CENTRAL ASIATIC JOURNAL

International Periodical
for the Languages, Literature,
History and Archaeology
of Central Asia

38 (1994)

Harrassowitz Verlag Wiesbaden

CENTRAL ASIATIC JOURNAL

Founded by Karl Jahn
Edited by Giovanni Stary

The Central Asiatic Journal is published twice a year.

On editorial matters, book reviews etc., please contact the Editor, Professor Giovanni Stary, Via card. G. Urbani 25, I-30174 Mestre-Venezia, Italy.
Books for review should be sent to the editor only upon request.

Manufactured by Allgäuer Zeitungsverlag GmbH, Kempten.
Printed on permanent/durable paper from Nordland, Dörpen/Ems.
Printed in Germany

ISSN 0008-9182

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This issue is devoted to the
80th birthday
of professor
Wang Zhong-han
Peking
The Central Institute of Nationalities

A Note on Professor Wang Zhong-han's Contribution to the Study of Manchu and Qing History

by

ALESSANDRA POZZI
(Rome)

A scholar and researcher of Manchu and early Qing history, Professor Wang Zhong-han is surely one of the most outstanding figures in this field of study.

This affable and extremely cultured man has been living and working at the Zhongyang Minzu Xueyuan (Central Institute of Nationalities) in Peking since 1952. His work as a researcher and his great contribution to the study of Manchu history are known throughout the world thanks to his many publications, which have not only been widely read in China, but also translated into many languages and circulated beyond the People's Republic of China.

In 1948 he became associate professor of history at Yanjing University (Peking). Since then, he has made a decisive contribution to the training of future Chinese scholars and researchers through his enthusiastic and dedicated teaching.

Even today, in spite of his age, he supervises a few select students in the preparation of their doctorates.

He was born in 1913 in a small village in the Province of Hunan. His studies took him at an early age to Peking and, later, beyond the frontiers of the People's Republic of China, first as a student researcher and then, once he had become a major figure in his field, as a disseminator of the results achieved in Manchu and Qing historical research.

A brilliant student, he soon showed a particular inclination for the study of history and literature.

In 1934, he registered at the History Department of Yanjing University in Peking, where he was fortunate enough to study under distinguished Chinese teachers of the day, such as Professor Deng Wenru and Professor Hong Weilian.

After obtaining his Bachelor of Arts degree, he was accepted by the History Department at the Research Institute of Yanjing University. In 1940, following his Master's degree, he became an assistant in the History Department of the same University.

In 1946, he won a scholarship and transferred to the Research Institute of Harvard University. Here he took advanced courses in Latin, Japanese, French, German, Mongolian and Manchu.

This period was a turning point in his training: from then on, he devoted himself to research on Qing history, making international academic contacts which he has kept up ever since through an intensive exchange of material and views.

At the end of 1948 he returned to China and occupied several prestigious positions at Yanjing University. In particular, he became associate professor in the History Department. His courses were principally concerned with Ming and Qing history.

In 1952, Yanjing University was reformed and Wang Zhong-han was transferred to the Research Department of Zhongyang Minzu Xueyuan.

When the History Department was established in 1956, Wang Zhong-han became a professor and, at the same time, Director of the Historical Studies Teaching and Research Section.

Since 1978, he has played an important role in Chinese academic and cultural life: he has been Deputy Director of the History Department, researcher at the National Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Science, professor of doctorate courses, Deputy Director of the History Section for Guiding the Scientific Programming of the Philosophic Studies Institute of Peking, consultant of the Chinese History of Nationalities Institute and life member of the Board of the History Institute of Peking, to mention just a few of the positions he has occupied.

During his long career, he has frequently taken part in conferences and other academic events in America, Europe and Japan. This intense activity continues: at the end of 1992, he participated in international conferences in Taiwan and Japan.

His world-wide fame as a scholar is the well-deserved reward for a life spent in tireless study and scientific research, rich in important successes.

In 1990, the celebration ceremony organised by the Central Institute of Nationalities on the occasion of Professor Wang Zhonghan's fifty years of teaching gave the Chinese academic world the chance to show its appreciation for his work as a man, a scholar and a teacher.

Proof of his great contribution to historical studies, particularly to the study of Qing and Manchu history, is to be found in the impressive number of his writings.

His early articles, dating back to the late 1930s, already gave an indication of the direction that his research was to take and showed the depth of his approach to his subject, which has always remained a characteristic of his work. We may just mention a few of them: "On the office for military secrets" ("Tan junji chu", published in 1937 in *Shixue nianbao*; "On the compilation of the 'Qing shi gao'" ("'Qing shi gao' zuanxiu zhi jingguo", published in 1938 in *Shixue nianbao*), which was based on the studies previously carried out by Professor Meng Qu on the compiler of the 'Qing shi gao'; his degree thesis, "A study on the three famous Qing encyclopaedic works" ("Qing san tong zhi yanjiu", published in 1939 in *Shixue nianbao*), a fundamental work which has given a considerable contribution to the study of the "Qing san tong".

It would be interesting to list all the writings published by Professor Wang Zhong-han in his long career, but here we will merely note those that marked the most significant stages of his work, underlining, however, the aspects and historical problems to which he mainly devoted himself.

Since he returned from his stay in America, Professor Wang Zhong-han has concentrated on Manchu and Qing history.

In the early 1950s, he dealt with the intricate problem of Emperor Yongzheng's succession to the throne. He wrote two articles on the subject: "A study of Qing Emperor Shizong's struggle for the succession to the throne" ("Qing Shizong duodi kaoshi") and "A report on Yin Zhen's trip to the West" ("Yin Zhen xi zheng jishi"), which were published in the 48th and 49th issues of *Yanjing xuebao*).

Some of his writings in those years have had a profound impact on academic circles, bringing about a real break from old methodologies and historical theories and deeply influencing all subsequent studies in this field. This applies, for example, to the three articles published in 1956 in the 5th and 6th issues of *Zhongguo minzu wenti yanjiu jikan*: "The distribution of the Jurchen people during the Ming period" ("Mingdai Nuzhenren de fenbu"), "Social and economic forms among the Manchus at the time of Nurhaci" (Manzu zai Nuerhaqi shidai de shehui jingji xingtai") and "The Manchu transition to the feudal system at the time of Huang Taiji" ("Huang Taiji shidai Manzu xiang fengjianzhi de guodu").

In 1957, Professor Wang Zhong-han published his first collection of articles, "Miscellaneous researches into Qing history" ("Qing shi zakao"), which included ten papers, some of which were published for the first time. Among them, we may just mention "A study on the origin of the Dagurs from the Solon people" ("Dahuerren chu yu Suolunbu kao"), in which the origin of the Dagurs is clarified by making a distinction between the two terms *Dahuer* and *Dawoer*, and "A study of the Mongols of the Eight Banners at the beginning of the Qing dynasty" ("Qingchu baqi Menggu kao"), in which the development, rules and characteristics of the relations between the Manchus and the Mongols at the beginning of the Qing dynasty are described in detail.

This collection, which was republished in 1963, is a milestone in the field of Manchu and Qing history studies: actually, some of the articles have had the merit of arousing scholarly debate on the subject, thus reviving interest in this chapter of history.

Unfortunately, 1958 to 1976 was not a productive period for Professor Wang Zhong-han from the point of view of publication. These were very difficult years in the political life of the People's Republic of China, and Professor Wang Zhong-han, like many of his colleagues, almost ceased writing for publication. Nevertheless, he continued his researches, preparing himself to participate, with renewed enthusiasm, in the coming cultural debate.

In fact, in 1977, he participated in the compilation of the new comparative edition of the "Qing shi gao", which was republished in 1986.

"Collected historical material on the Jurchens from the veritable records of the Korean Li dynasty" ("Chaoxian Li chao shilu zhong de Nuzhen shiliao xuanbian"), published by Liaoning University in 1978 as the 7th volume of the "Series on historical material relevant to the beginning of the Qing dynasty" ("Qingchu shiliao congkan"), have had a fundamental role in the study of the

Jurchens during the Ming era and of the history of the foundation of the Qing state.

"A short history of the Manchus" ("Manzu jian shi") appeared in the same year. It was the fruit of more than twenty years of intense work on social history research and critical study of historical documents.

The book, which was published in a series on the history of Chinese Minorities ("Zhongguo shaoshuminzu jian shi congshu"), was republished in 1984, the year in which Professor Wang Zhong-han received the "prize of patriotism for the most excellent works among mass popular books".

"A preliminary investigation of the characteristics of the Banners' land at the beginning of the Qing dynasty" ("Qingchu qidi xingzhi chutan"), came out in 1979 in the 6th issue of *Wen shi*. It deals exhaustively with the development of the Manchu economic structure and the evolution of the relations among the social classes following the penetration of Chinese territory by the Manchus.

The study gives an exact description of the early period of the Qing dynasty, from the beginning of Emperor Shunzhi's reign to the first years of Emperor Qianglong's reign, when the transformation from the Banners and feudal lords' economy to the landlords' economy took place.

"A preliminary explanation of the stone inscriptions in the ancestral temple of the Sibe people in Shenyang" ("Shenyang Xibozu jiamiao beiwen qianshi"), was published in the 2nd issue of *Qing shi lun cong*) in 1980. This study was based on an analysis of the inscriptions kept in the Sibe ancestral temple in Shenyang. It showed that in the 16th and 17th centuries the Sibes used to live in the geographical area delimited by the basin of the Chuoer River, thereby making a considerable contribution to the study of the origins of the Sibe people.[1]

Another major article is "On a few problems concerning the formation of the Manchu people" (Guanyu Manzu xingcheng zhong de ji ge wenti"), published in the 5th issue of *Shehui kexue zhanxian* in 1981, which has given a considerable boost to the deepen-

1 A German translation of this paper has been published as an appendix in G. Stary, "Geschichte der Sibe-Mandschuren", Wiesbaden 1985, pp. 54–72 (Harrassowitz ed.).

ing of research on Manchu history. In particular, it raised some very interesting points regarding the origins of the Manchus.

In "The national language and archery from horseback and the development of the Manchu people" ("Guoyu qishe yu Manzu de fazhan"), published in 1982 in the 2nd issue of *Gugong bowuyuan yuan kan*, Professor Wang Zhong-han examined the problem of the Manchus' assimilation of Chinese culture, establishing that this assimilation did not correspond to a phase of decline, but actually constituted a great element of enrichment, which permitted and promoted the development of Manchu culture.

The same year saw the publication of another study, which represented a further advance in the study of Qing history and in the analysis of the original sources: "The Qing History Bureau and the 'Collection of Qing Biographies'" ("Qing guoshiguan yu 'Qing shi liezhuan'"), which was published for the first time in the 3rd issue of *Shehui kexue jikan* in 1982, and republished in *Qing shi wenti* in 1984.

"On the *lifanyuan* and the Mongols" ("Shilun lifanyuan yu Menggu"), published in 1984 in the 3rd issue of *Qing shi yanjiu ji*, was the result of the study of the political action of the Qing dynasty towards the territory and people under its dominion. The article examines the various aspects of the policy pursued by the Qing government with regard to the Mongols.

Two essays, both published in 1985, have greatly contributed to the development of the study of some important personalities of the Qing period and their relationships. They are "On Yuan Chonghuan and Taizong Emperor of Qing dynasty" ("Lun Yuan Chonghuan yu Huang Taiji"), published in the 1st issue of *Shihui kexue zhanxian*, and "An essay on the breaking off of the relations between Chen Menglei and Li Guangde ("Chen Menglei yu Li Guangde juejiao shu"), published in the 5th issue of *Zhonghua wen shi lun cong*. In both cases, the main achievement was the investigation of some subjects to which scholars had paid little attention.

In 1986, Professor Wang Zhong-han published a study on the policy regarding the distribution of land according to the number of adults in the family: "A discussion on the policy of *ji ding shou tian* in the 'Old Manchu Documents'" ("'Manwen laodang' zhong ji ding shou tian shangque"), which was published in the 1st volume of "Minzu shi lun cong".

The problem of the reliability of the original sources and of their importance in the study of historical problems appeared again in "The 'Veritable records of the Qing dynasty' and Qing history researches" ("'Qing shi lu' yu Qing shi yanjiu"), published in 1986 in the 4th issue of *Shu pin*. The study confirmed the superiority of "Qing shi lu", which, in spite of the numerous corrections and erasures, is a very accurate and exact source regarding events in the Qing period.

The following year saw the publication of "Biographies of Qing history" ("Qing shi liezhuan"), in 20 volumes. An index of the names of the personalities and a series of extremely detailed notes were included.

In "A debate on the posthumous edict of Emperor Shengzu of the Qing dynasty" ("Qing Shengzu yizhao kaobian"), published in the same year in the 2nd issue of *Shehui kexue jikan*, Professor Wang Zhong-han dealt with a theme which he had already tackled at the beginning of his career: the posthumous imperial edict of Emperor Shengzu. By means of a comparative analysis of the original Manchu and Chinese documents, such as the "True chronicles of Emperor Shengzu of the Qing" ("Qing Shengzu shi lu") and "Chronicles of Kangxi's daily life" ("Kangxi qi ju zhu"), he demonstrated the falseness of the edict, confirming the theses of years before and resolving once and for all the intricate problem of Yongzheng's succession to the throne.

Also in 1987, he published two articles on the meaning of some Manchu terms, which continued the trend of research begun in 1985 with the article "A note on the term 'manchu'" ("Cong manzhou de ming ming tanqi"), published in the 1st issue of *Manzu yanjiu*. They are: "An explanation of the term 'mafa'" ("Shi mafa"), published in *Zhongguo minzu shi yanjiu*, and "An explanation of the term 'han-i ama'" ("Shi hanyi ama"), published in the 2nd issue of *Manzu yanjiu*. The latter examines the Manchus' marriage customs, making a comparative study of a large quantity of documents and archive material. The conclusion is that among the Manchus it was possible for a widowed empress to remarry, thus giving a "regent-father" to the future emperor.[2]

2 An English version ("Explanation of *han-i ama*") has been published in "Aetas Manjurica", vol. 2, Wiesbaden 1991, pp. 233–253.

In the same year, the following articles appeared: "A record of an on-the-spot investigation in the North-east" ("Dongbei kaocha ji"), published in the 5th issue of *Lishi dili*, "The Qing administrative system. (Part one): The mixed Manchu-Chinese administrative system at the national level. (Part two): The administrative system at the local level" ("Qingdai guangzhi. (yi): Man Han zarou de zhongyang guangzhi. (er): yin di zhi yi de difang guangzhi"), published in the 11th and 12th issues of *Wen shi zhishi*, and "Documents of the Bordered Red Banner of the Yongzheng and Qianlong periods" ("Yong Qian liang chao xiang hong qi dang"). This last was published in Shenyang, in collaboration with Professors Guan Jialu and Tong Yonggong.

1988 saw the publication of a study on Emperor Kangxi's ideas on agriculture ("An analysis of Kangxi's thinking on agriculture" – "Shixi Kangxi zhi nong ben sixiang", published in the 1st issue of *Si ping minzu yanjiu*), which was based on an analysis of the collection of poems written by the Emperor himself and of the collection of memorials to the throne of the same period, written in Chinese and bearing red ink annotations. The study shows how important the Qing Emperor Kangxi considered agriculture to be for the prosperity of his empire.

The same year, Professor Wang Zhong-han wrote "Four types of contracts written in Chinese and Manchu for renting houses and Banners' land in the capital, in the three eras of Kangxi, Yongzheng and Qianlong" ("Kang Yong Qian san chao Man Han wen jing qi fang di qiyue si zhong", published in the 1st issue of *Beifang minzu*), in which he discussed the nature of land ownership in China following the penetration of the Manchus.

In "The problem of the composition of the Chinese and Manchu nationalities in the Eight Banners during the Qing era" ("Qingdai ba qi zhong de Man Han minzu cheng fen wenti"), published in 1990 in issues 3 and 4 of *Minzu yanjiu*, Professor Wang Zhong-han expounded the theory that the Manchus and the Chinese people went through a long period of assimilation and merging, reciprocally transforming their cultures and the relations between their two ethnic groups.

"The problem of the place of origin of the Manchus' ancestors" ("Manzu xianshi de faxiangdi wenti") appeared in 1990 in the special volume of *Lishi dili* published on the occasion of Professor

Tan Qi-xiang's eightieth birthday. In this article, by analysing a large quantity of historical material, Professor Wang Zhong-han established the area of origin of the Manchu population in the Changbai Mountain region, disagreeing with some scholars who, in previous years, had decided that the area of origin of the Manchus was the northern bank of the Heilong River.[3]

The importance Professor Wang Zhong-han has always attributed to the study of Manchu and Qing history has been based on the constant belief that an understanding of this historical period is indispensable for understanding and evaluating the present, because it contains the heritage of bygone eras and of the end of Chinese feudalism, as well as the seed of the new era and of the birth of modern Chinese society.

Convinced of this idea, he has often called upon other scholars, mainly Chinese, to concentrate their efforts on the study of this subject.

"It is necessary to make a comprehensive and comparative study of the history of the early Qing period" ("Dui Qing qianqi lishi bixu zuo zonghe bijiao yanjiu"), published in 1980, sprang from the desire to stimulate interest in the study of the history of the Manchus and of the first period of the Qing dynasty (1644–1840), which he has always considered the meeting point between past and present.

In the same way, "A study of the history of overall development during the three eras of Qianlong, Jiaqing and Daoguang" ("Quanmian kaizhan Qian Jia Dao lishi de yanjiu"), published in 1990 in the 2nd issue of *Jilin shifan xueyuan xuebao*), was a fresh appeal to academic circles to concentrate on the study of this key period.

Furthermore, it is worthy of note that Professor Wang Zhong-han's work in spreading interest in Manchu and Qing history has gone beyond the borders of the People's Republic of China: his work and the results of his research are internationally wellknown. Articles such as "A brief summary of Manchu Studies in the People's Republic of China", which appeared in 1987 in the 21st issue of the "Journal of Asian History", have undoubtedly contributed

3 The English version ("The question of the place where the Manchu ancestors originated") has been published in CAJ vol. 35/3–4 (1991), pp. 279–301.

greatly to the in-depth study of these subjects abroad as well as in China.

Because of their importance and scientific value, many of his articles have been published several times. Among the collections of his most important writings, we may just mention two: "Collected papers on the Manchu people's history" ("Manzu shi yanjiu ji", published in 1988), which containes 14 extremely interesting articles, and "New studies on Qing history ("Qing shi xin kao", published in 1990), which includes 17 fundamental essays.

A major feature of Professor Wang Zhong-han's essays is that they provide original solutions to many important problems regarding Qing and Manchu history, using a rigorous and accurate methodology of analysis, which always takes acquired knowledge into account and, at the same time, introduces new ideas and conclusions based on scientific evidence.

The themes he has dealt with cover the whole gamut of historical and cultural problems of the periods in question and, undoubtedly, the choice of the research topics and the suggested solutions have always been stimulting and fascinating.

Certainly, much of the impetus given to the study of Manchu and Qing history in the last few years is due to the tireless and enthusiastic work of this scholar, who has devoted his entire life to these subjects: not only has he been able to read between the lines of history, so as to understand its deepest secrets and motivations, but he has also been able to spread the results of his research successfully, spurring academic debate and raising the study of these subjects to a level of importance never reached before.

An Exchange of Letters in Arabic between Abaγa Īlkhān and Sultan Baybars (A. H. 667/A. D. 1268–69)*

by

Ṛeuven Amitai-Preiss

(Jerusalem)

During the 60-odd years of the Mamluk-Īlkhānid war, letters were exchanged several times between the Īlkhāns and the Sultans. These exchanges were invariably initiated by the Mongols, and their usual content was a demand that the Mamluks would unconditionally surrender. The earliest Mongol letter to the Mamluks was sent by Hülegü to Sultan Quṭuz in 658/1260. The Sultan, however, did not bother to send a reply, but rather killed the envoys and set out on the campaign that led to his victory at ʿAyn Jālūt.[1] Some six years later, Abaγa[2] sent to Baybars envoys, who brought with them a present and called for peace (*ṣulḥ*). Baybars left these envoys in Damascus, and there is no definite information as to their fate.[3] If earlier and subsequent Mongol missions are any indi-

* I am grateful to Dr. Marcel Erdal and Dr. Simon Hopkins, who read drafts of this article and made many valuable comments. I would also like to thank Prof. Shaul Shaked, Dr. Meir M. Bar-Asher and Dr. Nurit Tsafrir, with whom I consulted on questions arising from the Arabic of Abaγa's letter.

1 On Hülegü's letter and the subsequent events, see R. Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Īlkhānid War 1260–1281* (Cambridge, forthcoming), ch. 2; *idem*, "ʿAyn Jālūt Revisited," *Tārīḫ*, 2 (1991), 119–150; R. Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate 1250–1382* (London, 1986), pp. 32–34.

2 In Arabic texts emanating from the Mamluk Sultanate, this name is usually given as Abaghā. Persion sources or Arabic texts from the Īlkhānid state generally give it as Abāqā. Both Abaghā and the Persion pronounciation of Abāqā reflect the Mongol Abaγa.

3 Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rīkh al-duwal wa'l-mulūk*, MS. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Vienna), Flügel no. 814, fol. 110b; whence in al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*, I, ed. M. M. Ziyāda (Cairo, 1934–

cation, this call for "peace" meant unconditional submission to the Mongols.[4]

In 666/1268, complicated negotiations took place between Baybars and Hetᶜum, the king of Lesser Armenia, who was a Mongol vassal. The background for this parleying was the capture of Hetᶜum's son, Leon, during a Mamluk raid to Lesser Armenia.[5] Leon's release was eventually achieved but only at a steep price: Hetᶜum was forced to surrender a number of border fortresses to the Mamluks. In addition, the Armenian king had to obtain the release of a senior Mamluk officer, Sunqur al-Ashqar, from captivity among the Mongols.[6] In the aftermath of the successful conclusion of the negotiations and the release of the two senior prisoners, Hetᶜum again wrote to Baybars, offering his services as an intermediary between the Sultan and Abaγa Īlkhān, in order to bring about peace between the two sides and also to arrange for the release of Sunqur al-Ashqar's family, which had remained behind among the Mongols. Clearly Hetᶜum's hope was that the termination of hostilities between his Mongol lord and Baybars would lead to the end of the Mamluk attacks against his own country. Baybars was unwilling to commit himself to peace negotiations and commissioned Hetᶜum only to communicate to Abaγa that he was interested in negotiating the release of Sunqur al-Ashqar's family.[7]

1939), 553. Cf. Qirṭāy al-Khaznadārī, *Ta'rīkh al-nawādir*, fols. 87a–88a, who offers a detailed, alternative version of this mission, along with information as to its fate. However, this evidence, like much of his book, seems apocryphal. For a critique of Qirṭāy's veracity, see R. Irwin, "The Image of the Byzantine and the Frank in Arab Popular Literature of the Late Middle Ages," *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 4 (1989), 237–240.

4 This point will be discussed below.

5 On this raid, see Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, ch. 5; M. Canard, "La royaume d'Arménie-Cilicie et les Mamelouks jusqu'au traité de 1285," *Revue des études arméniennes*, 4 (1967), 228–232 [rpt. in M. Canard, *L'expansion arabo-islamique et ses répercussions* (London, 1979), art. VIII]; P. Thorau, *Sultan Baibars I. von Ägypten* (Wiesbaden, 1987), 212–214.

6 Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, ch. 5; Thorau, *Baibars*, pp. 215–216, 230–232; Canard, "La royaume," pp. 232–237.

7 Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, ch. 5; Thorau, *Baibars*, p.237; Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ẓāhir, *al-Rawḍ al-zāhir fī sīrat al-malik al-ẓāhir*, ed. ᶜA-ᶜA. al-Khuwayṭir (Riyāḍ, 1396/1976), p. 339; Ibn al-Furāt, MS. Vienna, fol. 152b.

This is the background to the exchange of letters between the Mamluk Sultan and the Īlkhān in 667/1269, the subject of the present article. It would appear that Hetᶜum had exceeded his brief, because in Abaγa's letter discussed below it is clear that the Īlkhān perceived that Baybars was interested in submitting to the Mongols, thus bringing about a state of "peace" as understood by the Mongols. Perhaps Hetᶜum thought that such a stratagem was justified by the hope that once negotiations commenced, even under false pretences, some type of rapprochement between the Mamluks and Mongols was possible.

*

The most complete account for this exchange of letters is given by the Mamluk historian Ibn al-Furāt (d. 807/1405), who conflates two distinct accounts of earlier writers. The first is by Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ẓāhir, Baybar's privy secretary and biographer. The second account is similar to that found among several, mostly Syrian, authors who flourished mainly during the first half of the 14th century: al-Yūnīnī (d. 726/1326), al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348), al-Kutubī (d. 764/1363), Ibn Kathīr (d. 775/1373) and Ibn al-Dawādārī (fl. 739–740/1338–1340);[8] the last mentioned is the only Egyptian author in the list.[9] The 15th century Egyptian historian Ibn Taghrī Birdī (d. 874/1469–1470) also relates this account. For convenience sake, these two versions will be called A and B respectively.[10]

Ibn al-Furāt begins by citing version A: In the late winter of 667/1228 Sultan Baybars was at Arsūf on the Palestinian coast

8 For this date, see P. M. Holt's review of G. Graf, *Die Epitome der Universal-chronik Ibn al-Dawādārīs im Verhältnis zur Langfassung* (Berlin, 1990), in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* [henceforth *BSOAS*], 54 (1991), 367.

9 It is beyond the scope of the present article to search for the ultimate origin of version B. I would speculate that it was the lost portion of Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥalabī's biography of Baybars. This work is cited by name in other contexts by Ibn al-Furāt, Ibn al-Dawādārī and the Syrian writers. Another possible source is one of the lost sections of al-Jazarī's *Ḥawādith al-zamān*.

10 In the particular passage under consideration here, Ibn al-Furāt does not cite his sources by name, as he often does throughout his chronicle. The establishment of his sources has been made through the comparison of his account with that of Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ẓāhir and other writers mentioned below in the notes.

when he received word that Abaγa's envoy had come to Hetᶜum's court. The Armenian king had sent to ask for an official to safely convey the envoy to the Sultan. Baybars dispatched one of his officers, who travelled to Cilicia and brought the envoy to Damascus, making sure that he did not speak with anyone on the way. No special reception was extended to the envoy and he was lodged in the citadel of Damascus.[11] Ibn al-Furāt then switches to version B, when he adds that the envoy himself was a Mongol officer (*kāna ... amīran min al-mughul*) and he was accompanied by Majd al-Dīn Dawlat Khān and Sayf al-Dīn Saᶜīd Turjumān ("translator"), along with a group sent along by the Armenian king.[12]

Ibn al-Furāt continues to alternate between the two versions. Following version A, he writes that Baybars, still at Arsūf, heard that the Mongol envoy had arrived in Damascus, and set off with a small entourage of officers.[13] Ibn al-Furāt then switches to version B: The day after reaching Damascus, Baybars called for the Mongol envoy (still unnamed) and demanded from him the message (*risāla*), which was delivered.[14] It went as follows: "When the

11 Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ẓāhir, p. 339; Ibn al-Furāt, fol. 153a, who is the source for al-Maqrīzī, I, 573–574. For the dependence of al-Maqrīzī on Ibn al-Furāt for the annals of these years, see R. Amitai-Preiss, "In the Aftermath of ᶜAyn Jālūt: The Beginnings of the Mamlūk-Īlkhānid Cold War," *Al-Masāq*, 3 (1990), 12–13. The parallel passage in al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, vol. XXX, ed. M. al-Suᶜayrī and M. M. Ziyāda (Cairo, 1990), 161, is only two lines long and summaries Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ẓāhir. This further proof that al-Nuwayrī was not the means by which Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ẓāhir's text was transmitted to Ibn al-Furāt, and thus to al-Maqrīzī.

12 Ibn al-Furāt, fol. 152b, who alone writes that the envoy was a Mongol officer; cf. al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl ᶜalā mir'at al-zamān* (Hyderabad, 1954–1961), I, 407, who names Majd al-Dīn Dawlat Khān b. Chakir (text: Jāqir) and Sayf al-Dīn Saᶜīd Turjumān as envoys, as well as "someone else from the Mongols." Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī ta'rīkh miṣr wa'l-qāhira* (rpt., Cairo, n. d.), VII, 144, follows al-Yūnīnī, although he names the first envoy as Muḥibb al-Dīn Dawlat Khān. Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar wa-jāmiᶜ al-ghurar*, VIII, ed. U. Haarmann (Freiburg–Cairo, 1971), 139–140, reports only that an envoy arrived, accompanied by Dawlat Khān and Sayf al-Dīn Saᶜīd. These two associates came as envoys to Baybars from Abaγa again in 670/1272; see Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, ch. 5; Ibn Shaddād, *Ta'rīkh al-malik al-ẓāhir*, ed. A. Ḥuṭayṭ (Wiesbaden, 1983), pp. 34–35; cf. Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ẓāhir, pp. 399–400, who mentions the second mission, but not the names of the envoys.

13 Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ẓāhir, p. 339; Ibn al-Furāt, fol. 153a; al-Maqrīzī, I, 574.

14 As will be seen below, this *risāla* was probably delivered orally in its entirety.

King Abaγa (*abaghā*) set out from the east and conquered the entire world,[15] no one opposed him, and anyone who opposed him died and was killed. And you, [even] if you go up to the sky or down into the ground, you will not be saved from us. The best policy (*maṣlaḥa*) is that you establish peace between us (*tajʿalu ṣulḥan baynanā*)." Ibn al-Furāt continues: "Among the verbal message (*mushāfaha*) [delivered by the envoy] was the following: 'You are a mamluk and were sold in Siwās.[16] How do you rebel against the kings of the world?'"[17]

At this point, Ibn al-Furāt returns to version A: The Mongol envoy thereupon presented a letter (*kitāb*) without a seal (*khatm*).[18] This Arabic letter will be the focus of the present article and a full translation will be given, along with accompanying notes to explain problematic words or passages. It should be mentioned that due to the poor style of this letter, the exact meaning of several sentences and phrases could not be ascertained with complete certitude. The translation will be followed by several comments of a more extensive nature. The following translation is taken directly from the text of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, since Ibn al-Furāt based his text on that source:[19]

15 Ibn al-Dawādārī, VIII, 139, adds at this point: "and [the people] became loyal to him."

16 This refers to the fact that Baybars's tribe, which was Kipchaki, had fled when he was a youth to Anatolia out of fear of the Mongols. There he was eventually enslaved and sold at Siwās in eastern Anatolia. See P. M. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades: The Near East from the eleventh century to 1517* (London, 1986), p. 90; Thorau, *Baibars*, pp. 17–19; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, VII, 96, citing Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥalabī.

17 Ibn al-Furāt, fol. 153a; who is followed by al-Maqrīzī, I, 574. A virtually identical version is found in al-Kutubī, *ʿUyun al-tawārīkh*, XX, ed. F. al-Sāmir and N. Dāwūd (Baghdād, 1982), 378; a similar version in Ibn al-Dawādārī, VIII, 139–140, except for addition in mentioned above in n. 15. Al-Yūnīnī, II, 407, relates the second statement as if was part of the *risāla*. Both al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh al-islām*, MS. Bodleian Laud 279, fol. 7a, and Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa'l-nihāya* (Rpt., Beirut, 1977), XIII, 378, state that the envoy transmitted verbally the entire message, which they give in a somewhat scrambled version (the latter account is shorter).

18 Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, p. 339; Ibn al-Furāt, fol. 153a.

19 Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *al-Rawḍ al-zāhir*, ed. Khuwayṭir, pp. 340–341; I also consulted the text of the letter as found in the MS. of this work (MS. Fatih [Sülemaniye] 4361, fol. 126a–b) and have noted in the notes any divergences in my reading from that of Khuwayṭir; I am grateful to Prof. David Ayalon for providing me with a photocopy of this MS. In addition, var-

By the power of God most high, [and] by the good fortune (*bi-iqbāl*)[20] of the Qa'an, the order (*farmān*) of Abaγa (*abāqā*):[21]

It should be known to the Sultan Rukn al-Dīn[22] [Baybars] that because letters to the Takfūr[23] have been presented to us,

iant readings are given in the notes from the Vienna MS. of Ibn al-Furāt, fols. 152b–153b, and al-ᶜAynī, *ᶜIqd al-jumān fī ta'rīkh ahl al-zamān*, MS. Topkapı Sarayı, Ahmet III, fol. 99a. Khuwayṭir in his notes to Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ẓāhir's text gives variants from the so-called Ḥasan al-Yafāᶜī, *Jāmiᶜ al-tawārīkh*, MS. Bibliothèque Nationale ar. 1543, fol. 199. While both the name of the author and title appear thus on the manuscript, it has been shown that in reality this work is only another manuscript of al-ᶜAynī's *ᶜIqd al-jumān*. (See M. de Slane in *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens orientaux*, vol. I [Paris, 1872], pp. xliv–xlv; I would like to thank Dr. Peter Jackson for this reference.) I have not been able to consult this MS, but have used Khuwayṭir's notes. Abaγa's letter was first translated in Khuwayṭir's Ph. D. dissertation (A. A. Khowaiter, *A Critical Edition of an Unknown Arabic Source for the Life of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Baybars*, Ph. D. diss., University of London, 1960, II, 698–700), and summarized by him in his book *Baibars the First: His Endeavours and Achievements* (London, 1978), pp. 58–59. It is my contention that there are several mistakes in his translation, based in part on a faulty reading of words in the text. Major differences between Khuwayṭir's translation and the present one are noted below in the notes.

20 For *iqbāl* in the sense of "good fortune," see E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon* (London, 1863–1893), VIII, 377b. According to the Mongol imperial ideology, the "special good fortune (*suu*) attributed to Chinggis Khan and his successors ... validated and proclaimed their commission to carry out the heavenly mandate" to bring all the peoples of the world under their control; T. T. Allsen, "Changing Forms of Legitimation in Mongol Iran," in G. Seaman and D. Marks, *Rulers from the Steppe: State Formation on the Eurasian Periphery* (Los Angeles, 1990), p. 223. The Mongol word *suu* is the equivalent of the Turkic *qut* or *kut;* on the latter term, see G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish* (Oxford, 1972), p. 594; R. Dankoff (tr. and ed.), Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥājib, *Wisdom of Royal Glory (Kutadgu Bilig)* (Chicago, 1983), p. 1 of the introduction. Interestingly enough, Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī in R. Dankoff and J. Kelly (eds.), *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects* (Cambridge, MA, 1982–1985), I, 257, translated *qut*, not by the word *iqbāl*, but by *dawla* and *jadd*.

21 This opening formula will be discussed below. Khuwayṭir, *Critical Edition*, II, 698, misunderstood this phrase, rendering it: "By the might of God most High, the auspices of the Qa'an Farman Abaga." In a note, Khuwayṭir writes: "Meaning, presumably, He who is at the command of the Qa'an."

22 Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ẓāhir, MS. Fatih: *yuᶜlamu li'l-sulṭān...;* cf. ed. Khuwayṭir, p. 340: *yaᶜlimu al-sulṭān;* the latter form is in Ibn al-Furāt, fol. 153a and al-ᶜAynī, MS. Ahmet III.

23 *Takfūr* (< Armenian *tagavor*, "king" or "prince") was the title applied by the Mamluk authors to the king of Lesser Armenia, then Hetᶜum I;

[we have learned] that the envoys whom the Īlkhān[24] had sent were killed only by Quṭuz.[25] And [we have also learned] that the princes (*mulūk*)[26] ask for mediation [from the Armenian king] in order to submit (*ḥattā yaṣīrū īl*),[27] and "now if the Īlkhān[28] will grant me favor, I will submit."[29] We have heard that you have requested the Kipchaks who are with us, and they are: Sayf al-Dīn Balabān, Badr al-Dīn Bakmish, and the sons of Sayf al-Dīn Sakiz.[30]

There is no doubt for years [as to] that which was between you and us.[31] It is true that between our older and younger

E. A. W. Budge, *The Monks of Kublai Khan, Emperor of China* (Manchester, 1928), p. 78; R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (Leiden, 1881), I, 149 (who adds that it was also used for the Greek emperors of Constantinople and Trebizond).

24 This refers to Hülegü; see the next note. For the use of the title *īlkhān* here and later in the letter, see the discussion below.

25 This refers to the Mongol envoys sent by Hülegü in 658/1260 to the Mamluks. These envoys were executed by the Sultan Quṭuz, after consulting with the senior Mamluk commanders. See above; Ibn al-Furāt, MS. Vatican ar. 726, fol. 223b–224b; al-Maqrīzī, I, 427–429; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmiᶜ al-tawārīkh*, III, ed. ᶜA. ᶜAlīzādah (Baku, 1957), 71.

26 This refers to the Mamluk leaders.

27 Khuwayṭir, *Critical Edition*, p. 698, mistakenly writes here "so that they may become governors." For the term *īl ṣāra*, see below.

28 Īlkhān here alludes to Abaγa.

29 Here the letter has slipped into the first person singular of Baybars's so-called request.

30 Here the letter refers to some of Baybars's comrades from the Baḥriyya regiment. Hülegü had captured them when he took Aleppo, where they had been in captivity; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-fikra fī tā'rīkh al-hijra*, MS. British Library Add. 23325, fols. 29b, 37a. As mentioned above, one member of this group, Sunqur al-Ashqar, had been released the previous year, as a result of negotiations between Baybars and King Hetᶜum of Lesser Armenia.

31 It would seem that this is an oblique reference to previous Mamluk successes in their war against the Mongols. This explanation fits the next sentence. The translation of this sentence is problematic, and I have had recourse to a free translation; it would be easier to understand if the preposition *fī* was found instead of the word *alladhī*. The MS. of Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ẓāhir reads: *wa-lā rayba mundhu sinīn alladhī mā kāna qibalakum maᶜanā;* Khuwayṭir, p. 340, incorrectly read *alladhīna* instead of *alladhī*. Ibn al-Furāt, fol. 153a and al-ᶜAynī, MS. Ahmet III, fol. 99a, insert the particle *an*[*na?*] after *wa-lā rayba*. This is an indication that al-ᶜAynī's version is derived from Ibn al-Furāt. However, there are some variants in al-ᶜAynī's text: *alladhīna* instead of *alladhī; mudhu* instead of *mundhu*. Khuwayṭir, Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ẓāhir, p. 340, n. 2, writes that the Paris MS. of

brothers,[32] there was conflict. Because of this we could not ride towards you. But now, when all of us among the older and younger brothers have held a *qūrīltāy* (assembly), and we have agreed not to change the command (*farmān*) and decree (*yāsāh*)[33] of the Qa'an.[34]

You have presented and petitioned: "We will submit (*naṣīrū īl*) and give [over] power."[35] We are pleased by [this expression] of yours. For from the rising of the sun to its setting, in the entire world, there are those who come forth, become loyal and enter into servitude [to the Mongols]. And it was before this in the command (*farmān*) and decrees (*yāsāt*)[36] of Chinggis Khan[37] and

al-ᶜAynī's *ᶜIqd al-jumān* (which he calls *Jāmiᶜ al-tawārīkh,* see n. 19 above) has *anna mudhnibīn* instead of *mundhu sinīn.* This reading surely contributed to Khuwayṭir's translation of Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ẓāhir (*Critical Edition,* p. 668): "There is no doubt that those who preceded you were guilty," which has no basis in any of the other versions of this letter.

32 *ikhwāninā al-kibār wa'l-sighār.* This is a translation of the expression, composed of two Turkic words, found in the Persian sources *aqā wa īnī;* see e.g., Rashīd al-Dīn, III, 20; see also G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen* (Wiesbaden, 1963–1975), I, 134–135 [henceforth *TMEN*]. The intention of this expression is to the senior and junior members of the Chinggisid family. Khuwayṭir (*Baibars the First,* p. 58) suggested that this sentence presumably refers to the conflict between Qubilai and Ariq-böke. While this is possible, it is also likely that the intention was to the war between the Īlkhānids and the khans of the Golden Horde, since this directly prevented the Īlkhāns from devoting themselves to revenging ᶜAyn Jālūt.

33 Thus in Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ẓāhir, and Ibn al-Furāt, fol. 153a; in al-ᶜAynī, MS. Ahmet III, fol. 99a, and MS. Paris, fol. 199 (as cited by Khuwayṭir, Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ẓāhir, p. 340, n. 3): *yāsāq.* The term *yasa* will be discussed below.

34 The Qa'an referred to here is of course Qubilai. Abaγa may be alluding to a reconciliation between Ariq-böke and Qubilai, or himself and the princes of the Golden Horde and the Chagatayid Khanate. While there is evidence for some type of abeyance in hostilities between the Mongol states at this time (see Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks,* ch. 4), there is no information on an international *quriltai.* In addition, war was soon to break out between Abaγa and Baraq, ruler of the Chagatayid Khanate.

35 It is possible that the verb could be read in the passive, and the whole sentence would then mean that Baybars wants to submit and be kept in power.

36 Thus in Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ẓāhir, p. 340, and Ibn al-Furāt, fol. 153b. Al-ᶜAynī, MS. Paris, fol. 199 (as cited by Khuwayṭir, Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ẓāhir, p. 340, n. 4) and MS. Ahmet III, fol. 99a: *yāsāq.*

37 In Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ẓāhir, p. 340, and Ibn al-Furāt, fol. 153b: جنيلكز , a mistranscription for جينككز. This fairly accurately transliterates the Mongolian Chinggis Khan; cf. جينككيز , as found, e.g., in Rashīd al-Dīn, III,

now also in the command (*farmān*) and decrees (*yāsāt*)[38] of the Qa'an thus (*haykadāh* [*sic!*])[39] that when the father commits a crime, the son should not be held accountable, and if a brother commits a crime, he is not held responsible for the crime of the younger brother.[40] If there was a most heinous crime, [then] the sultan Quṭuz[41] committed it and he is responsible for it.

