 173), moreover the married couples, were also not allowed to call one another by name (Mongol : Šalchakov in Kul'tura i byt kalmykov 1977, p. 73 ; Kalmouck : Šalchakov in Kul'tura i byt kalmykov 1977, p. 74 ; Dagur : Vreeland 1957, p. 253). The names of the husband's elder relatives were tabooed for the new wife (Khalkha : Žambalsùrên 1970, p. 18 ; Buriat : Basaeva 1980, p. 55 ; Kalmouck : Darbakova 1970, pp. 240—241 ; Êrdniev 1970, p. 200 ; Monraev 1971, pp. 65—66 ; Ordos : Mostaert 1957, p. 258) together with the common nouns corresponding to them. As a result of this custom the so called *êêrùùlêl* came into being, which means a change or distortion in the phonetic form of a given word and the usage of synonyms instead of the common nouns proper (cf. Aalto 1959, 1971).

The general appearance of inequality in social life was accompanied by the appearance of titles and ranks, too. Soviet researcher Žukovskaja mentions examples on the personal-name-replacing usage of them from the 13th century (Žukovskaja 1980, pp. 9—10). On the basis of a disputable concept, the personal-name-replacing usage of titles and ranks in the 16th and 17th centuries is traced back to the Shamanistic prohibition of the pronunciation of names (Žukovskaja 1970, pp. 231—234 ; 1980, p. 10). The above quoted phenomenon is illustrated through precedents from the lives of religious and secular personalities as well (Žukovskaja 1970, pp. 231—234 ; 1980, p. 10), although by citing the further lot of Činggis Khan's name, an example of the contrary case is presented, too (Žukovskaja 1970, pp. 234—236).

Bearing several names. Although it was true in general, for any representative of the different Mongolian peoples that he has one name

only, at the meeting points of different religions and cultural spheres binomia could be encountered, too. Among the Kalmoucks the official name was given by a Lama or a Pravoslav priest, the other name being a nickname used in the family, Kalmouck by origin bestowed by the father or an elderly relative, or perhaps by the midwife (Šalchakov in Kul'tura i byt kalmykov 1977, p. 80; Spravočnik 1979, p. 227). Among the Buriats binomia appeared synchronously with Christianity. According to Darbeeva, this phenomenon seems to be disappearing as a result of the spread of bilingualism. Cf. also Aldarova 1976b; and Mitroškina 1981).

Among the Mongolian nations of the Soviet Union, a surname was formed from the name of the father according to Russian pattern in the 19th century. In the 20th century even the usage of a special patronym has also become common (Darbeeva 1969, pp. 52—43). In the Mongolian Peoples' Republic the usage of the patronym has appeared as a consequence of the demands of the new times (Žukovskaja 1980, p. 11).

The folklore and popular wisdom related to personal name show its importance and multiple role.

Proverbs and wise sayings

Duudach nêrijg êcêg êh n'
Duursach nêrijg òöròò[2] (Khalkha)

The name by which one is called, is given by his parents.
The name by which one is remembered, is earned by himself.

Nêr nêgtijn čih n' nêg.[3] (Khalkha)

Those, who wear the same name, have one ear.

Nêr nêgtijn čich nêg
Nùgêl nêgtijn tam nêg.[4] (Khalkha)

Those, who wear the same name, have one ear.
Those, who have the same crime, have the same hell.

Zuun chùnij zùs ùzêchêêr
Nêg chùnij nêr togtoo.[5] (Khalkha)

[2] Gaadamba, Š.—Cêrênsodnom, D. *Mongol ardyn aman zochiolyn dêêž bičig.* Ulaanbaatar 1978, p. 14.

[3] *Mongol ardyn zùjr ùg.* Ulaanbaatar 1956, p. 49; Cêvêl., Ja. *Mongol chêlnij tovč tajlbar tol'.* Ulaanbaatar 1966, p. 398.

[4] *Mongol ardyn on'sogo cêcên ùg.* Ulaanbaatar 1982, p. 163.

[5] Gaadamba—Cêrênsodnom, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

Instead of knowing hundred persons superficially
Have only one friend!

Caasan dêêr nêrtêj
Casan dêêr mȯrtêj.[6] (Khalkha)

He has a name on paper
And footprints in snow.

Chêlüülž javach nêr
Chêvtêž chocroch jas[7] (Khalkha)

After death one's name spreads from mouth to mouth,
One's bones remain lying motionless after him.

eme k'eᴅᵘī sā̃ẽ gewɯtš'i
ɯnisenēsen tš'āšināã mör-ɯgᵘī
ɯᴅɯrīĩ ɢaᴅžart'u nere-ɯgᵘī:

ere k'eᴅᵘī mū gewɯ'tš'i
tš'ēnᴅēẽ nere't'ī
tš'iī p'ɯn alba't'ā̃ ʙā̃ᴅ-imā[8] (Ordos)

Had a woman been very good
she would not have had traces besides her mortal remains, and would not have had a name even at a place of one day's walk.

Had a man been very bad
his name would have been enlisted in the military recruiting registers.

sā̃n ere ɢɯrɯᴅēẽ nere't'ī
sā̃n eme ɯnisenēsen tš'āšinān ɯᴅɯrīĩ ɢaᴅžart'u nere-ɯgᵘī.[9] (Ordos)

A good man has a fame all over the country
A good woman has no name at a place of one day's walk from her mortal remains.

Nêrêê bodož jav.
Bjaraa mêdêž ȯrgȯ.[10] (Khalkha)

Live always thinking on your name
Lift anything in knowledge of your bodily strength.

[6] Gaadamba—Cêrênsodnom, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
[7] Gaadamba—Cêrênsodnom, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
[8] Mostaert 1957. p. 488.
[9] Mostaert 1957. p. 489.
[10] *Mongol ardyn züjr üg.* Ulaanbaatar 1956. p. 50.

Nêr oloch nasny
Nêr chugarach ȯdrijn[11] (Khalkha)

Meriting a fame lasts a lifetime
Loosing it takes only a day.

Nêrijn chor
Nüürnij chijr[12] (Khalkha)

The poison of the name,
The filth of the face.

Sajn nêrijg chüsêvč oldochgüj
Muu nêrijg chusavč arilachgüj[13] (Khalkha)
sən nern chəəv čign olddgo
mu nern chusv čign hardgo[14] (Kalmouck)

Although a good name is wished,
it would not turn up.
Although a bad name is scraped,
it would not disappear.

Nêr chugarsnaas
Jas chugarsan dêêr[15] (Khalkha)

To have your bones broken is better
Than having your fame infringed.

Nêr chugarachaar
Jas chugar.[16] (Khalkha)
Chünij gazar nêr chugarachaar
ȯȯrijn gazar jas chugar.[17] (Khalkha)

Transl. cf. above.

Êvrənnj nerən hutachin orčd,
cogc machmud targ.[18] (Kalmouck)

Transl. cf. above.

[11] Gaadamba—Cêrênsodnom, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
[12] *Mongol ardyn züjr üg.* 1956. p. 49.
[13] Gaadamba—Cêrênsodnom, *op. cit.*, p. 16. Luvsandêndêv, A. *Mongol oros tol'*. Moskva 1957, p. 286.
[14] Kalmycko-russkij slovar'. Moskva 1977, p. 376.
[15] *Mongol ardyn züjr üg.* 1956. p. 75
[16] Gaadamba—Cêrênsodnom, *op. cit.*, p. 16. *Mongol ardyn züjr üg.* 1956, p. 76. Luvsandêndêv, *op. cit.*, p. 286.
[17] Cêvêl, *op. cit*, p. 399.
[18] *Kalmycko-russkij slovar'*, p. 376.

Nêrêê chucharanchaar
Jahaa chuchara.[19] (Buriat)

Transl. cf. above.

Dêêlêê šined n'
Nêrêê cêvêrt n'[20] (Khalkha)

One should keep his gown new
and his name clean.

Sajn chùn bùrd
Sajn muu nêr
Salšgùj chosolž javdag.[21] (Khalkha)

Every good man is inseparably accompanied
by his good or bad fame.

Chùn nêrêê, togos šuvuu ȯdȯȯ.[22] (Khalkha)

This man [is proud] of his name
As the peacock [is proud] of his feathers.

Good wishes

Bajã nere't'ī bol!
nojon tš'olo't'ī bol![23] (Ordos)

Have a rich name and a noble rank!

Riddles

Chùùchêd bajchaas zùùsên chonch
Chùn bolgond minij surgijg gargana. (Khalkha)
(*Chùnij nêr*)[24]

The bell sticked to me from my childhood
Rings news on me to everybody.
(Personal name)

[19] Čeremisov, K. M. (1973), *Burjatsko-russkij slovar'*. Moskva, p. 340.
[20] Gaadamba—Cêrênsodnom, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
[21] Gaadamba—Cêrênsodnom, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
[22] Cêvêl, *op. cit.*, p. 399.
[23] Mostaert 1957. p. 463.
[24] Gaadamba—Cêrênsodnom, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

The above survey was devoted to dealing only with strictly ethnographical data of previous special publications available to the author. Other aspects of studying personal names are to be included in other publications.

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A TEXT OF POPULAR RELIGIOUS BELIEF "CUTTING OFF THE LASSO"

BY

ALICE SÁRKÖZI

In old times the daily life of the nomad Mongolian people was always threatened by the extremities of weather, by disease, and calamities, etc. These hazards were thought to be caused by several kinds of evil spirits who had command over the forces of nature. The protection of man and livestock against all these dangers was the primary function of the shamans who influenced the evil-doers by making offerings in order to please or pacify them. Among other practices, the exorcism of evil demons was performed at certain occasions. The malevolent spirits were banished into an effigy (*ǰoliγ*) which then was destroyed or set out in the desert.[1]

The aim of the present paper is to present a short text concerning a *ǰoliγ* ceremony. The manuscript that belongs to the collection of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Mong. 67) consists of three sheets, altogether. This short text of exorcism is of special interest because it gives details of the ceremony, indicating how the actual practice must have been carried out.

The translation and interpretation of such texts is never an easy task, because the ritual can only be imagined on the basis of its short and obscure references, while those at present and especially the leaders of the ceremony were well aware of the process, and the details were evident to them.

The text now under consideration, though it is a hand-book of a shaman ritual to exorcise the evil spirits, has an overall touch of Lamaism, containing a number of Lamaist expressions and motives. So this short text in itself represents the complicated situation of Mongolian spiritual life, ruled by the Yellow Faith, that was full of shamanist practices deeply rooted in the every-

[1] For *ǰoliγ* ceremony cf. A. M. Pozdneev, *Religion and Ritual in Society*. Lamaist Buddhism in Late 19th Century Mongolia. Ed. by J. R. Krueger. Bloomington 1978, pp. 559—561; Ch. R. Bawden, The Supernatural Element in Sickness and Death According to Mongol Tradition I. *Asia Major* 8 (1961), pp. 215—275; II. *Asia Major* 9 (1962), pp. 153—178; W. Heissig, Shamanen und Geisterbeschwörer in Küriye-Banner. *Folklore Studies* 3 (1944), Peking pp. 39—72; W. Heissig, *Die Religionen der Mongolei*. Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln, Mainz 1970, pp. 311—312.

day life of the people. The booklet belongs to the period, when pre-Buddhist cults and cult-figures were adapted to the new faith, older shamanist deities were transferred into the new pantheon, and old practices were dressed in the guise of Lamaist rituals. Prayers were created, which took over the popular deities into the Lamaist pantheon and popular characteristics into the Lamaist ritual.[2]

The title of the text is *Čalm-a tasulqu orosiba* "Cutting off the Lasso". The lassos referred to here were thrown by evil spirits onto men to bind them and in this way to cause them harm. The goal of the presented practice was to cut these spiritual bindings. The text clarifies those on whose account the service was intended and how in the reality the leader of the rite engaged in this lasso-throwing and cutting: *er-e kümün bögesü ǰegün köl-dür orki* : *em-e kümün bögesü ǰegün-dür* [!] *orki* "if a man is in question, throw (the lasso) on his left foot, if a woman is it, throw (the lasso) on her left foot (too)". Then the leader of the ceremony transforms himself into the deity *Heruka* and in this form he cuts the fastening between the harming spirits and the patient. He repeats this transformation five times, always changing into another form of *Heruka*, thus taking on the forms of *Buddha-Heruka*, *Vajra-Heruka*, *Ratna-Heruka*, *Padma-Heruka* and *Karma-Heruka* one after the other. *Herukas* belong to the many wrathful deities of Tantric Buddhism, and so they were thought to be able to undertake the task of driving away the dangerous evil-doers. They had three heads and six arms. The symbolical meaning behind this is the power of transmutation. Their attributes are skull-crown, skull-cup, bone ornaments, tiger-skin shirt, human-skin shawl and elephant-skin shawl, armour, a pair of wings, and crescent moon in their hair. They have a great role in the *Tibetan Book of Death*.[3]

The leader of the ceremony also took the weapons of *Heruka* and used them to cut the lassos that bind people. While he explains the theoretical background of his activity: "I cut the hindrance of ignorance, that of anger, that of haughtiness, that of passion and that of greediness" — and he performs the play of cutting the ropes in reality too. The text, in the beginning, enumerates the evil-doers that are the figures of folk religion (*ada*, *eliye*, *kölčin*, *ǰedker*, *etc.*). Here it states that sufferings and troubles originate from actions regarded to be the five main defilements of Buddhism.

The evil spirits occurring in the text are: *ada*, *eliy-e*, *erlig*, *birid*, *kölčin*, *qoor*, *ǰedker*. It is very difficult to define the categories of evil forces and

[2] The co-existence of Lamaism and Shamanism in Mongolia is well described by Prof. W. Heissig, A Mongolian Source to the Lamaist Suppression of Shamanism in the Seventeenth Century. *Anthropos* 48 (1953), pp. 1—29; 493—536.

[3] F. Fremantle and Ch. Trungpa, *The Tibetan Book of the Dead*. London 1975, pp. 24—27; M. Y. Evans-Wenz, *The Tibetan Book of the Dead*, London, Oxford, New York 1972. p. 162; G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Roma 1949, pp. 541, 551.

clearly decide what they are like. Sometimes their role and sphere of activity overshade each other. *Ada* is perhaps the best defined figure: it is usually a one-eyed evil demon who makes people mad and raging, and is especially dangerous to young children. It is disease provoker sitting above the patient. Buriat folklore considers that one of the three souls becomes an *ada* after a person's death and settles in various reptiles, snakes in particular. The Buriat terminological dictionary of shamanism gives the next definition: *ada* is a soul, a bearded wolf that provokes disease and death in children. Invisible and unhearable to the majority of people, anyhow, it is sometimes to be seen by shamans and children under the age of three. He has one eye in the middle of his forehead and one tooth in his mouth. Sometimes he appears in the form of small animals and covers his bloody mouth and only tooth with his hand. He lives and multiplies at the dark places of the house, and accompanies the master of the house everywhere and only seldom remains alone in the house. He is afraid of kind and skilful people, who with sudden movements could press him between the door and the jamb. If he is suddenly hit, he disintegrates into pieces of rag or bone fragments. He can not only kill youngsters, but can be harmful to the elderly ones as well. Before people taste food, he spits into it and in this way causes them lung trouble and other diseases.[4] *Eliy-e* is a birdlike fiend, *ǰedker* an obsession, obstacle, *kölčin* is a one-legged demon, *Erlig* is the ruler of hell and *birids* are ghosts wandering around the hells and on earth.[5]

The text prescribes the preparation of three *ǰoliy* figures — one red, one black and one white — out of dough. The correct number and colour of them, as well as the direction in which they are to be set out are given: *külil-ün qoor ada bey-e-yin ǰedker tabun eliy-e eden-ü ǰüg yarγ-a* "set them out in the direction of the evil of boundage, the hindrance of the body, to that of the five malevolent spirits". Demonical fiends are supposed to originate from different directions, as pointed out by Prof. Heissig quoting the next verse:

doruna-ača iregsen
tudqar čedkür metü
emüne-eče iregsen
ada eliye metü

[4] D. Banzarov, *Černaja vera ili šamanstvo u mongolov' i drugija stat'i D. Banzarova.* Sanktpeterburg 1891, p. 30; J. A. Partanen, A description of Buriat Shamanism. *Journal de la Societé Finno-Ougrienne* 51 (1941), p. 9; I. A. Manžigeev, *Burjatskie šamanističeskie i došamanističeskie terminy.* Moskva 1978, p. 3.; R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet.* 'S-Gravenhage 1956, p. 539; Bawden, *op. cit.*, (1961), p. 234.

[5] For some delimination and discussion of these demonic spirits, *ada, čidkür, tüidker, ǰedker, eliye, teyireng,* the role and activity of which is rather difficult to decide cf. Bawden, *op. cit.* (1961), pp. 243—248; Heissig, *op. cit.* (1953), p. 510.

"Like devils which
have come from the East
Like demonical fiends which
have come from the South"[6]

Here the five directions of *eliye* are certainly: North, West, South, East and the Centre.

In our case, the ransom figures, in which the evil will be transplanted, must be prepared of *γulir* "flour". Other texts also prescribe the same method, anyhow, in other cases the life-substitute figure can be made of grass, mud, wood or it can even be a living being.[7]

The text emphasizes the importance of reading holy scriptures during the ceremony. These texts are the holy books of Buddhism and are incorporated into the Canon. They are: *Vajravidāranā* (*Teyin ebdegči očir*), *Bilig baramid* (*Prajñapāramitā*), *Čaγan linggu-a* (*Saddharmapundarīka*), *Čoγ-tu cindan* (*Ratnarāsi*), *Ökin tengri* (*Devīsadhāna*), *Maruči*, *Padma siditen*, *Čaγan sikür-tei* (*Tathāgatosṇisasitātapatrāparājita-mahāpratyangirāparmasiddha*).[8]

A magic formula ends the booklet consisting of sacred spells of Lamaism. Spells played rather an important part in handbooks of magic, as they were

[6] Heissig, *op. cit.* (1953), p. 510; Banzarov, *op. cit.*, p. 30; Heissig, *op. cit.* (1970), p. 315.

[7] To mention only some of the many examples: Prof. Bawden presents some manuscripts of Stockholm and Louvain where the *ǰoliγ* figure is made of grass (*Asia Major* 1962, p. 169, 170, 174; *Asia Major* 1961 pp. 232—233). A manuscript of the Danish collection also suggests that to counter disease grass should be brought from the west and a figurine made, dressed in white robe and blue hat, mount a blue horse and set out (W. Heissig, Ch. R. Bawden, *Catalogue of Mongol Books, Manuscripts and Xylographs, The Royal Library Copenhagen*. 1971. Mong. 301): *öröne-eče ebesün ačiraǰu kümün kiǰü čaγan degel köke malaγa köke morin unuγulǰu*. Nebesky-Wojkowitz mentions an event when a living scape-goat and a figure of dough are required for transfering the harmful influence to them (*Oracles and Demons*, p. 513, 519—520), W. Heissig speaks of a *ǰoliγ* ceremony where the substitute figure is a hen (Shamanen, p. 53). Also a dough figure must be prepared as prescribed by a manual of medical divination (Heissig-Bawden, *Danish Collection*, p. 161.).

[8] In the texts of folk-religion the recitation of certain Lamaist texts are commanded as well, cf. Bawden, *Scapulimancy*, p. 11; or *Asia Major* 8 (1961) pp. 233—234. For *Vajravidāranā* cf. L. Ligeti, *Catalogue du Kanǰur mongol imprimé*. Budapest 1942, Nr 412. For *Prajñapāramitā* cf. Heissig, *Mongolische Handschriften, Blockdrucke, Landkarten*. Wiesbaden 1961, Nos 173, 182. For *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* cf. Heissig, *Die Pekinger lamaistischen Blockdrucke in mongolischer Sprache*. Wiesbaden 1954, No 16; Ligeti, *Catalogue*, No 868; Heissig—Bawden, *Danish Collection*, Nos 496, 499. For *Ratnārasi* cf. Heissig—Bawden, *Danish Collection*, No 329; for *Devīsadhāna* cf. Heissig, *Handschriften*, 370/b, 372, 666/c; Heissig, *Blockdrucke*, p. 64. For *Mariči* cf. Heissig—Bawden, *Danish Collection*, No 230. For *Čayan sikürtei*, cf. Heissig—Bawden, *Danish Collection*, 468/2 and 6.

believed to hasten recovery from illness and to ensure the fulfilment of all wishes. They not only occur in handbooks of magic but, as mentioned by Prof. Bawden, also in works of serious medical intent.[9]

This text certainly has a Tibetan equivalent: Prof. Tucci mentions a ceremony that seems to be a similar ritual to this. There, the officiant of a ritual for the protection of cattle and goods also transforms himself into the figure of *Heruka* saying: "I am the blood drinking *Heruka*". The full text of that ceremony is not given by him, so I did not have the opportunity to make a further comparison.[10]

As the shaman text in question here is not a very frequent one, I thought it would perhaps be useful to give the whole text in transcription with a translation:

Text

[1a] *Čalm-a tasulqu orosiba:*

[1b] *Kümün-dür erklig mungqaγ birid kölčin čalm-a uryγ-a orkiqu-yi üǰekü bičig ene bui: čayan linggu-a čoγ-tu cindan ökin maruči badm-a sidite[n]: čayan sikür-tei:*

er-e kümün bögesü ǰegün köl-dür orki: em-e kümün bögesü ǰegün-dür[!] orki: bajar vidaran-a-yi ungsiǰu oytal: belig baramid-i ungsiǰu yaryγ-a: ǰoliγ inu nigen ulayan nigen qara. nigen čayan: yurban moyulčoγ-i yulir-iyar kiǰü yaryγ-a: yurban alda eriyen degesü nigen temür dege: nigen yaryγ-a-yin[?] ⟨qutayγ-a⟩ (kituγ-a)-bar oytal [2a] *külil-ün qoor ada: bey-e(-yin) ǰedker tabun eliy-e eden-ü ǰüg yaryγ-a: :*

hûṃ bi kemebesü boyda heruka: mungqaγ-un ada todqar-i arilγayči burqan qurča kürdü(-ü) mese-i bariǰu: mungqaγ-un üile-eče boluγsan ada todqar-un siǰim(-ün) degesün-i oytalumui bi: :

hûṃ bi kemebesü bajar heruka: urin-u ada todqar-i arilγayči burqan: qurča včir-un mese(-yi bariǰu) urin-u üiles-eče boluγsan: ada todqar-un siǰim(-ün) degesün-i oytalumui [2b] *bi:*

hûṃ bi kemebesü ratn-a hêruka: omoγ degerügey-yin ada todqar-i arilγayči burqan: qurča erdeni-yin mese⟨-ber⟩(-yi bariǰu): omoγ degerügey-yin üiles-eče boluγsan: ada todqar-un siǰim(-ün) degesün-i oytalumui bi: :

hûṃ bi kemebesü badm-a hêruka: tačiyangγuy-yin ada todqar-i: arilγayči burqan: ⟨tačiy-a⟩ (qurča) linggu-a mese⟨-ber⟩(-yi bariǰu) tačiyangγuy-yin üiles-eče boluγsan: ada todqar-un siǰim-(ün) degesün-i oytalumui bi: :

[9] Spells are very important in dismissing evil influence. The *Qas qayurčay* gives: *aliba mayu iru-a bükün-i aruγči üsüg* "Spells for repressing evil pretents". Cf. Heissig—Bawden, *Danish Collection*, p. 169. Cf. Bawden, *Asia Major* 9 (1962), p. 161.

[10] G. Tucci, *Die Religionen Tibets und der Mongolei*. Stuttgart Berlin, Köln, Mainz 1970, pp. 226—227.

hûṃ bi kemebesü [3a] *karm-a hêruka : qaram nayi[d]angγuy-yin ada todqar-i arilγayči burqan : qurča ildün-ü mese⟨-ber⟩(-yi bariǰu) : qaram nayi-[d]angγuy-yin ⟨. . .⟩ (üiles-)eče boluγsan ada todqar-un siǰim(-ün) ḏegesün-i oγtalumui bi : :*

ôm črum-a brum :

hûṃ brum

daṁ brum ti brum : tegüsbe : ôṃ ā hûṃ : :

Translation

[1a] *Cutting off the Lasso*

[1b] When the Erlig, the ignorant *preta*s, the one-legged demon throw a lasso on man, the following texts are to be consulted : *White Lotus, Powerful Candan, Maruci, Miraculous Lotus, Goddess with the White Parasol.*

If a man is in question, throw (the lasso) on his left foot, if a woman is in question throw it on her left (foot).

While reading *Vajravidāranā* cut it, while reading *Prajñapāramaita* throw it.

The ransom figures must be the following ones : one red, one black, and one white ball must be prepared of pastry and they must be thrown away. Three phatom's striped rope with an iron hook — cut it with a [. . .] knife ! [2a] The evil of boundage, the hindrance of the body must be set out into the direction of these five malevolent spirits.

Hûm ! As far as I am concerned — I am Buddha-Heruka, the Buddha who removes the evil hindrance of ignorance. I held a sharp wheel-knife and with it I cut off the string of evil hindrance originating from ignorant actions.

Hûṃ ! As far as I am concerned — I am Vajra-Heruka, the Buddha who removes the evil hindrance of anger. I held a sharp *vajra*-knife and with it I cut off the string of evil hindrance originating from angry actions.

Hûṃ ! As far as I am concerned — I am Ratna-Heruka, the Buddha who removes the evil hindrance of haughtiness. I held a sharp jewel-knife and with it I cut off the string of evil hindrance originating from haughty actions.

Hûṃ ! As far as I am concerned — I am Padma-Heruka, the Buddha who removes the evil hindrance of passion. I held a sharp lotus-knife and with it I cut the string of evil hindrance originating from passionate actions.

Hûṃ ! As far as I am concerned — I am Karma-Heruka, the Buddha who removes the evil hindrance of greediness. I held the sharp sword-knife and with it I cut off the string of evil hindrance originating from greediness.

Ôṃ črum-a brum

Hûṃ brum dam brum ti brum

It has ended.

Ôṃ ā hûṃ : :

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OBSERVATIONS ON AVICENNA'S TREATISE ON PHONETICS

BY

ISTVÁN ORMOS

Introduction*

Avicenna deals with the production of the sounds of Arabic and some neighbouring languages in a short and succint treatise.[1] This treatise is not unknown to the world of science. It has appeared in several editions and translations,[2] and several articles have dealt with details of it or endeavoured to place it in the history of science, albeit with relatively modest results.[3] The

* I wish to express my thanks to my teacher and friend Tamás Iványi for his kind help and advice.

[1] Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Tārīḫ al-ḥukamā'*. Ed. Lippert. Leipzig 1903, p. 418; C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* Suppl. I. Leiden 1937, pp. 819—820; M.-M. Anawati, La tradition manuscrite orientale de l'œuvre d'Avicenne. *Revue Thomiste* No 47 (1951), p. 422; G. C. Anawati, Le manuscrit Nour Osmaniyye 4849. *MIDEO* 3 (1956), Nr. 10; Ibn Sīnā, *Maḫāriǧ al-ḥurūf*. Ed. P. N. Ḫānlarī. Teheran 1349[2] introduction.

[2] Ibn Sīnā, *Maḫāriǧ al-ḥurūf*. Ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ḫaṭīb. Cairo 1332; the German translation of this edition was published in Max Bravmann, *Materialien und Untersuchungen zu den phonetischen Lehren der Araber*. Göttingen 1934; Ibn Sīnā, *Maḫāriǧ al-ḥurūf*. Ed. P. N. Ḫānlarī. Teheran 1333, 1349[2], on the basis of additional manuscripts Ḫānlarī gives two independent versions of the *Treatise* with the Persian translation of the first version attached, he considers the first far superior to the second; *Arabic Phonetics, Ibn Sina's Risalah on the points of articulation of the speech-sounds* transl. by Kh. I. Semaan. Lahore 1963, Semaan gives the English translation of Ḫānlarī's first version; В. Г. Ахвледиани, *Фонетический трактат Авиценны, текст, перевод, исследования*. Тбилиси 1966, Akhvlediani reproduces Ḫānlarī's Arabic text of both versions with Russian translations attached; A. Bausani, *L'Enciclopedia dei Fratelli della Purità*. Napoli 1981, Bausani gives the Italian translation of Ḫānlarī's first version as an appendix to his paper.

[3] In addition to the introductions and essays accompanying the above editions and translations see M. A. Alarcón: *Precedentes islámicos de la fonética moderna* in *Homenaje ofrecido a Menéndez Pidal* (Madrid 1925), III, pp. 281—308; H. Blanc: *Les deux prononciations du Qaf d'après Avicenne* in *Arabica* 13 (1966), pp. 129—136; Kh. Semaan: *Linguistics in the Middle Ages, Phonetic Studies in Early Islam* (Leiden 1968); А. Павлова: *Авиценна о роли влаги в образовании аффрикат* in *Изв. АН Таджс ССР, отд. общ. наук* 1974 № 4; Ibrāhīm Anīs: *Ibn Sīnā wa-aṣwāt al-luġa* in *al-Aṣwāt al-Luġawīya* (Cairo 1975[5]),

lack of success can probably be attributed, at least partly, to the original and unusual character of the work : it skirts along the borderline between linguistics and medicine, and for that reason scholars have not succeeded in satisfactory interpreting certain passages of it, due to a lack of necessary investigations. What has been said about its place in general amounts to hardly more than a few commonplaces, in general amounts to hardly more than a few commonplaces. This paper seeks to make a contribution in this field : it examines singly Avicenna's theory of sound and voice production, and his views on the structure of the larynx and the tongue. The aim is to discover the roots of Avicenna's views and to compare them with those of his predecessors so as to arrive at a better assessment of Avicenna's contribution in these fields. This paper ranges over divergent fields and by following up the various standards should allow a better understanding of the work as a whole, while at the same time offering an opportunity to penetrate and appreciate the methods of a great mind. Moreover, it offers a glimpse into the relationship between Islamic and Hellenistic science in a particular, clearly defined area.

1. The production of physical sound

In the first chapter of the *Treatise*, Avicenna does not define physical sound (*ṣawt*), he merely states that undulation (*tamawwuǧ*) is its immediate/direct cause (*ʿilla qarība*). The undulation of air, on the other hand, may have two causes, these being the remote/indirect causes of sound (*ʿilla baʿīda*) : the striking (*qarʿ*) and the sudden separation (*qalʿ*) (of two bodies). Both phenomena bring about undulation, by compression of air or sudden displacement of it respectively. This is then passed on to the air inside the ear, inducing in it undulation that is perceived by the nerve which terminates on its surface.[4]

Avicenna also expounded his views on sounds in his other works. In his *Dāniš-nāmah*, the chapter on hearing is rather terse and it does not add any new facts to our knowledge;[5] the same holds true for the chapter on music in his famous *al-Naǧāt* too, where he merely deals with the problems of harmony.[6] On the other hand, he gives a more detailed exposition of his views in the

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pp. 136—153 ; В. Г. Ахведиани : *О языковедческом наследии Ибн Сины* in *Абу Али Ибн Сина, к 1000-летию со дня рождения* ed. М. Б. Баратов, П. Г. Булгаков, У. И. Каримов (Ташкент 1980), pp. 201—12 ; В. Г. Ахведиани : *Арабское языкознание средних веков* in *История лингвистических учений, Средневековый восток* (Ленинград 1981), pp. 53—95.

[4] Ibn Sīnā : *Maḫāriǧ* . . . ed. Ḫānlarī (Teheran 1349²), pp. 5—6. This edition of *Maḫāriǧ* . . . will be cited henceforth.

[5] Ibn Sīnā : *Книга знания* transl. А. М. Богоутдинов (Сталинабад 1957), pp. 260—1.

[6] *Ibn Sina's Musiklehre, hauptsächlich an seinem Nagat erläutert, nebst Übersetzung und Herausgabe des Musikabschnittes des Nagat* von Mahmud el-Hefny (Berlin 1931).

chapter on hearing in *De anima* in *al-Šifā'*,[7] in which we are chiefly concerned with his view on the exact nature of sound. Sound, he says, is produced by the striking (*qarʿ*) or the sudden separation (*qalʿ*) of bodies, by way of the undulation (*tamawwuǧ*) that ensues, although the sound itself is not identical either with the striking (*qarʿ*) or with the separation (*qalʿ*), nor is it true that it arises solely in the ear simultaneously with the sensation, for it has an independent existence to an extent, in that the direction from which a sound comes can also be discerned. Thus he finally arrives at the conclusion that sound (*ṣawt*) is a form of undulation, but not undulation itself.[8] It must also be taken into consideration that undulation does not mean the propagation of a given particle of air, but the transmission of the stroke by the individual particles to each other, although the ensuing undulation is fast.[9] In the chapters on music in *al-Šifā'*, he also deals mainly with problems of harmony; when in the introduction he touches on the nature of sound, he merely declares that it is not, of course, corpuscular, and on further problems refers the reader to his relevant works.[10]

That undulation is caused by the fast movement of air resulting from striking or separation is what he expounds in detail in *De anima*[11] and the *Treatise*,[12] but in the latter he finds it necessary to lay special emphasis on the fact that sudden separation (*qalʿ*) does not bring about sound by way of striking (*qarʿ*). This is evidently a piece of a polemic: "And if someone wished to suggest that sudden separation (*qalʿ*) caused a stroke (*qarʿ*) in the air and considered that as the cause of sound, well, we should not even need to bother to elucidate the weakness of that statement."[13] The available information has not allowed us to discover with whom exactly Avicenna was arguing here, which is unfortunate and would be of no small importance. The role of striking in sound production — as we shall see later — has been commonplace among writers on the subject from ancient times onwards, but to our knowledge no mention of sudden separation in this context can be traced before Avicenna. Further evidence can be adduced for supposing that the role of sudden separation in sound production was not generally accepted in Avicenna's time, at least not a role to the same extent as that of striking. In *De anima*, he considers the role of the two factors as equal, but in the *Treatise* he acknowledges the

[7] Ibn Sīnā: *al-Šifā'*, *al-Ṭabīʿīyāt* 6, *al-Nafs* ed. G. Anawati, S. Zāyid (Cairo 1975), pp. 70—76.

[8] *ka-hay'a min al-hay'āt li-l-tamawwuǧ ġayr nafs al-tamawwuǧ*, Ibn Sīnā: *al-Šifā'* . . ., p. 73.

[9] Ibn Sīnā: *al-Šifā'* . . ., p. 76.

[10] Baron Rodolphe d'Erlanger: *La musique arabe*. Vol. II, Paris 1935, pp. 108—111.

[11] Ibn Sīnā, *al-Šifā'* . . ., pp. 70—71, 74.

[12] Ibn Sīnā, *Maḥāriǧ* . . ., pp. 5—6.

[13] Ibn Sīnā, *Maḥāriǧ* . . ., p. 6.

superiority of striking,[14] and in *Dāniš-nāmah* the expression "sudden separation" does not even occur.[15] In the chapter on voice in the *Canon* there is only a cursory discussion of sound production that mentions only striking (*qarʿ*).[16] Chronologically speaking, the parts of *al-Šifā'* that deal with the natural sciences, including *De anima*, were written in Hamadan, while the *Treatise*, the *Dāniš-nāmah* and the *Canon* were composed later, in Isfahan.[17]

Avicenna regards undulation as consisting of particles[18] whose relationship to each other, their connectedness/continuity and smoothness/evenness respectively,[19] account for the height (*ḥidda*) of a sound, while its fragmentation and dispersion[20] account for its depth (*ṯiql*). In addition, undulation may acquire further outward forms (*modi*, states—*ḥāl*)[21] in accordance with the forms gained from the respective obstruent bodies, and all this results in the distinguishable articulated sounds (*ḥarf*). For that reason, sound at the same pitch may produce different acoustic effects. Articulated sound (*ḥarf*) is thus a form, the accident of physical sound.[22] Bus Avicenna does not go on to set out in any detail what he exactly means by the outward forms (*modi*, states—*ḥāl*)[21] acquired in accordance with the forms gained from the respective obstruent bodies. Could it be some further deformation of the sound waves?

The first chapter of the *Treatise* contains one more remark that we have to examine: "In both cases (i.e. striking and sudden separation) the air that moves away necessarily adapts itself to the form and wave that can be produced there."[23] This remark can perhaps be interpreted as follows: The shape, and consistency etc., of the bodies effecting the striking or sudden separation determine the quality (form?) of the sound wave that ensues (which, of course, consists of particles), thus sufficing to explain why different bodies emit different sounds.

[14] *wa-in kāna l-qarʿī ašadd inbisāṭan min al-qalʿī* (even though the undulation resulting from striking spreads more violently than that resulting from sudden separation), Ibn Sīnā, *Maḫāriǧ* . . ., p. 6.

[15] Ibn Sīnā, *Книга знания*, pp. 260—1.

[16] Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī l-Ṭibb*. Vol. II, Cairo 1294, p. 225.

[17] M.-M. Anawati, *La tradition* . . ., p. 413.

[18] Ibn Sīnā, *Maḫāriǧ* . . ., p. 7.

[19] *ittiṣāl aǧzā'ihī wa-tamallusuhā*, Ibn Sīnā, *Maḫāriǧ* . . ., p. 7.

[20] *tašaẓẓīhā wa-tašaḏḏubuhā*, Ibn Sīnā, *Maḫāriǧ* . . ., p. 7.

[21] A. M. Goichon, *Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sina*. Paris 1938, No 198; R. Eisler, K. Roretz, *Wörterbuch der philosophischen Begriffe*. Vol. II, Berlin 1929, pp. 160—161; A. Lalande, *Vocabulaire technique et critique de la philosophie*. Paris 1960, pp. 638—639.

[22] *wa-l-ḥarf hay'a li-l-ṣawt ʿāriḍa lahū*, Ibn Sīnā, *Maḫāriǧ* . . ., p. 7.

[23] *wa-fī l-amrayni ǧamīʿan yalzamu l-mutabāʿid min al-hawā' an yanqāda li-l-šakl wa-l-mawǧ al-wāqiʿ hunāka*, Ibn Sīnā, *Maḫāriǧ* . . ., p. 6.

As for sound qualities, Avicenna speaks in the *Treatise* only of the pair mentioned above: high (*ḥādd*) and low (*ṭaqīl*), but in *De anima* he lists other pairs as well: soft/loud (*ḫāfit*/*ǧahīr*), hard/smooth (*ṣulb*/*amlas*), and penetrating/dense (*mutaḫallil*/*mutakāṭif*), etc.[24] He subjects the sound qualities to more detailed treatment in the chapters on music in *al-Šifā'*.[25] First, he distinguishes between intense and weak, high and low sounds, and then he elaborates on the latter, because that is the main object of harmony . . . (Here he discusses sound qualities mainly in terms of stringed and wind instruments.) Pitch, he points out, is a relative concept, for a sound can only be termed high or low in relation to another sound, so that the same sound may be either high or low in relation to two different sounds. Examining the immediate/direct causes of these qualities, he finds that high sounds are produced if the sound-producing body is small, its particles are cohesive, the force moving the body is strong, the surface is smooth, the layers of the sound-wave are cohesive, and the body struck is hard, short and tight, and in the case of wind instruments if the size of the holes is small and they are near to the mouth-piece. Low sounds are produced in the opposite cases. He remarks that some of these variables are easy to measure (e.g. the length of a string), while others are not (e.g. the degree of cohesion of particles). He suggests the latter may be measured with the help of pitch, if the other variables are kept constant.

If we want, in view of all this, to determine the sources and place of Avicenna's theory of sound, it can be said that he has followed ancient traditions in every respect. The role of striking in sound production appears in practically every author from the Presocratic Archytas[26] onwards, whereas it was the Stoics who first compared the propagation of sound with that of the waves caused by a stone thrown into a pond, the difference being that the waves generated on a water surface travel in one plane and so are circular, whereas sound travels in space and so the waves are spherical.[27] Two of the sound qualities can be interpreted unambiguously: high and low (*ὀξύς*/*βαρύς* = sharp/heavy). This pair can also be traced as far as Archytas[26] and occurs in every author. Aristotle, for instance, attributes its origin to a comparison with the sense of touch.[28]

Roughly that much is common to the sound theories of Antiquity. There was a large diversity of views regarding the exact nature, causes and importance

[24] Ibn Sīnā, *al-Šifā'* . . ., p. 76.

[25] d'Erlanger, *La musique* . . . Vol. II, pp. 111–114.

[26] H. Diels, W. Kranz, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*. Vol. I, Berlin 1956[8], 47 B 1.

[27] J. v. Arnim, *Stoicorum veterum fragmenta*. Stuttgart 1964, e.g. II 425, II 872; H. G. Farmer attributes this falsely to the Arabs, H. G. Farmer, *Music* in *The Legacy of Islam*. Ed. Th. Arnold, A. Guillaume. London 1931, p. 367.

[28] *De an.* 420 a–b.

of these phenomena: how striking relates to sound, whether or not they are identical, whether the former causes the latter, what sound is, what the nature of it is, and whether or not it is corporeal;[29] from the Stoics onwards the same questions arise with regard to undulation. Authors usually agree on the existence of a certain relationship between a high pitch and fast, intense movement, and between a low pitch and slow or weak movement, but on the specific details of this relationship they espouse widely differing views. Moreover, they distinguish a number of other sound qualities[30] that elude precise definition, because they are based on rather impressionistic notions (e.g. λευκός bright, white).[31]

The problem of analyzing ancient sound theories is made somewhat elusive by the fact that ancient authors never expounded their ideas unambiguously on many details and that contradictory ideas can be found in different works by the same author. This may perhaps be because their lack of adequate tools for experiment meant they had an insufficient quantity of data about numerous details, which meant they had to fall back on speculations.[32]

Returning to Avicenna, it can be said that the central terms in his theory (*qarʿ*, *tamawwuǧ*, *ḥādd*, *ṭaqīl*) are undoubtedly translations of their Greek equivalents, and that his whole theory has been taken over from the Greeks as an integral whole. Only for sudden separation (*qalʿ*) have we been unable to find a Greek equivalent, nor does the term occur in al-Fārābī, Avicenna's direct predecessor in this field (see below). Yet this idea of his fits organically into the system taken over from ancient science. As has been seen, the use of the term in Avicenna's works has yet to achieve the stability of usage found in the case of the other terms, although the polemical tone would suggest the idea had not perhaps been entirely unknown at the time, whether or not it was Avicenna's own invention. One English traveller seems to have been familiar with the idea by the early 12th century. Adelard of Bath made extensive journeys in Italy and the Middle East, where he mainly devoted his attention

[29] e.g. Lucretius, *De rerum natura*. IV 524—527.

[30] see for instance Aristotle's relevant works.

[31] Aristotle *Top.* 107 a.

[32] cf. J. I. Beare, *Greek Theories of Elementary Cognition from Alcmaeon to Aristotle*. Oxford 1906, esp. pp. 93—131 (I owe this reference to Kornél Steiger); H. B. Gottschalk, De audibilibus and peripatetic acoustics. In: *Hermes* 96 (1968), pp. 435—460; F. V. Hunt, *Origins in Acoustics*. New Haven—London 1978, pp. 1—72; G. Panconcelli-Calzia, *Die Phonetik des Aristoteles*. Hamburg 1942; S. Sambursky, *The physical world of the Greeks*. London 1956, *Physics of the Stoics*. London 1959, *The physical world of late antiquity*. London 1962, *Der Weg der Physik*. München 1978; H. Riemann, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*. Vol. I, Leipzig 1904; the commentaries in Aristoteles, *Über die Seele* transl. W. Theiler. Berlin 1959, *Problemata physica*. Transl. H. Flashar, Berlin 1962, *De audibilibus*. Transl. U. Klein Berlin 1972; Ritoók Zs., *Források az ókori görög zeneesztétika történetéhez* [Ancient sources to the history of the Greek music-aesthetics]. Budapest 1982.

to Arabic works on mathematics. After his return to England (between 1111 and 1116) he wrote a work entitled *Quaestiones Naturales*, which is strongly reminiscent of Plato's dialogues. In it he writes on sound: "Just as when I form a sound by impelling the air from me, . . . so when I draw the air inwards, and withdraw it violently from others, it is . . . perceived."[33]

A better vantage point for determining the exact extent of Avicenna's contribution to the theory of sound can be obtained by examining the views of his predecessor, al-Fārābī († 339/950). When two bodies strike against one another, he says, the air particles between them are compressed and slip away (*yanḍaġiṭu, yanfalitu*), just as pearls slip from between one's fingers when pressed together. Sound is produced if the compressed air is dense and cohesive.[34] This movement or state is then passed on from one particle of air to the other, until it reaches the air in the ear.[35] At this juncture he does not talk of undulation, nor does he define sound, merely writing that 1). sound is produced if the air is compressed under the impact of a stroke, 2). the air carries the sound,[36] and 3). the compression spreads to the air in the ear, which is in contact with the sensory organ so that in this way man can hear it.[37] The expression "sound" does not occur. Al-Fārābī is familiar with the expressions "vibration" and "undulation" (*ihtizāz, tamawwaǧa*) and uses them elsewhere.[38] In his opinion, a high sound is produced if the cohesion of the air is considerable,[39] and all the other, secondary causes (velocity, and alteration of volume, etc.) can be traced back to this, through which they exert their influence.[40]

Finally, it can be stated that like al-Fārābī, Avicenna continues ancient traditions in the field of the theory of sound, but that both deal with these questions more precisely and at greater length than ancient authors. Even so, they are still unable to define sound, although they show evidence of having made numerous astute observations on the subject. In Avicenna, one new factor is sudden separation (*qalʿ*). Al-Fārābī defines the causes of pitch better

[33] Hunt: *Origins . . .*, p. 62., after Müller's edition of the text in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters* Bd. 31, Heft 2 (Münster 1934), p. 25^{33-37}.

[34] *wa-matā nabā l-hawā' min bayn al-qāriʿ wa-l-maqrūʿ muǧtamiʿan muttaṣil al-aǧzā' ḥadaṯa ḥīna'iḏin ṣawt*, al-Fārābī: *Kitāb al-Mūsīqī al-Kabīr* ed. M. A. al-Ḥifnī (Cairo n.d.), p. 213.

[35] al-Fārābī: *Kitāb . . .*, p. 214.

[36] *wa-inna l-hawā' llaḏī yanbū min al-maqrūʿ huwa llaḏī yaḥmilu l-ṣawt*, al-Fārābī: *Kitāb . . .*, p. 214.

[37] *wa-hawā' al-ṣimāḫ mulāqin li-l-ʿuḍw allaḏī fīhi l-qūwa llatī bihā yusmaʿu fa-yata 'addā ḏālika ilā l-qūwa fa-yasmaʿuhū l-insān*, al-Fārābī: *Kitāb . . .*, p. 214.

[38] e.g. al-Fārābī: *Kitāb . . .*, p. 584.

[39] *šadīd al-iǧtimāʿ*, al-Fārābī: *Kitāb . . .*, p. 216.

[40] al-Fārābī: *Kitāb . . .*, pp. 216—219.

than the ancients, and by comparison with him, Avicenna brings hardly anything new. On the other hand, Avicenna's views on the nature of sound seem to be more successful than al-Fārābī's.

2. The production of voice (phonation)

Let us first of all consider what Avicenna writes on the production of voice in the *Treatise*: unfortunately rather little. He states that articulated sound (*ḥarf*) is a form (*hay'a*) of (physical) sound (*ṣawt*) in general, it is the accident (*ʿāriḍa*) of it: the mode/state (*ḥāl*)[21] of undulation, which manifests itself through the forms acquired from the obstruent bodies, results in articulated sound (*ḥarf*).[41] So what is the relationship between the wave and the sound? Avicenna says that undulation itself results in sound.[42] Further enunciations must be taken into consideration: 1). The mode/state (*ḥāl*)[21] of undulation itself that comes from the continuity and evenness of its particles or the fragmentation and dispersion of them, results in height and depth respectively.[43] 2). In reality a proportion of the articulated sounds are simple and produced by the complete obstruction of sound or sound-producing air.[44] This can be interpreted in the following way: undulation, which is capable of producing sound, (though not identical with it), can produce a sound with a high or a low pitch according to the cohesion of its particles, and this for its part can be subjected to further modifications according to the obstruent bodies so that finally articulated sound (*ḥarf*) is produced. The first part of the phrase " . . . the complete obstruction of sound or sound-producing air"[45] could mean that obstruent bodies merely modify the sound that already exists, but the second part of the phrase, on the other hand, seems to imply that the role of the obstruent bodies is not limited merely to modifying the sound, that it is they which produce the sound itself. Let us see which of the two interpretations is corroborated in a broader context and by Avicenna's system of views in general.

[41] *wa-ammā ḥāl al-tamawwuǧ min ǧihat al-hay'āt allatī yastafīduhā min al-maḫāriǧ wa-l-maḫābis fī maslakihī fa-yafʿalu l-ḥarf wa-l-ḥarf hay'a li-l-ṣawt ʿāriḍa lahū*, Ibn Sīnā: *Maḫāriǧ* . . ., p. 7.

[42] *ammā nafs al-tamawwuǧ fa-innahū yafʿalu l-ṣawt*, Ibn Sīnā: *Maḫāriǧ* . . ., p. 7.

[43] *wa-ammā ḥāl al-tamawwuǧ fī nafsihī min ittiṣāl aǧzā'ihī wa-tamallusihā aw tašaẓẓīhā wa-tašaḏḏubihā fa-yafʿalu l-ḥidda wa-l-ṯiql*, Ibn Sīnā: *Maḫāriǧ* . . ., p. 7.

[44] *wa-l-ḥurūf baʿḍuhā fī l-ḥaqīqa mufrada wa-ḥudūṯuhā min ḥabasāt tāmma li-l-ṣawt aw li-l-hawā' al-fāʿil li-l-ṣawt*, Ibn Sīnā, *Maḫāriǧ* . . ., p. 7.

[45] *ḥabasāt tāmma li-l-ṣawt aw li-l-hawā' al-fāʿil li-l-ṣawt*, Ibn Sīnā, *Maḫāriǧ* . . ., p. 7.

The *Treatise* contains no explicit statement on the place of sound production or on whether anything beyond articulated sound (*ḥarf*) is produced at all. The *Treatise* only takes account of processes that occur in the oral cavity, apart from *hamza*, *hā'*, *ʿayn* and *ḫā'*, which are produced in the larynx.[46] Nevertheless, the *Treatise* devotes a separate, detailed chapter to the structure of the larynx, and obviously this cannot be attributed merely to its role in the production of these sounds, but to the fact that ever since Aristotle, and especially since Galen, the larynx has been regarded as the principal organ of sound production.[47] This is proved by Avicenna himself, who writes in the chapter on voice in the *Canon*, "Sound (*ṣawt*) is produced by the muscles at the larynx . . . its organ is the larynx and the body resembling the tongue of a pipe and it is its real organ, the other organs being merely senders (i.e. of the air) and helpers. The senders of its material are the diaphragm and the thoracic muscles, the propellers of its material are the lungs and its material is the air, which then undulates at the larynx."[48] It is rather puzzling that Avicenna, who here regards the body resembling the tongue of a pipe, next to the larynx, as the principal organ of sound production, does not even mention it in the *Treatise* although he gives there a detailed description of the organs of sound production. What then is this body and why does it not appear in the *Treatise?*

The *Canon* deals with the structure of the larynx in three places: 1). The anatomy of the muscles of the larynx,[49] 2). The anatomy of the larynx, the trachea and the lungs,[50] and 3). The voice.[51] In 1)., although he gives an exhaustive description of the anatomy of the larynx, he does not mention the body resembling the tongue of a pipe. But in 2). and 3). he does, so let us see whether we can find out what he is writing about.

In 2). he says, "The body called the tongue of a pipe has been created for the purpose of sound production; the end of the trachea becomes narrow at it, then broadens at the larynx: it starts from breadth towards narrowness, then towards broad space again, just as in a pipe; it is indispensable for sound production that the stricture becomes narrow and the task of this body, which resembles the tongue of a pipe, is that it becomes constricted and is then

[46] Ibn Sīnā, *Maḫāriǧ* . . ., pp. 15–16.

[47] E.g. *De an.* 420 b; *De part. an.* 664 a–b; *De hist. an.* 535 a; Aristoteles, *De audibilibus*. Transl. U. Klein. Berlin 1972, p. 284 (commentary to 167, 32).

[48] *al-ṣawt fāʿiluhu l-ʿaḍal allatī ʿinda l-ḥanǧara . . . wa-ālatuhū l-ḥanǧara wa-l-ǧism al-šabīh bi-lisān al-mizmār wa-hiya l-āla l-ūlā l-ḥaqīqīya wa-sā'ir al-ālāt bawāʿit wa-muʿīnāt wa-bāʿiṯ māddatihī l-ḫiǧāb waʿaḍal al-ṣadr wa-mu'addī māddatihī l-ri'a wa-māddatuhū l-hawā' alladī yumawwaǧu ʿinda l-ḥanǧara*, Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn* . . . Vol. II, p. 225.

[49] *faṣl . . . fī tašrīḥ ʿaḍal al-ḥanǧara*, Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn* . . . Vol. I, pp. 43–44.

[50] *faṣl fī tašrīḥ al-ḥanǧara wa-l-qaṣaba wa-l-ri'a*, Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn* . . . . Vol. II, pp. 208–210.

[51] *al-maqāla . . . fī l-ṣawt*, Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn* . . . . Vol. II, pp. 225–226.

blown, so that the stroke (effecting a) sound is produced."[52] The same term figures a few lines lower, but this reference, however, is rather laconic: "The larynx is an organ of phonation and breath retention, in whose interior is situated the body resembling the tongue of a pipe; it is like an outgrowth resembling the head of a pipe, and sound is produced by it."[53]

The third place is rather laconic, and has been cited above.[48] The phrase that concerns us here is, "Its organ is the larynx and the body resembling the tongue of a pipe and it is its real organ." This passage is problematic since the larynx *and* the body resembling the tongue of a pipe appear as the organ of phonation. The coordinating conjunction does not exclude the possibility of an interpretation according to which this body is part of the larynx, but it does not corroborate it either. The relationship of the larynx and this body remains unclear. Perhaps the most probable and plausible interpretation would be for the body that resembles the tongue of a pipe not to be part of the larynx, and for the two together to figure as the organ of phonation. This is suggested by the use of the singular in *ālatuhū*. In the rest of the sentence, however, the larynx alone appears as the organ of phonation — the pronoun *hiya* undoubtedly refers to *ḥanǧara* alone.

That is all that Avicenna says about the body resembling the tongue of a pipe. This organ of such paramount importance in phonation cannot be identified on the basis of these items of information, and it is rather disturbing that so distinguished an author should not have mentioned it elsewhere, seeing that in one place he attributed such importance to it.

So let us see if we can discover the term in Avicenna's immediate predecessors. Al-Maǧūsī, who died probably in the last quarter of the 4th/10th century,[54] also mentions it in the chapter on the larynx in *al-Kitāb al-Malakī*: "... so that the thing which results from the assembly of these three cartilages is hollow, like a tube inside which there is a pipe; the air passes through it towards the trachea and the lungs;[55] inside the cavity of the larynx, through which the air travels inwards and outwards, there is a body resembling the tongue of a pipe in form, and this body should not be compared to the tongue

[52] *wa-ḫuliqa li-aǧl al-taṣwīt al-šay' alladī yusammā lisān al-mizmār yataḍāyaqu ʿindahū ṭaraf al-qaṣaba ṭumma yattasiʿu ʿinda l-ḥanǧara fa-yabtadiʾu min saʿa ilā ḍīq ṭumma ilā faḍāʾ wāsiʿ kamā fī l-mizmār fa-lā budda li-l-ṣawt min taḍyīq al-maḫbas wa-hāḏā l-ǧirm al-šabīh bi-lisān al-mizmār min šaʾnihī an yanḍamma wa-yunfaḫa li-yakūna bi-ḏālika qarʿ al-ṣawt*, Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn* .... Vol. II, p. 209.

[53] *wa-ammā l-ḥanǧara fa-innahā āla li-tamām al-ṣawt wa-li-taḥabbus al-nafas wa-fī dāḫilihā l-ǧirm al-šabīh bi-lisān al-mizmār ... wa-huwa miṯl al-zāʾida llatī tušābihu raʾs al-mizmār fa-yatimmu bihī l-ṣawt*, Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn* ... Vol. II, p. 209.

[54] F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*. Vol. III. Leiden 1970, pp. 320–322: M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*. Leiden 1970, pp. 140–147.

[55] al-Maǧūsī, *Kāmil al-Ṣināʿa fī l-Ṭibb*. Cairo 1294, pp. 103–104; P. de Koning, *Trois Traités d'Anatomie Arabes*. Leiden 1903, pp. 324–327.

of a pipe, rather the tongue of a pipe should be compared to it, since Nature precedes art. This body does not resemble anything in the members of the body in its substance, because its substance is such as if it consisted of fat, membrane and glands, and this body is called the cover of the larynx (i.e. the epiglottis) and the tongue of it. It is the foremost organ of phonation and it is impossible to produce a sound until the passage of the larynx becomes covered, so that no sound at all can be produced when the passage of the larynx is open."[56] Here he first mentions that the tongue is situated inside the cavity of the larynx, and then we are informed that this body is called the epiglottis, and that in any case this body is the foremost organ of phonation. This is rather perplexing, since the epiglottis is not situated inside the cavity of the larynx at all. Of course the difficulty can be explained away by the supposition that al-Mağūsī defined the larynx differently. However, the epiglottis can only close the larynx, which in al-Mağūsī's view is absolutely necessary for phonation if it bends over the entrance of it completely.[57] He continues, "In phonation it is necessary for a large quantity of air to ascend with a forceful impulse from the chest and for its passage in the larynx to be narrow: it begins with a wide passage, which becomes narrow and then gradually wide again."[58] In the case of the epiglottis this can be interpreted as meaning that the epiglottis closes the entrance of the larynx by moving slowly up and down, with a function resembling that of a beating reed (*Aufschlagzunge*),[59] though the term "slowly" does not really corroborate this interpretation, since the movement of the tongue of a pipe is in fact very fast, not slow. Further on he says, "On both sides of this body Nature has made an orifice that leads into a large cavity. So long as the air leaves and enters through a broad passage, nothing reaches this cavity from the air. But if the passage of the air becomes obstructed and remains blocked, the air bursts vehemently towards both sides of the epiglottis and opens the two orifices, which have been closed by the union of their lips. These two orifices on both sides of the epiglottis are elongated from above downwards."[60] This is a fairly exact description of the laryngeal ventricles (at least in certain species of animal), except for the position ascribed, since

[56] al-Mağūsī, *Kāmil* . . . Vol. I, p. 104.

[57] contrary to accepted views it does not happen even during deglutition in man, as opposed to certain species of animals (e.g. chimpanzee), see D. Falk, Comparative anatomy of the larynx in man and the chimpanzee: implications for language in Neanderthal. *Amer. Jour. Phys. Anthrop.* 43 (1975), pp. 123—132.

[58] *wa-ammā kawn al-ṣawt fa-yuḥtāğu fīhi ilā an yaṣ'ada min al-ṣadr hawā' kaṯīr daf'atan wa-an yakūna maslakuhū fī l-ḥanğara ma'a ḍīq fa-yabtadi'a min sa'at al-mağrā ilā ḍīq ṯumma ilā sa'a qalīlan qalīlan*, al-Mağūsī, *Kāmil* . . . . Vol. I, p. 104.

[59] see *Aufschlagzunge* in C. Sachs, *Handbuch der Musikinstrumentenkunde*. Leipzig 1930², p. 319.

[60] al-Mağūsī, *Kāmil* . . . . . Vol. I, p. 104.

these two orifices are situated on both sides of the vocal chords and not at the epiglottis.[61] Could *ṭabaq al-ḥanǧara* then denote something other than epiglottis? He then goes on to say, "Nature has made the epiglottis (*ṭabaq al-ḥanǧara*) as a lid for the orifice of it (i.e. the larynx), so that it stands erect before the animal breathes. If the animal swallows something, it first falls on the root of the epiglottis, then passes on along the back of it, meanwhile forcing the epiglottis to cleave to and fall on the adit of the larynx."[62] This reference is undoubtedly to the epiglottis. And there is another perturbing phrase: "The use of the epiglottis manifests itself not only in phonation, but also in the retention of breath."[63] To our present-day knowledge, the epiglottis has nothing to do with either of these functions, but this description is in keeping with the preceding passage, which attributes major importance to the epiglottis in the process of phonation.[56]

To summarize al-Maǧūsī's view, one can say he identified the body that resembles the tongue of a pipe with the epiglottis in general, and attributed to it a decisive role in phonation.[64] It is remarkable that this description includes numerous precise observations of details, although it exhibits gross misunderstandings in some places about the arrangement of these details into larger units. In some passages, al-Maǧūsī's wording is almost identical with Avicenna's, although the broader context may be somewhat different. For instance, Avicenna says, "The body called the tongue of a pipe has been created for the purpose of sound production; the end of the trachea becomes narrow at it then broadens at the larynx: it starts from breadth towards narrowness, then toward broad space again, just as in a pipe."[52] Al-Maǧūsī puts it, "In phonation it is necessary for a large quantity of air to ascend with a forceful impulse from the chest and for its passage in the larynx to be narrow: it begins with a wide passage, which becomes narrow and then gradually wide again."[58] It is worth mentioning that while al-Maǧūsī identifies the body that resembles the tongue of a pipe with the epiglottis, this identification is completely lacking in Avicenna. Nevertheless, it is impossible to discover what Avicenna really meant by this organ. There is nothing to suggest that Avicenna ever attributed to the epiglottis any role in phonation.

The anatomy of al-Rāzī, the first book of his *al-Kitāb al-Manṣūrī*, offers no clue to interpreting this term. It recurs several times in his work,

[61] cf. M. T. May, *Galen On the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body* (Ithaca, New York 1968), vol. I, p. 359, fn. 45—46.

[62] al-Maǧūsī: *Kāmil* . . ., vol. I, pp. 104—105.

[63] al-Maǧūsī: *Kāmil* . . ., vol. I, p. 104.

[64] It may be of some relevance here that in the description of laryngeal closure he uses a verb that is homoradical with the epiglottis: *wa-l-ṣawt lā yumkinu an yakūna ḥattā yanṭabiqu maǧrā l-ḥanǧara*, al-Maǧūsī: *Kāmil* . . ., vol. I, p. 104.

but he says nothing else about it except that it takes part in phonation.[65] His *al-Ḥāwī* is of no avail in this respect, either. The term occurs in it a number of times, but only in enumerations, without closer definition.

One must therefore conclude that identification of the organ is impossible on the basis of available Arabic works and that its role in phonation cannot be cleared up either.

But this problem can be solved in the following way. All these descriptions stem from Chapters 11 and 13 of Book VII of Galen's *De usu partium*, with frequent verbatim quotations.[66] Although the term "the tongue of a pipe" occurs in Aristotle,[66a] Aeschines,[66b] and Theophrastus,[66c] yet it is Galen who compares the intralaryngeal body to it: "It resembles the tongue of a pipe."[67] He does not explain in detail what exactly he means by this, but instead refers the reader to his *De voce*, where he has already given a detailed account of this body. This cross-reference is given since *De usu partium* does not aim to provide a minute description of the structure and function of each organ, especially if such a description is available elsewhere, but to demonstrate the utility and purpose of the structure of the human body and Nature's invariable application of the most expedient solution, even though it may not be obviously so at first sight. This latter aspect in particular constitutes the object of his interest in the work.[68] Unfortunately his *De voce* has been lost, for the Pseudogalenic *De voce et hanelitu* does not derive from Galen himself and does not include a detailed description of this body.[69] In none of his extant works does Galen give a detailed exposition of this organ and what this simile exactly means. Invariably he merely refers to *De voce*, so that one can only conjecture about the simile's meaning on the basis of his views.

It seemed worthwhile finding out exactly how a pipe (*αὐλός*) may have looked and to what part of it the term "the tongue of a pipe" (*ἡ γλῶσσα τοῦ αὐλοῦ*) may have been applied, since that would allow one to infer how the body to which Galen compared it may have looked as well. Unfortunately further difficulties must be faced in this as well. On the basis of relevant writings it is impossible to decide unambiguously exactly how an *αὐλός* may have looked, but on the basis of the data in Galen and Aristotle,[66a] and the comments

[65] de Koning: *Trois . . .*, p. 56.

[66] de Koning: *Trois . . .*, brings most of them in the apparatus.

[66a] Hist. an. 565a 24; De audib. 801b 33, 38; 802b 19.

[66b] Orationes 3, 229.

[66c] Hist. plant. IV, 11, 4. etc.

[67] *ἔοικε μὲν οὖν αὐλοῦ γλώττῃ*, Galeni *Opera omnia* ed. C. G. Kühn (Leipzig 1821—33), III 561. (This edition will henceforth be cited as K.)

[68] K III 562

[69] H. Baumgarten: *Galen Über die Stimme* (Göttingen 1962), I; *Sieben Bücher Anatomie des Galen* ed. M. Simon (Leipzig 1906), vol. II, pp. 283—286, No 274.

of Klein,[69a] Howard[70] and Baumgarten[71] one would conclude that the term in all probability denoted a pipe, whose mouthpiece consisted of a double reed (*Doppelrohrblatt*), the term *ἡ γλῶσσα τοῦ αὐλοῦ* denoting the mouthpiece itself,[72] in other words not a beating reed (*Aufschlagzunge*) as al-Maǧūsī's description would suggest. *Mizmār* is attested to be a double reed-pipe in 19th c. Egypt,[73] but we have found no grounds to say whether the instrument *mizmār* has a part called a *lisān* or not, i.e. whether or not the word is a technical one in Arabic. In any case, the term "tongue" (*ἡ γλῶσσα*) at first sight suggests more a beating reed than the mouthpiece of a double reed-pipe.

The question is which organ Galen compared to the mouthpiece of a pipe, and the answer is that it can only designate the bodies that border on the glottis. Thus Galen was on the brink of describing the vocal chords, without ever taking the final step.

Much is known about Galen's view on the production of human voice. As a result of the movement of thoracal and intercostal muscles, air is pushed vehemently out of the lungs ;[74] on the air's way towards the larynx, the trachea provides a preliminary regulation and preparation of the voice for the larynx,[75] owing to its cartilaginous consistency,[76] which is just suited for phonation. The air then reaches the primary organ of phonation, the larynx, which happens to be cartilaginous too. When leaving the larynx, the voice (*ἡ φωνή*) is amplified by the palate, which acts as a sounding board,[77] and the uvula, which acts as a plectrum.[78] The voice thus amplified is then turned into articulate speech by the impact of the tongue, but the teeth, lips, nose, palate, uvula and frenum also contribute to the effect.[79] Galen points out several times that the tongue is

[69a] Aristoteles: *Werke in deutscher Übersetzung*, Bd. 18 *Opuscula*, I. *Mirabilia*, transl. by H. Flashar, II. *De audibilibus*, transl. by U. Klein (Berlin 1972), pp. 248—249.

[70] A. A. Howard: *The αὐλός or Tibia* in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 4 (1983), pp. 1—60.

[71] Baumgarten: Galen . . ., pp. 147—172. (Baumgarten has not seen Howard: *The αὐλός*, see p. 166, fn. 147.)

[72] see further Sachs: *Handbuch* . . ., pp. 319—322; C. Sachs: *Real-Lexikon der Musikinstrumente* (Berlin 1913), p. 23 (*Aulos*), p. 117 (*Doppelrohrblatt*), p. 275 (*Oboe*), pp. 428—429 (*Zamr*). However, in Becker's view the mouthpiece of the aulos consisted of a beating reed, see H. Becker: *Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der antiken und mittelalterlichen Rohrblattinstrumente* (Hamburg 1966), esp. p. 52.

[73] E. W. Lane, *An Arabic—English Lexicon*. London 1863—93, s. v.

[74] *De loc. aff.* K VIII 271; *Def. med.* K XIX 380—1; *De praecogn.* K XIV 629; *De usu p.* K III 525.

[75] *De usu p.* K III 525.

[76] K III 521—2.

[77] *ὁ μὲν οὐρανίσκος οἷον ἠχεῖόν τι προκείμενος* K III 526.

[78] K III 526.

[79] *De loc. aff.* K VIII 271—2.

not an organ of phonation, and that its task is the formation of speech.[80] Elsewhere he remarks on the uvula's function that it contributes to the beauty of the voice and to its volume.[81] But the crucial problem unfortunately remains unsolved: what exactly happens in the larynx? Galen talks of striking, of the importance of the appropriate rigidity of the laryngeal cartilages[82] and of the importance of the narrowing of the larynx followed by its broadening.[83] Further on, he talks of the unique intralaryngeal organ, the *ἡ γλῶσσα τοῦ αὐλοῦ*. In connection with the exact way sound is produced, he always refers to *De voce*, where he has already given an exhaustive analysis of the whole subject. Since this work has been lost, one can only conjecture about his view on the exact way sound is produced, on the basis of his other relevant views.[84] In any case, one suspects that Galen had no unambiguous, comprehensive theory about this either. (It is not clear, either, how the trachea provides a preliminary regulation and preparation for the larynx and how the uvula contributes to the beauty and volume of the voice.) The frequent occurrence of the term "the tongue of a pipe" suggests that he attributed to the larynx something like what happens in a pipe, but such a view cannot be squared with the passage, where he says that during phonation, the striking takes place between the air and the laryngeal cartilages,[85] since the laryngeal cartilages are not the same as the glottis. A similar difficulty arises when one tries to reconcile what he says about the relationship between phonation and about the convenient rigidity of the cartilages, with the description of the consistency of the glottis.

Several authors before Galen dealt with phonation, notably Aristotle and Ptolemy, and they usually regarded the cartilaginous part of the larynx as the organ of phonation where the air is struck, without however entering into detail on the matter, or one finds numerous contradictory statements due to the insufficiency of their knowledge of anatomy. For that reason, we shall refrain from discussing them. Galen was certainly the first to command a sovereign knowledge of the structure of the larynx and of the human body in general. (He is known to have done much dissection, at least on animals, and at the same time he probably inherited part of his erudition from predecessors of his, about whom nothing has come down to us. Their names are cited by him a number of times.) Galen was the first to have sufficient anatomical information at his disposal to create an elaborate theory of sound production.

[80] *τὴν γλῶτταν δὲ οὐ φωνητικὸν, ἀλλὰ διαλεκτικὸν ὄργανον ἴσμεν οὖσαν, In Hippocr. praedict. libr. I. comm. I.* K XVI 510; *De loc. aff.* K VIII *Comm. I. in Hippocr. de humor.* K XVI 204—5; *Sieben Bücher . . .*, vol. I, p. 265, vol. II, p. 192.

[81] *ὡς εἰς μέγεθος καὶ κάλλος αὐτῇ συντελεῖ, De usu p.* K III 888.

[82] *De usu p.* K III 522.

[83] *De usu p.* K III 561—2; cf. Baumgarten, *Galen . . .*, pp. 165—70.

[84] cf. Baumgarten, *Galen . . .*, pp. 147—95.

[85] *De praecogn.* K XIV 630.

It was he, too, who first used the term *ἡ γλῶσσα τοῦ αὐλοῦ* in the description of the larynx.

Let us now return to Avicenna, and to the Arab authors in general. On the basis of the available information, it can be definitely stated that the Arabic term *lisān al-mizmār* is a translation of the Galenic *ἡ γλῶσσα τοῦ αὐλοῦ*. This statement is corroborated by the fact that nearly all the occurrences of this term are in literal borrowings from Galen's *De usu partium*. However, the uncertainty that can be discerned in the Arab authors examined so far, leads one to conclude that 1). they did not really understand the meaning of the term and 2). were also unfamiliar with the exact structure of the larynx. Their descriptions amount merely to excerpts from the relevant parts of Galen's *De usu partium*. Had they had a thorough knowledge of the structure of the larynx, they would have correctly identified the organ designated by the term *lisān al-mizmār*, or they would have avoided using it at all. Further conclusions may also be drawn. Since nothing on phonation contained in Arabic works examined so far goes beyond what can be found in *De usu partium*, and since it is also known for sure that Galen's *De voce* was translated (in fact twice) into Arabic,[86] either the Arabs must have been familiar with *De voce*, which therefore contained no more on phonation than *De usu partium*, or they were unfamiliar with it, the Arabic translations of it having been lost. The latter is more probable, since Galen does not hesitate to say a number of times that he has dealt with the problems of phonation in detail in his *De voce*, and on the basis of his extant works he can be considered a fairly reliable if loquacious and self-confident author, so there is absolutely nothing to suggest the contrary. It is also remarkable that Galen discusses the structure of the larynx in detail from a completely different point of view in his *De anat. adm.*, of which the relevant part is extant only in Arabic translation. The Arab authors do not seem to have known this work either, which seems not to have been in circulation.[87] (Ḥunayn uses a different terminology in his translation of *De anat. adm.*, of which there is no trace in Avicenna, al-Maǧūsī or al-Rāzī. Nor can quotations from the work be found in them. See below.)

The passage from al-Maǧūsī quoted above serves as a good basis for asserting that the Arab author knew neither the exact structure of the larynx nor the meaning of the term *lisān al-mizmār*, for he mistakes the glottis for the epiglottis. The cavities he described lie on both sides of the glottis and not the epiglottis, a mistake probably facilitated by the fact that the epiglottis is in fact a conspicuous organ that resembles a tongue and is far more readily observable than the glottis.

[86] G. Bergsträsser, Hunain b. Ishaq über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-Übersetzungen. *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 17, 2. Leipzig 1925, No 38.

[87] *Sieben Bücher* . . . . Vol. I, pp. 104—6, vol. II, pp. 76—7.

Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī's commentary on *De usu partium*[88] contains a description of the larynx. Omitting any minute analysis of it, let us say that it accords very closely with al-Maǧūsī's text and there are many literal correspondences between the two. It identifies *lisān al-mizmār* with *ṭabaq al-ḥanǧara*, just as al-Maǧūsī does. The text contains numerous verbatim quotations from Galen, rendering the glottis sometimes with *lisān al-mizmār*, and sometimes with *ṭabaq al-ḥanǧara*.

This identification then became generally accepted by later Arab authors. To Ibn al-Quff († 685/1286)[89] it was already an accepted truth that sound is produced in the opening between the epiglottis and the larynx, the former acting as the beating reed (*Aufschlagzunge*) of a single reed-pipe. The complete confusion and total ignorance of the structure of the larynx are attested for in the passage, where Ibn al-Quff says that the muscles situated on the arytenoid cartilage hinder the closure of the epiglottis![90] In modern literary Arabic, *lisān al-mizmār* has become the regular term for epiglottis.[91]

Galen's description of the larynx in his *De anat. adm.* is extant, but only in Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq's Arabic translation. This translation uses the term *ġalṣama* for glottis and epiglottis alike, although *lisān al-mizmār* also appears for glottis, as a synonym for *ġalṣama*. This terminological "simplification" is highly confusing, for instance on pp. 104—105 of Simon's edition[92] the term *ġalṣama* recurs several times with different meaning in the various lines. In our opinion it is absolutely impossible that anyone who wrote down these

[88] I am deeply indebted to Gotthard Strohmaier, who magnanimously lent me his copy of al-Maǧūsī, *Kāmil* . . ., where by mere chance I found a part of Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī's commentary to Galen's *De usu partium* under the title: *fī l-ǧumla l-ṭāliṭa min al-maqāla l-sābiqa min tafsīr Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī li-kitāb Ǧ fī manāfiʿ al-aʿḍā'* (al-Maǧūsī, *Kāmil* . . . Vol. I, pp. 123—128). Ullmann knows of a single manuscript of this work: Ms. Gotha 1906 (Ullmann, *Die Medizin* . . . , p. 90, No 3). This passage is, however, not to be found in this manuscript, which contains only the description of the tegument, as I had the chance to verify on-the-spot myself (cf. Sezgin, *Geschichte* . . ., Vol. III, p. 107, No 40a; Pertsch, *Die arabischen Handschriften der herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha*, Gotha 1881, vol. III). The edition of al-Maǧūsī's work mentioned contains no further commentaries by Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī.

[89] Ullmann, *Die Medizin* . . ., pp. 176—177.

[90] *Anatomie und Chirurgie des Schädels, insbesondere der Hals-, Nasen- und Ohrenkrankheiten nach Ibn al-Quff*. Transl. O. Spies, H. Müller-Bülow. Berlin—New York 1971, pp. 103—4.

[91] G. Schregle, *Deutsch—arabisches Wörterbuch*. Wiesbaden 1974, p. 652, s. v. *Kehldeckel*; cf. further J. Chr. Bürgel, *Averroes contra Galenum*. Nachr. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Göttingen, I Phil.-hist. Kl. 1967 Nr. 9 Göttingen 1968, p. 338.; Galen, *Über die Verschiedenheit der homoiomeren Körperteile*. Ed. G. Strohmaier. *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum, Supplementum Orientale III* e, Berlin 1970, p. 135; *Sieben Bücher* . . .. Vol. II, pp. 287—288, No 279.

[92] *Sieben Bücher* . . .. Vol. I, pp. 104—5, vol. II, p. 76.

sentences could have known what he was talking about. (This translation does not use the term *ṭabaq al-ḥanǧara*.) On the other hand, we have a thorough knowledge of Ḥunayn's views on the requirements of a good translation,[93] and so we can preclude the possibility that Ḥunayn was the one who perpetrated this "simplification". The only possible conclusion is that even the Greek original contained only one term to denote the two bodies, with an additional equivalent of *lisān al-mizmār*, and that it was this text Ḥunayn then translated exactly into Arabic, for his translation in general is excellent, without, however, having an adequate knowledge of the structure of the larynx to enable him to emend the highly confused Greek original.

We have thus arrived at the solution of our problem: the confusion between these terms does not stem from the Arabs, who have simply taken them over with the translations. Confusion of the glottis with the epiglottis is not rare in Galen's works. It is well known that Kühn as well as Chartier have made arbitrary emendations in the texts of the manuscripts,[94] but reliable editions (such as Helmreich's), attest to such a confusion even in the earliest manuscripts. In all probability we are confronted here with mistakes by early copyists: there is sufficient evidence to prove that dissections were carried out in the West from the 3rd c. BC until the 2nd AD, while in Galen's time Alexandria was the only place where corpses were dissected,[95] and soon even the dissection of animals ceased, so that Greek physician-copyists may well have had fairly scanty knowledge of the structure of the larynx and it is no wonder they confused these two terms. These bodies had little, if any, practical importance, but on the other hand the larynx is an extremely complicated organ, unlike anything else. (The Pseudogalenic *De voce et hanelitu* shows a further "simplification" of terminology: it uses the term "epiglottis" to denote glottis, epiglottis and larynx alike!)[96]

One may ask whether this confusion may not come from Galen himself, but that is absolutely out of the question. Galen's descriptions prove beyond doubt that he conducted an extraordinary number of dissections, on animals, at least[97] and that he had a profound knowledge of the structure of the various organs, including the larynx. It is therefore out of the question that he would have designated by one term two such different bodies as the glottis and the epiglottis, or that he would have confused them. The term "glottis" in this

[93] Bergsträsser, *Hunain* . . .

[94] J. Kollesch, *René Chartier*. Herausgeber und Fälscher der Werke Galens. *Klio* 48 (1967), pp. 183–198.

[95] L. Edelstein, The History of Dissection in Antiquity. In: L. Edelstein, *Ancient Medicine*. Baltimore 1967, p. 251.

[96] *Sieben Bücher* . . ., Vol. II, p. 284; Baumgarten, *Galen* . . ., pp. 84–5.

[97] cf. *Sieben Bücher* . . ., Vol. II, pp. XXVI–XXIX.

meaning originates with Galen himself,[97a] and so the possibility of his having used two distinct terms interchangeably can be excluded.

After that brief digression let us return to Avicenna. One can conclude that to him the exact nature of *lisān al-mizmār*, its role, and the function of the larynx in phonation were not clear either. It is not without interest in this connection to examine carefully whether Avicenna knew the distinction between voiced and unvoiced sounds, and about the voice in general. On the basis of the *Treatise*, one can answer in the negative: no such distinction between consonants can be detected anywhere in the *Treatise*, where as regards vowels, which consist of voice alone, he honestly confesses he does not know what to do with them.[98] Arab linguists were unaware of the distinction between voiced and unvoiced sounds. (The exact meaning of *maǧhūr/mahmūs* remains obscure and there are no grounds for interpreting them as voiced/unvoiced.)[99] The term *lisān al-mizmār* was taken over by Avicenna, either from Galen directly or from the representatives of Galenic tradition, but without knowing exactly what Galen really meant by it, an assumption further substantiated by the absence of the term in the *Treatise*, where he subjected this domain to exhaustive treatment. In truth he did not really know what to do with it. Avicenna had no comprehensive theory of phonation. He attributed a certain importance to the larynx, but it is not clear exactly what that importance was. Certain passages of his may be interpreted as if he knew the voice was produced in the larynx, but other passages of the *Treatise* contradict such an interpretation (above all his ignorance of the voiced/unvoiced distinction and the helplessness he shows in connection with vowels), yet it is absolutely certain that even if he attributed some importance to the larynx or had a faint, vague intuition about the origin of the voice, he did not understand the real role the larynx plays. The appearance of the larynx in his works as the primary organ of phonation can be attributed to some faint, indefinite intuition combined with a respect for tradition.

It seems that he was the first to face this contradiction. ("The organ of phonation is the larynx, but sounds are produced in the mouth.") As far as one knows he was the first to examine the exact mechanism of the production of these sounds (see below). Among his predecessors one merely finds general statements about sound being produced in the larynx and at most hints about the mouth contributing to the process of phonation. Thus in examining the

[97a] H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Oxford 1968, p. 353b s.v.

[98] Ibn Sīnā, *Maḫāriǧ* . . ., p. 22.

[99] cf. K. Vollers, The System of Arabic Sounds as based on Sibawaih and Ibn Yaish. In: *Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists* 1892. Vol. II, London 1893. pp. 130–54; A. Schaade, *Sibawaihi's Lautlehre*. Leiden 1911; Bravmann, *Materialien* . . .,; H. Fleisch, Esquisse d'un historique de la grammaire arabe. *Arabica* 4 (1957), pp. 1–22.

exact mechanism of the production of the various sounds Avicenna was the first to face the task of reconciling the traditional general view with his own detailed observations and results. He was the first to face up to the problem of what exactly happens. In doing so he was not fully successful, but it must be noted that he raised questions never examined before.

3. The structure of the larynx

Avicenna deals with the structure of the larynx (including its muscles) in the third chapter of the *Treatise*, and a similar chapter can be found in the *Canon*.[100] Counting the two variants of the *Treatise*, there are three descriptions by Avicenna at our disposal. The second text of the *Treatise* is rather corrupt; when examined in isolation it can hardly be appreciated and very often seems to make no sense at all. But when the two texts of the *Treatise* are compared, they appear to be basically identical: all the significant expressions appear in the appropriate place in the variant (the second text), although the linking text is often void of sense. Compared with these two texts, the *Canon* shows rather more divergencies in phrasing and sequence, and sometimes even in facts, but the basic identity of the three texts is quite obvious.

These descriptions in turn show a close relationship with Galen's *De usu partium*, Book VII, Chapters 11 and 12. The agreement in subject-matter is of importance: both Galen and Avicenna deal with the cartilages of the larynx, their position, their joints (not in every case), their possible movements, their ligaments, and with the muscles of the larynx. The muscles of the larynx can be divided into two groups: intrinsic and extrinsic. The latter especially is rather heterogeneous and it is not obvious whether it belongs in the description of the larynx or not, and if so, which precise members of it do so. Thus it is of the utmost importance that both Galen and Avicenna seem to know of the same muscles.

Avicenna's descriptions are concise, didactic and dry, including tabulated enumerations, whereas in Galen the different sequence is conspicuous, he is quite undidactic, easy and familiar in style, essay-like and very enjoyable, his book might pass for a work of literature.

Galen's descriptions are far more accurate than Avicenna's. Galen always indicates the origin and insertion of every muscle, which is the *sine qua non* of any muscle description, while Avicenna regularly omits to do so. Of course Galen's descriptions, too, contain statements that are not wholly true in the light of modern knowledge, but these are usually not grave mistakes and usually

[100] Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn* . . ., vol. I, pp. 43—4; cf. de Koning, *Trois* . . ., pp. 534—8 (French translation of Avicenna's text); cf. further notes 49, 50, and 51 above.

plausible ones that accord with Galen's system in general. In Avicenna's works, on the other hand, one finds some fundamentally incorrect descriptions (e.g. his version of the tongue suggests that he was unaware of the general nature of muscle activity — see below). But it must be admitted that we do not know how far the printed text of the *Canon* at our disposal can be relied upon. In any case, in view of the numerous discrepancies between the two texts of the *Treatise* and the respective passages of the *Canon*, most of which are obvious clerical errors, one must suspect that at least some of the mistakes and obscure descriptions in the *Canon* do not originate with Avicenna himself. It is worth noting that all Galen's mistakes appear in Avicenna, while Avicenna's descriptions are nowhere better than those of Galen. In one or two places, Avicenna offers his own contribution, but by doing so does not really benefit the description (see below).

It is also of primary importance that both Galen and Avicenna ignore the blood vessels and the nerves of the larynx. Verbatim quotations are extremely common: not infrequently Avicenna's descriptions can only be interpreted by reference to the corresponding and usually more detailed and accurate passage in Galen.

It is also conspicuous that Avicenna's descriptions only display a relationship with the corresponding chapters of *De usu partium*. Galen also gives a detailed treatment of the structure of the larynx in *De anat. adm.*, of which the relevant parts are only extant in Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq's Arabic translation, yet Avicenna's descriptions display no relationship with this (apart, of course, from what is common to both *De usu partium* and *De anat. adm.*), the subject-matter is different (the cartilages, joints, ligaments, muscles, blood-vessels and nerves of the larynx), and the treatment is completely different (it is an instruction for the dissector in topographical anatomy, how to proceed with dissection, in what order to remove various structures, and an explanation of what he will see during the whole procedure). Verbatim quotations from this work are absent from Avicenna. The work also mentions the consistency of the glottis,[101] of which there is no trace in Avicenna's desription or in the descriptions by Arab physicians. Again the supposition that this latter work was not in circulation among the Arabs is corroborated.

Galen usually indicates the species dissected or the sort of living creatures to which his descriptions apply. (It is well known that his insatiable thirst for knowledge urged him to dissect whatever he was able to lay hands on; the range of animals he dissected is simply amazing: pigs, apes, horses, goats, dogs, cows, swans, ostrichs, sparrows and lynxes among others. There is only one thing unknown to this day, and that is the extent to which he was able to

[101] *Sieben Bücher* . . .. Vol. I, pp. 104—5, vol. II, pp. 76—7.

dissect human bodies, if he was able to at all.)[102] An exception to this is *De usu partium*, where he talks about man on the basis of the dissection of animals. Probably he deemed it unnecessary to point out this fact, because he believed that knowledge acquired through the dissection of animals could be extended to man.[103] Avicenna follows suit, as do the other Arab authors examined. Apart from a few general references to animals, there is no indication of the species whose structure Avicenna outlines. In all probability the absence of references in Avicenna can be attributed to their absence in the text he drew from. But one cannot know, however, whether Avicenna himself knew that Galen had inferred to the structure of the human body the results of animal dissections, or whether he believed the knowledge had been obtained from human dissections.

At the beginning of this project, the methodological problem cropped up as to how to compare Avicenna's descriptions with each other and with Galen's description. Initially we endeavoured to identify the various muscles on the basis of Avicenna's texts, separately examining the texts themselves. This plan did not work, because Avicenna's descriptions are often somewhat deficient (e.g. he omits to indicate the origin of a muscle) and because there are numerous clerical errors in them. The only feasible method proved to be to suppose the relationship of the four texts as a working hypothesis and then compare them with each other, regarding them as integral wholes. In this way, we found that practically all the problematic passages could be interpreted, not infrequently on the basis of verbatim quotations, characteristic wordings or linking passages. Thus all the four texts turned out to be practically identical, in other words Avicenna's three texts turned out to be excerptions from Galen. For the sake of clarity we shall deal with the muscles according to the activities assigned to them by Avicenna, but at the same time we shall endeavour to identify them. Let us now see what the larynx looks like according to Avicenna and Galen.[104]

The larynx consists of three cartilages: the thyroid, the cricoid and the arytenoid. The description of the cartilages — apart from the arytenoid — is correct. The Arabic names of the cartilages are undoubtedly translations of the corresponding Greek names: thyroid — *al-ġuḍrūf al-daraqī, al-ġuḍrūf al-tursī*,[105] arytenoid — *al-ġuḍrūf al-ṭarǧahārī, al-ġuḍrūf al-ṭarǧahālī*, the term *ʿadīm al-ism, alladī lā isma lahū* is the translation of the Greek name for the cricoid.

[102] cf. *Sieben Bücher* . . ., Vol. II, pp. XXVI—XXIX.

[103] cf. *Sieben Bücher* . . ., Vol. II, pp. XX—XXIX, esp. p. XXVI.

[104] for the identification of the muscles in Galen's description cf. *Sieben Bücher* . . ., Baumgarten, *Galen* . . ., May, *Galen On the Usefulness* . . .

[105] It has been suggested that the name refers to a pig, because the thyroid cartilage of a pig resembles a shield shaped like a door, cf. May, *Galen On the Usefulness* . . .. Vol. I, p. 352, fn. No 32.

In connection with the arytenoid, Avicenna initially mentions another name, too: lid-shaped cartilage (*al-ġuḍrūf al-mikabbī*),[106] this does not recur in the later detailed descriptions and we have been unable to find a corresponding Greek form. Nonetheless, the name must have become fairly well known later on, because it appears in Redhouse's Turkish—English Dictionary as late as the 19th century.[107] The Arabic name for the hyoid bone obviously derives from a Greek original, too: "the bone resembling the letter 'l' in the writing of the Greeks" (*al-ʿaẓm al-šabīh bi-l-lām fī kitābat al-yūnāniyīn*). This name, on the other hand, can only relate to the hyoid of the ape, since that is the only mammal (including man) to have a lambda-like hyoid bone.[108]

Just before his treatment of the muscles, Avicenna gives a short account of the action of laryngeal cartilages in general: the approximation/separation of the thyroid and the cricoid bring about the constriction/dilation of the larynx, whereas the various degrees of the covering action (*iṭbāq*) of the arytenoid result in its closure and opening, respectively. This description appears in all three texts of Avicenna, the two texts of the *Treatise* going on to say that the movement results in high/low pitch. This same general observation is also extant in Galen, though with minor differences, and he too introduces the discussion of the muscles this way. (The allusion to pitch, however, is absent in Galen.) Following Galen again, Avicenna writes about the correspondence between the position and the function of the muscles.

When dividing the laryngeal muscles into groups, Avicenna in the *Canon* deals with the openers together with the dilators, whereas he distinguishes between the two groups in the *Treatise*. He always draws a sharp distinction between constrictions and sphincters.

a). Openers

m. cricoarytenoideus

The two texts of the *Treatise* recognize four muscles that originate on the side of the cricoid, insert into the back part of the arytenoid, and by tilting the latter back, open the larynx. The *Canon* speaks of two muscles without indicating their origin. However, in view of their insertion and function, there is

[106] Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn* . . . Vol. I, p. 44; *Maḫāriǧ* . . ., p. 11.

[107] J. W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*. Constantinople 1921, new impression, p. 1953, s.v.

[108] cf. D. R. Swindler, Ch. D. Wood, *An Atlas of Primate Gross Anatomy; Baboon, Chimpanzee, and Man*. Seattle—London 1973, pp. 10—1. (I owe this reference to Mihály Seres.) cf. also Ellenberger-Baum, *Handbuch der vergleichenden Anatomie der Haustiere*. Berlin 1943[18], pp. 76—7; J. Andres, Kritisches zur Anatomie des Zungenbeins. *Anatomischer Anzeiger* 60 (1925—26), pp. 289—309.

no doubt that these muscles are meant. They insert into the back part of the arytenoid, and by lifting and tilting it back, they open the larynx. The two texts of the *Treatise*, and the *Canon*, speak of two more muscles in a similar position, but with the difference that these insert into the two sides of the arytenoid instead of the back of it — here again the *Canon* omits to mention their origin. Apart from their assistance in opening, they widen the orifice (*faʿalatā maʿa l-maʿūna fī l-fatḥ tawsīʿ an mustraʿraḍan*).[109] The second text of the *Treatise* should clearly be interpreted in the same way, although the text is obviously corrupt.[110] According to the *Canon* "they separate it (i.e. the arytenoid) from the thyroid, stretch it sideways and assist in the dilation of the larynx" (*faṣalatāhu ʿan al-daraqī wa-maddatāhu ʿarḍan fa-aʿāna fī-inbisāṭ al-ḥanǧara*).[111] In the corresponding place, Galen recognizes altogether four muscles, of which two insert into the back part and the other two into the side of the arytenoid. Galen agrees that the posterior muscles tilt the arytenoid backwards, whereas regarding the function of the lateral ones, he gives the following information: "They draw it far apart towards the sides."[112] It does not seem wholly clear what is to be understood by this expression exactly: How can a single cartilage be drawn far apart toward the sides? Is it perhaps not a single cartilage or is it elastic? Whatever the case, Avicenna has clearly taken over Galen's description, which is partially acceptable in the light of our present-day knowledge: the position of the muscles is described correctly, but the function attributed to them is wrong. The reason for this is the different view taken of the action of the arytenoid (see below). The difference in numbers can be attributed to carelessness either in dissection or in copying, or else to a differing result in dissection.

b). Sphincters (Coverers)

m. thyroarytenoideus

The two texts of the *Treatise*, the *Canon*, and Galen all recognize two muscles. The *Canon* says: "When it contracts it draws the arytenoid downwards, making it cover (the larynx)."[113] According to the *Treatise* it draws the arytenoid inwards towards the cavity of the larynx, and Galen ascribes to it a similar activity. Without stating explicitly that it tilts the arytenoid inwards,

[109] Ibn Sīnā, *Maḫāriǧ* . . ., p. 12; cf. Lane, *An Arabic* . . ., Book I, Part 5, pp 2002—2006 s.v. *ʿaruḍa*

[110] Ibn Sīnā, *Maḫāriǧ* . . ., p. 40.

[111] Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn* . . . Vol. I, p. 44.

[112] De usu p. K III 556: *εἰς δὲ τὰ πλάγια διιστῶντες ἐπὶ πλεῖστον.*

[113] *iḏā taqallaṣat ǧaḏabat al-ṭargahāriya ilā asfal fa-aṭbaqathū*, Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn* . .. Vol. I, p. 44.

he does use the phrase "pulling *in* toward the inner space", which can only mean "tilting inwards". (Galen has thyroid here, but he obviously means arytenoid).[114] The two texts of the *Treatise* say that two similar muscles may appear, but without entering into detail, and one can only guess what they could be: the vocal or the arytenoid muscle? (so long as Avicenna is not talking about single variants or additional muscles, but this possibility of error must be taken into account in all his descriptions.) The *Canon*, too, mentions this muscle, which is considered to be under the arytenoid cartilage. This description can refer either to the vocal muscle, or more probably to the arytenoid muscle. The only question that remains is what he means exactly by similarity, whether in position or action. Galen's description refers unambiguously to the arytenoid muscle: "The other two lie at the base of the arytenoid cartilage, and they are not present in animals with weak voices, of which the ape is one,"[115] " . . . there are in most animals two transverse muscles, which are joined to one another and hold together the base of the third (arytenoid) cartilage."[116] But the function Galen ascribed to this muscle is not entirely clear, in that the existence of such a muscle cannot be accounted for unless the arytenoid cartilage consists of more than one part, or is at least highly elastic and not rigid. Avicenna, on the other hand, obviously did not bother himself much about this muscle.

c). Constrictors

m. thyrohyoideus + *m. constrictor pharyngis inferior*

According to the two texts of the *Treatise* this muscle arises from the hyoid bone, "comes into contact with the thyroid crosswise (?)" (*yattaṣilu bi-l-daraqī ʿarḍan*),[117] and then passing on as two parts, unites behind the esophagus. The corresponding muscle of the *Canon* comes from the hyoid bone (*min nāḥiyat al-lāmī* — which may perhaps suggest that it arises from there?),[118] comes into contact with the thyroid cartilage, and then grows wider; by winding over the cricoid the two parts unite. It is worth noting that the root *ʿrḍ* appears in both versions, although in different places and with different meanings, and that the two parts in the first version unite behind the esophagus

[114] The two remaining muscles having both an action and position opposite to these four, accurately close the upper orifice of the larynx by pulling in toward the inner space the first — thyroid cartilage, as a purse is drawn shut by the large number of sinewy membranes which surround it. *De usu p.* K III 556, transl. by May

[115] *De usu p.* K III 556.

[116] *De usu p.* K III 558.

[117] Ibn Sīnā, *Maḫāriǧ* . . ., p. 13; cf. also p. 40.

[118] Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn* . . . Vol. I, p. 44.

and in the second behind the cricoid. The first part of the muscle described is clearly the thyrohyoid, which in fact inserts into the linea obliqua of the thyroid and not crosswise. The further course of the muscle described corresponds to that of the m. thyropharyngeus (part of the m. constrictor pharyngis inferior), of which the two parts do unite behind the pharynx, although the inferior fibres, which are horizontal, are continuous with the circular fibres of the esophagus and thus come behind the cricoid as well.[119] But it is unclear why these two muscles should be considered as one. Nor is the function Avicenna attributes to this muscle a very fortunate choice: the thyrohyoid lifts the larynx and it is only through transmission that it simultaneously constricts the larynx via the backward tilting of the cricoid. The thyropharyngeus acts as a constrictor, but it principally constricts the pharynx and not the larynx. In Galen there are two muscles that correspond to this single muscle, since he treats the thyrohyoid separately from the thyropharyngeus. But he errs in attributing to the thyrohyoid the function of opening the larynx by pulling the thyroid upwards and forwards.

m. cricothyroideus

Avicenna's three texts and Galen agree in recognizing four muscles. According to the two texts of the *Treatise* this muscle comes into contact (*yattaṣilu*) with the thyroid cartilage — it is not wholly clear whether this muscle comes from somewhere else or whether this expression refers merely to the origin of the muscle. According to the first text of the *Treatise* the muscle then winds upon the cricoid. Here the second text differs, saying the muscle then turns towards the cricoid (*ṯumma yamīlu baʿda ḏālika ilā l-ʿadīm al-ism*), but this of course does not necessarily contradict the former version. The *Canon* is unambiguous at this point: the muscle connects the edges of the thyroid with the cricoid. Interestingly, the first text of the *Treatise* here uses the word *yaltaffu*, which in the *Canon* appears in the case of the former muscle. That may account for the conspicuous fact that the *Canon* has the former muscle winding upon the cricoid, while all other texts say the esophagus. All descriptions mention that this muscle may appear in pairs, one of which is inside and the other outside the thyroid cartilage. The numbers once again present difficulties in the first text of the Treatise: the expression "in two double pairs" (*fi zawǧayni mutaḍāʿifayni*) is not entirely clear, and the "double pair" (*zawǧ muḍaʿaf*) of the second text and the "two double muscles" (*ʿaḍalatāni muḍāʿafatāni*) of the *Canon* are probably more correct. Galen, too, mentions two pairs. The position of the muscle and its function present some

[119] *Gray's Anatomy*. Ed. T. B. Johnston, J. Whillis. London—New York—Toronto 1954[31], p. 1360.

problems. According to the first text of the *Treatise*, the parts of this muscle meet behind the cricoid and it constricts the larynx. The other texts have similar versions, but without explicitly mentioning that the parts of this muscle meet behind the cricoid. Such a muscle does not exist, the cricothyroid originates from the front part of the cricoid and inserts into the back part of the thyroid. Its function is to tilt the thyroid forward, which is just what Galen says this muscle does. But this passage of his remains obscure: "The first two I mentioned (cricothyroideus, pars recta) connect and close the front parts of the large cartilages of the larynx; the next two (cricothyroideus, pars obliqua) close the inward parts."[120]

d). Dilators

m. thyrohyoideus

According to the two texts of the *Treatise*, this pulls the thyroid upwards and forward, thus separating it from the cricoid. The *Canon*'s version is obviously a clerical error: "When it contracts, it moves the arytenoid forward and upwards and thus the larynx dilates" (*fa-iḏā tašannaǧa abraza l-ṭarǧahāriya ilā quddām wa-fawq fa-ittasaʿat al-ḥanǧara*).[121] A muscle running from the hyoid to the thyroid has already appeared among the constrictors in all three texts of Avicenna. But apart from the differences in function, there are slight differences in the insertions as well. In some places he says, it inserts "into the whole front part of the thyroid" (*bi-muqaddam al-daraqī kullihī*),[122] and "it adheres, spreading on it" (*wa-yaltaḥimu munbasiṭan ʿalayhi*),[123] and in others "it comes into contact with the thyroid crosswise" (*yattaṣilu bi-l-daraqī ʿarḍan*),[124] (*muttaṣil bi-l-daraqī bi-l-ʿarḍ*),[125] and "it comes into contact with the thyroid" (*yattaṣilu bi-l-daraqī*).[126] In Galen's description as a whole there appears only one muscle that runs from the thyroid to the hyoid, pulls the thyroid forward and upwards, separates it from the back cartilages, and thus dilates the larynx. The description of its insertion also sounds familiar: "And are then inserted along the whole length of the first (thyroid) cartilage in front."[127] As we know now, this muscle originates from the linea obliqua of the thyroid and primarily lifts the whole larynx, although in addition it slightly

[120] *De usu p.* K III 558 transl. by May.
[121] Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn* . . ., vol. I, p. 44.
[122] The two texts of the *Treatise*: Ibn Sīnā, *Maḫāriǧ* . . ., pp. 13, 41.
[123] Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn* . . . Vol. I, p. 44.
[124] Ibn Sīnā, *Maḫāriǧ* . . ., p. 13.
[125] Ibn Sīnā, *Maḫāriǧ* . . ., p. 40.
[126] Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn* . . ., Vol. I, p. 44.
[127] *De usu p.* K III 557 transl. by May.

dilates it, through transmission as well as in its capacity as an antagonist of the sternothyroid.

m. sternothyroideus

All three texts of Avicenna's mention that this muscle is shared by the larynx and the pharynx. According to the *Canon*, it runs from the sternum to the thyroid, whereas the two texts of the *Treatise* recognize a further portion of this muscle that passes beyond the thyroid (*yuǧāwizu l-daraqīya*) to reach the back part of the cricoid and the front part of the pharynx. When it contracts it pulls the pharynx downwards and the cricoid backwards, thus separating the latter from the thyroid. The *Canon* does not indicate the exact action of this muscle, although it is listed among the openers and it mentions that this muscle is among those that pull the pharynx downwards. The first text of the *Treatise* lists the muscle among the dilators, while the second text and the *Canon* put it among the openers. (Neither the *Canon* nor the two texts of the *Treatise* ever indicate the exact difference between openers and dilators, and sphincters and constrictors, respectively.) Another problem arises as to the exact meaning of the expression *yuǧāwizu*. If it means "passes by it without making contact" then this whole passage is nonsense: no such muscle does or could exist, because it would have to run in a zigzag. But if it means "it inserts and then passes on" (as we have supposed above), then the first part is the m. sternothyroideus, while the second part may consist of certain fibres of the m. thyropharyngeus, although most of the fibres of the latter unite on the back part of the pharynx. Yet it is not easy to see why these two separate muscles should be regarded as one, and this only detracts considerably from the lucidity of the description. The m. sternothyroideus in fact pulls the larynx downwards and with it the pharynx, effecting a secondary, backward tilting of the thyroid, which results in a secondary constriction of the larynx.[128] In view of the position of the second part of this muscle as described by Avicenna, one finds that the m. thyropharyngeus, too, acts as a constrictor of the larynx. In Galen, this muscle only runs from the thyroid to the sternum, and as regards its function, he merely remarks that it acts as the antagonist of the "former" muscle, i.e. the m. thyrohyoideus, which in Galen's opinion opens the larynx, consequently this one would act as a sphincter. But he adds that it also pulls the thyroid gently downwards, at the same time compressing the trachea. Galen and all three texts of Avicenna remark that in certain animals an additional pair can be found, and in May's opinion this refers to the pig.[129]

[128] R. Luchsinger, G. E. Arnold, *Lehrbuch der Stimm- und Sprachheilkunde*. Wien 1949, p. 45.

[129] May, *Galen On the Usefulness* ... Vol. I, p. 356, fn. 30.

That concludes our survey of the laryngeal muscles, and in our view the method followed has duly proved the close relationship between Galen and Avicenna.

Let us now see how in Avicenna's opinion the arytenoid cartilage moves. Bending around a horizontal frontal axis, the unpaired arytenoid cartilage covers the thyroid cartilage, thereby closing the orifice of the larynx. He uses two verbs to describe this action: *aṭbaqa* (*inṭabaqa ʿalā*) and *inkabba ʿalā*: "The opening of the larynx and the closure of it are effected by the bending of the arytenoid over the thyroid cartilage, its adhesion to it, and its withdrawal from it respectively."[130] "When (the thyroarytenoideus) contracts it draws the arytenoid downwards, making it cover (the larynx)."[113] Galen is far less definite in the corresponding passage: "Indeed, not without good reason did Nature determine their (i.e. the cartilages') number and character. Since two kinds of articulations and movements were necessary in them, one to expand and contract, and the other to open and close them, the articulation of the first (the thyroid) with the second (the cricoid) cartilage was made to perform the first kind of movement, and that of the second with the third (the arytenoid) cartilage to perform the second kind."[131] Avicenna says again: "When the arytenoid covers the thyroid cartilage, it obstructs the breath and closes the orifice (of the larynx), but when it separates itself from the thyroid cartilage, the larynx opens."[132] *Hamza* is formed in the following way: "*Hamza* is formed by the diaphragm and the pectoral muscles forcefully driving up a considerable amount of air and by the short resistance of the obstructing arytenoid cartilage against the drive of the air, and then by its abrupt opening, brought about both by the opening muscles and the air-pressure together."[133] We are not told, however, whether the arytenoid cartilage participates in another way in phonation, and if it does, in what exact capacity. That is to say the *Treatise* describes it as playing a similar role in the production of *ʿayn*, *hā'* and *ḥā'*, but not as participating in the production of the other sounds. As has been seen above, the exact relationship between the larynx, the *lisān al-mizmār* and the arytenoid cartilage is not clear to Avicenna, although he sometimes regards the *lisān al-mizmār* as the primary organ of phonation.

The motion that Avicenna appears to attribute to the arytenoid cartilage is not correct. In man the arytenoid cartilage consists of two parts, in other words it is a paired cartilage, and these in turn rotate around an oblique axis and glide along the axis of rotation as reflections of each other.[134]

[130] Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn* ... Vol. I, p. 44.
[131] *De usu p.* K III 557–8 transl. by May.
[132] Ibn Sīnā, *Maḫāriǧ* ..., p. 12.
[133] Ibn Sīnā, *Maḫāriǧ* ..., p. 15.
[134] B. Sonesson, The functional anatomy of the speech organs, pp. 52–4. In: B. Malmberg (ed.), *Manual of phonetics*. Amsterdam 1968².

Let us see whether this view of Avicenna's[135] could have originated with Galen. The Galenic passage quoted above[131] can also be interpreted in this way, but, however, such an interpretation is not cogent. Nowhere is he so unequivocal as Avicenna, although the relevant passages of his do seem to favour such an interpretation: "The posterior (muscles) bend the arytenoid cartilage backwards,"[136] "the third (arytenoid) cartilage being easily turned back because it is so small."[136a] Having seen how the action of the arytenoid brings about the opening of the larynx, let us now see how it is closed: "As it is, however, Nature has constructed for the larynx these two wonderful lids, which are closed by the very materials which they prevent from falling into it."[137] (Here he refers to the arytenoid and the epiglottis as the lids of the larynx.) In the same passage, he compares the arytenoid and the epiglottis to heart valves. Elsewhere he says that the thyroarytenoid muscle closes the larynx by drawing the thyroid cartilage inwards: "The two remaining muscles . . . accurately close the upper orifice of the larynx by pulling in toward the inner space the first (thyroid) cartilage . . ."[138] This passage contradicts all Galen's other statements, and so the possibility of a clerical error cannot be precluded, for this description fits the arytenoid far more than the thyroid. Everywhere else it is the arytenoid that is moved by the thyroarytenoid muscle towards the cavity of the larynx, e.g. . . ." to exert traction on the arytenoid cartilage through the intervening muscles."[139] This contradiction may be solved by supposing that, after all, both cartilages can move under the impact of a certain muscle, thus — with the arytenoid fixed — the thyroid can too, and it is only a relative question to ask which cartilage is moving toward the other. But the former supposition does not really fit in with the general view of the action of the laryngeal muscles, and as for the latter supposition, Galen sees the direction in which a muscle exerts traction, i.e. which end is its head (origin) and which its insertion, as of the utmost importance. Only in that way can the utmost expediency and rationality be explained that manifest themselves to the keen mind in the somewhat puzzling course of the recurrent nerve,

[135] The view described can be reconstructed on the basis of Avicenna's enunciations. There is only one passage that does not really fit in with this view: "And during it (i.e. the production of *ʿayn*) the opening of the arytenoid is complete and that of the cricoid is medium" (*wa-yakūnū fīhā fatḥ al-ṭarǧahālī muṭlaqan wa-fatḥ alladī lā isma lahū wasaṭan*), Ibn Sīnā, *Maḫāriǧ* . . ., p. 16. Are we to understand that the degree of aperture of the arytenoid is full, that it does not bend over the thyroid at all? But then what does the medium aperture of the cricoid mean?

[136] *De usu p.* K III 556 transl. by May.

[136a] *De usu p.* K III 570 transl. by May.

[137] *De usu p.* K III 589 transl. by May.

[138] *De usu p.* K III 556 transl. by May.

[139] *De usu p.* K III 570 transl. by May, see also K III 568, 579 etc.

a discovery Galen considered worthy of describing several times in detail in his works.[140]

Thus one can agree that Galen's views corroborate the descriptions, which have the thyroarytenoid muscle drawing the arytenoid cartilage towards the cavity of the larynx.

Difficulties arise in interpreting the role played by the glottis in the closure of the larynx and reconciling that interpretation with the supposed function of the arytenoid cartilage: "... and in this work (i.e. the closure of the larynx) the nature of the aforesaid glottis is of considerable assistance. For the parts of the glottis, both left and right, come together in such a way that they fall accurately the one on the other and close the passageway."[141] That is true, but not easily reconcilable with the action ascribed to the arytenoid cartilage. Moreover, it has so far been learnt that it is the arytenoid cartilage that effects the closure of the larynx, and here it is being claimed that the glottis does so. That is not necessarily a contradiction, but it is not easy to assess the situation without being familiar with Galen's view of the relationship between the glottis and the thyroarytenoid muscle and arytenoid cartilage respectively. However, he fails to expound on this question in his extant works, and if anywhere it must have been in *De voce* that he provided a detailed treatment of the problem. In spite of that lack, one might put forward a hypothetical reconstruction: the contracting thyroarytenoid muscle tilts the arytenoid cartilage inwards, and simultaneously closes the glottis. As seen before, most of Galen's statements seem to support the view that the arytenoid cartilage is unpaired, although some are not unequivocal in this respect: "Assisting these there are in most animals two transverse muscles, which are joined to one another and hold together the base of the third (arytenoid) cartilage."[142] It is a puzzle to know how and why muscles should hold together the base of a single cartilage. "The posterior muscles bend the arytenoid cartilage back and the lateral ones draw it far apart toward the sides."[143] Here it is not entirely clear how a single cartilage can be drawn far apart toward the sides. As just seen, he gives a correct description of laryngeal closure: "For the parts of the glottis, both left and right, come together in such a way that they fall accurately the one on the other and close the passageway."[141] There seems no way in which the action of an unpaired arytenoid cartilage can be reconciled with this description. In any case it can certainly be stated that Avicenna's view of the sagittal motion of the arytenoid cartilage again originated with Galen.

[140] e.g. *De usu p.*, Book VII, Chapters 14, 15.
[141] *De usu p.* K III 563 transl. by May.
[142] *De usu p.* K III 558 transl. by May; cf. note No 116 above.
[143] *De usu p.* K III 556 transl. by May.

The next problem is to guess why Galen, and following him Avicenna, should only have recognized one arytenoid cartilage, when it is in fact a paired cartilage? In all probability the reason is to be found in the fact that Galen examined the larynx in animals, chiefly in pigs. The two arytenoid cartilages of the pig fuse in the middle, so that he may easily have taken the two for one. The situation is similar in an ape, but other details of his description make a pig the more likely subject.[144] Does the question of whether the arytenoid is a paired or unpaired cartilage affect our view of its action? In other words, does its action in man differ from its action in a pig? Clearly it does; in view of the close connection between the two parts of the arytenoid in a pig, it seems that rotation around an oblique axis, the dominant motion of the arytenoid in man, is wholly absent in a pig, where it only moves in the sagittal plane.[134, 145]

It may be noted that Galen's view of the arytenoid cartilage was among the first aspects of his anatomy to be criticized in the 16th century.[146]

4. The anatomy of the tongue

This analysis will follow the method adopted in the description of the larynx. As far as Avicenna is concerned, the version in the *Canon*[160] is slightly longer than those in the two texts of the *Treatise*.[159] The *Canon* recognizes nine muscles, while the two texts of the *Treatise* identify only eight. All three texts appear to originate from the corresponding chapter in Galen's *De musculorum dissectione*.[147] This is all the more evident here, as even Galen's description is difficult to interpret in certain places and all these obscure passages are quoted verbatim in Avicenna.

Galen also deals with the anatomy of the tongue of an ape in Book X of *De anat. adm.*,[148] while in Book XI of the same work[149] he gives a detailed description of the anatomy of a pig's tongue. These two descriptions (as in the case of the larynx) show absolutely no resemblance to Avicenna's descriptions, but they may be of major assistance in interpreting the contents of *De musculorum dissectione*. The identification of the muscles described by Galen presents insurmountable difficulties. Max Simon has already remarked in connection with the m. genioglossus, "Über diese Muskeln lässt sich Galen mit bemerkens-

[144] see May, *Galen On the Usefulness . . .*, vol. I, p. 353, fn. 33.

[145] R. Nickel, A. Schummer, E. Seiferle, *Lehrbuch der Anatomie der Haustiere* (Berlin—Hamburg 1967²), vol. II, p. 229.

[146] *Sieben Bücher . . .* Vol. II, p. 279, No 237.

[147] K XVIII B 959—61.

[148] *Sieben Bücher . . .* Vol. I, pp. 64—77.

[149] *Sieben Bücher . . .* Vol. I, pp. 115—6, 119—20, cf. pp. 114—31.

werter Unklarheit und Inkonsequenz vernehmen."[150] In general we have accepted Simon's identifications, being unable to put forward better ones, but it should be stressed that the identification of the hyoglossus, chondroglossus, geniohyoideus and genioglossus is often uncertain. However, if one were to alter any of these identifications, the whole system would collapse like a house of cards and have to be rearranged, the result in no way being less problematic than the original one.

Galen, too, identifies eight muscles, but apart from the identity in number, these are not entirely the same as those in Avicenna. Galen, followed by Avicenna, only deals with the extrinsic muscles of the tongue, including one or two neighbouring muscles, which are not usually reckoned among the tongue muscles. It is fairly conspicuous that both writers seem totally unaware of the existence of intrinsic muscles in the tongue. Let us now review the muscles of the tongue.

m. styloglossus

This is the most unambiguous muscle in Galen and in Avicenna. Coming from the styloid process, it proceeds to the side of the tongue. According to Galen, "It moves the tongue in an oblique direction" (*λοξῶν κινήσεων ἐξηγούμενοι*), while in Avicenna's opinion it dilates the tongue. Galen is nearer to the truth in this case, although it may secondarily participate in the dilation of the tongue too, of course. This motion is in fact effected principally by the intrinsic muscles.

m. geniohyoideus

This muscle only appears in Galen, although he himself remarks that it does not apparently move the tongue at all, and so does not belong among the tongue muscles. However, the action indicated is correct.

m. genioglossus

Identification of this presents numerous problems. According to Avicenna it lengthens the tongue: this view is not only completely wrong (irrespective of identification), but it also suggests that Avicenna had no clear picture of the basic nature of muscle action, which is that the origin and insertion of a muscle approximate during contraction, whereas the extension of a muscle is merely the result of a passive process, the contraction of its antagonists. Indeed

[150] *Sieben Bücher* . . . Vol. II, p. 291, No 308.

Avicenna's view of muscle action seems to be different, for he writes, "It (i.e. the muscle moving the tongue) has to move by itself during extension, just as it has to move by itself during contraction."[151] This does not solve our problems either, because Avicenna writes here (in the two texts of the *Treatise*, but not in the *Canon*) that the lengthening of the tongue is the result of the contraction of the muscle and not the result of the lengthening of it. On the other hand, all of Avicenna's relevant descriptions can be interpreted only if one supposes that the essence of muscle action is contraction. The consequent application of the principle mentioned above would have resulted in completely different descriptions, of which there is no sign. Galen does not indicate the exact action of this muscle, merely making a general remark: "The action of each of those (muscles) are analogous to (their) position."[152] The same idea is echoed in Avicenna: "It is not unlikely that the muscle that moves the tongue should be lengthwise to its apparent motion."[153] Galen calls this pair "straight" (*εὐθεῖς*) in *De musc. diss.*, although this identification can be questioned on the ground that this muscle arises mainly from the mental protuberance and only some fibres of it come from the hyoid bone.[154] But if one identifies this muscle with the chondroglossus, then our description of the tongue will not include one of the most important and conspicuous muscles of the tongue, because nothing else can be identified with the muscle described. The description of the hyoglossus in an ape in *De anat. adm.*[155] fits the genioglossus better, because the expression "mental protuberance" appears in it, but the context there requires that it should be the description of the hyoglossus. In any case, the passage is not wholly clear. In the description of a pig's tongue, one merely finds a vague and not unambiguous allusion to this muscle.[156] The close connection between Avicenna and Galen is, of course, evident.

m. hyoglossus

According to Avicenna, this muscle is situated between the dilator and the extensor; in *De musc. diss.* Galen informs us that this smaller muscle is situated between the "former" (i.e. the genioglossus) and the styloglossus,[157]

[151] *lahā an tataḥarraka fī nafsihā bi-l-imtidād kamā lahā an tataḥarraka fī nafsihā bi-l-taqāṣur wa-l-tašannuǧ*, Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn* . . . Vol. I, p. 45.

[152] *αἱ κινήσεις δὲ ἑκάστου τούτων ἀνάλογον τῇ θέσει*, K XVIII B 960—1.

[153] *wa-lā yab'udu an takūna l-'aḍala l-muḥarrika li-l-lisān ṭūlan ilā bāriz taḥarrukihī*, Ibn Sīnā: *al-Qānūn* . . . Vol. I, p. 45.

[154] contrary to Galen and Avicenna, see *Sieben Bücher* . . ., Vol. II, p. 274, No 198; p. 291, No 308.

[155] *Sieben Bücher* . . . Vol. I, pp. 74—5, vol. II, p. 54.

[156] *Sieben Bücher* . . . Vol. I, pp. 119—20, vol. II, p. 87; cf. Vol. II, p. 291, No 308.

[157] K XVIII B 960.

which is true. In the description of an ape's tongue in *De anat. adm.*, he treats it as a single muscle — and the detailed description of it far better suits the genioglossus, see above — whereas in the description of a pig's tongue he already gives a detailed account of the two major fascicles of this muscle (hyoglossus, chondroglossus). As for its action, Galen's previous general remark again applies: "The actions of each of those (muscles) are analogous to (their) position."[152] According to Avicenna this muscle slants the tongue.[158] This is not wholly wrong, because it participates in this motion too, nevertheless it is not its major function.

(*m. mylohyoideus? ? ?*)

In the *Treatise*, Avicenna mentions a muscle, which is situated below the previous one and flattens the tongue,[159] while in the *Canon* he supposes it to turn the tongue upward in addition (*bāṭiḥatāni li-l-lisān qālibatāni lahū*), where one also reads that its fibres are transverse and in contact with the whole mandible (*qad inbasaṭa līfuhumā ʿarḍan wa-yattaṣilāni bi-ǧamīʿ ʿaẓm al-fakk*).[160] Nothing similar is to be found in man, and it is also evident that this description originates from the last-mentioned muscle in Galen's description of the tongue in *De musc. diss.*, the identification of which is highly problematic. If one examines the relevant passage in *De anat. adm.*, one finds a single transverse muscle in connection with the mandible, the mylohyoideus. This, however, is not among the muscles of the tongue and does not move the tongue at all. It is a flat, triangular sheet, which arises from the whole length of the mylohyoid line of the mandible. The posterior fibres pass medially and slightly downwards, to be inserted into the front of the body of the hyoid bone near its lower edge. The middle and anterior fibres are inserted into a median fibrous raphe which stretches from the symphysis menti to the hyoid bone.[161] Galen gives a correct description of this muscle in an ape,[162] whereas in the case of a pig he only gives general remarks,[163] which are not devoid of certain problems,[164] although of too general a nature to lend themselves to precise evaluation.

[158] *wa-yaḥduṭu ʿanhumā tawrīb al-lisān*, Ibn Sīnā, *Maḫāriǧ* . . ., p. 14; *yuḥarrikāni ʿalā l-wirāb*, Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn* . . . Vol. I, p. 45.

[159] Ibn Sīnā, *Maḫāriǧ* . . ., pp. 14, 41.

[160] Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn* . . . Vol. I, p. 45.

[161] *Gray's Anatomy* . . ., p. 557.

[162] *Sieben Bücher* . . ., vol. I, p. 160, vol. II, pp. 51—2.

[163] *Sieben Bücher* . . ., vol. I, pp. 114—7, vol. II, pp. 84—5.

[164] Simon's correction is not convincing, see *Sieben Bücher* . . ., vol. II, p. 290, No 301.

Let us now return to *De musc. diss.*, which served as a source for Avicenna. Our view is that Galen's description makes no sense in its present state. Apart from man, such a muscle that Galen describes here does not exist either in pigs[165] or in apes.[166] The following tentative solution is proposed: *ἐκ τῶν κάτω μερῶν* refers to the hyoid bone, in view of the above passage: *ἐκφύονται δὲ οἱ δύο μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἄνω μερῶν τοῦ εἰδοῦς ὅθεν περ καὶ ὁ προειρημένος ὁ διφυὴς . . .*[167] The expression *ἀποπεφυκότες μὲν ὅλῃ τῇ γλώσσῃ* relates not to the origin of the fibres of the muscle, but to their position in general, as "spreading out under the whole of the tongue". The given function,[168] being in plain contradiction with its position, could perforce be regarded as an interpolation by a later hand, this interpolation then being taken over by Avicenna. Disregarding *ἐκ τῶν κάτω μερῶν*, he took *ἀποπεφυκότες μὲν ὅλῃ τῇ γλώσσῃ* as the description of the origin of the muscle, at the same time retaining the interpolation, which was already in apparent agreement with this description. Again this would show Avicenna's lack of a thorough first-hand acquaintance with human or animal anatomy. Needless to say, the confusion need not originate from Avicenna himself. On the whole, the above emendation is corroborated by Galen's correct description of this muscle elsewhere (see above) and by the absurdity of this description. On the other hand, despite our affection and admiration for Galen, it must be admitted that serious, striking, if for Galen unusual inconsistencies are not wholly absent from his treatment of the tongue. In *De anat. adm.*, he says the body of the tongue is flaccid flesh, whiter and poorer in blood than muscle flesh.[169] Then somewhat later he comes up with a surprising assertion: "If you remove from it (i.e. from the tongue) all the muscles mentioned here, nothing will be left behind."[170] Elsewhere there is another strange passage: "Both its muscles are nearer to the nature of flesh in their whole manner, in contradistinction to the manner of the two muscles that lie superficially."[171] As a whole, his treatment of the tongue is incoherent and lacking in the clarity usually associated with him.[172] This latter apparently

[165] Ellenberger—Baum: *Handbuch . . .*, pp. 364—5, 389.

[166] Swindler—Wood: *An Atlas . . .*, pp. 76—9; W. K. Gregory: *The Anatomy of the Gorilla, The H. C. Raven Memorial Volume* (New York 1950), p. 21; see also E. Cords: *Der musculus transversus mandibulae* in *Anatomischer Anzeiger* 51 (1918—9), pp. 107—17. The muscles of the tongue are practically identical in all Simiae, see R. Schneider: *Zunge und weicher Gaumen* in *Primatologia. Handbuch der Primatenkunde*, ed. H. Hofer etc. (Basel—New York 1958), p. 66.

[167] K XVIII B 960.

[168] *δύνανται δὲ οἱ μύες οὗτοι ἑπᾶραι τε καὶ κυρτῶσαι τὴν γλῶσσαν*, K XVIII B 961.

[169] *Sieben Bücher . . .*, vol. I, p. 64, vol. II, p. 47.

[170] *Sieben Bücher . . .*, vol. I, p. 75, vol. II, p. 54.

[171] *Sieben Bücher . . .*, vol. I, p. 73, vol. II, p. 53.

[172] *Sieben Bücher . . .*, vol. II, p. 291, No 308.

strange inconsistency can perhaps be explained by the relative abundance — in different degrees, depending on the species — of connective, adipose, and even cartilaginous tissue within and between the muscles of the tongue.[173]

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The *Canon* identifies one more muscle, which takes its origin from the hyoid bone and is inserted into the tongue, pulling one of them towards the other. Such a muscle is absent in Galen's list. Modern science knows of no such muscle either.

From the method followed, it becomes fully evident that Avicenna's description originates from Galen. Both treat the same subject: the extrinsic muscles of the tongue, and disregard the intrinsic ones, of which they appear to share a complete ignorance. Both also deal solely with muscles, ignoring blood vessels, and nerves, etc. Avicenna retains verbatim two very problematic pieces of data from Galen: the description of the mylohyoideus, and of the genioglossus. Apart from the addition of an extra muscle, Avicenna himself contributed to the description of the tongue merely in the field of muscle action: his completely false, or at least highly problematic data can be attributed partly to his different view of muscle action in general and partly to his inclination to speculation. Having no knowledge of the intrinsic muscles of the tongue, he attributed the actions characteristic of those to the extrinsic muscles, with which he was familiar. For instance, he evidently knew that one can extend and protrude one's tongue, and in order to explain this he rashly ascribed a muscle to this action. The extension of the tongue is effected by the intrinsic muscles and the genioglossus; though he attributes this action to the genioglossus, which he describes defectively, this action nevertheless does not correspond to the position he describes. He then has recourse to his novel theory of muscle action, about which one can question whether it is not merely an ad hoc solution. (Of course, the genioglossus participates in the protrusion of the tongue in so far as it pulls the bulk of the tongue forwards, as Avicenna correctly observes in the *Treatise*,[174] but it does not lengthen it at all.).

In view of the anatomical descriptions of Galen's studied so far it can be said in general that his innumerable dissections apparently gave him an excellent eye for the general and the significant, and for what is common to a number of species. He always lays special emphasis on the traits specific to a single species, but he is mainly interested in the general principles and regularities of the structure and function of the body, a trait that marks not only *De usu partium*, but even such detailed and practical works as *De anat. adm.*

[173] Ellenberger—Baum: *Handbuch* . . ., p. 364.
[174] Ibn Sīnā, *Maḫāriǧ* . . ., pp. 14, 41.

So in spite of, and in addition to the specific species, his descriptions always point towards the general, and can be consulted with benefit in connection with other species as well. That may well be why he so often fails to mention quite specific traits that are characteristic only of a particular species. For instance he makes no mention of the pig's vocal chords consisting of two parts,[175] and of the same being true of the mylohyoideus,[176] and he omits to mention the small keratohyoideus muscle.[177] He also had a surprisingly excellent grasp of what was significant and generalizable in the description of the hyoid bone, which differs markedly from species to species, and may even have widely differing appearances within a species. How easy it would have been to arrive at rash and completely false generalizations in connection with the apparatus that links the hyoid bone to the thyroid cartilage and the skull.[178]

Conclusion

Having examined Avicenna's ideas on the origin of physical sound, it has been found that he was a continuer of ancient traditions. Even where he contributed something new (as in the role of sudden separation — *qal'* — in sound production), he did so strictly within the framework of the ancient system.

Avicenna had no consistent theory of phonation : he was an exponent of traditional, ancient views, but on the other hand his own systematic and wholly novel investigations compelled him to try to explain some details hitherto unexamined, and he thus arrived at completely new and modern views, although he did not succeed in integrating these into a consistent system. In the *Canon*, he repeated the traditional ideas adapted from Galen, whereby the primary organ of voice production was the larynx and the tongue of a pipe, although he himself had no definite idea of the exact nature of this mysterious organ, whereas in the *Treatise*, he expounded his own ideas, based mainly on his own observations and analogical reasoning, whereby the great majority of sounds (consonants) consist of sound effects brought about by physical processes in the mouth, and four sounds are produced in the larynx in the same way. In both cases, the effected sound may be modified by the sound produced by the movement of moisture (saliva) there. As has been seen, he could not explain the production of vowels by this theory. The two theories as set forth in the *Canon* and the *Treatise* cannot be reconciled.

[175] Ellenberger—Baum : *Handbuch . . .*, p. 504.
[176] Ellenberger—Baum : *Handbuch . . .*, pp. 201, 364.
[177] Ellenberger—Baum : *Handbuch . . .*, p. 364.
[178] Andres : *Kritisches . . .*, pp. 289—309.

Having examined Avicenna's view of the structure of the larynx and the tongue, it was conclu dthat in both cases we edwere dealing with brief epitomes of Galen's relevant works, interspersed with frequent verbatim quotations. These epitomes are very concise, resemble lists, and are much less exact and in no case better than Galen's descriptions. Thus we drew the conclusion that Avicenna must have had very few opportunities to dissect animals or humans, if any at all, and that his anatomical erudition came exclusively from Galen's works. In connection with Avicenna's description of the larynx, the use of the terms *lisān al-mizmār*, glottis, and epiglottis in the corresponding chapters of al-Mağūsī's *al-Kitāb al-Malakī* and of Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq's Arabic translation of Galen's *De anat. adm.* was examined and it was concluded that neither al-Mağūsī nor Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq had a definite idea of the structure of the larynx and that they must have had no opportunity at all to dissect animals or humans.[175] Al-Mağūsī's description is also an epitome of Galen. It must be stressed that Avicenna's and al-Mağūsī's descriptions and Ḥunayn's translation are independent of one another in the use of the terms *lisān al-mizmār*, glottis and epiglottis.

It has been observed that Avicenna (as well as al-Mağūsī) only used certain of Galen's works, in this case *De usu partium* and *De musc. diss.*, whereas he was apparently unfamiliar with *De anat. adm.*, of which the relevant parts are now extant only in Arabic translation. He seems not to have known *De voce* either, or to be more precise, in connection with sound production and phonation no concordant, unanimous information can be found in the relevant works of al-Rāzī, al-Mağūsī and Avicenna, that goes beyond what *De usu partium* already contains.