21. Al-ʿAynī, MS. Ahmet III, fol. 99a and MS. Paris, fol. 199 (as cited by Khuwayṭir, Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, p. 340, n. 4), have جنكز , which is the form generally found in Arabic sources. I would suggest that al-ʿAynī, "corrected" the name to bring it into line with the standard form in Arabic works. The more "authentic" form in Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir indicates that this is the more "authentic" version of the letter, as is to be expected. Interestingly enough, both Arabic forms of Chinggis Khan as well as the Persian variant end in a *zā'* and not a *sīn*, indicating perhaps that is the final letter of the name was pronounced as a "z" by the Mongols or at least this was how it was heard by Persian and Arabic speakers.

38 See n. 36 above for similar parallel and variant readings.

39 The MS. of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir has هىْكداه , with a *sukūn* over the *yā'*, but with no diacritical points under this letter; Khuwayṭir, Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, p. 340, read this as هنكداه and queries his reading. Ibn al-Furāt, fol. 153b, and al-ʿAynī, MS. Ahmet III, fol. 99a both give: هىكداه . Khuwayṭir in a note, writes that the Paris MS of al-ʿAynī, fol. 199 has مىكداه . It appears that this word is a colloquial variant, seemingly pronounced *hekadā* or *hekadhā*, of the Classical *hākadhā*, "thus." It is found in this latter form below in this letter. See W. Fischer, *Die demonstrativen Bildungen der neuarabischen Dialekte* ('S-Gravenhage, 1959), pp. 134–142. Prof. J. Blau informs me that the addition of the *hā'* at the end of the word is unusual and is an example of a particularly vulgar orthography.

Khuwayṭir's misreading of this word led to his misunderstanding of the passage. He writes (*Critical Edition*, p. 699): "... subject to the command and mandate of the Khan [*sic*] Maikdah?" In a note, Khuwayṭir adds that this "could be a reference to the fact that Baibars tribe was once under the Mongol rule," which of course has no relevance here.

40 Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, p. 340: *wa-law yudhnibu al-akh ma yamsikūnahu bi-dhanbi al-akh al-saghīr*. The exact translation of this sentence is perplexing, but the intention is similar to the previous sentence: a person is not to be held accountable for the "sins" of his predecessors or family members. This practice may be compared to the behavior of Chinese, which is criticized in the Turkic inscription found at Kül Tigin (A.D. 732): "(The Chinese) do not let the real wise men and real brave men make progress. If a man commits an error, (the Chinese) do not give shelter to anybody (from his immediate family)[,] to the families of his clan or tribe." Talât Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic* (Bloomington, 1968), p. 262 (line S6). I am grateful to Dr. M. Erdal for bringing this information to my attention.

41 Text: *qūdūz*, the form often found in pro-Īlkhānid Persian sources (e.g. Rashīd al-Dīn, III, 71–74). N.B. the different form of the name used in this document above; *quṭuz* is the form found in Mamluk sources.

The obligation (*al-ḥaqq*) has been received by you.[42] If you are true to your word which you said,[43] send us from among your brothers,[44] your sons or your senior officers to here, so that we may make clear to them the command (*yarlīgh*)[45] and decrees (*yāsāt*)[46] of the Qa'an. They shall return to you. When there is agreement between us, the people for whom you asked from us will go and we will give [them] to you. If you are not true to your word, and are rebellious,[47] and consider incorrect things, what

42 Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, p. 340: *fa-qubila ʿalā yadika al-ḥaqq*. Ibn al-Furāt, fol. 153b; al-ʿAynī, MS. Ahmet III, fol. 99a: *bi'l-ḥaqq* instead of *al-ḥaqq*. Khuwayṭir, *Critical Edition*, p. 699, translates this sentence: "Fair judgement is accepted at your hand." *Al-ḥaqq* must refer to the obligation to submit to the Mongols.

43 This sentence, along with the previous one, refer again to Baybars's supposed willingness to submit.

44 It would seem that this refers to one of Baybars's comrades (*khushdāshiyya*) from the Baḥriyya regiments.

45 Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, p. 340: *barlīgh*, as in MS., fol. 126b; in Ibn al-Furāt, fol. 153b, it is written without any diacritical points; al-ʿAyni, MS. Ahmet III: *yarlīgh*. The word *yarlīgh* (Mongolian: *ǰarliγ;* Turkish *yarliγ*) is used here as the equivalent of the Persian *farmān*. See Doerfer, *TMEN*, IV, 153–158; Clauson, *Dictionary*, pp. 966–967.

46 See n. 36 above for parallel and variant readings.

47 Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, MS. Fatih, fol. 126b, has *bāghī*, which must be a corruption of *yāghī* < Turkic *yaγı*; on this last mentioned word, see Doerfer, *TMEN*, II, 197; Clauson, *Dictionary*, p. 898. Khuwayṭir (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, p. 341) read the word as the Arabic word *bāghī*, which he translated as "unjust" (*Critical Edition*, p. 699). This reading is wrong for two reasons. First, as has been seen, the Arabic text mistakenly writes *yarlīgh* with a *bā'* at the beginning of the word, i.e. there is a tendency in this letter to put *bā'* in place of *yā'* in words of Turkish or Mongolian origin. Second, in the Mongol ideology, *yaγı* was the opposite of *īl* (submission); for the opposition of these two terms, see e.g., Rashīd al-Dīn, III, 66; Doerfer, *TMEN*, II, 197; IV, 99–102. Boyle writes that the Turkic *yaγı* "corresponds to the Mongol *bulγa*"; J. A. Boyle, "The Death of the Last ʿAbbāsid Caliph: A Contemporary Muslim Account," *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 6 (1961), 152, n. 1 [rpt. in J. A. Boyle, *The Mongol World Empire 1206–1370* (London, 1977), art. XI.]. Actually there is a small difference between the two words, since Mongolian *bulγa* (< Turkic *bulγaq*) means "confusion" and refers to internal disorder); Clauson, *Dictionary*, p. 336; Doerfer, *TMEN*, II, 317. Doerfer (*TMEN*, II, 318–319) writes that *yaγı* alludes to the state of being at war with the Mongols by those who have yet to submit, while *bulγa* refers to the rebellion of someone who already had become *īl*.

(*aysh*) will we know?[48] God will know this [as will] the good fortune of the Qa'an.[49]

We have ordered thus (*hākadhā*) and sent to you these two envoys, and they are Bīk Ṭūt[50] and Abū al-Gharīb,[51] on postal horses (*bi'l-ūlāgh*).[52]

Written on the 20th of the month if Rabīᶜ II, the year 667 (27 December 1268), in the location of Baghdād.

The source concludes that the letter "had four seals in red (*ṭamghāt bi'l-aḥmar*)[53] at the joints."

*

Some expressions and words from this letter deserve further commentary:

1. Opening formula: *bi-quwwat allāh taᶜālā bi-iqbāl qā'ān farmān abāqā* was translated as "By the power of God most high, [and] by the good fortune of the Qa'an, the order of Abaγa." This opening

48 For *aysh*, a colloquial word which means "what," see Dozy, I, 46. The intention here is that Abaγa will not know, but God will.

49 The intention here is not completely clear, but it appears that God and the good fortune (placed on) the Qa'an are equated. An explication of these two sentences can perhaps be found by comparing a passage from Möngke's letter to Louis IX, as cited by William of Rubruck: "But if, on hearing and understanding the order of the everlasting God, you are unwilling to observe it or to place any trust in it, and say, 'Our country is far away, our mountains are strong, our sea is broad', and relying on this you make war upon us – how can we know what will happen? He who has made easy what was hard, and brought near what was far distant, the everlasting – He knows." P. Jackson (tr. and ed.) and D. Morgan (ed.), *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck* (London, 1990), p. 250. For examples of similar expressions, see ᶜAṭā Malik Juwaynī, *History of the World Conqueror*, tr. J. A. Boyle (Manchester, 1958), I, 25 and n. 4.

50 This would seem to be the unnamed Mongol envoy mentioned above.

51 This personage was not alluded to before, unless this *kunya* belongs either to Dawlat Khān or Sayf al-Dīn Saᶜīd Turjumān, mentioned above.

52 For the *ulaγ*, see Doerfer, *TMEN*, II, 102–107. Khuwayṭir (*Critical Edition*, p. 700), understood this to be part of the name: "Abū 'l-Gharīb Balaulāgh."

53 This is the *al tamγa*, the highest state seal of the Mongols. This seal was often placed several times in a single letter on the junctions of the attached sheets, as in the current letter. See Doerfer, *TMEN*, II, 562–563; A. Mostaert and F. W. Cleaves, *Les lettres de 1289 et 1305 des ilkhans Arγun et Öljeitü à Philippe le Bel* (Cambridge, MA, 1962), pp. 16–85.

sentence is similar to those found in the letters and edicts issued by the Qa'ans and Īlkhānids in Mongolian,[54] and evokes the heaven-given mandate to the Mongols to conquer and rule the world.[55] The earliest extant Īlkhānid example in Mongolian is the letter from Arγun to Philip the Fair in 1289: *Mongke* [*sic*] *tngri-yin küčün-dür qaγan-u suu-dur. arγun üge manu,* which Mostaeret and Cleaves translated as "Dans la force du Ciel éternel, dans la Fortune du qaγan. Parole de nous, Arγun."[56] Little importance should be attached to the replacement of *tngri* (= *tengri*) by *allāh taᶜālā* in the present letter of Abaγa. *Tengri* also has the meaning of "god", and thus was translated into Arabic by *allāh*. The Muslim secretaries of the Mongols, who tended to use Islamic words and imagery in the correspondence which they composed,[57] would automatically have added *taᶜālā* ("may he be exalted") to *allāh*. While this opening phrase therefore does not contain anything specifically Islamic, there is also nothing anti-Muslim embodied in it, and thus could be employed when the Īlkhāns converted to Islam: in Ahmad Tegüder's letter to Sultan Qalāwūn in 681/1282, the same opening phrase is used, albeit preceded by the *basmala*.[58]

54 See E. Voegelin, "The Mongol Orders of Submission to European Powers, 1245–1255," *Byzantion,* 15 (1940–1941), 378–413, esp. 392–401; N. Poppe, *The Mongolian Monuments in hP'ags-pa Script,* 2nd. ed. translated by J. R. Krueger (Wiesbaden, 1957), pp. 67–78; W. Kotwicz, "Formules initiales des documents mongols aux XIIIe et XIVe ss.", *Rocznik Orientalistyczny,* 10 (1934), 131–157, esp. 134–139; Allsen, "Legitimation," pp. 223–225; F. Cleaves, "The Mongolean Documents in Musée de Teheran," *HJAS,* 16 (1953), 40. Attention can be drawn to the use of similar formulae in both *The Secret History of the Mongols* (par. 275 = tr. Cleaves, p. 215) and in the rituals of the Yuan court in China (P. Ratchnevsky, "Über den mongolischen Kult am Hofe der Grosskhane in China," in L. Ligeti, *Mongolian Studies* [Amsterdam, 1970], pp. 426–427).

55 On this mandate, see Allsen, "Changing Forms," p. 223; J. F. Fletcher, "The Mongols: Ecological and Social Perspectives," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies,* 46 (1986), 19, 30–35; I. de Rachelwiltz, "Some Remarks on the Ideological Foundations of Chingis Khan's Empre," *Papers on Far Eastern History,* 7 (1973), 21–36.

56 Mostaert and Cleaves, *Les lettres,* pp. 17–18.

57 One particularly clear example is Hülegü's letter to Quṭuz in 658/1260, in which passages from the Qur'ān are cited; Ibn al-Furāt, fol. 243b–244a; whence al-Maqrīzī, I, 427–428.

58 Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubda,* fol. 131a (published as an appendix in al-Maqrīzī, I, 978); Ibn al-ᶜIbrī (Bar Hebraeus), *Mukhtaṣar ta'rīkh al-bashar,* ed. A. Ṣāliḥānī (Beirut, 1890), p. 506.

This is not the first time that a form of this standard phrase was used by Abaγa, although again not in Mongolian. A letter written in Latin to the Pope Clement IV in the summer of 1268 begins: *Per virtutem dei vivi et potentiam Chaan, verbum Abagha,* which translates as "By the virtue of the living God and the power of the Qa'an, the word of Abaγa."[59] It is interesting to note that the attributes attached to God and the Qa'an are somewhat different than in the standard Mongolian formula. The form in Abaγa's Arabic is identical to the Mongolian model.

Abaγa's letter of 667/1269 is not the first example of this formula in Arabic. A parallel phrase (with the addition of Möngke's name) is found on silver coin minted at Ḥarrān in 659/1261–1262: *bi-quwwat allāh taʿālā wa-iqbāl munkkā qāʾān,* "By the power of God most high, and [by] the good fortune of Möngke Qa'an."[60] A Persian variant of this last mentioned formula appeared on a series of silver coins struck in Tiflis (Tiblisi) in the 650's, the earliest from 650/1252–1253: *ba-quwwat-i khudāy ba-iqbāl-i pādshā-yi* [sic] *jahān mankū qāʿān,* "By the power of God, by the food fortune of the emperor of the world, Mengü [= Möngke] Qa'an."[61]

The importance of this phrase on the current letter is that it is an indication of the continuing belief by Abaγa in the Mongol imperial ideal of the heaven-given mandate to conquer the world. Further evidence for this belief is the use of the terms *īl* and *yāghī* in the letter. The basis of Abaγa's call on Baybars to submit is to recognize this heavenly mandate or to face the consequences.

59 K.-E. Lupprian, *Die Beziehungen der Päpste zu islamischen und mongolischen Herrschern im 13. Jahrhundert anhand ihres Briefwechsels* (Vatican City, 1981), p. 224. See also Allsen, "Changing Forms," p. 227.

60 Nitzan and R. Amitai-Preiss, "Two Notes on the Protocol on Hülegü's Coinage," *Israel Numismatic Journal,* 10 (1988–1989), 125.

61 C. M. Fraehn, "De Il-Chanorum seu Chulaguidarum Numis," *Memoires de l'Académie Imperiale des Sciences de Saint-Petersbourg: sciences politiques, histoire et philologie,* 6e serie, II (1843), 492, No. 8; V. Langlois, *Essai de classification des suites monétaires de la Géorgie* (Paris, 1860), pp. 83–84 and plates VII,2 and X,2. These coins are mentioned in Allsen, *Mongol Imperialism* (Berkeley, 1987), p. 43, n. 82; *idem,* "Changing Forms," p. 225; M. E. Drouin, "Notice sur les monnaies mongoles," *Journal asiatique,* 9th ser., 7 (1896), 507; I have slightly amended the reading of the text.

2. The word *īl*: The expression *īl ṣāra* is unusual and is a translation of the Persian formula *īl shudan* which means "to submit," specifically to the Mongols.[62]

Some additional comment on the use of the word *īl* (< Mongolian *el*) in the sense of submission is perhaps in order. In a forthcoming article, Dr. Marcel Erdal shows that the word *el* appears early on in both Mongolian and Turkic, albeit not frequently, in verbal phrases in the sense, of "to be in harmony," or "to be in peace," describing the relationship between rulers of equal rank.[63] Thus it appears once in the *Secret History of the Mongols*.[64] Erdal adds that due to the small number of examples (in the Mongolian and Turkic sources), it can not be stated definitively if it is an accident whether the verbal phrase containing *el* only refers to rulers of equal rank. Be that as it may, in the Persian sources of the Mongol invasion of the Islamic world, *īl shudan* is used to describe the relationship between the Mongol rulers (the Qa'an, his representative, or the Īlkhān) and subject rulers or peoples, who submit. In other words, in order for one to be in "peace" or "harmony" with the Mongols (the original meaning of *el*), one has to unconditionally submit (*īl shudan*). From this, we can better understand the Mongol use of the Arabic word *ṣulḥ*, which literally means peace, but in the Mongol context really translates as "unconditional surrender." Thus we find in the *risāla* delivered to Baybars before the letter: "The best policy is that you establish peace (*ṣulḥ*) between us." There is already no doubt from the context of this letter as to the true intention which hid behind this seemingly innocuous and positive word. From an examination of a parallel expression in Mongolian, *el/īl*,[65] its real meaning becomes even more evident.

62 For this Persian expression, see Doerfer, *TMEN*, II, 196.

63 M. Erdal, "Die Türkisch-mongolischen Titel *elxan* und *elci*," *Proceedings of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference (Berlin, July 1991)*, forthcoming, also writes that *el* in the sense of peace or harmony should not be confused with the Turkic homonym meaning tribe.

64 Chapter 150. See I. de Rachewiltz, *Index to the Secret History of the Mongols* (Bloomington, 1972), p. 69, line 4532; F. W. Cleaves (tr. and ed.), *The Secret History of the Mongols* (Cambridge, MA, 1982), p. 79.

65 Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī (tr. Dankoff and Kelly, I, 97 = fol. 36; cited by Erdal, "Die türkisch-mongolischen Titel," n. 19), translates *el* by the word *ṣulḥ*, adding that it means peace between two kings.

3. The title *īlkhān*: This title appears on Abaγa's coins,[66] continuing a numismatic tradition evidently established by Hülegü in 658/1259–1260.[67] We find *īlkhān* in use in contemporary literary accounts for Hülegü,[68] and there is indirect evidence that *īlkhān* was also employed in the diplomatic protocol of this ruler as early as 657/1259.[69] In the few extant letters of Hülegü, however, there is no example of this term.[70]

Previous to Abaγa letter currently under discussion, there is also indirect evidence that *īlkhān* was in use by Abaγa in his correspondence: In a letter from Pope Clement IV to Abaγa in 1267, written in response to a now lost letter from Abaγa, the latter is addressed as "Elchani Apacha,"[71] indicating that Abaγa was thus called in his letter, or at least by this title was used by his envoys. The letter of 1269 is the first document written in the name of the Mongol ruler of Iran in which the title *īlkhān* unequivocally appears.

In general, the title *īlkhān* has been translated as "subject *khān*,"[72] although "peaceful *khān*" and even "*khān* of the country" has also been proposed.[73] It has been suggested that the use of "subject khan" refers to the relationship between the Hülegüid ru-

66 See, e.g., S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, vol. VI, *The Coins of the Mongols* (London, 1881), 22–23; vol. X, *Additions to the Oriental Collection* (London, 1890), 93–95.

67 Amitai-Preiss, "Two Notes on the Protocol," pp. 117–128.

68 For some examples, see R. Amitai-Preiss, "Early Evidence for the Use of the Title *īlkhān* among the Mongols," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 3rd ser., 1 (1991), 353. For an additional example, see R. W. Thomson, "The Historical Compilation of Vardan Arewelcʿi," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 43 (1989), 220–221 (s.a. 1264).

69 See Amitai-Preiss, "Early Evidence," pp. 353–361.

70 See, e.g., P. Meyvaert, "An Unknown letter of Hulagu, Il-Khan of Persia, to King Louis IX of France," *Viator*, 11 (1980), 253, where Hülegü is called "Huyleu cham" (i.e. Khan). I am grateful to Dr. P. Jackson for bringing this evidence to my attention.

71 Lupprian, *Die Beziehungen*, pp. 221; Amitai-Preiss, Mongols and Mamluks; Allsen, "Changing Forms," p. 227.

72 See Doerfer, *TMEN*, II, 207–209; Allsen, *Mongol Imperialism*, p. 48; A. Mostaert and F. W. Cleaves, "Trois documents des archives secrètes vaticanes," *HJAS*, 15 (1952), 454; D. Morgan, *Medieval Persia 1040–1797* (London, 1988), p. 178; P. Ratchnevsky, *Genghis Khan: His Life and Legacy*, tr. T. N. Haining (Oxford, 1991), p. 274.

73 Doerfer, *TMEN*, II, 207–209; B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, 4th ed. (Berlin, 1985), p. 225.

ler of Iran and the Qa'an in the East: the former was thus clearly expressing his subservience to the Qa'an, and this title perhaps helped provide legitimacy *vis-à-vis* the Mongols of the Golden Horde and the Chaghatayid Khanate who cast aspersions on his right to rule.[74] In a recent article, Dr. Dorothea Krawulsky offers a different explanation for the meaning of this term: *īlkhān* means the khan who brings *īl*, i.e. peace and harmony, to the world.[75] Like the former suggestion, this is speculative, since there is no textual basis for this explanation. There is, however, one argument which strengthens the latter suggestion: in the Mongol lexicon the term *īl* refers more to the relation between the Mongol rulers and their non-Mongol subjects than the relationship between the Qa'an and other members of the Chinggisid family. Therefore the *īl* in *īlkhān* would *a priori* seem to be referring to the non-Mongol subject population, and not the connection of the Hülegüids to the Qa'an in the East. Perhaps additional research will lead to the uncovering of texts which will elucidate this matter further.[76]

The matter is complicated by the etymology of *īlkhān*. Dr. Erdal, in the article mentioned above, has suggested that *elkhan* (> *īlkhān* in Arabic and Persion transcription) is actually an old Turkic title, which in turn is a contraction of the title *eligkhan*; this can be translated simply as "ruler." This title was adopted by the Hülegüid Mongols, although the meaning given to *elkhan* by the Mongols is unclear. It is conceivable that they employed it merely in the sense of "ruler." It is also possible that they connected the title with the Mongol word *el*, either in the sense of "subject" on one hand, or "peaceful" and "in harmony" on the other

74 See Amitai-Preiss, "Protocol on Hülegü's Coinage," pp. 117–121; Amitai-Preiss, "Early Evidence," p. 353.

75 D. Krawulsky, "Die Dynastie der Ilkhâne. Eine Untersuchung zu Regierungsbeginn, Dynastie- und Reichsname," in D. Krawulsky, *Mongolen Ilkhâne und Ideologie Geschichte* (Beirut, 1989), pp. 93–98; I am grateful to Mr. S. Heidemann for bringing this article to my attention.

76 Although Krawulsky's article (together with M. Erdal's article; see below) has led me to question my own suggestion for the adoption of the title *īlkhān* (see note 74), her proposal that *īlkhān* first came into use ca. A.D. 1264 cannot be accepted. She takes into consideration neither the numismatic nor literary evidence. The term *īlkhān* is applied to Hülegü as early as 1255 by historians. Although some of this evidence may be anachronistic, *īlkhān* is found in two clearly datable instances from 1259. See Amitai-Preiss, "Early Evidence," pp. 353–361.

hand.[77] In this connection, it is worth looking at the current letter, where in one instance, the words *īl* and *īlkhān* are found in the same sentence: *wa'l-āna law yunᶜimu fī ḥaqqī īlkhān aṣīru īl* ("And now, if the Īlkhān will grant me favor, I will submit."). This combination strengthens Erdal's suggestion: the appearance of the two words appear together hint at a connection between them, i. e. whatever the original meaning of the term *īlkhān*, in the Mongol lexicon of the 1260s, the Īlkhān was associated with *īl*. Whether this meant that the Hülegüids were "subject khans" or "the khans who brought *īl*" is, as said above, another matter.

It is worth noting that in Abaɣa's letter as well in other Arabic texts, the title *īlkhān* is written without a definite article, whether or not it is written in conjuncture with a proper name.[78]

4. The use of the word *yasa*: Recent years have seen much fruitful and interesting discussion on the nature of the Mongol Yasa, which had traditionally been seen as an all-encompassing legal code.[79] One conclusion, which is common to most recent research, is that the actual contents of the Yasa are less clearly known than had been previously thought. One point of disagreement between scholars is whether there ever actually existed a "Great Yasa" which can be attributed to Chinggis Khan, although all would agree that subsequently various Mongol rulers and other personalities ascribe some type of legal corpus to their ancestor. In the following comments, I do not attempt to deal with the question of whether Chinggis Khan actually enacted a comprehensive legal code, called the Yasa, but only discuss the use of this term in Abaɣa's time, as reflected in the present letter.

77 Erdal, "Die türkisch-mongolischen Titel". Erdal adds that the translation of *elkhan* as "subject" or "peaceful" Khan is based on a false etymology. Cf. Doerfer, *TMEN*, II, 207–209.

78 See Amitai-Preiss, "Early Evidence," p. 356; al-Yūnīnī, I, 378; Ibn al-ᶜIbrī, pp. 497, 502, 503, 505, 520.

79 See D. Ayalon, "The Great Yāsa of Chingiz Khān. A Reexamination." *Studia Islamica*, 33 (1971), 97–140; 34 (1971), 151–180; 36 (1972), 113–158; 38 (1973), 107–156 [reprinted in D. Ayalon, *Outsiders in the Lands of Islam: Mamluks, Mongols and Eunuchs* (London, 1988), art. IV; see also p. X of the introduction of this collection]; D. O. Morgan, "The 'Great Yāsā of Chingiz Khān' and Mongol Law in the Ilkhanate," *BSOAS*, 49 (1986), 163–176; Morgan, *BSOAS*, 52 (1989), 350–351; P. Jackson, *JRAS*, 1989, 237–328; Ratchnevsky, *Genghis Khan*, 187–196.

Abaγa's letter from 1269 contains four references to *yasa*. According to the versions found in Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ẓāhir and Ibn al-Furāt, one time this is written *yāsāh,* while three times it is written with an Arabic plural: *yāsāt.* The two MSS of al-ᶜAynī give all instances as *yāsāq,* which is a close transliteration of the Mongolian *ǰasaq.* In spite of this linguistic similarity in al-ᶜAynī, the version first found in Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ẓāhir is to be preferred, since he was a contemporary of these events, and as Baybars's privy secretary would likely have seen the original letter.

The use of *yāsāh/yāsāt* in Abaγa's letter is worth examining. First, the fact that three out of four times the word is given in the plural indicate that we are dealing here with "decrees" or "laws" and not the Yasa, as a name for a unified legal code.

Secondly, *yāsāh/yāsāt* is three times found together with the word *farmān* and once with *yarlīgh;* these two words, meaning command or order, are essentially equivalent. The pairs *farmān/yarlīgh wa-yāsāh/yāsāt* have been translated as "command and decree(s)."[80]

Thirdly, and most important, is the context which *yāsāh/yāsāt* is found. Three times, we find *farmān/yarlīgh wa-yāsāh/yāsāt* together with the title Qa'an. It is clear that this refers to the present holder of this title, i.e. Qubilai Qa'an, Abaγa's titular overlord. One time the letter unequivocally reads: *wa'l-āna aydan fī farmān wa-yāsāt qā'ān,* "And *now* also in the order and decrees of the Qa'an." Thus, whatever the exact meaning of *yāsāh/yāsāt,* it is seen that they can be promulgated by the current Qa'an and do not necessarily have to be derived from Chinggis Khan. In addition, in the fourth instance, it is written "before this in the *farmān* and *yāsāt* of Chinggis Khan" and this is followed by the just cited "and now also in the *farmān* and *yāsāt* of the Qa'an..." It appears then that *yāsāt* of the current Qa'an are equated with those of Chinggis Khan.

Whatever the exact meaning of *yasa* in Chinggis Khan's time, from the current letter we learn that here at least the intention is evidently to decrees of some type. Even if the term is translated as laws, those of the current Qa'an are seemingly of no less stature that those of the great Chinggis Khan. In any case, it is clear that

80 See Morgan, "Great *Yāsā*," pp. 164–173, esp. pp. 164, 168.

in this particular letter *yāsāh/yāsāt* refer to specific decrees or laws, and not a unified code of law (the "Great Yasa") of Chinggis Khan. However, from Baybars reply to Abaγa, which will be examined below, it will be seen that the matter is not so cut-and-dry, and thus the question will be taken up again below.

5. The Arabic style of the letter: The vulgar language of this letter is noteworthy. Two clear examples are the use of the colloquial forms *haykadāh* and *aysh* in written text, although the latter word was already used in writing. This is a topic which goes beyond the subject of the present paper, and is worthy of further study. This vulgar style, referred to as "Middle Arabic," is highly unusual for diplomatic writing, even of the Mongols (cf. Hülegü's letter to Quṭuz, s.a. 658/1260).[81] The style of this particular letter may be due to either the low level of Arabic literacy of the particular official who wrote this letter, or the problems of writing a letter in Arabic based on a Mongolian model. It is interesting to compare the style of Abaγa's letter, to Baybars's reply, which is simply but correctly composed.

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According to Ibn al-Furāt, who continues to follow version A, subsequent to the reading of this letter, an answer fo Abaγa was prepared. It reads as follows:

> In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate:
>
> With the help of God, most high, and by his power. By the good fortune (*bi-iqbāl*) of the great Sultan Baybars al-Ṣāliḥī.[82] King Abaγa (*al-malik abāqā*) should understand that we only authorized the Takfūr to make known to the King [*al-malik* = Abaγa], the answer to what Shams al-Dīn Sunqur al-Ashqar brought to our attention.[83]
>
> As for the killing of the envoys by Quṭuz, may God have mercy upon him: We have returned your envoys to the King, as safe as they came.

81 Al-Maqrīzī, I, 427–428.
82 This is a parody of the opening formula of Abaγa's letter.
83 This must refer to Sunqur al-Ashqar's family which was still among the Mongols; see above.

> According to what the officer (*al-amīr*) Shams al-Dīn Sunqur al-Ashqar gave us to understand, we authorized the Takfūr to be the intermediary between us and those for whom we ask. [On this matter] we do not see anything.
>
> How can accord come about? Today the *yāsāh* which we have is greater than the *yāsāh*[84] of Chinggis Khan.[85] God has given us the rule over 40 kings.[86]
>
> As for what [Abaγa] mentioned: From the rise of the sun to its setting, [all] have become loyal. What happened to Ketbuγa Noyan, and how was he annihilated?[87]
>
> And if you apply yourself to what you said to Sunqur al-Ashqar, and you would send one of your brothers, sons or your senior officers, then we would send to you also that which you mentioned.

The source then adds: "Seals (*ṭamghāt*) containing the Sultan's symbol (*rank*)[88] were placed on the letter, and the envoys were sent off."[89] Ibn al-Furāt then switches back to version B: "When [Baybars] answered [the Mongols], he demanded what is in their hands from Irāq, al-Rūm, al-Jazīra, the region of Mosul and Diyār Bakr; he then sent them off."[90]

*

84 Thus in Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, p. 341, and Ibn al-Furāt, fol. 154a. Al-ʿAynī, MS. Paris, fol. 199; MS. Ahmet III, fol. 99a: *yāsāq*.

85 Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, p. 341; Ibn al-Furāt, fol. 154a: جنكز خان . Al-ʿAynī, MS. Paris, fol. 199; MS. Ahmet III, fol. 99a: جنكز .

86 This paragraph, which will be discussed below, was translated by Ayalon, "Great *Yāsā*," *SI*, 38 (1973), 129–130, who uses this as a decisive piece of evidence to argue against the adoption of the Yasa as the legal code of the Mamluks in Baybars's reign.

87 This refers to the Mongol defeat at ʿAyn Jālūt; see n. 1 above. Baybars is contrasting Abaγa's claim of universal Mongol sovereignty with the real limits of his power.

88 *Rank* (< Persian *rang*, literally color), were the "heraldic" symbols of the Mamluk officers. Baybars's symbol was the panther, which is found on his coins and some of his construction works; Thorau, *Baibars*, p. 11; L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry* (Oxford, 1933), pp. 26, 106–110.

89 Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, pp. 341–342; Ibn al-Furāt, fol. 153b–154a.

90 Ibn al-Furāt, fol. 154a; hence al-Maqrīzī, I, 574. Variants of this passage are found in al-Yūnīnī, II, 407; al-Dhahabī, MS. Bodleian Laud 279, fol. 7a; Ibn Kathīr, XIII, 254; Kutubī, XX, 378; Ibn al-Dawādārī, VIII, 140; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, VII, 145.

In his answer, Baybars proudly contrasts his *yāsāh* with that of Chinggis Khan. It is certainly possible to translate *yāsāh* here as decree: "Today the *decree* which we have is greater than the *decree* of Chinggis Khan." This might be understood in an abstract sense, i.e. Baybars's authority is greater than that of the Mongols. It must be admitted, however, that another translation of *yāsāh,* i.e. (legal) code, is certainly acceptable and perhaps even more appropriate in this case: "Today the *Code* which we have is greater than the *Code* of Chinggis Khan." In this case, Baybars's Code might be understood as some type of Mamluk legal or administrative code, or although it seems more probable that he was referring to the Sharīᶜa. Professor Ayalon writes in connection with this sentence: "In all probability [Baybars] referred to a Mamluk *yāsa* only for the sake of using a term familiar to Abagha, and highly valued by him." In a note Ayalon adds: "In the same way as Muslim authors, when writing to their coreligionists, called the *yāsa* so frequently the *sharīᶜa* or the *sunna* of the Mongols."[91]

If we accept the suggestion, that Baybars here is referring to the *yasa* in the sense of a legal code, this cannot be construed as evidence for the existence of an actual Mongol legal code called the Yasa, which was enacted by Chinggis Khan. It only means that Baybars perhaps thought that such a code existed. And while *yasa* might cogently be translated as a legal code in Baybars's letter, this translation is certainly less appropriate for the four instances it is used in Abaγa's missive.

*

One question which arises is whether we indeed have before us two separate messages of Abaγa sent to Baybars on the same occasion, or rather this is essentially two different versions of the same letter. In other words, has Ibn al-Furāt artificially conflated two versions of the same event (and letter) in such a way as to lead the reader astray?[92] This matter can not be resolved with complete

91 Ayalon, "Great *Yāsā,*" *Studia Islamica,* 38, 130 and n. 2.
92 The possibility that the two versions describe two separate Mongol missions can be rejected. Both versions describe Baybars's meeting with the envoys after his arrival in Damascus to which he had come from Arsūf at winter of 667/1268–1269.

certainty, but it would seem that we are dealing with two separate messages, because each has a completely different content and tone: the first is bombastic and uncompromising, while the second is more restrained and not without self-criticism, although the bottom line is a call for submission.

One possible solution is hinted at in the short account by Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ẓāhir's nephew, Shāfiᶜ b. ᶜAlī, who also composed a biography of Baybars. He writes that when Baybars had the envoys brought forth, they delivered their oral message, and then he read Abaγa's letter.[93] It will be remembered that the first letter was referred to as a *risāla*, i.e. "message," which in theory could be delivered both verbally or in written form. It may also be recalled that in the parallel accounts of version B given by al-Dhahabī and Ibn Kathīr (see note 17 above), this entire message is described as being given orally. It is quite possible then that this entire *risāla* was orally transmitted. Ibn al-Furāt's subsequent comment, preceded by the phrase: "this was part of the [envoys's] verbal message" (*wa-min jumlat mushāfahatihi*), may mislead the reader into thinking that the previous *risāla* was written. Ibn al-Furāt is essentially saying that he has not given us the entire message but has skipped parts. If our suggestion that the *risāla* was verbally transmitted is correct and it was followed by the written portion (*al-kitāb*), this fits the pattern of subsequent Mongol missions.[94]

Another question regards the original language of letter. Was the version which reached the Mamluks written in Arabic or did it arrive in Mongolian and was it then translated into Arabic? The first alternative seems much more likely, since there is no hint that the letter arrived in a language different than Arabic. When a letter from the Īlkhāns did arrive in Mongolian, this is clearly stated by the source, as in 700/1301 in a letter from Γazan to Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn.[95] Perhaps, however, the sub-

93 Shāfiᶜ b. ᶜAlī, *Ḥusn al-mubārak al-sirriyya al-muntazaᶜa min al-sīra al-ẓāhiriyya*, ed. ᶜA-ᶜA. al-Khuwayṭir (Riyāḍ, 1976), pp. 143–144. Shāfiᶜ inaccurately summarizes Abaγa's letter.

94 See, e.g., the Mongol mission in 670/1272: Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ẓāhir, pp. 399–400; 700/1301: Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar*, IX, ed. H. Roemer (Cairo, 1971), 53 (there is a *risāla* followed by a *kitāb*); al-Maqrīzī, I, 915 (the envoy delivered a speech before handing over the letter).

95 Ibn al-Dawādārī, IX, 53.

standard style of the Arabic and the lack of clarity at certain points hints that the Arabic version which Baybars received was based on a Mongolian model or text, which was translated into Arabic by a secretary employed by the Mongols.[96]

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Baybars's dispatch of the Mongol envoy and his entourage was the end of this round of correspondence. As far as can be discerned from the sources, Abaγa did not bother to pursue the matter any further. It is unlikely that either ruler harbored any illusions as to the chances of success of these "negotiations." Rather, these letters should be seen as a form of psychological warfare against the other side. At the same time, each ruler probably saw his letter as a form of morale boosting for the military elite of his own kingdom. Some three years later, the correspondence was renewed, with probable similar intent and certainly identical results.[97]

Postscript: Recently, Prof. I. de Rachewiltz was kind enough to send me a draft of his comprehensive forthcoming study, "Some Reflections on Činggis Qan's *J̌asaγ*," which will appear in *East Asian History* 6 (1994). As my article has already gone to press, I was unable to take into account his cogent conclusions in the discussion of the *yasa* as reflected in Abaγa's letter.

96 See above.
97 For the exchange of envoys in 670/1272 and 671/1272, see Amitai-Preiss, Mongols and Mamluks, ch. 5; Thorau, *Baibars*, pp. 259–260.

Notes on some Titles of Ancient Korean Kingdom Paekje

by
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In the Chinese source Choushu, there is important information concerning not only the ancient history of Korea, but also concerning the relationship between Ancient Korean states and the other Altaic tribes. The Choushu mentions 夫餘, 於羅瑕, 吉支 and 於陸 as the personal names or titles of the rulers of the Paekje kingdom which was one of the Ancient Korean states. This kingdom reigned over the south-western parts of the Korean peninsula in BC 18(?) – AD 660; "while the ruling family name of the Paekje kingdom is 夫餘 (Puyə), the ruler's name is 於羅瑕 (əlaha) which the Paekje people call 吉支 (kənkilchi). The meanings of these words 於羅瑕 (əlaha) and 吉支 (kənkilchi) are 'king or ruler'. The ruler's wife is called 於陸(əlyuk) meaning queen, representing Chinese 妃".

In the present article, I would like to discuss the etymologies of the above mentioned Paekje personal names or titles, i.e. puyə, əlaha, kənkilchi and əlyuk.

(1) The generally accepted view is that the family name 夫餘 Puyə came from the state name 夫餘. The state of Puyə, which is the second ancient Korean state formed after Kocosən, reigned over the Manchu region and the northern parts of Korean peninsula, from the second century BC continuing on for several centuries thereafter. It is well known that the two ancient Korean kingdoms of Kokuryə and Paekje were probably derived from Puyə, the founders and their successors coming out from the royal family of the state of Puyə. Concerning the name of the state, Puyə, it's etymology has not been researched thus far, except for Shiratori's theory. According to B. D. Lee (1976: 226), as far as he remembers, Shiratori presented a paper where he proposed that the state name

Puyə was taken from an animal name, i.e. Ma. *buxu* "deer" < **buγu*.

In my opinion, this theory is very likely to be correct from several points of view. First, liguistically the word *puyə* is fairly related to Ma. *buxu*. The Ancient Chinese pronounciation of the word 夫餘 is **pi̯u-i̯ʷo* according to B. Karlgren (Karl. 41, 1322), while the Korean reading is *pu-yə* and the Japanese reading is *pu-io* or *fu-io*. This original reading probably should be either **buyW* or **buyə*, for the Ancient Chinese /iʷo/ corresponds to /ə/ or /o/ (/u/). The Manchu word *buxu* occurs in the other Altaic languages, e.g. Mo. *buu* "stag, a male deer" (Kow. 1160 *boughou* "roebuck"). Evk. *buγu* id., Sol. *buwu* id., etc.

Secondly, I would like to refer to a popular totemism that was widespread in Altaic tribes. According to Harva (1938: 469–470), every Yakut tribal name was taken from the name of their totem and the people took the animal's name for their family name. For this reason, in ancient times the Yakut people would know what tribe people belonged to from their family name. On the other hand, as is well known, in the ancient times, the Huns and Turks took their titles from animals' names, e.g. *boqa qagan* "king of bulls", *baqa tarqan* "ruler of frogs", *böri qagan* "king of wolfs", *sonkor tigin* "prince of hawks", etc. Of course, this tradition also has something to do with their totemism. It is also well known that in primitive communites, this totemism was reflected in their political system.

In accordance with this, we can understand the administration system of the state of Puyə, Sachulto which is the ruling organization of the state, based on a four-governor system under the reign of one ruler king. The titles of the four governors were derived from various animals' names, i.e. *maka* (< **ma* + *ka*) "leader of horses", *uka* (< **u* + *ka*) "leader of bull", *čəka* (< **čə* + *ka*) "leader of pigs) and *kuka* (< **ku* + *ka*) "leader of wolfs". I think that the four governors of Puyə might be rulers or leaders of four different groups or tribes and that the animals' names in the four titles probably reflect the totems of the four tribes. In other words, the state of Puyə probably consisted of five groups or tribes and each tribe had their own animal symbol. The tribe which took *puyə* or "stag, male deer" as their symbol, might have led the other four groups as a leading group or tribe, being in the central position of the Sachulto Diagram meaning "four out-way". The adoption of a title as a tribe name or a state name was usual in Altaic tribes in the ancient periods.[1]

In the light of these facts, we can now make out why the royal family of the state of Paekje, whose founder was supposed to have come from Puyə, had *Puyə* as their family name.