To determine the exact importance of Avicenna's contribution, one must clearly state that to our knowledge his *Treatise* is the first detailed phonetic description, either in Islam or in the West, that so deals with phonation as to give an overall and detailed picture of the production of single sounds : neither before him, nor for a very long time after him, could anyone else be found who dealt with this question in a comparable way.

Having gone through the relevant ancient authors, it has been found that the problem itself was not wholly unknown,[180] but that Avicenna tackled

[179] These findings not only fully corroborate Wiberg's results, but also raise serious doubts as to whether Arab physicians dissected at all. See Dr. Jul. Wiberg, The anatomy of the brain in the works of Galen and ʿAlī ʿAbbās. *Janus* 19 (1914), pp. 17—32, 84—104, especially pp. 103—4; cf. also Sezgin, *Geschichte* . . . Vol. III, p. 321.

[180] The role of the tongue, the lips, and the airstream, etc., had already been mentioned; cf. *Scholia in Dionysii Thracis Artem Grammaticam*. Ed. A. Hilgard. Leipzig 1901, pp. 43—4 (*Grammatici Graeci* 3). Galen himself says that in connection with phonation, certain persons talk about the position of the tongue, the role of the palate, the lips, the nose, and the quality of the airstream, without being familiar with the action of

here a completely new problem in an independent and wholly novel way. No doubt, his anatomical erudition and interest in medicine and the human body in general must have proved useful in this respect. In this field he had neither forerunners nor disciples among Arab linguists, although some of them had already dealt with problems of phonetics from a quite different point of view.[181] The popularity of this work, however, is worth remarking: Anawati knows of no less than 18 manuscripts.[182]

relevant muscles, *De foet. form.* K IV 697; for the importance of the shape of the organs of phonation see *De puls. diff.* K VIII 586; for the analysis of words into sounds see *In Hipp. de nat. hom. comm.* K XV 6; for the division of sounds as a philosophical problem see *De meth. med.* K X 24–6, *De plac. Hipp. et. Plat.* K V 661–4.

[181] see e.g. *Kitāb Sībawayhi.* Ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn (Cairo 1973–9), vol. IV, pp. 431–85; J. Fück, Die Grammatik des Sibawaih und ihre Bedeutung für die arabische Sprachgeschichte. In: J. Fück: *Arabische Kultur und Islam im Mittelalter, ausgewählte Schriften.* Weimar 1981, pp. 93–103.

[182] Anawati, *La tradition* . . ., No 47.

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KĀŚYAPĪYAKṚṢISŪKTI: A SANSKRIT WORK ON AGRICULTURE II

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

BY

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The *Kāśyapīyakṛṣisūkti* which is narrated by the sage Kāśyapa[1] is arranged in four parts and contains the description of the methods of paddy-cultivation, of growing vegetables, the description of the order of eatable and uneatable things and the description of rules containing information about the various oblations.

I. Here is the preliminary advice on the subject.

Kāśyapa teaches.

1—3. For the sake of pleasing the Gods, the pious king — who bears the burden of protecting his subjects — having punished the wrongdoers and establishing the law entirely should give nourishment to those subjects of good behaviour who are devoted to system of classes and the (four) stages (in the life). The Gods, spirits, heavenly choristers, fathers, sages and others are said to be meritorious of the different sacrifices.[2] The wise men knew that they could please them by *devayajña*.[3]

[1] The present English translation is based on the text: Kāśyapīyakṛṣisūkti. A Sanskrit Work on Agriculture I. ed. by Gyula Wojtilla in: *AOH* XXXIII (2) (1979) pp. 209—252. The date of the work in its present form is uncertain but there is a good reason to date the core of the work to the 8—9th centuries A. D. There are numerous interpolations belonging to a later age. Even some quite modern passages occur. The text likely belongs to the *Vaiṣṇava* tradition of South India more exactly to the school of *Vaikhānasas*. The same school produced the *Kāśyapajñānakāṇḍa* too. Cf. *Kāśyapajñānakāṇḍa. Kāśyapa's Book of Wisdom. A Ritual Handbook of the Vaikhānasas*. Translated and annotated by T. Goudrian. The Hague 1965, p. 10: the age of the school and probable date of *Kāśyapajñānakāṇḍa*. Kāśyapa as an authority on agriculture is mentioned by Bhaṭṭotpala in his commentary on *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* LIV, 7.

[2] *Makha* festival M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. Oxford 1960², p. 772. col. 1. *Homa* means "the offering made to the fire" cf. S. Stevenson, *The Rites of Twice Born*. Oxford 1920, p. 226.

[3] *Devayajña* worship of the Gods, by pouring ghee on the sacred fire. As to the *mantras* connected with it cf. Rai Bahadur Srira Chandra Vidyarnava, *The Daily Practice of the Hindus*. Allahabad 1919, pp. 157—158.

4. The pleasing of animals, guests, cows etc. with food in proper time is called *bhūtayajña*.[4]
5. And what is called *ṛṣiyajña* means an act of pleasing by the communication of the knowledge of the *Veda* and murmuring of prayers etc.
6. Hence the *devayajña* is the foremost of all among the sacrifices. The second is the *bhūtayajña*. Its reason is approved by me.
7. Therefore the lord of the earth who is devoted to the protection (of his land) should protect both *devayajña* and *bhūtayajña* in every part of the country.
8. The wise men call *devayajña* successful if it is prepared from pure substances. The rice etc. are called as such grain, which is proper substance.
9. In ancient times the boar-shaped *Viṣṇu* longing for happiness, kept back the grain-yielding earth from falling into the water of the underworld.[5]
10. The God, the Best Archer, the Supreme Soul, being requested by *Devī*,[6] narrated the *māhātmya*[7] of the earth with pleasure in the presence of Gods.
11—13. Because the earth bears gems in her womb she is pregnant with gems and thanks to the grains, herbs and water streams she is known as the one who causes the life of living beings to grow. The different bipeds, quadrupeds, and those born of eggs and all groups of living beings in the world are known to be born[8] to live and possessing life because they have a share of the energy of the earth.
14. Since the earth bears the serpents and other bipeds and quadrupeds and maintains their life, there is eternal pleasure for the Gods.
15. The practice of the true law consists of four groups of effects, the creation is blessed and the creator is pleased therewith.
16. Hence the grain is the life of the earth and the superior mode of her existence. In this manner the residents of heaven called the grain *maṅgalasūtra*.[9]
17. The grain etc. is the life artery of the earth, it is composed from the gross elements of the material world. The grain is the highest law of earth, the highest glory.

[4] *Bhūtayajña* worship of all things living. cf. Rai Bahadur Srira Chandra Vidyarnava, *op. cit.*, pp. 158—159.

[5] Cf. J. Dowson, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology*. Indian reprint. Delhi 1978, pp. 34—35.

[6] *Devī* The Goddess, here she is identical with the earth-goddess.

[7] *Māhātmyā*, the name of a class of Sanskrit works which narrate legends concerning a place of pilgrimage, shrine or sacred complex, cf. my Sir Aurel Stein's Kashmirian Māhātmya Collection in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. In: *Jubilee Volume of the Oriental Collection* 1951—1976. Budapest 1978, p. 216.

[8] Ms reads *prāptasatvāḥ* for *prāptasattvāḥ*.

[9] *Maṅgalasūtra*, "lucky thread", the marriage-thread tied by the bridegroom round the bride's neck, and worn as long as the husband lives. cf. M. Monier-Williams, op. cit., p. 773, col. 1.

18. The earth filled with grain strengthens the life of living beings, gives complete pleasure and ensures happiness for the Gods.
19. The earth which ever yields cereals and holds flowing sweet waters and follows the commands of *Viṣṇu*[10] is everywhere beautiful.
20. The earth protected by *Viṣṇu* is the mother of the multitude of living beings, she feeds them, is their first mother, food-giving and pleasure-giving.
21. This goddess is willingly pregnant with gems, ever protects everything, has the peaks of mountains as her breasts and is girdled with the oceans.
22. She is ornamented with jewels emitted by the sea; the sun, moon and the fire are her lamp, the mother of the slow winds. She appears as beautiful before the archer. (i.g. *Viṣṇu*)
23. The earth which is a passage of large forests and the beloved one of *Viṣṇu* holds everything and, adorned with the circle of the quarters of the compass, is beautiful in this condition.
24. In the various countries the king should divide this multi-faced earth which is lovely because she has lands fit[11] for agriculture.

II. This is the description of the order of dividing the earth according to her fitness for producing grain into the following types: hilly land, land irrigated by river and stream, forest-land, pasture land etc.

Kāśyapa teaches:

25. *Brahmā*, the creator, made this ocean-girdled earth an entirely level ground from the beginning of the world.[12]
26. The earth which yields various kinds of fruits in the different seasons is extolled by Gods, the heavenly choristers, sages and kings.[13]
27—28. The earth was newly created after each *kalpa*.[14] Through the ages she was given life and and fruits, in some places she was deep and was rich in water-beds. In some places she was abandoned by the sea, and somewhere there was a normal tube.[15]
29. In places there were fountains with water and without water; the earth had deep and elevated forms, she was divided by mountains and rivers, streams, fertile lands and big lakes.
30. In some places the land gradually became gravelly and in others very pungent, and elsewhere waterless.
31. In some places the earth was saline and in some places seed-destroying. The formation of earth took various forms.

[10] *Viṣṇu* is regarded as the husband of the earth-goddess.
[11] Ms reads *sthalojvalam* for *sthalojjvalam*.
[12] Ms reads *āsṛṣṭi* for *āsṛṣṭeḥ* cf. M. Monier Williams, op. cit., p. 1245, col. 2.
[13] Ms reads *vṛndakaiḥ* for *vṛndaiḥ*.
[14] *Kalpa* a day and night of *Brahmā*, 4 320 000 000 years.
[15] *nirbhiṇṇanāḍī* "fistulous sore".

32—45. Therefore the lord of the land (i.e. the king) who is eager to protect all of his subjects should examine which land is free from pieces of bones[16] and stone, which contains soft soil, which is very smooth, reddish and also dark coloured, free from wild grasses, husk and glass, (which is) strong and abundant in water, plain without holes, chasms and mounds, distinguished by the pleasant smell of *mallikā* (Jasminum Sambac Ait.) *jāti* (Jasminum grandiflorum Linn.) *kuṭaja* (Hollarhena antidysenterica), *surāgandha* (Amorphophallus Campanulatus) and which has a series of lotus, *kharjūra* (Phoenix sylvestris) and *tiniśa* (Dalbergia Ujjeinensis), which is not always flooded by water, saturated with water (?), which provides the seeds with rapid growth, which is pleasingly furrowed, which is smeared with the moisture of oxen's lip, and which is rich in offsprings of living beings, (which is) thornless, devoid of dung (?) etc., (which is) solid, compact, heavy in weight, which gives nourishment to herbs, which is classified into five groups: *brāhmaṇa*-land, *kṣatriya*-land, *vaiśya*-land, *śūdra*-land and land of mixed quality,[17] which possesses clear water, which is endowed with energy in the interior and outside also, which is fertile,[18] which is a joy to the eye, (which is) free from anthills and so on, free of vicious animals,[19] but a home for useful animals and birds, which is not liable to winds and water-storms and wild fires, which contains inexhaustible water, which gives growth to pleasure gardens and orchards and to shady tree, which has little holes, which makes different seeds to grow again and again, which is soft to touch, always pleasant to cows and cattle, which has favourable qualities and only small defects, in which it is easy to reach water streams, and which is surrounded by *khalabhūmi*[20] which possesses lucky marks. The king having examined the land should take possession of the best of the world.

46—47. Well-qualified land-examiners, water-finders who are conversant with the *kṛṣiśāstra*[21] who can be *brāhmaṇas*, *kṣatriyas*, *vaiśyas* or *śūdras*, following the king's orders should examine the land on an auspicious day.

48—53. The water-expert having purified himself by taking a bath, clothed himself in clean garment and wearing a golden ring should go to the specified piece of land in the company of *brāhmaṇas* — who are learned in the *Vedas* — in the morning or in the evening, should perform circumambulation (of the land) amidst blowing of conches, chanting benedictory hymns and sprinkling the five

[16] *Kāśyapajñānakāṇḍaḥ* Chapter 93: "if during the time of ploughing skulls, bones, hairs of head. . .are seen, he should remove each of these objects. . ."

[17] The *varṇa*-classification is valid not only for society but for the mineral world, animals etc. cf. *śloka* 285 etc. cf. *Paryāyamuktāvali* XXIII, 17—20.

[18] The word *kalpakī* is unintelligible.

[19] Ms reads *duṣṭasatva* and *satva* for *duṣṭasattva* and *sattva* respectively.

[20] *Khalabhūmi* means "threshing floor", "granary". The terms *khalasthala* (*ślokas* 371, 570, 572) and *khalasthāna* (*śloka* 564) are its synonyms.

[21] *Kṛṣiśāstra* denotes "an agricultural treatise" or "the science of agriculture".

products of the cow or water. The learned expert having dug up the land of some point with a spade or hatchet, looking at it he should examine it by measuring the soil carefully on a balance, by smelling and tasting it and then, putting a potful of it into a pot of water, he should test now the quality of the soil by the colour, the drop of water taken as a measure, by taste and by fluidity. Soil which has a uniform colour, which is uniform, compact and smooth is regarded by the sages as excellent for Gods, kings, *brāhmaṇas*, *vaiśyas*, it furthers prosperity and growth.

54. Land which is endowed with auspicious qualities gives happiness to everybody, promotes the health of the family and ever increases wealth, cattle and grain.

55—56. The man who is familiar with the quality of land should specify the land which is the best, which is mediocre, and he should strenuously avoid the worst. This land is fit for cultivation, this is kept for a garden, this land is called forest, that is assigned for a water-reservoir — so the land is said to be fourfold according to its nature.

57. By the king's order he should specify the land in this way on an auspicious day. The man who wants to acquire land should make a division by boundaries.[22]

58—59. The wise man who knows the different forms of land and water should properly specify which land is suitable for agriculture and which for garden in villages, provinces, fortresses, towns and within the precincts of royal palaces for the happiness of people living there.

III. The description of the method of establishing water-reservoirs

Kāśyapa teaches:

60—63. The king should manage to have villages, fortresses and towns built by architects — who have proficiency in architecture and have learnt thoroughly the textbooks — in the middle of forest, and on the banks of rivers or on table-lands in his own provinces and in the state. He should establish everywhere stations for herdsmen, hamlets of cowherds and abodes of cowherds (*vraja*) — inhabitated by a multitude of cows — in an auspicious moment, and a group of small villages accompanied by a water-reservoir and well adorned with gardens and surrounded by grain fields.

64—66. The fertile land of villages, towns and cities is said to be fit for grain, which is the breath of life, the life, the best thing, the artery of life — so said Gārgya[23] the foremost among the authorities. Even due to the connection with the grain fields the effect of building villages is said to be eternal by the best sages, it protects life and is constantly beneficent for the object of human pursuit.

[22] *Sīmāsthalavibhāgaḥ* lit. "division by boundary-fields".

[23] Gārgya is quoted as an authority on agricultural meteorology by Parāśara (*Kṛṣiparāśara* 164—167) and similarly by the author of the *Smṛticandrikā*. cf. *The Gurusaṁhitā*. Ed. by Lallanji Gopal. Varanasi 1981 p. 18.

67. It gives pleasure to the Gods, it is the reward of sacrifice, the best benefit of creation which protects the animate world very much.

68—76. The fertile land is declared to be the best benefit for living beings, therefore the king should specify everywhere the land which is of good quality, which is free from faults or which has but little fault. He should divide the land by village-roads, city-roads and high-roads in the country. In the most suitable place on the west, north, east or south side of the villages and cities the king should establish a water-reservoir according to the situation of the land. The reservoir should be deep, similar to a water-jar[24] resembling the shape of a bow, oblong in some places circular, not shallow and well-protected by a strong buttress and causeway endowed with a high enbankment and a road on it and the rain must find its way into it.[25]

Hence the king should establish the water-reservoir either in the vicinity of a hill or on a table-land which is connected with a big lake or on the plain the water-reservoir capable of holding abundant water should be established in firm land which is itself near to a perennial spring and which is free from sand and small stones etc.

77—81. The king should establish the deep water-reservoir which is fitted with flood-gates in such a manner that in the case of a full water-reservoir there may not be danger to village or town, rampart, gardens, fortresses and threshing floor (*khalabhūmi*)[26] because of the running water overflowing or breaching (the dam). The king should establish it in this manner everywhere and properly examine it in the country monthly, yearly, frequently. The king should appoint guards to the embankment. The guarding of the hundreds of canals etc. of the oblong-shaped water-reservoirs and tanks is said to be especially useful during the rainy season.

82—83. When the water-reservoir is full of water and well-protected the grains grow regularly, there is happiness, there is absence of disease, absence of fear of fire, there is the highest pleasure.

84. The feeding and protection of bipeds, quadrupeds, birds and snakes is everywhere laudable, it is said to be the highest pleasure and there surely cannot be disease.

85. Brahmā who has created living beings specified water alone as a substance of drinking for bipeds and quadrupeds.

86—87. Therefore the water-reservoir is called the main source of water. Hence the king who bears the burden of protecting his subjects should establish and properly protect the water-reservoir with every effort. The king should

[24] Should we read *parighavat* instead of *parighāvat*?

[25] *Jalāgama* "water-approach", "rain" M. Monier-Wiliams, *op. cit.*, p. 415. vol. 3.

[26] cf. Note 20.

establish one or two water-reservoirs according to the extent of the fertile land which is suitable to the village.

88—92. He should get the water-reservoir constructed in such a manner that it be companied by a mountain rivulet or joined with a big lake or connected with a forest brook or a big river in different places of villages and towns. The water-reservoir must be endowed with a place where the water comes out.[27] The king should make trees grown on the bank of the water-reservoirs: *vetasa* (Calamus viminalis), and *vaṭa* (Ficus Indica), in some places *kolakandāvali* (?), *plakṣa* (Ficus infectoria), *aśvatthaka* (Ficus religiosa), and just *khadira* (Acachia catechu), *khādira* (?), *tinduka* (Diospyros embryopteris), *tintriṇī* (*tintiḍī*? Tamarindus Indica), and also *bhūrjara*[28] and *veṇuka* (Amomum bamboo), *nimba* (Azadirachta Indica) and *kadamba* (Nauclea cadamba) which have hard wood.[29]

93—94. The king, having taken these trees, should transplant them in due time in the embankment of the water-reservoir or on the slope of the water-reservoir or in the sluice of its canal for the sake of the fulfilment of welfare, in that way they do not offer any obstruction to the bathing-ghat and provide shelter to watering cisterns.[30]

95—100. The king should grow especially beneficent trees such as the *vaṭa* etc. everywhere on *khalabhūmi*[31] and also thick shady trees on the banks of oblong-shaped reservoirs and on the edge of lakes, in orchards and gardens, at resting places and on the highway near the water-reservoir, and *vātapota* (? *vata-potha* Butea frondosa) and *pravasaka* (Buchanania latifolia) which dispel the fatigue of travellers at places suitable for having a meal in the forest and in different places, in the gardens attached to temples and royal palaces and especially in the abode of hermits or sages, on camping grounds, at the state rest-house, in places suitable for sacrifice or at the place of offerings.

101—105. The king should regularly promote the planting of shady tree and flower and dispel diseases, which give coolness, which are beautiful and without thorns like: *panasa* (Artocarpus integrefolia) *āmra* (Mangifera Indica) and also *rasālaka* (mangoo tree), *punnāga* (Rottleria tinctoria Roxb.), *mālatī* (Jasminum grandiflorum), *kunda* (Jasminum multiflorum), *campaka* (Michelia champaca) everywhere and in suitable places especially, and should promote their growth by watering them from the water-stream of the reservoir. Where there is no water-reservoir there is no happiness, there cannot be twilight

[27] *Jalavyayasthānayutam*. Cf. *Agriculture in Ancient India* (= AAI) ed. by D. Raghavan. New Delhi 1964, p. 20: "a device for distributing water".

[28] *Bhūrjara* is unintelligible. Is it meant for *bhūrja*?

[29] *Veṇuka*, *nimba* and *kadaṁba* are also used for making other parts of a plough.

[30] *Pānaghaṭṭa* lit. "the *ghāṭ* of a reservoir from where a canal takes its start" or "the *ghāṭ* of a canal."

[31] Cf. Note 20.

ablution, bathing, growing of trees of pleasure — it is so declared by the sages.
106—108. Hence the king — who is alert and devoted to the protection of his subjects — after establishing a deep water-reservoir in villages in the territory of the provinces or in the middle of a forest should establish a canal with strong embankments which has a proper spill-way and from which one can easily get water. This canal enters into various branches and it is endowed with a big canal. The canal should be strongly constructed in every sense.

IV. Here is the description of the system of canals depending on river and wells.[32]

Kāśyapa teaches:

109—110. On a rice field where a canal or reservoir which is permanently full of water is not made or not to be made, a canal, which is facing the riverstream is to be established in due course. The experts of the agricultural treatises[33] specify four kinds.

111—114. The first type is dependent on a river, the second on a lake, the third on a reservoir and the fourth on a mountain rill. These four types should be established according to the requirements of the region. Where a river is seen on a higher part than the natural situation of the land an embouchure should be made (from which) an excellent current is automatically formed. Where land fit for agriculture becomes known in the territory of the country the experts in agricultural work should make the feeding source of the canal on a higher part of the country whether (that source) is near (to the land) or far (from it).

115. In the case of a river flowing towards the east the canal should be made (to run into) a river flowing towards the west.

116—119. Or it should be constructed to run into a river, or to run into a river at its corner. But the land situated higher is indeed preferred everywhere. Having started the construction and laid the canal bed from a river, the king should lead it to his own territory for the prosperity of his subjects after making it pass through various lands of different forms from village to village and from forest to forest. The breadth of a canal is stated to be four, five, six, seven or ten *hastas*.[34]

120. Somewhere the canal is full of water, when it is fed by a big lake so also a canal fed by a river has abundant water.

121—129. The farthest extent of the canal is upto one's own fields and the height should be proportionate to its bed and its depth is to be adjusted everywhere to the quantity of its flow. In some places the king having accomplished a big pool any a bypass (*madhyamārga*) should construct this canal for the sake of the happiness of all living beings. In order to increase the crop he

[32] As to *nadīmātṛka* mfn. cf. *Amarakośa* II, 1, 13.

[33] One of the MSS called Ms C of *Kṛṣiparāśara* is entitled as *Kṛṣipaddhati*. cf. *Kṛṣi-Parāśara* ed. by G. P. Majumdar and S. C. Banerji. Calcutta 1960, Introduction.

[34] *Hasta* 47 cm.

should construct a canal which goes to his field, which is full of water or sometimes two canals. There canals are intented for the prosperity of the fields. In a country where there is no river the establishing of a canal is advised even in sandy soil and regarded as beneficent by the agricultural experts. Good land which is always connected with a waterstream, which is free from pebbles, which is of good quality is suitable for rice cultivation. In some places the king in his beneficence should lead a canal starting from a lake to his village, garden or pleasure garden in the country. The proper construction of the canals — which are excellent[35] on account of a current of water or for the sake of bathing, drinking and for agricultural work in the land — has been called life-protecting by the foresightful sages.

130. In some regions the soil itself — due to its own inner defects — may cause the water of the water-reservoir to disappear or it may absorb it or dry it up.

131—136. Hence that soil is to be avoided by the experts while constructing canals. In some places salty soil appears over the surface of the land. This and also land suffering from terraine defects is also to be avoided. Hence the king having investigated the soil which has good qualities should then see to the construction of it in the country in order to benefit the grain. In some places two canals are to be used and in others three. Construction should be in accordance with the site. The sages who know the textbooks say that all the canals should gradually lead to a reservoir. In a place, in village or town, in forest or woodland where there is no water-reservoir the wise man should construct a canal going to the fields especially for the sake of growing grain.

137. Even a little canal in the field is praised for it gives prosperity, life for living beings, life for grains. It is called life itself.

138—139. Hence the king should get dug in every province canals dependent on a river or another place make it full of water and always protected for the sake of the fulfilment of welfare. The unprotected water-reservoir becomes useless, has defects and will be abandoned by the water.

140. Hence the protection of the canals by all the the kings is the highest law — so declare the sages who see the truth.

141. They say the irrigation by water-reservoirs, tanks and wells is for the fulfilment of welfare on the earth.

142. In places the place of water is ascertained above the land in places it is mentioned under the land.

143. In some places the water-current disappears in a field which needs too much irrigation[36] in another place the water-current disappears because it is spoiled by faults in the soil.

[35] Ms reads *samujvalam* for *samujjvalam*.

[36] *Poṣaṇabhūyiṣṭhe* may be connected with *bhūmyām* and refers to irrigation. cf. *jalapoṣaṇa* in *śloka* 141. *AAI* p. 23 puts it as "on account of abundance of pebbles".

144. Hence soil which is abundant in sand and full of water is said by those who see the truth to be suitable for a water-reservoir or well.

145—147. In a country where water is not obtainable from a canal for the rice field or for the garden during the hot season, the king should manage the construction of wells everywhere. He should get a small medium sized or big well dug or a water-reservoir of square, circular or oblong shape and have it protected in the proper manner.

148. In the summer months the level of water is low everywhere in the country and even in the river-bed.

149. Therefore well-digging for the sake of obtaining full supply of water takes a lot of time in the hot season.

150—151. First the king should have the wise men — who know the method of divining water — determine the digging of a water-reservoir and well and the position of the water and then observing the strata of the earth according to the roots of trees he should manage the digging at an auspicious hour and moment.

152—153. The morning is said to be auspicious for digging. The king, after worshipping *Varuṇa* the lord of waters, the earth-goddess and the forest-goddess[37] especially with offerings, should get the well, water-reservoir and oblong water-reservoir constructed according to order.

154—155. The first is to dig a big pit, oblong, square or circular and discard the excavated earth at a distance. There the brave soldiers and cultivators should gradually go on removing the earth till the water appears.

156. After having observed the water mixed with sand in the well they have to build a base which is intended to strengthen the well.

157. In a place which is abundant in sand the building of the base of lattice of well-burnt bricks is advisable.[38]

158. In a place where the ground is hard and with an oblong water-reservoir (he) should get the lower part constructed of stone slabs.

159. On account of the removing the earth mixed with sand and water the lower part of a well should be constructed in this manner.

160—165. Having made the well strong and abundant in water in due order and seen to its lower part etc. the king should construct a wall made of pieces of

[37] *Vanadevī* forest-goddess. This name cannot be attested in any Sanskrit source known to me. I translate it on the analogy of *vanadevatā*. cf. *Kumārasaṁbhava* VI, 39 etc, and M. Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 917 col. 3. In the *Ṛgveda* X. 146 *Araṇyānī* is the goddess of forests. The name of this goddess is reflected in early Tamil literature too. Kaḍukiḷal according to the Takkayāgappaṛaṇi.

[38] There are unpublished works called *Taḍāgādividhi*, and *Kūpapratiṣṭhā* in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, under the signatures No. 3407 and 3406 respectively. A Sanskrit text *Kūpotsargapaddhati* by name was published by the *Caukhamba Orientāliyā*. Cf. *Saṁskṛta Saurabha* 1980. No. 1859.

brick in proper time. The wise men — who see the truth — say that wells built of bricks laid in mortar are durable. Hence the water-reservoirs and wells are to be constructed from mortar and brick in every region — it is so declared by the handbooks. He should make the whole from the lower part up to the surface of the earth from brick etc. day by day and somewhere construct the steps. He should make the main gate from stones on the surface of the earth. For that the wise men knew the direction where the steps should be made, towards east or west on in a direction according to the situation of the land. He should construct the place for a water-lifting-contrivance from stone on the bank.

166. Therefore in firm land he should make a small canal in the banks for the outflow of the water according to the land.

167—173. There are various water-lifting devices. The one drawn by bullocks yoked with strong chains is the best.[39] That drawn by an elephant with his trunk is the mediocre. The most inferior is the one drawn by man.[40] Water from below is regularly driven out by the water-lifting device to the surface of wells *etc.* — this is seen everywhere at all times in the world. The water driven by this device is praiseworthy for the rice-field if there is a small canal between the device and the field. Therefore the intelligent people who are engaged in cultivation, being *brāhmaṇas*, *kṣatriyas*, *vaiśyas*, *śūdras* and others, lead the water of a water-reservoir and well, or the water standing in a tank or the water moving in a canal which is dependent on a river, or water being in a lake, water which is clear and free from defects, to the agricultural land and the cultivation place of vegetables in the land and also to the place of *campaka* (Michelis champaca) etc. and creepers methodically using water-lifting devices according to the method which is suitable to people to achieve the goal of agriculture.

174—177. Therefore the cultivators should obtain a place for the water-reservoir first. It is said that one can obtain water from a canal, from a well, from lakes, from water-reservoirs. In the season of clouds all-refreshing rain is ensured everywhere accidentally and by the will of the sages. During the season the king should fill the water coming from the clouds in such places like water-reservoirs for the sake of the fulfilment of welfare, and strive to protect it.

178—179. Hence the king and other bulls among men should procure water everywhere during the season and should strive to protect it — so said the great sage Kāśyapa.

[39] Cf. D. D. Kosambi, *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*. Revised edition. Bombay 1975,[2] figure 10. and *Farmers of India*. Vol. IV. New Delhi 1968, p. 218. Cf. Lallanji Gopal, Aspects of History of Agriculture in Ancient India (Varanasi 1980) pp. 114—168.

[40] Cf. the device called *picota* in Tamil Nadu. This is worked by men. cf. *Farmers of India* Vol. II. New Delhi 1961, p. 42—43.

V. The description of the characteristic marks of cultivators and village workers and the eulogy of agriculture.

Kāśyapa teaches:

180—185. Men who are devoted to agricultural work, living in villages, free from hypocritical libations[41] seeking the welfare of each other, devotees of the cow and the earth-goddess, always truthful, content in giving comfort to others[42] whose mind is always peaceful, who have no enemy in the world, who aim at work for others, who have fondness towards the quadrupeds, who are experts in wordly affairs, skilful in counting, purified, who consider purity the ultimate aim, who devoted themselves to the constant and indispensable rites in proper time, who are doing good by receiving guests, who are free from quarreling and laziness, exempt from sensuality and anger, sharing in love towards each other, who are busy in the work to be accomplished — those best, truth-seeing people are to be assigned as guards of water-reservoirs, banks etc. and canals.

186—191. People who are devoted only to the protection of the cow, full of confidence towards the king, who have begotten children and grandchildren, who have a number of brothers-in-law and brothers, who are *brāhmaṇas*, *kṣatriyas*, *vaiśyas* and *śūdras* living from agriculture, or born in mixed caste, and men, who are hunters, who are fond of hunting, who are mentioned as cowherds, who are called goatherds and others who are living from agriculture, all these people in the world who are intended upon mutual happiness, who are initiated into the welfare of the world by the village headmen and the caste chiefman and by the king's orders, who do teaching for a living, who are watching the worldly affairs, merciful, ready for sacrifices for the protection of each life, who are eager to help everybody, those are called pure men.

192—195. Among them the pure *brāhmaṇas*, who have the law as their ultimate goal, merciful, conversant with politics, conscientious, who properly punish the guilty, ready for the protection of everything, who wish to abide by the king's orders, who are rich in good qualities — those are to be appointed to the post of lasting law on usual and unusual occasions for one or more villages. They are justly known helpers in agricultural work.

196. Help is to be given by the kings and the *kṣatriyas* the rich *vaiśyas* and by the village headmen in agricultural work for the benefit of the world.

197—200. It is said: help in agriculture is a pious and glorious act, it promotes long life. Therefore the help provided by the king, *kṣatriyas*, *brāhmaṇas* and also *vaiśyas* and *śūdras* according to their power yields great fruit in agriculture. The best sages called help in agriculture a great meritorious act in this world

[41] *Daṁbhāsūyādimuktāśca*. Should we read *dambha*° ?

[42] Ms reads *parānukūlyaniratāḥ*, however, the expected form would be °*anakūlatā* f. "concord, good-will, favour" etc. cf. M. Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 31. col. 2.

because it means the donation of different kinds of seeds and cattle, donation of land, digging canals, protecting of the grain fields, establishing water-reservoirs or tanks etc., constructing a granary. Because of this help agriculture is fruitful.

201. Due to the protection of cattle and especially of the *brāhmaṇas* the help rendered with all one's might is known as very fruitful.

202—205. Therefore merciful men who appoint servants to guard the village and servants to guard the embankments everywhere in the country and who expel the robbers, punish the guilty in accordance with the law and the men who establish lawful conditions and the highest bliss the protection of life — are known as ones to be praised by Gods. That man in whom all the truth, eagerness to donated, the habit of patience, absence of cruelty,[43] ascetism and tenderness are seen is to be nominated by the king for the juridical council (*nyāyasabhā*) of the village in due succession.

206. The auspicious superintendantship of the village and the proper process of cultivation are dependent on this — so said the best sages.

207. In the case when *brāhmaṇas* are not available *kṣatriyas* or *vaiśyas* may be nominated there for the sake of the welfare of the subjects.

208. The practice of agriculture — a measure for welfare and victory derived from the sages everywhere — in some places is confined to the *śudras* too.

209—211. Even the *śūdra* who is rich in good qualities who has a faith in the *brāhmaṇas* as his reliable instructors, who is full of confidence in the sacred books, who knows respect, who serves the saints, intelligent, who knows the measurement of time, doing service and fond of service who is going to be well-disposed,[44] the employment of that is laudable. For the most part the *śūdras* as hired workers are well-known in the villages.[45]

212—213. Just they are to be employed in agricultural work and not the men of other castes. The *vaiśyas* and *kṣatriyas* who are rich in virtues and have fine intelligence are to be employed by the kings as accountants and in the work of defence etc., the *brāhmaṇas* always in politics.

214—216. If intelligent *brāhmaṇas*, *kṣatriyas*, *vaiśyas* and *śūdras* are employed in the work to protect cattle, to protect the subjects, to punish the robbers, to protect the water-reservoir and the temples and especially in the agricultural work in villages and in the special royal duty everywhere then this suits the welfare.

217. There is happiness for the provinces and also for the state. From unanimity the highest happiness is born.

[43] Ms reads *aniśasyam* for *anṛśasyam*.

[44] *bhavitavyaśca vinayī?*

[45] Cf. *Amarakośa* II, 10, 38—39 and R. S. Sharma, *Śūdras in Ancient India*. Delhi-Varanasi-Patna 1980,[2] p. 248.

218. Simultaneous uttering and unanimity is seen everywhere with the bees — so declared in this world Bhārgava the sage.[46]

219. All the people living in village, province, town or stronghold are free from bad qualities beginning with envy etc. due to that.

220—228. The care as directed by the textbooks is praised as conducive to welfare in every activity — such as protection of dams, roads, agriculture, towns, villages, pleasure gardens, subjects, cattle and manifold protections mentioned by the great sages and all the protecting activities by all the villagers. In a village or state in which a royal castle is not built — especially for the sake of the protection of the subjects — the minister or virtuous representatives belonging to the royal family and who has wealth and an army should construct a building. Upon request by the subjects he should firmly protect it from danger. He should fix the livelihood of his subjects by various means. The *brāhmaṇas*, *kṣatriyas*, *vaiśyas*, *śūdras* and the people of mixed castes and other men live in the world in places like villages etc. Who are devoted to their law, share happiness, who are celebrated, who have achieved the highest happiness, possess a family, a multitude of cattle those are the particularly illustrious everywhere in different countries.

229—230. All men who turn to the order of the king, who pay respect to the *śruti*[47] and *smṛti*[48] who are ready to help others, whose fear is lost, who are free from anxiety and disease, who work properly, serve the sages, these enjoy special eminence everywhere in different countries.

231. Just for all of them the livelihood from agriculture is eternal. It gives prosperity, power, it is praiseworthy because this activity is in accordance with the universal rule.

232. Even the *brāhmaṇas*, *kṣatriyas* and *vaiśyas* who are devoted to their profession are fit for agricultural work. They knew what was praised by the sages.

233. The sages who have divine eyes praise agricultural work as the basis of sacrifices and the life-giver of living beings.

234—235. Those men who possess grain fields either donated by the king or purchased by themselves and who practice agricultural work with respect, are mentioned as giving pleasure to Gods and the sages. Agriculture is the most valuable among those things which have value.

236. It is mentioned as something which is not to be taken away by others, praised by everybody, which yields great fruit, is the progenitor of pleasure and yields pure substances for the Gods.

[46] Bhārgava is a descendant of Bhṛgu. The later is regarded as one of the four most important authorities of the *Vaikhānasa* sect. cf. T. Goudrian, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

[47] *Śruti* which has been heard, sacred knowledge orally transmitted by the *brāhmaṇas*.

[48] *Smṛti* which is remembered and handed down in writing by human authors.

237. Agriculture eliminates dependency on others,[49] *Lakṣmī* manifests herself in agriculture, agriculture gives life for guests, gods and one's own family.

238—242. Agriculture is praised because it gives various kinds of joy. Hence another occupation which has dependence[50] on others does harm to meritorious acts and it is blamed by the people who see the truth. Hence the virtuous men who have accomplished the reading of the *Vedas* by their own efforts or people who are guards by profession of are traders or others, *śūdras* or even people of mixed castes, who are devoted to the truth, rich in affection and strongly attached to undertaking agriculture for themselves, who willingly take on that occupation highly estimated by the sages and Gods — also should support agriculture as an occupation because it gives pleasure for all the gods, which gives life to living beings.

243. The best sages were of the opinion that agricultural activity is desirable in the forest, an inhabited country, in village-land and on the slopes of hills.

244. The ancient sages practised agriculture on grassy and also arid lands because they made efforts for the advantage of living beings.

245. Since then keen-witted people have been practising agriculture and it became fruitful throughout the regions.

246. Hence the undertaking of agriculture is done by the bulls among men who are keen-witted in the world.

VI. The description of the collection of the requisites for agricultural work Kāśyapa teaches:

247—253. The wise man who knows agriculture, who knows the quality of soil very well, who is keen-witted after having mediated upon the divine *Trimurti*[51] should start with the agricultural work on an auspicious day for the sake of securing a rich harvest.[52] And his purified mind having recollected the earth-goddess and the corn-goddess[53] and worshipped them with devotion he should start with collecting the requisites. The wise man should plaster the cow-pen or cow-shed with cow-dung and make it bright with the decoration of fine flowers and perfumes and furnish it with a tying post made of hard wood like *tinduka* (Diospyros embryopteris), *tiniśa* (Dalbergia Ujjeinensis) *sarjaka* (Terminalis tomentosa) and chains etc. and having decorated the place with flowers, saffron and perfume and having circumambulated it he should make the cows walk over that place. He should drive in cows which have aus-

[49] Cf. *Kṛṣiparāśara* 3: *ekayā ca punaḥ kṛṣyā prārthako naiva jāyate, kṛṣyanvitodhi loke 'smin bhūyādekaśca bhūpatiḥ.*

[50] Ms reads *gumbhitā* for *gumphitā.*

[51] I.e. *Viṣṇu, Brahmā* and *Śiva.*

[52] Ms reads *phalasidhyārthaṁ* for *phalasiddhyārtham.*

[53] *Dhānyadevī* is identical with *Lakṣmī* and *Bhūdevī.* Cf. S. Bhattacharji, *The India Theogony.* Calcutta 1978, pp. 296—297.

picious marks, together with calves, white-limbed bulls which have auspicious marks and with their horn-tips capped with gold or brass and their bodies scented with perfumes.

254. Then he should fill place in the cow-shed with grass, fodder and straw and auspicious water-vessels at an auspicious moment.

255. The expert should tie there the white bulls which bear auspicious marks, cows and buffaloes that he had bought.

256—262. Having placed then the ploughs tied with ropes (*lāṅgalān rajjujaṭilān*) and the plough with its accessories (*sāṅgān*) or without the pole made of hard wood[54] on a cleaned place and having adorned them with perfume, mango leaves, flowers, sandal paste or saffron, he should worship the corn-goddess with the very auspicious sound of the conchshell. Then having there worshipped the earth-goddess, *Lakṣmī*,[55] *Vāṇī*,[56] *Gaurī*,[57] *Surādhipa*,[58] *Varuṇa*,[59] and especially *Dhaneśa*[60] and going to his field together with bulls and with beautiful ploughs at an auspicious hour and moment the expert should plough first from any auspicious corner in the field in the north-east, south-east or west.[61] Then having filled the field with water for easy ploughing he who knows the agricultural work should first plough his field with a plough drawn by oxen.

263—264. In this manner having ploughed that field with the plough four or five times[62] for six days or more and having extracted the clods and stumps, he should place there cow-dung, goat-dung or compost[63] in order to increase the fertility of the land.

[54] As to the wood prescribed for making a plough cf. *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* VII, 2, 2, 3; *Mānasāra* vol. III. p. 72; *Bṛhatparāśarasmṛti*. Jībananda Vidyāsāgara's edition, p. 106; *Kāśyapajñānakāṇḍa* chapter 22.

[55] *Lakṣmī* is *Viṣṇu's* consort.

[56] *Vāṇī* the goddess of speech, identical with *Sarasvatī*. She has a role in fertility cult.

[57] *Gaurī* is a benevolent aspect of the Divine Mother. She is connected with fertility rites. Cf. W. Kirfel, *Symbolik des Hinduismus und des Jinismus*. Stuttgart 1959, p. 46. She is said to be the wife of *Śiva* or *Varuṇa*, the lord of waters. Cf. E. W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*. Strassburg 1915 ,p. 225 and S. Bhattacharji, *op. cit.*, pp. 161—162.

[58] *Ṣurādhipa*, *Indra*, the great *Vedic* god who governs rain.

[59] *Varuṇa* the lord of waters.

[60] *Dhaneśa* the god of wealth; *Kubera* the husband of *Śrī* or *Vasundharā* the personified earth. cf. S. Bhattacharji, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

[61] As to ritual ploughing cf. *Kṛṣiparāśara* 121 etc. *Nīlamatapurāṇa* v. 559.

[62] This operation serves deep-ploughing. cf. the terms *tṛtīyākṛta Amarakośa* II, 9,9; *Vaijayantīkośa* III, 8, 22. etc.

[63] *Vālaga* "compost". There is a Telugu word *valuga* "a kind of fish", "fish general" cf. C. P. Brown, *Dictionary Telugu English*. Second edition. New Delhi 1980, p. 1166. We learn from *Mānasollāsa* III, V, 1 that trees are fumigated with fumes of *śapharī* fish. cf. Lallanji Gopal, op. cit. p. 109. *AAI* p. 43: "compost". Or should we read *balaka* "a mixture of treacle and milk"? M. Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 723 col. 2.

265—269. He should bring spades, sickles (*śaṅkula*)[64] small hoes (*kṣudratalu-ka* ?),[65] long knives, short knives (*khaḍgakān churikān*) which are said in science on requisites (*dravyaśāstra*) to be useful for cultivation and sickles which have the strength for cutting (*lavasāraka*).[66] Ploughing is the best when the first rain is seen on the earth — so said the best sages. The sages say the ploughing is to be done after pouring water to the grain field from the opening of canals at proper time. Therefore everywhere in the country the agricultural work should according to the season of cultivation and the appearance of auspicious sign and hour, first have the land ploughed properly as the planets instruct him.

VII. Description of plough worship

Kāśyapa teaches:

270. Before ploughing, the worship of the plough and especially of the oxen is to be performed by the cultivators who know the signs.

271. The worship of field or land with pure water, perfumes etc. and moreover with lamps[67] yields fruit.

272. O earth-goddess, o all-enduring, wide-expanse ! Reverence to you ! I shall start ploughing. Be pleased o virtuous one !

273. Ploughing, tapping and whatever other harm I did on you, o goddess forgive all that and yield me a rich harvest.

274. You are declared to be the mother of all living beings. Therefore be kindly disposed towards me o goddess ! Give me a boundless crop on the earth ![68]

275—276. Having thus praised and requested the earth-goddess — the consort of *Viṣṇu* — and making circumambulation with salution, having praised the regents of the quarters of the sky, the guardians and the life-promoting sun he should make the best commencement of ploughing of the land.

VIII. Here is the description of worship of the bull-king[69]

Kāśyapa teaches:

[64] Should we read *śaṅkula* ? But even this form is problematic because it has only the following meanings: "a kind of lancet or knife", or "a pair of nippers or scissors (used to cut the areca-nut into small pieces)" cf. M. Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 1047 col. 2. and also V. M. Apte, *The Practical Sanskrit English Dictionary*. Ed. by P. K. Gode and C. G. Karve. Poona 1957, vol. III. p. 1529. cf. C. P. Brown, op. cit. p. 1247: nut-cracker; nut-crackers have the shape of a sickle.

[65] The term is unintelligible.

[66] I take *lavasārakaṁ* as a *bahuvrīhi* beside *lavitram*. The given meaning of *sārakam* is only tentative. *AAI* p. 37 wrongly translates it as "threshing apparatus".

[67] Cf. *Kṛṣiparāśara* 139: dadyācca. . .ghṛtapūrṇaṁ *pradīpakam*. Cf. *Kāśyapajñā-nakāṇḍa chapter* 73.

[68] Cf. *Kṛṣiparāśara* 140: *devi dehi me vāñchitaṁ phalam*.

[69] Cf. *Kṛṣiparāśara* 99—108.

277. "O offspring of *Surabhi*,[70] very strong, very splendid bull-king! Do me help in the work of ploughing of the land, O sinless one!
278. I worship you now with fragrant garlands of flowers etc. Be fruitful for me and virtuous! May it be very well with thee!
279. I carefully feed you with grass and crops and water. Be always fruitful by *Śaṅkara*'s[71] grace!
280. Having always generated offsprings who are of the same power and manliness as you, adorn my cow-pen. I carefully feed you.
281. O bull-king! You alone give the growth of wealth and grain. You are the very image of the law on the earth. Therefore I feed you.
282. Show me sympathy in such a manner that my *devayajña* and *bhūtayajña* may be prosperous. Forgive also my faults."
283. Having so requested the bulls and worshipped them the work of a bull is laudable as far as they are not fatigued or exhausted.[72]
284. Affliction of their minds definitely causes fruitlessness. Therefore (the cultivator) should not employ fatigued bulls for agricultural work. Then bull worship is praiseworthy — so said the truest sages.

IX. The description of the marks of cows and bulls

Kāśyapa teaches:

285. Those cows and bulls which are distinguished with auspicious marks ensuring prosperity to the owners are said to give welfare to the country.
286. Those bulls are fit for agricultural work and excelling in virtues. Bulls which have white limbs, are tall, have charming eyes, deep bellowing sound are the *brāhmaṇa* bulls.[73]
287. Those which have red limbs, are especially tall, give a deep rumbling sound, possess a brigh appearance and vigour, those are the *kṣatriya* bulls.
288. Those which have white and red spots forming circles on their bodies, are not very tall, not very short belong to the *vaiśya* class.
289. Those which have black limbs, are not very tall, are irritable . . . those bulls belong to the *śūdra* class.
290. All these are praiseworthy and fit for agricultural work. Pair of horns not very long and not very thin is auspicious. Bull-horns which are proportional are praiseworthy.

[70] *Surabhī*, a fabulous cow and wife of *Kāśyapa*. One of the ploughing bull in ritual ploughing is addressed as *Saurabheya* (a descendant of *Surabhī*). Cf. *Kāśyapajñānakāṇḍa* chapter 22.

[71] That means from *Śiva*'s grace. *Śiva* is the lord of the *Nandi* bull and the animal world too.

[72] Cf. *Kṛṣiparāśara* 84: *kṛṣiṁ ca tādṛśīṁ kuryādyathā vāhānna pīḍayet, vāhapīḍārjitaṁ śasyaṁ garhitaṁ sarvakarmasu.*

[73] Cf. Note 17.

[74] Ms reads *samujvalāḥ* for *samujjvalāḥ*.

291—292. The hooves of bulls which are not weak, not very long, proportional and strong are determined as praiseworthy. An auspicious gait and long tail in bulls is also laudable.

293. The absence of fatness or leanness, the capacity for carrying loads and excellence at work are the best qualities of bulls.

294. A bull which is white at the horns, forehead and also tail and hooves and possesses different colours elsewhere is a promoter of prosperity.

295. Bulls which have a delightful nature thrilling with rapture, are splendid[74] with bright colours, have an auspicious lock of hair that curls backwards, promote wealth and grain.

296. Those which are endowed with fine hair, give a deep sound, have charming eyes, are mentioned as prosperity-givers.

297—302. Those which are red in colour with great horns, which are endowed with energy and strength, have a tattering gait, become subject to passion and sleep which have a lean body, those which are smoky-coloured and eat too much and those bulls which have inauspicious colours and which have a low rough body, have an inauspicious cry, those are inferior bulls and are to be avoided. Bulls whose body is completely white or red are known as growers of prosperity, wealth and grain. Cultivators should take care to collect bulls which are free from faults, which are of pure breed, have good qualities for the sake of the fulfilment[75] of welfare. It is said that buffaloes, cows and buffalo-cows yielding a rich supply of milk and having auspicious marks are also to be protected. Sheeps and goats are useful in agriculture.

303—305. For the fruitfulness of agriculture the people — who regard welfare as their object — should protect the bulls etc. which are determined faultless by the tradition, and by the sages upon examination. They are to be fed in proper time by giving useful fodder and to be protected from diseases by fondling etc., every day. The wise man should fix up a cow-shed for them. This makes them grow.

306—311. The best bulls and cows of good breed are of primary help in agriculture. Therefore the cultivators should protect hundreds of cows bearing auspicious marks everywhere in villages and towns. By means of protection of cows by cultivators giving them straw, grass, water etc. and fondling and tending them in villages and towns *dharma*, *kāma* and *artha* (the three objects of wordly existence) may be achieved and also the extinction of disease and protection of children and the old. In a country where thousands of cows are kept in happiness, rain falls no doubt.

311. From the protection of cows the highest pleasure is born for gods and therefore welfare for the subjects — so said Bhārgava.[76]

[75] Ms reads °*sidhyārtham* for °*siddhyārtham*.

[76] Cf. Note 46.

312. Therefore the cultivators themselves should protect the herds of cows with every effort or should have servants or cow-herds to protect them.
313. Worship of cows every year at an auspicious time by oneself, by one's servants and especially by cow-herds is to be of foremost importance.
314. Daily worship is celebrated in the evening with incense and flowers. It is said to be prosperity-giving and is praised in the textbooks.
315—317. It gives good offspring and bestows the *trivarga* (*dharma*, *kāma* and *artha*) on the people. The wise man should place these goats and bulls and the other working animals in the shadow during the hot season at noon, but in the cow-pen during the cold season and maintain them with wholesome feed for the general welfare of the tenants as well as of the royal family. The protection of cows is to be performed by the kings and is said to be virtuous.
318. Protection from cow-lifters and from vicious beings and especially their employment in agriculture yields much fruit.
So thus the preliminary advice on the subject. Here is the first part, the description of the method of cultivating grain.

X. The method of investigation of the proper season for grains and the method how to divide the land

Kāśyapa teaches:
319—320. The wise men everywhere in the world who know the agricultural work — after having fed the bulls, buffaloes, cows, labourers and servants — who know the irrespective jobs and are employed by the cultivators in the fields should promote the commencement of various methods according to the capacity of the land.
321—326. In the beginning the most important is the examination of the season. In countries like: *Kāśmīra*, *Vaṅga*, *Nepāla*, *Pāñcāla*, *Kosala*, *Kuru*, *Virāṭa*, *Avanti*, *Mālava*, *Śaka*-country, *Sindhu-Sauvīra*, *Śūrasena*, *Avanti*, *Cedi*, *Koṅkāṇa*, *Andhra* etc.[77] cultivation is very much laudable when it rains. Where there is irrigation in the field by means of river or canals, cultivation is praised during the hot season. Cultivation is also blessed in such places which are irrigated by culverts connected with deep water-reservoirs and canals. The wise cultivator having examined the water-current coming from the clouds, from the deep water-reservoir and the quantity of water of the canal, should properly carry on cultivation keeping in eye the output of the soil.
327—328. The fields situated everywhere on the banks of rivers, in villages, in the interior of forests, on the slopes of mountains on high or low grounds are

[77] This list gives an idea of a territory which embraces the Indian peninsula with ecxept of the extreme south. The identification of the single names varies from time to time. Cf. N. L. Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*. London 1927.

divided into two groups according to their form in this world. The rice-field is the first that is said to be the best by the sages.

329—336. The second is the *āḍhaka*-field,[78] which, however gives a middling crop. The rice-field is abounding in water by its own nature and full of marsh and soft clay. Its water-current is provided with canals and small canals which are connected with a row of branches of canals. It is endowed with a small size earthen dam for protection. The situation of the rice-field is determined by the vicinity to a threshing floor, to the village habitation or to the other fields. The canal which receives the water has a bed the slope of which is in some places towards the east, in others towards the west or south or north. In some places it has an almost level bed, and in others this water-current can be led from the field to another field. The different nature of rice-fields is determined in this manner. When from the first ploughing up to the ripening of the paddy the rice-field is full of water then it is said to yield a full crop. The raised field near the village habitat, near the forest or on the bank of a river is the second kind of fields. It is called *āḍhaka*-field. It needs only drops of water and grows *caṇaka* (chick-pea) and *āḍhaka* (pulses).

337. For that canals etc. are not needed. It is usually fit for cultivation with little watering, then at the time of sowing it is to be watered slightly.

338. In this land the watering at the proper time gives life to the seeds. The *āḍhaka*-field is said to have this quality.

339. The cultivators should collect the different kinds of seeds which are proper for sowing in the rice and *āḍhaka*-fields.

XI. The description of the methods of collecting various seeds

Kāśyapa teaches:

340. In the beginning of the creation the great forefather of the world, the creator, being requested by the earth created various kinds of seeds and once more began to ponder.

341—347. Anticipating his intention the great earth-goddess said to the creator cheerfully for the fulfilment of the happiness of living beings: "O creator ! there is no doubt that all the various seeds are created by you and carefully sown in me will necessarily have sprouts very soon. By the richness of your grace and especially that of *Vāsava*[79] there will be rain from the clouds every day. Then the subjects — who know the cultivation — obtain rain everytime according to the season and carry out the sowing of seeds in good field — they will be sharers of full crop they will be well-fed and happy in the different countries of the earth. There will be immeasurable pleasure of Gods and increase

[78] I.e. a dry land. cf. *śloka* 527.

[79] *Vāsava*, *Indra* who governs rain.

in number of the sacrifices and pleasing of subjects and guests with food etc. the timely satisfying of cows etc., and the *bhūtayajña* will be successful.[80]

348. Thus addressed by the earth-goddess, the lotusthroned (God) said: "May it be so" and this pronouncement gives welfare to all living beings.

349. From that moment keen-witted men who know agricultural work, protect seeds everywhere in the world.

350—353. Grain (*śāli*) is distinguished by the sages, the pulses are the second, the vegetables (*śāka*) are the third and the group of creepers and flowers are verily known as the fourth. The cultivation is fourfold as Nārada[81] the great *yogi* and others explained it. It yields nourishment and fruit, satisfies the people in all seasons, produces prosperity for the Gods, gives food for the animals like cows, bulls, camels, horses and elephants on the earth.

354. The best kings diligently carry out the cultivation in their countries and group of hired labourers (*bhṛtya*) protect it.

355—357. Therefore this agricultural work, which mainly depends on the seeds was undertaken by *brāhmaṇas*, *kṣatriyas*, *vaiśyas*, *śūdras* and others and was variously practised in good fields according to the season. So the collection (of seeds) is said to be done properly by pure men who are the best among the agricultural experts in this world for the sake of prosperity. Now I shall tell the names of different seeds.

358. The experts in agriculture have distinguished three kinds of paddy according to their flavour, colour and species etc. namely the *śāli*-rice, *kalama*-rice and *ṣaṣṭika*-rice.[82]

359. The *kalama* is somewhat hard, bright, and has a strong flavour. The lotus-born god (*Brahmā*) created the *ṣaṣṭika* flavourless.

360. Keeping in view the different kinds of soil the experts have declared twenty six varieties of rice here and there in the regions.

361. Careful men should sow seeds according to the seasons. Therefore preservation of seeds by all efforts is laudable.

362—368. (1) white *śāli*, (2) red *śāli*, (3) thick *śāli*, (4) long *śāli* having sweet flavour, (5) white-coloured *kalama*, (6) red-coloured *kalama*, (7) thick-grained *kalama*, (8) long-sized *kalama*, (9) *śaṁbaka* rice called golden, (10) reddish brown *śaṁbaka*, (11) red *śaṁbaka*, (12) black *śaṁba*, a variety considered to be very flavourful, (13) *śuka* rice, (14) another thick variety of *vrīhi* rice, (15) hard *vrīhi* rice, (16) *palaśa vrīhi* which is full of flavour, (17) sweet paddy (*svādu vrīhi*), (18) *phala vrīhi*, (19) *drākṣā vrīhi*, (20) *nīvāra* which has black and white spots, (21) and (22) white *yava* and black *yava*,[83] both of which are

[80] Cf. Note 4.

[81] *Nārada* is a *ṛṣi*, a son of *Kāśyapa*. *Nārada* as a great *yogi* is not known to me.

[82] *Ṣaṣṭika-rice* a kind of paddy which is ripe in 60 days.

[83] *yavau śvetakṛṣṇau*.

thick, (23) *saṁmara vrīhi* which has an abundant crop or swells much on boiling, (24) *kala vrīhi* which is very nourishing, (25) white *vrīhi* and (26) yellow *vrīhi* which relieves indigestion.

369. These are the twenty six varieties of rice and the seeds of all these should be preserved.

370. When they are ripe and have been dried in the sun on the threshing floor the most important task is the preservation in one's own house for the sake of promoting prosperity.

371. It is said that the kings should preserve and distribute seeds in proper time. The mass of seeds represents the highest fortune and the primary wealth in agriculture.

372. It gives pleasure to the people and Gods and it is suitable for donation. Therefore the proper preservation of seeds by cultivators is valuable.

373—376. These are the seeds which yield abundant crops. The best sages have ascertained that some of them yield fruit and are ripe in three months others in four months in the fields, some in five months, some in six months, seven months, eight months or even more. Therefore the commencement of agricultural work concerning rice etc. in the fields, together with the arrangement of water-currents serves the fulfilment of happiness.

377—385. Agricultural work is dependent on the rainfall or on the water-currents in the world and it is praised according to the quality of land and season. It yields fruit both for the kings and their subjects. It is very sure that agricultural work gives comfort of life to the cows and even to the birds. The preservation of the following seeds gives happiness: seeds of pulses, seeds of *māṣa* (Phaseolus radiatus), of *mudga* (Phaseolus mungo), *caṇaka* (chick-pea, wheat especially), of *tila* (Sesamum indicum), *kīraka* (a kind of tree?), and *kodrava* (Paspalum scrobiculatum), *yavara* (Hindi *juār*, millet), *kulastha* (Dolichus biflorus), *śyāma* (Artemisia indica), *kṛṣṇasāriṇa* (Acacia catechu?), and also of sugarcane (*ikṣu* and *puṇḍra*: two varieties of sugarcane) according to yield of juice, various kinds of spices (*uṣṇabījaka*), *jīraka* (cumin-seed), *sarṣapa* (mustard) and also *marīci* (black pepper) and exotic *tūlā* (cotton), *eraṇḍa* (Ricinus communis), *paṭolika* (a species of small cucumber), and also *vārtāka* (egg plant, Solanum melomgena), *jaṭikā* (Nardostachys jatamansi), *rāśijaṭikā*, *vallikā* (a medical herb), *vanavallikā* (wild *vallikā*), and *ṣavaka* (?) are (creeping plants) and are full of juice. The various vegetables are to be distinguished by colour, taste and species.

386—389. The preservation of the various seeds of *kūṣmāṇḍa* (Beninkasa cerifera) *kalāṭa* (?), *kustuṁba* (?), *kaṭa* (Saccharum sara), *dhānyaka* (coriander?), in various places and that of *haridra* (turmeric) and *śuṇṭhi* (dry ginger) is useful. Cultivators who are experts in agricultural work should preserve also the seeds of *sūraṇa* (Amorphophallus campanulatus), *kanda* (bulbous root), *śākuṭa* (?), *rasaka* (?) and *kadalī* (banana), *elā* (Alpinia cardamomum), *drākṣā*

(grapes), *nalada* (Nardostachy jatamansi, Indian spikenard) and *nāgavallī* (?) are full of juice the preservation of the seed of *pūga* (Areca catechu) and *kramuka* (Areca faufel) is useful.

390—394. The cultivators should preserve the seeds of the following flowers and trees for the sake of happiness: the seed of *mallikā* (jasminum zambac) with whiteflowers, *kunda* (Jasminum multiflorum), *atimukta* (Aganosma caryophyllum), *cāṁpeya* (Michelia champaca) in various places, *śighru* (Moringa pterygosperma), *bhūrjaka* (birch tree), *kurañja* (Pongamia glabra), also *śami* (Mimosa suma), *naktamālā* (Pongania glabra?), *devadāru* (Pinus devadaru or deodar), *vibhītaka* (Terminalia belerica), *priyaṅgu* (Panicum italicum), *āmalaka* (Emblic myrobalan), *piṇḍītaka* (Vanguaeria spinosa), *niṁba* (Azadirachta indica), *likuca* (Artocarpus lacucha), *śirīṣa* (Acacia sirissa), *aśoka* (Jonesia asoka Roxb.), *dāḍima* (pomegranate, Punica granatum), *śrīparṇa* (Premna spinosa), *tamāla* (Crataeva roxburghi), *sindhuvāra* (Vitex negundo), *kapittha* (Feronia elephantum), *jaṁbu* (rose apple, Eugenia jambolana), and *saptaparṇa* (Alstonia scholaris).

395—400. The preservation of the seed of all these trees is useful, the leaves, flowers and fruits of which are specially beneficent for men and birds: *udumbara* (Ficus glomerata) *caladala* (Ficus religiosa), *tiniśa* (Dalbergia ujjeinensis), *pāribhadraka* (Erythrina indica), *palāśa* (Butea frondosa), *madhūka* (Bassia latifolia), *vaṭa* (banyan, Ficus indica), *plakṣā* (Ficus infectoria), *rasālaka* (mango), *tinduka* (Diospyros embryopteris), *tilaka* (Clerodendrum phlomoides), *nīpa* (Nauclea cadamba), *arjuna* (Terminalia arjuna), *sarjaka* (Terminalia tomentosa), *badara* (Zizyphus jujuba), *pīlu* (Salvadora persica), *jambīra* (Citrus sp. citron tree), *punnāga* (Rottleria tinctoria), *vaṁśa* (bamboo, Shorea robusta), *kāśa* (Saccharum spontaneum) and various kinds of *mātulāṅga* (Citrus medica). The cultivators should preserve the well-ripened seeds which are dried in the sun in various vessels, heaps of straw and also basins.

401—407. As the mass of seeds should not be damaged by rabbits, rats or cats, excessive water and wind or rain or through other harm, it is to be preserved in that manner in the house and on the threshing floor. The sages said that the preservation of the best kind of seed was due to the virtuous minds of the cultivators and was for their prosperity. People who know agricultural work, being *brāhmaṇas*, *kṣatriyas*, *vaiśyas*, *śūdras* or of mixed origin, having bought and kept the seed of rice, vegetables, trees and bulbous roots — which are sprinkled with water in due time and caused to germinate — should sow them in the right manner according to the rule of sowing in their fields in their countries which have been properly ploughed by oxen.

XII. The method of ploughing the land for the sake of sowing

Kāśyapa teaches:

408—413. People who are experts in the textbooks have determined different kinds of sowing. Ploughing is to be done by the best bulls in the paddy-fields.

Which are ascribed to the various kinds of seeds of rice for this purpose. The cultivation of bulbous roots etc. first is to be carried out in dry land — so determined the authorities on agricultural work. And then having separated the fields and the irrigated good fields fit for sowing by tilling them with oxen and making them smooth, they should plant the seedlings with all their might in accordance with the suitability of the land.

413—415. The ploughing is to be done by oxen, the smoothing and levelling by spades and paring plough (*kheṭa*) in the pleasure gardens, gardens, royal garden, in the land outside or inside of the village or town. The experts prescribed furrowing and smoothing[84] in some places digging for sowing. For planting bulbous plants etc. one should dig a pit.

416—423. *Kadalī* (banana) and the creepers etc. — that are known by the agricultural experts — are cultivated either by the insertion of scions or bulbs or by growing seedlings. The implantation is successful if it is done in smoothed good field which has been manured in proper time — say the sages who see the truth. Therefore the ploughing is laudable in rice-field or in dry land[85] in a soil which is fit for growing vegetables in gardens or tree-plantations. The agricultural experts should perform the ploughing, digging of pits and furrowing according to the requirement of the various lands. The wise man should assign for sowing that land which has been irrigated and then drained off or dried off by the abundance of sunray in regular course. In the plantation of creeping plants etc. and also of trees, *kadalī* (banana), bulbous roots and seedlings he should properly carry out the cultivation beginning with ploughing according to traditional instruction in order to secure a full crop.

XIII. The description of the method of cultivation which is fit for gaining various grains

Kāśyapa teaches:

424—431. The sages have determined that rice cultivation is best in countries like *Kosala*,[86] where there is a multitude of rice-fields full of river-water. Hence the intelligent cultivators who have decided to obtain *kalama* rice and *vrīhi* rice should primarily irrigate the rice-field from water-reservoirs with the help of canals, from rivers or lakes according to the season and plough them by oxen. The ploughing of the fields filled with water from a *śaṅkara*-type well[87] is useful if it is started from the north-eastern corner or in some places in the eastern or western side. One should order the uprooting of the paddy seedlings which have already been grown closely in a separate nursery and after he has

[84] *Samīkāraḥ* "smoothing", "levelling".

[85] *Latāsthale* "in a land fit for creeping plants" i.e. a dry land. Cf. *AAI* p. 64.

[86] It is remarkable that the *Kaśyapa gotra* of *brāhmaṇas* had an important role in the early Kosala-Magadhan Buddhist order. cf. D. D. Kosambi, op. cit., p. 118.

[87] This type of well is mentioned in the *Aparājitapṛcchā* p. 185 and *Viśvavallabha* II, 14. cf. *AAI* p. 31.

tied together the collection of seedlings he should at an auspicious hour have them transplanted by hired labourers in even trows in the rice-field where the clay has been softened by ploughing and which has been carefully manured with goat-dung, cow-dung with *latā* and *vratati*.[88]

432. Thereafter there in the field only a little water is to be allowed to remain and an outlet for the superfluous water-stream must be constructed.

433. So that no damage to the seedlings may happen, in that manner is it to be protected. It obviously makes the labour fruitful.

434—435. The transplantation of the seedlings is regular in the above mentioned manner. Where damage to the seedlings does occur because of rain and various reasons there in the country the wise man should transplant new seedlings that give fruit.

436—437. In village fields and in forest or other places the ploughing of the rice-field at the same by one, two, three, four or five cultivators with the help of ten yokes drawn by twenty oxen gives a great yield of rice.

438. Simultaneous sowing by the village people of one accord and by the use of a number of yokes is said to be fruitful.[89]

439—442. In this manner the rice seedlings transplanted in rows in a well-ploughed rice-field full of muddy water, in a village, town forest or woodland, irrigated by a canal and provided with many outlets for draining away the surplus water, are made to take root by the creator after the lapse of seven or ten days and then there is a beautiful appearance of new leaves.

443. Then the land shines forth with the beauty which is seen on the plumage of parrots, or on the body of a damsel in the prime of her youth.

444. And after the lapse of the first month in the rice-field the sprouting[90] of the leaves of *kalama* etc. appear in regular course.

445. The shoots are growing all around and the daily irrigation adornes them with beauty. A rich crop is to be expected.

446—450. At that time in the group of rice-fields wild grass and weed are surely growing in the muddy waters. The best sages declared them to be enemies of the rice. Therefore the cultivators should weed out the wild grasses and weeds, the *muñja* grass (Saccharum munja)[91] etc. and other injurious rushes from the land with effort. Digging out from their roots munja, weeds and wild grasses — which are harmful for the harvest and destroy the growth of grains — is useful. Then the experienced man, having filled the rice-fields with

[88] Here a special kind of manure made from decomposed plant remains is meant.

[89] The passage refers to a work carried out together by cultivators. Cf. *Kṛṣiparāśara* 221—237: a common harvest.

[90] Ms reads °*vṛdhyārtham* for °*vṛddhyārtham*.

[91] *Muñja* grass is used by rope-makers and the rope made of it is used for yoking a plough. cf. *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* V, 1, 2, 18; VII, 2, 2, 3 etc. *Kuśa* grass was utilized in the same manner. Cf. *Kāśyapajñānakāṇḍa* chapter 22.

water and having discarded the wild grasses and weeds row by row in regular course or having got hired labourers to do it, has done laudable work.

451—452. When the parasitic wild grasses etc. have been extracted by the cultivators from their fields then the multitude of fruitful rice starts growing and shines forth. Then the growth of rice is ensured in the second month.

453—455. If there are parasitic plants beginning with wild grasses in the rice-field, the proper weeding out of them is advised for the sake of a great harvest of the various kinds of rice. The cultivation of the different species of paddy such as *śvetaśāli*, *raktaśāli* and *kalama* is the same.

456—459. The first work is the ploughing of the land, then comes the planting of seedlings, it is followed by careful weeding, filling with water and then the protection of the rice.[92] The agricultural experts determined analogously this process notwithstanding that the different varieties of rice such as : *śāli*, *śaṁba*, *kalama* etc. are ripe within different periods of time, some in three months and some in four, five or six months according to their species and colour.

460—466. Therefore the people who know agricultural work after having ascertained the order of appearing of ears of the different varieties of paddy advised the filling (of the field) with water everywhere in the country. When the ears at the top of the rows of plants appear full of milky juice and solid and to be somewhat bent then the protection of the multitude of ears is advisable especially from the parrots this is so in various countries. In this manner the ears of the paddy full of juice gradually become harder at the core and from that hardness the rice comes out. Till then the irrigation of the neighbouring fields is advised and said to be prosperous, otherwise the crop will be lost. Therefore the cultivators, having known the process of the continuous development of the juice inside the paddy, should regularly water at the root of the paddy in due time in order to increase the juice.

467—468. Where there is irrigation from a river or water-reservoir or from a lake or well with all efforts there is prosperity and happiness for living beings from the grace of the earth-goddess and the will of nature.

469. The various seeds sown in the rice-field after starting growing in regular course will yield fruit on the earth.

470—471. They are themselves in such form splendid on the earth. The villagers doing agricultural work and who love each other knew that protection from rats, locusts, parrots and the multitude of animals was fruitful.[93]

[92] The order of agricultural operations is described in various sources. cf. *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* I, 6, 1, 3; *Milindapañha* VI, 22 and *Kṛṣiparāśara*. cf. T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwangs Travels in India*. New Delhi 1973,[2] vol. I, p. 178.

[93] Cf. the list of *Kṛṣiparāśara* 194 and the *mantra* thereafter.

472—473. The ripened rice etc. which are useful for living beings are to be honoured by those people who are living from it with circumambulation etc. and protected after determining the life-period of *sasya*-rice, *kalama*-rice etc. from their form, appearance any by personal experience as well as from the vital power of the seeds and the quality of the land.

474—475. When the row of ears of paddy is ripened according to the process due to the consequence of their fate, then irrigation should be ceased — so determined those who knew best the essence of cultivation. This method is asserted by the wise men with regard to all rice-fields.

476. Therefore the cultivators should untiringly protect the ears of paddy from various damages at the time of ripening.

477. In this manner, when the ears at the top of the plants become ripened their stalks bend their head very low to the ground.

478. The cultivator having seen this and having investigated it should protect it himself or get it protected by hired labourers for twenty days.

479—481. Now when the stalks of the paddy have become ripe and tinged with golden colour in various places then the harvest is to be done by the cultivators with sickles etc. The men should cut the heap of stalks of the rows of paddy in one day or in several days continuously with the help of their dependants[94] and other hired labourers[95] who are mutually attentive to perform an aid.[96]

482. When the stalks are not spoiled or damaged by rain or thieves then the harvest is said to be prosperous.

483—486. The harvesting of different rices is to be carried out in this manner. The cultivators should store the reaped stalks with their ears on threshing floors with the help of hired labourers and attendants. Storage and protection on the threshing floor for three to five days is said to be very useful. By threshing the ripe stalks of the heap of rice from which the ears are loosened, the quantity of grain falls on the threshing floor and sparkles like a heap of faultless pearls.

487—490. And again, when the ears are threshed with effort by the trampling of bulls and buffaloes[97] the remaining quantity of grain[98] also falls on the threshing floor. Having threshed the paddy in this way on the threshing floor the cultivators should pile up the thick firm and separated grain. Having strenuously separated the non-thick and the beautiful by means of a winnow-

[94] *Anujīvika* may refer to people depending on the householder.

[95] I take *bhṛtya* for "hired labourer". Cf. Note 45.

[96] *Mithaḥ sāhyakriyāparaiḥ.*

[97] To my knowledge this is the singly reference to this method of threshing in Sanskrit literature.

[98] Ms reads *dhānyakaṇaguṁbhaśca* for °*guṁphaśca.*

ing basket, wind and fanning the cultivators should pile them up. Then the wise man, having dried them in the sun, should clean them.

491—492. Having given[99] one part as a gift to the Gods and the kings according to the rule and one part to the *brāhmaṇa* learned in the *Vedas* according to the rule and one for nourishing the hired labourers,[100] he should store the remaining stock of paddy in his house.

493—494. He should carefully preserve it in stone vessels in some places in well-baked clay vessels, in some places in vessels of strong glass or in containers woven of ropes and plastered with mud according to the custom of the region.

495—496. In some places the cultivator should make a pit in the hard earth, provide it with descending steps and store the grain there and properly protect it from the danger of water, thieves, parrots, rats and harmful animals.[101]

497—504. The preservation of *kalama*, *vrīhi*, *dhānya* etc. and also the preservation of their seeds which are dried in the sun is so prescribed by the best cultivators. When the cultivators have taken the heap of paddy to their house they should gather together the tender straw obtained from the stalks of *sasya* and *vrīhi* etc. — dried in the sun and trodden over by the bulls — into small piles and store it in their house or in the cow-shed and should specially preserve it. The textbooks determine that from these bundles of straw there is fodder for cows, bulls and similarly for buffaloes in some places and for she-buffaloes, goats or deers in others. Therefore the intelligent cultivators in every country make effort therein for the protection of human life and the life of quadrupeds and consequently partake of great joy of deliverance from further transmigration by fate.

505—509. By the advice of the nobles (*ārya*), by the custom of the country and by the nature the *brāhmaṇas*, *kṣatriyas*, *vaiśyas*, *śūdras* and men of mixed origin who are devoted to the agriculture and others who possess land after having stored the mass of ripe paddy in their best house at a lucky hour and at an auspicious moment and after that having worshipped the corn-goddess and the wealth-goddess with perfumes and flowers and pure substances — determined by the textbooks — and having feasted the *brāhmaṇas* and paid[102] them the proper fee, and gained glory, happiness and God's favour in this world, will always be illustrious and cheerful together with their good sons, wives and grandsons.

510—514. Hence the fortunate people who took to cultivation a second time in the different rice-fields of their country and in forest regions, in villages, in good soil, dry land and in some places fertile land — which always has water

[99] Ms reads *datvā* for *dattvā*.

[100] This passage may reflect the existence of *jajmani* system.

[101] Ms reads *satvāt* for *sattvāt*.

[102] Ms reads *pradatvā* for *pradattvā*.

— obtain there a second harvest. Cultivation twice a year in the fields of various forms is praised as fruitful.[103] It is desirable that the second cultivation is to be done after having raised the fertility if the soil by manuring with goat-dung or cow-dung or compost etc. Action and inaction are both said to be fruitful if they are fit for the occasion.[104]

515. The mind of cultivators is made calm by the everyday vigilance of the rice-field and by the respect of cultivation and also by the proper method of cultivation.

516—520. They obtain fruit by the protection of cows. Therefore the cultivators who know the method of cultivation and have mutually cordial relations and who made up their mind to have a second harvest every year — having recognized the highest law in the protection of cows, hired labourers, seeds, canals, water-reservoirs, tanks, lakes, spades, sickles etc. the threshing floor, fences, fields, and in practising the very auspicious agricultural work according to the customs of the region — partake of the great joy of deliverence from further transmigration and possess the happiness of the *trivarga*.

XIV. Here is the description of the agricultural methods to obtain various matters beginning with the pulses

Kāśyapa teaches:

521—522. The seeds of the pulses: *āḍhaka* (Cajanus indica Spreng.), *māṣa* (Phaseolus radiatus), *caṇaka* (chick-pea), *kulattha* (Dolichus biflorus) and *tīla* (Sesamum indicum) are to be sown and *marīci* (pepper shrub) is to be cultivated. The sauce made from them is famous.

523—524. In this world various foods are made from rice which comes from the paddy for the sake of protecting life. The *pākaśāstraka*[105] gives instruction concerning this matter. King Vīrasena[106] composed a big *pākaśāstra* and his son Nala[107] the great sage Garga[108] did likewise.

525—526. Different series of foods and sauces are mentioned there. Those sauces make the most tasty food which are made of *māṣa* (Phaseolus radiatus), *āḍhaka* (Cajanus indicus Spreng.), *marīca* (pepper) and salt, and these prove nourishing and health-giving to humans.

[103] Cf. *Taittirīyasaṁhitā* V, 1,7, 3; *dviḥ saṁvatsarasya sasyaṁ pacyate*; *Arthaśāstra* II, 24, 11, *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* v, 27 and IX, 43.

[104] *Kriyākriyā yogyapadā*. The author's intention is not clear.

[105] As to the *Pākaśāstra* attributed to Bhīmasena cf. Th. Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*. Leipzig 1896—1903, Vol. II, p. 74 and Vol. III, p. 71. A work *Pākadarpaṇa* by name is ascribed to Mahārāja Nala was published by V. Bhattacharya. Benares 1915. A comprehensive work on cooking is the *Bhojanakutūhala* ed. by S. K. Pillai. Trivandrum 1956, so far two volumes have been printed.

[106] *Vīrasena* king of *Niṣadha*, the father of king Nala. There is no evidence of the existence of such a book. Is here *Bhīmasena* meant? Cf. Note 124.

[107] Cf. Note 105.

[108] Cf. Note 23.

527—536. At the time of growing paddy wise cultivators should sow the seeds of *āḍhaka* (Cajanus indicus Spreng.), *māṣa* (Phaseolus radiatus), *mudga* (Phaseolus mungo) etc. according to their season, in lands situated in forests or villages here on earth. These lands have been ploughed and watered by light showers from clouds or even with the water of canals. Textbooks determine *āḍhaka* (Cajanus indicus Spreng.), *māṣa* (Phaseolus radiatus), *mudga* (Phaseolus mungo), *tila* (Sesamum indicum) and the two kinds of *caṇaka* (chick-pea) big and small respectively.

The sowing of *tila* (Sesamum indicum) seeds is recommended in tracts of high land which have been irrigated. After the passing of four, five or six days the sprouts of *āḍhaka* (Cajanus indicus Spreng.) etc. become visible in the ploughed land. And this is ensured by using manure in the field as it is seen in the personal experience of the experts who write the textbooks in various countries. People say that the rice-field should be full of water, the *māṣa* (Phaseolus radiatus)-field should be situated in a table land. Therefore the cultivation of *āḍhaka* (Cajanus indicus Spreng.) *māṣa* (Phaseolus radiatus) etc. is to be practised by the cultivators in table-lands — says Bhārgava.[109] This textbook of Kāśyapa[110] says that on the basis of the practice of wise men, and the usefulness sowing *māṣa* (Phaseolus radiatus) etc. in low places in the rice-field also yields fruit.

537—541. According to the nature of the country or the land and the season, in fields which form part of wet land, or on table-land which is ploughed in due time and on the plains, the cultivator should sow in every row the seeds of *bṛhadāḍhaka*, *māṣa* (Phaseolus radiatus), *mudga* (Phaseolus mungo) *caṇaka* (chick-pea), *tila* (Sesamum indicum), *godhūma* (wheat), *kulattha* (Dolichus uniflorus), *kīra* (?), *kodrava* (Paspalum scrobiculatum), *yavara* (millet), *marīci* (pepper), *tūlā* (cotton), *eraṇḍaka* (Ricinus communis) *sarṣapa* (mustard) etc.

542—543. The agricultural experts should sow the seeds sprinkled with water or not-sprinkled, good seeds in the lines of furrows or lines of differently going scratchings (?)[111] according to the custom of their country.

544—552. The cultivator having observed here and there the sprouts of seeds just sown in the land ploughed in two different ways (mentioned above) they see that after the passing of one month everywhere wild grasses more or less time there are. The cultivator having cut them off with the help of *karaśaṅkula*[112] and uprooted them from that field should irrigate it completely. If there is not sufficient rain in the *āḍhaka* (Cajanus indicus Spreng) — field etc. after sowing then there may be rapid destruction of the seed. Therefore the

[109] Cf. Note 46 and 76.

[110] This type of reference is common in the *śāstra* literature. Cf. *Arthaśāstra* I, 8, 27.

[111] This passage is not clear: *sītasreṇiṣu vā nānārekhāsreṇiṣu*.

[112] *Karaśaṅkula* "a handy sickle?" Problematic. Cf. note 64.

best is the light watering with small quantity of water from a canal — so said the best sages. When the weeds detrimental to the seeds of *tila* (Sesamum indicum), *godhūma* (wheat), *caṇaka* (chick-pea), *māṣa* (Phaseolus radiatus), *mudga* (Phaseolus mungo), *āḍhaka* (Cajanus indicus Spreng.) have been cut off then the cultivator should apply rich manure[113] to the root of each seedling. Then when the mass of weeds and parasitic roots have been destroyed the growth of the stalk and sprouts of *māṣa* (Phaseolus radiatus) is assured. At that time there is a luxurious beauty and also flowers.

553—554. After the flowers a mass of ears appear and when they turn reddish-brown, the ripe grain of *āḍhaka* (Cajanus indicus Spreng.) etc. is formed. In three months or more the *māṣa* (Phaseolus radiatus), *āḍhaka* (Cajanus indicus Spreng.), *caṇaka* (chick-pea), *godhūma* (wheat) is ready for harvest in some places.

555—559. By the power of sprinkling water at the roots it will be firmness inside of the reddish-brown ears of plants. In this way is the appearance of *māṣa* (Phaseolus radiatus), *āḍhaka* (Cajanus indicus Spreng.), *tila* (Sesamum indicum) produced by God's grace everywhere in the world — so explain the textbooks. When the inner substance of the grains in the ear is hard then the row of ears appears to be ready for the harvest. Then the cultivators observe that the blades are bent, there is an infirmity and falling and bending of the tops of plants. The cultivator should water the multitude of *tila* (Sesamum indicum) and also *godhūma* (wheat) on table-lands in the proper season. The season and the time of the appearance of ears is fixed.

560. Differences of genus, difference of form and difference of cultivation and also the difference of soil must be taken into account. The practice of cultivation deserves that.

561. When the grain is hard and ripe in the multitude of ears the harvest is announced. (*krantanamudīritam*)[114]

562—565. In the time of ripening the protection by hired labourers, brave men (*vīra*) and guards will be for the prosperity of grains etc. here on earth. The threshing by *daṇḍa*[115] etc. and the drying in the sun of the harvested and (from the stalks separated) ears follows on the threshing floor. The cultivators should protect the stalks etc. of those which are useful for feeding bulls, horses and other quadrupeds. After having piled up the stalks on the threshing floor, in his house, in a proper place or in the courtyard of the cow-shed to protect them will bring prosperity.

[113] As to the method cf. *AAI* pp. 47 and 53.

[114] *Krantanam* is unintelligible. Should we follow the interpretation given by *AAI* p. 70?

[115] *Daṇḍa* denotes a long rod used for threshing. Cf. *Farmers of India* II. New Delhi 1961, p. 55: picture shows two women working with such implements in Ramanathapuram District, Tamil Nadu.

566—570. The cultivators who know their work should pile up and protect the stalks and straw of grains and pulses, the blades and stalks of *māṣa* (Phaseolus radiatus), *godhūma* (wheat), *caṇaka* (chick-pea) which give food for the quadrupeds in all seasons and keep them healthy and fit. The cultivator should collect the *godhūma* (wheat), *tila* (Sesamum indicum), *māṣa* (Phaseolus radiatus), *ādhakī* (Cajanus indicus Spreng.) *sarṣapa* (mustard), *kīra* (?), *mudga* (Phaseolus mungo) etc. on the threshing floor and after having cleaned from them gravel,[116] *kaṭu*[117] and *greva*[118] with the help of fans and winnowing and the process of *pecana*[119] and *camana*.[120]

571. And he should bring *caṇaka* (chick-pea), *ādhaka* (Cajanus indicus Spreng.) and *mudgaka* (Phaseolus mungo) and grains, which have been cleaned and dried in the sun, to his house.

572—576. The cultivator should store those which are proper for sauces in separate vessels and preserve them at the proper time for the fulfilment of happiness.[121] The agricultural expert should properly cultivate grains etc. pulses, *marīci* (pepper shrub) etc. on the land according to the custom of the country, the quality of the individual species and according to the soil and the season especially in villages, towns and cities and lands which are situated near them. Through regularity cultivation always gives great fruit in various lands, either wet or table-land. The cultivator should cultivate *kodrava* (Paspalum scrobiculatum), *yavara* (millet) and *yava* (barley) in every village in every country in the proper season. The grain of them is nourishing.

577—578. The stalk of them gives food for animals. Therefore the cultivator having cultivated *kodrava* (Paspalum scrobiculatum) *yavara* (millet) and *yava* (barley) — which are nourishing and have great sap — in all countries should also grow *agasti* (Agasti grandiflorum) sugar-cane according to the soil.

579. The cultivation of sugar-cane which yields a rich fruit is praised because it is the source of sugar and molasses and gives food for the elephants.

580. The stalk of sugar-cane is firm and takes time to grow in wet land or in some areas on table-land.

581. The cultivator having made a long row of pits should dig in the scions of *kadalī* (banana) and sugar-cane in the soil.

582—583. The sowing of seeds cannot be learnt from textbooks neither it is evident on the basis of them.[122] In autumn and in other seasons proper for the

[116] *Kṣudragrāma*. I take *grāma* for "stone".

[117] The word is unintelligible.

[118] The word is unintelligible.

[119] The existence of a Telugu word *peṭsṭsu* "peel, peelings, rind" indicates an operation like husking. Cf. C. P. Brown, *Dictionary Telugu English*. New Delhi 1980.[2] p. 791.

[120] The word in unintelligible.

[121] Ms reads *sukhasidhyai* for *sukhasiddhyai*.

[122] The passage seems to stress the importance of personal experience in cultivation.

country, the plantation of the scion of sugar-cane in the pits and filling them with water by the cultivators is said to be the proper method.

584. After the passing of ten days the sprouts appear from its root, from the sprout appear the blades etc.

585. After two or three months in some areas there is a full growth and the plant is ripe for harvest.

586—587. The cultivator who is experienced in agriculture having known the growth of sugar-cane to be of the height of a man or higher should always provide watering to its root in the pit-part in good time and should protect it with special care.

588—590. The protection of sugar-cane from the wind etc. is the most important task.[123] This kind of cultivation is specified for the *kadalī* (banana) also. The *kadalī* (banana) always gives fruit, and different species of it are known. The agricultural experts should grow[124] *kadalī* (banana) and sugar-cane according to the custom of the country in every season.

591—592. The expert having ascertained the fertility of the land on mountain slopes or on hilltops or somewhere in a good ground should grow *kadalī* (banana) and sugar-cane for the fulfilment of happiness. This is said to be always fruit-giving everywhere in the fields.

593—599. But he should not grow them in saline soil or in defective soil. Therefore the expert should grow *caṇaka* (chick-pea), *āḍhaka* (Cajanus indicus Spreng.), *mudga* (Phaseolus mungo) which are suitable for making sauce[125] in such fields which are endowed with good qualities, should protect them and when they are ripe bring them to his house. The cultivator should grow *picuvṛkṣa* (cotton tree) and *tūlāvṛkṣa* (cotton tree) and their varieties on table-land for the sake of making linen. Whatever is mentioned to be happiness-giving by the teaching of tradition or by personal experience should be grown by the expert. The cultivation of *karpāsavṛkṣa* (Gossypium herbaceum) in regular order is praised for *khala* land.[126] in the vicinity or on the border of a village, inside a pleasure grove or in places like the vicinity of a water-reservoir or a village habitation, a table-land. It is so specified by the best sages who know the textbooks. Here ends the first part in the *Kāśyapīyakṛṣisūkti* called the description of the method for cultivating grains etc.

Here is the second part called the description of the cultivation method for vegetables etc.

[123] As to the causalities of plants by wind cf. *AAI* pp. 85—86.

[124] There is no agreement between the subject and the predicate: *kṛṣikovidāḥ. . . vardhayet.*

[125] *Sūpapradhānān.*

[126] Cf. especially Note 20.

Kāśyapa teaches:

600—601. The cultivators who know the method of agricultural work in the field — which excels in good qualities — and who always follow the king's orders, should grow rice in the rice-field according to the season in regular order and *caṇaka* (chick-pea) wherever there is table-land.

602—606. By this a complete material for food is wished for. But there is no completeness even in the group of rice, *taṇḍula*-rice, *āḍhaka* and other requisite substances hence the cultivator should grow[127] delicious vegetables like *jaṭikā* (Nardostachys jatamansi), *rāśijaṭikā* (a variety of *jaṭikā*), *vallikā* (a kind of creeping plant), *paṭolika* (small cucumber), *vārtāka* (egg-plant, Solanum melongena), *ṣavaka* (?), and various vegetables such as *kūṣmāṇḍa* (Beninkasa cerifera), *kalāṭaka* (?), *kustumburu* (coriander), *kalāṭa* (?), *sūrana* (Amorphophallus campanulatus), *śākuṭa* (?), *haridra* (turmeric, Curcuma longa), *śunthi* (dry ginger) of the cultivated and wild variety and various delicious vegetables through agricultural work for the sake of perfect cooking.

607—610. These are the main vegetable-substances—this is my opinion.[128] In some countries the varieties of vegetables are differently known depending on their species, form, taste and colour. He should grow *palāṇḍu* (onion), the cultivation of *drākṣā* (vinegrape), *nalada* (Nardostachys jatamansi), *elā* (Alpinia cardamomum) etc. is also to be undertaken by the cultivators in their repective lands. The wise man should grow vegetable on table-land and also even wet land after having ascertained the season, the suitability of the region and the process stemming from the method born of the tradition.[129]

611. The first to derive from the agricultural undertaking is the rice ingredient, the second is the sauce ingredient[130] the vegetable ingredient is the third.

612. Ghee, milk and curds are mentioned as the fourth ingredient. These four ingredients make the food-stuff.

613. This increases the pleasure of Gods and provides life stability for all men here on earth.

614. This gives nourishment and health, increases intelligence[131] and age of life, it was created by *Brahmā* at the time of creation throughout all lands.

615. Earth is alive by this food-stuff. The fruitfulnes of Brahmā's creation has been existing since that time forward.

616. In all countries and in the various fields this food-stuff is known as the promoter of the *trivarga* for the best sages, ascetics and people everywhere.

[127] Ms reads *kṛṣīvalān* but this accusative form does not fit the context. We should read *kṛṣivalāḥ* in accordance with *vardhayeyuḥ*.

[128] *Iti matir mama*. This is a personal remark by the author !

[129] Ms reads °*paraṁparya* for °*paraṁpara*.

[130] *Sūpadravyam*.

[131] Ms reads *budhyāyur* for *buddhyāyur*.

617—625. Therefore the cultivation of vegetables is to be carried out by the cultivators, especially in villages and towns, in forest regions, wood lands and places of good quality situated near human settlements or specially near water-reservoirs. Agricultural work concerning vegetables is deemed fruitful in spring, in summer and in some places in the dewy season. The expert should sow the seeds of *vārtāka* (egg plant, Solanum melongena), *vallī* (a creeping plant) *jaṭikā* (Nardostachys jatamansi), *marīci* (pepper shrub), *śavaka* (?), in the ploughed land for the sake of sprouting and the seeds of *vārtāka* (egg plant, Solanum melongena) etc. dried in the sun for the sake of sprouting in the soil which is rich in manure and then should water them and make a shed of straw according to the rule. After three days the sprouts appear at the proper place. After twenty days the wise man should transplant the multitude of strong sprouts in a place which has been ploughed. Before transplanting he should dig them out from the soil properly. At this very time watering at the root gives life to the plant.

626—634. He should grow *vārtāka* (egg plant, Solanum melongena) with a basin for water round its root. The wise man should grow *paṭolikā* (small cucumber), *vallikā* (creeping plant) and other creeping plants in wet land in summer which is suitable for growing creeping plants[132] without the rainy season. The cultivation of vegetable substances is prosperous in other seasons too. The bulb of *śākuṭa* (?) of *sūrana* (Amorphophallus campanulatus), *haridra* (turmeric, Curcuma longa) should be planted in a basin, their cultivation in a place which has salty soil is also fruit giving. Many kinds of cultivation of creepers are mentioned in this manner. (The cultivator) should cultivate *kūṣmāṇḍa* (Beninkasa cerifera) *vanakūṣmāṇḍa* (wild *kūṣmāṇḍa*), *ela* (Alpinia cardamomum) *nalada* (Nardostachys jatamansi) and also *nāgavallī* (Piper betle) on table-land. The wise man should grow *kadalī* (banana), sugar-cane and *nāgavallī* (Piper betle) and *pūgikā* (Areca catechu) in wet land, in a garden or in a pleasure grove. The man who knows agricultural work should grow *rambhā* (plantain tree) the fruit-giving *mocā* (Musa sapientum), *panasa* (Artocarpus integrofolia), *likuca* (Artocarpus lacucha), *rasāla* (mango tree), *āmra* (Mangifera indica), *jambu* (Eugenia jambolana), *nārikela* (coconut tree) and should protect them in house-orchards, in gardens or in some places on table-land and even in some places in wet land also.

635—638. Where there is available land the *brāhmaṇas*, *kṣatriyas*, *vaiśyas*, *śūdras* and people of mixed castes and hunters etc. and soldiers should grow grain, *sūrana* (Amorphophallus campanulatus), *vallī* (a creeping plant), *kūṣmāṇḍa* (Beninkasa cerifera), *paṭolikā* (small cucumber), *jaṭila* (long pepper) and whatever else is indicated by the textbooks with might and main. First comes the ploughing of the land, secondly the cultivator should sprinkle small

[132] Ms reads *vallikāvṛdhyai* for *vallikāvṛddhyai*.

quantity of cow-dung. People knew it was for the sake of promoting the fertility of the soil. The basins endowed with canals are to be made for planting *vārtāka* (egg plant, Solanum melongena) etc.

639—643. He should make a basin which has many water-channels to the fields of *mālatī* (Jasminum grandiflorum), *kunda* (Jasminum multiflorum) *caṁpeya* (Michelia campaka), *kutaja* (Hollarrhena antidysenterica) etc. which fit the soil and he should execute the sowing of seeds or the plantation of seedlings according to the custom of the country and according to the fitness of the season. Then after one month passes the mass of parasitic wild grasses is to be removed from the root of the *vārtāka* (egg-plant, Solanum melongena). With the help of the water-channel the wise man should repeat watering of the basin at the roots of the plant every fifth or sixth day especially in the summer season.

644. Frequent watering, removal of wild grasses and weeds bring great reward — so declare the sages who are experts in the textbooks.

645—648. If the people see that vermin etc. are eating the leaves of the vegetables etc. or *vārtāka* (egg plant, Solanum melongena), *paṭolikā* (small cucumber), *vallī* (a creeping plant), *śavaka* (?), *kūṣmāṇḍa* (Beninkasa cerifera), *kalata* (?), *surana* (Amorphophallus campanulatus), *śākuṭa* (?), *haridra* (Curcuma longa), *ārdraka* (ginger) then they should systematically sprinkle ash, dust, white-wash water on the blades according to the custom of the country in order to remove the damage caused by vermin.[133]

649—656. In the season of sowing seeds, removing wild grasses protecting creepers etc. and also till the time of the appearance of flowers agricultural experts perform the prescribed work here on earth. The intelligent man having investigated all that himself or according to the teaching of tradition should execute agricultural work in accordance with the character of the land, adopting the right method, in accordance with the season in the case of cultivating *paṭolikā* (small cucumber), *vārtāka* (egg plant, Solanum melongena), *kūṣmāṇḍa* (Beninkasa cerifera), *jaṁbīra* (Citrus sp.), *likuca* (Artocarpus lacucha), *elā* (Alpinia cardamomum), *drākṣā* (grapes) for the sake of pleasure of enjoying, eating and tasting. There are some which have very tasty leaves, others have such flowers or fruit, the unripe fruits[134] of some others is also delicious, or the bulbous roots of some taken for consuming at the beginning of the efflorescence or in the middle or at the end of it and which are fit for sucking. In the case of *kadalī* (banana) particularly the root, stem, flower, unripe fruit and ripe fruit are all tasty and tonic.

[133] As to the protection of trees cf. *AAI* pp. 85—86.

[134] *Lavakarūpāḥ* is unintelligible. *AAI* p. 74 gives the meaning "unripe fruits" without any explanation.

657—658. The sages who see the truth declared it to be eaten. The unripe, young fruit of *paṭolikā* (small cucumber) and also of *vārtāka* (egg plant, Solanum melongena), leafy vegetables and *śavaka* (?) has a very tasty flavour and is therefore very much recommended.

659. The half ripe fruit of *panasa* (Artocarpus integrofolia), *rasāla* (mango) and also that of *kūṣmāṇḍa* (Beninkasa cerifera) are said to have tasty juice.

660—665. But the juice of sugar-cane, *nārikela* (coconut tree), *lakuca* (Artocarpus lacucha) and also *rasāla* (mango) at the time when they are fully ripe is considered suitable for fermentation. So the agricultural experts should protect the art of cultivation of *paṭola* (small cucumber) etc. according to the custom of their own country, according to the individual species, (the advice) prescribed in the cookbooks, according to the season, according to their good or bad effects on the bodily rumours like bile — in their houses, fields, pleasure groves, private land, their own field beds on the banks of tanks and lakes below the water-reservoirs or near to their sluices particularly.

665—670. He should also grow *kadalī* (banana), *pūga* (Areca catechu), *punnāga* (Colophyllum inophyllum) *nārikela* (coconut), *āmra* (Mangifera indica), *panasa* (Artocarpus integrofolia), *elā* (Alpinia cardamomum), *drākṣā* (grapes) and *mālatī* (Jasminum grandiflorum), *vārtāka* (egg plant, Solanum melongena), *vallī* (creeping plant) and also *kūṣmāṇḍa* (Beninkasa cerifera) and nourish the various potherbs which are suitable for eating, sucking and chewing. By command of making profit from cultivation he should guard and protect them. Having made basins for water round according to the season in the individual countries, in spring, summer, the rainy season, autumn, the dewy season and winter. Having made basins for water round the root of trees they should protect them for the sake of profit from cultivation. Potherbs and vegetables (their) leaves, rind, flower and bulbous roots are very tasty and produce nourishment and health. The agricultural experts may obtain a bumper crop by their efforts.

671—675. They should grow sugar-cane, *kadalī* (banana), creepers on the incline of the field-beds or in areas of table-land as well as other beneficent plants like *pippalī* (Piper longum), various herbs, creeping plants which promote life in accordance with the land of each species, according to the season, according to the custom, according to the advice of former sages. The cultivators should grow all those things in their fields with effort which are the objects of cultivation and which are declared by the former sages in the textbooks to be happiness giving for the groups of living beings.

676—677. *Brāhmaṇas*, *kṣatriyas*, *vaiśyas*, *śūdras* and others should practise agriculture for the preservation of their own families, for securing pleasure of Gods. This is written down by the sages — who see the truth — in the textbooks.

678—680. In the beginning of the creation, *Brahmā*, the creator, created various seeds here on earth which were held by the earth-goddess for the fulfil-

ment[135] of the wishes for the creation of offsprings.[135] One seed would multiply itself and would be manifoldly fruit-giving for mankind. No doubt, these were the words which the earth-goddess uttered first and which were heard.

681. Then the *kṛṣiśāstra* related by the earth-goddess was brought to earth by the sages. It was preserved by the kings who bear the burden of the protection of their subjects and then in the course of time it was particularly studied by the *śūdras*.[136]

682. Then that *kṛṣiśāstra* was greatly extended by the inhabitants of the earth according to the time of rainfall.[137]

683—685. In this manner people diligently studied their own *kṛṣiśāstra*[138] and practised agriculture in their fields and field-beds obtained a full harvest by which they fed the multitude of living beings, especially their own offsprings, with the help of God and the king. Hence the sages advised the kings in the ancient times to direct the greatest help to agriculture everywhere in all countries.

686—691. Without the king's help agriculture is fruitless in the country, on the earth-globe or town or village — this is clearly seen by the subjects and hired labourers. Hence help yielding great fruit to be provided by the king. Therefore fruitful help in agriculture is so be provided by the kings everywhere. For the increasing welfare of the provinces and the state, for their own reputation, for maintaining stability of virtue and the pleasure of the Gods it is their sacred duty to help agriculture by giving grants of land and cattle to the *brāhmaṇas* and persons of various families, learned in the *Vedas*, by digging canals and in manifold ways that are beneficent for the *brāhmaṇas*, *vaiśyas* and *śūdras* who are incapable of doing agricultural work.

692—693. The digging of tanks, wells, ponds and lakes and water-reservoirs and also the setting up water-lifting devices, the punishment of thieves who damage the crops is for the glory of pure living beings and for the fulfilment of the law.

694. In this manner the different kinds of help are known in agriculture. The sages said that all this was to be provided by the kings.

[135] It means that the creation of seeds was done by creator on the request of the earth-goddess.

[136] According to the majority of scholars this fairly corresponds with the facts. Cf. Note 45.

[137] Climatology was an essential part of the *kṛṣiśāstra*. Cf. *Kṛṣiparāśara* 1—78; *Gurusaṁhitā* and Dhunirāma Tripāṭhī, *Prācyabhāratīyam ṛtuvijñānam. (Ancient Indian Science of Climatology and Weather-Forecasting.* Varanasi 1971).

[138] This passage would indicate Kāsyapa's predecessors or *kṛṣiśāstras* in vernaculars in the last centuries of the first millennium A. D.: *Khaner Bocan* etc. Cf. Gy Wojtilla, Notes on Kṛṣiśāstra in: Vishveshvaran and Indological Journal Vol. XX. Pts. I—II. (Hoshiarpur 1982) pp. 164—172.

695—700. In villages, towns, provinces and other places, in order to give help to people who are incapable of agricultural work, or to settlements such as overpopulated towns and especially the capital, the kings should acquire fertile lands or a mass of twofold fields (i.e. wet and dry) and should use them for agricultural purposes in accordance with the season and (agricultural) methods. They should employ hired labourers and their subjects, particularly unemployed men belonging to the mixed castes and also *śūdras* in the agricultural location and should in abundance grow grain etc. and also different pulses, vegetables, the most important flowers such as *malli* (Jasminum zambac), *campaka* (Michelia champaca) in order to strengthen the welfare of their subjects.

701—704. The king should collect a great quantity of vegetable stuffs, the mass of grains, *āḍhaka* (Cajanus indicus Spreng.), *māṣa* (Phaseolus radiatus), *tila* (Sesamum indicum), *sarṣapa* (mustard) and also of *drākṣā* (grapes) and occasionally the mass of various fruits produced, and should store them, for the sake of the people, in shops or in a place built that purpose, which is at a cross-road and is provided with a courtyard,[139] on market places which are constructed with or without a shelter.

705—716. All the goods mentioned above and whatever others give pleasure such as blankets, cloth, curd, milk, the different food-stuffs for eating and chewing here on earth, the useful jaggery and oil are to be obtained from agriculture and whatever other goods are said to be for selling. The king bring those to the villages, cities, towns and especially to the capital and place them for selling. He should appoint especially rich *vaiśyas* — who are experts in trade — for the sale and purchase (of these things).[140] Anything which is obtained from agricultural work during the months beginning with the spring, things produced by mechanical implements, produced by weavers,[141] oilmen, florists, perfumers etc. the king should collect for the sake of the fulfilment of the happiness of his subjects and should keep them somewhere and protect them in the village, city, town and especially in the capital, in the markets etc., halls, courtyards and various places. He should provide the *vaiśyas*[141] appointed there with measures such as *prastha*[142], *kuñja*,[143] *droṇa*,[144] *nāḍika*,[145] and *kṣudra*[146] measuring goods like rice and pulses. He should have the measures like *prastha* made from iron sheets or boards of hard wood and introduce them in the whole

[139] Arthaśātra II, 5, 6 speaks of a house with pillars of baked bricks.

[140] This passage seems to indicate the increasing importance of the *vaiśyas* a phenomenon of the early medieval age in India.

[141] Ms read *tamtuvāyakam* for *tantuvāyakam*.

[142] *Prastha*, a weight and measure of capacity, ca. 600 grams.

[143] I read *guñja* which is equivalent with 0,118 grams.

[144] *Droṇa*, 9,6 kg. cf. *Arthaśāstra* II, 19, 30.

[145] *Nāḍika* is a measure of length, 91 cm.

[146] The term is unintelligible.

of his country. *Pala*[147] and *kara*[148] are made of iron and should be of the same shape, the same capacity and the same size mouth. These are used for measuring oil etc.

717. He should announce the capacity of measures to the *vaiśyas* and especially to the village people through the various groups of his hired people (*bhṛtya*) and especially through *brāhmaṇas*.

718. The king also should introduce balances with a beam made of bronze or brass for weighing vegetables in various places.

719. He should have the *pala* and *prastha* etc. marked by his *amātyapramukhas*[149] before introducing them everywhere in his country.

720. He should also have the rates for buying and selling the food grains etc. announced everywhere in the country.

721—725. Whatever help towards agricultural work concerning the cultivation of grains, vegetables etc. and the production of goods beginning with oil, cloth etc. is recommended by former sages in their textbooks, all the king should perform for the fulfilment of the welfare of his subjects in every village and in every house and for his own welfare. Without cultivation there could not be happiness for the bipeds and quadrupeds of this world — it is so specified by those men who thoroughly studied the textbooks. Therefore to please the Gods and protect the people the king should take interest in cultivation. The priests also *brāhmaṇas* and ministers particularly should practice agriculture.

726—727. The *kṣatriya* king, who bears the burden of the protection of his subjects, should protect agricultural work — which is praised as the superb activity among all occupations — with every effort in his country.

728—729. The wise king[150] should establish a pleasure grove, a forest, especially in the capital, or a grove of trees in the middle of the town or in the country around and especially a pleasure garden for the diversion of the ladies of his harem and also a grove of trees in the precincts of a forest.

730. By growing of trees like *sāra* (*sāl* tree) and *candana* (sandal) etc. he should render help to his subjects in house-building.

731—734. In certain parts of the palace-garden the king should grow[154] various fine trees which yield rich fruit regularly such as: *rambhā* (plantain tree), *mocā* (Musa sapientum), *jambīra* (Citrus sp.), *mātulangā* (Citrus medica), *pippalī* (Piper longum) and other herbs, creeping plants and also *nalada* (Nardostachys jatamansi). The king should grow various grasses as *kuśa*

[147] *Pala*, 37, 76 grams cf. *Arthaśāstra* II, 19,20.

[148] *Kara* is equal with the breadth of 24 thumbs.

[149] *Amātyapramukha* may be the governor-general of a city. I could not attest this term in Sanskrit texts.

[150] Ms reads *dhīnām* but the sentence requires the form *dhīmān*.

[151] *Bhūpo vardhayeyuḥ*?

(Poa cynosuroides) and *kāśā* (Saccharum spontaneum), *tulasī* (holy basil) and *bilvaka* (Aegle marmelos) and seasonal flowers which are suitable for worship,[152] which are very fragrant and give health for the family.

735—740. He should establish a sacred grove for the sake of festivals on the temple land. This the king should establish in a place inside or outside of a village in accordance with the site and also according to the custom of the region. He should also grow a fine pleasure grove in the soil of a place rich in pleasant trees and endowed with *mālatī* (Jasminum grandiflorum), and also in another place outside of the capital, this increases the happiness of his subjects. And he should grow a large forest distinguished[153] with different trees, in forests, on the precincts of forests, on the top and on the slopes of hills. The king should order the preservation of seeds of the different kinds of trees, on account of their fruits and flowers and since their timber and the board (made from them) is said to be of help to his subjects in building houses.

741—750. Therefore, in every country the king, who bears the burden of the protection of the land, should plant strong trees of different forms according to the rule in vast areas of land, in places bordered by walls: *karañjaka* (Pongamia glabra), *naktamāla* (Pongamia glabra), *eraṇḍa* (Ricinus communis), *bhūrjaka* (Betula bhojapatra), *arjuna* (Terminalia arjuna) *sarjaka* (Terminalia tomentosa), *nīpa* (Nauclea cadamba), *kadaṁba* (Nauclea cadamba), *sigru* (Moringa pterygosperma), *śama* (Prosopis spicigera or Mimosa suma), *maruvaka* (marjoram, a kind of ocimum), *devadāru* (Pinus devadaru), *śrīparṇaka* (Premna spinosa or longifolia), *tiṇḍuka* (Diospyros embryopteris), *vaṭa* (Ficus indica), *plakṣa* (Ficus infectoria) and in some places *bhadradāru* (Pinus deodora or Pinus longifolia), *priyaṅgu* (Panicum italicum), and other places *vibhītaka* (Terminalia bellerica), *āmalaka* (Emblic myrobalan), *haimavati* (?), *karṇikāra* (Pterospermum acerifolium), *lakuca* (Artocarpus lacucha), *nimba* (Azadirachta indica), *aśoka* (Jonesia asoka Roxburghi), *śirīṣa* (Acacia sirissa), *dāḍima* (Punica granatum), *jambu* (Eugenia jambolana), *kapittha* (Feronia elephantum), *sarvatobhadraka*[154] (Gmelina arborea), *campeyaka* (Michelia champaca), *kuravaka* (Barleria cristata-kuruvaka), *varṇaja*? (?), *karṇikā* (?), *tāpiñcha* (?) *tamāla* (Xanthochymus pictorius), *sinduvāra* (Vitex negundo), and big trees like *tintriṇī* (? = *tintiḍī*, Tamarindus indica), and also bamboo, in some places *cūtā* (mango), *rasāla* (mango), *āmra* (Mangifera indica), *badarī* (Zizyphus jujube), *rathadruma*[155] (Dalbergia ougeinensis), *madhūka* (Bassia latifolia), *pilu* (Careya arborea or Salvadora persica), *punnāga* (Calophyllum inophyllum), *pāribhadra* (Erythrina indica) *kovidāra* (Bauhinia variegata), and he in regular

[152] *Tulasi* "the holy basil plant" is sacred to *Viṣṇu*, *bilva* tree is sacred to *Śiva*. cf. W. Kirfel, *op. cit.*, p. 83 and 81.

[153] Ms reads *smaujvalam* for *samujjvalam*.

[154] Ms reads *sarvato bhadrakān*.

[155] Should we read *rathadrumān* for *rabhadrumān*?

course should preserve them by watering and protect them from conflagration, harmful animals and thieves.

751—756. In this manner he should have great forests radiant with groves of trees, planted by the cultivators and other people on river-banks and some places in the following countries: *Gāndhāra, Kunti, Pañcāla, Kāśmīra, Avanti, Sindhu, Nepāla, Naiṣādha, Kosala, Aṅga, Ghūrjara, Avanti and Saurāṣṭra*[156] on fertile land provided all round with water-reservoirs, canals, and tanks which are guarded by brave men, soldiers and fighters[157] for the sake of the fulfilment of welfare. The kings having examined the ore which yields various metals in places near hills or sometimes in the middle of forest land should protect the tube of the womb of the earth there.[158]

757—764. Having made efforts to extract iron, copper, gold, silver, red orchre etc. for the fulfilment of welfare, and having amassed different implements manufactured by expert ironsmiths, catters and goldsmiths in villages and cities, and having given agricultural implements to the villagers, he should store and protect the mass of various weapons with soldiers in some places in the camps of the army in order to protect the town and palace.[159] Having obtained a quantity of various ornaments prepared from mined gold and silver and from coral and pearls obtained from the ocean, having first offered them to the Gods and the *brāhmaṇas*, and having worn them personally and having had the joy of adorning the queen and the young ladies (?) of the palace, the king — who attained the highest pleasure — should protect this earth.

765. In this manner the king should have produced various substances which convey happiness everywhere in the country.

766—768. The king, having known the art of cultivation and the art of sowing seeds according to the season and time and the agricultural work which is dependent on water-reservoirs and rain water, should manage the agricultural work in accordance with the fertility of the soil.

769. When the king is happy everything is prosperous on the earth, when he is unhappy everything surely perishes.

770—771. Therefore the happy king who is desirous of an abundance of food for the state having taken *karadravya*,[160] *paṇa*[161] or grain from the cultivator according to the law, should protect the earth making the living beings as is just like his own family.

[156] Cf. Note 77.

[157] *Vīrair bhaṭair yodhavargaiḥ.*

[158] Cf. *Arthaśāstra* II, 12, 1—18.

[159] According to the *Arthaśāstra* II, 18, 2—3 the superintendent of the armoury should frequently change the place where the weapons are stored.

[160] *Karadravya*, revenue tax. Cf. *Arthaśāstra* II, 12, 24.

[161] *Paṇa*, originally the name of a silver coin. Later on it became the name of tax in cash.

772—777. *Brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas, vaiśyas, śūdras* and other people too, having received help in agricultural work directly from the king with loyalty and having executed the cultivation according to the season and according to the custom of the country and having given *karadravya* in order to increase the state's welfare and having fed Gods, the guests and their own families as the pious way is boosted so vigorously they should observe their duty and (then) they face the glorious heaven (?). In this manner in village, town, province or especially in cities they who are devoted to mutual love, who have obtained help from the king and who are possessing the power of action according to caste and order (*varṇāśramakriyāśaktyaḥ*) will be surely illustrious in this world.

So thus the second part of the *Kāśyapīyakṛṣisūkti* called the description of methods for the cultivation of vegetables.

Here is the third part called the description of rules regarding eatable and uneatable things.

Kāśyapa teaches:

778—779. *Brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas, vaiśyas* and others also, being ordered by the king's command, having executed the different kinds of cultivation in fertile land according to the season and the determined custom, should bring a quantity of different grains, pulses and pepper, mustard etc. to their houses.

780. Having dried them in the sun in accordance with the season and the prescription they should prepare them for cooking in order to please the Gods every day.

781. Cooking is to be done by pure men and may ensure hospitable treatment of Gods and guests.

782—788. For that reason the protection of offsprings is determined by the best sages. The *brāhmaṇa*, who knows the law and the rule of eatable and uneatable things from among the manifold substances should employ a pure man to cook. *Śubha* and *śvetavārtāka* (two kinds of *vārtāka*: egg plant, Solanum melongena), *laśuna*[162] (garlic), *grañjana* (?), *palāṇḍu*[163] (onion), *kavaka*[164] (mushroom), and also the exudation of trees[165] as a rule are not to be eaten by *brāhmaṇas* and also products from a bad place. The *brāhmaṇa* should avoid *bṛhatkūṣmāṇḍaka* (big *kūṣmāṇḍa*: Beninkasa cerifera) and also *panna* (?), *sigru* (Moringa pterygosperma), and *piluka* (Careya arborea or Salvadora persica) and products from an improper place. The twice-born should strenuously avoid that food which was prepared in the house in a pot defiled by ants, flies and worms.[166] The *brāhmaṇa* should avoid food seen by dogs[167] and

[162] Cf. *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* IX, 15.
[163] Cf. Note 161.
[164] Cf. Note 161.
[165] Cf. Note 161 and *Mānavadharmaśāstra* V, 6.
[166] Cf. Note 161.
[167] Cf. Note 161.

cocks[168] etc. and also which is given unreliably and defiled by claws or by stalks of straw etc.

789—791. The *brāhmaṇa* should strenuously avoid that food which is defiled by cats smelt at in the house, defiled by musk-rat or mice. The uppermost beggar (i.e. the *brāhmaṇa*) should not eat edible food anywhere on earth which has been defiled by a low man or smelt at or touched upon by such a person. And he should avoid all food which is given in an impure place.

792—795. For the sake of glory and fulfilment of welfare, the sages said that food remaining from a mouthful, or fallen from the mouth was not to be eaten, similarly the food that was void offer to Gods or guests because it was given at an improper time, and food has been prepared[169] in the house in a bad place, food permeated by water. Eatable grains and eatable vegetables are determined uneatable for *brāhmaṇas* if prepared[170] by a man who is not of a good family, or which has been defiled by dirt and urine.

796. The *brāhmaṇa* should avoid food which has been defiled by hair[171] from which he ate a bit formerly but put aside, which has been prepared by an unwashed man.

797—799. The best of twice-borns should avoid food given by hand, given by the right hand, given in broken metal or a basket of broken wood and food which has passed the night which has been prepared[172] in another house and then brought to his house. That is determined uneatable by the sages who have studied the textbooks. The twice-born should not eat boiled rice with coagulated milk and rice with sesamum seed in the night.[173]

800—802. Eating by moonlight or in a place which is without a lamp or eating in darkness is to be condemned—this is determined by the best sages and also the Gods. With effort the wise man should avoid foamy water, water directly taken from a river etc, water fallen from the sky, the water of a shower or which has been touched by an untouchable.

803—807. Camels milk,[174] horse milk, milk of two-hoofed beings,[175] salty milk, the milk of a young animal, the milk of a cow without calf[176] which has been

[168] *Mānavadharmaśāstra* V, 12 prohibits the eating of the village-cock.

[169] Ms reads *paktam* which is the regular perfect participle of the root *pac* — however, we find the form *pakva* — in common Sanskrit texts. Cf. J. Wackernagel und A. Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik*. Göttingen 1896, Vol. II. 2. p. 866.

[170] Cf. Note 168.

[171] Cf. Note 161.

[172] Cf. Note 168.

[173] Cf. Note 161.

[174] Cf. Note 161.

[175] *Mānavadharmaśāstra* V, 8 refers to one-hoofed animals in this respect. The same is stated by the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra*. Cf. note 161.

[176] *Mānavadharmaśāstra* V, 8.

issued after a calf,[177] goat's milk, milk poured in copper.[178] These are known as unworthy and are to be avoided. Therefore the *brāhmaṇa* who is learned in the *Veda* and knows the law, having known the order of eatable and uneatable things should do the cooking according to the rule for the sake of success in sacred study. The sages who see the truth have not declared this restriction for *kṣatriyas*, *vaiśyas* nor *śūdras* in this world. Even the eating of meat is not a sin for them — it is thus determined.

808—809. *Brāhmaṇas*, *kṣatriyas*, *vaiśyas*, *śūdras* and others also, having known the order of eatable and uneatable things according to the custom of the country enjoy the food which is offered first to the deity and then they become sinless and adorned with the virtue of faith and devotion.

810—818. Therefore everywhere in all countries *brāhmaṇas*, *kṣatriyas* and *vaiśyas* having worshipped in their home pure substances, rice etc. and also vegetable substances which are cleaned and fresh, water, milk, coagulated milk, ghee or fresh butter, also oil, the mass of leaves, and pots according to the rule, the cooking stove — which is standing in a place besmeared with cow-dung and endowed with fuel and which is cleaned by themselves or by their pure wives—and having also worshipped the earth and *Vāsava*,[179] *Yama*,[180] *Agni*[181] and *Varuṇa*[182] and the *brāhmaṇa*, should prepare food according to the time and keep the food adorned with the six *rasas*[183] in vessels and pots in a clean place. He should als oprepare[184] enjoyable tasty round cakes etc. according to the prescriptions stated in the cookbooks which are concerning with oil, ghee etc. sugar, molasses and various condiments, special sauces containing various additional things. He should place food before an idol or in the house according to the rule, with faith and joy in proper time. He should fill food in baskets and vessels to be worshipped.

819. This is that which is ordered by the textbooks for the purpose of offering to Gods.

So thus goes the third part of the *Kāśyapīyakṛṣisūkti* called the description of eatable and uneatable things.

Here is the fourth part called the description of the order of offering various oblations.

[177] Ibid. and cf. note 161.

[178] Even keeping a brass vessel in the cow-pen is harmful to the animals. Cf. *Kṛṣiparāśara* 90: *kāṁsyaṁ kāṁsyodakaṁ caiva. . .gosthane govināśakṛt*. Cf. note 161.

[179] Cf. Note 79.

[180] *Yama* "restrainer", the God of the dead.

[181] *Agni* the God of fire.

[182] Cf. Note 59.

[183] The six *rasas* are: *madhura* "sweet"; *amla* "sour; *lavaṇa* "salty"; *kaṭuka* "pungent"; *tikta* "bitter"; *kaṣāya* "astringent". Cf. M. Monier-Willams, *op. cit.*, p. 869 col. 3.

[184] Cf. Note 168.

Kāśyapa teaches:

820—821. The art of cooking is twofold according to the continuous and accidental process. The ever continuous is that which befits the glance of the lord of Gods, accidental is when there is the breaking a cup. A quantity of food proper for the Gods is an oblation. It is so called.

822. The textbooks order even this food for guests and for children, this is meant for the *kavya*[185] the offering to the forefathers.

823. Ones own relatives who know the textbooks, declared that food of the form of the lord of Gods and tought that it was worthy of worship in different ways.

824—825. The *brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya* or *vaiśya* being aware of the nature of the *śivaliṅga*,[186] the stone composing the *śāla grāma*,[187] the different incarnations of *Viṣṇu* the maintainer having accomplished the twilight and evening ceremony according to rule should perform the worship of Gods by all his might.

826—836. The textbook orders worship like the royal service. A man endowed with faith and devotion having arranged the sipping of a mouthful of water held in the hollowed palm of the hand for rinsing (*gaṇḍūṣa*), taken a bath, put garment on and prepared the place for eating,[188] should deliver over the best food of various kind prepared[189] by pure people and embellished by various condiments for pleasing Gods. He should place in front food made of molasses, or rice boiled in milk made of sesamum, coagulated milk, *mudga* (Phaseolus mungo), then cakes such as *apūpa*,[190] *vaṭaka*,[191] *vaṭaka*[192] made of wheat, cakes such as *polikā*,[193] *mājakā*,[194] *modaka*,[195] *śarkārabandi*,[196] food endowed with grapes and cardamomum, saffron,[197] dense sugar, or (cake called) *payoga-*

[185] *Kavya*, an oblation of food to deceased ancestors.

[186] The symbol of *Śiva* in the form of a phallus.

[187] *Śālagrāma*, an ammonit-stone, cult object associated with *Viṣṇu*. Cf. W. Kirfel, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

[188] *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* IX, 14. This description differs from that presented by S. Stevenson, *op. cit.*, pp. 225—227.

[189] Cf. Note 168.

[190] A small round cake made of flour which is thicker than ordinary cakes and mixed with sugar and spices.

[191] A kind of cake.

[192] This is another variety.

[193] A kind of cake made of wheat.

[194] The word is unintelligible.

[195] This word may denote different sweet meats.

[196] A kind of sugared meal. Not clear.

[197] Ms reads *kuṁkuma* for *kuṅkuma*.

lakabandi,[198] colourful foods properly obtained by cooking, sweet food suitable for the occasion, food mixed with *māṣa* (Phaseolus radiatus) and rice, distinguished by salty taste, boiled rice,[199] and *mahāula*[200] obtained by cooking, food accompanied with ghee or food with coagulated milk, food containing ghee and sugar and different types of boiled rice,[201] food which is similar to nectar, food made of sugar, *jālepika*,[202] or food containing *mudga* (Phaseolus mungo) and wheat, (food) which contains ghee or *māṣa* (Phaseolus radiatus), sweet, salty, likewise bitter, pungent, sour in some places astringent food, (food) which is of the six rasas. Boiled rice, food made of wheat flour, *māṣa* (Phaseolus radiatus), *mudga* (Phaseolus mungo) and *caṇaka* (chick-pea) to be eaten or in some places to be drunk and to be chewed, are cooked regularly and cause pleasure to the saliva (which is regarded as the cause of taste to the tongue).

837—838. Rice-food which is cooked[203] in oil or ghee in proper time and the sauce is very tasty as well as the various foods prepared[204] with faith and devotion and food cooked[205] under certain conditions from pure substances in the kitchen.

839—841. The *brāhmaṇa* should place all this mass of food according to the rule in front of *Viṣṇu*, who has infinite glory and who sits down in the position to eat. He should accomplish the worship with flowers, incenses and ointments, fanning chowries and (chanting) hymns of praise. He should perform all this worship like the royal service, continuously and accidentally with devoted utterances and salatutions every day.

842—844. He should please *Jagannātha*[206] who grants the desired thing — and present every day carefully prepared[207] food (made) from pure substances which are obtained from agriculture to *Kṛṣṇa*, *Viṣṇu*, *Paramātmā*[208] then to the group of guests and his own family.

[198] Should we read *payoguḍakabandi*? *Payogaḍa(ka)* means "water drop" and this would indicate the appearance of this preparation. Not clear. Or should we think of *payo-gaḍa-bandi*? Here *payo* would indicate that this meal contains some milk. Quite doubtful. The *ḍ* < *l* is quite common.

[199] The reading is doubtful. Should we read *ḍala*?

[200] Should we read *mahāḍala*?

[201] Should we read *ḍalādi*?

[202] This word seems to be cognated with a form Hindi *jalebi* f. "a kind of sweetmeat" made of flour and syrup.

[203] Cf. Note 168.

[204] Cf. Note 168.

[205] Cf. Note 168.

[206] *Jagannātha*, the lord of the world, *Viṣṇu*.

[207] Cf. Note 168.

[208] *Paramātmā*, "the supreme soul" is correlated to the *Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa* cult. cf. S. Bhattacharji, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

845—848. For the protection of the self[209] the *brāhmaṇa* should place the various foods, rices and the groups of eatable things which have been prepared[210] in the kitchen and are embellished with the six flavours, in cups and banana leaves. Having fed them he should affectionally give[211] them betel which contains lime according to the rule. So by the royal order the *brāhmaṇa* is the foremost among pious men. The king should protect both *devayajña* and *bhūtayajña* which is virtuous, glorious and gives long life on earth.

849. It is to be done for the sake of the family, the king and the state and especially for the fulfilment[212] of welfare—thus it is according to the textbook.

Kāśyapa the sage has proclaimed it for the benefit of the whole world.

So thus goes the fourth part in the *Kāśyapīyakṛṣisūkti* which is composed of the description of the order of offering various oblations.

And this *Kāśyapīyakṛṣisūkti* is ended.

Let there be eternal prosperity for cows and *brāhmaṇas*!

Let all the inhabitants of the world happy![213]

Errata

Misprints in the Sanskrit text with corrections are given below

	Incorrect	Correct
1a	*dhuraṁdhuraḥ*	*dhuraṁdharaḥ*
28b	*nirbhiṇṇa°*	*nirbhinna°*
51c	*patrasthalile*	*pātrasthasalile*
55a	*nirdiśod*	*nirdiśed*
69b	*grāmaamārgeṇa*	*grāmamārgeṇa*
73b	*uttaṁga°*	*uttuṅga°*
74b	*va*	*vā*
87a	*jalāśyam*	*jalāśayam*
87b	*jalāśyadvayaṁ*	*jalāśayadvayaṁ*
100b	*valayarha°*	*balyarha°*
101b	*phalapuipā°*	*phalapuṣpā°*
103a	*°valipmapyatha°*	*°valimaphyatha*
	°malātī°	*°mālatī°*
127a	*sasyakṣemāyā*	*sasyakṣemāya*
131a	*atastāt*	*atastat*

[209] As to *ātmarakṣā* cf. Rai Bahadur Srira Chandra Vidyarnava, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

[210] Cf. Note 168.

[211] Ms reads *datvā* for *dattvā*.

[212] Ms reads *kṣemasidhyārtham* for *kṣemasiddhyārtham*.

[213] I am completely aware of the fact that the English of my translation is exceptionable and occasionally unidiomatic. This is due the circumstance I have to write another than my mother-tongue and to a less extent due to the poor style of the Sanskrit original.