(2) The Chinese source, Choushu, says that 於羅瑕 əlaha is the ruler's name of the Paekje kingdom. I suspect that it is not a personal name, but rather a title. As is well known, in ancient times, rulers were known by their title, not by their personal names. When the Choushu uses a ruler's name, it implies a title. On the other hand, the Ancient Chinese reading of the word 於羅瑕 is ***꜀i̯ʷo-꜀la-꜀γa.*[2] B. H. Kim (1983: 105), referring to the Japanese source Nihon Shoki 日本書記, gives *orikoke* as a reading of the word. However, Kim hesitates to decide which might be the original reading between *orikoke* and the Ancient Chinese **wolaka* which he himself proposes, pointing out *-ke* in *orikoke.*

As for the original reading of the first character 於 ACh. *꜀i̯ʷo,* because the Ancient Chinese /꜀i̯ʷo/ corresponds to Sino-Korean /o/ or /ə/ (B. Ch. Park 1982: 219), this character should be read /o/ or /ə/ in Korean. Accordingly, we can now suppose that the original pronunciation of the word might be either **əlVkV* or **olVkV,* or the like.

Regarding the etymology of the word 於羅瑕, if we understand that the ruler's family name was taken after the animal's name reflecting their totemizm, we can link this word to the Turkic word *älik* meaning "roe-buck". This word occurs in the Old Turkic Uighur manuscript (Irk B: 63) and Middle Turkic (MK) in the form *älik* "roe-buck", and survives in several modern Turkic languages, e.g. Kazk., Kirg. elik "roe-buck", Tel. *älik* id., Hak. *ilik* "ДИКАЯ КОЗА", Yak. *älik* ЧУБАРЫЙ ОЛЕНЬ", etc. This word also appears in the other Altaic languages, i.e. Mo. *ili* "a

1 For the details regarding the subject, see the auther's article "Notes on some Ancient Korean titles", CAJ 35–2, 1991.

2 Pronunciations of the characters is as follows: ACh. ꜀i̯ʷo, M. ü. C. ü. Sino-Jap. o (Karl. 1323), and Sino-Ko. ə; ACh. ꜀lâ, M. lo, C. lo, Sino-Jap. ra (Karl. 569), and Sino-Ko. la (ra); ACh. ꜀γa, M. hia, C. ha, Sino-Jap. ka, ke (Karl. 346), and Sino-Ko. ha.

young deer, fawn", Khal. *il* id., Kalm. *ili* id., Mo. *ilgi* "suede, chamois leather", Khal. *ileg(n)* id., Ma. *ilgin* id.

The view that this word has the same origin with *älik* seems to be much more likely in view of the fact that the ruler's family name was taken after an animal's name and the meaning of the two titles were originally the same. It is common that the titles or names of the Ancient Korean states were taken after animals' names, as the other Altaic tribes did. For example, the title of the king *Koi* who is considered as the real founder of Paekje kingdom, was taken after the animal's name "wether, sheep". Besides this, *Kočuka* (< **Koč* + *ka*), the title of the state of Kokuryə, a title peculiar to the leaders or heros who belonged to the royal family, has the same origin with the Turkic word *qoč* "wether".

On the other hand, glancing at the form *orikoke* which the Japanese source mentioned, it seems not to be the correct one, or it may be a derived form adding *-ke* to *oriko*, for the Chinese characters of the word which has only one /k/ or /γ/ in the third character 瑕 ACh. *γa*. Therefore one might think that the word should contain three syllables, not four. However, in my opinion, the reading *orikoke* being four syllables in the Japanese source is not wrong. Thanks to the Japanese form being four syllables, we can deduce that the correct reading of the word 於羅瑕 should be **älikka* which is a degeminated form of double sound /kk/ in the original form **älikka*. The form *älikka* might be a compound one of two words or titles, i.e. *älikka* "roubuck" and the common Ancient Korean title *qa* or *ka* "ruler, leader". The word *ka* which is considered a proto-Korean-Turkic word was widely used in the Ancient titles, e.g. *ka* in the Puye's titles m*aka*, u*ka*, ku*ka*, č*əka* and the Kokuryə's titles *kočuka* and *sanga*, etc.

(3) For the title of the Paekje king, while the Chinese source Choushu gives the word 鞬吉支 (Kənkilchi), the Japanese source Nihon Shoki gives two words 軍君*konikisi* or *konikishi* and 王 *kokisi* or *kokishi*. From the similarity of the sounds, we can easily imagine that 鞬吉支 is the same as the word *konikishi*.[3] On the other hand, the same Japanese source gives the indication that the

3 According to B. H. Kim (1983: 105), these two words *konikisi* and *kokisi* is one and the same. Of these two forms, Kim considers *konikisi* as the original form and the form *kokisi* resulted from the loss of the sounds /ni/.

Paekje peoples called 武寧王 Munyəng-wang, 嶋王 To-wang "King of island" which is the king's title or personal name, mentioning that 嶋王 To-wang is *semakisi* (*semakishi*) in the Paekje language. cf. *sema* "island", Ko. *səm* id. (Aston 1972: 405). From the same source, B. H. Kim (1983: 105), deduces "soverign, king" for the meaning of *kisi* in the word *konikisi*.

On the other hand, the Ancient Chinese pronunciation of the title 鞬吉支 is **kiʷɐn-ki̯ĕt-t̂śi̯e̯* (Kangxi., Karl. 325, 1212). The Ancient Korean reading should be **kən-kil-či* or the like. From the Japanese source Nihon Shoki, we can suppose that the two characters, 吉支 **ki̯ĕt-t̂śi̯e̯* are used to represent *kiši*, while 鞬 **kiʷɐn* is used to represent *koñi*. Accordingly, we can sum up as follows: ACh. **kiʷɐn* // Ko. *kən* // *Jap. koni* and ACh. **kiet-tsie* // Ko. **kilči* // Jap. *kiši*.

As for the sound correspondences, it is well known that ACh. final /t/ corresponds to Sino-Korean /r/ or /l/, i. e. ACh. 吉 *ki̯ĕt* // Ko. *kil*. When it comes to the correspondence of Ko. /lč/ and Trk. /š/, the sound correspondence of /lč/ (or /lj/) and /š/ is quiet common in the Proto-period between the Altaic languages, as well as (š/ and /č/ correspondence, i. e. Trk. *ašuk* "knuckle, knuckle-bone" // Mo. *alču* "one side of an anklebone", Trk. *äšgäk* "donkey" // Mo. *eljge(n)* id., Trk. *qarïš-* "to mix together" // Mo. *qarilča-* "to be connected or related to each other", etc.[4]

In my opinion, the word *kiši* probably is one and the same as Turkic word *kiši* meaning "man, person", This word was widely used in both historical and in modern Turkic languages, i. e. OT, MT, Chag., Osm. *kiši* "man, person", Yak., Kzk. *kisi* id., etc. On the other hand, T. Tekin (1986: 153), pointing out that the word *kiši* does not have a Chuvash cognate, he argues that if *kiši* did not develop from the older form **kilči*, we may then assume that it is an ancient loanword of unknown origin. Accordingly, we can assume that the form **kilči* which the Chinese source Choushu mentioned is the original form.

When it comes to the word 鞬 ACh. **kiʷɐn*, it is not convincing that B. Ch. Park (1968: 78) takes it for the word **han-* meaning "big, great", at least from the phonological point of view. The Ko-

4 For the correspondence /š/ and /lč/, see the article: T. Tekin "Zetacism and Sigmatism in Proto-Turkic", Acta Oriental. Hung., Tomus XXII–1, 1969.

rean reading of the word should be *kən* or *kWn*, not *han*. If the word would had have one syllable, Japanese reading would have been *kon*, not *koni*, for Japanese has the two different characters for /n/ and /ni/.

On the other hand, according to the Japanese source Nihon Shoki (XIV), 軍君 *konikiši* who was a younger brother of the Paekje King, Kaero was called 混吉 *konči* or *honči*. The Ancient Chinese pronunciation of the word 混吉 is **γuən-ḱśię* (Karl. 466, Karl. 1212). The morpheme *-či* occurs in many titles of Ancient Korean states, e. g. 遣吉 **kyənči* 旱吉 **hanči* 秦吉 **činči*, 干吉 **kan-či*, 臣吉 *sinči* etc. In my opinion, *kiši* "person, man" in the word *konikiši* was used to represent *-či*. As a matter of fact, there is a very common morpheme *-či* designating names of vocations in both Turkic and Mongolian. Accordingly, I think that *koni* in the word *konikiši* is the same word as *kon* in the word *konči*. In other word, *konikiši* is the traditional Kana rendering of the Paekje pronunciation, while *konči* is the reading of the Chinese characters which is used to represent the Paekje pronunciation. Probably, the form *konči* should come from the form *koniči*.

Considering the Japanese form *koni*, I think that the word probably is one and the same as the Ancient Turkic word *kony* meaning "wether, sheep". As above mentioned, the title of king Koi the real founder of Paekje was also taken from the same animal name **kony* "wether, sheep". The use of wether or sheep as a title should be related with totemism. According to Altaic totemism, a wether with a big horn was considered as "a symbol of leader or prince". The Ancient Turkic word *qony* was developed into two different forms in Uigur, *qon* and *qoy*.

Consequently, we think that the words *konikiši* and *konči* mean "man of sheep, shepherd". This word occurs in Orkhon Turkic in the form of *qonyči* "shepherd" and in Middle Turkic *qoyči*. In written Mongolian, the word is also attested in the form of *qoniči* "shepherd". The word *qoniči* was used as a title in Mongolian (Ögel. 1984: 154). In addition, I would like to say that, although the word *kiši* was and is being used to mean "person, man" in Common Turkic, it might have been used for a ruling person or a noble person in the earlier period.

(4) Lastly, I would like to discuss the title 於陸 əlyuk. According to the Chinese source Choushu, the word was used as a title for a

queen. The Ancient Chinese pronunciation is **i̯*^{w}*o-li̯uk*: As above mentioned, ACh. /i̯^{w}o/ corresponds to Ko. /ə/ or /o/. It also corresponds to the Turkic round vowels /o/, /u/, /ö/ or /ü/. I think this word is one and the same as the Chagatay word *öylük* "female head of a family", cf. OT (Drev. 623) *üy* "house", Chag. *öy* "house; family", Kirg. *üy* "white large nomad tent; a man who lives around village", Kzk., Tel. *üy* "head of family; woman" (< **öy*), Trkm., Tat. *öy* "house", Bashk. *öy* "house, home", etc.[5] However, we can not find any example that the word *öylük* was used as a title or the like in Turkic.

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5 Most scholars believes that the word öy was developed from *äb* "house". According to M. Räsänen (1949: 129), the phonetic changes of the word is as follow: *äb* > *öv* > *öy* > *üy*.

An Ancient Chinese Monastery Excavated in Kirgiziya*

by

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Du Huan 杜環 was an eighth century writer who travelled in Central Asia. His travel account *Jingxing ji* 經行記 has unfortunately disappeared, but a certain number of fragments are quoted by Du You 杜佑 (735–812) in his well-known historical encyclopaedia of institutions, the *Tong dian* 通典.[1] One of these fragments concerns the Central Asian stronghold of Suiye 碎葉 mentioned rather frequently in Mediaeval Chinese sources. Since this fragment has become essential for the identification of the remains of the lost city in Kirgiziya that we will deal with below, let us consider it with all the attention it deserves. It reads:

* A previous version of the present paper was published as an appendix to my article "Chinese State Monasteries in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries," in *Echō Ō Go-Tenjikkoku den kenkyū* 往五天竺國傳研究 (*Huichao's* Wang Wu-Tianzhuguo zhuan *Record of Travels in Five Indic Regions*), edited by Kuwayama Shōshin 桑山正進, Kyōto daigaku Jinbun kagaku kenkyūjo 京都大學人文科學研究所 (Institute for research in humanities, Kyoto University), Kyoto, 1992, pp. 213–258.

1 The *Jingxing ji* 經行記 is no longer extant. Its author Du Huan was a relative of Du You. Chavannes (1903, p. 298, note) translates the brief notice by Du You on Du Huan. See *Ajia rekishi jiten* (3.97b, s.v. "Keikōki" 經行記; 7.112a, s.v. "To Kan" 杜環) on the importance of his travel account. Wang Guowei 王國維 has collected and collated the quotations from the *Jingxing ji* 經行記 which are contained in Li Yuanyang's 李元陽 edition of the *Tong dian*. Wang Guowei's work is included in the 3rd collection (3 集), published in 1928, of the posthumous works of Wang Guowei: *Haining Wang Zhongque gong yishu, san ji* 海寧王忠慤公遺書, 3 集, 1928. The *Jingxing ji* 經行記 is the first of the four travel accounts grouped under the title *Gu xingji jiaolu* 古行記校録. See also P. Pelliot, "L'édition collective des œuvres de Wang Guowei," 1929, p. 163.

又有碎葉城，天寶七年，北庭節度使王正見薄伐，城壁摧毀，邑居零落。昔交河公主所居止之處，建大雲寺，猶存。.[2]

There is also the walled city of Suiye. In the 7th year of Tianbao (748) Wang Zhengjian, the Military Commissioner of Beiting (Beshbalïq), attacked it, [therefore] the walls of the city are destroyed and the dwellings of the village(s) are in ruin. At the place where Princess Jiaohe in the past had lived the Dayun Monastery was erected which still exists.

The *Jingxing ji* was published when Du Huan reentered China by sea via Canton (certainly after 762). We don't know exactly when he visited Suiye, but it must have been around 750, that is, soon after Wang Zhengjian's 王正見 attack of 748.

The fragment just translated looks very simple. Its valuable and unique information for decades has never been questioned. However, it becomes puzzling when considered in conjunction with other historical data.

Chavannes, following Hirth, understands the last part of the passage in the sense that the Dayun Buddhist Monastery (Dayunsi 大雲寺) was erected at Suiye in 748 by the Chinese general Wang Zhengjian at the place where the Princess Jiaohe, a daughter of Ashina Huidao 阿史那懷道, had lived.[3]

Now, the date of 748 for the construction of the monastery cannot be accepted. The edict instituting the Dayun monasteries was issued in December 5, 690 and it was in force only during the Zhou dynasty, from 690 to 705.[4] Since Suiye became one of the Four Garrisons in 692 (or 693) under Wu Zhao (Empress Wu),[5] and the Zhou dynasty came to an end in 705, it follows naturally that the Dayun Monastery of Suiye could have been founded only between 692 (or 693) and 705. Moreover, let us not forget that Du Huan visited Suiye around 750 and he would not write that the monastery "still" existed if it had been erected very recently. Since there is no reason whatsoever why in 748 or thereafter Wang Zhengjian

2 *Tong dian* 193.5275. The punctuation given above is the same as that of the edition of the Zhonghua shuju from which I quote.

3 Édouard Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux*. Imp.Acad. Sci., St. Petersburg, 1903, p. 45, note 1, and p. 286.

4 See my *Chinese State Monasteries in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries*, 1992, pp. 220 ff.

5 See below, note 13.

or anyone else should have founded a Dayun Monastery, it must be concluded that the two pieces of information are unrelated.[6]

A more serious problem posed by Du Huan's passage is that of the relationship between Princess Jiaohe and the Dayun Monastery. How is it possible, in fact, that the monastery was erected "at the place where Princess Jiaohe in the past had lived?" Since, as we will shortly see, the princess in question could not have lived at Suiye before 723, why should a Dayun Monastery have been founded there long after the fall of the Zhou dynasty in 705?

In no. 5 of the 1979 issue of the periodical of Peking University *Beijing daxue xuebao* 北京大學學報, Zhang Guangda 張廣達 deals with the above two questions and with other problems concerning Suiye in connection with the exact identification of the present geographical position of the ancient stronghold of Suiye.[7] Before presenting Zhang Guangda's arguments, however, let us briefly review the opinions of previous historians on the question of the present site of Suiye.

As far as I know, identification of the approximate location of Suiye has never constituted a serious problem. The opinion long shared by most scholars had been that Suiye corresponds to the present day Tokmak in Kirgiziya.[8] This does not mean, of course, that the remains of ancient Suiye had been found, but simply that the Suiye of the Chinese sources had to be situated, on the basis of historiographic materials only, in the area of Tokmak. As for the exact location of Suiye, the most relevant data of the last decades has come from archaeology. However, archaeologists have not taken into account the work of historians. So much has this been the case that, paradoxically, we could say that the problem of the loca-

6 The interpretation by Chavannes (1903, p. 45, note 1; see also p. 286) quoting Hirth was adopted in 1961 by Gerard Clauson in his article "Ak Beshim–Suyab." Since he was convinced that the monastery was constructed in 748, Clauson tried also to rectify some archaeological data provided by Kyzlasov in 1958. See below, p. 44.

7 "Suiye-cheng jindi kao" 碎葉城今地考 (Considerations on the present place of the fortified city of Suiye), 1979, pp. 70–82.

8 See, for example, Chavannes, 1903, *passim; Ajia rekishi jiten* アジア歴史事典, vol. 5, Tokyo, 1960, p. 100a. Suiye, according to the last source, is the phonetic transcription of Suyab. Chavannes gave the pronunciation "Soei-che" (Suishe) and suggested that it represented Souj (i.e. Suzh). This is considered an error by Clauson, 1961, pp. 4–5.

tion of Suiye vexes archaeologists much more that it does sinologues. They are, in fact, faced with the necessity of identifying the ruins of an ancient city they have partially excavated at a site now called Ak Beshim on the southern bank of the River Chu about 8km. southwest of Tokmak (42° 50' N.; 75° 30' E.). This ancient site was discovered in 1893 by V. V. Barthold who, with reservations, suggested that it might be the ruins of Balasagun, a city built shortly before the middle of the tenth century and one of the two capitals of the Karakhanid dynasty in the 11th and 12th centuries. In 1938–1940 an archaeological expedition lead by A. N. Bernshtam carried out some excavations at the site of Ak Beshim. Clauson remarked in 1961 that as a result, "Bernshtam, whose enthusiasm habitually overpowered his jugdement, persuaded himself that it was Balasagun, and this view seems to have been the official one in the Soviet Union for a number of years." Clauson strongly critisized this opinion: "Western scholars, who have naturally accepted this view (...) should be warned that this theory is now definitely exploded, and that the location of Balasagun is just as much of a mystery as it ever was. No doubt Soviet archaeologists (...) will in due course come up with a solution."[9]

The reason why the old theory "exploded" is that a new excavation campaign was conducted in 1953–1954 by L. P. Kyzlasov who convinced himself that the site was certainly not Balasagun. Kyzlasov, however, did not advance any suggestion about the identification of the old city. The results of his campaign were first published in 1958 and were soon known by Clauson and Hambis who published two papers in 1961 and in 1962 respectively.[10]

Hambis in his paper gives a rather detailed description of the ruins–especially of the Buddhist monastery (pp. 128–137)–excavated by Kyzlasov but does not make any suggestions regarding the ancient name of the city. Clauson, instead, thinks (p. 4) that the facts which Kyzlasov "has marshalled already supply the answer. The history of Ak Beshim as reconstructed by the archaeolo-

9 Clauson, 1961, p. 2.

10 Gerard Clauson, "Ak Beshim–Suyab," *Journal of the Royal Oriental Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1961.1–2, pp. 1–13; Louis Hambis, "Ak-Bešim et ses sanctuaires," *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1962, pp. 124–137.

gists is exactly that of the famous city of Suyab as recorded by the historians, and my suggestion, quite simply, is that Ak Beshim is Suyab." Basing himself on the localization already indicated by Chavannes in 1900, Clauson remarks (p. 4) that, since Chavannes "habitually identifies Suyab with Tokmak, and Ak Beshim seems to be the only important ancient site near Tokmak," it is "rather surprising that the identification was not made years ago." Speaking of the description of the fortification walls constructed at the city of Suiye by the Chinese general and Protector Wang Fangyi 王方翼 in 679, Clauson notes (p. 6) that it "reads very like a description of the city walls of Ak Beshim as shown in Kyzlasov's sketch plan, and there can be no reasonable doubt that these are the walls built by Protector Wang." As to the Dayun Monastery of Suiye which is mentioned in the *Tong dian's* passage translated above, Clauson concludes that it "can hardly be anything but the Buddhist temple excavated by Kyzlasov" (p. 8).

Clauson then sketches the history of Suiye (Suyab) on the basis of the material translated and annotated by Chavannes. It must be said, however, that the material found in Chavannes' book is not everything which Chinese sources can tell us about Suiye. We know, for instance, that Xuanzang 玄奘 (d. 664) in 628 went to Suiye, which he spells Suye 素葉, and he makes some short remarks on its inhabitants and the region.[11] We know also that in 696 the Arabs wished to offer a lion (or some lions) to the Chinese court, but these were refused both on the basis of ideological reasons and because they had to be brought to Luoyang from the distant Suiye.[12] In 696 Suiye was firmly controlled by the Chinese and it is clear that the Arabs limited themselves to bringing the lions to the Chinese authorities in Suiye instead of going to Luoyang. It is also possible that they intended to take the lions to Luoyang themselves but, before proceeding, the Chinese authorities in Suiye asked the court for permission. I have given here just two examples of materials on Suiye not used by Chavannes. The

11 *Da Tang Xiyu ji* 1.871a7–9; Watters, 1904, p. 68. See also *Shijia fangzhi* 1.952c22; Bagchi, 1959, p. 27.

12 *Jiu Tang shu* 89.2903. The date of the refusal, April 22, 696 (Wansui Tongtian 1.3.16), is found in *Zizhi tongjian* 205.6505. On the ideological and political meaning of the refusal, see Forte, 1984a, pp. 192ff.

article by Zhang Guangda quoted above further supplements material on Suiye. For our purpose, however, it is enough to know that Suiye was for a long period a stronghold presided over by Chinese troops. It was conquered by the Chinese in 679 and it was then that Wang Fangyi had new fortifications built there. When on December 8, 692 (Changshou 1.10.25 [*bingxu*]) the Four Garrisons (*si zhen* 四 鎮) were reestablished, Suiye became one of them instead of Karashahr.[13] Even when it ceased to be one of the Four Garrisons in 719, Suiye continued to be controlled by China through an alliance with Sulu 蘇祿, chief of the Turgesh (one of the tribes of the Western Turks which had become militarily stronger than the other tribes), who had made Suiye his capital. Sulu was for a while a good bulwark against the menace of the Arabs.[14]

Now, notwithstanding the "explosion" of the old theory declared by Clauson, it seems that Soviet archaeologists and historians have not come to accept the hypothesis that the ruins of Ak Beshim belong to ancient Suiye. It is, then, resentfully that Zhang Guangda refers to the opinion expressed in a Soviet publication of 1973 concerning the mediaeval cities in Central Asia where the old theory of V. V. Barthold and A. N. Bernshtam, according to whom the village of Ak Beshim corresponds to Balasagun, is reconfirmed.[15]

It is not my intention to enter here into the question of the ruins of Ak Beshim, nor am I familiar with current opinion in Russia or elsewhere. Scholarly inquiry on the identification of Suiye was probably influenced by the problematic frontier issue of the Soviet Union and China. Actually, the Dayun Buddhist monastery of Suiye has attracted much attention in China, as can be seen from a book published in 1981 whose title is: *Shae qin hua shi* 沙俄侵華史 (History of the Aggressions on China by Tsarist

13 *Zizhi tongjian* 211.6487–6488 and *Xin Tang shu* 4.93. *Jiu Tang shu* 6.123 does not specify the day. *Jiu Tang shu* 196A.5225 and *Cefu yuangui* 358.8a4–5 (8.4243) specify only the year, while *Xin Tang shu* 216A.6078 is vague. *Tang huiyao* 73.1326 gives the date of Changshou 2, 11th month (Dec. 3rd, 693 to Jan. 1, 694).

14 Twitchett (ed.), *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 3, 1979, pp. 433–434.

15 See p. 76 and p. 81, note 39 of Zhang's article.

Russia). A picture of the ruins of the Buddhist monastery excavated by Kyzlasov at Ak Beshim is reproduced there with the caption "Remains of the Dayun Monastery of Suiye of the Tang." Below the picture appears a reproduction of the page of *Tong dian* 193 where the passage concerning such a monastery is given.[16] In other words, these are offered as literary and archaeological evidence to confirm previous Chinese presence in this location which was up until very recently included in the now defunct Soviet Union.

Zhang Guangda himself in the introductory section of his article writes that one of the two reasons why the problem of Suiye is important is because its identification demonstrates that at the time of the Tang Chinese control already extended west of the Issyk-Kul; that is, well beyond the Great Wall. The other reason is of no less relevance and Zhang Guangda, in fact, introduces it at the outset. Li Bo 李白 (701–762), one of the greatest Chinese poets, was probably a native of Suiye.[17] Zhang Guangda does not state it openly, but it is easy to surmise that the "Li Bo question" bears heavily upon the possible restoration of Chinese rights over Tokmak and its territory. Is it not regrettable–the argument might run–that the homeland of so great a poet be occupied by foreign countries?

Let us put aside, however, the problems of the frontier between the former Soviet Union and China, and try, instead, to keep to the purely historical data.

Zhang Guangda in the introductory section of his paper does not hesitate to define the Western Turks and the Turgesh (their predominant tribal federation) of Tang times as "brother peoples" of the Chinese, although the definition does not exactly reflect, in our opinion, the Chinese attitude at that time. It is true, however,

16 *Shae qin hua shi* 沙俄侵華史 (History of the aggressions on China by Tsarist Russia), published by the Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan Jindaishi yanjiusuo 中国社会科学院近代史研究所 (Research Institute of Modern History, Academy of Social Sciences). Renmin chubanshe, Peking, 1981, p. 25.

17 Besides the sources given by Zhang Guangda at p. 80, note 1, see also Arthur Waley, *The Poetry and Career of Li Po, 701–762 A.D.*, 1950, pp. 103–104. Waley, besides accepting the identification of Suiye with Tokmak as a matter of fact, concludes (p. 104) that if it is true that the father of Li Bo arrived in China in 705, Li Bo "must have been born at Suyab or on the way from Suyab to China."

that the alliance existed and that the Chinese court confirmed it with the marriage of the Turgesh Sulu with a "Tang princess," which will be discussed below.

Zhang knows the results of the excavations conducted by Kyzlasov through the report published in Moscow in 1959.[18] In his article, after presenting as evidence the correspondence between literary sources and archaeological discoveries that lead to the identification of Suiye with the ruins of Ak Beshim, he quotes (p. 78) Du Huan's passage from *Tong dian* 193 which we have reproduced and translated above. Zhang concentrates his attention on the final part of the passage in an effort to establish the relationship between Princess Jiaohe 交河公主, or rather her residence, and the Dayun Monastery. Relying on the opinion of Cen Zhongmian 岑仲勉,[19] he thinks that the princess in question whom the Chinese sources often refer to as Princess Jiaohe 交河公主, was actually the Princess Jinhe 金河公主,[20] a daughter of Ashina Huaidao 阿史那懷道, *qaghan* of the Ten Tribes (*shi xing* 十姓) of the Western Turks. In his opinion, that is the princess who was given as wife by the Tang court to the *qaghan* Sulu 蘇祿 of the Tuqishi 突騎施 (Turgesh) in 722.[21]

It is reasonable to think, according to Zhang, that in the period when she resided at Suiye the princess lived in the fortified palace inside the walled city. The ruins of the palace are found in the southwest part of the city, just in the place where the walls of the city form a corner.

18 See p. 81, notes 34–35 of his paper. This seems to be a more detailed report than that known by Clauson (1961, p. 2). As to Hambis, 1962, he does not specify his source.

19 Cen Zhongmian, *Tang shi yushen* 唐史餘瀋, 1960, p. 90.

20 Zhang Guangda here (p. 78), certainly a misprint, writes instead Princess Jincheng 金城公主.

21 Zhang, 1979, p. 78. The source is *Zizhi tongjian* 212.6754 where we read "[Kaiyuan 10], 12th month, *gengzi* day (January 14, 723). The daughter of Ashina Huaidao, *qaghan* of the Ten Tribes, was made Princess Jiaohe and was married to Sulu, *qaghan* of the Duqishi." As we can see, the date is not 722 as stated by Zhang, but 723. We can also see that the name of the princess is Jiaohe 交河. Chavannes (1903, p. 45, note 1) had already said that the princess of Du Huan's passage was the daughter of Ashina Huaidao. But he emended the name Jinhe 金河 of his source to Jiaohe 交河. Cen Zhongmian (Kyoto, 1958, pp. 98–99) agrees with Chavannes as to the identity of the Princess of Du Huan's passage, but he suggests that Jiaohe is in reality a mistake for Jinhe.

As to the Dayun Monastery, Zhang maintains that it is to be identified with one of the two Buddhist monasteries which have come to light during the excavation campaigns of 1953–1954 and 1955–1956. Zhang points above all to the more imposing of the two, a Buddhist monastery which was erected on a plot measuring 85 by 35 metres. It is situated one hundred metres southwest of the fortified palace, measures 76 by 22 metres, and has a main entrance facing east. Zhang says that this monastery in particular deserves our attention, not only because its dimensions are superior to the other but above all because in its main hall statues of Śākyamuni and Maitreya seated in the western manner are found. Concerning the other monastery, almost square in shape and measuring 38 by 38.4 metres, no opinion can be advanced because its statues are too damaged.

Zhang then relates the presence of the statue of Maitreya in the major monastery with the circumstance that Wu Zhao (Empress Wu) represented herself as the incarnation of Maitreya. This she did on the basis of prophecies contained in the *Dayun-jing* 大雲經 and it was precisely from the title of this work that the Dayun monasteries received their name. He says that the Dayun Monastery of Suiye must have been constructed at a date not preceding the year 692 since it was only in 692 that the Chinese troops succeeded in reconquering Suiye. According to Zhang, the archaeological discoveries not only agree with the literary evidence given by Du Huan, but help us in clarifying its real meaning. Since Maitreya was, in fact, venerated in the monastery in question, and the "Dayun monasteries were originally constructed by Wu Zetian (i.e., Wu Zhao) with political intentions and one of their most relevant peculiarities was the veneration of Maitreya," it must be a Dayun Monastery. Moreover the monastery is near the palace where the princess lived–just one hundred metres away–and this agrees, he argues, with Du Huan's statement: "At the place where Princess Jiaohe in the past had lived the Dayun Monastery was erected which still exists." Zhang thinks therefore that the statement must, with the help of the archaeological evidence, be interpreted not in the sense that the residence of the princess was transformed into a monastery, but in the sense that the monastery was situated near her residence and still existed when Du Huan visited Suiye. Zhang remarks that it is not only the new archaeological evidence that suggests the above interpretation of Du Huan's passage. The fact that the Princess Jiaohe married Sulu in 722 (that is, many years after the edict of 690 which ordered the establishment of the Dayun monasteries) leads us to the same conclusion.

Zhang is certainly right when he proposes that the Dayun Monastery of Suiye must have been established after 692 and, at any rate, before the time when the princess went to live at Suiye. It should be added, as mentioned above (p. 48), that the monastery could not have been established after 705. The institution of the Dayun monasteries was an event strictly connected with the Zhou ideology and it is unthinkable that any Dayun monasteries could have been founded after the fall of the dynasty in 705.

It is not possible, however, to completely agree with Zhang when he writes that since Maitreya was venerated at the monastery excavated at Ak Beshim, and since one of the most relevant peculiarities of the Dayun monasteries was the veneration of Maitreya, the ruins of the monastery are those of the Dayun-si. What he says about the veneration of Maitreya is certainly possible, but it must be made perfectly clear that Maitreya was probably not the main object of veneration in the Dayun monasteries. The evidence concerning the other Dayun monasteries has not yet been studied and it is premature to say that Maitreya was the main divinity enshrined in them, even if we can agree that this must have been an important feature. Besides, Zhang seems to ignore the fact that the theme of the identification of Wu Zhao with Maitreya—so greatly underlined in the historical sources—receives cavalier treatment in the *Commentary on the Great-cloud Sūtra* of 17 August 690, which is the main source for the ideology and the political propaganda which inspired the foundation of the Dayun monasteries. Probably Zhang also ignored the fact that the *Commentary on the Great-cloud Sūtra* is the very same work that mistakenly is called *Dayun-jing* in the sources he used.[22] On the basis of the *Commentary on the Great-cloud Sūtra,* we can say that Maitreya could not have been the only divinity venerated in a Dayun Monastery, as, after all, the presence of the statue of Śākyamuni at the Suiye site indicates. Even if it were, we cannot establish a special relation between Maitreya and any Dayun-si. As a matter of fact,

22 On this question, see Forte, 1976 and 1984b.

the cult of Maitreya was also widespread before and after the period when the Dayun monasteries were established. In substance, the argument does not help very much to strengthen Zhang's point.

Zhang also argues that Du Huan's passage must be interpreted in the sense that the monastery stood near to the palace where Princess Jiaohe supposedly lived. This is similarly unconvincing. As a matter of fact, Du Huan does not use any word or expression that can lead us to deduce that is was "nearby." Philologically, then, this interpretation is less tenable than Chavannes'.

This does not mean that I reject Zhang's identification of the ruins of Ak Beshim with the ancient Suiye and of the major monastery's ruins with the Dayun-si of Du Huan's passage. On the contrary, I also am convinced that the ruins of the Buddhist monastery must be those of the ancient Dayun-si. I believe that the fact that the two statues of Śākyamuni and Maitreya have been found there would be quite normal for a Dayun Monastery. If these two statues were the main statues of the monastery, this would perfectly agree with the historical outlook of the authors of the *Commentary of the Great-cloud Sūtra*. Far from advocating the thesis that Wu Zhao was Maitreya, they maintained that she was the incarnation of a Bodhisattva and that the period during which Wu Zhao and they themselves were living was a period situated between the death of Śākyamuni and the advent of Maitreya.[23] So the two statues might represent a historical outlook which was the orthodox standpoint of the Buddhist establishment during Wu Zhao's reign.

In the present circumstances, the strong point which compels us to advocate the identification of Suiye with the ruins of Ak Beshim and of the Dayun-si with the more imposing of the two monasteries is not, at any rate, the circumstance that a statue of Maitreya was found in the monastery, nor the proximity of the said monastery to the fortified palace. It consists, instead, in the very results of the archaeological work carried out by Kyzlasov. The stratigraphy and the material which has come to light (coins, etc.) obliged Kyzlasov to conclude, in fact, that the monastery must be dated to the late seventh century or early eighth century. Clauson

23 Forte, 1976, pp. 125ff.

tried to correct this in light of Chavannes account that the Dayun Monastery of Suiye was built in 748. He suggested consequently (p. 11) that the so-called levels dated seventh-eighth centuries "must be eighth, if the temple was actually built in 748." But we have already seen that the Dayun-si of Suiye, as well as all the other Dayun-si established in the capitals and in the prefectures, were built in the late seventh century or early eighth century, the latest possible date being 705.

At this point we are faced with the curious situation in which the very passage by Du Huan, so strongly invoked by Clauson, Zhang and others in order to uphold the identification of Suiye with Ak Beshim, paradoxally becomes an obstacle to that identification. We have seen that Chavannes' interpretation, followed by Clauson, that the monastery was built in 748 is unacceptable, but we also have seen that the solution suggested by Zhang Guangda, although a shrewd one, is rather unconvincing. Should we then conclude that, contradicting as he does other unquestionable historical facts, Du Huan was wrong or that his passage must have undergone some change or corruption in the process of successive rewritings?

Now, I think that the solution is much simpler and that the correct reading of Du Huan's passage can be obtained by merely changing at one essential point the punctuation followed up to now, a simple period instead of a comma between *chu* 處 and *jian* 建. It is my impression, in fact, that its real meaning escaped both Hirth (followed by Chavannes) and Zhang Guangda due to their evaluation of the way the phrases are connected. Let us see why.

I have given above (p. 42) Du Huan's passage following the punctuation which appears in the recent edition of the *Tong dian* published by the Zhonghua shuju. This is practically the same as Zhang Guangda's punctuation of the passage in question, the only difference being that Zhang puts no mark between *si* 寺 and *you* 猶. In the translation above (p. 42), then, I have given the meaning implicit in the punctuation of the Zhonghua shuju edition. As we have seen, however, thus interpreted the passage causes more problems than it can solve. It suffices, instead, to put a period between *chu* 處 and *jian* 建 and the passage not only assumes a different meaning but reveals also an internal logic that has not been evident up to now. The new reading I suggest is the following:

又有碎葉城．天寶七年，北庭節度使王正見薄伐，城壁摧毀，邑居零落．昔交河公主所居止之處．建大雲寺猶存．

There is also the walled city of Suiye. In the 7th year of Tianbao (748) Wang Zhengjian, the Military Commissioner of Beiting (Besbalïq), attacked it, [therefore] the walls of the city are destroyed and the dwellings of the village(s)[24] are in ruin. It is the place where Princess Jiaohe in the past had lived. The Dayun Monastery which had been erected [at Suiye by the Chinese] still exists.

These are, in other words, Du Huan's rapid and separate notes whose evident connexion is that all concern Suiye. The only sequential link one can obtain is that the walls and the villages were in ruin as a consequence of Wang Zhengjian's attack. Du Huan visited the site a little after the attack, so it is natural that they were in ruin. For the rest there are no sequential links. In substance, Du Huan gives us in three flashes three separate episodes in the life of Suiye which he presents in a strictly inverted chronological order: first Wang Zhengjian's assault of the walled city (748), then the stay at Suiye of the princess (from 723), last the Dayun Monastery which had been constructed at the end of the seventh century (after 692).

Must we conclude then that the only possible link among the three episodes is that they are all related to Suiye? Upon further consideration, another link—less evident at first glance but no less significant—exists. Du Huan is a Chinese who writes for the Chinese. Nothing is more natural than that, being so far from his homeland, he should record three major moments of Chinese presence in Suiye. The general, the princess and the Dayun Monastery,

24 Zhang Guangda writes *li* 里 instead of *ju* 居. Since he does not specify that it is an emendation proposed by him, it must be a misprint. I must say that I don't know exactly what Du Huan meant by the expression *yiju* 邑居 which I have translated as "the dwellings of the village(s)." Suiye was not a village but a rather large city. The excavations have shown that the walled city, surrounded by massive walls with bastions, covers an area of about 86 acres. "On the eastern side of it there abuts a suburb covering about 148 acres also surrounded by a wall but a less massive one" (Clauson, 1961, p. 2). 邑居 may simply mean "village" or "villages." It is possible that Du Huan had in mind the suburb, or that *yi* 邑 is a term that was applied to the internal divisions of the city, as the term *li* 里 itself which was used to indicate the quarterss (*fang* 坊) of a city.

in fact, constitute solid evidence of the Chinese presence there. Both Wang Zhengjian and Jiaohe were Chinese. Conversely, why should Du Huan not speak about the princess' husband? The reason is simply that Su Lu, although politically and historically much more important than her wife, was a Turgesh and Du Huan wishes instead to underscore that a Chinese princess had lived in that place. As to the Dayun Monastery, not only had it been established by the Chinese, but for several decades it must have also been run by Chinese monks. We have to remember, in fact, that as late as 729, when the pilgrim Hyech'o passed there, the Dayun monasteries of two others among the Four Garrisons in Central Asia, Kucha and Kashgar, were directly administrated by Chinese monks.[25] It is improbable–even if not impossible–that such was still the situation at Suiye when Du Huan passed there, but there is no reason to doubt that such could have been the prior circumstances of the Dayun Monastery of Suiye.

To this "Chinese" logic we have advanced, it could be objected that Princess Jiaohe was not one hundred percent Chinese. Actually she was only half Chinese, from her mother, while her father Ashina Huaidao, the nominal *qaghan* of the Western Turks, was a Turk. There is no doubt, however, that she was considered a Tang princess and that when she was given as wife to the Turgesh Sulu, the Tang intended the union as a dynastic marriage in order to ally the Tang to the Turgesh.[26]

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Abbreviations

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25 Forte, 1992, pp. 229–230.
26 Twitchett, 1979, p. 434.

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On the Discovery of a Manchu Epic

(Dedicated to Professor Walther Heissig on the occasion of his 80th birthday)

by

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The earliest and, to date, the only evidence we have for a certain Manchu epic called "Teptalin" is that of the Russian ethnologist S. M. Shirokogoroff (1887-1939) and his 1915 transcription of this work at a village near Aihun (today's Aihui). What little information we do have about this work has been collected and published in an article by Martin Gimm and gives us the - albeit fragmentary - completest possible picture to date:[1]

> "Das angeblich i.J. 1915 in fünfwöchiger Arbeit nach mündlichem Vortrag einer ca. 60 jährigen alten Frau ("Teptalin mama") niedergeschriebene, 250 S. oder 20.000 Zeilen umfassende mandjurische Epos *Teptalin* (von *debtelin*, "Buch"?), das von V.S. Starikov (in *Narody vostočnoj Azii*, hgg. von N.N. Čeboksarov u.a., Moskau 1965, S. 682) als die "mandjurische Odyssee" bezeichnet wurde, wird leider an keiner Stelle von Širokogorovs zahlreichen Werken zitiert. [...] Nach Auskunft eines Gewährsmannes in Peking, der im August 1981 mandjurische Ansiedlungen in der Provinz Hei-lung-chiang besuchte, habe dort noch bis ca. 1966 ein hs. Exemplar des *Teptalin* existiert; es ist demnach offenbar erst in der Kulturrevolution verlorengegangen. Auch erinnerte man sich dort heute noch der im Dorfe *Hsiao wu-szu-li* (Kreis Aihun) lebenden alten Frau, der *"Teptalin mama"* Širokogorovs, die sich durch den Vortrag dieses Poems ihren Lebensunterhalt verdient habe."

1 M. Gimm, *Zur Mandjuristik in der Volksrepublik China 1980*, in "T'oung Pao"LXVII/3-5 (1981), pp. 269-287 (note 18, p. 280-281).

Further information about this epic is found in Gimm's article "Die Literatur der Manjuren":[2]

> "Die Glanzstücke der balladesken Volksdichtung sind leider heute fast nur noch dem Namen nach bekannt. Hierzu gehören das in der Literatur als Nationalepos der Manjuren oder als "manjurische Odyssee" bezeichnete *Tebutalin bithe* (bei Širokogorov unorthographisch: *Teptalin*, chinesisch *Tê-pu-ta-li* oder verballhornt *Ta-mu-tê-li* - benannt nach seinem ständig wiederholten Refrainwort) sowie *Ciya hala*, das vom Kampf der Manjuren gegen Korea handelt. 1915 war es S.M. Širokogorov gelungen, das Epos *Tebutalin* nach dem Vortrag einer alten professionellen Balladensängerin, bekannt als "Tebutalin mama", aus dem Aigun- (heute Aihui-) Gebiet in einer Version von angeblich rund 20.000 Versen aufzuzeichnen. Nachdem die Sängerin gestorben war, das erwähnte Manuskript 1937 verschollen und eine kürzere Aufzeichnung während der Schrecken der Kulturrevolution um 1965 verloren ging, lassen sich heute nur noch einige Teile dieser historischen Familien- und Heldensaga im lebendigen Volksgebrauch aufspüren (eine Tonbandaufnahme gelang 1983)."

As we are still waiting for publication of the above mentioned "Tonbandaufnahme", nonetheless some news has come from China. Again, it is fragmentary but it concerns the rediscovery of another shaman-based epic whose Chinese title is Wubuxiben Mama 烏布西奔媽媽. The scholar whose merit it is to have brought it to light at the Second International Conference of the International Society for Shamanistic Research (Budapest, July 11-17, 1993), is that well-known expert on Manchu shamanism, Fu Yuguang 富育光 of the Jilin Institute for Ethnic Studies at Changchun. From his own personal communications as well as from the abstract of the Conference itself, one can trace a fairly detailed description of this epic, that has been

2 M. Gimm, *Die Literatur der Manjuren*, in "Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft", Bd. 23, Wiesbaden 1984, pp. 193-216 (pp. 200-201).

unknown to date in the West. In Fu Yuguang's account, we read:[3]

"[...] *Wubuxiben Mama* was created in epic form around 1115-1271 during the Jin and Yuan dynasties, but the events recorded snake back into the distant history. It describes how Wubuxiben - female khan of the Wubuxun clan of the ancient Nüchen [Jurchen] in Donghai (East Sea) as well as ancestress of the Manchu - devoted her whole life to the protection of her clan members with her shamanic power, and how she brilliantly governed seven hundred tribes in Donghai. It eulogizes the sacred position of women and the important role of shamanic practice of the Manchu clan societies in history.

The transmission of the epic is full of poetic drama. It begins by introducing the process of the creation and transmission of the epic. After the heroin Wubuxiben died, the shamans followed her wish to hold a grand sea funeral ceremony in her honor, and carved her achievements on a cave wall at Deyan Mountain by Donghai. The epic was inscribed with graphic symbols from the cave opening down the walls, as if there were thousands of animals and birds inside. Some of the symbols overlapped because they were added by shamans of subsequent generations. These symbols can be deciphered only by the shamans of the Wubuxun clan once led by Wubuxiben. The epic was initially circulated in the form of pictographs. During rituals the shamans chanted those inscribed symbols. Over long periods of ritual chanting of the pictographs, a memorial ritual was formed through which the pictographs were verbally transmitted and evolved into an epic. In mid-nineteenth century, due to the drastic decline of the Qing government, the border between China and Russia was forced to alter. Consequently, many of those clan members by the sea, together with their territory, were forced to the Russian rule, while some people

3 Fu Yuguang, *The Transmission and value of the Manchu shamanic epic "Wubuxiben Mama"*, in "Shamanism and Performing Arts. Papers and Abstracts for the 2nd Conference of the Int. Society for Shamanistic Research, July 11-17, 1993, Budapest, Hungary. Ed. by M. Hoppál & P. Páricsy, Ethnographic Institute, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest 1993, pp. 182-185

migrated to the region west of the Wusuli (Amur [Usuri?]) River in today's China. Although far from the place the pictographs originated, the epic was passed down by the shamans in their memory. Later it was recorded by Manchu and Han writers and preserved by the descendants of the Lemuhe clan. In the late Qing dynasty and early Republican period, Manchu language gradually became obsolete. Then the Lu clan has preserved the epic in both Manchu and Chinese scripts. The incomplete epic found so far has 4.000 lines and parts of the text use a dialect of the Woji [Weji] clan originally from Donghai. Particularly valuable of the epic is that it has retained almost one hundred graphic symbols copied from the cave by the East Sea. These symbols created by the ancestors of the Donghai people are important sources to the study of script origin, cliff paintings, and primitive ideology. The epic tells how Wubuxiben, with her courage and astuteness, unified seven hundred tribes in Donghai, and developed maritime routes across the Sea of Japan to Kamchatka and Aleutian Islands. Wubuxiben demonstrated her shamanic power and performed immortal feats. With this as its theme, the epic unfolds the belief systems, folk customs, history and other cultural traditions of the ancient Nüchen people in Donghai. The epic is a valuable document for studying the archaic shamanism of northeast Asia, and deserves to be called a cultural treasure of shamanism. The epic retains many creation myths of the Tungus groups. These myths retell how the East Sea was formed; how seals nurtures humankind during the Great Flood; how the celestial birds brought fire during the Ice Age; and how totems and shamans or shamanesses came into being. The epic records an enormous nature pantheon of the ancient Nüchen, and vividly displays the archaic shamanic practices. Much of the epic describes the shamanic activities of the big shamaness Wubuxiben, and reflects the ideational spheres and connotations of shamanism. The subjective spiritualism worshipped by shamans through history is well verified by the rituals recorded as Offerings to the Sea, Sea Funeral Ceremony, Divination, Ecstatic Dance, Soul Flight, Sea Diving, Fire Swallowing, Fire Walking, and Soul Calling. The epic also contributes to the field of traditional medicine with the introduction of hallucinogens and detailed recording of shamanic healing methods. The epic records that Wubuxiben led five expeditions, and went through seven rituals of offering to the sea and nine sea funerals - each being accompanied by grand ceremonies and ritual singing and dancing. The epic incredibly preserves more than thirty different kinds of ritual dances: the Fish Dance, Bird Dance, Feather Dance, Hundred Animal Dance, Flower Dance, Serpent Dance, Sea-Spirit Dance, Goddess Dance, Head Dance, Face Dance, Breast Dance, Hand Dance, Shoulder Dance, Feet Dance, Double-Hit Dance, Tussling Dance and so on. The performances of the dances varies according to different contents of the rituals. The ancient shamanic technique for producing the sound movement effect seems far more complex and significant that that of the ritual dances of today's shamans. [...]"

Speaking of Fire, a matter of fundamental importance in any primitive society, Fu Yuguang writes:[4]

"...Fire Deity is placed before all other natural deities when they are invited for help or for ceremonious occasions which often involve the performance of fire play and fire-walk. The Manchu epic *Wubuxiben Mama* says,

Fire comes with a smile;
fire comes with a bounce;
fire descends from the tree;
and fire falls from the rain'."

In the same article we read, that "In the Manchu epic *Wubuxiben Mama*, the big shamaness sat on a sacred drum in her dream and flew up like a goose, and fought with clouds and thunder above the East Sea."[5]

4 Fu Yuguang, *The Worldview of the Manchu Shaman*, in M. Hoppál & K. D. Howard (eds.), "Shamans and Cultures", Budapest-Los Angeles, 1993, p. 241.
5 P. 243.

In another of his publications, Fu Yuguang quotes some brief lines in Chinese, such as the following invocation to the Falcon-God:[6]

"*Zhe, zhe,*[7] swooping down from the heavens like the wind or lightening,
zhe, zhe, swooping down from the mountains like a ray of gold or a radiant glance,
zhe, in the movement of whose left wing the sun is covered and uncovered,
zhe, in the movement of whose right wing the moon is covered and uncovered,
Your front claws are in the River Sungari,
Your nether claw is at Bakajin huoluo in the East Sea...".

A longer passage from this epic has already been published by Fu Yuguang in 1990[8] and here[9] he reveals that this epic, which arose among the "Donghai Jurchen, in the tribe (*hala*) of the Wubuxun 烏布遜 belonging to the Baihao-clan 白號姓 of the Jin 金 period," has been duly transcribed by himself in 1972:

"Wumulin Bila[10] is a jade belt of the Heaven Maiden,
It spreads to the white clouds and red sunset at the edge of the sky.
Tents made of sable are like thousands of Meihua flowers on the river's banks
Tents of deer are like hundreds of silver flowers scattered in the forest.
Detun's horse's hooves are like a sea breaker,
Shuayan's horse's long mane is like a sea of clouds.

6 Fu Yuguang & Meng Huiying 孟慧英, *Manzu samanjiao yanjiu* 滿族薩滿教研究, Peking 1991, p. 215.
7 "zhe" (in Manchu "je" < imperative [?] of "jimbi", i.e. "jio", "come!") is a well-known syllable which often opens Manchu shamanic prayers: see G. Stary, *Mandschurische Schamanengebete*, in "Zentralasiatische Studien" 14/2 (1980), pp. 7-26.
8 In his *Samanjiao yu shenhua* 薩滿教與神話, Shenyang, 1990, pp. 279-286.
9 On p. 279.
10 "Bila" is the Chinese transcription of Manchu *bira* - "river".

The happy longevity of Wubuxun gashan[11]
Is like a tender child of the sun, a charity of the blue sky.
Seven hundred tribes live light-heartedly,
To the east is the Zhuluhan tribe,
To the west is the Qiemukenhan tribe,
To the south is the Huihan tribe,
To the north is invincible on the earth the Wubuxun tribe.
They use arrows made from stone, no animal can escape them.
They govern over eight sides, their powerful orders [spread] over four seas.
[Their] wise Khan is the shamaness Wubuxiben,
[she] tamed the usurper brother Dumuken and [his ?] sister,
Put an end to the back-water's robber Anchagangu,
Suppressed the witch of the Inner Sea, Bateentu,
Destroyed the enemy's nests on 300 islands in the Outer Sea.
The sun of Donghai shines over grass-steppes and mountains where wars are not being waged.
The bright moon of Donghai brings peace into the tents all over thousand li, where tears and moans are not heard.
Silver cups made of fish bones,
Silver baskets made of mother-of-pearl
Are filled with the gifts of sea and earth.
People are laughing,
Trying delicate and sweet things,
tasting wonderful sweet dew [wine].
All this is charity of the female Khan.
[They] live in Donghai, where the sun rises,
This is Wumulin Bira, [their] motherland.
[Their] colored dresses are made of Heaven's white snow,
[Their] shoes are made of precious fish skin,
[Their] quilts are made of wonderfully light goose feathers,
[Their] food is made of delicious dry caviar.
Under Heavens [lives] invincible the Wubuxun gashan,
It is under unlimited protection of hundred shamanic spirits".
[....]

11 "gashan" is the Chinese transcription of Manchu *gašan* - "village".

"The poor and emaciated [people of] Wumulin Bira suffered troubles and sickness,
Tribes were fighting and quarelling like the white-neck mag-pies, that argue every day.
Sicknesses and epidemics were everywhere and bodies floated down the river.
The old Khan Gude was desperate,
He could not understand why Abuka[12] punished [his people].
But one day two suns rose in Donghai.
Red light lit a tent of leopard skin on the river bank,
A bear-footed dumb lady came to the Eastern Hills.
Waving her hand she can call thousand white eagles,
Waving her hand she can call sturgeons to jump onto the shore,
Sitting on a magic shaman drum she can overfly a flock of birds,
She can walk on a rapid stream like on a plain.
Using her hand she informed the Khan and his people
That she was the Lady of the Donghai sun.
The dumb lady, dressed in fish-skin clothes,
Should be chosen the sacred shamaness of the 700 gashan of Donghai.
The Wubuxun will have eternal peace and tranquillity,
Will be like the rising sun in the east, good light will shine always.
The robbers will be pacified and the Four Seas will flourish.
If she is not chosen the chief magic shamaness,
The Wubuxun old and young people will not escape from evil faults!
The old Khan Gude shaking his head could hardly believe,
But he made an altar as she ordered
And called the shamans of [all] the gashan to serve under the altar.
Next day early in the morning the horns started blowing,
Gathered people were like human hills and human sea.
The old Khan Gude kneeling on his knees invited the dumb Lady,
Near him were kneeling a crowd of shamans and his subjects.
Thousands of female slaves gathered, their coloured cloths looked like the sea.

12 "Abuka" is the Chinese transcription of Manchu *abka* - "heavens".

All the mountains and hundreds of deer,
Old pine-trees and malachite willows,
Red swans and white cranes -
All are waiting with hope for the appearance of the celestial shamaness.
Hongwu[13] started ringing,
Belt bells started ringing,
Magic drums started beating.
All the shamans holding incense bowed to the Eastern Sea
And they see coming from the depth of the river waters
The impressive dumb Lady.
She made her oval drum, like a duck's egg, from the skin of walrus,
It sounds like tentthousand running horses.
Suddenly the dumb Lady started singing magic words,
She covered her body with skin of white mouse,
She covered her body with skin of grey mouse,
She covered her body with skin of silver fox,
She covered her body with skin of black otter.
She used colourful stones for her head decoration,
She used birds' bones for her head decoration,
She used fish bones for her head decoration,
She used roebucks' teeth for her head decoration,
She put a leopard's tail around her waist,
She put a tiger's tail around her waist,
She put a bear's paws around her waist,
She put a sable's tail around her waist.
The weight of her whole clothing is a hundred *jin*,
She sat on her magic drum made of fish skin in a form of a duck egg.
With her shout
The magic drum starts gently flying.
It flew to the sky like a goose feather,
It made a circle over the crowd of people,
And slowly landed on the waters of the Wumulin Bira river.

13 Manchu *honggon* - "bells"

Flocks of water birds came flying and swimming from around,
Flocks of fishes came to the surface.
The rulers of the peoples of the Wumulin Bira stiffened,
The robbers of Wumulin Bira ran away with fear.
All the sicknesses of Wumulin Bira immediately dissappeared,
In the sky of Wumulin Bira a bright sun immediately started shining.
All shamans kneeled in front of the shamaness,
The old Khan Gude with bows gave the magic Lady a golden seal.
The shamaness raised up all the people [from their knees], and tightly held the old Khan Gude's hand:
"I came to this world to bring peace to the Wubuxun tribe,
You should call me now Wubuxiben Mama!"
From this time on, all over Donghai arose new life
---- And the name of Wubuxiben Mama became famous through a hundred generations.
Donghai is vast,
The sun and the moon are shining;
The merits of the shamaness Wubuxiben spread all over the world,
And everybody calls her Wubuxiben Mama...."
[....]
The female Khan Wubuxiben is beautiful and elegant,
The whole day, from early morning, she devotes herself to the state affairs, the whole night long she does not sleep.
She thinks only of work, and with bitterness lived when the willow tree 30 times has became green and 30 times the ice has melted.
The hair at her temples became white, in the corners of her eyes wrinkles appeared.
She had three beloved men who served her,
But none of them could have her and died, and she lived alone.
She was bitterly sorry that her sacred body could not be given to ordinary people.
One night she heard beating of the drum and knew that her life was finishing.
Then she called her two beloved girl-pupils
Who were called Teerxin and Teerbing.
They both were unusual shamanesses,

They were the nearest and devoted subjects of Wubuxiben Mama.
Seeing the female Khan lying and hardly breathing, with closed eyes and unable to speak,
They both knelt and bowed down, and started crying bitterly.
"In my dream I heard the Ancestor called me,
You should live in friendship and love, holding hands together like relatives.
When I pass away, you both should govern over the Wubuxun tribe.
You should learn from the Crow Lady to die for hardships, to live for hardships.
Do not be corrupt and jealous, do not be lazy and arrogant.
Only then the tribe will have prosperity, and hundred deeds realized!"
Teerxin did not know the crow's story,
[Therefore] Wubuxiben leaning on the tiger's bed with closed eyes started to tell:
"When the Heavens and the Earth started to appear,
An evil demon Yeluli [Yeluri?] raged in the Universe.
Strong wind, ice rivers, evil waves spread everywhere,
Ten thousand were the creatures whocould not survive.
Abuka Hehe[14] is the Mother of cosmos and of ten thousand creatures.
She made the sun reach the earth,
She made the moonlight reach the Universe.
She ordered saint-maidens, who surrounded her, to make ten thousand creatures from clay,
She ordered saint-maidens, who surrounded her, to make grain from dew and air,
She ordered saint-maidens, who surrounded her, to make mountains and rivers from stone-powder,
She ordered saint-maidens, who surrounded her, to make streams from clouds and air.
Only after that appeared cosmos and universe.

14 "Abuka Hehe" is the Chinese transcription of Manchu *abka hehe* - "heavenly lady ~ woman".

Yeluli could not accept his defeat:
He started throwing up ice and snow, which covered cosmos and universe.
Everything was still frozen, everywhere was ice flood.
A faithful maid of Abuka Eme[15], Guerta,
Was ordered to throw fire from the sun onto the ice mountains.
She dug into the ice mountains with all her forces
And returned the sacred fire to warm up the earth.
The cosmos revived, all the creatures became alive.
Because Guerta maiden was in the ice mountain,
She was suffering unbearable hunger;
By mistake she swallowed the "Bird-grass",which had been spit out by Yeluli,
and with hate she died and turned into a black bird.
The colour of the sun dissappeared from her whole body,
She had black claws, strong beak, she cried without stopping,
She courageously flew into the mountains and all the nights kept watch.
For thousand years she was not lazy, for ten tousand years she was faithful...".
When I die - when I sleep for long time without awakening,
Make my resting-place on a hill side of the Wumulin Bira;
The soul and the bones of a shaman should not be buried!
Under my body put deer's bones, fish' blood and boar's teeth,
The whole body cover with magic bells like with mother-of-pearl,
Under my head put the magic drum, made from fish skin,
Under my feet put the skin of hedgehog.
Let the morning sun, heaven's wind, night stars make my body rotten,
My bones will themselves fall down on the land of Wubuxun.
After a hundred years pass, the mountains and the rivers will not change,
In the land of Wubuxun a new lady will certainly be born:
This is I, returning to the human world,
And the magic shaman drum will beat stronger and louder...".

15 "Abuka Eme" is the Chinese transcription of Manchu *abka eme* - "heavenly mother".

One can only agree with Fu Yuguang, when he writes:[16]

> "The epic Wubuxiben Mama is significant to the researchers of many fields. The value of its introduction to the English is expected to surpass that of the well-known Manchu myth, Nisan Shamaness....".

* * *

In conclusion, we should like to add a brief "coda" to our article by including a linguistic note that deals with the word "hasuri ~ hasure", very often found at the beginning of many Manchu shaman invocations:

hasuri hala,
tere hala....[17]

This term, which in the past has been considered as a reference to the clan of the same name or interpreted as the "mother-clan" finds quite another meaning for Fu Yuguang. In a personal communication he has said that "hasuri" is nothing other than the local name for a grass that grows, luxuriant and thick, in central-north Manchuria and whose Chinese name is 蓍蓍草 *qiqicao*. Thus, a clan which refers to itself as "hasuri" is referring quite simply to how numerous its members are. So, this term can well be translated as "[our] numerous clan".

16 In his *The Transmission and value...*, p. 185.
17 For a preliminary discussion and a detailed bibliography see G. Stary, *"Praying in the Darkness": New Texts for a Little-Known Manchu Shamanic Rite*, in "Shaman", vol. I n. 1, Szeged, spring 1993, p. 19 note 17.

Primary *h- in Mongol: the Evidence Considered

by

William Rozycki

(Bloomington)

I. *Introduction*

The standard reconstruction of the consonant system of Common Mongolian is that found in Poppe 1955:95 and reproduced below.

		Labial	Dental & Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	
					Velar	Deep-velar
Stops	Voiceless	*p	*t		*k	*q
	Voiced	*b	*d		*g	*γ(*g̬)
Affricates	Voiceless		*č			
	Voiced		*ǯ			
Spirants	Voiceless		*s & *š			
	Voiced	*β		*j		
Nasals		*m	*n		*ŋ	
Laterals			*l			
Vibrants			*r			

According to Poppe (p. 15), Ancient Mongolian is nearly identical with Common Mongolian except that *ti* of Ancient Mongolian yielded *č in Common Mongolian, and *di* of Ancient Mongolian yielded *ǯ of Common Mongolian. This reconstruction of the consonant system of the Mongol language was accepted without controversy when it was published in 1955 and until recently no attempt at revision has been made.

Doerfer 1985 published a study of 697 lexical correspondences between Mongol and Tungus. Among these he found six lexical correspondences in which Central Tungus[1] *x*- corresponded to ˀ- (= Ø-, zero)[2] both in Mongol and in the other Tungus languages. He took these six correspondences to be ancient loans from Mongol into Tungus, and held that the Central Tungus initials reflected a lost **h*- in Mongol.

This reconstruction of a lost initial has gone unnoticed in the literature. Yet it is potentially of great importance for the light it can throw on correspondences with other languages, and also – if it can be reconstructed in non-initial position – for the role it might play in elucidating some of the puzzles concerning vowel length and vowel quality in Mongol. One need only consider the effect of the laryngeal theory on Indo-European linguistics to determine that an examination of the claim for a lost **h* is called for in Altaic linguistics.

Before proceeding to an examination of the evidence, it is well to remind the reader that the **h*- under consideration is altogether different from the secondary *h*-(<**p*-) which is attested in Middle Mongol. The claim made by Doerfer in his discussion and chart (p. 154) is that a primary phoneme **h*- existed in Ancient Mongolian, that this phoneme has long since disappeared from Mongol, and that its presence is indicated only by some Tungus words which were borrowed in the distant past from the Mongol language.

The evidence on which the claim for primary **h*- rests is, then, solely external. Let us examine in detail each of the correspondences presented by Doerfer (pp. 150–151) as evidence of **h*- in Mongol.

1 For the purposes of this paper we adopt Doerfer's terminology, in which the three Tungus languages of Nanai, Ulča and Orok are placed in the central group, along with Kili, Negidal, and Oroč. Some other systems of classification consider the former three languages to compose the southern group.

2 Glottalized onset is a regular vocalization except before obstruents or glides (see, for example, Yamamoto which offers phonetic transcription of a Manchu dialect); thus ˀ- can be phonologically represented as Ø-.

II. *Evidence*

1. Mongol *agta* (<**hakta*) "Wallach" → Nanai *xakta-* "kastrieren", Orok *xakta* "kastriertes Rentier".

To these forms cited by Doerfer may be added Orok *xakta*[3] "castrated reindeer" and *xaktapula* "castrated", and Nanai (Bikin dialect) *xaktoaxa* "horse" (but note, in the same dialect, *akta mori(n-)* "gelding" ← Manchu *akta morin* "gelding"). The other Tungus languages have forms without *x-*, e.g. Evenki *akta-* "to castrate reindeer", Solon *akta* "gelding", Negidal *aktawčā* "castrated reindeer, riding reindeer" etc. These forms too, of course, would according to Doerfer be traceable to Mongol, with presumed loss of **h-* at some time in the past.

Mongol forms for comparison are Middle Mongol *ahta* [read *aqta*], Classical *aγta*, Khalkha *agt*, Ordos *aǦ't'a*, Kalmyk *akt*ᵖ "gelding" and Buriat *agta* "fine horse, trotter".

Doerfer 1963:115–116 noted a Persian word for gelding with virtually the same phonetic shape as the Mongol, and with a plausible etymology within Persian. At that time he took the Mongol form to be a borrowing from Turkic (Old Turkic *at* "horse"), which in turn was borrowed from Persian: "Der Lehnweg dürfte also etwa dieser gewesen sein: ein älteres pers. **āχta-* "Kastrat, Wallach" → urtü. **āqta* → mo. *aġta* (später urtü. **āqta* > **aqt* > *at*)".

In Doerfer: 1985 this etymology was jettisoned, presumably because there is no initial *h-* attested in the Persian form which could explain the *x-* of the South Tungus forms. But Doerfer abandonded the etymology simply by rejecting (pp. 150–151) any connection between the Mongol form and Turkic *at* (since reconstructed, due to Khaladž, as **hat*): "Uns scheint sicher, daß mo. *agta* nichts mit tü. *hat* zu tun hat: (1) der Anlaute wegen ... (2) aber auch der

3 Forms for Tungus other than Manchu are cited (with phonological transcription) from Tsintius: 1975 and Tsintsius: 1977. Manchu forms are cited and glossed after Norman except where otherwise noted. Likewise Mongolian Classical forms are cited after Lessing with exceptions noted, Middle Mongol after Haenisch, Khalkha after Hangin, Buriat following Čeremisov, Ordos after Mostaert, Dagur following Poppe: 1930 except when noted, Monguor after Mostaert-Smedt, and Kalmyk following Ramstedt. Glosses from Russian are translated by the author.

recht ansprechenden Bedeutungsübereinstimmung wegen (daß die Tungusen ihre Rentierzuchtterminologie nach der mo. Pferdezuchtterminologie gestaltet haben ...)." We can agree with Doerfer that Mongol *agta* "gelding" is to be separated from Turkic *at* "horse" (< *hat* < **pat*) on phonological grounds, but that does not end the matter in regard to the Persian form.

Neither Mongol nor Tungus offers a plausible etymology *within the language* for the term gelding. Melioranskij was the first to point out that Persian holds the key. The Persian verb *akhtan* (Steingass: 24) "to draw out, unsheath (a sword); to castrate, geld ..." is the source of Persian *ākhta, akhta* "drawn, castrated; a gelding". The verb is very old in Persian. It is attested in Pahlavi monuments from the first millenium (MacKenzie: 6 *āhixtan* "draw out, pull up, extract"). The noun, with the meaning of "gelding", is attested in the eleventh-century *Šāhnāme* (Moscow edition, vol. V, verse 1523). The attestation is centuries prior to the Mongol conquest.

We cannot reconstruct Mongol **hagta* if the donor form did not have an initial pharyngeal, unless we argue that the Mongol initial is prosthetic, added after borrowing from Persian, or borrowed indirectly from another language in which prosthesis occurred. This line of reasoning is barren, for it leads ultimately to the simpler resort of viewing the South Tungus initial as prosthetic.

In sum, it is impossible to state with assurance that in this case an ancient Mongol loan with initial **h-* was preserved in the South Tungus forms. The origin of this Inner Asian word for gelding appears to be Persian, and hence the phonetic features of the initial phoneme reflected in Central Tungus remain unexplained.

2. Mongol *absa* (< **hapsa*) "Kiste" → Orok *xapsaw/xapsau* "Korb". To this may be added the forms in other Tungus languages without *x-* such as Manchu *absa* "... 2. a birchbark container", Oroč *apsaiča* "pouch", Even *awsă/awhă* "bag, pouch, purse", Evenki *awsa* "bag, case; (in some dialects) coffin".

The Mongol forms to be cited are Classical *absa,* Khalkha *avs(an),* Buriat *absa,* Dagur *awsa,* all with the meaning "coffin". The word is unattested in Middle Mongol, Ordos and Monguor. In Kalmyk it is *awsɒ* marked as an Ölöt dialect form, with the added notation that it is rarely used, and glossed as "kasten". It appears that this rare Kalmyk dialect form is the motivation for Doerfer's gloss of the Mongol as "Kiste"; it should properly be glossed "Sarg" [coffin].

Some years ago Clark: 148 cited scholarship which demonstrated that Mongol *absa* is a rather recent loan from Turkic (Middle Qipčak – no earlier than the thirteenth century). The donor was a dialect in which sporadic loss of *q-/k-* occurred, as attested by an Arab-Turkic glossary with many such examples, among them *absa* [read *apsa*] „coffin", see Halasi Kun: 46, Atalay: 19. The Middle Qipčak form in turn is traced to Qipčak (*Codex Cumanicus*) *kapsa* "coffin". This is, according to Drimba: 487, through a Greek intermediary ultimately of Latin origin, cf. *capsa* "case" with the later secondary meaning of "coffin".

This Latin etymology is plausible and well attested at each step in the transmission. If accepted, it raises as many questions as it answers;[4] chief among these would be, as in # 1 above, the absence of *h- in the original donor form.

Here again a plausible etymology outside of Mongol indicates that this correspondence cannot with confidence be offered as evidence for a lost *h- in Mongol.

3. *ebčeyün* (mit Suffix *-yün*) (< **häbtiä*) "Brustbein" → Nanai, Orok *xeučile*, Ulča *xeuntile* "Rippe".

Other Tungus forms without *x-* are Evenki *ewtilē*, Even *ewutle*, Udehe *euntile* etc. "rib". Note also Manchu *ebci* (Doerfer: < **ebce*) "rib; framing timbers (of a ship); (steep) side of a hill".

Mongol forms to be cited are Middle Mongol *ebce'un* [read *ebče'ün*], Classical *ebčigüü/ebčigü(n)* "sternum, chest; brisket", Khalkha *ovčuu(n)*, Ordos *öB'tś'ū*, Kalmyk *öptšün*, Monguor *śDźiū*, Dagur *er'č'ū* "id.".

It may be possible to find an etymology for this word within the Mongol language, note Classical *ebür/öbür* "breast, bosom, front, lap ..." and *emün-e* "south; southern; front; before, in front of, fac-

4 Among these, how did Kalmyk Ölöt *awsă* come to have the meaning "chest, case" yet the other Mongol languages denote "coffin"? And how to account for the Tungus forms – especially those Evenki dialects which carry the gloss "coffin"? To the former question there seems to be no answer, but to the latter there is a simple solution: the Evenki forms, or at least their assigned meaning of coffin, are borrowed from Mongol in rather recent times.

ing ..." which indicate a root **eb* ~ **em* with a meaning "front part of the body, upper torso".[5]

However, the Tungus form can likewise be further analyzed. Doerfer himself (p. 151) regarded the final syllable of the Tungus form (e.g. *ewtilē, xeučile*) as "das bekannte Körperteilsuffix *-lē*", but did not mention the forms in Tungus which exist without this suffix: Nanai *xeute*, Ulča *xeunte*, Evenki and Negidal *ewte*, Udehe *eute* etc., all meaning "lung". This appears to be the earlier form, with the word for rib derived from it by addition of the suffix, thus **epti* "lung" + *-lē* > **eptilē* "rib".

This etymology for the Tungus word for "rib" casts doubt on the notion that the word was borrowed from Mongol into Tungus. The Mongol word for lung is represented by Classical *ayušgi(n)* which bears no obvious connection to *ebčigü(n)*. The problems are not insurmountable; we might suppose that the Tungus word for lung is a derivation by *loss* of a suffix (at a time when the original meaning of the stem had been forgotten); or we can accept the priority of **epti* "lung" and yet posit a now-lost Mongol form as the donor. Nevertheless, the reconstruction of a lost phoneme in Mongol requires solid evidence, and this correspondence cannot qualify as such.

4. Mongol *erü-* (< **häri-/ü-*) "graben" → Nanai *xeruči-*, Ulča *xeru-*, Orok *xeri-* "to dig snow" (Ulča form carries a secondary meaning of "to squander, waste").

Associated forms without *x-* are Evenki, Even *er-*, Negidal *ej-*, Oroč *ei-* etc. "to dig snow" (with secondary meanings such as "to dig up") and, perhaps, Manchu *eri-* "to sweep".

In Mongol the form is attested only in Classical *erü-* "to dig, cut, hack", absent in Middle Mongol and the modern languages.[6] The

5 Professor Larry Clark, to whom I am grateful for reading an earlier draft of this paper, called to my attention the Mongol forms *ebči/öbči* "armour, breastplate" (*Altan Tobči nova* 98:4 and Ramstedt: 298). These appear to be syncopated or collapsed forms of *ebčigübči* "breastplate".

6 Miller: 35 links the Mongol and Tungus forms with Old Japanese *wer-* "engrave, incise (on wood, stone); dig out (a hole in the ground)" and also with Chagatai Turkic *äz-* "rub, grind". If this correspondence is valid, then Buriat *ure-* "to grind" could be cited. On the other hand Tsintsius 1985: 122–123 links the Tungus forms with Mongol (Classical) *kürje* "shovel, spade", Old Turkic *kürä-* "to rake" and Korean *ka.rey* "wooden shovel".

semantic change from Mongol "to dig" to Tungus "to dig snow" presents no difficulties. This correspondence is acceptable as evidence of *h- in Mongol.

5. Mongol *oγo-da-sun* "Zwickel unter dem Arm" → Nanai, Orok *xawa-ni*, Ulča *xawa-n* ["armpits"].

Some Tungus forms without *x-* are Evenki *oγonī*, Even *oγni*, Negidal *oγoni* "armpits; bosom" Evenki *oγodō-*, Negidal *oγodolo-* "to carry under the arm", and Manchu *o* "... 2. armpit 3. the depression of a mortar ...", *oho* "armpit", and *oho da* "the top of the sleeve" [Hauer glosses *oho da* as "Achselteil der Jacke"].

In Mongol the form is represented by Classical *oγodasun* (Kowalewski: 364) "chanteau d'un habit de dessous le bras" and Kalmyk *oγ°d°sn̥* "(ein Stück des Ärmels), Ärmelzwickel".

It is clear from the glosses that we are dealing with a body-part term in Tungus, but a clothing or tailoring term in Mongol. It strains credulity to believe that the Tungus body-part term was taken from the specialized Mongol clothing term and then semantically broadened to refer to a common body part. Let us note that the Mongol word for "armpit" is represented by Classical *suγu(n)*, *suu* "armpit; long and narrow depression in the terrain", and by Khalkha *suga(n)* "armpit; underarm of a garment", unrelated to *oγodasun* on phonological grounds.

We are left, then, to find an etymology for *oγodasun* within Mongol to compete with the internal etymology found in Tungus. The only hint available is Classical *oγčim* "depression, ditch; ravine, valley". But even if we analyze *oγčim* as a root *oγ* + affix *čim* and reconstruct a thematic **oγ/oγo* in Mongol meaning "hole, pit, depression" we are still left with a problem. Poppe 1954: 45 demonstrates that Mongol *-dasun* is a deverbal suffix, yet we are unable to reconstruct a verb form from the thematic.

On the other hand, Manchu *oho da* (written as two words!) is transparently "underarm" + *da* "root, stock, base, foundation ...". All the internal evidence indicates not only a strong etymology within Tungus, but the likelihood that the Manchu form is the source of the Mongol word (with addition of the common Mongol suffix *-sun* after borrowing) rather than a borrowing from it.

Considering the loan direction in this case, the correspondence cannot be used as evidence for the reconstruction of *h- in Mongol.

6. Mongol *ebde-* (< **häpü(dä)-*) "zerstören" → Nanai *xepuli-* "to destroy; to crush"

To this form may be added Nanai *xepuke* "destroyed" and *xepu-xepu* and *xepurem* "completely destroyed".

Forms without *x-* are Evenki *ew-* "to break", Solon *egdū-* "to be broken", Manchu *ebdere-* "to harm, destroy, to ruin".

Mongol forms are represented by Middle Mongol *ebde-/obde-* [read *ebde-/öbde-*], Classical *ebde-*, Ordos *eBDe-*, Kalmyk *ebde-*, Khalkha *ebde-*, Dagur *erede-* (Martin: 145) "to destroy".

A difficulty in this correspondence is that the Tungus forms with *x-* are attested only in Nanai. And there the form *xepu-xepu* "completely destroyed", which is clearly sound expressive, raises the possiblity that the *x-* in that case is prosthetic.

In summary, there are difficulties with this correspondence which do not disqualify it from evidence but yet weaken any claim made.

III. *Conclusions*

We have examined in some detail the six correspondences of Mongol *Ø-*, Central Tungus *x-* which were offered in *Mongolo-Tungusica* as evidence for a lost **h-* in Mongol. In correspondences # 1 and # 2 a plausible donor form, without **h-*, has been located in other languages. In correspondences # 3 and # 5 an etymology within Tungus has been found for the Tungus form. Only correspondences # 4 and # 6 appear to serve as evidence for **h-* in Mongol.

Are two correspondences (one of which, # 6, is still problematic) sufficient to reconstruct a phoneme in Mongol? Considering the importance of such a reconstruction and the ramifications for scholars of other Inner Asian languages, caution is the best policy. The reconstruction of primary **h-* in Mongol should be set aside until stronger evidence appears.[7]

7 In which case the correspondence Mongol *qorin* "twenty" ~ Tungus *xorin/orin* "id.", which Doerfer 1985: 151 had rejected, must be restored. This Mongol *k-/q-* ~ Nanai, Ulča, and Orok *x-* is in fact the regular correspondence. See Tsintsius 1984 in which scores of such correspondences, many also including Turkic examples with *k-/q-*, are offered.

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On the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom

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I. Introduction

In Tun-huang history, the activities of the Uighurs lasted for a long period of about five centuries and left many legacies of their historical culture. These legacies have continued to draw the attention of many scholars of various countries and great progress has been made recently.[1] However, due to paucity of historical sources, many problems have remained untouched. Most important among them is whether the Sha-chou (the old name of Tun-huang) Uighur Kingdom had existed or not, as this is not only an important component of both Uighur and Tun-huang history but is also closely related to the historical stages of the Tun-huang arts and the date when the Sūtra-library Cave (Tun-huang Academical Cave No. 17 = Pelliot's Cave No. 163) was sealed. Detailed studies have been made thanks to Dr. J. Hamilton whose painstaking efforts of collection and study resulted in the publication of his great work *Manuscrits Ouïgours du IX^e–X^e siècle de Touenhouang* along with the photographs of all the manuscripts studied by him. This book provides 36[2] important Uighur manuscripts preserved in London and Paris which were discovered by Sir Aurel Stein and

1 Apart from a number of monographs in Uighur manuscripts from Tun-huang, there are a number of works related to the history and culture of the Sha-chou Uighurs, such as Moriyasu 1980: Macouin 1986; Liu Yü-ch'üan 1988; Ch'ien Po-ch'üan 1989 a–b; Yang Fu-hsüeh 1990 a. Cf. Moriyasu 1985; Hamilton 1986 and Erdal 1988 etc.

2 Actually 38, for nos. 15 and 17 have two in each. In addition, another two Buddhist Sūtras of the early period, i.e. Pelliot Chinois 3509 and Or. 8212–104 have been published. See Hamilton 1971 and Bang and von Gabain and Rachmati 1934, for the photographs of the latter see Hamilton 1986, t. II, pp. 331–350.

Professor Paul Pelliot from the Sūtra-library Cave of Tun-huang. Unfortunately I have not had the opportunity to peruse the manuscripts myself but I must admit that this paper could not have been produced but for Dr. J. Hamilton's work.

The main thrust of Dr. J. Hamilton's work was on the manuscripts themselves and not on Tun-huang history and Chinese historical accounts and like other scholars he also did not involve himself in the study of other aspects concerning the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom. Also his dating of the Uighur manuscripts as between 9th and 10th centuries itself is open to question. From the details such as handwriting, grammar, ink, paper etc. we can broadly determine the age of these manuscripts as between 9th to 12th centuries. No more exact determination can be reached with the evidence now available. Influenced by Professor Paul Pelliot[3] and then A. Stein[4] who said that the date when the Sūtra-library cave was sealed was at the beginning of the 11th century, Dr. J. Hamilton perhaps came to the same conclusion. In actual fact, more and more evidence that has come up now does not tally with the date projected by Professor Pelliot. Many scholars have mentioned that the cave was sealed after the Huang-yu era (1049–1053).[5] To come to a correct date we will have to rely on the history of Tun-huang and the Uighurs as well as other evidence now available. We have found time and again evidence of Uighur Qaqans from the Sha-chou Uighur documents. If all the documents belonged to the 9–10th century there could be no mention of Uighur Qagan's existence. As is well known, in the 9–10th century, the Kui-yi-chün Regime was all powerful, leaving no room for the existence of Uighur Qaqan in the same place. This could have happened only after the Uighurs took over Sha-chou. This view is supported by the Chinese historical accounts, which mention that Qaqans of the Sha-chou Uighurs came to power after the Kui-yi-chün Regime had been wiped out by the Western Hsia. This record is important because, on the one hand it proves the existence of the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom and on the other it provides a

3 Pelliot 1908, pp. 506.
4 Stein 1921, vol. 2, p. 827.
5 Ch'en Yüan, Introduction in Tun-huang Chieh-yü Lu, Peking, 1931; Ma Shih-ch'ang 1978; T'an Chen 1988, etc. I shall be dealing with it in detail in a forthcoming monograph.

basis for dating these Uighur documents. We can thus reach a conclusion that most of the earlier Tun-huang Uighur manuscripts published in J. Hamilton's work mentioned belong to the period of the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom, i. e. the middle of 11th century. Besides the Chinese accounts and the Uighur documents, this viewpoint is also supported by many portraitures of the Uighur Qaqans and nobles found in the Mo-kao Caves of Tun-huang and the Yü-lin Caves of An-hsi. More important is that I found an Uighur inscription from the Yü-lin Caves which mentioned one Uighur prince and Tarqan who came to worship Buddha from Sha-chou to Yü-lin Caves.

These points have encouraged me to write this paper to prove the existence of the kingdom, according to the Chinese historical sources, the Uighur documents from Sūtra-library Cave, the Uighur paintings and the Uighur colophons seen in the Tun-huang Grottos.

II. Emergence and Growth of the Sha-chou Uighurs

In 840, a great historical event took place in Mongolia i. e. the powerful Uighur empire which lasted nearly a century (744–840) was destroyed by the Kirghizs from the Yenissei river valley and its people had to move westwards. The "Account of the Uighurs" in *Chiu T'ang-shu* records as follows (throughout the paper, when I translate the Chinese and Uighur sources, additions will be within [ ] and my explanation within ( ) brackets):

> "One Uighur prime minister whose name was Chi-chih escorted his five nephews P'ang Te-ch'in and Nanlu, Ê-fên etc. who led fifteen tribes to migrate westwards to the Karluqs. Afterwards, one part migrated to Tibet and another to An-hsi."