	Incorrect	Correct
147a	*manḍalam*	*maṇḍalam*
150a	*vallabnaḥ*	*vallabhaḥ*
161b	*saṁmiśritaih*	*saṁmiśritaiḥ*
174b	*kupādyaiḥ*	*kūpādyaiḥ*
176a	*saṁkalpādi*	*saṁkalpādapi*
177a	*jalāśyādi*	*jalāśayādi*
185a	*samādiṣṭtāḥ*	*samādiṣṭāḥ*
187b	*saṁmīrṇa°*	*saṁkīrṇa°*
190b	*°vārtābhitāḥ*	*°vārtābhītāḥ*
193b	*nṛpāpājñāpalotkāḥ*	*nṛpālājñāpalanotkāḥ*
199a	*°dānāmaha*	*°dānānmaha*
209a	*°parāyanāḥ*	*°parāyanaḥ*
211a	*bhāvitavyaśca*	*bhavitavyaśca*
217b	*aikamatthācca*	*aikamatyacca*
218a	*caikamatthaṁ*	*caikamatyaṁ*
226a	*°vidhaprupāyaistu*	*°vidhairupāyaistu*
233a	*yajñānapi*	*yajñānāmapi*
242b	*jīvanam*	*jīvānām*
244a	*aṭajaṁgaṇabhūmiṣu*	*uṭajaṅgaṇabhūmiṣu*
246b	*°dhibhiraha*	*°dhibhiriha*
251b	*gandhakurikuma°*	*gandhakuṅkuma°*
254a	*mangalaiḥ*	*maṅgalaiḥ*
260a	*lāngalair*	*lāṅgalair*
	yuktaṇ	*yuktaṁ*
270b	*vṛṣadīnāṁ*	*vṛṣādīnāṁ*
271b	*suddha°*	*śuddha°*
276a	*āyukṣkaraṁ*	*āyuṣkaraṁ*
281a	*dhanadhānyadi°*	*dhanadhānyādi°*
288a	*yuktaḥ*	*yuktāḥ*
289a	*kṛṣṇānga*	*kṛṣṇāṅgā*
302a	*bahuksīrāḥ*	*bahukṣīrāḥ*
305a	*rakṣanīyaśca*	*rakṣanīyāśca*
308a	*kṛṣikāraiḥ*	*kṛṣikaraiḥ*
315b	*kriḍkarāḥ*	*kriyākarāḥ*
330b	*kulayopakulyā*	*kulyopakulyā*
	śākhāliṅgumbhitā	*śākhaliguṁphitā*
334b	*prathāma°*	*prathama°*
345b	*pṛṣṭā*	*puṣṭā*
346b	*yajñādīnqṁ*	*yajñādīnāṁ*
358a	*śalyādi*	*śālyādi*
358b	*°varnakajātyadyaiḥ*	*°varṇakajātyādyaiḥ*
381a	*kulashānāṁ*	*kulasthānāṁ*
392a	*°priyaṅgveśca*	*°priyāṅgvośca*
392b	*pinḍīta°*	*piṇḍīta°*
408a	*°kobidaiḥ*	*°kovidaiḥ*
419b	*°rekhālpanam°*	*°rekhākalpanam°*
420a	*°kṣetranukūlyena*	*°kṣetrānukūlyena*
425b	*°viniñcayaiḥ*	*°viniścayaiḥ*

	Incorrect	Correct
429a	*śalyaṅkurāṇāṁ*	*śālyaṅkurāṇāṁ*
430b	*ajāśakṛtknair*	*ajāśakṛtkaṇair*
440a	°*niśrāce*	°*niśrāve*
442b	*bahirneva*	*bahirnava*
446b	*niścitaḥ*	*niścitāḥ*
449a	°*cchedanaṁ*	°*chedanaṁ*
453a	*tṛṇqdi*°	*tṛṇādi*°
456a	*bījāṅkurāpaṇam*	*bījāṅkurārpaṇam*
460a	°*dhānyanyakaṇi*°	°*dhānyakaṇi*°
467b	*hradkpādi*°	*hradakūpādi*°
469a	*vividnāni*	*vividhāni*
472b	°*saktyā*	°*śaktyā*
473b	*manyānīha*	*mānyānīha*
	prānihitāṇi	*prāṇihitāni*
480a	*saṁkulādyaiḥ*	*śaṅkulādyaiḥ*
484a	*anucāridabhiḥ*	*anucārādibhiḥ*
488b	°*daṇḍāvale*	*daṇḍāvaleḥ*
498a	°*ādiṣttam*	°*ādiṣṭam*
520a	*prayathnataḥ*	*prayatnataḥ*
521b	*kulathānāṁ*	*kulatthānāṁ*
528a	*ādhakānāṁ*	*āḍhakānāṁ*
530a	*niścitqm*	*niścitam*
549a	*caited*	*caitat*
556a	*māṣāḍhakaa*°	*māṣāḍhaka*°
562a	*vārair*	*vīrair*
564a	*ādiṣttan*	*ādiṣṭān*
570a	*māsādīn*	*māṣādīn*
	sarṣpādikān	*sarṣapādikān*
572a	*vyañnanāya*	*vyañjanāya*
572b	*rakṣayaet*	*rakṣayet*
576a	*tythā*	*tathā*
578b	*agastyabhikṣu*	*agastyamikṣu*
594a	*ādhaka*	*āḍhaka*
597a	*vīkkṣanato*	*vīkṣanato*
598a	*rathā*	*tathā*
601a	*śalyādīn*	*śālyādīn*
605b	*kalātāṁśca*	*kalāṭāṁśca*
611b	*trtīyam*	*tṛtīyam*
615b	*brāhmaṇaḥ*	*brahmaṇaḥ*
	srṣṭisāyam°	*srṣṭisāphalyam*
633a	*rasālamāraṁ*	*rasālamāmraṁ*
644a	*toyadānāṁ*	*toyadānaṁ*
647a	*drśyate*	*dṛśyate*
647b	*kīta*°	*kīṭa*°
651a	*kūsmāṇḍā*°	*kūṣmāṇḍā*°
655b	°*drāksakādīn*	°*drākṣakādīn*
678b	*sirsṭāni*	*srṣṭāni*
682a	*kṛsākhyaṁ*	*kṛṣyākhyaṁ*

	Incorrect	Correct
688b	*svātmakṣetrmādi°*	*svātmakṣemādi°*
704a	*saṁgaṇe*	*sāṅgaṇe*
714b	*ayaḥ paṭṭaiḥ*	*ayaḥpaṭṭaiḥ*
720a	*pana°*	*paṇa°*
721a	*pratigrāmaṁ*	*pratigrahaṁ*
731b	*vivdhān*	*vividhān*
732a	*matulaṅgāṁ*	*mātulaṅgām*
743b	*plakṣan*	*plakṣān*
744b	*āmalakis*	*āmalakīs*
773a	*yathācaraṁ*	*yathācāraṁ*
775b	*śakṛtyā*	*śaktyā*
	dinmukhāḥ	*diṅmukhāḥ*
777c	*trtīyo*	*tṛtīyo*
	kṛṣikrame°	*kṛṣikrama°*
779a	*nirdiṣṭta°*	*nirdiṣṭa°*
803a	*dvkhurajaṁ*	*dvikhurajaṁ*
803b	*salavaṇāṁ*	*salavaṇaṁ*
804a	*vinisratam*	*vinisṛtam*
809b	*dhūtapapaśca*	*dhūtapāpaśca*
822a	*iḍham*	*idam*
840b	*sabhāpyātha*	*samāpyātha*
841a	*cāmakhyajanādīnāṁ*	*cāmaravyajādīnāṁ*
845b	*saḍrasopetam*	*ṣaḍrasopetam*

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THE TES INSCRIPTION OF THE UIGHUR BÖGÜ QAGHAN

BY

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In 1915, during his visit to North-West Mongolia, B. Y. Vladimirtsov visited the valley of the Tes River.* He discovered and copied a brief runiform stone inscription here, though there was no possibility to publish it at the time.

In the years 1969 and 1975, I managed to observe this inscription repeatedly[1] and consequently to publish it. The name of the author and hero of the inscription, Tüpäk (Tüpäš?) Alp Šul is followed by two tamghas. One of them, the main one coincides with one of the tamghas that can be seen on the top of the Selenga stone (the stele of Šine Usu). This is the clan mark of the Uighur El Etmiš Bilgä Qaghan (747—759).[2] This circumstance might indicate that Tüpäk Alp Šul belonged to the governing Yaghlaqar clan and, even with greater probability, that the inscription can be dated to the late 8th or the early 9th century.

* *Tes* is the modern Mongolian (as in *Tesiin gol*, the river of Tes) and Tuva *(Tes em)* form; the Mongol word may mean "mountain ash, ashberry", but this is obviously substitution for the ancient Turkish name *Täz* as written in the inscription itself, see below (cf. Turk. *täz* "quick"?).

[1] S. G. Kljaštornyj *Naskal'nye runičeskie nadpisi Mongolii. Tjurkologičeskij sbornik* 1975. Moscow 1978, pp. 152—155.

[2] G. J. Ramstedt, *Zwei uigurische Runeninschriften in der Nord-Mongolei.* Helsinki 1913, Table, northern side of the stele, sign with a circle in the middle. Stele from Shine Usu (Mogon Shine Usu) described as the monument of *Mojun čur* in the publication of Malov (S. E. Malov, *Pamjatniki drevnetjurkskij pis'mennosti Mongolii i Kirgizii.* Moscow—Leningrad 1959, pp. 30—44); this pre-Turkish name of the hero of the inscription, of El Etmiš Bilgä Qaghan occurs only in the Chinese annals *(Mo-yen chuo* < Turk. *Bayan-čor*?) not in the runiform inscriptions. Cf. J. R. Hamilton, *Les Ouighours à l'époque des Cinq dynasties.* Paris 1955, p. 139. The inscription was named by its discoverer as the "Inscription from Shine Usu" and "Selenga Stone"; Cf. G. J. Ramstedt, *Zwei uigurische Runeninschriften.* p. 10; G. J. Ramstedt, Kak byl najden Selenginskij kamen'. *Trudy Troicko-Kjatinskogo Otdelenija Priamurskogo Otdela Imp. Russkogo Geografičeskogo Obščestva* XV/1 (1912) pp. 34—49.

In the same period, between 1974 and 1975 I could read the Terkh* inscription, the oldest one in existence among the epigraphic monuments of the Uighur period made on the orders of El Etmiš Bilgä Qaghan.[3] The initial characters of the Terkh inscription speak about the foundation of the summer headquarters of this ruler by the upper reaches of the Tesiin-gol (Tes-hem) river: "(1) . . .Then I ordered to establish (my) main camp at the Western border of Ötükän, by the upper reaches of the Täz (river). In the year of the Tiger (750) and in the year of the Snake (753), (2) I spent there two years".[4] El Etmiš Bilgä Qaghan's two big inscriptions, one on the Terkh stele, the other on the Selenga stone, both with the tamghas of the ruling clan, refer to the erection of epigraphic monuments in the Qaghan's camp. This is why the occurrence of the Uighur Qaghans' tamgha in the Valley of the Tes river (Tesiin-gol) and the information about El Etmiš Bilgä Qaghan's summer residence on the "Upper Täz" have made the search after mid-8th century runiform inscriptions in the area in question rather perspective.

In the summer of 1976, in the framework of the field-work plan of the Joint Soviet-Mongolian Historic and Cultural Expedition, together with S. Kharjaubay and A. Ochir, research workers of the Institute of History, Academy of Sciences of the M.P.R., I began a thorough investigation of the territory of the upper reaches of the Tes river (*Tesiin-gol*), Khöwsögöl aimak in the M.P.R. The investigation was made from the source of the Tes near to the Sangiin Dalai lake (absolute height 2,250 m) as far as the outflow of the river from the vast tectonic basin to the north of the Dzügdii-nuur: the length of the research zone was about 170—180 km in an east-west direction and about 40—50 km in a south-north direction. The wide and wet valley of the upper reaches of the Tes river can be found here, in the Western Khangai,

* This is the basic form of the toponym in question, modern Mongolian *Terxiin* is its genitive like *Ongiin* in *Ongiin gol* from *Ongi*, the river (of) Ongi.

[3] S. G. Kljaštornyj, Terchinskaja nadpis'. (Predvaritel'naja publikacija). *Sovetskaja Turkologija* No 3 (1980), pp. 82—85; S. G. Kljaštornyj The Terkhin Inscription. *AOH* XXXVI (1982), pp. 335—366. The publication of the Terkh inscription received a considerable response, to mention here some: K. Czeglédy, A terkhini ujgur rovásírásos felirat török és magyar történeti és nyelvészeti vonatkozásai. [The Terkh Uighur runiform inscription and the history and language of the Turks and Magyars.] *Magyar Nyelv* LXXVII (1981), pp. 461—462; A. Róna-Tas, A kazár népnévről. [On the ethnonym *Kazár*]. *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 84 (1982), pp. 366—368; L. Bazin, Notes de toponymie turque ancienne. *AOH* XXXVI (1982), pp. 57—60; T. Tekin, The Terkhin Inscription. *AOH* XXXVII (1983), pp. 43—86; T. Tekin, Kuzey Moğolistan'da yeni bir Uygur anıtı: Taryat (Terhin) kitabesi. *Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten* XLVI, No. 184. (1982), pp. 795—838. T. Tekin mostly follows my reading and translation of the text without mentioning this fact, moreover, he partly repeats my commentary. At the same time, he proposes a number of corrections, only a few of which are acceptable.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 92.

between the wooded spurs of the Bulnai mountain chain and the granite plateau of Sangilen. The marvellously meandering river, that often divides into branches, is not very wide, though it waters a significant territory of the mountain steppe with its numerous little lakes and granite heights of volcanic origin. Rich meadows and plenty of water make it possible to keep big herds here. Numerous funeral relics of ancient and mediaeval nomads confirm the early and continuous use of these pastures.

In the course of the investigation, two large cemeteries of the Ancient Turkish period (6th—8th centuries) were discovered. One of them, 10 km north-west of the *sumun* centre of Tsetserleg, consists of thirty stone kurgans and enclosed memorial sites with *balbal* files. Fragments of two stone sculptures were found there. In the other analogous cemetery at Khujirt-nuuriin-am (the valley of lake Khujiirt, on the territory of the *sumun* of Tsagaan-uul), beyond the kurgans and enclosed memorial sites with small *balbal* files, we discovered a funeral complex with a "sarcophagus", placed on earthen ground (6×6 m) and surrounded by a ditch. L. Tsedev, a native of that place, informed us that near to the hill called Nogoon-tolgoi, on the left hand side of the Tes river, some remains of a stone, covered by characters had been found.

The stone itself, a red granite block, squared with a broken pin on one end and with traces of old breakings on the other, proved to be a part of a stele, covered by Turkish runiform inscription on its four sides. The stone was lying on the open flatland, half hidden in the ground.[5] We could not discover any other part of the stele or its pedestal (a stone turtle?), despite of our scrupulous researches made during the years 1976—1977 and 1980—1982.

In 1976 we deposited the stele in the Khöwsögöl Aimak Museum. That the same year, it was conveyed to Ulan Bator and is now kept in the Institute of History, Academy of Sciences of the M.P.R.

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From the remarks of some local inhabitants, although their statements were rather self-contradictory, it could be assumed that the monument lay until recently, on the hill called Nogoon-tolgoi, where we carried out excavations in 1981—1982. The hill proved to be a man-made hemispherical edifice. Its dimensions are 37 m south to north, and 46 m in an east-west direction, and its height is about 1.5 m. In its western part there is a shelving entrance ramp (8—9 m). After having removed the covering soil we discovered that

[5] On the discovering of the monument, its description and dating from the 60—70-s of the VIII century cf. S. G. Kljaštornyj, Êpigrafičeskie raboty v Mongolii. *Archeologičeskie otkrytija 1976*. Moscow 1977, pp. 588—589.

the hill and the ramp were covered by a double layer of ashes. Originally the hill was of a cone-frustum type with a shelving entrance on its western side. We discovered the remains of a huge pyre under the layer of ashes at a depth of 0.75—0.8 m. Its diameter was about 0.8—1 m, and at the bottom six off-rounded baulks with a diameter of 5—8 cm remained, lying collaterally with one another; the upper layer of the pyre consisted of small pieces of coal. The pyre could have burnt in an intensive way for only a short time, whereupon the bigger part of the wood was not scorched — it is evident that the fire was extinguished. Under the pyre some pieces of horse and lamb bone were discovered, as well as fragments of hand-made utensils. Most probably after the hill was constructed and before it was covered by the double layer, some meat was ritually burnt here.

If the groundwork of a stele cannot be discovered on the hill, the presumption that a monument was built there, proves to be false. In spite of all this, the similarity between Nogoon-tolgoi and such an object on which the Terkh stele had been erected makes the hypothesis about being of the embanked truncated cone with a ramp, strengthened with a layer of ashes and the stone stele, with some parts of a homogeneous object being covered by runiform inscriptions — while the other parts of it (among other things, the foundation of the stele too) were lost in later times — seem quite probable.

At a 3 km distance in a south-west direction from Nogoon-tolgoi there is an earthen hill of the same form, called Khökh-tolgoi — its dimensions are half as large as the former one and its height is about 1 m. On the western side of the hill there is a short projecting "tongue" — a ramp. Having dug a test hole under it, in 1981 we observed that it was man-made.

The lower part of the Tes stele, discovered by us is a rectangular granite block, 0.86 m in length with 0.32 and 0.22 m long sides and with a surface, grooved by short channels. Between the channels there are some runiform characters — with six strokes along the wider sides and with five strokes along the narrower ones. The whole length of the surviving text — the length of the remained parts of the strokes — is about 0.76 m. The height of the characters is 3.5—4 cm. The characters are engraved in the same professional way as those of the Terkh and Selenga inscriptions — their paleography is practically identical (see the paleography Table and Fig. 5). In the lower part of the stele, at one of the narrow sides, there is a tamgha of the type that is close, although not identical with that of the tamghas in the lower parts of the Terkh monument (on the tortoise) and of the stone of Shine Usu (see Fig. 5). It can be presumed that all the three tamghas are characters of the authors of the monuments.

By the analogy of the arrangement of the lines on the Terkh stele — which is functionally similar to the Tes inscription and was erected at about the same age (with 6—8 years difference) — one can, with good reason,

define the large sides of the Terkh stele as the eastern and western ones — and the narrow sides as those facing the south and north.

According to the disposition of the tamgha, the sign of the author of the monument, one can suppose that the side with the tamgha of the Tes stele — as in the case of both the Terkh and the Shine Usu inscriptions — originally faced to the south, while the initial lines were carved on the western side, just as on the Terkh monument. This means that the tamgha of the Tes stele served as an additional marker at the end of the text.

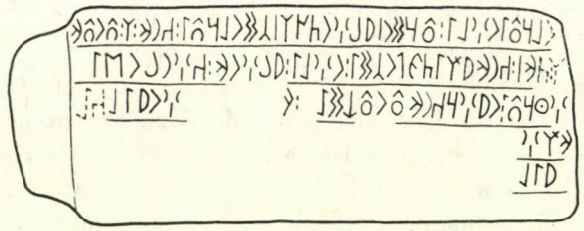
T. Tekin in his papers quoted above offers a different order of reading for the Terkh inscription. In his opinion, from a point of view, which fairly corresponds to the present-day way of thinking, the ancient Uighur author must have begun the text with the account of the early history of his people (eastern side), then went on with the events nearer to his age in a strict chronological order (southern and western sides), somewhere in the middle of the northern side (the last portion of the text according to T. Tekin) he must have referred to his authorship finishing this passage with listing the names of certain persons (out of context).

In Talat Tekin's hypothesis a rather important circumstance seems to be neglected: all the texts of the ancient Turkish imperial or princely inscriptions begin with the name of the ruler, or with the enumeration of his deeds. So, according to the general standard of this kind of literature, the inscription begins with the manifestation of the ruler mentioning his name and titles — while the Terkh stele bears it at the end. It is in accordance with this standard that G. J. Ramstedt elaborated the order of the reading of the Shine Usu text. T. Tekin's supposition of an arbitrary neglection of the aforementioned standard in the Terkh inscription cannot be accepted.

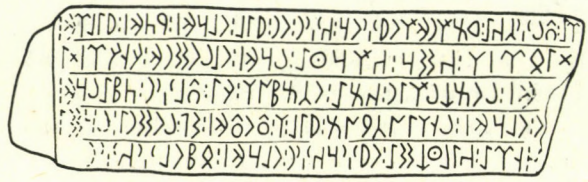
Unfortunately just the lower, i.e. initial line on the western side of the Tes inscription is lost, and one more line, namely the final line on the upper edge of the southern side is totally destroyed. Thus the surviving part of the stele bears the end portion of 20 lines of the original 22. Taking into consideration the fact that the present-day length of these lines represent no more or even less than half the original full lines, moreover a considerable number of the characters are badly damaged, the text which may be deciphered embraces only a third or a fourth of the original. This unfavourable circumstance highly restricts the possibility of interpreting the events described in the inscription.

*

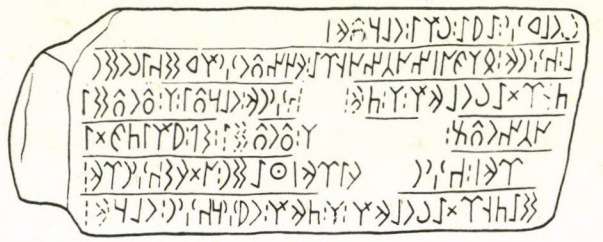
The Tes inscription was investigated by my Mongolian colleagues: by the late M. Shinekhüü and by S. Kharjaubay. Both published the reading and their own Mongolian translation, without any commentary or evaluation



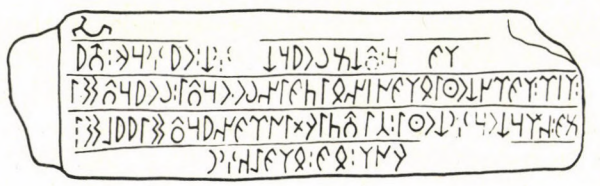
Western side



Northern side



Eastern side



Southern side

Fig. 5

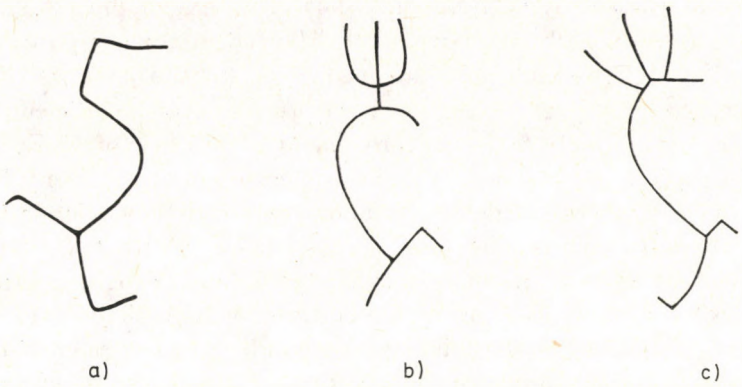


Fig. 6
a) Tes tamgha on the southern side below; *b)* Terkh tamgha on the back of the tortoise-base; *c)* Tamgha on the monument of Shine Usu, southern side below

and without a reliable reproduction of the runiform inscription.[6] S. Kharjaubay also offered a Russian rendering. Concerning his method of work he states: "Aiming at a possibly full and clear translation, we assayed to compare each word of the text with the words having the same root in Written Mongolian and in Kazak, the latter considered as one of the living dialects of Ancient Turkish.[7] M. Shinekhüü also interprets the monument in accordance with Mongolian vocabulary and grammar. It seems to be unnecessary to point out this or that error of detail to be found in the readings proposed by our late Mongolian colleague, as it is seen in T. Tekin's two articles quoted above.

Elsewhere I have already mentioned that because of the radical difference of our conceptions concerning the language of the monuments in runiform script and the possible ways of their interpretation, I avoid debating the methods and results proposed by my Mongolian colleagues.[8] I only mention that where I had the possibility, I have amended the errors in reading some runiform characters. The independence of my interpretation from both preceding ones is, I hope, fully clear and needs no further argumentation.

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[6] S. Charžaubaj, Têsijn gêrêlt chöšöö. *Chel zochiol sudlal* XIII/15. Ulaan Baatar 1979, pp. 117—124; M. Šinêchüü, Orchon-Šelêngijn runi bičgijn šinê dursgal. *Archeologijn* VIII/1. Ulaanbaatar 1980, pp. 36—41.

[7] S. Charžaubaj, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

[8] S. G. Kljaštornyj, *Terchinskaja nadpis'*, p. 83.

As far as the surviving fragments show, the text of the Tes inscription has a structure essentially similar to that followed in the composition of the Terkh monument. Although half damaged, even on the preserved fragment of the stele, the first part of the Tes inscription contains sufficient hints as to the main text, namely to the enthronement of the heir of El Etmiš Bilgä Qaghan. In the preamble (lines 1—6) he is mentioned twice: "my El Etmiš Qaghan" (line 5) where his death is announced, and "my Uighur Qaghan" in line 4, where his rule is related to be just ceased. Further it refers to the enthronement of his son, his heir who is styled "my Yabghu". Still before that in lines 3—4, the procedure of the enthronement is described: the new qaghan was "elevated (on the felt)". Corresponding to the ruler of the composition, which is fully preserved in the text of the Terkh stele and which in the main points is detectable in the text of Shine Usu, the first two lines of the Tes inscription must have contained the full throne-name of the Qaghan and that of the Qatun as well as the date of their enthronement (cf. line 2: "in the year . . ."), further, the definition of the place of the Qaghan's camp or of his enthronement. Events of the Qaghan's life previous to his enthronement could have also been related. The date of such an event, a hen-year, i.e. 757, is preserved.

This hen-year proved to be highly important in the history of the new Uighur State. It was the year when the powerful Empire of T'ang fell, for long years, in dependence from the military aid of the Uighur rulers. An Lu-shan, a military leader on the northern frontier of China who descended from an aristocratic Turco-Sogdian clan rebelled against his emperor in Fan-yang.[9] His army, which consisted mainly of horsemen of the Empire's Turkish allies, won victory after victory over the imperial troops. The emperor fled to the south and both his capital, Loyang and Changan fell into the hands of the rebels.

At that critical moment, the T'ang court applied to El Etmiš Bilgä Qaghan for Uighur assistance. In July, 757 A. D. the Uighur cavalry arrived in China and defeated the rebels. An Lu-shan perished.[10] Though the rebellion was not yet fully oppressed, the imperial government could restore its prestige and control over a considerable part of the Empire. In December that same year, having acquired the promised reward and the unpromised loot, the Uighur expeditional troops left Chinese territory to take part in a campaign against the Qirghiz (758).

[9] On An Lu-shan's origin and name cf. E. G. Pulleyblank, *The background of the rebellion of An Lu-shan*. London Oriental Series Vol. 4. London 1955, pp. 7—23.

[10] On the activities of the Uighur troops cf.: C. Mackerras, *The Uighur Empire according to the T'ang dynastic histories*. Asian Publications Series 2. Canberra 1972, pp. 14—21. All my further quotations concerning the accounts on the Uighurs (744—840) in the Older and Newer T'ang Annals refer to Mackerras' work.

The commander of the Uighur campaign in China was the oldest son of El Etmiš Bilgä Qaghan. Chinese sources mention him as *ye-hu*,[11] without his proper name. In the Terkh inscription he is called *Qutluγ Bilgä Yabγu* (line 12). Soon after the victorious campaign, he was accused of having revolted and was executed on the order of his father. The title *yabγu* and entitlement to the throne were given to the second son of El Etmiš. He was elevated or mounted on the ruler's felt after the death of his father, in May, 759 A. D.[12] Mention made of "the hen-year" in this context may mean, first of all, that El-Etmiš's second son also took part in the first campaign against China, while in the Tes inscription consecrated to his enthronement, it was he who was glorified, instead of his brother, whom be replaced.

Events concerning the campaign in China seem to be related at greater length in the inscription of Shine Usu (Western side, lines 3—5). Unfortunately, this part is badly eroded. The legible words mention certain contacts of the Qaghan with the "Chinese Qaghan", a "thousand-men military detachment" sent, and the Qaghan's return "to his own yurt". Then the text follows: *taqïγu yïlqa oγlïmïn* . . . "in the hen-year, my son (or sons; *acc.*) . . ."[13] In line 6 there is a quotation of somebody's duties and oath, which were broken.[14] This may be an allusion to the unwarranted actions (revolt) of the Qaghan's elder son.

After his successful raid against the Qirghiz, El-Etmiš's request to receive a Chinese imperial princess as a consort was accepted. Immediately, in August 758 A. D., a new auxiliary army was sent to China. It was commanded by *Ku-chuo-tie-lie*, i.e. *Qut[luγ] Čor Tegin*, a near relative to the Qaghan.[15] The Uighur army was defeated by the rebels and fled from the field of battle. No source mentions any of the sons of the Qaghan assisting in this unsuccessful campaign. In the Chinese sources, the Uighur prince, the heir of El Etmiš is called *Yi-ti-chien*, while in the Terkh inscription, which was composed by him, his name is *Bilgä Tarqan* (line 12) and *Qutluγ Tarqan Sängün* (line 14). The name *Yi-ti-chien* (Turk. **idi känč* ?, *lit.* "The Lord-Boy")was the child-name of the prince, while his full manly name (*är atï*) was Qutluγ Bilgä Tarqan Sängün.[16] In 758 he became *yabghu*. According to the Terkh inscription Qutluγ

[11] C. Mackerras, *The Uighur Empire*, p. 130, note 24.

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 69.

[13] G. J. Ramstedt, *Zwei uigurische Runeninschriften*, pp. 34—35. Ramstedt gives only the first character of the word *oγlïmïn*. Revisiting the monument in 1975, I could retrace and read four characters more.

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] C. Mackerras, *The Uighur Empire*. pp. 62, 66, 67.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 192; *J. R. Hamilton, Les Ouighours*, p. 139. S. E. Jachontov was consulted on the reconstruction given here for the name *yi-ti-chian* as **idi känč* (cf. *öd känč* line 13). As proved by the Uighur documents from Eastern Turkestan *känč* occurred in the names and title of adults (cf. DTS, p. 298).

Tarqan Sängün "gloriously" defeated "many peoples" (line 14). It is known from the Tang Annals, that this prince received the name *Mou-yü k'o-han*, i.e. *Bögü Qayan* "Wise Qaghan". This same name of his occurs in the Sogdian version of the Qara Balghasun inscription (821 A. D.).[17] Chinese sources also contain other variants of his throne-name: *Tängri Qayan, Tängri El Tutmïš Alp Külüg Bilgä Qayan* and the fullest form according to the Chinese version of the Qara Balghasun inscription: *Tängridä Qut Bolmïš El Tutmïš Alp Külüg Bilgä Qayan.*[18] After one more campaign into China (762—763), where the Uighurs played a decisive role in the utter defeat of the rebelling army of An Lu-shan's successors, Bögü Qaghan was granted the honorary title *ying yi chien kung* "brave, righteous, virtuous".[19] In the Turkish versions of the Sewrei inscriptions (763) this title is preserved and given as a personal name: *Ingi.*[20]

In his campaign of 762, Bögü Qaghan was accompanied by his elder wife. A part of her Turkish title, Bilge qatun, is mentioned in the *T'ang shu.*[21] She was the daughter of Huai-en, one of the most famous T'ang military leaders, a hero of the war with An Lu-shan. Huai-en was of the princely family of the tribe of Buγu, belonging to the tribal federation of the Toquz Oghuz just like the Uighurs. She died in 768, then the Qaghan married her younger sister.[22]

In 763, Bögü Qaghan declared Manicheanism to be the official religion of the Uighur Empire. In strengthening and propagating the new faith he was supported by the Sogdian preachers from Loyang and Changan, and by Turkish Manichean communities settled in Eastern Turkestan. Among the Uighur Manichean texts found in Turfan there are two manuscript fragments mentioning Bögü Qaghan. One of them (I II D 135) preserved the fullest and most pompous variant of the Qaghan's title, a witness of his majestic prestige among the Manicheans of Central Asia. It sounds: *uluγ ilig tängridä qut bolmïš ärdänin il tutmïš alp qutluγ külüg bilgä uyγur xaγan zahag-i mani.*[23] The last two words in Middle Persian mean "emanation of Mani" (thus F. W. K. Müller) or "descendant of Mani" (according to V. A. Livšic). The other text

[17] S. G. Kljaštornyj, V. A. Livšic, Otkrytie i izučenie drevnetjurkskich i sogdijskich êpigrafičeskich pamjatnikov Central'noj Azii. *Archeologija i êtnografija Mongolii.* Novosibirsk 1978, p. 51.

[18] J. R. Hamilton, *Les Ouighours*, p. 139.

[19] V. P. Vasil'ev, Kitajskie nadpisi na orchonskich pamjatnikach v Košo-Cajdame i Karabalgasune. *Sbornik trudov Orchonskoj ekspedicii III*, StPbg 1897, p. 30.

[20] S. G. Kljaštornyj, V. A. Livšic, Sevrejskij kamen'. *ST* 1971, No 3. p. 107.

[21] C. Macherras, *The Uighur Empire.* p. 77.

[22] Ibid. pp. 85, 148.

[23] F. W. K. Müller, Der Hofstaat eines Uiguren-königs. *Festschrift V. Thomsen.* Leipzig 1912, pp. 208—209.

(TT 276a) contains the description of the meeting and conversation of Täng-rikän Bögü Qaghan (as called in the fragment) with the *dintars*, the aristocrats of the Manichean community. This description composed by a Manichean clergyman also relates the very act when Manicheanism was declared to be the official religion of the Uighur Empire.[24]

The fourth campaign in China took place in 765—766. The Uighur army was lead by *Alp Uluγ Tutuq Yaylaqar*, the younger brother of Bögü Qaghan.[25] In the Terkh inscription he is called *Alp Išbara Sängin Yaylaqar* (line 7). According to the nomadic customs, he was the heir to his father's hearth and supremacy in the Yaghlaqar clan. This is why his clan-name reappears in both Chinese and Turkish records of his title varying with the nine-ten years in question. The Uighur army arrived in China to support Bögü Qaghan's father-in-law, Pu-ku Huai-ên, who revolted. However, during the campaign, after Huai-ên's death the Uighurs turned the front and their aid proved to be decisive for the T'ang army in the battle with the Tibetans, Huai-ên's other allies.

In the course of the following twelve years, the T'ang court submissively suffered the heavy burden of material outlays and incurred political losses in striving to maintain peaceful relations with the Uighurs. However, in 778, Sino-Uighur relations became aggravated. The next year, Bögü Qaghan was slaughtered by rebels in his own camp. The rebellion was led by Ton Baγa Tarqan, his most powerful dignitary who is mentioned in the Terkh inscription as "the head of the inner *buyuruq*s, Ïnanču Baγa Tarqan" (line 6). Ton Baγa Tarqan headed the anti-Manichean opposition at the Uighur court and enjoyed the support of the Chinese.[26] Among those slaughtered by the rebels, apart from Bögü, there were two of his sons, his nearest advisers, many Sogdians, and probably the Manichean priests in the Qaghan's retinue. Ton Bilgä Tarqan himself was proclaimed Qutluγ Bilgä Qaghan (780—789). Thus the life of the third Uighur qaghan of the clan of Yaghlaqar came an end. The Tes Inscription was his first manifesto.

Following the analogy given in the initial lines of El Etmiš Bilgä Qaghan's two monuments, the beginning of the first line of the Tes inscription may be reconstructed as follows: [*tängridä qut bolmiš el tutmiš alp qutluγ külüg bilgä* (*bögü*?) *qaγan . . . bilgä qatun qaγan ataγ atanïp . . .*]. If the date missing in line 12 referred to the year of Bögü Qaghan's enthronement, then it may be reconstructed as [*tonguz yïl*(*qa*) . . .] "in the year of Swine" (759).

[24] W. Bang und A. v. Gabain, *Türkische Turfan-Texte* II. Berlin 1929, pp. 414—416; Jes P. Asmussen, Xuastvanift. *Studies in Manichaeism*. Copenhagen 1965. pp. 147—148.

[25] C. Macherras, *The Uighur Empire*. pp. 79—81, 147.

[26] *Ibid.* pp. 152—153 (quoting K. Tasaka's study).

It now seems there is no further point that might be reconstructed in the damaged portion of the preamble of the Tes monument.

The middle part of the inscription representing the largest one (lines 7—18) relates the part of the Uighur *el*, more exactly, it describes the deeds of the Uighur Qaghans of the past from the Creation up to the predecessors of Bögü, i.e. up to El Etmiš Bilgä Qaghan. In the Tes inscription there is no mention or at least no detailed description is found concerning the events of the last war against the Türks, which was the main part of the narrative in both inscriptions of El Etmiš Bilgä Qaghan. Nevertheless, the hidden polemic with the lapidary declarations of the Turkish Qaghans about the historical right to the rule over the steppe is quite obvious. While in the larger inscription in honour of Kül Tegin (line 1—3) and in Bilgä Qaghan's larger inscription (lines 3—5) the Turkish Bilgä Qaghan speaks about the primordial rule of the "wise and brave" Turkish Qaghans over the "sons of man", the author of the Tes inscription speaks about the primordial rule (from the Creation?) of the "wise and brave Uighur Qaghans" (line 7). In fact the historical memory of the Uighur historian reverts to tradition and embraces no less than 250 years of the past.

According to his periodisation, the first Uighur Empire lasted for 300 years, after which it collapsed. It was changed by the second Uighur Empire existing for 80 years (ten and seventy more, line 11). It also perished. The formation of the new Uighur Empire was due to Kül Bäg Bilgä Qaghan (line 18) and to El Etmiš Bilgä Qaghan (line 12).

In the very short and badly damaged "narrative" part of the Terkh inscription, which relates the ancient history of the subsequent Uighur Empires (lines 16—19) three qaghans are mentioned, which "ruled two hundred years" (line 16). The names of two of them were preserved: *Yolïγ Qaγan* and *Buman Qaγan* (in the Orkhon monuments the first Turkish Qaghan bears a similar name: *Bumïn*). Then, the Ancient Uighur Empire perished. After some time a second Uighur Empire arose ruled by Qaghans called "my ancestors" by El Etmiš (line 18). It lasted for 80 years. The third Uighur Empire was formed — still according to the Terkh inscription — due to the victories of El Etmiš Bilgä Qaghan. The "historical" preamble of the inscription of Shine Usu (Northern side lines 2—4) preserved the mention of the second Uighur Empire and of the two periods of foreign rule over the Uighurs. In line 2 Ramstedt left several characters undeciphered: *öz[i?]n . . . t^{ä}gr^{ä}si ^{i}li kintü o[l^{u}rmïš] subï s^{ä}l^{ä}ŋä ^{e}rm^{i}š ^{a}n͜ta ^{e}li . . . ^{e}rm^{i}š b^{a}rm^{ï}š . . . . . .* "(sich selbst?) . . . ihr Reich, ihr eigenes (heimatliches?) Wasser war die Selenga, dort ihr Volk . . . . . [leb]te und wanderte".[27] On the monument revisited in 1974—1975 I could, however, control and read several characters at the beginning of the line in

[27] G. J. Ramstedt, *Zwei uigurische Runeninschriften*. pp. 12—13, 43—44.

question, which runs as follows: *ötükän eli tägräsi eli ekinti o[lurmïš] subï sälägä ermiš anta eli . . . ermiš barmïš . . .* In the *el* of Ötükän and in the *els* of its neighbour it was the second [time] that [our Qaghans] sat [enthroned]". Their water was the Selenga. Then their *el* went destroyed." My reading of the parallel line (line 18) in the Terkh inscription is likewise to be amended. It must be *ötükän eli tägräsi eli ekinti* (and not *ekin ara*) *orqun ögüzdä* [*olurmiš*] "In the *el* of Ötükän and in the *els* of its neighbour, on the river of Orkhon it was the second [time] that [our Qaghans] sat [enthroned]." Cf. also T. Tekin's reading. A difference to be pointed out: in the inscription of Terkh, the river is the Orkhon, while in the inscription of Shine Usu it is the Selenga. It is told that the first period of the foreign rule over the Uighurs lasted for one hundred years, the second — for fifty: (3) *sub . . . nda qalmïšï bodun on uyyur toquz oyuz üzä yüz yïl olurup* [read *olurmïš*?] . . . "over the people that remained at (?) the river . . ., over the Ten Uighurs and the Nine Oghuz, they sat [enthroned] hundred years"; (4) *türk (qï)bčaq* (?) . . . *elig yïl olurmïš* "Türks and Qipchaqs (?) ruled fifty years".[28] Unfortunately lines 3—4 of this inscription are rather badly damaged. Also J. Hamilton's interpretation of this passage (line 3) meets serious difficulties.[29] He assumed that the Toquz Oghuz were ruled by the Ten Uighurs for a century, but as the words *üzä olurup* concern the preceding part of the phrase, it seems to be easier to accept Ramstedt's idea, according to which it relates to a certain people or dynasty that in the past ruled one hundred years over the Uighurs and the Oghuz.[30]

In the inscription of Shine Usu, the emergence of the last Uighur Empire is connected with the deeds of Kül Bilgä Qaghan (In the Tes inscription, line 5: Kül Bäg Bilgä Qaghan) and of his son, El Etmiš Qaghan, whose epitaph is the Selenga monument.

All these three narratives compared, the following common conception of the Uighur historians may be retraced: the first Uighur Empire emerged just after the Creation (?), it lasted for two (or three) hundred years; its centre was crowned by the Ötükän mountain (Khangai) and watered by the Selenga (or by three rivers, the Selenga, the Tola and the Orkhon). This Empire collapsed, a century long period of foreign rule began, then, due to the glorious deeds of the Qaghans from the clan of Yaghlaqar, especially of those Qaghans who reigned during the first ten years, the Uighur *el* was restored. It lasted for eighty years and fell because of inner discord and disturbances, because of a certain "worthless Kül" (qaghan's name?), because of the treachery of the Buzuq leaders and especially because of the perfidy of the "Distinguished Two", Bädi Bärsil and Qadir Qasar. Also Ötükän was

[28] G. J. Ramstedt, *Zwei uigurische Runeninschriften*, pp. 12—13.
[29] J. Hamilton, Toquz-Oguz et On-Uygur. *JAS* CCL (1962), p. 39.
[30] G. J. Ramstedt, *Zwei uigurische Runeninschriften*. p. 44.

the centre of the second empire. Its decline and the foreign rule (of the Türks and Qipchaqs) lasted for fifty years. In the end, Kül Bäg Bilgä Qaghan and his son Turyan or, by his throne name, El Etmiš Bilgä Qaghan restored a third Uighur Empire in the Ötükän mountains, in the valleys of Selenga, Orkhon and Tola.

Thus, up to the emergence of this last Uighur *el* (742—744 A. D.), the authors of these inscriptions kept the memory of two preceding Uighur Empires surviving 280 (or 380) years and the memory of decline and foreign rule lasting for 150 years.

It is not, of course, impossible that these periods of flourishing and decline of the subsequent Uighur empires indicated in the inscriptions are rather approximate, as L. Bazin has pointed out concerning the monument of Shine Usu.[31] The comparison of the ideas of the 8th century Uighurs about their own prehistory with the confirmation of other historical sources must be the subject of a special investigation. Here I can merely give an outline of the main points of the history of those tribal federations which the Uighurs belonged to, in which they played a dominating role. The Uighurs formed one of the oldest Turkophone tribal federations in Central Asia with genetical links with the late states of the Huns.[32] During the 3rd and 4th centuries, the Uighurs belonged to the tribal federation known as Kao-ch'ü (*lit.* High Chariots).[33] They successfully counteracted the attempts of the emperors of the T'o-pa Wei and of the Juan-juan qaghans to subdue their tribe. Acting upon the weakness of the Juan-juan, at the end of the 5th century, A-fu-chih-lo the Kao-ch'ü ruler and his brother Ch'ün-ch'i took the titles "son of the great heaven" and "hereditary sovereign" i.e. the titles of the qaghan.[34] They firmly established the rule of the Kao-ch'ü tribe over Northern Mongolia and successfully rivalled the Juan-juans in dominating the oases in the Tarim basin in Eastern Turkestan. At the beginning of the 6th century, the successors of the dynasty-founders had to fight not always victorious battles with the Ephtalites, Juan-juans and Tabghachs (T'opa Wei). In the 5th century, the tribal federation is mentioned by the name T'ie-lê (Turk. **tägräg* "chariot, carriage").[35] The term "people of the chariots" seems to be very ancient, and it was not their self-denomination, but it came to the Chinese annals from the language of some tribes neighbouring the T'ie-lê. A considerable group of the T'ie-lê tribes migrated to the West, to the steppes of South-Eastern Europe,

[31] L. Bazin, *Les calendriers turcs anciens et médiévaux*. Lille 1974, p. 277.

[32] Concerning these late Hun societies see S. G. Kljaštornyj, *Drevnetjurkskie runičeskie pamjatniki kak istočnik po istorii Srednej Azii*. Moscow 1964, pp. 104—108.

[33] J. Hamilton, *Toquz-Oguz et On-Uigur*. pp. 25—26.

[34] D. Pozdneev, *Istoričeskij očerk ujgurov*. StPbg. 1899. pp. 24—27.

[35] P A. Boodberg, *Selected works*. Berkeley 1979. p. 356; J. Hamilton, *Toquz-Oguz et On-Uigur*. pp. 25—29.

including the North Caucasian area, but most of them remained in Central Asia. Once the Empire of the Türks was established, the T'ie-lê tribes were incorporated into it. However, since about 600 A. D. up to the collapse of the first Empire of the Türks (630 A. D.) the T'ie-lê was in permanent revolt against the Turkish Qaghans.[36] In 605, after several hundreds of T'ie-lê leaders were treacherously slaughtered by the Western Turkish Čurin Qaghan, some of their tribes settled at the Altai and in Eastern Turkestan, and elected their own leader bearing the title *bagha qaghan*. Some other tribes headed by the leader of the Uighurs moved to Northern Mongolia, where they formed and independent tribal confederation, styled in the Chinese sources as the "Nine Tribes",[37] while they are called Toquz Oghuz in the runiform inscriptions. Since that time and especially since 630, the Toquz Oghuz are referred to by the Chinese sources as a group of considerable political and military force. Between 630 and 646 A. D., there was a rivalry between the leaders of the Uighurs and those of the Hsie-yen-t'o for rule over Northern Mongolia. In 646, the Hsie-yen-t'o were destroyed and the Uighurs, led by the Yaghlaqar clan, became the ruling tribe of the Toquz Oghuz. The camps of their leaders, now bearing the title of "qaghan", were situated on the rivers Tola and Selenga.

The Chinese annals refer to one of the Uighur leaders of that time (*cca.* 647 A. D.): "T'u-mi-du, however, was a self-styled qaghan, he arbitrarily nominated functionaries to ranks equal to those of the Türks."[38] The T'ang government did not recognize the Empire of the Toquz Oghuz. Moreover, in the years of 660—663 A. D., there were wars between the T'ang Empire and the Toquz Oghuz, during which the Chinese army was unable to gain victory. The conflict was settled by peaceful means.[39]

In 688 or in 689, the army of the restored Empire of the Türks inflicted a crushing defeat on the Toquz Oghuz in the battle at the Tola river.[40] Their leader, Baz Qaghan was killed and his *balbal* decorated the funeral site of the Türkish Ilteriš Qaghan in 692. The second Uighur (or Toquz Oghuz) Empire which existed in Northern Mongolia for eighty years was destroyed, and the Toquz Oghuz tribes became the vassals of the Türkish Qaghans. Some Toquz Oghuz tribes, that did not want to reconcile themselves to the Türkish hegemony, fled to the lower Etsin-gol and, accepting the protection of the T'ang,

[36] A. v. Gabain. Die Frühgeschichte der Uiguren. 607—745. *Nachrichten des gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens*. Hamburg 1952, No 72, pp. 18—32.

[37] J. Hamilton, *Toquz-Oguz et On-Uigur*. p. 27.

[38] A. G. Maljavkin, Taktika Tanskogo gosudarstva v bor'be za gegemoniju v vostočnoj časti Central'noj Azii. In: *Dal'nij Vostok i sosednie territorii v srednie veka*. Novosibirsk 1980, p. 118.

[39] *Ibid.* pp. 117—120.

[40] On the date of this battle cf. S. G. Kljaštornyj, *Drevnetjurkskie runičeskie pamjatniki*, p. 34.

settled in Kanchou and Liangchou (Kansu).[41] This group of tribes led by the Yaghlaqar, gave leaders to the new Uighur *el* in the early forties of the 8th century, half a century after the fall of Baz Qaghan's rule. This fact is related in the lines 12—18 of the Tes monument.

A considerable part of the Tes inscription (lines 19—22) as if continuing line 6, the story of the enthronement and the first deeds of Bögü Qaghan, refers to the establishment of his camp at Qasar Qorugh (Qasar Qordan in the Shine Usu inscription ?) and at Elser. It then goes on to relate the enthronement itself, in which the "Nine Commanders" (*buyuruq*), "my Uighurs", and the "Distinguished Ones" took part (analogous formulas are preserved in the Terkh inscription, lines 28—30). It is mentioned that at the time of the composition of the Tes inscription, the Qaghan spent "(one) summer" in the Western camp. No mention is made about any other deeds of Bögü Qaghan. So, in all probability, the monument may date from the period of Bögü Qaghan's reign, most likely from the years 761—762 A. D. The narrative of the extent part of the Tes inscription, wherever it may be recognized is related in the first person by the author, who obviously was a close relative of El Etmiš Bilgä Qaghan. At the same time, it is not impossible, that in the other passages of the inscription the narrative was given in the name of the ruling Qaghan.

Transcription

Western side

(1) [completely destroyed]
(2) [. . . . .] *yïl*[*qa* . . . (42—43 characters missing)]
(3) [. . . . .]$m^{i}š$ $^{a}\gamma$[*ïnturtï* . . . (40—42 characters missing)]
(4) [. . . . .]$^{a}\gamma^{i}\widetilde{nt^{u}}rtï$ $uy\gamma^{u}r$ $q^{a}n^{i}m$ $tut^{t}\widehat{uq}da$: *k*[. . . (7—8 characters missing) . . . *taqï*]γu *yïlqa* [. . . (5—6 characters missing) . . .]
(5) [. . . . . *e*]*l* : $^{e}tm^{i}š$: $q^{a}n^{i}m$ $y^{a}sï$ $täg^{i}p$ *učdï* : $o\gamma lï$: $y^{a}b\gamma um$: $q^{a}\gamma^{a}n$ *boltï*
(6) [. . . . . *o*]$l^{u}rtï$ $o\gamma lï$: $t^{a}rdu\widetilde{š^{2}}$ $y^{a}b\gamma u$ $töl^{i}š$ $č^{a}d$ $ol^{u}rtï$: $q^{a}n^{i}m$: ^{e}l : $tutm[^{i}\widetilde{š}]$

Northern side

(7) [. . . . . *ö*]$\eta rä$: $q\ddot{u}l^{i}\widetilde{ntuq}da$: $uy\gamma^{u}r$ $q^{a}\gamma^{a}n$: $ol^{u}rm^{i}š$: $b^{ü}\widetilde{kü}$ $ul^{u}\gamma$ $q^{a}[\gamma^{a}n$ $^{e}rm^{i}š]$
(8) [. . . . .]*u* : $ol^{u}rm^{i}\widetilde{š^{2}}$: $b^{i}\eta$ ^{e}li *üč* *yüz* : *yïl* : ^{e}l : $tutm^{i}\widetilde{š^{2}}$: $^{a}\widetilde{nč^{i}}p$: $bod^{u}ni$: $b[^{a}rdï]$
(9) [. . . . .]$m^{i}\widetilde{š^{2}}$: $buz\widetilde{uq}$ $b^{a}šïn$: $q^{i}za$: $učuz$ $\underset{.}{k}ül$: ^{e}ki : $^{a}tl^{i}\widetilde{\gamma^{i}n}$: $\widetilde{tükä}$ $b^{a}r[m^{i}\widetilde{š^{2}}]$
(10) [. . . . . $b^{ä}$]di $b^{ä}rs^{i}l$: $q^{a}dïr$: $q^{a}s^{a}r$ $^{a}\widetilde{nta}$: $b^{a}rm^{i}\widetilde{š^{2}}$: *ol* $bod^{u}\widetilde{n^{i}m}$: $k^{ä}\eta$ $k^{ä}r^{i}šdi$
(11) [. . . . . *ö*]$\eta rä$: $t^{a}b\gamma^{a}\check{c}qa$: $\widehat{qïz^{a}}$ $s^{i}nm^{i}š$ $uy\gamma ur$: $q^{a}\gamma^{a}n$: *on* : *yül* : $ol^{u}rm^{i}\widetilde{š^{2}}$: $y^{e}tm^{i}š$: *yïl* $^{e}r[m^{i}š]$

[41] E. Pulleyblank, Some remarks on the Toquzoghuz problem. *UAJ* XXVIII, 1—2 (1956), pp. 38—39.

Eastern side

(12) [. . . . .]*dä täŋrïdä bolmïš* : *el* : *etmïš*[1] : *uyγur qaγan* : *olur*[*mïš*]

(13) [. . . . .]*ermïš* : *qaγan* [. . . (3—4 characters missing) . . .] *eki*[?] *ermïš antadan* : *öd känč qaγan erm*[*iš*]

(14) [. . . . .] *ü*]*čün otuz* : [. . . (3—5 characters missing) . . .] *el* : *tut*[*dï* :] *ančïp* : *yasï tägdi*

(15) [. . . . .]*täŋrïdä bolmïš* : *el* : *et*[*mïš qa*]*γanïm* : *olurtï* : *el tutdï*

(16) [. . . . .]*l*[1] : *qaγanïm* : *bälgüsin üčün öŋrä* : *kün toγsïqdaqï bodun*

(17) [. . . . . *b*]*ol qïγ* : *aya* : *basï* : *olur*[*t*]*mïš*[2] [. . . (18—20 characters missing) . . .]

Southern side

(18) [. . . . . (18—20 characters missing) . . .] *kül* : *bäg* : *bilgä* : *qaγan*

(19) [. . . . .]*zig* : *qasar qorγ qontï* : *čït tikdi örgin yaratdï yaylad*[*ï*]

(20) [. . . . .] : *elsär* : *ilgärü qontï* : *bälgüsin bitigin bu* : *urtï* : *bu yaratdï*

(21) [. . . . .]*lig* [. . .]*ar* : [*t*]*oquz buyruq* [. . . (4—5 characters missing) . . .]-*γuq uyγurïm* : *tay*

(22) [completely destroyed]

Translation

Western Side

(1) [completely destroyed]

(2) . . .in the year. . .

(3) . . . was elevated [on the felt throne, i.e. he was enthroned]. . .

(4) . . .was elevated [as above]. When my Uighur Qaghan ruled [over the *el*] . . . in the year of hen . . .

(5) . . .My El-etmiš died, [his soul] flew away. His son, my Yabghu, became Qaghan.

(6) . . . sat [on the throne]. [Of] his sons [one] became the *Yabghu* of the Tarduš, [the other became] the *Šad* of the Tölis. My Qaghan ruled the *el* [or: My Qaghan El Tutmiš]

Northern Side

(7) . . .Earlier, when . . . came into existence [or: was created] . . . the Uighur Qaghans sat [on the throne]; [they were] wise and great Qaghans.

(8) They sat on the throne. For three hundred year they ruled over many [*lit.* thousand] *els*. Then, their people perished.

(9) . . . Revolted by the instigations of the leaders of the Buzuq [their people ?] perished, [their people ?] perished because of the incitements of the petty Kül and of the Distinguished Two.

(10) . . . Bedi Bersil and Qadir Qasar then perished. That people of mine widely quarreled with each other.

(11) . . . Earlier, they rose against the Tabghach, but they were annihilated. [Then] the Uighur Qaghans sat on the throne for ten years, [then] seventy years more.

Eastern Side

(12) . . . El Etmiš born by the Heaven sat [on the throne] as the Uighur Qaghan.

(13) . . . was. The Qaghan . . . [3 to 4 characters missing] . . . were two (?). Then Öd Känč became the Qaghan.

(14) . . . for the sake of . . . thirty years [3—5 characters missing] . . . [he] ruled over the *el*. Then he died.
(15) . . . My Heavenly born El Etmiš Qaghan sat on the throne ; he ruled over the *el*.
(16) . . . my . . . Qaghan for the [glory] of his sign [campaigned] against the peoples living in front, in the direction of the sun-rise.
(17) Praising him they let him sit [on the throne] as the head [of the *el*] . . . [18—20 characters missing]

Southern Side

(18) . . . [18—20 characters missing] . . . Kül Bäg Bilgä Qaghan.
(19) . . . he settled in Qasar Qorugh, he put up fences, built his camp, and spent the summer [there] . . .
(20) . . . he settled in the East at Elser (?) and made this sign of his and this writing of his carved and erected.
(21) . . . . . the Nine Commanders *(buyuruq)* [4—5 characters missing] . . . my Uighurs, Tay. . .
(22) [completely missing]

Notes

Line 3 : Concerning the expression *ayïntur* "to be enthroned" and the ceremony of enthroning according to the nomad customs of the ancient Turks (raising the Qaghan by the *bäg*s on a piece of white felt) cf. A. N. Kononov, *Rodoslovnaja turkmen. Sočinenie Abu-l-Gazi chana Chivinskogo*. Moscow—Leningrad 1958, p. 95, note 115. The verb itself is found e.g. in K. Grønbech's *Komanisches Wörterbuch*, Kobenhavn 1942, p. 29.

Line 4 : The year of the hen corresponds to 757 A. D.

Line 5 : *yasï täg* "to die" cf. DTS p. 244.

Line 6 : *čad* ~ *šad*, cf. Terkh inscription, line 13.

Line 9 : *buzuq bašï* "the leader of the Buzuq". This is the first mention of the division of the Oghuz (Toquz Oghuz) into Buzuq and Učuq in the runiform inscriptions. Cf. also V. V. Bartol'd, *Očerk istorii turkmenskogo naroda. Sočinenija* II. Moskva 1963, pp. 577—578 ; A. N. Kononov, *Rodoslovnaja turkmen*, pp. 90—91. — *qïz-* "to blush, to turn red with anger". According to the context of both the Terkh and Tes inscriptions, the verb is obviously to be translated "to become rebellious, violent" and regarded as a term referring to political condition.

Line 10 : *käŋ* "enmity, hatred, ill will" cf. A. N. Kononov, *Grammatika jazyka tjurkskich runičeskich pamjatnikov VII—IX vv.*, Leningrad 1980, p. 182 § 325. — The compound names mentioned as Bädi Bärsil and Qadir Qasar in the Terkh inscription figure here inversely : Qadir Qasar and Bädi Bärsil. This inversion gives a new proof of the compatibility of these ethnonyms stated in my paper *Terchinskaja nadpis'*, p. 93. According to T. Tekin's interpretation of the Terkh inscriptions, the words in question form a series of four independent ethnonyms. However, two of the four forms seen to be mere phantoms found nowhere in our texts (cf. T. Tekin, *The Tariat (Terkhin) inscription*, p. 48.) A. Róna-Tas (A kazár népnévről. [About the ethnonym *Kazár*]. *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* pp. 366—368) reads **aqadïr* for *qadïr* and **ebdal* for *bädi* in the Terkh inscription. In the case of the second ethnonym he supposes a *lapsus* in the last character. The occurrence of the word *bädi* in the Tes inscription makes this supposition unacceptable.

Line 12: The full title of El Etmiš Bilgä Qaghan in this inscription is somewhat different of that known from the first lines of the Terkh and Selenga inscriptions: instead of *bilgä* it gives the enthnonym *uyγur*.

Line 13: The Qaghan's name *Öd Känč* is not yet identified with anyone known from other sources. Bögü Qaghan's name used before his enthronement *Idi Känč* may be quoted here as an anthroponym following the same onomastic model. According to S. E. Jachontov's kind information, Öd-Känč could have been the original form of the name of the first ruler of the second empire of the Uighurs, which is known as *T'ê-chien szŭ-chin* in Chinese sources. Cf. N. Ja Bičurin's wrong transcription in his *Sobranie svedenij o narodach obitavšich v Srednej Azii v drevnie vremena* vol. I. Moscow—Leningrad 1950, p. 302: "narod ešče Šy-gyan'-sygina ob " javil svoim gosudarem"). If so, the initial vowel and the second final consonant were omitted in the Chinese transcription: *(ö)dkän(č)*. Cf. the later 10th century Chinese transcription of *känč* in J. R. Hamilton's *Les Ouighours...*, p. 152.

Line 18: Kül Bäg Bilgä Qaghan was the first ruler of the third Uighur *el*; he reigned from 744 to 747 A. D. For details concerning his names and titles see J. R. Hamilton, *Les Ouighours...* p. 138.

Line 19: *Qasar Qorugh* is the name of Bögü Qaghan's Western camp, it corresponds, in all probability, to *Qasar Qordan* in the Shine Usu inscription, see S. G. Kljaštornyj, *Terchinskaja nadpis'*, pp. 87, 90, 94 (and in AOH XXXVI, p. 340.). Obviously this camp established by El Etmiš Bilgä Qaghan is identical with the ruins known as *Por-Bažin* at lake Tere (*Tere-khol'* in Tuwa). As it was shown by S. I. Vajnštejn's excavations *Por-Bažin* represents the ruins of a palace of the Uighur period. He rightly supposed that the palace could have belonged to Bayan Čor i. e. El Etmiš Bilgä Qaghan, see S. I. Vajnštejn, Drevnij Por-Bažin. *Sovetskaja êtnografija* 1964: 6, pp. 113—114. For the positive meaning "place under protection" of the word *qoruγ* see G. Døerfer's TMEN III, pp. 451—452 and Clauson, ED p. 652.

Line 20: *Elser* (?), reading uncertain, must have been the name of Bögü Qaghan's Eastern camp; it is not yet found in other sources.

Line 21: As for the "Nine Commanders" *toquz buyruq* cf. Terkh, line 6: "there were nine great commanders *(buyruqs)*". According to the T'ang Annals the Uighur Qaghan had "six outer ministers and three inner ones". (Bičurin, *op. cit.* vol. I. p. 308).

*

The present publication contains only a most preliminary explanation of the reading and translation of the Tes inscription. The difficulties of interpretation of this very fragmentary monument and the possibility of a different decipherment or understanding of certain passages of its text are evident for the author of this paper. It is hoped that in a later and more detailed study, he will be able to give a satisfactory solution to many problems now under discussion.

Paleography of the Uighur Runiform Monument

A close graphic affinity of the characters used in the Tes and Terkh inscriptions is observable. Differences of the graphical appearance of these characters from that of those used in Shine Usu are insignificant. Forms transitional to a more elegant style, which is characteristic of the Qara Balghasun monument, occur only in a few elements of the Sewrel stone inscription

	Terkh 754-756	Shine Usu 760	Tes ca. 762	Sewrel 763	Qara Balghasun 821	Turfan Mss 10th cent.
a e						
i y						
u o						
ŭ o						
b'						
b²						
bāš						
č						
d'						
d²						
g						
γ						
j'						
j²						
k q						
ĸ						
(u)k (o)k						
(ŭ)ĸ (ŏ)ĸ						
(y)k						
l'						
l²						
lt						
m						
n'						
n²						
ŋ						
ñ						
nt						
nč						
p						
r'						
r²						
s'						
s²						
š						
t'						
t²						
z						

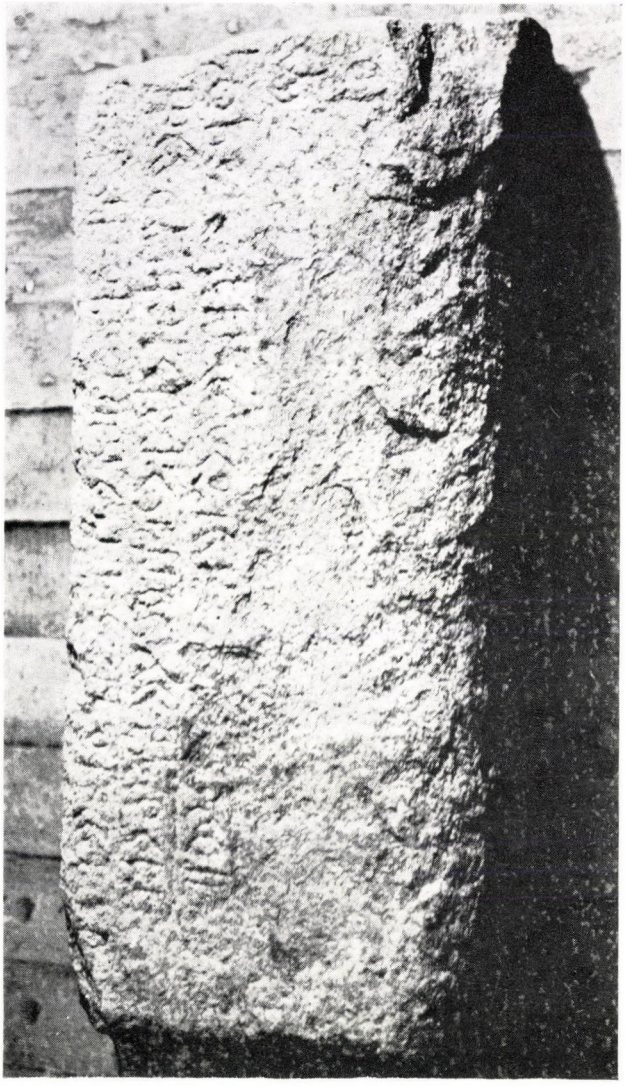

Fig. 1. Western side



Fig. 2. Northern side



Fig. 3. Eastern side



Fig. 4a. Southern side



Fig. 4b. Southern side

Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung. Tomus XXXIX (1), 157—175 (1985)

CRITICA

Nouvelles contributions aux études de Touen-huang (A la mémoire de Paul Demiéville) II, sous la direction de MICHEL SOYMIÉ. Centre de Recherches d'Histoire et de Philologie de la IV Section de l'École pratique des Hautes Études, Hautes Études Orientales 17, Librairie Droz, Genève 1981. XI + 327 p.

This collection of 13 scholar papers should be welcomed by every friend of ancient Asian culture and all the research-workers of the treasure of written documents found in Tunhuang. The related team (Équipe de Recherche sur les manuscrits de Touen-houang associé au Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris), published a series of similar collections — the first one in 1979, the 3rd volume in 1983, as seen from the bibliography of the Catalogue to be reviewed below — and devoted this volume to the memory of the late professor Paul Demiéville (died on March 23rd, 1979), an expert of the documents in question and founder of the Team (in 1973). The authors, utilizing their experience in the team — established for compiling the above-mentioned Catalogue of the Chinese manuscripts of Tunhuang, preserved in Paris — publish here the manuscripts (in full or preliminary form, with or without *facsimile*, respectively) with an erudition worthy of their master P. Demiéville.

As an introduction, the guest of the team L. I. Čuguevskij gives the outlines of Tunhuang's history in the 8th—10th centuries ("Touen-houang du VIIIe au Xe siècle", pp. 1—56, translated from Russian, with a few shortenings and added a few extra notes by Antoine Dauphin; provided with sub-titles by the editors). The author, well informed in the related literature in Russian and Japanese, summarizes Tunhuang's geographical situation and the history of the territory from the 2nd century B. C. until the 8th century, its Tibetan occupation and the decline of Tibetan rule in the 8th and 9th centuries, respectively. After a survey of the Uighur conquest, establishing a state in Kanchou, he reviews the economy in Tunhuang: monetary and commercial, demographic and agricultural, land-taxation and "slavery" problems, and finally the economic role of Buddhism in that region, with reference to the related documents found in Tunhuang.

Naturally most of documents referred to are of buddhist character. Paul Magnin gives a textual analysis, translation and the Chinese text of a work on the spread of Chinese Buddhism from the North to South *Fo-fa tung-liu chuan*, attributed to Chih-sheng (669—740) ("L'ancienne version du *Fo-fa tong-lieou tchouan*", 57—127, with an edition of the reconstructed text in Chinese characters: pp. 98—127, and with 10 Tables of *facsimile)*. This is followed by a fragment of the *Fo-shuo sheng ching* "Sutra of the Births", containing tale-motives travelling from Herodot's Egypt as far as India and China, treated by Dzo Ching-chuan ("Un fragment du

Fo chouo cheng king... Le manuscrit P. 2965, 129—136, with 3 tables); while the biography of the monk Liu Sa-ho — *i.e.* monk Hui-ta, in the 2nd half of the 4th century — is commented and translated by Hélène Vetch ("Lieou Sa-ho... et les grottes de Mo-kao...", 137—148, with an edition of the Chinese text: 140—142, and 3 Tables of *facsimile)*.

Further on, we meet a few documents of Chinese cultural history, mostly connected — more or less — with Buddhism.

The list of ritual objects belonging to the Lung-hsing monastery, probably in the 9th century, is presented, translated and commented by Hou Ching-lang ("Tresors du monastère Long-hing à Touen-houang. Une étude sur le manuscrit P. 3432," 149—168).

A collection of inscriptions on paintings is analyzed, with the related paintings, by Michel Soymié ("Un recueil d'inscriptions sur peintures. Le manuscrit P. 3304 verso", 169—204, 7 t).

Texts of oneiromancy — a usual way of divination in China, based on reading the dreams — is interpreted by Jean-Pierre Drège ("Clefs des songes de Touen-houang", 205—249, 15 t).

Calendrical documents of non-official character concerning certain years in the 10th century, especially their diagrams called "nine palaces" *(chiu kung)* — implying a special system of colours — are explained by Carole Morgan ("Les 'neuf palais' ... dans les manuscrits de Touen-houang", 251—260, 2 t).

A Chinese expression *erh-lang wei* "a cry/noisy festival *(wei)* of young men *(erh-lang)*", concerning the ritual of exorcism at the end of a year and occurring in several documents, is commented on by Danielle Eliasberg ("L'expression *eul-lang wei* dans certains manuscrits de Touen-houang", 261—271, 1 t, with the edition and translation of a text entitled *erh-lang wei*: 269—271).

The instructions of fragments of the biographical collection *Chu-ying chi* are exploited — completed by a few data of other sources as well — for reconstructing the biographies of 14 Chinese poets from the 7th—8th centuries by Wu Chi-yu *(i.e.* Wu Ch'i-yü, "Quatorze poètes du *Tchou-ying tsi* ...", 273—294).

Furthermore, the Chinese numbers from 1 to 30 are transcribed in 10th century Uighuric, *i.e.* in Soghdian script — preserved on the verso of a Tibetan document — , shown and commented by James Hamilton ("Les nombres chinois de un à trente en transcription sogdienne" 295—301, 3 t).

Finally, two papers deal with Buddhism in Tibet. Namely, Yoshiro Imaeda reviews the prophetic fragments of a Tibetan text, translated from Sanskrit ("Un extrait tibétain du *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* dans les manuscrits de Touen-houang", 303—320, with the Tibetan text: 305—311); and a bibliography is given about the Tibetan Buddhism connected with China, by Guilaine Mala and Kimura Ryūtoku ("Additif à l'Introduction au Tibet du buddhisme sinisé d'après les manuscrits de Touen-houang, de Paul Demiéville. Bibliographie corrigée et complétée", 321—327).

The Tables, *i.e. facsimiles* of the manuscripts of the collections of Stein and Pelliot are published with the permission of the British Library, London and the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, respectively (cf. p. 329).

Ildikó Ecsedy

Catalogue des manuscripts chinois de Touen-houang. Fonds Pelliot chinois de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Volume III. Nos 3001—3500. Rédigé sous la direction de MICHEL SOYMIÉ, par JEAN-PIERRE DRÈGE, DZO CHING-CHUAN, DANIELLE ELIASBERG, HOU CHING-LANG, PAUL MAGNIN, MARIE PASCALE MONNIER, MARIE-CLAIRE QUIQUEMELLE, RICHARD SCHNEIDER, MICHEL SOYMIÉ, ÉRIC TROMBERT et WU CHI-YU. Publication de l'Équipe de recherche sur les manuscrits de Dunhuang et matériaux connexes (École pratique des Hautes Études, IVe Section), associée au Centre

national de la Recherche Scientifique. Éditions de la Fondation Singer-Polignac, Paris 1983. XX, 482 p.

The reviewer can merely reiterate the expression of pleasure to find authentic documents of non-official Chinese literacy, so rare in case of official works as well, in spite of a social and even ritual respect towards written documents in China, or just therefore: being substituted by "profanizable" printed forms (cf. *UAJb* 46 (1974), 159—160); the first volume of this excellent catalogue was published in 1970.

Naturally a major work such as this may be delayed by several objective reasons; one of them was, as seen in the *Avant-propos*, that the above-mentioned experts who participated in the preparations only gradually joined the team. The editorial board, however, is by all means justified to publish the 3rd volume, being ready — by a good opportunity for the readers — before the 2nd one. (The catalogue of the manuscripts No. 2501—3000 are expected to appear in the not too distant future, preceding the Volumes IV and V, respectively, to be published later.)

This volume follows the well-proven principles and structural model of Volume I (with slight differences, if they seemed necessary, mainly for the sake of economy, cf. pp. V—VIII). *E. g.* the thorny details of dates — if any — on the manuscripts and their disputable correspondence with the Western calendar is not avoided here either, if only for a more exact decision of the turn of year, and for a more precise identification of the manuscripts (while the vulgar, archaic, miswritten etc. Chinese characters are not published, but referred to in the text — otherwise everywhere provided with Chinese characters — and the quality of writing of the manuscript, in addition to its style, is only described as "calligraphic" or "schoolish", etc.).

After a list of the abbreviations and signs, respectively, utilized in this volume (p. X), there is a list of the Chinese and Japanese authors occurring in the catalogue (pp. XI—XII) and a list of the logograms (pp. XIII—XX). The numbered items, from 3001 to 3500, show the content and character of the work(s) which has (have) been preserved in the manuscript concerned, mostly in fragmentary form; the present state and condition of the manuscript is indicated, with the possible identification of the (different parts of the) manuscript, followed by the bibliographical data, with some annotations, of the possible editions of the text concerned, or of other related references; and finally, the style and quality of writing with practical details concerning the manuscript (material, and size, etc.) are presented (pp. 1—401). An alphabetic index (403—447), a rich subject index (449—470), an index of particular subjects and forms (colophons, and dates etc.; paintings, and stamps etc.: 471—477) and a detailed Table of content end this important volume, to be continued — we hope —soon.

Ildikó Ecsedy

WANG ZHONGSHU, *Han Civilisation*. Translated by K. C. CHANG and Collaborators. New Haven and London 1982. Early Chinese Civilization Series XX, 261 pp., 320 Figures. Yale University Press. Price £ 30.

The book of Wang Zhongshu (b. 1925), the second volume of the Early Chinese Civilisation Series, deals with both Han periods from the point of archaeology. The author is a deputy director of the Institute of Archaeology of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and in 1979 had the opportunity to give lectures on Han dynasty archaeology i.e. at the Harvard University. It was the merit of Chang Kwang-chih, the author of the first volume of the series — *Shang Civilisation*, to translate the two first chapters and for five other sinologists to translate the rest.

The book represents a creative summary of the results of archaeologic exca-

vations mainly from the seventies of our century, but with references to the previous findings since 1949 as far as the period between 206 B. C. — A. D. 220 is concerned. The arguments of Wang are not only accompanied by many notes, mostly of a bibliographical character, but also by an astonishing number of photographs or drawings, which, in the true sense of the word, illustrate the found objects of material culture. The account on them is not and cannot, of course, be full.

The first chapter deals with Ch'ang-an, the capital city of Western Han. It describes city walls and gates, street grit and drainage, palaces, armoury and market, the history of the Hsüan-p'ing gate, royal parks and ritual structures. Among them the buildings very well-known from ancient sources, *pi-yung* and *ling-t'ai*, are mentioned. They were excavated in 1956.

The second chapter on Lo-yang, the second capital of the Han, studies similar issues as the first one with the exception that the author pays attention to the academies, the centres of learning, to Lo-yang in later times: in the Wei and Chin dynasties and even during the city's new upsurge in the Northern Wei dynasty. It should be remarked that we now have at our disposal an account in Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan chi as translated by W. F. J. Jenner, *Memories of Lo-yang. Yang Hsüan-chih and the lost capital* (493—434), Oxford 1981. It could have been mentioned on p. 35 that Ts'ao Ts'ao's Ping-chin t'ai was also used as a storage for ice for use on hot days.

The third chapter on Han dynasty agriculture corresponds thematically with the recent book by Cho-yun Hsu, *Han-Agriculture* (Seattle 1980) which could be mentioned; but it might not be held by K. C. Chang to belong to the sources (see Appendix, pp. 233—5). Wang Chung-shu deals with agricultural products and implements, irrigation, harvesting and food processing, domestication of animals and silkworms, population and economy. The chapter might be longer and the accounts on both animals and economy could be enriched by the quotation from Huan T'an's Hsin-lun stating on the tilt hammer: "The effectiveness of this device was ten times that of the simple mortar and pestle. Still later, mechanisms were installed so that donkeys, mules, oxen, and horses, as well as water power could be used for pounding. Its effectiveness then increased as much as a hundred times." For the tilt hammer see Figure 80.[1]

The following chapter on lacquerware is rather long, perhaps because the author describes the subject in a broad framework asserting that it has a long history possibly extending into the neolithic period. The laquerware also provides important information for a historian, since generally the names and positions of the artisans, other workmen, administrators, and places of production, etc. are given. We find, for example, in the Tables 1—2 on pp. 88—9 the titles and names of workmen of the Shu-chün region in A. D. 3—4. Only the payrolls are missing.

Chapters 5 and 6 are devoted to metals, bronze and iron implements respectively. The author starts chapter 5 with reference to a large number of valuable bronze vessels in the tombs of Prince Liu Sheng and his wife Tou Wan excavated in 1968 at Man-ch'eng; Wang believes that those bronzes »represent the epitome of Han bronze craftsmanship« (p. 100). A relatively large amount of bronze was produced under the management of the Han government, as well as under the prefectural manufacturing offices.

Bronzes were mainly used for non-productive purposes, and iron implements played a much more important role in this respect. The iron arms, of course, were of major military significance and thus had even a political effect. The author refers to

[1] See *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 829. 10a; cf. also my book *Hsin-lun* (New Treatise) *and Other Writings by Huan T'an* (43 B. C.-28 A. D.), Ann Arbor 1975, fragment 128, pp. 120—1.

the statement of the well-known politician Ch'ao Ts'o (died 155 B. C.); the transcription Tai Cuo, i.e. T'ao Ts'o, is partly incorrect. Iron was produced on all the territory of China; more than forty iron offices existed.

Only a few pages in chapter 7 are devoted to ceramics, especially to gray, hard and glazed pottery respectively, celadon, ceramic industry, bricks, and tiles. Wang points out a piece of clay with an impressed seal reading An-ch'eng t'ao-wei 安城陶尉 (p. 147) which we may translate as »Commandant of the pottery (workshop) of An-ch'eng«. I however believe that his conclusion is a bit far-fetched: »That a military official was supervising the ceramic workshops most probably indicates that in the government-operated kilns many workers were convicted criminals who had been organized for work along military lines« (ibidem). Why »many« and not »all«? Was it simply a military enterprise? Who were the remaining workers — civilians or regular soldiers?

The last two chapters — the 8th and the 9th respectively, entitled simply Tombs, mainly deal with found objects. However, there is one important point: the material objects in the tombs are closely related with the ideas which shaped the Chinese mind according to the then prevailing world of thought. But let us first say what is studied in the last chapters: characteristic of a tomb construction, burial mounds, funerary shrines, steles, caskets, funerary banners, jade shrouds, inventories of grave goods; graves of families and lineage, prisoners-labourers and of the poor, and of imperial mausoleums. Wang describes, not only here, the conditions of the poor people without exaggerating the role of the slaves. As a matter of fact, Wang mentions the slaves only as »workmen. . .distinguished by their special skills, they were nevertheless still »slave-labourers« (p. 88, in connection with the lacquerware); slave-labourers building the Imperial tombs (p. 212), and some (sic !) of the bankrupt farmers (p. 59).

As for the funerary banners, let us remember M. Loewe in his book *Ways to Paradise. The Chinese Quest for Immortality* (London 1979) devotes the longest chapter to the explanation of the meaning of the painting from Ma-wang-tui excavated in 1972 (pp. 17—59). How difficult a correct explanation of many »spiritual beings« may be, is shown in the long comments on *Loewe's book* by Käte Finsterbusch.[2]

Let us present another example concerning the tomb of the wife of Li Ts'ang, marquis of Tai, and her caskets as found in 1972 at Ma-wang-tui, too. Wang devotes to her only a few lines and, for unknown reasons, does not mention that her body was fully preserved, as if she had died a week ago, while she has died probably in 168 B. C. (at the latest in 141 B. C.). Her body was conserved in an extraordinary way. The perfect preservation was not achieved by embalming, nor any kind of mummification, nor yet by tanning, nor by freezing.[3] J. Needham explains provisionally the state of the corpse by the use of some Taoist formulas, which had to achieve the state of shih-chieh 尸解 i. e. »corpse-free immortals«.[4] Since after 1949 ten thousand Han graves had been excavated in China and many others shall still be examined, we may perhaps wait for corroboration of this unprecedented find. However, already in 1972, Yang Po-chün contributed a description of five similar cases as found in the texts written before A. D. 605 (Shui-ching chu, Chin-shu etc.[5]) The study

[2] *Zur Ikonographie der Östlichen Han-Zeit* (25—220 A. D.) Bemerkungen zu Michael Loewes Ways to Paradise. *Monumenta Serica* XXXIV (1979—1980), pp. 415—469, 21 illustrations.

[3] J. Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China* V : 2 : Spagyrical Discovery and Invention. Magisteries of Gold and Immortality. Cambridge 1974, p. 304.

[4] *Ibidem*, p. 106.

[5] *Ibidem*, p. 340, note »e«.

has a long title[6]: *Lüeh t'an wo-kuo shih-chi shang kuan-yü shih-t'i fang-fu ti chi-tsai ho Ma-wang-tui i-hao Han mu-chu wen-t'i.* [A brief discussion of historical texts concerning the preservation of human corpses in an incorrupt state and the question of the inhabitant of the grave in the Han tomb No. 1 at Ma-wang-tui].

Wang evidently does not accept the information of the Hou Han-shu[7] which claims that the bodies in imperial mausoleums in jade shrouds (of which more than ten have been found much later), »were all so well preserved that they looked like living people« (p. 182). But the shrouds are one thing: why not mention and discuss the just mentioned case of the corpse intact for more than two thousand years?[8]

The book Han Civilization deals both with the archaeology and history of the Han and occasionally with some other periods (there are unfortunately only a few words on Ch'in Shih-huang-ti on pp. 211—2). It is written in a somewhat traditional way since it does not at all provide references to western scholarship and only occasionally to the Japanese scholarly production. While references to Chinese sources are given directly in the text and pointing out to the book and title of the chapter only, there is no reference to a certain edition or to the number of the chapter. It is stated e.g. on p. 5: Shiji (»Hulizi zhuan«) and the Chinese characters 史記樗里子傳 are immediately printed. By the way, I was unable to find the reading *hu* for which the Matthews' dictionary No. 5863 has the reading *shu* with the reference that another reading *ch'u* is possible. The latter is also the reading of Chavannes, and Couvreur's dictionary. A full reference might thus be: the biography of Shu-li-tzu, *Shih-chi* 71, p. 7 in the edition *Shih-chi hui-chu k'ao -cheng* by Takigawa Kametarō, Peking reprint 1955. But I admit that this system would be somewhat complicated and would require much more space.

A large amount of information is to be found in the notes printed separately on pp. 237—254. This information is not included in the bibliography and neither in the index. There is, however, an Appendix where »a highly selective list of major works in the Western languages« . . .is given, which »includes only works wherein important archaeological material is reported or studied«: *A Supplementary Bibliography of Western Sources* (pp. 233—5) by K. C. Chang.

On p. 177 Wang mentions there polychronic murals found in 1957 in Lo-yang and depicting the banquet at Hung-men. This means the meeting of Hsiang Yü and Liu Pang, the great rivals in the beginning of the Han, in 206 B. C. (p. 177 and Figures 252—4). Ying-shih Yü[9] writes: ». . .although the murals resembles a banquet in a military camp, many difficulties will be encountered if one is to point directly at it and assert that it is a representation of the Hung Men Banquet«. For details see Yü's account on Han period food[10] in which he refers to the preserved corpse of the consort of Li Ts'ang as »a miracle in medical history«;[11] he also lists eight agricultural products used as food. It was Kuo Mo-jo who explained the motif in the murals as the Hung-men banquet.[12]

[6] *Wen Wu* 1979, 9, pp. 36—8; the second part on pp. 38—40 deals with the tomb.

[7] *Hou Han-shu* 11, 1st biography of Liu P'en-tsu, p. 470. Wang, p. 182 does not give the characters. Edition by Wang Hsien-ch'ien, Hou Han-shu chi-chieh in the collection Wanyu wen-k'u.

[8] For the intact body see Needham V: 2, figures 1333—4, i.e. the plates CDLIII, CDLIV.

[9] The Seating Order at the Hung Men Banquet. *Renditions* 15, spring 1981, p. 60, note 7.

[10] Ying-shih Yü, Han China. In: K. C. Chang, ed. *Food in Chinese Culture*, Yale University Press, New Haven 1977, pp. 63—6.

[11] *Ibidem* pp. 55—7.

[12] *Lo-yang Han pi-hua shih-t'an* (An Exploratory Study of the Murals in the

The index lists items from the main text only. The reformed characters are printed copiously, the transcription is according to the *pinyin* system.

It is a truism to assert that archaeology and history may be useful mutually by combining from each other the relevant data. But this circumstance plays a much more important role in China with its immense amount of written texts and ideas on objects necessary for the life after death. I mean the valuable articles found in the tombs. We have seen that Yang Po-chün and J. Needham succeeded in finding texts, which not only corroborated »a miracle in medical history«, but which also showed that some ideas which were considered to be fantastic or superstitious (the relevant word in China in such cases is just mi-hsin 迷信) are very apt to be understood in a rational way. This way to decipher some seemingly only supernatural thought by a mundane, wordly method has always been treated from another point of view, but in the same spirit by Ngo Van Xuyet, Divination, magie et politique dans la Chine ancienne.[13]

The reviewer regrets that he was unable to compare Han Civilization by Wang Chung-shu with the book by Hayashi Minao, Kandai no bumbutsu (The Material Culture of the Han Period) Kyoto 1976. Both Wang and K. C. Chang presented us with a very valuable compendium on basic problems of the Han period, not only on archaeology as such, but also on the social problems and current ideas.

Timoteus Pokora

Han Tomb in Lo-yang), K'ao-ku hsüeh-pao 1964; 2, pp. 1—5. See Wang, p. 251, note 6. *Ibidem*, note 5 the character *Pu* 卜 (Qianqiu, i.e. »divining on one thousand of autumns«) should be read *Bu*.

[13] Paris 1976; see my review in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 78 (1983), 5, columns 507—514. See also idem 77 (1982), 4, columns 325—336 of my review article Some new studies on the Han period. Ngo Van Xuyet deals i.a. with the magicians fang-shih 方士 for which see the book by K. J. DeWoskin, *Doctors, Diviners, and Magicians of Ancient China*. Biographies of Fang-shih. New York, Columbia University Press, 1983.

HANS FINDEISEN, HEINO GEHRTS, *Die Schamanen: Jagdhelfer und Ratgeber, Seelenfahrer, Künder und Heiler*. Diedrichs Gelbe Reihe 47: Sibirien. Eugen Diedrichs Verlag, Köln, 1983. 270 S. mit 23 Abb. im Text.

Vor mehr als einem viertel Jahrhundert erschien H. Findeisens Buch »Schamanentum, dargestellt am Beispiel der Besessenheitspriester nordeurasischer Völker« (Stuttgart 1957), das in den Rezensionen zur Entfaltung einer großen Debatte über das Wesen des nordeurasiatischen Schamanentums führte (*Ethnos*, Bd. 24—27, etc.). H. Gehrts hat jetzt mit glücklicher Hand die besten Kapitel dieser Arbeit herausgegriffen, mit neuen Angaben aufgefrischt und mit den sog. Dokumenten, d.h. Schamanenerzählungen, die teils aus der Sammlung »Dokumente urtümlicher Weltanschauung der Völker Nordeurasiens« (Oosterhout 1970) Findeisens stammen, ergänzt. Das so entstandene Werk ist infolge dieser Gestaltung markanter und informativer geworden. Es wurde darauf geachtet daß die von Findeisen gesammelten Materialien über den Schamanismus der Keto unversehrt bleiben. Über einige Einzelheiten der Auswahl können die Meinungen auseinander gehen, im ganzen muß sie aber positiv gewertet werden.

Unverändert, aber mit besser getroffenen Titeln wurden die Kapitel »Schamanen in Nordasien«, »Schamanentum und altmenschlich-jägerisches Tiererlebnis«, »Wie man in Nordasien Schamane wird«, »Initiatische Erkrankungen und Zerstückelung des Schamanen«, »Tod der Verwandten bei der Einsetzung ihres Schamanen«, »Schamanische Weihen«, »Wesen und Her-

kunft der Schamanentracht«, »Skelett und Knochen auf der Schamanentracht«, »Der große und heilige Schamanenbaum« übernommen. Findeisens Ausführungen über die Schamanentrommel wurden vom Herausgeber, unter Berücksichtigung der späteren Forschungsergebnisse neu gestaltet. Stark gekürzt und mit den »Schlußbetrachtungen« zu einem Kapitel geformt wurden die zwei Kapitel über die Psychologie bzw. die spiritistische Hypothese des Schamanismus. Übrigens gaben eben diese Kapitel den meisten Stoff zu den eingangs erwähnten Auseinandersetzungen. Das Weglassen einiger Kapitel war insofern unproblematisch, als diese im Wesentlichen die gleichen Schamanenerzählungen enthielten die auch im zweiten Teil des Buches, in den »Dokumenten«, gebracht werden und so auch besser zur Geltung kommen. Vielleicht hätte nur das Kapitel über das Schamanenbegräbnis beibehalten werden sollen.

Die Arbeit des Herausgebers, der mit großer Sorgfalt und in Sachen Schamanismus auch mit Fachkenntnis vorgegangen war, soll lobend hervorgehoben werden. Seine Bemerkungen, Einfügungen und Ausführungen, z.B. im Kapitel »Tod der Verwandten bei der Einsetzung des Schamanen«, seine auf solider Sachkenntnis beruhende Zusammenfassung des Kapitels über die Schamanentrommel sowie seine Einführung, in der der Leser mit dem wissenschaftlichen Lebenslauf Findeisens und besonders mit seiner Forschungsreise am Jenissei bekanntgemacht wird, stellen wesentliche Bereicherungen des Buches dar. Leider gibt das Titelblatt über die Arbeit, die H. Gehrts geleistet hat, keine adäquate Information. Seine Rolle als Bearbeiter geht nur aus der CIP-Kurztitelaufnahme hervor.

Eine besonders hochzuschätzende Idee des Herausgebers war, den zweiten Teil des Buches aus Schamanenerzählungen, die teils der Sammelarbeit des Verfassers, teils seiner Übersetzertätigkeit zu verdanken sind, zusammenzustellen. Diese »Dokumente« der schamanistischen Weltanschauung bringen die Vorstellungen der Nordasiaten auch für diejenigen Leser in unmittelbare Nähe, die in der Ethnologie der nordasiatischen Völker wenig bewandert und auch der russischen Sprache nicht mächtig sind.

Ohne an kleinen Lapsus herumtadeln zu wollen, möchte ich eine irreführende Notize des Herausgebers zu »Séance am Felsenkap« berichtigen. Er behauptet, die Tschuktschen gehörten »keiner der drei großen sibirischen Sprachgruppen, also der ural-altaischen, tungusischen oder mongolischen« an. Als die drei »großen Sprachgruppen« Sibiriens können die uralischen (finnisch-ugrisch + samojedisch), die altaischen — zu der außer den tungusischen und mongolischen auch die türkischen Sprachen gehören — und endlich die paleosibirischen Sprachen gelten. Zu letzteren rechnet man die folgenden, genetisch nichtverwandten Sprachen bzw. Sprachfamilien: die tschuktschisch-kamtschadalischen Sprachen, die jenisseische Sprachfamilie mit der einzig noch lebenden Keto-Sprache, die jukagirische und endlich die giljakische Sprache.

Obwohl die Rezensentin vielen der Ansichten und Behauptungen des Verfassers beistimmt, manche sogar überaus zutreffend findet, kann sie nicht mit allem einverstanden sein, was in diesem Buch von Verfasser und Herausgeber über den Schamanismus behauptet wird. Sie möchte sich aber der Kritik einzelner Fragen enthalten, da das den Rahmen einer Besprechung sprengen würde. Zu einer Frage soll aber doch Stellung genommen werden, da sie in der Beurteilung des Phänomens »Schamanismus« grundlegend ist. Diese Frage ist die Bewertung des nordasiatischen Schamanismus als eine wünschenswerte »musisch-mediale Stilergänzung« unserer rationellen und durchtechnisierten Welt. Dieser Gedanke wird auch vom Herausgeber in seiner Einleitung aufgegriffen und weitergeführt. Es ist wahrlich leicht zu begreifen, daß in unserer versachlichten, hochzivilisierten, überspannten und verfremdeten Welt die dem nordeurasischen

Schamanismus eigenen geistigen Werte besonders hoch geschätzt werden und sogar ihre Einpflanzung in unsere Kultur als wünschenswert und im Bereich der ersehnten Möglichkeiten erscheint. Es entgeht aber dem Verfasser — der sich übrigens als ein ausgezeichneter Kenner der Kulturverbundenheit des Schamanismus ausweist — daß die schamanistische Kultur der Nord- und Zentralasiaten eine geschichtlich bestimmte Erscheinung ist, die in höher entwickelten Gesellschaften, auch ohne Unterdrückung oder äußere Gewaltanwendung vorkommt, verkrüppelt und von den großen Religionen überlagert, an den Rand gedrängt oder aufgesogen wird (vom Konfuzianismus, Buddhismus, Islam). In unserer Kultur wird sie (bzw. wurde sie) zur Ausdrucksform einer Gegenkultur, zu einer Randerscheinung, zur Ersatzideologie alternativer Gruppen, und kann nicht mehr mit der Hochkultur integriert werden. Zum Trost diene uns — und hier rede ich in vollem Einklang mit meinem verblichenen Freund und Kollegen, V. Diószegi — daß die kulturellen Werte bzw. die kulturtragenden Persönlichkeiten, die im Schoße des Schamanismus (oder einer ähnlichen Kulturform) erschienen waren, sich im Laufe der Jahrhunderte immer mehr entfaltet hatten, differenzierter wurden und auch in der Gegenwart (hoffentlich auch in der Zukunft) unter uns walten, namentlich die Mediziner, Poeten, Musiker und Schauspieler, die gemeinsam das kulturtragende und sich stets erneuernde Erbe der Schamanen übernommen haben.

Käthe U.-Kőhalmi

PAUL RATCHNEVSKY, *Činggis-khan: sein Leben und Wirken*. Münchener Ostasiatische Studien Bd. 32. Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1983. X + 207 S. DM 42,—

Die schon ohnehin nicht arme Geschichtschreibung über die faszinierende Gestalt des Welteroberers Činggis-khan ist mit einem neuen, bedeutenden Werk reicher geworden. Der Verfasser, ein erfahrener Historiker, unternimmt durch kritisches Konfrontieren der zeitgenössischen oder nahezu zeitgenössischen einheimischen Literatur den Versuch, der Wahrheit bezüglich dem Lebenslauf, der Persönlichkeit und der Taten Činggis-khans, so nahe wie möglich zu kommen, was in Hinblick auf die Beschaffenheit der Hauptquellen keineswegs als einfaches Unterfangen betrachtet werden darf. Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen erzählt zwar die Ereignisse von Činggis's Leben und Walten ohne sie zu beschönigen aber auch ohne die chronologische Folge streng einzuhalten. Die weiteren Quellen, das geschichtliche Werk von Rašid-ed-Dīn und das Yüan-shih, sind in bezug auf die chronologischen Angaben einigermaßen verläßlicher, verwischen aber alles, was mit dem Ruhm des Herrscherhauses nicht zu vereinbaren ist, verwandeln sogar Niederlagen zu Siegen.

Das Werk gliedert sich im wesentlichen in zwei Hauptteile. Der erste verfolgt die Ereignisse von Činggis-khans Leben (Herkunft und Jugendjahre ; Aufstieg zur Vormacht in der Steppe ; Herrschaft über das mongolische Weltreich) und trachtet dabei die echte Chronologie herzustellen ; der zweite beschäftigt sich mit der Persönlichkeit und dem Wirken Činggis-khans und mit den Strukturen des mongolischen Weltreiches.

Sowohl die Fülle des bearbeiteten Materials, als auch die Vielfalt der im Laufe der Interpretation der historischen Vorfälle dargebrachten Gedanken, machen es unmöglich im Rahmen einer Besprechung auf alle Fragen, die entweder den Beifall oder eben die Skepsis der Rezensentin hervorgerufen haben, zu reagieren. Es sollen darum nur wenige Themen herausgegriffen werden.

Der Verfasser des besprochenen Buches ist ein ausgezeichneter Kenner der Geschichte der Mongolen bis zu den kleinsten Einzelheiten. Seine Urteile bezüglich der besonderen Umstände der Nomaden-

reiche sind überzeugend. Es zeigt sich aber, daß all das nicht ausreicht, und auch eine Bewandertheit in den Fragen der Ethnologie der innerasiatischen Steppenvölker zur Beurteilung einiger Erscheinungen von Nöten wäre. Beispielsweise beziehen sich die Verwandtschaftbezeichnungen nicht unbedingt auf den ihnen (bei uns) entsprechenden Verwandtschaftsgrad, sondern können den ganzen Kreis der Stammesgenossen, die in die Generation des entsprechenden Verwandten gehören, bedeuten. Jeder Mann der Vatersippe, der älter als Ego aber jünger als sein Vater ist, kann *aqa* genannt werden, nicht nur der leibliche ältere Bruder. Ähnlich wie in der deutschen Volkssprache nicht nur Verwandte mit »Bruder« oder »Mutter« angesprochen werden können. — Die Mongolen, wie auch die meisten innerasiatischen Hirtenvölker, waren nicht ausschließlich Pferdezüchter, sondern Pferde *und* Schafzüchter (sogar Pferde-, Schaf- und Rinderzüchter), also kann die Frage ob Pferde *oder* Schafzucht nicht aufkommen (vgl. S. 34). — Die Gegenleistung für die Braut seitens der Sippe des Bräutigams konnte verschiedene Formen haben. Außer dem Brautpreis konnte auch ein Austausch der Töchter erfolgen, oder der Werber zahlte mit seiner Arbeit für das Mädchen, aber das hatte nichts mit Matriarchat zu tun. (vgl. S. 19—20). Um beim Thema Ehe zu bleiben sei noch erwähnt, daß sich der Verfasser in der Zahl der Gattinnen des Yesügei geirrt hat. Die Mutter von Bekter und Belgütei war nicht mit Qoaqčin identisch. Dies ist klar aus dem Text der Geheimen Geschichte ersichtlich. Der Umstand, daß auch die zweite Frau von Yesügei, die Mutter des Belgütei von den Merkit entführt worden war, kann nur daraus gefolgert werden, daß sie beim Überfall des Temüjin und Ong khan auf die Merkit von ihrem Sohn vergeblich gesucht wird (vgl. § 112), weil sie vor Scham in die Wälder flieht aber in § 101 ist von ihr keine Rede. Die zusammen mit Börte entführte Qoaqčin wird von Temüjin mit Börte zusammen befreit (§ 110).

Bei der Darstellung der Persönlichkeit und der Werke Činggis-khans, sei die Behauptung des Autors, nach der die Taten der damaligen Menschen nicht nach unseren heutigen ethischen Normen beurteilt werden dürfen, besonders hervorgehoben. Er handelt auch meistens danach, obwohl das kein leichtes Vorhaben ist. Die Persönlichkeit und die Motivationen des Temüjin, des späteren Činggis-khans, wird m.E. vom Verfasser hervorragend erfaßt. Er zeichnet ein realistisches Bild, das den als Inbegriff der Grausamkeit bekannten Welteroberer in den Rahmen der Normen seiner eigenen Zeit stellt und von seinem schlechten Ruf befreit. Činggis verdankte seinen Aufstieg seiner Intelligenz, seinem Ehrgeiz, seiner Besonnenheit, seiner Gabe, die Schwächen seiner Gegner auszunützen, seinem organisatorischen Talent, mit dem er nicht nur ein schlagkräftiges Heer aufbaute, sondern auch die Stammesgesellschaft seiner Väter in einen nach straffen militärischen Prinzipien aufgebauten Vielvölkerstaat umwandelte. Dabei machte er sich sowohl die geistigen Errungenschaften der Unterworfenen wie auch die Dienste ihrer besten Staatsmänner zunutze. Auf diese Weise führte er in seinem Reich Schrift und Kanzleiwesen ein. Auch die Großzügigkeit, mit der er die großen Religionen und deren Verkünder behandelte, beweist sein politisches Gefühl. Bezeichnend ist, daß er nur mit den islamischen Gemeinden nicht auskommen konnte. Die Ursache lag, wie es der Verfasser beweist, nicht an der Ideologie, sondern an den Zusammenstößen in der praktischen Lebensführung. Unter seinen besten Beratern hatte er ja viele mohammedanische Kaufleute.

Zusammenfassend sei festgestellt, daß der Verfasser bei der gewissenhaften wissenschaftlichen Auswertung der Gestalt des Činggis-khan bleibt und sich nicht von der historischen Bestseller-Mode verleiten läßt, seinen Helden mit extremen Eigenschaften auszuschmücken, obwohl die Gestalt des Činggis dazu besonders geeignet gewesen wäre.

Der Band wird durch ein Namenregister und eine Aussprachetabelle ergänzt und dadurch seine Verwendung erleichtert.

Käthe U.-Kőhalmi

L. Lőrincz, *Mongolische Märchentypen*. Übersetzung aus dem Ungarischen: Judit Győri. Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica XXIV. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, *Asiatische Forschungen* 61. Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1979. 428 p.

En 1912 B. Vladimirtsov annonça la nécessité de dresser un catalogue des contes mongols (Bibliografija mongol'skoj skazki. In: *Živaja Starina* XXI, 1912. Petrograd 1914, pp. 521—528). Depuis ce temps, beaucoup de publications ont été consacrées aux contes folkloriques des divers peuples mongols, et la plupart des travaux qui contiennent des textes de conte ont été utilisés par ce livre. Il est le premier catalogue qui embrasse les contes des Khalkhas, des Bouriates, des Kalmoucks, des Ordos, des Tchakhars et d'autres groupes ethniques du monde mongol. Même dans ce domaine limité, leur folklore témoigne de contacts très divers: avec les littératures into-tibétaine, chinoise, bouddhique et séculaire, avec le folklore des peuples voisins et, naturellement, avec les autres genres épiques des Mongols eux-mêmes, en particulier avec les chants épiques ou l'épopée. Dans l'éclaircissement de ses rapports — surtout pour les études comparatives —, ce volume constitue un important instrument. Il fournit les résumés de 443 types de conte; ces résumés sont ordonnées selon trois systèmes: les «genres» (pp. 25—212: contes d'animaux, contes héroïques, contes de fées, contes-nouvelles, contes plaisants, contes-mensonges), le système d'Aarne (pp. 213—341: contes d'animaux, . . . , contes-nouvelles, contes-légendes, contes sur le Diable ou sur des géants, ogres etc. stupides, contes plaisants, contes-formules), enfin le système personnel de l'auteur, indépendant du système d'Aarne (pp. 343—406: contes d'animaux ou fables, contes héroïques, contes de fées, contes-nouvelles, etc. comme supra, selon le système n° 1, mais les résumés en sont réduits à une ou deux propositions).

L'appendix (pp. 407—428) renferme un index des contes selon les types d'Aarne, ainsi qu'un glossaire des mots d'origine étrangère et la bibliographie. Cette dernière (pp. 427—428) embrasse 51 titres. La dernière source dont fait état le catalogue est *Burjatskie narodnye skazki* (Ulan-Udê 1973). Dans la liste on trouve des raretés comme les études de Rudnev ou de Smolev publiées dans les *Travaux* de la Section de Troïtskosavsk-Kiakhta de la Société géographique, mais il est regrettable que certaines collections considérées comme essentiellement linguistiques, aient été négligées, par exemple, N. Poppe, *Alarskij govor* ou B. Vladimirtsov, *Obrazcy*. Toutefois il est certain que les matériaux incorporés dans le volume sont et seront indispensables pour l'étudiant du folklore mongol et, tenant compte de leurs particularités, on peut en profiter même dans le domaine des universaux, formes et éléments universels du conte.

G. Kara

Friedrich Otto Schrader, *Kleine Schriften*. Mit Ergänzungen aus seinem Nachlaß herausgegeben von Joachim Friedrich Sprockhoff. *Glasenapp-Stiftung*, Bd. 19. Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden 1983. XXII + 522 p.

Cinquante travaux en allemand ou en anglais: trois monographies et quarante-sept *scripta minora*, articles, compte-rendus et autres écrits de F. O. Schrader (1876—1961), ancien professeur de l'indologie et de la linguistique comparative à l'Université de Kiel sont réédités dans ce volume par les soins de son dernier élève, M. Sprockhoff qui les a augmentés des *Addenda* et des *Corrigenda* d'après les notes manuscrites de l'auteur. L'introduction par M. Sprockhoff est brève, mais substantielle et

émouvante; la bibliographie des œuvres de l'auteur sert aussi de table des matières; les travaux (qui ont été publiés dans des journaux ou par les éditeurs les plus divers d'Europe, d'Inde, du Japon) sont groupés ici selon les genres et dans un ordre thématique. Le *Register* donne la liste (un choix) des noms, titres, termes, mots et passages discutés par l'auteur; la *Konkordanz* indique les journaux ou recueils où les écrits réimprimés ont été initialement publiés. Une des trois monographies de ce recueil traite de la philosophie indienne du temps des Mahāvīras et du Bouddha (Strassbourg 1905), l'autre présente la première edition de la *Bāṣkalamantropaniṣadvṛttiḥ* (Madras 1908), la troisième est consacrée à la *Bhagavadgītā*, notamment à son ancienne version de Cachemir (Stuttgart 1930); les monuments publiés dans les deux dernières monographies furent découverts par Schrader. La thématique des écrits mineurs embrasse la philosophie, les littératures et les religions de l'Inde, la linguistique, l'ethnologie et la préhistoire des peuples de langue indienne, dravidienne ou muṇḍā, etc. Il s'est aussi penché sur les problèmes du thaï et du tibétain. Ses comptes-rendus, documents intéressants de l'histoire des études indiennes, bouddhiques, etc. abondent en renseignements inestimables. Même ses erreurs peuvent nous être utiles: par exemple, dans la discussion sur la nature d'une hypothétique affinité ouralo-dravidienne Schrader montra un courage et une souplesse honorables. Conscient des dangers que comportaient les méthodes comparatives sans la connaissance de l'évolution de la plupart des mot «ouraliens» comparés, il tenta pourtant d'éclaircir une question importante de la préhistoire de l'Inde, question qui ne cessait de préoccuper les chercheurs. Les études comparatives *et* historiques ont joué un rôle important dans l'œuvre de Schrader, si compétent dans les diverses langues et culture du Bharat. Il a comparé les idées d'Héraclite avec celles du Bouddha et de Laozi dans une étude qui, grace à sa vaste érudition, offre une lecture délectable jusqu'à nos jours. Il donna une analyse approfondie de la structure de l'alphabet siamois en le mettant en parallèle avec l'écriture tibétaine. Des traits communs de la syntaxe des langues à structure divergente ont été démontrés dans un de ses articles sur la linguistique aréale et typologique.

Le lecteur érudit peut trouver dans ce volume une riche source d'informations. On doit en féliciter à la fois le rédacteur, la Fondation Glasenapp el l'éditeur.

G. Kara

E. N. Nadžip, *Istoriko-sravnitel'nyj slovar' tjurkskich jazykov XIV veka*. I. Izdatel'stvo „Nauka", Moskva 1979, S. 479

Der Autor beabsichtigt den Wortschatz der Türksprachen des 14. Jahrhunderts, genauer der in der Umgebung des Horezm zu dieser Zeit in türkischer Literatursprache geschriebenen Sprachdenkmäler in 4 Bänden zu analysieren. Gegenstand dieser Rezension ist der erste Band, der aus zwei Teilen besteht: I. Vorwort, Abkürzungsverzeichnis, Bibliographie und Einleitung (S. 5—150); II. Wörterbuch und Register (151—478); Nadžip geht bei seinen Untersuchungen aus dem Werk Ḫusräv u Šīrīn von Quṭb aus, worüber der Untertitel seiner Arbeit: *Na materiale «Hosrau i Širin» Kutba* (Anhand des Werks Ḫusräv u Šīrīn von Quṭb) Auskunft gibt.

Mit diesem mitteltürkischen Sprachdenkmal hat sich auch der jüngst verstorbene Turkologe Ananiasz Zajączkowski eingehend befaßt (vgl. *Najstarsza wersja turecka «Ḫusräv u Šīrīn Quṭba*. I—II. Warszawa 1958, III. Warszawa 1961).

Im Vorwort spricht Nadžip davon, daß er — im Unterschied zu Zajączkowski — die einzelnen Wortformen in der ursprünglichen, d. h. arabischen alphabetischen Reihenfolge bringt. Für die historisch-vergleichende Analyse teilt er auch die in anderen türkischen Sprachdenkmälern und in den heutigen türkischen Sprachen nachweisbaren Entsprechungen mit. In den

4 Bänden wird Nadžip auf diese Weise insgesamt 2500 Wörter aufarbeiten.

Nach dem Vorwort gibt der Autor die Transkription an, die auf der zyrillischen Schrift basiert. Nach der Transkription und dem Abkürzungsverzeichnis folgt eine reichhaltige Bibliographie (S. 15—30).

In der Einleitung schildert Nadžip die Entstehungsgeschichte des Ḫusräv u Šīrīn (im weiteren HŠ). Bei der Untersuchung des historischen Hintergrundes bringt er häufig auch Zitate, u. zw. nicht nur türksprachige Textteile in original-arabischer Schrift, sondern auch deren Transkription sowie die russische Übersetzung (S. 31—48).

Im weiteren untersucht der Autor zwecks Veranschaulichung des zeitgleichen türkischen historisch-kulturgeschichtlichen Hintergrundes ähnlich eingehend auch andere, im wesentlichen in die gleiche Periode datierbare türkische Sprachdenkmäler.

Im dritten Teil der Einleitung prüft Nadžip den türkischen Wortschatz des HŠ (S. 76—150). Im Kapitel »Zur archaischen türkisch-mongolischen Sprachgemeinschaft gehörende Wörter«, der dem Kapitel über die Synonyme (76—80) und über die sog. Wortpaare (S. 80) folgt, führt er die jenigen türkischen Wörter auf, die auch in den mongolischen Sprachen zu finden sind, obwohl unseren heutigen Kenntnissen nach der überwiegende Teil dieses Wortschatzes in den mongolischen Sprachen aus türkischen Lehnwörtern besteht. (S. 81—89).

Im weiteren beschäftigt sich Nadžip mit den archaischen Elementen des mitteltürkischen Wortgutes, und er schildert außer den Lautwandlungen $d \sim \delta$, $v \sim w$ auch die alten Stammwörter sowie deren Ableitungen, ferner die Verben (S. 89—132). Die Untersuchung des alten Wortschatzes schließt mit dem adverb *-u* (S. 133—136).

Im abschließenden Teil der Einleitung bespricht Nadžip die in der Sprache des HŠ vorkommenden fremden (arabischen und persischen) Elemente, und er weist nach, daß in diesem mitteltürkischen Sprachdenkmal 63,3% des Wortschatzes aus Elementen der alten türkischen Hinterlassenschaft besteht, während der Anteil der Lehnwörter 36,7% ausmacht (21,8% arabische und 14,9% persische Entlehnungen).

Den zweiten Teil von Nadžips Werk bildet das Wörterbuch. Die Elemente des Wortschatzes werden, wie bereits erwähnt, in arabischer alphabetischer Reinhenfolge aufgeführt. Den einzelnen Stichwörtern in arabischer Schrift folgt auch deren Wiedergabe in zyrillischer Schrift, sowie ihre Bedeutung in russischer Übersetzung. Anschließend wird der Text zitiert, in dessen Umgebung das betreffende Wort vorkommt. Danach folgen die in anderen türkischen Sprachdenkmälern sowie im Kreise der modernen türkischen Sprachen nachweisbaren Entsprechungen der in Frage stehenden Form. Der erste Band enthält nur die mit alīf beginnenden Wörter, insgesamt 662 Wortartikel. Das Wörterbuch schließt mit einem Register in zyrillischer alphabetischer Reihenfolge.

Imre Gyarmati

LEONARD W. J. VAN DER KUIJP, *Contributions to the Development of Tibetan Buddhist Epistemology*. From the eleventh to the thirteenth century. Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien. Herausgegeben vom Seminar für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens an der Universität Hamburg, 26. Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH Wiesbaden 1983, 330 pp.

The book reviewed is a revised version of the author's doctoral dissertation made in 1979 and entitled *Contributions to the Development of Tibetan Buddhist Logic — from the eleventh to the fifteenth century*. Though the subject matter of the present book has remained the *chad-ma (pramāṇa)* and its related literature, I feel it fortunate that the author now translates it as "epistemology" instead of "logic". Logic meant here was always concerned with theories of knowledge and was never used independently of epistemology.

The Tibetan Buddhist epistemology is deeply rooted in the Indian one. Epistemology was not a homeland product in Tibet, but was born by the knowledge of the great Indian scholars' philosophical systems. More exactly it grew up on the works of Dignāga, Dharmakīrti and of their Indian commentators. At first, during the early propagation *(sṅa-dar)*, the fundamental works of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti were translated into Tibetan, but it was only during the later propagation *(phyi-dar)* that the relevant exegetical tradition began to be known in Tibet, through the translation of the major commentaries to their works.

Van der Kuijp mainly deals with Tibetan Buddhist epistemology from the 11th to the 13th century (only the last chapter is devoted to Go-ram-pa, a 15th century scholar), i.e. with that very period when the ingenious Tibetan epistemological science was in its formative stages and the first independent works on epistemology began to be composed by the Tibetan monks.

Van der Kuijp's paper fills a major gap in our knowledge of Tibetan epistemology and also of biographical literature. Relying mostly on the data gained from the works of Gser-mdog Pan-čhen Šākya-mčhog-ldan (1428—1507) he follows the basic trends of Tibetan epistemology of the given period. In the first two chapters, we become acquainted with the members of the system of Rṅog Lo-cā-ba Blo-ldan šes-rab *(Rṅog-lugs)* and in the second two with the members of the system of Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga' rgyal-mchan *Sa-lugs)*.

In the introduction (pp. 1—29) the author gives a short, but very informative summary of the history of Tibetan epistemology. He also presents us with a short biography of Gser-mdog Pan-čhen, mainly on the basis of Jo-naṅ-pa Kun-dga' grol-mčhog's (1507—1566) biographical work. A major merit of van der Kuijp's treatment is that he does not confine himself to merely giving biographical data, but also outlines Jo-naṅ-pa's literary activity by which we gain a glimpse of his philosophical orientation. Gser-mdog Pan-čhen composed several remarkable works on epistemology. The author surveys in brief the contents of Gser-mdog Pan-čhen's *History of Buddhist Epistemology (chad-ma'i chos-'byuṅ)* and also draws a sketch of its topics in the appendix of the introductory part.

Chapter 1 (pp. 29—59) is devoted to Rṅog Lo-cā-ba Blo-ldan šes-rab or Blo-ldan bzaṅ-po (1059—1109) through whose greatness a whole philosophical system was named *(Rṅog-lugs)*. The system of Rṅog Lo-cā-ba originated that line of transmission, the members of which were the first to compose original Tibetan works on epistemology. We gain rich stores of valuable data concerning Rṅog Lo-cā-ba's biography, teacher-student relationships, and philosophical position. The author's information is always gained from original Tibetan sources and he constantly compares the statements of the different texts. He enumerates Rṅog Lo-cā-ba's summaries *(bsdus-don)* and commentaries *(rnam-bšad čhen-mo)* on epistemology, among which we find the celebrated *Pramāṅavārttikālaṃkāra*, *Nyāyabinduṭīkā*, *Pramāṇaviniścaya*.

Van der Kuijp concentrates on analyzing the philosophical position of Rṅog Lo-cā-ba utilizing the data of Gser-mdog Pan-čhen's *History of Buddhist Epistemology*. In an attempt to ascertain his philosophical position, we are confronted with a difficult problem. It is unanimously accepted by Tibetan scholars that the position of Dharmakīrti, Prajñākaragupta, Rṅog Lo-cā-ba is *madhyamaka*, but we meet with conflicting judgements with regard to their place within the *madhyamaka* branches. Van der Kuijp reproduces the judgements in question. So e.g. Gser-mdog Pan-čhen explains why Dharmakīrti, etc., is to be regarded as a representative of the *yogācāra-madhyamaka (rnal-'byor spyod-pa'i bdu-ma, gzan-stoṅ dbu-ma čhen-po, rnam-(b)-rjun dbu-ma)*, but furthermore he states that Rṅog Lo-cā-ba was such an original thinker that with his eclecticism he utilized

both the ideas of Asaṅga's and Nāgārjuna's followers and his "manner of commenting is a different Great Tradition *(šiṅ-rta'i srol čhen-po)*". This section of chapter 1 dealing with Rṅog Lo-cā-ba's philosophical position provides us with really rich data concerning the different trends and conceptual refinements within the *madhyamaka* philosophy.

At the end of the chapter, van der Kuijp gives the edition and the English translation of that very portion of Gser-mdog Pan-čhen's *History of Buddhist Epistemology*, which deals with Rṅog Lo-cā-ba's philosophical position. The chapter is followed by two appendices, where among others there is a list of Rṅog Lo-cā-ba's non-epistemological works.

In chapter 2 (pp. 59—97), the author surveys the lineage founded by Rṅog Lo-cā-ba, and acquaints us with his most significant disciples (Khyun Rin-čhen-grags, Gaṅs-pa Še'u Blo-gros byaṅ-čhub, and Gro-luṅ-pa Blo-gros 'byuṅ-gnas) focusing his attention on their major contributions to the *Rṅog-lugs*. The chapter is actually devoted to Phya-pa Čhos-kyi seṅ-ge (1109—1169), about whom van der Kuijp already wrote a paper in 1978.[1] Phya-pa was really the first original Tibetan logician, who had not even known Sanskrit. Phya-pa wrote a commentary of the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* and among others summaries *(bsdus-pa)* on different epistemological subjects. Though none of his works are extant, the author gives a general survey of his main ideas on the basis of the quotations found in the writings of Gser-mdog Pan-čhen and Sa-skya Paṇḍita.[2] Among these, he reviews his theory of definition *(mchan-ñid, lakṣana)*, his new methodology of analysis and also discusses in brief Phya-pa's interpretations of *madhyamaka* philosophy. Phya-pa is considered to be a follower of *Svātantrika-mādhyamika*, nevertheless, his disciples propagated *Prāsaṅgika* doctrines. The author has very usefully followed the line of transmission originating from Rṅog Lo-cā-ba, but what I feel is missing is a Table with the members of the lineage, which is easy to survey.

At the end of chapter 2 there is an annotated edition and translation of that part of Gser-mdog Pan-čhen's *History of Buddhist Epistemology*, which is devoted to the exposition of Phya-pa's main tenets. In addition, van der Kuijp furnished his translation with references to Phya-pa's own treatises that he found cited in Gser-mdog Pan-čhen's *Chad-ma rigs-pa'i gter* commentaries.

Chapter 2 is also followed by two appendices. Appendix 1 consists of two parts. The first gives an annotated edition of that section of the eighth chapter of Sa-skya Paṇḍita's *Chad-ma rigs-pa'i gter*, which deals with the different theories of definition. The textual divisions are made on the basis of Sa-skya Paṇḍita's own commentary and those of Gser-mdog Pan-čhen. The second part provides us with an alphabetical verse-index to the basic test of the *Chad-ma rigs-pa'i gter*.

Chapter 3 (pp. 97—116) reviews the life-work of Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga' rgyal-mchan (1182—1251). Moreover the author surveys in brief the philosophical orientation of the Sa-skya-pa before Kun-dga' rgyal-mchan that mostly had lain in tantric studies. He traces for us how the Sa-skya-pa began to be concerned with epistemology that had been the domain of the members of the *Rṅog-lugs*. Da-skya Paṇḍita was the first who established closer links with the *Rṅog-lugs* scholars, who wrote outstanding works on epistemology. His most celebrated treatises on epistemology are his retranslation of the *Pramāṇavārttika*, *Chad-ma rigs-pa'i gter* and its autocommentary. Van der Kuijp rightly points out that Sa-skya Paṇḍita's *Pramā-*

[1] van der Kuijp, L. W. J. (1978), Phya-pa Čhos-kyi seṅ-ge's Impact on Tibetan Epistemological Theory. In: *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 5: 355—369.

[2] Gser-mdog Pan-čhen's *Chad-ma rigs-pa'i gter* commentaries and Sa-skya Paṇḍita's *Chad-ma rigs-pa'i gter* and its autocommentary.

ṇavārttika studies meant a starting shift on the Tibetan philosophical scene. Up to Sa-skya Paṇḍita it had been Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇaviniścaya* and the ingenious *Summaries* that had been the main concern of the Tibetan scholars.

Since we have very few ingenious treatises of the period in question that could delineate the development of Dignāga's and Dharmakīrti's theories in Tibetan soil, the importance of the *Chad-ma rigs-pa'i gter* and its autocommentary cannot be overestimated. In this chapter there is a chapter-concordance of the *Chad-ma rigs-pa'i gter* made on the basis of eight commentaries,[3] and also the list of the names of Sa-skya Paṇḍita's most important disciples.

Chapter 3 is followed by an annotated edition and translation of that portion of Gser-mdog Pan-čhen's *History of Buddhist Epistemology*, where the most significant accomplishments of Sa-skya Paṇḍita are surveyed.

I should mention here that an article of Zoltán Horváth on the *Chad-ma rigs-pa'i gter* is to be published in 1984 in the *Proceedings of the Csoma de Kőrös Memorial Symposium*, in which the author presents us with the topical outline of the text, considering at the same time the thematical relationships of the subjects.

Chapter 4 (pp. 116—241) deals with Go-ram-pa (1429—1489) and his *Pramāṇavārttika* commentary. Van der Kuijp observes how the students of Sa-skya Paṇḍita continued to develop the theories centred around the *Pramāṇavārttika* and follows the lineage of transmission from Sa-skya Paṇḍita to Go-ram-pa and Gser-mdog Pan-čhen relying on the data of Koṅ-sprul.

Beside the short biography of Go-ram-pa we are informed of his literary activity. Go-ram-pa wrote two commentary on the *Pramāṇavārttika* and two on the *Chad-ma rigs-pa'i gter*. At the end of the chapter there is the topical outline of Go-ram-pa's larger commentary on the *Pramāṇavārttika*, which bears the title *Rgyas-pa'i bstan-bčos chad-ma rnam-'grel-gyi rnam-par bšad-pa kun-tu bzaṅ-po'i 'od-zer*.

In addition, the author added three appendices to the chapter, where he gives a chart showing the thematic relationships of the subject-matter of each chapter in the above mentioned: *The Radiant Light of Samantabhadra: An Exegesis of the Pramāṇavārttika, the Vast Treatise*. In these appendices there is also a list of proper names mentioned by the text and another one with the names of the texts mentioned by Go-ram-pa. It this section, I feel it is rather disturbing that the author establishes the thematical relationships with numerals, i.e. separately from his topical outline. In this manner it is rather wearisome to look up the numerals in the outline itself. It would be more fortunate to relate the topics themselves.

The book under review is completed with a very useful bibliography of both first and secondary literature, with notes exceedingly rich in data, and with indices of Tibetan and Sanskrit names.

Judit Fehér

IBN BUṬLĀN, *Das Ärztebankett*. Aus arabischen Handschriften übersetzt und mit einer Einleitung sowie Anmerkungen versehen von FELIX KLEIN-FRANKE. Hippokrates Verlag, Stuttgart 1984, 323 Seiten und 4 Abbildungen

Felix Klein-Franke legt in diesem Bändchen, das die Aufmerksamkeit von Medizinhistorikern, Laien und vor allem arabischen Literaturhistorikern verdient, die deutsche Übersetzung eines zwar nicht unbekannten,[1] jedoch nicht genügend be-

[3] Works of Sa-skya Paṇḍita, Go-ram-pa, Mi-pham rgya-mcho, Glo-bo Mkhan-čhen Bsod-nams lhun-grub, Gser-mdog Pan-čhen, 'Jam-dbyaṅs blo-gter dbaṅ-po.

[1] Bisher liegen zwei fehlerhafte arabische Textausgaben vor, eine neue Edition soll demnächst vom Herausgeber herausgebracht werden.

achteten arabischen medizinischen Werkes aus dem 11. nachchristlichen Jahrhundert vor. Der Verfasser ist Ibn Buṭlān, ein nestorianischer Christ aus Bagdad, der weite Reisen nach Aleppo, Jaffa, Kairo und Konstantinopel unternahm und schließlich in Antiochien verstarb. Er ist vor allem durch seine mit ʿAlī ibn Riḍwān heftig geführte Kontroverse[2] und ein bereits im 16. Jh. ins Deutsche übersetzte Buch über Diätetik und Hygiene[3] bekannt.

In dem vorliegenden Werk, das aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach starke autobiographische Züge trägt, beschreibt er eigentlich die Prüfung eines aus der Hauptstadt in die Provinz verschlagenen jungen Arztes durch den örtlichen Ärztescheich und seine Kollegen, bevor der junge Arzt überhaupt mit seinem Broterwerb beginnen kann. Die Prüfung fällt unerwartet aus: Der junge Arzt muß weiterziehen. Dieser Rahmen gibt dem Autor reichlich Möglichkeit, medizinische Fragen zu erörtern. Was aber den Leser eher überraschen wird, ist die treffende Charakterisierung der einzelnen Personen der Handlung und er entdeckt allmählich, daß dem Autor viel mehr daran liegt, Persönlichkeiten, Situationen und ihre Entwicklung zu schildern, als streng wissenschaftliche Frage ausführlich zu erörtern, er läßt ja die meisten der dem jungen Arzt gestellten Fragen unbeantwortet! Es ist der Verdienst des Herausgebers, diese Sachlage geklärt und dem Werke die ihm gebührende Stelle in der arabischen Belletristik zugewiesen zu haben.

Die Herausgabe ist musterhaft. Der eigentlichen Übersetzung geht eine ausführliche Einleitung voraus, wo der Herausgeber u. a. einen biographischen Überblick und eine Zusammenfassung über Ibn Buṭlāns literarisches Werk gibt. Das Kapitel »Das 11. Jahrhundert — Bemerkungen zur Entwicklung und zum Stand der Medizin und zu den geistigen Strömungen jener Zeit« ist ein knapper aber überaus aufschlußreicher Essay, der dem interessierten Laien zum Verständnis des geistigen Milieus verhilft, in dem das Werk entstand. In dem Bemerkungen informiert uns der Herausgeber über das literarische Genre des Werkes, seinen Aufbau und seine Quellen. Ein aufschlußreiches Kapitel, in dem der Herausgeber auch manche falsche Meinungen glaubhaft berichtigt. Das weitere Erforschen der das literarische Genre und die Quellen betreffenden Probleme wird bestimmt noch manche überraschende Ergebnisse bringen: Der Herausgeber verspricht uns, die Rolle des Werkes in der Makamendichtung in der arabischen Edition eingehender zu behandeln. Nach der Meinung des Rezensenten würde sich das weitere Erforschen der eventuellen Zusammenhänge zwischen diesem Werke und dem Buche Kalīla wa-Dimna sicher lohnen, der verblüffende arabische Titel des Ärztebanketts ist ja Daʿwat al-aṭibbā ʿalā maḏhab Kalīla wa-Dimna! Es sind eben diese Fragen, die den Literaturhistoriker interessieren könnten!

Der Übersetzung ist der ausführliche Kommentar Ibn Aṭradīs, eines sonst wenig bekannten Christen vom Anfang des 12. Jh. beigefügt, in dem sämtlichen von Ibn Buṭlān falsch oder nicht beantworteten Fragen eine ausführliche Erörterung zuteil wird. Ibn Aṭradīs Kommentar ist zwar nicht geistreich, man kann aber aus ihm das zeitgenössische medizinische Denken sehr gut kennenlernen. In den Anmerkungen zu beiden Werken findet man eine Fülle nützlicher Informationen, die von der Antike bis zu Johann Sebastian Bach reichen. Sie sind sehr geschickt so angebracht, daß der eigentliche Text weder durch Fußnoten noch durch Hinweise bzw. Zahlen gestört ist, und man kann alle nötigen Informationen bzw. einschlägigen Anmerkungen bequem und schnell finden.

[2] *The Medico-Philosophical Controversy Between Ibn Butlan of Baghdad and Ibn Ridwan of Cairo.* A Contribution to the History of Greek Learning Among the Arabs by Joseph Schacht and Max Meyerhof. Cairo 1937.

[3] *Kitāb Taqwīm as-Ṣiḥḥa.*

Es lohnt sich auch, nur in den Anmerkungen zu blättern! Eine Tabelle der Umschrift und Aussprache arabischer Laute, eine reiche Bibliographie, eine Zusammenstellung der Parallelstellen beider Werke und ein Personenregister beschließen das Bändchen. Als Illustrationen dienen farbige Miniaturen aus der Jerusalemer Handschrift des *Ärztebanketts*.

Wir haben also die Übersetzung eines arabischen Textes vor uns, der vor allem Medizinhistoriker und Forscher auf dem Gebiete der arabischen Literaturgeschichte ansprechen mag, aber in solch musterhafter Form, daß ihn auch interessierte Laien ohne weiteres genießen können. Sie erhalten zudem einen kurzen Überblick über die arabische Medizin. Die Ausstattung des Bändchens ist vorzüglich.

István Ormos

RAINER MARIA VOIGT, *Das tigrinische Verbalsystem*. Berlin, Verlag von Dietrich Reimer, 1977. Marburger Studien zur Afrika- und Asienkunde, Serie A: Afrika, Band 10, pp. 470.

Die vorliegende Arbeit — eine Überarbeitung der Dissertation des Verfassers, die im Sommer 1974 der Philosophischen Fakultät der Philipps-Universität zu Marburg/Lahn vorlag — stellt eine ausführliche Schilderung der Syntax des Verbums im Tigrinischen dar. Morphologische und phonologische Einzelheiten werden nur nebenbei erörtert.

Bekanntlich werden in den neueren semitischen Sprachen Äthiopiens die meisten syntaktischen Verhältnisse direkt am Verbum markiert, daneben werden die Grundformen des Verbums sehr oft mit Hilfsverben kombiniert. Folglich ergibt sich eine große Anzahl möglicher Verbalformen, denen hier eine eingehende Erörterung zuteil wird. Mit einbezogen werden auch die äußerst wichtigen sog. Kopulasätze. Affirmative und negative Formen werden getrennt behandelt. In jedem einzelnen Fall beschreibt der Verfasser knapp den Gebrauch, die grammatische Bedeutung der gegebenen Verbalform anhand genau zitierter und übersetzter Zitate, wobei er sich übereilter Pauschalurteile enthält und auf die Unterschiede im Gebrauch von Verben verschiedenen semantischen Inhalts hinweist.

Der eigentlichen Arbeit geht eine knappe Darstellung der Entwicklung des tigrinischen Verbalsystems im Rahmen des semitischen Verbalsystems voraus — bekanntlich eine schwierige und viel diskutierte, aber kaum endgültig gelöste Frage. Dieses Kapitel ist aber relativ unabhängig, die darin vertretene Ansicht beeinträchtigt keineswegs die detaillierten Beschreibungen der folgenden Kapitel, wo immer nur der jeweilige Befund konstatiert wird.

Den zugrundeliegenden Korpus bildet eine große Sammlung einheimischer und westlicher Druckwerke, die Beschreibung dürfte also die moderne Schriftsprache umfassen, wobei gelegentlich auch auf ältere bzw. umgangssprachliche und dialektale Formen hingewiesen wird. Logisch erschließbare aber nicht belegte Formen werden immer genau vermerkt. Parallelerscheinungen bzw. ihr Fehlen im Amharischen werden oft, im Geez und anderen verwandten Sprachen weniger regelmäßig zitiert. Aufschlußreich sind die gelegentlichen sprachgeschichtlichen Betrachtungen des Verfassers. Ein detailliertes Inhaltsverzeichnis erleichtert den Gebrauch des Werkes, es lohnt sich jedoch einmal das ganze Buch durchzublättern, weil man manchen wertvollen Bemerkungen an unerwarteten Stellen begegnet.