The Karluqs relate to the Karluq people who lived in the northern and western fringes of the Tarim Basin and came under the Uighur Empire since the end of the 8th century and not the Karluq Kingdom in Soviet Central Asia.[6] An-hsi, actually, means the southern region of the T'ien-shan Mountains (Celestial Moun-

6 Yang Fu-hsüeh 1990 b, p. 71.

tains) centred around Qočo (Turpan); Pei-t'ing (Kimsar) and Kuča which were directly under the An-hsi-tu-hu-fu "the protectorate of An-hsi (in Kuča)" of the T'ang Dynasty. Tibet here suggests the Ho-hsi Corridor and not the Tibetan Plateau. At that time, "Tibetans had occupied the Ho-hsi and Lung-yu [area] and scattered the Uighur newcomers to various places."[7]

The "Account of the Uighurs" in *Sung Shih,* 490, and *Hsi-hsia shu-shih,* 3, state precisely the following in support of this view:

> "Since the fall of the Uighur Empire in the end of T'ang, its people were scattered in Kan[-chou] (Chang-yeh), Liang [-chou](Wu-wei), Kua[-chou](An-hsi) and Sha[-chou] etc. Each tribe elected its leader (Chün-chang) by themselves and made him the ruler."

Hung Hao of the 12th century also stated in his *Sung-mo Chi-wên*:

> "Since the fall of the Uighur Empire at the end of T'ang, its people were scattered to all the regions between Kan-[chou], Liang[-chou], Kua[-chou] and Sha[-chou] and later they were all controlled by the Western Hsia (The Tangut Empire)".
>
> "The Uighurs, with wavy hair, deep eyes, long and heavy eyebrows, thick whiskers and eyelashes, lived in the above four prefectures and established their regimes and elected their leaders (Chün-chang)."

From these records, the emergence of the Uighurs in Kua-chou and Sha-chou can be dated back to the period of the Uighurs' migration to the west in the mid-800s. But before this, Uighurs had already been in Kan-chou, Liang-chou, Yi-chou (Kumul), Hsi-chou (Turpan) and T'ing-chou (Kimsar) located east or west of Tun-huang and An-hsi.[8] Since their coming of the Uighurs in the mid 800s, the Uighurs were first controlled by the Tibetans and afterwards by the Chang family of Kui-yi-chün Regime and then the Ts'ao family Kui-yi-chün Regime of Kua-chou and Sha-chou and at the same time, their original tribal organization – Tsu-chang continued to be preserved.

7 "Account of the Uighurs", in: Hsin Wu-tai Shih, 74.
8 Cf. Kao Tzu-hou 1982; Su Pei-hai 1986.

As early as the beginning of the Uighur Empire, their society had transformed from the clan system to the feudal nomadic system, but the remnants of their original patriarchal clan system were still very strong.[9] At that time, in the Uighur Empire,

> "there were eleven Tu-tu (i.e. Totoq in Uighur language). Among the nine tribes, each tribe was ruled by one Tu-tu who was elected and appointed from among the persons enjoying prestige in the tribe."[10]

The Totoq is the leader of the tribe and same as the Chün-chang of the Ho-hsi Uighurs mentioned above. The tribes were autonomous and established their own organization – Tsu-chang. The system of the Sha-chou Uighurs was inherited from their original tradition. Since the beginning of the 10th century, the power of the Sha-chou Uighurs had been growing steadily and they controlled Kua-chou and Sha-chou in due course. According to the historical records:

> "Formerly, Kua[-chou] and Sha[-chou] were governed by the Kui-yi-chün Regime of the T'ang Dynasty. Later, they were occupied by the Uighurs. In the Chien-lung era (960), the Chieftain (Chieh-tu-shih) Ts'ao I-chin presented these two prefectures to the Sung Dynasty."[11]
>
> "In the winter of the second year of the T'ai-p'ing-hsing-kuo era (977) [Sung] sent Chang Ts'an who served as a Tien-chih to take the Imperial Edict to Qaqan of the Kan-chou and Sha-chou Uighurs who claimed to be the nephew of the Sung Emperor and awarded wares and money to him and in return for getting good horses and jade from him in order to equip the cavalry and the palaces. In the fifth year (980), Qaqan of Kan-chou and Sha-chou Uighurs Yeh-luo-ko-mi-lie-ê sent four envoys like P'ei-yi-ti etc. to Sung and presented camels, good horses, corals and amber."[12]

9 Cf. Fêng Chia-shêng & Ch'êng Sho-luo & Mu Kuang-wên 1956, pp. 29–36; Yang Fu-hsüeh & Niu Ju-chi 1987, pp. 86–87.
10 T'ang Hui-yao, p. 98.
11 "Account of the Western Hsia", 2, in: Sung Shih, 485.
12 "Account of the Uighurs", in: Sung Shih, 490.

It is in 977 that the term Sha-chou Hui-hu "Sha-chou Uighurs" first emerges in history. At that time, the ruler of Sha-chou and Kua-chou was the Ts'ao family of Kui-yi-chün Regime. Qaqan Ching-ch'iung of the Kan-chou Uighur Kingdom had once attacked both Kua-chou and Sha-chou and forced the Ts'ao family to submit to him and therefore Ching-ch'iung claimed himself to be a Qaqan of both the Kan-chou and Sha-chou Uighurs.[13] Following the rise of the Kan-chou Uighur strength and a decline in the power of the Kui-yi-chün Regime, the power of the Sha-chou Uighurs expanded immediately. In the second year of the Hsien-p'ing era (994), the leader of the Sha-chou Uighurs paid tribute to the Sung.

> "In this year, the leader of the Fan Nationality (i.e. the Uighurs) of Sha-chou, the Man Nationality of Suu-chuan, the Southwestern Fan Nationalities, Chang-ch'êng (in South Vietnam) and Ta-shih (i.e. the Arabic Empire) came here to pay tributes."[14]

Up to the early 11th century, Sha-chou was already in complete control of the Uighurs. So the Ts'ao family of Kui-yi-chün Regime was named as "Sha-chou Uighurs" in many cases. For example:

> "In April of summer in the third year of K'ai-t'ai era (1014), Ts'ao Hsien-shun of the Sha-chou Uighurs sent an envoy [to the Liao Dynasty] to pay tribute."[15]
>
> "In July of the 4th year of the T'ien-hsi era (1020), the Liao Dynasty sent an envoy to grant clothes to Tun-huang Chün-wang "the King of Tun-huang prefecture" Ts'ao Hsien-shun of the Sha-chou Uighurs. In September, the Tun-huang Chün-wang Ts'ao Hsien-shun of the Sha-chou Uighurs sent an envoy [to the Liao Dynasty] to pay tribute in the form of native products."[16]

After ten odd years, near about 1032 the powerful state of Kan-chou Uighur Kingdom situated to the east of Kua-chou and Sha-

13 Ch'ien Po-ch'üan 1989a, p. 74.
14 "Annals of Chen-tsung", 1, in: Sung Shih, 6.
15 "Annals of Shêng-tsung", 6, in: Liao Shih, 15.
16 "Annals of Shêng-tsung", 7, in: Liao Shih, 16.

chou was unexpectedly wiped out by king Yüan-hao of a growing Western Hsia (the Tangut Empire) and many of its people had to migrate westwards. Some must have migrated to the Kua-chou and Sha-chou regions which further strengthened the power of the Sha-chou Uighurs. Gradually the Sha-chou Uighurs became the mainstay of power of the Ts'ao family Kui-yi-chün Regime. The ruler of the Ts'ao family depended on the power of the Uighurs not only in political but also in military affairs. In 1036 when the Western Hsia king Yüan-hao led an army to attack Kua-chou, Sha-chou and Su-chou (Chiu-ch'üan), he met resistance from the Uighurs and not from the Ts'ao family Kui-yi-chün Regime.[17] This fact shows that the Uighurs had actually been dominating Kua-chou and Sha-chou, although the Ts'ao family was still the ruler in name at that time.

III. Establishment of the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom

The attack from Yüan-hao in 1036 ended the rule of the Ts'ao family Kui-yi-chün Regime in Kua-chou and Sha-chou. In resisting the Western Hsia, the army of the Sha-chou Uighurs was also routed, but it still retained some semblance of military power. So, shortly after, they began to counterattack Sha-chou with the support of the Sung's General Ts'ao Tsung who served as Ch'in-chou chih-chou and Ch'in-fêng-lu fu-tu pu-shu "governor of Ch'in-chou and assistant commandant of Ch'in-fêng Lu (respectively)." It is stated:

> "After Yüan-hao occupied the Ho-hsi region, a part of the Uighur people escaped and started living in the mountains and were all controlled by Yüan-hao. Ts'ao Tsung who was garrisoned in Ch'in-chou had been planning to attack Yüan-hao with the Uighurs. On meeting the traders from Hsi-chou (Turpan), he requested them to transmit what he had in mind to the Uighurs. Then Chen-kuo Wang-tzu "Powerful Princes" of Sha-chou sent an envoy to pay tribute to the Sung and said in his letter: "Originally, we were nephews of the T'ang Dynasty. Emperors of Cen-

17 Hsu Tzu-chih T'ung-chien Ch'ang-pien, 119.

> tral Plains were actually our uncles. But since the Li family (Li is the surname of the rulers of the Western Hsia bestowed by the T'ang Dynasty) occupied Hsi-liang (Wu-wei), we have been isolated from Central Plains. Now, I hope to lead the various tribal rulers to attack the Western Hsia." Shortly after, the Uighurs attacked Sha-chou, but they did not succeed."[18]

This record shows that the commander in chief in this war was Chen-kuo Wang-tzu of Sha-chou Uighurs. It is possible that it was while resisting the Western Hsia that he got his title from the Ts'ao family Kui-yi-chün Regime for leading the Uighur armies. Although Sha-chou Uighurs did not achieve their desired result in this war, it laid the foundation for the victory in which they re-occupied Sha-chou soon after.

The exact date when the Uighurs re-occupied Sha-chou has not been given in any of the historical accounts, but we can say that it must be earlier than the fourth year of the Ching-yu era (1037), because from the beginning of this year, Sha-chou started once again to pay tribute to the Sung. The "Account of the Fan-i", 7, of *Sung Hui-yao Chi-kao* records as follows:

> "On January 9 of the 4th year of the Ching-yu era, Sha-chou sent an envoy Yang Ku-kai-mi-shih to pay tribute consisting of a jade-ox, Huang-ch'i-tzu (a kind of Chinese medicine), Ho-lü-hei-p'i (a kind of fur), Hua-hsin-pu (a kind of clothes), amber, frankincense, sal ammoniac, Wu-t'ung-lü (?), yellow vitriols and good horses."
>
> Li T'ao also records that in January of that year, "Both the Kuča Kingdom and Sha-chou send together envoys to court to pay tribute of native products."[19]

Thereafter, Sha-chou paid tributes to the Sung eight times within 16 years and this fact fully proves that the Western Hsia did not really dominate Sha-chou because during that period, armed conflicts frequently erupted between the Western Hsia and Sung. If

18 Tai Hsi-chang, Hsi-hsia chi; "Biography of Ts'ao Tsung", in: Sung Shih, 256. Cf. Hsu Tzu-chih T'ung-chien, 43 and Hsu-Tzu-chih T'ung-chien Ch'ang-pien, 131.

19 Hsu Tzu-chih T'ung-chien Ch'ang-pien, 120.

Western Hsia had really controlled Sha-chou it would certainly not allow Sha-chou to pay tribute to the Sung.

In addition, a letter from Shih Yen-nien to the court of the Sung in 1040 also supports this view. In the letter, he presented the following proposal:

> "The T'ang Dynasty once used the army of the Uighurs located in the west of Chio-ssu-lo to put down Tibet; we can also make use of them to throw a horn of encirclement to disperse the enemy's force."[20]

It is clear that the Uighurs here are those of Kua-chou and Sha-chou. Since Sung had been planning to ally itself with the army of the Uighurs to deal with the Western Hsia at that time, it shows that the rulers of Kua-chou and Sha-chou were Uighurs and not the Western Hsia.

Therefore, when *Wu-ching Tsung-yao* (composed in 1044) dealt with the territory of the Western Hsia, the following statement was made:

> "present day, [the territory of Western Hsia] includes 12 prefectures, namely Hsia[-chou], Yin[-chou], Sui[-chou], Yu[-chou], Ling[-chou], Hui[-chou], Yen[-chou], Lan[-chou], Sheng[-chou], Liang-[chou], Kant[-chou] and Su[-chou]."[21]

Significantly Kua-chou and Sha-chou were not included.

From the above, we can infer that the date in which the Uighurs re-occupied Sha-chou was in 1036 and further that the establishment of the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom must have been in the same year and that its first Qaqan was Chen-kuo Wang-tzu mentioned earlier. I have also found some evidence to show that he became a Qaqan from the Uighur manuscripts of Tun-huang from the translated version of the text given by J. Hamilton.
Pelliot Chinois 3049:[22]

1. ...... lig ekki
2. .... čoγ luγ tört sïngor
3. Küsi atï yadïlmïš ekki törlügkä

20 Ibid, 129.
21 "Boundary of the Hsi-fan", in: Wu-ching Tsung-yao.
22 Hamilton 1986, no. 5.

4. tükällig ekki dïdïmqa tägmlig
5. yer suwdaqï ulur ärklig küčlüg
6. ellig yegädmiš qutadmïš alqatmïš
7. ädqu atï mïng ögmäkkä tüman
8. alqamaqqa tägimlig küm tängridä
9. qut bulmïš ärdämin el tutmïš
10. alp qutluγ uluγ bilgä uyγur tängri
11. uyγur xan qutïnga

1. ... lig two
2. ... the bright four directions
3. ... good name is prevalent. Both of them
4. are perfect. It is worth giving a good reputation to them.
5. in the earth, the great, powerful [and]
6. strong king's invincible, fortunate [and] praiseworthy
7. good name deserves commendation
8. repeatedly. In the heaven realm
9. El Tutmïš who has been looking for happiness
10. [is] Alp Qutluγ Uluγ Bilgä Uighur Tängri
11. Uighur Xan (i. e. Qaqan)

El Tutmïš in the 9th line corresponds to "Chen-kuo Wang-tzu", its meaning being "Powerful Prince" – in other words, if El Tutmïš is translated into Chinese, according to its meaning, it will be "Cheng-kuo Wang-tzu". It can therefore be definitely stated that it was El Tutmïš (Chen-kuo Wang-tzu) who established the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom in 1036.

IV. Pedigree of Qaqans of Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom

As mentioned earlier, the first Qaqan of the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom was Alp Qutluγ Uluγ Bilgä Uyγur Tängri Uyγur Xan and a similar name was found in the Tun-huang Uighur manuscripts in the beginning of a letter (Or. 8212–116) addressed to a Qaqan of Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom. It states:[23]

23 Ibid, no. 17.

1. tängri ellig uyγur xan
2. yarlïγmïz ïraqtan isinü amradu
3. köngü ayïtu ïdur biz

1. Tängri Ellig Uyγur Xan,
2. we wish to convey to you
3. our hearty love from afar.

It is possible that Tängri Ellig Uyγur Xan is another name of Alp Qutluγ Bilgä Uyγur Tängri Uyγur Xan. When this Qaqan was on the throne, the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom regularly paid tributes to the Sung so as to enhance bilateral relations with the Sung to defend the Western Hsia together.

First, in January 9, 1037.[24]
Second, "In June of the fourth year of Ching-yu (1037), Ambassador Yang Ku-kai and deputy Ambassador Chai Yen-shun paid tribute from Sha-chou to Sung."[25]
Third, "in April of the first year of K'ang-ting (1040), Sha-chou dispatched an envoy to present tribute of native products to the Sung."[26]
Fourth, "In February of the second year of K'ang-ting (1041), Sha-chou dispatched Ambassador An Ê-chih and deputy Ambassador Li Chi to present tribute to the Sung."[27]

But, up to February of the second year of the Ch'ing-li era (1042), when Sha-chou once more paid tribute, its ruler had changed into Sha-chou Peit-t'ing K'o-han Wang" Pei-t'ing Qaqan of Cha-chou":

"In February of the second year of Ch'ing-li, Sha-chou Pei-t'ing K'o-han Wang dispatched Ambassador Mi and deputy Ambassador Chang Chin-ling, Ho Yen-chin and Ambassador Ts'ao Tu-tu, Ambassador Chai together presented tribute to the Sung."[28]

24 "Account of the Fan-i", 7, in: Sung Hui-yao Chi-kao; see also Hsu Tzu-chih T'ung-chien Ch'ang-pien, 120.
25 "Account of the Fan-i", 5, in: Sung Hui-yao Chi-kao.
26 Ibid.
27 Ibid.
28 Ibid.

It shows that Alp Qutluγ Uluγ Bilgä Uγγur Xan had died before February 1042. The new Qaqan carried out the same policy to develop friendly relations with the Sung. From 1042 to 1052, the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom paid tributes four times.

First, in February of 1042.
Second, "In April of the second year of the Huang-yu era (1050), Fu-ku-tu-mo-ssu-p'o (actually "sa") -wên of Sha-chou came to the Sung to present tribute of jade."[29]
Third, "In October [of the same year], Sha-chou dispatched envoy to pay tribute of native products to the Sung".[30]
Fourth, "On 12th October of the fourth year of the Huang-yu era (1052), Sha-chou dispatched an envoy to pay tribute to the Sung".[31]

After this, in the absence of evidence from Chinese historical sources, it is not clear whether the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom paid tribute to the Sung. Among the four occasions stated before, we only know of the first occasion of despatch by Sha-chou Pei-t'ing K'o-han Wang. For others it is not clear and so it is not possible to ascertain the exact date of death of Pei-t'ing K'o-han Wang. After Pei-t'ing K'o-han Wang, no mention of any Qaqan has been made in the Chinese sources, but in the 7th line of an Uighur manuscript of Pelliot Chinois 3071[32] there is a mention of one Qaqan.

tägintim külüg čoγ luγ xanïmïz küsi atï yadïlzum
Let our Tägintim Külüg Čoγluγ Xan's good name spread far and wide.

But it is not known when the Qaqan was on the throne or what he did.

V. Fall of the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom

The Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom was recorded in the Chinese historical sources only until 1052. In the absence of sufficient historical accounts, its later history cannot be ascertained.

29 Ibid.
30 Ibid.
31 "Account of the Fan-i", 7, in: Sung Hui-yao Chi-kao.
32 Hamilton 1986, no. 7.

It is not recorded, either, when the Kingdom fell. The Japanese scholar Okazaki Seirō inferred from careful investigation and analysis in the wall-paintings and inscriptions of Tun-huang Mo-kao Caves that the Western Hsia had already ruled Tun-huang in 1073 at the latest.[33] His conclusion got support from Moriyasu Takao.[34] After carefully examining all inscriptions in Tun-huang Caves (including the Mo-kao Caves, Yü-lin Caves and Western Thousand Buddhas Caves etc.) the earliest Western Hsia era inscription was found located in a pillar on the south gate of cave eaves of Mo-kao Cave No. 444.

The inscription was written in Chinese as follows:

> T'IEN TZ'U LI SHÊNG KUO CH'ING ÊRH NIEN SHIH FU ..... KAI I CHUNG FO ....[35]

In the second year of the T'ien-tz'u-li-shêng-kuo-ch'ing era (1071)
Teacher ..... for paying homage to Buddha.

Since that year, inscriptions of the Western Hsia era gradually increased in Tun-huang Mo-kao Caves. This fact suggests that the Western Hsia already ruled Sha-chou. Kua-chou was also occupied by the Western Hsia before that year and this is confirmed by an existing Kua-chou-shên-p'an-tang-an-ts'an-chüan "Fragment of the judicial file of Kua-chou". The Chinese scholar Wang Ching-ju commenting on the fragment said:

> "This fragment mainly involved matters of embezzling livestock and led me to conclude that it undoubtedly belonged to a judicial file. In addition, since Kua-chou was repeatedly mentioned, it shows that these matters should have taken place in Kua-chou. So this fragment was named as "fragment of the judicial file of Kua-chou". "February of the second year of the T'ien-tz'u-li-shêng-kuo-ch'ing era" was signed in the end of the first page. This year was the fourth year of the Western Hsia Emperor Hsien-tsung whose name was Li Ping-ch'ang era (1071). Because Kua-chou already belonged to a part of territo-

33 Okazaki 1972, pp. 274–275.
34 Moriyasu 1980, p. 335.
35 Cf. Tun-huang Academy 1986, p. 202.

ry of the Western Hsia, its officials can accept and hear the case."[36]

Comparing this fragment with the earliest inscription in the Tun-huang Mo-kao Cave No. 444, it can be seen that Kua-chou occupied by the Western Hsia was earlier than Sha-chou. From the wall painting of the Tun-huang Mo-kao Caves and An-hsi Yü-lin Caves, their styles are clearly different. It is possible that this difference had arisen during different periods depending upon the strong or weak influence of Western Hsia at different periods.

The falls of Kua-chou and Sha-chou one after another marked the end of the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom as 1071 at the latest.

VI. Uighur Buddhist Caves and Qaqan's Portraitures

As early as the Uighur Empire (744–840), Buddhism had already expanded into the Uighurs, but its influence was still little.[37] At that time, the prevailing religion in the Empire was Manichaeism which was introduced by Bögü Qaqan in 762.[38] After the Uighurs migrated to the west in the 840s, being influenced by Buddhism which prevailed in Western Regions for a long time, most of them were converted to Buddhism while the royal court continued to believe in Manichaeism.

According to the historical accounts and archeological finds, the Uighur rulers had a catholic religious policy, not only allowing various religions to exist, but also supporting and encouraging their expansion. Thus we find the figures of Uighur Qaqans and other members of royal court in the Buddhist temples caves, such as the Bäzäklik Caves, Turpan. Similarly, we also find the portraits of the Sha-chou Uighur rulers in the Tun-huang Caves and this shows that the conditions of religion of the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom were similar to those of Qočo Uighur Kingdom.

According to Hung Hao, most of the Uighurs in Kan-chou, Liang-chou, Kua-chou and Sha-chou were Buddhists.[39] Most of the Uighur religious manuscripts from Tun-huang since the begin-

36 Wang Ching-ju 1930, pp. 2484–2485.
37 Mêng Fan-jên 1982, p. 58; Kêng Shih-min 1983, p. 34.
38 Chavannes et Pelliot 1913, pp. 186–199; Ch'en Chün-mou 1986, pp. 37–42; Yang Fu-hsüeh & Niu Ju-chi 1987, pp. 86–93.
39 Hung Hao, "Accounts of the Uighurs", in: Sung-mo Chi-wên, 2.

ning of this century therefore belong to Buddhism while only a few belong to Manichaeism. It is worth noting that the names of Qaqan and other members of Sha-chou Uighur royal court were in the Manichaeist manuscripts but not in Buddhist manuscripts. This would lead us to believe that Manichaeism was a royal religion while Buddhism was the prevailing religion among the common people during the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom.

In those days, Buddhism in Tun-huang continued to flourish. The royal court devoted major efforts to cutting and building the Buddhist caves; a vast amount of Buddhist sutras were translated into the Uighur language; some caves were cut, re-built or re-painted. It is unfortunate that up to now, only a few scholars have paid attention to these caves.

As early as in 1940s, the famous Chinese artist Chang Ta-ch'ien identified five Uighur caves in the Mo-kao Caves.[40] Pursuing this, recently another Chinese scholar, Liu Yü-ch'üan, further studied and identified 23 caves (including Chang's five caves mentioned earlier) which belonged to the Sha-chou Uighurs in the Mo-kao Caves, Western Thousand Buddha Caves and Yü-lin Caves. After a detailed study, Liu gave a table of stages and relative dates of these caves as follows:[41]

Stages	Caves	Cave nos.	Relative date
Earlier Stage	Mo-kao Caves	306, 307, 308, 363, 399, 418 and 244 (only entrance)	From the beginning to the later half period of the 11th century (around 1019–1070)
	Yü-lin Caves	21 (only entrance of the front room) and 39	
Later Stage	Mo-kao Caves	409, 237 (only the front room and entrance), 148 (only entrance and a part of the room behind) 309, 97, 330, 310, 245 and 207.	From the later half period of the 11th century to the earlier period of the 12th century (around 1070–1127)
	Western Thousand Buddhas Caves	4,9 (only entrance), 10 (only entrance), 12 and 13	

40 Chang Ta-ch'ien 1985.
41 Liu Yü-ch'üan 1988, p. 4.

From this table, it can be seen that Liu divided the 23 Caves into two stages. Among them, the date of the former is convincing and conforms to the actual condition of the Sha-chou Uighurs' history. But the date of the latter is really hard to understand, because of the presence of portraitures of Uighur Qaqans, Princes and Queens in the Mo-kao Cave Nos. 409, 237 and 148 given by Liu. It shows that these caves were all related to the Uighur royal court and therefore these could not have been built during the period when Western Hsia dominated Sha-chou after the Uighur Kingdom was wiped out. The reason why Liu reached the above conclusion was perhaps that he was under the wrong impression that the Sha-chou Uighur bloc continued to rule Sha-chou, although he was not aware of the existence of the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom as such. The "Annals of T'ai-tsung" in *Kin Shih* records the following:

> "In Ting-mao of October, winter, in the fifth year of T'ien-hui era (1127), Sha-chou Hui-ho Huo-ts'ŭ-san K'o-han "Qaqan Huo-ts'ŭ-san of Sha-chou Uighurs" dispatched an envoy to pay tribute to the Kin Dynasty."

The *Hsu Tzu-chih T'ung-chien Ch'ang-pien*, 100, also says:

> "In October of winter (of the same year), Sha-chou Uighurs sent an envoy to present tribute to the Kin Dynasty."

Liu's conclusion was perhaps based on this. The question then arises: Since Liu admits that the Western Hsia had occupied Sha-chou at that time, how could Uighur Qaqan continue to rule and how could the year 1127 be fixed as the last year of the Sha-chou Uighurs? In actual fact, the Sha-chou Uighur mentioned here and the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom which made Sha-chou city its capital were not the same, as the former was Huang-t'ou Hui-ho which is located in the border area of what is now Kan-su, Ch'ing-hai and Hsin-kang in the west of Sha-chou. In my view most of the so called Sha-chou Uighur Caves, especially the caves relating to the Uighur royal court were built during the period of the Uighur Kingdom while a few belonged to the period of the Western Hsia or the Kui-yi-chün Regime.

In the Mo-kao caves No. 409, the dress of the male donor of this cave is completely of Uighur style. He wears a long gown with a circular collar, narrow sleeves and twist-dragon design, a belt round his waist with seven things related to Buddhism, such as a stone for striking a light, whetstone, knife, awl for undoing knots, sewing kit etc., with boots and royal headgear with cloud-like design, with a chubby and round face, willow leaf-shaped eyes, high nose, corners of mouth bending upwards, holding an incense burner. All the eight attendants behind him wear felt hats and short overcoats with circular collar with narrow sleeves, belts round their waists, with boots, holding umbrella, fan, bow, sword, shield and wire strainer etc. These details are similar to those of portraitures of Qočo Uighur Qaqans in the wall-paintings of the Bäzäklik Caves, Turpan.[42] Obviously, the male donor's position is compatible to the status of Uighur Qaqans. In the An-hsi Yü-lin Caves we also found similar portraitures of male Uighur donors of Caves. For example, these are noticeable in the first and second figures in the southern wall of the entrance of the front room of Cave No. 39. The first figure wears a tricuspid crown, a long gown with circular collar, narrow sleeves, big circular designs of scarlet flowers, a belt at his waist with awl for undoing knots and knife etc., an inscription board with a line of Uighur inscription to the left of his head, but unfortunately the writing is too blurred to be deciphered. The second figure wears a felt hat and a long gown with small circular flower design in green, his other dress, features and type of build and those of first figure all look very much alike. There is an attendant with a stick between them. In the northern wall opposite them, there are the figures of female donors who look very similar to those of Qočo Uighur Queens in the Bäzäklik Caves.[43] Judging from the above details and with the general conditions under which donors were arranged in other caves, we can come to the conclusion that the first and second male figures on the southern wall belong to a Qaqan and prince of the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom respectively, while the female donors on the northern wall opposite to the two male figures belong to their Queens, with female attendants. The presence of Qaqan and prince and their queens is further important evidence to prove the existence of the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom.

42 Le Coq 1913, Tafel 30 a.
43 Ibid, Tafel 30 b.

VII. On "Sha-chou Hui-ho Huo-ts'ŭ-san k'o-han"

In the last part, I have already mentioned "Sha-chou Hui-ho Huo-ts'ŭ-san k'o-han" (Qaqan Huo-ts'ŭ-san of Sha-chou Uighurs). Since the Qaqan emerged in the earlier period of the 12th century, it appears to be contradictory to the view given earlier that the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom fell during the end of 1060s or the beginning of 1070s.

It is common knowledge that during the T'ang Dynasty, the territory under Sha-chou was very vast and connected with Kua-chou in the east and co-terminus with Kuča in Hsin-cheng situated about 1760 *Li* (about 688 Kilometres)[44] to the west of Tun-huang and bordered on Khotan in Po-hsien Town (namely ancient Cherchen) which was located at about 2300 *Li* (about 900 Kilometres) to southwest of Tun-huang.[45] Later, during the period of Five Dynasties and the Sung Dynasty the position did not change. During the period of the Kui-yi-chün Regime and then the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom, their control did not really reach the extreme western part of Sha-chou, later, similarly beyond the reach of the Western Hsia's power. From the existing Chinese and Uighur accounts, the extreme western area of Sha-chou from the middle of the 10th century at the latest, belonged to the territory of the Huang-t'ou Hui-ho uninterruptedly. The earliest record in 1081 mentioning Huang-t'ou Hui-ho in Chinese sources is seen in "Accounts of the Khotan Kingdom" in *Sung Shih*, 490:

> "In the fourth year [of Yüan-fêng], a tribal leader A-hsin was dispatched to submit a written statement to the court. The title of the statement said that the Lou-luo (tangrida~teng-li-luo?), fortunate, powerful and intellectual Qarakhanid King of Khotan Kingdom submitted this statement to my uncle the Chinese Emperor who was the master of the great world of the east where the sun rose. The statement consisted of hundreds of words and its main content was that although his country was far away from the Sung, he cordially looked forward to good re-

44 From Chou Lian-k'uan 1984, pp. 53–54, 101–102, 1 kilometre is equal to 2.558 *Li* in ancient China.
45 Li Cheng-yü 1989, p. 32.

> lations with the Sung; he had sent three groups of envoys to Sung to present tributes, but they all had not returned. After he was guided to Hsi-chou (Lin-t'ao) by Tung-chan, his message was translated into Chinese and sent to the court. The Emperor said that the last three groups of envoys had been received and given handsome rewards and were returning and he would also tell the new envoy in an edict. Emperor Shên-tsung asked the envoy "How long will it take to reach the court from your country? Which are the countries passed through by you? And, is there robbery [on the way]?" He answered that "I left my country four years ago and took half the period in travelling and passed through Huang-t'ou Hui-ho and Ch'ing-t'ang and the only worry was robbery by the Kitans." Thereupon the court ordered him to sketch a map to mark the distance of all countries which he passed through from China, and then entrusted it to Li Hsien."[46]

Tung-chan in quotation is the name of a Tibetan leader who occupied present-day Ch'ing-hai while Ch'ing-t'ang is the name of a place centred around the present day Hsi-ning which belongs to a centre of the Tung-chan-occupied areas.

Shortly after, the envoy of the Fu-lin nation (the Islamic world under the Caliph)[47] also came to the Chinese court, Tung-Ching (now K'ai-fêng) to pay tribute.

In the "Account of the Fan-i", 4, in *Sung Hui-Yao Chi-kao*, mention is made of the names of the Huang-t'ou Hui-ho tribe:

> "On 6th October of the fourth year [of the period Yüan-fêng], the Fu-lin nation paid tribute of local products. The great leader Ni-suu-tu-ling-mêng-p'an said that his country stretched to Mieh-li-sha in the southeast and reached the Great Sea to the north. Both would take forty days from his country to the above places, and to the east it would pass through Ta-shih and Hsin-fu-chou where the Khotanese king resided, then reached ancient Khotan, then to Yüeh-ch'ang town which was the border of Khotan, then to Huang-t'ou Hui-ho, then to Ta-ta (Tartars),

46 Similar record is also seen in "Account of the Fan-i" 4, in: Sung Hui-yao Chi-kao.
47 Enoki 1954, p. 19.

then to Chong-yun (or Čungul), then to where Tung-chan resided, then to Lin-ch'in town, then to Ch'ing-t'ang to the east and finally to the border of China."

From these records, the region inhabited by Huang-t'ou Hui-ho was in present Tarim Basin and around the area of Lop-nor, west of Sha-chou at that time. Thereafter, the tribe had been living there until the early Ming Dynasty when they migrated eastwards to the middle part of the Ho-hsi Corridor, i.e. the Su-nan Yögur Autonomous County, and are the ancestors of the present-day Yögurs (or Yü-ku).

The Huang-t'ou Hui-ho mentioned above, has been described by several scholars in one way or another. According to general opinion, its name emerged first in 1081 in the historical accounts and it must be in the western part of Sha-chou, but as for its origin, the opinion of scholars differ. Many scholars identify the Ho-hsi Uighurs as the original of the Huang-t'ou Hui-ho while another set of scholars argue that they are from the Hsi-chou Hui-hu (the Qučo Uighurs) or Ch'iu-ts'ŭ Hui-hu (the Kuča Uighurs). The most complex problem is the meaning of the term Huang-t'ou Hui-ho. There are many views among scholars, but most prevalent is that the Huang-t'ou in Chinese corresponds to "Sariγ, "Sari", or "Sary" in Uighur or "Sara", "Shera" in Mongol. During the Yüan and Ming Dynasties, the Huang-t'ou Hui-ho was translated as the Sa-li Wei-wu-êrh. Among them, Hui-ho and Wei-wu-êrh both are undoubtedly the same as "Uighur" while the Sa-li is the same as "Sariγ". Based on this, many scholars have come to the above conclusion.[48] But in Chinese, the meaning of the term "Huang-t'ou" is "yellow head" while those of the term "Sa-li" or "Sariγ" is "yel-

48 Mannerheim 1911; Malov 1921; Hamilton 1977, pp. 361–365, but their views were opposed by Tung Wên-i, 1989, p. 29. Tung points out that the reason why these conclusions were arrived at is that although these scholars belong to the class of the Türk-Uighur or Mongol experts, they are not familiar with the geographical features and the historical development of places where the Yögurs lived and do not know the exact relation between "Sa-li" or "Sariγ" and "yellow" and they cannot come to the correct conclusion only on the basis of Chinese literal meaning. Though Tung's criticism is striking, his explanation fails to grasp the main point because he regards Huang-t'ou as the abbreviation of "Huang-sha chih-t'ou" (the extremity of desert), only based on the geographical condition.

low" in Uighur. Therefore we cannot equate "Huang-t'ou" with "Sa-li". In reality, an Uighur wooden tablet inscription discovered from the Qočo ruin has given us the actual meaning of Huang-t'ou Hui-ho. The 15–17th lines of the inscription listing 16 officials of the Qočo Uighur Kingdom who are donors of a Buddhist temple where the wooden tablet was recovered, mention the following:[49]

15. il ügäsi isik ädgu tutuq ügä il qaya · isik ädgü tutuy är tonga · y(ä)gän külüg sangun kin turmïš · uzun öngü quz quraq̇ · känč turmïš tarxan (it trxan)
16. külüg ïnanč tutuq iktü · sariγ baš t(a)rxan · y(a)nga sangun
17. tang arslan sangun · il kikädmiš sangun · bugat bai · qutluγ bayutmïš · il qatmïš · it saman (samaz?) bägü · tutuq sixa(n)du sangun

It should be noted that the 9th official in the 16th line was named as "Sariγ Baš T(a)rxan Y(a)nga Sangun". Tarxan and Sangun are both important posts in the Uighur Kingdoms. The officials are both Tarxan of Sariγ Baš and Sangun of Yanga (?). The Sariγ Baš "yellow head" is really the name of a tribe Huang-t'ou Hui-ho of the Qočo Uighur Kingdom. Because the tablet was erected in Uighur country and its inscription must be written by Uighur, naturally, the Hui-ho "Uighur" must be omitted but it cannot be omitted when a foreigner addresses it. Translation of the Sariγ Baš as the Huang-t'ou Hui-ho in the Chinese historical accounts appears to be correct. It is not known why this term was translated as the Sa-li later, while the Baš "head" was omitted and only Sa-li "Sariγ or yellow" was preserved, with the result that many conjectures have been made.

From the inscription, it is seen that where the Huang-t'ou Hui-ho "yellow head Uighurs" resided was a part of the Qočo Uighur Kingdom. In addition we also know that the kingdom set up Saču Sangun "General of Sha-chou" according to the 5th line of the above inscription:

upasi külüg ïnanč saču sangun biz ikikü nomluγ bilgä baxšï-lardïn inčä äši-d-t(i)m(i)z kim qayu tïn(ï)γ

49 Müller 1915, S. 6–13. Cf. Moriyasu 1974, pp. 38–41 and Yang Fu-hsüeh 1991.

As is well known, the territory of the Qočo Uighur Kingdom never reached the capital of Sha-chou. Moreover, the wooden tablet was erected in about 948[50] when the Sha-chou Kui-yi-chün Regime was powerful and prosperous. It is almost impossible that the power of the Qočo Uighur Kingdom could have expanded here. So the only possibility appears to be that the area under the Saču Sangun "General of Sha-chou" was the extreme periphery of the western part, far beyond the control of the Sha-chou Kui-yi-chün Regime. According to the Chinese records the area belonged to Huang-t'ou Hui-ho and this shows that the extreme western part of Sha-chou really belonged to the Qočo Uighur Kingdom.

Judging from the details given earlier, the problem of the Huo-ts'ŭ-san K'o-han could be understood easily. Around 1127, the Western Hsia had been steadily ruling in the eastern part of Sha-chou but the extreme western part of where the Huang-t'ou Hui-ho lived was beyond the reach of the authority. This enabled the local leader to pay tribute to the Kin Dynasty. Since this tribe of the Uighurs lived in the western part of Sha-chou, it was named as "the Sha-chou Uighurs", though actually, it is completely different from the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom of the 11th century. The influence of this tribe never reached the capital and east of Sha-chou and therefore the relation between this tribe and building of the Sha-chou Uighur Caves needs no examination.

VIII. Uighur Inscription concerning the Prince of the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom

In the Mo-kao Caves and the Western Thousand Buddhas Caves of Tun-huang and the Yü-lin Caves of An-hsi, many Uighur inscriptions existed. Taking only the Yü-lin Caves as examples, I found 190 odd items of inscriptions, most of which belong to the informal writings while a lesser number related to the contents of the wall-painting and the Uighur donors. The inscriptions concerning the existing Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom have important historical and academic significance. So does the inscription in the text given hereunder along with other details.

50 Hamilton 1955, p. 143; Moriyasu 1973, p. 38; Yang Fu-hsüeh 1991.

Location: the southern part of the eastern wall in the front room of the Yü-lin Cave No. 25.
Series Number: No.
Size: 25 × 26 centimetres
Handwriting: cursive but clear
Ink: Chinese black ink
Existing Condition: basically complete while a few parts have peeled off.

The text and its translation:

1. qut-luγ yont yïl törtünč ay y(i)gi(r)mä
2. säkiz-kä bu qutluγ taγ-saw-ka öläk tünmän
3. darm-a sung biz saču-tin yüküngäli k(ä)l(i)p
4. yükünüg yamun tar-xan täg-a
5. biwayip täginim künga ötüp bolz-un
6. bu yükünmiš boyan-larimiz näng taš-inda
7. közünür köršünmäz ... un-lar tašip ayïγ qïlïnč-larïmïz
8. ärik älp tïnlïγ-lar bala-täg tirig bïčma
9. süyn-in bolm ...... imiz bolz-un song song bolz-un

1. In 28th April of the qut-luγ horse year,
2. we Öläk Tünäm (and) Darm-a Sung
3. come to this qutluγ taγ-suw "happy place with mountain and river" from Sha-chou to pay homage to Buddha.
4. If only Yamun Tar-xan [and]
5. our Biwayip Tägin who come to worship Buddha cultivate their moral character every day and then become Buddhas.
6. Our worshipping is not entirely
7. a superficial phenomenon. Let's remove our disgusting conduct.
8. All living creatures suffering from pain and misery must guard against killing the small and weak living things
9. and not to become a guilty person ... Let's end.

Judging from the writing characteristics and other elements, this inscription must be earlier than the 13th century. Further, according to its contents, it undoubtedly belongs to the period of the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom. The inscription tells us that not only the important official Tar-xan but also the members of the royal court Tägin "Prince" of the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom went to the

Yü-lin Caves to worship the Buddha. It can be seen from the inscription that the Tägin went to worship from Sha-chou to the Yü-lin Caves and this fact proves that Sha-chou was the political centre and base area – in other words, the capital of the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom and only afterwards the power of the Kingdom did expand to Kua-chou.[51]

IX. Government Organization

Various official titles of the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom can be found from the Tun-huang Uighur documents and inscriptions, apart from the Qaqan, Prince and Tarqan or Tar-xan, which are Totoq, Sangun, Čigši, Tiräk, Ögä, Čor, Inal, Inanč, Bäg and Su Baši etc. which could also be considered as evidence of the existence of the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom. Since a detailed study on the meaning, origin, function etc. have been made by J. Hamilton, I am not going into details except to add a few comments.