Der Verfasser hat uns also mit einem soliden Standardwerk beschenkt, an dem wohl manches zu korrigieren oder zu ergänzen sein wird, das ganze bleibt aber für geraume Zeit ohne Zweifel ein unentbehrliches Nachschlagewerk.

István Ormos

MANFRED ULLMANN, *Islamic Medicine*. Islamic Surveys 11. University Press, Edinburgh, 1978, pp. xiv + 138 + 8 plates.

Islamic medicine is generally unknown to orientalists, except for a few specialists in this field. One should, however, be aware of the fact that many outstanding Islamic scholars were at the same time doctors (e.g., Avicenna) who frequently applied technical terms borrowed from medicine in other domains of scholarship such as philosophy, linguistics or belles-lettres, a fact generally overlooked nowadays. On the other hand, medicine was not the esoteric branch of learning as it is today, but was regarded as one of the basic disciplines that come within the scope of general education and every educated person could be presupposed to be more or less familiar with its basic tenets. These tenets, originating in the Greek medicine of antiquity — such as the doctrine of humours, etc. — are completely strange to the average modern student of Islam and so not a few connotations of texts in Islamic history, literature, and linguistics etc. will elude him, because of his lack of familiarity with the stock of learning, current at that time.

It is the merit of Ullmann's work that it gives a succinct (the text itself covers 114 pages) account of the main characteristics and history of Islamic medicine, which enables non-specialists — Islamisants and historians of Western medicine alike — to form an overall picture of this interesting field, the importance of which cannot be overestimated. In the reviewer's opinion, the author has found the appropriate proportions in this careful selection. The book appeared as volume 11 of the Islamic Surveys and can be regarded as one of the best works published in the series so far.

This excellent summary of Islamic medicine is warmly recommended, it should be read by every student of Islam as part of his introductory studies in this field.

István Ormos

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GESCHICHTE DER HEILIGEN GÖTTERBILDER DER DREI KLÖSTER UNSERES ǰAQAČIN-VOLKS

ÁGNES BIRTALAN

Die Handschrift, die hier behandelt wird, trägt den einfachen Titel *namtar*,[1] "Geschichte". Erst ein Untertitel am Anfang des Textes berichtet genauer über den Inhalt: "Geschichte der heiligen Götterbilder der drei Klöster unseres J̌aqačin-Volks".

Diese im Jahre 1869 entstandene Handschrift ist auf geripptes, chinesisches Papier von gelblicher Farbe eines Doppelblatthefts geschrieben (8 f., siebenzeilig 24,8×12,7 cm, Zeilenhöhe 19 (20,4) cm; keine Pagination; Pinselschrift, schwarze und rote Tusche).[2] Hier und da ist der Text mit roter Tusche korrigiert (ff. 4a, 5a). Erhobener Zeilenaufgang ist auch ein Mittel, die Verehrung auszudrücken. Als Interpunktionszeichen kommen *čeg*, *dabqur čeg* und *dörbelǰin čeg* sowie Häufungen von diesen vor. Das Anfangszeichen (ff. 1a, 2a) ist mit dem der oiratischen Handschriften des 19. Jahrhunderts verwandt.[3]

Die Orthographie (z. B. einige zusammengeschriebene Suffixe; Genitiv *-yin* und *-iyin* statt *-un*;[4] *aliγan* statt *alaγan*[5]) und die Sprache des Textes weisen darauf hin, daß er im oiratischen Sprachgebiet verfaßt und vielleicht aus einer oiratischen Handschrift abgeschrieben wurde.

[1] Mong. *namtar* = tib. *rnam thar* "biography, legend, history" (Lessing, MED, 563), „complete escape, emancipation and hence memoir, life biography" (Das, 757); in unserem Fall bedeutet dieses Wort "Geschichte".

[2] Rot geschrieben sind die Namen von einigen Heiligen, Gottheiten, aber inkonsequent; der Untertitel (f. 1a), die Invokation (f. 2a, Z. 1–4), s. noch ff. 2a, 3a, 5b, 6ab; und auch f. 5a *qamtudta . . . lobon Jambu.*

[3] D. Kara, *Knigi mongol'skich kočevnikov* (*sem' vekov mongol'skoi pis'mennosti*), Moskva 1972, S. 51.

[4] Vgl. f. 1a, *man-i* statt *manu*, *sitügen-i* statt *sitügen-ü*; f. 2a, *šaǰin-i* statt *šaǰin-u*, *eǰed-yin* statt *eǰed-ün*, *čaγ-yin* statt *čaγ-un*; f. 3b, *sakiγusun-i* statt *sakiγusun-u* etc. (aber auch f. 1a, *dačang-un*, f. 2a, *iǰaγur-un* usw.), vgl. auch f. 2b, *γarun* statt *γar-un*, f. 4b, *qaburun* statt *qabur-un*, f. 7b, *üy-e-ši* statt *üyes-i*.

[5] Mong. *alaγa* (Kow. 72), oir. *aliγan* (Pozd. 17), (Zwick 18); kalm. *alxvn* (Ramstedt, *Kalm. Wb* 7, Muniev, 39); Oiratische Formen sind noch: oir. *ǰayāči* (Pozd. 260), (Zwick deest), kalm. *zaγātšŗ* (Ramstedt 464) mong. *ǰayaγači* (Kow. 2296); oir *oγōto* (Pozd. 30), (Zwick deest), mong. *oγoγata* (Kow. 363).

Acta Orient. Hung. XXXIX. 1985
Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

Die Handschrift wurde von Y. Rinčen (1905—1977), Mitglied der Akademie der Wissenschaften der Mongolischen VR und Ehrenmitglied der Ungarischen AdW, in der Westmongolei erworben; sein purpurfarbiges viereckiges Siegel mit Quadratschrift ist auf recto des Untertitelblatts und auf Seite 8b zu sehen. Er schenkte diese Handschrift Prof. G. Kara, der mich mit der Veröffentlichung des Textes beauftragte.

Dieser Text, wie der schon erwähnte Untertitel zeigt, enthält einen kurzen Bericht über die Religionsgeschichte und die geschichtlichen Ereignisse des Lebens des westmongolischen Volks der J̌aqačin. Diese oiratische Gruppe lebt heute im Westen der Mongolischen Volksrepublik, in sechs Kreisen der Provinz Kobdo (*Xowd*, mong. *Qobdo*): *Manxan, Möst, Jereg, Ǔyenč, Altai* und *Mönxxairxan*, auf den beiden Seiten des Mongolischen Altais, in den ehemaligen Bannern *J̌aqačin sečen güng-ün qosiyun* und *J̌aqačin beyile-yin qosiyun* (s. Karte). Mongolische offizielle Quellen geben ihre Zahl mit 19500 an, d. h. 1,2% der Bevölkerung der Mongolei.[6] Wie bekannt ist, entstand diese Gruppe aus verschiedenen oiratischen Elementen (Dörböten, Torguten) und auch Khalkha-Mongolen, die im 17. Jahrhundert als Grenzwächter, *ǰaqačin* aus *ǰaqa*[7] "Rand, Grenzgebiet", von Galdan in das Tienschan-Gebiet angesiedelt worden sind. Ihr Status wurde später auch von den Mandschu-Kaisern bestätigt, und im Jahre 1754 sind sie von Qianlong in das Altai-Gebiet übersiedelt worden. Nach D. Gongors[8] Untersuchungen zählte diese Volksgruppe damals 2305 Personen, d. h. 622 Familien.

Transkription

Namtar bolai : :

[1a] *J̌aqačin man-i yurban dačang-un ǰuu sitügen-i namtar orosibai* : :

[1b] [leeres Blatt]

[2a] *aya ilayuysan-i oron-du erkesil öggügsen aqamad köbegün Itegel Mayidiri*[9] *kemegdekü tegün-i adali-yin bey-e* : *yurbaduyar šaǰin-i ǰuu čimadur*

[6] Im Jahre 1969, betrug die Bevölkerungszahl 15000 und 1979 wurde 19500, s. *BNMAU-ın Uls Ardīn aǰ axui 1982. Statistikiin emxtgel.* Ulsīn Xewleliin gajar, Ulaanbaatar 1983, S. 29.

[7] Mong. *ǰaqa* "le bord, l'extrêmité, le rivage, les bornes, la frontière, limite; cime (des arbres); le collet, ou bien ourlet d'un habit; un cordon des caleçons" (Kow. 2244); oir. *ǰaqa* (Pozd. 257), (Zwick 338); kalm. *zax*^{v} "Rand, Grenze, Pelzkragen" (Ramstedt, *Kalm. Wb.* 463).

[8] D. Gongor, *Xowdīn xuraangui tüüx.* Ulaanbaatar 1964, und J. Coloo, *Jaxčinī aman ayalguu.* Ulaanbaatar 1965.

[9] Die Schreibweise des *'yy* ist in der Handschrift *"y.* Z. B. f. 2a, *Ma'idiri* statt *Mayidiri, ǰa'isang* statt *ǰayisang* usw.

itegemüi. šar-a-yin[10] *šaǰin-i öndüridkeküy-yin siltayan bolyan. šabi öglige-yin eǰed-yin qoyidukin-dur medekü-yin yaruly-a bolqu-yin tulada. uy iǰayur-un učir-i tododqon. yerü man-i J̌aqačin kemegči Goojung tegüskeltü quwangdi-yin čay-yin iledkel-yin šasitar-tu J̌aqačin kemegči qarayul-un čerig-ün üge. ǰayisang Mamad-tu ǰakiryulbai kemegsen böged. mön* [2b] *ǰegün yarun Ġaldan qan bayiqu čay-tu anggi büri-eče quriyayad arban dayičing bolyayad. Er-e-yin qabiry-a-tu sayulyaǰi Böke Mamad-tu ǰakiryulbai.*

tegünče Tngri-yin tedkügsen-ü arban yisüdüger on-u modun üker ǰil-dür dayan oroǰu ireged güng-ün kergim kürteged. ene Altay-yin yaǰar-tu nutuylan sayubai.

odo-a yayčakü J̌aqačin man-i šaǰin dačang toytaqsan udqa inu. angqan Tngri-yin tedkügsen-ü on-du man-i bügüde-yin buyan irügel-ün küčün-iyer Ġaldan qan-i ündüsün dačang-un siregen-i ḳambu qubilyan ündüsün blamatan Čültümrinčen-[3a]*-i bey-e ǰalaran ireǰü Oyirad-yin yeke čečen-ṭü aldarsiysan Köngkü jayāči ǰayisang-un uy itegemǰitü batu bayatur güng J̌amčan-i oroy-yin čimeg blam-a bolyan šaǰin amitan-i ǰiryayulun sayutal-a. Tngri-yin tedkügsen-ü qorin ǰiryuduyar on-u usun morin ǰil-ṭü öglige-yin eǰen güng J̌amčan duradču blamatan-du medegülün yerü man-i Oyirad bolbasu boyda Jungkuva-yin šar-a-yin šaǰin-i badarayulun tedkügči mön-i tulada. J̌aqačin man-i qosiyun-i dotor-a nige dačang toytayan irügel gürüm-ün* [3b] *nom ungsiyulǰi. čayan buyan-i delgeregülün delgeregülüy-e kemen medegülün basa neyiteber ǰöbsiyeged. Barayun mõngke ǰuu ḏalai blam-a bančin erdeni-yin gegen-dü ayiladqaysan-du sayisiyaǰu Baldan lh*[a]*m-a sakiyusun-i bey-e-yin niyuča körüg*[11] *nige. Raši-ǧon-jeg-ling kemekü ner-e bayun soyurqaǰu blamatan-du Šagyǰ*[i]*muni Lii jambu šuydan Mayidiri čoddang eyimü adistai sitüged-i soyorqon iregsen-eče daruyida güng J̌amčan ču Bökenüd Lobǰa-yi ǰaruǰu man-i dörben Oyirad ǰegün yarun* [4a] *šaǰin-i delgeregülüqsen* [corr. < *delgeregülün*] *qutuytu raǰbǰamayabandida čorǰi Namḳa ǰamču--yin qoyitu sitügen čayan mönggün-iyer egüdegsen degedü čayan oki-yin maytayaltu egün-i ǰuu bolyan takiyad. šar-a-yin šaǰin-i delgeregülǰü bayital-a. döčin qoyaduyar on-ṭu güng J̌amčan nasun-ača nögčigsen-i qoyitu dõčin yurbaduyar on-u siroi noqai ǰil-dü üile-yin ereke-ber J̌aqačin qoyar qosiyu bolyaqu čay-tu. dačang-yi salyaǰu.* [4b] *ǰuu bolyan blamatan-i Jamba Šuydan Mayidiri-yi ǰalaǰu. qoyaduyar Rasi-jeg-ling dačang kemen nereyidčü. šaǰin amitan-i tusa-yi bütügebei : :*

Dayičing Biliqtü quwangdi Sayisiyaltai irügeltü-yin arban qoyaduyar on yal em-e taulai ǰil-dür yurbaduyar dačang Rasi-ǧon-jeg-ling kemeküy-yi toy-

[10] Der Buchstabe *š* ist (aber nicht immer) durch einen Doppelpunkt bezeichnet: f. 2a, *šar-a-yin šaǰin*, vgl. *yerü burxani šaǰin ilangyuya mani šarayin šaǰintu ǰüdkün üyiledüqsen* (Pozd. 166) *šara* (Zwick 390), *šaǰin kiged amitandu nom orčiulǰi* (*Biography of Caya pandita in Oirat characters.* Ulaanbaatar 1967), aber f. 4a, *qosiyun*, f. 7b, *silüg* usw.

[11] Es gibt einige Fälle, in denen die zweite Silbe statt *w* (bei *ö* und *ü*) *wy* aufweist. f. 3b, *körüg*, f. 5a, *gelüng*, f. 7b, *silüg*.

tayaǰu ǰuu sitüge-yi inu mön mön-kü man-i J̌aqačin-i Rabǰuul kemekü kümün Aru Qalq-a-yin J̌abjundamba qutuytu-yin gegen-eče J̌amġon Mayidiri-yi ǰalaǰu ǰuu bolyan sitübei.

teged. Bürintü ǰasayči-yin ǰiryuduyar on qaburun terigün [5a] *saradu ǰaliqai mayu irgečüd samuyurču terselegsen-i učir-tu ünemlekü-dü burqan-i yurban bey-e ülü ebdereküi. inuyun-ki-du ebdereküi kemegsen yosu üǰegülügsen-dü. man-i J̌aqačin-i güng. ükeri da. tüsimed. ṣar-a. qar-a bügüdeger ǰöbčileǰü Mayidiri-yi J̌abjundamba-yin gegen-dü kürgegsen-dü rbanai ergüülün. ergül ǰakiy-a seltes-i qamtubar kürgegülün. basa tus dačang-yin gelüng Čültümǰonoroi ǰalaqu yêčêl ḍung. tabun ǰayun (quvaray-un) manǰi-yin toyo-a. qamtudta bütügeküy-yin tulada. lobon Jambu* [5b] *demči Rabsal-un ǰerge qorin ilegüü kümün ǰaruǰu yabuyuluysan-du doloduyar on dörben saradur boyda J̌abjundamba-yin gegen-eče güng nada soyorqoysan ġasiy ǰarliy-yin dotor-a. ǰarliy inu. Qobdo-yin J̌aqačin-i güng tan-du amur-i asayun adis ǰanggiy-a ilegekü-eče yadan-a. tan-i dačang-yin ǰuu Mayidiri. Ḍar-a eke-yi. ṣaǰin amitan-i tusa-ṭu kičiyen amilaǰu. guu sung tüg-yin ali adistai sitüge-yi orosiyulbai.* [6a] *J̌abjundamba Navang čooǰi vangčuy pêrênglei*[12] *ǰamču nadur süǰülügčid bükün Itegel Mayidiri egün-ṭü mörgükü kiged ergikü ergün kündülegčin bükün yurban qoor-a-yin ǰedker arilayad. yurban mayu ǰayayatan-ača geteleǰü. irege edüi Mayidiri-luy-a učarqu böged. tan-i ṣaǰin önidü delgerekü bolumu. egün-i Poborang dêčêng ġalba kemegsen böged. egün-i qamtuda Ġongġ'or bürülgüi ǰabdui ḳambu-yin ǰakiy-a dotor-a inu degedü-yin esi ǰarliy. Ġongġor-yin bumba-yi yabuyuluysan-ača yadan-a. yêčêl ḍung.* [6b] *manǰi-yin toyo-a. basa Gendün rubi-yin kürdü. dačang büri-dü niǰiged bütügeǰü yabuyuluysan-i medegden. basa šaǰin kiged. öglige-yin eǰed tan-i bügüde-yin aliba üiles bütükü boltuyai kemen kürgen iregsen bui. odo-a Itegel Mayidiri-yin gegen-i ǰalaǰu man-i bügüde-yi mörgügülkü-yin tula ǰalaysan egün-i amitan-i ǰiryayuluyči ṣaǰin-i mandayuluyči boyda J̌abjundamba-yin ǰarliy-yin esi-yi güng-i tamay-a-du quriyaysan-i todorqayilan man-i J̌aqačin ṣar-a qar-a bügüde-dü ünemleküy-yin tulada.* [7a] *mongyol üsüg-iyer bičiǰü. ükeri-yin tamay-a daruysan temdeg bolyaǰu ükeri ḍa-yin tamay-a-yin yaǰar-a qadayalan. qoyisidu temdeg bolyan. basaču J̌aqačin-i yurban dačang-yin quvaray-ud. ta bükün eke köbegün blam-a ṣabi-yin yosuyar amitan-i tusa üileddüged. ilagyuy-a J̌aqačin bidan-i eb nayir-yi ǰokiyan ǰokildaquy-yin siltayan tegüsken keregül temčel-i oyoyata tebčiǰü gegeged. qarsilaqu-yin siltayan arilaqu-yi qoyar yosun ber ayilad kemeküeče. basa man-i dačang-yin* [7b] *yayča eǰen blam-a ündüsün qubilyan Čültümrinčen toyin Čültümnim-a Navang lubsangǰambal eden töröl-ün üy-e-ṣi oyōta bariysan ǰarliy-yin ačitu blam-a mön-i tula. blam-a-yuyan Blam-a-yin tabin silüg-tü-yin yosuyar ačilan kündelekü keregtei bui. kemekü egün-i Qobdo-yin*

[12] Bei der Transkription der tibetischen Wörter kommt der Buchstabe *yaliy ê* vor. f. 5a, *yêčêl*, ff. 6a, *Pêrênglei*, *dêčêng*.

qariyatu J̌aqačin-i ükeri da Süke kemekü ber šaǰin amitan-i oyuγun ǰokildaqu-yi erkimlen sanaǰi aliγan-ban qamtudqan sögödün süǰüglen ayiladqabai : :

[8a] *šar-a-yin šaǰin arban ǰüg-tü delgereged. öglige-yin eǰed-yin sanaγsan bütüged erdem-nügüd bütükü boltuγai* : :

Dayičing ulus-un Bürintü ǰasaγči-yin nayimaduγar on arban tabtaγar rabǰung siroi em-e moγai ǰil-ün ǰun-i segül sarayin qorin naiman-i masi bayasqulang-tu degedü tümen ölǰei bütügsen tügemel gerel badaraγsan čoγ učiraltu sayin edür tegüskebei : :

[8b] *bičigeči inu kündü bošoqo Nimadeleg bolai* : :

J̌aqačin man-i dačang ǰuu sitüged-yin namtar üǰekü duralaγčid inu. sitügen-i udq-a inu qutuγtu-yin tuuǰi Sar-a-yin gerel-tü Mayidiri J̌ambašuγdan-i udq-a inu blamatan-i sang-du bui. Itegel Mayidiri-yin udq-a inu güng ni tamaγ-a-yin γaǰar-tu bui amui : : : : :

Übersetzung

Geschichte

[1a] Es folgt die Geschichte der heiligen Götterbilder[13] der drei Klöster[14] unseres J̌aqačin-Volks.

[1b] [Leeres Blatt]

[2a] Wir glauben an dich, dritter Heiliger[15] der Religion: Du bist

[13] Mong. *sitügen* "support, appui, soutien, conservateur, défenseur, protécteur, et tout ce qui peut inspirer de la confiance, et sur quoi on peut compter; objet, objet visible; représentation d'une divinité (image, statue), la divinité même ou symbole; cause, origine, base, fondement, source" ~ tib. *rten, 'khra-ba, phyag-rten* (Kow. 1487); oir. *šütēn* (Pozd. 178), (Zwick 400); kalm. *šütēn* (Ramstedt *Kalm. Wb.* 372). Vgl. auch uig. *tayaγ* BTT VII 458.

[14] Mong. *dačang* "cour d'assemblée, réunion, temple, pagode, école" = tib. *grva-chaṅ* (Kow. 1651); kalm. *datsŋ* (Ramstedt, *Kalm. Wb.* 80), es ist ein ölötisches Wort, (Muniev 187); aber in der oiratischen Sprache wird "Kloster, Tempel" meistens mit anderen Wörtern *kürē, kiyid, süme*, (Pozd. 297, 284, 160; Zwick 387), in khalkha-mong. *dacan* bedeutet "lamskij chram; fakul'tet buddijskogo universiteta" (Luwsandendew 149).

[15] Mong. *γurbaduγar šaǰin-i ǰuu*, vgl. *ǰuu*. "maître, seigneur" ~ tib. *ǰo-bo* usw. (Kow. 2371); kalm. *zū* (Ramstedt, *Kalm. Wb.* 482); der Dritte Heilige der Religion muß Maitreya sein. s. K. Sagaster, *Die Weisse Geschichte*. Wiesbaden 1976, S. 274.: "Die Buddhas der Drei Zeiten" (*γurban čaγ-un burqan* (*mgon po*) *dus gsum saṅs rgyas*) sind Dīpaṅkara (*Mar me mjad*), der Buddha der Vergangenheit (*sṅar byon saṅs rgyas mar me mjad*), Śākyamuni (*Šākya thub pa*), der Buddha der Gegenwart (*da-lta'i saṅs-rgyas šākya thub-pa*), und Maitreya (*Byams pa*, der Buddha der Zukunft (*ma 'oṅs-pa'i saṅs-rgyas byams-pa*)."

der Körper,[16] der dem Zuflucht (gebenden) Mayidiri,[17] dem älteren Sohn[18] ähnlich ist, dem die Macht des siegreichen Throns (d. h. Thronfolgers[19]) gegeben[20] wurde.

Als Grund für die Erhebung der gelben Religion[21] und damit es für die künftigen Jünger und Gabenspender eine Quelle des Wissens sein kann, verdeutliche ich die Geschichte der Herkunft (der Heiligtümer).

In allgemeinen: was unsere Benennung J̌aqačin betrifft, (so steht es) in *Iledkel-yin šastir*[22] der Zeit des Kaisers Ġoojung tegüskeltü,[23] daß dieses Wort (Grenz)-Wächter bedeutet. Und dieses Volk wurde unter die Führung von *ǰayisang*[24] *Mamad*[25] gegeben. [2a] Weiter ist bekannt, daß zur Zeit des

[16] Mong. *beye* in *adali-yin beye*, wörtlich "der Körper desjenigen, der ... ähnlich ist".

[17] Mong. *itegel Mayidari* ~ tib. *byams-pa, byams-pa mgon-po* (Kow. 1969), *byams-čhen mgon-po* (Das 886), *byams-mgon* vgl. unten mong. *J̌amgon*.

[18] Mong. *aqamad köbegün*, vgl. *burqan-u köbegüd-ün aqamad bolqu* "devenir le fils aîné de Bouddha", Kow. 23 zitiert *Arban ǰiryuγan batuda ayči-yin takil = Gnas-brtan bču-drug* wo mong. *batuda ayči* ~ tib. *gnas-brtan* ~ skr. *sthavira* (Mvy CCLXX 20), vgl. (Das 752).

[19] Mong. *ilayuγsan-u oron* ~ tib. *rgyal-chab* "gouverneur, lieutenant d'une province; Maitreya" (Kow 295) ~ tib. *rgyal-ba'i chab* "the vice-regent of Buddha; a name of Bodhisattva Maitreya" (Das 313, vgl. Jäschke 109); tib. *rgyal-chab ni Byams-pa* = mong. *burqan-u oro*: *ilayuγsan-u tölöge inu Mayidar* (Sum. I, 451).

[20] Mong. *öggügsen* vgl. *öggügsen bošoγ* "parole donnée, promesse, doctrine traditionelle" (Kow. 576).

[21] Mong. *sira šasin* (Kow. 1445); vgl. Anm. 10.

[22] *Iledkel-yin šasitar*, mong. *Iledkel-ün šastir*, mongolische usw. Fürstengenealogie der Mandschu-Zeit. Sie ist in mehreren Fassungen bekannt. Laut Sagaster, *Subud Erike* (Wiesbaden 1967, S. 75) wurde sie 1795 zusammengestellt und 1802 gedruckt. Die Qianlong-Version s. noch L. S. Pučkovskij, *Mongol'skie rukopisi i ksilografy Instituta vostokovedenija* I. Moskva—Leningrad 1957, S. 53—55, Nr. 26: *J̌arliγ-iyar toytaγsan yadayadu Mongγol Qotong ayimaγ-un wang güng-üd-ün Iledkel šastir*, mit einem Vorwort aus dem Jahre 1799; Kap. XV über die J̌aqačin. Eine spätere Ausgabe (1895), s. W. Heissig—K. Sagaster, *Mongolische Handschriften, Blockdrucke, Landkarten*. Wiesbaden 1978, S. 9, Nr. 14.

[23] Der Kaiser Gaozong Shun huangdi (1736—1795) der Mandschu-Dynastie ist meistens unter den Namen seiner Periode *Qianlong* bekannt, s. Anm. 28. Mong. *tegüskeltü* "Vollkommenheit habend" entspricht chin. *shun*.

[24] Mong. *ǰayisang* "zaisang, chef d'une famille conseilleur; sovetnik stepnoj dumy" (Kow. 2233), s. Sagaster, *Die Weisse Geschichte*. Wiesbaden 1967, S. 402, *ǰayisang* aus dem chin. *cai-xiang*.

[25] *ǰayisang Mamad* (*Mamud*), "*9 sum, 1 xušuu 4 sum bügdiin dargad yajguurīn jaisan Mamuudīg mön jalan, jangi xoyirīn xamtaar tawin jaxiruulǰee.*" s. Gongor, op. cit. S. 51.; Mamad kämpfte zuerst gegen das Mandschureich (1730), danach unterwarf er sich dem Mandschu-Kaiser, und wurde von Amur Sanā getötet (1755). Kaiser Gaozong widmete dem Mamad ein Gedicht. S. P. Pelliot, *Notes critiques d'histoire kalmouke. Texte*. Paris 1960, S. 72. Not. 117. Der xowdische Kunstmaler D. Amgalan, der sich mit der Lokalgeschichte von Qobdo beschäftigt, hat einige Aufzeichnungen über die *güng* und

lsungarischen Galdan[26] Khans zehn Helden aus jedem Teil (der dsungarischen Armee) gesammelt, sie bei dem *Ere-yin qabirya*[27] angesiedelt und unter die Führung von *Böke Mamad* gegeben wurden. Danach, unterwarf sich (*ǰayisang Mamad*) im 19. Jahre der Periode *Tngri-yin tedkügsen*,[28] in einem Holz-Rind Jahr (1754), und erreichte den Rang *güng*[29] und er ließ sich (mit seinem Volk) auf diesem Altai-Gebiet nieder. Jetzt aber (betrachten wir) nur den Grund der Entstehung des Klosters unserer Religion:

Am Anfang, im ersten Jahre (der Periode) *Tngri-yin tedkügsen* (1736), kam, durch die Kraft aller unserer Wohltaten und unseres Flehens seine Ehrwürden *Čültümrinčen*[30] herbei, der der *siregen-i ķambu qubilyan* und Hauptlama (Wurzel-Lama) des Hauptklosters des Galdan Khans war.

[3a] Der treue und feste Held *güng J̌amčan*,[31] Abkömling des *Köngküi J̌ayāči*,[32] der wegen seiner Weisheit berühmt war, verehrte ihn (*Čültümrinčen*)

ükeri da von Qobdo. Mit seiner Erlaubnis gebe ich hier die Transkription der mit tib. Buchstaben geschriebenen Namen: 1. *güng Böke Mamad*, 2. *J̌amčan* (*Rgyal-mchan*), 3. *Toqto-batu*, 4. *Möntiš*, 5. *Cerüb-raši* (*Che-sgrub bkra-šis*), 6. *Minǰur dorǰi* (*Mi-'gyur rdo-rǰe*) 7. *Ceringdorǰi* (*Che-riṅ rdo-rǰe*) 8. *Gombo-Očir* (*Mgon-po 'Očir*) 9. *Damrin-bajar* (*Rta-mgrin-bajra*).

[26] Galdan qan (1644—1697): s. I. Ja. Zlatkin, *Istorija Džungarskogo gosudarstva*. Moskva 1983.

[27] Ölöt *erēn xäwɣyn* "bunte Rippen" Name des Tienschangebirges, (Ramstedt *Kalm. Wb.* 124); *Iren-chabirga Gebirge*: Adolf Stieler's *Handatlas Über alle Theile der Erde und über das Weltgebäude*. Gotha 1881, Karte Nr. 64.; *Ereen Habirga*: A. Hermann, *An historical Atlas of China*. Edinburgh 1966, S. 50; vgl. auch *Biography of Caya Pandita in Oirat characters*. Ulaanbaatar 1967, S. 52, f. 23a, "*darqun Erdeni xung-tayiǰi Boqdo Erēn xabirγadu*", S. 58, f. 32a, "*olon nouri dārin nour köbölǰi mingγan tayaγar γarun Erēn xabirγayin belidün yabuqsan-du*", S. 59, f. 33b; "*tende-ēce ulam Bars-köl dabarin Erēn xabirγār ireǰi*" S. 65, f. 42b; "*Blu-bzang-gonbu Ereyin xabirγayin kümü idēd xarin*"; vgl. "*Agsal* is one of the Torgut's dances (*biyelge büǰig*) of ancient tradition, like those called *Judar, Ereen khawirga* and *Khowog* etc. ... This dance accompanied the recital (*tuulichilan yaridag*) of the story of a valiant brave ..." Dzagdsüren—Tsolo—Kara, *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXXVI (1982), S. 272.

[28] Mong. *Ġoojung tegüskeltü quwangdi, Tngri-yin tedkügsen*; ma. *Ġaojung yongkiyaxa xôwangdi, Abqai wexiyexe*; chin. *Ġaozong shun* (od. *chun*) *huangdi, Qianlong*, vgl. E. Hauer, *Handwörterbuch der Mandschusprache*. Tokyo—Wiesbaden 1952—1955, S. 400.

[29] Mong. *güng* "mérité; nom d'une dignité (comte?), prince de la 4-me et de la 3-me classe" (Kow. 2571); ma. *gong* (chin. *gong*) "Herzog, Herr" (Hauer *HWb.* 383), s. Sagaster (1976) S. 401.

[30] *Chul-khrims rin-čhen*, vgl. (Das 1029).

[31] *Batu bayatur güng* J̌amčan, der zweite *güng* des J̌aqačin-Volks. tib. *rgyal-mchan* (Das 314), vgl. Anm. 25.

[32] *Köngküi J̌ayāči*: *pandida-yin touǰi sonosoqson üzeqseni yosuni tobči tödüi ögüülen üyiledmüi*: *yasun inu xošoud otoq inu görčin*: *görčin dotorōn šangxas amui öbküi inu dörbön oyiradtu yeke cecen-dü aldaršiqsan Köngküi Zayāči kemekü bui*: in *Biography of Caya Pandita* ..., Ulaanbaatar 1967, S. 3, f. 2a.

als seinen Gipfelschmuck-Lama[33] und machte die Religion und (alle) Wesen glücklich. Im 26. Jahre der Periode *Tngri-yin tedkügsen*, in einem Wasser-Pferd Jahr (1761), flehte der Gabenspender *güng J̌amčan* zu seinen Ehrwürden, dem Lama (in folgender Weise): Was im allgemeinen unser Oirat-Volk betrifft, ist es ein Unterstützer der gelben Religion des allerhöchsten Coṅ-kha-pa,[34] und so möchten wir ein Kloster im Banner unseres J̌aqačin-Volks gründen und die heiligen Bücher der Segenswünsche und der *gürüm*-Zeremonien[35] [3b] lesen lassen, und so möchten wir die weiße[36] Tugend ausbreiten und (weiter)ausbreiten

Danach nahmen es alle zusammen als richtig an und unterbreiteten es seiner Heiligkeit, dem in der Westlichen Ewigen Heiligkeit[37] sitzenden Dalai Lama[38] und dem Ban-čen Erdeni. Sie hießen es gut und sandten ein geheimes Götterbild[39] der Schutzgottheit *Baldan lh[a]m-a*,[40] und für seinen Blama ein Bildnis (oder eine Statue) von *Šagǰimuni Lii jambu šuydan Mayidiri čoddang*,[41] solche segenreichen Götterbilder, und dem Kloster geruhten sie den Namen *Rasigun-jeg-ling*[42] zu verleihen. Sogleich betraute der *güng J̌amčan* den *Lobǰa*

[33] Mong. *oroy-yin čimeg*, tib. *gcug-rgyan* "coiffure, ornement de tête; lune" (Kow. 446); "head ornament" (Das 1001).

[34] Mong. *Jungkuwa* = tib. *Coṅ-kha-pa*, vgl. R. Kaschewski, *Das Leben des lamaistischen Heiligen Tsongkapa Blo-bzaṅ-grags-pa* (1357—1419), Teil I—II. (Wiesbaden 1971).

[35] Mong. *irügel* = *irüger* ~ tib. *smon-lam* "bénédiction, action de prier, avec instance" (Kow. 322), vgl. (Das 992): mong. *gürüm* = *gürim* ~ tib. *sku-rim* "respect, vénération, adoration de Bouddha ou d'une personne bien remarquable, culte, de prières publiques" (Kow. 2638); oir. *gürüm* "Opferbeterei" (Zwick 229); *gürṃ* "Unglück, Unheil; Gebete und Zeremonien gegen Unglück", vgl. *gürṃ umšɨxv* "Eine Messe gegen Unglück (Seuche, Krieg) lesen." (Ramstedt *Kalm. Wb.* 140, vgl. Das 91).

[36] Mong. *čayan buyan, arban čayan buyan* = tib. *dge-bču* "the ten virtues" (Das 270), vgl. *qara nigül* "great sins" (Less. 582); vgl. Sagaster (1976) S. 369.

[37] Mong. *barayun ǰuu* „Djou occidental, nom moderne du Thibet" (Kow. 1096), kalm. *barūn zū* "Lhassa (in Tibet), gewöhnl. auch nur *zū*" (Ramstedt *Kalm. Wb.* 482).

[38] Der VII. Dalai Lama (1758—1804) Blo-bzaṅ 'jam-dpal rgya-mcho. Der IV. paṅ-čhen Lama (1781—1854) Blo-bzaṅ bstan-pa'i ñi-ma, vgl. L. A. Waddell, *Lamaism*. Cambridge 1959, S. 236.

[39] Mong. *niγuča körüg*; *niγuča* "secret, mystère; caché, occulte clandestin, mystérieux", vgl. *niγuča-yin ner-e* "nom secret, qu'on ne doit pas prononcer" (Kow. 647—648). Was für ein Bildnis das gewesen sei, bleibt mir unbekannt.

[40] Mong. *Baldan lham-a*, = *Čoγ-tu Ökin tngri* = tib. *Lha-mo, Dpal-ldan Lha-mo*, (Jäschke 601, Das 790).

[41] *Šagǰ[i]muni lii jambu šuydan Mayidiri čoddang, Šagǰ[i]muni* vulg., für *Šakyamuni*; *lii* ~ tib. *li-sku* (?) "an image of Bronze" (Das 1212); mong. *jambu, jamba* ~ tib. *byams-pa* (Das 885); mong. *šuydan* ~ tib. *šugs-ldan* "inherent strength, power, energy" (Das 1240); mong. *čoddang* ~ tib. *mčhod sdoṅ=mar-me'i sdoṅ-bu= mčhod-rten* (Das 439).

[42] *Rasi-ǰon-jeg-ling*, tib. *Bkra-šis dkon-brcegs-gliṅ*, ist das erste der Klöster des J̌aqačin-Volks. Dieses Kloster existierte im Gebiet des Üyengči sumun. Im mongolischen Ethnografischen Atlas ist es mit den Namen: *Üyenčiin xüree* = *Ulaan üjüüriin xüree* =

von *Bökenüd*[43] (mit der Arbeit), das postume Bildnis von seiner Seligkeit *Rabǰamǰayabandida čorǰi Namka-ǰamču,*[44] der die Religion unserer vier oiratischen (Stämme) des linken Flügels [4a] verbreitet hatte, (zu schaffen). Und dieses aus weißem Silber geschaffene und mit dem Loblied des höchsten, weißen Gipfels[45] versehene (Bildnis) wurde als Heiligtum verehrt.

(So) verbreitete der *güng J̌amčan* die gelbe Religion, bis er im 42. Jahre (der Periode) verstarb (1777).

Danach wurde im 43. Jahre, das ein Erde-Hund-Jahr war (1778), das Kloster durch die Kraft der Taten zur Zeit, als das Volk der J̌aqačin in zwei Banner geteilt[46] wurde, verzweigt. [4b] Sein Ehrwürden ließ (das Bildnis) *J̌amba šuγdan Mayidiri* als Heiligtum herbeibringen.

Das zweite Kloster wurde *Raši-jeg-ling dačang*[47] genannt. Der Nutzen der Religion und der Lebewesen wurde vollzogen.

Im 12. Jahre des Imperators *Dayičing Biliqtü, Sayisiyaltu irügeltü*[48] (Gelobt und Gesegnet), das ein Feuer-Weib-Hase-Jahr (1807) war, wurde ein

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Dašičoinxorlin ~ *Dašgündeglin* bezeichnet s. Karte, Nr. 11. In der Handschrift eines Lamas (im Besitz des mongolischen Gelehrten Q. Lubsangbaldan) sind die Namen wie folgt: *Ca-ha-čen kun-nes kho-šo-na' dań-po Bkra-šis dkon-brcegs-gliń-gis* [!] *dgra-*[= *grva*] *chaṅs chugs* / *'di rab-by*[*u*]*ń bču-gsuṃ ču-rta-lo yin* / "Das erste Kloster im Banner des *güngs* der J̌aqačin wurde als *Bkra-šis dkon-brcegs-gliń-gi grva-chaṅ* gegründet, dies war im Wasser-Pferd-Jahr" des 13. *rab-byuń* (1762, aber nach der "Geschichte" 1761), vgl. noch oir. *rasi*, khalkha *daš*, s. Karte.

[43] Ein Mann aus der Familie *Bökenüd*.

[44] Oirat Zaya Paṇḍita Namxayiǰamcu (1599—1662), s. *Biography of Caya Pandita in Oirat characters*. Ulaanbaator 1967, Y. Rinčen, *Ojratskie perevody s kitajskogo*. In: *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 1966, S. 59—73.

[45] Mong. *čayan oki* = tib. *tog-dkar* "the name by which Gautama Buddha was known in the Tusita heaven before his last incarnation" (Das 519); mong. *oki* = tib. *tog* "le dessus d'un objet, le sommet, la faîte; ornement au dessus; esprit, essence; tout ce qui est meilleur, distingué, excellent, supérieur; prémices" (Kow. 427).

[46] S. Karte.

[47] *Rasi-jeg-ling*, tib. *Bkra-šis brcegs-gliń*. Dies ist das zweite Kloster, im Gebiet des Mangqan sumun. Im Ethnographischen Atlas ist es mit den Namen: *Tögrögiin xüree, Daši-gün-čin-lin* bezeichnet. S. Karte, Nr. 7. Nach Lubsangbaldan "Danach, im 16. Jahre, im Erde-Hund-Jahre, wurde unter *Caṅ-bag dva' noyin, Thog-rig-gi dgra-chaṅs* [= *grva-chaṅ*] *sa Bsod-nams dar-rgyas bkr*[*a-š*]*is dkon-brcegs gliń*, d.h. auf dem Gebiet des Klosters *Thog-rig* (*Tögrög*) ein Tempel mit Namen *Bsod-nams dar-rgyas bkra-šis dkon-brcegs*, gegründet." Nach D. Amgalan trug dieses Kloster mit den Namen *Sodnom daršaa dašgonjoglin*. Nach dieser Quelle im Jahre 1777, in der "Geschichte" aber 1778, vgl. das Erde-Hund-Jahr des 13. *rab-byuṅs*.

[48] Mong. *Sayisiyaltai irügeltü Biliqtü*. (*-qtü* statt *-gtü* ist eine oiratische Schreibweise); ma. *Ženjung Sunggiyen xôwangdi, Sayičungya fengšen*; chin. *Renzong rui huangdi, Jiaqing* (1796—1820), vgl. Hauer, *HWb*.

drittes Kloster mit dem Namen *Rasi-gun-jeg-ling*[49] gegründet. Ein Mann aus unserem J̌aqačin-Volk, *Rabǰuul*[50] genannt, hatte (das Bildnis des) *J̌amgon*[51] *Mayidiri* von seiner Majestät dem *J̌abjundamba qutuytu*[52] aus dem nördlichen Qalqa erbeten, und es wurde als Heiligtum[53] verehrt.

[5a] Danach wurde im 6. Jahre der Periode *Bürintü ǰasayči*[54] im 1. Frühlingsmonat (1867) es von den bösen, betrügerischen Chinesen[55] verdorben und entheiligt. Und so wurde, (obwohl) Buddhas drei Körper in Wahrheit nicht zerstört werden können, jedoch das Gesetz der Zerbrechlichkeit der äußeren (Form) gezeigt. Und dann nahmen der *güng* unseres J̌aqačin-Volkes und die hohen Beamten sowie alle Geistlichen und Weltlichen[56] es als richtig an, das Bildnis an seine Majestät *J̌abjundamba*[57] zu schicken, und sie sandten es an ihn mit Geschenken und mit einem Brief.

[49] *Rasi-gon-jeg-ling* ~ tib. *Bkra-šis dkon-brcegs-gliṅ*, das dritte der Klöster des J̌aqačin-Volks. Es existiert im Gebiet des Altai sumuns und hatte die folgenden Namen: *Bodončiin xüree*, *Guu tolgoin xüree*, *Dašipuncuglin*, s. Karte, Nr. 19. In Lubsangbaldans Manuskript: "Danach, im 29. Jahre, im Feuer-Hase-Jahr, wurde das *Bo'-tiṅ-čh'e dgrva-chaṅs* [= *grva-chaṅ*] gegründet." (1806; in der "Geschichte": 1807, das Feuer-Hase-Jahr ist das erste Jahr im 14. *rab-byuṅ*), Das J̌aqačin-Volk hatte außer diesen Klöster noch drei Klöster: *J̌erge-yin küriye* in Mangqan sumun, *Čayan buryasun-u keyid* in J̌erge sumun, und *Uliyasutay-yin keyid* in Üyengči sumun, s. Karte, Nr. 7, 8, 12.

[50] *rab-'byor*?, khalkha. *rawǰir*.

[51] *byams-mgon*, s. Anm. 17.

[52] Mong. *J̌abjundamba qutuytu* ~ tib. *Rǰe-bcun dam-pa*; hier handelt es sich um den IV. *J̌abjundamba*, mong. *J̌ibǰun Lubsang tübden wangčuy ǰigmid ǰamcu*, vgl. *Gerel-ün gege*, f. 51b, = tib. *Blo-bzaṅ thub-bstan dbaṅ-phyug 'ǰigs-med-rgya-mcho* (1775—1813); s. C. R. Bawden, *The Jebtsundamba Khutukhtus of Urga*. Wiesbaden 1961, und Somlay György, *Kṛṣṇācārya, a jekete mágus* [K., der schwarze Zauberer]. Diss., Budapest 1982.

[53] Mong. *rbanai*, *rabnai* = tib. *rab-gnas* "consécration, inauguration, bénédiction; consacrer, inauger, bénir" (Kow. 2658), vgl. Mostaert, *Dict. ord.* 548 *ramnūl-* "consacrer, bénir", *burxā ramnūl.* "consacrer une statue de divinité".

[54] Mong. *Bürintü ǰasayči*, ma. *Yooningya dasan*, chin. *Tongchi* (1862—1874), vgl. Hauer, *HWb.*

[55] Ölöt *irgṇ* "die Chinesen" (Ramstedt Kalm. Wb. 209). In Yunnan (1855—1873), Shenxi, Gansu (1862—1878), Turkestan (1864—1877) brachen musulmanische Volkserhebungen aus. In Turkestan wurde ein musulmanischer Staat unter der Führung von Yaqub beg (1820—1877) gegründet (1864—1877). Von diesem Yettišar genannten Staat aus unternahm Yaqub begs Armee Feldzüge gegen die Mongolei. Die Moslims erreichten Qobdo sowie Uliyasutai im Jahre 1871. Durch diese Feldzügen wurden die Klöster des J̌aqačin-Volks zerstört. Nach der Meinung C. R. Bawdens waren diese Leute nicht Moslims, sondern maskierte mongolische Räuber, Banditen. Vgl. auch A. D. Isiev, *Ujgurskoe gosudarstvo Jettišar*. Moskva 1981; C. R. Bawden *The modern history of Mongolia*. London 1968. *The Cambridge History of China*, Vol. II. Part. 2.

[56] Mong. *sira qara* "le clergé (les lamas) et les laïques" (Kow. 1319); tib. *ser-skya* "lamas and laymen, i. e. Buddhist monks who dress in yellow and laymen who dress in plain or in white" (Das 1297); vgl. Sagaster, *Die weisse Geschichte*. Wiesbaden 1976.

[57] S. unten Anm. 65.

Der *gelüng* dieses Klosters *Čültümǰonoroi*[58] betraute den *lobon J̌ambu*,[59] den *demči*[60] *Rabsal* und mit ihnen zusammen mehr als zwanzig Männer und sandte sie, (mehrere) Muscheltrompeten *yêčêl dung*[61] und Kessel (für die Speise) für 500 Klosterjungen[62] bereiten zu lassen.

[5b] Im 4. Monat des 7. Jahres (1868) bekam ich, der *güng* von seiner erleuchteten Heiligkeit *J̌abjundamba* einen gnädigen Befehl,[63] in dem das Folgende steht:

Ich begrüße Euch, den *güng* des J̌aqačin-Volkes von Qobdo-Gebiet und sende Euch gesegnete Knotenamulette. Außerdem sende ich die Bildnisse des heiligen *Mayidiri* und der Mutter *Dāra* Eures Klosters zurück, die zum Nutzen der Lebewesen sorgfältig wieder geweiht und mit dem Segen des *guu-sung-tüg*[64] (des Körpers, des Wortes und des Sinnes) versehen wurden.

[6a] Alle, die an mich, de *J̌abjundamba Nawang-čooǰi Wangčuγ-pêrêng-lêi-ǰamču*,[65] glauben und alle, die diesen *Itegel Mayidiri* durch Anbetung und Betfahrt[66] verehren, werden von den Hindernissen des dreierlei Giftes[67] gerei-

[58] Es ist mir noch unbekannt, was dieser Name bedeutet, und was das tibetische Original ist. Vgl. *J̌unrai*, *J̌anrai* in *Aman joxiol sudlal* (Ulaanbaatar 1978), S. 13.

[59] Mong. *lobon* = tib. *slob-dpon* "chief in teaching, gen. in spiritual matters; teacher, instructor, master" (Das 1302).

[60] Mong. *demči* = tib. *dem-čhi* "Business manager (a lama) in a monastery; inspector, guardian, custodian" (Lessing 250); vgl. Sagaster, Die weiße Geschichte. Wiesbaden 1976, S. 393.

[61] Mong. *dung* = *büriy-e* = *labai* (Kow. 1792), ~ tib. *duń*; mong. *yêčêl* = tib. *g-yas-'khyil* "invariably reverting to the right side (coiling to the right-hand side; as conch shell with rings) reverting to the right hand side" (Das 1152), vgl. mong. *barayun* = tib. *g-yas* (Kow. 1095). Diese Muscheltrompete ist mit der Windung der Muschel nach rechts. Aus tib.: *duń-dkar g-yas-'khyil* "a couch-shell with its coil reverting to the right instead of the left" (Das 628).

[62] Mong. *manǰa* = tib. *mań-ǰa* "thé que l'on présente les cérémonies religieuses" (Kow. 1975), vgl. Lessing 528; s. aber kalm. *mandžį* "Klosterjunge, Knabe" aus indo-tib. *bandhe* (Ramstedt Kalm. Wb. 255), so könnte *manǰi-yin* auch dieselbe Bedeutung haben, wie *quvaraγ-un*: Genitiv von Klosterjunge. Man kann vermuten, daß im oiratischen Original das oiratische *manǰi* stand. Im Text ist die rot geschriebene Verbesserung, *quvaraγ-un* neben *manǰi-yin*.

[63] *Gasiγ*, vgl. *kašug ǰarliγ-un bičig* ~ tib. *bka'-šog* "charte, patente, diplôme, passeport" (Kow. 2431; Das 66).

[64] Tib. *sku-gsuń-thugs* "body, speech, thought, which constitute the three spheres of a man's doings or sufferings; works in words and thoughts" (Das 91); vgl. mong. *γurban egüden* = *γurban qayalγa* "trois portes: le corps, la langue et la pensée" (Kow. 1040).

[65] Mong. *J̌abjundamba Nawang-čooǰi Wangčuγ-pêrênlei-ǰamču*; tib. *Ṅag-dbań čhos-kyi dbań-phyug 'phrin-las rgya-mcho dpal-bzań-po* (1849—1868) vgl. Anm. 52.

[66] *Mayidar ergikü* "Ceremonija krugovraščenija Maydari vvedeno v krug buddijskich obrjadov so vremën Czonchavy ... Soveršaetsja na telege: ona dvuchkolesnaja, imeet formu bol'soj arby ... Processija prochodit čerez ves' monastyrskij dvor ot dverej

nigt und von den drei schlechten Existenzen[68] (Lebensformen) gerettet. Ihr (der *güng*) werdet dem künftigen *Mayidiri* begegnen, und so wird sich Eure Religion immer ausbreiten. Das wird *Poborang dêčêng ġalba*[69] genannt, und im Brief von *Ġonġor bürülgüi ǰabdui ķambo*,[70] der mitgesandt wurde, wird (das Folgende) berichtet:

"Außer dem höchsten Befehl und der Vase von *Ġonġor*[71] sandten wir je drei Muscheltrompeten *yêčêl dung*, [6b] (je drei) Kessel für 500 Mönche und auch (je drei von) *Gendün-rubs* Rad:[72] für jedes Kloster wurde ein (Stück) angefertigt worden. Da mögen sich alle (Sachen) der Religion und (alle) Taten der Gabenspender vollziehen!"

Jetzt legen (= Hier legten) wir diese (Geschichte) dar, wie (unsere) Zuflucht, der Glanz des *Mayidiri*, herbeigebeten wurde, wie er kam, uns alle ihn anbeten zu lassen, und wie die Prophezeiung des Befehls des heiligen *J̌abjundamba*, der die Lebewesen glücklich macht (= den Lebewesenen Glück bringt) und der die Religion emporhebt, im Amt des *güng*s gesammelt [? aufgezeichnet] wurde.

[7a] Um die Wahrheit für unser J̌aqačin-Volk, die gelben (Mönche) und die schwarzen (Weltlichen) zu überliefern, wurde es mit mongolischen Buchstaben niedergeschrieben, mit dem Siegel des *ükeri da*[73] versehen, und als Zeichen für die Zukunft wird es im Amt des *ükeri da* aufbewahrt. Übrigens lebt ihr, alle Mönche der drei Klöster, Gurus (*lama*) und Jünger (*šabi*) (in Liebe) wie Mutter und Sohn, (und) handelt zum Nutzen der Lebewesen!

Und besonders (wichtig ist es) den Grund des Aufrechterhaltens des Friedens unseres J̌aqačin-Volkes und (den Grund) des (guten) Einvernehmens

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monastyrskogo *gol süme . . .*" usw. s. A. D. Pozdneev, *Očerki byta buddijskich monastyrej . .*, St. Pbg. 1887, S. 384–392.

[67] Mong. *yurban qoor-a-yin ǰedker*, s. A. D. Pozdneev, *Očerki byta buddijskich monastyrej*.

[68] Mong. *yurban mayui ǰayayan* (Kow. 2295).

[69] Es ist vielleicht die künftige Zeit, in der Maitreya auf die Erde kommt.

[70] Mong. *Ġonġgor bürülgüi ǰabdui* = tib. *mgon-dkar sprul-sku'i skyabs-gro'i*; vgl. *mgon-po dkar-po* "the vanquisher of death-lord . . . the white *mGon-po* has four hands; the main right lifts a vessel of crystal filled with *amṛta*" s. R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet*. 'S-Gravenhage 1956, S. 64. Vgl. auch *skyabs-'gro raṅ-rgyud-la skyabs-'gro skyes-na naṅ-pa yin-no* (Čhos-kyi grags-pa 49).

[71] Tib. *bum-pa* "Water-bottle, flask" (Das 874). Über die verschiedenen Formen der Vase s. F. D. Lessing–A. Wayman, *Mkhas Grub Rjes Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras*. The Hague, Paris 1968.

[72] Mong. *Gendün rubi-yin kürdü*; *Dgen-'dun grub-pa* ist ein Schüler des Coṅ-khapa, und der erste Dalai Lama. R. Kaschewsky, *op. cit.*, S. 224; vgl. *Dgen-gdün-rüb-payin toužji* eine Übersetzung der Jünger von Zaya Paṇḍita. s. *Biography of Caya Paṇḍita . . .*, f. 11b. Das *Gendün rubi-yin kürdü* ist vielleicht auch ein Werk von diesem Dalai Lama oder über ihn.

[73] Ma. *üxeri da* = chin. *zongguan* "Generalverwalter" (Hauer *HWb.* 946).

zu vollbringen, die Zweitracht und die Streitigkeit völlig aufzugeben und den Grund der Feindlichkeit abzuschaffen: das sollen die beiden Stände (der Mönche und der Weltlichen) wissen! Außerdem: weil [7b] der einzige Herr unseres Klosters, der Guru und die Wurzel-Inkarnation *Čültümrinčen*, die Priester *Čültümnim-a* (und) *Nawang-lubsangǰambal*,[74] (die) die Generationen[75] der Geburten völlig beherrschten (od. ergriffen) und so Gurus mit der Wohltat des Befehls (der buddhistischen Lehre) sind, sollen (wir) unsere eigene Guru(s), auf die Weise (wie es in) der Fünfzigzeiligen (Lobpreisung)[76] des Guru (steht), mit Dankbarkeit verehren.

Dies wurde von Süke dem *ükeri da*[77] des dem Qobdo-Gebiet angehörigen J̌aqačin-Volks mit dem Gedanken, der das Einvernehmen der Religion und des Sinnes der Lebewesen für das wichtigste hält, mit zusammengelegten Handflächen und mit gebeugten Knien glaubensvoll kundgetan.

[8a] Möge dadurch die gelbe Religion in den zehn Gegenden verbreitet und die Wünsche der Gabenspender erfüllt sowie ihre Tugenden vollkommen werden! Dies wurde an dem sehr freudevollen, mit allgemeinem Licht strahlenden, auf Glanz treffenden guten Tag, an dem die höchste zehntausendfache Glücklichkeit erlangt wurde, beendet am 28. des letzten Sommermonats des weiblichen Erde-Schlange-Jahres des 15. Rabǰung-Zyklusses,[78] das das 8. Jahr der Periode *Bürintü ǰasayči* des Dayičing-Reiches ist (1869).

[8b] Der Schreiber ist der *kündü*[79] *bošoqo*[80] Nimadeleg.[81] Diejenigen, die die Legende der Klöster und der heiligen Götterbildnisse unseres J̌aqačin-Volks kennenlernen möchten, (sollen wissen, daß) die (Beschreibung der) Herkunft der Götterbildnisse in der (Mondschein genannte) Lebensgeschichte des *Qutuytu*[82] (Heiligen) zu finden ist, die mit der (Beschreibung der) Herkunft

[74] *Chul-khrims rin-čhen, Chul-khrims ñi-ma,* und *Ṅag-dban blo-bzaṅ 'ǰam-dpal* waren die Kirchenältesten der Klöster des J̌aqačin-Volks.

[75] Mong. *töröl-ün üy-e,* tib. *che-rabs* "série de naissances, suite de renaissances; lignée, les descendants" (Kow. 1943).

[76] Mong. *Blam-a-yin tabin silüg* = tib. *Bla-ma lṅa-bču-pa* = skr. *Guru-pañcāśikā*, s. Pekinger Tib. Tanǰur Nr. 4544.

[77] *Süke* war der 7. der *ükeri das* des J̌aqačin-Volks (nach D. Amgalan).

[78] 1867—1926.

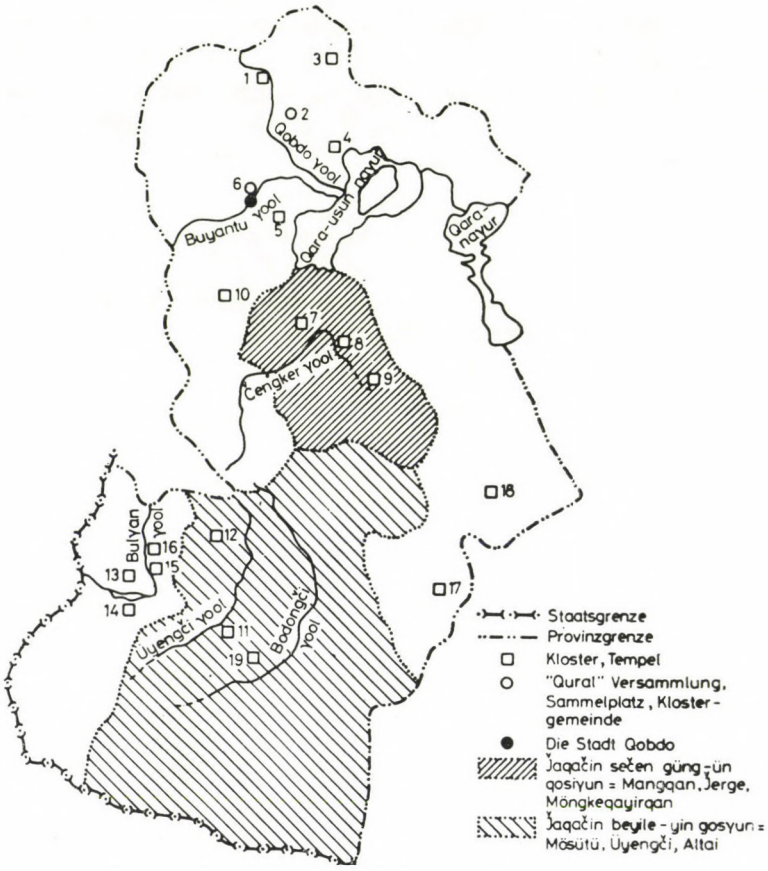
[79] Mong. *kündü* "pesanteur, gravité lourd, onéreux, pesant; difficile, pénible; grave sérieux, solide, respectable" (Kow. 2568); *kündē* "fontionnaire qui dans l'administration d'un *sumu* est immédiatement sous le *ǰangi*" (Mostaert *Dict. ord.* 436); vgl. L. Ligeti, *NyK.* XLVIII (1931) S. 53.

[80] Mong. *bošoqo* "espèce d'huissier ou d'un sergent" (Kow. 1173); ma. *bošoqô* "Feldwebel der Bannertruppen" (Hauer *HWb.* 115), vgl. das Sprichwort *qara ger-tegen qan, boro ger-tegen bošoqo* (Kow. 1173).

[81] Tib. *Ñi-ma bde-legs.*

[82] Zaya Paṇḍitas Biographie von Ratnabhadra.

des *Mayidiri J̌ambašuydan* in der Schatzkammer Seiner Ehrwürden des Lama aufbewahrt wird. Die (Beschreibung der) Herkunft des Mayidiri der Zuflucht (od. *Itegel Mayidiri*) ist in dem Amt des *güng* zu finden.



Aufgrund der Karten Nr. 25 und 18 in Mongol ard ulsīn ugsaatnī sudlal, xelnii šinǰleliin atlas, Ulaanbaatar 1979.

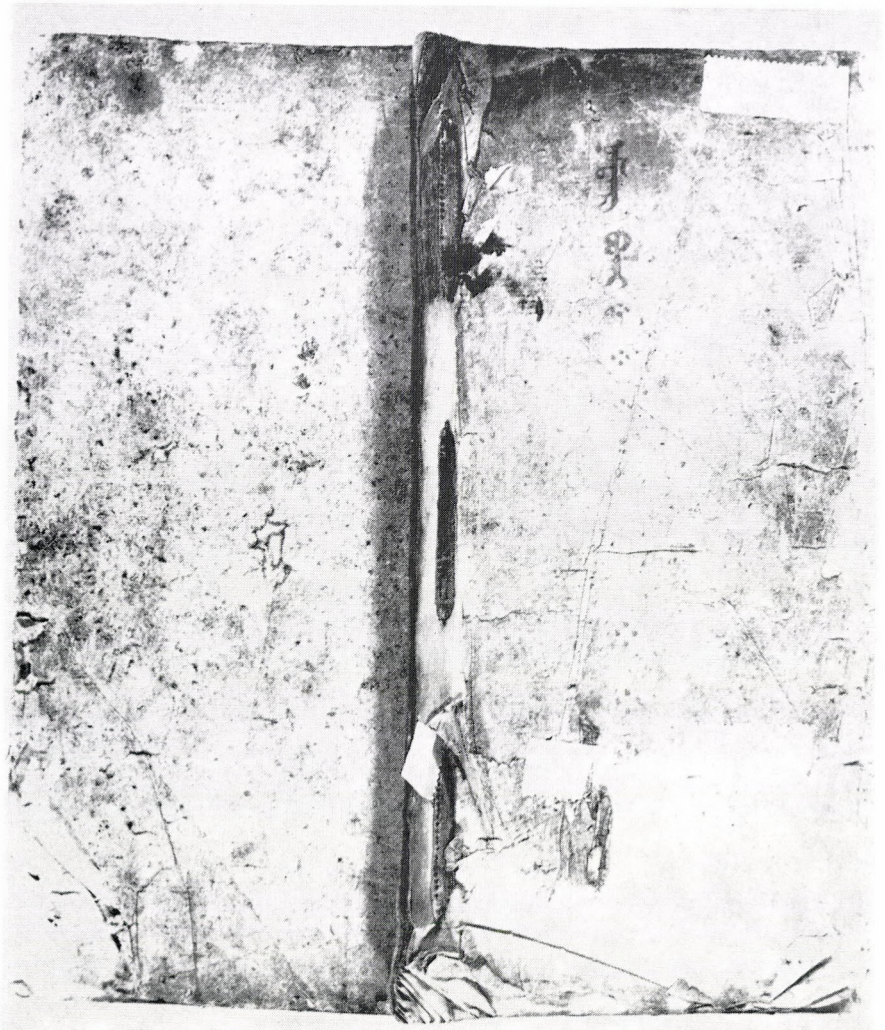
Die Klöster und Tempel in der Provinz von Qobdo

Erdeni-bürin sumun:

1. khalkha. *Öölddiin xüree*, mong. *Ögeled-ün küriye*; khalkha. *Gandanpuncaglin*, tib. *Dgda'-ldan phun-chogs-gliṅ*.

Mingγad sumun:

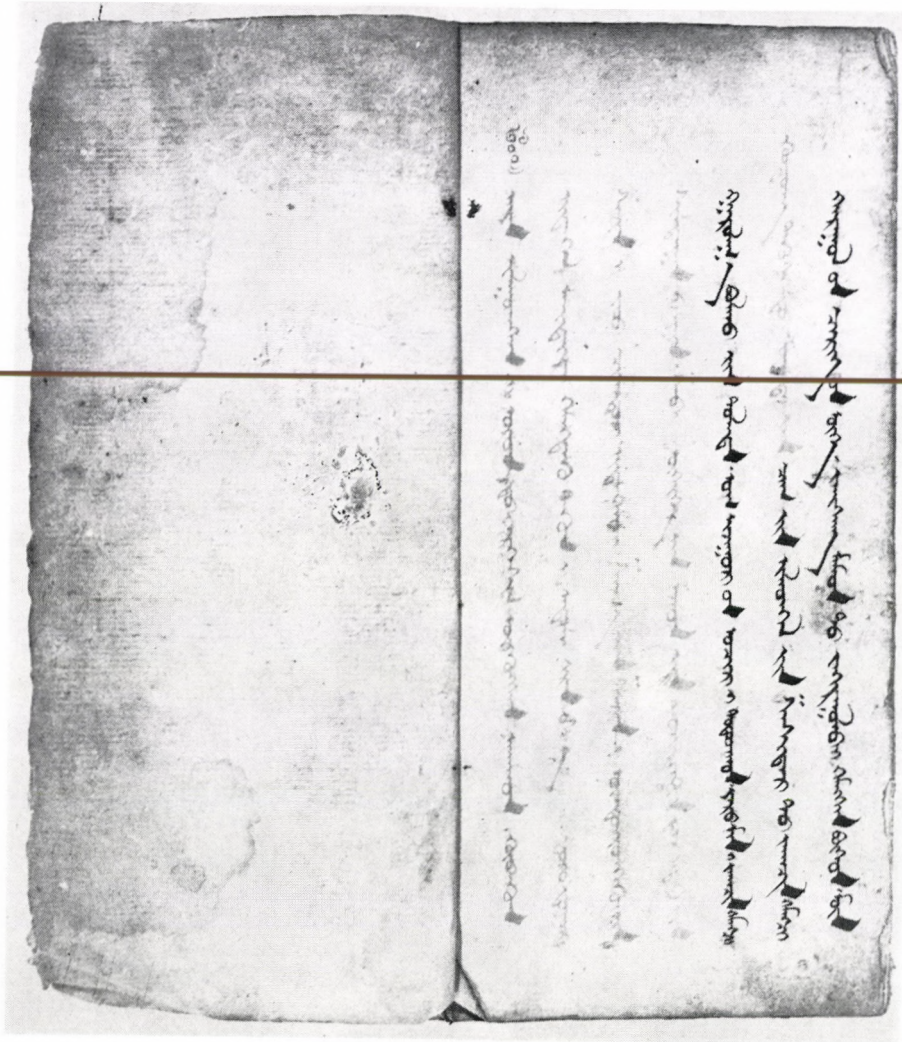
2. khalkha. *Öwgön dacaṅ*, mong. *Ebügen dačang*; khalkha. *Golīn dacan*, mong. *Γool-un dačang*; khalkha *Dondowgandanlin*, tib. *Don-sgrub dga'-ldan-gliṅ*.
3. khalkha. *Naidangiin xüree*, mong. *Nayidang-un küriye*.
4. khalkha. *Myangadiin xüree*, mong. *Mingγad-un küriye*.



Titelblatt



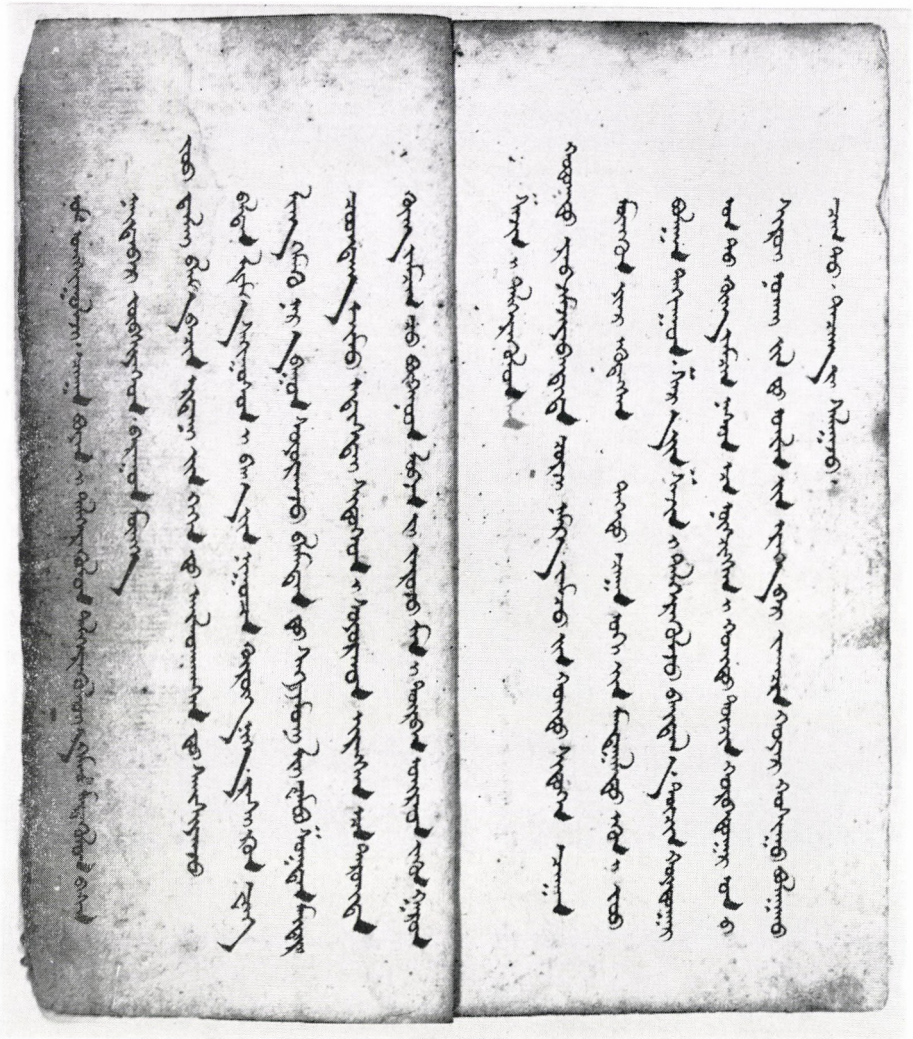
f. 1a



f. **2a**



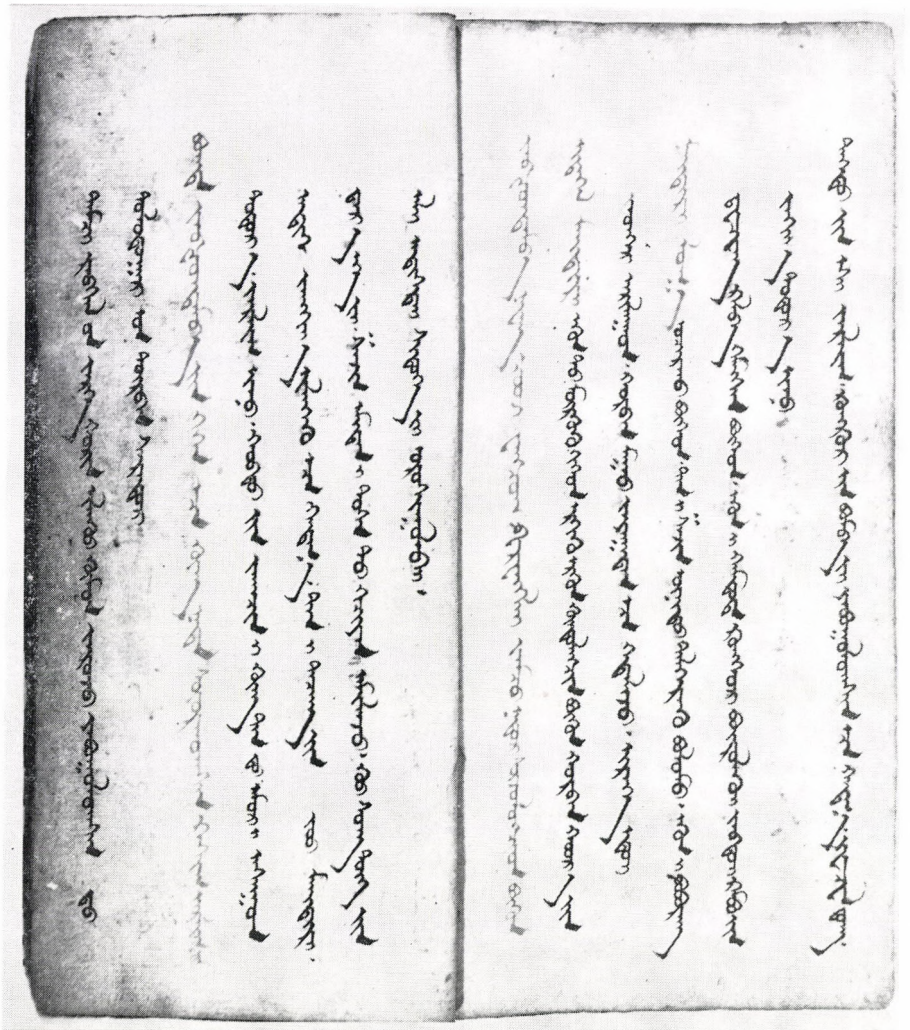
ff. **2b-3a**



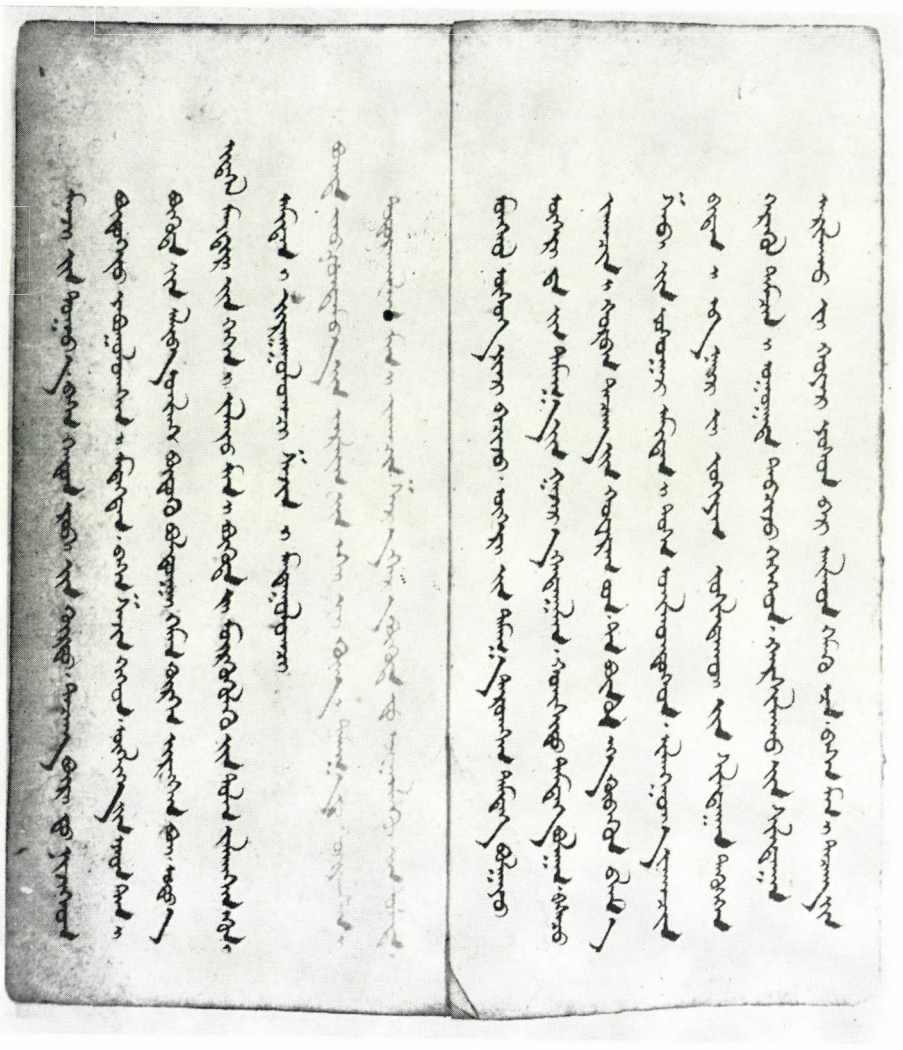
ff. **3b-4a**



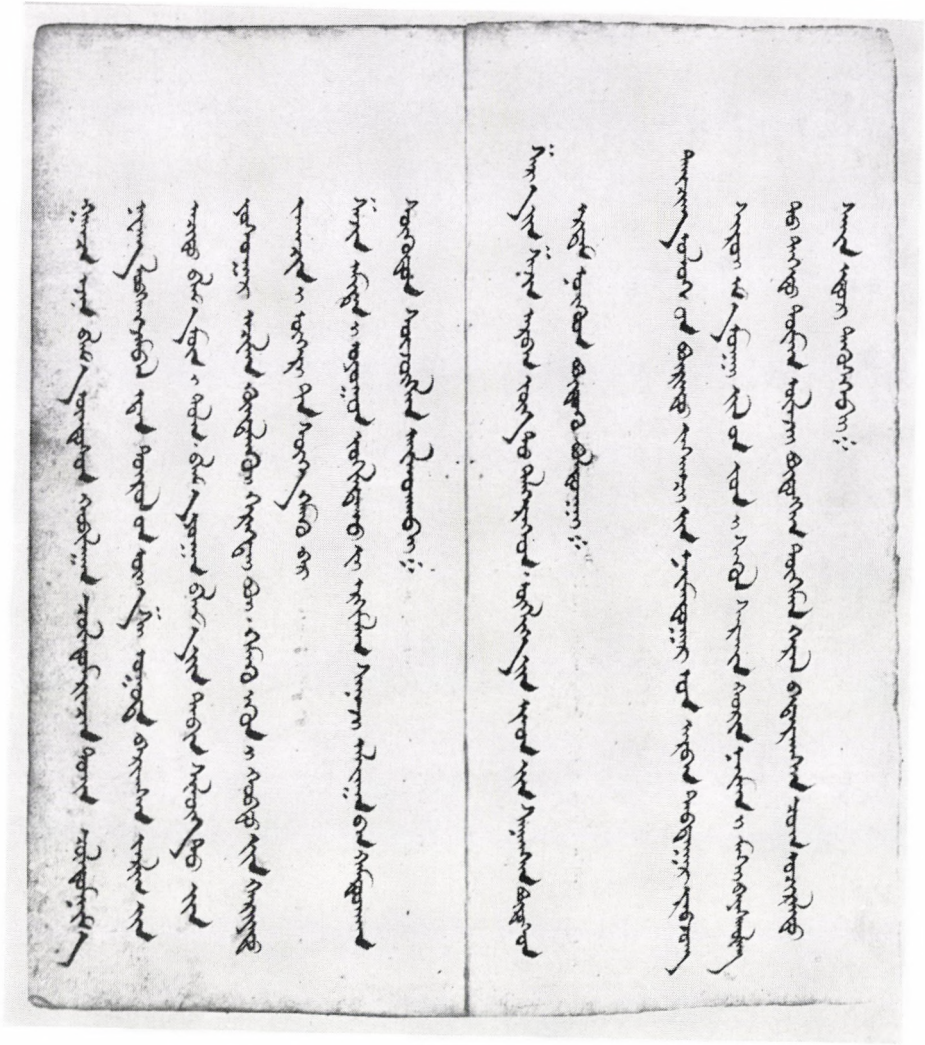
ff. 4b-5a



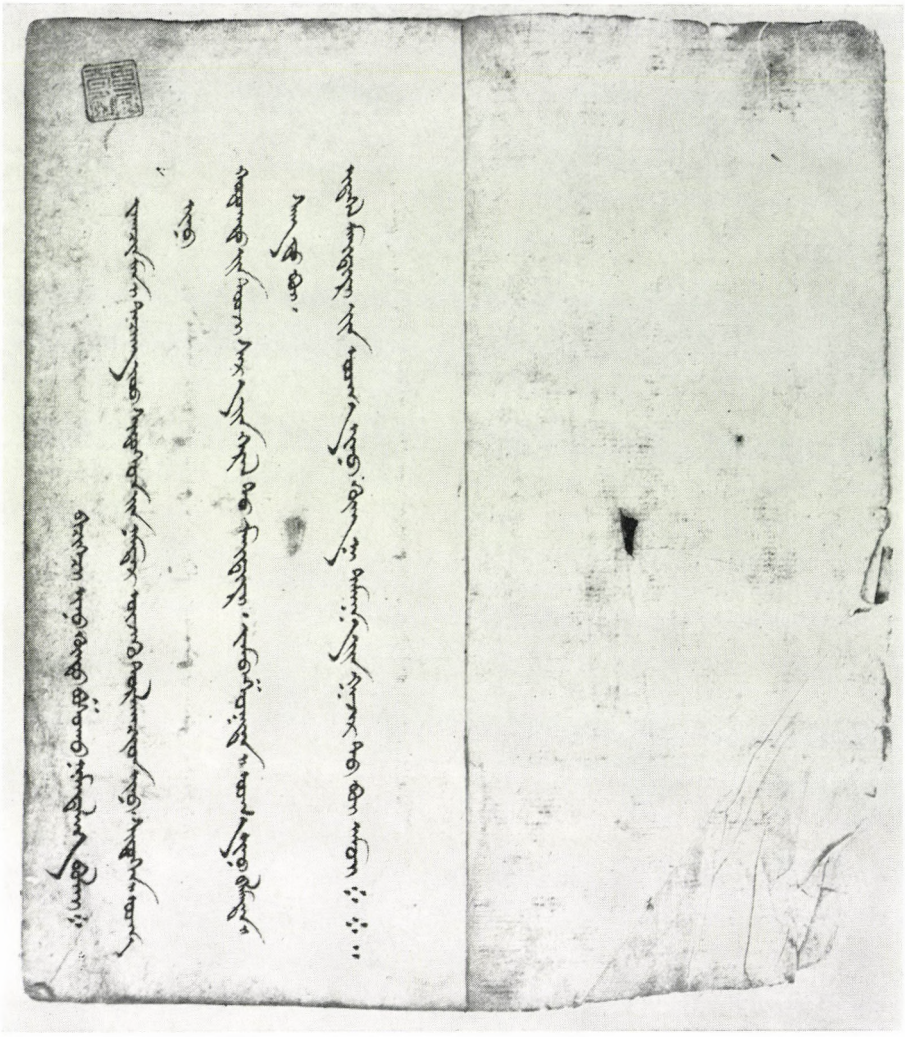
ff. 5b-6a



ff. 6b-7a



ff. 7b-8a



f. 8b



1. Die Gebäudegruppe des Klosters Tögrögiin xüree S. Karte, Nr. 7



2. Die Gebäudegruppe des Klosters Tögrögiin xüree S. Karte, Nr. 7



1. Die Gebäudegruppe des Klosters Tögrögiin xüree S. Karte, Nr. 7



2. Die Gebäudegruppe des Klosters Tögrögiin xüree S. Karte, Nr. 7

Buyantu sumun:

5. khalkha. *Jum'yaagiin xüree*, mong. *Jumiyā-yin küriye*.

Qobdo sumun:

6. khalkha. *Öölödiin Šar süm*, mong. *Ögeled-ün Sira süme*; khalkha. *Öölödiin Tügeemel amarǰuulagč*, mong. *Ögeled-ün Tügemel amurǰiyuluyči*.

Mangqan sumun:

7. khalkha. *Tögrögiin xüree*, mong. *Tögerig-ün küriye*; khalkha. *Dašgünčinlin*, tib. *Bkra-šis *kun-mkhyen-gliṅ*.
8. khalkha. *Jeregiin xüree*, mong. *J̌erge-yin küriye*.

J̌erge sumun:

9. khalkha. *Cagaan burgasnī xiid*, mong. *Čayan buryasun-u keyid*.

Dayutu sumun:

10. khalkha. *Barūn ambanī xüree*, mong. *Barayun amban-u küriye*; khalkha. *Uryanxain xural*, mong. *Uriyangqay-yin qural*; khalkha. *Daščoinxorlin*, tib. *Bkra-šis čhos-'khor-gliṅ*.

Üyengči sumun:

11. khalkha. *Üyenčiin xüree*, mong. *Üyengčiin küriye*; khalkha. *Ulaan üjüüriin xüree*, mong. *Ulayan üǰegür-ün küriye*; khalkha. *Daščoinxorlin, Dašgündeglin*, tib. *Bkra-šis čhos-'khor-gliṅ, Bkra-šis *kun-brtags-glin*.
12. khalkha. *Uliyastain xiid*, mong. *Uliyasutai-yin keyid*; khalkha. *Dašbonxorlin, Dašgongorlin*, tib. *Bkra-šis*dpuṅ- 'khor-gliṅ, Bkra-šis dgon-dkar-gliṅ*.

Bulyan sumun:

13. khalkha. *Torgud beiliin xüree*, mong. *Toryud beyile-yin küriye*; khalkha. *Gandanšadarpelǰeelin*, tib. *Dga'-ldan *phyi-dar 'phel-rgyas-gliṅ*, khalkha. *Bulgan xiid*, mong. *Bulyan keyid*.
14. khalkha. *Torgud wangiin xüree*, mong. *Toryud wang-un küriye*; khalkha. *Dečingünsanlin*, tib. *Bde-čhen kun-bzaṅ-gliṅ*.
15. khalkha. *Torgud taiǰiin xüree*, mong. *Toryud tayiǰi-yin küriye*; khalkha. *Šadawpelǰeelin*, tib. *Bšad-sgrub 'pel-rgyas-gliṅ*.
16. khalkha. *Torgud wangiin Dašpandilin xiid*, mong. *Toryud wang-un Dašipandilling keyid*, tib. *Bkra-šis *phan-'grel-gliṅ*; khalkha. *Dečingünčlin, Dečingünsenlin*, tib. *Bde-čhen *kun-mkhyen-gliṅ, Bde-čhen kun-bzaṅ-gliṅ*.

Čečeg sumun:

17. khalkha. *Buyantīn xiid*, mong. *Buyangtu-yin keyid*; khalkha. *Darxan beysiin xüree*, mong. *Darqan beyise-yin küriye*; khalkha. *Čoixorlin*, tib. *Čhos-'khor-gliṅ*.

Darbi sumun:

18. khalkha. *Sutain xüree*, mong. *Sutay-yin küriye*; khalkha. *Delgeriin xüree*, mong. *Delger-ün küriye*.

Altai sumun:

19. khalkha. *Bodončiin xüree*, mong. *Bodongči-yin küriye*; khalkha. *Gün tolyoin xüree*, mong. *Güng toluyay-yin küriye*; khalkha. *Dašpuncaglin*, tib. *Bkra-šis phun-chogs gliṅ*.

Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung. Tomus XXXIX (2—3), 193—203 (1985)

DES «COMANS NOIRS» DANS LA POÉSIE POPULAIRE ALBANAISE

ISTVÁN SCHÜTZ

Au Moyen Age, avant le début de la conquête turque, le génie populaire albanais a créé un cycle épique, une sorte de chanson de geste sur les exploits, les tournois, les enlèvements de jeunes filles et les vols de bétail perpétrés par deux héros populaires, Muji et Halili et leurs trente *aghas de Jutbina*. Les deux frères et leurs vaillants guerriers sont aidés dans leurs combats par la Belle de la Terre (*E Bukura e Dheut*) et les fées (*zana*) qui guérissent leurs blessures, voire ressuscitent le héros tué dans le combat. Mais à côté de ces nombreux prodiges et souvenirs de la mythologie ancestrale, les *këngë kreshnikësh* (chansons de geste) des Albanais ont gardé de nombreux faits et événements historiques du passé embrumé de ce peuple de bergers et de leurs communautés de clans (*bashkësi fisnore*), de l'histoire mouvementée de leurs contacts et relations avec les ethnies voisines. A partir du XVIe siècle la pénération de l'Islam exerçait une influence de plus en plus profonde sur le folklore albanais et les variantes de ces chansons de geste — plus d'une centaine de chants du cycle — ont un caractère musulman prononcé : la nouvelle culture pénétrant sur le territoire habité par des Albanais a vite habillé en musulmans même les héros populaires dont les adversaires sont, dorénavant, les représentants du monde chrétien : le roi serbe, des preux serbes et hongrois. Et parmi leurs nombreux adversaires ce n'est que Marko Kraljević, protagoniste de la poésie populaire épique serbe (*junačke pesme*) qui tient bon la rampe face à Muji. De ces variantes il ressort clairement que l'appartenance ethnique des adversaires reflète, dans tous les cas, leur appartenance confessionnelle, c'est — à-dire ces chants ne nous parlent jamais de combats albano-serbes ou albano-hongrois, mais de l'affrontement direct du monde islamique et de la chrétienté, des combats de confins militaires de ces deux mondes. Muji et ses braves se considèrent comme des *Turcs* puisqu' ils sont des *musulmans*, comme d'ailleurs *Gogë Ll(ë)tini* (albanais *gogë* = Aroumain ; *llëtin* = latin) n'est non plus un représentant de l'ethnie aroumaine, mais toujours un «catholique de rite latin».

Un épisode stéréotypé du cycle de Muji et Halili est l'acquisition des travestissements «chrétiens» indispensables pour pouvoir exécuter des attaques surprises contre le Konak (palais) du roi serbe, ou contre un château fort pour

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enlever la fille du roi, pour voler des chevaux ou un troupeau de moutons ou pour libérer leur compagnon fait prisonnier. C'est-à-dire ils se procurent des *vêtements chrétiens* pour induire en erreur leurs adversaires *chrétiens*. La méthode utilisée à ce fin est toujours celle d'assommer en nombre voulu des guerriers chrétiens (serbes ou hongrois d'habitude).

Donc le trait caractéristique de cet épisode stéréotypé est que ce sont toujours ou des Serbes ou des Hongrois qui font les frais de ces exploits de Muji et Halili. Dans les chants publiés jusqu'à présent nous ne trouvons qu'une seule exception, le *Chant de Muji et Jevrenija* (*Kënga e Mujit dhe e Jevrenijës*),[1] où, pour l'enlèvement rusé de Jevrenija, fille du roi serbe, les aghas de Jutbina se procurent les vêtements nécessaires en tuant des «*Comans noirs*». Voici le fragment respectif du chant mentionné (vers 90—95.) :

— Na po bimë ndër gumana t'zez
e po i presim tridhetë gumana
e po i veshim veshën gumanisht
e po i msojmë gjogat tartarisht
e po i shtimë shpatat kryqalisht
e po i shtimë shapkat në krye . . .

Traduction littérale :

« — Nous surprenons les Comans noirs
et nous assommons trente Comans
et nous mettons des vêtements comans
et nous dressons les chevaux à la manière tartare
et nous tenons les épées tout de travers
et nous mettons les chaperons sur nos têtes . . . »

Ensuite dans le récit de l'attaque (vers 113—118.) :

. . . ndër gumana agët kanë ra
e i kanë pre tridhetë gumana
e e kanë veshë veshën gumanisht
e i kanë shty shpatat kryqalisht
e i kanë m'sue gjogat tartarisht
e i kanë shti shapkat në krye . . .

En français :

« . . . les aghas ont surpris les Comans
et ont assommé trente Comans
et se sont mis les vêtements comans
et ont tenu les épées tout de travers
et ont dressé les chevaux à la manière tartare
et ont mis les chaperons sur leur tête . . . »

[1] Qemal Haxhihasani, *Epika legjendare* I. Tirana 1968, I, 199—202.

Trompé par leur travestissement, le roi serbe se répand en invectives contre Muji et ses compagnons pour être arrivés avant terme pour prendre sa fille qu'il avait promise à leur chef (vers 120 et 121) :

Zoti u vraftë, gumana t'zez,
para orokut pse keni ardhë?

En français :

«Que Dieu vous châtie, Comans noirs,
pourquoi êtes-vous venus avant terme?»

Les excuses et explications de Muji ne dissippent pas les doutes du roi. Muji doit subir une double épreuve religieuse : d'abord il doit célébrer une messe de rite latin, puis il doit couper en deux un cierge allumé sans que sa flamme s'étaigne parce que «personne sauf les Comans noirs n'est capable à ce faire (vers 107. : *Jashtë gumanash kurrkush nuk mundet . . .*). Après les deux épreuves subies avec succès, le roi serbe remet sa fille aux aghas qu'il prend pour les prétendants comans et il ne découvre leur tour subtil qu'au moment où Muji et ses compagnons s'écartent du «chemin des Comans» pour prendre l'autre, menant vers Jutbina (vers 143—144.) :

Kur janë vojtun n'drumin e gumanave
e kanë marrë rrugën për Jutbinë . . .

En français :

«Quant ils sont arrivés sur le chemin des Comans,
ils ont pris le chemin de Jutbina . . .»

Après quoi le roi dupé, dans sa rage impuissante, les maudit (vers 145—147.) :

— Zoti u vraftë, gumanat e zez,
se e keni lanë rrugën e gumanave,
keni marrë rrugën për Jutbinë . . .

En français :

«— Que Dieu vous châtie, Comans noirs,
parce que vous avez laissé le chemin des Comans,
vous avez pris le chemin vers Jutbina . . .»

Ce n'est qu'à ce moment que Muji révèle leur identité en criant ces mots vers le roi enragé (vers 149—151.) :

Zoti t'vraftë, Krajlo Kapidan,
se na s'jem' gumanat e zez,
por na jem' agët e Jutbinës . . .

En français :

> «C'est toi que Dieu doit châtier, Krajlo Capitain,
> parce que nous ne sommes pas les Comans noirs,
> mais nous sommes les aghas de Jutbina . . .»

La plupart des investigateurs du folklore albanais sont d'avis que les chansons de geste, en premier lieu les chants du cycle de Muji et Halili sont des produits du symbiose pacifique albano-serbe de plusieurs siècles, c'est-à-dire qu'ils ne seraient pas des chants d'origine albanaise, mais des traductions ou des adaptations des *junačke pesme* serbo-croates. Même l'allemand Maximilian Lambertz, excellent spécialiste de la poésie populaire épique des Albanais aboutit à la conclusion que l'on devrait examiner à part l'origine de chaque chant de ce cycle afin de pouvoir établir la «priorité nationale» de chacun.[2]

Il est de fait que nous pouvons rencontrer des Comans dans la littérature serbo-croate du Moyen Age, plus précisément dans les variantes serbo-croates du *roman d'Alexandre le Grand*. Mais en ce qui concerne ces Comans, le philologue hongrois László Hadrovics a déjà prouvé[3] qu'ils ont pris la place des *Scythes* du texte original grec à l'intervention d'un traducteur hongrois du XVe siècle qui voulait actualiser de cette façon le texte de l'original grec. Les traducteurs des variantes serbo-croates ont utilisé cette traduction hongroise du roman, et avec d'autres innovations du traducteur hongrois ils ont repris cette présence anachronique des Comans aussi.

Mais comment et par quel intermédiaire les Comans noirs sont-ils tombés dans les chansons de geste des Albanais, sur le territoire des petites guerres des aghas de Jutbina? Dans son œuvre déjà citée, Maximilian Lambertz ne fait aucune mention du chant de Muji et Jevrenija (à son époque le chant a déjà été disponible, dans la même collection qu'il a utilisée), encore moins de la présence des Comans noirs.

Pour éclaircir ce problème nous devons donner d'abord des réponses rassurantes à quelques questions qui se posent.

La première question à répondre est celle de savoir si dans notre chant il s'agit vraiment ou pas de Comans. Dans la dernière édition albanaise (où nous avons pris les vers cités dans ce travail), classée et rédigée par le folkloriste albanais Qemal Haxhihasani, à la page 574, parmi les notes et commentaires, nous pouvons lire les explications suivantes :

guman, -i sm. gumen, igumen, chef d'un monastère orthodoxe. Ici les Comans sont présentés comme une sorte d'habitants de Krajli (royaume serbe — NA).

[2] Maximilian Lambertz, *Die Volksepik der Albanen*. Leipzig, 1948.

[3] László Hadrovics, A délszláv Nagy Sándor-regény és középkori irodalmunk. In: *Az MTA Nyelv- és Irodalomtudományi Osztályának Közleményei* XVI, N° 1—4., 266—267.

gumanisht adv. à la manière de la vie, du vêtement, etc. des Comans.*

Notons que le folkloriste albanais, après une interprétation et dérivation de toute évidence fausses (il n'y peut pas s'agir de «trente chefs noirs de monastère» qui auraient chevauché d'une «manière tartare», le «chaperon à la tête» et «l'épée au travers» pour aller chercher la fille du roi serbe !), éprouve le besoin de lier le mot, dont le sens lui est inconnu, à un groupe d'habitants du royaume serbe, sans préciser l'appartenance ethnique de ce groupe.

Dans l'histoire de la Hongrie nous connaissons deux ethnonymes pour désigner le peuple *kiptchak* (coman) : *kun* (prononcez coune) et *komán* dont le sens exact et l'origine ont été tirés au clair par l'historien hongrois György Györffy[4] qui a souligné que dans la langue commune hongroise et dans les sources latines l'ethnonyme *kun* (Cunus) désignait d'abord les groupes ethniques des *Kabares*, des *Ouzes* et des *Pétchenègues* (les trois d'origine turque). La dernière indication prouvant l'utilisation de l'ethnonyme *Cuni* dans la latinité de Hongrie date de 1201. Au début du XIIIe siècle, sous l'influence occidentale, dans la latinité de Hongrie s'est répandu l'ethnonyme *Cumani* ou *Comani* comme nom latin des groupes ethniques *kiptchak*. Le premier à l'utiliser fut Anonymus dans ses Gesta. Mais la langue commune hongroise continuait à conserver le mot *kun*, dorénavant pour désigner les *Kiptchaks* (Comans) ayant demandé asyle en Hongrie devant l'invasion des Mongols. C'est-à-dire la langue hongroise n'a jamais assimilé l'ethnonyme *komán* (Coman).

Dans le Catalogue de Ferenc Albin Gombos (Catalogus fontium historiae Hungariae), cité par György Györffy, à côté des variantes *Cumani* et *Comani* que nous venons de mentionner, se trouvent encore 8 variantes moins fréquentes, entre autres *Gummani* (une seule fois) dans le sens de Kiptchak. Cependant pour expliquer la consonne initiale *g-* du mot albanais *gumana* (au singulier *guman*) nous ne devons pas nous rapporter à tout prix à la variante de *Gummani* d'une source latine quelconque, due d'ailleurs à une faute du copiste. C'est que dans l'albanais la sonorisation des consonnes muettes initiales (dans notre cas concret $k > g$) n'est aucunement un phénomène phonétique rare, voire même, dans le vocabulaire d'aujourd'hui des paires de mots continuent à vivre l'un à côté de l'autre, reflétant les deux variantes phonétiques. A titre d'illustration, voici quelques exemples pris au Dictionnaire de la langue albanaise[5] : *koce—goce* 'petite fille (de 8 à 10 ans)' ; *konxhë—gonxhë* 'bouton (à fleur)' ; *kërbaç—gërbaç* 'cravache' ; *këlbazë—gëlbazë* 'douve du foie' ; *kërtyl—gërtyl* 'je remplis', etc. Un exemple analogue se trouve même dans le cycle de Muji et Halili. C'est le

* *gumán -i* em gumen, igumen, kryetar i një manastiri ortodoks. Këtu gumanët paraqiten si një lloj banorësh të Krajlisë.

gumanisht ndf. në mënyrën e jetesës, të veshjes etj. të gumanave.

[4] György Györffy, A kun és a komán népnév eredetének kérdéséhez. In : *Antiquitas Hungarica* 1948, II. Budapest 1948, 5.

[5] *Fjalori i gjuhës shqipe*, Tirana 1954.

toponyme de Klladushe ou Glladushe que nous pouvons identifier à Kladuš, village bosnien de nos jours.

Dans notre texte, à côté de l'ethnonyme *gumana* se trouve l'adjectif qualificatif constant *t'zez*. Le mot albanais *i zi* (masc. singulier), *e zezë* (fém. singulier), *të zez* (masc. pluriel), *të zeza* (fém. pluriel) a deux sens : 'noir, sombre' et au sens figuré 'pauvre, malheureux'. Dans notre contexte nous ne pouvons prendre en considération que le premier, vu qu'au sens figuré (exprimant en général un regret ou la compassion) cet adjectif doit être placé toujours *devant le nom qualifié*, à l'opposé de l'usage général de la langue albanaise selon lequel l'adjectif qualificatif est placé toujours après le nom qualifié, par ex. «E zeza unë !» («Malheureux que je suis !») — c'est ainsi que se plaint dans les chansons populaires albanais la jeune fille que ses parents ont mariée contre sa volonté, en négligeant complètement ses sentiments. Nous devons noter d'ailleurs que dans les chansons de geste des Albanais l'adjectif qualificatif *i zi* n'est lié à aucun autre ethnonyme, tandis que dans notre chant concret tant Muji que le roi serbe l'emploie régulièrement et d'une façon conséquente avec l'ethnonyme *gumana*, comme appartenant à celui-ci. Donc nous aboutissons à l'unique conclusion possible et juste : *les figurants de cet épisode du Chant de Muji et Jevrenija sont les Comans noirs* (*Cumani nigri*).

La toponymie de plusieurs pays de l'Europe centrale a conservé tant l'ethnonyme *Coman* que celui de la langue hongroise *kun*. Cependant ce dernier, nous ne le retrouvons que dans la toponymie des territoires traversés par l'armée du roi hongrois Louis le Grand (1342—1382), où il y avait nombre de soldats comans ; en effet, la population de ces passages stratégiques a connu les Kiptchak sous leur nom hongrois de *kun*. C'est ainsi que nous avons *Kunova Teplica* dans l'actuelle Slovaquie, *Kunowice* en Pologne, *Kunovec* en Yougoslavie, entre les fleuves de la Drave et la Save. Au contraire dans la Voïvodine, en Macédoine et en Serbie nous ne trouvons que des toponymes du type de *Komane* (entre la Tisza et le canal de Bega), *Kumanica* (à la proximité de la vallée de la Moravica) et *Kumanovo* (grande ville au Nord-est de Skopje), dérivant de la variante *Coman* de l'ethnonyme des Kiptchaks, utilisé par eux-mêmes ; tout comme en Roumanie (Walachie et Moldavie) où des toponymes comme *Comana*, *Comăneşti*, *Comarnic* (?) nous rappellent l'Empire coman du XIIIe siècle.[6]

Dans le Chant de Muji et Jevrenija la plasticité de la description des Comans noirs — leur vêtement caractéristique, leur chaperon, l'épée tenue au travers, leur monte à la manière des Tartares (peut-être sans étrier) — ne peut être expliquée que par le fait que l'auteur anonyme du chant original *a dû voir de ses yeux les Comans*, qu'il a dû rencontrer des Comans maraudeurs.

[6] György Györffy, Adatok a románok XIII. századi történetéhez és a román állam kezdeteihez. In : *Történelmi Szemle* 1964, N° 3—4, Budapest 1964, II, 542—543.

Les chansons de geste des Albanais délimitent avec une précision presque géographique la petite patrie de Muji et de ses trente aghas : ils cantonnaient à Jutbina, en Krahina, plus précisément dans les environs du village de Klladushe-Glladushe, dans la vallée du Lika, tandis que Klladushe, comme nous l'avons déjà souligné, est le correspondant albanais du toponyme actuel de Kladuš. Cependant *Krahina* n'a rien à faire avec le nom commun albanais *krahinë* 'province, alentours' (avec article enclitique *krahina*), mais est le correspondant albanais d'un toponyme serbo-croate, la province de *Krajina* comprenant les vallées du Lika et du Krbava. Etymologie prouvée d'ailleurs par le mot albanais *kreshnik* 'preux, brave' utilisé uniquement dans les chansons de geste et dérivé du mot serbo-croate *krajišnik* 'habitant d'une région frontalière, soldat des confins militaires' — donc l'albanais l'avait emprunté au serbo-croate.

C'est-à-dire, Muji et Halili avec les trente aghas avaient perpétré leurs faits et gestes quelque part dans les environs des confins militaires bosniens du royaume serbe. Or des rencontres albano-comanes doivent être à priori exclues dans cette région, vu la variante *gumana* de l'ethnonyme du chant en question. La variante *guman* (au pluriel *gumana*) ne peut en effet dériver que des Comans restés sous domination mongole et devenus plus tard des alliés du voïvode de Valachie Basarab Vodă et du tsar Mikhail de Bulgarie contre Byzance et puis contre les despotes serbes. Il est vrai que la poésie populaire nous offre beaucoup d'anachronismes géographiques, mais dans ce cas concret, nous devons accepter les contacts albano-comans comme un fait historique, parce que la seule source des rhapsodes albanais était la tradition orale fondée sur des événements historiques. Et sans la présence de pareils contacts directs, le rhapsode albanais de jadis n'aurait pas gardé l'ethnonyme Coman non plus.

Ainsi, l'épisode de notre chant doit être rattaché aux Comans ayant lutté dans l'armée du tsar bulgare, alors il garde le souvenir lointain des cantonnements comans établis vers le milieu du XIVe siècle le long de la ligne de Mitrovica-Skopje. L'établissement de la population de ces cantonnements — des pasteurs nomades ! — devait heurter les intérêts de la population locale — également des pasteurs, des pasteurs transhumants ! —, comme ce fut le cas des Comans nomades sédentarisés dans la Grande plaine hongroise.[7]

L'auteur anonyme de notre chant (ou plutôt de sa version originale) avait connu même le *chemin des Comans* ou au moins avait entendu parler de ce chemin menant soit aux camps militaires comano-mongols du Bas-Danube soit aux cantonnements comans établis le long de la ligne de Mitrovica-Skopje, c'est-à-dire vers le Nord-est ou le Nord, et aucunement vers le Sud-ouest, direction dans laquelle sont partis Muji et ses aghas après l'enlèvement rusé de la fille du roi serbe.

[7] Tibor Bellon, *Nagykunság*. Budapest 1978, 10.

Nous possédons même des indices nous permettant de préciser l'endroit possible de ces contacts albano-comans. Sur la carte de l'Albanie d'aujourd'hui nous trouvons des données de toponymie qui doivent remonter aux Comans. Il s'agit de deux villages du district de *Pukë* (Albanie du Nord), sur les pentes des montagnes de la vallée du Drin. Le premier est le village de *Komani* (sans article enclitique *Koman*) devenu célèbre après les fouilles archéologiques commencées en 1898 et ayant découvert les premières preuves matérielles de la civilisation albanaise des X—XIIe siècles, nommée la *culture de Koman*. Le deuxième village des environs s'appelle *Dushmani* (sans article enclitique *Dushman*), toponyme connu aussi comme appellatif du vocabulaire albanais (surtout du dialect tosk), considéré jusqu'à présent comme l'un des nombreux enprunts turcs de la langue albanaise : albanais *dushman* 'ennemi' < turc *düşman* idem. A notre avis, dans ce cas toute hypothèse sur l'origine turque de ce mot doit être écartée. Voici pour quoi.

Pour rejeter l'origine turque du mot albanais *dushmani* nous avons des preuves d'ordre phonétique et historique. Dans tous ses emprunts au turc l'albanais a conservé la voyelle *-ü-* des mots turcs (turc *ü* = albanais *y*), à l'exception des mots dans lesquels elle est précédée par une vélaire sonore (selon l'ortographe albanaise *ll-*). Puisqu'après cette consonne l'Albanais ne peut pas prononcer la voyelle labiale *-y-* (prononcez *-u-*), dans tous ces emprunts au turc nous trouvons *-u-* (prononcez *-ou-*) : turc zulümkâr > albanais zullumqar 'saccageur, sévissant', turc zülüf > albanais xulluf 'crochet', etc. Quant aux autres emprunts au turc, la loi phonétique *ü* (turc) > *y* (albanais) se fait valoir partout. Nous trouvons cependant deux cas discordants dans le vocabulaire albanais : le mot *turk* 'turc' et le mot déjà mentionné, *dushman* 'ennemi'. Il est tout-à-fait évident que les Albanais avaient pris connaissance de l'existence des Turcs et de leur nom avant les premiers contacts directs avec eux, donc le mot albanais *turk* ne peut être un emprunt direct au turk (*türk*), mais il doit être un néologisme établi dans l'albanais par l'intermédiaire du grec ou du serbo-croate. La seule explication plausible de l'existence de la voyelle -u- (au lieu de -y-) dans l'appellatif *dushman* est que celui-ci n'est pas non plus un emprunt direct au turc.

Heureusement, l'histoire nous fournit, elle aussi, quelques éléments permettant de déchiffrer l'énigme de cet *-u-* rebelle. Des chartes et des diplômes de Venise datés du milieu du XIVe siècle font mention de la famille des *Dushmani*, vassaux du seigneur féodal *Balshë* de la région de Shkodër.[8] On sait bien que les Turcs ont mis le pied sur le territoire habité par les Albanais pour la première fois en 1385, à la demande du puissant seigneur albanais *Karl Thopia* de l'Albanie centrale, en lutte avec ses rivaux, membres de la famille Balshë.

[8] St. Pollo, A. Buda, *Historia e Shqipërisë*. Tirana 1958, I. 228.

L'aide efficace du commandant turc Hayredin Paşa a contribué à la victoire remportée par Karl Thopia dans le combat près de la ville de Lushnjë. Les premières incursions armées turques n'ayant lieu qu'après 1388, l'origine turque du nom et de la famille des *Dushmani* doit être considérée comme une absurdité.

La toponymie albanaise et les chartes du Moyen Age ayant trait à l'histoire du peuple albanais nous montrent qu'après l'établissement du régime féodal les seigneurs terriens ont emprunté comme nom de famille, en général, le nom d'un de leur fiefs. (Ainsi, par exemple, l'un des fiefs de la famille des Kastrioti était le village de Kastrat ou Kastriot, choisi comme nom de famille par Kostandin Kastrioti, arrière-grand-père du glorieux Scanderbeg.) Parmi les représentants de la classe féodale de l'époque nous ne trouvons que peu de noms de famille ayant une origine différente. (Un exemple de ces cas exceptionnels est constitué par le nom de famille de Dukagjini, une des grandes familles de l'histoire albanaise. Ce nom est une composition tout-à-fait évidente : *duka* + *Gjini* 'le duc Jean', attesté d'ailleurs par des sources historiques, le seigneur Gjini ayant reçu le titre de duc du roi de Néaples. Ce cas donnera lieu à une évolution contraire à l'usage général, puisque ce nom de famille deviendra plus tard le nom du fief de la famille, gardé aujourd'hui dans le nom d'une région entière de l'Albanie : Dukagjini.)

Près du village de Dushmani se trouve l'autre village, celui de *Komani* qui, à en juger par son nom, devait être une colonie comane, ou mieux dit, une communauté paysanne (*katun*) de Comans. Il est plus que vraisemblable que les communautés proches (albanaises) avaient réservé un accueil hostile aux Comans, à ces éleveurs étrangers belliqueux s'établissant dans leur voisinage. C'est pour cette raison que les nouveaux venus, harcelés et fatigués dès le début par la population albanaise, avaient donné au village voisin le nom de *Dushmani*, c'est-à-dire *Ennemi*. Nom emprunté plus tard, selon l'habitude et l'usage de l'époque, par le seigneur de la région, d'ailleurs d'origine albanaise («arbanensis») selon le témoignage des chartes respectives.

Vu que la date approximative de l'établissement des Comans dans les Balkans nous est connue, la présence des «Comans noirs» dans les chansons de geste albanais nous fournit un précieux point d'appui historique afin de mettre une fin à la longue polémique sur l'époque de formation de ces chansons de geste et du cycle de Muji et Halili. Les différents folkloristes (albanais et étrangers) se sont divisés sur ce point et ont daté ces chants entre les XIIe et XVIe siècles. Or, le Chant de Muji et Jevrenija, c'est-à-dire sa version originale n'a pu naître avant le milieu du XIIIe siècle, parce que, avant cette date, les cantonnements comans n'avaient pas encore existé dans les parties centrales des Balkans. Mais sa date de naissance ne peut être fixée après les années de 80 du même siècle, puisque la dernière décennie du XIVe siècle a déjà vu les premières invasions turques contre le territoire en question. Le nouveau

conquérant a balayé les cantonnements comans dont seuls les noms ont été transmis à la postérité. Plus tard, après la soummission complète des territoires albanais par les Turcs, plus précisément vers le milieu du XVIe siècle, l'Islam et la culture orientale ont pénétré rapidement parmi les Albanais et l'un des effets durables de cette nouvelle culture s'est cristallisé dans les variantes «musulmanes» des chansons de geste albanais, dans le cycle de Muji et Halili, tel que nous le connaissons aujourd'hui. Mais dans un chant du cycle, celui de Muji et Jevrenija, un rhapsode avait inclu dans l'épisode stéréotypé du rapt de vêtements pour le travestissement des *Comans noirs* au lieu des Serbes et des Hongrois habituels, comme représentants du monde chrétien. Ce rhapsode inconnu, cet esprit innovateur devait garder encore les réminiscences d'un chant ancien du XIVe siècle. Il est évident qu'au XVIe siècle l'éthnonyme Coman n'avait plus de sens pour les habitants des chalets des montagnes albanaises, public préféré des rhapsodes albanais. Presque deux siècles après la disparition des cantonnements comans qui est-ce qui aurait pu garder encore le souvenir de ce groupe ethnique, en dehors de la poésie populaire, chroniqueur souvent énigmatique du Moyen Age ? C'est pour cette raison que les rhapsodes du XVIe siècle et leurs successeurs se croyaient obligés d'inclure dans le chant le motif de la double épreuve confessionnelle qui ne se trouve que dans cet unique chant du cycle entier. C'est ainsi que, deux siècles plus tard, le souvenir vague d'un fait historique de jadis, le souvenir des contacts albano-comans du XIIIe siècle, s'est transformé dans la poésie populaire en un anachronisme historique.

Vers la fin du XIVe siècle et jusqu'au début du XVIe siècle les rhapsodes albanais s'étaient emparés des exploits guerriers de nouveaux héros, les seigneurs albanais qui luttaient contre les envahisseurs turcs. Dans la deuxième moitié du XVe siècle, Gjergj Kastrioti, dit aussi Scanderbeg, a, pour ainsi dire monopolisé les chansons de geste de l'époque. Les chants antérieurs se conservaient uniquement dans les petits villages dispersés des hautes montagnes dans la société patriarcale et conservatrice des clans de bergers, pour réapparaître, après un siècle souillé de sang et après la pénétration de la culture islamique, dans un *habit musulman*, et devenir la distraction préférée des bergers montagnards pendant les longues nuits d'hiver. Les émigrés albanais en Italie (les Arbëresh) partis de leur pays après le milieu du XVe siècle n'ont gardé dans leur folklore que les chants de Scanderbeg, oubliés presqu'entièrement dans leur pays d'origine, tandis que le cycle de Muji et Halili, inconnu parmi les Arbëresh, s'est maintenu dans les régions montagneuses de l'Albanie du nord et du nord-est.

Donc le Chant de Muji et Jevrenija a gardé un fait historique de la deuxième moitié du XIIIe siècle, le souvenir des contacts et des conflits armés albano-comans. Du chant original il ne nous restent qu'un fragment de 5 vers (la description suggestive des Comans noirs) et la mention du Chemin des

Comans, tout le reste n'étant qu'un produit de la fantaisie inépuisable des rhapsodes populaires qui a transformé en chrétiens dévots et alliés du roi serbe ces Comans musulmans qui, à la veille de l'occupation turque, s'étaient établis parmi les *katune* albanais et qui, en réalité, étaient les adversaires du roi serbe et avaient compromis la tranquilité et les pâturages des communautés paysannes albanaises de la région.

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TRAVEL-REPORT OF A BURIAT PILGRIM, LUBSAN MIDŽID-DORDŽI

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The genre of travel-accounts to the holy places of Tibet acquires a special place in the large-scale literature of the Mongolian peoples. As a matter of fact, this genre was not popular among the Mongols themselves, but was produced and mainly developed on the borders of the Mongolian-speaking world, i.e. among the Buriats and Kalmüks.

The first account of this kind was that of the Buriat *khambo-lama*, Damba-Dordži Zajaev written in 1768 for the Russian Empress, Catherine II. Damba-Dordži Zajaev made his journey in 1734—1741. A. M. Pozdneev introduced this comparatively short description to the scholarly world a long time ago, as he published the Mongolian text in his Chrestomatija.[1] The Russian translation, prepared by the author (A. G. Sazykin) will be soon published in the series "*Strany i narody Vostoka*" [States and Peoples of the East].[2]

The report of D. D. Zajaev was followed by a pause of more than one hundred years, and the descriptions of travel to the holy places of Tibet by Buriat and Kalmük lamas began to appear only at the end of the 19th century.[3]

The original text and the translation of a Kalmük pilgrim, lama B. Menkedžuev, who visited Tibet in 1891—1894, was published by A. M. Pozdneev with the title: "*Skazanie o choždenii v tibetskuju stranu malo-derbetskogo Bāza-bakši*" [Travel-report to the country of Tibet by the little-Dörböt Bāza-baqši] (StPbg 1897).

[1] A. Pozdneev, *Mongol'skaja chrestomatija dlja pervonačal'nogo prepodavanija.* StPtb 1900. pp. 34—37.

[2] A. G. Sazykin, *Opisanie Tibeta, sostavlennoe v XVIII. v. burjatskim palomnikom Damba-Dordži Zajaevym.* [Description of Tibet prepared by the Buriat pilgrim Damba-Dordži Zajaev] [in manuscript].

[3] A detailed enumeration of the above mentioned famous travel-descriptions of Buriats and Kalmüks to Tibet and the neighbouring countries was prepared by the authors of the present paper for the volume: *Strany i narody Vostoka* [States and Peoples of the East]. Cf. A. G. Sazykin, *Opisanija putešestvij v literaturnom nasledii mongol'skih narodov* [Travel-descriptions in the literary tradition of the Mongol Peoples] [in manuscript].

Another Kalmük *baqši*, Purdaš Džungoraev also wrote a travel diary in Oirat script in 1902—1903; it was seen by Rudnev in 1904 among the Volga Kalmüks. The diary is no longer extant, but Rudnev translated it into Russian, and his translation is now in the Oriental Archives of the Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union.[4]

Only these two diaries written in Oirat "clear script" were so far known as reports of travels to Tibet. In addition to these, some travel-reports prepared by Buriat pilgrims were preserved.

Apart from the above mentioned report of D. D. Zajaev, there are three more such descriptions; they are the reports of Lubsan Midžid-Dordži, that of Lubsan-Ludub Andagaev and of Gončok-Džap Zangijain. The earliest, most detailed and most interesting travel-description among them is that of Lubsan Midžid-Dordži. Three manuscripts bearing the text of his journey-description are preserved in the Mongol Collection of the Manuscript Section of the Leningrad Oriental Department of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union. Two of them (D 75 and F 92) are complete and have the same long title; the transliteration and the translation of which are given later. The third manuscript (D 204) is incomplete, the first leave is missing and only a short Russian title is given on page [2a] "*Putešestvie v Tibet i Chašmir lamy bujan-tumetskogo dacana Lubsan-mižita*" [Travel of Lubsan-Midžid, the lama of the Bujan-Tümet Banner to Tibet and Kashmir].

All the three manuscripts in question are copies prepared in the beginning of our century, and one of them (F 92) — according to the note of page [1b] — was made by the very hands of C. Ž. Žamcarano's father, by Žamcarano Gêndunov. This copy reached the museum with the first Žamcarano collection and it is mentioned in the list of C. Žamcarano's and B. Baradijn's materials in the years 1903—1904. Characterizing the manuscript, the compiler of the list mentions that "the description is lively, clear, completely consistent, and one of the best reports of the Buriat traveller".[5] It is also mentioned that "the Russian translation was made by Gonbo-žap Cybikovič Cybikov, but not printed as yet".

To our best knowledge, G. C. Cybikov's translation has not been published so far. G. C. Cybikov himself gave an explanation for this in his work "*Buddist palomnik u svjatyn' Tibeta*" [A Buddhist Pilgrim at the Holy Places of Tibet], where he wrote, "in autumn of 1898, an acquaintance of mine, a staff lama of the Jangačžinskij Dacan of the Trans-Baikal territory, Cebek-Dan'čža-

[4] The translation of A. D. Rudnev bears the title: "*Choždenie v Tibet kalmyckogo bakši Purdaš Džungoraeva*" [Travels to Tibet by the Kalmük bakši Purdaš Džungoraev"]. It was prepared for publication by the authors of the present paper for the series of research works of the Kalmük Research Institute of History, Philology and Economy.

[5] List of the materials of C. Žamcarano and B. Baradin 1903—1904. *Izvestija Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk*. 1905. Mart. T. XXII, vyp. 3. s. 055.

Irdyniev sent me a manuscript with the travel-description to Tibet and Nepal of the non-staff lama of the Boltimorskij Dacan, Mičžed-dorčže. I — then a student of the Oriental Faculty — consulted Prof. A. M. Pozdneev, who some time ago had published his work "*Skazanie o choždenii v tibetskuju stranu maloderbetskogo Bāza-bakši*" [Travel-report of the Little-Dörböt Bāza-baqši to the Tibetan Country]. After examining the text, he advised me to travel to Central Tibet at the end of the university semester and later he took the necessary steps to help me implement the journey . . ."[6]

It is evident from this quotation that the above mentioned travel-report of Lubsan Midžid-Dordži served only to inspire the idea in G. C. Cybikov to travel to Tibet. The journey was realized and it resulted in a splendid book giving an interesting, detailed description of Tibet and the Tibetans. At that time there was no work of similar scholarly value to that of Cybikov's "as from among the Buddhists visiting Lhasa and the most important holy places of Tibet, there was nobody as well prepared as Cybikov, and nobody from among the Buddhists offered us such a complete and significant description of these holy places; and nobody from among the non-Buddhists had such a clear approach".[7]

Due to all this, the preparatory work for the publication of the travel-report of Lubsan Midžid-Dordži was stopped for a really good reason. Only the lack of time prevented G. C. Cybikov from finishing his work. Anyhow, the achievement was close to completion, this is clear from the fact that the corrected pages of the text in classical Mongolian script, together with the Russian translation and notes are preserved in the A. M. Pozdneev collection of the Oriental Archives of the Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union (Fond 44, inventory number I, sotre-number 112).

The text and translation preserved in the Archives are only the very beginning of the travel-record of Lubsan Midžid-Dordži (cf. note 47 to our translation). We made some necessary changes in the Russian translation of G. C. Cybikov, and while preparing it for publication we added some complementary notes to the already existing ones, which will be reproduced entirely and referred to as Cybikov's note.

Finally, something should be said about the specialities of the Buriat travel-reports to the holy places of Central Asia. They are different from the splendid descriptions of the Kalmük pilgrims, who wrote detailed diaries during their entire journey. The Buriat travellers, all without any exception, wrote or dictated their recollections after returning from their wanderings. Here mention should be made of the marvelous memories of the Buriat authors

[6] G. C. Cybikov, *Buddist-palomnik u svjatyn' Tibeta*. [Buddhist Pilgrim at the Holy Places of Tibet]. *Izbrannye trudy*. I. Novosibirsk 1981, s. 31.

[7] *Op. cit.*, pp. 29—30.

of every work. This is especially true of Lubsan Midžid-Dordži, who gave a detailed and exact description of his four years' journey, not only to Tibet, traditionally visited by the Buriat and other pilgrims, but also to Nepal, Buthan and other lands to the West of Tibet.[8] The description of these lands is missing from all the other Mongolian travel-reports written in Mongolian. This fact presented a special difficulty in commenting on a certain part of the description, and sometimes in the identification of certain tribes or peoples, and also of some toponyms and ecclesiastical names.

Lubsan Midžid-Dordži gave a rather accurate description of the town and monasteries of South Mongolia and Tibet, of the peoples living there, their customs, and their governing systems. This could be easily checked by a comparison with the above mentioned works of Pozdneev and Cybikov, as well as those of other travelers to Tibet, who followed practically one and the same route, and in Tibet they visited the same holy places and were interested in the same sights. This fortunate circumstance permitted us to compare these realistic commentaries with the description of Lubsan Midžid-Dordži, and in connection with the parts about Mongolia and Tibet, we could use the works of these outstanding Russian orientalists. The book of E. I. Kychanov and L. S. Savitski "Ljudi i bogi strany snegov" [Peoples and Gods of the Land of Snow] also proved to be rather useful in our work. We took over a large number of the toponymes of Central Asia from this book.

We decided to publish the travel report of Lubsan Midžid-Dordži, not only because it is a unique piece of the Mongolian literature with a high scientific value, but also because with this article we have the opportunity to accomplish one of the works of our predecessor orientalists active many years ago, and in this way we should like to honour the person who promoted the publishing of the present paper.

Transcription

[2a] *Om sayin amuγulang boltuγai.*
Ros bayatur čayan qayan-u albatu: Aru Buriyad barayun naiman kemen aldarsiγsan qočiγun-u [= *qošiγun-u*] *2-duγar Tabanayud-un Qarnud oboγ-un böged: Nansong-gogag-damšoi-rabǰai-ling keyid-ün šabi Lubčang-miǰid-dorǰi kemekü biber: Qalq-a Mongγol öber qosiγun: Kitad: Amdoo: Qamba-dergiy: Tübed-ün Üi: Dalai blam-a-yin oron: Jang-un Bančin-erdeni-yin keyid: Ariy: Gangtis-e: Tügbiy-yin oron: Dayingǰung: Luuba: Balbo: J̌irung-*

[8] The traveller himself apologized for his poor memory, but it was probably an emotional expression of his admiration of the large number of holy places — so dear to the heart of a buddhist pilgrim — in Central Tibet.

-qašur: *terigüten-e mörögül* [= *mörgül*] *ergil kigsen-ü tobči domoy bolyan bičibei.*

[3a] *Yeke Ros ulus-un* 1882-*duyar on*: *arban tabdayar rabǰung-un usun morin ǰil-ün Mongyol-un naimaduyar takiy-a sarayin sineyin* 10-*u edür-e öberün* 25 *nasun-a ger-eče yaruǰu Kiyaytu qoton-u ǰiq-a-yin qamisar noyan-ača* (*piu*) *biliyd abču činayči-ban* [= *činayši-ban*] 5 *qonoy yabuǰu Boyda-yin küriy-e* (*Örgüge-dü*) *kürebei*: *boyda J̌ibčun-damba-du möregüǰü* [= *mörgüǰü*] *tendeki yekes merged-eče činayči* [= *činayši*] *Barayun J̌uu terigüten yeke oron-nuyud-tur kürüǰü mörgükü qubi ǰol bui bolbau kemen ayiladqaysan-a*: *bolun-a kemen esi ǰarliy bayuysan-dur sitüǰü tendeben* 20 *kedün qonoy udaǰu nige kedün kümün-lüge qanilaǰu namurun segül sarayin* 10 *edür-e yabuyan-iyar Küriyen-eče činayči* [= *činayši*] 10 *tuqai qonoy yabuǰu Qayiraqan bayan ulayan kemekü yeke ayula čidar-a* [= *šidar*] *kürübei*: *ene inu Qalq-a-yin Üi ǰeng gün-ü qosiyun-u nituy bui*: *tendeče barayun emün-e ǰüg-tü* 20 *qonoy tedüi yabuǰu Γurban-sayiqan kemekü ayula čidar-a* [= *šidar*] *kürübei*: *ene inu Γobi Tüsiy-e gün-ü nutuy bui*: *tendeče Sang-un dalai-yin süm-e-dü mörögüged* [= *mörgüged*]: *činayči* [= *činayši*] 15 *qonoy yabuǰu Urid dumda gün-ü nutuy-un ǰiq-a-du kürübei*: *tende qayisi* [= *qayiči*] *metü-yin oboy-a temdeg bui*: *ene yaǰar-ača činayči* [= *činayši*] *öber qosiyun-u nutuy ǰalyamui*: *tendeče barayun emün-e ǰüg-tür yabuǰu Alayša-a vang-un nutuy-tu Tügüm-ün süm-e-dü kürüǰü mörögübei* [= *mörgübei*]: *egün-e mingy-a tuqai šabinar bui*: *tendeče činayči* [= *činayši*] 5 *qonoy yabuǰu J̌iratay-yin dabusun-u bayising kemekü yaǰar-a kürübei*: *tendeče* 5 *qonoy yabuǰu Alayša-a vang-un Yangpuu qoton-a kürebei*: *ene qoton-u ǰegün ǰüg-tü üdeyin yaǰar-a Alayša ǰegün keyid*: *mön emün-e ǰüg-tü üde-yin yaǰar-a Alayša-a barayun keyid bui*: *ende Sangyang-ǰimsu* [= *Čangyang-ǰamčo*] *Dalai blam-a-yin šaril bayiday amui*: [3b] *ene qoto-yin ǰegün talabar Alayša-a ayula kemekü uryači* [= *uruyši*] *qoyisi* 70 *modon-u tedüi urtu böged*: *eldeb ǰüil-ün ayar ǰandan*: *narasu*: *quči* [= *quši*] *terigüten modon ba eldeb ǰüil-ün em-ün ebüsün yeke elbeg sayiqan ayula bayimui*: *mön qoton-u barayun emün-e* 7 *qonoy yabuǰu Tngri elesün kemekü yaǰar-a kürübei*: *ene inu narin-iyar nige ǰayun-u yaǰar böged*: *Ros-un-bar* 50 *modo tuqai*: *tuulaǰi yaraqu-du* [= *yarqu-du*] *masi kesüü* [= *kečegüü*] *salki šiyuray-a bolbasu yatalaqu-yin ary-a ügei*: *egün-ü dumda Bančin boyda-yin talbiysan ba ǰegün ǰiq-a-du Boyda gegen-ü talbiysan oboy-a-nud bui*: *ene elesün inu öndör nabtar qada-nud amui*: *tendeče barayun ǰüg-tü* 3 *qonoy tuqai yabuǰu Čilayun ongyoča kemekü yaǰar-a kürüǰü*: *tendeče barayun emün-e ǰüg-tü Blabarang-du* [= *Blabrang-du*] *yabuqu ǰam salamui*: *barayun ǰüg-tü Güngbüm yabuqu ǰam-dur* 1 *qonoy-un yaǰar-ača Sayang-čing-un qayaly-a Kitad nutuy-un ǰiq-a bolumui*: *činayči* [= *činayši*] *yabuǰu J̌unglung qoto dayariǰu nige mörün yatulayad*: *činayči* [= *činayši*] *kedün qonoy yabuǰu Tngri dabuy-a kemekü-yi dabuǰu Ningbi qoto-bar činayči* [= *činayši*] *yabuysayar Maršang-lha kemekü yaǰar-a kürübei*: *tende Dayitan mörün-ü qoyina yeke ayula qabčayai-yin enggir-tü Lhalung-bal-dorǰi blam-a-yin merdeng šaril*

bayiday bui: *tegün-e mörögüged* [= *mörgüged*] *činayči* [= *činayši*] *yabuǰu Šining qoto kürübei*: *egün-e köke-yin yosun-u nigen nangdin šoyiǰil* [= *čoyiǰal*] *bayiday tegün-e mörögüǰü* [= *mörgüǰü*]: *tendeče Güngbüm* 1 *edür-ün yaǰar bui*: *Sayang-čing-un qayalγ-a-ača Güngbüm kürtele* 25 *qonoγ-un yaǰar bui*: *tere Güngbüm inu*: *boγda J̌ongkaba-yin Lhakan-činmo kemekü yeke altan süm-e-dü mörögüǰü* [= *mörgüǰü*] *küseleng-iyen qanubai*: *tendeben čaγan sara kürütele* [= *kürtele*] *mörgül kiǰü bayiyad*: *tendeče ǰegün qoyitu ǰüg-tü* 2 *qonoγ-un yaǰar-a Serkög kemekü keyid bui*: *ene ber mingγ-a yarun šabinar-tai*: *tegün-ü ǰegün* [4a] *ǰüg-tü qas* [= *qayas*] *edür-ün yaǰar-a Čoyibčang kemekü keyid bui*: *degereki Güngbüm-ǰimbaling keyid-tür*: *Serǰin-sinmo* [= *Serdon-čenmo*] *kemekü süm-e dotor-a*: *altan mönggön-iyer bütügegsen subaray-a dotor boγda J̌ongkaba-yin mendülügsen yaǰar-ača urayuγsan* [= *uryuγsan*] *büm nabči-tu ǰandan modon bui*: *ene süm-e-yin egüden-e mön ene*: *ǰandan-u ündüsün-eče urayuγsan* [= *uryuγsan*] *kedün salaγ-a-tai ǰandan bui*: *tegün-ü nabči ba qalisun-du nom-un üsüg-üd qaraγdaǰu bayiday anu masi yayiqamsiγ-tai amui*: *mön tere metü nige sümen-ü egüden-e nom-un üsüg-tei kedün čaγan ǰandan bui amui*: *ene Güngbüm-dür buruγu nom-tu Quyiqui-yin čereg oroqui-dur Serǰin-činmo-yin egüden-e bayiγsan čilaγun arsulan-u qučaγsan-du buudayalayad ǰoyčaγsan* [= *ǰoγsaγsan*] *metü üge bui*: *ende čaγan sarayin irügel-dü monlam rabǰimba-yin damǰa-a bariday amui*: *qural-un dokiy-a-dur nigen yeke kenggerge deleddeg bui*: *qural-un sabinar anu*: *Tanggud J̌igdur Mongγol terigüten kedün mingγ-a kürtele quraday bui*: *tende čanid*: *čǰud*: *duyingkor*: *manba eyimü tus tusuγar qural-tai* 4 *ǰüil dačang-ud bui*: *čaγan sarayin* 15*-du yayiqamšiγ-tai qoyar yeke takil beledčü ergüdeg*: *olan kümün čiγulaǰu mörgül ergil üileddeg*: *ene qoyar yeke takil-i* 15*-u takil kememüi*: *basa Nayisung-šoyiǰing-un* [= *Nayičung-čoyiǰong*] *ba Lonbo-soyiǰing-un* [= *Lonbo-čoyiǰong-un*] *süm-e-nüd bui amui*: *ene keyid-ün qoyitu ǰüg-tü oyiraqan yaǰar-a Luučar qoto bui*: *tende Luuči-šoyiǰung* [= *Luuči-čoyiǰong*] *Kitad kümün-dü bayuǰu bayiday*: *engde sayuday J̌igor ulus Kitad ǰang-tai amui*: *ene Güngbüm keyid ǰegün qoyisi-ban qandaysan köngdüi-yin ǰiq-a-du böged*: *Čoyčin süm-e ba Sereǰin-činmo terigüten süm-e-nüd-ün qoyar qaǰiyu-du olan qutuγ-tu-nar ba yekes blam-a-nar-un örgüge-nüd bui*: *tobčilabasu Aǰy-a kiged*: *Singǰa-a* [= *Šingsa*] *gegen*: *J̌igiγ gegen*: *Siregetü gegen*: *Milang gegen terigüten-ü bayira-nud amui*: *endeki oron anu dulayan*: *šabinar anu* [4b] *nom-tu debil-iyer bayiday*: *buday-a tariy-a elbeg*: *tülesi inu soloomu ebüsü tüledeg*: *ene oron-u yekes merged-eče Barayun J̌uu kürüǰü mörgükü-yin soyaraqal* [= *soyurqal*] *abuγad*: *Güngbüm-eče qonin ǰil-ün čaγan sarayin* 17*-u edür-e Barayun J̌uu-du mörgükü-yin ǰoriγ-iyar degedü Mongγol ba olan mörgülčin-lüge qamturaǰu yarabai*: *Güngbüm-eče činayči* [= *činayši*] 3 *qonoγ kkir-e-tei yabuǰu Dobo qoto kürübei*: *ene-ber buruγu nom-tu Quyiquy-yin qoto böged*: *egün-e noγoγan šaγaǰin pa-a-lang güilgegsen qučilγ-a-tai*: *altan gangǰir-tai*: 5 *dabqur süm-e bui*: *ene altan gangǰir anu Bančin boγda-ača qayiralaγdaγsan gemüi*: *tere qoto-yin Quyiqui-nar-un ǰarim nigen inu urida-dayan niγsedeg sidi-tei*

bayiγsan-iyan tere gangjir-i sümen degere talbiγsan-ača qoyisi tedener-ün niysedeg sidi inu baγuraγsan gekü üge sonosbai: tendeče činaγči [= činaγši] qoyar qonoγ-un γaǰar-a: Dongqor Manǰusiri-yin keyid-tü kürüǰü mörgübei: tendeče činaγsi baraγun ǰüg-tü 5 qonoγ tuqai yabuǰu Köke naγur-tu kürebei: ene Rangγung Tangγud-un nutuγ bui: ene naγur-i Dimčüg-ün oron kemen ögüledeg: mörgül ergil kideg: yabuγan kümün 15 qonoγ toγariǰu güičedeg: ene naγur-un dumda nige yeke aγula bui böged: tende bütügelči-ner-ün saγudaγ aγui bui genem: tendeče činaγsi Buγu-yin γool kemekü-yi γaraγad Nükü-tü dabuγ-a-yi dabuǰu činadu öber-tür yeke ǰam-un ǰiq-a-duki Gangǰiur čilaγun kemekü-dü küreǰü mörgübei: ene čilaγun anu Lobbon Badm-a Sambuu-a sidi-ber talbiγsan gekü: debter boti nom-ud metü kelberi-tei čilaγun bui: Köke naγur-ača sinaγči [= činaγši] 10 qonoγ-un γaǰar-a degedü Mongγol-un nutuγ ǰalγamui: Güngbüm-eče degedü Mongγol-un tayiǰi-nar-un nutuγ kürtele 1 sara-ača ilegüü yabuǰu kürebei: ede ulus-un [5a] kelen Mongγol bolbaču: qubsud [= qubčad] ba ǰang yangǰu-bar Tangγud-luγ-a niyčemüi: edener Rangγung Γoloγ-ud-tai qoγoramda-ban [= qoγorumda-ban] üy-e üy-e dayilaldaǰu ed ǰögeris-iyen dobtolalčaǰu abulčidaγ: keǰey-e-de ǰebseg-üd-tei yabudaγ: ǰarim-ud anu masi ǰobolang-tu ulus saγunam: ede ulus-un nutuγ-tu tusqayilaǰu bayiγuluγsan yeke k[e]yid süm-e ügei: nigen duγan-iyar qural-iyan quradaγ: mal olan-tai γaǰar anu elding tala γobi anu yeke bui: olan qosiγun böged yeke iregen [= irgen] ulus bui: Baraγun J̌uu-dur yabudaγ mörgülčin ba ayančin-ni yekede tusalan tedküdeg ǰon amui: ilangγuy-a γar-taγan yaγuma ügei ulus tende nom sudur ungsiǰu künüsü qoγol-un nököčel-üd-i olaǰu činaγči [= činaγši] yabuǰu boludaγ amui: ene nutuγ-tu biber 2 sara tuqai saγuǰu baγ-a ǰerge mönggö sirü abču yabuγsan-a nige mori nige ilǰige [= elǰige] bolγan: mön qonin ǰil-ün ǰun-u dumda sarayin sine-eče tendeki-yin nayimaγačin ba busu ču Tübed Mongγol-un mörgülčin nayimaγačin-luγ-a nököčeǰü kedün ǰaγun ulus nigen sar-a ilegüü yabuǰu Tübed-ün ǰiq-a Naγčiu (Qar-a usun) kemekü γaǰar-a kürübei: degedü Mongγol-un nutuγ-ača ene Naγčiu kürtele ayil ǰon ügei qoγosun čöl ǰerlig γaǰar amui: čöken kümün yabuǰu bolqu ügei: Γoloγ metü eldeb γaǰar-un olan degermečin ba qooratan arayatan masi olan: γaǰar-un čöör qoor-a neng kečigüü: teyimü tula ǰam-i sayitur mededeg [5b] γaǰarsi [= γaǰarči] kümün-i abču olan-iyar čiγulaǰu čereg metü buu ǰida čelm-e [= selem-e] terigüten-iyer ǰebseg-tei yabudaγ: ǰerlig arayatan-i ǰisiyelebesü: buγu görügesün baras: irbis: qulan: arγali: uγalǰa: ötege: ǰeri: oon-a: orongγo: ulaγan görügesü terigüten bui: kümün ügei ǰerlig γaǰad-i ǰisiyelebesü: Anggir-taγšin: Düng-büriy-e: Köke-sil: Din-la: Danba kemekü terigüten böged: edeger γaǰad-tu kümün-ü ba mori temege elǰige lauča [= laγusa]-nuγud-un yasun neng olan üǰegden-e: tedeger-i γaǰarun čör qoor-a-bar ükügsen gemüi: tere γaǰar-un qoora čöör [= čör] kümün-e tusqui-dur: čisu kökereǰü öngge ǰisu inu qab qara boluγad amisq-a dabsidču [= dabčidqu] metü-ber üküdeg: sayin emčiner qanaγur-iyar čisu-yi γarγabasu sayin boludaγ gekü: ene Qara usun-ača činaγči [= činaγši] 20 tuqai qonoγ

yabuǰu ǰun-u segül saradu Lhasa-yin altan düri-yi qaruǰu: J̌uu Sigemüni-yin gegen-e mörgübei: Dalai blam-a bolun Γaldan-Tiba terigüten olan qutuγ-tu-nar kiged: olan sitügen-nügüd-tür mörgüǰü umartaǰi [= umartaši] ügei bayar töröǰiküi: tende sayuday aru ǰüg-ün blam-a-nar-luγ-a učiraǰu učir-iyan ögüleǰü samla qamčin-u Qalq-a mičin-dür baytaǰu: Qomang dasang-un [= Γomang dačang-un] mkanbô-dur mörgüged: nere-ben bičigülen tamaγ-a darayulan tegün-e qomang-un [= γomang-un] čanid-un geskü-dü bariǰu dondûn ǰüü čanda-a-bar qural-du [6a] *barayačabai: nigen nom ǰiγalyaqu baysi-yi sitüǰü olan quvaraγ-un buyan-a dayan bayačalsaǰu [= bayasalčaǰu] 1 ǰil-ün tuqai qural-dur barayačiǰu sayubai: ene Brayibung dotor-a 4 yeke dasang [= dačang] bui: nerelebesü Γomang: Losoi-ling: Diyang: Ayba böged: ene Ayba dasang-dur [= dačang-dur] ündüsü quraday: mkanbô anu qariγuly-a gürüm ayiladču bayiday: ene dačang dotora nigen Yamandaga sitügen bui: tegün-i Rou-loǰaba blam-a-yin šaril-un terigün-i uruγuu ǰalaǰu šüngnegsen gedeg bayina: masi yeke nangdin sitügen bui: ene k[e]yid inu Gpal-riy kemekü ayulayin ebür engger-tür Lhasa-yin barayun qoyitu ǰüg-tü naiman-u yaǰar-a bui: Ros-un modo-bar 4 modon-u tuqai amui: ene k[e]yid-ün ǰegün qoyina Γorlam-un ǰiq-a-du Danǰing (Da-ma)-činmo kemekü šoyiǰong [= čoyiǰong] ekener kümün-dü bayuǰu bayiday: ǰegün emün-e nigen-ü yaǰar-a Nayiǰung-šoyiǰong-un [= čoyiǰong-un] ǰalaraǰu bayiday süme bui: emün-e ǰüg-tür nigen-ü yaǰar-a Danba-šal-oo kemekü gebküi šoyiǰong [= čoyiǰong] bayulyaǰu bayiday bui: barayun ǰüg-tür Nubčoγ-sünggiy-ǰalbo (Tib.: Nub-phyogs gsung-gi rgyal-po) kemekü yandan šoyiǰong [= čoyiǰong] ǰalaraǰu bayiday: ene k[e]yid-ün yadayur toγoriday ǰam degere: öbesüben bütügsen ba ǰarliγ negegsen burqad olan bui gemüi: čoγčin süm-e-yin aru-dur nige yeke čilayun-ača öbesüben bütügsen kemekü nigen yeke Manǰusiri-yin düri bui: tere čilayun-u aru-du J̌imyang-soriǰi [= čoriǰi]-yin mutur-iyar tülkigsen kemekü mutur-un qonggor oro bui: mön bisiqan [= bičiqan] noqay-yin qočiyu-bar [= qošiyu-bar] tülkülčegsen kemekü qosiyun-u oro bui: ebül-ün ekin sarayin 25-u edür-e yadaγ-a sitayaysan yayiqamsiγ-tai* [6b] *olan ǰula-yin gerel inu qayisi qayisi-ban niǰiged modon-u kkiri-tei yaǰara edür metü bolyabai: ebül-ün segül sarayin 29-ü edür-e Ayba dasang-ača [= dačang-ača] nigen yeke sor yaryaǰu ǰaladay: tende čoγčin (šal-oo) gebküi morilaǰu nige sumu qarbuday bui: ene edür-eče sineyin qoyar kürtele ǰigyay quriyaydaǰu nayadum talbiydaday: mkanbô-nar čoγčin gebküi-ner metü yeke ulus-un k[e]yid dotor-a morilaǰu yabuqu čaγ-tu: yerü-yin šabinar üǰegdedeg ügei: qaraǰu bolqu ügei yeke ayayumsiγ-tai [= ayuγumšiγ-tai] bui: sineyin 2-un örlüge büküi sabi-nar Čoyiǰong-činmo-yin emün-e čiγulqui-dur čoyiǰong ǰalaraǰu: olan šabinar-a Lhasa monlam-dur quraqu-yin tula čoγdom ayilduday: ene edür-e Čer-a [= Ser-a] Brayibung Γandan [= Γaldan] ba busu ču oyira-yin k[e]yid-ner-ün büküi šabinar Lhasa-dur čiγulaǰu Lhasa monlam-un sayudal bariday: čayan sarayin sineyin 2-ača 22 kürtele irügel quraqui üy-e-dür: Brayibung čoγčin qoyar gebküi inu: tende čiγulaysan kedün tümen šar-a qar-a šabinar öglige-yin eǰed Kači: Balbo:*

Kitad: *Mongyol terigüten mayimayačin mörgülčin nügüd-ün ken-ber* čʉ *yambarba kündü könggen kereg yaryabasu-ni ilyal ügei silyaǰu sidkekü erke-tei bui*: *ene irügel-ün üy-e-dü qoyar yeke gebküi: qoyar bay-a gebküi bayiqu bui*: *basa-bar* 21 *gebyoy-ud* (?) *inu niǰiged* čelm-*e* [= *selem-e*] *büse-degen qabsiyulaǰu* [= *qabčiyulǰu*] [7a] *niǰeged siydam modo bariǰu yabuday*: *ene irügel-ün manǰi ǰid Dalai blam-a-yin sang-ača masi elbeg-iyer ergügdüdeg*: *ene irügel-dü lharamba-yin damča-a bariday amui*: 15-*du boyda J̌ongkapa-yin bayiyulaysan yeke takil šalčai beleddegdeǰü ergüdeg*: 22-*un edür-e šabi-nar anu tusqai-tu dasang* [= *dačang*]-*ud-tayan ǰalaraǰu taramui*: *basa qabur-un dumda saradu mön Lhasa degere uridačilan qamturaǰu čingǰod monlam kemekü qural* 10 *edür quraday*: *ene qural-un segül-dür ögülesi ügei neng olan takil-un čam*: *Dalai blam-a-yin ordon Bodala toyoriǰu ergüdeg yayiqamsiy-tai sayiqan bui*: *ene irügel degere čoyramba-yin damča-a bariday bui*: *ene qural-un taraqu-yin urida edür yeke gürim ayildaydaǰu*: *kümün ǰoliy-tai olan sor baling yaryayday*: *ečüs-tü urida metü taramui*: *ene Lhasa-yin irügel-dür erte čay-tu* 7 *tümen šabinar quraday kemen aldarsiysan böged*: *odo-a marayasi* [= *maryaši*] 5 *tümen kkiri-tei sabinar quraday gemüi*: *Lhasa J̌uu-giyn süm-e inu* 7 *qayaly-a egüde-tei* 5 *yeke altan degebüri-tei bui*: *urida dayan Srongčan-ganbo qayan-u ordon örgüge aysan aǰi*: *degereki oroi-yin nigen sümen-e Balǰi-lhamo kemekü čoytu Ökin tngri-yin merdeng šaril ǰalaydaǰu bagiday*: *ene sitügen-ü bey-e-dür neng olan quluyan-a güyün yabuǰu bayiday anu qaraydaday*: *ürgülǰi šar-a arki-bar sereǰim* [= *serǰim*] *ergüǰü bayimui*: *tere sitügen-ü abural ači-bar Lhasa degere ekener töröküi-dür ǰobolang edledeg ügei*: *Lhasa-yin qoyitu ǰiq-a-du Ramu J̌uu-giyn altan degebüri-tei süm-e bui*: *ene Lhasa-yin barayun qoyina* 1 *modon-u yaǰar-a Dalai blam-a-yin ordon* [7b] *Pobrang Bodala ayui* [= *ayula*] *degere bayiyulaysan bui*: 999 *toy-a-tai tasuly-a-tai*: *emün-e tala-dayan* 12 *dabqur sonqu-tai* [= *čonggu-tai*]: 5 *altan degebüri-tei*: *bayčayamǰilabasu ǰegün barayun-a örgön inu* 200 *saǰin tuqai bolbau*: *eyimü ayui yeke yayiqamsiy-tai barily-a aǰi*: *yol süm-e-dü-ni Dalai blam-a ǰalaraǰu bayiday*: *ene Pobrang dotor-a kedün mingyan šabinar bayiday*: *duyinggor quraday amui*: *Lhasa-yin ǰegün qoyina* 7-*u yaǰar-a Čer-a* [= *Ser-a*] *k*[*e*]*yid bui*: *nige tümen yarun šabinar-tai*: *Lhasa-yin ǰegün qoyina ǰüg-tü nigen edür-ün yaǰar-a Üi mörün-ü urida yeke ayulayin oroi degere Ґaldan k*[*e*]*yid bui*: *mön tümen yarun šabinar-tai*: *ene k*[*e*]*yid-ün čoyčin süm-e-dür yool sitügen-ü oron-a boyda J̌ongkapa-yin altan sirege bayiday*: *boyda-yin šaril anu tusuyar nigen küril suburyan-a ǰalaydaǰu bui*: *tedeger bükün-e mörgügsem*: *ene k*[*e*]*yid-ün yadayar toyoriday ǰam deger-e öbesüben bütügsen kemekü burqad-un düri masi olan bui*: *bi inu edeger k*[*e*]*yid-ner-e mörgül kiǰü yabubai*: *üǰegsen qaraysan minu nada metü-yin oyun-du ülü baytaqu mön-ü tula üǰegsen büküi-yi egün-e güičed bičiǰü yayakin čidamui*: *Lhasayin barayun emün-e ǰüg-tür* 1 *edür-ün yaǰar-a barayun qoyisi-ban qanduysan köndüi-yin ekin-dür Sampuu k*[*e*]*yid bui*: *ene k*[*e*]*yid-tü ǰun-u ekin saradu Čer-a* [= *Ser-a*] *Brayibung Ґaldan terigülen oyir-a-yin k*[*e*]*yid-*

-ner-ün olan mingyan šabinar Sampuu-yaršoi kemekü qural quraday: ende Sampuu gabǰu-yin damča-a bolumui: egün-e boyda ǰongkapa-yin sayuǰu Sampuu gabǰu-yin damča-a bariysan čilayun sirege bui: Ša-ba Šoyiǰi [= Čoyiǰi]-sengge ba: loǰaba: Legbiy-širab: Lodan-sirab-un Enedkeg-eče ǰalaǰu asaraysan [= ačaraysan] olan küril subury-a-nud bui amui: [8a] *basa-bar ese orsiyulaydaysan [= orčiyulaydaysan] Lanǰa nom-ud olan debter bayina: tendeče yisi Brayibung-dagan bučaǰu ǰun-u segül sara yarutala qural-dur baray-a bolaǰu sayuyad: činayči-da [= činayšida] Dasi-lhunbo Saǰi Balbo-yin J̌irong-qašur-un suburyan terigüten-e mörgükü-yin küseǰü Гomong dasang-un [= dačang-un] blam-a gebküi-eče soyaraqal [= soyurqal] abču: Lhasa deger-e bayuǰu: bičin ǰil-ün ǰun-u ekin sarayin üy-e-dü kedün kümün-lüge qanilaǰu činaysi yabubai: Lhasa-ača yaruysayar badar bariǰu yabuysan bui: nige ču čing mönggö ügei yaruysan bile:* 1 *qonoyad Nitang-dolma-yin k[e]yid-tür kürüǰü mörgübei: ene k[e]yid-tür ǰarliy boluysan burqad olan bui gedeg: J̌obo-baldan Adiša-yin šaril ǰalaydaǰu bayiday: tendeče činayči [= činayši] kedün modon-u yaǰar-a Dayčang-ritod-un k[e]yid-tür kürüǰü mörgübei: tendeče činayči [= činayši] barayun emün-e* 3 *qonoy yabuǰu J̌ang mörün-dür Tantun qayan-u talbiysan temür gengǰin güür-e-dür kürübei: tere güüre-ber qarabasu ači tusa anu yeke gedeg: manu yabuqu üy-e-dü güüre inu ebdereged kümün qaralčal (?) ügei bayiysan bile: biber tere mörün-i šir ongyoča-bar yaruysan bi: tendeče činaysi nige yeke dabuy-a dabuyad tegün-ü činaduki Yangdoy kemekü yeke nayur-un barayun talabar kedün qonoy toyoriǰu: tere nayur-un emüneki nigen ayulayin oroi degereki Dorǰi-paymo-yin k[e]yid-tür kürüǰü mörgübei: Dorǰi-paymo-yin gegen-ten-e činaysi J̌irong-kašur-tur mörgükü-yin esi soyaraqal [soyurqal] ayiladqaqui-luy-a teden-eče Dara eke-yin ǰirüken tarni-yin lüng kürteǰü nom-un barilduly-a kibei: ene gegen inu ekener qutuy-tu bui:* [8b] *altan degebüri-tei süm-e-dür ǰalaraǰu bayina: kedün ǰayun šabinar-tai bui: urida ǰüg-tü* 10 *qonoy tuqai yabuǰu Lhobray-marba blam-a-yin Srai-kar gütüg kemekü k[e]yid-tü kürüǰü mörgübei: ene k[e]yid Mila boyda-yin yayčayara yeke qatayuǰil-iyar bütügegsen* 9 *dabqur altan degebüri-tei süme bui: ene oron-dur šimanača-nar-un [= šimnanča-nar-un] k[e]yid terigüten busu k[e]yid süm-e olan bui: olan ki anu ulayan-u ündüsün-ü k[e]yid bui: ende kedün qonoy mörgül ergil kiǰü bayiysan bi: ene oron-u qada ayula anu möngke času-tai bayiday: qada-ača qaliǰu bayuysan usud ba qalil dabuy-a olan-tai tula yabuqui-dur masi kečigüü: basa ene oron-a Lhalung-bal--dorǰi: gürü Čoyivang: Namaqai-ǰalčin terigüten blam-a-nar-un k[e]yid bui: eden-e yabuǰu mörgül kiǰü ese čidabai: tendeče činaysi barayun ǰüg-tü* 20 *yarun qonoy yabuǰu Tügbiy-lungba kemekü yaǰar-a kürübei: ende nige bisiqan [= bičiqan] qoto bui: ene oron-u ǰon Tübed-ün qariy-a-tu bolbaču kele ǰang anu bay-a ǰerge tusuyar bui: mörgülčin ayančin-a idekü qoyol ögküdeg sayin ǰang-tai ǰon bayinam: Lhasa-ača barayun emün-e ǰüg-tür nigen sarayin yaǰar-tur bui: tendeče činayči [= činayši]* 10 *qonoy-un yaǰara Dayingǰung ulus-un nutuy ǰalyamui: ene nutuy Tübed-tür qariy-a-tai gekü bolbaču tusuyar

qan] qayan-tai: kelen ba qubčid [= qubčad] terigüten inu Tübed-eče tusuyar bui: ende yeke dulayan ebül ǰun-u ilyal bay-a: Balbo Tübed-ün qoyoramdaki ǰabsar ǰobkis yaǰar bui: ene Dayingǰung ulus-un kele ǰang-yi ülü medekü tula ǰam-i ačayuqui-dur [= asayuqui-dur] [9a] ülü medelčikü terigüten-iyer nige Mongyol nökör-tei yeke ǰoboǰu yabuysan bui: teyin činadu-ača yabuysan nayimayačin-tai ayulčaǰu [= ayulǰaǰu] činaysiki ǰam-i bay-a ǰerge ǰiyalyayad Dorǰi-ling kemekü qoto bui kemen sonosču činaysi 20 tuqai qonoy badarlaysayar yabuǰu tere qoton-u oyira yaǰar-a kürüküi-dür: eldeb ǰüil-ün Ros metü ulus üǰegdekü boluysayar yabutala: tere kü Dorǰi-ling kemekü qoton-a kürübei: ene qoto anu yeke modo-tai ayulayin oroi-du olan čayan ger bayising-ud-tai Ros mayay-un yeke qoto bui: qada ayula ba usun olan-tai masi ödkün modo-tai yaǰar bui: tala yaǰar oytu ügei: tere qoton dotor oroyad yabuǰu bayitala nige Mongyol kümün bui kemen sonočayad [= sonosuyad] suryalaysayar ayulǰabai: tere Mongyol-un bayiysan yaǰar-a qamtu bayilčaǰu činaysi J̌irong-qašur-un subury-a kürüjü mörgükü-yi kelelčebei bida: ene Mongyol öber qosiyun-u urida barayun gün-ü nutuy-un kümün bui: Barung [= Barayun] J̌uu-du kedün ǰil sayuyad činaysi J̌irong-qašur-un subury-a mörgükü ǰoriy-tai yabuǰu tere qoton-a ǰil-ün tuqai sayuysan tendeki ulus-un kele ǰang yangǰu terigüten-i medekü boluysan tula nadur yeke tusatai asi-tai [= ači-tai] bolbai: ene qoto-yi angqan bayiyulaysayar ǰiran ǰil kiri-tei bolba gekü: eǰelegsiner [= eǰelegči-ner] inu Angglising ulus bui: ǰegün Enedkeg-i medeltegen abuyad inayči [= inayši] Tübed: Balbo: Enedkeg yurban-u qoyordumda ireǰü Dayingǰung ulus-ača yaǰar guduldan abču qoto bayiyuluysan gekü: ede Angglišing ulus anu čayan [9b] qubčad-tai öndör čiber sayiqan ulus bui: ene qoton-a Tübed: Balbo: Baru: Tügbiy: .Dayingǰung: Looba: Šarba: Enedkeg: Qači ba: Kitad čöken: Tatar ene metü olan yasun-u ulus bui: ene yaǰar-a čai ekileǰü tariysayar 20 yarun ǰil bolba gekü: uruyuǰu bayiysan čai-yi üǰebesü manu endeki terilǰi metü ilyal ügei čayan čečeg-tei modo bui: ene yaǰar olǰa yeke čai-yin ködölmüri neng yeke üildüdeg: eldeb olan yasun-u amitan-ni erke-degen quriyaǰu bariysan oron bui: eldeb eregtei emegtei olan toyatu amitan čiyulaǰu eldeb ǰüil-iyer samayuraǰu bayiysan ču bui: ken čü kümün ene oron-a yayakiǰu ču duran-iyar yabuysayar samayuraǰu bolqu: činadu Enedkeg-eče ene goton-a sirem bayan-a-tai temür utusu iregsen bui: basa olan amitan ba qamuy ǰögeberi-yi yal-tu terge-ber ene qoto kürtele ǰögeberileǰü bayinam: ene qoton-ača činayči [= činayši] ǰegün Enedkeg Benggala kürtelen yabuyan kümün 20 qonoy-un tuqai yaǰar-ača ilegüü ügei gemüi: terekü ǰegün Enedkeg-tü Bengala-yin oron-a J̌iryad P'üngbü-yin ayula Baranača Čačuy Udmayin balyad-nuyud bui kemen mörgüǰü yabuysan ulus-ača sonosbai: tere Enedkeg-tür yabuqu-du yeke qalayun ba busu ču berke siltayan-nud olan bui kemen sonočayad [= sonosuyad] mörgüǰü ese čidabai: ene qoton-a qab qar-a ǰisütei ulus neng olan bui: Enedkeg Balbo-yin ulus anu qara barayan čirai-tai: qamuy beyes-e oruy üsütei bui: Enedkeg-ün kümün-i üǰebesü šamtab metü urtu nimegen čayan bös-iyer doyodu bey-e-ben oriyaysan

[10a] *ba ǰarim-ud anu bey-e nisügen* [*ničügün*] *böged*: *eldeb öngge-yin bös-iyer orkimǰi kigsen metü qaraydamui*: *ene qoton-ača biber qoyar nökör-tei* 3 *qonoγ bolǰu ebül-ün ekin saradu Balbo-yin J̌irong-qašur-un suburγ-a kürüǰü mörügükü* [= *mörgükü*] *küseleng-tei yarubai*: *endeče tere suburγ-a-yi* 40 *yarun qonoγ-un yaǰar kemen sonosǰu*: *tende yabuγsan kümün-eče ǰam-un bičig temdeg kiǰü abuγad*: *ene qoto-ača čeke barayun ǰüg-tür Balbo nutuγ dumdaγur bisiqan* [= *bičiqan*] *mörün usun ba dabuγan-nud-i yatulaǰu* 25 *qonoγ tuqai yabuǰu*: *nigen mörgül-ün ayui-dur kürüǰü mögübei*: *ene ayui anu Ka-la-ši kemekü neretei bui*: *Lobbon Badm-a Sambuu-a-yin sayuγsan ayui gemüi*: *dotorki labari ǰilsang* [= *ǰalčang*] *čimeg-üd inu tere keb-iyer čilayuu boluγsan gekü bayina*: *basa tusuγar eke-yin umai kemekü bisiqan* [= *bičiqan*] *čoonuγ nükü-tei sirayuǰu yaruday čilayun bui*: *tendeče čeke barayun ǰüg-tür* 20 *kedün qonoγ badaralaǰu yabuγsayar J̌irong-qašur-un suburγan-a oyira yaǰar nige bisiqan* [= *bičiqan*] *qoton-a kürübei*: *tendeče činaγsi mörgül-iyer yabuγsan Tübed-ün* 5 *kümün-tei qamturaǰu yabuγsan bida*: *tede ulus-un nigen inu qonin-dur ačiy-a-tai*: *nige bisiqan* [= *bičiqan*] *noqai-tai aǰi bele*: *tendeče činaγči* [= *činaγši*] *Daymu-luyiǰin kemekü suburγan-ača činaγsi nige edür-ün ayil ügei ayulayin enggir-tü kürüǰü qonoǰu bayitala*: *söni-yin qayas-un üy-e-dü bičiqan noqai-yi irbis ireǰü abuγačiγsan bui*: *tende masi yeke ayuǰu uqayan-tai uqayan ügei-yin qoγoramda* [= *qoγorumda*] *bolaǰu* [10b] *tere darui γal yeke tülegseger üür sayilyaǰu* [= *čayilyaǰu*] *amidui qonobai bida*: *tendeče ǰalbariγsayar Daymu-luyiǰin kemekü suburγan-a mörgüǰü küsel-iyen qanubai*: *ene suburγ-a anu yeke čečeglig ayulayin eris sabčima* [= *čabčima*] *aru-yin öndör yaǰara bisiqan* [= *bičigan*] *bayising ger-ün tuqai böged*: *dotor-a altan qayirsay-tur* [= *qayir-čaγ-tur*] *qan köbegün-ü šaril bui gene baras-tur bey-e-ben ögkü-yin čaγ-tu nom-tu debil-iyen elgügsen modon kemeǰü bayiqu-yi üǰebei*: *tendeče barayun qoyitu ǰüg-tür nige qonoγ yabuǰu yeke tala yaǰara J̌irong-qašur suburγan-a kürüǰü mörgün sögüdübei bida*: *ende bečin ǰil-ün ebül-ün ekin saradu kürüged*: *takiy-a ǰil yarutala endeben mörgül ergil kiǰü bayiγsan bida*: *ene üy-e-dü Tübed-ün mörgülčin olan iredeg*: *teden-ni dayaǰu tusuγar busu mörgül-ün oron-nuγud-tur ču yabuǰu mörgübei*: *ene suburγ-a anu Balbo-yin qayan-u qoto-yin ǰegün qoyina* 5 *modon-u tuqai yaǰara amui*: *ene suburγ-a-yin γurban-u nigen qubi anu yaǰar-tur singgegsen gedeg*: *edüge yaǰar degere qaraydaǰu bayiγsan anu qoyar dabqur vangrim*: *tegün-ü degere bumba*: *tegün-ü degere dörbelǰin tebker niγur*: *dörben tala-dur öber-iyen bütügsen* (*melmei*) *nidü yaruγsan bui*: *tegün-ü degere altan čoyinggur čüsüm bui*: *oroi degere-ben doγ gangǰir-tai bui*: *kemǰiy-e-yi bayčayamǰilabasu boγda-yin küriyen-ü batu čayan-ača bisiqan* [= *bičiqan*] *yeke bolbau*: *vangrim metü-nüd-ün deger-e-eče noγoγ-a urayaǰu yeke qayučin düri-tei boluγsan bui*: *sara büri-yin* 3 *doγšin-dur buyan-tan gürgüm-ün šigüsü ergüdeg bayina* [11a] *čiγulγan-u takil bolγan ayuu yeke takil beledčü ergüdeg*: *basa qayuraγsan čayan buday-a tala yaǰar-tu ayui yeke-ber oboyalaǰu čimegleged takil bolγan ergüdeg bui*: *Balbo-yin qayan-u qoto-yi Enedkeg-ün Nipal kemedeg*

Tübed-ner Yangpuu gedeg: Balbo-yin qayan-u qoto-yin barayun qoyitu ǰüg-tü nige modon-u yaǰara bisiqan [= *bičiqan*] *ayulayin oroi degere Γuma-sala-yanda-a kemekü subury-a bui: ene edüge maryasi Payba-šingkün kemekü-dür nereyidemüi: ene subury-a-du mörgügsen-ü ači tusa-yi tusuyar quriyangyui garšiy-tur* [= *yarčiy-tur*] *nomlaysan bayibaču Langru lüngden kemekü sudur-tur todorqai delgerenggüi bui: barayun qoyitu ǰüg-tü Ri-langru kemekü nigen ayulayin oroi degere burqan Šigemüni-yin čilayun sirege bui gekü: tere ayulan-a qooratan ariyatan olan tula tegün-e mörgüǰü ese čidabai: ene Balbo-yin qayan-u ordon anu kedün dabqur altan degebüri-tei: olan dabqur songqu-tai* [= *čongqu-tai*] *Ros mayay-un bayising bui: uridayin qayad-un ordon anu kedün dabqur altan degebüri-tei: altan qayaly-a-tai qayučiraysan ordo qarsi bayinam: ene oron-a čereg-ün surayuli yeke kideg: čereg-ün ulus-un qubčad ba surayuli kikü yangǰu anu manu Ros-un čereg-lüge adali bui: yerüngki Balboyin ulus anu Ros yangǰu-yin qubčadtai bögetele: orkimǰi kigsen metü qaraydaqu: ša-a-qai yutul--tai: ekener inu qabar-iyan nüküleǰü süike ǰegügsen: čikin inu olan nüke-tei: yar-un toqoi-ača urayči* [= *uruyši*] *olan dabqur buyay ba bisleg-tei:* [11b] *köl-ün šayai-dur buyay-tai: köl-ün qurayun-a bisleg-tei: debil -ün emün-e qoramoi-yi quniyalaysan tegün-iyen teberin yabuqu: üsün-iyen oroi degere-ben ǰanggilaysan eyimü ǰang-tai: tere inu čimeg yoyoltu amui: qoyitu qormoi ügei šiquu: bulčin anu qaraydaǰu yabuday: ene qoton-a bisiqan* [= *bičiqan*] *süme subury-a-nud neng olan: toyalaǰu ülü baraydamui: ǰarim subury-a-yin bumba anu böörüngki mongsoyor* [= *mongčoyor*] *Ros süm-e-yin mayay-tai bui: ene oron-a yadayadu dotoyadu yosun-u šasin urida-ača bayiysan gen-e: ene qoton-a nigen edür yabutala: nigen sümeyin dergede olan Balbo-yin ulus čiyulǰu buu olan-ta talbiǰu kenggerge deledčü bayiysan-ni üǰebesü nige bisiqan* [= *bičiqan*] *ma-a-qai üker nigen imay-a-tai buudaǰu alayad: čisun-i süme-degen sačuǰu bayiysan bui: ene metü olan ǰüil-ün üǰegdel bui: yambar ču učir anu ülü medegdenem: tende tusuyar Vangčuy-činbo-yin Pobrang kemekü nigen yeke altan degebüri-tei süme bui: yadayadu yosutan anu tegün-e mörgüdeg yangǰa-tai: ene Balbo-yin yaǰar anu: ǰegün barayun qoyar tala degeči-ben* [= *teši-ben*] *yeke qolo kedün sarayin yaǰar bui: urayči* [= *uruyši*] *qoyiči-ban* [= *qoyiši-ban*] *oyiraqan* 15-*ača* 20 *kürtele qonoy-un yaǰar gemüi: ene oron anu neng dulayan ebül ǰun-u ilyal ügei šiquu: buday-a tariy-a neng elbeg tariday: ǰambay-a sečeg-ün* [= *čečeg-ün*] *modon ba busu qusi qulusun metü ǰüil büri-yin em-ün* [12a] *ebüsü modod yaruday urayuday bui: mal olan ügei: oltoriy metü keseg keseg yaǰar-nud-tur makiy üker sarluy terigüten bayiday bui: ene yaǰar-a miq-a qobor tariy-a buday-a neng elbeg-iyer idemüi: endeki ulus anu aq-a yeke-degen mörgüged köl-eče-*[*n*]*i adis abuday ǰangsil-tai: ǰisü-ni širügür nariqan šarai-tai* [= *čirai-tai*] *bey-e inu oruy üsü-tei: kelen inu qurča tarni-yin kele-tei ulus amui: ene oron-a altan mönggön ǰes temür terigüten-ü urlaly-a-yin oron neng sayin olan bui: ende qulayai ügei amuyulang oron bolbau: gemten ulus-i üǰegsen ügei bi: ene qoton-a nige yeke amitan bui: ǰayan-ača bisiqan* [= *bičiqan*]

bay-a : *qabar degere-ben nige eber-tei* : *niruyun degere inu layoi namǰir toqaysan metü* : *arisun anu teyimü üy-e-tei* : *qoyar kŏl-i gengǰilegsen eyimü amitan ebüsü ideǰü bayiysan-i üǰebei* : *egün-ni Tübed-ner serü-lang* (*Tib.* : *bse-ru lang*) *kemen nereledeg bui* : *ende boru ǰayan olan bui* : *ene Balbo-yin oron-du blam-a-nar-tu mörgügsen ügei bida* : *kele-yi ülü medekü tula merged ba blam-a-nar-i taniǰu ese čidaysan bui* : *ene oron-a ilangyui-tu aldarsiysan anu degereki yurban subury-a bui* : *ene yurban subury-a-yin široi nabča* [= *abča*] *ǰalaǰu asaraysan* [= *ačaraysan*] *bi* : *endeče takiy-a ǰil-ün čayan sarayin sineyin* 2-*un edür-eče gedürge bučaǰu barayun qoyitu ǰüg-tü Luu-čümig-ǰirǰa* (Tib. : *Klu chu mig brgya-rtsa*) *kemekü oron-a kürüǰü mörgüged* : *bučaqu-yi kelelčeged yabubai bida* : *tendeče barayun qoyitu ǰüg-tür* [12b] 20 *qonoy-un tuqai yabuǰu Bukari nere-tei nigen qoton-dur kürübei* : *tendeče mön barayun qoyitu ǰüg-tür* 10 *yarun qonoy-un yaǰara yeke tuliǰu yabuysan bi* : *tede inu Balbo ču busu* : *Tübed ču busu* : *ede qoyar-un qoyordumdaki ulus böged* : *alin-u ču qariy-a-tu-yi ese medebei* : *ǰarim yaǰara* 20-*ača* 30 *kürtele ayil-ud-un yaday-a yuyuǰu nige idekü yulir-un tedüi qoyol olaǰu yabubai* : *ǰarim yaǰara qalayai meker manggir bučalyaǰu ayuǰu masi yeke ǰüderlege üǰeǰü yabuysan bi* : *tere üy-e kedün sara miqan-u ǰüil iden ügei yabuysayar kiy ebedčin-tei bolaǰu noyir oytu kürükü ügei boluysan bui* : *teyin yabuysayar bayitala Tübed-ün ǰiq-a Lu-čümig-ǰirča* [= *ǰirǰa*] *kemekü yaǰara oyirataǰu* : *tere yaǰar-un üker milang-du ükügsen inu ǰily-a-du bayiysan-ni üǰeǰü* : *tendeben* 10 *kedün qonoy-tu tere miq-a-yi ideǰü bayiralayad* : *činayči* [= *činayši*] *yabuǰu Lu-čümig-ǰirča* [= *ǰirǰa*] *kemekü yaǰara kürübei bida: ene yaǰar anu Tübed Balbo-yin qoyoramdaki* [= *qoyorumdaki*] : *Tübed-ün činaduyar büselegsen ayula dotora nige yaǰar-ača ǰayun ekitei bulay yaraǰu bayiday bui* : *basa tende nige süm-e dotor široi čilayun ba usun-ača ǰöng-degen badaraysan yal degere toyo-a tabiǰu čai bučaly-a ču* [= *bučalyaǰu*] *bolqu ǰerge-tei čingy-a yal bui* : *ene yal-ud-i üǰegsen darui bodotu yal mön bolbau kemen yar-iyan dotor-*[*n*]*i kiǰü qalaysan bida* : *masi yayiqamsiy-i üǰeǰü ede bügüde-dür mörgübei* : *ene yal-ud-i uridayin Enedkeg-ün nayan siditen-ü nigen-ü* [13a] *ridi qubilyan-iyar bayiyuluysan keǰiy-e čay ürgülǰide ene čilen ǰöng-degen badaraǰu bayiday gekü bui* : *tendeče barayun qoyitu ǰüg-tür Ariy-Gantis-e časutu Dayšin Madoi-čo* : *Mapam dalai kemekü yeke mörgül-ün oron-nuyud bui kemen sonosču* : *Tübed Bonbo* : *Qurba oboy-tai ulus-un dumdayur badar bariysayar* 2 *sara tuqai yabuǰu Ariy-yin nutuy-un ǰiq-a-dur kürüged* : *Gantis-e-yin emün-e Madoi-čo-dur kürüǰü* 6 *qonoy yabuǰu toyooribai* : *ene Madoi-čo nayur toyoriyad* 6 *bisiqan* [= *bičiqan*] *k*[*e*]*yid bui* : 1 *inu šarayin šasin-u böged* : *busud anu ulayan-u ündüsün-ü k*[*e*]*yid bui* : *ene dalai-ača* 4 *ǰüg-tür* 4 *mörün yaruysan gedeg bayina* : *ilete yaraǰu bayiysan anu ülü medegdemüi* : *golo yaǰar doyuyar ayula-nud-un činadu bisiqan* [= *bičiqan*] *bulay metü yaruyad* : *ulum yeke boluysayar mörün bolǰu uračaysan* [= *urusaysan*] *gekü bui* : *doron-a ǰüg-tür yaruysan J̌ang mörün-ü eki Dimsoy-ka kememüi* : *emün-e ǰüg-tür yaruysan anu Gangya mörün-ü eki Marǰa-a-ka kememüi* : *örüne ǰüg-tür yaruysan anu Sengge-ka*

kememüi: *ene inu barayun degesi* [= *teši*] *Ariy dumdayur yeke mörün bolǰu ursuysan genem*: *umara ǰüg-tür yaruysan anu Langčin-ka kemekü Sidi mörün bolǰu ursuysan bui genem*: *mön Madoi-čo-giyn emün-e ǰüg-tü Dangsurang-ri kemekü möngke sačutai* [= *časutai*] *ayula bui böged*: *qoyitu ǰüg-tü-ni Gangtis-e časutu ayula kemen nigen yeke öndör dümdür baling-un kelbertei möngke časutai ayula bui*: *mön ene dalai-ača barayun emün-e ǰüg-tür 3 qonoγ-un* [13b] *yaǰara Goǰ-a J̌uu Rigsüm-gonbo kemekü* 3 *nangdin sitügen-e kürüǰü mörgübei*: *tendeče čeke qoyitu ǰüg-tü* 7—8 *qonoγ-un yaǰar-a Tat-a büri-yin oron bui*: *ene inu Gangtis-e ayulan-u barayun engger-tü bui*: *ende olan ayui bui*: *öber-iyen bütügsen čilayun suburγ-a-nud ba burqan-nuγud-un düri olan bui*: *burqan-u gegen-ü mutur-iyan čimeglegsen qalayun rasiyan bui*: *tendeče Gangrai-peldung ǰaladay bui*: *biber tendeki sümeyin qoyar-tu kedün qaday šangbai ergüǰü* 1 *ǰayun tuqai peldung ǰalaysan bui*: *ene oron-a kedün qonoγ mörgül ergil kiǰü bayiγsan bi*: *tendeče ǰegün degeči-ben* [= *teši-ben*] 2 *qonoγ yabuǰu Gangtis-e-yin ebür-tü kürübei*: *ene Gangtis-e-yin Γorru-a-dur toyoriǰu ǰun-u ekin sara-ača qoyiši neng olan kümün čiγulaǰu mörgül ergil kiǰü bayiday*: *ene üy-e kedün ǰayun kümün mörgül ergil kiǰü yabuǰu bayiγsan aǰi*: *ǰun-u ekin sarayin* 13: 14: 15-*u*: 3 *edür-tü yabuǰu nigen ergiǰü iregsen bi*: *ene Gangtis-e-yin* 4 *ǰüg-tür burqan-u* 4 *yeke čilayun-a ölmei-ber geǩgiǰü ayilduysan ileken qonggorqai ölmei-yin oro mör bayiday bui*: *ǰegün barayun qoyar-a mörgübei*: *čeke qoyina-ni ergikü ǰam-dur Dolma-yin dabuγ-a kemekü časutu dabuγ-a bui*: *tegün-ü oroi degere nigen yeke čilayun-a* 21 *Dara-eke singgegsen gedeg yeke nangdin čilayun bui*: *ǰegün emün-e ǰüg-tür ridi qubilyan-u ayui kemekü bui*: *ene inu Mila boγda ridi qubilyan-iyar ger-ün qan-a-yin tuqai-tai* 3 *yeke qabtaγai čilayuu-yi bosγoγad*: 1 *yeke qabtaγai čilayuu-bar oroi-yi bürkügeged*: *dotor inu* [14a] *oroqu getele terigün-iyen tulyurdaqui-dur degedü čilayun-i terigün-iyer qonggorqai bolγaysan oro-ni ileken bui bayina*: *čilayun degere ölmei-ber geǩkiǰü ǰalaraysan anu šabar degere yabuysan-luγ-a adali ölmei-yin mör yaruysan anu yayiqamsiγ-tai bui*: *ene inu yeke mörögül-ün* [= *mörgül-ün*] *oron bui*: *basa nigen čilayun degere üker-ün ileken mör bayiqu-yi üǰebei*: *ene oron-ača* 15 *qonoγ-un tuqai yaǰar-a Ariy-yin Laday kemekü k*[*e*]*yid bui kemen sonosbai*: *masi olan šabinar-tai gekü*: *tendeki ulus qonin-dur ačiγ-a tegeǰü yabuday ǰangsil-tai amui*: *bayaliγ-ud anu kedün ǰayun mingγan qonin-dur eldeb yaγum-a ačiǰu sarayin ču yaǰar-a yabuday bui*: *tende Gangtis-e terigüten-e mörgül ergil-iyen kiǰü güičeged*: *emün-e-dür nigen qonoγ bayiǰu amurayad inaγsi-ban bučaqu kemelčeǰü bayitala minu nökör Mongyol anu*: *barayun emün-e ǰüg-tür Indar-a nilayin Pobrang-dur kürüǰü mörgükü küsel-tei bolaǰu inaysi činaysi salaqu bolbai*: *salaǰu yabuqu-dayan bey-e bey-e-degen irügel talbilčaǰu*: *Lhasa J̌uu-giyn altan qayalyan-a ayulǰay-a kemen dayudalčaγsayar salabai*: *tendeče inaγči* [= *inaγši*] *Kurba oboγ-tai Mongyol ǰon-u nutuγ dumdayur badar bariγsayar qoyar sara tuqai yabuǰu Namri kemekü k*[*e*]*yid-tür kürüǰü mörgübei bi*: *tendeče Lhabǰi kemekü* [14b] *k*[*e*]*yid-tür kürüǰü mörgüged*: *inaγči* [= *inaγši*] *yabuǰu J̌ang*

mörün-ni šir ongyočabar yaruǰu Saǰ-a bančin-u k[e]yid-tür kürüǰü mörgübei: ene k[e]yid yeke qadayin eber engger-tü bui: ulayan čayan eldeb qara barayan buday-tai öngge-tei k[e]yid-ner olan bui: kedün mingyan šabinar-tai amui: ende nigen qonoy bayiǰu mörgüged inayči [= inayši] 5 qonoy yabuǰu Nartang k[e]yid-tür mörgübei: ende Gangǰiur Dangǰiur terigüten ayui yeke olan nom-ud-un keb gbar bayiday: tende taniqu Mongyol ulus bayiysan: Saǰi bančin-u k[e]yid-eče qas [= qayas] edür-ün tuqai yabuǰu Dasi-lhunbo-dur kürüǰü mörgübei: ene k[e]yid dotor 14 altan degebüri-tei süme bui: Bančin-erdeni terigülen olan yekes kiged ǰalaraǰu bayiday amui: qural-un šabinar anu šar-a ǰingči-tei [= ǰangči--tai]: šar-a sabri-tai [= čabri-tai]: olan mingyan šabinar-tai aǰuyu: tende gačin mingdag tabiday: tendeče 10 kedün qonoy yabuǰu J̌uu-giyn Brayibung k[e]yid-tegen: takiy-a ǰil-ün namur-un dumda sarayin üy-e-dü irebei: ende nigen sara tuqai bayiyad: blam-a gebküi-eče nutuy bučaqu-yin soyarqal [= soyurqal] abuyad: Lhasa-du bayuǰu: namur-un dumda-yin 22 edüre Sampuu--šoyiǰong-ača [= čoyiǰong-ača] Lhasa degere kedün blam-a-nar-luy-a qamtu Sampuu gabǰu-yin mingday olǰo gšoy tamay-a-yi ǰalaǰu kürteged gabǰu bolčuqui: endeki oron-nuyud-a mörgüǰü küsel-iyen qanuyad: nutuy-tayan bučaqu geǰü kedün yabuyan ulus-luy-a [15a] qamturaǰu namur-un segül-ün sineyin 3-u edür-e Lhasa-ača inaysi yaruǰu Nayčiu qara usun-a kürübei: tendeče olan ǰam saladay bui: qoyitu ǰam-iyar yabuqu gebesü yabuyan kümün-dü neng berke yabuqu-yin ary-a ügei: dumda ǰam-iyar Kamba: Dargiy: J̌oloy: Naiman qočiyuu [= qošiyu] terigüten ulus-un nutuy dumdayur yabuysayar ebül-ün segül sarayin 27-u edür Labring [= Labrang] k[e]yid-tür kürüǰü irebei: Qangba [= Qamba] yaǰar-a k[e]yid süme olan: Gangǰiur terigüten yeke kölgen nom-ud-un keb olan bayimui: J̌oloy kemekü ulus anu degermečin ulus bui: öber-ün nutuy dumdayur yabuysan nayimayčin mörgülčin-i degermededeg: teyimü-eče yeke ǰögeri-tei: unay-a-tai kösge-tei: yabudalčin ulus qoyitu ǰam-iyar yabuday bui: ede ulus čereg metü olan-iyar čiyulaǰu kedün sarayin yaǰara degerem-e kiǰü yabuqu ba: öber ǰayuraban ču adayuu mal bolun ǰögeris-iyen degermedelčiǰü abulčaqu ba öber öber ǰayura čeregleǰü alalčaqu ču bui: tere yaǰara nigen kümün-i alabasu: qonin-ača sarluy kürtele mal-iyar yala tölöged: qauli-yin yama-dur orul ügei yaruday eyimü ǰangsil-tai ulus bui: Labring [= Labrang] degere J̌imyang-šadba-yin gegen-e mörgübei: endeben čayan sara yarutala mörgül ergil kiǰü bayiyad: noqai ǰil-ün čayan sarayin 20-u edür ene Labring [= Labrang] k[e]yid-eče olan mörgülčin-lüge [15b] qamturaǰu yaruyad inayči [= inayši] Kitad nutuy dumdayur Saǰu qoto ba Langǰuu qoto-nud-i dayariǰu nige sara tuqai yabuǰu Alayša-a Yamun-puu qoton-a kürübei: ene Saǰu qoto anu Quyiqui-yin qoto bui: Langǰuu qoton-a barayun ǰüg-i ǰakiruyči yünde (gineral güberanator) noyan sayuday: ene Langǰuu qoto anu urida čay-tu Mongyol-un Qubilai čečen qayan-u sayuysan ordon gedeg bui: tendeče inayči [= inayši] yabuǰu dumda gün-ü nutuy-un Üker qaryan-a kemekü-yin ayui-dur kürüǰü mörgübei: tendeče inayči [= inayši] Qalq-a Mongyol-un J̌ing-ča vang-un nutuy dumdayur yabuy-

sayar ǰun-u dumda saradu Boγda-yin küriy-e kürüǰü : degereki-yin gegen terigülen blam-a baγsi-nar-a mörgübei : endeben 5 *qonoγad inaγči* [= *inaγši*] *yabuǰu öber-ün törögsen ečige eke-yin ger-tü oroǰu ečige eke-lüge ǰolγabai : neng yeke bayar bolbai : tendeče öber-ün Bultumor-un k*[*e*]*yid-tü kürüǰü blam-a baγsi--nar-iyan barayalaqaǰu mörgüged : olan quvaray nökös-lüge učirabai : edeger yeke oron-nuγud-tur mörgül ergil kiǰü yabuγsan-a ene tedüi tobči domoγ bolγan bičiǰü tegüsgebei : ene metü mörgül ergil kigsen buyan-u küsüber* [= *küčüber*] : *emkenig-tü orsilang-un* [= *orčilang-un*] *dalai-ača tonilaqu minu boltuγai : : : :*

Translation

[2a] Let there be prosperity !

I, Lubčang-miǰid-dorǰi, the subject of the Russian *Bayatur Čaγan qaγan*[1] and the adherent of the *Nansong-gogag-damšoi-rabǰai-ling*[2] monastery from the *Qarnūd*[3] tribe of the second *Tabanaγud* [clan] of the Eight Western Banners of the Northern Buriats,[4] I, prepared [this] short description of that how I made a pilgrimage and circumambulation[5] in Khalkha,[6] in the Southern Mongolian Banners, in China, *Amdo*,[7] *Qamba-Dergiy*,[8] in the Tibetan province *Üi*[9] — the abode of the Dalai Lama — in the monastery of the *Bančin-erdeni*

[1] *Ros bayatur čaγan qaγan* — the Russian Emperor.

[2] Tib. *Ňan-soň sgo-'gags dam-čhos rab-rgyas gliň* "Monastery propagating higher knowledge and closing the doors of bad existences". — Bultumur Banner of the Selenga Buriats in Trans-Baikalia. It was founded in the second half of the 18th century.

[3] The Selenga Buriats arriving from Mongolia had their own name: *Naiman ečige* "Eight fathers" or "Eight forefathers". They settled down inside Russia and became mixed up here with Buriats arriving from the north and called *J̌iryuγan ečige* "Six fathers" or "Six forefathers". One of these forefathers was the head of the Qarnūd tribe joining 14 Buriat tribes; they began to call themselves the Eight Western Banners. (Cybikov's note).

[4] This last name was accepted by the Buriats already after the fixing of the border between China and Russia. Since then the Khalkha Mongols were called "South" and the Buriats "North". (Cybikov's note).

[5] Circumambulation — an act of devotion or worship among the Buddhists; they walk around a temple, pagoda, etc.

[6] Khalkha — it is Outer Mongolia, that is today the People's Republic of Mongolia without the Khalkhas of *Ulayan-čab*.

[7] Tib. *'A-mdo* in the Kukunor area (*Qinghai*).

[8] Five Banners are situated on the southern border of Tibet; one of them is called *Khamba-Dergiǰ*. (Cybikov's note).

[9] Tib. *Dbus*.

of *Jang*,[10] in *Ariy*,[11] *Gangtis-e*,[12] *Tügbiy-yin oron, Dayingǰung, Luuba*,[13] *Nepal, J̌irong-qašur*,[14] and at other (places).

[3a] In 1882 (according to the calendar) of the Great Russian Empire, or in the Mongolian Water-Horse Year of the fifteenth rabǰung,[15] on the tenth day of the eight, Hen Month, when I was twenty-five years old, I left home and getting a passport from the frontier commissar of Kiakhta, after five days' journey I arrived at *Boγda-yin küriye* (Urga).

Bowing to the Holy J̌ibcun-damba,[16] I asked the great sages there, whether I would have luck and success to reach Tibet and make a pilgrimage there, and to other famous places. When they answered: "You will" — I trusted this prophecy, and after staying for twenty more days (in Urga) and making friends with some people, on the 10th day of the last autumn month, I started on foot from Urga and in 10 days I reached the high mountain called *Qayiraqan bayan ulaγan*.[17] It was the pasture land of the Khalkha *Ǔi-ǰeng gün*[18] Banner. Travelling on from here to the south-west, I reached the mountain called *Γurban sayiqan* in about 20 days. It is the pasture land of the *Γobi Tüsiy-e gün*. After paying my honour in the *Sang-un dalai* temple, I travelled on and in 15 days I reached the border of the pasture land of the Urat middle *gün*. A border mark, an *obo* is situated there, similar to scissors. Farther from this place there are the pasture lands of the Southern Banner. Walking on from here to the south-west, I arrived at the *Tügüm* monastery situated on the pasture lands of the *Alaγša vang*[19] and I paid my honour here. About a thousand *šabinar*[20] lived in it.

[10] Tib. *Gcaṅ*.

[11] Tib. *Mṅa'-ris* (*khor-gsum*) in Western Tibet.

[12] Tib. *Gaṅs Ti-se* "Snowy Ti-se" — mountain of *Kailāsa* in the western part of Tibet.

[13] *Glo-ba* or *Blo-ba*; tribes of the southern slope of Eastern Himalaya. Cf. L. Petech's note in A. Ferrari's *Mk'yen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet*. Rome 1958. p. 122, note 212.

[14] Tib. *Bya-ruṅ kha-šor mčhod-rten* — famous *stūpa* North-East of Khatmandu, its description and legend see L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*. Cambridge 1959, pp. 315–316. Cf. also LOIVAN Mong Q. 430, Tibeto-Mongolian print of *Kiǰingge*; see D. Kara, *Knigi Mongol'skich kočevnikov*. Moscow 1972. p. 110.

[15] The fifteenth *rab-byuṅ* was between 1867–1926.

[16] Tib. *Rǰe-bcun-dam-pa*. In 1882 eight Rǰe-bcun dam-pa Khutukhtu was in power. A. M. Pozdneev, *Urginskie Chutuchty. Istoričeskij očerk ich prošlago i sovremennago byta*. p. 389.

[17] Cf. *Bayan ulayan* near *Qayirqan ayula*, last station of the postal relay route between *Sayin usu* and *Yeke Küriyen*, v. Heissig — Sagaster, *Mongolische Handschriften Blockdrucke Landkarten*. Wiesbaden 1961. n° 732.

[18] Mong. *üiǰeng* a title

[19] Cf. Map No. 672. in Heissig — Sagaster, *op. cit.*, and W. Heissig, *Mongolische Ortsnamen* II. Wiesbaden 1958.

[20] *šabinar* — plural for of *šabi* "disciple, student, pupil" but usually used to refer

After 5 days' travel from here I reached a place called *J̌iratay-yin dabusun-bayising*. Travelling on from here for five more days I arrived to Yangpu,[21] to the town of the *Alayša vang*. To the east of this town, in a half day's journey's distant there is the Eastern *Alašan* monastery, and to the South, also in a half-day's journey's distant there is the Southern Alašan monastery. The holy relics of the Dalai Lama *Čangyang-ǰamco*[22] are preserved there. [3b] At the eastern side of this town, at about 70 versts to the north and to the south, there are wonderful mountains, called the *Alašan* mountains, that rise rich in several kinds of medical herbs and different kinds of trees, such as aloe, sandal,[23] pines, cedrus, and others.

Moving on from this town for seven days to the south-west, I arrived at the place: *Tengri elesün*. It is a hundred li[24] in width — or 50 Russian versts — and very difficult to pass. If there was wind or snow-storm, it would be quite impossible to cross. In the middle of it there is an *obo* put up by *Bančen erdeni* (*Bančen boγda*) and another one at the eastern end put up by the Boγda gegen. The sand forms high and steep banks here.

Travelling on to the west for about three days, I reached the place: *Čilaγun ongγoča*. A road led from it to the south-west towards *Blabarang*.[25] Following the western road leading to *Kumbum*,[26] at a distance of about one day's journey there was the *Sayang-čing Gate* (of the Great Chinese Wall — A. S.; D. Yo) that is the border of the Chinese land. Walking on and passing by the town J̌unglung[27] I crossed some river[28] and travelling farther for some more days I passed the mountain pass: *Tengri dabuγa*. Then, passing by the

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to the so-called "church herdsmen" commoners who were subjects of the monasteries the lowest rank of clerical adherent, who devoted their time to caring for the herds of the church. A. M. Pozdneev, *Mongolia and the Mongols*. Bloomington 1971. p. 497.

[21] *Yangpuu* — residence of the *Alashan* prince, also called: *Ding-yuan-fu*, *Wang-yuan-fu*, *Yamun qota*, *Alayša-yamun*.

[22] Dalai Lama Chaṅs-dbyaṅs rgya-mcho, the sixth Tibetan Dalai Lama (1683—1706).

[23] The translation kept in the Archives of Orientalists preserved the Mongolian double word: *ayar ǰandan* suggesting that it is a certain kind of tree. Anyhow, it seems probable that two separate words — *ayar* "cyprus" and *ǰandan* "sandal" — are in question here.

[24] Li, Mong. *yaǰar* — measure of length, approximately 576 m.

[25] *Labrang*, Tib. *Bla-braṅ bkra-šis-'khyil*; *Dpal-ldan bkra-šis-'khyil*, monastery situated at the north-eastern part of Tibet and founded in 1709. Cf. J. F. Rock, The *Amnye Ma-chhen* Range and Adjacent Regions. Rome 1956, p. 161.

[26] Tib. *A-mdo sku-'bum byams-pa gliṅ*, monastery and town founded in 1583 at the birth-place of *Coṅ-khapa*. Cf. Das, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*. Calcutta 1902, p. 90, etc.

[27] *J̌unglung* — Mongolian name of the Chinese town of Pinghuacheng.

[28] It is probably the river that has also bore the name of the town of *J̌unglung*

town of *Ningbi*,[29] I arrived at the place called *Maršang lha*.[30] The relics of the complete dried body[31] of lama *Lhalung-bal-dorǰi*[32] are preserved there on the northern bank of the river *Dayitan*, at a sunny slope of a mountain pass. After worshipping it I went on and arrived at the town *Šining*. The miraculous statue of *Čoyiǰal*[33] of blue colour stands there. I paid homage to him.

One day's journey from here there lay *Kumbum*. From the Gate of *Sayang-čing* to *Kumbum* was 20 days' journey. As for Kumbum, I paid my honour to its huge golden temple called Lhakan-činmo[34] of the Holy *Coṅ-kha-pa* satisfying my wishes. I stayed there making worships till the New Year.

To the north-east (from Kumbum) at a distance of two days' journey there is the *Ser-kög* monastery.[35] More than a thousand *šabinar* live in it. [4a] To the east from it at a half-day's journey there is the *Čoyibčang* monastery. The ten-thousand leafed sandal tree of gold and silver, that had grown at the birth-place of the Holy *Coṅ-kha-ba*, is preserved in a suburγan in the temple *Serǰin-šinmo*[36] [*Serdon-čenmo*] in the above mentioned *Kumbum-ǰimbaling* monastery. At the gate of this temple, there is another sandal tree, too, with some branches that grew from the roots of that first tree. It is tremendously wonderful, that the leaves and the roots of this tree bear the holy letters on them. At the entrance of another temple some white sandal trees also grow there with holy letters on them.

It is said that when the army of the disbeliever Muslims entered this *Kumbum* monastery, the stone lions standing at the gate of *Serǰin činmo* began to growl and [the enemy] fired a volley, [but] stopped.

While the New Year's *yörööls*[37] were recited, disputes also took place here for the degree of rabǰimba.[38] To denote [the beginning of] the religious service a big drum was beaten. The *šabinar*, — some thousands of the *Tan-*

[29] *Ningbi* = *Nianboxian*

[30] A monastery with the same name is also situated there, and holy relics are preserved in it, as mentioned by the author later.

[31] This expression refers to the whole embalmed and dried body of a saint lama or khan. (Cybikov's note).

[32] Tib. *Lha-luṅ phal-rdo-rǰe*, a lama-hermit who killed the Tibetan ruler *Glaṅ-darma* in 842, who was a severe persecutor of Buddhism.

[33] Tib. *Čhos-rgyal*, Mong. *Erlig nom-un qaγan*, Skr. *Dharmarāja Yama*.

[34] Tib. *Lha-khaṅ čhen-mo*.

[35] Tib. *Gser-khog* — another name of the same monastery is *Dga'-ldan dam-čhos-gliṅ*.

[36] *Serǰin-sinmo* — another name of the above mentioned temple *Lha-khaṅ čhen-mo*.

[37] Tib. *smon-lam*.

[38] Tib. *rab-'byuṅ*, the first scholarly degree in the *Grva-chaṅ* of *Mchan-ñid*. The other degrees are: Mong. *dooramba*, *gabǰu*, *cogramba* and *lharamba*. See Pozdneev, Waddell.

guts,[39] *J̌igdur-s*,[40] *Mongols* and others — gather together for the service. There are four datsans there with four different kinds of subjects: *čanid*, *čǰud*, *duyingkor* and *manba*.[41] On the 15th day of the New Year's month, two great offerings are prepared and presented. A large crowd of people gather together and they pray and circumambulate [the holy relics of the monastery]. These two great offerings are called: the offerings of the 15th day [Tib. *bčo-lṅa'i mchod-pa*]. The temples of *Nayisung-čoyiǰing* [= Nayičung-čoyiǰong] and that of *Lonbo-soyiǰing* ([= Lonbo čoyiǰong][42] are to be found there as well.

To the north of this monastery, not very far, there is the town of *Luučar*. The devil, *Luuči-šoyiǰung* [= Luuči-čoyiǰong][43] possessed a Chinese there. The *J̌igor* people living here have Chinese customs.

The Kumbum monastery is situated at the mouth of a mountain passage facing to the north-east. On both sides of the *Čoγčin* temple, the *Sereǰin-činmo* temple, and other temples there are the residences of several khutukhtus and great lamas, namely the residences or *Aǰy-a gegen*,[44] *Singǰa gegen* [*Singsa*],[45] of *J̌igiγ gegen*,[46] *Siregetü gegen*, *Milang gegen*, and other [lamas].[47]

These lands are warm. The *šabinar* [4b] wear monk's garments. Grain is abundant. As for fuel, they use straw. Getting permission from the great sages of that place to travel to Western J̌uu[48] and pay honour there [to the relics], I left Kumbum together with many pilgrims and [people] from Upper Mongolia[49] who were also going to pay honour in Western J̌uu on the 17th day of the New Year's month, i.e. the Sheep Year's (1883) month.

[39] Mong. *Tangγud* — the tribes of Amdo are referred to by this name here.

[40] Mong. *J̌igdur* probably for *J̌ihōr*, Tib. *Rgya-hor*, name of a tribe of Mongolian origin leaving near Kumbum.

[41] In Kumbum there are four schools [grva-chaṅ] or faculties teaching philosophy *mchan-nid*, tantra *rgyud*, kālacakra *dus-'khor* and medicine *sman-pa*.

[42] Tib. *čhos-skyoṅ*, Skr. *dharmapāla*, fierce protectors of the Law and their human representatives or receptacles.

[43] Pozdneev gives: *Luusar* (p. 160).

[44] Tib. *A-kya*, reincarnation of *Coṅ-kha-pa's* father. R. Kaschewsky, Das Leben des Lamaistischen Heiligen Tsongkhapa Blo-bzaṅ-grags-pa (1357—1419) I, Wiesbaden 1971. p. 33, etc.

[45] Tib. *Šin-bza'a-čhos*, reincarnation of *Coṅ-kha-pa's* mother. Kaschewsky, *op. cit.* p. 245, Note 4.

[46] *J̌igig* — in other form: *J̌ayag*, *J̌ayig*.

[47] Here ends the translated description of Lubsan Midžid Dordži preserved in the Archives of Orientalists.

[48] There are two statues of Buddha Shākyamuni in Lhasa with the name *J̌uu*, Tib. *ǰo-bo*. The Mongols use this name to refer to their site, Lhasa, and also for the whole of Central Tibet.

[49] Degedü Mongol — Southern Mongolia.

Leaving Kumbum and travelling for about 3 days we reached the town of Dobo.[50] This is the town of the unbelieving Muslims. A five-storeyed temple is situated there, covered with a roof of green glazed tiles and with a golden dome. It is said that this golden dome was presented by the Holy Pančen. It is also said that earlier the Muslims living here had a miraculous ability to fly, but after putting up this dome on the top of the temple their magic power of flying declined.

In two days' journey from here we reached the monastery of *Donggor Manǰusiri* and paid our homage there. Leaving that place, after nearly five days' (travelling) in a western direction we arrived at *Köke nayur* lake. This is the pasture land of the *Rangγung Tangγuts*.[51] It is said that the land of the *Dimčüg* was situated by this lake. People could generally walk round the lake in 15 days, while they make worships and circumambulations. In the middle of the lake there is a big hill. It is said that there is a cave on it with hermits living in it.

Then, travelling on we crossed the river *Buγu-yin γool*,[52] passed over the *Nükütü* mountain-pass, and reached the rock called *Ganǰiur* that stands on the southern slope [of the mountain]. We paid honour there. It is said that *Lobbon Badm-a Sambuu-a*[53] erected that rock with the help of his magic power. The rock had the shape of a book.

Farther from *Köke nayur* lake, at a distance of ten days' journey, there are the pasture lands of the Upper Mongols. We travelled for more than a month from Kumbum to the pasture-lands of the princes of the Upper Mongols.

[5a] Though the language of that people was Mongolian, their dress and customs were similar to those of the Tanguts. They fought sometimes with the *Rangγung Γoloγ-ud* and attacking each other they seized each other's goods. They always bore arms. Some of them lived under rather miserable circumstances. On the pasture lands of that people no great monastery or temple was built. Ceremonies are held only in one temple-hall. Their cattle are many, and their lands are large — mainly steppes. This huge country consists of many banners. People were very helpful here, and supported the pilgrims and wanderers travelling to Western J̌uu. Even those who had nothing with them could obtain a supply of food by reading prayers and sutras, and could travel on. In this country I stayed for about two months.

[50] Pozdneev gives: *Duba* (p. 167).

[51] *Rangγung* (*Rangai*) Tib. *Mgo-log* — Tibetan nomad tribe in *Amdo*. Rock, *op. cit.* pp. 122–129.

[52] Pozdneev (p. 173) and Cybikov (p. 57) give — *Buhain gol*.

[53] Tib. *Slob-dpon Padmasambhava*.

Having some silver and coral of lower quality I bought a horse and an ass. At the beginning of the middle summer month of the same Sheep Year (1883), I joined the company of the local merchants, and of Tibetan and Mongolian merchants and pilgrims [altogether some hundred people] and travelling for more then a month I reached the Tibetan border at the place called *Nayčiu*. Deserted, uninhabited places lay between the pasture lands of the Upper Mongols and *Nayčiu*. It was impossible to travel across it with a small number of people, [because] of the robbers from the lands of the Goloks, and from other similar places, and also [because of] the dangerous wild animals. The land itself is rather dangerous as well. That is why one has to travel [5b] there with the guidance of a leader who knows the roads well, and one has to travel together with many other people, bearing arms: guns, spears, and swords, etc., like an army.

From among the wild animals, bulls, panthers, leopards, *kulans* [wild asses], mountain sheep (male and female), twist-horned antelops, deers, and other are to be found here. Some of those uninhabited places are *Anggir-tayšin*, *Düng-büriy-e*, *Köke-sil*, *Din-la*, *Danba*, and others. At these places, one could come across with a large number of skeletons of people, horses, camels, asses and mules. It is said that they died because of the poison of the land. When people get poisoned by the poison of the land, their blood turns blue, their faces become quite black and they begin to breath with difficulty and die. It is [also] said that if a good doctor let their blood out, [they] can recover.

Travelling on from Qara usun for about 20 days, in the last month of the summer I caught sight of the golden outlines of Lhasa, and I paid homage to the statue of the Holy Shakyamuni. I also paid honour to the Dalai Lama, the *Γaldan-Tiba*,[54] to many other holy persons and to several objects of worship and an unceasing feeling of joy arose in me.

I met lamas staying there [who came] from [our] northern districts and told them my adventures and joined the Khalkha *mičin* of the *samla-qamčin*.[55] I paid my honour to the abbot of *Qomang dasang* (= *Γomang dačang*) and asked him to sign and stamp [my permission], that I handed to the *geskü*[56] of the čanid of the *Γomang* [*dačang*] and began to study the *dondun*

[54] Tib. *dga'-ldan sde-pa* — a chief or governor of a province. Das, p. 65.

[55] All the monastic communities form a "great assembly" that is divided into faculties (*grva-chaṅ*), groups (*kamcang*), and smaller tribal group (*mičin*) that is the sub-group of the *kamcang*. E.g. Joining a monastery the Mongols who entered the *Brayi-bung* (*'Bras-dpuṅ*) monastery belonged to the *Γomang* (*Sgo-maṅ*); those in the *Sera* monastery to the *J̌eba dacan*; and those in the *Dga-'ldan* monastery to the *J̌anje*. Then, the Khalkhas had to join the samla *qamčin* in these *dacans*, and the other Mongols the *Kāmdan*.

[56] Tib. *ḍge-bskos*, a provost lama who keeps order during the services. Pozdneev, Mongolia and the Mongols, p. 485.

ǰüü[57] course in the monastery [6a]. I learnt in this monastery for about a year as a student of a teacher who taught me the holy teaching and I followed with joy the moral life of the *šabinar*s. In this *Brayibung*[58] monastery there are four great *dacan*s, namely: *γomang*, *losoi-ling*, *diyang* and *aγba*.[59] In the *aγba dacan* tantric ceremonies are hold, and the head lama presents the rituals: *qariγuly-a* and *gürüm*. There is a statue of Yamantaka[60] inside this *dacan*. It is said that it was consecrated by placing the relics of *Lama Rou-loǰaba*[61] in it. It is a special holy object of worship. This monastery is situated at 8 li to the north-west of Lhasa on the southern slope of the mountain *Gpal-riy*. In Russian versts it is about 4 versts.

Not far, to the north-east of this monastery near the road of circumambulation[62] the *čoiǰon* called *Danǰing čenmo* possessed women.

To the south-east at the distance of one *li*, there is a temple where *Nayiǰung čoyiǰong* lives. To the south from here also at the distance of one li, a *gebküi čoyiǰong* lives called *Danba-šal-oo γandan čoyiǰong* called *Nub-phyogs gsuṅ-gi rgyal-po* on the western side. It is said that along the road running around this monastery, a large number of statues are to be found that had come into being by themselves and they can utter predictions. On the northern side of the main temple, there is a huge statue of Manjusiri that is also supposed to originate by itself from a big stone. On the western side of this stone there is an identation in the form of a palm. It is said that *J̌imyang-čorǰi*[63] rested his hand here. A print of a small branch of a wild rose can also be seen, which — it is said — he pressed [to the rock].

On the 25th day of the first winter month, the streets were lighted [6b] by many torches placed there, and in a verst around there was brightness as if it was day-time. On the 29th day of the last winter month, a big *sor*[64] was brought out of the *Aγba dasang* and burnt. The main *gebküi* also arrived here

[57] Course of *dondun ǰüü*, the beginning stage of the five years' cycle of learning the moralistic philosophy of Buddhism.

[58] The monastery of *Drepung* situated about seven km to the west of Lhasa. It was founded by *'J̌am-dbyaṅs čhos-rǰe Bkra-šis dpal-ldan* (1379–1449). Cf. A. Ferrari, *op. cit.* pp. 96, 98; Kaschewsky, *op. cit.* p. 29.

[59] Seven *dacan-s* were in the *Drepung* monastery. Three of them were closed in the 18th century, and only the four mentioned here remained. In the first three *mchan-ñid* is studied, while in the *Agpa* (*Sṅags-pa*) — tantrism.

[60] *Yamāntaka* — fierce type of gods. One of the eight fearful defenders of Buddhism.

[61] *Ro-locaba* (*Rva-lo-ca-ba Rdorǰe-grapg-pa*) — according to the legend, as a result of a long meditation he acquired that Yamantaka was reborn in him and horns grew on his head — that are the attributes of the above mentioned god.

[62] *'khor-lam* — a road leading around a holy place, monastery or town along which people walk making a Buddhist ritual.

[63] *'J̌am-dbyaṅs čhos-rǰe* see Note 58.

[64] Tib. *zor*. — a triangular decorated pyramid made of dough.

and he shot an arrow. From this day on, up to the last day of the first month (of the new year), the regular ceremonies are suspended and festivals are kept. When high ranking personalities, such as abbots and main gebküi-s visit the monastery, the simple *šabinar* are generally not visible. *Šabinar* are so frightened, they do not even dare to glance [at those personalities].

In the morning of the 3rd day, when all the *šabinar* gather together [in front of the building of] *Čoyiǰong-činmo*,[65] he goes out and addressing the gathering of the *šabinar* explains the čoγdom,[66] i.e. the rules of performng the general service, the Lhasa *monlam*.[67] This day all the *šabinar* from *Ser-a*,[68] *Brayibung*, *Galdan*,[69] and other nearby monasteries gather together in Lhasa and take part in the Lhasa *monlam*.

During the period between the 2nd and the 22nd of the first New Year month, when prayers are read, the *gebküis* — both those of *Brayibung* and the main ones — have the right to judge anyone of the ten thousand of monks and lay people gathered there from Kashmir, Nepal, China or Mongolia, whether they committed any kind of sins — grave or minor. During the reading of the prayers, two high ranking and two lower *gebküi*-s are present. There twenty-one *gebyoγ*[70] with swords in their belts [7a] and with wooden clubs in their hands. During the prayers money and tea are distributed in large quantities from the treasure-house of the Dalai Lama. During the time of the prayers, disputes for the degree of *lharamba*[71] are performed too.

On the 15th day, a great offering is presented by the Holy *J̌ong-kapa*. This day the *šalčai*[72] offering is prepared and offered.

On the 22nd, the *šabinar* go back to their own *dasang*-s. But, in the middle spring month they again gather together in Lhasa and make a service *čingǰod monlam*[73] for ten days. The presentation of *čam*[74] follows after this service. A procession on an indescribable crowd walks around the palace of the Dalai Lama in Potala. It is wonderful. Disputes for the degree of *čoγramba*[75] take place during these prayers. The whole day a rich banquet is

[65] Tib. *chags-čhen dge-bskos, chogs-čhen žab-ńo* — director of monks in a monastery.

[66] Name of a ceremony.

[67] Tib. *smon-lam*, cf. Waddell, *op. cit.* p. 422, s. v. *monlam*.

[68] *Se-ra theg-čhen gliń*, monastery about four km to the north of Lhasa. It was founded in 1419, by *Šākya Ye-šes*, the disciple of *Coń-kha-pa*.

[69] *Dga-'ldan* — monastery, about 30 km to the east of Lhasa. It was founded in 1409. by *Coń-kha-pa*.

[70] Tib. *dge-b* (*skos-kyi*) *g-yog* — helper of the director of monks in a monastery.

[71] *lharamba* — see Note 38.

[72] Tib. *žal-zas* — a cake.

[73] Tib. *phyag-mjad smon-lam*.

[74] Tib. *'čham*; Modern Mong. *cam*.

[75] See Note 38.

served and several *sor-baling*[76] rituals are prepared, using offering objects in the form of human figures. At the end of it, everybody returns [to his own *dacan*], just as before. It is said that in old times, about 70,000 *šabinar* gathered together for these Lhasa prayers. Even now, there were about 50,000 present.

The temple of the Lhasa *Juu*[77] has seven gates and five huge golden roofs. Earlier it was the palace of king *Srongčan-ganbo*.[78] The relics of the whole dried and embalmed body of *Čoytu Ökin tengri*, the so-called *Balǰi lhamo*,[78/a] is preserved in the temple on the upper part of the [palace]. It was shocking that many mice were running across the body of this saint. Wine is offered here for *serǰim*.[79] Due to the protection of this saint, women deliver without pain in Lhasa.

In the northern district of Lhasa, there is the temple *Ra-moče*[80] with a golden roof. The palace of the Dalai Lama, the *Pobran*,[81] [7b] is situated at 1 verst to the north-west of Lhasa, built on the top of the Potala mountain. There are 999 rooms in it, and windows on its facade in 12 storeys. Five golden roofs cover it. The distance between the western and eastern sides is approximately 200 *sajen'*. It is such a huge, wonderful building. The Dalai Lama lives in the central building, and a thousand *šabinar* stay in the temple. They generally present the holy worship *duyingqor*.

At seven *li*-s to the north-east from Lhasa, the Ser-a monastery is to be found. More than ten-thousand *šabinar* live in it. Also to the north-east from Lhasa, at the distance of a day's journey, the Galdan monastery stands on the southern bank of the river *Üi*, on the top of a big mountain. More than ten-thousand *šabinar* live in it. The golden table of Holy Tsonkhapa is placed on the altar of the main temple of this monastery. The relics of the Holy [Tsonkhapa] are preserved separately in a bronze suburγan. I worshipped all these [relics]. A large number of Buddha statues that originated by themselves — as it is said — are situated along the road around the monastery serving for circumambulation. I paid my honour in [both] of these monasteries.

Now, how could I adequately and in detail describe everything I have seen, a person like me is unable to remember everything.

[76] See Note 64.

[77] Tib. *ǰo-bo*; for a detailed description of the great temple of *ǰo-khaṅ* in Lhasa see Waddell, *Lhasa and its Mysteries*. London 1906, chapter XVII; Cybikov, *op. cit.* pp. 76–84.

[78] Tib. *Sroṅ-bcan-sgam-po* — legendary founder of Lhasa.

[78/a] Tib. *Dpal-ldan Lha-mo* — tutelar deity of Lhasa.

[79] Tib. *ser-skyems* "golden beverage" Waddell, *Lhasa*. p. 370.

[80] Tib. *Ra-mo-čhe*, Ferrari, *op. cit.* Index s.v., Waddell, *Lhasa*. Index s.v. Ramoche temple.

[81] Tib. *pho-braṅ* "the Palace".

To the south-west of Lhasa, at the distance of a day's journey, the *Sampuu*[82] monastery is situated at the upper side of a valley facing north-west. In the first summer month, several thousand *šabinar* arrive at this monastery from *Ser-a*, *Brayibung*, *Galdan* and from other nearby monasteries to present the ceremony Sampuu *yaršoi*. Disputes for the degree of *Sampuu gabǰu*[83] are held here. The stone-throne of Tsonkhapa is preserved here, on which he sat when he directed the dispute for the degree of *Sampuu gabǰu*. There are also many bronze *suburγans* [in the monastery] requested from India by *Ša-ba Čoyiǰi sengge loǰaba*[84], *Legbiy-širab*[85] *and Lodan-sirab*. [8a] There are also many volumes of translated books written in *lancha*[86] script.

Returning from there to Brayibung, I took part in the holy ceremonies till the beginning of the last summer month. I wanted to pay my homage at the monasteries of *Daši lhunbo*[87] and *Saǰi*[88] and also to the Nepal *suburγan*, the *J̌irong qašur*. Getting permission for this from the gebküi of the *Gomong dasang*, I set out for Lhasa. In the first summer month of the Monkey Year (1884), I became friendly with some people and travelled on [together with them]. Leaving Lhasa, I began to live on alms, as I had not a *čing*[89] of silver. After a day's journey, I reached the monastery of *Nitang dolma*[90] and worshipped there. It is said that many statues in this monastery are able to make prophecies. The relics of *ǰobo-baldan Atiša*[91] are preserved here.

[Travelling] some verst-s from here, I arrived at the monastery of *Dayčang-ritod*[92] and paid my honour there. I moved on from there in a south-west direction and after 3 days I arrived at the bridge over the *J̌ang* river that was built [some time ago] of chains by *Tantun qayan*. It is said that to cross this bridge brings good luck. When we arrived there, the bridge was

[82] Tib. *Gsaṅ-phu* — one of the oldest monasteries in the territory of Lhasa. Cf. Ferrari, op. cit., p. 72.

[83] See Note 38.

[84] Tib. *Phyva-pa Čhos-kyi seṅ-ge*, Ferrari, *op. cit.* p. 166, note 677.

[85] Tib. *Legs-pa'i šes-rab* — famous 10th century translator trained in Kashmir.

[86] Tib. *lan-ja*, *lan-cha*, Skr. *rañja*, an ornamental variety of North Indian alphabet, Das 1207 etc.

[87] Tib. *Bkra-šis lhun-po* — monastery situated in the surroundings of the town *Gžis-ka-rce* (*Jikezi*) Gcaṅ. It was founded by *Dge-'dun-grub* in 1447.

[88] Tib. *Sa-skya*; Pozdneev gives *Šačža* (p. 240); cf. C. W. Cassinelli, and R. B. Ekvall, *A Tibetan Principality. The Political System of Sa sKya*. Ithaca, New York 1969.

[89] *čing* — measure of weight, about 4 grams.

[90] Tib. *Sñe-thaṅ Sgrol-ma* — according to the report of Cybikov this monastery no longer existed by that time, only the sanctuary with the statue of Tara-eke (Tib. *Sgrol-ma*) was preserved. Cf. Ferrari, *op. cit.* p. 165, n. 668.

[91] *Jo-bo dpal-ldan Atīsa* — *Srī-Jñāna Dīpaṃkara*, 982—1054; see L. Petech's note in Ferrary, op. cit., p. 165. n. 670.

[92] Tib. *Stag-chan ri-khrod*, Cf. Ferrari, *op. cit.* p. 42.

destroyed and without any replacement. I crossed the river in a leather boat. Then, I passed a big mountain pass and beyond it, after travelling for some days along the western bank of the river Yandog[93] I arrived at the monastery of *Dorǰi-paγmo*[94] situated on the southern bank of the lake on the top of a mountain, and I made worships there. I asked the Holy *Dorǰi paγmo* for permission to pay my homage in *J̌irong qašur*, and I also established spiritual connection (with this lama), so that he deigned (to teach me) the special magic formula of Tara-eke. This saint (lama) is a female khutukhtu. [8b] She lives in a temple with golden roofs and has some hundreds of *šabinar*.

Travelling on to the south for about ten days I arrived at the *Srai-kar gütüg* monastery [founded by] *Lhobraγ-marba lama*,[95] and I paid my homage there. In this monastery there is a nine-storeyed temple with golden roof, in which the Saint Mila[96] lived alone, a strict ascetic life.

At these places, there are many monasteries for women and several other monasteries and temples. Most of them belong to the red-hat sect. For some days I made worships and circumambulations here.

Mountains and rocks at this place are covered by eternal snow. It is very difficult to travel, because of the many steep mountain passes and mountain streams. The monasteries of *Lhalung-bal-dorǰi*, *gürü Čoyivang*,[97] *Namaqai ǰalčin* and others are to be found here — but I had no opportunity to visit them and pray there.

Travelling on from here for more then 20 days in a western direction I reached Buthan. A small town is there. Though the inhabitants of this place are also Tibetan subjects, their language and customs are a little bit different [from those of the Tibetans]. These people have a nice habit: they give a supply of food to the pilgrims and wanderers. Bhutan is situated at a distance of a month's journey to the south-west from Lhasa.

In ten days' journey from here, the land of Sikhim begins. Though this country is subject to Tibet, it has its own petit khan. Their language, costums and other things are different from those of Tibet. It is very warm here and there is not a big difference between summer and winter. (Sikhim) occupies the land between Nepal and Tibet. I had many difficulties there together with a Mongolian companion of mine, because we did not know the language and

[93] Tib. *Yar-'brog mcho* (= *Yamdok-tso*).

[94] Monastery in which *Rdo-rje phag-mo* (Skr. *Vajravārāhī*) lived bearing the name *Bsam-gtiṅ-čhos-* . . . Monks and nuns live together in this monastery. Cf. Pozdneev, *op. cit.* p. 231.

[95] Tib. *Lho-brag Mar-pa* (1012—1096) — the founder of the Tibetan sect *Bka'-rgyud-pa*.

[96] Tib. *Mi-la ras-pa* (1040—1123).

[97] *Žaṅ-žuṅ čhos-dbaṅ Grags-pa* (1404—1464) — disciple of *Coṅ-kha-pa*.

the customs of the Sikhim people. [9a] So, e.g. when we asked the way they did not unterstand us. Meeting merchants on their way back to Tibet, we could get some information about the further way, and learned that there is a so-called town *Dorǰi lin* there.

After travelling for about 20 days — begging alms — not far from that town I happened to meet some people similar to Russians. Then, I reached the town *Dorǰi-lin*.[98] It is a big town, similar to the Russian ones with a large number of white houses on the top of a woody mountain. There are rather dense woods, many rocky mountains and rivers there. — No pasture land at all. Arriving at this town I heard that some Mongol person lives here. I inquired [from the inhabitants] and met him. I moved there, we lived together with that Mongol, and we decided to go together to the *suburγan J̌irong qašur* to worship it. This Mongol originated from the pasture lands of the western gün of the Southern Banner. I lived in the western *J̌uu* for some years, then travelled on to show respect to the suburγan *J̌irong qašur*. The fact that I lived in this town for about a year and learnt the language and the customs of that people was rather helpful to me. It is said that nearly 60 years have passed since the foundation of this town. (Darjiling — A.S.— D. Yo.) It is in the possession of the English. It is also said that when they occupied Eastern India, they reached [this place] that lies between Tibet, Nepal and India, and they bought this land from Sikhim and build [this town]. These English people are tall, handsome persons. They wear white garments.

[9b] People of several nationalities live in this town : Tibetans, Nepals, Barus, Bhutanians, Kashmirians, Dargilingians, Sherpas, Hindus, Kashmirians, some Chinese, Tatars and others. It is said that more then twenty years have passed since tea was grown here for the first time. Looking at the growing tea, the form of its bushes, its white flowers — it does not differ at all from our shrubs. A lot of people deal with tea-growing at these places which brings them a good profit.

This country unites people of several nationalities under its rule. It also happened that some men and women gathered together here and committed different kinds of immoral actions. Yes, and in this country any person can behave in an immoral way, as they can live according to their wishes. Iron wire comes on cast-iron columns to this town from India. Many travellers and all the goods arrive at this town by train. It is no more than 20 days' travel from this town to East India and Bengal — as stated by people who already been there. I have heard from the pilgrims, that the mountain of

[98] Tib. *Rdo-rǰe-gliṅ* — Darjeeling in Sikkim, then the summer residence of the English general governor of India.

J̌iryad Püngbü[99] and the towns of *Baranača* (Benares)[100] *Čačuy* and *Udmayin* are situated in Western India and Bengal. I had no opportunity to visit India and pay my homage there, as I have heard that it is very hot there and a lot of difficulties await travellers.

In this town there are many persons with completely black faces. Indians and Nepals have dark faces. Their bodies are covered with red hair. The lower part of the body of the Hindus is tied around with a thin white cloth similar to the *šamtab.*[101] [10a] The rest of their body is naked. They look as if covered by an *orkimǰi*[102] of multi-coloured cloth.

Three days later, in the first winter month, I left this town together with two companions with the intention to worship at the Nepalian *suburγan J̌irong-qašur*. We had heard that this suburγan is about 40 days' travel from here. I made a plan for the journey according to the (information) of the people who had already been there.

Leaving this town, we travelled for about 25 days always to the west across the territories of Nepal, we crossed small rivers and mountain passes, and arrived at a cave of worship and prayed there. The name of this cave is *Ka-la-ši*. It is said that this is the cave where Lobbon Badm-a Sambuu-a lived. It is (also) said that all of its interior [set-up] — canopy, flags and other decorations — turned to stone as they were. Separately (from the cave) there is a rock called "Mother's Womb" that has a narrow hole through which one can jump out.

I travelled for about 20 days from here always to the west and arrived at a little town not far from the *suburγan J̌irong-qašur*. Moving on from here together with five Tibetans who were (also) going to worship (the suburγan). One of them had a small dog with him loaded upon a sheep. Travelling on at a distance of one day's journey from the *suburγan Dagmu-luyiǰin* we arrived at the southern slope of a hill, where there was not a single living being, and when we spent the night there a leopard came at midnight and dragged away the little dog. We were so frightened, that we nearly fainted. [10b] At once we made a big fire and somehow survived until dawn. Then, I paid my honour praying at the *suburγan* Dagmu-luyiǰin, and so fulfilled my wishes.

This suburγan is a small house as big as a yurt (situated) at the top of a steep northern slope of a woody hill. It is said that the relics of the prince

[99] Tib. *Bya-rgod-kyi phuṅ-po*, Skr. *Gṛdhra kūṭa* — the mountain where Buddha stayed.

[100] Mong. *Varanasi*, Ind. *Vārānasi*.

[101] Tib. *šam-thabs* — apron like pleated skirt worn by lamas when officiating.

[102] *orkimǰi* — scarf, usually red, consisting of a wide and long piece of cloth, which lamas wrap around the body, throwing the end over the left shoulder.

are preserved in a golden coffin inside the *suburγan*. I have seen the tree on which — it is told — he hung his clothes when he offered himself to the tiger.[103]

Leaving this place, at a day's journey's distance to the north-west we arrived at a large steppe, to the *suburγan J̌irong-qašur*. We arrived here in the first winter month of the Monkey Year (1884) and stayed here worshipping and circumambulating up to the beginning of the Hen Year (1885). At this time, a lot of Tibetan pilgrims arrived here. Together with them I went to other places of worship and prayed (there).

The *suburγan* [*J̌irong-qašur*] is situated at about five versts north-east of the town of the Nepalian Khan. It is said that a third of this *suburγan* has sunk into the earth. Now, two levels[104] of it can be seen over the earth. On the top of it there is an urn and a cube on it with eyes on all its sides that originated by themselves. A *čoyinggur čüsüm*[105] is situated even more upward with decorations and a *ganǰir*[106] on the top of it. Estimating the measurements (of the suburγan) it is approximately a little bit bigger than the *Batu čaγan* of Urga. Grass is growing on its levels and on its other places, and (the suburγan) looks very old.

On the 3rd day of every month, wirtuous pilgrims offer saffron-juice to the ferocious gods. [11a] They also prepare great offerings as the circular-offering.[107] Fried rice is brought for offering and left on plain land in big heaps and decorated.

The town of the Nepalian Khan is called Nipal in Indian, and its Tibetan name is *Yangpuu*. One verst to the north west of the town of the Nepalian Khan there stands the *suburγan Guma-sala-γanda-a* on the top of a small hill. Now, its name is *Payba-šingkün*.[108] The advantage of worshipping this suburγan is explained in a separate short *qaršiγ*[109] and the detailed (description) of it is incorporated into the sutra *Langru lüngden*.[110] It is said that to the north-west on the top of the hill Ri-langru, the stone table of Buddha Shakyamuni is to be found. I could not worship it, because there are many dangerous wild animals there.

[103] The *jātaka* in question is known for the Mongols from the *Suvarnaprabhāsottamasūtra* (*Altan Gerel*) and the *'Jaṅs-blun* (*Üliger-ün dalai*). J. Schmidt, *Der Weise und der Thor*. St. Petersburg 1843; Če. Damdinsürüng, *J̌aγun bilig*. Ulan Bator, 1959, p. 295.

[104] Tib. *baṅ-rim*, Jäschke, p. 365.

[105] Tib. *čhos-'khor bču-gsum*.

[106] *Ganǰir*, Pagoda-shaped structure found on the roof of lamaist temples. Lessing 350, Das 212.

[107] Tib. *chogs-'khor*, Das 1033.

[108] Tib. *'phags-pa šiṅ-kun*, Das 846.

[109] Tib. *dkar-čhag*, description of, or guide to holy places.

[110] Tib. *Glan-ru luṅ-bstan*, Skr. *Gosṛṅga-vyākaraṇa*, Suzuki no. 1026.

The palace of the Nepalian Khan is a many-storeyed house in Russian style with golden roofs on some of the levels. The palace of the previous khans is a dilapidated building (also) with golden roofs on certain levels and with golden doors.

There are many military exercises in this country. The uniform and conduct of the soldiers are similar to those of our Russian army. Though the clothing of the Nepals are of Russian type, they look like *orkimǰi*. They wear boots. Women pierce their nose and stick nose-rings in it. Their ears are also pierced by several holes. Their arms are decorated up to the elbow with several kinds of bracelets and rings. [11b] They wear bracelets on their ankles, and rings on their toes. They fold the front part of their gowns over their arms. Their hair is bound together on the top of their heads. Their costumes are like this. Their jewelry and dresses are like this. The back part of (their dresses) is completely missing, so when they walk the muscle of their legs is visible.

There are so many small temples and *suburγans* in this town that it is impossible to count them. Some of the suburγans have a globe on them like the Russian churches — a globular and circular one. It is said that the buddhist and non-buddhist religions have existed in this town since ancient times.

Once, when walking in the town I met a large number of Nepals who gathered together near a temple. They shot (guns) many times, and beat drums. They shot and killed a buffalo and a goat, and sprinkled their blood on the temple. There are many ceremonies like this here. The meaning of them — is not clear to me.

There is also a really large temple here with golden roofs called the palace of *Vangčuγ-činbo*.[111] It is worshipped by the followers of the non-buddhist religion.

The territory of Nepal from the eastern to the western border is rather large and the whole distance is some months' journey. The weather is very warm in this country, and there is hardly any difference between the summer and the winter. A lot of grain is sown here. Several kinds of medical herbs and trees grow here, such as magnolia, cedrus, and bamboo [12a]. These are few cattle. There are some buffaloes, yaks and other animals on their private lands similar to small islands. Meat is a rarity at these places. They use a lot of grain and corn for food. It is a custom among the people to honour the elders and to get their blessings at their feet. Their faces are long, and their bodies covered with blond hair. Their language is sharp and they have a language of magic. Many of them are good masters in gold, silver, copper and iron in this country. It is truly a peaceful country, where there is no thief. I did not happen to see evil-doers here.

[111] Tib. *Dbaṅ-phyog-čhen-po*, Skr. Mahesvara.

A big animal exists in this town. It is a little bit smaller than the elephant and has a horn on its nose. Its skin has great folds as if *loyoi*[112] and *namǰir*[113] were placed on its back. I have seen that this animal — with two feet chained together — ate grass. Tibetans called it serü-lang (Tib. *bse-ru-lang* "rhinoceros"). There are many grey elephants here, as well. On the land of Nepal, we did not worship the lamas, because not knowing the language we could not become acquainted with the sages and lamas. The above mentioned three *suburγans* are especially famous in this country. I took earth with me from these three *suburγans*.

On the 2nd day of the New Year's month of the Hen Year (1885) we started back (home) and reaching the place of *Luu-čümig-ǰirǰa*[114] in the north-west we paid our homage there. (Than) discussing the home-return we travelled on. After about 20 days' journey in a north-west direction [12b] we arrived at the town of *Bukari*.[115]

Travelling on to the north-west again for more then 10 days, I became rather exhausted. They (the inhabitants of that place) are neither Nepals nor Tibetans, but something in between these two nationalities. I could not find out which of these two they belong to. At some places I visited 20—30 yards begging, and I got only so much food — in the form of flour — that was sufficient for only one meal. At other places I lived on cooked nettles with wild buckwheat and onion. All this exhausted me very much. As a result of not eating meat for some months, I developed a disease of gases and sleeplessness.

Wandering in such a condition (at last) I arrived near the Tibetan border — at the place *Lu-čümig-ǰirča*. Cattle died of cattle-plague and (their corpses) lay in the ravines. Realizing this, I ate their meat for about 10 days, then I travelled on happily and arrived at the place *Lu-čümig-ǰirča*. This land lays between Tibet and Nepal.

At a place among the mountains around Tibet one hundred springs gush water. At the same place, in a temple there is a fire burning by itself

[112] Tib. *bla-gos* — upper garment.

[113] Tib. *snam-sbyar* "a sort of loose mantle for priests" Das 769.

[114] Tib. *Klu-čhu-mig brgya-rca*.

[115] We could not locate a town with this name, neither in Tibet nor in the neighbouring countries. Anyhow, it has to be mentioned, that this part of the description of our pilgrim has become rather obscure and negligent. Beyond Bukari he does not mention any other toponym and he does not refer to what people live here and whose subjects they are. The wandering of Lubsan Midžid-Dordži across these lands, that are unknown to us, lasted for quite a long time, as he himself writes, during his journey from *Lu-čhu-mig-brgya-rca* on the border to north-west and back he lived in need and suffered from hunger for several months.

in the middle of earth, stone and water. One can put a pot on it to boil tea. Catching sight of this fire for the first time, we asked: "Are these real flames?" — then we put out our hands towards them to warm them. Becoming convinced of this great miracle we worshipped it. It is said that this fire was set by the magic power of one of the eighty siddha-s[116] of ancient India [13a] and that it is always burning by itself in the same way.

I have heard that to the north-west, there are places of worship such as *Nari*, the snowy *Kailas*, and lake *Manasarovar*.[117] I went there begging accross the lands of the Tibetans, and those of the *Bonbo*[118] and *Qurba*[119] tribes for about two months and (at last) I arrived at the place of *Nari*.

I reached *Manasarovar* lake at the southern side of *Kailas* and it took 6 days to go around (the lake). Walking around Manasarovar lake, on the way I came across six small monasteries. One of them belonged to the sect of the yellow-hats, the other ones to that of the red-hats.

It is said that four rivers originate from this lake in four directions. But it is not evidently visible that the (rivers) really originate (from here). It is also said that far away, beyond the mountains, small springs rise from under the earth and becoming bigger and bigger, they grow into huge rivers.

The spring of the river *J̌ang*[120] flowing to the east is called *Dimsoγ-ka*;[121] the spring of the river Gangγa flowing to the south is called *Marǰa-a-ka*;[122] (the spring of the river *Sengge*)[123] flowing to the west is called *Sengge-ka*;[124] it flows across (the land) *Nari* already growing there into a big river. (The river) flowing to the north is called *Langčin-ka*.[125] It is said that later it grows into the river *Sidi*.[126]

To the south of *Manasarovar* lake, the *Dangsurang-ri*[127] mountain is situated (covered) with eternal snow. To the north there are very high moun-

[116] Cf. A. Egyed, *The Eighty-four Siddhas. A Tibetan Blockprint from Mongolia. Debter* 3. Budapest 1984.

[117] The name of this lake occurs in two forms in the text: *Madoi čo and Maram dalai*. Its Tibetan form is: *Ma-dros-mcho, Mi-pham* [*Ma-pham*] and it is situated in the western part of Tibet. It is Manasarovar lake.

[118] Tib. *Bon-po* — presumably a tribe following the Bon-po tradition.

[119] Tib. *Hor-pa* — a Tibetan tribe living to the north of the Nyanchen-tangla (Central Tibet) range.

[120] Cf. Tib. Caṅ-po.

[121] Tib. *Rta-mčhog-kha'-bab.*

[122] Tib. *Rma-bya kha-'bab.*

[123] The Upper-Indus.

[124] *Seṅ-ge kha-'bab.*

[125] Tib. *Glaṅ-čhen kha-'bab.*

[126] Sidi = Sutlej.

[127] Tib. *Draṅ-sroṅ-ri.*

tains with eternal snow in the form of a *baling*[128] called "the snowy mountain of *Kailas*".

(Starting) from that lake to the south-west and after a distance of 3 days' journey [13b] I reached the noble shrines called *Goǰ-a J̌uu Rigsümgonbo*[129] and I paid my homage there.

The place of *Tataburi* lays at a distance of 7—8 days' journey from here, exactly to the north. It is situated on the western slope of the Kailas mountain. Many caves are there. There are also a large number of stone suburγans and Buddha statues that came into existence by themselves. Many hot thermal springs can also be found there, which the Holy Buddha washed his hands in. At these places, people generally take "pills of snowy mountain".

I offered *khadaks*[130] and *šangbai*-s[131] in two temples here, and got about a hundred such pills. I spent some days praying and circumambulating here.

Travelling to the east from here for two days, I arrived at the southern slope of the Kailas. At the beginning of the first summer month, a large number of people gather together here and they make worships and circumambulations along the road going around the *Kailas*. This time some hundreds of people made worships and circumambulations. I also went around once for three days — on the 13th, 14th, and 15th days of the first summer month.

The footsteps of Buddha can be seen on the rocks of the four sides of the *Kailas*, where he deigned to step. I worshipped at the eastern and the western sides (of the mountain). Just to the north, on my way home, a mountain-pass rises called the "Pass of *Dolma*". On the top of it there is a huge and (for the Buddhists) very precious stone, which the 21 Tara-eke entered. In a south-east direction, there is a cave of magic transformation. The story of it is as follows : With the aid of his magic power, Saint Mila put up three stone-slabs with the measure of the side of a yurt and covered them with a fourth big slab, putting it on the top ; [14a] he wanted to enter, but hit the upper stone with his head. Now, one can see the print of his head on it. It is also wonderful, that when he stepped on the stone, his feet left such clear prints as if he walked in mud. This is an object of great worship. I also saw that the foot-steps of a cow were preserved in another stone.

I have heard that at a distance of 15 days' journey from here, the Ṅari-Ladak monastery is situated. It is said that many šabinar live in it. It is customary among them to use sheep for carrying loads. Rich people load

[128] See Note 64.

[129] Tib. *rigs-gsum mgon-po* ; *Mañjuśrī*, *Vajrapāṇi* and *Caturbhuja Avalokiteśvara*.

[130] Tib. *kha-btags* — a long, narrow piece of silk or other cloth specially made for presentation on formal occasions as a mark of respect, or for giving as a token of greetings or in a commemoration of a special event.

[131] *šanbai* — a cheap kind of khadak.

several kinds of goods on a hundred and thousand sheep and move with them even as far as a month's journey.

After finishing the worship and circumambulation at Kailas we had a day's rest and were just about to return (home) when my Mongolian friend decided to travel for worship to the south-west to the Saphir palace, so we departed. Saying good-bye we wished to meet each other again at the golden gate of the Lhasa-*J̌uu*.

I travelled for about two months from here, across (the land) of nomad Mongols of the *Kurba* tribe, gathering alms and arrived at the Namri and Lhabǰi monasteries, where I (also) paid homage. [14b] Travelling on, I crossed the J̌ang river in a leather boat and arrived at the monastery of *Saǰ-a bančin*[132] (where I also) paid my homage.

This monastery lay at the southern side of a great rock. Many monasteries are situated here, painted with red, white, black and other colours. Some thousand *šabinar* live in them. I spent a day here and prayed. Setting forth in five days, I arrived at the *Nartang* monastery and made worships there. The printing blocks of the *Kanǰur* and *Tanǰur* and many other large books are preserved here. I had Mongolian acquaintances here. Walking half a day from the *Saǰ-a bančin* monastery I arrived at the *Dasi-lhunbo* (monastery) and prayed there. There are fourteen temples with golden roofs in this monastery. Many high ranking lamas are generally here, with the Bančin-erdeni at their head. The *šabinar* (when performing religious) performances wear yellow mantles and have yellow (monastic) attributes. Many thousand *šabinar* (live there altogether). The title *gačin* is given there.

Moving on from here for about 10 days in the middle autumn month of the Hen Year (1885), I arrived at the *Brayibung* monastery of *J̌uu*.[133] I stayed there for about a month. After getting permission from the gebküi of the monastery to return to my homeland, I stopped in Lhasa.

On the 22nd day of the middle automn month in Lhasa, I — together with some lamas — got the title of *sampuu-gabǰu* from *Sampuu-čoyiǰong*. So, getting a stamped diploma I have became a *gabǰu*. Worshipping at the places there, my wishes were fulfilled.

I joined some travellers to return to my homeland [15a] and leaving Lhasa (together with them) we reached the river *Nagču* on the 3rd day of the last autumn month of the new moon. Many roads branch off there. To follow the northern one is rather difficult for somebody on foot. It is impossible to go. So, I took the middle road across the Banners of *Kamba-derge*, of the *Goloks*, the *Naimans* and other (tribes). I arrived at the *Labrang* monastery

[132] Tib. *Sa-skya paṇ-čhen Kun-dga' rgyal-mchan.*
[133] *Juu* — Central Tibet.

on the 27th day of the last autumn month. At the place *Qangba*,[134] there are many monasteries and temples. Many blockprints of the *Kanǰur* and of other great Canonical works are preserved here. The people called Golok — are a robber people. They rob merchants and pilgrims who travel across their pasture land. As a result, they have many treasures. Travellers having means of transport drive along the northern road. These people (the Goloks) gather together like soldiers in squads and engage in robbery on territories as far as one month's journey. They even rob each other's horses and treasures, and fight with each other, as well. At these places, it is the custom that if somebody kills a person, he has to give (everything) from sheep up to yak as a fine, and so he can avoid being brought before the court.

In Labrang, I worshipped the Holy *J̌imyang-šadba*.[135] Here I prayed and made circumambulations up to the beginning of the the new year's month.

On the 20th of the New Year's month of the Dog Year (1886), together with many other pilgrims, I left for the Labran [15b] monastery and walking for nearly a month across the territory of China, passing by the towns *Saǰu* and *Langǰuu*, I reached the town of *Alayša-a-Yamun-puu*. Saǰu is a muslim town. The *yünde noyan*, (governor-general) ruling over the western territories (of the country), lives in the town of *Langǰu*. It is said that in old times, Langǰu was the capital of the Mongolian Kubilai Sečen Khan.[136]

Travelling on from here, I arrived at a cave called Üker qarγan-a, also situated on the pasture lands of the middle *gün* and paid homage there. Moving on from here across the pasture lands of the Khalkha *J̌ing-ča vang* and in the middle summer month, I arrived at *Boγda-yin Küriye* (Urga) and worshipped lama-teachers there as the *Degereki-gegen*.

Spending 5 days there, I walked on and (at last) arriving at the yurt of my parents I met my father and mother. There was great happiness. Then I went to my own monastery, *Bultumor*, and had the honour of being welcomed by the lama-teachers and paid my honour to them. I also met my monk companions.

Here I finish my short description of how I travelled and made worships and circumambulations in many countries.

Let these worships and circumambulations permit me to be saved from the ocean of the torments of transmigration.

[134] Tib. *Khams* in *Čhab-mdo*.
[135] Tib. *'J̌am-dbyaṅs bšad-pa*.
[136] Kubilai sečen qan — the first Yuan khan of China (1280—1294).

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ZU EINIGEN PROBLEMEN EIN- UND ZWEISPRACHIGER TÜRKISCHER WÖRTERBÜCHER

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In diesem Beitrag sollen einige Gedanken aus unterrichtsmethodischer und sprachmittlungspraktischer Sicht über die uns zur Verfügung stehenden Wörterbücher geäußert werden. Es handelt sich dabei um das Wörterbuch „Türkçe Sözlük",[1] um das „Türkisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch" von K. Steuerwald[2] und um das „Turecko-Russkij Slovar"[3] der Akademie der Wissenschaften der UdSSR. Bekanntlich hängt die außerordentliche Kompliziertheit der lexikografischen Arbeit in erster Linie damit zusammen, daß die Anzahl der Wörter in jeder Sprache kaum zählbar, d. h. nicht feststellbar konstant, sondern für Neubildungen nicht begrenzt ist, so daß auch die obengenannten Wörterbücher nicht den Anspruch erheben, erschöpfend zu sein.[4] Wenn auch fast jedes Wörterbuch auf der Grundlage bestimmter wissenschaftlicher (grammatischer, stilistischer, semantischer u. a.) Kriterien erarbeitet wird, dient es vor allem dem Ziel, ein möglichst brauchbares Instrument für die Arbeit in der Praxis zu sein. Je präziser und vollständiger die oben erwähnten Kriterien angewendet werden, d. h. je mehr Informationen ein Wörterbuch enthält, desto höher ist sein Gebrauchswert. Bei einer kritischen Beurteilung eines Wörterbuches ist zunächst davon auszugehen, welche Ziele sich das Wörterbuch stellt und für wen, d. h. für welchen Benutzerkreis es vor allem gedacht ist. Das zu wissen ist umso wichtiger, als der Inhalt und der Umfang der aufgenommenen lexikalischen Einheiten davon abhängig sind, wobei auch der Aufbau des Wörterbuchartikels (Beschreibung der Bedeutungen, morphologische und syntaktische Beschreibung, Informationen zur Etymologie, zum Stil und zur Aussprache, Angabe von Kontext usw.) eng damit zusammenhängt.

[1] *Türkçe Sözlük*. Unter Leitung von Mehmet Ali Ağakay. Ankara 1974.

[2] Karl Steuerwald, *Türkisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*. Wiesbaden 1972.

[3] *Turecko-Russkij Slovar'*. Akademija Nauk SSSR, Moskau 1977. Wir halten diese Lexika für die besten Nachschlagewerke unter den in jüngster Zeit auf dem Gebiet der modernen türkischen Sprache erschienenen. Aus diesem Grunde wird auf andere ein- und zweisprachige Wörterbücher nicht eingegangen, bzw. werden einige davon nur am Rande erwähnt.

[4] Siehe Vorbemerkungen zu den jeweiligen Wörterbüchern.

Unsere Ausführungen beschränken sich auf solche Fragen wie das Verhältnis zwischen osmanischer und moderner türkischer („öztürkçe") Lexik, die Wo rtartikelgestaltung und die Aufnahme von Terminologien in die Wörterbücher.

Das Verhältnis zwischen osmanischer und neuer türkischer Lexik

Die Türkische Sprachgesellschaft (Türk Dil Kurumu) hat bei der Durchführung der Sprachreform eine enorme lexikografische Arbeit geleistet. Da eine ausführliche Darlegung über die Vielfalt dieser Tätigkeit und ihre konkreten Ergebnisse in diesem Rahmen nicht möglich ist, sei an dieser Stelle auf die entsprechenden Kapitel der Monografie von Gy. Hazai[5] und die darin enthaltene Bibliografie verwiesen. Diese Arbeit auf dem Gebiet der Lexikografie hatte das Ziel, nicht nur das Wortgut des Türkischen schlechthin, sondern vor allem die im Zuge der intensiven Spracherneuerung entstandene neue Lexik in Wörterbüchern, die bestimmten wissenschaftlichen und praktischen Zwecken dienen sollten, zu registrieren und somit bei der Realisierung der Spracherneuerung unmittelbar mitzuwirken. Unter den zahlreichen Wörterbüchern, die als Ergebnis der Sprachreform entstanden sind, sei das „Türkçe Sözlük" hervorgehoben. Das ist ein solides Handbuch für jeden, der sich mit der türkischen Sprache beschäftigtes wurde ständig vervollkommnet und ist bereits in sechs Auflagen erschienen.[6] Es stellt ein einsprachiges Bedeutungswörterbuch dar und gilt als Standardwerk der türkischen Lexikografie der Periode der Sprachreformbewegung bis zur Gegenwart. Das „Türkçe Sözlük" enthält den Wortschatz der modernen türkischen Hochsprache. Ein charakteristisches Merkmal dieses Wörterbuches besteht darin, daß es eine Anzahl von Neologismen aufweist, die sich in der Sprache noch nicht endgültig durchgesetzt haben.[7] Dieser Umstand spricht besonders deutlich für das Bestreben seiner Verfasser, den Prozeß der Spracherneuerung bewußt zu steuern und zu beeinflussen. Andererseits sind im „Türkçe Sözlük" auch Wörter arabischer, persischer und europäischer Herkunft anzutreffen, die bereits als ungebräuchlich gelten. Im Vorwort zur 6. Auflage heißt es: „Das Ziel ihrer Aufnahme besteht darin, denjenigen zu helfen, die die Bedeutung oder die heute gebräuchlichen Äquivalente osmanischer Wörter, die etwa in Werken der letzten fünfzig Jahre vorgekommen sind, finden möchten." In diesem Zusammenhang möchten wir nicht unerwähnt lassen, daß viele Wörter arabischer und persischer Herkunft, insbesondere in der gesprochenen

[5] G. Hazai, *Kurze Einführung in das Studium der türkischen Sprache*. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1978.

[6] Die erste Auflage erschien im Jahre 1945.

[7] Siehe Vorwort der 5. Auflage.

Sprache, immer noch bevorzugt werden wie auch die zahlreichen europäischen Termini, die ebenfalls häufiger gebraucht werden als ihre neuen türkischen Äquivalente. Daraus folgt, daß sich die in dem „Türkçe Sözlük" enthaltene Lexik weder mit der gesprochenen, noch mit der Schriftsprache völlig deckt, so daß im „Türkçe Sözlük" die aktuelle Sprachsituation in der Türkei deutlich widergespiegelt wird, eine Tatsache, die die Verfasser des Wörterbuches nicht übersehen.[8]

Im Jahre 1972 erschien das Türkisch-Deutsche Wörterbuch von K. Steuerwald. Wegen seines umfangreichen Wortmaterials, seines übersichtlichen Artikelaufbaus[9] und seiner wissenschaftlichen Fundierung gilt dieses Wörterbuch als das beste der auf deutschsprachigem Gebiet bisher erschienenen zweisprachigen Wörterbücher der modernen türkischen Sprache. Steuerwald formuliert das Ziel seines Werkes folgendermaßen:

„Das vorliegende Wörterbuch ... soll der Erschließung möglichst aller in Lateinschrift vorliegenden türkischen Originaltexte dienen und außerdem der gesprochenen Sprache gebührend Rechnung tragen. ... Dem nichttürkischen Benutzer sollte gleichzeitig die Möglichkeit geboten werden, das frühere Türkisch mit dem Türkisch unserer Tage zu vergleichen."

Das reiche Wortmaterial dieses Lexikons repräsentiert sowohl die Lexik des Osmanisch-Türkischen als auch die Neologismen und die in den letzten Jahren aus den europäischen Sprachen entlehnten Wörter. Obwohl die neuen türkischen Wörter, die sich seit dem Beginn der Sprachreform in den letzten 50 Jahren durchgesetzt und verbreitet haben, am vollständigsten enthalten sind,[10] wird die Arbeit mit dem Wörterbuch dadurch erschwert, daß das deutsche Äquivalent eines neuen türkischen Wortes oft erst über einen Verweis auf das synonyme osmanisch-türkische Wort gefunden wird, z. B. *tanik*: s. şahit, (*şahit*: 1. Zeuge ...); *savunma*: s. *müdafaa*, (*müdafaa*: 1. Verteidigung, Abwehr ...); *örgüt*: s. teşkilât, (*teşkilât*: Organisation(-en)).

[8] Siehe Vorwort zur 2. und nachfolgenden Auflagen.

[9] Siehe z. B. Artikelgestaltung einiger polysemer Wörter wie *ayak, baş, bir, el, üst, yer* u. ä. Vgl. *baş eğmek*: sich unterwerfen; sich beugen müssen und *başını eğmek*: den Kopf neigen *el açmak*: betteln und *elini açmak*: die Hand öffnen. Dieser Art von Wortverbindungen wird bei der Vermittlung der Lexik besondere Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt.

[10] Vgl. *Heuser-Şevket*, Türkisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch. Wiesbaden 1962.

Die uns zur Verfügung stehende 5., verbesserte Auflage dieses Wörterbuches war bis zum Erscheinen des obenerwähnten großen Wörterbuches von K. Steuerwald das einzige zuverlässige Nachschlagewerk. Es ist jedoch zu vermerken, daß, obwohl dieses Wörterbuch erweitert und wortschatzmäßig aktualisiert wurde, darin viele Wörter fehlen, insbesondere Neologismen, die bereits zum festen Bestandteil der Sprache geworden sind. Dieser Umstand erschwert das Studium der Tagespresse sowie das Verstehen der gesprochenen Sprache.

Während bei den Neologismen sehr häufig auf ihre arabischen, persischen oder aber europäischen Synonyme verwiesen wird, findet man im umgekehrten Fall, d. h. bei den osmanischen Wörtern, nicht immer einen Verweis auf die neuen Synonyme, z. B.

olay: Ereignis, . . .Geschehnis, *hadise, vaka — jedoch
hadise: Ereignis, Geschehnis . . .
içerik: Inhalt, *muhteva — jedoch *muhteva*: Inhalt . . .
izlenim: Eindruck, *intıba — jedoch *intıba*: Eindruck . . .

Außerdem darf nicht übersehen werden, daß zwischen osmanisch-türkischen Wörtern und den mit ihnen konkurrierenden Neologismen oft Bedeutungsdifferenzierungen entstehen, mindestens in Form von unterschiedlichen Gebrauchsbedingungen, so daß die beiden oft keine wirklichen Synonyme mehr sind. Es wäre daher zu wünschen, daß für beide „Synonyme" der genaue Bedeutungsumfang jeweils getrennt ausgewiesen wird, jedoch nicht ohne den Hinweis auf das „synonyme" Wort.

Das im Jahre 1974 von der AdW der UdSSR herausgegebene große „Turecko-russkij slovar' " ist zweifellos das beste Werk der türkischen Lexikografie in der SU. Dieses Wörterbuch ist als Ergebnis der reichen traditionellen Erfahrungen der sowjetischen Turkologen sowohl bei der Schaffung von verschiedenartigen wertvollen Wörterbüchern der Turksprachen als auch bei der Erarbeitung von zweisprachigen Wörterbüchern überhaupt entstanden.[11] Über das Ziel des „Turecko-russkij slovar' " lesen wir im Vorwort: „Dannyj slovar, prednaznačaetsja v pervuju očered' dlja perevoda na russkij jazyk sovremmennoj tureckoj chudožestvennoj i naučno-populjarnoj literatury, pressy. On možet byt' ispol'zovan perevodčikami, prepodavateljami i studentami vostokovedčeskich fakul'tetov vuzov, predstavljaet interes dlja specialistov-tjurkologov."

Neben der osmanisch-türkischen Lexik wird in dem Wörterbuch traditionsgemäß den neuen türkischen Wörtern und Wortverbindungen breiter Raum gewidmet.[12] Obwohl einige Neologismen, die in der Sprache der Massenmedien und in der Tagespresse sehr häufig vorkommen, noch nicht verzeichnet

[11] Vgl. das fundamentale Werk Radlovs: *Opyt slovarija tjurkskich narečij*, Petersburg 1899. Vgl. A. A. Juldašev, *Principy sostavlenija tjurksko-russkich slovarej*. Moskau 1972.

[12] Vgl. D. A. Magazanik, *Turecko-Russkij slovar'*. Moskau 1945 (2. Auflage).

Was die Neologismen anbelangt, hat das Wörterbuch von Magazanik u. E. seine Aktualität und Brauchbarkeit bis heute kaum eingebüßt. Man kann feststellen, daß hier neutürkische Wörter, die bei dem wesentlich später erschienenen Wörterbuch von Heuser-Şevket fehlen, bereits eingearbeitet sind. Bei einigen dieser Wörter wird im Deutsch-Türkischen Wörterbuch von Steuerwald auf ihre osmanische Äquivalente verwiesen.

sind, wie z. B. *savaşım* „Kampf", *önlem* „Maßnahme", *yasallık* „Gesetzmäßigkeit", *yumuşama* „Entspannung", *güçler dengesi* „Kräfteverhältnis" u. ä., scheint dieses Problem im „Turecko-russkij slovar' " gegenüber dem Türkisch-Deutschen Wörterbuch von K. Steuerwald besser gelöst worden zu sein. Eine andere positive, für den Benutzer sehr nützliche Seite des „Turecko-russkij slovar' " besteht darin, daß bei den Synonymen sowohl auf das osmanische, als auch umgekehrt auf das neue türkische Wort verwiesen wird. Damit wird in ihm zugleich ein reales Bild über die gegenwärtige Sprachentwicklung vermittelt.

Es ist ferner hervorzuheben, daß zum ersten Mal in einem zweisprachigen Wörterbuch auch dem gesellschaftsbezogenen Wortschatz als einem wichtigen Bestandteil der türkischen Lexik ein gebührender Platz eingeräumt und eine große Anzahl von politischen, ökonomischen, philosophischen, kulturpolitischen u. ä. Wörtern und Termini berücksichtigt wurde. Nach der Gründung der Republik begannen sich auch Veränderungen im gesellschaftlichen Leben der Türkei im türkischen Wortschatz widerzuspiegeln. Auch die marxistisch—leninistische Ideologie und die Ideen des wissenschaftlichen Sozialismus, die auch in der Türkei ihre Verbreitung fanden und finden, bereichern die türkische Sprache mit neuen Wörtern. Insbesondere prägen die qualitativ neuen Entwicklungen im internationalen Maßstab und die im Zusammenhang damit stehenden Erscheinungen gesellschaftspolitischer Prozesse (friedliche Koexistenz, Befreiungskampf, Neokolonialismus, Abrüstung usw.) neue Termini und beeinflussen damit die türkische Sprache.

Unsere Erfahrungen in der Lehrtätigkeit sowie der Dolmetscher- und Übersetzerpraxis haben gezeigt, daß in den vorhandenen türkisch-deutschen Wörterbüchern die gesellschaftspolitisch bezogene Lexik in unzureichendem Maße oder gar nicht verzeichnet ist. Ihre Berücksichtigung ist umso dringlicher, als im Sprachunterricht ein gesellschaftspolitisches Grundwissen vermittelt wird (man denke hier z. B. an landeskundliches Wissen im breiten Sinne des Wortes), das die genannte Lexik zur Voraussetzung hat.

Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung und Auswertung speziell des gesellschaftspolitischen Wortbestandes des Türkischen seit dem Beginn der Sprachreform sind uns nicht bekannt. Als inzige Informationsquellen über die Entwicklung dieser Teilschicht der türkischen Lexik erweisen sich für uns solche publizistischen Materialien wie die türkische bürgerliche Presse, kulturpolitische Zeitschriften sowie Publikationsorgane der TKP und weiterer progressiver Organisationen und Institutionen. Da das „Turecko-russkij slovar' " der berechtigten Forderung an ein modernes allgemeines Wörterbuch nach einem anwendungsbereiten gesellschaftspolitischen Wortschatz weitgehend entspricht, betrachten wir es als ein sowohl wissenschaftlich als auch praktisch wertvolles Hilfsmittel, das den Erfordernissen der gesellschaftlichen Praxis in hohem Maße genügt.

Wortartikelgestaltung

Die Gestaltung des Wortartikels zeichnet sich in den drei hier herangezogenen Wörterbüchern durch Präzision und Übersichtlichkeit aus. Alle drei Wörterbücher enthalten Informationen zur Grammatik, Etymologie, zum Stil, der Betonung und Aussprache. In jedem der Wörterbücher werden die einzelnen Bedeutungen bei polysemen Wörtern durch Ziffern voneinander getrennt und durch Beispiele illustriert. Allerdings werden die im „Türkçe Sözlük" enthaltenen Beispielsätze als Illustrationsmaterial von den Verfassern der beiden anderen Wörterbücher übernommen, so daß diese keine neuen Kontextinformationen bieten. Das ist auch deshalb bedauerlich, weil sowohl die türkische Publizistik als auch die schöngeistige Literatur eine reiche Quelle dafür sein könnten.

Die Bedeutungserklärungen im „Türkçe Sözlük" sind eine Hilfe auch für diejenigen, die die Aufgabe haben, ein zweisprachiges Wörterbuch zu erarbeiten. Allerdings sollte nicht übersehen werden, daß die Bedeutungsbeschreibungen des „Türkçe Sözlük" im Vergleich zu solchen einsprachigen Wörterbüchern, wie etwa denen von Larousse, die den internationalen Standard repräsentieren, noch recht unvollständig und stellenweise auch ungenau sind.[13] Außerdem ist zu berücksichtigen, daß die Bedeutungsangaben ständigen Veränderungen unterliegen und daher kontinuierlich überprüft und ergänzt werden müssen. Feste Wortverbindungen sind im „Türkçe Sözlük" und bei Steuerwald generell alphabetisch unter ihrer ersten Komponente angeordnet. Dieses Prinzip erleichtert dem Benutzer die Arbeit mit dem Wörterbuch und hilft ihm, die gesuchte Wendung schnell und ohne Schwierigkeiten zu finden. Oft werden jedoch Wortverbindungen, die unter ihrer ersten Komponente angeführt sind, noch einmal gesondert als selbständiges Stichwort aufgenommen und in diesem Fall — als lexikalisierte Variante — zusammengeschrieben. (Diese Methode wird im „Türkçe Sözlük" verstärkt angewandt.).