Firstly, the official title Ta-shih "Ambassador" in Chinese accounts should not be ignored though it does not appear in the Uighur manuscripts. It may well correspond to Ilič in Uighur. Secondly, what is stated in Stein 2853 should be noted.[52]

1. [hsiuan-]tsuïntaqï la totoq oγlï arslan sangun
2. bu qutluγ warxar-qa kirü täg-intim burxan-
3. Lar küč basut berzun esän tükal
4. toquz on yašayur qarï atam-qa burxan
5. küčingä öz äwkä tägmäz bolzun

1. The son of La Totoq in [Hsiuan-]tsuïn, I, Arslan Sangun,
2. beg for entering into the happy vihar and wish Buddha
3. grant me strength and support, I wish
4. that Buddha bless and protect my father of 90 years old safe and sound [and]
5. my whole family be well.

Hsiuan-tsuïn here is the present Po-cheng-tzu "town ruin" south of An-hsi. This town was set up during the T'ien-pao era (742–

51 For a detailed study with photos see Yang Fu-hsüeh & Niu Ju-chi 1990.
52 Hamilton 1986, no. 13.

755) of T'ang with officials, like Chen-shih and Chang-li etc., later became one of the six towns of the Kui-yi-chün Regime. During the period of the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom it became so important in military affairs that one Totoq was appointed here. The son of La Totoq Arslan belongs to a Sangun. Generally speaking the post of a father should be higher than that of the son. If so, we can conclude that the post of Totoq is higher than that of Sangun in the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom.

Thirdly, since the Han Dynasty the main population of Tun-huang was Chinese and Chinese official system was adopted all along and even after the Uighurs arrived, Chinese influence continued. Judging from the official titles themselves, we see Qaqan, Tägin, Tarqan, Čor, Inal, Inanč, Öga and Bäg belong to the original system of the Türk-Uighur while Totoq, Sangun, Čigši, Tiräk and ambassador etc. originated from the Chinese official system. It is possible that the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom like the Western Hsia and the Liao-Kitan Dynasty adopted both their own and the Chinese system.

Fourthly, among all officers, Qaqan and Tägin are super rulers, Totoq, Sangun, Tarqan, Čigši and Tiräk belong to military officers while Öga and ambassador belong to civil service and Bäg a local officer, apart from Čor, Inal and Inanč whose posts are not clear. From the Tun-huang Uighur manuscripts, the titles of the military officers are far more than those of the civil officials and more importantly, the frequency with which the former was used is far higher than that of the latter. This suggests that the political power of the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom had an organization similar to that of the Kui-yi-chün Regime which integrated government administration with military management.

X. Conclusion

This paper aims to attest to the existence of the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom recorded in Chinese and Uighur sources. I have not discussed the economy, culture and the religion of the Kingdom. Not that these are not important, but I hope that this paper may pave the way for more scholars to take up these aspects of the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom. I am confident that before long scholars will find the key to the riddle of this remarkable period in Central Asian history.

To sum up

1) the emergence of the Sha-chou Uighurs can be dated back to the mid-800s. Originally they were controlled by the Kui-yi-chün Regime and then became powerful. Upto the early 11th century, Sha-chou was in complete control of the Uighurs.
2) In 1036, the Western Hsia ended the rule of the Kui-yi-chün Regime in Kua-chou and Sha-chou did not really dominate them. After Chen-kuo Wang-tzu occupied Sha-chou in the same year he became a Qaqan and established the Kingdom.
3) The Chinese historical accounts have accurately recorded the activities of Qaqan and Prince of the Sha-chou Uighurs. Also the Uighur Manichaeist documents make mention of Qaqans and princes. This is the most important evidence leading to the existence of the Kingdom.
4) The portraitures of Qaqans, princes and queens found in the Uighur Buddhist Caves in Tun-huang and An-hsi as also an inscription that mentions the case of one Uighur prince coming to worship Buddha from Sha-chou to the Yü-lin Caves, all confirm the existence of the Kingdom.
5) The official titles of the Uighurs found in the Tun-huang Uighur documents and an inscription lend further evidence to the existence of the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom.
6) Sha-chou Huo-ts'ŭ-san k'o-han of the early 12th century is not the Qaqan of the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom and is different.
7) The fall of the Sha-chou Uighur Kingdom can approximately be dated as between the end of 1060s and the beginning of 1070s.

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Dieser zweite Band zum Problem der Datierung des historischen Buddha wird von einem umfangreichen Aufsatz von Siglinde Dietz eingeleitet, der den Titel „Die Datierung des historischen Buddha in der abendländischen Forschungsgeschichte bis 1980“ (S. 11–83) trägt. Die Gründlichkeit dieser Studie, die mit dem Werk *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus sive Scientiae Sinensis Latine exposita* des Belgiers Philippe Couplet aus dem Jahre 1687 beginnt (der 1026 v. Chr. als Geburtsjahr des Buddha angab), ist bestechend. Nach jener „frühen Periode“, die bis zum Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts reichte und sich hauptsächlich auf tibetische und hinduistische Quellen stützte, widmet sich Dietz der „mittleren Forschungsperiode“, in der sich durch Synchronismen mit griechischen Quellen die sogenannte „korrigierte längere Chronologie“ mit ca. 480 v. Chr. als Todesjahr des Buddha zur führenden These herausschälte. Doch bereits zu dieser Zeit argumentierten etwa Albrecht Weber und Niels Ludwig Westergaard für eine kurze Chronologie um das Jahr 270 oder 380 v. Chr. Einige dieser hier genannten älteren Beiträge sind am Ende des Bandes erneut abgedruckt wie auch umgekehrt einige Fragestellungen der damaligen Zeit hier eine neuerliche Thematisierung erfahren.

Ein weiterer wissenschaftsgeschichtlicher Beitrag ist der Aufsatz „Chinesische Studien zum Datum des Buddha“ von Chen Yen-huei (S. 84–102), der sich mit den Ansichten und Argumenten chinesischer Buddhisten und Historiker beschäftigt.

Der zweite Abschnitt ist im wesentlichen derjenige, der sich unmittelbar mit den Quellen auseinandersetzt, die Relevanz für die Datierung des Buddha haben und nicht mehrfach gebrochene Reflexionen sekundärer und tertiärer Quellen darstellen. Wilhelm Halbfaß ist in „The Buddha and Epicurus“ (S. 105–109) auf die These Daniel Schlumbergers eingegangen, daß der Buddha durch die epikuräische Philosophie beeinflußt wurde, was schon allein durch die Lebensdaten des Epikur (ca. 341–270 v. Chr.) in Frage gestellt wird, ganz zu schweigen davon, daß das Leiden im Epikurismus keinesfalls eine so zentrale Rolle spielt wie im Buddhismus.

Die komplizierte Fragestellung nach dem zeitlichen Abstand zwischen den den Buddhismus konstituierenden Lehren, eventuellen späteren Zusätzen und dem Befund der Aśoka-Inschriften hat Lambert Schmithausen in „An attempt to estimate the distance in time between Aśoka and the Buddha in terms of doctrinal history“ (S. 110–147) aufgegriffen. Ausgehend davon, daß in den Inschriften des Aśoka hautsächlich die allgemeinen Tugenden der Asketen aufgeführt werden, weniger aber spezielle Ausarbeitungen der Lehre oder der Meditationspraxis, erhebt sich die grundsätzliche Frage, wann bestimmte Lehren des Buddhismus entstanden sind, wann sie sich weiterentwikkelten und wann sie schließlich kanonisiert wurden. Um die Schwierigkeiten an einem prägnanten Beispiel zu exemplifizieren: Aśoka erwähnt nichts über das Schicksal der Lebewesen nach ihrem Tode, das auf eine ausgefeilte Wiedergeburts- oder Transmigrationslehre hindeutet, sondern lediglich auf den Himmel (*svaga, suaga*). Alle Überlegungen lassen Schmithausen eher zur kurzen Chronologie tendieren, ohne daß er dies mit letzter Sicherheit daraus ableiten kann.

Heinrich von Stietencron versucht in „Die purāṇischen Genealogien und das Datum Buddhas" (S. 148–181) einen Zugang zu der chronologischen Einordnung der Zeitgenossen des Buddha und damit zur seiner Lebenszeit zu finden. Diese prinzipiell richtige Überlegung, die anhand der genealogischen Purāṇa-Abschnitte von der historisch gesicherten Zeit des Candragupta Maurya zur Zeit des Ajātaśatru zurückrechnen möchte, krankt letztlich an der Unzuverlässigkeit der zeitlichen Angaben wie auch der unterschiedlichen Reihenfolge der aufgelisteten Herrscher. Auf dieses Problem hat bereits P[ierre] H[erman] L[eonard] Eggermont in „New notes on Aśoka and his successors III", *Persica* 5 (1970–1971), S. 69–102 (teilweise im vorliegenden Band, S. 505–516, erneut abgedruckt) hingewiesen, der auch die Genealogien im *Dīpavaṃsa* und im *Mahāvaṃsa* zum Vergleich mit herangezogen hatte. Auch von Stietencron kommt im Grunde genommen zu dem Schluß, daß die von ihm durchgeführten Berechnungen ohne Korrektur womöglich nicht zuverlässig sind.

A[wadh] K[ishore] Narain will in „The date of Gotama Buddha's Parinirvāṇa" (S. 185–199) durch eine Neuinterpretation des I. Kleinen Felsenediktes Aśokas in den Versionen von Sahasrām und Ahraurā die korrigierte lange Chronologie als für das Todesdatum des Buddha zutreffend erweisen. Einer der Pfeiler seiner Argumentation ist die Deutung des Wortes *vyutha* (im Instrumental *vyuthena*) in dem Satz *iyaṃ ca savane vivuthena duve sapaṃnā lātisatā ti 200 50 6* (Sahasrām) als vom Sanskritwort *vi-uch* „to burn", „to divide" abgeleitet, was zweifellos richtig und der Deutung von „journeyings abroad" vorzuziehen ist. Keinesfalls kann ihm der Rezensent bei der Deutung von *lāti*/*rāti* als „ready or willing to give" folgen, mit der der Autor die seiner Argumentation nicht passende Lesung „Nacht" umgehen möchte, um dann auf 256 Jahre kommen zu können. Dagegen gibt es grundsätzlich zu bedenken: wenn Aśoka Jahre meint, schreibt er auch *immer* „Jahre" (*vassa, vasāni*, usw.), so auch am Anfang dieses Kleinen Felsediktes; warum sollte er ausgerechnet an dieser brisanten Stelle darauf verzichten? Viel ausgereifter ist dagegen die Studie „Die 256 Nächte Aśokas" von Harry Falk (in ZDMG 140, 1990, S. 96–122), der ebenfalls *vi-uch*, „aufleuchten", als Grundbedeutung des Prakrit-PPP *vyutha*/*vivutha*, usw. (Skt.: *vyuṣṭa*) deutet, aber die Nacht zu ihrem Recht kommen läßt und ausreichend Beispiele für die Verbindung von „Nacht" und „Morgenröte" mit *vyuṣṭa* seit der vedischen Zeit liefert. Als ein letztes Argument führt Narain dann den nur in Ahraurā zu findenden Nachsatz *aṃ maṃ* (*ca.*) *budhasa salīle ālodhe* an, den er im Sinne seiner „256 Jahre" mit „the ascension of the body of our Buddha" (S. 192) in Verbindung bringt. Außerdem muß man sich fragen, wieso in *keiner* anderen Version dieses Ediktes jener Nachsatz erscheint, was auf eine Eigenmächtigkeit irgendeines Schreibers hindeutet. Jedenfalls sind Narains Überlegungen in ihrer Schlußfolgerung abzulehnen.

Ruth Walldén gibt in ihrem Beitrag „Notes on some dates on the Buddha in the Maṇimēkalai" (S. 200–207) Hinweise auf die in diesem tamilischen Epos (6. Jahrhundert n. Chr.) enthaltenen Datumsangaben zum historischen Buddha.

Akira Yuyama hat in „pañcāśatī, ‚500' or ‚50'? – With special reference to the Lotus Sūtra" (S. 208–233) eine Untersuchung des Zahlwortes *pañcāśati* in frühen Mahāyāna-Texten und dessen Bedeutung für die buddhistischen Lehren von der Chronologie des Niedergangs des Saddharma vorgenommen.

Heinz Bechert ist in seiner Einleitung (S. 5) schon ausführlich auf „Dating the Buddha: A red herring revealed" von Richard Gombrich (S. 237–257) eingegangen, der das Datum des Buddha mit Hilfe einer Neuinterpretation der im *Dīpavaṃsa* enthaltenen Informationen mit einer Genauigkeit von fünf oder sechs Jahren bestimmen will. Dabei stützt er sich auf die Abfolge der Theravāda-Meister von Upāli bis Mahinda, die er in die Jahre 404 bis 260 v. Chr. einordnet, indem er den Terminus *vinaya-pāmokkha* nicht als Bezeichnung für einen Amtsinhaber (so z. B. Frauwallner: „Oberhäupter der Vinaya-Tradition") betrachtet, sondern lediglich als „leading expert". Damit wären die angegebenen Jahre keine Amts-, sondern Lebensjahre. Wie Bechert ganz richtig bemerkt, läßt dies die Frage nach den im *Dīpavaṃsa* genannten 218 (oder 118) Jahren zwischen Buddhas Tod und Aśokas Krönung völlig unberücksichtig und führt letztlich wieder zu der Frage, welchen Wert überhaupt die Jahresangaben für diese frühe Zeit haben.

Die folgenden drei Sektionen, nämlich über die Tradition des späteren indischen und des tibetischen Buddhismus, die zentralasiatischen und iranischen Traditionen sowie die ostasiatische Tradition, gehen auf spätere Entwicklungen ein, die nur wenig zur eigentlichen Problematik beitragen. Dazu zählen etwa „Notes on some Indian and Tibetan reckonings of the Buddha's Nirvāna and the duration of his teaching" von Davin Seyfort Ruegg (S. 263–290), „Tibetische Quellen zur Datierung des historischen Buddha" von Eckart Zabel (S. 291–298) und „Saṅs rgyas bcom ldan 'das sku mya ṅan las 'das pa'i lo rtsis kyi rnam gžag bžugs so" von Champa Thupten Zongtse (S. 299–318), auf den sich der vorhergehende Aufsatz bezieht. Alle dort erwähnten Daten, so z. B. das anläßlich des Friedens zwischen China und Tibet im Jahre 822 n. Chr. genannte Nirvāṇa-Jahr 2955 (2134 v. Chr.), das aber erst vom Sa skya-Gelehrten bSod nams rtse mo (1142–1182) genannt wird, gehen auf eigene Traditionen zurück.

Tertiären Ursprungs sind gar die in „Das Datum des Buddha nach mongolischen historischen Texten" von Klaus Sagaster (S. 321–331) vorgestellten Datierungen, die hauptsächlich auf tibetischen Quellen basieren.

Werner Sundermann geht in „Eine Bemerkung zur Datierung des Buddha in der mittelpersischen Literatur der Zoroastrier" (S. 334–338) auf die Einordnung Buddhas in die Zeitvorstellungen der Zoroastrier der Sāsānidenzeit ein.

Die Datierung durch einen Gelehrten der Manchu-Zeit namens Yu Zhengxie (1775–1840) behandelt Erhard Rosner in „Some remarks on Yü Chenghsieh's essay concerning the date of the Buddha (1833)" (S. 341–347).

Generelle Überlegungen zu Fragen der Chronologie in historisch nicht abgesicherten Zeiten wie etwa der Frühantike stellt Carl Joachim Classen in „Computing dates of the very distant past: some remarks on the Greek and Roman practice" (S. 351–362) an: So habe etwa Apollodoros von Athen (2. Jahrhundert v. Chr.) seine Berechnungen auf der Grundlage angestellt, daß ein Mann die Akmē seines Lebens mit 40 erreiche und dies mit der Periode seines größten Erfolges zusammenfalle. Für den modernen Historiker stellt sich damit das Problem, wie die Überlieferer der Antike ihre Daten gewannen, d. h. welche tatsächlich auf historisch nachprüfbaren Fakten beruhen und welche mehr oder weniger willkürlich konstruiert wurden.

Den Band beschließen wichtige Aufsätze zur Datierungsfrage seit 1862 (Westergaard), darunter auch einige Beiträge von Eggermont, auf die der Rezensent bereits in seiner Besprechung von Band I (siehe CAJ, Vol. 37, 1993, S. 161–162) hingewiesen hat, ohne zu diesem Zeitpunkt über deren Wiederveröffentlichung informiert gewesen zu sein.

Bonn Karl-Heinz Golzio

Krystyna Chabros: *Beckoning Fortune*. A study of the Mongol *dalalγa* ritual. Wiesbaden, O. Harrassowitz, 1990, xi, 316 pp., illustrations. (Asiatische Forschungen, Band 117)

The subject of the *dalalγa* is dealt with in a matter of nine lines in Walther Heissig's book *The Religions of Mongolia* and one might think that this is sufficient for a not very sophisticated popular ritual confined to Inner Asia and especially to the Mongols. However, a full investigation of the subject has formed the substance of what must have been a very satisfying doctoral thesis, based partly on previously published material and partly on field research, and is now a thorough and elegantly presented monograph.

The *dalalγa*, whether performed independently, or in conjunction with other rituals, is a means of summoning good fortune. Dr. Chabros has investigated it from several points of view. She deals first of all with the ritual itself, then with the terminology and the requisites, and finally with the relevant texts which are presented in transliteration and translation. There is a bibliography and, what is most welcome, a section of illustrations, several from photographs made by the author herself. What a difference it makes to be able to work in Mongolia in the late 1980's rather than, as in my own case, in the late 1960's. At that time all questions about old practices were met by a blunt declaration of ignorance. With the change in the political course memories have become miraculously sharpened and objects which remained hidden can now be displayed to foreigners. We need more adventurous fieldwork of this sort before the generations which know the old culture finally vanish.

On the general matter of this book I can have little to say – it is all in the book itself. I limit myself to some marginal details. I feel uncertain about the assertion (p. 66) that "immediately after the birth the child's navel is bandaged, Kh. *xüis tseglex*". This may be the case, of course, but I wonder if the phrase *xüis tseglex* can be interpreted in this way. The only meanings I have found for *tseglex* (цэглэх), both in dictionaries and in use, are 1.) "to make a dot", and 2.) "to put a stop to, to give up". I have, though, met an expression хүйг цөглүүлэх which should be relevant. In one instance the context is мэс заслын аргаар хүйг цөглүүлэх and the precision of "by surgical means" should exclude mere bandaging. The only dictionary explanation of this expression which I have found is in *Mongγol Kitad Toli* (1976), where the second word is to be read as *čüglekü*. This word by itself is translated as (胞衣 脐带)脱落 , "to drop off, to fall away (afterbirth, umbilical cord)", while under *küi čüglekü* we find "detaching of the umbilical cord 脐带脱落 , I cannot risk an assertion of what actually happens, but I do suggest that the phrase needs re-examination.

A word *qartai* (p. 80) in a Buryat ritual poses a semantic riddle. Dr. Chabros translates this word as "humerus", the explanation given, in such dictionaries as cite the word, for a form *qaritu*, *харьт*. However, Cheremisov and Tsydendambaev's Buryat dictionary has only a word *харти*, translated as *берцовая кость* or tibia. The Mongolian Terminological Commission's booklet on human anatomy gives бугалаг, *мөр* and *атгаал* for humerus, and *их шилбэ* for tibia. In fact, I cannot find *харьт* in that booklet, though it may of course be there somewhere. In actual use *харьт* seems to be quite a rare word. I find it used with a reliable identification only in a manual of trauma I possess, Гэмтэл Согогын Өвчин, and here it refers quite clearly, as proven by an illustration, to the bones of the forearm, radius and ulna. Are we dealing with different bones, or have meanings changed, or what?

Qangsi negekü (p. 107) is a calendrical rather than an astrological term being the fifth of the solar terms. It is a borrowing from Chinese 寒食.

The assertion (p. 147) that Kh. *xurgax* "is encountered in poetry and sayings; ordinary pepole frequently do not know its meaning" surprises me. I have encountered it several times in reading, and in the most unpoetic contexts – in *Үнэн, Ардын Төр* and *Намын Амьдрал*. The meanings correspond to those given in this book.

An assertion on p. 158 "hemp is not a Mongol material" needs modification even though it is only a minor point which is under consideration here. Hemp may not have been a Mongol material in the past, but it has now begun to play some part in the Mongolian economy. To take only one example, it was reported thirty years ago that a school in Xovd aimag was growing various crop-plants, including hemp. The object of the exercise was to extract oil from the seeds for paintmaking, and to strip the fibres for making bootlaces and cords for other domestic uses. No big deal, perhaps, but indicative of a direction.

The word *šogol* discussed on p. 161 is certainly absent from dictionaries, though the late Ts. Damdinsüren included it in a list of notable absentees from Tsevel which he published in 1975. He defined it as "a small wooden box to put a book in." Another source suggests that it can also mean a pair of boards between which a book is inserted and then tied, for the sake of protection, and gives the verb шоголдох to describe the action of doing so (Ц. Шугэр, *Монголчуудын Ном Хэвлэдэг Арга*).

Most of the material presented in the book is now of historical interest, though a significant part of the evidence was assembled by the author herself during recent fieldwork. During this century Mongolia has undergone a process of change perhaps even more far-reaching than that of the time of the conversion to Buddhism. The reshaping of society under communism has been succeeded by a lurch into consumerism and ragged capitalism accompanied in some respects by a revival of formal religion and a relapse into superstition and half-forgotten folk-practices. Divination and quack medicine seem to be rampant once more, often in the hands of ignorant pretenders. One wonders what, if anything, will become of customs such as that so meticulously investigated in this book. Does enough unclouded memory persist for them to be revived, and if so, would current Mongol life have any place for them to play a realistic part? Whatever happens, we must surely be grateful to Dr. Chabros for assembling and analysing the evidence for one traditional ritual and enlivening her literary researches with personal observation.

Iver, Bucks. C. R. Bawden

Gesar! The Wondrous Adventures of King Gesar. Berkeley, California, Dharma Publishing, 1991, 183 pp.

The tales of Gesar, the legendary warrior-king of Tibet, have been available in an English prose edition since 1927. In that year Ida Zeitlin published *Gessar-Khan,* which she based on a German translation made in 1839 by Isaac Schmidt. *Gesar* was probably composed in the fifteenth or, more likely, the sixteenth century in northeast Tibet by a priest-poet who drew together earlier epics and folk creations into a long heroic narrative poem. Although Tibetan in its essentials, it incorporated numerous themes and traditions from other cultures, as is strikingly evident in the derivation of the name Gesar itself from "Kaisar," or emperor, of the Roman East.

The significance of *Gesar* is open to various interpretations. At one level it may be read as tales of adventure. The hero's journey to China to heal the spirit of King Keeme, his life-and-death struggle with the twelve-headed giant, and the rescue of his wife, Brugmo, from the captivity of the three Shiraigol kings are filled with fantastic exploits and magnificent triumphs. These tales call to mind the heroic epics of Turkic Central Asia: they begin with the unusual birth and precocious early years of the hero; they then relate his quest for a wife and his campaigns to protect his people from terrible enemies; and they end with the advent of peace and happiness, the final achievement of the hero's prowess and virtue. The cast of characters in the two epic traditions is also similar: the chief companion of the hero who shares his noble aspirations; the wife, who is a model of feminine beauty and wifely devotion, but who is in no way inferior to her husband in courage and intelligence; and the hero's steed, who performs spectacular feats to ensure victory over the enemy.

Nonetheless, *Gesar* is more than a succession of adventures, and the hero's vocation far exceeds that of a warrior. The whole is suffused with religious meaning, for Gesar has descended to earth as the son of heaven and the emissary of Buddha to mankind in order "to destroy evil and to restore joy to the hearts of men." He exercises supernatural powers and performs miracles and receives aid and counsel from the gods. At this level his quest is to overcome the forces that bar the way to wisdom and understanding, and his triumph is that of enlightenment over darkness.

The present English text is essentially Ida Zeitlin's version with the romanticized language modified to conform to contemporary usage. The introduction emphasizes the religious nature of Gesar's mission. For the development and structure of the epic the reader may consult Rolf A. Stein's exhaustive analysis, *Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet,* Paris, 1959.

Urbana, Illinois — Keith Hitchins

Kesar-Versionen aus Ladakh. Bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Silke Herrmann. (Asiatische Forschungen Bd. 109) Wiesbaden. Harrassowitz, 1991, 417 S.

Die „Kesar-Versionen aus Ladakh" sind eine bedeutende Bereicherung der Kesar/Geser-Forschungen. Die Feldforschungen, auf denen diese Textausgabe beruht, wurden vom Sonderforschungsbereich 12 der Universität Bonn gefördert und finanziell unterstützt. Die Verfasserin hatte mit größtem Fleiß in verhältnismäßig sehr kurzer Zeit zwölf verschiedene Versionen bei ihrer Feldarbeit aufzeichnen können. Da sowohl aus zeitlichen wie materiellen Gründen alle zwölf Versionen nicht publiziert werden konnten, mußte sich die Bearbeiterin auf die Herausgabe der mit *D* bezeichneten vollständigsten Variante beschränken, und die weiteren durch eine Teilung in Segmente aufschlüsselbar und vergleichbar zu gestalten. Durch dieses Verfahren gelang es das Beste und Meiste aus dem reichen Material herauszubringen. Es kann darum mit Recht behauptet werden, daß die Herausgabe der Ladakher Kesar-Versionen eine sehr gewissenhafte, auf soliden Fachkenntnissen beruhende Arbeit darstellt, die sowohl den Fachkollegen, wie dem breiteren Kreis der Interessenten noch viel Freude bereiten wird.

Das Werk besteht im wesentlichen aus zwei Teilen: einerseits aus einer einführenden Monographie über das Kesar-Epos im besonderen und seinen Ladakhischen Versionen und andrerseits aus der Übersetzung des Textes der Version *D*. Die Einleitung benannte Monographie macht uns erst mit der Entdeckungsgeschichte und Problemgeschichte des tibetischen Kesar und seinen bekannteren anderssprachigen Versionen eingehend bekannt. Diese Rekapitulation der Forschungs- und Problemgeschichte ist nicht nur für die Leser, die anhand dieses Buches mit der Problematik der Kesar/Geser-Forschung in Fühlung kommen nützlich, sondern auch für die, die sich schon längere Zeit mit ihr beschäftigen, da sie kurzgefaßt hier alle wichtigen Fragen überblicken können. In manchen nimmt die Verfasserin Stellung: in der Frage des Verhältnisses der Mündlichen- und Schriftvarianten, entscheidet sie sich für die Ursprünglichkeit der oralen Varianten, denn diese Tradition ist bis heute erhalten geblieben. Im anschließenden Kapitel folgen die Angaben über die Quellen der Arbeit, nämlich über die im Laufe der Expeditionen von 1979, 1981 und 1984 aufgezeichneten Texte und ihre Erzähler. Zur Einführung gehört noch die kurze Inhaltsangabe des Kesar-Textes, der in tabellarischer Aufschlüsselung mit seinen Varianten verglichen wird. Besondere Achtung wird hier auch der Kesar-Sage gewidmet, die vor nahe hundert Jahren von A. H. Francke, ebenfalls in Ladakh, aufgezeichnet wurde. Zu dem tabellarischen Vergleich der Varianten gesellen sich noch Kommentare, mit vielen interessanten Einzelheiten. Auf einige davon werde ich noch zurückkehren. Die Einleitung endet mit der Analyse der Struktur des ladakhischen Kesar-Epos, wobei die Verfasserin zum Ergebnis kommt, daß die ladakhische Kesar-Erzählung durch ihre Abgerundetheit den Beweis ihrer Vollständigkeit erbringt.

Bevor ich auf den zweiten Teil des Buches, d. h. auf den Text der Variante *D* eingehe, möchte ich auf einige, in der Einführung angeschnittene Fragen reflektieren.

In Ladakh wurde das Kesar-Epos, bekanntlicherweise, sowohl von Buddhisten, wie von Muslims erzählt. Die Verfasserin stellt die Verschiedenheiten der Kultureinflüsse in den einzelnen Varianten mit viel Fingerspitzengefühl dar. Die buddhistischen Erzählungen sind dementsprechend fantastischer, verwenden mehr magische Elemente als die muslimischen, obwohl auch in letzteren der buddhistische Einfluß nicht übersehbar ist. Allerdings ist das Kapitel Lujul, d. h. Kesars Kampf im Land des Dämonen und sein langer Aufenthalt dort, in den muslimischen Varianten nur kurz angedeutet. M. E. ist es nicht klar, ob nicht der realistische muslimische Einfluß dafür verantwortlich ist, daß im Gegensatz zu anderen tibetischen Varianten, Kesar in Ladakh nur eine himmlische Helferin hat, Ane Gurman, anstatt den drei himmlischen Schwestern, weiter in Hor auch nur ein König erscheint statt den drei Hor-Königen.

Außer den buddhistischen und muslimischen Einflüssen bzw. Elementen sind nach dem Hinweis der Verfasserin auch „Schamanistische" Vorstellungen zu erfassen. Zu den schamanistischen Elementen rechnet sie die Außenseele der Helden, weiter die verschiedenen Methoden des Tötens, die eine Wiedergeburt der Seele begünstigen oder in anderen Fällen verhindern sollen. Die Tötung des Feindes konnte nur mittels eines speziellen Sündenmessers erfolgen.

Die Anzahl der Spuren eines in weiten Teilen des mittleren und nördlichen Asien verbreiteten Seelenglaubens (der allgemein Schamanismus genannt wird) kann noch vermehrt werden. Der Übergang aus der Welt der Menschen, Ling, in die Welt der Lu-s geht durch einen Milch-, Blut- oder Speichelteich, ebenso wie in den Vorstellungen sibirischer Völker die Welt der Ahnen durch einen Wasserspiegel von der unseren abgegrenzt ist. Auch das Ebenbild des Schamanenspiegels ist im Kesar zu finden, im Spiegel in dem man alles erblikken kann. Der Säugling Kesar wird von den drei bösen Lamas angekettet, um verbrannt zu werden. Durch das Feuer stärkt sich aber nur sein „Eisenleben" und er zersprengt seine Ketten. Die nord- und mittelasiatischen Epenhelden werden oft von mythischen Schmieden durch ein Umschmieden im Feuer gestärkt, oder unverwundbar gemacht. Bemerkenswert ist es auch, daß Kesar vor seiner Geburt seine Mutter Goksa, der Reihe nach auf die heiligen Orte schickt: auf den Berggipfel, in die offene Steppe, auf das Ufer des Flusses, an die Wegkreuzung.

Wenn wir uns nun dem Text der Variante *D* zuwenden, fällt es sogleich ins Auge, daß die Erzählung nach den Schauplätzen der Handlung sich in vier Kapitel gliedert: Lajul, das Land der Götter, Lingjul, das Land derMenschen, Lujul, das Land der Dämonen und Horjul, das feindliche Land. In allen der Ladakher Varianten der Kesar-Sage sind die Trixter-Züge Kesars viel ausgeprägter und darum auch auffallender, als in anderen bisher bekannten Fassungen. Er erscheint fast immer in der Gestalt des schäbigen Bettlerknaben oder des abscheulichen Bettelmönches. Praktisch nimmt er nie an einem regelrechten Gefecht oder Zweikampf teil, sondern wendet gegen seine Widersacher stets Tricks oder magische Mittel an.

Die Ereignisse, die sich in Lajul abspielen und das Geschehen der ganzen Epe exponieren, weichen wesentlich von den anderen Kesar-Versionen ab. Der Großvater des Helden, Dongson Bila Ngonmo, entsteht aus einem Riesenwurm. Er wird mit achtzehn Frauen – darunter einer Schmiedin – verheiratet und wird dadurch zum Vater von den achtzehn Helden, den Begleitern des Kesar. Letzterer stammt von der unreinen Schmiedin ab. Im Fall der achtzehn Helden ist es bemerkenswert, daß sie alle verschiedene Tierköpfe besitzen, vielleicht steht dahinter eine schon verschwommene Erinnerung an die Tierahnen der Sippen. Ein interessantes Motiv stellt die Entstehung des Palastes des Dongsom Bila Ngonmo aus dem Kadaver des getöteten Dämons, Rangsha, dar. Diese Episode erinnert nicht nur an manche kosmogonische Mythe, wo die Welt aus dem Körper eines Riesen entsteht, sondern auch an mongolische und tungusische Epen und Mythen, in denen wohlwollende Tiere, z. B. Bär, Ziege, Pferd, usw. aus ihren Körpern Behausung und zum Lebensunterhalt nötige Sachen entstehen lassen. Im weiteren erscheinen in dieser Variante mehrere ähnliche Entstehungsgeschichten, z. B. aus einer Ziege wird ein Kloster samt Mönchen. Die Ereignisse des Vorspiels, die letzten Endes zur Geburt des Kesar führen, unterscheiden sich in ihrer ganzen Auffassung von den nicht Ladakher Versionen. Hier sind es nicht die weltverheerenden, von dem mächtig gewordenen Bösen verursachte Übel, die zu beheben die Götter sich entschließen, einen aus ihren Reihen auf die Menschenwelt zu senden, um das Gleichgewicht der Welt wieder herzustellen, sondern nur eine Ge-

genleistung für die Hilfe, die der Lingpa, Raskjes dem Götterkönig La Bumtri, erwiesen hatte, indem er ihm half, den Dämon der Dunkelheit zu besiegen. La Bumtri verspricht einen seiner Söhne als König nach Ling zu schicken. Die Prinzessin Goksa, die jüngste Frau des Raskjes wird durch ein Hagelkorn, einer Erscheinungsform des Göttersohnes, geschwängert. Die Geburt des Helden verläuft auch eigenartig. Er erscheint zuerst in der Gestalt einer Schildkröte, die nur später, mit Hilfe Ane Gurmans zu einem Knaben wird. Statt den drei himmlischen Schwestern kommen mit Kesar gleichzeitig zahlreiche La-, Lu- und Tsan-Kinder zur Welt. In einer der Varianten macht der mittlere Sohn des Götterkönigs erst eine falsche Inkarnation durch, er kommt im Land der Dämonen, in Lujul zur Welt. Die Götter müssen ihn gewaltvoll auf den richtigen Weg bringen.

Es gibt in der Kesar-Sage einige, nicht einmal wesentliche, Motive, die in allen mir bekannten Versionen, bei verschiedenen Völkern, vorkommen. So ein Motiv ist z. B. die Erpressung der Driguma/Rogmo zur Einwilligung in die Heirat mit Kesar, durch das Verbergen eines frischgeworfenen Ferkels oder Fohlens unter die Röcke der schlafenden Heldin. Hierher gehört auch die Verbergung des Kesar vor dem Dämon, unter die Asche der Feuerstelle, mit einer Schüssel Wasser am Kopf.

Im Hinblick auf die internationalen Wandermotive der Epen ist das Erscheinen des hinterlistigen Mordes an einem fast völlig unverletzbaren Helden durch den absichtlichen oder ungewollten Verrat einer Frau, also das Motiv von Siegfrieds Tod, bemerkenswert. Der jüngere Bruder, oder Sohn Kesars, wird so getötet, bezeichnenderweise auch beim Trinken aus einer Quelle.

Es fehlt an Zeit und Platz, um alle die interessanten Stellen des Textes zu erörtern. So beschränke ich mich zum Abschluß auch noch die ergänzenden Materiale lobend zu erwähnen: die ‚Abkürzungen und Symbole', bzw. die ‚Verschriftung ladakhischer Namen' am Anfang des Buches, weiter die ‚Struktur des ladakhischen Kesars', die ‚Weiteren Textmaterialien' im Anhang, dann die ‚Aufschlüsselung des Kesar nach den Motivindexen von St. Thompson und W. Heissig', die Bibliographie und der Index, die alle zur leichteren Nutzung und zur besseren Übersehbarkeit des Werkes beitragen.

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Gunnar Jarring, *Stimulants among the Turks of Eastern Turkestan: an Eastern Turki text edited with translation, notes and glossary*; Scripta Minora Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis: Studier utgivna av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund [Studies published by the Royal Association of the Humanities at Lund] 1992–1993: 1. Lund, Sweden: Gunnar Jarring & Kungliga Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund. ISBN 91-22-01537-X. 35 pp., including list of contents, abstract, glossary, list of references and abbreviations. 5 monochrome line reproductions. Paperback. Distributed by Almqvist & Wiksell International, Stockholm, Sweden.

Our knowledge of the Central Asian use of what Gunnar Jarring cautiously and "with some hesitation" refers to as "stimulants" is scanty, to put it mildly. Bits of relevant information are contained in a few earlier descriptions of Xīnjiāng (Sinkiang, Eastern Turkestan, Chinese Turkestan). The publication under review sheds some light on the use of certain substances in Southwestern Xīnjiāng at the beginning of the twentieth century: opium products, cannabis, tobacco products, alcoholic beverages, and tea.

Within the context of traditional Western thinking, it seems rather far-fetched (or "extremist") to lump these substances together under one label—hence Jarring's hesitation regarding the terminology. However, this sweeping categorization coincides with the general label "(recreational) drugs" now applied by a growing number of Westerners, identifying the subcategories "illegal drugs" (e.g., opium and cannabis) and "legal drugs" (e.g., alcohol, nicotine and caffeine). Strictly speaking, among the substances mentioned only caffeine (i.e., tea) is clearly a stimulant, while opium, cannabis, alcohol and nicotine are more appropriately referred to as intoxicants and narcotics, opium also serving as a sedative (laudanum).

Stimulants among the Turks of Eastern Turkestan is based upon a treatise entitled *jemɛk ičmɛk ičidɛki lɛhv u lab nɛrsɛlɛr*, which Jarring translates as 'Stimulant Pleasure Connected with Eating and Drinking.' This treatise, found in the Eastern Turki collection of Lund University Library, was written by Muhammad Ali Damollah, a native of the Kashghar-Yarkand area who served as a language teacher at the Swedish Lutheran mission and at the British consulate general in Kashghar sometime between 1905 and 1910. The language used in the treatise is a turn-of-the-century variety of what we might call "Six Cities Turkic" (being used in Southwestern Xīnjiāng's Altä Šähär 'Six Cities' area), now in Jarring's works "Eastern Turki." This linguistic variety used to be written with an Arabic-script-based system, following the principles of the Chaghatay system. The present-day descendant of Six Cities Turkic is not written and is considered the southern (or Kashghar) subdialect of the "Central Dialect" of the Modern Uyghur language, its speakers now using Standard Modern Uyghur (M.U.) in writing.

The title of the treatise might be more literally translated as "Fun things among ingestibles." The nominal compound *jemɛk ičmɛk* (M.U. *yimäk-ičmäk*) may refer not only to the acts of eating and drinking/inhaling but also to substances to be eaten and drunk/inhaled, thus "ingestible substances" (*ič-* connoting both 'drink' and 'inhale'). Obviously, the author of the treatise had in mind "recreational ingestible substances" (*lɛhv u lab* < Tajik *lahvu la'b* < Arabic *lahw wa la'b* 'recreation and fun,' 'fun and games').

The structure of *Stimulants among the Turks of Eastern Turkestan* is essentially the same as that of most of Jarring's published works dealing with Eastern Turki language and culture. The introduction (p. 5, perhaps more appropriately termed "preface") outlines the purpose of the publication, points out its basis and explains the terminology. An introductory chapter (pp. 7–11, i.e., the actual "introduction") mentions previous literary references and provides excellent explanations of the various substances mentioned in the manuscript. The actual treatise is presented firstly in richly annotated English translation (pp. 12–18), secondly in transliteration with added phonetic detail (pp. 19–21) and finally in scaled-down reproduction (complete with a few Swedish notes). As in all of Jarring's presentations of Eastern Turki materials, a meticulously researched and clearly presented glossary with etymological annotation is included (pp. 27–32). This is followed by a list of references and abbreviations (pp. 33–35).

The term *koknār* ([kokna:r], M.U. *köknar* /köknaar/ < Farsi *koknār* [Tajik *kūknār*]) generally refers to the poppy flower (*Papaver*), specifically to the opium poppy (*Papaver somniferum*) or its seedpod. In the damollah's treatise, the term is used to denote a viscous beverage prepared from opium poppy seeds. The use of *koknār* is mentioned in conjunction with the smoking of opium (*afiun*, M.U. *äpyun* < Tajik/Farsi *afyūn* < Greek *ὄπιον*).

The damollah refers to cannabis, specifically to hashish (i.e., dried leaves and tender parts of the hemp plant [*Cannabis sativa*]), by the term *nɛšɛ* (< Farsi *naš'ah* 'intoxication'). It is also known as *bɛŋ(g)* (M.U. *bäŋ* < Tajik/Farsi *bang*; cf. English 'bhang' < Urdu *bhāng*). Its production and use are explained in somewhat greater detail, as is the crafting of smoking utensils. The author also mentions insanity as a result of cannabis addiction. Of particular linguistic interest is the expression *gitigɛ üč-* "to fly into the world" (*giti* < Farsi *gītī* [Tajik *gētī*] 'world') which corresponds to present-day colloquial English "to be(come) high."

The manuscript confirms what has been mentioned in a few early Western accounts: tobacco was grown in Yarkand, apparently primarily (or exclusively?) by a Balti (*baltī*) minority (who had migrated there from Baltistan, north of Kashmir). Following the author of the treatise, Jarring treats "smoking tobacco" (*tamaku*, M.U. *tamaka* < Tajik *tamāku* [Farsi *tanbākū*] < English *tobacco* < Spanish < Taino *tabaco*) and "smokeless tobacco" (*nas* < Tajik/Farsi *nās*) as two separate categories, referring to them as "tobacco" and "snuff" respectively. The English word "snuff," being limited to denoting tobacco for nasal use, is an inadequate translation for *nas*, since *nas* also covers smokeless tobacco for oral use (i.e., chewing tobacco).