Während im „Turecko-russkij slovar'" phraseologische Wendungen, Sprichwörter und Verbindungen mit Hilfsverben in der Regel unter der ersten Komponente aufgenommen sind, wird dieses Prinzip bei der Aufnahme von Termini nicht konsequent eingehalten. Diese sind sowohl unter der ersten als auch unter der zweiten Komponente zu finden (z. B. *savaş gemisi* „Kriegsschiff"); manchmal sind sie nur unter ihrem ersten (z. B. *ana hat* „Hauptgleis, -strecke") oder nur unter ihrem zweiten Bestandteil angeführt (z. B. *orta öğrenim* „Mittelschulbildung"). Daraus wird ersichtlich, daß auch im Türki-

[13] Vgl. Bedeutungserklärungen im "*Resimli Türkçe Sözlük*", Ankara 1977.

schen die Klassifizierung der festen Wortverbindungen ein ziemlich kompliziertes Problem ist, das mit der Frage der Wortdefinition zusammenhängt.[14]

Es erhebt sich die Frage, ob es sich hier um ein Problem der Orthografie oder der Lexematik handelt. Diese Frage bedarf einer selbständigen Untersuchung, wobei die verschiedenen Typen von festen Wortverbindungen unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Tendenz zur Lexikalisierung von phraseologischen Wendungen und festen Wortverbindungen als Termini zu analysieren wären (vgl. *baş vurmak* „sich wenden (an)", *silâhlanma yarışı* „Wettrüsten", *yazı makinesi* „Schreibmaschine").

Aus methodisch-didaktischen Gründen ist jedoch die Kennzeichnung der Wortarten von großer Wichtigkeit. Sie gibt einen Hinweis auf die richtige Bildung der Izafet-Form im Türkischen. Bei der Bildung dieser Form erweisen sich in der Unterrichtspraxis Ethnonyme (*Alman, Türk*), Sprachbezeichnungen (*Almanca, Türkçe*), Materialbezeichnungen (*demir, deri*) oder Richtungsbezeichnungen und ihre Derivate (*kuzey, sol, solcu*) usw. als eine häufige Fehlerquelle für die Lernenden. Gerade bei solchen problematischen Lexemen sollten daher im Wörterbuch Angaben nicht fehlen, die die jeweiligen Izafetbildungsmöglichkeiten erkennen lassen, auch wenn die Diskussion über die Wortartenproblematik in den Turksprachen generell noch keineswegs abgeschlossen ist.

Aufnahme von Terminologie

Das Problem der Auswahl von terminologisiertem Wortgut aus verschiedenen Fachwortschätzen soll hier weniger aus der Sicht des Sprachunterrichts als in erster Linie aus dem Blickwinkel der Sprachmittlungspraxis betrachtet werden. Ganz unmittelbar betroffen von dieser Fragestellung ist der Übersetzer, der am Schreibtisch einen Fachtext zu übersetzen hat und dabei das Wörterbuch konsultieren muß, um die Äquivalente der im Text vorkommenden Termini in der Zielsprache zu finden. Ganz besonders gravierend ist dieses Problem bei Übersetzungen in die Fremdsprache. Deshalb soll hier vor allem auf die Terminologieauswahl im deutsch-türkischen Band des Wörterbuches von Steuerwald (weiterhin D-T genannt) eingegangen werden. Das heißt nicht — wie bereits erwähnt —, daß die Anforderungen, die an die umgekehrte Richtung zu stellen sind, geringer wären, muß doch der Übersetzer mit Hilfe des fremdsprachig-deutschen Wörterbuches ständig kontrollieren können, welches unter oft mehreren angebotenen Äquivalenten für den jeweiligen Fall genau paßt. Aber nicht nur für den Übersetzer, sondern auch für den Dolmetscher ist die Qualität und Quantität der von einem Wörter-

[14] Vgl. Georg-Friedrich Meier, *Wortprobleme in asiatischen Sprachen*. In: *Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung*. 1/1981, S. 51—58.

buch gebotenen Fachterminologie von großer Bedeutung. In einer Dolmetschsituation wird er zwar nur selten ein großes Wörterbuch konsultieren können. Aber bei der Vorbereitung eines Dolmetscheinsatzes ist es für ihn eine unentbehrliche Quelle, die ihm bis zu einem gewissen Grade auch die Zusammenstellung eines Glossars mit speziell auf den vorzubereitenden Einsatz zugeschnittenem Wortmaterial gestatten muß. Hinzu kommt für eine Sprachenpaar wie Deutsch-Türkisch, daß es hier nicht, wie etwa für einige Sprachenpaare wie Deutsch-Russisch, Deutsch-Englisch, Deutsch-Französisch oder gar Englisch-Französisch (und jeweils umgekehrt), eine reiche Palette von Spezialwörterbüchern für verschiedenste Fachgebiete gibt, wie z. B. die verschiedenen Gebiete der Technik und der Naturwissenschaft. Einige wenige Wörterbüchern dieser Art, die in der Türkei erschienen sind und zudem oft in Umfang und Qualität nicht den vergleichbaren Werken in Mitteleuropa entsprechen, sind in der DDR und selbst in der BRD nur schwer oder gar nicht zugänglich. Daraus erwachsen dem Autor erhöhte Verpflichtungen in bezug auf Umfang und Darstellungsgenauigkeit der aufzunehmenden Fachterminologie.

Es ist keineswegs zu übersehen, daß K. Steuerwald bei der Erarbeitung seines Wörterbuches sehr viel Mühe auf die Einbeziehung des Wortgutes einer Reihe von Fachgebieten verwendet hat. Man findet eine Menge Termini z. B. aus der Nautik, der traditionellen türkischen Landwirtschaft oder der Musik, um nur einige Gebiete zu nennen. Es ist jedoch wichtig, sich klar zu machen, wie weit die Anforderungen an die Erfassung spezieller Fachterminologie tatsächlich reichen. Man muß sich ständig vor Augen halten, daß der gewaltige Einfluß, den der wissenschaftlich-technische Fortschritt auf unser heutiges Leben ausübt, sich natürlich auch in den zur Übersetzung gegebenen Texten niederschlägt, und zwar keineswegs nur in von Fachleuten für Fachleute eines Gebietes geschriebenen Texten, sondern selbst in Texten aus Zeitungen, Zeitschriften, Broschüren usw. Dieses Wortgut muß der Übersetzer auch in seinem Wörterbuch vorfinden. So ist es völlig richtig, daß im T-D (= Steuerwald, Türkisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch) die Eintragung *biçerdöğer* („Mähdrescher") steht, aber im zwei Jahre später erschienenen D-T gibt es keine Eintragung *Mähdrescher*. Und ein Stichwort wie *Pelletierung* o. ä. sucht man ebenfalls vergeblich, obwohl diese Technologie heute eine wichtige Rolle in der Tierproduktion spielt. Mit *Tierproduktion* wäre gleich ein weiterer Terminus gegeben, der unbedingt zwischen *Tierpark* und *Tierquäler* hätte aufgenommen werden müssen.

Diese wenigen Beispiele, an deren Stelle man ohne Schwierigkeiten ganze Listen von nicht aufgenommenem Vokabular angeben könnte, sollen zunächst nur verdeutlichen, worum es geht: Selbstverständlich sind sowohl *Mähdrescher* als auch *Tierproduktion* oder *Pelletierung* Fachtermini, die in einem Wörterbuch der Landwirtschaft ihren Platz finden müßten. Aber es

sind beileibe keine Termini, die *nur* dem Fachmann bekannt sind, sondern sie sind längst Bestandteil der Allgemeinsprache. Selbst ein Terminus wie *Gülle* (auch der fehlt bei Steuerwald), der durchaus nicht jedermann bekannt ist, der nichts mit Landwirtschaft zu tun hat, aber in populärwissenschaftlichen Texten über die Tierproduktion ohne weiteres vorkommen kann, gehört noch in ein Wörterbuch, das dem Übersetzer als Hilfsmittel dienen soll, also kein Taschenwörterbuch ist.

Um dem Eindruck vorzubeugen, es würden hier übertriebene Maximalforderungen aufgestellt, seien jetzt einige Beispiele gegeben, bei denen die Dinge etwas anders liegen. So wird niemand, der einen Aufsatz über Schweißtechnik übersetzt, ernsthaft erwarten, den Begriff *Abbrennstumpfschweißmaschine* in einem Wörterbuch dieses Umfangs vorzufinden. Es wird auch niemanden verwundern, daß der Terminus *Vorbramme* (aus der Stahlproduktion) im D-T nicht verzeichnet ist. Ob aber auch *vorwalzen* fehlen darf? Dieser Terminus gehört möglicherweise in die Grauzone, in der man dem Autor einen gewissen Ermessensspielraum zubilligen muß. Wie groß die Menge ganz elementarer, jeden Tag anzutreffender Termini aus den verschiedensten Gebieten von Naturwissenschaft und Technik ist, die im D-T fehlen, läßt am eindrucksvollsten eine kurze (hier nur angedeutete) Liste ahnen:

Abraumhalde, Auslastung, BMSR-Technik, Buntmetall, Büromaschine, Datenverarbeitung, Fernheizung, Fernwärme, Förderbrücke, Großblockbauweise, Hochspannung, Kassettenrecorder, Kleinkraftrad, Korrosion ... Weiterhin einige Termini aus dem Gebiet der Landwirtschaft: Fleischerzeugnisse, Freilandgemüse, Grünland, Herbizide, landwirtschaftliche Nutzfläche, Mischbrot, Nahrungsgüterwirtschaft, Nutzvieh ...

Im Anschluß an das recht umfangreiche Gebiet der Naturwissenschaften und Technik, unter dem hier auch Termini aus der materiellen Produktion (Industrie und Landwirtschaft) subsummiert wurden, sollen jetzt noch zwei spezielle Fachgebiete gestreift werden: Medizin und Rechtswesen. Natürlich ist es auch hier wieder so, daß von einem „allgemeinsprachigen" Wörterbuch nicht die gesamte Palette der medizinischen und juristischen Fachterminologie erwartet werden kann. Zwei kurze Listen von Beispielen sollen jedoch ebenfalls zeigen, daß das fehlende Vokabular auch einen großen Teil des Fachwortschatzes ausmacht, der längst Bestandteil der Alltagssprache geworden ist. Dabei ist es keineswegs so, daß diese Gebiete bei Steuerwald nicht berücksichtigt wären. Aber das gebotene Wortgut kann dem Übersetzer nicht ausreichen. Die Lücken lassen wieder erkennen, wie hoch die Anforderungen an die Quantität der Terminologieauswahl sind.

Medizin: Allgemeinmedizin, Ambulatorium, Arbeitsmedizin, Arztbesuch, Dispensairebetreuung, Eisprung, Entzugserscheinung, Geschwulstkrankheiten, Hausbesuch, Heilkur, Hinterkopf, Immunologie, Intensivstation, Konsultation, Kuraufenthalt ...

Rechtswesen: Begründung, Erziehungsrecht, Haftsache, hinreichend, ladungsfähig, Oberstes Gericht, sich schuldig machen, Schädlichkeit, Strafakte, einen Tatbestand erfüllen, Tatwerkzeug, Urteilsverkündung, Zivilprozeßordnung, Zustellungsurkunde . . .

Es ist klar, daß die Aufnahme von Fachterminologie in den hier aus der Sicht der Bedürfnisse der Sprachmittlungspraxis beanspruchten Dimensionen sehr schnell auf das Hindernis des begrenzten Umfanges eines Wörterbuches stößt. Insofern sollten nicht nur Lexikografen, sondern auch Verlage Überlegungen anstellen, welche qualitativ und quantitativ neuen Typen von Wörterbüchern in Zukunft praktisch realisierbar sein könnten.

Schließlich kommen wir zu einem Gebiet von ganz zentraler Wichtigkeit: dem Wortschatz der gesellschaftlichen Realität. Damit ist keineswegs nur der sogenannten politische oder ideologierelevante Wortschatz gemeint. Wie weit das angesprochene Gebiet reicht, wird aus den unten angeführten Beispielen hoffentlich erkennbar. Allerdings ist es unmöglich, an dieser Stelle auch nur einen größeren Bruchteil der fehlenden Wörter erfassen zu wollen, denn ihre Zahl ist beachtlich. Auf diesem Gebiet des gesellschaftsbezogenen Wortschatzes hat das Wörterbuch von Steuerwald die größten Lücken.

Es sei an dieser Stelle betont, daß heutzutage ein Wörterbuch, das dem gesellschaftsrelevanten Wortschatz nicht den gebührenden Platz einräumt, in seinem Gebrauchswert stark beeinträchtigt ist. Denn die verschiedenen Sphären des gesellschaftlichen Lebens haben natürlich ihre jeweiligen Fachsprachen — insofern handelt es sich auch hier um echte Terminologien —, aber diese sind mit dem öffentlichen Leben und Bewußtsein und damit auch mit der Alltagssprache so eng verbunden, daß ohne sie nicht einmal einfache Zeitungstexte vollständig übersetzt werden können. So fehlen im D-T zahllose Termini aus der marxistisch—leninistischen Gesellschaftstheorie, der politischen Ökonomie, der Ökonomie, dem Arbeitsleben, dem Bildungswesen, dem kulturellen Leben usw. Dafür einige wenige Beispiele:

Abendstudium, Aspiratur, Aggressivität, Amtskollege, Auftragswerk, außerschulisch, außerunterrichtlich, Bankverbindung, Berufsausbildung, Betriebsferienheim, Denkmalschutz, Diplomarbeit, Direktstudium, Einflußsphäre, Einschulung, Erkenntnistheorie, Expansionismus, Fachbuch, Fernstudium, Fluggesellschaft, freiberuflich, Funktionär, Gedenkstätte, Gesellschaftswissenschaft, Grundfonds, Grundlagenforschung, Grußadresse, Hochschulreife, Jugendherberge, Kindergartenplatz, Kollektivität, Kontonummer, Krippenerzieherin, Kulturerbe, Lebenserwartung, Lehrstelle, Leistungsprinzip . . .

Daß der Autor diesem Teil des Wortschatzes geringere Sorgfalt gewidmet hat, geht auch daraus hervor, daß ihm gerade auf diesem Gebiet mehr sachliche Fehler bei der Äquivalentenangabe unterlaufen sind, als bei anderen. Nun ist es nicht besonders verwunderlich, daß ein bürgerlicher Wissenschaftler

einige der üblichen Begriffsentstellungen der bürgerlichen Ideologie aufsetzt, aber ein Teil gerade dieser Fehler hätte sich-durch einen Blick in wissenschaftliche Definitionen der betreffenden Termini beseitigen lassen. So z. B. wenn unter *Machtpolitik* als erstes Äquivalent *emperyalizm* aufgeführt wird. Weitere Fehler sind z. B. *Volkswirtschaft* (müßte richtig *ülke ekonomisi* heißen), *Nationalität* (*vatandaşlık*, also Staatsangehörigkeit, muß sorgfältig von Nationalität unterschieden werden), *Vorstufe* (*ilk kademe* heißt „erste Stufe" — man stelle sich z. B. den Kapitalismus als erste Stufe des Sozialismus vor!), *Hort* (*kreş* ist eine Kinderkrippe) . . . Wie die Beispiele zeigen, führen solche falschen Äquivalente in Übersetzungen nicht „nur" zu sprachlichem, sondern sehr wohl auch zu sachlichem Unsinn.

Mit unseren kritischen Bemerkungen zu den behandelten Wörterbüchern sollten die großen lexikografischen Leistungen ihrer Autoren keineswegs geschmälert werden. Unser Anliegen war es, sowohl den Autoren künftiger Wörterbücher als auch den Verlagen aus der Sicht der praktischen Anforderungen an ein Wörterbuch Anregungen zu Überlegungen zu geben, die sowohl für die Gestaltung der Wortartikel als auch für die Auswahl des Wortgutes und damit für den Umfang der zu erarbeitenden Wörterbücher Konsequenzen haben.

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VOM URSPRUNG DES KIRGISISCHEN NOMENS *ABÏSÏN* „SCHWÄGERIN"

IMRE GYARMATI

Das kirgisische Nomen *abïsïn* läßt sich aus dem großen Wörterbuch von Judachin mit folgenden Bedeutungen belegen: „snošenica (žena brata ili rodstvennika po otnošeniju k žene drugogo brata ili rodstvennika); Schwägerin (die Frau des Bruders oder Verwandten in Relation zur Frau des anderen Bruders oder Verwandten)" (KirgRSl.: 19).

Dieses Nomen ist auch in anderen türkischen Sprachen nachweisbar. Vgl.: kas. *abïsïn* (nevestka; žena staršego brata po otnošeniju k žene mladšego brata; Schwägerin; die Frau des älteren Bruders in Relation zur Frau des jüngeren Bruders" (KazRSl.: 11); nog. *abïsïn* (NogRSl.: 20), *aβsâŋ* (KalmWb.: 20), kkalp, *abïsïn*: „nevestka (žena odnogo brata po otnošeniju k žene drugogo); Schwägerin (die Frau des einen Bruders in Relation zur Frau des anderen Bruders) (KkalpRSl.: 16); tel. *abïzïn* (Radlov I: 629), chak. *abïzïn* (ChakRSl.: 14), tat. Dial. *absïn* (DialSlTat.: 17) ~ *apsen*: „snošenicy (ženy dvuch brat'ev); Schwägerinnen, die Frauen ((zweier Brüder)" (DialSlTat.: 41); baschk. *aphïn* „die Frauen leiblicher Brüder in Relation zueinander" „ženy rodnych brat'ev (po otnošeniju drug k drugu)" (BaškRSl.: 45); ösb. *åwsin* 1. „nevestka (žena odnogo brata po otnošeniju k žene drugogo)", 2. „upotrebljaetsja pri obraščenii ženščin drug k drugu, esli oni blizko znakomy ili javljajutsja sosedkami"; 1. „Schwägerin (die Frau des einen Bruders in Relation zur Frau des anderen Bruders", 2. „Anrede der Frauen untereinander, wenn sie gute Bekannte oder Nachbarinnen sind" (UzbRSl.: 295).

Räsänen, EtWb. 2, ist der Ansicht, daß das Wort *abïsïn* aus dem Mongolischen stammt, nach unseren Angaben mit Recht.

Die Bedeutungen dieses Nomens werden in den obigen türkischen Sprachen „zur Bezeichnung der Schwägerin, der Frau des älteren oder des einen Bruders in Relation zur Frau des anderen Bruders" gebraucht. Die zweite Bedeutung des ösb. Nomens *åwsin* dürfte als Ergebnis einer inneren Entwicklung entstanden sein.

* Die Abkürzungen s. in meiner früheren Arbeit: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXXVIII,. pp. 357—366, ferner baschk. = baschkirisch, nach *Baškirsko-russkij slovar'*, Moskau 1958

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Das in Frage stehende Nomen ist zumeist in den kiptschakischen Sprachen, ferner in einigen Turksprachen sowie südsibirischen türkischen Sprachen nachweisbar.

Die im Kreise der türkischen Sprachen deutlich erkennbare geographische Lokalisation, ferner der im Lautkörper vorhandene Formans {*-sUn*} deutet auf den mongolischen Ursprung dieses Nomens hin.

Die mongolische Herkunft des untersuchten kirgisischen Nomens läßt sich mit dem mongolischen Ursprung der Wurzel dieses Wortes nachweisen. Seine mongolischen Formen sind die folgenden: schriftmong.: *abisun* „the wife of an elder brother in relation to the wife of a younger brother; die Frau des älteren Bruders in Relation zur Frau des jüngeren Bruders" (Lessing: 4), *abisun* (Golstunskij I: 18), *abisun* ~ *abisun aǰin* (Kowalewski I: 43; das Wort *abisun* führt er auch von Saγang Sečen, 17. Jahrhundert, an), *abisun aǰin*: „des Mannes Brudersweib; nevestka" (Schmidt: 4); bur. *abĭhan* (BurRSl.: 25), chalcha. *awĭsan* (Cevel: 18, MonRSl.: 21), kalm. *awsŋ*, *äwsŋ*: „Schwägerin, die Frau des Bruders des Mannes" (KalmWb.: 20); ord. *awisun* „les femmes d'un même mari l'une par rapport à l'autre; nom dont se désignent l'une l'autre les femmes d'un même mari et qu'elles se donnent mutuellement; ami, collègue" (DOrd. I: 37b). In bezug auf kalm. *awsŋ* vgl. *arsŋ* ~ mong. *araun*, *arisun* „Haut".

Das mongolische Nomen *abisun* „Schwägerin (die Frau des älteren Bruders in Relation zur Frau des jüngeren Bruders" ist eine deverbale Ableitung mit dem Nominalsuffix des mong. Verbs *ab-* „nehmen, bekommen". In bezug auf das Suffix vgl.: Poppe Nom. 99, Szabó § 115.

Schwierigkeiten bereitet, daß die Ableitungen des mongolischen Verbs mit der Bedeutung „nehmen, bekommen" den Verbalstamm *ab-* oder *abu-* enthalten, während hier ein Verbalstamm **abi-* angenommen werden kann. Aus semantischer Sicht wird diese Etymologie durch den Umstand unterstützt, daß auch eine andere Ableitung dieses Verbs mit im wesentlichen ähnlicher Bedeutung nachgewiesen werden kann. Vlg.: mittelmong. *ablin* „selbstgewählte Gattin" (GGM § 43, Haenischs Übersetzung). Vgl.: mong *abali* [= *abāli*] = *bičiqan-ača üsü qaγalun qolboγsan*, *abali* nennt man das Ehepaar, das seit seiner Kindheit verbunden ist durch das [gemainsame] Abschneiden des Haares (*Qorin nigetü toli*, S. 7), ferner chalcha. *awaalĭ* (Cevel: 74), bur. *abaalĭ* (BurRSl. 19), ord. *awāl* (DOrd.: 36), kalm. *awāli* „erstes, gesetzliches Weib; Ehehälfte". plur. *awāliŋŋ* „Eheleute" (KalmWb.: 19). An der gleichen Stelle weist Ramstedt auch auf die türkische Parallele des angeführten mongolischen Wortes hin. Radloff bringt in seinem „Versuch" Zitate aus mehreren südsibirischen türkischen Sprachen. Vgl.: *alyan* „žena, supruga, die Frau, Gattin" (I, 392).

Die ursprüngliche Bedeutung des mongolischen Nomens „die (als Gattin) geheiratete, die der ältere Bruder geheiratet hat" gewesen sein und sich auf

„Schwägerin (die Frau des älteren Bruders in Relation zum jüngeren Bruders)" beschränkt gewesen sein. Bei der Entstehung dieser Bedeutungsveränderung ist auch jener Umstand beachtenswert, daß zur Bezeichnung der gleichen, aber dem Wesen nach entgegengesetzt gerichteten Verwandtschaftsbeziehung, in den mongolischen Sprachen das Nomen *ǎǰin* gebräuchlich ist. Vgl. z. B. schriftmong. *ǎǰin* „the wife of a younger brother in relation to the wife of an elder brother, die Frau des jüngeren Bruders in Relation zur Frau des älteren Bruders" (Lessing: 62), chalcha. *ǎǰin* id. (Cevel: 25).

Die Bedeutungen des ord. Nomens *awisun* (s. oben) dürften durch innere Entwicklung entstanden sein.

Zur Entlehnung des mongolischen Nomens kam es vermutlich in der mittelmongolischen Epoche, obwohl in den mitteltürkischen Sprachdenkmälern keine diesbezüglichen Spuren gefunden werden konnten.

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THE TRANSYLVANIAN *KANTHNER* AND THE BALKAN *KANṬĀR*

AN INQUIRY INTO THE METROLOGY OF THE TURN OF THE 15th—16th CENTURIES

JÁNOS HÓVÁRI

A wealth of documents: account books, tax rolls, twentieth (vicesima) registers, records of receipts and expenses — a unique collection in the eastern regions of Europe — have survived in the municipal archives of Nagyszeben* and Brassó** from the end of the 15th century onwards. Already in the last century, two fragmentary editions of these sources were published: one — *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt*[1] — was devoted to materials from Brassó up to 1551, the other — *Rechnungen aus dem Archiv der Stadt Hermannstadt*[2] — contained documents from Szeben up to 1515. The publication of the sources broke off with the years 1551 and 1515, respectively, although the materials surviving from subsequent years constitute one of the most precious sources for the student of the economic history of medieval Transylvania.[3]

Several municipal tax rolls that provide valuable clues as to the population of a town and their financial standings have already been closely analyzed.[4] More recently, Zsigmond P. Pach subjected to scrutiny the trade in Levantine commodities in Szeben in 1500 and in Brassó in 1503.[5]

* Sibiu today in Roumania

** Braşov today in Roumania

[1] *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen* I. Rechnungen aus dem Archiv der Stadt Kronstadt I—III. Kronstadt, 1886, 1889, 1896.

[2] *Quellen zur Geschichte Siebenbürgens aus sächsischen Archivum* I. Abteilung, Rechnungen aus dem Archiv der Stadt Hermannstadt und der sächsischen Nation I. Hermannstadt, 1880.

[3] The historic value of the unpublished material as a source of study is obvious from the papers of *Samuil Goldenberg* and *Radu Manolescu* concerned with commerce in Brassó and Szeben. S. Goldenberg, *Der Südhandel in der Zollrechnungen von Sibiu (Hermannstadt) im 16. Jahrhundert. Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* II (1964), pp. 385—421. R. Manolescu, *Comerţul Ţarii Româneşti şi Moldovei cu Braşovul (secolele XIV—XVI)*. Bucarest, 1965.

[4] György Granasztói, *Társadalmi tagozódás Brassóban a XV. század végén* [Social stratification in Brassó at the end of the 15th century]. *Századok* [Centuries] (106), 1972, 2, pp. 350—399. *M.* Philippi: *Die Unterschichte der siebenbürgischen Stadt Braşov (Kronstadt) in 14. und 15. Jahrhundert. Revue Roumain Histoire* (16), 1977, 4, pp. 657—687.

[5] Zsigmond Pál Pach, *A Levante-kereskedelem erdélyi útvonala a 15—16. század*

An extensive analysis of the already published account books can provide researchers with essential price-historical data, or even whole sets of data up to 1551 for Brassó, and these sets can be further extended by gleaning new data from the so-far unpublished archival material. Research of this kind, and research into the history of prices in general, is impeded by the fact that existing knowledge on the units of measures, especially of weight, used in 15th—16th century Hungary — notably in the Saxon towns — is scanty. True, a handbook of the linear and square measures of the 16th century was completed by István Bogdán[6] — a most valuable stop-gap enterprise, but a similar summary of weights is not yet available.

The students of economic history try to eliminate these problems by taking as their starting point the state of affairs before the introduction of the metric system, thereby disregarding the fact that attempts at standardization had been made as far back as the late Middle Ages. The survival of a designation does not necessarily mean the survival of the measure as well. What further compounds the problem is that the actual quantity of one and the same unit of measure differed from commodity to commodity. Thus metrology has to specify its answers to the arising questions in a "commodity-centric" way, as it were. In the account books of Szeben and Brassó each measure is quite distinct. In Brassó metals were measured by the *centenarius*, cereals by the *köböl*, wax and honey by the *massa*, spices, cotton and rice by the *kanthner*.[7] Metrologists have still to examine what weight the *centenarius* denoted, which *köböl* was meant by this name, and how many of which pounds amounted to a *massa* in various centuries of the Middle Ages. This paper is intended to contribute some further information to the definition of the Transylvanian *kanthner* and the Balkan spice *kanṭār* as they were used in the 15th—16th centuries.

In order to be able to establish the exact weight of a measure, one first has to tackle the problem of determining the volume of the pounds and marks (the dividing unit of the pound) used in the studied region. As a rule, a larger weight was the integral multiple of the pound.

In the Hungarian kingdom of the Middle Ages, a whole range of weights and measures were in use. The attempts of Sigismund of Luxembourg and Matthias Corvinus to standardize the measures were to no avail; nor did

fordulóján [The Transylvanian route of Levantine trade at the turn of the 15th—16th centuries] In: *Századok* (122), 1978. 6, pp. 1005—38.

[6] István Bogdán, *Magyarországi hossz- és földmértékek a XVI. század végéig* [Linear and superficial measures in Hungary up to the end of the 16th century]. Budapest 1978. p. 338.

[7] Zs. P. Pach, *Századok* 1978, *op. cit.* p. 1017.

the Habsburgs fare better after 1541.[8] The metrological history of Transylvania is especially perplexing, as there were and still are three cultures — Hungarian, German, and Romanian — juxtaposed there, each mediating a more distant culture (the Germans that of the far West; the Hungarians that of the Danube Basin; the Romanians that of the eastern Mediterranean through their network of relations with the Balkans and the Turks), and these influences — whether cultural or economic — either reinforce or cancel out one another. The two towns where these diverse lines of influence converged were none other than Nagyszeben and Brassó. It is rewarding for the cultural and the economic historian alike to probe into this intricate texture of interactions.[9] Beneath the changes of the measures, older or perhaps the original relationships were preserved. By tracking them down to the fountainhead, we may uncover so-far unknown relations and will, in any case, improve on our stock of knowledge.[10]

The need to define the exact weight of the *kanthner* had long escaped the attention of metrologists as it was commonly taken to be a synonym for the *massa* and identified, from the meaning of the term *zentner*, with a 100-pound massa. Economic historians, on the other hand, were only concerned to decide whether the Vienna or the Buda *zentner*, or *massa*, was in use in the Saxon towns. In his paper of 1956, Francisc Pall — with reference to

[8] For the unification of the medieval linear and square measures in Hungary see: Bogdán, *op. cit.* pp. 53—55. On similar attempts in Transylvania see: Zsigmond Jakó, *Az erdélyi mértéktörténet kérdéséhez* [To the question of metrology in Transylvania]. Erdélyi Múzeum, 1945. pp. 240—243.

[9] Transylvania's scholars of Hungarian cultural history have embarked on a comprehensive investigation of the interaction of cultures co-existing in Transylvania, including every aspect of economic and social interrelations. With this end in mind they published: *Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok* [Studies in Culture History]. Ed. Elek Csetri, Zsigmond Jakó, Sándor Tonk. Bukarest, 1979. 260 p, and its second volume: *Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok* [Studies in Culture History]. Ed. Elek Csetri, Zsigmond Jakó, Gábor Sípos, Sándor Tonk. Bucharest, 1980. 328 p. For a recent elaboration of the Hungarian-Roumanian-Saxon co-existence see: Pál Binder, *Közös múlt románok, magyarok, németek és dél-szlávok feudalizmus kori falusi és városi együttéléséről* [A common past; on the rural and urban co-existance of Roumanians, Hungarians, Saxons and South-Slavs in the age of feudalism]. Bucharest, 1982. 396 p.

[10] The works focussing on the economic history of the Transylvanian Saxon towns must sooner or later face up to the problems of metrology. The *köböl* as used in Transylvania was explored by Emma Lederer and Zsigmond Jakó. Emma Lederer: *Régi magyar űrmértékek* [Old Hungarian measures of capacity]. *Századok* (57—58) 1923. 24, pp. 123—257, and 305—326. Jakó, *op. cit.* Attempts to establish the Transylvanian weights were made by F. Pall, S. Goldenberg and R. Manolescu. F. Pall, *Relații comerciale dintre brașoveni și raguzani* (cu documente inedite despre negoțul linii in anul 1578). *Revista Archivelor*, Seria Nouă, 1, 1958. pp. 97—98. Manolescu, *op. cit.* p. 305. The best and only metrological summary available in Rumanian literature is N. Stoicescu, *Cum masurau strămoșii metrologia medievală pe teritoriul României*. Bucharest, 1971. pp. 23—329.

Bálint Hóman — concluded that in Transylvania the Buda *massa* containing 120 pouns (58.929—58.864 kg) was in use ; as another variant, he also assumed a *massa* of 100 Turkish pounds (63.695 kg).[11] In analyzing the trade of Nagyszeben in the latter half of the 16th century, Samuil Goldenberg put the weight of the *massa* used in Szeben at 100 Vienna pounds (56.— kg).[12]

The *massa* and *kanthner* weights used in different towns are seldom, if ever, identical, for — as has been mentioned — each weight measured a different kind of commodity. The present author's major source of inspiration was Zsigmond P. Pach's study entitled *A Levante-kereskedelem erdélyi útvonala* [The Transylvanian route of Levantine trade], in which he points out that the *kanthner* was exclusively used for weighing oriental spices, cotton and rice.[13] Consequently, the investigation could be restricted to the ways measuring these goods.

Etymologically, the *kanthner*, used in Nagyszeben and Brassó to measure spices, cotton and rice, is the Middle-High German variant of *zanthner—zentner* (derived, in turn, from the Latin *centenarius*).[14] It was known both in German-speaking countries and in those towns in East-Central Europe which had been founded by Germans.[15] Its dividing unit was the pound (pondus or libra),

[11] Pall, *op. cit.* p. 98. Bálint Hóman, *Magyar pénztörténet, 1000—1325* [Monetary History of Hungary, 1000—1325]. Budapest 1916. p. 118.

[12] Goldenberg, *op. cit.* p. 399.

[13] Zs. P. Pach, *Századok* 1978. op. cit. p. 1018. *idem* : *The Transylvanian Route of Levantine Trade at the Turn of the 15th and 16th Centuries.* In : *Studia Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae.* Budapest 1980. pp. 34—35.

[14] F. Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache.* Strassburg, 1894. p. 416. *zentner* — ein Gewicht von hundert Pfund. In Cologne : *zinder, zintner, zinter.* In Bavaria and Austria : *centen, zenten, center, zenter.* J. Grimm und W. Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch.* Leipzig, 1956. 15, pp. 638—39 : *Zentner* : Gewichtseinheit, 50 kg, 100 Pfund. G. Wahring, *Das grosse deutsche Wörterbuch.* Gütersloh, 1967. p. 4087. In Dutch it was naturalized as *centenaar.* J. de Vries, *Nederlands Etymologisch Woordenbock.* Leiden, 1963. p. 99. For the *centenarium* common in medieval Latin see : D. Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis.* Niort, 1883. 2, pp. 262—63. On the weights of different European *Zenters* (*centers*) see : Alfonz Ereky, *Mérték-, súly- és pénzismeret* [Measures, weights and coinages]. Székesfehérvár, 1881. For a complete list of *zenter* weights see : H. J. Alberti, *Mass und Gewicht.* Berlin, 1957. pp. 385—387.

[15] Including Hungary. In Sopron in 1460 : "von erst, so die kramer kauffent I. *centen* pheffer per XXVIII tal. den." Jenő Házi, *Sopron szabad királyi város története* [The history of the royal free town of Sopron] Part 2, vol. 6. Sopron, 1943, p. 214. In the thirtieth tariff of Sopron dated between 1483 and 1490 : "IIII. tal pfeffer — 1 groschen" *op. cit.*, p. 259. "Vonn ain kar pfeffer III. fl. XII groschen. Vonn ain *zentenn* pfeffer III fl. XII groschen." *op. cit.* p. 261. The latter data may be instrumental in determining the weight of the *kar*, or *karg*, an East-Central European variant of the *cargo* used in the Mediterranean. Cargo also figures in Joannes Siebenlinder's Buda vertigalium of 1436. "Item de uno Karig piperis bonos grossos quadraginta." Georgius Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis.* Buda, 1843. X, 8, p. 667.

of which 100 were very rare to make up a *zentner*. The weight of the pound differed depending on which pound, or which mark containing the pound, was common in the town. Very little is known of the weights used in Transylvania, including Brassó and Szeben, in the 15th—16th centuries.

The term *ḳanṭār* got into Arabic (*ḳinṭār*)[16] through Byzantine mediation (κεντηναρι), and Arabic, in turn, conveyed it to Turkish.[17] (The Byzantine κεντηναρι is definitely derived from the Latin *centenarius*.[18]) It must have found its way back into the Romance languages from Arabic. The languages of the Balkans borrowed it from Ottoman-Turkish and still regard it as a Turkish loanword.[19]

Via the Arabic language, ḳanṭār was incorporated in Spanish, French and Portuguese in the form of *quintal* and as *cantaro* in Italian.[20] The quintal

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Ferenc Kováts, who published the text of the Siebenlinder-tariff, failed to establish the exact weight of the *karg* in his study on the customs register of Pozsony for the year 1456/57. Ferenc Kováts, *Nyugat-Magyarország áruforgalma a XV. században a pozsonyi harmincad könyv alapján* [The trade of Western Hungary in the 15th century on the basis of the customs registers of Pozsony]. Történeti-statisztikai tanulmány [A historical-statistical study]. Budapest 1902. 212, pp. 78—79. In the lawbook of Buda: "So schol untter dresing pfunten, dass ist eyn virtail centen nichten verkaufft werden." Károly Mollay: *Das Ofner Stadtrecht. Eine Deutschsprachige Rechtsammlung des 15. Jahrhunderts aus Ungarn*. Budapest 1959. p. 193. One of the entries in the accounts of the Polish Prince Sigismund Jagellon's expenses in Hungary for 1501 reads: "pro quartali *czathnar* piperis XI flor. in moneta, quia *czathnar* in Ungaria continet centum et viginti libras." Adorján Divéky, *Zsigmond lengyel herceg budai számításai 1500—1502*. [The Buda accounts of Polish Prince Sigismund for 1500—1502]. In: 105. *Történelmi Tár* [Historical Collection], 1914. p. 152.

[16] A. Barthelemy, *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français. Dialectes de Syrie, Alep, Damas, Liban, Jerusalem*. Paris, 1935. p. 685.

[17] The Ottoman *ḳanṭār* derives from *ḳinṭār* also mentioned in the Koran (III, 12, 68). J. Th. Zenker, *Dictionnaire turc-arabe-persan*. Leipzig, 1866. p. 710. W. Redhouse, *Turk and English Lexicon*. Istanbul 1921. p. 1476.

[18] Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis*. Lugduni, 1688. p. 634.

[19] Cf. note 32.

[20] K. Lokotsch, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der europäischen (germanischen, romanischen und slavischen) Wörter orientalistischen Ursprung*. Heidelberg, 1927. p. 94. W. Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg, 1935, p. 382. The French *quintal* comes from the Arabic *qintar* and has been in use since the 13th century. Basically a unit of measure, it also features in some set phrases, e.g. charger au quintal. For *cantal tsyentári*: balance pouvant peser 50 kg. W. von Wartburg, *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Basel, 1967, p. 19. Band. Orientalia, p. 94. L. M. Devic: *Dictionnaire étymologique des mots français d'origine orientale*. Amsterdam, 1876, reprint 1965. p. 87. For the Italian *cantaro*, in Genoa *cantá*: antica misura de peso. C. Battisti—G. Alessio, *Dizionario etimologico italiano*. Firenze, 1950. 1, p. 726. For the Spanish and Portuguese *quintal*: R. Dozy et W. H. Engelmann, *Glossaire des Mots Espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'Arabe*. Leyden, 1896. p. 327.

weighed 46—58.75 kg, the *cantaro* varied between 43.5 and 93 kg. The *ḳanṭār* weights used in Arabic-speaking areas had greater diversity than the *quintal* or the *cantaro*. Whereas the latter two were adjusted to European pounds, the ḳanṭār was accommodated to the standard weight of the Arabic world, the *raṭl*.[21] Normally, a *ḳanṭār* corresponded to 100 *raṭl*, but the standard *raṭl* weights themselves were also immensely varied. The *ḳanṭār* of Aleppo, also known to the 14th-century Italian merchant Pegolotti, fluctuated between 227.5 and 229.6 kg,[22] with the Syrian *ḳanṭār* equalling only 185—192.4 kg.[23] There are data on a Baghdad *ḳanṭār* of 327.5 kg and a Basra *ḳanṭār* of 233.376 kg.[24] In 1722, the *ḳanṭār* of Hormuz was identical with the Portuguese *quintal* (58.750 kg),[25] possibly due to the former Portuguese dominion (1514—1622). Close to it was a *ḳanṭār* of 57 kg used in Iran mostly for measuring silk.[26] In Algeria, a *ḳanṭār* of 120 Troyes pounds, or 44.79 kg, used for measuring spices, and another one — the so-called 'large' *ḳanṭār* — of 180 Troyes pounds, or 67.18 kg, mainly for weighing metals, were in use right up to the present century.[27] In Egypt, *ḳanṭār* weights were kaleidoscopic in their variety. One, weighing 150 Marseille pounds = 61.189 kg, is known from 1584.[28] In his "practica della mercatura", a similar work to Pegolotti's, Uzzano mentions an Egyptian *ḳanṭār* as equalling 318 Venetian pounds, or 95.8 kg.[29] Another weight with the equivalence of 257 Genoese pounds (81.4 kg) was also known to Pegolotti.[30] A widely used and frequently mentioned *ḳanṭār*, of 128 libbre fiorentine (43.456 kg), or 144 libbre sottili in Vinegia (43.38 kg), served to weigh spices and cotton, or as an English traveller noted in 1584 : "The weight of Alexandria is called Pois *Forfarine*, which is a *kintel* in that place, which maketh at Marseils 109, li(bra) of Marseils weight" (44.4646 kg). This *ḳanṭār*

[21] W. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte, umgerechnet ins metrische System*. In : *Handbuch der Orientalistik*. Ergänzungsband 1. Heft. Leyden, 1955. *op. cit.*

[22] Hinz, *op. cit.* p. 26. The equation was the same in the 19th century too. L. C. Bleibtreu, *Handbuch der Münz-, Mass- und Gewichtskunde*. Stuttgart, 1863. pp. 36—37. Bladucci Pegolotti, *La practica della mercatura* ed. by *A. Evans*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1936, reprint New York, 1970, p. 68.

[23] Hinz, *op. cit.* p. 26.

[24] Hinz, *op. cit.* p. 26.

[25] Hinz, *op. cit.* pp. 26—27.

[26] Ali Qomi's Istanbul manuscript (Hs. Aya Sofya Nr. 3986, Bl. 132b.) equates it with 30 männ (1 *männ* = 1.9 kg). Quoted by Hinz, *op. cit.* p. 26.

[27] Hinz, *op. cit.* p. 27. *Hakluy Extra Series* V. Glasgow, 1964, p. 271.

[28] Hinz, *op. cit.* p. 25.

[29] Quoted by Hinz, *op. cit.* p. 25. (Uzzano, *La practica della mercatura*. Lissabon/Lucca, 1766. p. 110.).

[30] Hinz, *op. cit.* p. 25. For further ḳanṭār weights see : Balducci Pegolotti, *op. cit.* pp. 72—76.

in the region of 45 kg was called *cantaro forfori* in Italian and *qintar folfoli* in Arabic, that is a "pepper *ḳanṭār*".[31]

Right up to the introduction of the metric system in the latter half of the 19th century, the *ḳanṭār* was a well-known and commonly used weight in the Ottoman Empire and the Balkan states. In the Serbian, Bulgarian, Roumanian, Modern Greek and Albanian languages the word denotes 'scales' and with the exception of Serbian, all derive the verb 'to weigh' from *ḳanṭār*.[32]

[31] Hakluyt, *Extra Series Bd.* V. Glasgow, 1904, p. 272. Uzzano, *La practica della mercatura.* Lissabon/Lucca 1766, p. 111, quoted by Hinz, *op. cit.*, p. 25; E. Ashtor: *La découverte de la voie maritime aux Indes et les prix des épices.* In: *Mélanges à l'honneur de Fernand Braudel.* Toulouse, 1973. I. pp. 31—38; Zs. P. Pach, *Századok* 1978. *op. cit.* pp. 1017—1018; Pegolotti enumerated the following data for the definition of *cantaro forfori*: Il cantar forfori d'Allessandria fae in Napoli libbre 120 in 122; Cantaro 1 (forfori) d'Allessandria fae in Salerno libbre 120 in 122, p. 72; Il cantaro forfori d'Allessandria fae in Constantinapoli libbre 144 in 147 grosse, p. 73; Cantaro 1 forfori d'Allessandria fae in Vinegia libbre 140 a peso sottile, p. 74; Cantaro 1 forfori d'Allessandria fae in Firenze libbre 103 (or 123); Cantaro 1 forfori fae in Pisa libbre 130; Cantaro d'Allessandria fae in Genova libbre 139; Cantaro 1 forfori d'Allessandria fae in Provenza cantaro 1 e routoli 3, p. 75; Cantaro 1 forfori d'Allessandria fae in Fiera (Fiere di Campagne (Champagne) libbre 90; Cantaro 1 forfori d'Allessandria fae in Cipri routoli 19, p. 76. Similarly abundant are the data on the equivalents of the *cantaro* weights in a 15th-century handbook for merchants compiled on the basis of Venetian and Florentine experiences. F. Borlandi (ed.), *El libro di mercantantie et usanze d'paesi.* Torino, 1936: Cantare 1 forfori d'Allessandria fa in Allexandria routoli 46 oncie 3 1/2 zeroi d'Allexandria; Cantare 1 forfori d'Allessandria fa in Alexandria routoli 20 oncie 11 23/27 laundi d'Alexandria; Cantare 1 forfori d'Alessandria fa in Alesandria mene 55 1/2 d'Allexandria; Cantare 1 forfori d'Allessandria fa in Alessandria pesi 14400 (d) di miaresi d'Allexandria; Cantare 1 forfori d'Allessandria fa in Vinegia libre 92 oncie 7 al grosso e al sottile libre 146 1/7; Routloi forfori d'Allessandria fa in Alesandria oncie 5 111/200 (e) zerui d'Alexandria; Routoli forfori d'Alexandria fa in Alexandria oncie 6 1/2 (f) laundi d'Alexandria. Borlandi, *op. cit.*, p. 100. P. Rocca has the *cantare* of Genoa equal to 150 livres (1 livre = 317.664 gr) or 100 rotoli, i.e. 47.65 kg. P. Rocca, *Pesi e misure antichi di Genova e del Genovesato.* Gênes, 1871. Recently quoted by M. Baland, *La Romanie Génoise.* (XIIe — début du XVe siècle). Rome, 1978. p. 897. The same in A. Schaube's Table is put at 47.25 kg. The latter is a *kantarius*, as against the *centenarius* of 100 livres (31.5 kg). The spice *centenarius* of London weighed 47.6 kg, the *cantarius* of Pisa was 52.8 kg, that of Sardinia 55.75 kg. As has been mentioned, the cantarius weights of the kingdom of Sicily varied between 78.2 and 88 kg. The Venetian cantarius of 150 librae grossae corresponded to 72 kg, and the centenarius of Venice to 30.24 kg. The Southern French *quintale* of Marseille amounted to 41.6 kg. A. Schaube puts the cantarius forforinus of Alexandria at 43.5 kg. A. Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte der romanischen Völker des Mittelmeergebiets bis zum Ende der Kreuzzüge.* München—Berlin, 1906. pp. 814—816. Most recently on the *cantaro forfori* see: E. Ashtor, *Levantine Weights and Standard Parcels*: a Contribution to the Metrology of the Later Middle Ages. In: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* XLV. (1982), 3, p. 471.

[32] A good review of the Ottoman *ḳanṭār* and the related concepts is given by M. Z. Pakalin, *Osmanli tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü.* Istanbul, 1946. I. pp. 161—162. For

The use of *kanṭār* as a weight measure can be reconstructed by examining the spread of the word from the viewpoint of historical linguistics. It was known both in the Hungarian area under Turkish domination and in Tran-

its diffusion in the Balkans: F. Miklosich, *Die Türkische Elemente in den Südost- und Osteuropäischen Sprachen* (Griechisch, Albanisch, Rumänisch, Bulgarisch, Serbisch, Kleinrussisch, Grossrussisch, Polnisch). In: *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Classe.* XXXVIII. Bd. Vienna, 1900. Lokotsch, *op. cit.*, p. 94. J. Kabrda: *Poids et mésures employés dans les sandjaks balkaniques aux XVe et XVIIe siècles.* In: *Sbornik Praci Filosoficke Fakulty Brnenske University — Studie Minora Facultatis Philosophiae Universitatis Brunensis,* 1973, p. 109. S. Kakuk, *Recherches sur l'histoire de la langue osmanlie des XVIe et XVIIe siècles.* Les éléments osmanlis de la langue hongroise. Budapest 1973. pp. 212—213. For its incorporation in Slavic languages see: F. Miklosich, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der slavischen Sprachen.* Wien, 1886. p. 111: According to Berneker, the term *kanṭār* not only got into the Slavic tongues of the Balkans, but also into Russian, Ukrainian and medieval Polish. E. Berneker, *Slavisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch.* Heidelberg, 1924. 1, p. 482. In Serbian and Croatian, the words related to measurement derive from *kantár*: *käntar* — Schnellwaage, Gewicht; *kantargija* — Waagemeister; *kantarina* — Waagegebühr, Waagegeld; *käntärnica* — Waageschale. A. Kneževič, *Die Turzismen in der Sprache der Kroaten und Serben.* Meisenheim am Glau, 1962. p. 181. A. Škaljič, *Turcizmi u sprskohorvatskom jeziku.* Sarajevo, 1966. p. 392. P. Skok, *Etimologijski rjernik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika.* Zagreb, 1972. 2, p. 35. In Bulgarian *kantār* — Sz. Romanszki, *Recsnik na szövremenija bölgarszki knizsoven jazik.* Sofia, 1955. I, p. 582. In Macedonian detto: B. Koneszki, *Recsnik namakedon szkiot jezik szo szrpszkohorvatszki tolkuvan'a.* Skopje, 1961. I, p. 318. In Russian *kantár*, in Ukrainian *kántar*: M. Vasmer, *Russisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch.* Heidelberg, 1953. 2, p. 519. Similarly in the Roumanian to Serbo-Croatian, words having to do with measurement root in *kantár—cîntar*: *cîntăresc*—to measure; *cîntăreală*—the measuring; *cîntaragiu*—a person who measures. L. Şeineanu, *Influenţa orientale asupra limbei şi culturei române.* Bucharest, 1900. 2, p. 85. A. Cioranescu, *Diccionario Etimologico Rumano.* Madrid, 1958. 1, p. 183. For its spread as a unit of measure: D. Mioc şi N. Stoicescu, *Măsurile medievale de greutate din Ţara Românească.* Instrumentele de măsurat capacitatea şi greutatea. Studii, 1964. pp. 91—92. Stoicescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 259—277. In Albanian it came to stay in the form of *kandár.* G. Meyer, *Albanische Studien* IV. *Das griechisch-südromanisch-albanische Wörterzeichniss des Kavalliotis.* In: *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historischen Classe,* XII. Abhandlung (132) Vienna, 1895. p. 52. G. Meyer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Albanischen Sprache.* Strassburg, 1891, p. 173. In modern Greek: G. Meyer, *Neugriechischen Studien* IV. *Die romanische Lehnworte im Neugriechischen.* In: *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historischen Classe,* VI. Abhandlung (132) Vienna, 1895. p. 31. K. Koukkides, *Lexilogion hellenikon lexeon paragomenon ek tes Turkikes.* Athens, 1960. p. 37. In the dialect of the Pontus Greeks its form is *gantar.* Ch. Symeonidis, *Lautlehre der türkischen Lehnwörter im neugriechischen Dialekt des Pontos.* Athens, 1972. p. 139. It should be noted here that the Codex Cumanicus does not mention the *kantar*, or any other unit of measure for that matter. Nor does the fragmentary Turkish customs register of Kaffa from the end of the 15 th century contain a reference to the *kanṭār*. Apart from Ottoman Turkish, the only Turkic language in which it can be detected is Kharaim. W. Zajączkowski, *Die arabischen und neupersischen Lehwörter im karaimischen.* In: *Folia Orientalia* (III), 1961. 1—2, p. 190.

sylvania. While in the territory under Turkish rule it was introduced by the invaders, in Transylvania it was diffused via the trade relations with the Turks and the two Romanian principalities.[33]

The editors of the *Quellen* and *Rechnungen* did not fail to identify the *kanthner* of Brassó and Szeben with the Balkan *ḳanṭār*, but they failed to specify the exact weight of this ḳanṭār. Metrological studies highlighting the Balkans and the Ottoman Empire normally calculate with the so-called Istanbul *ḳanṭār* of 44 *oḳḳa*-s. What might explain this tendency is the fact

[33] Zs. Kakuk, *op. cit.* On its spread in Hungary: *Monumenta Hungariae Historica. Magyar Történelmi emlékek* [Hungarian Historical Monuments]. Class I. Documents. Budapest 1857—1948. XXIX, 1519. Bartal, who draws his data from the account books of Brassó, has it equal with between 50 and 230 kg, i.e. with a *massa*. Antonius Bartal, *Glossarium Mediee et infimae latinitatis regni Hungariae*. Budapest, MCMI. 99. In József Benkő's view the *kantár* was brought to Transylvania by Greek merchants. "Ilyen ama kereskedőknél (görögöknél — H. J.) esméretes mérőeszköz is a *Kantár*, melyet ők *Kandári*-nak, másképpen *Statera*-nak is mondanak." (One such weight used by those merchants (i.e. Greeks — J. H.) is the *kantár*, which they also call *kandári* or otherwise *statera*.) József Benkő, *A magyar és török nyelv mely keveset egyezzen* (1791—1792) [How much do Hungarian and Turkish tally?]. ed. by Zoltán Éder, *Benkő József nyelvészeti munkássága és az erdélyi magyar nyelvművelő társaság* [József Benkő's linguistic work and the Hungarian philological society of Transylvania]. Budapest 1978, p. 166. In Transylvania the word *kantár* first occurs in a Hungarian text, notably in the account books of Kolozsvár, in 1588. "24 july Lowas Istwan vitt Vrunknak harom lowan, egy *Kantar* Malosa zeoleott, Egy Kantar Riskassat Egy Kantar Mondolat attam neky az harom lora Feyerwarigh f. 2. d. 67 24 July Veottunk . . . Egy Kantar Riskassat f. 7" In 1599 a customs duty of 2 florins was paid in Kolozsvár on *a kantár of pepper*. In the Kolozsvár vectigalium of 1620 ". . . egi Kantar giömber tul f 1/50." Some data from 1674 reveal what kinds of commodities were measured by the *kantár*. "Torchvarrol administraltanak elsó uttal Malosa szolot egy Kantart . . . Figét egy Kantart . . . Egy Kantár Riskását . . ." The records of the prince's household referred to here also include data on the division of the kantar. "Brassóból hosztanak Riskását egy kantárral de ki nem lott, hanem uolt 8 font héya Tolt csak 112 fontra." Although in Transylvania the *kantár* was most commonly used as a synonym for the *massa* — "Egy Masa vagy kantár Gyapotról f 11/50. Egy Mása Vagy Kantár Borstol f 3//00 . . ." as the vectigalium of Marosvásárhely for 1687 reads — a vectigalium of 1688, also from Transylvania, differentiates between the two measures. "Egy Másában vag(y)o(n) oka no 52 Egy Másb(an) vagyo(n) font no 144. Egy Kantárban vagyo(n) fon(t) no 120 Egy kantárban vagyo(n) oka no 48 . . ." This proves two things: firstly, that the two weights were different, and secondly, that the *massa* and the *kantár* were divided by different pounds. The ratio between the pound of the massa and that of the kantar must have been 0.9 : 1. It must be admitted, however, that the household records also contain data for 1678 on a *kantár* of 44 *okka*s. "I January attunk volt Sandor Deaknak vásárlásra Havasalföldi Uttyára száz forintot . . . Mellyen való vásárlást hozott meg 2 Aprilis . . . Két kantár Riskását 150 penzen okáját . . . Egy kantarban vagyon negyven negy oka 44." These data belonging to the as-yet unpublished material of the *Erdélyi Szótörténeti Tár*. Compiled and edited by Attila T. Szabó. Bucharest, I, 1975. p. 1225. II. 1978. p. 1219. III, 1982. p. 1162. was made available to me by Attila T. Szabó and Jenő Nagy. I am indebted to them for their kind help.

that in an attempt to unify the system of measures in the early 19th century, it was decided that the *ḳanṭār* of 44 *oḳḳa*-s (56—58 kg) should be the standard of measurement. Areas earlier under Turkish suzerainty or recently liberated from it — Serbia, Wallachia, Moldavia, Montenegro, and Bulgaria — all adjusted their measures to this Turkish standard weight. It was a contributory factor to this tendency that the Istanbul *ḳanṭār* was very close to, or nearly identical with, the 100-pound (56 kg) Vienna *massa*[34] that the Viennese court wished to get adopted in the countries of the Habsburg crown. The 44-*oḳḳa ḳanṭār* of Istanbul was, however, only one of the many *ḳanṭār*s prevailing in the Balkans and the Ottoman Empire. This is amply evidenced by *M. Sauvaire* in his paper published in *Journal Asiatique* in 1884: the weight of the ḳanṭār varied between 32 and 100 *oḳḳa*-s.[35]

Except for the indubitable contribution of Vlajinac, Ottoman and Balkan studies are still faced with a number of puzzling metrological problems.[36] In his already quoted *Islamische Maße und Gewichte*, Hinz is chiefly concerned with the Asian territories of the Ottoman Empire. Unique as it still is in the metrology of the Orient, his work published in 1955 needs rectification on several points to which new data have been supplied by more recent research.

One of the most lucrative branches of the Levantine trade was spices. The spices originating from India made their way from the shores of the Levant not only towards Venica and Genoa — and further again to the great cities of western Europe — but also towards East-Central Europe across the Ottoman Empire.

[34] M. Vlajinač, *Rečnik naših sztarih mera* I—IV. Belgrade, 1961, 1968, 1974. III. pp. 350—366. A similarly unequivocal correspondence is with the Skutari Center (of 56 kg) which equals 40 *oka grossa*, or 44 *oka sottile*. *Detailbeschreibungen*, von Albanien. 1. Theil. Nord. Albanien mit den angrenzenden Theilen Dalmatiens und Montenegros. Vienna, 1900. p. 424.

[35] M. H. Sauvaire, *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la numismatique et de la métrologie musulmanes*. In: *Journal Asiatique*, 1884. 4, (août-septembre—octobre) pp. 261—269. When discussing the *oḳḳa* (*oque*) weights, he already mentions two kinds of *ḳanṭār*: the Egyptian of 36 *oḳḳa*s (44.493 kg) (*qantar mesry—qintar misry*), and the Istanbul *ḳanṭār* containing 44 *oḳḳa*s (54.380 kg) (qantar roumy—qintar rumi), *op. cit.* 1884, 3 (avril—mai—juin), p. 380; for *ḳanṭār* weights of 32, 36, 40, 42 and 44 okkas *op. cit.* 1884. 4 (août-septembre—octobre), pp. 261—269. Similarly varied are the data on *cantar, cantaro* weights in the Venetian sources. Cf. Barlandi *op. cit.* Vlajinač, *op. cit.* (1968) 3, pp. 350—358. Visiting the Ottoman Empire in 1553—55, Hans Dernschwam recorded that a *cantar* was equal to 110 Hungarian pounds. Zsuzsa Kakuk, *Türkisches aus Hans Dernschwams Tagebuch*. In: *Acta Orientalia*, 1978. 2, p. 150. The *ḳanṭār* weights display at least as much diversity as do the *kile* weights analyzed by J. Kabdra, *op. cit.* pp. 110—111.

[36] He also quotes several fundamental works pertaining to the Balkans: *Bibliographia Metrologiae Historicae* (brevis et imperfecta) Collegit et digessit Prof. Miroslav Kurelac, socius operis et redactor editionis M. Zlatko Herkov. Zagreb, MCMLXXXI.

Zsigmond P. Pach's researches revealed that the spices imported to the eastern region of the Hungarian kingdom, especially to Brassó and Nagyszeben, turned these towns into the hubs of Levantine trade in the 14th—15th centuries. By that time, the eastern part of the Ottoman Empire-in-Europe had been densely intersected with routes leading to the crossing-places on the Danube. These routes, bound for East-Central Europe, set out from Istanbul or from Black Sea ports: Akkerman (Dneprovski-Belgorod, Cetatea Alba), Kilia (Chilia, Kilija), Tulça, (Tulcea), Mesembria and Varna. Brassó and Nagyszeben were major junctures and distributing places along these routes. The Danube delta was linked to Brassó by a route from Kilia passing Braila and two others from Silistra and Yergöğü (Giurgiu), both via the Danube crossings.[37] Nagyszeben, though connected with Yergöğü too, was principally in touch with the Ottoman Empire along the routes passing Niğebolu (Nikopol).[38] The Danube crossings had been under Turkish control from 1396 or 1417. The minutely organized administration of the Ottoman Empire also made sure that customs registers were kept at the crossing places. Regrettably, however, only the fragmentary customs register of Yergöğü for 1506—1508 and 1515—17 have come down to us from this section of the Danube.[39]

Customs duties levied on spices, first of all pepper, are frequent items in the customs register of Yergöğü. Pepper is recorded by the *ḳanṭār*, with several entries also indicating its volume in *oḳḳa*, the dividing unit of the *ḳanṭār*. A comparison of pepper prices, recorded both by the *ḳanṭār* and the *oḳḳa* during the same period of time, may prompt the following assumption.

Several shipments of pepper were entered into the fragmentary customs register of Yergöğü for 1506—1508 and 1515—1517. The price of an oḳḳa of pepper appears to have been 45 *akçe* between 1506 and 1508 (from the year 1506—1507 entries were given only in *ḳanṭār*s). With two exceptions (November 6, 1507) the price of a *ḳanṭār* was 1700 akçe. Accordingly, the ratio of the *oḳḳa* to the *ḳanṭār* is 37.7777. What underlies this fraction is the fact that customs officers usually brought the smaller quantities up or down to make a round sum of five or ten. It is thus rare to have an exact rate of exchange. In 1515—1516, the price of an *oḳḳa* was between 45 and 50 *akçe*, the price of a *ḳanṭār* was always 1,800 *akçe*. From this it follows that the

[37] Zs. P. Pach, *A Levante-kereskedelem erdélyi útvonala I. Lajos és Zsigmond korában* [The Transylvanian route of Levantine trade in the ages of Louis I and Sigismund]. In: *Századok*, 1975. 1, p. 1032 and *Századok*, 1978. *op. cit.*

[38] Goldenberg, *op. cit.*

[39] Istanbul Başbakanlık Arşivi, Maliye No. 30. I express my deep gratitude to Gyula Káldy-Nagy, who made me aware of the significance that the Lower Danube customs registers have for economic history. He made the microfilm copies of the customs registers during his research in the Istanbul Archives in 1963—64.

price of pepper, while changing for small quantities, was fixed for large consignments. The fluctuation in the price (of small quantities) is similar to what *Zs. P. Pach* showed for Brassó.[40] The prices were higher in winter, late autumn and early spring than at other times, hence the precise quantitative ratio between the *oḳḳa* and the *ḳanṭār* cannot be incontrovertibly determined. In his article on trade in Bursa, H. Inalcik, who is well-versed in customs registers, inferred from the Yergöğü data a *ḳanṭār* of 40 *oḳḳas*.[41] If an *oḳḳa* costs 45 *akçe*, this calculation is correct; however, 50 *akçe per oḳḳa* was far more common, so much so that from 1516 there are hardly any other data at all. It is then far more likely that a *ḳanṭār* contained 36, rather than 40 *oḳḳas*. This was also the very *ḳanṭār* weight used for measuring pepper along the shores of the Levant from where — as H. Inalcik also points out — the pepper was imported to East-Central Europe. The difference between the two ratios must be accredited to the fact that the price of pepper weighed in *ḳanṭār*s was not affected by the price fluctuation to which smaller lots were prey.

In the opinion of the present author, the price of 1,800 *akçe* per *ḳanṭār*, or 50 *akçe* per *oḳḳa*, can be considered typical for the fiscal year 1515—1516. This strongly supports the argument that in Yergöğü and in the entire Ottoman Empire, spices were measured with a *ḳanṭār* of 36 *oḳḳas*.

The *ḳanṭār* weight of 36 *oḳḳas* was also known in the Balkans. Vlajinac mentions a *ḳanṭār* with this equivalence (weighing 44.43—46.76 kg) used for measuring cotton and called at several places the "Egyptian *ḳanṭār*"[42] — probably after the qintar folfoli (qintar fulful). Another *ḳanṭār* used in Algeria, that of 120 Troyes pounds, was also equal in weight. The aforesaid appears to justify the assumption that the *kanthner* of Szeben and Brassó compares with this *ḳanṭār* of 36 *oḳḳas*. Both terms, as we know, are derivatives of one and the same Latin word *centenarius*, which had spread both in German and in Byzantine-Arabic territories. In the 15th—16th centuries, Hungary and the northern fringes of the Balkans became a melting-pot for the elements of the West European and Ottoman cultures, and through the latter, of Byzantium and Arabia. The comparison of *kanthner* and *ḳanṭār* sheds light on a curious feature of these contacts, namely on the encounter of the "slumbering" words of these two worlds, which shared a common origin, but had developed along separate lines. This does not necessarily mean that the two weights were also identical, but it did happen that particular weights, which were applied to the same commodity, were equalized. This will be verified below.

[40] Zs. P. Pach, *Századok*, 1978. *op. cit.*

[41] H. Inalcik, *Bursa and the Commerce of the Levant*. In: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* III. 1960. p. 137.

[42] Vlajinac, *op. cit.* III. pp. 355—356.

As has been noted, both weights were used for measuring spices, rice and cotton, that is, goods from the Levant. Spices were marketed in sacks, and it is quite unlikely that when traded wholesale, these sacks were opened or re-packed in the markets of Szeben or Brassó.[43]

In support of the establishment of the actual weight of the two measures, one can accrue price-historical data as well. The price of spices — of pepper in particular — is known from the account books and customs registers of Szeben and Brassó. The profit of the middlemen can be estimated by comparing these prices with those figuring in the customs registers of Yergöğü. The pepper consignment of 10 *ḳanṭār*s imported by Wallachian merchant Vasil was entered into the Yergöğü register at 1,800 akçe per *ḳanṭār* on July 18, 1515 and December 24, 1516.[44] This corresponds to 36 golden florins then in use in the Hungarian kingdom.[45] On April 23, 1516 the price of a *ḳanṭār* of pepper was 48 golden florins in Brassó.[46] In the event of identical measures (assuming 45 kg), the difference between the two prices reveals a profit rate of 33%. Had the *kanthner* been equal to 56.114—56.716 kg — that is, if in Yergöğü a *ḳanṭār* of 36 *oḳḳa*s had been used — the profit of the merchantmen would have been a mere 3 golden florins from Yergöğü to Brassó. This the present author considers too little to stimulate the pursuance of the otherwise remunerative spice trade.

The profit rates decrease in direct proportion to the difference between the two weights, but never exceed 33%, not even in the case of perfect correspondence. This ratio appears realistic as it is based on a comparison of the assessed price at the toll-station of Yergöğü and the market price in Transylvania, which implies that in Wallachia the goods changed hands, probably at higher than the Yergöğü prices, and as a consequence of this the profit rate of the Transylvanian middlemen necessarily fell below the 33% mark even if the weights were identical.

The arguments advanced above appear to be sufficient to permit the inference that the *kanthner* of Brassó and Szeben at the turn of the 15th—16th centuries was equivalent to the Balkan *ḳanṭār*, exactly to the above quoted Egyptian *ḳanṭār* of 36 *oḳḳa*s (44.43—46—76 kg), and not to its variants of 40 or 44 *oḳḳa*s. Counted with the well-known *oḳḳa* weights (1.276—1.289 kg), the *ḳanṭār* would be heavier than 44.8 kg. The *oḳḳa*s, however, display just as much variety as the mentioned *ḳanṭār* weights, or the *kile*s clarified in certain

[43] Zs. P. Pach, *Századok*, 1978. *op. cit.* p. 1018.

[44] Istanbul Başbakanlık Arşivi, Maliye No. 30.

[45] N. Beldiceanu, *Les actes des premiers sultans*. Paris, 1960. I, 175. 46.

[46] *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt* I. *op. cit.*, p. 214. Similar prices had been recorded a few earlier too. ibid. pp. 176, 187. and *Rechnung en op. cit.* pp. 314, 317—318, 315, 332, 334—337.

metrological works. In their handbook on coinages, weights and measures, Christian Noback and Friedrich Noback mention an *oḳḳa* much lighter in weight. This *oḳḳa* corresponding to 2 1/2 Vienna pounds (1260.026 gr) was in use in Transylvania and in the Military Frontier in the early 19th century.[47] Another weight to reach Brassó from the Balkans, it is probably the vestige of one of the lighter *oḳḳa* weights that disappeared during the drive to standardize the Istanbul oḳḳa (1.283 kg). Calculating with this old *oḳḳa* weight, a 36-*oḳḳa ḳanṭār* is equivalent to 45.36 kg.

Regrettably, there is no documentary evidence to assess the pound weights used in Szeben and Brassó at the time. Different pounds were obtained in both towns. As the division of the kanthner is documented for both towns,[48] the 36-*oḳḳa ḳanthner-ḳanṭār* correspondence enables one to estimate the Szeben and Brassó pounds separately. Though divided differently, the two *kanthners* were equal in weight, as the price of pepper per *kanthner* in Szeben completely tallies with that in Brassó.[49] The Szeben spice pound, i.e. the 1/80 of the *kanthner*, is 0.554—0.5845 kg. This weight, in turn, is in relation with the Vienna pound. Further specifying the weight of the *kanthner*, one is led to identify it with a measure weighing 44.9 kg calculated with the Vienna pound of 0.56 kg.[50]

Thus one may conclude that the spice *kanthner* of Szeben was divided into Vienna pounds at the turn of the 15th—16th centuries, whereas the Brassó pound does not relate either to this or to the Buda pound. The Brassó *kanthner* was divided into 60 or 120 pounds, the division of 60 dominating the first two decades of the 16th century, the division of 120 coming to preponderance in the forties. It is, however, certain that rather than cancel each other out, the two kinds of subdivisions existed side by side.[51] What accounts for this is most probably the doubling of the number of pounds and not the doubling of the weight of the *kanthner*. Keeping to the above approach, one can put the Brassó pound at 0.740—0.7566 kg, reckoning with 1/60 of the 36-oḳḳa *ḳanṭār*. Half of it, i.e. a pound of the 120-pound *kanthner*,

[47] Christian Noback und Friedrich Noback, *Vollständiges Taschenbuch des Münz-, Mass- und Bankwesens und der Usanzen aller Länder und Handelsplätze*. Leipzig, 1851, I. pp. 1119—1120.

[48] In Szeben the division of 80, in Brassó that of 60 obtained. Zs. P. Pach, *Századok*, 1978. *op. cit.*, pp. 1008, 1010.

[49] Ibid. and see note 46.

[50] For the Vienna pound and its variants see: A. Geyer, *Mass und Gewicht in Wien, Nieder- und Oberösterreich*. In: *Materialen zur Geschichte der Preise und Löhne in Österreich*. Herausgegeben von A. F. Pribram. I Band. Vienna, 1938.

[51] The earliest data on the 120-pound division date back to the 154os. *Quellen op. cit.*

then weighed 0.370—0.3897 kg.[52] This pound is close to the Troyes pounds (373.24 gr) widely used all over Europe in the Middle Ages.[53]

The Troyes pounds consisted of 3/2 Troyes marks of 244.7529 gr each. This mark was the standard measure of medieval weights in certain parts of France, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Germany.[54] The Buda pound prevalent in the Hungarian kingdom was also derived from the Troyes mark.[55] It was known in Transylvania too, for the *pisetum* (or Szeben) mark (= 249.9361 gr) published by Henrik Finály must have been related to the Troyes mark.[56] While in Buda — unlike in the rest of Europe — the basic unit was a twofold mark, Brassó used the Western equation of 1 pound = 3/2 marks. The Brassó pound (377.7—373.3 gr) computed above is slightly heavier than the other Troyes pounds. In the Middle Ages, however, two measures never made out their relative weights as exactly as they do in modern times.

One can now draw the conclusion that the Brassó pound used for weighing spices was related to several western Troyes pounds, the reason for which will have to be traced back to the contacts the Saxons preserved with the Rhineland and other German areas.[57]

[52] This weight does not sharply differ from certain pharmaceutical pounds. This is not surprising, for in the Middle Ages some spices were attributed healing powers and handled accordingly. The spice pound estimated above approximates the pharmaceutical pounds of Königsberg (380.34 gr), Hannover (360 gr), England 373.246 gr) and Baden (375 gr) as well as a Belgian, Dutch and Swiss pharmaceutical pound (377.006 gr). Alberti, *op. cit.* pp. 376—77. On the other hand, it shows hardly any connection with the so-called larger pharmaceutical pound of Augsburg or Vienna (353.688 gr) which was widely used in East-Central Europe. On the latter pound see: Z. Herkov, *Das alte Augsburger und Wiener Apothekerpfund — die Grundmasse eines mitteleuropäischen Maßsystems.* In: *Wirtschaftskräfte und Wirtschaftswege.* II: Wirtschaftskräfte in der europäischen Expansion. Festschrift für H. Kellenbenz. Herausgegeben von J. Schneider. Bamberg, 1978. pp. 393—404.

[53] Alberti, *op. cit.* p. 419. Bálint Hóman, *Magyar Pénztörténet, op. cit.* p. 54.

[54] Hóman, *op. cit.* pp. 54—55.

[55] *Op. cit.* pp. 94—99.

[56] Henrik Finály, *A régi magyar súlymérték. Adalék a hazai pénzverés történelméhez.* In: *Erdélyi Múzeumi Egylet Évkönyve* 1867 IV, [The old Hungarian weight. A contribution to the history of minting in Hungary. In: Yearbook of the Transylvanian Museum Society 1867 IV], p. 70. Hóman, *op. cit.* p. 121 modified this figure to 249.9224 gr. This mark was applied at places where gold was exchanged in Transylvania. According to Finály and Hóman it remained unchanged even after the rescript issued by the royal mining and monetary board 1747.

[57] On the settlement of Saxons in Transylvania see: Ferenc Maksay: *A szászság megtelepülése.* In: *Erdély és népei.* [The settlement of the Saxons. In: Transylvania and her peoples.] Ed. Elemér Mályusz. Budapest 1941. pp. 81—105. Erik Fügedi: *A befogadó: a magyar királyság.* [The receiver: the Kingdom of Hungary]. In: *Történelmi Szemle* [Historical Review]. 1979. 2, pp. 335—376. O. Mittelstrass, *Beiträge zur Siedlung Geschichte Siebenbürgens im Mittelalter.* In: *Buchreihe der Südostdeutschen Historischen*

To summarize : The *kanthner* of Transylvania is in a very remote etymological connection dating back to the Roman Empire with the *ḳanṭār* weight that had reached the Transylvanian mountains. The two measures reached the Carpathians and further into the Carpathian Basin along separate routes. The popular etymology of the 15th—16th centuries and onwards fused the two measures into one,[58] taking as sufficient evidence that they were equal in weight when applied to spices (although different in division).

Kommission Band 9. München, 1961 ; more recently T. Nägler, *Die Ansiedlung der Siebenbürger Sachsen*. Bucharest, 1979. p. 259. Attention was drawn to the Rhineland origin of the Saxons at the turn of the present century by linguists, first of all by Gustav Kisch, Andreas Scheiner and Adolf Schullerus. An excellent survey of their activities as well as the literature concerned with the Rhinish roots of the Transylvanian Saxons is to be found in Jenő Nagy, *Az erdélyi szász eredet és nyelvjáráskutatás története*. [A history of the research into the origin and the dialect of the Transylvanian Saxons.] Kolozsvár, 1945. p. 62. K. K. Klein, *Transsylvanica. Gesammelte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze zur Sprach- und Siedlungsforschung der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*. In : *Buchreihe der Südostdeutschen Historischen Kommission*. Band 12. München, 1963. pp. 13—90.

[58] Telling proof is the customs tariff issued in 1784 for Greek merchants in Transylvania : "Pfeffer wird jedesmal noch den Verkauf Taxirt in den verflossenen Jahn kostete der Centner oder *sogenannte* Cantar 176. (Lee) . . ." Although the forms of the two words have nothing to do with each other, they are equal in weight. According to the Habsburg attempts at the standardization of the measures referred to above, "Ein Cantar thut 100-te Wienner und 1 Oka 2 1/4 Wienner . . ." Lajos Thallóczy, *Utazás a Levantéban. A keleti kereskedelem története Magyarországon*. [Travelling in the Levant. A History of Oriental Trade in Hungary]. Budapest 1882. pp. 132—133.

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INVENTORIES OF TURKISH ESTATES IN HUNGARY IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 16th CENTURY

IBOLYA GERELYES

1. Inventories of estates as historical sources

The aim of the present paper is to present a particular group of historical sources forthcoming from the 16th century, which reveal a more detailed picture of the everyday life of the age and thus provide a glimpse into the contemporary houses, homes, and workshops. These sources, namely the inventories of Turkish estates deriving from the occupied territories of Hungary, give us a profound insight into the living conditions and material culture of both the Turks settled in Hungary and the Hungarians under Ottoman rule. The subject itself is a sufficiently intriguing task for historians to tackle, yet it assumes real significance upon the background patterns of the interrelationships between the two cultures.

The first thorough analysis of the inventory of a Turkish estate was published by Lajos Fekete.[1] His study was based on the estate of 591 items owned by a high ranking Turkish dignitary, Ali Čelebi, who died in Buda in 1587. Lajos Fekete presented each item or group of items possessed by Ali Čelebi in full detail, in order to provide a vivid picture of the living conditions that prevailed among the Turks settled in Hungary in the second half of the 16th century.

It was the pioneering work of Lajos Fekete that inspired Professor Ömer L. Barkan to explore and publish the relics of Turkish mediaeval culture, who published 93 estates from Edirne in the collection of his studies, drawing

[1] Lajos Fekete, Egy vidéki török úr otthona a XVI. században [The home of a rural Turkish lord in the 16th century]. *Magyar Tudományos Akadémia I. OK.* 15 (1959), pp. 87—106. Also in German and Turkish: Das Heim eines türkischen Herrn in der Provinz im XVI Jahrhundert. *Studia Historica* 29, p. 196. XVI. yüzyılda taşralı bir Türk efendisinin evi. *Belleten* XXIX (1965), pp. 615—638. The inventory of the estate consisted of 591 items, and the basis of this study, was published separately: Das Heim Ali Čelebi, eines türkischen Defterbeamters in Buda. In: *Vostočnie istočniki po istorii narodov Jugo-Vostočnoj i Centralnoj Evropy* 2. 1969, pp. 29—75.

Prior to L. Fekete's work, a non-interpretative presentation of Turkish inventories of estates was published by: Antal Velics, *Magyarországi török kincstári defterek* [Turkish Treasury Defters in Occupied Hungary] II. Budapest 1890.

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on 175 inventories taken between 1545 and 1659 for his exhaustive analysis., Although there were several studies on Turkish estates since his work appeared[2] it still remains the most copious source for students intent on scrutinizing the Turkish way of life as it was in the 16th—17th centuries.[3]

It was general practice in the Ottoman Empire that whenever someone died without heirs or with heirs under age, or his heirs were away at the time of death, an inventory was drawn up of his movable and inmovable property for the treasury. A record was also made of the assets of deceased employees of the treasury, with special regard to protecting the properties, in particular the money, belonging to the treasury. Yet another case was the administration of the estates of disappeared or captured persons, mostly soldiers. As the belongings of the disappeared and of those leaving no heirs devolved upon the state, the treasury appointed special administrators to collect the bejtülmal revenues of such estates and unclaimed goods and chattels.[4] These officials *(emins* in Turkish) listed every item of the estate, naming each object from the house, garden, vineyard and livestock, ranging from arms, clothes, and carpets to the

[2] Ö. L. Barkan, *Edirne Askerî kassamı'na âit Tereke Defterleri* (1545—1569). Belgeler III/5—6. Ankara 1968.

[3] H. Inalcik, 15. Asır Türkiye Iktisadî ve Ičtimaî Tarihi kaynakları. *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuasi* XV/1—4. 1953—54.

Cf. N. Todorov—M. Kalicin, *Turski izvori za Bulgarskata Istorija* XXI. Sofia 1977.

Y. Nagaka, *Some documents on the big farms (čiftliks) of the notables in Western Anatolia.* Tokyo 1976.

Y. Cezar, Bir Âyanın Muhalefatı, Havza ve Köprü Kazaları Âyanî Kör Ismailoğlu Hüseyin. *Belleten* LXI, 161 1977.

G. Veinstein, Note sur les inventaires après décès Ottomans. Quand le crible était dans la paille. In : *Melanges en l'honneur de P. N. Boratov.* Paris 1978, pp. 383—395.

H. Ongan, *Ankara'nın 1 numarali Šeriye Sicili.* Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları no. 125, Ankara 1958.

H. Ongan, *Ankara'nın iki numaralı Šeriye Sicili.* Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları XIV/4, Ankara 1974.

S. Farrûki, The peasants of Saydeli in the late XVIth century. (manuscript). In recent years the present author has published several papers concerning the presentation and analysis of Turkish estates in occupied Hungary : I. Gerelyes, Egy török és egy magyar borbélymester hagyatéki leltára a XVI. századból [The inventories of the estates of a Turkish and a Hungarian barber in the 16th century]. *Folia Historica* 7 (1979), pp. 17—37. I. Gerelyes, Török hagyatéki összeírások, mint kultúrtörténeti források [The Turkish inventories of the estates as sources of cultural history]. *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából* XXI. Budapest 1979, pp. 200—218. I. Gerelyes, Török szíjgyártók és nyergesek Budán, a XVI. században [Turkish harness-makers and saddlers in Buda in the 16th century]. *Folia Archaeologica* XXXI, Budapest 1980, pp. 265—276.

[4] The question of the *bejtülmal* revenues was thoroughly discussed by : L. Fekete, *Siyaqat-Schrift in der Türkischen Finanzverwaltung* I. Budapest 1955, pp. 80—81. On the handling of the *bejtülmal* revenues in the *sanǰaq* of Buda see L. Fekete—Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *Budai török számadáskönyvek* [Turkish defters in Buda], Budapest 1962, p. 607.

merchant's stock in his shop and the craftsman's tools in the workshop, and this also included the tiniest and cheapest artifacts of the household. The goods thus registered were then auctioned.[5] The returns covered the burial costs, the fee of the auctioneer, the *kadi's* due, custody fees, registration fees and the clerk's pay. All these expenses having been written in the inventory, the remaining sum was transferred to the treasury. In the case of minor heirs or if the heirs, absent at the time of death, put forth their claim the treasury was only entitled to the custody fees. The bejtülmal tax drawn from these estates and unclaimed properties significantly boosted the annual income of the treasury.[6]

Although the possibility of fraud in the administration of estates cannot be wholly discarded, these accounts can be safely considered reliable, being at times painstakingly meticulous. As sources for historical research, their significance is apparent in various respects.

The first aspect to be emphasized is their importance for social and economic history. Caution is needed, however, when investigating estates from this angle on the basis of a few examples selected at random, for a reliable historical picture requires the analysis of all the available lists of an age or specific area. Each of these lists indicates all the major particulars of the deceased, such as name, occupation, place of residence, at times nationality, as well as the place and date of death. This is followed by the itemized inventory, with the auction price for each item marked, followed by the total sum, the deduction of the mentioned fees and the residue due to the treasury. Thus, these lists enable research to assess the financial standing of any person on the basis of concrete figures, not only estimates. As the deceased included people of widely different social statuses, relevant classification and a comparison of the inventories of estates covering a specific period or area throw light on the actual worldly circumstances of various social strata as well as on their relative standing. It is sufficient here to mention the difference between the estates of Ali Čelebi, defterdar of Buda, and the Turkish craftsmen of Buda presented below. It is perhaps even more instructive for historians to probe into the estates of the serfs of the age. Their shocking poverty may generate scores of further questions.[7]

The comparison of totals alone clearly illustrates the distribution and the deviations. A more differentiated approach, however, is to take a close look at

[5] There are some inventories whose first draft made before the auction leaving the space for values blank, while the second draft was made after the auction showing the exact values. Cf. Inventory of estate no. 9.

[6] L. Fekete—Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *Budai török* p. 609: the *bejtülmal* revenues of Buda in 966 (October 14, 1558—October 2, 1559) were 210, 810 *aqče*, in 967 (October 3, 1559—September 21, 1560) were 469, 672 *aqče*.

[7] I also present here the estates of 14 Hungarian peasants of Tolna county.

what goods and chattels particular social classes or layers invested in, for instance, how much a deceased person's house, vineyard, horses, arms, or cash were worth, in other words, what his property structure involved. This approach may add another aspect to the survey of financial conditions, namely that of the activities, occupation or trade of the descendant as revealed by the artifacts of the estate. In his formerly mentioned book, Ö. L. Barkan also employs this approach, devoting separate chapters to monetary affairs, land related activities, various crafts and commerce.[8] S. Farrûki investigated the estates to gain conclusions concerning economic history, in an effort to assess the size of the land cultivated by particular persons on the basis of the volume of seed-grain recorded in the inventories.[9]

The inventories of the estates, naturally, help to clarify a whole range of other concerns of economic history. By way of illustration, it is sufficient to mention just a few: changes in the prices of e.g. textile goods, livestock and agricultural products, the varying frequency of their occurrence, or the modification in the real value of money. Although the aim here is to promote research into the Turkish material culture and way of life in the 16th century, I should like to place special emphasis on a particular aspect belonging to the history of economy and industry and in a broader sense to the history of culture. As it was pointed out earlier, the artifacts listed in the inventories provide ample information about the occupation of their owners. The surviving inventories of the properties of the 16th century artisans listed the entire furnishings and raw material resources of the workshops, largely contributing to our knowledge on the contemporary stage of development of particular trades. The importance of these inventories is augmented by the fact that the tools and the workshops were inherited by several generations, together with the tricks of trade, which shackled improvement and paralysed development both in tools and expertise.[10] When this is, for instance, applied to the inventories of the estates, a mid-16th century list may also reflect the level of a trade and its tools some 40—50 years later.

In the following, some details of the inventories of the estates of four Turkish craftsmen are presented.

By listing the objects of everyday life, of man's immediate environment, these inventories are highly important, if not irreplaceable, sources regarding the history of the mode of living and material culture. Archaeologists may

[8] Ö. L. Barkan, *op. cit.* pp. 31—78.

[9] S. Farrûki, *op. cit.*

[10] L. Fekete, *Buda and Pest under Turkish Rule.* Studia Turco—Hungarica Tomus III. Budapest pp. 54.

Naturally this is one, but not the only cause of the downswing in development or of the stagnation of a trade.

particularly be impressed by the correspondence of these groups of artifacts, especially the arms, saddlery, earthenware and copper vessels, with those known from our museum collections or from excavation of 16th—17th century sites. Relying on the inventories of the estates, the values, kinds and even usage of each category of artifacts can be defined far more precisely than it was formerly possible.

In addition, the significance that these registers have for linguistics and the history of language should also be stressed, because similarly to other historical sources of a similar nature, the personal nouns, concrete nouns and various denominations of objects provide a profound insight into the linguistic situation of the era.

Altogether 23 inventories of estates are analyzed here, dating from the second half of the 16th century. Of these 9 concern the estates of relatively affluent Turkish officials and artisans who died in Hungary. In order to gain an insight into the way of life of contemporary Hungarian peasants and to facilitate an understanding of how the two cultures were interrelated, 14 inventories of the Hungarian peasants' estates were translated.[11]

2. Estates of Turkish craftsmen

In the latter half of the 16th century, quite a number of Turkish craftsmen and merchants settled in Buda, the centre of the newly conquered vilayet. It was primarily expected that these artisans would satisfy the demands of the stratum of Turkish warriors and officials stationed here. The type and quality of goods either brought here by way of trade or made in Hungary reflect this shift in demand. As a result of this natural development, certain Turkish crafts took root in Buda and Pest, and in other major towns. Details of the estates of four craftsmen are presented here, each of whom represented a characteristic trade typical of the 16th century.

The first estate concerns master saddler Dur Ali, who died in Buda in 1570 (cf. inventory No. 6). It is by no means accidental that a saddler is chosen from among the craftsmen, as both the standards and the importance of the

[11] The partial translation of some of these defters can be found in A. Velics's work *Defterek* II, though his reading is rather imcomplete and defective. The interpretation of these diplomas poses several problems even today. Due to the lack of vowel-points in the manuscripts, certain expressions can be read in various ways. It further compounds the problem that they are not coherent texts, but itemized lists, making it impossible to guess the meaning. This explains why in the lists I translated some untranslated items remained.

In the course of my work I gained invaluable assistance from Professor Dr. Gyula Káldy-Nagy, for which I should like to express my thanks here.

leather industry verify its prominence among contemporary trades.[12] Turkish leather-working had a pronounced impact on the leather industry of contemporary Europe. As the stock of Osmanli-Turkish loanwords in East and South European languages confirm, these peoples became acquainted with certain kinds of leather and leather-working tools through the Ottoman Turks.[13]

In Hungary, districts called Taban established in various towns, some of which survived up to the present time, confirm the spread of tannery and leather work. In addition to Buda, Esztergom, Csongrád and Szeged have districts, preserve this name that is derived from the Turkish *debbaġẖāne*, apparently a reference to the large number of tanners working in the area.[14]

According to the customs registers of Buda from 1550 to 1580, several Turkish harness-makers and saddlers were engaged here,[15] including master saddler Dur Ali, and the list of his estate is highly informative concerning the history of his trade. First of all it confirms that the trades of harness-making and saddlery were completely inseparable. Dur Ali's principal occupation was making horse harnesses. Administrators found one saddle in his workshop which is the ninth item in the inventory with the following specification: 1 piece of splendid saddle, of red broadcloth, worth 300 *aqče*. The list includes another saddle-related object, probably an accessory to the saddle. It is recorded twice, first one pair then two pairs at a value of 12 and 17 *aqče* respectively.[16] But a whole array of various straps belonging to the saddle or the harness were also recorded. Bridles were entered three times, altogether 10 items, halters also three times, one pair, two pairs and four items. Regarding breast-straps and girths only three pieces occur in the list.[17] Only one *bellyband* was found. Two pieces of both leading-reins and stirrup-straps were listed, but he owned 3 pairs of stirrups. In addition, a considerable number of leg-straps, tethers and whips were registered. Apparently, the master not only

[12] The guilds of tanners joining the Ahi cult had gained such power in Anatolia, Rumelia, Bosnia and even in the Crimea that they gradually devolved control over the rest of the guilds. Their leader Ahibaba was at the same time the head of all the guilds of a given town. With the passing of time it had become the task of the Ahibaba of Kırşehir to inaugurate the apprentices all across the empire. This was of course a source of considerable income for the guilds of tanners, which further boosted their power indirectly. Cf. Franz Taeschner, Futuvva, *Encyclopaedia of Islam* II. London 1965, pp. 963–968.

[13] Zsuzsa Kakuk, Cultural words from the Turkish occupation of Hungary. In: *Studia Turco–Hungarica* Tomus IV. Budapest 1977, pp. 61–77.

[14] L. Fekete–Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *op. cit.* p. 579. Zs. Kakuk, *op. cit.* pp. 74–75.

[15] The estates of 12 merchants and craftsmen with *Saraǰ* names were found. In addition, six mentions are made of harness-makers in the customs registers. Cf. L. Fekete–Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *op. cit.* 21, 33, 37, 62, 94, 133, 136, 147, 157, 168, 171, 175, 212, 244, 266, 267, 268, 288.

[16] The 65th and 90th items of the estates. The reading of the word is uncertain.

[17] The administrators used two different terms: *sine bend* and *pistan qolanı*.

manufactured, but also marketed all kinds of straps for the harness. This fact is confirmed by 6 pairs of bits and 2 pairs of spurs found in his workshop with the stirrups, alongside some curry-combs and gloves used for wisping down a horse. These must have been trade articles as the saddler himself did not own a horse.

In the customs registers of Buda, sheepskins called mesin and items of sole-leather termed kösele were also frequently included in the list of the workshops. The latter suggests that master Dur Ali was also skilled in making footwear and that he sewed and sold them as well. The inventory has 6 entries of slippers amounting to no fewer than 40 pairs ! (Picture 1). The list of leather goods also included 6 rather cheap purses. The knife used for cutting leather probably belonged to the paraphernalia of the workshop as did the broad-axe mentioned several times. Another characteristic item of this category was a white marble slab worth only 11 *aqče*, which was a frequent item of furniture used in Oriental shops as a counter for changing money, or in this case perhaps as a working-board, which the craftsman held in front of him. The estate as a whole reveals that saddler Dur Ali belonged to the well-to-do strata of artisans. He had a house, a shop, a large amount of money, and the value of his possessions totalled 35,000 *aqče*.

The inventory of candle maker Haǰi Ahmed's estate outlines the picture of a similarly affluent artisan who was, however, a more mysterious figure than his fellow-craftsman the saddler (cf. inventory No. 4). Born in Damascus, his possibly adventurous life led him to the northernmost border of the empire, to Buda, where he died in 1569. That is all the headband of his inventory discloses, but his rich estate helps the student trace his real occupation, which the data given below clearly show must have been candle-dipping. It is necessary to touch upon the question of candle-making here, however briefly. Turkish craftsmen and merchants who settled in Buda in the second half of the 16th century, primarily dealt in trades closely connected with everyday life, their aim being to satisfy the demand in primary commodities. Their major interest was to produce and sell foodstuffs, textile and household goods. Candle-making belonged to these trades of everyday importance. Certain sources appear to suggest that candle-dipping was a state right throughout the empire. Candle-making workshops were set up in the seats of sanǰaqbegis and the population was obliged to sell their wax there.[18] But no one observed this regulation, for instance the beğlerbeği of Buda reported in 1570 complaining that "no one takes the wax to the chandlery to sell it there, but to the clandestine market, thus impairing the revenue of the treasury." He, therefore, suggests that as a means of compensation "3 *aqče* should be assessed on each

[18] L. Fekete, *Budapest a törökkorban* [Budapest during the Turkish occupation of Hungary]. Budapest 1944, p. 239.

hane as candle tax at the time of registration."[19] It is also known that there were candle-making workshops, besides the sultanic shops whose work was supervised by the sultan's officials.[20] In all probability, Haǰi Ahmed dipped and marketed his articles illegally. As his estate reveals his livelihood was as that of saddlemaker Dur Ali, who made various leather goods and horse harnesses, the most sought after articles of the age. Haǰi Ahmed owned a house, shop, vineyard, two slaves, a mule, cows and could afford to loan a considerable sum, 3,250 *aqče*. The magnitude of this amount is clearly illustrated by another figure: barber Hassan, who died in Buda 11 years earlier, left an estate worth altogether 2,796 *aqče* (cf. inventory No. 2).

What first strikes the eye in analyzing Haǰi Ahmed's estate is the large volume of tallow entered at the end of the list (22 *kantar*s, 3,982 *aqče*). Tallow occurs at two other places in the inventory in smaller quantities. This amount would have been quite superfluous in a normal household. The most intriguing item of the estate is a rather inexpensive object (20 *aqče*) that the clerk described as an old mould for casting wax. This must have been the actual candle-making form. No item was marked in the inventory under the name wick, but a certain amount of coarse thread is mentioned at one place, which may have served this purpose. There are several items that could have characterized any household, but could just as well have been used for melting and clarifying tallow. These included two large cauldrons called *kazgan*s. One of them was valued at 100 *aqče*, not a small sum, compared to the other copper vessels. The other one was valued at 475 *aqče* and constituted the most valuable item of the whole estate. The master candle-maker may have used a skimming-ladle called *kepče* and a skimmer named *kevgir* for clarifying tallow. The estate of Haǰi Ahmed was one of the richest of all under scrutiny here.

A characteristic figure of the age as well as a specific way of life emerges from the inventory of barber Hassan's estate (cf. inventory No. 2). Barber Hassan's fate was a direct sequel of his trade. He disappeared from Buda in 1558, during the forays of Velidǰan *beǧ*. It is highly likely that as a barber, competent in surgery, he was taken along with the troops and never returned, and so his house and shop were auctioned.[21] A typical feature of the age was that town barbers were recruited into the army at the time of campaigns or those living around fortresses were called in for the period of the siege to treat the wounded in return for a fixed amount of pay.

[19] Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *Magyarországi török adóösszeírások* [Turkish tax registers in Hungary]. Budapest 1970, p. 25.

[20] Gyula Germanus, Evlija Cselebi a XVII. századbeli törökországi céhekről [Evlija Celebi on the guilds in 16th-century Turkey] II: *Keleti Szemle* 9, (1908), p. 102.

[21] Not only the record in the inventory of estate mentions Velidǰan beǧ setting out on a raid and barber Hassan curing wounded warriors. Cf. L. Fekete—Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *op. cit.* pp. 352, 364, 420.

Barber Hassan's poor estate was divided into two parts by the clerks: objects found in the house and those found in his shop. Clearly the most valuable item of his possessions, his house fetched 4,500 *aqče*.[22] Objects typical of his trade were mainly found in the workshop. They included 12 small mirrors, a barber's jug and bowl, 16 razors, a razor-strap on a chain, various whetstones (44 of one variety) and sharpening tools, barber's scissors and combs, 27 pieces of soap, numerous kerchiefs and towels, and last but not least 13 surgical instruments, which are a clear indication that barber Hassan had other occupations than just hair-cutting and shaving. A combatant barber Hassan is suggested by the weapons found in his house: a shield, sword, dagger and spear.

Last in the row of artisans, there is the estate of Dimo and Andrea who died in Csepel (cf. inventory No. 9). A passing glance at the list is sufficient to realize its most outstanding feature: the majority of the objects were made of wood. They included 30 wooden plates, 7 wooden drinking cups *(čanaq)*, 4 wooden kettles (one of them noted as parti-coloured), 1 wooden pepper shaker, 1 wooden tray *(sini)*, 1 wooden mortar *(ḥavan)*, 1 wooden dough-basket, 1 wooden money counter, 16 chairs made of wood, 1 wooden shelf and finally a very curious item described as a certain amount of ordinary tiles. The wide assortment of tools listed is also peculiar: no fewer than 5 perpendiculars, 2 drills, 1 axe, 1 broad-axe without a handle, 1 carpenter's tool,[23] 1 pickaxe and 1 spade were found. The owners of the estate were probably not Turkish, but Serbian artisans.[24] The goods they left behind help envisage a carpenter-joiner's workshop at the end of the 16th century.

3. The inventory of the estates as a source for research into the mode of living

The owners of the nine Turkish estates[25] in occupied Hungary, which are discussed here, held various positions in the social structure, ranging from high-ranking timar-holders (cf. inventory No. 3) to simple clerks (cf. inventory No. 1). Their estates, however, have several things in common, which justifies the joint analysis presented here. Instead of examining the lists individually, I shall try to outline the general picture they suggest. It should be noted, however, that each inventory reflects a unique life; to unravel each of them one by one might also reveal a characteristic personality of the age.

[22] L. Fekete—Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *op. cit.* p. 388.

[23] Only the first component of the term can be clearly read: it reads: *dulger* . . . ?

[24] The Serbs of Ráckeve transferred from Keve (Keve county) to Csepel island as early as 1440. Cf. István Magdics, *Diplomatarium Raczkeviense*. Székesfehérvár 1888.

[25] I also relegated to this group the estate of Dimo and Andrea.

Under the ancient clerical rules of Islam, all the land in the empire was in sultanic possession. This explains why the inventories made no mention of landed property, arable land or pastures, for sizeable real estates were not owned at the time. On the other hand, a house, often with a garden, is frequently entered in the lists of both affluent and poor persons. Its value was determined by the size and state of repair. The house of Haǰi Ahmed, who died in 1569, was estimated at 10,575 *aqče*, while that of Haǰi Yunis, who died in the same year, at only 3,355 *aqče*. In the case of craftsmen, the workshop was also part of the estate.

A conspicuous feature of the inventories is the frequent occurrence of considerable sums of money in the possession of the deceased. There are also instances when no cash was found, but the debtor's or debtors' names and the amounts of the loans were registered. The administrators of an estate carefully recorded and collected these sums. Master saddler Dur Ali, for example, had 7,500 *aqče* loaned out, and Haǰi Ahmed had 3,250 *aqče*. The accumulation of large sums of money in cash indicates a state of transition and readiness, revealing at the same time the living conditions, under which the accumulation of money was the only possible way of becoming wealthy.

One of the most valuable items of an estate was the male or female slaves: wealthy estates almost always included some. They were also objects of property, just like the house, garden or shop to be sold at the auction. Their value, usually considered to be high, combined several factors. For instance, the female and two male slaves owned by Mehmed Čelebi, were worth a total of 12,825 *aqče*, this sum amounting to over one fourth of his total wealth. The two old slaves in Haǰi Ahmed's possession were valued at 2,900 *aqče*, Dur Ali's slave called Pervane at 7,800 *aqče*, Ali Voyvoda's three slaves fetched 14,200 *aqče* (over half his total wealth), while a female and two male slaves of the *divittar aǧa* of Pécs were appraised at 11,610 *aqče*. Slaves in households were a natural phenomenon, an intrinsic feature of everyday life in those days.

These introductory items, which were common in nearly all inventories, were followed by the itemized list of the household and/or the workshop. A close study of these artifacts unveils a characteristic picture of 16th century Turkish homes.

An obligatory item of furniture was the wooden chest, of which a varying number were recorded in each inventory. They were used to store clothes, textile goods, money or various household articles. Their value was never high. The most precious chest was found in the estate of Haǰi Yunis and sold for 130 *aqče*. Another method of storing garments was to wrap them up in ornamental kerchiefs. Three such kerchiefs, called *boḫča* in Turkish, were found among the goods of candle-maker Haǰi Ahmed. Another recurring item of the estates was the *sini* or *ṣofra*, a large tray made of wood or copper. It was

propped up for meals and covered with decorative table cloths. Both types frequently occur in the inventories, with the *sini* made of copper being much more valuable, some — for example that of the *divittar ağa* of Pécs — fetching 150—160 *aqče*. The wooden variety was not worth more than 5—6 *aqče*.

Chairs are rare entries in the lists. I came across one listed in Hassan berber's workshop and another in the possession of Dimo and Andrea, the Serbian carpenters. A whole assortment of cushions, indispensable objects of everyday life, were found in each household. The cushion named *minder*, mentioned in only one inventory, that of the candle-maker's estate, must have been of an ornamental variety. It was not highly valued, fetching only 40 *aqče*.

The other type of cushion called *yaṣtıq* was a common household article. It occurs in the lists of nearly all the estates, very often in large numbers. Some were plain, others decorated with embroidery. In certain cases, the clerks noted that they were used as pillows.

Not a single bed was found, for it was the mattress *(döšek)*, an everyday object just like the *yaṣtıq*, that was used for sleeping. It was put away during the day, and rolled out at night. Blankets are to be mentioned in this context, first of all the *velenče*,[26] a frequent item in the wealthier estates. Mehmed Čelebi, for instance, owned one interlaced with silver, which was sold for 171 *aqče* at the auction. The other type called *yorgan*, also a common item, served as the actual bed cover.

Carpets of all kinds were also served to decorate the home and make it more comfortable. The most frequent two types were the *kilim* and the *ḫalı*. The *kilim* denotes a sort of woollen stuff woven from coarse thread. In the studied estates, the highest price one fetched was 96 *aqče* for Ali Voyvoda's *kilim*. The *ḫali* was the other type of rug. In contrast to the *kilim*, it was a knotted carpet. Its value considerably fluctuated, depending on its size and quality. Mehmed Čelebi's white *ḫalı* fetched 121 *aqče*, and that of the *divittar ağa* of Pécs 900 *aqče*. A smaller variety of *ḫalı* is called *qaliče* in the lists. They also included expensive rugs, some in the estate of the *ağa* of Pécs being worth 400 or 407 *aqče*. The third type of rug, the prayer mat or *seǰǰade* was surprisingly enough only mentioned once in the inventories. It was in the possession of Haǰi Yunis, valued at 15 *aqče*. The *döšeme-i hamam* or *hamam döšemesi* was the name of another type of carpet, the bathing rug.

An indispensable object of each household, the lighting apparatus usually took the form of candlesticks made of copper or clay. Their price ranged from 5 to

[26] The interpretation of the word *velenče* is not unanimous. Ö. L. Barkan interprets it as a blanket used under the saddle, cf. Ö. L. Barkan, *op. cit.* p. 478. As against that, W. J. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*. Constantinople 1921, 2149: a kind of cloth having a long nap on one side.

45 *aqče*. These candlesticks are frequent and characteristic finds on the excavation sites of 16th—17th century buildings (cf. picture 2). As accessories to the candlesticks, snuffers were also entered into the inventories of Hassan berber's and the *ağa* of Pécs's estates. Tallow and wax were found in each estate in various quantities. Besides candles and candlesticks, the registers also include an iron lamp and a hand lantern.[27]

A household naturally contained a whole regiment of various articles other than chests, carpets, cushions, and blankets.

An important group involves textile goods, of which the most common item was the table cloth named *peškir*. Some were entered as *peškir yemeni*, referring to the origin, quality or the striped or floral pattern of the kerchief.[28] Its price varied considerably, ranging from 5 to 40 *aqče*, the latter price found in the inventory of Mehmed Čelebi's goods. The maqrama was another common kerchief. The word has several meanings. Dictionaries define it as a small plain kerchief worn in the pocket. Other sources claim that it was a kerchief made of silk or brocade and used for wrapping up various gifts.[29] The estates in question suggest that it was normally made of linen and used to cover a whole range of objects, pots, even bread (for the latter use see the inventory of Haji Ahmed's estate). Sometimes it was applied as a bathing towel (e.g. in Mehmed Čelebi's household). The pestimal and the destmal were also kerchiefs used in the bath, though both had a more ornamental variety made of silk and embroidered with gold or silver thread.[30]

One of the central spots of a household was the kitchen with its utensils, the pots and pans and various kitchen tools, all meticulously recorded in the inventories. One such implement was the inexpensive iron tripod used for cooking and baking. When preparing *kebab* they used an iron implement called the *kebab demirü*, while another iron vessel, the *baliq demirü* was used to fry fish. The kitchen utensils listed in the inventories include scales, sieves, moulding-boards, mortars, barrels, whetstones, choppers, hatchets, and axes. The most valuable kitchen utensils were the copper vessels, which fetched astonishing prices at the auctions. The classification and examination of the vessels is also instructive for archaeology as they are frequent finds of excavations. The *ibriq* and the *leğen* were the characteristic copper vessels primarily used for the recurrent daily ablution. The *leğen* or *leğenje* was a copper wash basin with its middle shaped to hold its pendant the *ibriq*, an ewer with a handle and spout. Apart from ritual purposes, the ibriq (Picture 3) was also used to hold tea, coffee or sherbet; sometimes it was made of precious metals such as silver,

[27] Also occurs in the expressions fanus-i ahen and demir fanus.
[28] L. Fekete, *Das Heim Ali Čelebi* p. 60.
[29] W. J. Redhouse, *op. cit.* p. 1943 and Zs. Kakuk, *op. cit.* pp. 42—43.
[30] L. Fekete, *Das Heim Ali Čelebi* p. 60 and Zs. Kakuk, *op. cit.* pp. 39—40.

it was made of clay. Inventories taken in Hungary list only copper or pewter ones. The *leğen* and *ibriq* were always marked and valued in the lists by the pair. I found the most expensive set in Mehmed Čelebi's estate, sold for 137 *aqče*.

Another common and typical vessel was the *ṣaḥan*. Modern research has established that the *ṣaḥan* was a pedestalled bowl. Its design was most varied: its stem was at times very short, only 1—2 cm, while at other times it was so long that one is inclined to assume it was not used for meals, but to hold burning coal. The shorter ones, however, must have been used in the kitchen or at mealtimes. They were made of copper, precious metals, porcelain or simple clay. *Ṣaḥans* were a set item in every inventory and were listed as made of copper or pewter. The most valuable ones, found in the estates of Haǰi Ahmed and Ali Voyvoda, were valued at 70 *aqče* each (Pictures 4—5).

Just as frequent as the *ṣaḥan*, the *ṭas* (Picture 6) was a small dish something like a cup. Some of them also had a lid. The ṭas was mainly used to prepare *ayran*, but the lists indicate that it had a variety of other uses. Haǰi Ahmed's estate contained two under the heading *ṭas-ḥamam*, which were apparently applied in the bath. Another type was called *ṭas-i hošab*, probably after the sweet syrup, which it contained. Ethnographic analogues confirm that dishes of this kind have survived to date under the name *ṭas-i hošab*.[31] A *ṭas* was usually made of copper, though three made of glass were also found, two among the goods of Mehmed Čelebi, one among those of the *ağa* of Pécs. It was an inexpensive vessel, normally fetching 5—6 *aqče*. Those with lids were valued higher, such as Hassan berber's, which was worth 33 *aqče*. Of the glass *ṭases*, the ones in Mehmed Čelebi's possession were highly valued, at 115 and 175 *aqče*.

The *mešrebe* had a similar use as the *ṭas*. Its shape resembled a mug with a handle, sometimes with a lid. Water or *ayran* was consumed from it. Generally it was made of copper or pewter, and at times of clay. Confirmation of this is indicated by the *mešrebe* with coloured stripes in Haǰi Ahmed's estate. Its value varied, ranging from 5 to 91 *aqče*.

Ethnographic analogues indicate that the cauldron called *tenǰere* was similar to the *kazan*, but smaller in size (Picture 7). It was a highly characteristic vessel mainly used to prepare meat dishes. One or two were listed for nearly each estate. The cheapest one was auctioned for 47, and the dearest for 158 *aqče*. *Kazans* were only once mentioned in the studied inventories, in that of Haǰi Ahmed. As mentioned earlier, they must have been used for melting the fat needed for making candles. The two listed were valued at 475 and 100 *aqče* respectively. The stubby cauldron-like *baqrač*, with two handles on the brim for hanging, was a similar vessel. It was a frequent, but rather inexpensive item, 15—25 *aqče* each.

[31] A drawing is published in Z. H. Košay, *Kap-Kacak ve Diğer Mutfak Takımları ile ilgili Lügatče*. Türk Etnoğrafya Dergisi II. 1957, table XI.

Yet another kitchen utensil was the *tepsi* or baking tin, which in practice served the same purpose in the 16th century as does today, but in the 16th century the round or oval variety was preferred. It was a shallow dish bordered with a low brim, principally used for baking sweet cakes, but bread was made in the larger ones. Its material was either copper or wood, a fact confirmed by Hungarian and Anatolian sources,[32] often being included both in Hungarian and Anatolian inventories of estate. The most valuable one, at 112 *aqče*, was found among the belongings of Mehmed Čelebi.

Drinking vessels called *čanaq* were recorded in two lists. In the workshop of Dimo and Andrea both wooden and clay specimens were found, valued at 3—4 *aqče*.

The vessel called qupa was mentioned three times. Haji Yunis's inventory also included one called *qupa-i ḥamam*, which was probably a bathing accessory.

The term qanta crops up in several lists, the most valuable one in Mehmed Čelebi's inventory to which the clerk added it was of Hungarian origin.

The *tekne* was a hutch carved of wood and used for moulding dough or washing clothes. This is confirmed by dictionary evidence and by the item labelled tenke-i hamur *kučük* worth 3 *aqče* in Haji Yunis's estate. It was a very cheap artifact, never priced over 5 *aqče*.

The *čeber* or *čöbör* has so far been known as a kind of liquid measure, which is contradicted by the terms "small *čöbör*" or "used *čöbör*" found among the possessions of Haji Ahmed. Two entries also specify the material it stored, e.g. *bulgur* or *šire*.

In certain inventories I came across some words of clearly Hungarian origin. Such are *čeber*, *palaška (palack* "bottle": Mehmed Čelebi), *vedre* (vödör "bucket": Ali Voyvoda), *tanir* and *ṣakasto (tányér* "plate" and *szakajtó* "dough-basket": Dimo and Andrea).

To round off the group of utensils included in the studied inventories, some objects of rare occurrence ought to be mentioned. The *göğüm*, a type of copper kettle with a handle, but no spout, occurs in two places: Mehmed Čelebi's was sold for 120 *aqče*, that of the *ağa* of Pécs for 36 *aqče*. The *tabe* and *tava* denoted small copper frying pans with a handle. The most valuable one was owned by Haji Yunis, worth 21 *aqče*.

The inventories identified several types of vessels used for carrying and storing water. The most frequent kind was the *ṣumaq* made of leather. I found three references to it: the most precious of them, sold for 81 *aqče*, had a silver handle. A large water jug, the *qirba* was also made of leather. Only the *ağa* of Pécs had one, fetching a mere 4 *aqče*. The same list included another water container named *ṣaqa*.

[32] H. Z. Košay, *op. cit.* p. 23, as well as I. Szamota—Gy. Zolnai, *Magyar Oklevél szótár. Pótlék a Magyar Nyelvtörténeti Szótárhoz*. Budapest 1902—1906, pp. 979—980.

The *qavanos*, the *den* and the *küb* were also jugs of rare occurrence. Other infrequent items were the cup called *kase* (Haǰi Ahmed used it to store *maǰun*-paste,[33] the plate termed *tabaq* (in the estate of the *ağa* of Pécs,[34] and the sieving-ladle or *kepče* and skimmer or *kevgir* (among the goods of Haǰi Ahmed, Mehmed Čelebi and the *ağa* of Pécs).

Closing the list of kitchen utensils, a passing remark should be made of foodstuffs mentioned in the inventories. The most frequent items were salt and vinegar. Semolina, rice, cabbage, dried cherries, quinceapples, cornels and a sort of pulp called *pestil* made of dried fruit each occur once. *Maǰun* was only found in the estate of Haǰi Ahmed. Actually, it was a "medical paste", a sort of cure-all containing a wide variety of ingredients: spices, sugar, mint, chestnut, orange, ginger, and even radish.[35] In addition to fruits and vegetables, wheat is often recorded in the inventories. The largest single item was in the possession of the *ağa* of Pécs, an amount of 60 *kile*, the equivalent of 900 *aqče*. Barley is also mentioned in smaller quantities.

Firewood for the household and dried hay for the livestock are to be found in several registers. Their volume was given by the cart, the barrow, or simply termed "a small amount."

Finally, some inexpensive objects deserve mention, which, however, were of major practical value in the household. These included the carts, wheel-barrows, ploughs, scythes, scissors, razors, padlocks, various iron chains; ropes, yarns, sacks, bags, as well as other odds and ends not itemized by the clerks.

Certain inventories, especially those of wealthier persons, also include animals, first of all horses. Mehmed Čelebi, for instance, left behind five horses: four saddle-horses *(esb)* and a work-horse *(bargir)*. These animals were valued conspicuously high: the mounts of Mehmed Čelebi, for example, fetched the following amounts: 1 blue horse[36] 3,005 *aqče*, 1 large bay horse 3,005 *aqče*, 1 smaller bay horse 3,155 *aqče*, and 1 large blue horse 2,655 *aqče*. The riding horse owned by Pervāne bin Abdullah, a clerk in Tolna county, was sold for 2,500 *aqče*, 500 *aqče* more than his house. The real significance of this sum can be seen when comparing it to the total value of his estate that netted the treasury 6,615 *aqče*. Plough-horses fetched far less in the auctions. Mehmed

[33] *Maǰun* is a panacea, discussed later.

[34] Oddly enough, only 1 *tabaq* is mentioned although it was a very common vessel.

[35] The following sentence can be read in the discussion on Ali Čelebi's estate: "Aging men were eager to consume it for in certain cases knowledge and experience, in others speculation and desire attach healing power to it." Cf. L. Fekete, *Egy vidéki török úr* p. 607.

[36] *Gök esb:* the term is not unknown from Hungarian estates either. Cf. Béla Radvánszky, *Magyar családélet és háztartás a XVI. és XVII. században* [Hungarian family life and household in the 16th and 17th centuries]. III, Budapest 1896, p. 236: "Considering its present condition, we shall take the blue horse for 400 florins."

Čelebi's grey horse was worth 1,070 *aqče*, that of Pervāne bin Abdullah of Tolna county 225 *aqče*, while the horses of the *ağa* of Pécs were sold for 1,400, 700 and 700 *aqče*. Apart from horses, candle-maker Haǰi Ahmed had a mule valued at 150 *aqče* and 3 cows worth 570 *aqče* altogether. Naturally, pigs were not found in the estates of Turkish persons and only once in the examined 14 estates of Hungarians, in that of Nagy Gergely of Tolna county. His two pigs were estimated at 150 *aqče* altogether. For an age when horses were vitally important, their number in the lists is curiously low. Horse-harnesses, on the other hand, were recorded in large quantities and in a wide variety.

Priority must be given to the saddles, of which three types were recorded in the lists. The first type the *zin* was a saddle for mounts made, among others, of broad-cloth (see the saddle mentioned in the estate of master saddler Dur Ali). A similar red-cloth saddle was found among the goods of Ali Čelebi, a rich official in Buda.[37] The other variety was called *eyer*. Dictionary entries suggest that it was a riding saddle, of which the more affluent estates contained more than one. Mehmed Čelebi had one blue and two red saddles of this kind. The silver *eyer* of the *ağa* of Pécs was sold for as much as 1,500 *aqče*. He had three other saddles valued from 10 to 100 aqče. One of them, the clerks noted, was made of fine cured sheepskin named *mešin*. The third type of saddle was known as *semer* (packsaddle). Two specimens were found in the estates, one in that of the *ağa* of Pécs, the other in that of Ali Voyvoda. Saddles of Turkish origin or fashioned in Turkish style can be found in Hungarian museums in relatively high numbers. The illustration shows the saddle of the last pasa of Belgrade (Picture 8).[38] It is almost impossible to decide whether a particular saddle was made by Turkish artisans or by Hungarians commissioned by Turkish customers.

A related accessory was the saddle-cloth and the horse-blanket. Mehmed Čelebi left behind three, and the *ağa* of Pécs two saddle-cloths called *čotar* or *čoltar*. Mehmed Čelebi's *čoltar* decorated with silver was valued at 1,050 *aqče*. Only one woollen horse-blanket named *abaî* was found, among the belongings of the *ağa* of Pécs.

In addition to saddles and blankets, almost every component of horse harnesses can be found in the inventories.[39] These include the *liǰam* or *oyan* the

[37] L. Fekete, *Egy vidéki török* p. 95.

[38] On the origin of the saddle: "A Turkish saddle of cherry-red velvet wrought with gold, owned by the Turkish basha of Belgrade before the uprising of György Kara, from whom Count Antal Pejacsevich bought it and presented it to our National Institution at the time of its foundation." Cf. *Kalauz a Régiségtárban* [A guide to the archeological collection]. Budapest 1912, p. 181, as well as *Cimeliotheca Musei Nationalis Hungarici*, Buda 1825, p. 65.

[39] A part of this will be dwelt upon in the analysis of saddler Dur Ali's estate, but this kind of equipment was recorded by the administrators elsewhere too.

bridle of the same name. Both terms include the rein and the bit. Their value is changeable, with the latter normally priced higher. Mehmed Čelebi's estate included two bridles equipped with silver chains, worth 355 and 350 *aqče.*

A large number of halters, breast-straps and leading-reins were also listed. Halters *(yular)* were found in Dur Ali's and the *ağa* of Pécs's estates, each fetching 5 *aqče.* The *ağa* of Pécs also had breast-straps and surcingles. As a rule, these were inexpensive items except for the silver breast-strap that netted 1,000 *aqče* at the auction. Leading-reins *(yedek)* were mentioned in three inventories, their price ranging from 1 to 9 *aqče.* Bits, stirrups and spurs were also listed. Two types of bits were distinguished, the *kem* and the *qantarma*, neither of them a valuable item: bits cost 6—8 *aqče*, and a pair of stirrups 12—20 *aqče.* Spurs without boots were only recorded in the list of saddler Dur Ali's estate. Two pairs cost 20 *aqče.* The saddler's estate contained tethers, Hassan berber and Pervāne bin Abdullah the clerk owned hobbles.

So far the objects of ordinary peace-time activities were reviewed. When analyzing these inventories, however, another facet of the age emerges just as markedly. In the period under scrutiny, arms organically belonged to the personal properties of anyone in a similar manner to clothes, utensils, and carpets. Neither the quantity, nor the value of the weapons was less significant than any other category of an estate. Their regular occurrence is an indication that major campaigns or minor clashes played a central role on the individual's life. It is sufficient to refer to the fate that befell Hassan berber, who set out on a raid as a barber-surgeon and never returned. From among the weapons, various swords, daggers, and knives demand priority. The sword *kilič* only appears in the wealthier estates: Mehmed Čelebi owned one worth 202 *aqče*, but there were four among the properties of the *ağa* of Pécs. Both the silver and the plated one were worth 1,000 *aqče.* The sabre called *šemšir* is a recurrent item in the inventories, its value was highly changeable. Candle-maker Haǰi Ahmed's sabre was valued at 10 *aqče*, that of saddler Dur Ali at 100 *aqče.* It is noteworthy that even people of peaceful trades had weapons in their possession. The clerk Pervāne bin Abdullah, Haǰi Yunis and two Hungarian peasants from Tolna county, Rajko Péter and Puskás Pál, had swords. The barber of Buda, Hassan berber, also owned a sword, but of a different type (called *seyf).* The *bičaq* was another cutting, hitting weapon. Hungarian Berber Boldizsar as well as saddler Dur Ali and the *ağa* of Pécs possessed *bičaq*s, the latter as many as three, one of them — as was usual with him — plated with silver. This one was sold for 200 *aqče* at the auction. Daggers *(šiš)* were often found by the administrators among the estates. Its average value is impossible to assess, for it depended on the design, size, and material. The cheapest one was worth 6.5 *aqče*, the dearest 500 *aqče.* In addition to swords and daggers, war maces are also copiously represented in the inventories. They were registered in the lists under two headings: *topuz* and *buzdoğan.* Maces also had an

ornamental variety, probably not used for martial purposes. Such a mace was listed in Mehmed Čelebi's inventory, which also included a topuz with a plated head worth 75 *aqče*.

Bows and arrows also belonged to the category of arms. Those worth only a few *aqče* were not separately entered. The cheapest one in the registers cost 71 *aqče*.

I found only one mention of guns, perhaps not quite accidentally among the properties of Pál Puskás ("Gunner") of Tolna county. Its value was 55 *aqče*. The shields were also part of the armoury. According to the inventories, four types existed: *siper*, *qalqan*, *tirše* and *miǰveb*. Their value ranged from 5 to 50 *aqče*.

Finally, the mail and helmets require some attention. Only the richest estates, those of Mehmed Čelebi and the divittar *aǧa* of Pécs included any, the most valuable item being the helmet of the *aǧa* of Pécs worth 1,500 *aqče*.

The last category of the estates to be discussed involves the costumes, and items of clothing. The inventories provide abundant material in this respect, so they deserve close examination.

The analyzed lists supply a wealth of information primarily concerning the apparel of the men. There was only sporadic mention of clothes worn by women or by men and women alike.

It appears that garments, particularly coats, were the second most valuable items of an estate, preceded only by ornamental weapons and silver goods. Certain affluent estates included such a vast wardrobe that the assumption seems well-founded that especially the more expensive items were not kept simply for use, but for their value.

The lists confirm that one of the most characteristic items of attire was the *feraǰe* worn both by men and women. It denotes a long loose-sleeved robe often trimmed with fur and made of *čuḫa*-cloth. It was fashioned in various colours: red, blue, green, brown, and black. In most cases they were sold at astonishingly high prices at the auction. The most expensive one, the *feraǰe* of the *aǧa* of Pécs trimmed with fur, fetched 2,050 *aqče*. Ferajes found in the Turkish estates of occupied Hungary were normally valued between 450 and 900 *aqče*. Curiously enough, the estates of Hungarian peasants in Tolna county included — often enough — this item, though their value was only a few *aqče*. Another frequent garment was the *dolma* or *dolama*, a type of overcoat included in almost every inventory. Originally, this name applied to the red woollen uniform of the janissaries,[40] but later it became widely used. It was an overcoat of varying length, tight at the waist. Sometimes it was slit at the sides and the tails crumpled into the belt. Its material varied considerably: *čuḫa*-cloth,

[40] J. Th. Zenker, *Dictionnaire turc-arabe-persan* I—II. Leipzig 1866—1867, p. 611.

aba-cloth, woollen cloth called *muhayyer* or *ṣof* denoting goat's, lamb's or camel's hair, cotton called *kutni* (in the latter case the outside was often made of silk, the lining of cotton), satin, brocade shot with gold or silver thread or damask called kemha. Although some coats were priced at 20—30 *aqče*, most of the *dolmans* were far more costly. The highest price, 623 *aqče*, was given for the purple dolman of saddler Dur Ali. Like the *feraǰe*, the dolma also occurs in Hungarian peasant estates with very little value.

Before going on to the next item of clothing, it seems instructive to clarify the meaning of the word čoẖa. It denotes a kind of densely woven thick woollen cloth. A short overcoat made of this fabric is also called *čoẖa (čuẖa)*.[41] The term frequently occurs in the examined estates, partly referring to the material of certain garments, such as dolmans or *feraǰes*, and partly individually as : a used *čoẖa*, a red *čoẖa*, and a *čoẖa* with fur, etc. Apparently, the latter terms signify the mentioned short overcoat. Nearly all the Hungarian estates of Tolna county include this item. The value of the *čoẖa* was very diverse, from 2 to 90 *aqče*. Only one inventory, that of Mehmed Čelebi, lists the *čoẖa* as a sort of dress material. Its volume was 75 *zira*, equal to 76—80 m,[42] valued at 1,875 *aqče*.

Another frequent clothing accessory was the short cloak called the kebe. Some definitions claim that it was the short cloak worn by shepherds.[43] It was made of thick broad cloth. The inventories often mention their origin, e.g. *kebe-i yanbolu*. According to the registers almost everyone had at least one kebe. Its price ranged from 14 to 180 *aqče*. They also existed in the Hungarian estates of Tolna county, but were as a rule far less valuable.

Caftans were mentioned only twice, both in the possession of Mehmed Čelebi valued at 200 and 80 *aqče*. The caftan was principally worn on festive occasions, especially to signify social status. It was often given as a present in taken of esteem.[44] It was a full-length robe with long sleeves.

The loose *qapaniče* made of broad cloth and adorned with sable or lined with some other fur was originally worn by sultans, grand viziers, and janissary ağas. The inventories confirm that in the 16th century, it was also worn by commoners. Haǰi Yunis had a *qapaniče* made of linen valued at 20 *aqče*. Dur Ali's three pieces fetched 105 *aqče* altogether.

The *hırka* made of a kind of thick felt called *keče* was originally the garb of the Meccan pilgrims and priests. There was only one mention of it, among the belongings of the *ağa* of Pécs, sold for a mere 14 *aqče* at the auction.

[41] W. J. Redhouse, *op. cit.* 738, as well as Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü* I. Istanbul 1946, p. 384.

[42] W. J. Redhouse, *op. cit.* 945.

[43] L. Fekete—Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *op. cit.* p. 651.

[44] As against that, Evlia Čelebi described it as an ordinary piece of clothing in Anatolia. Cf. I. Gerelyes, Török viseletek Evlia Celebi útleírásában [Turkish clothes in Evlia Čelebi's travelogue]. *Folia Historica* 6, Budapest 1978, p. 13.

A large number of fur coats were also mentioned. The most valuable was owned by saddler Dur Ali, which fetched 2,500 *aqče*. Slightly less expensive, but also a rare item was Mehmed Čelebi's wolfskin coat that netted 1,700 *aqče* at the auction. He also had a used fox coat worth 110 *aqče*. Items termed white fur were also included in the Hungarian estates of Tolna county with a value of 3—5 aqče.

The *yağmurluq* and *barānî* raincoats also belong to the overcoats. Both types could be made of *čoḫa* cloth. At 885 *aqče*, Mehmed Čelebi's scarlet raincoat was the most valuable.

Apart from long overcoats and cloaks, short waist-length tight jackets and vests, with or without sleeves, are also represented in the inventories. The so-called *nimten* was made of *čoḫa* cloth or of finer kashmir cloth. Most often it was red or green trimmed with fur. The most valuable, worth 920 *aqče*, was among the goods of Mehmed Čelebi.

As for its cut, the *zibun* was closely related to the vest. It appears in four inventories with an insignificant value.

Trousers of various design were worn under the overclothes.

One type that frequently occurred in the estates, was the *čaqšır*, a long loose-legged variety tied around the ankles. Normally it was made of *aba* or *čoḫa* cloth. Its value ranged from 150 *aqče* down to 17 *aqče*. The Hungarian peasant estates of Tolna county also included some, the most valuable one valued at 20 *aqče*. The other type was the *šalvar*, a very loose baggy variety known from contemporary illustrations. Though it must have been widely used, only two pairs were found in the given estates, one worth 171 *aqče* in the estate of Mehmed Čelebi, the other worth 95 *aqče* in the *ağa* of Pécs's.

Trousers called don are usually mentioned together with the shirt called *gümlek*. These inexpensive items, together with the *zirǰame* and the shirt called *pireḫen*, belonged to the underwear. The latter two were also mentioned as a pair. Even the most expensive pair did not exceed 17 *aqče*.

Various belts were important accessories to the attire. The *učqur* was solely worn with trousers. It is listed in two inventories, those of saddler Dur Ali and the *ağa* of Pécs. The word miyanbend was a collective term for belts. The candle maker had a costly one: 145 *aqče*. Hungarian estates included belts worth 2—17 *aqče*.

Qušaq was the name of any kind of kerchief or textile item tied around the waist. I found only two, one among the goods of the *ağa* of Pécs, the other in the possession of Péter Szabó of Tolna county. The fourth variety, the *kemer*, was normally made of linen fastened with a buckle or hook. Only Mehmed Čelebi had a silvery one worth 153 *aqče*.

The wide variety of headgear deserves a separate paragraph. Pride of place is of course given to the turban, which actually consisted of three parts. The tiny *'araqıye* cap fitted the head closely. It was worn under the turban out

of doors or without it at home. It also served as a nightcap. Generally it was white, but Haǰi Ahmed, for example, had one interlaced with gold. The cap called qavuq was worn on top of the *ʿaraqıye*. It was fairly wide, made of some thick material usually in red colour. Rarely it was made of some finer fabric: Mehmed Čelebi had a fine satin *qavuq* worth 90 *aqče*. The white muslin turban scarf called destar was wound around the *qavuq*. The *dülbend* served the same purpose, originally denoting fine mull or silk. The *destar* seems to have been slightly more common than the *dülbend*. The latter item was only included in the two wealthiest estates, those of Mehmed Čelebi and the *ağa* of Pécs.

Though listed in the estates of male persons, the white scarf *čaršaf* or *čaršeb* covering the head, face or shoulders was also part of the women's attire. This kerchief was worn over the pointed little cap called the *taqye*, often adorned with gold thread. Only one such cap was found, in the estate of Ali Voyvoda, where it was recorded with the scarf called *čaršeb*. Surprisingly, the two fetched only 4.5 *aqče*. *Čaršeb* was mentioned only once separately, among the belongings of Haǰi Yunis. It costed 11 *aqče*.

The last item of headwear to be mentioned is the round *qalpaq* trimmed with fur, a typical cap of Turkish officials.[45] Only saddler Dur Ali owned one worth 38 *aqče*. I also found a girl's headdress in the Hungarian estates of Tolna county and some caps among the goods of Dimo and Andrea. Not being part of the customary Turkish apparel, they are only mentioned by way of illustration.

Finally, different kinds of footwear must be touched upon. As boots were most important, they often feature in the inventories. The value was relatively low, at most 50 *aqče*.

Slippers were also frequently encountered in the estates. Oddly enough, their value did not vary considerably: the cheapest pair was 18, and the dearest 30 *aqče*.

The *sermuze* was a kind of overshoe, worn over the boots outdoors. Only two estates included them. More frequent was the *mest* denoting stockings or heelless shoes. They were worn at home or in boots out of doors. It was perhaps the least expensive piece of clothing, fetching 2 to 10 *aqče* per pair.

The above discussion was intended to drawn attention to the inventories of the estates as a very — if not the most — important source of material culture. It is to be hoped that a proper interpretation of these sources might outline a vivid new picture of the life of man in centuries past, which has been little investigated so far.

[45] L. Fekete, *Budapest a törökkorban* [Budapest during the Turkish occupation of Hungary]. p. 132.

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Inventory of estate No. 1

The inventory of the estate of Kâtib Pervâne bin ʿAbdullah, who died on the 20th of the month *Reǰeb* [July 2nd, 1553].[46]

[1.]	house with garden	*(ḫāne maʿ bağ)* Value *(kıymet)*	2,000 *aqče*[47]
[2.]	1 horse	*(esb)*	2,500
[3.]	1 ploughhorse	*(bārgīr)*	225
[4.]	1 short cloak of Yanbolu	*(kebe-i yanbolu)*	60
[5.]	1 black čoha garb with fur	*(čuḫa-i siyāh maʿ kürk)*	60
[6.]	1 sword	*(šemšir)*	48
[7.]	1 sack	*(ṭorba)*	6
[8.]	1 fetter	*(buqağı)*	5
[9.]	1 blue scarlet cloth	*(ferağe-i mor isqarlat)*[48]	450
[10.]	1 red fabric?	*(yelken bāfte-i surḫ?)*[49]	50
[11.]	..... ?[50]		35
[12.]	2 cauldrons	*(baqrač)*	45
[13.]	1 frying pan	*(tava)*	20
[14.]	4 towels	*(destmal)*	53
[15.]	quiver with arrows	*(qubur maʿ kemān)*	102
[16.]	used čoha cloth	*(čuḫa-i . . . köhne)*	22,5

[46] Wien, Nat.-Bibl. Türk Hss. Mxt. 576. A part of the estate was published by A. Velics, *op. cit.* p. 138.

[47] Here and hereinafter the figures given express *aqče* values.

[48] Isqarlat: "Italyanǰa Scarlatto isminden; has boyalı ve pek qırmızı ve pek parlaq bir cins eski Venedik čuḫasının adi" Cf. Resad Ekrem Köcu, *Türk giyim, kušam ve süslenme sözlüğü*. Ankara 1969, p. 133.

[49] This item occurs in several estates. The word *yelken* denotes sail-cloth. The middle part can be read both as tafte and bafte. The expression *yelken-i tafte surḫ* can be translated, but it has no meaning in the context of the Turkish estates in occupied Hungary.

[50] As was mentioned in the introduction, certain words in the lists are unreadable.

[17.]	2	copper baking dishes	*(tepsi ʿan nüḥas)*	30
[18.]	2	pedestalled bowls	*(ṣaḥan)*	45
[19.]	5	sacks	*(ǰaq)*	2
[20.]	1	felt	*(nemez)*	60
[21.]	1	pewter mug	*(qalay-i mešrebe)*	5
[22.]	2	shirts and underwear	*(pirehen maʿ zirǰāme)*	33
[23.]	1	leather water container	*(ṣumaq)*	11
[24.]	1	dagger	*(šiš)*	85
[25.]		. . . . . ?		60
[26.]	1	red short overcoat with fur	*(nimten-i surḫ maʿ kürk)*	100
[27.]	1	copper cup	*(ṭas-i nüḥas)*	9
[28.]	1	used carpet	*(kilim-i köhne)*	19
[29.]		. . . . . ?		6
[30.]	1	red fabric	*(yelken bāfte-i surḫ?)*	6
[31.]	1	white belt	*(miyanbend-i beyaẓ)*	5
[32.]	1	bridle	*(liǰam)*	2
[33.]	1	old stocking	*(čorāb-i köhne)*	1
[34.]	1	old towel	*(pestemāl-i köhne)*	5
[35.]	1	red *feraǰe*	*(ferāǰe-i surḫ)*	430

Total *(Yekûn)*: 6,6615
For the burial *(teǰhiz ve tekfin)*: 232
Auctioneer's fee *(dellâliye)*: 75
Debt repaid to Ibrahim *(Edā-i deyn Ibrāḥim)*: 1,500
Residue *(Ilâhiye)*: 4,808

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Inventory of estate No. 2

An inventory that takes stock of the estate of Berber Ḥassan of Buda who disappeared on the 13th of the month of *Muḥarrem*, the year 966 [October 26, 1558] during the forays of Velijan beğ.[51]

[1.]	House, not sold, but kept under supervision	*(ḫāne, ṣatılmayıp baqi qalmıštır)*[52]	value *(kıymet)*:	
[2.]	short cloak of *Yanbolu*	*(kebe-i yanbolu)*		75
[3.]	2 *kâfir* cushions	*(yastıq kâfiri)*[53]		20
[4.]	1 small pedestalled bowl	*(ṣaḥan-i küčük)*		28
[5.]	1 copper tray	*(sini)*		17
[6.]	1 small copper tray	*(sini-i küčük)*		5.5
[7.]	1 whetstone	*(čarıq-i ṭas)*		27
[8.]	1 salt	*(milḥ)*		8
[9.]	1 candlestick	*(šemʿdan kâfiri)*		10
[10.]	1 shield of Rum	*(siper rumi)*		58
[11.]	1 black dagger	*(šiš siyah)*		6.5
[12.]	2 towels	*(peškir kâfiri)*		5
[13.]	1 steel case	*(gilif-i zirh)*		7
[14.]	2 carpet brushes	*(süpürge-i ḫalı)*		1
[15.]	1 sword	*(seyf)*		22
[16.]	1 other sword	*(seyf-i diğer)*	Ömer berber claimed	
[17.]	1 dagger	*(šiš)*	them his *(Ömer berber*	
[18.]	boots with spurs	*(čizme maʿmahmuz)*	*benim dir dedi)*	

[51] Wien, Nat.-Bibl. Türk. Hss. Mxt. 593. Flügel 1401.
A part of the list was published by A. Velics, *op. cit.* pp. 243—244.

[52] The house was sold later for 4,500 *aqče*. Cf. note 22.

[53] This adjective served to denote artifacts made by non-Turks.

[19.]	iron vessel for making *kebab*	*(kebab demiri)* together:	18
	iron tripod	*(ṣač ayaq)*	
	iron for making fish	*(balıq demiri)*	
	iron for making *köfte*	*(köfte demiri)*	
[20.]	5 wall mattings	*(ḥaṣr-i duvar)*	34
[21.]	2 small baskets	*(sepet-i küčük)*	2
[22.]	1 short green overcoat with fur	*(yešil nimten maʿ kürk)* Ömer berber claimed it his *(Ömer berber benim dir dedi)*	
[23.]	1 kettle	*(qanta)*	13.5
[24.]	2 fetter	*(buqağı feres)*	2
[25.]	2 candle scissors	*(miqraẓ-i mum)*	2
[26.]	1 spearhead	*(temren sırıq)*	2.5
[27.]	1 rope	*(resen)*	2
[28.]	3 carts of firewood	*(odun ʿaraba)*	42
[29.]	4.5 kile of barley	*(šair)*	45
[30.]	. . . . ?		25
[31.]	1 bucket	*(čeber)*	3
[32.]	1 cart of hay	*(otluq ʿaraba)*	40
[33.]	1 barrel	*(fučı)*	2
[34.]	1 barrel of vinegar	*(fučı sirke)*	3
Objects in the mentioned shop		*(der dükkân-i mezkur mevǰud)*	
[1.]	12 small mirrors	*(ayne-i ḫurde)*	22
[2.]	3 old towels	*(peštimal-i köhne)*	10
[3.]	13 old kerchiefs	*(köhne-i maqrama)*	17

[4.] 1	table board	*(ṣofra)*	50
[5.] 1	towel	*(peškir)*	7
[6.] 1	barber's jug	*(sitil-i berber)*[54]	
[7.] 2	barber's bowls	*(leğen-i berber)*	121
[8.] 13	surgical instruments	*(âlet-i ǰerrah)*	45
[9.] 16	cloths for covering the head	*(čuẖa-i puš)*	10
[10.] 16	used razors	*(ustura-i köhne)*	10
[11.] 2	barber's scissors	*(miqraẓ-i berber)*	6
[12.] 3	barber's combs	*(šane-i berber)*	7
[13.] 2	razor-straps on chains	*(zinǰir maᶜ taṣma)*	5
[14.] 27	pieces of raki soap	*(ṣabun raqi)*	27
[15.] 1	lid of a used cauldron	*(tenǰere qapaq köhne)*	48
[16.] 1	. . . ?		20
[17.] 1	used frying pan	*(tava-i köhne)*	12
[18.] 1	red fabric?	*(bāfte-i yelken surh?)*	35
[19.] 1	dolman . . .?	*(dolma-i . . .?)*	410
[20.] 1	red scarlet short overcoat	*(nimten-i surẖ ısqarlat)*	730
[21.] 1	pair of blue trousers	*(čaqšır-i mor)*	151
[22.] 1	. . . ?		21
[23.] 1	short cloak of Yanbolu	*(kebe-i yanbolu)* Ömer berber claimed it his *(Ömer berber benim dir dedi)*	
[24.] 1	used carpet	*(qaliče-i köhne)*	12.5
[25.] 1	used felt	*(nemez-i köhne)*	7.5
[26.] 7	new . . . ?	*(ǰedid . . .?)*	38
[27.] 1	small cup with a lid	*(taṣ maᶜ qapaq)*	33
[28.] 1	used mortar	*(ẖavan-i köhne)*	10.5

[54] In the photocopy the value of the object is unreadable.

[29.]	44 grindstone	*(gösere-i senk)*	91
[30.]	1 money counting board	*(taḫta-i aqče)*	5
[31.]	1 . . . ?		29
[32.]	1 whetstone	*(bilegi)*	21
[33.]	1 lambskin	*(pust-i ganem)*	4
[34.]	1 iron lantern	*(čıraq-i ahen)*	80
[35.]	1 sitting bench	*(iskemlü-i taḫta)*	5
[36.]	1 used axe	*(balta-i köhne)*	1

Auctioneer's fee *(dellâliye)*: 54
Repaying debts under sijil *(Edā-i deyn ber muǰeb-i siǰil)*: 375

Total: 2,796.5
Auction fee: 54
Debts: 375
Residue: 2,367

Written by poor Mohammed bin Mohammed *kadi* of Buda

Inventory of estate No. 3

Defter concerning the sales of the deceased Mehmed Čelebi's estate, the month of *Rebi-ül-evvel*, 976 [August 1568][55]

[1.]	1 grey work-horse	*(qula bargir)*	Value *(kıymet)*	1,070
[2.]	1 blue horse	*(gök esb)*		3,005
[3.]	1 large bay horse	*(büyük doru esb)*		3,005

[55] Wien, Nat.-Bibl. Türk. Hss. Mxt. 593. Flügel 1401. A part of it was published by A. Velics, pp. 274—276.

[4.]	1 small bay horse	*(küčük doru esb)*	1,155
[5.]	1 large blue horse	*(büyük gök esb)*	2,655
[6.]	1 wolfskin coat	*(qurd kürkü)*	1,700
[7.]	1 silvery saddle cloth	*(gümüšlü čotar)*	1,050
[8.]	1 red scarlet raincoat	*(qırmızı ısqarlat yağmurluq)*	885
[9.]	1 red short overcoat	*(qırmızı selami [?] nimten)*	535
[10.]	1 red scarlet short overcoat	*(qırmızı ısqarlat nimten)*	920
[11.]	1 blue brocade dolman	*(mor kemḫa dolma)*	500
[12.]	1 green . . . ? with fur	*(yešil . . . maʿ kürk)*	181
[13.]	1 red blanket	*(qırmızı velenče)*	150
[14.]	1 white blanket	*(beyaẓ velence)*	151
[15.]	1 blue woollen dolman	*(mor muḫayyer dolma)*	171
[16.]	1 green kashmir short overcoat with fox fur	*(yešil kašmir nimten maʿ tilki kürkü)*	611
[17.]	1 blanket interlaced with silver	*(ṣırma velenče)*	171
[18.]	1 other white blanket	*(diğer beyaẓ velenče)*	118
[19.]	1 bridle with silver chain	*(oyan maʿ gümüš zenǰir)*	350
[20.]	1 other bridle with silver chain	*(diger oyan maʿ gümüš zenǰir)*	350
[21.]	1 large knife	*(bıčaq-i kebir)*	350
[22.]	1 white blanket	*(velenče-i beyaẓ)*	80
[23.]	1 green *ferağe*	*(yešil ferağe)*	500
[24.]	1 other knife	*(diğer bıčaq)*	200
[25.]	1 pair of blue trousers	*(mor šalvar)*	180
[26.]	1 pair of blue trousers	*(mor čaqšır)*	115
[27.]	1 white caftan	*(beyaẓ qaftan)*	200
[28.]	1 other white caftan	*(beyaẓ qaftan-i diğer)*	80
[29.]	1 silver belt	*(gümüšlü kemer)*	153
[30.]	1 pair of red trousers	*(qırmızı čaqšır)*	151
[31.]	1 used blue dolman	*(mor dolma-i köhne)*	201

[32.]	1 silver-plated water vessel	*(gümüšlü ṣumaq)*	81
[33.]	1 red *feraǰe* . . . ?	*(qırmızı feraǰe maᶜ bāfte ?)*	810
[34.]	1 satin cap	*(atlas qavuq)*	90
[35.]	1 glass cup	*(ǰam ṭası)*	115
[36.]	1 other glass cup	*(diğer ǰam taşı)*	170
[37.]	1 short cloak of *Yanbolu*	*(kebe-i yanbolu)*	152
[38.]	1 white . . . ?	*(beyaẓ . . . ?)*	55
[39.]	1 red satin dolman	*(qırmızı atlas dolma)*	452
[40.]	1 blue saddle	*(mor eyer)*	332
[41.]	1 red saddle	*(qırmızı eyer)*	530
[42.]	1 used cap	*(qavuq-i köhne)*	29
[43.]	1 helmet . . . ?	*(ṭulga maᶜ . . . ?)*	450
[44.]	1 pewter decanter	*(qalay-i palašqa)*	100
[45.]	1 copper basin with ewer	*(birinǰi leğen maᶜ ibriq)*	137
[46.]	1 raincoat for servants	*(yağmurluq gulâmi)*	70
[47.]	1 other copper basin with ewer	*(diğer birinǰi leğen maᶜ ibriq)*	123
[48.]	1 female slave called *Dorko*	*(ǰariye benam Dorko)*	3,450
[49.]	1 male slave called *Keyvan*	*(benam Keyvan gulâm)*	3,350
[50.]	1 male slave called *Kasim*	*(benam Qasim gulâm)*	
[51.]	75 *zira* of *qarazıya čoha*-cloth	*(qarazıya čuḫa zira 75)*	1,875
[52.]	7 zira of red istamet cloth	*(qırmızi istamet zira 7)*[56]	350
[53.]	1 Hungarian towel	*(maǰar-i peškir)*	40
[54.]	20 zira of Hungarian linen	*(maǰar-i qırpas)*	505
[55.]	1 pair of boots	*(čizme)*	34
[56.]	1 pair of boots	*(čizme)*	70

[56] The term *istamet* was also known in the Hungarian language. Cf. I. Szamota—G. Zolnai, *op. cit.* p. 416: "stamet, panni genus, stameet, feines Tuch."

[57.]	1	basin with ewer	*(leğen maʿ ibriq)*	65
[58.]		war mace with silver head	*(gümüš bašlı ṭopuz)*	75
[59.]	1	new turban scarf	*(dülbend-i ǰedid)*	257
[60.]	1	other turban scarf	*(diğer dülbend)*	143
[61.]	1	pea-green felt	*(miški keče)*	565
[62.]	1	other turban scarf	*(diğer dülbend)*	155
[63.]	1	used dolman	*(köhne dolma)*	30
[64.]	1	bridle	*(oyan)*	57
[65.]	1	other bridle	*(diğer oyan)*	35
[66.]	1	leading rein	*(yedek)*	6.5
[67.]	1	sieving ladle	*(kepče)*	60
[68.]	1	dagger	*(šiš)*	108
[69.]	1	sword	*(qilič)*	202
[70.]	1	white short cloak of *Yanbolu*	*(kebe-i yanbolu beyaẓ)*	162
[71.]	1	armour . . . ?	*(ǰebe maʿ . . . ?)*	1,060
[72.]	1	pair of . . . ?		81
[73.]	1	Hungarian candlestick	*(maǰar-i šamʿ dan)*	30
[74.]	1	other Hungarian candlestick	*(diger maǰar-i samʿ dan)*	13
[75.]	1	large mug	*(büyük mešrebe)*	91
[76.]	1	Hungarian kettle	*(maǰar-i qanta)*	20.5
[77.]	1	kettle	*(göğüm)*	120
[78.]	1	turban cap	*(dülbend börk)*	20
[79.]		. . . ?		565
[80.]	1	leading rein	*(yedek)*	7
[81.]	1	other Hungarian candlestick	*(diğer maǰar-i samʿ dan)*	26
[82.]	1	used foxskin coat	*(köhne tilki kürkü)*	110
[83.]	1	white carpet	*(beyaẓ ḫalı)*	121
[84.]	1	donkey blanket	*(ḫimar-i boḫča)*	62

[85.]	1 pair of stirrups	*(üzengi)*	31
[86.]	1 mug	*(mešrebe)*	45
[87.]	1 leading rein	*(yedek)*	9
[88.]	. . . ?		20
[89.]	. . . ?		14
[90.]	1 short cloak of *Yanbolu*	*(kebe-i yanbolu)*	155
[91.]	2 . . . ?		33
[92.]	3 pedestalled bowls	*(ṣaḥan)*	120
[93.]	2 baking dishes	*(tepsi)*	112
[94.]	1 bathing rug	*(ḥamam dŏšemesi)*	50
[95.]	2 bath towels	*(ḥamam maqraması)*	50.5
[96.]	1 white cap	*(beyaẓ ʿaraqiye)*	21
[97.]	1 used . . . ?		44.5
[98.]	1 mosquito net	*(ǰebinliq?)*	78
[99.]	1 saddle cloth adorned[?] with copper	*(baqır . . .* čotar)	23
[100.]	1 white saddle cloth	*(beyaẓ čotar)*	50
[101.]	glass ware and miscellaneous	*(ǰam ve gayrı)*	178
[102.]	2 white caps	*(beyaẓ ʿaraqıye)*	40
[103.]	1 cauldron	*(tenǰere)*	100

Total *(Yekûn):* 47,440.5 *aqče*
Burial *(Teǰhiz ve tekfin):* 300
Auctioneer's fee *(dellâliye):* 667
Residue: 46,473.5

Recorded by poor Sinan bin Hüsseyn, *kadi* of Szolnok

Inventory of estate No. 4

The estate of Haǰi Aḥmed, a one-time inhabitant of Damascus, who died near the vegetable-market in Buda on the 16th of *Jemaẕiyül 'aḫır*, 977 [November 25, 1569][57]

[1.]	1 house	*(ḫāne)*	value *(kıymet)* 10,575
[2.]	1 vineyard	*(bağ)*	750
[3.]	2 old slaves	*(esir-i maʿlûl)*	2,900
[4.]	1 shop	*(dükkân)*	325
[5.]	1 used bathing	*(pireḥen-i ḥamam kōhne)*	20
[6.]	1 parti-coloured linen kerchief	*(maqrama-i kirbâs alaǰa)*	10
[7.]	1 other kerchief	*(maqrama-i diğer)*	8
[8.]	1 used red cup	*(qupa-i surḫ kōhne)*	60
[9.]	2 small bailers used in the bath	*(ṭas-i ḥamam küčük)*	24
[10.]	1 large baking dish	*(tepsi-i buzurg)*	15
[11.]	1 used copper mug	*(mešrebe-i nüḥas kōhne)*	8
[12.]	1 used blanket	*(yorgan-i kōhne)*	70
[13.]	1 used cushion	*(yaṣdıq-i köhne)*	56
[14.]	1 copper tray	*(sini ʿan nüḥas)*	100
[15.]	1 other used cushion	*(yaṣdıq-i diğer kōhne)*	10
[16.]	linen for covering bread	*(kirbâs berayi pušide nan)*	10
[17.]	linen for shirts	*(kirbâs berayi pireḥen)*	30
[18.]	2 used pedestalled bowls	*(ṣaḥanha-i köhne)*	44
[19.]	1 used turban scarf	*(destar kōhne)*	25
[20.]	a small amount of wax	*(rugan-i šem bir mıqdar)*	15
[21.]	1 small frying pan	*(tabe-i küčük)*	10
[22.]	1 other used blanket	*(yorgan-i köhne diğer)*	30

[57] Wien, Nat.-Bibl. Türk. Hss. Mxt. 593. Flügel 1403. A part of it was published by A. Velics, *op. cit.* p. 375.

[23.]	a small amount of coarse wool	*(iplik-i ḫam bir mıqdar)*	10
[24.]	1 used bucket	*(čeber-i köhne)*	10
[25.]	1 used bucket	*(čeber-i köhne)*	10
[26.]	. . . ?		20
[27.]	1 pair of boots and stockings	*(kefš čizme ve ič edik)*	50
[28.]	2 other used cushions	*(yaṣtıq-i diğer köhne)*	30
[29.]	1 used kerchief	*(boḫča-i köhne)*	10
[30.]	1 used cap embroidered with gold	*(ʿaraqıye-i müzeḫḫeb köhne)*	14
[31.]	a small amount of firewood	*(ḫime bir mıqdar)*	20
[32.]	4 buckets	*(čeber)*	30
[33.]	1 . . . ?		10
[34.]	1 other vari-coloured mug	*(mešrebe-i diğer alaǰa)*	14
[35.]	1 used dolman	*(dolma-i köhne)*	20
[36.]	Dirhems	*(deraḫim[?])*	15
[37.]	1 round shield	*(siper-i müdevver)*	20
[38.]	Odds and ends, iron and miscellaneous	*(baʿz ḫurdevat ve aḫen ve gayrı)*	74
[39.]	1 large cauldron	*(tenǰere-i buzurg)*	70
[40.]	1 iron tripod	*(saǰ ayaq)*	8
[41.]	1 small . . . ?		6
[42.]	1 used barrel	*(ǰuči-i köhne)*	10
[43.]	1 small used bucket	*(čöbör köhne-i küčük)*	3
[44.]	1 used jug with a spout	*(ibriq-i köhne)*	10
[45.]	1 small padestalled bowl	*(ṣaḫan-i küčük)*	20
[46.]	2 used table-cloths of Yemen	*(peškir yemeni köhne)*	30
[47.]	2 shirts	*(pireḫen)*	50
[48.]	used shirt and underwear of red fabric	*(pireḫen ve zir ǰameʿan vale-i surḫ köhne)*	30
[49.]	1 large used cauldron with lid	*(tenǰere-i buzurg köhne maʿ qapaq)*	50
[50.]	1 cauldron	*(baqrač)*	15

[51.]	1 used candlestick	*(šamdan-i köhne)*	5
[52.]	a small amount of maǰun-paste	*(maǰun bir miqdar)*	80
[53.]	2 pieces of salt	*(milḥ)*	17
[54.]	1 other mug	*(mešrebe-i diger)*	5
[55.]	1 used sack	*(ṭorba-i köhne)*	10
[56.]	1 used turban scarf	*(destar-i köhne)*	20
[57.]	1 iron for making *kebab*	*(aḥen-i kebab)*	5
[58.]	1 small used carpet	*(qaliče-i köhne küčük)*	100
[59.]	1 used sieving ladle	*(kepče-i köhne)*	15
[60.]	1 woollen dolman	*(dolama-i ṣuf)*	143
[61.]	1 used raincoat	*(baranî köhne)*	80
[62.]	1 new turban scarf	*(destar-i ǰedid)*	110
[63.]	1 small used rug	*(qaliče-i köhne küčük)*	100
[64.]	1 large chest	*(ṣanduq-i buzurg)*	100
[65.]	2 dishes for sweet syrup	*(ṭas-i hošab maʿ qapaq)*	50
[66.]	1 other pedestalled dish	*(ṣaḥan-i diğer)*	40
[67.]	1 striped mattress	*(döšek-i alaǰa)*	112
[68.]	1 other dish	*(ṭas-i diğer)*	6
[69.]	small basin, jug with spout and small cup	*(leğenǰe ibriq ve ṭas)*	80
[70.]	2 used chests	*(ṣanduq-i köhne)*	30
[71.]	1 used cushion	*(minder-i köhne)*	40
[72.]	1 used crib	*(bešik-i köhne)*	10
[73.]	1 other cauldron	*(tenǰere-i diğer)*	76
[74.]	1 small chest	*(ṣanduq-i küčük)*	5
[75.]	1 kerchief of Damascus	*(boḫča-i šamî)*	15
[76.]	1 used green dolman	*(dolma-i sebze köhne)*	43
[77.]	1 other embroidered kerchief	*(boḫča-i diğer münaqqaš)*	20
[78.]	2 used pillows	*(yaṣtıq ruî köhne)*	23

[79.]	1 colourful belt	*(miyanbend alaǰa)*	145
[80.]	1 large cauldron	*(qazgan-i buzurg)*	475
[81.]	1 dish of *maǰun*-paste	*(maǰun bir čölmek)*	25
[82.]	1 pair of large scissors	*(maqas)*	14.5
[83.]	1 other cooking pot	*(tenǰere)*	
	1 sieving ladle	*(kepče)*	
	1 skimmer	*(kevgir)*	70
[84.]	2 linen	*(kirbâs)*	22
[85.]	1 old mould for dipping candles	*(qalıb-i köhne berayi riḫten šemʿ-i rugan)*	15
[86.]	1 used . . . ?		20
[87.]	1 used pedestalled bowl	*(ṣaḥan-i köhne)*	10
[88.]	a small amount of . . . ?		6
[89.]	2 pieces of underwear	*(zir ǰame)*	22
[90.]	1 other table-cloth	*(peškir-i diğer)*	20
[91.]	1 dough-moulding board	*(yaṣdığač)*	6
[92.]	1 candlestick	*(šamʿdan)*	6
[93.]	1 other cooking cauldron	*(tenǰere-i diğer)*	47
[94.]	1 green vest	*(sebz zibun)*	40
[95.]	1 cushion embroidered with gold	*(minder-i čatma müzehheb)*	110
[96.]	1 used vest	*(zibun-i köhne)*	40
[97.]	1 winter dolman from thick woollen cloth	*(dolma-i sermaî muḥayyer)*	123
[98.]	1 bucket with semolina	*(čöbör maʿ bulgur)*	4
[99.]	1 iron . . . ?	*(ʿan aḥen [?])*	9
[100.]	1 wooden tray	*(sini-i čöp)*	
[101.]	1 embroidered cushion	*(yaṣtıq-i münaqqaš)*	72
[102.]	1 other embroidered cushion	*(yaṣtıq-i diğer münaqqaš)*	95
[103.]	1 used hutch	*(tekne-i köhne)*	9
[104.]	a small amount of . . . ?		40

[105.]	1 used mattress	*(döšek-i köhne)*	22
[106.]	1 bucket with fruit juice	*(čöbör maʿ šire)*	10
[107.]	1 used bucket	*(čöbör-i köhne)*	5
[108.]	1 pedestalled bowl with bucket	*(ṣaḥan maʿ čöbör)*	10
[109.]	1 used sword	*(šemšir-i köhne)*	10
[110.]	. . . ?		10
[111.]	1 used red woollen dolman	*(dolama-i surḫ köhne ve muḥayyer)*	60
[112.]	1 red . . . . . ? with buttons and gold embroidery	*(surḫ müzehheb düyme-i gümüš . . .[?])*	425
[113.]	1 other white kerchief for covering large jugs	*(maqrama-i diğer beyaz berayi pušiden denan)*	20
[114.]	1 other mattress, 1 other cooking cauldron 1 small frying pan and 1 pedestalled bowl	*(döšek:* 111 *tenǰere:* 150 *ṣaḥan:* 70 *tabe:* 20)	351
[115.]	1 other carpet	*(qaliče-i diğer)*	30
[116.]	1 large chest	*(ṣanduq-i buzurg)*	70
[117.]	1 used cushion	*(yaṣtıq-i köhne)*	44
[118.]	1 pedestalled dish and 4 baking tins	*(ṣaḥan ve tepsiha)*	73
[119.]	1 other cooking pot	*(tenǰere-i diğer)*	59
[120.]	a cup of *maǰun*-paste made from raddish	*(maǰun-i turb bir kase)*	11
[121.]	1 large used cauldron	*(qazgan-i buzurg köhne)*	100
[122.]	2 bathing gloves	*(kise-i hamam)*	5
[123.]	2 towels	*(destmal)*	8
[124.]	1 cotton dolman	*(dolama-i qutnî)*	400
[125.]	1 used cap	*(ʿaraqıyye-i köhne)*	52
[126.]	1 cup with lid and 1 sieve	*(ṭas maʿ qapaq ve elek)*	14
[127.]	1 small dish . . . ?	*(legenǰe-i . . . ?)*	80
[128.]	4 pillows	*(yaṣtıq ruî)*	60
[129.]	1 used small rug	*(qaliče-i kücük köhne)*	70
[130.]	1 other mattress	*(döšek-i diğer)*	80
[131.]	1 other mattress	*(döšek-i diğer)*	80

[132.]	2 used small baking tins	*(tepsiha-i köhne küčük)*	15
[133.]	used cup and mug	*(ṭas ve mešrebe-i köhne)*	10
[134.]	1 used gauze sack	*(ṭorba-i dōlbend köhne)*	20
[135.]	1 iron scale	*(tırazu ʿan ahen)*	30
[136.]	1 mule	*(ester)*	150
[137.]	22 kantar of tallow	*(šemʿi rugan)*	3,982
[138.]	3 cows	*(inek)*	
[139.]	Tallow	*(semʿi rugan)*	212
[140.]	Cash left in the purse	*(ʿAn naqıd-i baqıye der kise)*	780

Ali Čelebi, earlier a dweller of Istanbul now butcher in Buda repaid the sum he had borrowed from the deceased: 3,250[58]

Total *(Yekûn):* 27,900
For the burial *(teǰhiz ve tekfin):* 475
Auctioneer's fee *(dellâliye):* 425
Residue for the treasury: 27,000

On the 17th of the noble month of *Šaban* in the year 977

Inventory of estate No. 5

The estate of Haǰi Yunis, inhabitant of Szendrő, who died at the central market of Buda on 20th of *Rebiülaḫir*, 977 [December 2,1569][59]

[1.]	1 house	*(ḫāne)*	value *(kıymet):* 3,355
[2.]	1 shop	*(dükkân)*	2,095
[3.]	1 vineyard	*(bağ)*	2,000

[58] This item is mentioned, as the first reference to Ali Čelebi, by L. Fekete, *Egy vidéki török*. 87.
[59] Wien, Nat.-Bibl. Türk Hss. Mxt. 563. Flügel 1403.

[4.]	1 female slave	*(ǰariye)*	7,000
[5.]	1 blanket	*(yorgan)*	60
[6.]	1 used carpet	*(kilim-i köhne)*	57
[7.]	1 . . . ?	*(heyle[?])*	20
[8.]	1 cushion	*(yaṣtıq)*	18
[9.]	1 used table board	*(ṣofra-i köhne)*	19
[10.]	1 used kerchief	*(čadıršeb-i köhne)*	11
[11.]	Sword and Kurd knife	*(šemšir ve qurde)*	21
			70
[12.]	1 other cushion	*(yaṣtıq-i diğer)*	8
[13.]	1 cap with turban scarf	*(destar maʿ qavuq)*	35
[14.]	1 barrel	*(fučı)*	21
[15.]	1 other barrel	*(fučı-i diğer)*	21
[16.]	1 tripod	*(saǰ ayaq)*	10
[17.]	1 large barrel	*(fučı-i buzurg)*	37
[18.]	1 small hutch	*(tekne-i ḫamur kūčūk)*	35
[19.]	1 . . . ?		3
[20.]	1 other used hutch	*(tekne-i diğer köhne)*	3
[21.]	1 wooden tray	*(sini ʿan čub)*	6
[22.]	1 jug	*(qavanoz)*	6
[23.]	1 used underwear	*(zir ǰame-i köhne)*	5
[24.]	1 sack with semolina	*(bulgur maʿ ṭorba)*	13
[25.]	2 used jugs	*(qavanha-i köhne)*	13
[26.]	1 used striped mattress	*(döšek-i alaǰa köhne)*	4
[27.]	1 used shirt	*(pireḥen-i köhne)*	4
[28.]	Odds and ends and iron objects	*(baʿz ḫurdevat ve aḫen ḫurdevat)*	75
[29.]	1 yarn	*(rište-i penta)*	20
[30.]	1 underwear and aba-cloth trousers	*(zir ǰame ve čaqšır ʿan aba)*	21

[31.]	1 colourful short cloak and 1 other short cloak	*(kebe-i alaǰa ve kebe-i imruz[?])*	45
[32.]	1 pair of used shoes	*(sermuze-i köhne)*	6
[33.]	1 small cup	*(ṭas-i küčük)*	7
[34.]	Frying pan, cooking pot and cauldron with lid	(tabe : 21 *baqrač maʿqapaq:* 20 *tenǰere:* 80)	121
[35.]	Various baking tins *(tepsi-i küčük:* 8) *(tepsi-i buzurg:* 21) *(tepsi-i diğer:* 5)	*(tepsiha-i mütenevviye)*	34
[36.]	1 other pair of shoes	*(sermuze-i diğer)*	20
[37.]	1 short cloak of Yanbolu and 1 other short cloak	*(kebe-i yanbolu:* 166 *kebe-i diğer:* 20)	186
[38.]	1 pair of used trousers made of blue čoha-cloth	*(čaqšır-i köhne ʿan čuḫa-i mavi)*	60
[39.]	1 used cup	*(qupa-i köhne)*	15
[40.]	1 used prayer mat	*(seǰǰade-i köhne)*	15
[41.]	A small amount of rice	*(pirinč bir miqdar)*	15
[42.]	1 cup used in the bath	*(qupa-i ḥamam)*	20
[43.]	1 red used vest	*(zibun-i surḫ köhne)*	12
[44.]	1 used dolman from coha-cloth	*(dolma-i köhne ʿan čuḫa)*	126
[45.]	1 small dish, 1 pedestalled bowl, 1 cauldron	*(leğenǰe:* 15 *ṣaḥan:* 20 *ṭas:* 7)[60]	140
[46.]	6 sacks	*(ṭorba)*	22
[47.]	1 pair of stockings	*(mestče)*	2
[48.]	A little salt	*(nemek bir miqdar)*	3
[49.]	A small amount of firewood	*(ḫime bir miqdar)*	80
[50.]	Seyyid Gazi's book	*(kitab-i Seyyid Gazi)*	30
[51.]	1 large chest	*(ṣanduq-i buzurg)*	130
[52.]	1 pair [?] of green *čoḫa*-cloth dolmans	*(bir čift[?] dolma-i sebzʿan čuḫa)*	143

[60] When itemizing, the administrators did not mention the same objects, writing *ṭas* as the third item instead of *tenǰere*. The total of the values of objects does not tally either.

[53.]	1 used blue boğasi-cloth kapanice coat	*(qapanıče-i boğası mavi köhne)*	20
[54.]	. . . [?]		15
[55.]	Oil and earthenware pot	*(rugan ve čölmek)*	10
[56.]	Jug with spout and copper candlestick	*(ibriq:* 20 *šamdan:* 45)	65
[57.]	. . . [?]		
[58.]	Dried quince-apples	*(ayva-i ḫušk)*	
	Dried cherries	*(visne-i ḫušk)*	10
[59.]	A bundle of sacks	*(čuval maʿ deste)*	4
[60.]	1 small cup	*(qupa-i küčük)*	10
[61.]	A small amount of wheat in a sack	*(gendum maʿ torba bir mıqdar)*	8
[62.]	1 used fur coat	*(pustin-i köhne)*	35
[63.]	. . . ?		4

Total *(Yekûn):* 16,464
Burial *(teǰhiz ve tekfin):* 340
Auctioneer's fee *(dellâliye):* 259
Residue for the treasury *(ilâhiyet):* 15,865

the year 977 [1569]

Inventory of estate No. 6

The estate of saddler Dur Ali, who died in his home near the market named after Hüsrev pasa on the 3rd of the month *Šaban* in the year 977 [January 10, 1570][61]

[1.]	Money in cash	*(naqıd-i baqiye)*		3,025
[2.]	1 house with shop	*(ḫāne maʿ dükkân)*	value *(kıymet)*	2,550

[61] Wien, Nat.-Bibl. Türk. Hss. Mxt. 563. A minor part of the estate was published by A. Velics, *op. cit.* pp. 375—376.

[3.]	1 slave called Pervane	*(esir benam Pervane)*	7,800
[4.]	1 red čoha-cloth feraje with fur	*(feraje-i surḫ-i čuḫa-i pustin)*	900
[5.]	1 red short cloak	*(kebe-i surḫ)*	30
[6.]	1 white short cloak	*(kebe-i beyaz)*	30
[7.]	1 pedestalled bowl	*(ṣaḫan)*	30
[8.]	1 baking tin of Yemen	*(tepsi-i yemeni)*	30
[9.]	1 splendid new saddle from red broad-cloth	*(zin-i jedid-i čuha-i surḫ mükemmel)*	300
[10.]	2 stirrup straps	*(qayıš üzengi)*	30
[11.]	1 war mace . . . [?]	*(bozdoğan maᶜ . . . [?])*	142
[12.]	1 pair of halters	*(yular bir čift)*	15
[13.]	15 pairs of slippers	*(paypus)*	180
[14.]	5 pairs of slippers	*(paypus 5 čift)*	77
[15.]	2 bridles	*(liǰam)*	70
[16.]	3 bridles	*(liǰam)*	112
[17.]	4 sole leathers	*(kösele)*	209
[18.]	bit	*(gem)*	50
[19.]	1 dish	*(leğen)*	250
[20.]	1 table board . . . ?	*(. . . [?] küčük maᶜ ṣofra)*	68
[21.]	1 yellow fur	*(pustin qumral)*	150
[22.]	1 purple woollen feraje	*(feraje-i mor ısqarlat)*	520
[23.]	1 used black short cloak	*(kebe-i köhne siyah)*	14
[24.]	1 used vari-coloured cushion	*(yaṣtıq-i alaǰa-i köhne)*	12
[25.]	1 other used black cloak	*(diğer kebe-i siyah köhne)*	14
[26.]	1 used iron . . . [?]	*(. . . aḫen köhne)*	40
[27.]	1 used aba-cloth trousers	*(čaqšır aba-i köhne)*	22
[28.]	1 shirt	*(pireḫen)*	15
[29.]	1 dish and cauldron	*(leğen ve baqrač)*	50
[30.]	1 used padlock	*(kilid köhne)*	5

[31.]	1 purple scarlet dolman	*(dolma-i mor ısqarlat)*	623
[32.]	1 used raincoat from *selânik* cloth	*(baranî čuẖa-i selânik köhne)*[62]	70
[33.]	4 jugs used	*(qavanha-i köhne)*	6
[34.]	5 pairs of slippers	*(paypus)*	72
[35.]	1 jug with spout	*(ibriq)*	38
[36.]	. . . [?]		40
[37.]	Tallow	*(šem)*	10
[38.]	1 used red dolman	*(dolma-i surẖ köhne)*	150
[39.]	4 pairs of stockings	*(mest)*	10
[40.]	8 currycombs	*(qašağî)*	10
[41.]	5 bridles	*(liǐam)*	174
[42.]	. . . ?		40
[43.]	1 girth	*(qolan)*	40
[44.]	12 sacks	*(ṭorba)*	39
[45.]	2 war maces	*(topuzluq)*	6
[46.]	1 breast-strap	*(sine bend)*	10
[47.]	2 leather bottles	*(ṣumaq)*	38
[48.]	18 linen thread	*(rište-i ketan)*	20
[49.]	3 *kapanice* coats	*(qapaniče)*	105
[50.]	1 used white trousers	*(čaqšır-i beyaẓ köhne)*	15
[51.]	1 other case and a knife	*(qubur-i diğer ve bıčaq)*	40
[52.]	1 axe for chopping firewood	*(teber berayi ḥime)*	15
[53.]	1 other case	*(qubur-i diğer)*	20
[54.]	1 cured sheepskin'	*(mešin)*	6
[55.]	2 pairs of halters	*(yular qayıš)*	30
[56.]	9 pairs of slippers	*(paypus)*	130

[62] The kind of broad-cloth called *selânik* also occurs in the customs registers of Buda. Cf. L. Fekete—Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *op. cit.* 260.

[57.]	1	cushion	*(yaṣtıq)*	50
[58.]		. . . ?		20
[59.]	1	pair of used overshoes	*(sermuze-i köhne)*	12
[60.]	1	used red *čoḫa*-cloth material	*(yelken bafte-i [?] čuḫa-i surḫ köhne)*	15
[61.]	1	pair of used scissors and razor	*(mıqraz ve ustura-i köhne)*	5
[62.]	4	halters	*(yular)*	30
[63.]	5	pairs of bits'	*(qantarma)*	50
[64.]	2	leading reins	*(yedek)*	5
[65.]	1	pair of saddles . . . [?]	*(eyer-hem[?])*	12
[66.]	1	cap trimmed with fur	*(qalpaq)*	38
[67.]	2	gloves for wisping horses	*(kefe-i esb)*	4
[68.]	2	pairs of spurs	*(maḥmuz)*	20
[69.]	5	pairs of hobbles	*(pa-bend)*	15
[70.]	4	breast-straps	*(pistan qolanî)*	20
[71.]	11	tethers	*(köstek)*	12
[72.]	1	leather bottle for water	*(ṣumaq)*	123
[73.]	1	bit	*(gem)*	6
[74.]	4	purses	*(kise)*	5
[75.]	2	pairs of used stirrups	*(üzengi-i köhne)*	20
[76.]		Odds and ends	*(baʿz ḫurdevat)*	134
[77.]	1	carpet	*(kilim)*	20
[78.]	1	cup	*(qupa)*	6
[79.]		A small amount of tallow	*(šem-i rugan)*	12
[80.]	1	other short cloak	*(kebe-i diğer)*	17
[81.]	1	. . . ? and 1 breast-strap	*(sine bend)*	12
[82.]	3	shields	*(tirse)*	15
[83.]	1	sole leather	*(kösele)*	38
[84.]	1	sword belt	*(bend-i šemšir)*	5

[85.]	1 spur strap	*(maḥmuz qayṅš)*	3
[86.]	7 whips	*(qamčı)*	12
[87.]	2 pairs of small slippers	*(paypus-i küčük)*	21
[88.]	1 white marble slab that serves as the saddler's counter	*(mermer-i beyaẓ berayi pištahta-i serraǰ)*	11
[89.]	1 whetstone	*(bilegi)*	10
[90.]	2 Tirnovo saddles . . . [?]	*(eyer-hem [?] tirnovi)*	14
[91.]	1 sole leather	*(kösele)*	8
[92.]	2 purses	*(kise)*	4
[93.]	2 pairs of new stockings	*(mestǰe-i ǰedid)*	6
[94.]	2 hatchets	*(šatır)*	50
[95.]	1 iron . . . [?]	*(. . . [?] ʿan aḥen)*	20
[96.]	5 hatchets	*(šatır)*	100
[97.]	1 pair of stirrups	*(üzengi)*	12
[98.]	2 belts	*(učqur)*	10
[99.]	1 small underwear	*(zir ǰame-i küčük)*	10
[100.]	1 multi-coloured table-cloth	*(peškir alaǰa)*	5
[101.]	1 flag	*(bayraq)*	1
[102.]	2 kerchiefs	*(maqrama)*	20
[103.]	1 sword	*(šemšir)*	100
[104.]	3 towels	*(destmal)*	39
[105.]	10 pairs of slippers 3 pairs' value: 50 7 pairs' value: 120[63]	*(paypus)*	130
[106.]	4 tethers and fetter	*(köstek ve pa-bend)*	8
[107.]	1 trimmed fur coat	*(pustin kürk)*	2,500

[63] The itemized part and the total do not tally.

Merchant Hüsrev repaid the debt borrowed from the deceased: 7,500

Total *(Yekûn):* 33,563
Burial *(Teǰhiz ve tekfin):* 450
Auctioneer's fee *(dellâliye):* 400
Residue for the treasury: 34,713

17th of the month *Šaban*, the year 977

Inventory of estate No. 7

Horseman Ali Voyvoda's estate, who died on the 13th of *Ramaẓan* 977 [February 18, 1570][64]

[1.]	1 house	*(ḫāne)*	value *(kıymet)*	9,825
[2.]	Small slave of Hungarian origin	*(gulâm-i küčük maǰari al aṣıl)*		4,150
[3.]	Other small slave of Hungarian origin	*(diğer gulâm-i küčük maǰari al aṣıl)*		4,050
[4.]	Female slave of Slovak origin	*(ǰariye tot al aṣıl)*		6,000
[5.]	1 small carpet	*(qaliče-i küčük)*		109
[6.]	1 used carpet	*(kilim-i köhne)*		64
[7.]	1 other used carpet	*(diğer kilim-i köhne)*		31
[8.]	1 used short cloak of Yanbolu	*(kebe-i yanbolu köhne)*		90
[9.]	1 turban scarf	*(destar)*		90
[10.]	1 table-cloth	*(peškir)*		36
[11.]	2 flags	*(bayraq)*		56
[12.]	1 . . . ?			73
[13.]	1 used blanket	*(velenče-i köhne)*		60

[64] Wien, Nat.-Bibl. Türk Hss. Mxt. 563. Flügel 1403. A smaller part was published by A. Velics, *op. cit.* p. 376.

[14.]	1 used flat-iron	*(utu[?]-i köhne)*	21
[15.]	1 other carpet	*(kilim-i diğer)*	96
[16.]	1 used short cloak	*(kebe-i köhne)*	50
[17.]	1 čoḫa-cloth dolman	*(dolma-i čuḫa)*	251
[18.]	1 copper cup	*(ṭas-i bagır)*	18.5
[19.]	1 other dish	*(ṭas-i diğer)*	11
[20.]	2 pedestalled bowls	*(ṣaḫan)*	140
[21.]	1 table board	*(ṣofra)*	67
[22.]	1 frying pan	*(tinǰir)*	56
[23.]	1 used jug with spout	*(ibriq-i köhne)*	15
[24.]	5 sacks of barley	*(šaır čaq 5)*	145
[25.]	1 barrel of cabbage	*(kelem maʿ fučı)*	109
[26.]	1 barrow of dried hay	*(giyaḫ-i hušk)*	62
[27.]	1 barrow of firewood	*(ḫime)*	12
[28.]	1 barrow-chain	*(ṭaliga zenǰiri)*	23
[29.]	3 pieces of iron	*(aḫen-i ḫam)*	10
[30.]	1 used saddle	*(zin-i köhne)*	25
[31.]	1 bridle	*(liǰam)*	13.5
[32.]	1 pair of stirrups with accessory	*(rikab ma' taqım)*	8.5
[33.]	1 used table board	*(ṣofra-i köhne)*	9
[34.]	1 barrel	*(varıl)*	10
[35.]	Tallow	*(šem-i rugan)*	7
[36.]	2 used hutches	*(tekne-i köhne)*	10.5
[37.]	3 used chests	*(ṣanduq-i köhne)*	25.5
[38.]	1 wicker basket· . . [?]	*(zenbil ma' kaš[?])*	13.5
[39.]	1 pair of slippers	*(paypus)*	18
[40.]	8 empty barrels	*(boš fučı)*	57
[41.]	3 baskets	*(sepet)*	14

[42.]	1 iron tripod	*(saǰ ayaq)*	7.5
[43.]	1 used mat	*(ḥaṣır-i köhne)*	21
[44.]	3 used axes	*(balta-i köhne)*	16.5
[45.]	1 moulding board	*(yasdıǧač)*	10
[46.]	3 dishes	*(leǧen)*	14.5
[47.]	2 used scythes	*(tırpan-i köhne)*	5.5
[48.]	4 buckets	*(vedre)*	7
[49.]	1 wooden mortar	*(ḥavan-i čöp)*	2
[50.]	2 pairs of used boots	*(čizme-i köhne)*	4
[51.]	1 drinking cup	*(čanaq)*	4
[52.]	1 piece of salt	*(nemek)*	4.5
[53.]	1 piece of wax	*(šem)*	1
[54.]	1 used packsaddle	*(semer-i köhne)*	2
[55.]	2 used sacks	*(ǰaq-i köhne)*	5.5
[56.]	Used cap and scarf	*(ṭaqıye ve čaršeb-i köhne)*	4.5
[57.]	Dried cornels	*(ḫušk qızılǰıq)*	5.5
[58.]	2 jugs	*(qavanos)*	5
[59.]	1 wooden tray	*(aǧač sini)*	3
[60.]	Iron pieces	*(pare-i aḥen)*	23
[61.]	Bits and pieces	*(ḫurdevat)*	35

Total *(Yekûn):* 26,127
Auctioneer's fee *(dellâliye):* 520
The female and male slaves' due *(nafaqa-i ǰariye ve gulâm):* 30 1 pair of slippers for the mentioned slave called Mustafa *(papus berayi gulâm-i mezbur Mustafa):* 11
Residue for the treasury *(Ilâhiye):* 20,566

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Inventory of estate No. 8

Defter concerning the estate of the deceased Divittar Ağa, taken over from the hands of Mevlana Musliheddin Efendi Hamza Čauš on the 10th of the month *Ṣafer*, 980 [June 21, 1572][65]

[1.]	1 grey work-horse	*(qır bargir)*	value *(kıymet)*	1,400
[2.]	1 black work-horse	*(siyah bargir)*		700
[3.]	1 black riding horse	*(siyah esb)*		780
[4.]	2 work-horses	*(bargir koči[?])*		700
[5.]	1 slave called Ferhad	*(gulâm benam Ferhad)*		3,800
[6.]	1 female slave	*(ǰariye)*		3,405
[7.]	1 plated sword of medium length	*(qılıč-i gümüš orta)*		1,000
[8.]	1 other simple sword	*(qılıč-i diğer sade)*		780
[9.]	1 silver axe	*(sim naǰaq)*		360
[10.]	2 porcelain dishes	*(čini-i . . . [?])*		550
[11.]	1 silver knife	*(sim bıčaq)*		200
[12.]	1 other silver sword	*(qılıč-i diğer sim)*		1,000
[13.]	1 silver helmet	*(sim tulga)*		1,500
[14.]	1 silvery saddle	*(gümüšlü eyer)*		1,500
[15.]	1 silvery breast-strap	*(gümüšlü sinebend)*		1,000
[16.]	2 yellow packsaddles	*(sarı semer)*		471
[17.]	1 silvery belt	*(gümüšlü kemer)*		752
[18.]	1 crest of helmet	*(ḫotoz)*		850
[19.]	1 dagger	*(šiš)*		500
[20.]	1 ironed coach	*(demirlü koči)*		700

[65] Wien, Nat.-Bibl. Türk Hss. Mxt. 563. Flügel 1401. An abridged version of the estate was published by A. Velics, *op. cit.* pp. 454—456.

[21.]	1 new bow	*(keman-i ǰedid)*	230
[22.]	1 red feraǰe with fur	*(qırmızı kürklü feraǰe)*	1,500
[23.]	1 carpet	*(ḫalı)*	900
[24.]	1 small carpet	*(qaliče)*	400
[25.]	Again 1 small carpet	*(defaᶜ qaliče)*	407
[26.]	4 coffee cups	*(finǰan)*	550
[27.]	4 coffee cups	*(finǰan)*	550
[28.]	4 plain coffee cups	*(sade finǰan)*	252
[29.]	1 used brocade dolman	*(köhne kemḫa dolma)*	300
[30.]	1 used dolman	*(köhne dolma)*	150
[31.]	1 used satin dolman	*(köhne aṭlas dolma)*	150
[32.]	1 used bluish grey dolman	*(köhne mavi-qır dolma)*	209
[33.]	1 turban scarf	*(dülbend)*	186
[34.]	1 used dolman	*(köhne dolma)*	204
[35.]	1 yellow blanket	*(sarı velenče)*	116
[36.]	1 used red blanket	*(köhne qırmızı velenče)*	100
[37.]	1 belt	*(qušaq)*	120
[38.]	1 war mace	*(buzdoğan)*	100
[39.]	1 . . . [?]		180
[40.]	1 red feraǰe	*(qırmızı feraǰe)*	180
[41.]	1 . . . ?		20
[42.]	2 wolf skins	*(qurd dersi)*	150
[43.]	1 used felt	*(köhne keče)*	80
[44.]	1 . . . [?]		430
[45.]	1 pair of trousers with shirt	*(don maᶜ gömlek)*	130
[46.]	1 sheepskin saddle	*(mešin eyer)*	76
[47.]	1 pair of breeches	*(čaqšır dizye)*	17
[48.]	1 old soap	*(köhne sabun)*	22

[49.]	1 pair of used white trousers	*(čaqsır beyaẓ-i köhne)*	23
[50.]	1 used saddle	*(köhne eyer)*	100
[51.]	Again 1 used saddle	*(defaʿ köhne eyer)*	10
[52.]	2 used candles . . . ?	*(köhne šam'a . . . ?)*	20
[53.]	1 used . . . ?		8
[54.]	1 pipe[?]	*(efruze-i[?] čubuq)*	52
[55.]	2 used helmets	*(köhne tulga)*	99
[56.]	1 used shield	*(köhne qalqan)*	28
[57.]	1 used water jug made of leather	*(köhne qırba)*	4
[58.]	1 hoop	*(čenber)*	14
[59.]	1 bridle	*(oyan)*	26
[60.]	1 shield	*(qalqan)*	5.5
[61.]	1 cushion	*(yaştıq)*	50
[62.]	1 halter	*(yular)*	5
[63.]	2 hoops	*(čenber)*	3
[64.]	1 used . . . ?		20
[65.]	2 used iron tripods	*(köhne saǰ ayaq)*	12
[66.]	2 used armours	*(köhne zirh)*	12
[67.]	1 used pen-tray	*(köhne qalemdan)*	4
[68.]	1 turban chair	*(kürsi-i dülbend)*[66]	10
[69.]	2 okka of candle wax	*(bal mumi)*	35
[70.]	1 coat	*(ḫırqa)*	14
[71.]	2 used straps	*(köhne qolan)*	6
[72.]	1 . . . [?]		37
[73.]	2 colt bits	*(qantarma)*	10
[74.]	2 turban chairs	*(kürsi-i dülbend)*	10

[66] W. J. Redhouse, *op. cit.* 1538.

[75.]	3 plates and baking tin	*(tabaq ve tepsi)*	11
[76.]	1 used crest of helmet	*(köhne ḫotoz)*	60
[77.]	1 used saddle cloth	*(köhne čoltar)*	80
[78.]	1 piece of linen	*(qanava)*	40
[79.]	1 bow with arrows	*(qubur maʿ ok)*	80
[80.]	1 shield	*(qalqan)*	25
[81.]	1 leading rein	*(yedek)*	1
[82.]	5 bottles	*(ǰam)*	36
[83.]	1 mosquito net	*(ǰebinlik)*	56
[84.]	Again 1 mosquito net	*(defaʿ ǰebinlik)*	73
[85.]	1 used felt	*(nemez-i köhne)*	72
[86.]	1 used mug	*(mešrebe-i köhne)*	40
[87.]	1 used sieving ladle	*(kepče-i köhne)*	9
[88.]	2 used armours	*(zirh-i köhne)*	102
[89.]	1 used shield	*(köhne qalqan)*	35
[90.]	1 used shield	*(köhne miǰveb)*	33
[91.]	3 straps	*(qolan)*	20
[92.]	2 straps for saddle	*(eyer qolanı)*	25
[93.]	3 used leading reins	*(köhne yedekdaš)*	7
[94.]	3 used component parts for coaches	*(köhne araba-i . . .[?])*	10
[95.]	1 knife	*(bıčaq)*	220
[96.]	1 copper tray	*(baqır sini)*	156
[97.]	1 used sword	*(köhne kılıč)*	10
[98.]	1 used kettle	*(köhne göğüm)*	36
[99.]	1 Turkish tray	*(türk sini)*	80
[100.]	Again 2 helmets	*(defaʿ tulga)*	100
[101.]	2 used knives	*(köhne bıčaq)*	30
[102.]	2 used daggers	*(köhne šiš)*	130

[103.]	1 pair of used boots	*(köhne čizme)*	21
[104.]	Again 1 pair of boots	*(defaᶜ čizme)*	50
[105.]	1 used cooking cauldron	*(köhne tenǰere)*	158
[106.]	1 pair of used trousers	*(köhne šalvar)*	95
[107.]	1 pair of blue trousers	*(čaqšır-i mor)*	120
[108.]	1 short cloak of *Yanbolu*	*(kebe-i yanbolu)*	180
[109.]	Again 1 short cloak	*(defaᶜ kebe)*	100
[110.]	1 used glass cup	*(köhne ǰam ṭası)*	25
[111.]	1 used . . . [?]		27
[112.]	1 plain vest	*(sade yelek)*	178
[113.]	1 blue *čoḫa*-cloth headdress	*(taǰ-i mor čuḫa)*	140
[114.]	1 used turban scarf	*(köhne dülbend)*	40
[115.]	1 used horse blanket	*(abaî köhne)*	25
[116.]	1 used bow	*(köhne keman)*	71
[117.]	1 pair of used slippers	*(köhne papuč)*	19
[118.]	Again 1 pair of slippers	*(defaᶜ papuč)*	30
[119.]	7 sacks of . . . ?	*(. . . [?] ṭorbası)*	27
[120.]	1 basin with ewer	*(leğen maᶜ ibriq)*	75
[121.]	1 used . . . [?]		150
[122.]	1 copper water vessel	*(nüḫas saqa)*	29
[123.]	2 used cups	*(köhne ṭas)*	40
[124.]	2 used . . . ?		23
[125.]	2 used fabric	*(köhne qumaš)*	30
[126.]	1 used bridle	*(köhne oyan)*	56
[127.]	1 pair of used stockings	*(köhne mest)*	10
[128.]	1 used shield	*(köhne qalqan)*	23
[129.]	1 turban scarf	*(dülbend örtüsü)*	30
[130.]	1 pair of belts	*(učqur)*	34

[131.]	3 sheepskin . . . ?	*(mešin . . ?)*	53
[132.]	1 towel	*(destmal)*	9
[133.]	1 pair of aba-cloth trousers with fur	*(aba čaqšır maʿ kürk)*	90
[134.]	1 pair of stockings	*(mest)*	22
[135.]	1 fur	*(kürk)*	166
[136.]	2 used turban caps	*(kōhne dülbend bōrkü)*	26
[137.]	1 pair of used brocade . . . ?	*(kōhne kemha . . . [?])*	20
[138.]	1 vineyard	*(bağ)*	750
[139.]	1 colourful saddle cloth	*(alağa čoltar)*	80
[140.]	27 *oqqa* of oil	*(rugan)*	270
[141.]	8 *oqqa* of dried fruit	*(pestil)*	32
[142.]	10 *oqqa* of flax	*(ketan)*	45
[143.]	40 *oqqa* of . . . ?		140
[144.]	7.5 *oqqa* of flax	*(ketan[?])*	22.5
[145.]	7.5 *oqqa* of flax	*(ketan[?])*	22.5
[146.]	60 *kile* of wheat	*(gendum)*	900
[147.]	1 slave called *Jafer*	*(gulâm namiš J̌afer)*	4,405
[148.]	1 *feraǰe* with fur	*(kürklü feraǰe)*	2,050

Total *(Yekûn):* 42,580.5 aqce
Auctioneer's fee *(dellâliye):* 1,200
Burial *(teǰhiz ve tekfin):* 1,500
Debts *(deyn):* 1,400
. . . [?] *:* 12,432.5
Residue *(Ilâhiye):* 26,048

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Inventory of estate No. 9

Defter concerning the estate of craftsmen Dimo and Andrea who died in Kuvin (Csepel). The month of *Zilkade* in the year 999 [August 1591][67]

[1.]	1 pair of used blue trousers	*(köhne mor čaqšır)*[68]
[2.]	1 used raincoat	*(köhne baranî)*
[3.]	1 used carpet	*(köhne kilim)*
[4.]	1 pair of trousers and shirt	*(don ve gömlek)*
[5.]	6 small pewter jugs	*(qalay-i qanta küčük)*
[6.]	1 copper table board	*(baqır ṣofra)*
[7.]	2 brass dishes	*(birinǰi leğen)*
[8.]	1 copper cup	*(baqır ṭas)*
[9.]	2 used pewter pedestalled bowls	*(köhne qalay-i ṣaḥan)*
[10.]	1 water bottle made of leather	*(ṣumaq)*
[11.]	1 small mortar	*(küčük ḥavan)*
[12.]	A small amount of plain tiles	*(ǰindel ekseri bir miqdar)*
[13.]	2 clothes brushes [?]	*(čuḫa-i süpürge)*
[14.]	1 used colourful rug	*(köhne alaǰa kilim)*
[15.]	1 other colourful rug	*(diğer alaǰa kilim)*
[16.]	3 used short cloaks	*(köhne kebe)*
[17.]	1 piece of a used carpet	*(köhne ḫalı paresi)*
[18.]	1 chest	*(ṣanduq)*
[19.]	1 used red wollen skirt	*(köhne qızıl muhayyer ṣoqna)*
[20.]	1 used . . . ?	*(köhne yelken[?])*

[67] Berlin Staats. Bibl. Ms. Or. Fol. 112.

[68] This inventory was taken before the auction so it does not show values.

[21.]	1	used wolfskin coat	*(köhne kurt kürk)*
[22.]	1	copper cauldron	*(baqır tenǰere)*
[23.]	1	small cauldron	*(kücük baqrač)*
[24.]	1	. . . [?]	
[25.]	1	small cushion made of *dimi* cloth	*(alaǰa küčük yaṣtıq dimi)*[69]
[26.]	3	used colourful cushions	*(köhne alaǰa yaṣtıq)*
[27.]	1	used raincoat	*(köhne baranî)*
[28.]	1	copper jug with spout	*(köhne ibriq)*
[29.]	1	copper frying pan	*(baqır ṭava)*
[30.]	2	small copper scales	*(baqır tırazu küčük)*
[31.]	3	iron pieces for making *kebab*	*(kebab demiri)*
[32.]	1	iron tripod	*(oǰaq demiri)*
[33.]	2	iron . . . ?	*(demir . . . [?])*
[34.]	1	iron chain	*(demir zenǰir)*
[35.]	2	iron lanterns	*(demir fener)*
[36.]	1	waxen candle	*(bal mumî)*
[37.]	2	roasting grills	*(ısqara)*
[38.]	1	small iron piece for *kebab*	*(kücük kebab demiri)*[70]
[39.]	1	axe	*(balta)*
[40.]	1	used large chest	*(köhne büyük ṣanduq)*
[41.]	30	wooden plates	*(ağač tanir)*
[42.]	5	wooden drinking vessels	*(ağač canaq)*
[43.]	3	used čoḫa-cloth *ferağes*	*(čuḫa ferağesi köhne)*
[44.]	1	small cooking cauldron	*(küčük tenǰere)*
[45.]	1	brass jug with spout	*(birinǰi ibriq)*

[69] *Dimi:* a kind of thick flannel. Cf. Zs. Kakuk, *op. cit.* p. 34.

[70] Probably a lapsus calami. These objects were usually made in large size. Cf. Ö. L. Barkan, *op. cit.* p. 94.

[46.]	21 spoons	*(qašıq)*
[47.]	12 large clay drinking vessels	*(topraq čanaq)*
[48.]	1 hatchet without handle	*(sapsuz naǰaq)*
[49.]	1 spear without handle	*(sapsuz harbe)*
[50.]	1 small scales	*(küčük tırazu)*
[51.]	1 wooden bread-basket	*(ağač ṣakasto)*
[52.]	1 small chest	*(küčük ṣanduq)*
[53.]	1 wooden tray	*(ağač sini)*
[54.]	1 wooden drinking vessel	*(ağač čanaq)*
[55.]	1 pipe[?]	*(čubuq[?])*
[56.]	3 baskets	*(sepet)*
[57.]	3 perpendiculars	*(šaqul)*
[58.]	1 pair of used red slippers	*(kōhne qızıl papuč)*
[59.]	1 coloured chest	*(alaǰa ṣanduq)*
[60.]	3 bags with defters sealed with giaour seals	*(üč kise defterler ile kâfir mühürler ile mühürlenmiştir)*
[61.]	1 wooden mortar	*(ağač ḥavan)*
[62.]	1 wooden pepper shaker	*(ağač biberlik)*
[63.]	1 carpet	*(firaš)*
[64.]	1 money exchanging board	*(aqče tahtası)*
[65.]	3 small hutches	*(tekne-i küčük)*
[66.]	1 wooden basket	*(ağač kavta)*[71]
[67.]	iron pieces with perpendicular	*(demir ḫurdevat maʿ šaqul)*
[68.]	1 small barrel	*(küčük fučı)*
[69.]	1 perpendicular	*(šaqul)*
[70.]	1 carpenter's tool [?]	*(dulger[?])*
[71.]	2 used drills	*(kōhne burgu)*

[71] The word might also be read as qutu.

[72.]	1 wooden jug	*(ağač qanta)*
[73.]	1 small hutch	*(küčük tekne)*
[74.]	3 clay jugs	*(topraq küp)*
[75.]	2 wooden jugs	*(ağač qanta)*
[76.]	1 cap	*(šapqa)*
[77.]	2 used sieves	*(köhne elek)*
[78.]	2 used sacks	*(köhne ṣak)*
[79.]	1 wooden drinking cup	*(ağač čanaq)*
[80.]	1 perpendicular	*(šaqul)*
[81.]	1 barrel	*(fučı)*
[82.]	1 coloured jug made of wood	*(ağač qanta alaǰa)*
[83.]	1 wooden basket [?]	*(ağač qavta)*
[84.]	5 used mats	*(ḥaṣır köhne)*
[85.]	1 spade	*(bel kürek)*
[86.]	1 used pickaxe	*(köhne qazma)*
[87.]	1 used drill	*(köhne burgu)*
[88.]	6 wooden chairs	*(ağač iskemlü)*
[89.]	1 other small red *čoḫa*-cloth sack with *defters*	*(küčük diğer qızıl kise defterler ile čuḫadan)*
[90.]	A small amount of iron odds	*(bir mıqdar demir ḫurdevat)*
[91.]	1 barrel of vinegar	*(sirke fučı)*
[92.]	4 pieces of used gauze	*(köhne zar)*
[93.]	5 coloured wooden shelves	*(ağač raf alaǰa)*
[94.]	3 houses [?]	*(hane [?])*

By poor Ḥasan ben Mohamed, acting kadi of Kuvin

Acta Orient. Hung. XXXIX, 1985

Estates of Hungarian serfs in Tolna county[72]

Inventory of estate No. 1

The estate of deceased Petri Tot [Tolna 1553]

[1.]	cash	*(naqdine)*	708
[2.]	1 chest'	*(ṣanduq)* value *(kıymet):*	37
[3.]	2 used aba-cloth dolmans	*(aba-i dolma köhne)*	7

Total: 752
Auctioneer's fee: 2 Residue: 750

No. 2

The estate of the deceased Petri Rajko

[1.]	used čoḫa	*(čuḫa-i köhne)* value *(kıymet)*	42
[2.]	1 used sword	*(šemšir-i köhne)*	13
[3.]	1 used Hungarian short cloak	*(kebe-i maǰari köhne)*	3
[4.]	1 pair of used trousers	*(čaqšır-i köhne)*	10
[5.]	. . . ?		35

Total: 103
Auctioneer's fee: 2 Residue: 101

No. 3

The estate of the deceased Gucsora

[1.]	1 used chest	*(ṣanduq-i köhne)* value *(kıymet)*	5
[2.]	1 used shirt	*(pireḫen-i köhne)*	2

[72] Wien, Nat.-Bibl. Türk Hss. Mxt. 576. Excerpts were published by A. Velics, *op. cit.* pp. 137—138.

[3.]	1 used cushion	*(yaştıq-i köhne)*	3
[4.]	1 used čoḫa	*(čuḫa-i köhne)*	10
[5.]	1 used dolman	*(dolma-i köhne)*	3
[6.]	1 used fur	*(kürk-i köhne)*	5
[7.]	1 used girl's headdress	*(parta-i köhne)*	5

Total: 34
Auctioneer's fee: 1 Residue: 33

No. 4

The estate of the deceased Petri Szabó

[1.]	1 house	*(ḫāne)* value *(kıymet)*	262
[2.]	1 used čoḫa	*(čuḫa-i köhne)*	23
[3.]	miscellaneous	*(ḫurdevat)*	25
[4.]	. . . ?		
[5.]	1 used belt	*(qušaq-i köhne)*	4
[6.]	1 used dolman	*(dolma-i köhne)*	4
[7.]	1 used shirt	*(pireḥen-i köhne)*	7

Total: 330
Auctioneer's fee: 3 Residue: 327

No. 5

The estate of the deceased Pál Puskás 1st of the month *Reǰeb* [June 12]

[1.]	1 used sword	*(šemšir-i köhne)* value *(kıymet)*	45
[2.]	1 used gun	*(tüfenk-i köhne)*	55
[3.]	1 used blue čoḫa	*(čuḫa-i asmanî köhne)*	90

[4.]	1 pair of shirt and underwear	*(pireḫen ve zir ǰame)*	9
[5.]	1 used red short coat	*(nimten-i surḫ köhne)*	15

Total: 214
Auctioneer's fee: 2 Residue: 212

No. 6

The estate of the deceased Péter Bíró 15th of the month *Reǰeb* [June 26]

[1.]	used black *feraǰe*	*(feraǰe-i siyah köhne)*	18
[2.]	1 used black *čoḫa*	*(čuḫa-i siyah köhne)*	2
[3.]	1 used red *čoḫa* with white fur	*(čuḫa-i surḫ köhne maʿ kürk-i beyaẓ)*	33
[4.]	1 *čoḫa* . . . [?]	*(čuḫa-i[?] maʿ ǰame)*	57

Total: 110
Auctioneer's fee: 2 Residue: 108

No. 7

The estate of the late Ferenc Nagy 16th of *Reǰeb* month [June 27]

[1.]	1 used red *čoḫa*	*(čuḫa-i surḫ köhne)*	value *(kıymet)*	5
[2.]	1 pair of used slippers	*(papuč-i köhne)*		2
[3.]	1 used white fur	*(kürk-i beyaẓ köhne)*		5
[4.]	1 used belt	*(miyanbend-i köhne)*		3
[5.]	1 used red *čoḫa*	*(čuḫa-i surh köhne)*		8
[6.]	1 shirt and underwear	*(pireḫen ve zir ǰame)*		5
[7.]	1 pair of used trousers	*(čaqšır-i köhne)*		2

Total: 30

No. 8

The estate of the deceased Bodizsár Berber, who died on 15th of the month *Reǰeb*, 960 (June 26, 1553)

[1.]	1 old towel	*(destmal-i köhne)* value *(kıymet)*	10
[2.]	1 pair of used slippers with stockings	*(papuč maʿ mest köhne)*	20
[3.]	1 red *čoḫa*	*(čuḫa-i surḫ)*	62
[4.]	1 used red čoḫa-cloth short coat	*(čuḫa-i surḫ nimten köhne)*	41
[5.]	1 pair of blue trousers	*(čaqšır-i mavi)*	20
[6.]	1 used white fur coat	*(kürk-i beyaẓ köhne)*	3
[7.]	1 used shirt	*(pireḥen-i köhne)*	5
[8.]	4 plasters or balm	*(melhem)*	37
[9.]	8 razors with cases	*(ustura maʿ gilaf)*	64
[10.]	1 pair of scissors	*(maqaṣ)*	4
[11.]	1 oatsack	*(torba-i esb)*	5
[12.]	1 knife	*(bıčaq)*	10
[13.]	1 belt	*(miyanbend)*	17
[14.]	1 *feraǰe*	*(feraǰe-i sitr[?])*	7
[15.]	1 purse	*(kise)*	150
[16.]	cash	*(naqdıne:)*	108

Total: 564
Auctioneer's fee: 11 Residue: 553

No. 9

The estate of the deceased Boldizsár Szabolcsi

[1.]	1 house	*(ḫāne)* value *(kıymet)*	104
[2.]	1 pair of boots	*(čizme)*	4
[3.]	. . . [?]		

[4.]	1 pair of shirt and underwear	*(pireḥen maʿ zir ǰame)*	4
[5.]	1 used *feraǰe*	*(feraǰe-i köhne)*	2
[6.]	1 used sack	*(ṭorba-i köhne)*	1.5
[7.]	1 used belt	*(miyanbend-i köhne)*	2

No. 10

The estate of the deceased Agota Gucsora *Ramaẓan* 8 [August 17]

[1.]	1 used Turkish *čoḫa*-cloth	*(čuḫa-i turkoman köhne)*	56
[2.]	1 used *čoḫa*-cloth	*(čuḫa-i köhne)*	7

Total: 63 Auctioneer's fee: 1 Residue: 62

No. 11

The estate of the deceased Orsolya Gucsora

[1.]	1 old house	*(ḫāne-i köhne)*	60
[2.]	1 used *čoḫa*	*(čuḫa-i köhne)*	14
[3.]	1 pair of *čoḫa* . . . scissors?	*(čuḫa . . . miqraẓ)*	4

Total: 78 Auctioneer's fee: 1 Residue: 77

No. 12

The estate of the deceased Miklós *Ramaẓan* 9 [August 18]

[1.]	1 house	*(ḫāne)*	70
[2.]	1 used short cloak	*(kebe-i köhne)*	19
[3.]	1 *šaruga*[?]	*(šaruga)*	3

Total: 92 Auctioneer's fee: 1 Residue: 91

No. 13

The estate of the deceased Gergely Nagy

[1.]	1 house	*(ḫāne)*	800
[2.]	6 oxen	*(gav)*	1,200
[3.]	2 calves	*(buzağı)*	300
[4.]	1 used *čoḫa* with fur	*(čuḫa-i köhne maʿ kürk)*	42
[5.]	. . . [?]		14
[6.]	2 pigs	*(domuz)*	150
[7.]	1 chair	*(iskemlü)*	2
[8.]	1 used . . . [?]		2
[9.]	1 drill	*(burgu)*	3
[10.]	1 axe	*(balta)*	7
[11.]	1 . . . ?		4
[12.]	1 fur	*(kürk)*	1
[13.]	1 jug	*(lak)*	10
[14.]	1 used shirt	*(pireḫen-i köhne)*	3
[15.]	1 barrel	*(varıl)*	2
[16.]	1 mattress	*(döšek)*	14
[17.]	1 cushion	*(yaṣtıq)*	5
[18.]	1 pair of used boots	*(čizme-i köhne)*	2
[19.]	1 used hutch	*(tekne-i köhne)*	2
[20.]	1 used scythe	*(tırpan-i köhne)*	1
[21.]	1 lantern	*(čıraq[?])*	10
[22.]	1 kerchief	*(maqrama)*	4
[23.]	1 plough-iron	*(šaban demiri)*	15
[24.]	1 jug	*(qanta)*	3
[25.]	30 fertal of wheat	*(gendum)*	600

[26.]	1 garden	*(bostan)*	60
[27.]	1 mill [?]		500

Total: 3,703 Auctioneer's fee: 65 Residue: 2638

No. 14

The estate of the deceased János Szabó

[1.]	1 short cloak and dolman	*(kebe ve dolma)*	112
[2.]	22 short cloaks	*(kebe)*	5,000
[3.]	1 used red *čoḫa* with fur	*(čuḫa-i surḫ köhne maʿ kürk)*	40
[4.]	1 used red *čoḫa*	*(čuḫa-i surḫ köhne)*	11
[5.]	cash	*(naqdıne)*	200

Total: 5,250 Auctioneer's fee: 30 Servant's wage: 250 Residue: 4,971



Fig. 1. Turkish slipper. 17th century
Hungarian National Museum. Inventory No. 260/1871

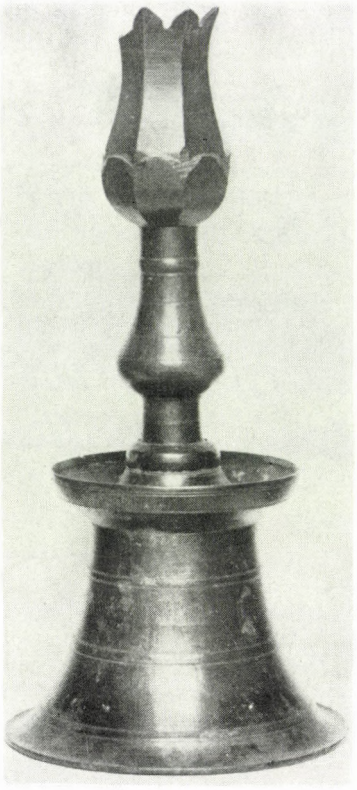

Fig. 2. Candlestick. 16th century
Hungarian National Museum. Inventory No.: 23/1917.b



Fig. 3. *Ibriq*. 17th century
Hungarian National Museum. Inventory No.: 55. 456.C



Fig. 4. *Ṣaḥan*. 16th century
Hungarian National Museum. Inventory No.: 125/1890. 2



Fig. 5. *Ṣaḥan*. 16th century
Hungarian National Museum. Inventory No.: 22/1894.2



Fig. 6. *Tas*. 16th century
Hungarian National Museum. Inventory No.: 125/1890. 7



Fig. 7. *Tenǰere*. 17th century
Hungarian National Museum. Inventory No.: 125/1890. 5—6

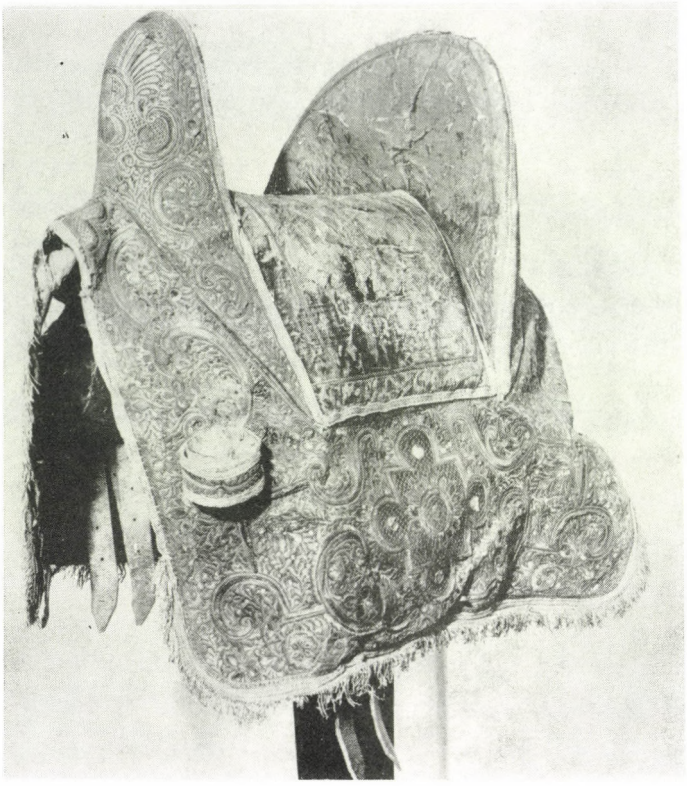

Fig. 8. The saddle of the last *pasa* of Belgrade
Hungarian National Museum. Inventory No.: 55. 3573

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TRACES DES QUERELLES RELIGIEUSES DANS LE CODEX CUMANICUS

MEFKÜRE MOLLOVA (Sofia)

A la mémoire du Comte Géza Kuun

La deuxième partie du *Codex Cumanicus*, appelée partie allemande, est en premier lieu un codex de l'enseignement de la foi chrétienne aux Comans, écrit en leur langue. Elle contient, à côté des extraits des Evangiles, des Livres Saints, des hymnes sur Jésus, sur Marie, etc., certains passages témoignant que la propagande du catholicisme n'a pas été sans attaquer le paganisme et une autre religion adversaire — probablement l'Islam. Si bien qu'à quelques termes sacrés des Comans païens, les Chrétiens ont substitué arbitrairement des mots ordinaires, métaphoriques, péjoratifs. Comme tels nous pouvons citer pour le moment *toz topraq* et simplement *topraq*, employés pour désigner le Dieu des Comans non convertis, et *talašman*, employé en parlant du prêcheur d'une autre foi. Dans le présent article nous voudrions nous arrêter séparément sur ces deux dénominations.

toz topraq, topraq

Dans le Codex Cumanicus la notion de Dieu chrétien est exprimée par : *Teŋri, Teŋgeri, Taŋrï* ,qui peut être précédé ou suivi de titres comme *bey, χan, ata*: *bey Teŋrí* (61v33 ; 69r3) «Seigneur Dieu», *beyím Teŋrí* (61v19—20) «mon Seigneur Dieu» *beyímíz Teŋrí* (61v22 ; 63r13) «notre Seigneur Dieu», *Teŋrí ata* (73r3) «père Dieu», *ata Teŋrí* (70v19 ; 74v1) «père Dieu» ou simplement par un de ces titres comme ; *beyímíz* (73r15, 16) «notre Seigneur», *χan* (74r1, 8) «Roi», *χaŋgïnam* (75r7) «mon cher Roi», *beygínäm* (75v1) «mon cher Seigneur», *ata* (61v30) «Père», *atamïz* (63v27) «notre Père» ou encore un des titres suivis d'épithètes comme: *tïn ata* (61r3) «père spirituel», *tïn atam* (61r9) «mon père spirituel».

Teŋrí n'y est jamais employé au sens de Dieu des Comans païens, sens connu communément (sous ses variantes différentes) par les peuples turks, mais seulement à son sens nouveau de «Dieu chrétien». Il est évident que *Teŋrí* y est soumis au calque sémantique, tout comme chez les Turks islamisés il a commencé à signifier «Allah ; Dieu islamique». On peut supposer à bonne raison que les Comans non convertis à l'Islam et au christianisme continuèrent

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à nommer leur Dieu par le même terme *Teŋrí*. Mais les confesseurs des religions nouvelles et peut-être aussi les Comans convertis au christianisme ou à l'Islam commencaient à appeler le Dieu des Comans non convertis *toz topraq* ou simplement *topraq*.

Toz topraq est employé dans une phrase insolite : Eger toz toprac cuyasdẽ ɯ(s) mĩ curla yarik bolsedi hang terini iäriHlikine core karanggidir (59r26—28), translittérée par G. Kuun (p. 142) comme : eger tuz toprac cuyasden ni(.) inč tyrla yarik bolsedi, han tengrining iarchlikine core karangi dir, et transcrite (N°5) par lui comme : *eger tuz toprak kujašdan ni(če) inǵi turla (= torla* v. *törlä) jarïk bolsadï haming tengrining jarïklïkïnï köre karangï dir.* et traduite par : «pluvis a sole ad similitudinem gemmae illuminatus respectu lucis Dei tenebrosus dici potest.»

W. Radloff (p. 80) l'a transcrite et traduite comme : *Ägär tűz topraq(qa) quyašdan näcik turlu yarïq bolsada qanïŋ täŋrinïŋ yarïqlïqïna körä qaraŋïdïr.* «Wenn zu der ebenen Erde von der Sonne auch noch ein so grosses Licht kommt, im Vergleich zum Lichte des Herrn und Gottes ist es doch dunkle Nacht.» K. Grønbech, dans l'article lexical de *hanuz*, interprète cette phrase comme : *eger toz topraq quyašdan miŋ qurla yárïq bolsedi, hanuz teŋ[ri]niŋ yárïχlïqïna köre qaranγïdïr.* «wäre auch Staub und Schmutz (d. h. dieses irdische Leben) (so und so viel) tausend mal heller als die Sonne gewesen, so sind sie noch (als) Dunkelheit (anzusehen) im Vergleich mit Gottes Licht (d. h. dem jenseits).» V. Drimba s'en arrête dans sa *Syntaxe* (p. 171, § 213, p. 200) et dans un article spécial[1] comme : *Eger toz topraq quyašdan (. . . .) miŋ qurla yarïq bols'edi, hänuz Teŋrinïŋ yärïχlïqïna köre qaraŋγï-dïr.* «Même si la poussière et la terre avaient été (. . .) mille fois plus brillantes que le soleil, encore seraient (litt. sont)-elles obscures par rapport à la splendeur de Dieu.» V. Drimba dans deux notes (N°s 3,8) suppose que le mot illisible serait peut-être *iuz* [*yüz*] et il traduit *yüz miŋ qurla* par «cent mille fois» ou «des milliers de fois» et plus tard, dans son article il précise que *w* doit être lu comme *yüz* «cent».

Ainsi pour Radloff *toz topraq* est *tűz topraq* «terre plane», pour Grønbech «poussière et terre» qui symboliseraient la vie passagère en ce monde (alors que les mots *teŋ[ri]niŋ yarïχlïqï* «clarté de Dieu» symboliserait la vie éternelle dans l'autre monde). Pour nous *toz topraq* était un hendiadioïn au sens énigmatique. Plus tard nous avons trouvé *topraq*, employé dans une autre phrase insolite, que voici : tengrisi toprak bay ęr køkari bakil, oulunae beyinč (73r20), écrite en petits caractères sur une seule ligne, après l'hymne *Sós etís bolupturur areqïz*

[1] Vladimir Drimba, Miscellanea Comanica (IX). *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* XL (1978), p. 30 § 17.

Maryamdan et une courte prière qui commence par *Arïχlarnïŋ kúsänčí.** G. Kuun (p. 208) l'a non seulement translittérée comme : *Tengrisi toprak bay er kökeri bakil oulunä beyinč*, mais l'a aussi expliquée dans une note spéciale (N° 6) comme : Has glossas, quarem binae consociatae esse videntur, alia manus exercitii grammatici causa adscripsit *Tengrisi toprak* «Deus eorum terra est» fortasse ad antiquam Comanorum paganorum religionem alludet. Theophylaktos de Hungaris sui temporis memoriae tradidit, eos terram Deorum honore afficere: *ὑμνοῦσι τήν γήν*. Fennicae quoque gentes terram velut communem omnium animantium matrem veneratae sunt. *Bay er* = «homo dives», *kökari bakil* — «caelum versus adspice», cf. čag. يو قارى «sursum versus», *oulunä beyinč* mendeso pro *ouluna beyinč (bejinǵä)* scriptum est (Kuun). Kuryšžanov l'interprète à sa manière : *Teŋrisi topraq bay er kökeri baq[q]ïl ovluna beyinč* «Bog zemli, bogatyj čelovek, smotri v nebo, radost' synu».[2] V. Drimba estime qu'on n'y a pas une phrase complexe, mais «trois propositions qui ne semblent pas constituer un énoncé homogène» : a) *Teŋrisi topraq* «son Dieu est la terre» ou «c'est la terre qui est son Dieu» ; b) *bay er, kök arï baqqïl* ! «regarde vers le ciel !» *(Syntaxe*, p. 112— selon Drimba, on y a *arï* «vers» et non pas *eri*, ainsi qu'a donné Kuryšžanov) ; c) *owluna beyinč* «joie à son Fils !»[3]

Pour nous avec *Teŋrísí topraq* et les remarques précieuses de Kuun la clé a été trouvée ! *Toz topraq* était incontestablement en relation avec *topraq* de cette phrase, si bien analysée par G. Kuun. Ainsi, *toz topraq* signifie en premier lieu «poussières», (cf. anc. turk *toz topraq* id. *(DTS — TT* II, *Suv)* ; tatare balkanique *toz topraq* «poussière ; *au figuré* : multitude de menus objects (comme troupeau de moutons en mouvement sur un sol en poussières, etc.)» (archives personnelles). Mais plus tard, pendant la campagne religieuse, ces termes *(topraq, toz topraq)* seraient employés pour désigner le Dieu des Comans païens en partant de l'objet adoré de ceux-ci, à savoir le sol, la terre —

* Pour respecter le caractère kiptchaque de la langue turque du Codex Cumanicus, dans notre transcription nous employons les voyelles *ó, ú, í* semi-palatales à la place de *ö, ü, i* palatales (le *i* sera employé d'une manière limitée, au commencement de certains mots, au contact de *y* et dans les emprunts), utilisées par la plupart des codexcumanicusistes.

Nous conservons les *ä, e, ó*, au contact de *y, ẃ*, les *ä, e* dans certains morphèmes (*-gä, -dä, -sä, -ley*, etc.), juxtaposés aux mots de la classe vélaire, ainsi que les mots écrits attachés *(areqïz)*.

Afin d'être plus proche de l'original, qui répondrait à l'authenticité historique, nous faisons abstraction de l'addition de *w* ou *y* dans les cas d'hiatus.

Les chiffres entre parenthèses indiquent les feuillets et les lignes : r = recto ; v = verso, par ex : (61v33) = feuillet 61 verso, ligne 33, selon la numération de Drimba.

[2] A. K. Kuryšžanov, Sintaksis kumanskogo jazyka V. Drimba. Dans : *Qazaq tčlč men ädebiyetč* t. 5, Alma-Ata 1974, p. 135.

[3] V. Drimba, Miscellanea Cumanica (XIII). A propos de quelques textes comans marginaux. Dans : *Studia et acta orientalia* X (1980), pp. 77—78.

Teŋrísí topraq «(L'homme) dont le Dieu est la terre» témoigne de la croyance en la terre des Comans païens. Les mots constituant le terme composé de *toz topraq* signifient séparément «poussière» et «terre», mais le terme composé lui-même forme une unité linguistique et philosophique, matérialisé par les confesseurs chrétiens, contre le Dieu idéalisé des religions.

Topraq, toz topraq ne seraient pas employés au sens de Dieu par les Comans païens-chamanistes eux-mêmes. Dans la littérature que nous avons feuilletée nous n'avons pas pu trouver *topraq* au sens de Dieu. Avec *topraq* on ne désignerait pas le monde, la terre comme un corps céleste, mais le sol sous les pieds comme un objet adoré, spiritualisé, lequel les Comans appelleraient *Teŋrí, Teŋgeri, Taŋrï* «Dieu». M. Kašgari constate que les païens nomment le ciel *Teŋri* et de même qu'une grande montagne, un grand arbre, tout objet qui leur paraît saint.[4] Chez les Soïotes, le terme de *Kayrakan* (qui signifie littéralement «grand khan») est le nom de grand Dieu et encore le nom de certaines montagnes sacrées. Dans le monument de Tonyuquq (planche ouest, ligne 38) on trouve écrits *Taŋrï, Umay, Yer-Sub* comme noms de bons esprits qui aideraient les Turks.[5] *Yer-Sub* littéralement signifie «Terre-Eau» et rappelle dans une certaine mesure *topraq* analysé ici. Mais l'emploi de *topraq* et surtout de *toz topraq* avec une certaine note de mépris y est évident.

Le culte de la terre chez les Turks serait en relation avec l'élevage nécessitant de bons pâturages, et non pas avec l'agriculture primitive, comme c'est le cas de certains autres peuples d'Europe, d'Afrique et d'Amérique, qui personnifient la terre en l'appelant *Terre Mère* (Les Romains : Terra Mater, les anciens Grecs : Ge ou Gaia).[6]

Ainsi dans ces phrases insolites nous devons chercher une tentative de superposer le christianisme au chamanisme et respectivement le Dieu chrétien, appelé en langue des Comans chrétiens *Teŋrí, Teŋgerí, Taŋrï*, au Dieu païen des Comans non convertis, appelé péjorativement *topraq, toz topraq*. Nous les transcrivons et traduisons comme: phrase I. *Eger toz topraq quyašden yú(s) miŋ qurla yárïq bols'edí hanus Teŋ(rí)níŋ yarïχlïqïne kóre qaraŋγïdïr.* «(Même) si *toz topraq* (Dieu des Comans païens) était cent mille fois plus brillant que le soleil, encore serait-il obscur par rapport à la splendeur de Dieu.»;

phrase II. *Teŋrísí topraq, bay er, kókárí baqqïl — owlunä beyínč!* «L'homme noble, dont le Dieu est *topraq* (la terre), regarde vers le ciel — admiration à son Fils !» oú *kókárí*, de *kók* «ciel» + *árí*, *(arï* «vers»), postposition de direction (ainsi que l'a inséré G. Kuun), *baqqïl*, de *baq-* «regarder» +

[4] Divanü lûgat-it-türk tercümesi Çeviren Besim Atalay. III. Ankara 1941, pp. 376—378.

[5] A. Inan, Tarihte ve bugün şamanizm. Materyaller ve araştırmalar. Ankara 1954, pp. 28, 36.

[6] *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.* Vol 5. New York 1967, pp. 129—130.

-qïl, variante de *-gil*, désinence de la deuxième personne du singulier de l'impératif, employée largement dans le Codex, constaté unanimement par Kuun, Kuryšžanov et Drimba. Contrairement à Kuryšžanov et Drimba qui traduisent *beyinč* par «joie», nous en attribuons le sens de «admiration»; cf. turc-osmanli moderne *beğenme* «admiration».

Talašman

Ce terme se trouve dans un texte plus long, oú le prêtre chrétien (à ce qu'on peut supposer) dit: Bilga e tetik kyziler menim søsim esittingler eki yolne ayringler iarle miskin kysiler iacsi bitik bilmesler talaschman søsin ïanirler ørtlik tamucka tuscherler iecning tusacne ilnirler anda ylap assow ioch neče čagirsa esitmach ioch hergis dage kuttilmak ioch. (59r8—12).

Il est translittéré par G. Kuum, (p. 141) comme: bilga cetik kyziler menim sösim esittingler eki iolne ayringler iarle miskin kysiler iacsi bitik bilmesler talaschman sösin esittingler îanirler örtik tamucka tuscherler, iecning tusacne cilnirler anda ylap assow ioch, neče čagirsa esitmach ioch, ioch hergis dage kuttilmak ioch. Dans une note spéciale (No 1) il le traduit par: «Alte cincti homines audite sermonem meum, inter duas vias eligete. Miseri et pauperes homines, qui bonas litteras nescitis, audite concionatoris verba! Falsi in doctrina incident in infernum, insidiis laqueuntur; illic medela non est, utut clamarent exauditio non est, nunquam erit salvatio.» In lingva kaz. *bil baulangan* «alte cinctum, strenum» significat; h.l. pro *čatïk, cetik* scriptum reperitur. Siglum abbr. super *ianirler* litt. *g* supplet, cf. turc. *jangïlmak* «falli». *ylap* = čag. *olab* (Kuun).

W. Radloff (p. 79) l'inclut dans le chapitre de «Einzelne Sätze»: *Bilgä kätik kišilär mänim sözüm äšininlär!* äki yolnï airïŋlar! yarlï miskin kišilär yaqšï bitik bilmäslär, talašman sözüm äšitiŋlär! yanïrlar, örtlü tamuqqa tüšärlär, yäkniŋ tuzaqï qïlnïrlar, anda... asau yoq, nächä cayïrsa äšitmäk yoq, yoq härgis dayï qutulmaq yoq.* «Ihr unwissenden Menschen, höret mein Wort! Unterscheidet zwei Wege! Ihr armen, elenden Menschen, ihr kennet die Schrift nicht gut, (daher) höret auf mein Wort, ohne zu streiten. Sie werden brennen, in die feurige Hölle sinken, dort werden sie sich des Bösen Hölle bereiten, dort ist keine Rettung, wie viel du auch rufest, dort ist kein Hören, auch kein Entkommen von dort ist möglich.» Selon cette interprétation, le prêtre s'adresse seulement aux gens simples. La leçon de G. Kun de *tetik* comme *cetik* (car dans le manuscrit les *c* et les *t* se ressemblent beaucoup) a détourné Radloff ainsi que lui-même de la vérité textuelle: *Bilgä tetik kišiler* est devenu *Bilgä kätik kišilär* «Ihr unwissenden Menschen».

* *äšiniŋlär* est le produit d'une faute d'imprimerie, pour: *äšitiŋlär!*

A. Zajączkowski détermine que ce texte est en vers :

bilgä, tetik kišiler,	Mądrzy, roztropni ludzie,
menim sözim ešitiŋler!	moich słów słuchajcie !
eki ɟolny aɟryŋlar!	dwie drogi rozróżniajcie !
ɟarly miskin kišiler,	Biedni, ubodzy (duchem) ludzie,
iaqšy bitik bilmezler,	Dobrego Pisma (Ewangelii) nie znaja,
talašman sözin ynanyrlar,	słowom *talaszman* ufają, —
örtlik tamuqqa tüšerler,	do ognistego piekła wpadną,
ɟekniŋ tuzaqna ilnirler.	w sidła diabła sie uwikłają.
anda ylap assoɯ ɟoχ,	Tam z płaczu pożytku nie ma,
neče čaγyrsa ešitmäk ɟoχ,	chocby wo, wysłuchania nie ma,
hergiz daγy quttylmaq ɟoχ.	i nigdy też zbawienia nie ma.[7]

V. Drimba qui, dans un article spécial, affirme également que ce texte est écrit en vers, l'appelle

Sermon en vers
Bilgä, tetik kišiler,
menim sözim ešitiŋler,
eki yolnï ayrïŋlar!

Yarlï, miskin kišiler
yaqšï bitik bilmezler,
talašman sözin ïnanïrlar,
örtlik tamuqqa tüšerler,
yekniŋ tuzaqna ilnirler.

Anda yïlap asow yoχ,
neče čayïrsa ešitmäχ yoχ
hergiz dayï qutïlmaχ yoχ.

«(Ô) hommes sages et intelligents,
entendez mes paroles
et distinguez les deux voies !

Les pauvres, malheureux hommes
ne connaissent pas la bonne Écriture,

[7] A. Zajączkowski, Do historii Kodeksu Kumanskiego : termin «*talašman*». Dans : *Spravozdania Polskoj Akademii Umetnosti L. N.* 8. Kraków 1949, pp. 420—425.

ils croient aux paroles du querelleur
et tombent dans l'enfer de feu
et se prennent dans les filets du diable.

Pleurer (*litt.* pleurant) là-bas ne sert à rien,
(car) ils auraient beau crier (vers Dieu) (*litt.* combien qu'ils crient),
il n'y a jamais d'exaucement
et il n'y a pas de salut (pour eux).»[8]

Ici il est question de deux voies, lesquelles les gens sages distinguent (ou doivent distinguer). Quelles seraient ces voies? L'une d'elles est sans doute la voie du christianisme. L'autre voie n'est pas claire. Est-elle celle du paganisme ou du mahométanisme? A voir la traduction de A. Zajączkowski du terme de *talašman* par talaszman en polonais qui aurait le sens de «prêtre musulman» c'est-à-dire «hodja», on serait porté à y voir la voie de l'Islam. Mais d'autre part vers la fin de ce texte on parle de l'enfer de feu *(órtlik tamuqqa túšerler)* et des filets (= pièges) du diable *(yekniŋ tuzaqna ílnírler)*, qui font partie de la nomenclature islamique également.

L'interprétation de A. Zajączkowski est adoptée par O. Pritsak *(talašman* «muslimischer Rechtsgelehrter»),[9] mais rejetée par V. Drimba (pp. 197—199), qui estime que *talašman* signifie «querelleur», car dit-il «le même mot apparaît encore une fois dans *CC* (devinette XVII v. plus bas), où il ne peut avoir nullement le sens attribué par Zajączkowski» (p. 199). G. Kuun traduit le «talasman» de la devinette par «praedo» (p. 144) et le «talaschman» par «concionator» (p. 141), lesquels il confère avec «talischirmen» qui fait partie de «talischirmen uruschirmen kirlischirmen» traduit en latin par «litigo (discuter ; se quereller)» (Kuun, pp. 132, 285). Radloff dans son *Versuch* traduit l'osmanli *talašman* par «dikij, grubyj, svarlivyj — wild, grob, zänkisch». Dans la traduction du texte en question il prend *talašman* pour un gérondif : «ohne zu streiten». Pour K. Grønbech il est un adjectif : «zänkisch» et un substantif : *talašman sözi* «die Worte des Haderers». *KQŽS* traduit les deux *talašman* par «talasusï (querelleur)». A notre tour, nous avions trouvé convenable la traduction de *talašman* de la devinette XVII du Codex par «querelleur».[10] Maintenant nous dirions que dans la devinette *talašman* signifie plutôt «dutteur», car il y est question, à notre supposition, de l'abeille qui est connue comme un insecte

[8] V. Drimba, Le sermon en vers du Codex Cumanicus (fol. 59r 8—12). Dans: *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique* XIII (1968) N° 5, pp. 407—412 ; *Syntaxe Comane*. pp. 197—199.

[9] O. Pritsak, dans : *Der Islam* XXX (1952) p. 113 ; cité d'après V. Drimba pp. 198—199.

[10] M. Mollova, Nouvelle interprétation de 25 devinettes du *Codex Cumanicus*. — Dans: *Linguistique Balkanique* XXIV (1981), pp. 58—59.

qui pique. Mais dans le texte religieux il aura un sens différent : *talašman* (qui provient de *talaš-* «1) lutter ; se combattre ; 2) discuter ; se quereller») signifie d'abord «lutteur» et ensuite «querelleur». Dan sla campagne de propagande religieuse menée à cette époque parmi les Turks installés en Europe, *talašman* aurait encore un sens métaphorique de «celui qui prêche acharnément sa religion». Ainsi *talašman* employé par un prêcheur musulman pouvait signifier «prêcheur chrétien qui prêche acharnément sa religion» aussi bien que *talašman* employé par un prêcheur chrétien signifie dans ce texte «prêcheur musulman qui prêche acharnément sa religion». Il est peu probable que *talašman* eu été rapporté au chaman coman, ni au rabbin khazar, ni au prêtre bouddhiste ouïghoure, étant donné que le judaïsme et le bouddhisme ne furent pas étrangers à cette partie de *Dešt-i Kipčak*.[11]

Ce texte offre encore quelques graphies à interpréter et sa structure technique littéraire nécessite une explication supplémentaire.

1) Nous nous demandons si *bilgä tetik* et *yarle miskin* ne forment pas des hendiadioïns : *bilgä-tetik* «sage» ; cf. anc. turk *tetig bilgä* hend. «mudryj» (*DTS — TT* VII) ; *yarle miskin* «misérable», lesquels les codexcumanicusistes prennent séparément.

2) «esittingler», «airingler». Ces graphies furent prises par Kuun, Radloff, Zajączkowski, Drimba et *KQŽS* pour des prédicats à la 2e pers. du plur. de l'impératif : *ešitiŋler*, *ayrïŋlar*, à morphème *-iŋler/ / -ïŋlar* ; cf. anc. uzbek *goyuŋlar* «stav'te».[12] Mais, selon l'interprétation de Zajączkowski, Drimba, *KQŽS*, le confesseur s'adresse seulement aux gens sages. (Il est curieux que dans *Teŋrísí topraq, bay er*, analysé plus haut, le confesseur s'adresse aussi aux hommes nobles.) Alors on se fait une allusion, probablement fausse, selon laquelle le confesseur renonce à s'occuper des gens simples, misérables. Même il les accuse de ne pas savoir lire et écrire etc., ce qui est contraire à la morale ecclésiastique. Ne faudrait-il supposer plutôt que ces prédicats sont à l'aoriste de l'indicatif et non pas à l'impératif : *ešíttíŋler* peut être pris pour un verbe composé, de *ešít tïŋler*, de *ešítíp tïŋla-* «écouter attentivement (*litt.* entendre et écouter ; écouter en entandant)» ; cf. tatare balkanique *alïp kel-* «apporter», qui dans la prononciation négligée, accélérée devient *apkel-*, *akel-*. Et de même, *ayrïŋler* peut être interprété comme composé de *ayrï* «séparément ; distinctement» et *aŋler*, de *aŋla-* «comprendre» : *ayrï'ŋler* — aphérèse ; cf. *dúny'ústúnde* (62v5), de *dúnya ústúnde* «au monde». Alors on obtient un texte de constatation et non pas un précepte. On peut y objecter que la suite morphologique n'est pas respectée — *ešít tïŋler* et *ayrï'ŋler* sont à la 3e pers. du sing. (employé aussi au plur.) et *bilmesler, inanïrler, túšerler, ílnírler* — à la 3e pers.

[11] L. Rásonyi, Tarihte Türklük. *Türk Kültürümü Araştırma Enstitüsü Yayınları*: 39, Seri III — Sayı A. 11. Ankara 1971, pp. 219, 222, 116, 109.

[12] A. M. Ščerbak, *Očerki sravnitel'nyj morfologii tjurkskih jazykov (Glagol)*. Leningrad 1981, p. 31.

du plur. Mais à cette discordance on peut proposer deux explications : a) ceux qui y voient une œuvre poétique diront que le poète a employé cette forme (au sing.) pour des raisons d'ordre métrique ; b) ceux qui y verront un texte prosaïque diront que le prêcheur a estimé bon de ne pas répéter *-ler* au moment que son emploi simple est autorisé par la langue.

Mais avec cette interprétation nous ne réussirons pas à supprimer l'attitude subjective du prêtre envers les gens de deux groupes — positive envers *bílgä tetík kíšíler* et négative envers *yarle miskin kíšíler*. La différenciation entre ces gens serait-elle sociale (sages / / nobles — pauvres) ou morale [sages — insensés ; v. Zajączkowski : «Biedni, ubodzy (duchem) ludzie»] ou encore sociale-morale à la fois ? Car on est encore au commencement de la christianisation des Comans et on sait que chaque nouvelle religion s'impose d'abord parmi les gens privilégiés de la société.

3) *yaqšï*. Elle est très bien comprise par Radloff : *yaqšï bitik bilmäslär* «ihr kennet die Schrift nicht gut» et ne représenterait pas un problème, si Kuun, Zajączkowski et Drimba ne la prenaient pas pour un adjectif et ne la rapportaient pas au *bitik* : *yaqšï bitik* «bonas litteras» (Kuun), «Dobrego Pisma (Ewangelii)» (Zajączkowski), «la bonne Écriture» (Drimba). Mais on peut se demander sur quel modèle-terme l'auteur ou le traducteur de ce texte aurait calqué *yaqš ïbitik* «bonne Écriture» ? On aurait attendu plutôt *arï bitik* «Sainte Écriture» si l'on voulait exprimer ici une des Saintes Écritures ou les Saintes Écritures prises ensemble. De plus *yaqšï bítík*, s'il était employé comme un mot composé, devait être à l'accusatif : *yaqšï bítíkní bílmesler*. Le prêtre, probablement en cherchant les causes de l'opiniâtreté des Comans païens, constate que les gens simples ne sachant pas lire et écrire, tombent dans l'enfer, croient aux paroles du querelleur, etc. Voilà pourquoi nous supposons que *yaqšï* y est employé comme un adverbe et signifie «bien» et *bítík* — «lire et écrire».

4) *assow*. Dans le Codex ce mot se rencontre deux fois : 1) dans une phrase insolite : men ſaha aſſow *etızerím* facio voƀ adiutoriû (=la traduction latine: facio vobis auditorium) (56r15) ; Kuun (p. 132) : men saha assow etizerim ; Radloff (p. 69) : *Män saya asau ätišärim.* «Ich leiste dir Hilfe.» ; Grønbech (p. 96): *men saa asov etizer-men* «ich leiste dir Beistand» ; Drimba (p. 92, § 103) : *men saya asow etizer-men* «je te prête secours» ; 2) dans le texte analysé ici. Kuun traduit *assow* par «medela (remède ; aide)» ; Radloff lit *assow* de deux manières : *ašau* «Hülfe» dans son Glossaire qui précède les textes comans et *asau* «Hülfe» dans la traduction du texte ; Zajączkowski : *assoų* «pożytku» (de *pożytek* «profit») ; Grønbech, *KQŽS* : *asov* «Beistand, Hilfe« ; Gabain : *assov* id ;[13] Drimba : *Anda yïlap asow yoχ* «Pleurer (*litt.*

[13] A. von Gabain, Die Sprache des Codex Cumanicus. Dans : *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* I. Wiesbaden 1959, p. 56.

pleurant) la-bàs ne sert à rien». Pour nous la leçon et le sens de cette graphie ne sont pas clairs. Si *asow* ou *ašow* signifiait vraiment «aide», alors *asow wašov etíz-* devait signifier «aider» (Grønbech : *asov etiz-* «Beistand leisten»), ce qui correspond à la traduction latine interlinéaire de la phrase «facio adiutorium». Mais d'autre part le verbe auxiliaire formant un verbe composé avec *assow* au sens de «aider» serait le verbe *et-* «faire» et non pas *etíz-*, qui peut être lu comme *etíš-* (Radloff : *asau ätiš-*), de *yetíš-* «être prêt à point ; arriver à temps», en turc-osmanli *yetišin* «aidez !». Alors on aurait attendu que a*ssow* soit au datif : *assowya etíš-* «venir en aide». La forme *etíš-* de *yetíš-* s'emploie aujourd' hui surtout dans les parlers turcs balkaniques. Voilà pourquoi nous nous demandons si la traduction latine interlinéaire de *assow etízerím* n'est pas le produit d'une compréhension approximative, subjective.[14] Ainsi nous essayons d'interpréter cette phrase, ce verbe composé et ce mot, en supposant que *assow* s'associe avec kirgiz *asau* «polučenie pišči iz ruk hozjaina — des Empfangen der Speise aus den Händen des Wirthes», tatare de Kazan *ašau* «jeda — das Essen» (Radloff, *Versuch)*, de *as*, *aš* «nourriture» et *asa- aša-* «manger». Alors *asow*∼*ašow* ne serait-il pas employé au sens de «pain de communion» et de là «communion» même ? Et *assow etiz-* ne remonte-t-il pas à *asow*∼*ašow ettíz-* de *asow*∼*ašow etkíz-* «faire faire la communion» ? D'autre part *assow* ne vient-il pas de *asrow* ou ne doit-il pas être pris pour *assrow* (à *r* abrégé), au sens de «protection ; aide» ? W. Bang, en parlant de *asroviń bizgä teyirgil* «Verleih uns Deinen Schutz», dit : «Ich ziehe aus dem Komanischen her : *men saha assow etizerim* (?) facio vobis adiutorium : *anda ylap assow ioch*, wo R[adloff] *ašau* «Hülfe» bietet. Unser *asrov* gehört aber seiner B e d e u t u n g m a c h t sicher zu asramak in 75,2 : **asraq*. Ob beide Verba von Haus aus wurzelhaft identisch sind, kommt bei der Ü b e r s e t z u n g nicht in Frage.[15] Alors faut-il y chercher *asrow ettíz-* «faire aider» ? Ainsi nous lisons la phrase men saha assow etizerim (la dernière graphie nous lisons comme *etizeim)* de deux manières: *d) Men saχa asow*∼*ašow ettízeyim* «Que je te fasse faire la communion». 2) *Men saχa assow ettízeyim*. «Que je te fasse aider (?Dieu).»

5) *Anda yïlap*. Ici le prédicat (omis à cause de l'isosyllabisme, diraient ceux qui y voient une œuvre poétique) est sous-entendue, dirions-nous et devait être au présent du conditionnel (ainsi que *čayïrsa* plus bas). Ce prédicat serait peut-être exprimé par le verbe *yalbar-* «prier» : *Anda yïlap* [*yalbarsa*] — *asow*∼*ašow yoχ* «Là-bas [même s'ils prient] en pleurant — personne ne leur».

[14] V. Drimba (dans : Miscellanea Comanica II). Dans : *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique* XVI (1971), pp. 278—279, et dans : sa *Syntaxe Comane*, p. 165, § 202.3) parle de «traductions impropres» en latin.

[15] W. Bang, Der komanische Marienpsalter nebst seiner Quelle herausgegeben. Dans : W. Bang und Marquart, *Osttürkische Dialektstudien*. Berlin 1914, p. 262.

6) Nous avons beaucoup hésité sur la structure technique de ce texte. A voir la répétition de *-ler* et de *yoχ* on serait porté à le prendre pour une œuvre poétique. Ce qui nous retient c'est l'absence d'uniformité dans les strophes (selon Zajączkowski on a 3 strophes à 3 vers et une — à 2 vers ; selon Drimba — 2 strophes à 3 vers et une strophe à 5 vers). Dans le Codex tous les hymnes sont à strophes unitaires.[16] De sorte que pour nous ce texte est une tirade courte, à propositions laconiques, rappelant *Les dix commandements* et *L'Oraison dominicale* (v. Drimba, pp. 262, 259). En voilà nos deux variantes :

Variante I

Bilgä tetik kišiler, menim sözim ešitiŋler, eki yolne ayriŋler! Yarle miskin kišiler yaqši bitik bilmesler, talašman sözin' (ešit tüŋler ~) inanïrler, örtlik tamuqqa tüšerler, yekniŋ tuzaqne ilnirler. Anda yïlap asow~ašow yoχ, neče čayïrsa ešitmäχ yoχ hergis daye quttïlmaq yoχ. «(Ô) hommes sages et instruits, écoutez mes paroles — distinguez les deux voies ! Les gens pauvres et misérables ne savent pas lire et écrire bien ; ils croient aux paroles du querelleur (= prêcheur adversaire), tombent dans l'enfer de feu et se prennent dans les filets (= pièges) du diable. Là-bas ils auront beau pleurer — personne ne leur aidera (*litt.* pas d'aide !) ; ils auront beau crier — personne ne les entendra (*litt.* pas d'entendement !) ; ils n'auront jamais de salut (*litt.* jamais de salut!).»

Variante II

Bilgä-tetik kišiler menim sözim ešit tïŋler — eki yolne ayrï'ŋler. Yarlemiskin kišiler yaqši bitik bilmesler, talašman sözin (ešit tïŋler ~) *inanïrlar, örtlik tamuqqa tüšerler, yekniŋ tuzaqna ilnirler. Anda yïlap asow~ašow yoχ, neče čayïrsa ešitmäχ yoχ, χergis daye quttïlmaq yoχ.* «Les hommes sages écoutent attentivement (*litt.* entendent et écoutent) mes paroles et comprennent dis-

[16] Seul l'hymne, appelé *Söz etiz bolupturur* (par A. von Gabain, Komanische Literatur. Dans : *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* II. Wiesbaden 1959, pp. 245—246) et *Verbum caro factum est* (par W. Bang, *Komanische Texte* II. Die komanische Übersetzung des Hymnus *Verbum caro factum est.* Dans *Bulletins de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences morales et politiques.* 1911, pp. 467—473 et par V. Drimba, pp. 304—307) était consideré jusqu'è notre intervention (dans une nouvelle édition de certains textes du *Codex Cumanicus* — manuscrit), comme un hymne dont la strophe 1 composée de 1 vers, 1 refrain, 3 vers, 1 refrain, s'écarte des autres strophes composées de 3 vers, 1 refrain (ce dernier faisant parfois défaut — sous entendu). Mais nous essayons de résoudre le problème de cette irrégularité en rapportant le vers 1 et le refrain 1 au titre, qui devient : *Sós etis bolupturur areqïz Maryamdan.*

tinctement les deux voies. Les hommes misérables ne savent pas lire et écrire bien ; ils (écoutant attentivement les paroles ~) croient aux paroles du querelleur (= prêcheur adversaire), tombent dans l'enfer de feu et se prennent dans les filets (= pièges) du diable. Là-bas ils auront beau [prier] en pleurant — personne ne leur aidira (*litt.* pas d'aide !) ; ils auront beau crier — personnene les entendra (*litt.* pas d'entendement !) ; ils n'auront jamais de salut (*litt.* jamais de salut !).»

Conclusion. De ces textes fragmentaires, par suite des recherches textologiques-linguistiques, nous apprenons :

1) que les Comans, avant la conversion de certains d'entre eux au catholicisme et des autres au mahométanisme, adoraient la terre — leur Dieu était la terre. Ce Dieu s'appellerait *Teŋrí*, *Teŋgerí*, *Taŋrï*, terme adapté au Dieu chrétien (et musulman) et substitué par *toz topraq* ou simplement *topraq*, qui seraient employés exclusivement par les prêtres et peut-être par les Comans chrétiens (et encore par les hodjas et les Comans islamisés) avec certaines notes de mépris. Quoiqu' insuffisantes, ces données nous enseignent sur la croyance antéreligieuse des Comans et combien une lacune sur la question, sur laquelle Marquart disait : «Die Komanen seiner Zeit betrachtet Michael nicht mehr als Heiden, aber auch nicht als Muslime, sondern bereits als Christen wenigstens äußerlich. Was hieran Wahres ist, ist schwer zu sagen.»

«Idrīsī kennt allerdings im Lande der Komanen. . . Immerhin konnten die Komanen durch diese städtische Bevölkerung mit manchen Äußerlichkeiten des Christlichen Kultus bekannt geworden sein. Die älteste russische Chronik dagegen bezeichnet die Komanen. . . . als Muhammedaner. . . Über die ursprüngliche Religion der Türken und damit auch der Komanen berichtet Michael : „Sie lieben nicht vieles Reden. Sie bekennen aber einen Himmelsgott, ohne ihn zu kennen als ob sie das sichtbare Firmament für Gott hielten".[17]

2) qu'il y avait è cette époque (au 14e siècle) une compétition entre le christianisme et l'Islam, chacun d'eux essayant de gagner les Comans païens, installés en Europe Orientale Moyenne ;

3) que le mérite de G. Kuun s'accroît de plus en plus avec l'exploration du *Codex Cumanicus*, un manuscrit qui, ainsi que dit L. Ligeti «has not yet unveiled all its secrets.»[18]

[17] J. Marquart, Über das Volkstum der Komanen. Dans : W. Bang und J. Marquart, *Osttürkische Dialektstudien*. Berlin 1914, pp. 33—34.

[18] L. Ligeti, Prolegomena to the Codex Cumanicus. Dans: *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung.* XXXV (1981), p. 54.

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О МОРФОНОЛОГИЧЕСКОЙ ПРИРОДЕ ТЮРКСКОГО КОРНЯ

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В последнее время проблема структуры или структурности корня в тюркских языках, все больше привлекающая внимание ученых, изучается все более тщательно. Причем определяющие критерии ученых при разбивке корня на элементы или объяснении составных компонентов моносиллабической основы, нужно сказать, принципиально различаются.

Сама специфика тюркской словоформы, сам строй языка закономерно предполагают релевантность корневой морфемы, к которой восходят ныне «неделимые» дисиллабы и в отдельных случаях аффиксальные элементы.

Подавляющим большинством тюркологов признана моносиллабичность тюркских корней.[1] Нерасчленяемые образования типа общетюркских *qara* 'черный', *bala* 'ребенок', исходя из этого положения, не есть исключения из правила, но — результат изменения прежнего состава праформы. Тюркские односложные корни, как правило, в то же время являются самостоятельными словами-типами — полновесными лексемами.[2] Именно поэтому во многих случаях они легко выделяются из дериватов.

[1] *Рамстедт Г. И.* Введение в алтайское языкознание. Морфология. Под ред. и с пред. Н. А. Баскакова. М., 1957, с. 141; *Котвич В. Л.* Исследование по алтайским языкам. Под ред. и с пред. Н. А. Баскакова. М., 1962, с. 36—38; *Севортян Э. В.* Аффиксы глаголообразования в азербайджанском языке. М., 1962, с. 71; Deny J. *Principes de grammaire turque* (»*Turk*« *de Turquie*). Paris, 1955, p. 93 ; Clauson G. *Turkish and Mongolian studies*. London, 1962, p. 137.

[2] *Баскаков, Н. А.* Состав лексики каракалпакского языка и структура слова. — В кн.: Исследования по сравнительной грамматике тюркских языков. Ч. 4, лексика. Под ред. Н. К. Дмитриева и Н. А. Баскакова. М., 1962, с. 83; *его же.* Морфологическая структура слова и части речи в тюркских языках. — «Советское востоковедение», 1957, № 1, с. 72, 74, 84; *его же.* Историко-типологическая морфология тюркских языков. М., 1979, с. 114; *его же.* Введение в изучение тюркских языков. Изд. 2-ое. М., 1969, с. 106; Современный казахский язык. Фонетика и морфология. Алма-Ата, 1962, с. 120; *Исхаков Ф. Г.* Лексико-грамматическая классификация слов или части речи в тюркских языках. — В кн.: Исследования по сравнительной грамматике тюркских языков. Ч. 2. Морфология. Под ред. Н. К. Дмитриева. М., 1956, с. 72; *Севортян Э. В.* Категория падежа. — *Там же*, с. 57; *Дмитриев Н. К.* Грамматика башкирского языка. М., 1948, с. 62; *Егоров В. Г.* Введение в изучение чувашского языка. М., 1930, с. 39; о нулевом деривационном элементе см. также:

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Несмотря на такую значимость корня, состояние его изученности до сих пор оставляет желать лучшего. До настоящего времени остаются нерешенными такие кардинальные вопросы данной проблемы как структура корня. Еще Г. Вамбери доказывал закрытосложность тюркских корневых структур. Этой же точки зрения придерживается в настоящее время Н. А. Баскаков.[3] Другая группа ученых — Э. В. Севортян, А. Н. Кононов, А. М. Щербак — обосновывает обратную точку зрения.[4] Подчеркнем, что эти две теории взаимно исключают друг друга. К примеру, по одной из них корреляции звуков корня — явления сугубо фонетические, по другой теории — во многих случаях соответствия и чередования выполняют грамматические функции.

Тем не менее в результате анализа тюркского слова-слога структуры $С^1ГС^2$ ($С^1$ — начальный согласный, Г — гласный, $С^2$ — конечный согласный) и других устанавливается, что смыслоразличительные функции могут нести вариации всех его элементов: $С^1$, $С^2$, Г, что свидетельствует прежде всего о неточности самого принципа выделения в подобных примерах корневых неварьирующихся и аффиксальных варьирующихся элементов. С другой стороны, все же следует признать, что в отдельных случаях мы имеем факты, казалось бы, довольно ясно подтверждающие компонентность корня-основы. Это примеры типа *sal-* 'класть', 'ложить' и *sat-* 'продавать', *kel-* 'приходить' и *ket-* 'уходить', *al-* 'брать', 'взять' и *at-* 'бросить', 'выстрелить' и т. п., в которых *-l-*, как считают ученые, имеет семантику центростремительности, а *-t-* —

Бертагаев Т. А. Морфологическая структура слова в монгольских языках. М., 1969, с. 46—47; *Оралбаева Н.* Проблема нулевой формы и нулевого слова в грамматическом строе тюркских языков. — В кн.: Советская тюркология и развитие тюркских языков в СССР. Алма-Ата, 1976, с. 141; *Кубрякова Е. С.* Теория номинации и словообразование (структурно-семантические и ономасиологические особенности безаффиксального словообразования). — В кн.: Языковая номинация. М., 1977, с. 290 и т. д.

[3] Из новейших работ см.: *Баскаков Н. А.* Историко-типологическая морфология. тюркских языков. М., 1979, с. 141—186; а также см.: *Котвич В. Л. Цит.*, ист. 14—16; *Баскаков Н. А.* Каракалпакский язык. Ч. 2. Фонетика и морфология. М., 1952, с. 100—106; *его же.* Ногайский язык и его диалекты. Грамматика, тексты и словарь. М.-Л., 1940, с. 44—45; ср.: *Батманов И. А.* Язык енисейских памятников древнетюркской письменности. Фрунзе, 1959, с. 42, где в разделе «Слоговая структура», отмечая два односложных корня структуры Г (гласный) в енисейских древнетюркских памятниках — *u-* 'иметь силу' и *ü-* 'собирать в кучу', — автор замечает: «Вероятно произносились иначе». Там же отмечено лишь два корня структуры СГ (согласный — гласный), причем по поводу *ba-* 'связывать' И. А. Батманов считает необходимым добавить, что «приводимый некоторыми тюркологами пример *ba-* 'связывать' имеет в своем написании совсем другой состав».

[4] Из новейших работ см.: Clauson G. *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish.* Oxford, 1972; *Севортян Э. В.* Этимологический словарь тюркских языков. I—III. М., 1974—1980; *Кононов А. Н.* Грамматика языка тюркских рунических памятников VII—IX вв. Л., 1980, с. 76—79; а также см.: *Щербак А. М.* Сравнительная фонетика тюркских языков. Л., 1970, с. 107—110 и др.

центробежности.[5] Однако, крайне малое количество таких примеров не позволяет возводить такие факты в закономерность. Не исключена случайность подобных форм или, что более вероятно, отмеченные употребления — реликт древнейшего дотюркского языкового состояния. Наконец, при членении словоформ нужно исходить из специфики и законов самих тюркских языков, их системы словообразования, путей грамматического развития. В связи с этим можно сказать, что вполне возможно, запутанность в понимании данного вопроса вызвана тем, что тюркологи до сих пор пользовались и пользуются в основном готовыми методами этимологизации слов, выработанными на основе изучения индоевропейских языков предшествующими поколениями лингвистов.

Условно можно наметить три пути понимания эволюции корней — праформ в тюркских языках: 1) различные фонетические корреляты архетипа в ходе своего естественного изменения в процессе словоупотребления случайно закрепляют за собой все более и более расходящиеся между собой и отдаляющиеся от центральной семантики оттенки значений; 2) варианты корня, соответствующие закономерным чередованиям, играют смыслоразличительную роль, используются для семантической дифференциации; 3) вариантивность элементов корня восходит в отдельных случаях к их морфологической структурности. Допустим мысль правоты всех трех положений, не забывая того, что они отчасти исключают друг друга. Если обратить внимание, пункты 1), 2) и 3) — этапы постепенного усиления, интенсификации лексикализационных процессов в корневых комплексах: случайные фонетические модификации с конкретными родственными значениями [пункт 1)] начинают в ходе языковой «шлифовки» обретать все более обособленные значения [пункт 2)], которые в некоторых случаях, доразвившись до предела, фиксируют грамматические преобразования в слове [пункт 3)]. Этапы эволюции корневой морфемы [пункты 1), 2) и 3)] не всегда строго хронологически последовательны. Точнее, не всегда правомерно их размежевание. Последнее исключило бы возможность их комплексной реализации в конкретных частных проявлениях.

Направление исследований природы тюркских моносиллабов по линии классификации определенных фонетических изменений в структуре слова-слога для передачи определенных семантических и более — грамматических преобразований навряд ли правомерно, так как зачастую известные звуковые корреспонденции в различных случаях соответствуют совершенно разным явлениям в разных языковых сферах. Можно привести примеры лексико-

[5] *Батманов И. А.* Части речи в киргизском языке. Фрунзе, 1936, с. 11; *Иванов С. Н.* Родословное древо тюрков Абу-л-гази хана. Ташкент, 1969, с. 199; *Баскаков Н. А.* Историко-типологическая морфология тюркских языков. М., 1979, с. 144, 176; *Батманов И. А., Арагачи З. Б., Бабушкин Г. Ф.* Современная и древняя енисейка. Фрунзе, 1962, с. 135.

грамматической синкретичности корней или иначе, как это именуют некоторые ученые, морфологической диффузности, омоморфности или омоформности, когда один и тот же звуковой комплекс является носителем полярных грамматических признаков и свойств.[6] По мнению А. М. Щербака, в праформах тюркских слов такие корни-основы должны были составлять основу лексического фонда. И в свете последних исследований данного явления такое суждение представляется вполне оправданным.[7]

Следует ли явление тюркского синкретизма отделять от лексикализационных процессов в моносиллабических образованиях? Ни в коей мере. Такой подход к вышеназванным явлениям был бы также неправомерен, как и концентрация основного внимания при изучении вопросов аморфности или полиморфности корневых морфем на омонимичных коррелятах. Лексико-

[6] См. рукописное предисловие *Г. Вамбери* к своему этимологическому словарю (за год до его выхода в свет), написанное в Будапеште 13 октября 1877 года на русском языке, с. 12—13, 15, §18; *Мелиоранский П. М.* Памятник в честь Кюль—Тегина. — ЗВОРАО, т. XII, вып. 2—3. СПб., 1899, примечание № 22; *Щербак А. М.* Состояние работы и задачи составления этимологических словарей тюркских языков. — «Советская тюркология», 1975, № 4, с. 8; *Севортян Э. В.* Аффиксы глаголообразования в азербайджанском языке. М., 1962, с. 425; *его же.* Этимологический словарь тюркских языков. Т. 1. М., 1974, с. 33; Ramstedt G. J. *Zur Verbstammbildungslehre der mongolisch-türkischen Sprachen.* — *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, t. XXVIII, Helsinki, 1912; Bang W. *Studien zur vergleichenden Grammatik der Türksprachen.* 2 Stück: Über das Verbum *al-* 'nehmen' als Hilfszeitwort. *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse.* Jahrgang 1916, XXXVII, Halbband 2, Berlin, 1916, S. 918; Deny J. *Grammaire de la langue turque* (*Dialecte Osmanli*). Paris, 1920; Bang W. *Vom Köktürkischen zum Osmanischen*, 2 Mitteilung: Über einige schallnachahmende Verba: *Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, 5, Berlin, 1919, S. 35; Grönbech K., *Der türkische Sprachbau. I.* Kopenhagen, 1936. S. 19; Ramstedt G. J., *Einführung in die Altaische Sprachwissenschaft*, Bd 2, *Formenlehre.* Helsinki, 1952, S. 192, 193; Brockelmann C. *Osttürkische Grammatik der islamischen Litteratursprachen Mittelasiens.* Leiden, 1954, § 147 (d); а также многочисленные высказывания о синкретичности корней в трудах Н. К. Дмитриева, И. А. Батманова, Н. А. Баскакова, А. Н. Кононова, В. Л. Котвича, Б. М. Юнусалиева, В. Г. Егорова, Э. Н. Наджипа, В. И. Цинциус, К. М. Мусаева, А. Т. Кайдарова, К. Аханова, А. А. Юлдашева, М. А. Ахметова и т. д.

[7] *Кайдаров А. Т.* Некоторые аспекты синкретизма первичных основ в тюркских языках. — В кн.: Советская тюркология и развитие тюркских языков в СССР. Алма-Ата, 1976, с. 27—29; *его же.* О критериях определения синкретических основ в тюркских языках. — «Известия АН Қазахской ССР. Серия филологическая», 1977, № 3, с. 51—57; Қайбаров Ә. Т. Қазақ тілі этимологиясынан этюдтер. — Сөз онері. Алматы, 1978, 62—71 б.; *Кайдаров А. Т., Кажибеков Е. З.* Гомогенные корни и их лексико-семантическое развитие. — «Советская тюркология», 1980, № 3, с. 17—24; *Кажибеков Е. З.* Из истории изучения тюркского синкретизма. — «Известия АН Қазахской ССР. Серия филологическая», 1980, № 3, с. 53—58; *его же.* Явление грамматического синкретизма в тюркском словообразовании. — «Вестник АН Қазахской ССР», 1980, № 10, с. 64—68 и т. д.