Much like Chinese *jiŭ* and Japanese *sake*, for example, the Six Cities Turkic term *šœra:b* (M.U. *šarap* /šaraab/ < Tajik/Farsi < Arabic *šarāb*) should be translated by means of a general label such as 'alcoholic beverage' or '(spirituous) liquor' rather than by means of the specific term 'wine.' The types of beverage mentioned in the treatise are oleaster liquor (made from the fruit of the *ǰigda* [M.U. *ǰigdä* [*Oleaster angustifolia*]), *bozɛ* (M.U. *boza*, made from rice or millet) and *musɛllɛs* (< Tajik/Farsi *musallas* < Arabic *muṣallaṣ*, made from grapes).

Tea, its varieties and its preparation are described with a good deal of detail, including references to utensils and vessels as well as to teahouse culture.

It seems somewhat surprising that the damollah ('grand mullah,' < Chinese *dà* 'big,' 'great,' 'grand') does not actually condemn the use of any of the substances he refers to, considering the Qur'ān's position *vis-à-vis* liquor consumption for example. In a nutshell, what he says about it is that excess and habit ought to be avoided. Otherwise he confines his treatise to a descriptive style.

To the reviewer, translating this particular manuscript seems rather problematic in parts, and there appears to be a small number of debatable choices in Jarring's translation. Nevertheless, the treatise and Jarring's presentation thereof constitute a very valuable source of various types of information, a piece of great linguistic and ethnological interest. Eruditely and clearly introduced and annotated, *Stimulants among the Turks of Eastern Turkestan* is yet another impressive addition to Gunnar Jarring's Scripta Minora contributions.*

Seattle Reinhard F. Hahn.

* *A Tall Tale from Central Asia* (1972–1973: 3), *Gustaf Raquette and Qasim Akhun's Letters to Kamil Efendi* (1975–1976: 1), *Matters of Ethnological Interest in Swedish Missionary Reports from Southern Sinkiang* (1979–1980: 4), *Literary Texts from Kashghar* (1980–1981: 4), *The Moen Collection of Eastern Tur-*

Mark Kirchner: *Phonologie des Kasachischen.* Untersuchungen anhand von Sprachaufnahmen aus der kasachischen Exilgruppe in Istanbul. Teil 1: Untersuchung; Teil 2: Texte. Turcologica Band 10, hg. v. Lars Johanson. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz 1992. XXI, 368 S. 8°.

Eine der bedeutendsten türkischen Sprachen ist die kasachische. Sie ist in sich relativ wenig dialektisch differenziert, selbst wenn man (berechtigterweise vom sprachwissenschaftlichen, wenn auch nicht vom kulturhistorischen Standpunkt aus) das Karakalpakische dazuzählt. Andererseits ist sie über ein so weites Gebiet verbreitet, daß auch die kleinsten ihrer Unterabteilungen einer eingehenden sprachlichen und kulturellen Untersuchung wert sind. Diese hat Kirchner in hervorragender Weise geleistet. (Bei der Bibliographie hätte vielleicht noch u.a. Orhan Türkdoğan: L'Installation des immigrants Kazaks dans un bourg Turc, UAJb 43, 1971, 107–115 genannt werden können.)

Die „Vorbemerkungen" erbringen eine exakte Transkription, wobei auch die Parallelen zur Internationalen Lautschrift und zum Kyrillischen gegeben werden.

S. 9–12 behandeln die heutigen Wohnsitze der Kasachen. Neben den permanenten und seit langem bestehenden Siedlungen gibt es, vom Vf. dargestellt, die kasachische Exilgruppe in Istanbul, die sich dort seit den 1950er Jahren allmählich niedergelassen hat. Als weitere Gruppen moderner Siedlung sollten vermerkt werden z.B. die Kasachen in der Umgebung von Izmir (untersucht von Suat Temiz, Berlin, dort Näheres zu erfahren); in Bīlīš, Gorgān (Nordostiran), etwa 5000, meistens Fuhrleute, vor 70 Jahren nach Iran gekommen, noch eigene Tracht tragend, s. Parvīz Rajabi: Āšnāhā-ye Qazāq, in der Zeitschrift Tamāšā, Sommer 1973; in „Qazakh-sarai", Herāt, Westafghanistan, s. H. F. Schurmann: The Mongols of Afghanistan, 's-Gravenhage 1962, 106–110, 372, 376 – „recent settlers"; im Distrikt von Xān-ābād, Nordafghanistan, auch u.a. Aqča, Andxōy, s. Gunnar Jarring: On the distribution of Turk tribes in Afghanistan, Lund/Leipzig 1939, 69; die Verbreitung der Kasachen in Afghanistan wird bestätigt von Georges Redard, u.a. in: Afghanistan, Zürich 1974, 91: Anwesenheit seit den 20er Jahren, ferner von M. F. Bozkurt: Türkistan Günlüğü, in: Türk Dili 36, Nr. 310, 1977, 6–14, speziell S. 13. Danach gibt es einige tausend Kasachen in Mazār-i Šarīf, mit reicher Volksliteratur. Laut den hier vorliegenden Tonkassetten ist auch ein Informant in Šibiryān geboren. Ich benutze die Gelegenheit, um in Bozkurts Artikel einiges richtigzustellen: (1) Auf S. 6 wird nur Oğuz Aktan als Begleiter erwähnt; tatsächlich ist die Göttinger Expedition von 1976 von *fünf* Teilnehmern unternommen worden, nämlich auch von den Deutschen W. Hesche, W.-D. Hildebrandt und A. Thermann, vgl. deren Arbeit: Das Moγolî in Badachschan (Afghanistan) Göttingen 1978, auch in CAJ 23, 1979, 176–236; (2) es wird nicht erwähnt, daß die beiden Türken die Expedition schon in Andxōy verlassen haben; (3) die Karte auf S. 7 erweckt den Eindruck, daß die Expedition bis „Meymene" führte, tatsächlich ist keiner der Expeditionsteilnehmer bis

ki (New Uighur) Proverbs and Popular Sayings (1984–1985: 1), *Dervish and Qalandar* (1985–1986: 2), *The Thiefless City and the Contest between Food and Throat* (1989–1990: 1), *Culture Clash in Central Asia* (1990–1991: 3), *Garments from Top to Toe* (1991–1992: 2).

dorthin gekommen; (4) vielleicht hätte auch erwähnt werden können, daß durch meine Anträge und Empfehlungen die Expedition erst ermöglicht worden ist (u.a. Unterkunft in Kabul, zur Verfügung gestelltes Auto).

Halten wir bei alledem fest: Kirchners Buch stellt den bisher bedeutendsten Beitrag zur Darstellung der kasachischen Diaspora dar. Die Sprachaufnahmen am hiesigen Seminar werden hoffentlich auch unter den gegenwärtigen finanziell ungünstigen Umständen in absehbarer Zeit publizierbar sein.

S. 21–81 erbringt eine exakte Deskription der Merkmale der Phoneme und Allophone, mit Darstellung der Artikulation, wobei auch eine Statistik der Häufigkeit geboten wird (z.B. umfaßt a 11,431%, dagegen ö: nur 0,016% des Inventars). S. 83–146 untersucht das Inventar noch einmal unter veränderten Gesichtspunkten, vor allem mit guter phonetischer Beschreibung. Weitere Kapitel behandeln Vokalharmonie, clusters, Morphonologisches, suprasegmentale Phonologie und Sandhi.

Gerade letzteres ist auch sprachhistorisch interessant. So gibt es in bezug auf die Behandlung von alttürk. b- in den heutigen Türksprachen folgende Gruppen: (1) Stete Bewahrung des b- (das eventuell sogar ganz oder etwas entstimmt wird wie im Čuvašischen oder südsibirischen Dialekten); (2) vor allem bei den Wörtern *ba:r* ‚es gibt', *bar-* ‚gehen', *be:r-* ‚geben', *bo:l-* ‚werden' finden sich Varianten b- ~ v- (so z.B. chorasantürkische, özbekische und neuuigurische Dialekte); (3) b- ist bei den erwähnten Wörtern stets > v- (und *bo:l-* i.a. > *ol-*) geworden (so Türkeitürkisch, Azeri, Südoghusisch, einige chorasantürkische Dialekte und Chaladsch – das aber vom Oghusischen in diesem Punkte unabhängig ist, wie Wörter wie *va:-* ‚binden', *vačaq* ‚undeinhalb', *vaq-* ‚blicken' = türkeitürk. *bagla-, buçuk, bak-* beweisen, weiteres s. Rez.: Grammatik des Chaladsch, Wiesbaden 1988, 47). Das Kasachische (jedenfalls das von Istanbul) gehört laut op.rec. 1981–184 also zu Gruppe (2) – die sehr schön den diachronischen Wandel auch in der Gruppe (3) erklärt; anders gesagt, im Türkeitürkischen usw. gibt es kein Lautgesetz b- > v-, sondern eine aus Sandhi entstandenen Lautwandeltendenz, die sich bei nur wenigen, besonders häufig in engen Verbindungen stehenden Wörtern zu einem neuen Anlautsphonem verfestigt hat. Auch der Wechsel S. 184–196 zeigt deutlich, daß z.B. k- > g- im Oghusischen aus Sandhi entstanden ist, denn kasach. *kel* ‚komm' gegen *buzawïna geledi* ‚sie kommmt zu ihrem Kalb' ist die Vorstufe zum heutigen verfestigten oghus. g- (das spät ist, u.a. nach Ausweis von griechischen Lehnwörtern wie Kallioupolis > Gelibolu usw.; diese Erscheinung hat gegen Clauson, Illič-Svityč, Menges nichts mit einer urtürkischen Sachlage zu tun). Der Wechsel k- ~ (im Sandhi) g- dürfte schon alt sein, denn vgl. chaldasch *kün* ‚Tag' gegen *böyün* und ähnlich ‚heute' < *bo:-gün* und schon manichäisch (Peter Zieme: Manichäisch-türkische Texte, BTT V, Berlin 1975, Text 9, Zeile 248 *bögüngičäh* ‚wie am heutigen Tage' < *bo: kün-kičä* (gegen *kün* ‚Tag'). So löst das Kasachische – ganz nebenher – einige alte turkologische (und altaistische) Probleme.

Aus all den von Kirchner gegebenen Beispielen ist die enge Verflechtung von Synchronie und Diachronie ersichtlich. Diese kann und soll man wohl *theoretisch* scheiden, sich aber der Tatsache bewußt sein, daß sie in der *Realität* untrennbar verflochten sind. In jeder Sprache ist Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft stets zugleich „gegenwärtig". Linguistik ohne Diachronie ähnelt der syntaktischen Aphasie, d.h. der Unfähigkeit, trotz der Fähigkeit zur Artikulation, Sinnzusammenhänge zu erfassen. Neben dem statischen und etwas blassen Phonem ist das dynamische Element des realen Lautes von (höherer?) Wichtigkeit.

Was in der Beschreibung stört, ist die Zusammenfassung der „Phoneme", auch wenn sie in ganz verschiedenen Positionen stehen, z. B. An-, In- und Auslaut. Es gibt keine „Phoneme an sich", sondern nur Positionsphoneme: t- z. B. ist etwas anderes als -t- oder -t (wie man bereits durch die synchronische Methode visible speech erkennen kann). Und das wirkt sich in der Diachronie aus, so ist in den romanischen Sprachen t- bewahrt, -t- oft > -d-, -δ- und Null geworden, -t fast durchweg geschwunden. Aber auch synchronisch müssen die Positionsphoneme getrennt werden; so ist im Kasachischen d- im Wortanlaut selten (wie oft liegt dabei türkeitürkischer Einfluß vor?), in Suffixen dagegen die Regel. Man kann auch (gegen S. 120) die Opposition /d/ : /t/ nicht an einem minimal pair [qayda] ‚wo?' gegen [qayta] ‚wieder' exemplifizieren. Ersteres ist ja zu analysieren als *qay.da* (. = vor nominaler Flexion, es folgt also ein Kasussuffix), letzteres als *qayt:a* (: = vor verbaler Flexion). Dies ist sogar schon vom rein synchronischen Standpunkt aus berechtigt, vgl. die Basen *qay* ‚solcher, welcher', *qayt-* ‚zurückkehren'. (Roman Jakobson: Linguistics without meaning is meaningless.) Nebenher: Ein Suffixanlaut ist stets zu trennen vom Wortanlaut (bound unit contra free unit), bei Kirchner wird aber sogar ein Suffixanlaut mit einem Stammauslaut verglichen.

Nicht zustimmen kann ich u.a. auch der Darstellung auf S. 98, wonach (→ = Das Phonem realisiert sich als das folgende Allophon, sprich: tatsächlicher Laut): /ülkenderimiz/ → [ülköndörümüz] ‚unsere Großen', /süyek/ → [süyök] ‚Knochen', woneben noch angeführt wird [öte] ‚sehr', [kölük] ‚Reittier'. Hier ist offenbar die schriftkasachische Form (Graphie!) als die urtümliche zugrundegelegt, eine Art Pseudodiachronie gegeben. Zu bedenken ist nun, daß die künstlich geschaffene Transkription des Kasachischen (unbeeinflußt von strukturalistischen oder gar poststrukturalistischen Überlegungen) gerade die Vokale nichterster Silben nicht exakt wiedergibt, insofern als Labialisierung nicht transkribiert wird; vgl. z. B. S. K. Kenesbaev, N. B. Karaševa: Kazaxskij jazyk, in: Jazyki narodov SSSR II, Moskva 1966, 321, wonach sich z. B. hinter der Orthographie „özen" eine Aussprache *özön* verbirgt. Tatsächlich gibt es folgende Gleichungen, wenn wir den älteren (und phonetisch zuverlässigeren) Radloff sowie die wahrscheinlichste alttürkische Aussprache heranziehen: kasachische Schriftsprache *ülken* – Radloff *ölkön* (alttürkisch wohl nicht belegt), *süyek* = *süyök* = *süyök, öte* (Radloff nicht belegt) = *öte, kölĭk* = *kölük* = *kölük*. So ergibt sich, nicht nur diachronisch, sondern auch synchronisch, ein ganz anderes Bild. Freilich ist vielleicht -e oft mehr, oft weniger labialisiert, z. B. *kör-sö* ~ *kör-se* (< *kör-se*; ob tatsächlich *körsö* ~ *körsö* mit leicht entlabialisiertem $ö_2$ ~ *körse* mit leicht labialisiertem e_2 ~ *körse*?).

S. 191–262 umfaßt die Texte, 263–353 deren Übersetzung; daran schließt sich S. 355–368 ein kurzes Glossar spezieller Termini. Eine Erfassung aller Istanbul-kasachischen Wörter bleibt ein Postulat; erst danach wird sich (auch unter Berücksichtigung des jeweiligen Alters der Informanten) eine genaue Scheidung ursprünglich kasachischer und in der neuen Umgebung Istanbul erworbener Wörter erreichen lassen. (Leider standen dem Vf. nur männliche Informanten zur Verfügung.) Die Texte spiegeln weitgehend noch sehr genau das alte zentralasiatische Leben wieder (z. B. das Zusammenleben mit Mongolen); sie umfassen volksliterarische Formen, das Leben vor dem Exil, das Leben im Exil und Biographien. Hier wäre eine Zusammenarbeit mit einem Volkskundler nützlich gewesen, z. B. zwecks Typisierung der Texte; so berührt Text 10 ein uraltes Motiv über die Entstehung der Musik. Sehr instruktiv aber ist das breite Spektrum der Texte, worin sich archaische und ganz moderne topoi wiederfinden.

Alles in allem: eine hervorragende Arbeit, die der Turkologie ein hochinteressantes Gebiet erschlossen hat.

Göttingen Gerhard Doerfer

Deborah Klimburg-Salter: *The Kingdom of Bamiyan. Buddhist Art and Culture of the Hindukush.* Istituto Universitario Orientale, Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, Naples-Rome 1989, 226 Seiten Text und XC Tafeln mit 118 Abbildungen. Preis 130.000 Lire.

Die vorliegende Arbeit setzt sich ein hochgestecktes Ziel, die historische und kunsthistorische Einordnung der buddhistischen Phase von Bamiyan in Ostafghanistan. Diese Publikation bestimmt eine notwendige Phase der kritischen Aufarbeitung der in den letzten Jahrzehnten gesammelten Materialien zur Geschichte Zentralasiens mit, die bisher vorwiegend sammelnd und versuchsweise, zumeist auf schmaler Faktenbasis, studiert wurde.

Der Band ist in zwei Teile und diese in neun Kapitel unterteilt. Es schließen sich ein beschreibender Katalog der buddhistischen Fundorte im Hindukusch und drei Anhänge, eine umfassende Bibliographie und ein Index an.

Der Teil I behandelt „The Buddhist Culture of the Hindu Kush“. Das Kapitel 1 umfaßt eine Einführung und die Einschätzung der bisherigen Studien zu dem „Kunsthistorischen Problem“ (S. 9–17). Es enthält die Hauptaussage des Buches „Apparently, the five sites of the Buddhist kingdom of Bamiyan in the Hindu Kush were created and/ or enlarged during the period of Turki domination of eastern Afghanistan, from the end of the sixth through the early eight centuries“ (S. 10).

Diese Grundthese sucht die Verfasserin mit vielseitigen Argumenten zu beweisen. Unter den fünf Fundorten des buddhistischen Staates versteht Frau Salter-Klimburg Bamiyan, Kakrak, Foladi, Fondukistan und Nigar (bekannt als „Dokhtar-i Noshirwan“).

Das Kapitel 2 enthält eine „Geographical Description“ (S. 19–24) in Anlehung an den „Gazetteer of Afghanistan“. Die Verfasserin versucht die wahrscheinlichen Grenzen des buddhistischen Kleinstaats nachzuzeichnen.

Das dritte Kapitel behandelt „The History of the Hindu Kush and Adjacent Area“ (S. 25–41). Frau Salter-Klimburg geht von einem frühen Ansatz der Kuschanadynastie aus und schätzt die Rolle der Sasaniden in Zentralasien relativ hoch ein. Sie sieht einen grundlegenden Unterschied zwischen einer imperialen Kunst der Sasaniden und einer feudalen Kultur des Ostiran (S. 26–27). Sie unterschätzt anscheinend die Nachwirkung der kuschanischen Reichskunst, die sowohl die Nachfolgestaaten in Zentralasien geprägt hat wie auch einen ostiranischen (oder vielleicht nordiranischen) Einfluß auf den Westiran ausgeübt hat. Der Rezensent bezweifelt die Berechtigung des Begriffs „feudal“ für den Ostiran, da er zu sehr die Sozialstruktur des mitteleuropäischen Mittelalters mit Leibeigenschaft und der erblichen Grundherrenschicht unterworfenen Städten auf das zentralasiatische System überträgt. Die Kaufherrenschicht Sogdiens und wohl auch Tocharistans spielte eine bestimmende Rolle in der Gesellschaft, und die Funktion der Dihqane im Handel jener Zeit ist kaum erforscht. Eine Leibeigenschaft wie im feudalen Europa ist nicht belegt.

Der Mangel an regionalen Geschichtsquellen zwingt die Verfasserin zu Rückschlüssen aus indischen, chinesischen und islamischen Quellen, die problematisch bleiben müssen, so wahrscheinlich vieles auch ist. So ist der Schluß recht kurz gehalten: „Neither East Asian pilgrims to India nor Indian missionaries to China have recorded visiting a Buddhist center at Bamiyan prior to Hsüan-tsang's visit. We may therefore suggest that the artistic activity at Bamiyan, as well as the other sites fo the Hindu Kush can be dated to this time" (S. 38).

Hsüan-tsang war eine Ausnahme, nicht ein Beispiel aus vielen Reisenden, die nur in dieser Zeit den Hindukush passiert hätten. Es ist ein gefährliches Argument ex silentio, zumal der Bericht des Chinesen den Staat und die Kultur Bamiyans in voller Blüte schildert, nichts jedoch über den Anfang desselben aussagt.

Auch die Begrenzung der Kulturblüte im Hinduskush durch das Eintreffen der diplomatischen Missionen Bamyans am chinesischen Kaiserhof (S. 42) von 627–737 ist wenig überzeugend, aber besseres steht kaum zur Verfügung.

Das vierte Kapitel „Religion in the Hindu Kush and Adjacent Areas" (S. 43–71) enthält die Grundlagen für den Lösungsversuch des Hauptproblems der Verfasserin: die Gliederung und die Datierung der religiösen Richtungen im Buddhismus und die vorhandenen archäologischen und kunsthistorischen Quellen aus Zentralasien.

Problematisch ist die von B. A. Litvinsky übernommene Aussage, daß „in the 7th and early 8th centuries ... Buddhist artistic creativity reached its peak in Tukharistan and all of Western Turkistan" (S. 51). Sie trifft nur auf Tocharistan zu. Für Sodien und Choresm fehlen buddhistische Kunstwerke aus dieser Zeit (aber auch zuvor) nahezu völlig. Hier herrschen gerade unter westtürkischer Oberhoheit alt(ost)iranische Religionen vor, die künstlerische Anleihen aus dem Hinduismus aufweisen oder auch aus China Formen entlehnen, während buddhistische Kultgeräte etc. aus Merw, dem heute tadshikischen Bergland, aus dem Ferghanatlas und Kirgisien vorliegen.

Recht subjektiv ist die Aussage, Adžina-Tepe sei „the most important Buddhist monument ... in western Central Asia" (S. 52). Das Höhlenkloster Kara-Tepe ist bedeutender, wenn auch älter.

In Sogdien gibt es nicht nur aus dem 8. Jahrhundert keine buddhistischen Tempel oder Kunstwerke (S. 58). Große Tonplastiken Sogdiens sind auch nichtbuddhistisch, während in der Aufzählung bemalter buddhistischer Lehmplastiken u. a. Merw fehlt.

Der Teil II behandelt „The Art of the Hindu Kush". Er beginnt mit dem Kapitel 5 „The Archaeological Sites of the Hindu Kush Sixth to Ninth Centuries" (S. 71–75). Die Verfasserin beschreibt die Hauptfundorte nach Autopsie unter Berücksichtigung der vorliegenden Beschreibungen.

Das sechste Kapitel versucht eine „Relative Chronology for the Buddhist Art of the Hindu Kush" (S. 77–92), die das Kernstück der Arbeit darstellt. Es ist der erste umfassende Versuch einer inneren Ordnung der Kunst von Bamiyan, und seine Ergebnisse stimmen weitgehend in der Zeitansetzung mit der Analyse der nichtbuddhistischen Malereien der Sogdiana durch M. Mode (u. a. Habilschrift, Halle, 1991) überein, die ohne Kenntnis der Salter-Klimburgschen Arbeit entstanden ist. Als Fixpunkte dienen der Hsüan-tsang-Bericht von 632 als frühestes bekanntes Datum und die muslimischen Interventionen von 745–785, 841 und 871. Die Verfasserin arbeitet mit vier Kriterien der Stilanalyse – 1. der Technik, 2. dem Stil der Figuren, 3. den Farben und 4. der Komposition.

Bei dem Zeichenstil der Figuren unterscheidet sie zwei Formen, einen hieratischen Stil mit frontaler Wiedergabe der Dargestellten und einen nicht-hieratischen Stil mit Dreiviertelprofilbildern und zwei Vollprofilgestalten. Weiterhin werden zwei Phasen unterschieden, die vor allem nach dem Kanon der Proportionen differieren. Auch in den Farbskalen erscheinen Differenzen. Die Komposition hingegen ist nach der Verfasserin gleichartig geometrisch aufgebaut.

Frau Salter-Klimburg unterscheidet außerdem die

Phase I a – mit der Nische des 38 m hohen Buddhas, deren Gemälde sie in die zweite Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts setzt.

Phase I b – mit gleicher zeitlicher Ansetzung (S. 82), mit den Bildern der Nische des 55 m hohen Buddhas und

Phase II – die die Verfasserin vom Ende des 7. bis zum 9. Jahrhundert laufen läßt. Auch hier werden Untergliederungen vorgenommen, insgesamt vier (a–d).

Die Kolossalfiguren von Bamiyan gliedert Frau Salter-Klimburg in vier Gruppen nach ihrer Technik und hebt die beiden Großplastiken hervor, die sie zu Recht als ursprünglich mit zusätzlichen Holzkonstruktionen versehen beschreibt, einschließlich aufgesetzter Masken für die jetzt fehlenden Gesichter. Sie setzt die Figuren in das 6. Jahrhundert. Diese späte Ansetzung der Felsplastiken und Gemälde wird auf Widerspruch stoßen, da es aus einer der Klosterhöhlen von Bamiyan am Ort geschriebene Manuskripte gibt, die für ein höheres Alter der Klosteranlage, wenn auch nicht der Bilder sprechen. So vermerkt L. Sander (in „Einige neue Aspekte zur Entwicklung der Brahmi in Gilgit und Bamiyan" (c. 2.–7. Jahrhundert n. Chr.) S. 119): „daß die Funde aus der Grotte bei Bamiyan nicht, wie Lévi behauptet hatte, aus einer Sammelbibliothek mit Handschriften aus verschiedenen Gegenden stammen, sondern zum größten Teil, spätestens von der Gupta-Zeit an, in Bamiyan geschrieben wurden." Frau Salter-Klimburg beschreibt diese Grotte G (S. 141–143) mit den Dokumenten und gibt Abweichungen der Malereireste aus dieser Höhle zu den anderen Bildern zu (S. 143).

Frau Salter-Klimburg bestreitet auch nicht die mögliche Existenz früher buddhistischer Ansiedlungen in Bamiyan, aber falls Sander Recht hat, muß mit einem Kloster in diesem Felsental schon vor dem 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr. gerechnet werden. Da die meisten Höhlen von Bamiyan unzugänglich sind, kann dies nur schwer überprüft werden. Hsüan-tsangs Zeugnis, daß ein früherer („former") König (S. 91) die Bildwerke habe meißeln lassen, ist daher nicht völlig überzeugend für die Hypothese der Verfasserin, obwohl die Möglichkeit nicht zu bestreiten ist.

Das Kapitel 7 behandelt „Some Buddhist Themes in the Art of the Hindu Kush" (S. 93–119) das Mandala, die Paradiesszenen, Sakyamuni im Tuṣita-Himmel u. a.

Das achte Kapitel befaßt sich mit „The Meaning and Function of the Buddhist Complex in the Bamiyan Valley" (S. 121–136). Bei der Rekonstruktion des Brauchtums in Bamiyan bleibt der Eindruck starken kuschanischen Erbes (falls man der Frühansetzung Kanishkas folgt, schließt man sich Göbls Spätdatum an, liegt der Verdacht direkter Kontinuität vor).

Das Kapitel 9 (S. 137–139) faßt die Thesen der Verfasserin zusammen. Der Rezensent bewundert die Vielseitigkeit der Linienführung, akzeptiert die Spätansetzung der Gemälde, bleibt aber skeptisch gegenüber der Ausschließlichkeit einer Spätansetzung der buddhistischen Kunst im Hindukush.

Wesentlich ist an dem Katalog nicht zuletzt das berühmte Gemälde von „Dokhtar-i Noshirwan" (Nigar), zu dem sie erstmals ein Fragment des unteren Teils der Komposition abbildet (Fig. 114).

Die Appendices (S. 187–226) beschreiben die Denkmäler im Detail. Entstanden ist eine sehr anregende und zugleich notwendige Arbeit, die zur wiederholten Beschäftigung mit ihr zwingt.

Berlin B. Brentjes

S. G. Kljaštornyj & T. I. Sultanov: *Kazachstan. Letopis' trech tysjačeletij* [„Kazachstan. Chronik dreier Jahrtausende"]. Alma-Ata, Centr „Kazachstan-Peterburg", 1992, 375 S. Auflage: 100.000, ISBN 5-625-02160-0.

Kazachstan nimmt in der antiken und mittelalterlichen Geschichte Asiens eine besondere Stelle ein. Das weit ausgedehnte Territorium, das sich vom Kaspischen Meer im Westen bis zum Altai-Gebirge und den Oasen von Ostturkestan im Osten, von der sibirischen Taiga im Norden bis zu den Ausläufern des Tien-shan und den alten Städten Zentralasiens im Süden ausdehnt, war schon immer von den verschiedensten Völkern bewohnt. Sie waren einerseits dem Einfluß hoher Kulturen –, in erster Linie der Kulturen Chinas und Vorderasiens – ausgesetzt, andererseits waren sie Bestandteil der Kulturkreise der eurasiatischen Steppe. Dementsprechend unterscheiden sich auch die Quellen zur Geschichte des antiken und mittelalterlichen Kazachstans: auf der einen Seite handelt es sich um die mythologisch-poetischen Texte des Awesta, um halblegendäre Nachrichten antiker Autoren und magere Anmerkungen in den chinesischen dynastischen Chroniken. Auf der anderen Seite verfügen wir über die Ergebnisse jahrzehntelanger archäologischer Feldforschung auf kulturell-historischer und besonders ethnologischer Ebene, deren Auswertung große Vorsicht verlangt. Die Abfassung einer unter diesen Voraussetzungen historisch objektiven „Chronik dreier Jahrtausende" Kazachstans ist daher ein verantwortungsvolles und kompliziertes Unternehmen, umso mehr, weil sich das Buch nicht nur an Spezialisten sondern an einen weiteren Leserkreis richtet.

In diesem Zusammenhang sei auf die aussagekräftigen, einprägsamen Titel der ersten Kapitel des Buches hingewiesen – „Die Welt der ersten Nomaden", „die große Umsiedlung aus dem Osten", „Das Steppenreich der Türken und seine Erben"; damit wird dem umfangreichen Material eine ganz bestimmte emotionelle Färbung verliehen.

Die Analyse der historischen Ereignisse im ersten Kapitel beginnt mit der Periode der indoarischen Herrschaft im kazachischen Steppenraum, die als „Periode der Streitwagen" bezeichnet wird. Nach einer kurzen, jedoch informativen Einführung in die charakteristischen Eigentümlichkeiten der sich auf diese Periode beziehenden Denkmäler der Andronovo-Kultur, wird die antike Geschichte Kazachstans an Hand der mythologischen Awesta-Texte dargelegt und mit neuen archäologischen Entdeckungen in Zusammenhang gebracht: zum Beispiel die „sonnenköpfigen" Götterfiguren aus Tamgaly-tas oder die zahlreichen Wagenabbildungen auf den Felszeichnungen Kazachstans. Diese Vorgangsweise hat nicht nur einen literarischen Wert, sondern ergänzt auch die archäologischen Quellen: sie bietet ein Gesamtbild der Kulturgenese, so wie sie die indoiranischen Gesellschaftsformen ausgezeichnet hat. Wichtig ist in diesem Zusammenhang die Schlußfolgerung, daß „die Schlachten und die Gebete der Götter und der Helden von Jašt – die Mythen und Epen der Andronovo-Epoche sowie der Arier und der mit den Ariern genannten Stämme

[...] darstellen" (S. 25). Einige von ihnen bevölkerten ohne Zweifel auch das Territorium von Kazachstan, obgleich eine genaue Identifikation nicht möglich ist.
Die Nachfolger der Indoarier, die Saken, treten daher als ursprüngliche Bevölkerung Kazachstans und der angrenzenden Territorien auf, sowie als Gründungskomponente des skytisch-sibirischen (exakter sako-skytischen) Kulturtyps. Dies wiederum entspricht den heute zur Verfügung stehenden archäologischen Funden. Grabhügel wie jene von Čiliktin und Tasmolin, Issyk und Besšatyr, erlauben es, Kazachstan in die Sphäre der ältesten Kultur des skytischen Typs einzuordnen, die mit der lokalen Tradition der späten Bronzezeit verbunden war (am besten ist dies auf Grund der Grabfunde von Tagisken und Ujgarak ersichtlich).

Im Buch werden alle Nachrichten über die Saken Zentralasiens und Kazachstans im Detail analysiert und ihre ethnopolitische Geschichte weitgefächert behandelt. Interessant ist dabei die vorgeschlagene Identifikation der Massageten der antiken Tradition mit den Stämmen der Daer der achämenidischen Inschriften, womit neue Forschungsimpulse ermöglicht werden. Aus ethnogenetischer Sicht ist die Schlußfolgerung wichtig, daß die sakischen Stämme Kazachstans direkte Nachkommen der in dem Awesta erwähnten Andronovo-Bevölkerung waren; dies wird nicht nur durch die Archäologie bekräftigt, die direkte Verbindungen zwischen der Andronovo- und der sakischen Kultur herstellt, sondern auch durch die Anthropologie, die in der Bevölkerung der sakischen Periode eine genetische Nachfolgeerscheinung der bronzezeitlichen Bevölkerung sieht" (S. 45).

Im zweiten Kapitel „Die große Umsiedlung aus dem Osten" werden die einzelnen untereinander vermischten kuturellen und ethnischen Eigenheiten der antiken Bevölkerung Kazachstans untersucht. Nach einem Überblick über die ethnolinguistische Lage zu Beginn des 1. Jahrtausends u. Z. wird eingehend auf die frühe Geschichte Kazachstans eingegangen, angefangen von den Nachrichten über das Auftreten der Hunnen und die Entwicklung ihres Reiches im Osten: gerade dort, im tiefsten Zentralasien, nahmen jene Ereignisse ihren Anfang, die entscheidend auf das Schicksal der Steppenvölker Eurasiens und damit auch Kazachstans einwirken sollten. Die aus jener Zeit stammenden archäologischen Funde sind – im Vergleich zu jenen aus der sakischen Periode – verhältnismäßig dürftig. Deshalb gewinnen die schriftlichen Denkmäler über die Sozialstruktur, die militärische Organisation und die kulturellen Traditionen der Hunnen an Bedeutung. Im Abschnitt „Die Hunnen zwischen Altai und Aral" wird unterstrichen, daß „die von den Hunnen nördlich des Balchaš-Sees gegründete einheitliche Staatsform in den chinesischen Quellen den Namen Yüeban erhielt" (S. 71). Es ist berechtigt, dieses Reich auch auf Kazachstan auszudehnen und so eine Verbindung mit der ethnopolitischen Lage Eurasiens herzustellen, aus der die Epoche der „großen Völkerwanderung" hervorging. Diese hatte dann große kulturelle Veränderungen sowie Transformationen des anthropologischen Typs und die Verbreitung neuer Sprachen zur Folge. Besonders letzter Umstand ist wichtig, „da dadurch die Zugehörigkeit der Bevölkerung eines der alten Reiche des 2.–5. Jhdts. auf kazachischem Boden zu den Türksprachen festgestellt werden konnte. Man kann also behaupten, daß von jener Zeit an auf kazachischem Boden neben den Stämmen der „nördlichen Hunnen" auch jene Bevölkerung auftrat, die eine alte Sprache [Sprachen?] aus jener Sprachfamilie sprach, aus der auch das Kazachische stammt" (S. 72). Damit wird zum ersten Mal im vorliegenden Buch die Anfangsperiode der kazachischen Ethnogenese berührt.

Die alttürkische Epoche und ihre Rolle in der ethnokulturellen Geschichte Kazachstans ist genauer im 3. Kapitel behandelt. Es soll hier nicht im Detail auf alle den schriftlichen Quellen entnommenen Nachrichten über die im alttürkischen Staat vereinten Völker und Stämme eingegangen werden; damit hängen auch viele Fragen über die politische Geschichte des alttürkischen Khaganats zusammen – so die Beziehungen zum sasanidischen Iran, zu China und zu Byzanz, die soziale Organisation und die Religionen der alten Türken, die Geschichte der türkischen Stämme Zentralasiens speziell in Bezug auf die Staatenbildung der Qarluqen und der Karachaniden, zu der auch das kazachische Territorium gehörte. Es ist bekannt, daß die Qypčak eine wichtige Rolle in der Entstehungsgeschichte der Vorfahren der Kazachen spielten; ihrer Geschichte ist ein besonderer Abschnitt gewidmet. Die von S. G. Kljaštornyj bereits früher vorgenommene Identifizierung der ethnischen Bezeichnung Qypčak mit den Hsieh-yen-t'o der chinesischen Quellen und den Sirern der alttürkischen Runeninschriften hat die Quellenlage zum Studium der frühen Etappen der ethnischen Geschichte der Oypčak in Asien sehr erweitert und neue Perspektiven für weitere Forschungen eröffnet. Diese sind bereits in der vorliegenden Arbeit durchgeführt, in der die Qypčak den Ausgangspunkt einer der grundlegenden Komponenten des sich abzeichnenden kazachischen Einigungsprozesses bilden.

Von grundlegender Bedeutung ist unserer Meinung nach der Abschnitt „Allgemeines Konzept der ethnischen Geschichte der alttürkischen Stämme", in dem mit Hilfe eines umfangreichen Tatsachenmaterials die Gesetzmäßigkeit der türkischen Ethnokulturgenese dargelegt wird – „das Vorrücken türksprachiger Stämme von Ost nach West" (S. 80). Zum ersten Mal wird auch eine historische Periodisierung der alttürkischen Epoche mit einer Unterteilung in drei Etappen durchgeführt: die legendären Vorfahren (III–V Jhdt.), die archaischen Reiche (VI–IX Jhdt.) und die sich in frühfeudale Staaten umbildenden Barbarenreiche (nach dem IX Jhdt.). Die Einführung dieser Periodisierung ermöglicht nicht nur eine Einordnung des umfangreichen archäologischen Materials, sondern auch eine maximale Übereinstimmung mit den Nachrichten aus schriftlichen Quellen. Aus all dem geht hervor, daß „die Einheit und die Kontinuierlichkeit in der am Beginn der Bronzezeit entstandenen Geschichte und Kultur der eurasiatischen Steppen ihre Blütezeit in der skytischen Periode erfuhren – dann aber nicht erloschen, sondern im Auftreten der alttürkischen Epoche nur eine andere ethnische Farbe erhielten" (S. 76–77).

Bei der Besprechung der drei von S. G. Kljaštornyj verfaßten Kapitel darf nicht verschwiegen werden, daß sie auf einer sehr breiten kulturellen und historischen Grundlage aufgebaut sind, geschrieben mit großer „Anteilnahme" an den Geschehnissen mit Einbeziehung der Vorfahren anderer türksprachigen Völker, deren Schicksale mit jenem des kazachischen Volkes verbunden sind. Daraus ergeben sich die Schlußfolgerungen aus der antiken und frühmittelalterlichen Geschichte Kazachstans, die nicht nur eine wissenschaftliche, sondern auch eine politische Bedeutung haben: „Alle diese Prozesse können nicht in „Geschichten" der einzelnen Stämme und Völker der Großen Steppe eingeteilt und ausschließlich mit der Vergangenheit eines heute existierenden Staates in Einklang gebracht werden. Die türksprachigen Völker Eurasiens hatten, wie schon ihre Vorfahren, im Laufe vieler Jahrhunderte eine gemeinsame Geschichte und eine gemeinsame Kultur, die für sie ein gemeinsames Erbe darstellt" (S. 76).

Die Geschichte Kazachstans vom Beginn des XIII Jhdts. bis zum Beginn des XVIII Jhdts., d. h. die Geschichte all jener Staaten, Reiche, Stammesbünde und Völker, die jenes Territorium beherrschten, wurde vom bekannten Spezialisten für muslimische Geschichtsschreibung und mittelalterliche Geschichte Zentralasiens, T. I. Sultanov, geschrieben. Bereits die Titel der einzelnen Kapitel zeugen vom weiten Kreis der behandelten Themen: „Die Eroberungszüge Činggis Khans und die *Ulus* der Činggisiden“ (Kap. 4), „Der Beginn des kazachischen Staates“ (Kap. 5), „Das kazachische Khanat und seine Nachfolger im XVI–XVII Jhdt.“ (Kap. 6), „Die Kazachen: Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft“ (Kap. 7). Somit wird eine 500 Jahre dauernde Periode erfaßt, die von 1218 (die Eroberung durch Čingis Khan und Untergang des Reiches der Chorezm-Schahs) bis 1718 (Tod des gesamt-kazachischen Tauke Khan und Zerfall des Reiches in unabhängige Khanate) andauerte. Dabei hat der Autor eine sehr tiefgreifende Arbeit geleistet, da er eine große Anzahl muslimischer Quellen in persischer und verschiedenen türkischen Sprachen einer kritischen Analyse unterzog und sie untereinander gegenüberstellte (dargestellt auf S. 224–229). Sie alle enthielten Nachrichten über das mittelalterliche Kazachstan und seine Nachbarn, über die zahlreichen Nomadenstämme der kazachischen Steppen (östl. Dešt-i-Kipčak), über die dort regierenden Dynastien und Herrscher. Die Originalität seiner Forschungsarbeit kommt gerade bei bisher zwar diskutierten, jedoch immer noch unklaren Problemen zum Vorschein, wie z. B. bei der Frage über die Zeit, des Entstehungsprozesses und der geographischen Lage (im Dschotschidenreich) der Kok-Orda und der Ak-Orda, die beide eine nicht geringe Rolle in der Geschichte Kazachstans im XIII–XIV Jhdt. spielten (S. 189–195). Große Aufmerksamkeit widmete der Autor den Quellen und ihrer Gegenüberstellung in bezug auf die Entstehung des Kazachischen Khanats, auf das Ethnonym *kazak*, auf die Wechselbeziehungen zwischen dem Kazachischen Khanat des XV–XVII Jhdts. und den benachbarten Herrschern – den Usbeken Muhammad Scheibani Khans, den Moghulen, den Kalmücken, Schibaniden und Aschtarhaniden (S. 224–314). Die verzwickte politische Lage dieser Region wird von T. I. Sultanov in klarer und objektiver Weise dargelegt, mit einem feinen Gefühl für all die Nuancen in den zwischendynastischen und persönlichen Beziehungen, mit genauen Angaben aus den Biographien der kazachischen historischen Persönlichkeiten wie Tavakkul, Tursunsultan, Išim Khan und viele andere. Die von T. I. Sultanov geschriebene Geschichte, dessen Helden vom Autor nicht unpersönlich und ohne Anteilnahme behandelt werden, kann Diskussionen von Gegenstimmen hervorrufen – die emotionelle Seite jedoch unterscheidet die Darlegungen des Autors von anderen, in der Geschichtsschreibung Kazachstans vorwiegenden Arbeiten.