грамматические омонимы — результат случайного совпадения фонетических дублетов. Они принципиально ничем не отличаются от неомонимичных форм-вариантов одного и того же корня. Последнее означает, что синкретизм и «скрытый» синкретизм (термин А. Т. Кайдарова) односложных основ — должны изучаться как явления одного порядка и значения.

Вышеотмеченное свидетельствует о том, что явления фонетические, морфологические и лексические на корневом уровне гомогенных комплексов обнаруживают тесную взаимосвязанность и в некоторых случаях даже взаимообусловленность. Поэтому решение, скажем, частных морфологических аспектов природы тюркского корня невозможно без изучения фоно-семантических и лексических процессов и — наоборот. Для уяснения реальных этапов истории формирования, развития и движения вообще лексических гнезд — широких рядов форм, восходящих теоретически к одному архетипу с нерасчлененно-обобщенной семантикой, необходимо учитывать весь комплекс языковых ресурсов, обуславливающих вкупе и в частностях отдельные проявления реализующихся возможностей грамматически многоликих форм резервно-базисного пласта праслов. Иными словами — тюркологам еще предстоит разработать морфонологию тюркских языков, объектом исследования которой стали бы функциональные чередования звуков, факты использования фонетических соотношений для семантической градации гомогенных образований, анализ сингармонических параллелизмов, редукций, стяжений, элизий, эпентез и апокоп, уподоблений и расподоблений, перебоя гласных и расщепления отдельных согласных звуков и т. д., используемых в словообразовательных целях. Отдельные попытки предпринимались в разное время разными учеными.[8] Но, во-первых, в их статьях или отдельных параграфах монографий освещались только те или иные узкие аспекты проблемы, причем освещались порою противоречиво и по-разному. Во-вторых, все эти разрозненные и небольшие по объему начинания не были продолжены учеными в силу объективных причин. Назовем главную причину, вследствие которой

[8] *Бертагаев Т. А.* Чередование фонем и сингармонизм в агглютинативных языках. — В кн.: Морфологическая типология и проблема классификации языков. М.-Л., 1965, с. 131—140; *его же.* Флексия основ в агглютинативных языках. — В кн.: Сборник трудов по филологии. Улан-Удэ, 1948, с. 98—100; *Ганиев Ф. А.* Фонетическое словообразование в татарском языке. Казань, 1973; *Киекбаев Дж. Г.* Фонетика башкирского языка. Автореферат . . . доктор. дис. М., 1959; *Пюрбеев Г. Ц.* Функциональное чередование звуков в монгольских языках. — «Вопросы языкознания», 1971, № 3, с. 89—93; *Черкасский М. А.* Тюркский вокализм и сингармонизм. М., 1965, с. 35—37, 55—59, 70; *Фасеев Ф. С.* Татар телендэ терминология нигезлэре. Казан, 1969, 120—121б.; *Гулямов А. Г.* Словообразование путем внутренних изменений слова в узбекском языке. — «Научная сессия АН Узбекской ССР, 9—14 июня 1947 г.» Ташкент, 1947; *Сергеев Л. П.* К вопросу о сингармонических вариантах и параллелизмах в чувашском языке. — Ученые записки. Вып. 46. Филология. Чебоксары, 1970, с. 20—31 и др.

этот важный аспект исторической грамматики тюркских языков все еще продолжает оставаться неразработанным. Она заключается в том, что изучая явления морфонологического порядка, ученые постоянно пытались провести параллель и проводили параллели с методами и формами словообразования в индоевропейских языках. Если говорить конкретней, нам кажется, противоречивость суждений по данному вопросу вызвана тем, что исследователи, разделившись на два лагеря, — одни обосновывают историческую реальность аффиксов на уровне односложных слов-основ, другие — отсутствие таковых и, естественно, монолитность тюркского корня. Параллели с аффигированием в индоевропейских языках, где вследствие флективности и фузионных процессов границы корня размыты и существуют скорее в теории, нежели в действительности, т. е. они во многих случаях условны и абстрактны, — только вредят тюркской грамматике, специфической чертой которой была и является чрезвычайная консервативность форм морфем и прозрачность помодельной структуры тюркского корня.[9] Именно в силу последнего обстоятельства попытки одних ученых предположить фонетический способ словообразования для тюркских языков как историческую реальность были встречены другими учеными в штыки и яро «раскритикованы».

Прежде всего уверенность противников словообразовательной функции звукосоотношений в тюркских языках в своей правоте основывается на том, что одно и то же конкретное чередование или соответствие, различающее иногда гомогенные ряды семантически, выполняет данную функцию нерегулярно, а порою и вовсе редко. Приведем всего лишь один пример. Во многих алтайских языках лексемы с переднерядной огласовкой означают нечто 'женское', 'малое', 'слабое', 'нежное', 'тихое', 'менее выраженное', слова с заднерядной огласовкой, напротив, нечто 'мужское', 'большое', 'грубое', 'громкое', 'более выраженное'. Подтверждающих эту альтернацию фактов приводилось довольно много и нет нужды их повторять. Однако, в тюркских языках отмечено не меньше случаев, когда эта же корреляция выполняет обратные функции или, по крайней мере, иные.[10] Следует ли расценивать последние факты как аргументы против реальности морфонологического дифференцирования форм в алтайских языках по данному признаку?

[9] *Баскаков Н. А.* Морфологическая структура слова в тюркских языках. — В кн.: Морфологическая структура слова в языках различных типов. М.-Л., 1963, с. 76—83; *Щербак А. М.* О морфологической структуре слова в тюркских языках. — *Там же*, с. 267—270 и многие другие.

[10] См., к примеру: *Владимирцов Б. Я.* Сравнительная грамматика монгольского письменного языка и халхасского наречия. Л., 1924, с. 126—130; *Цинциус В. И.* Сравнительная фонетика тунгусо-маньчжурских языков. Л., 1949, с. 40—44; *Севортян Э. В.* Этимологический словарь тюркских языков. Т. I. М., 1974, с. 221; а также ср.: Schott W., *Über das Altai'sche oder Finnisch-Tatarische Sprachengeschlecht.* Berlin, 1849, S. 45—46; Schleicher A., *Zur Morphologie des Sprache.* St.-Petersburg, 1859, S. 17 и другие.

Ответить на этот вопрос однозначно нелегко. Возьмем аналогичный пример для доказательства противоположного положения — о неправомерности выделения аффиксальных элементов в моносиллабических структурах. Самый типичный пример: исторически реален глагольный корень **qa-* ~ **ke-* ~ **kö-* ~ **ki-* со значением движения вообще, который в процессе присоединения аффиксов *-t-*, *-l-*, *-z-*, *-č-* и других конкретизирует свое значение: *qal-* 'оставаться', *ket-* 'уходить', *kel-* 'приходить', *kez-* 'гулять', *keč-* 'переходить', *köč-* 'кочевать', *kir-* 'входить' и т. д. Системны ли значения вышеперечисленных аффиксов во всех подобных образованиях (сравните: *tol-* 'наполняться', *toj-* 'насыщаться', *toš-* 'наполнять', *toq* 'сытый', *top* 'полный', 'целый' и т. п. примеры)? Нет — значения их нерегулярны.

Таким образом, как кажется с первого взгляда, можно подвести следующую черту: как внутренняя флексация, т. е. функциональная корреляция звуков, так и аффиксация на уровне односложных основ в тюркских языках, не существуют. Но независимо от такого и подобных таким выводов фономорфологическая эволюция в тюркских языках была ранее и продолжает свое движение ныне. По морфонологической модели многие заимствования закрепляются в семантически разнящихся фонетических вариантах, многие чередования, соответствия и другие фонетические корреляции выполняют смыслоразличительные функции настолько явно, что не признать их представляется невозможным. Фактами морфонологического порядка (фонологией морфем или морфологией фонем) тюркские языки изобилуют — возьмите любой из вышедших трех томов «Этимологического словаря тюркских языков» Э. В. Севортяна (М., 1974, 1978, 1980) и вы буквально увидите фоносемантическое многообразие гомогенных комплексов на всех уровнях — корневом и деривационном.

О морфологической функции сингармонизма в свое время открыто говорил В. В. Радлов.[11] Ряд ценных мыслей по поводу тюркской морфонологии, правда, не называя самого слова морфонология, оставил нам в своих статьях В. М. Жирмунский и некоторые другие ученые.[12]

Способность к варьированию — живая черта тюркских языков. Возьмите хотя бы примеры трансформированных повторов, когда слово употребляется рядом со своим намеренно образованным фонетическим вариантом;[13]

[11] Radloff W., *Vergleichende Grammatik der nördlichen Türksprachen. Th. I· Phonetik* . . . , Leipzig, 1882, S. 50—51.

[12] *Жирмунский В. М.* О границах слова. — В кн.: Морфологическая структура слова в языках различных типов. М.-Л., 1963, с. 6—33 и др.

[13] *Кайдаров А. Т.* Парные слова в современном уйгурском языке. Алма-Ата, 1958; *Абдурахманов Н.* Парные слова в тюркских языках. Автореферат . . . доктор. дис. Алма-Ата, 1975; *Калабаева Т. Б.* Лексико-грамматическая структура повторов в казахском языке. Автореферат . . . канд. дис. Алма-Ата, 1980; *Кенесбаев С. К.* О трансформированном

или взаимоотношения литературных норм слов и диалектизмов; явление дублетности в языке[14] и многие другие. Общая картина складывается такая, что факты фоносемантического плана отвергнуть простым отрицанием нельзя. Не можем мы их и пока достаточно убедительно интерпретировать, хотя это вовсе не означает, что последнее, в принципе, неосуществимо. Для правомерного решения данной проблемы нужно прежде всего исходить из специфики тюркского словообразования, предполагая в нем элементы несхожие с известными в индоевропеистике понятиями как, скажем, «флексия» или «суффикс» («аффикс»). Роль лексико-семантического маркера в тюркских языках так же, как и в языках индоевропейских и других, могут играть более или менее грамматические выраженные закономерные видоизменения формального плана лексемы, которые не всегда укладываются в означаемое вышеуказанными терминами. Тюркский корень структурен в том плане, что его элементы могут в процессе закономерного фонетического альтернирования быть грамматически значащими единицами. И в то же время корень монолитен и неделим, так как указанные функции нетождественны аффиксальному или флективному словообразованию в языках иного типа.

повторе в казахском языке. — В кн.: Вопросы тюркологии. Ташкент, 1965, с. 34—38; *Уринбаев З. Б.* Семантические и грамматические особенности слов-повторов в современном узбекском языке. Автореферат . . . канд. дис. Ташкент, 1980 и т. д.

[14] Сызбықова *Р. Ғ.* Қазіргі қазақ өдеби тіліндегі дублеттер жөнінде. — Кіт.: Тіл мәдениеті және баспасөз. Алматы, 1972, 54—62 б.; *Сарыбаев Ш. Ш.* Проблемы казахской региональной лексикографии. Автореферат . . . доктор. дис. Алма-Ата, 1973, с. 22, 24, 26—28, 52, 68—71 и др.; *его же.* Казахская региональная лексикография. Алма-Ата, 1976, с. 147—151.

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IN MEMORIAM

GIUSEPPE TUCCI
(1894—1984)

Oriental studies have lost a great scholar. Two months before turning 90, Giuseppe Tucci died at his home in San Polo de Cavalieri (prov. of Rome) on April 5, 1984.

Giuseppe Tucci was born on June 5, 1894 in Macerata in the Marches. His studies at Rome University were interrupted by his World War I military service, so he graduated only in 1919. Soon afterwards he became a private lecturer, then full-time lecturer at Rome University. From 1925 to 1930 he lectured at the universities of Śāntiniketan and Calcutta. In 1929, he was appointed a member of the Royal Academy of Italy. In 1930, he became a professor of religions and philosophy in the Far East at Rome University, and he held this post until the age of 75 in 1969. In 1934 he founded, then after World War II he revived the Instituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente popularly known as IsMEO. Due to his untiring efforts, it became Italy's center of Oriental studies, known and acknowledged internationally as well.

Tucci was a scholar of the most diverse interests, whose investigations ranged from the Tyrrhenian Sea to the Yellow Sea encompassing almost the entire Eurasian continent and multifarious lot of social science disciplines. He devoted his first two scientific publications completed at the age of 17 and 18 respectively, to the Roman inscriptions in his native region of the Marches, soon to be followed by papers on a comprehensive ethnological question, on the problems of Zoroastrianism, and on the prehistory of Asia.

He then embarked on research into the history of Chinese philosophy. His work in this field was crowned with the Italian translation of Mêng-tzŭ's tenets (*Scritti di Mencio*, Lanciano 1921) and by a book on the history of ancient Chinese philosophy (*Storia della filosofia cinese antica*, Bologna 1922).

In addition to his interest in Chinese philosophy, Tucci soon developed a commitment to Indian culture as well. He wrote about the poetry of Aśvaghoṣa ("Un altro poema di Açvaghoṣa: il Saundarānanda". In: *Alle Fonti delle Religioni* I, fasc. I, 1921, pp. 38—69; "Note sul Saundarānanda Kāvya di Açvaghoṣa". *RSO* X, 1923/25, pp. 145—149, re-ed. in *OM* [= G. Tucci, *Opera Minora*. Università di Roma, Studi Orientali pubblicati a cura della

Scuola Orientale VI, Rome 1971] I, pp. 157—161) and Kālidāsa ("Note sulle fonti di Kālidāsa", *RSO* IX, 1921/23, pp. 1—26 = *OM* I, pp. 1—26). His paper entitled "Linee di una storia del materialismo indiano" (in: *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Memorie*, ser. V, XVII, 1923, pp. 242—310; ser. VI, II, 1929, pp. 667—713; rev. ed. in: *OM* I, pp. 49—155) constitutes an important contribution to our so-far very meagre knowledge on Indian materialistic philosophy. Tucci devoted dozens of articles, including for example: *Pre-Diṅnāga Buddhist texts on logic from Chinese sources* (Gaekwad Oriental Series 49, Baroda 1929); "Buddhist logic before Diṅnāga (Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Tarkaśāstras)" (*JRAS* 1929, pp. 451—488, 870—871); *The Nyāyamukha of Diṅnāga, being the oldest Buddhist text on logic after Chinese and Tibetan materials* (Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus XV, Heidelberg 1930); *Madhyāntavibhāgasūtrabhāṣyāṭīkā of Sthiramati* (in collaboration with Vidushekhara Bhattacharya; Calcutta Oriental Series XXIV, London 1932); "The Ratnāvalī of Nāgārjuna" (*JRAS* 1934, pp. 307—325; 1936, pp. 237—252, 423—435); *Minor Buddhist Texts* I (SOR IX: 1, Rome 1956), to the fundamental works of the philosophy of Mahāyāna Buddhism: he translated, epitomized and annotated them, among them several whose Sanskrit original he himself had discovered during his expeditions to Tibet and Nepal. Last but not least, his brilliant short monograph — *Teoria e practica del Mandala* (Milano 1949; 2nd ed.: Rome 1969; English ed.: London 1961; repr. 1969; German ed.: Weilheim 1972) — and his synthetizing work, *Storia della filosofia indiana* (Bari 1957; 2nd ed. 1977) deserve mention.

Tucci's most outstanding achievements, however, belong to the domain of Tibetan studies. Not unlike many of his colleagues, he also approached Tibetan problems from the study of Indian Buddhism. He also used the Tibetan translations as a means textual criticism of Sanskrit works or to make up for lost Sanskrit originals, but he was just as much — if not more — intrigued by the developments of Buddhism peculiar to Tibet and by the Tibetan historical and cultural context in which these developments were embedded. This induced him to lead eight expeditions between 1930 and 1948 to Indian regions inhabited by Tibetans and to Western and Central Tibet to study the architecture, sculptures, wall-painting and inscriptions in temples, some ruined for centuries and some still functioning, to observe popular customs, and collect *thaṅ-kas*, and the manuscripts and woodcuts of rare Tibetan texts.

His Tibetan expeditions bore the following fruit: two monumental works, the seven volumes of *Indo-Tibetica* (Rome, I, 1932; II, 1933; III, pt. I, 1935; III, pt. II, 1936; IV, pts. I—III, 1941) and the three-volume *Tibetan painted scrolls* (Rome 1949; repr. Kyoto 1981). In them Tucci places various types of liturgical objects, monuments or groups of monuments under scrutiny, attaching to this analysis an exposition of the related questions of

religious, ecclesiastic, political or literary history, as well as the edition, translation or summary of the inscriptions of the monuments and relevant passages in the most important sources. Similarly, he added a description of the diverse phenomena of the Tibetan folk-religion and popular material culture to the edition and translation of folklore texts in his *Tibetan folksongs from the district of Gyantse* (Artibus Asiae Supplementum VII; Ascona 1949) and to a greater extent in its second, revised and enlarged edition, the *Tibetan folksongs from Gyantse and Western Tibet* (Artibus Asiae Supplementum XXII; Ascona 1966).

Tucci's contribution to research into the history and culture of the 7th—9th century Tibetan Empire is also considerable. He was the first to tackle the problem of the relationship between Tibetan historiography of the 7th—9th centuries and that of later times in his articles "The validity of Tibetan historical tradition" (in: *India Antiqua: A volume ... presented ... to Jean Philippe Vogel*, Leyden 1947, pp. 309—322 = *OM* II, pp. 453—466) and „The wives of Sroṅ btsan sgam po" (in: *Oriens Extremus* IX, 1962, pp. 121—126 = *OM* II, pp. 605—611). However, the greatest challenge for him came from religion in the age of the Tibetan Empire. In "The secret character of the kings of ancient Tibet" (*EW* VI, 1955/56, pp. 197—205 = *OM* II, pp. 569—583) he enlarged upon the ideology of the power of kingship in ancient Tibet. In *The tombs of the Tibetan kings* (SOR I, Rome 1950) and "The symbolism of the temple of bSam-yas" (*EW* VI, 1955/56, pp. 279—281 = *OM* II, pp. 585—588) he analyzed the ideological divergences between pre-Buddhist ideas and Buddhist tenets. The subject that he most thoroughly investigated was the so-called council of Tibet (alias the council of Lha-sa or Bsam-yas), that is, the polemic between the Indian Madhyamaka and the Chinese Dhyāna (Ch'an) schools of Buddhism (*Minor Buddhist Texts* II and III; SOR IX: 2 and XLIII, Rome 1958 and 1971).

Of course, one cannot fail to mention his comprehensive works on Tibetan culture which provide reliable information for the general reader and an inducement for the specialist. These include "Die Religionen Tibets" (in: G. Tucci and W. Heissig, *Die Religionen Tibets und der Mongolei*, Die Religionen der Menschheit, hsg. von C. M. Schröder, vol. 20, Stuttgart 1970, pp. 5—291; published as a separate volume in Italian and English: Rome 1976 and London 1980); *Tibet* (Archaeologia Mundi, Geneva 1973, in French, German and English versions); *Tibet, Paese delle Nevi* (Novara 1967; English ed.: London 1967; French ed.: Paris 1967).

Closely related to Tucci's investigations within Indian and Tibetan studies is his explorations in Nepal: he travelled to the Nepalese Valley five times, and led expeditions to Thāk, Mustang and the Jumla region in 1952 and 1954. Despite its modest title, the *Preliminary report on two scientific expeditions in Nepal* (SOR X, Materials for the study of Nepalese history

and culture 1, Rome 1956), an account of his latter two expeditions, belongs among Tucci's most significant works as in it he conclusively proved that in the 12th—14th centuries there a Khasiya-Malla kingdom did exist, uniting Western Tibet and Western Nepal. In conjunction with this he took a close look at several questions of the 6th—11th century history of Western Nepal. Another of his books on Nepal tackles the problems of iconography and art history. Its title is *Rati-līlā, an interpretation of Tantric imagery of the temples of Nepal* (Geneva 1969, also in French and German versions).

After his expedition to Jumla in 1954, Tucci embarked on a great new venture at the age of sixty plus. Besides IsMEO, he set up the Excavating Center (Centro di Scavi) that initiated large-scale excavations in 1956 in Swat Valley, north-eastern Pakistan (still underway today), and later in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran. Tucci directed the work of the Center personally for over twenty years; what is more, he often led the digging on the sites in person. He also continuously published his research findings concerning the historical aspect of the archaeological work. Twenty years after the outset of the excavations, he had the good fortune to be able to summarize in an extensive paper entitled "On Swāt: The Dards and connected problems" (*EW* XXVII, 1977, pp. 9—103) his ideas on the history of the Karakorum region, from the Achaemenian age to the 8th-century domination of the Tibetans and the Chinese, with the help of a complex employment of archeological finds, written sources, and comparative ethnology and mythology.

Hungary's Oriental studies and Giuseppe Tucci were connected with ties older than half a century. In 1934, on the 150th anniversary of Alexander Csoma de Körös' birth, the Hungarian Geographical Society published the Hungarian translation of G. Tucci's and E. Ghersi's travelogue *Cronaca della missione scientifica Tucci nel Tibet occidentale* (1933) (Rome 1933) under the title *Kincses Tibet* [The Tibet of Treasures] (tsl. by József Révay; A Magyar Földrajzi Társaság Könyvtára [Library of the Hungarian Geographical Society], ed. by J. Cholnoky, Budapest, *s.a.*; re-ed.: 1937). Tucci came to Hungary in 1942, to participate in the celebrations in honour of the 100th anniversary of Csoma de Körös' death, making the commemorative speech on several occasions (which was published in an Italian-Hungarian bilingual edition: *Alessandro Csoma de Kőrös/Kőrösi Csoma Sándor*, Universitas Francisco-Josephina, Acta Philosophica I, Kolozsvár 1942). On this visit, he was elected an external member of the Csoma de Kőrös Society, of which he became an honorary member in 1981.

In 1977, Tucci retired from active scientific work. His above-mentioned article "On Swāt: The Dards and connected problems" remained his last paper (to be followed by reprints and translations of his earlier books). He resigned his post as president of the IsMEO and donated his world-famous collection of Tibetan manuscripts to the Institute. Some years later a broken

leg that would not longer perfectly heal confined him to bed and to his bedside armchair. However, he did not lose touch with the science. As honorary president of the IsMEO, he continued to take part in the spiritual guidance of the Institute that he founded, and did not give up his post as general editor of *East and West* either. The table in his bedroom was always piled high with the latest scientific publications. Those guests of the IsMEO who had the honour of being received by Tucci, marvelled at how — despite his advanced age — his knowledge kept pace with the latest developments, both within the science and in the whole world. When his guests were about to leave, Tucci, notwithstanding his broken leg, stood up leaning on the arms of his wife and housekeeper, to shake hands; for — as he said — farewell must be said standing.

Now it is our turn to stand up to pay our last respects to Giuseppe Tucci, the scholar of merit and a man of integrity.

Géza Uray

TURRELL V. WYLIE
(1927—1984)

After a long, painful illness, Professor Turrell V. Wylie died on August 28, 1984. His death deprives us of a brilliant scholar, an excellent organizer and an open-hearted, generous friend. All those who ever met Prof. Wylie, will sadly miss his friendly and cheerful personality. With the death of Terry Wylie, the writer of this obituary, has lost one of his best friends.

A native of Durango (Colorado), Wylie served in the merchant navy during the World War II. He began his studies at the University of Washington (Seattle) in 1952 and then studied Tibetan language and culture under the late Prof. G. Tucci (who was for Wylie his own "guru") in Rome. Prof. Wylie, who taught Tibetan from 1958 up to his death at the Department of Asian Languages and Literature (Univ. of Washington, Seattle), was also selected by the Rockefeller Foundation in 1960 to help bring the first Tibetan refugees to his university, and in fact, he was the founder of Seattle's Tibetan community. Due to his efforts, the University of Washington remains one of the few universities in the USA to offer Tibetan studies and course work at the doctoral level.

His primary interest was Tibetan geography and history, and his books and articles represent the best standard of Western scholarship. The most important publications of the late Prof. Wylie are the following:

1) Geography: *Dating the Tibetan geography 'Dzam gling rgyas bshad through its description of the Western hemisphere.* In: *CAJ* 4 (1959); *A place name index to George N. Roerich's translation of the Blue Annals.* Rome 1957;

The geography of Tibet according to 'Dzam-gling-rgyas-bshad. Rome 1962; and *A Tibetan religious geography of Nepal.* Rome 1970.

2) History: *The first Mongol conquest of Tibet, reinterpreted.* In: *HJAS* 37 (1977); *Lama tribute in the Ming dynasty.* In: *Tibetan Studies.* Edited by M. Aris — Aung San Suu Kyi. Warminster 1980; *Reincarnation: a political innovation in Tibetan Buddhism.* In: *Proceedings of the Csoma de Kőrös Memorial Symposium.* Edited by L. Ligeti. Budapest 1981; *Monastic patronage in 15th-century Tibet.* In: *AOH* 34 (1980); *Khubilai Khagan's first viceroy of Tibet.* In: *Tibetan and Buddhist Studies etc.* Edited by L. Ligeti. Budapest 1984.

3) Varia: *A standard system of Tibetan transcription.* In: *HJAS* 22 (1959); *Mortuary customs at Sa-skya, Tibet.* In: *HJAS* 25 (1964/65); *'O--lde-spu-rgyal and the introduction of Bon to Tibet.* In: *CAJ* 8 (1963); *Tibetan passports: their function and significance.* In: *CAJ* 12 (1968[8]69); *Ro-lang: the Tibetan zombie.* In: *History of Religion* 3 (1964); *Mar-pa's tower: notes on local hegemons in Tibet.* In: *History of Religion* 3 (1964).

János Szerb (Wien)

ALEXANDER SCHEIBER
(1913—1985)

Hungarian and international science has suffered a grievous loss: the world-famous scholar of Jewish studies, Professor Scheiber died at the age of 72. For 40 years, he lectured at the Jewish Theological Seminary, the only institution of the kind in Central Europe, for 35 years as its director. Just recently, the ELTE University, Budapest, bestowed upon him the title of titular professor. However, those who knew him — his pupils and colleagues in Hungary and in international oriental studies — had long looked up to him as their professor, the master of Judaistics, folklore and medieval Jewish culture history. He was a most worthy follower of a row of eminent predecessors, including Ignác Goldziher, Vilmos Bacher, Immanuel Löw, and Bernát Heller, whose work he continued along several lines and whose memory and scientific legacy he fostered with loving care. (For instance, some years ago he published *Goldziher's Diary*, a work of great moment in the history of science.)

Alexander Scheiber's publications — over one thousand five hundred in number — (listed in 1983 in Róbert Dán's compilation in the appendix to Folklór és Tárgytörténet [Folklore and Material History] II, Budapest 1977 and III, Budapest 1984) are principally concerned with medieval Jewish literature and history, and various questions of Jewish folklore. Of special importance are his researches in relation to the Genizah papers of Cairo, in the

course of which he studied and published several internationally unique pieces of the *Kaufmann-Genizah* preserved in the library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Many of these pioneering papers were published over a period of three decades in Acta Orientalia, beginning with its very first issue. Let us only quote here some of his most significant contributions: *Panegyrics in Honour of a Baghdad Dignitary, An Old Polemic Work, Neue Blätter aus dem alten polemischen Werk, Die prosaische Einleitung der "Scheelot Atikot", Ein Fragment aus dem Midrasch Schir Haschirim Rabba, Materialen zur Wirksamkeit des Joseph b. Jacob Habavli als Schriftsteller und Kopist, Ein Mittelalterliches hebräisch-arabisches Bücherverzeichnis*, and *Contributions to Medieval Jewish Booklore*, etc. His collected Genizah works were published in 1977 under the title *Genizah Studies* (Hildesheim—New York, Olms Verlag). His papers, which all confirm an infinite wealth of factual knowledge, also contain such spectacular scientific exploits as the identification of the recorder of the first Hebrew tune with the 12th-century Norman proselyte Obadyah who hailed from the town of Oppido, and his discovery of Maimuni's manuscripts by his own hand, which he made in Leningrad. Scientific research rewards only its most faithful devotees with such unparalleled findings.

In 1945, Professor Scheiber described the target of research into Jewish folklore in the following way: ". . . exploring the origin of Jewish customs and the threads leading over to foreign terrain must be set to ourselves as a scientific task, because it reveals a part of the route the Jewry have covered through world history. During their long migration among various peoples the Jewry absorbed several layers of foreign spiritual and material customs in the countries that gave them shelter, which layers a trained eye can read and distinguish like the growth-rings on the trunk of an old tree." His folkloristic studies, whether on Biblical subjects, the links of the Haggada with the classical world, or medieval folk-tale motifs, all bear out copiously that he remained faithful to the objective he had set.

His efforts to explore the history of the Jews in Hungary yielded outstanding results, too. Long-lasting monuments to these endeavours are the thick volumes of *Magyarországi zsidó feliratok a III. századtól 1686-ig* [Jewish inscriptions in Hungary from the 3rd century to 1686] (1960) and *Héber kódexmaradványok magyarországi kötéstáblákban* [Fragments of Hebrew codices in Hungarian book-covers] (1969). He was also actively involved in restoring the synagogues of Budapest and Sopron. Mention must also be made of his observations throwing light on the connections between Hungarian literature and oriental folklore from the classical to the modern writers.

The international recognition of Alexander Scheiber's greatness is represented by such distinctions as the honorary doctorate of the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, the Hebrew College, Baltimore, and the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, as well as the associateship of the Jewish Historical

Society of England and the American Academy for Jewish Research, the honorary membership of Mekitze Nirdamim, and membership of the Council of the World Union of Jewish Studies.

Platitudinous though it might sound that his memory will be immortalized by his works as a source of inspiration for generations to come, nonetheless it is true in his case. All of us who knew and loved him can consider ourselves lucky.

Alexander Fodor

Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung. Tomus XXXIX (2—3), 369—399 (1985)

CRITICA

A. M. KHAZANOV, *Nomads and the Outside World*. Translated by JULIA CROOKENDEN, with a Foreword by ERNEST GELLNER. *Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology* 44. Cambridge 1984. Cambridge University Press. XXVIII, 369 p.

This important volume — an asset to every reader engaged in the various disciplines of *nomadology* all over the world — was translated from Russian (in 1983), written in the Institute of Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union (Moscow), and completed in 1979 (with minor changes later on, cf. p. 304). The exceptionally comprehensive undertaking of the author, originally interested in the history of the ancient nomadic, namely Scythian rulers of the Eurasian steppe region — sought after in written and archaeological sources — also covers later ages, which are also searchable with ethnographical-ethnological methods, first of all in Africa, as examined by modern social anthropology. (See the source of references, *i.e.* the rich bibliography pp. 307—355, with a general index, 356—366.)

The Foreword also introduces the author as a representative of scholarly research in the Soviet Union on nomadism, evaluating his individual contribution, which is reflected here, divergent in several respects from his predecessors and certain contemporary compatriots as well (pp. IX—XXV). Readers are provided with useful information by E. Gellner — whose help in the English edition is also appreciated by the author (p. XXVII) — on the discussions and the concerned problems in the Soviet Union, especially concerning an alleged feudalism among the nomads; he also gives a short review of a Russian work on nomads, still unavailable in other languages, by G. E. Markov (1976) who — similarly to Khazanov — refuses to recognize European feudalism in certain (isolated) similar phenomena of nomadic societies, with the difference that Markov restricted his studied sphere to Asia.

However, as concerns Khazanov's comparative method and synoptic historical view — welcome by Gellner (p. IX) as will be welcomed by the other readers as well — it may also raise problems, due to the diversity of the source material used, or as a consequence of traditional divergencies of the approach, e.g. to nomads, in different disciplines. As this volume is elaborated on a basically anthropological principle and practice, reader should remember that the information concerning earlier times is more scanty and of a more problematic character, so the related conclusions are to be relied upon with much more precaution than in better documented or described modern times.

The pastoral specialization — considered by the author to be the main characteristics of nomads — does not succeed in reaching an independent economy; that is why Khazanov is convinced that the fate of the nomads always depended on the historical influence of the peoples and cultures connected with them. He devotes his book to his thesis: "...the important phenomenon of nomadism (while

it remains nomadism) really consists in its indissoluble and necessary connection with the outside world . . ." (p. 3), referred to by the title of the book, too.

As an introduction, the author brushes away the traditional bias concerning nomadism, first of all the myths of the poetically idealized "good nomads" and the "bad nomads" of the historiography of the sedentary agriculturalist peoples, respectively. Characterizing them as a population with specialized economy, he emphasizes their historical interrelations with their neighbourhood — far beyond their ecological background — and the necessity of treating them in a constant and many-sided connection with other societies, with those of the sedentary civilizations in the first rank.

The first chapter (pp. 15—84) gives an account of *Nomadism as a distinct form of food-producing economy*, marking off the mobile way of life of hunters and gatherers, and summarizing its criteria in pastoralism, free-range grazing, and a periodic mobility including the majority of the population, with an economy aimed at subsistance, although without being self-sufficient. After having shown *The basic forms of pastoralism* ("pastoral nomadism proper", in a few regions; generally co-existing with "semi-nomadic pastoralism" with supplementary agriculture; "semi-sedentary pastoralism" with predominant agriculture, but with seasonal migrations; and "herdsman husbandry or distant pastures husbandry", where the sedentary majority of the population deals with agriculture, while a "partial" nomadism is led on the pasture-lands, each of these categories having several variants), the author surveys the determinant factors: the species-composition of herds, the size of herds, the nature of utilization of ecological zones, the character of the various pastoral migrations, the pastoral products and the related dietary systems, and the types of nomadic economies (according to the geographical preconditions etc.). Then the problems of the balance of the pastoral economy are touched upon, being disturbed by the extensive methods of production, environmental difficulties, technical conservatism etc.

The second chapter (pp. 85—118) deals with the theories concerning *The origins of pastoral nomadism*. In contrast to hunting or reindeer herding, respectively, as possible origins, the author considers nomadism a successful adaptive specialization of more complex economies to the climate, etc., able to spread in forms of diffusion as well, under force or favourable ecologic preconditions.

The third chapter (pp. 119—197) deals with *The social preconditions of the relations between nomads and the outside world*, in nomadic societies, namely: the problem of ownership ("the private ownership of livestock and corporative ownership of pastures", p. 123); the problems of family, household and community; kinship and descent, segmentary systems and socio-political organization of nomads on different continents.

In the fourth chapter (pp. 198—227) readers are presented with the various *Modes of nomadic adaptation to the outside world*: sedentarization, trade and mediatory trade, and dependence on sedentary societies or subjugation of sedentary societies.

Finally, the fifth chapter (pp. 228—302) analyses the political achievements of the most successful nomads, *i.e.* their states, and the evolution of statehood among nomads, in the steppes, semi-deserts and deserts, in the Middle East, Near East and East Africa, respectively. In the author's view, the societies of nomads only represent an early, i.e. rudimentary class-society — where, by the way, the term "feudal" is meaningless or just misleading — thus in their world a state can be born through conquest (although not every conquest brings about a state). Three main variants can occur: when the expansion of nomads means a decrease of agriculture, it leads to a reprimitivization

of the conquered lands, and in a final analysis, to the downfall of the nomadic state itself; when the sedentary process leads to an agricultural-urban development, and even the nomadic structure suffers modifications; and the third variant, when the former type develops into the latter one.

The conclusion is attractively open, and too modest after a book like this, assuring the reader (p. 304) that in this matter — as yet — "...there are no grounds for categoric assertions, but ... there is a great deal of room for discussion and further research".

Ildikó Ecsedy

IGNAZ GOLDZIHER, Tagebuch. Ed. by ALEXANDER SCHEIBER. Leiden — E. J. Brill — 1978. p. 342 + 16

Ignaz Goldziher the outstanding Hungarian scholar died at the age of 71 in 1921. However it is sufficient to a glance at pages 331—334 (*Ergänzungen zur Bibliographie I. Goldzihers*) of the book reviewed here to realize to what extent his work is relevant today in our Islamic researches and Arabistics, not only as one of the founders of Islamology and an important personality in the history of this science, but also as a not out-dated scholar to be taken into account in the course of our everyday research work. In the light of the renewed interest in I. Goldziher's work his diary can be of special interest. It was originally written for himself and a close circle of his family and friends. Due to this fact it contains several personal remarks, allusions to friends and enemies, etc., which lie beyond the interests of this review, nevertheless for those who object to the publishing of this diary claiming that Goldziher never intended to make it public, we cannot but quote Goldziher's own words from the beginning of his diary (p. 15): "Ich beginne heute aus älteren Aufzeichnungen und aus meiner Erinnerung einen Abriss meines Lebenslaufes zu entwerfen. Derselbe ist für meine Frau, meine Kinder und die allernächsten Glieder meines engern Freundeskreises bestimmt. Allen anderen, muss diese Skizze, *so lange ich lebe*, unzugänglich bleiben." (The italics are mine — T. I.)

The biography of Goldziher is still unwritten. The editor correctly states in the Preface that the *Tagebuch* will be the most important source for it (p. 9): "Es ist sehr lehrreich, da äussere und innere Leben eines der grössten Geister der Jahrhundertwende kennenzulernen." In a wider sense, however, the *Tagebuch* can provide material for two major subject-matters. The first is the presentation of social conditions in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy's Hungary, namely the position of the emancipating Jews from the 1850s until the First World War. The second is the connection between Goldziher's personality, inner self and his scientific activity, and the hinterland of this activity respectively. It is to be noted that although only this second subject-matter belongs to our scientific review's field of interest, we cannot completely separate Goldziher the scholar and his scientific activity from the reality of his social position inside and outside the Jewish community. But I do not wish to say more on this topic as it is excellently treated in an essay by R. Simon ("Ignaz Goldziher (Contributions to the relationship of the antinomies of national and middleclass development and the birth of a science)") to be published in English. Nevertheless it has to be emphasized, as Goldziher himself pointed it out several times in his diary, that for him the questions treated in his scientific works (in his youngest years the questions of the Jews, later also the questions of Islam as a religion and culture) mean much more than an abstract science, they fill his whole life, as he puts it, they give the pulse-beat of his life.

The harmony and unity of Goldziher's method and the material treated by him is guaranteed by his whole personality

and weltanschauung which pervades his work. Therefore the facts and events of his everyday life have a major significance in his scientific activity too (whereas these events can be insignificant in the case of a scholar of another frame of mind). To understand it we cannot wish for a better guide than the *Tagebuch*. To illustrate it let us take two examples. First let us see what Goldziher wrote on the occasion of the publication in 1883 of "Die Zâhiriten", one of his first outstanding works of Islamic science. His eminent colleagues, the leading orientalists of his time instantly recognized the significance of this work, and greeted it with enthusiasm at the 6th International Congress of Orientalistics held in Leiden in the same year. Here follows how Goldziher relates it in his diary (p. 93—95): "Den Beschluss dieser Epoche meines literarischen Lebens bildete das im Jahre 1883 in Leipzig erschienene Buch»Die Zâhiriten«, welches den Erfolg hatte, dass man mich in Deutschland als intimen Islamkenner zu schätzen begann und dass so ausgezeichnete Specialisten dieses Faches, wie Snouck Hurgronje, mit mir briefliche Verbindungen anknüpften, welche mich in der Vertiefung meiner Studien in ganz ungewöhnlichem Masse förderten. Freilich habe ich in diesem Zâhiriten-buche die ganze Tiefe und Breite der mohammedanischen Fikhspeculationen in der europäischen Literatur zu allererst aus dem Vollen herausgearbeitet. Einen freundlichen Abschluss dieser Zeit bildet meine Theilnahme an dem VI. Orientalistencongress in Leiden. . . .Mein Vortrag — ein Auszug aus meinem unter der Presse befindlichen Zâhiritenbuche — fand allen Beifall; der daselbst anwesende medinensische Scheich Amîn, dem man den Inhalt meines Vortrages verdolmetschte, erklärte mich als den Scheichen des Islam ebenbürtig. Sehr werthvoll war mir die Begegnung mit den bedeutendsten meiner speciellen Fachgenossen, die ich hier zu allererst von Angesicht zu Angesicht kennen lernte; vor allem mit Nöldeke, zu dem ich hier in ein vertrauliches Verhältnis treten konnte." Nevertheless not everybody could accept in a matter of fact way they new method and concept of investigation introduced by Goldziher into Islamology. What the followers of traditional schools could accept with difficulty were exactly those characteristic features of Goldziher's work which ensured its continued life and fame up to the present day, namely the phylogenetic outlook, the comprehensive, and complex analysis which breaks through the too rigid, scholastic borders of scientific fields, and the systematic character of the analysis, by way of which the individual facts always serve the comprehension of the whole system, etc. Goldziher refers to one of these obtuse critics in connection with the book "Die Zâhiriten" when in 1886 preparing himself for the International Congress of Orientalistics in Vienna he wrote that the Viennese reluctantly accepted his application for the congress and he imputed it to the influence of a Semitic epigraphist D. H. Müller, who did not hold a too high opinion of Goldziher's work. Here follows what he writes about it on pages 112—113: "Was dieser entschieden scharfsinnige Epigraphiker über mich zu sagen weiss, besteht darin, dass ich ein ganz tüchtiger, gelehrter Mensch sei, dass aber die Gegenstände meiner Forschungen und Studien kein 'Interesse für uns bieten'. Sie stellen mich als einseitigen Fikhforscher dar und meinen, dass diese Materie zwischen mir und Snouck abgemacht werden möge, ihnen aber nicht zuzumuthen sei, ihren Antheil daran zu zeigen. So gelang es ihnen, mich als 'Kuriosum' betrachten zu lassen, das man als 'Narr auf eigene Faust' bedauernd rühmte, dessen wissenschaftliche Richtung aber man als nicht in den Rahmen der actuellen wissenschaftlichen Bestrebungen (Inschriften, vergleichende Formenlehre, prähistorische Hypothesen) einfügen könne. Namentlich sind es die 'Zâhiriten', welche diese meine unfruchtbare Art documentieren. In verblümter Weise hat D. H. M. diesen Anschauungen mir gegenüber öfters

Ausdruck gegeben." To quote another example it is worth observing what Goldziher wrote in connection with the publication of "Muhammedanischen Studien II. Hadith-Entwickelung", perhaps his most famous work up to this day. This work, which drove the study of Hadith in Europe into entirely new ways, and which is considered a milestone in the history of Islamic science was also of key-importance for Goldziher himself. As it is well-known its pioneering character is primarily due to its method and type of investigation: Goldziher succeeded — even more than in the case of "Die Zâhiriten" — in breaking through the narrow scientific fields and succeeded in finding the relationship between the written texts of traditions and the development of Islam as a religion, and the political, cultural movements respectively. This is what he wrote on pages 122—123 of the *Tagebuch*: "Ich war glücklich darüber, dass meine nervöse Hast in Warnemünde den II. Band der 'Muhammedanischen Studien' sicherstellte. . . .Im Februar begann Druck u. Korrektur des Buches. Ich hatte nicht die Seelenruhe, am Sprachausdruck nach Wunsch zu feilen und daher kommen die mannigfachen sprachlichen Unebenheiten dieses Theiles. Derselbe ist, ich darf es kühn sagen, die Frucht riesiger Selbstbeherrschung. Trotzdem hat man den Inhalt und die Resultate meines neuen Bandes mit ungetheiltem Beifall aufgenommen, und namentlich die Methode meiner Hadith-Studien als dazu berufen erklärt, die Beobachtung dieses Theiles der religiösen Quellenliteratur unter neue Gesichtspunkte zu stellen. Ich muss der Wahrheit die Ehre geben und jedem, der diese Zeilen liest bekennen, dass ich zu dieser Methode durch das in meiner frühesten Jugend eifrig betriebene Studium der Schriften des sel. Abraham Geiger angeregt wurde. Ich habe mich gewöhnt, die religiösen Quellen der jüdischen Lehre nach Geigers Anleitung zu betrachten und die durch diesen unsterblichen Mann begründete Anschauungsweise ist ein Faktor meines geistigen Lebens geworden. Seit jeher konnte ich auch die Dokumente des Islam nicht anders beurtheilen als in denen ich dieselben in Beziehung setzte zu den geistigen Strömungen, zu den mit einander kämpfenden Kräften, deren Resultat zuletzt die einheitliche Kirche war. Aber die Dokumente selbst sind aus den Kämpfen und innerhalb derselben entstanden und ihr Entstehen im Sinne dieser Betrachtungsweise zu belauschen, war die Aufgabe meiner Hadith-Studien. An denselben haben also Kultur- und politisch-geschichtliche Betrachtungen einen hervorragenden Antheil. Und durch das Zusammenwirken von Kultur- und literaturphilosophischen Interessen ist meine Studie über Hadith harmonisch gestaltet werden." We could quote more examples, but these two are sufficient by way of illustration.

It was stated by many with disappointment that the *Tagebuch* does not contain scientific thoughts, views or data in the expected degree and quantity. The rather late reviewer enjoys the advantage of the possibility of taking note of previous reviews. The complaint mentioned above already finds an answer in what was said earlier, since one can certainly find in the *Tagebuch* important and interesting hints for the history of science not only in connection with the work of Goldziher but also with the international scientific atmosphere and life of that period. Nevertheless we have to accept the fact that Goldziher did not reserve his professional, scientific thoughts for a diary not to be published in his life, but published them in hundreds of essays and studies in his life. So it is natural that the published scientific works of Goldziher continue to be the most important source of his scientific activity. Nevertheless the *Tagebuch*, together with Goldziher's correspondence form a document of major importance for the history of science. (The more than 11,000 letters written to Goldziher are in the collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Science.

Unfortunately the letters written by him have not yet been collected.)

Grateful thanks are due to the careful editor, Alexander Scheiber, for this important work, which he completed with valuable notes, bibliographical references and an index. Special interest in the volume lies in the fact that it was published by Brill, having its headquarters in Leiden, the town where the young Goldziher had his most delightful scientific and personal experiences. This is how he remembers it (p. 50): "Meine Leidener Studien haben den Islam in seinem weitesten Umfange zum Centrum meiner wissenschaftlichen Arbeit gemacht, alles Theologische und Religionsgeschichtliche war eine Schule, wie mohammedanische Dinge in kritischem Sinne Gegenstand der Untersuchung sein sollen. Der Umgang mit den Leidener Gelehrten, wo die philologischen Traditionen Hollands die Übertragung der kritischen Methode auf mohammedanische Dokumente in ganz anderem Sinne möglich machten, als dies dem bald leichtgläubig, bald nihilistisch einseitigen Mommsen möglich war, wirkte kräftig und vielfach grundlegend für den Weg, den ich später eingeschlagen. Meine Arbeiten über mohammedanische Fragen haben auch immer bei den Holländern die meiste Würdigung gefunden; Dozy hat sich, wie mir De Goeje mittheilte, noch in seinen letzten Tagen mit grossem Lobe über dieselben geäussert. Ich habe mich in meinen Leidener Studien bestrebt, volle Klarheit über Grundbegriffe des Islam, über Institutionen und historische Entwickelung aus den ältesten Documenten zu erlangen. Auch die polemischen Schriften zeigten mir durch die in ihnen zutage tretenden scharfen Gegensätze das innere Wesen des bewussten Islam. Hadîth habe ich in Leiden zu treiben begonnen, nachdem ich den Bûhârî aufmerksam zu Ende las und dahin gehöriges Material aus anderen Schriften scharf zu beobachten begann. Man sieht, mein Leidener Halbjahr war gut verwendet."

Tamás Iványi

J. I. CRUMP, *Chinese Theater in the Days of Kublai Khan*. The University of Arizona Press. Tucson, Arizona, 1980. 429 p.

Professor Crump's book is the first definitive summary of our existing knowledge on how plays were performed in the Yüan period. As hardly any concrete data, written accounts or graphic representations have come down to us from the golden age of the Chinese theatre, Professor Crump has subjected the surviving texts of plays to scrutiny, projecting them on the imaginary stage of the period and comparing them with the meagre stock of available factual information. It is along this line of analysis that he formulates his convincing and witty hypotheses on how plays might have been performed in the Yüan period. The first part of his book is concerned with 1. The Society: Barbarians and Chinese Drama; 2. Stages and Theaters; 3. The Actor's Art; 4. Background of the Plays. The second part contains three plays in translation, followed by notes, a glossary, bibliography and index in the third part.

Professor Crump has not addressed his book to specialists only. By virtue of the clarity of its structure and its enjoyable and witty style, the book conjures up the world of the Yüan theatre even for those who cannot read the texts in the original.

The 162 texts that the author examines are partly included in the collection entitled *Yüan Chü Hsüan* 元曲選 (YCH) compiled in the early 17th century by Tsang Mouhsün 臧懋循 and partly in *Yüan Ch'ü Hsüan Wai-pien* 元曲選外編 (WP) edited by Sui Shu-sen 隋樹森 from texts discovered later. This provides an ample resource of text variants to illustrate the style of stage-playing with.

The world of the theatre in the Yüan period was of kaleidoscopic variety. Although Meng Yüan-lao 孟元老 had the entertainment in the capital of the Sung Dynasty in mind when writing: "Each day the first *hsiao tsa-chü* 小雜劇 (a form of entertainment comprising scenes of

singing and dancing, vaudeville and other spectacles) started at dawn and you could not see everything until late at night . . . Rain or shine, in cold weather or in foul, showmen were stared at in every tent, and so it went on day in day out" (*Tung-ching Meng Hua Lu*, 東京夢華錄 Shanghai, 1956, pp. 29—30), there is every reason to believe that in the days of Kublai Khan the pleasure-quarters of the cities were also crowded every night. The actors, singers and showmen about whom Hsia T'ing-chih 夏庭芝 writes in his book entitled *Green Bower Collection* (Ch'ing-lo chi 青樓集, Chung-kuo Ku-tien Hsi-ch'ü lun-chu chi-ch'eng 中國古典戲曲論著集成, vol. 2, Peking, 1959) performed a great variety of light entertainment. It is highly likely that the playhouses in the entertainment districts did not only produce drama in its own right (*tsa-chü* 雜劇), but added a whole range of vignettes with singing and dancing and slapstick, dances and other acts of skill, for Hsia T'ing-chih, when listing the actors, names the kind of performance they were noted for. Liang-yüan Hsiu 梁園秀 dances and sings and cracks jokes (Ch'ing-lo chi, p. 17); Chao Chen-chen 趙眞眞 distinguishes himself in the *chu-kung-tiao* 諸宮調 (p. 19); Wei Tao-tao 魏道道 performs solo dancing in the theatre (*kou-lan nei* 勾欄內) (p. 24). In the *Record of Green Bower Collection* (Ch'ing-lo chi chih 青樓集誌) attached to the book, one comes across the following sentence: "At the beginning of the reign three persons, Wei 魏, Wu 武 and Liu 劉, made themselves conspicuous in the *chiao-fang* 教坊 (i.e. the theater company engaged for court entertainment): Wei excelled at reciting (poems), Wu at wrestling and Liu at *k'o fan* 科泛" (p. 7)". *K'o fan* must denote here a kind of pantomime rather than the actor's art.

Thus the popular entertainment of the Sung and Chin Dynasties lived on in the Yüan period with genuine drama — the Yüan *tsa-chü* — being wedged between the light performances.

What could plays have been like in the early decades of the Yüan period? Were all the plays recorded in Chung Ssu-ch'eng's 鍾嗣成 *Register of Ghosts* (Lu Kuei Pu 錄鬼簿) so self-contained and regular as the ones preserved in the YCH and other 16th—17th-century collections? As, unfortunately, there is no extant manuscript that could be traced directly back to the Yüan period, it is purely conjectural to assume that the surviving manuscripts reflect the stage practices of the late Yüan and early Ming periods. Whenever the plays may have been written, be it the advent of the glory of *tsa-chü* or the end of the 14th century, they were moulded into their final shape by the collectors and compilers, hence their standard uniformity.

Only the (incomplete) texts of 30 plays have come down to us in a Yüan edition (*Yüan-k'an Ku-chin Tsa-chü San-shih Chung* 元刊古今雜劇三十種 photo-reprint edition in the Ku-pen hsi-ch'ü ts'ung-k'an 古本戲曲叢刊, 4th series). They do not include the full dramatic text, but only the words of the songs in order of succession with occasional prose passages for the singing role. Some texts also indicate the entry points for the rest of the cast and carry brief directions about the style of acting.

Is it possible that in the Yüan period only this much was committed to writing by playwriters with the rest left for the stage to develop and the full text of successful productions were recorded later? It is much more likely that the surviving copies were role-books (*tan-pen* 單本) written for the leading role. But, given the fact that the protagonist was often supposed to learn only the words of the songs, it seems justifiable to suppose that he had ample room left for improvisation on the stage. The actors differed in their mastery of skills. It is, therefore, not impossible that they added a joke here or a gay skit there to the performance. That is how the scene of the two doctors — the text of a former *yüan-pen* 院本 scene — must have found its way into the play entitled *God Send Mulberries*, as Professor Crump points

out (pp. 151—167). Had the dramatists always written such fully-fledged plays as those in the YCH, it would be hard to explain why the *Register of Ghosts* attributes the play *Huang-liang Meng* 黃粱夢 — which also has a variant in the YCH written according to that collection by Ma Chih-yüan 馬致遠 — to four different authors, the first act (*che* 折) allegedly being by Ma Chih-yüan, the second by Li Shih-chung 李時中, the third by the scholarly master Hua Li-lang 花李郎學士 and the fourth by Red Lettered Li-erh 紅字李二. There must have been four different interpretations of the same subject, with troupes borrowing complete scenes from each other and occasionally incorporating them in other plays with slight alterations. This explains why one can come across many similar phrases in the texts of various plays. Entrance verses aptly illustrate this form of borrowing: J. I. Crump also remarks that there are several plays whose entrance verses are completely or nearly identical. The verse at a particular place in a play often changes from version to version. Wang Fu-yi's 王府尹 entrance verse in the second play in the YCH (*Chin Ch'ien Chi* 金錢記 YCH p. 14) is replaced by another verse in the Ku Ming-chia Tsa-chü 古名家雜劇 collection, or the verse Chang-shou 長壽 enters with at the beginning of Act 3 in play 91 of the YCH (*K'an-ch'ien nu* 看錢奴) is totally different from his entrance verse in the Ku Ming-chi Tsa-chü text.

As, however, the 16th—17th-century versions of the plays (in different sources) are in essence identical and the surviving prose passages of the Yüan versions tally with the later ones with regard *to content*, one may conclude that playwrights did record the skeleton outlines of the plays. Subsequently, these texts were to a varying extent rewritten by the compilers and publishers who handled prose dialogues in particular with considerable freedom, as they did not look upon them as "literary" texts. Songs were rarely subjected to "improvement", but many were omitted and at times even the contents were altered.

Let me quote one example to prove this.

A version of the play *K'an-ch'ien-nu mai yüan-chia chai-chu* 看錢奴買寃家債主 (*The Slave of Money*) has survived from the Yüan period (play no. 7 in Yüan-k'an Ku-chin Tsa-chü San-shih chung) with other versions included in the Mo-wang-kuan ch'ao-chiao pen Ku-chin Tsa-chü 脈望館鈔校本古今雜劇 and in the YCH. In both editions dating from the Ming period, the play is introduced by a wedge. The wedge is missing from the Yüan version, although it contains songs too. If there had been a wedge at that time, the role-book written for the singing role would have contained the protagonist's songs as well as his prose passages. The Yüan version begins with two gods arguing whether to present the miserable Chia Jen 賈仁 with a fortune or not. (This motif can also be found in the fifth tale of book II of Panchatantra. This is not to say that there is a direct link between the two works, but there must have been a lot of popular Buddhist parables concerning Fate and Fortune, which were also performed on the stage. One such scene must have been incorporated in this play.) In the Yüan version Chia Jen is called Chia Hung-yi 賈弘義. One of the songs (*mo* 么), missing from the YCH text, was omitted from the Mo-wang-kuan version too, but later another scribe interpolated it in the text. In Act 2 the singing role is given to Chou Jung-tzu 周榮祖. The Yüan version claims that he is from Loyang, not Tsaochou as is stated in the other two versions, but it says that he went to Tsaochou to visit his relatives whom he did not find. (It is not infrequent that a character, when introducing himself, names a different place as his native town in each version. Here, however, it is relevant to the plot that Chou is from Loyang: the words "where my home is" sung on page 1,590 of the YCH only makes sense if they are nowhere near

Tsaochou and fail to arrive home at the end. Accordingly, Chia finds the treasure in his relatives' house, not in Chou Jung-tsu's.) He gets in a blizzard and meets Chen Te-fu 陳德甫 in an inn. All three texts tally on this point, but the Yüan edition omits the innkeeper, *wai* 外 and identifies him with Chen Te-fu who helps Chou to sell his son to the wealthy Chia in his desperate plight. Chia pays very little, but Chen Te-fu rounds the sum off (as the Yüan version says: wai-mo tzuo p'ei ch'ien le 外末賠錢了). Now the protagonist curses the greedy Chia. The curse, the climax of the play, is badly reduced in the YCH text and abridged and slightly altered in the other Ming edition. As regards both poetical quality and depth of meaning, the full text dating from the Yüan period is much richer than the two Ming versions.

The YCH text of Act 3 does not contain the songs included in the other two editions. A far more significant difference is the appearance of the God of Fortune in the leading role who utters the sentence that the 20 years are over and Chia must return the fortune and the boy. Then the ghosts carry in Chia's body. Act 4 is more or less the same in all the three editions, but the Yüan version includes two songs whose fragments, with textual changes, are incorporated in Act 1 of the YCH version.

The Yüan text is not divided into acts (*che*), and this does not only apply to the *Slave of Money*. One may conclude from the evidence of the texts from the Yüan period that the *che* had a meaning different from the 'act' as used in later editions. It often denoted a character scene (WP p. 81, p. 83, p. 394, etc.).

It is beyond doubt that plays in the Yüan period consisted of four acts as confirmed by the structure of the songs. "An 'act' meant a set (lien-t'ao) of related songs (arias)", as J. I. Crump notes (p. 182). This 'act' however does not necessarily conform to our modern concept of the 'act' followed by an interval. In all probability plays were performed without pauses, just like in the Elizabethan Age.

If editions differ so significantly in the words and the order of succession of songs, the text of prose passages and the number of personages, it stands to reason that stage directions must have been even less uniform. As the actual way of stage-playing can only be inferred from a combination of stage directions and the dramatic text, it is highly instructive to compare all the surviving versions of a play, for this inquiry may reveal how much the theatre changed from the beginning to the end of the Yüan Dynasty.

It is most regrettable that, in addition to the original stage-scripts, many plays are also lost (or undiscovered). Although the plays which were not considered worthy of recording might have been flimsier works, I am nevertheless of the opinion that they were more plebeian and failed to satisfy the compilers' taste. Some of them may have lived on in popular traditions and are perhaps detectable in local performances today. Where, for example, would we find traces of the tsa-chü about Fan Shih-chen 樊事眞 mentioned in the Green Bower Collection (p. 25)? The famous courtesan made an oath to her lover that if she should leave him, she would blind herself. After the man left, Fan was forced by her "mother" to serve a great lord. When her lover returned, Fan blinded herself in one eye. A play entitled *Fan Shih-chen Blinds Herself with a Silver Comb* (Fan Shih-chen chin-pi tse mu 金篦剌目) was written about her life. There is no way it could be resolved happily.

Éva Kalmár

K. NEHRING, *Adam Freiherrn zu Herbersteins Gesandtschaftsreise nach Konstantinopel.* Ein Beitrag zum Frieden von Zsitvatorok (1606). Südosteuropäische Arbeiten 78. R. Oldenburg Verlag München 1983, 231 S. + Kartenanhang

Bereits Gooss hat darauf hingewiesen, daß Rudolf II und István Bocskai in der Klausel des Wiener Friedensschlusses vom 23. 6. 1606 den Beschluß gefaßt hatten: „Gegen die Türken soll, soferne ein rühmlicher Friede nicht abgeschlossen werden kann, mit vereinten Kräften vorgegangen werden." (Österreichische Staatsverträge. Fürstentum Siebenbürgen (1526—1690), Wien 1911. S. 335, s. auch den lateinischen Text der Vertragsklausel, S. 352.) G. Rhode erwähnte diese Vereinbarung als ein Ergebnis des Wiener Friedensschlusses: „Dabei wurde auch Bocskays Vermittlung für einen Frieden mit den Türken zugesagt." (Ungarn vom Ende der Verbindung mit Polen bis zum Ende der Türkenherrschaft (1444—1699). In: Th. Schieder, Handbuch der europäischen Geschichte, Bd. 3. Stuttgart 1971. S. 1099.) Bei der Untersuchung der Zusammenhänge zwischen den Wiener und Zsitvatoroker Friedensschlüssen lenkte K. Nehring die Aufmerksamkeit darauf, daß „Auch Matthias die Vermittlerrolle Bocskais anerkannt hatte" (S. 20).

Die Einzelheiten beim Zustandekommen des Friedensschlusses von Zsitvatorok hat der Autor unter sorgfältiger kritischer Bearbeitung der Archivquellen und der Fachliteratur erschlossen (S. 15—67). Seine Forschungsergebnisse beleuchten noch klarer als die früheren Studien jene Geschehnisse, die einerseits die Habsburger zwangen, andererseits aber die Türken dazu bewogen, den Krieg zu beenden. Wie er schrieb: „Die wirtschaftliche Lage in den habsburgischen Erbländern ermöglichte keine Fortführung des Türkenkriegs" (S. 65). Es fragt sich indessen, ob die militärische Schlagkraft der Habsburger oder ihre Kriegsführung in den Jahren zuvor unzureichend war. Die Schlagkraft der türkischen Heereszüge war am Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts in hohem Maße beeinträchtigt durch den 1599 in Anatolien ausgebrochenen Aufstand, dessen endgültige Liquidierung dem Sultan erst im Frühjahr 1603 und nur unter schweren Opfern gelang. Im Sommer des gleichen Jahres griffen aber an der Ostgrenze die Perser mit bedeutenden Kräften an, und sie eroberten auch Täbris und Jerewan. Gleichzeitig belagerten die habsburgischen Heere Ofen, erlitten aber eine Niederlage. Noch im Dezember des gleichen Jahres starb Mehmed III, kurz nachdem er seinen neuen Großwesir Ali Markoç Pascha ernannt hatte, und sein Sohn Ahmed I., der ihm auf dem Thron folgte, war erst 14—15 Jahre alt. Das Osmanenreich wurde aber auch unter der Herrschaft des minderjährigen Sultans nicht erschüttert, denn die Kriegsführung seiner Feinde war auch diesmal weder durchdacht noch schlagkräftig genug. Die Habsburger vermochten nicht einmal Siebenbürgen zu halten, das ihnen 1602 so leicht in die Hände gefallen war. Rudolf II. führte in Siebenbürgen eine Militärregierung ein, mit Giorgio Basta an der Spitze. Treffend bemerkt dazu K. Nehring: „Bastas Schreckensregiment in Siebenbürgen war Anlaß für den von Bocskai geführten Aufstand" (S. 173). Die habsburgische Kriegsführung konnte aber gegen die in kritischer Situation befindlichen Türken sogar noch vor dem von Bocskai geführten Aufstand nur Teilerfolge erreichen. In Wahrheit konnten sie sich auch bei den Friedensverhandlungen von Zsitvatorok nur solcher weniger wichtiger Erfolge rühmen, wie die Anerkennung des Kaisertitels oder der Erlaß des Jahrestributs. In den Augen der Türken waren dies nur formale Zugeständnisse. Denn sogar die 30 000 Golddukaten bedeuteten nur eine symbolische Steuer im Vergleich zu der zehnfachen Summe in Goldmünzen, die der Sultan alljährlich aus Istanbul nach Ofen sandte, um den Sold der in seinen hiesigen Burgen stationierten Garnisonen

bezahlen zu können (s. Rechnungsbücher der türkischen Finanzstellen in Buda 1550—1580. Budapest 1962, S. 771—772). Der Autor erortert die wirklichen Ergebnisse und erwähnt unter diesen: „Für Ungarn war der Friede von Zsitvatorok die Voraussetzung für den Wiederaufbau eines durch Kriegszüge, Aufstände und marodierende Söldnerheere entvölkerten, verwüsteten und verarmten Landes" (S. 65).

Vervollständigt wird das Werk von K. Nehring durch das Reisetagebuch von M. Brandstetter, dem Sekretär von A. Herberstein, der 1608—1609 als Gesandter in Istanbul weilte (S. 71—197), ferner durch die Veröffentlichung der deutschen Übersetzung von Sultan Ahmeds I. Ratifikationsurkunde des Friedens von Zsitvatorok (S. 199—207). Weitere Ergänzungen bedeuten das Quellen- und Literaturverzeichnis (S. 209—223), ferner das Personenregister und Ortsnamenregister (S. 225—231). In nahezu sämtlichen Fällen gelang es dem Autor die im Text vorkommenden Personen- und Ortsnamen genau zu identifizieren, und Bemerkungen wie „Unsicher ist, welcher Ali Pascha hier gemein ist, der das Schloß (saray) bewohnt haben soll" (S. 175) kommen bei ihm nur selten vor. Auch uns ist nur zufällig bekannt, daß es der schon oben erwähnte Großwesir, Ali Malkoç Pascha war, der 1604 in Belgrad gewohnt hat bzw. dort starb (I. H. Danismend, Izahli osmanli tarihi kronolojisi. C. III. Istanbul 1972, S. 234). Das Reisetagebuch enthält außerordentlich wertvolle Beiträge zum eingehenden Studium der zwischenstaatlichen Beziehungen und der auf Gesandtschaftsebene geführten Verhandlungen.

Beachtenswert ist die wissenschaftliche Methode des Autors, die sorgfältige Erschließung des Materials, sowie die Bewertung der Quellen. Die Arbeit stellt ein unentbehrliches Fachbuch dar, nicht nur zum besseren Verständnis des Friedens von Zsitvatorok, sondern auch der Wende vom 16. zum 17. Jahrhundert.

Gyula Káldy-Nagy

A. Wenner, *Tagebuch der kaiserlichen Gesandtschaft nach Konstantinopel 1616—1618.* Herausgegeben und erläutert von K. Nehring. Veröffentlichungen des Finnisch-Ugrischen Seminars an der Universität München. Serie C, Bd. 16. München 1984, XIV + 134 S.

K. Nehring, *Iter Constantinopolitanum.* Ein Ortsnamenverzeichnis zu den kaiserlichen Gesandtschaftsreisen an die Ottomanische Pforte 1530—1618. Veröffentlichungen des Finnisch-Ugrischen Seminars an der Universität München. Serie C, Bd. 17. München 1984. IV + 60 S. + 1 Karte

Es ist sehr erfreulich, daß die 1622 in Nürnberg erschienene und heute bereits schwer zugängliche Reisebeschreibung von A. Wenner nunmehr im Nachdruck neu herausgegeben wurde. Diese Arbeit wurde in der älteren Fachliteratur auch von solchen, sich mit der frühen Epoche des Osmanischen Reiches beschäftigenden Autoren zitiert, wie H. A. Gibbons (s. The Foundations of the Ottoman Empire. Oxford 1916, S. 161). Besondere Aufmerksamkeit verdient das Reisetagebuch A. Wenners auch deshalb, weil es zu den aus frühesten Zeiten erhalten gebliebenen Berichten der nach Konstantinopel entsandten kaiserlichen Botschaften gehört. Außer den wertvollen persönlichen Beobachtungen des Autors findet man darin ein Namenregister der zahlreichen Mitglieder der Gesandtschaft, ferner eine Liste der von den Türken ihnen täglich gelieferten Lebensmittel. Darüber hinaus werden die dem Sultan und seinem Hof sowie dem Budaer Pascha mitgebrachten Geschenke und deren Wert aufgezählt. Mit der Einleitung zu seiner Arbeit sowie den wertvollen Erläuterungen zu den Personen- und Ortsnamen erleichtert K. Nehring den Forschern in hohem Maße die Benutzung des Reiseberichts (S. I—XIV).

Die Arbeit von K. Nehring „Iter Constantinopolitanum" ist ein für die Historiker äußerst nützliches Hilfswerk, denn aufgrund der Berichte der zwischen 1530

und 1618 in Konstantinopel weilenden kaiserlichen Gesandtschaften (ihre Aufzählung s. S. 53—55) identifiziert er die Ortsnamen der einstigen Reiserouten und lokalisiert auch die heute bereits unbekannten Ortschaften (das Verzeichnis der verwendeten Literatur sowie der Landkarten s. S. 57—60). Natürlich fanden sich unter den zahlreichen falsch geschriebenen Ortsnamen einige, deren Identifizierung dem Autor nicht gelang, doch publiziert er auch diese gewissenhaft mit (S. IV). Eine nützliche Ergänzung der Arbeit bildet die Karte von der Hauptroute der Gesandtschaften. Im Ortsnamenregister (S. 1—52) wird systematisch auch auf die Seitenzahlen der Gesandtschaftsberichte hingewiesen, welche sich auf die in die Karte eingezeichneten Ortschaften beziehen. Damit werden auch für eine eingehendere Forschungstätigkeit Möglichkeiten geboten. Die Historiker erhalten auf diese Weise auch mit diesem Werk ein seit langem entbehrtes Buch in die Hand.

Gyula Káldy-Nagy

HARTWIG SCHEINHARDT, *Typen türkischen Ortsnamen (Einführung, Phonologie, Morphologie, Bibliographie)*. Heidelberg 1979 pp. 376, Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, Beiträge zur Namenforschung, neue Folge, Beiheft 15.

H. Scheinhardt's book is a unique undertaking among the ever increasing number of toponymic works in Turkic studies. After the works and toponymic dictionaries published recently mainly in the Soviet Union and dealing with the place names of particular Turkic languages and territories, H. Scheinhardt was the first author to try to use onomastics in Turkic place name research, to illustrate the different types of naming places in Turkic languages, and to systematize them in theory and practice.

The book consists of two major units, the preface, pp. 1—98 and the typology of Turkic place names, pp. 99—199.

In the first part of the preface (Gegenstand und Aufgabe der Namenforschung, pp. 1—31) the author gives a general review of the attempts at a linguistic, functional and logical definition of the proper name, placing them in a highly elaborated theoretical system, and indicates his position within general toponymy. The book demonstrates the author's thorough knowledge of present-day onomastic questions and literature.

In this part too there are references to Turkic place names in so far as some of their general features are not identical with the findings of research carried out hitherto mainly on Indo-European names. One of his conclusions, also important for Turkology, is that in contrast with the geographical names of Indo-European languages, the Turkic geographical names are characterized on the one hand by the linguistic assimiliation of foreign elements (phonetically or by folk etymology), e.g. in the Balkans *Küstence* = Romanian *Constanta*, *Ivraca* = Bulgarian *Vratsa*, and *Vonice* = Greek *Vonitsa*, etc., on the other hand in the cases of place names the tendency of conservation dominates over the dissimilation processes (p. 16). Unfortunately the author only touches upon this question, perhaps because the place names of foreign origin are not Turkic place names, though studying them could also reveal the characteristics of place naming mechanisms. The tendencies of assimilation and conservation must definitely be connected with the fact that names directly indicating character are far more frequent among Turkic place names than anywhere else. And here it is worth referring to the large number of syntactic compounds among Turkic place names, which is a well known fact.

On pp. 31—53 (Der toponomastische Ramen) the author assigns the place of toponymy within sciences, systematizes its main methods, and defines the terminology. The explanation of the termino-

logical abbreviations is rather drawn out, as the obviousness of the chosen terminology makes any explanation almost unnecessary.

After this theoretical preface comes a highly thorough analysis of the different sources of Turkic place names and their characteristics (Die Arbeit mit den Quellen, pp. 53—98). Here the author deals with the various sources of popular etymologies, the problems of transcription systems of place names, and the questions of maps. Then he reviews the main questions of the sources of different geographical units (The Balkans, Turkey, Iran, Afganistan, and Central Asia) with a lot of illustrative examples and with special regard to the Soviet Union as "Zusammentreffen und Kulminieren der Problem"; then characterizes the transcription systems, the sources, the Slav—Turkic relations and the maps

The second main unit of the work includes only one part of typologization (pp. 99—199), that is the phonological and morphological analyses. It gives the main features of syntactic place name typology too (pp. 200—214), which is to be published in the future.

The author declares at the beginning that the material collected by him mainly consists of place names (ON — Ortsname), colony names as he defines them, and there are only a few geographical names, and water names, etc. From the questions of age, linguistic geography, adoption, consonantism, vocalism and stress of place names, the latter three were chosen for examination (pp. 99—143). The author gives a detailed analysis of the cases of vocalic harmony, palatalization, labialization, delabialization, the alternation of close and open vowels, the monophthongization and diphthongization, elision syncope, other cases of loss of vowels, and augmentation, while in the cases of consonantism he studies the alternation of different consonantal junctures, voicing, devoicing, spirantization, palatalization, labialization, loss of consonants, augmentation, assimilation and dissimilation. He touches upon the field of linguistic geography as long as it helps the phonological typologization, for example, in such cases when the phonology of the geographical name is not in agreement with that of the linguistic surroundings, or in cases when they are identical. He also raises the question of the constancy of geographical names: "Mit dem Alter der TN hängen ihre oftmals älteren Lautformen zusammen" (p. 132), that is the question of their usefulness in linguistic history. The author successfully avoided getting involved too deeply in the phonetics of particular Turkic languages, but at the same time draws upon them as an essential base with absolute certainty.

With regard to the Turkic place names in the Soviet Union, he draws attention to the historical evidence of their Russian variants which may reflect an earlier state of the language. However, in my opinion the historical evaluation of these data should be carried out with caution, since the Russian data may come from a later period, and be the result of the general "Turkization" after the relevant phonemic changes took place. Thus, for example, in the case of Bashkir place names we can often meet "restaured Tatar forms in cases like: OrN *Burhiqtau* ~ Russ. *Bursuk-tau*, HyN *Haqmar* ~ Russ. *Sakmar* (p. 136).

The basis of morphological place name typologization (pp. 143—199) is that "wegen des agglutierenden Sprachbaus der Turksprachen sind alle ihre Morpheme ausschließlich Suffixe, so daß man diesen Abschnitt auch überschrieben könnte mit «Typologie der türkischen ON nach ihren Suffixen»" (p. 143).

The book focuses on the most frequent, and that is the most productive suffixes. As the material demonstrates, the author, due to objective reasons, chose the examined suffixes mainly on the basis of Oguz place names, so these determine the suffixes in the book.

During such an examination of place names, the question arises whether it is

possible to speak about place name forming suffixes at all. Is it possible that an affix added to a common name may become a typical place name suffix? The material shown by the author demonstrates that the common names with suffixes (that is names with a special grammatical meaning) became place names in their such forms.

In the case of each suffix, the author reviews the history of the given suffix, the relevant problems and literature, and examines their use in each particular region. He gives a detailed account of the South-Western Turkic peoples (the Oguz): The Balkan states, Anatolia, Azerbaijan, Horasan and Turkoman. There are some place name data from the material of the Northern (Siberian) Turkic peoples, and from that of West Turkestan, on the other hand there is hardly any reference to East Turkestan or Volga Kipchak place names. Unfortunately no Chuwash material is included in his studies, only the data of the so-called common Turkic languages are analyzed. It is its dissimilarity of a high degree that makes the Chuwash language very important in the comparative place name research as well as in typologization.

The test of toponymic typologization is how it functions in Turkology in general and how in particular cases. This work provides a framework for the problems arising from toponymic classifications, the proof of which will depend on further research. In the autumn of 1979, at the Bashkir section of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, I had the opportunity to study the Bashkir place name material then in manuscript. Here I want to present some data from this material, as well as from the toponymic dictionary edited since (Slovar' toponimov Baškirskoj ASSR. Basqort ASSR-niŋ toponimdär hüzlege, Ufa 1980).

It seems that in Bashkir the most frequent suffix is +L°, which is put in first place by Scheinhardt, too, cf. ON *Yondozlo*, ON *Dürtöylö*, ON HyN *Tauli*, and HyN *Öyrākte*, etc. There are no Volga Kipchak examples with this suffix in the book.

When he deals with the suffix +L°K, only Tatar references can be found from the place names of the Turkic peoples living around the Volga, though this suffix is rather common in Bashkir too: ON *Qayïnlïq*, ON *Bizaulïq*, HyN *Qoyoloq*, and OrN *Taštiqtav*, etc.

Only a few place names seem to have the suffix +LAK, see: OrN *Azgärläk*, OrN *Yelmärzäk*, etc.

There are different Oguz and some Tatar examples with the plural suffix +LAR in Scheinhardt's book, though it is rather frequent in Bashkir place names, too: ON *Arlar*, HoN *Bayzar utari*, HyN *Izmalar*, and OrN *Qizzar taui*, etc.

The nomen auctoris suffix +cI — he claims — can mainly be found in the place names of South-Western Turkic peoples, cf. Bashkir ON *Urmansi*, HyN *Timerse*, and HyN *Yereksa*, etc.

His examples with the suffix +CA are Oguz and Turkestanian: cf. Bashkir HyN *Oiyiqsa*, HyN *Urtasa*, and HyN *Yereksa*, etc.

There are a large number of Bashkir place names with the suffix +mAn of different origin: ON *Xaziman*, HyN *Sogoman*, and HyN *Sogman kule*, etc.

The suffix +AK can be found in a relatively small number; see for example: ON *Qayraq*(?), and HyN *Hauanak* ~ *Heuanak*, etc.

There are some examples with the suffix +°K, too, see: HyN *Soroldak*, HyN *Soroldauek*, HyN and HoN *Ayriq*, etc.

However, some suffixes mentioned by the author do not seem to occur in Bashkir (Volga Kipchak) place names at all, or they are rather rare, such as: +CAK, +C°K, +CAGIz, +°c, +AGAn, +AnAK, +L°CA, +CALI, +LUmAn, +L°CAK, +LULU, +LUCALU.

On the other hand some suffixes not mentioned by the author are more common in Bashkir place names.

+K°: mainly in attributive com-

pounds, with the following attributes: *argi*, *tubenge*, *urge*, *yani*, *iske*, but see for example: HyN *Qurgi*, HyN *Harigi*, and HyN *Qizgi*, etc.

The diminutive suffix +KAY: ON *Tirakay*, ON *Yani Durtekay*, HyN *Kuzkay*, and OrN *Tastqay*, etc.

+°m: ON *Kilem*, and HyN *Bagim*, etc.

+mA, a suffix which can be found in place names formed of verbs, first of all in water and geographical names: HyN *Igisma kule*, HyN *Sarlama*, HyN *Sarzatma*, HyN *Qoraqma*, OrN *Qolama*, and HoN *Ayzanma*, etc.

+mAK: ON, HyN *Tuqmaq*, ON *Qalmaq*, and HyN *Kosmak*, etc.

The highly controversial suffix +TAY: ON *Qaratay*, OrN *Yamantay*, HyN *Aratay*, HyN *Irlantay*, and HyN *Qazartay*, etc., and a number of other suffixes, such as: +AN, +TAs, +°s, and +As, etc.

On the basis of the differences, the extent and frequency of the occurrence of suffixes in different Turkic languages, a large number of historical, folk historical and other conclusions can be drawn.

At the end of the book, the richness of notes, the bibliography of more than 100 pages (pp. 258—363) satisfy every demand, as well as the transcription Table of different languages and sources help better understanding.

Besides being a pioneer undertaking, this work is to be distinguished for its thoroughness, clear and logical structure, and supplies a long felt need in Turkology.

Eszter Lénárt

А. Н. Кононов, История изучения тюркских языков в России. «Наука» Ленинградское отделение, Ленинград 1982². стр. 360

Die sowohl im Kreise der sowjetischen als auch ausländischen Turkologen gleicherweise populäre wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Arbeit Kononovs liegt nunmehr in zweiter Auflage vor. Die erste erschien 1972 in Leningrad.

Das Werk besteht aus einem zur 2. Auflage geschriebenen Vorwort des Autors und den diesem folgenden sechs größeren Kapiteln.

Im Vorwort (S. 5—11) werden die dem Autor zur Verfügung stehenden Quellen angeführt und eine reichliche Bibliographie wird gegeben.

In Kapitel I (S. 12—34) legt der Autor den von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts währenden Abschnitt der russischen Turkologie dar. Die Frühperiode der russisch-türkischen Beziehungen versucht er mit Hilfe einiger, in der russischen Sprache vorhandenen sehr alten türkischen Lehnwörter zu beleuchten. Anschließend analysiert er den Volksnamen *Türke*. Nach Kononov war dieser Name ursprünglich ein politischer Terminus. Im Mittelalter hat aber der für die türkischen und mongolischen Volksstämme gleicherweise gebräuchliche Name *Tatare* die frühere Beziechnung verdrängt. Interessanterweise tritt im 14. Jahrhundert in den russischen Kodexen der Name Türke in Form von *турѣкъ* wieder auf, und von da an kommen die beiden Beziehungen im russischen Altertum abwechselnd vor. In der heutigen russischen Sprache gibt es, wie bekannt, zwei Formen des alten Volksnamens *Türken*, und zwar mit zwei abweichenden Bedeutungen: Die Bezeichnung *тюркский* bezieht sich auf das gesamte Türkentum, während mit dem Nomen *турецкий* die Türken in der Türkei bezeichnet werden. Diese Unterscheidungstendenz begann aber erst in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts und kam hauptsächlich mit der Tätigkeit von *Radloff* zur Geltung.

Im weiteren entwirft der Autor aufgrund der in den russischen Kodexen auffindbaren Angaben ein Bild von den historischen russisch-türkischen Beziehungen und berichtet dann mit sehr ansprechender Ausführlichkeit über die ersten Fäden der russisch-türkischen sprachlichen Beziehungen.

In Kapitel II (S. 34—108) zeigt Kononov, wie sich die Turkologie im Rußland des 18. Jahrhunderts als Wissenschaftszweig herausbildete er bespricht außer dem bedeutungsvollen Manifest von Peter I. über die orientalischen Beziehungen auch die Arbeiten von *Dmitri Kantemir*, *Gottlieb Bayer* und *Georgi Jakob Kehr*. Er berichtet über die linguistischen Expeditionen der Akademie, die im 18. Jahrhundert durchgeführt wurden, und auch über die erste Übersetzung des Werks *Šaǰara-i Türk* von *Abu-l-Gazi*. Im weiteren spricht der Autor über die lexikographischen Arbeiten von *Tatiščev*, *Ryčkov*, *Kondratovič* und *Abdrahmanov*. Aufmerksamkeit verdient die Besprechung der aus dem 18. Jahrhundert stammenden Wörterverzeichnisse, Wörter- und Sprachbücher. Wir können dem Buch nicht nur die wichtigeren bibliographischen Angaben dieser überaus bedeutenden Werke entnehmen, sondern auch Informationen über den Inhalt der einzelnen Sprachbeispiele erhalten.

In Kapitel III (S. 109—128) weist Kononov auf die in der Akademie im vergangenen Jahrhundert durchgeführte türkische sprachwissenschaftliche Arbeit hin. Er hebt vor allem die Tätigkeit von *Klaproth* und *Uvarov* hervor. Anschließend analysiert er die Beziehungen zwischen dem im November 1918 in Sankt Petersburg gegründeten Asien-Museum und der Akademie.

Kapitel IV (S. 129—200) ist der Besprechung jener russischen mittleren und höheren Lehrinstitute gewidmet, in denen die türkischen Sprachen unterrichtet wurden. Die erste derartige Schule wurde 1755 in Moskau gegründet, und bald kam es in zahlreichen anderen russischen Städten zur Eröffnung einer ganzen Reihe ähnlicher Institutionen. In jener Zeit beschäftigte man sich in Rußland nicht nur in den weltlichen, sondern auch in den kirchlichen Schulen mit dem Unterricht der türkischen Sprachen.

In Kapitel V (S. 201—298) beschäftigt sich der Autor mit einer sehr schweren Frage der türkischen Sprachwissenschaft, mit der Klassifizierung der einzelnen türkischen Sprachen. Kononov unterscheidet im Kreise der türkischen Sprachen 7 Gruppen: *bulgarischen*, *ogusischen*, *kiptschakischen*, *karlukisch-ujgurischen*, *ujgurisch-ogusischen* und *kirgisisch-kiptschakischen* Sprachen. Die siebente Gruppe ist die *jakutische Sprache*, die der Autor als selbständige Sprache behandelt. Die tschuwassische Sprache wird in der Klassifizierung von Kononov der bulgarischen Gruppe zugeordnet, während die südsibirischen türkischen Sprachen vom Autor unter den ujgurisch-ogusischen Sprachen aufgezählt werden.

In Kapitel VI (S. 299—334) untersucht Kononov die grundlegenden Tendenzen in der Erforschung der türkischen Sprachen. In diesem Themenkreis beschäftigt er sich mit den wissenschaftshistorischen Werdegang der grammatischen Struktur der türkischen Sprachen, ferner der Erforschung der alt-und mitteltürkischen Sprachdenkmäler. Die Theorien der früheren russischen Wissenschaftler über die Klassifikation der türkischen Sprachen werden aber ebenfalls publiziert.

Kapitel VI schließt mit einer der aufregendsten Fragen der Sprachgeschichte, mit der Untersuchung der Lehnwörter. Der Autor beschäftigt sich mit dem türkischen Wortschatz in der russischen Sprache sowie dem russischen Wortschatz in den türkischen Sprachen, bzw. schildert er die Geschichte ihrer Erforschung.

Das Werk Kononovs endet mit einem Schlußwort des Autors (S. 335—398), einem Abkürzungsverzeichnis (S. 339—343) und einem Namenverzeichnis (S. 334—357).

Imre Gyarmati

L'Afrique et l'Asie Modernes. Revue trimestrielle. n° 140. Printemps 1984. Centre des Hautes Etudes sur l'Afrique et l'Asie Modernes. Paris. 112 p.

Ce numéro contient les publications suivantes:

Bernard Lanne, *Les causes profondes de la crise tchadienne* (3).
Antoine J. Bullier, *L'Apartheid* (15).
Mohammed-Reza Djalili, *D'un Iran à l'autre : de la politique étrangère du Shah à celle de Khomeiny* (27).
Jacques Vernant, *Chypre : les constantes et la tentation de partition* (40).
Kendal Nezan, *La destruction de l'identité culturelle kurde en Turquie* (50).
Gérard Groc, *Turquie-OTAN : les problèmes d'une alliance* (58).
Rencontres et lectures (85).

Tamás Iványi

L'Afrique et l'Asie Modernes. Revue trimestrielle. N° 141. Eté 1984. Centre des Hautes Etudes sur l'Afrique et l'Asie Modernes. Paris. 117 p.

Voici la liste des publications de ce numéro :
Nicole Grimaud, *L'OPEP : De l'exercice difficile du monopole* (3).
Nadia Benjelloun-Ollivier, *Armes et armements au Proche-Orient* (22).
Alain Dieckhoff, *A propos des territoires arabes occupés* (47).
Alain Rouaud, *Al-Mutawakkil 'Ala Allah Yahya, fondateur du Yemen moderne* (56).
Philippe Decraene, *Une aventure coloniale sans lendemain sous le Second Empire: l'expédition de Corée en* 1866 (74).
Marie-Lucy Dumas-Soula, *Cambodge: les perspectives de règlement du conflit* (86).
André Postel-Vinay, *Tiers-Monde, migrations et droit d'asile* (96).
Lectures (103).

Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Etudes Orientales du Caire (MIDEO) 16 (1983). Librairie du Liban, 1983. 400 p.

Le premier article dans ce volume est celui de G. Monnot sur le livre du *muʿtazilite—mutakallim ʿAbd al-Jabbār* (X. siècle) intitulé «Moghnī», qui est l'un des meilleurs traités des religions composés dans l'islam. L'auteur l'a characterisé comme «l'ensemble de sections ou 'discours' qui, dans le tome 5 d'*al-Moghnī*, passent en revue les dualistes, les mazdéens, les chrétiens, les sabéens, les idolâtres et les doctrines des Arabes anté-islamiques. Ils se sont exercés à leur lecture difficile mais payante, ils y ont apprécié la valeur d'une information sélective mais rigoureuse, la puissance d'une argumentation inlassable et ratissante, la cohérence au dessin d'une doctrine complète autant que sectaire». Puis il montre le Plan du *Discours contre les chrétiens* qui s'étend sur 72 pages de l'édition du texte arabe. Le plan du Discours procède d'un principe qui est constamment observé par *ʿAbd al-Jabbār* dans toutes les sections de son traité des religions, avec un soin et une honnêteté exemplaires. C'est de faire précéder la réfutation par un exposé systématique et totalement distinct. Après une introduction perspicace G. Monnot donne la traduction annotée de cet «exposé» même, en français.

R. M. Frank continue son article commencé dans le numéro précédent (MIDEO 15 (1982 pp. 53—74) Edition and Translation of *Lumaʿ fī l-iʿtigād*) sur des oeuvres dogmatiques d'Abu l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī. Cette fois il donne le texte et la traduction de l'ouvrage intitulé *Al-Fuṣūl fī l-uṣūl*.

Abdelmajid Charfi traite un thème singulièrement intéressant (Le christianisme dans le 'Tafsir' de Ṭabarī). L'article du professeur tunisien — dont l'original est paru en arabe à Tunis — approche de l'image faite du christianisme des musulmans au moyen âge d'un autre côté. Selon son avis «toute étude de la pensée musulmane dans ses relations avec le christianisme doit partir de la compréhension musulmanes des textes coraniques concernant le christianisme. C'est ainsi que le Tafsīr de Ṭabarī revêt une importance particulière. En tant que tafsīr par les traditions, il reflète, pour nous, la façon dont les premières générations musulmanes ont compris les versets cora-

niques concernant les chrétiens et le christianisme». C'est pourquoi, l'auteur a opté pour l'étude du Tafsīr de Ṭabarī comme un tout, en ce sens qu'il a accordé moins d'importance aux seules opinions personelles de Ṭabarī qu'aux diverses traditions qu'il consigne dans son Tafsīr, quelles que soient leurs différences ou leur contradictions dans la compréhension de certains versets et dans l'explication des circonstances de leur révélation, ainsi que des status juridiques qu'on en déduit.

Le dernier article par le père *G. C. Anawati* est en rapport avec un des événements orageux des dernières années, l'assassinat du président égyptien A. al-Sādāt. Un des accusés a compilé une brochure d'une cinquantaine de pages dans laquelle il exhorte les membres de sa secte ā la guerre sainte. L'auteur donne la traduction précédée d'une courte introduction du rapport fait par le Grand Mufti Cheikh Gād al-Ḥaqq, Cheikh de l'Azhar, sur la doctrine exposée dans cette brochure (Cheikh Gād al-Ḥaqq : Rapport sur la brochure «L'obligation absente» (al-farīḍa l-ghā'iba)).

Voici la liste des communications de ce volume :

— *Articles* : G. Monnot, O. P., *Les doctrines des chrétiens dans le «Moghni» de ʿAbd al-Jabbār* (9). — J. Jomier, O. P., *La Toute-Puissance de Dieu et les créatures dans le Coran* (31). — R. M. Frank, *Two short dogmatic Works of Abū l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī*. Second Part : *Al-Qushayrī's Al-Fuṣūl fi l-uṣūl* (59). — A. Cortabarría Beitia, O. P., *Les sources arabes de l'Explanatio Simboli du dominicain catalan Raymond Martin* (95). — A. Charfi, *Le christianisme dans le Tafsīr de Ṭabarī* (117). — E. Orany, «*Nation*», «*patrie*», «*citoyen*», *chez Rifā'a l-Ṭahṭawi et Khayr-al-Din al-Tounsī* (169). — G. C. Anawati, O. P., *Une résurgence du Kharijisme au XXe siècle : «L'obligation absente»* (191).

— *Notes et documents* : *The Library of Congress Office in Cairo* : A Retrospection on Twenty Years par M. W. Albin (229). — *Les œuvres d'Averroes et la Commission arabe du Caire* par I. Madkour (237). — *Preliminary Bibliography of Arabic Books printed by the Dominican Fathers in Mosul* par M. W. Albin (247). — *Alexandrie, au reflet de la mémoire* par G. Zananiri (261). — *Notes on the Moros of the Philippines* par E. R. Mercado (275). — *Les fondements de la Loi musulmane* par J. Jomier (289). — *Le commentaire «scientifique» du Coran* : une innovation absurde par Kamel Ḥussein (293).

— *Nouvelles culturelles* : 1. Azhar, *La renaissance d'al-Azhar et son expansion* : Instituts et Universités (301). — 2. Institutions diverses (303). — 3. Miscellania. Notes brèves : *L'œuvre algébrique d'al-Khayyām* (314). — *La doctrine astronomique de Thābit Ibn Qurra* (314). — *Carrefour de philosophie arabo-musulmane* (Evora et Faro — 1982) (314). — *Colloque culturel du monde méditerranéen* (Bari — 1982) (315). — *Comités latin et arabe d'Averroes* (315). — *Colloques islamo-chrétiens* (315). — *L'Association «al-Ikhā' al-dīnī»* (316). — *Conférences de M. Pierre Rondot* (316). — *Album du Progrès Egyptien* : Regards sur la France (316). — *La Revue «al-Foṣūl»* (317). — *Publications de théologie spirituelle* (317). — *Conseil Pontifical pour la Culture* (317). — *Chronique de l'IDEO* (318). — *Recensions* (319). — *Livres reçus* (395).

Tamás Iványi

Monika Gronke, *Arabische und persische Privaturkunden des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts aus Ardabil* (Aserbeidschan). Herausgegeben von Klaus Schwarz Islamkundliche Untersuchungen Bd.72. Klaus Schwarz Verlag, Berlin 1982, 555 p.

Die in dieser Arbeit vorgelegten Urkunden stammen aus dem Archiv des von *Šaiḫ Ṣafī ad-Dīn Isḥāq* (1252—1334) gegründeten ṣafawidischen Ordens von Ardabīl (Aserbaidschan). Die Relikte des früheren Ardabīler Heiligtumsarchivs wurden im Jahre 1970 aufgefunden. Neben zahlreichen Rechnungsbüchern und Re-

gistern umfassen die Archivmaterialien insgesamt über 800 Briefe und Urkunden (die Originale der Urkunden wurden ins *Mūza-yi Īrān Bāstān* von Teheran gebracht). Die in dieser Arbeit veröffentlichten 26 Urkunden sind die ältesten Stücke aus den Ardabiler Heiligtumsarchiv, die den Zeitraum zwischen 517/1123 und 653/1255 umfassen. Historisch schließen die Urkunden etwa die Regierungszeit der Atabegendynastie der Eldigüziden/Ildengiziden in Azarbygan ein, ferner die nur kurzlebige Macht der H^{v}arizmsahs aus der Linie Anustegins in diesem Gebiet und schließlich die erste Zeit der Mongolenherrschaft bis zum Beginn der Ilhane.

Besondere Bedeutung kommt den hier vorgelegten Ardabīler Urkunden vor allem aufgrund ihres Alters zu. Sie reichen bis weit in die vormongolische Zeit Irans zurück; dadurch besitzen wir eine größere Anzahl von Originalurkunden aus einer Epoche, aus der bisher nur sehr wenige Stücke bekannt waren. (Das gilt insbesondere für die vier in persischer Sprache abgefaßten Urkunden.) Die hier veröffentlichten Dokumente haben rechtsgeschäftliche Beziehungen zwischen Privatpersonen zum Inhalt (wie Kauf und Verkauf, Pfand, Miete, Schuld, Schenkung u. ä.).

Bei den Ardabīler Urkunden liegt der seltene und glückliche Umstand vor, daß sich der größte Teil von ihnen auf denselben relativ begrenzten geographischen Raum und damit auf einen verhältnismäßig überschaubaren Personenkreis bezieht. Eine Reihe von Personen erscheint daher in verschiedenen Urkunden mehrmals, so daß sich zuweilen Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse oder sogar Familien aus dieser Gegend erkennen lassen. Andererseits sind von den in den Urkunden erwähnten Personen die meisten in den Chroniken und sonstigen historischen Quellen nicht nachzuweisen, da es sich vielfach um Dörfler, Bauern und Handwerker handelt. Es war lediglich möglich, die bedeutenderen der erwähnten Richter anderweitig zu belegen.

Die Veröffentlichung dieser Urkunden trägt zur Vermehrung unserer Kenntnisse der spätmittelalterlichen Geschichte der Islamische Länder in der Mongolenzeit bei.

Tamás Iványi

G. Del Olmo Lete, *Interpretación de la Mitología Canaena* (Estudios de semántica Ugaritica). (Fuentes de la Ciencia Bíblica — 2.) Institución San Jerónimo Para la Investigación Bíblica, Valencia 1984, 266 p.

In the book under review the author presents an interpretation and reconstruction of Ugaritic poetic texts. Methodologically he seeks assistance in some modern translation theory, namely that of the componential analysis theory of E. Nida and others. He emphasizes that the two main aspects of a translation, fidelity (fidelidad) and intelligibility (inteligibilidad), are definitely inseparable: a text is only reproduced faithfully inasmuch as it is intelligible because a mere lexicographic or even syntactic transcription is not yet a real "translation" in the true sense of the word. And conversely, an intelligibility that does not respond adequately to the values of the text cannot be considered more than a mere "fiction". At the bottom of this duplet "fidelity — intelligibility" is the metalinguistic transposition of the asyntetic systems that form "text — and — version" in the semantic domain. In the case of literature, and above all, poetry, the intelligibility has to be equally "poetic", too.

According to all these principles, the author sets out to solve the problem of the "poetic translation" of the mythological literature of the Ugaritic epics. He ultimately aims at fulfilling the exigency of a poetic sensibility that could "reproduce" or rather "recreate" in the appropriate semic system the universe of virtual connotations and suprasegments containing and unfolding that of the original text. But given the actual state of the Ugaritic philology, the author

thinks that he must consider first of all the points of view of a preliminary version, which is linguistically secure enough, even at the cost of losing some of the connotative load of the text, but which is at least moderately poetic.

The first part of the book deals with the interpretation of the texts, one by one. First he takes the Baʿalu—ʿAnatu (Baal-Anat) cycle, then he turns to the "Fight of Baʿalu and the deities of the desert", the virgin-mother ʿAnatu, the epic of Kirta (Keret), the epic of Aqhatu, and the ritual myth of "The wedding of Yarḫu and Nikkal". The text — interpretations are followed by some interesting lexicographic notes and finally six appendices and indices.

Tamás Iványi

Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East. 32 papers edited by TARIF KHALIDI. American University of Beirut, 1984, 531 p.

In February 1983, the Department of History and Archeology at the American University of Beirut organized an international conference on the subject of land tenure and social transformation in the Middle East. The conference, which resulted in the present volume was intended as a fairly comprehensive statement of current knowledge on the social and economic aspects of land tenure in the Middle East, as perceived across a wide span of time. As the editor states in the preface "It was planned as a sort of Doomsday Book of what has been done and, of course, what remains to be done regarding the subject and problems of land tenure. By bringing together social scientists of diverse disciplines and historians of diverse periods, it was hoped that both the continuities and discontinuities of the theme would be more conspicuous." It was, arguably, the historians of the ancient Middle East who pioneered the study of its countryside in the twentieth century. Much is owned by their colleagues to the boldness of their hypotheses and the intriguing parallels suggested by their research. They were the first to highlight and examine in detail such problems as the transition from plantation to manorial systems, the rise and fall of the great landlords and the tension between law and custom as they apply to land tenure. Modern historians have shed particular light on the problems of political and economic interaction between the city and the countryside. Lastly the medievalists, with perhaps the most distance yet to cover, have contributed in particular to the question of relations between nomads and cultivators.

In structure, this volume follows the traditional chronological division: Ancient, Medieval, Early Modern and Modern. In themes, however, it is interconnected. Appearing repeatedly on the Middle Eastern landscape are such figures as military, civilian, or hieratic officials, absentee landlords and tribal chiefs on the one hand, with small holders, sharecroppers and wage labourers on the other. Subsistence, storage or market economies were manipulated by the palace, men of religion, or great landlors, the three groups whose title to land might be described, not so much as the most absolute, but rather as the least equivocal. The tax officials linked owner to peasant. The peasant not only paid for the land but also, among other things, for protection seldom obtained and roads infrequently used. Indeed, the vagaries of taxation procedures bring us closer to explaining the prosperity achieved in seventh and eighth century Iraq and ninth and tenth century Egypt (to cite only the more obvious instances) as well as the crises of mighty states suddenly unable to respond to political challenges because of a breakdown in taxation systems.

So, the articles of the volume under review reflect a wide range of themes which are at the same time closely interrelated with each other independently of

the age studied and so they represent the same kind of approach to the problem. In addition, it lends special significance to the present volume that it draws upon and explores, in addition to literary texts, a wide range of information bearing upon the hinterland of the Middle East: archeological, anthropological and archival.

The 32 articles contained in this volume are as follows:

Part I: Ancient

Mario Fales, *A Survey of Neo-Assyrian Land Sales* (1).

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Mario Liverani, *Land Tenure and Inheritance in the Ancient Near East*: The Interaction between 'Palace' and 'Family' Sectors (33).

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Part IV: *Modern*

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Assem el-Dessouki, *Land Tenure Policy in Egypt*, 1952—1969, *and its Effects on the Reformation of the Peasantry* (437).

Michael Gilsenan, *A Modern Feudality? Land and Labour in North Lebanon*, 1858—1950 (449).

Françoise Métral, *Land Tenure and Irrigation Projects in Syria*: 1948—1982 (465).

Gerd-R. Puin: *The Yemeni Hijrah Concept of Tribal Protection* (483).

Helga Seeden and Muhamed Kaddour, *Space, Structures and Land in Shams ed-Dīn Tannīra on the Euphrates:* an Ethnoarchaeological Perspective (495).

Tamás Iványi

Annemarie Schimmel, *Der Islam im indischen Subkontinent*. Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt 1983. Grundzüge; Band 48. 163 p.

The role of the Muslims in the formation of the history of the Indian subcontinent has generally been underestimated, although the nearly thirteen hundred years of Muslim presence in the subcontinent has given a many-sided cultural contribution to the Indian history. Its literary and artistic manifestations are extremely rich, and all the trends of Islamic culture are reflected in the Indian Islam, though modified by the constant Hindu environment. The book tries to give a concise recapitulation of the Muslim presence in the Indian subcontinent from the time of the first Muslim colonization till the appearance of the greatest representative of Islam modernism, Muhammad Iqbal.

The literature about Indian Muslims is very rich, nevertheless it was lacked in a short but comprehensive work providing reliable information. This gap is intended to be filled by the author, the professor of Indo-Muslim Culture at Harvard University, who is a renowned personality on Pakistan as well, but who tries to avoid partiality.

The book is supplemented with a valuable annotated bibliography covering those Eastern and Western sources about Indian Islam, which can be found in European languages.

Tamás Iványi

Tetsuo Nawata, *Parachi. Asian and African Grammatical Manual* No. 17 Par. Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa. Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 1983. 48 p.
Mikio Mori, *Thai. Asian and African Grammatical Manual.* No. 140. Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa. Tokyo Gaikokugo Daigaku, 1984². 45 p.
Tetsuo Nawata, *Mazandarani. Asian and African Grammatical Manual.* No. 17 m. Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa. Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 1984. 45 p.
Sueyoshi Toba, *Khaling. Asian and African Grammatical Manual.* No. 13d. Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa. Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 1984². 40 p.
Ernesto Constantino, *Isinay Texts and Translations.* Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa. Tokyo Gaikokugo Daigaku, 1982. 561 p.

The Asian and African language series of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies is of considerable assistance especially for the study of less known languages and dialects some of which are immediately threatened with extinction due to their geographical and cultural conditions.

The volumes of the grammatical manual series give a descriptive outline based on many years of field work. They are characterized by brevity and simplicity

but considering the present status of the study of these languages, it was worth publishing these short accounts.

On the other hand E. Constantino's work provides an insight into the language and literature of the Isinays, a small Philippine people. It is to be hoped that the publication of these texts will not only result in their preservation and dissemination but will also provide original data for the study of the life and culture of the Isinays.

Tamás Iványi

ABRAHAM MALAMAT, *Das davidische und salomonische Königreich und seine Beziehungen zu Ägypten und Syrien.* Zur Entstehung eines Großreichs. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 407. Band. Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Wien 1983. 42 p.

The author sets out from the very likely hypothesis that the great Israeli kingdom hall-marked by the names of David and Solomon was a unique phenomenon not only in the history of the Jewish people but also in the ancient history of the whole Syro-Palestinian area, and that it was a novelty, a completely new phenomenon, which was politically a monumental edifice and economically a significant factor in relation to the whole Near-East. In this way Israel became a medium power (Das damalige Israel nahm den Status einer Mittelmacht ein zwischen Mesopotamien und Anatolien im Norden und Ägypten im Süden).

Both in the period before and after Solomon's death, Israel and the other Syro-Palestinian states were merely small powers, that could not be and were not the real movers of the international political and economic system.

In spite of the small size the author can convincingly reinforces his hypothesis with arguments. The explanation primarily lies in the fact that he examines his topic from an aspect that truly relates to the history of the world, and he succeeds in placing it into real historical context both in time and place and thus avoids the major pitfall of specific historic research, the isolated, merely inner treatment of the topic. He manages to consider even the inner sources (in this case, the texts of the Bible) with regard to the points of view of international relations. Here we come to the greatest pitfall of such investigations, that is the question of the evaluation, inner and outer critic of the sources' data. Here the author succeeded in finding the right proportion between total devoid of criticism and over-critical rejection.

One of the main points which practically determines the whole treatment of the question of the Davidic—Solomonic state's significance in their age is where the borders of its territory are drawn or rather the limits of its sphere of influence. The author definitely stands for borders from Sinai to Euphrates and this hypothesis seems to be supported not only by some of his proofs, but also by every conclusion throughout his work. Here follows what he writes about it: "Zu den eben skizzierten kommen noch Salomos Kontakte nach Anatolien und der Euphratregion im Norden sowie nach Ägypten im Süden, so daß wir ein weitverzweigtes Netz von Verbindungen vor uns haben, die wirtschaftlich und politisch von starkem Expansionsdrang zeugen. Dies widerspricht der in der Forschung verbreiteten Meinung, das davidische—salomonische Reich habe sich keineswegs bis zum Euphrat erstreckt (1. Kön 5, 1.4; 2. Chr 9, 26). Seine Ausdehnung über den gesamten Raum von Mesopotamien bis zur Sinaihalbinsel ist in den Augen vieler Historiker, darunter auch des verehrten Eduard Meyer, nur eine 'späte Phantasie'. Nach Auffassung dieser Forscher wäre das geeinte Königreich nicht über die Grenzen von Palästina hinaus gegangen, hätte allenfalls noch das Gebiet von Damaskus

und die Libanon-Ebene umfaßt. Allerdings haben die Vertreter dieser minimalistischen These keine überzeugende Erklärung für die Entstehung der vermeintlichen Legende von der weiten Erstreckung des davidisch—salomonischen Reiches anzubieten. Die Behauptung, der biblische Geschichtsschreiber habe bewußt die Grenzlinien des tatsächlichen israelitischen Königreiches den Grenzen des 'Gelobten Landes' angepaßt, ist sicherlich unhaltbar. Dafür ist die Diskrepanz zwischen diesen beiden Grenzsystemen zu offenkundig. Im Gegensatz zu Kanaan — das dem Mose verheißene Land (Num 34) — erstreckte sich das geeinte Königreich über Transjordanien südlich des Jarmuk, das heißt sowohl über Edom, Moab und Ammon als auch über die dortige israelitische Ansiedlung. Andererseits war — wiederum im Gegensatz zu den Grenzen Kanaans — die phönizische Küste nicht eingeschlossen, obschon zu dieser Region sehr rege Beziehungen bestanden." (p. 9—10.) "...Die obige Annahme führt zu einer korrekten Vorstellung von den Grenzen des israelitischen Königreichs . . . (1. Kön 4, 21.24). . . .Mit dieser Ausweitung nach Südwesten erreichte das geeinte Königreich seinen größten Umfang, allerdings nicht unter David, sondern erst dank Salomos eigenständiger politischer Leistung" (p. 23).

The chapter entitled *Aufbau des Grossreichs* is especially interesting. It is an attempt to describe how a relatively important Middle-Eastern power could develop in a fairly short period and collapse in an even shorter time (1. Phase: Stammeskönigtum, 2. Phase: Nationales Königtum, 3. Phase: Konsolidierter Territorialstaat, 4. Phase: Multinationaler Staat, 5. Phase: Imperium).

He tries to evaluate the importance of the empire developed in this way through its international relations (e.g. with the Queen of Saba that means participation in long-distance trade), and within it he dwells upon the contracts concluded with the Egyptians in the age of the weak 21st and 22nd dynasties, analyzing in detail the importance of marriage connections (recalling the famous Habsburg maxim "Bella gerant alii ! Tu felix Austria nube !").

The book is rounded off by an excursus on the connections of Israel with the states and towns of the Syrian area (David und Hadad-Eser, Israel und Hamath).

The following conclusion of this essay summed up by its author can undoubtedly be accepted as a hypothesis for further research: "Somit läßt sich ohne Übertreibung sagen: Das Zeitalter Davids und Salomos war ein einzigartiges Kapitel in der israelitischen Geschichte: dies war des einzige Mal, daß das Heilige Land auf der Weltbühne, oder zumindest im Vorderen Orient, eine dominierende Rolle spielte" (p. 30).

Tamás Iványi

Viṣṇudharmāḥ. Precepts for the worship of Viṣṇu, Part 1 *Adhyāyas* 1—43. Edited by REINHOLD GRÜNENDAHL. Otto Harrasowitz, Wiesbaden 1983. XI + 250 p.

Viṣṇudharmāḥ is the name of a compilation bearing on various aspects of *Viṣṇu* worship. The text comprises approximately 4,200 verses, divided into 150 chapters, 43 of which have been published in the present edition. The devotional practices included can be grouped around vows (*vrata*), oblations to persons deserving of (*dāna*) and recollections of the god (*anusmaraṇa*).

Although there is a great demand in research for Sanskrit sources of *Vaiṣṇavism*, one hardly finds a reference to this work in the histories of Sanskrit literature. R. Mitra noticed the title as early as 1884, however, R. C. Hazra was the first and single scholar who took it into attention (cf. *Studies in the Upapurāṇas* Vol. I. pp. 118—119).

Grünendahl has the merit of utilizing the records and then the copies of Nepalese Sanskrit manuscripts. The manuscript preservation project carried out by German

and Nepalese scholars yielded three MSS of *Viṣṇudharmāḥ* from the eleventh century A. D. These are the oldest testimony of non-Buddhist literature in Nepal (Grünendahl pursued a paleographical inquiry into their script separately).

Grünendahl collated the Nepalese MSS with MSS kept at European libraries and then prepared a careful textual apparatus and wrote an informative introductory study to the text.

He made some essential remarks on the work. The main points are as follows: it is a compilation (p. 61); the school of *Bhārgavas* was closely involved with the treatise (p. 63); as a whole it is a work of *Bhāgavatas* (p. 64); it is a *śāstramāhātmya* by genre (p. 66); several *Purāṇas* had borrowed material from it (p. 67); Alberuni's Indian informants about Indian religious affairs in the eleventh century emphasized the importance of *Viṣṇudharma* (p. 70); the followers of Caitanya took some ideas of *Viṣṇudharma* as their own (p. 71); the date of the final redaction of *Viṣṇudharmāḥ* is marked by the textual tradition that points to the eleventh century A. D. (p. 73).

At the end of the volume there are three appendices: App. A. presents the insertions in MS N° 1; App. B. gives a concordance of parallels and citations; App. C. provides us with selected names and epithets of *Viṣṇu* and his *avatāras*.

The editor has promised to bring out the complete text and the analysis of its contents in the years to come. It leaves great expectations. Our minor suggestions concern this further work.

We may agree with Grünendahl's idea to put the work in the category of *śāstramāhātmya*. The scanty knowledge of this class of liturgical literature seems to assert this assumption. He was correct to make it distinct from *Purāṇas* (or *Upapurāṇas*). As to māhātmyas the term refers to texts praising the places of pilgrimage or rites and festivals respectively. These texts imitate the style of epics and *Purāṇas* and often take their subject from those sources. Things become more complicated when single chapters of a *Purāṇa* are called *māhātmya* (cf. *Nīlamata-Purāṇa*: *The Nīlamata-Purāṇa* Vol. I. Ed. by Ved Kumari: Srinagar-Jamnu 1968, p. 5). The name *śāstramāhātmya* indicates the didactic character of *Viṣṇudharmāḥ*, however, it remains to be compared with the available "classical" *māhātmyas* of Nepal and Kashmir. Taken as a compilation should we classify its parts separately? Modern *Viṣṇu* ritual would also help to some extent. There are numerous short treatises such as *Viṣṇu-pūjana-vidhi*, *Satyanārāyaṇa-pūjā-kathā*, *Satyanārāyaṇa-vrata-kathā* (all have been published by Chaukhamba Orientalia Varanasi-Delhi), which can be involved in this type of investigation.

A study of the didactic parts of *Mahābhārata*, a point raised by Grünendahl, offers some solution to the problem of literary classifications and setting up the features of *māhātmyas* or *śāstramāhātmyas*. In brief: a "forgotten" chapter of Sanskrit literature is expected to be unearthed.

The critical edition of the 1—43 *adhyāyas* is a real gain for the students of the history of *Vaiṣṇavism*. It fills the gap in the history, which exists between the *Mahāpurāṇas* and the well-known devotional schools of Eastern India, the texts of which were laid down in Sanskrit and the vernaculars. We wish Grünendahl much success in materializing his plan in the near future.

Gyula Wojtilla

ALAKA CHATTOPADHYAYA, *Atīśa and Tibet* Life and Works of Dīpaṃkara Śrījñāna in relation to the History and Religion of Tibet. With Tibetan Sources translated under Professor LAMA CHIMPA. Motilal Banarsidass — Delhi, Varanasi, Patna First edition: Calcutta 1967. Reprint: Delhi 1981 Price: Rs. 100

The second or "later conversion" of Tibet is connected with the name of the

Bengal born Atīśa, or by the other name Dīpaṃkara Śrījñāna. This book attempts to follow the course of the life of this unique personality, whose role was so important in forming the history and culture of Tibet. The author — Mrs. Alaka Chattopadhyaya — endeavours to clarify the uncertainities which sorrund Atīśa, in her very thorough book.

The ambiguities begin with his name, since it is mentioned in different ways. The transliteration of the Indian name in more forms can be found in Tibetan sources: e.g. Dīpaṃkara; Śri-dīpaṃkara--jñāna; Dīpaṃkara-sri-jñāna; Dīpaṃkara-jñāna.

One can find the translation of the Indian name, such as: Mar-me-mjad; dPal-mar-me-mjad; Mar-me-mjad-ye-šes; dPal-mar-me-mjad-ye-šes; Mar-me-mjad--dpal-ye-šes.

Moreover we can read it written as J̌o-bo, J̌o-bo-rǰe, J̌o-bo-čhen-po and Atīśa.

A significant part of the book deals with the examination of Atīśa's life, preceeding his journey to Tibet. The author devotes different chapters to Atīśa's early career, and his initiation to the Tāntrika doctrines, and also discusses the monasteries in India, where he spent several years.

Part II gives us a general picture of the Tibetan background. There is a separate chapter on the early legendary kings of Tibet, then the greatest of the later, historical rulers, and the outstanding personalities of the "earlier conversion" of the Buddhism, such as Śāntarakṣita, Padmasambhava and Kamalaśīla.

Part III deals with the actual activity of Atīśa in Tibet. This time we gain a picture of the state of affairs of Tibet immediately before Atīśa's arrival, such as the events after the death of Glaṅ--dar-ma, the activity of the two sages — Jayaśīla and Vīryasiṃha — who invited Atīśa to Tibet, and this is where we can read about Atīśa's travels and his work in Tibet. He arrived at Mṅa'-ris in 1042, a Water-Horse year, and soon got in touch with Rin-čhen-bzaṅ-po, the greatest sage of that time, and 'Brom--ston-pa, who became his disciple. Atīśa probably intended to remain three years only, but we can read about the reasons, and how he succeeded in staying there thirteen years.

There is an extremely abundant appendix added to the book, containing a lot of valuable data. The English translation is given of some Tibetan text serving biographical data. These are translations from the works of 'Brom-ston-pa, Sum-pa mKhan-po, Tāranātha and Čhos-kyi-ñi-ma.

There is a list of works in Kanjur and Tanjur, of which the author or translator was Atīśa, or which were connected with him in some other ways.

Appendix C is a selection from the works of Atīśa, respectively Dīpaṃkara, in English translation. The titles of the texts are: *Caryā-gīti*; *Caryā-gīti-vṛtti*; *Dīpaṃkara-śrījñāna-dharma-gītikā*; *Vimala-ratna-lekha*; *Bodhi-patha-pradīpa*; *Sayings of Atīśa.*

Here the Sanskrit restoration of the Bodhi-patha-pradīpa by Mrinalkanti Gangopadhyaya is given, as well as a photostat reproduction of the manuscript containing the Sayings of Atīśa.

There are a few pages at the end of the volume — by the collaboration of R. N. Bhattacharya — about the Tibetan Sexagenary Cycle, which can be used as an aid for converting dates to the European calendar.

Zoltán Nagy

CONRAD TOTMAN, *The Collapse of the Tokugawa Bakufu 1862—1868.* The University Press of Hawaii, Honolulu, 1980, 588 p.

Why did the Tokugawa bakufu collapse after having existed for about 250 years? The answer is given in the very first lines of this monumental book: "The regime fell because the imperialist intrusion of the mid-nineteenth century pre-

sented it with a set of political tasks that it could handle neither then nor at any time in its past." (p. xiii). The author does not touch upon the by now classical question that has been haunting historians' minds for more than 100 years, namely whether internal or external factors played a major role in the collapse of the *Tokugawa* regime. Imperialistic intervention as the reason for the collapse is merely a starting point for C. Totman. His book's topic is not Japan's contact with foreign powers in the years 1862—1868, but the influence of such relations upon Japan.

The present monograph, written as a result of 15 years of research work, gives a chronological summary of the last four years of the *shōgunate*. Practically all books written in non-Japanese languages, which dealt with this critical period of the country's history, focussed upon political powers and persons fighting against the *Tokugawas*. This is the first book on the chronology of the turbulent years 1862—1868, written from the shōgunate's point of view that may be accessible even for non-speakers of Japanese.

Conrad Totman considered the strictly chronological enumeration of political events as his primary task. He gives a detailed and, at the same time, exact picture of the lobbies' plans and deeds which, fighting against each other within the shōgunate, had different opinions about the conservation of the *Tokugawas*' power. The political groups striving to weaken or even to eliminate the *Tokugawa* regime are depicted with the same accuracy, regardless of the wide diversity of their plans for the future.

The author, presumably assuming that the different social and economic factors behind the political screens are known, hardly even touches upon the pertaining problems until the very last, summarizing chapter. A reader would look for a vivid characterisation of important political and military personalities of the age — in vain. Politicians and soldiers are fitted into the general tableau only as members of a certain lobby, with *Tokugawa Yoshinobu*, the last of the *shōguns*, being the only exception, who seems to be — in his evaluation — a positive and sympathetic figure.

The volumned book has more than 580 pages. Being divided into five parts and, within these, into chapters, it exhibits a clear and easy-to follow structure. At the end of each part (and, occasionally, at that of some chapters) C. Totman aids his reader with a short summary, which is both a recapitulation of the moments previously written about and an anticipation of the events to come. The reader gains the impression that he is reading a breathtakingly exciting serialized novel hard to lay aside. For a chronological monograph with a sound scientific aspiration, this may be a rather high merit.

The book begins with the critical year of 1862, when the *Tokugawa shōgunate* lost its hegemony over the country. Though degradated to a power of local importance, it was still able to preserve the symbolic signs of its power. An example of this may be the retaining of the title *shōgun* itself. It was to happen only at the very end of 1867 that *Tokugawa Yoshinobu* returned the shogunal title to the court.

The loss of their primacy was, in a rather paradoxical way, accelerated by the so-called *Bunkyū* reform, which had originally been designed for stabilizing the *Tokugawa* rule. This reform, hallmarked by Matsudaira Shungaku's name, was intended to assign a nation-wide political role to the so-called *tozama daimyōs*, the landlords having been excluded from power for nearly 250 years. Thus the *shogunate*'s supremacy could have been ensured even in the new situation brought about by the intrusion of the foreigners. According to *Matsudaira Shungaku*'s conception, a new feudal coalition called *kōbugattai* was to be formed, consisting of the traditional *Tokugawa* powers (the *Tokugawa* family proper and their vassal landlords) and the *tozama daimyōs*

under the sponsorship of the court. In order to accomplish this reform's goals, *Shungaku* put an end to the *sankin kōtai*. However, this proved to be such a severe blow to the 250 years long reign that it was no longer able to recover from it. *Sankin kōtai* was actually a hostage system the landlord had to spend half of the year, and his wife and heir the whole year at the shōgunate's seat in Edo. This was a simple and effective way to control the landlords.

The *Bunkyū* reform proved to be a failure. Its measures merely managed to carry on the disintegration of the traditional power structure. The reform was strongly opposed by the conservative powers of the shōgunate. On the other hand, its compromises were not sufficient to satisfy the demands of the opposition, not to speak about those of the court, which after a several hundred years long intermission strived for an always stronger way in politics again. It was exactly this reform that helped the coalition into existence, which in turn took over the *Tokugawa*s power in 1868. In the years 1862—1863, however, the coalition of the imperial court, a part of the landlords and the samurai activists (*shishi*) who were excluded from national affairs, proved to be weak and was soon dissolved as a result of the offensive of the *bakufu*'s conservative powers.

The first part of the book describes, as its title says, *The Loss of Primacy*. The second part, *The Attempt at Recovery* is a chronology of the (partially successful) attempts made to regain the former primacy and restore the nearly 250 years old *Tokugawa* rule in an unchanged form.

The *Bunkyū* reform divided the *bakufu* into two wings: the Kyōto (pro-reform) and the Edo (conservative) ones. However, the reunification and reactivization of Tokugawa powers became possible soon after the fall of the reform and the return of *Matsudaira Shungaku* to his homeland, Echizen. The *bakufu* was thus enabled to avert problems immediately threatening its existence. This, however, was only a postponing of the problems and not their solution. In vain did the *bakufu* succeed in getting a respite from the foreigners by fulfilling their demands, if the consequences lead to unsolvable inner confrontations. In vain did they manage to regain the court's favour if lobbies still existed (and even got stronger) that wanted to seize power by influencing the court. In vain did they succeed in suppressing the general revolt in Kantō, if the *bakufu* had no strength to eliminate the sources of tension causing the revolt.

The third part of the book, *The Substance of Crisis*, deals with the contradictions which, in spite of all seemingly successful experiments, made the conservative restauration of the Tokugawa reign hopeless from the outset. The author points out the basic factors of the failure: the catastrophic financial situation, the intervention of the foreign powers and, in a close interrelation with these, the military weakness of the regime. C. Totman describes the so-called "Summer War" of 1866 by which the *bakufu* wanted to punish its enemies in *Chōshū* as a logical consequence of the inviability of the regime. The army of the shōgunate, consisting of troops under direct Tokugawa control and the landlords' forces, was unable to overcome the soldiers of *Chōshū*.

This catastrophic defeat of the Tokugawa House initiated that process of renewal within the *bakufu*, which is the topic of the fourth part of C. Totman's book under the title *The Attempt at Renovation*.

The shameful defeat of the Tokugawa shōgunate on the one hand, as well the unexpected illness and untimely death of the 15th shōgun *Tokugawa Iemochi* on the other, caused the crisis in the *summer* of 1866. According to the rules of the political "see-saw", pro-reform (*kōbugattai*) party forces were to take over power after the fiasco of the conservative wing. Attempts at such a change were made,

e.g. *Matsudaira Shungaku* who had been living on his estate since the defeat of the Bunkyū reform went to Kyōto in order to try to transplant his political concepts into reality again. Nevertheless it took only some weeks to see that the time of this lobby had passed for ever.

Power was put into *Yoshinobu's* hand, who had started his political career as a close follower and companion of *Shungaku*, By the end of the Summer War, however, they got near to confrontation. *Yoshinobu* had already been convinced by that time not to make any compromise with the great landlords, but to create an up-to-date, Western-type army that could have ensured the Tokugawas' further rule over Japan. The politicians having lead the *bakufu* previously had also known this, but did not want to face the social, economic, and political reforms (and their consequences) that should have been necessary to form this army. *Togukawa* Yoshinobu made an attempt at such a reform by the so-called *Keiō* reform in 1867. C. Totman is convinced that, given the necessary time for accomplishing Yoshinobu's reform, the defeudalization in Japan would have been carried out under *Tokugawa* leadership. But the *bakufu*'s enemies (the great lords, *shishi* as well the young emperor by the court's radical wing) united into a coalition and left no time to introduce the *Keiō* reform.

The fifth part entitled *The Collapse* is a chronology of the seizing of power.

On the last 40 pages of his book, C. Totman summarizes the events between 1862 and 1868, giving at the same time a brief résumé of the ideological, social and economic background.

The work is supplemented by a *Bibliographical Essay* in which the author conveys information about handling the sources, and the technical problems of dating the events — first of all for his Japanologist colleagues.

The work as a whole can be recommended not only to specialists of 19th century Japanese history. Historians dealing with other ages or territories can profit from it in a similar manner to laymen interested in Japan.

Eszter Székács

JAMES L. MCCLAIN, *Kanazawa: A Seventeenth-Century Japanese Castle Town* Yale University Press, New Haven, 1982 xxi+ 209 p.

One of the most characteristic features of 17th—19th century Japan is her highly urbanized nature, even if viewed from European standards. James L. McClain's attempt to provide a history of the largest castle town (*jōkamachi*) Kanazawa seems to be absolutely reasonable. His more than two hundred page long study is to be welcomed, especially when considering the lack of up-to-date treatises about jōkamachi in English. Until now, the reader was compelled to use J. W. Hall's unique monograph "The Castle Town and Japan's Modern Urbanization" about the topic—an excellent book, but published in 1950!

In accordance with this, J. McClain considers the aim of his book is "... to provide a more complete sketch of life in a type of community which has not been treated in depth in English." (p. 12).

The author's aim was to comprehend the methods and the universal questions of European historiography in writing the history of Kanazawa. In doing this, on the one hand he wanted to offer an analysis of a specifically Japanese phenomenon (jōkamachi) from an emphatically universal point of view — for the benefit of his Japanologist colleagues. On the other hand, he wanted to inform a wider public of world historians about the history of a town in a premodern, but highly urbanized society in the 17th century. His efforts to provide the study of Japanese history in a wider context, and compare some aspects of Japan with those of Europe have to be

welcomed even if he fails to achieve his goal in every detail.

In the Introduction, Japan and Europe are connected with the only sentence "As in Japan, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Europe also saw the final decline of the medieval political order and the emergence of new forms of political authority that characterized the early modern national-state." (p. 3), which is followed by a short description of Paris and St. Petersburg. However, the reader is left without any evaluation of the similarities and dissimilarities existing between Japanese and European towns. One has to put the question, why the author links just the jōkamachi and the baroque city—except for the rather trivial justification that both types flourished in the 17th—18th centuries on the initiative of a king, landlord or some superior authorities.

Even the author himself was unable to find any organic link between the baroque city and the jōkamachi in general, or Paris, St. Petersburg and Kanazawa in particular. This is also revealed by the fact that practically no mention is made about this topic in the book except for the Introduction and the Conclusion.

J. McClain's objective was to give an adequate description of the urban commoners in 17th century Kanazawa. Thus he came into an open conflict with Japanese historians who have been emphasizing the exclusive activity of the *daimyōs*, the townfounding landlords in creating the jōkamachi.

We have to agree with the author when he criticizes the Japanese historians quoted in his book, who categorically state that "castle towns were the product of the despotic exercise of power by the *daimyō*" (p. 3). His pursuit to complement the solely *daimyō*-centric attitude with the important role of commoners seems to be totally justified. Nevertheless the author was not able to meet the requirements he set for himself. When describing the history of Kanazawa, he often gives illustrations for cases when the commoners acted upon their own decisions and will without the direct command of the daimyō. It is to be regretted that neither these examples nor the general statements stressing the importance of the urban commoners can fulfill their primary aim: to extricate a clear-cut description of the role that the different strata and groups living in towns played in its evolvement and life.

However the shortcomings and deficiencies do not conclude that the reader cannot study the well-based history of Kanazawa in this book.

Four of the six chapters follow the story of this town in a chronological order. The chapter on "National Reunification and Maeda Toshiie's Entry into Kanazawa" gives a sketchy description about the country's state at the end of the 16th century as well as the history of Kanazawa before it became the property of the Maeda family. "The Formative Years 1583—1630" depict the history of the formation of the fortress-town (*jōkamachi*). In this period the defense functions determine the development of the town. Kanazawa's society is characterized by plasticity, mobility and quick expansion. The constantly changing map of the town clearly reflects these phenomena. The chapter "The Years of Consolidation 1630—1670" informs us about the growth: the population of Kanazawa increases, but mobility within the town has already slowed down to a large degree. The life of the inhabitants is regulated by more and more prescriptions, which sharply isolate the groups of different strata (so e.g. merchants, samurais, etc.). "The Years of Closure 1670—1700" illustrates the end of growth. In this period Kanazawa had 120 000 inhabitants and this remained so until the Meiji period. While in the previous period only intra-town mobility had stopped, in the years 1670—1700 the villagers' influx to town, and the extensive growth of Kanazawa also practically ceased. All spheres of life, all forms of contact were

regulated through orders issued by well-organized authorities.

All four chapters consist of subchapters, each recording the structure of the town as well its political, economic and cultural life.

The brief stories where the author describes the history of merchants' or craftsmen's dynasties are of major value and an interesting lesson. We see the best examples of McClain's through and tenacious source-elaborating work in such parts of his book.

Perhaps we do not cast serious doubts on the well-balanced summarizing character of this work if we mention a small but embarrassing mistake, according to which "To this end, new palaces were erected in many of Europe's capitals during the seventeenth century, usually in the center of an existing city, but sometimes outside the capital, as was the case with Maria Theresa's Schönbrunn." (p. 4) — Maria Theresa's reign happened to be namely in the 18th century.

James L. McClain's book can be read without practically any previous knowledge about Japan, as the author explains even the most elementary terms and does not overwhelm his readers with Japanese characters.

This book about the 17th century history of Kanazawa may provide a serious lesson for historians of multifarious interests.

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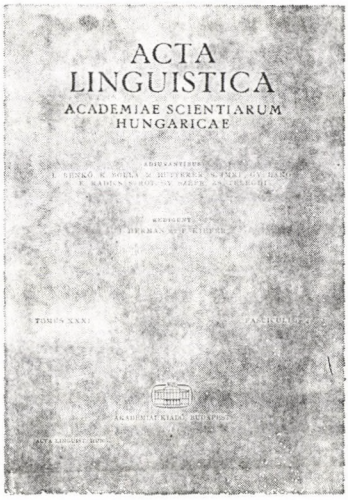

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