Zu den wichtigsten Ausführungen von T. I. Sultanov gehört die These über das Datum und die Umstände der Entstehung des ersten kazachischen Staates, des Kazachischen Khanats. Mit der Festsetzung auf das Jahr 1470 (wobei geringere Abweichungen möglich sind) stellt T. I. Sultanov fest, daß „die Entstehung des Kazachischen Khanats nicht ein einmaliger Akt war, sondern ein vielfältiger und lange andauernder Prozess. Genauer gesagt, entwickelten sich die politischen Prozesse gleichzeitig mit den ethnischen Prozessen und verflechteten sich untereinander“ (S. 238).

Die politischen Aspekte wurden von T. I. Sultanov vollständig und vielseitig dargestellt, der ethnogenetische Aspekt bedarf jedoch einiger Ergänzungen und Erklärungen. Die umfangreichen Umsiedlungen der zahlreichen Nomadengruppen der östlichen Dešt-i-Kipčak in der zweiten Hälfte des XV – Beginn des XVI Jhdts., die damals nicht nur das heutige Kazachstan sondern das ganze mittelasiatische Zwischenstromland beherrschten, stellten zweifelsohne einen entscheidendenFaktor in der Anfangsperiode der Entstehung des kazachischen, usbekischen, karakalpakischen und nogaischen Volkes dar. Die ethnogenetische Rolle dieser Umsiedlungen ist in der gegenwärtigen wissenschaftlichen Literatur bei weitem nicht vollständig erfaßt worden. Darauf hätten die Autoren mehr Aufmerksamkeit richten sollen.

Einige Bemerkungen müssen zum letzten Kapitel (S. 315–356) gemacht werden, das der Wirtschaft und der Lebensweise der Kazachen des XVI–XVIII Jahrhunderts, den sozialen Gruppen und Kategorien der kazachischen Gesellschaft, den unter *Žeti Žargy* („Sieben Vorschriften") bekannten Gesetzen des Khans Tauke, gewidmet ist. Letztere sind nur in der russischen Übertragung, von G. Spasskij und A. Levšin übersetzt und herausgegeben, erhalten geblieben. Der Abschnitt „Wirtschaft und Lebensweise", für den neben östlichen Quellen auch Nachrichten europäischer und russischer Beobachter (darunter I. Barbaro, A. Jenkinson, A. Levšin) verwendet wurden, beschreibt genauestens das Alltagsleben der kazachischen Gesellschaft. Besonders interessant sind dabei die Nachrichten über die „Fuhrwerk-Häuser" (S. 332–334), mit denen im XVII Jhdt. die zerlegbaren Jurten ersetzt wurden. Diesen bedeutsamen Eingriff in die Lebensweise bringt der Autor mit den größeren Weideplätzen und der Viehmenge nach den Kriegen mit den Oiraten in Zusammenhang. Es ist aber auch möglich, daß in dieser Änderung des Wohnsystems die Oiraten selbst einen direkten Einfluß ausübten. Der Autor widmet diesem Einfluß kein Wort, erwähnt jedoch die *kalmak-uj* und *torgut-uj* genannten Jurtentypen. Vielleicht hätte auch der Einfluß der mongolisch-oiratischen Gesetze auf die „Sieben Vorschriften" erwähnt werden sollen.

Ein anderes Diskussionsthema ist die Frage der Sklavenarbeit in der Nomadengesellschaft, über das selbst bei den beiden Autoren der Monographie keine vollständige Übereinstimmung herrscht. Bei beiden Autoren geht die Meinung über das Gewicht der Frauenarbeit in der Wirtschaft der Nomadenfamilie auseinander. S. G. Kljaštornyj meint, daß bei den Nomaden die Sklavenarbeit den Frauen und Kindern übertragen wurde, wobei der Frauenarbeit, genauer gesagt jene der „Frauensklaven", eine „fundamentale Rolle" in der Familienwirtschaft der alten Türken zugesprochen werden muß (S. 148). T. I. Sultanov stützt sich auf einschlägige Nachrichten aus dem kazachischen Wirtschaftsleben und meint, daß „die größere Zahl der Hirten Leibeigene waren, die sich aus Gefangenen, verwaisten und verkrüppelten Kindern zusammensetzten". Ähnliches gilt auch für die männlichen Sklaven (S. 326). Eine große Anhäufung von männlichen Sklaven bei den Kazachen wird auch von S. G. Kljaštornyj erwähnt: in den Jahren 1755–1756 führte die Konzentration der Leibeigenen zu einer Massenflucht und einem Aufstand in der *Kleinen žuz* (S. 149).

Die Monographie von S. G. Kljaštornyj und T. I. Sultanov stellt einen wichtigen und wertvollen Beitrag zur Geschichte Kazachstans sowie, im weiteren Sinne, zur Geschichte der Nomadenvölker Zentralasiens dar.

St. Petersburg — D. G. Savinov und E. I. Kyčanov

Léi Xuǎnchūn, 1992. *Xībù Yùgù Hàn cídiǎn* [Dictionary of Western Yughur and Chinese]. Edited by Chén Zōngzhèn. Preface by Yáng Jìnzhì. Zhōngguó shǎoshù mínzú yǔyán xìliè cídiǎn cóngshū [Series of Chinese minority language dictionaries]. Chéngdū: Sìchuān Mínzú Chūbǎnshè [Sìchuān Nationalities Press]. ii + ii +

xii + 377 pp. 180x125mm (7⅛x5"). Hardback with dust-cover. ISBN 7-5409-0457-7/H.33. 6.95 yuán *Rénmínbì*.

The lexicon of the Western Yughur (WY) language used to be only accessible through samples found in descriptive works or, more recently, though a comparative dictionary of China's Turkic languages (Chén Zōngzhèn *et al.*, 1990, *Zhōngguó Tūjué yǔzú yǔyán cíhuìjí*). The publication under review is the first self-contained dictionary of Western Yughur and thus represents a milestone in the study of this Turkic language.

The Yughur people are also known as "Sarigh Yughur" or "Yellow Uyghur" (WY [*sarěğ*] *yoğur*) and are widely regarded as being descendants of a branch of the Old Uyghur people. They live in China's Gānsù (Kansu) Province, mostly in Sùnán Yughur Autonomous County. Some Yughur live in the township Huángníbǎo (Huangnipao, WY *sarěč dorvaq* ~ *xuaŋnipu*) in the city of Jiǔquán (Chiuch'üan, WY *sukǰi* ~ *sukči* ~ *bazar*). Minorities among the Yughur use Chinese or Amdo Tibetan as their primary languages. Those Yughur who live in the eastern regions speak their own Mongolic language: Yngar (WY *əŋgar*) or Eastern Yughur. Most of those living in the western regions use their own Turkic language: Western Yughur, which among Western scholars tends to be referred to as the "Sarigh Yughur" or "Yellow Uyghur" language *per se*.

The misconception that the Turkic language of the Yughur is a "far-out" dialect of Modern Uyghur has been lingering on among Western Turcologists. This is despite the availability of data proving that it is a separate language of the Uyghur (or Tuva-Khaquas) group rather than of the Qarluq-Uyghur (or Chaghatay) group to which Modern Uyghur belongs. Most importantly, it is of the **azaq* type: intervocalic **d* developed into *z*, while in Modern Uyghur and all other **ayaq* languages it developed into *y*. Furthermore, unlike the Qarluq-Uyghur languages, Western Yughur preserves fortis-lenis distinctions among stops, which are phonetically realized as aspirated versus unaspirated voiceless stops in most environments. Western Yughur is thus closely akin to most Turkic languages of Eastern Siberia: the Khaqas languages (i.e., Qizil, Sagay, Beltir, Qachin, Qoibal), Shor, Chulim and the Altay languages (i.e., Qumandin, Tuba, Chalqan). It also shares important features with Tuva (an **adaq* language), including a "glottalized" or "aspirated" vowel series.

In China, the Western Yughur are officially classified as culturally and linguistically distinct from the Uyghur. Despite this, despite important Yughur research being carried out in China, and despite the relative ease of creating writing systems for them (most appropriately based on the vertical Uyghur script), the Western and Eastern Yughur languages remain officially unwritten to this day.

Western Yughur language research findings have been published primarily by Sergej Efimovič Malov and Ėdgem Raximovič Tenišev in the former Soviet Union and by Chén Zōngzhèn and Léi Xuǎnchūn in China.

The bilingual dictionary under review is a new publication of superior quality, clearly reflecting the high levels of proficiency, erudition and thoroughness of the compiler and the editor. The linguistic material is based on the Western Yughur varieties of Sùnán and Zhāngyè (WY *gamsi* ~ *camsə*). The actual dictionary (pp. 1–339) contains approximately ten thousand entries, including cross-referenced variants. Western Yughur items are transcribed in a Roman-script system based on the International Phonetic Alphabet. (Certain symbols are replaced in this review.) Most entries also contain phrases or sentences as well as idiomatic expressions in which a given listed item is used. The work includes few etymological references. These are mostly limited to cases of contracted or otherwise obscured morphological derivations. Loanword sources are not indicated.

The work contains a list of Western Yughur place names and their Chinese equivalents (pp. 340–343). This is very useful, since cartographic works never include Yughur forms of local place names.

Appended to the dictionary is a grammatical outline (pp. 344–377). While phonetic information is scarce, various morphophonological features are explained fairly thoroughly. The syntactic morphology receives most of the coverage. The description is arranged by grammatical types and contains a number of tables as well as a list of aspectual verbs. Also included is a list of the most commonly occurring derivational morphemes.

The compiler, the editor and the publishers are to be warmly congratulated on this splendid, major addition to the so far relatively short list of works on Western Yughur.

Seattle Reinhard F. Hahn

McChesney, R. D., *Waqf in Central Asia.* Four hundred years in the history of a Muslim Shrine, 1480–1889. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991, xv+356 p., 3 maps.

Vorliegendes Werk behandelt in vierzehn Kapiteln monographisch die Geschichte einer islamischen Stiftung, aus der das heute größte städtische Zentrum des afghanischen Nordens hervorgegangen ist – Mazar-i Sharif. Ausgehend von Fuad Köprülüs in *Vaqiflar Dergisi* aufgestellter Forderung, die im Islam zentrale soziale und ökonomische Einrichtung der frommen Stiftung sowohl in ihrer natürlichen Umgebung als auch diachron in ihrer historischen Entwicklung zu betrachten, beschreibt und analysiert der Autor ein zentralasiatisches Fallbeispiel: die Stiftung um die angebliche Grabstelle des Prophetenschwiegersohnes ᶜAli b. Abi Talib. Als solche wird die Gegend um das alte Balkh zuerst im 12. Jahrhundert bei al-Ġarnati erwähnt. Nach ᶜAbd al-Ġafur Lari wurde der Leichnam angeblich von Abu Muslim in diese entfernte Gegend gebracht, um ihn vor Profanierung durch die Umayyaden zu schützen. Nachdem der Ort schon zu dieser frühen Zeit als Wallfahrtsstätte gedient hatte, beginnt er schon vor der Mongolenzeit wieder aus den Quellen zu verschwinden. Erst in den 1480er Jahren kommt es zur Wiederentdeckung der Grabstelle unter der Herrschaft des dichtenden Timuridenherrschers Sultan Husayn Bayqara, auf den die Einrichtung der frommen Stiftung letztlich zurückgeht. Die Einrichtung einer Stiftung, die wegen der Person ᶜAlis leicht als schiitische Institution mißverstanden werden kann, zeigt der Autor auf dem Hintergrund von klassischer und populärer islamischer Kultur in diesem Raum, in dem sich gerade am Vorabend der Safavidenzeit der Einfluß des Naqšbandi-Derwischtums auf die gebildeten Kreise deutlich bemerkbar machte.

Einen wichtigen Aspekt der Gründung frommer Stiftungen im gesamten westlich-zentralasiatischen Raum, der auch für die folgende Schaybaniden-Zeit seine Gültigkeit behalten soll, ist die integrative Kraft einer Institution, die die meist fremdstämmigen Herrscher als Stifter mit der einheimischen Nobilität und vor allem der intellektuellen Schicht als Nutznießer verbinden sollte. Wie erfolgreich dieses Konzept funktionierte, zeigt die Tatsache, daß bis zum russischen Eindringen in die Staatenwelt Westturkestans diese Einrichtungen eine bedeutende Rolle im staatlichen Leben spielten. Ihre Rolle etwa bei der Ethnogenese einer usbekischen Stadtbevölkerung dürfte kaum zu überschätzen sein.

Zu Recht weist der Autor auf die unterschiedlichen Ausgangsbedingungen für die Entwicklung solcher frommen Stiftungen in Zentralasien und anderen Teilen der zeitgenössischen islamischen Welt hin. Entgegen einem weitverbreiteten Zentralismus weist gerade dieser Bereich im 16. Jahrhundert noch ausgesprochen dezentrale Tendenzen auf, die einer mehr autonomen Entwicklung der Stiftungen Raum lassen. Im speziellen Fall wurden diese Voraussetzungen – abgesehen von den vorgegebenen Bedingungen des natürlichen Milieus – von den organisatorischen Vorstellungen der Tschingisiden geprägt. Das Buch verdeutlicht das Wirken daraus entspringender Traditionen, die letztlich auf die mongolische *yasa* weisen und bis ins 19. Jahrhundert reichen.

Der Autor widmet sich der ausführlichen Beschreibung der sich im Raum Balkh ablösenden politischen Gebilde, ihrer inneren politischen, verwaltungsmäßigen und ökonomischen Struktur. Dies schafft die Grundlage zum Verstehen des Agierens der *vaqf*-Verwaltung gegenüber den politischen Autoritäten. Im Fallbeispiel erweist sich die Stiftung als ein politisch-ökonomisch erfolgreiches Gebilde großer Autonomie gegenüber den umgebenden politischen Mächten. Der vom Autor gewählte Begriff *shrine-state* erscheint dabei durchaus angemessen; wie in anderen Staatsgebilden früherer Zeiten ist dann ab der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts die oberste Machtstellung auch im *shrine-state* erblich.

Der Autor hat mit diesem in Analyse wie Darstellung sorgfältig durchgearbeiteten Buch einen Beitrag von zentraler Wichtigkeit geschaffen, liegt er doch im Schnittpunkt vieler wissenschaftlicher Arbeitsbereiche. Das Werk stellt mit seinem Ansatz, eine Stiftung als konkrete Einrichtung innerhalb ihrer politischen, sozialen und ökonomischen Umgebung zu zeigen, eine wichtige, alternative Bereicherung der oftmals auf das Studium der urkundlichen Hinterlassenschaften konzentrierten „Vaqf-Forschungen“ innerhalb der Islamwissenschaft dar. Dem weniger oder nicht in Islamwissenschaft bewanderten und mehr am geographischen Areal oder dessen Bevölkerung interessierten Benutzer kann das beigegebene Glossar eine große Hilfe sein. Beide Benutzergruppen werden mit individualtypischen Ausprägungen einer weitverbreiteten islamischen Einrichtung konfrontiert. Gerade in diesen Besonderheiten offenbart sich aber auch das historische Entwicklungsprofil des gesamten Gebietes von Balkh, das unter Bewahrung tschingisidischer Traditionen nach langer Orientierung hin zum usbekisch dominierten Norden Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts eine Umorientierung nach Süden hin und schließlich seine Eingliederung in den afghanischen Staatsverband erlebte.

Mainz

Claus Schönig

SHAMAN. An International Journal for Shamanistic Research. Vol. 1, N° 1, Spring 1993. Molnár & Kelemen Oriental Publishers, Szeged. ISSN 1216–7827. 71 pp., 20 S US.

The growing interest in shamanistic studies is observed through the many articles and books published all over the world. In 1988 scholars united their research efforts, organising the International Society for Shamanistic Research (ISSR). Its first conference was held in Seoul, July 1991, and the second in Budapest, July 1993. It was at these international meetings that scholars decided to have a special journal for shamanistic research, wherein they could publish their works and current news. A new Hungarian publishing house Molnar & Kelemen Oriental Publishers has undertaken to launch "Shaman. Journal of the International Society for Shamanistic Studies", whose first number was published in the Spring of 1993. "Shaman" is supposed to be a semi-annual journal in English (up to 100 pages per issue) of a strictly academic nature, publishing articles on shamanism, reviews of current books, brief accounts of work in progress, announcements of coming events, etc.

The reader has got the first number of the first volume, which completely answers the given task. It contains four articles, reviews on four books published in 1991–1992, news and notes. Two articles by Åke Hultkrantz "Introductory Remarks on the Study of Shamanism" (pp. 3–14) and by Shi Kun "Shamanistic Studies in China" (pp. 47–57) are aquainting the reader with the works and tendences of research carried out in America, Europe, Russia (the first article) and mainland China (the second). Åke Hultkrantz gives his own definition of the term "shaman" based on Siberian shamanic phenomenology (p. 6), specifing that "shamanic elements typical of Siberia may be found outside this area" (p. 10). The article of Shi Kun could be used as a guide to shamanistic studies in China over the last decade, all of which are written in Chinese and could not be easily used by European scholars because of language and printing problems (often they were printed in a small number of copies and could be only found in China). Both of these works raise a theoretical question – what is shamanism? – which many Scholars of many countries have tried to solve, but which is still on the agenda. The references to both of these articles have full data of the books mentioned.

The other two articles of the Journal deal with shamanic tradition of certain peoples. The first one, by Giovanni Stary, is "Praying in the Darkness: New Texts for a Little-Known Manchu Shamanic Rite" (pp. 15–30). It is about the Manchu shamanic ceremony held at night at the end of the evening sacrifices when all the lanterns have been extinguished (p. 15). The author bases his research on the unique prayers recited by the shamans of different Manchu clans and collected by the Chinese scholars in Jilin Province. This material gives the prayers of the night sacrificial ceremony, which previously was only mentioned in the Manchu Dynasty's "Imperial Shamanic Ritual" of 1778 and in the Shushu clan manuscript of 1771, now kept in the Tōyōbunka kenkyūsho and published in 1992. G. Stary's article includes the English transliteration and transliteration of these Manchu prayers which are often very difficult in language and understanding.

The fourth article of the volume refers to the initiation period, the reasons and preparation of a person to become a shaman. This is the work of Mari Yoshinaga and Yuji Sasaki "Kamidari as a Key Concept of Okinawan Shamanism" (pp. 31–45). The authors examine kamidari (retribution), which is specific to the Okinawan district of Japan. Kamidari is considered to be etiologically linked to a shamanic call, and to the subsequent process of training for office (p. 31). The authors study this phenomenon from the viewpoint of social physiatry including clinical and cultural aspects, giving descriptions of different cases and arranging their results into four tables.

The articles of the Journal have an editor's foreword containing the main thesis of the author. Unfortunately in the foreword to G. Stary's article there is a misprint in the Manchu term "tuibumbi" (printed "tuitumbi") and with which the whole article deals. But in spite of some misprints, the Journal is done on a high polygraphic level.

"Shaman" as a whole is of high-quality academic edition, and we can hope that the future issues will also include articles on theoretical and general problems, as well as material on the shamanism of different peoples. The editorial board invited scholars to contribute to the Journal, sending their material to Molnar & Kelemen Oriental Publishers (Szeged, P.O.Box 1195. H-6701, Hungary).

St. Petersburg, Russia. Tatiana A. Pang

Omar, Feryad Fazil: *Kurdisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*. Verlag für Wissenschaft und Bildung, Berlin 1992. XIV, 721 S. 8° DM 89.

Das hier besprochene Buch (etwa 25.000 Lemmata stark) behandelt den Wortschatz der Dialektgruppe des Kurmancî-Kurdischen. Berücksichtigt worden ist darin nicht nur die moderne Sprache, sondern auch jene älterer Autoren des 15.–17. Jahrhunderts, ebenso Mundarten wie Cezîre, Botan, Badînanî u. a.

In älterer Zeit gab es über das Kurdische außer Wörterlisten z. B. von Mann und MacKenzie und dem wenig Material bietenden Werk des Auguste Jaba: Dictionnaire kurde-français, St.-Pétersbourg 1879 (ca. 12.000 Lemmata) allein russisch geschriebene Werke, wobei vor allem K. K. Kurdoev: Kurdsko-russkij slovar', Moskva 1960 (ca. 30.000 Lemmata) zu erwähnen ist, ein Werk, das etwa den gleichen Umfang wie Omars Wörterbuch aufweist.

Ein Vergleich Kurdoev – Omar zeigt, daß im letztgenannten Werk eine durchaus eigenständige (nicht einfach aus älteren Wörterbüchern zusammengestellte), vielfach auf Quellenstudium beruhende Arbeit vorliegt. Beispielsweise erscheint das dem persischen *kadxodā* ‚Dorfschulze' entsprechende Wort bei Kurdoev als *kehwe, kexwxe,* auch (aus dem Persischen) *kedxuda* – bei Omar finden wir die persischen oder teilpersischen Formen *ketxuda, ketxwê.* (Das echt kurdische, jedenfalls nordwestiranische Wort hat in der Form *kayxuwa* und ähnlich weite Verbreitung gefunden, vgl. Rez.: Zu mongolisch „keyenüwe", AOH 28, 1974, 99–110). Ein Test beispielsweise auf S. 324a op.rec. ergibt gegenüber Kurdoev folgende zusätzliche Wörter: *kaban, kabaret, kaçanî, kaçax,* auch *kadan* in der Bedeutung ‚Mantel' (während bei Kurdoev allein *kadan* ~ *kadîn* ‚Heuboden' notiert ist = Omar *kadîn*).

Die Transkription des modernen Kurdischen entspricht bekanntlich weitgehend dem türkeitürkischen Vorbild. Omar weicht aber von Kurdoev in einigen Punkten ab, nämlich bei den Nummern 11, 31, 34 auf S. XII, Tabelle. Auf S. IX teilt Vf. mit, daß er auf eine phonetische Transkription aus Raum- (und offenbar auch Kosten-)Gründen verzichtet habe. Daraus resultiert nun ein kleiner Mangel des Werkes, insofern als darin (anders als bei dem in diesem Punkte präziseren Kurdoev) die aspirierten usw. Varianten von ç, k, p, t nicht von den unaspirierten usw. geschieden werden, also z. B. nicht k' von k. Dabei ist diese Opposition sprachhistorisch hochbedeutsam, s. Rez.: Ein altosmanisches Lautgesetz im Kurdischen, WZKM 62 (1969), 250–263. Man darf zusammenfassend sagen, daß sich Kurdoev und Omar in glücklicher Weise ergänzen: Der Wortschatz beider Werke zusammen ergibt ein fast lückenloses

Bild der relevanten kurdischen Lexik, nur in Ausnahmefällen durch kleinere Wörterverzeichnisse ergänzbar.

Im großen und ganzen handelt es sich also um eine vorzügliche Arbeit. Sie wird auch höheren linguistischen Ansprüchen weitestgehend gerecht. So ist nicht nur (wie bei Kurdoev) das Genus der Substantiva angegeben, sondern es werden auch (über Kurdoev hinaus) die Formen der unregelmäßigen Verba aufgeführt (z. B. S. 238 *guhartin* ‚tauschen', mit Präsens *guhrên-*, *guhor-*). Phraseologische Ausdrücke freilich sind nur recht selten aufgeführt, so weit ist die kurdische Lexikographie zur Zeit noch nicht. Der Druck ist vorzüglich.

Mit dem vorliegenden Werk ist nun dem Deutschsprachigen und dem des Deutschen Kundigen ein gutes Hilfsmittel der auch historisch so wichtigen kurdischen Sprache geboten.

Göttingen Gerhard Doerfer

Igor R. Pitschikjan: *Oxos-Schatz und Oxos-Tempel: Achämenidische Kunst in Mittelasien* (Übersetzung Bernd Funck) In: Antike in derModerne, hrsg. von Wolfgang Schuller. Akademie Verlag, Berlin 1992. 155 Seiten, 41 Abbildungen. DM 130,–.

Ausstellungen im Rietbergmuseum Zürich und im Völkerkundemuseum in München hatten erstmalig in Mitteleuropa die Erfolge gezeigt, die die archäologische Forschung in 70 Jahren sowjetischer Herrschaft auf dem Boden Tadschikistans errungen hat. Die Einführungstexte, aus einem alten Katalog der Eremitage übernommen, stammten von den besten Fachleuten für die Region – vier russischen Gelehrten, davon zwei jüdischer Herkunft sowie einem ausgezeichneten tadschikischen Fachmann – das sei erwähnt, um den Traditionsbruch anzudeuten, der bei dem Exodus der Europäer droht. Diese Texte bilden insgesamt die beste Darstellung der Kulturgeschichte Tadschikistans zwischen dem Alexanderzug und der Integration in die islamische Welt. Dabei spielen unvermeidlich jene Funde eine zentrale Rolle, die man in einer Tempelanlage entdeckte, die aus großen Lehmziegeln und Stein errichtet worden war. Sie liegt auf einem Höhenzug oberhalb der Mündung des Wachsch-Flusses in den Pjandsch (Oberlauf des Oxus = Amu Darja). Unter der Bezeichnung Tacht-i-Sangin (Felsenthron, auch Felsenplattform übersetzt) war sie Ziel mehrerer Grabungskampagnen. Geschützt von mächtigen Bastionen erhob sich hier inmitten einer Stadtanlage ein Tempel, dessen zentraler Saal auf drei Seiten von Korridoren umgeben war. Man erreichte diesen Raum (dessen Dach von vier Säulen getragen wurde) von Temenos durch eine Eingangshalle mit acht Säulen. Rechts und links davon lagen Kapellen, in denen die Feuer gehütet wurden, die man für einen Kult nach iranischem Ritus brauchte. Davor lagen Plattformen, Vielleicht wurden dort tragbare Feueraltäre der Verehrung durch die Gläubigen dargeboten. In dem Mittelsaal, vor allem aber in den Korridoren, z. T. auch in Opfergruben (bothroi), wurde nun eine unglaubliche Fülle (über 5000) von Weihegaben geborgen, darunter Kunstwerke aus Ton, Stein, Metall, selten Edelmetall. Man hatte sie nach der Darbringung in Verwahrung genommen, z. T. nach sachlichen Kriterien sortiert. Einen Teil hatte man – um Platz zu schaffen – in Opfergruben deponiert. Darin lagen auch Knochen der geschlachteten Haustiere.

Eine zeitliche Ordnung muß unabhängig von den Zufälligkeiten der Deponierung, Stück für Stück, erfolgen. Eine systematische Untersuchung liegt noch nicht vor, nur die schönsten und interessantesten Stücke wurden studiert und z. T. mehrfach publiziert. Immerhin ist es deutlich, daß ein Teil der Weihegaben, darunter sehr kostbare Objekte, bereits aus achämenidischer Zeit stammt.

Eine zweite Gruppe besteht aus Gegenständen, die in der Zeit der griechischen Herrschaft angefertigt wurden, vielleicht wurden manche Stücke erst nach deren Ende dargebracht. Zu diesem Bestand zählen herrliche Arbeiten aus Elfenbein (so ein winziges Portraitrelief Alexanders d. Gr.), Köpfe aus Alabaster sowie auffällig viele Waffen und Waffenfragmente.

Es gibt aber auch Objekte, die nach dem Ende des Gräko-Baktrischen Reiches durch den großen Nomadeneinbruch um die Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts hergestellt wurden. Der Tempel hat offenbar nach dem Einbeziehen des Oxus-Tals und aller umliegenden Landschaften in das Großreich der Kuschana-Dynastie noch eine Weile weiter funktioniert.

Die reichen Münzfunde von Tacht-i-Sangin bestätigen den zeitlichen Ansatz. Die im bisher publizierten Fundgut dürftig vertretene Periode der Kuschana-Herrscher ist numismatisch gut belegt. So läßt sich feststellen, wann jeweils die Opfergruben angelegt wurden.

Durch eine Weihegabe ist es möglich – trotz Fehlen einer Kultstatue – festzustellen, welchem Gott zu Ehren der Tempel errichtet wurde. Eine kleine Bronzestatuette griechischer Arbeit zeigt den Satyr Marsyas (der ursprünglich ein phrygischer Flußgott war), den Erfinder und Meister der Doppelflöte, der Apollo im Wettkampf unterlag. Wie eine Weihinschrift in griechischen Lettern zeigt (die in ihren kursiven Merkmalen schon die Entwicklung der späteren „baktrischen" Schrift andeutet), ist das Bildwerk von einem Spender mit iranischem Namen – Atrosokes – dem Gott des Oxus-Flusses geweiht worden. Das erklärt die Lokalisierung des Heiligtums an einer Einmündung unweit von einer häufig benutzten Furt.

Andererseits wird hier – ausnahmsweise durch spätere Veränderung kaum gestört – der allgemeine Bauplan der „Feuertempel" deutlich, d.h. jener Tempel, in denen verschiedene Gottheiten des iranischen Pantheons durch Rituale mit tragbaren Feueraltären geehrt wurden. Wir erhalten eine Vorstellung vom Ablauf der Kulthandlungen, in denen heiliges Feuer aus seiner geschützten Zelle geholt und zunächst von einem kleinen Kreis Auserwählter verehrt wurde – dann aber von einer breiteren Öffentlichkeit auf dem Temenos. Der Kult bildet das verbindende Prinzip, er kann der regional wichtigsten Gottheit zugeordnet sein.

Das Studium des Fundguts aus den Opferdepots des Oxus-Tempels hatte aber noch eine weitere, unerwartete Konsequenz: das Problem der Herkunft und Bedeutung des Oxus-Schatzes, das seit einem Jahrhundert die Gelehrten beschäftigte, ist fast gelöst.

Der Ankauf der Stücke, die von Dalton als „Treasure of the Oxus" publiziert wurden (1906, ergänzt 1926) erfolgte durch englische Sammler, meist Offiziere und Beamte, die in Peshawar stationiert waren. Schatzgräber hatten einen Teil der Stücke an Händler verkauft – die aber Opfer von Räubern wurden. Ein tapferer englischer Offizier verhalf ihnen wieder zu ihrem Eigentum – das schuf ein Vertrauensverhältnis zu den neuen Herren Indiens – und schlägt sich auch in ungewöhnlich konkreten Herkunftsangaben nieder, die von Cunningham aufgezeichnet wurden (1881, 1883). So wissen wir, daß der Schatz, der großartige Zeugnisse der achämenidischen Kunst einschließt, entweder in Tacht-i-Sangin oder in der nächsten Umgebung gefunden wurde. Wenn wir uns nun erinnern, daß man in den Opferdepots des Tempels eine gewisse Sachgliederung vorgenommen hatte, dann liegt die Schlußfolgerung nahe, daß die Objekte aus den speziellen Opferdepots stammen und in einer akuten Gefahrensituation geborgen bzw. verborgen wurden – so gut, daß erst Raubgräber der Neuzeit zum Zuge kamen, vielleicht, weil am Flußufer das abdeckende Erdreich weggespült worden war.

Den besten Beweis für einen Zusammenhang bilden Goldbleche, in die (meist) menschliche Figuren eingestanzt sind – mit den Merkmalen ihrer Würde und Funktion. Sie finden sich im Oxus-Schatz und nun unter den Weihgaben. Sie wurden offenbar als Weihgaben angefertigt und repräsentieren die Persönlichkeit des Wallfahrers. Das stellt dann einen eindeutigen Zusammenhang her. So könnte das Buch von Igor R. Pitschikjan „Oxos-Schatz und Oxos-Tempel", das der Akademieverlag in der Reihe „Antike in der Moderne" 1992 herausbrachte, einen wertvollen Beitrag zu der nicht allzu häufigen deutschsprachigen Behandlung eines spannenden Themas bilden. Das fehlte bisher, wie das Literaturverzeichnis des Buches allzu deutlich zeigt. Man durfte auf eine umfassende, objektive und kompetente Information hoffen.

Diese Erwartung erfüllt das Buch nicht.

Das liegt z. T. an der Tatsache, daß das Manuskript (erstellt in den Jahren 1987 bis 1988) nicht sofort gedruckt wurde. Diesbezüglich hat sich die hierarchische Struktur des sowjetischen Systems negativ ausgewirkt. Der Leiter der südtadschikischen Expedition war das Akademiemitglied Boris Litvinskij, der sich durch imponierende Kenntnisse auf dem Gebiet der gesamten Geschichte und Archäologie Mittelasiens auszeichnet. Er hatte bei den Ausgrabungsarbeiten die Oberaufsicht, Pitschikjan führte nur das regionale Team.

Das hatte zur Folge, daß ich in den Verhandlungen, die ich im Auftrag des Rietberg-Museums in Moskau führte, um eine Ausstellung tadschikischer Archäologie zustande zu bringen, mit Litvinskij und seinem Stellvertreter zu tun bekam, aber nicht mit Pitschikjan. Er wurde weder bei den Einladungen in die Schweiz noch nach München benachrichtigt. So muß ihm die Möglichkeit einer Publikation im Westen als Befreiung aus der Umklammerung des bisher allmächtigen Apparats erschienen sein.

Dieser Weg ins Freie hat Pitschikjan allerdings zu Schlußfolgerungen geführt, die nicht akzeptabel sind. So glaubt Pitschikjan, den ihm vertrauten Architekturvergleichen entnehmen zu können, daß der Tempel erst gegen Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. (S. 24:), „zwischen 330 und 300" fertiggestellt worden ist – d.h. unter griechischer Dominanz." Das mag stimmen. Auf S. 100 heißt es aber weiter, Alexander d. Gr. habe höchstpersönlich den Tempel begründet! Es blieb allerdings rätselhaft, warum ein solcher Tempel ausgerechnet dem Flußgott des Oxus geweiht wurde, und keinem der großen griechischen Götter. Bekanntermaßen hat Alexander Städte gegründet, auch in Baktrien, ja sogar im sogdischen Grenzland zu den Skythen. Aber dies sollten auch Stützpunkte griechisch-makedonischer Macht werden, zumindest Zentren für die Integration der Einheimischen. Fand er wirklich die Zeit, sich auch um den Bau eines Tempels zu kümmern?

Alexander war im Spätsommer des Jahres 330 v. Chr. gegen Baktrien vorgestoßen, die Jahre bis zum Aufbruch nach Indien (Frühsommer 327) waren mit schweren, nicht immer erfolgreichen Kämpfen angefüllt. Bei seinem Abzug nach Indien ließ er starke Streitkräfte zurück, offenbar mehr als die 10.000 Infanteristen und 3.500 Reiter, die Arrian (IV/22) erwähnt.

Die Unzufriedenheit unter diesen Truppen, meist griechischen Söldnern, die sich bald auf Stellungen im Oxustal zurückzogen, war so groß, daß die Nachricht vom Tod Alexanders in Babylon (323 B. C.) sofort zum Ausbruch einer

Revolte führte. Bevor der geplante Exodus nach Westen und damit die ersehnte Heimkehr nach Griechenland stattfinden konnte, wurde Pithon, ein besonders geschickt agierender General, von der „Erbengemeinschaft" Alexanders, dem makedonischen Oberkommando in Mesopotamien, mit einer makedonischen Kerntruppe in Marsch gesetzt, um den Aufstand niederzuschlagen. Das gelang nur durch eine Spaltung in den Reihen der Aufrührer. Zunächst wurden die halsstarrigen Rebellen niedergemetzelt, dann auch jene, die sich auf die Seite des Oberkommandos geschlagen hatten. Alle hatten erhebliche Reichtümer zusammengerafft, denn die gegen sie eingesetzten Makedonen wurden durch das Versprechen motiviert, den Besitz der Meuterer nach deren Liquidierung behalten zu dürfen. Was die Quellen über die resultierenden Zustände in den sog. „Oberen Satrapien" aussagen, wurde in den Arbeiten von P. Bernard und F. L. Holt scharfsinnig dargestellt, die Verwaltung war weitgehend ineffektiv geworden, obwohl genügend Griechen im Land blieben. Dies nachzuzeichnen kann nicht meine Aufgabe sein, es würde meine Kompetenz weit überschreiten. Man kann sich aber kaum vorstellen, daß der Tempel unter solchen Umständen weitergebaut und als attraktiver Wallfahrtsort etabliert werden konnte.

Noch viel weniger kann man sich mit der Vorstellung anfreunden, daß „Makedonen, dem Beispiel ihres Königs folgend, eben jenem Tempel, den noch Alexander gegründet hatte, Trophäen weihten, die sie aus den iranischenResidenzen erbeutet hatten." (S. 100) Welche Hinwendung verband die Makedonen gerade mit dem Flußgott des Oxus? Offensichtlich ging es ihnen um Beute und nicht um Devotion.

Viel plausibler würde es erscheinen, die Bauperiode in die Zeit zu verlegen, in der Seleucus Nicator I zwischen 308 und 305 v. Chr. sich mit viel List und Tücke – und beträchtlichem Einfühlungsvermögen – die Herrschaft über Baktrien sicherte. Mit der Anlage von Ai Khanum (wir kennen nicht den griechischen Namen) hatte Seleucus den Drang der griechischen Siedler nach der Heimkehr zu den Gestaden des Mittelmeers durch die Anlage einer griechischen Polis, die allen Kulturbedürfnissen genügen sollte, beschwichtigt. Man könnte sich nun vorstellen, daß Seleucus als Kompensation für den einheimischen Adel, dem er sich verbunden fühlte, und die Landbevölkerung einen Tempel für jene Gottheit schuf, die für die Einheimischen besonders wichtig war. Dieser Tempel war Mittelpunkt einer Siedlung – als Gegenpol zu Ai Khanum!

Wie aber soll dann der „achämenidische Grundstock" des Tempelschatzes erklärt werden, das, was ins British Museum verbracht wurde? Da bisher keine ältere Bausubstanz festgestellt wurde, könnte man allenfalls annehmen, daß ein älterer Tempel sich auf der nur 6 km entfernten Anhöhe von Tachti-Kubat erhob. Vielleicht war diese Anlage in den chaotischen Jahrzehnten nach dem Alexanderzug zerstört worden. Dann könnte man sogar annehmen, daß der Goldschatz bereits versteckt wurde, bevor im neuen Tempel ein neues Depot entstand. Das würde aber nichts gegen die Notwendigkeit besagen, beide Komplexe gemeinsam einer Analyse zu unterwerfen.

Wie aber sind die vielen Waffen in diesen Bestand gelangt? Die „Hülsenpfeilspitzen" (sic!) sind nicht erstaunlich, Pfeilspitzen wurden lange als Tauschmittel benutzt, und in dieser Eigenschaft von den Bronzemünzen verdrängt. Aber wie kamen so viele Schwerter und Scheiden, bzw. deren Fragmente in die Depots? Es handelt sich um „die bedeutendste Sammlung von Waffendetails dieses Typs im Verlauf der ganzen Geschichte der archäologischen Erschließung der Antike" (S. 54), heißt es in schlechtem Deutsch. Als

Erklärung wird angeboten, bereits der letzte Achämenide habe eine Umrüstung seiner Armee nach griechischem Muster vollzogen. (Als Quelle wird ein persönlicher Hinweis M. Goreliks angegeben.) Damit wird dann ein von einer Greifenprotome bekrönter Schwertgriff messerscharf in die Zeit zwischen 400–331, vermutlich aber „336–331 v. Chr." datiert, in die Zeit der Umrüstung.

Auf die interessanteste Möglichkeit geht der Autor nicht ein: solche Waffen könnten ja Kriegsbeute gewesen sein, die man dann als Weihgaben hinterlegte, als man endlich die griechischen Herren, mit denen sich das Verhältnis seit den Tagen des Seleucus Nicator entscheidend verschlechtert hatte – wie der Befund von Ai Khanum eindeutig bezeugt – besiegt und getötet hatte. (Daß dabei die griechischen Künstler und ihre Gehilfen in den Werkstätten verschont wurden, legt der Nachweis einer Mischkunst in Tillja-Tepe nahe.)

Die oben angedeutete Möglichkeit, der Oxus-Schatz könne aus einem nahegelegenen Heiligtum stammen, das ebenfalls der Gottheit des Oxus geweiht war, ist von Pitschikjan durchaus gesehen worden – das steht in der Zusammenfassung, die offenbar den letzten Stand der Überlegungen darstellt (S. 101). Hier findet sich auch die längst fällige Einsicht, der Oxus-Schatz könne möglicherweise Gegenstände enthalten, „die sich schon vor 330 v. Chr. in Baktrien befanden."

Dieser zu bescheiden vorgetragene Hinweis wird zur Gewißheit, wenn wir erinnern, was bereits auf den Seiten 1 und 2 des Buches steht: Als Satrap Baktriens fungierte in der Regel ein jüngerer Bruder des Großkönigs. Dieser Statthalter kam doch nicht ohne Gefolge, dazu müssen die Leiter der königlichen Werkstätten gehört haben. War wirklich die Kunst Baktriens von der der Persis und Mediens so deutlich unterscheidbar, daß wir Import von Objekten – und nicht nur das Heranziehen von Meistern aus dem westlichen Iran – annehmen müssen? Andererseits könnte die lokale Kunst auch Produkte hervorgebracht haben, die hier den ostiranischen Skythensteppen oder konkreter den Altaiskythen (mit der falschen Datierung ins 3. und 2. Jahrhundert v. Chr.) zugewiesen werden.

Diese Fragen wurden gestellt, weil hier eine intensive Diskussion einsetzen muß. Pitschikjan sucht Auseinandersetzungen, er weist die Ausführungen von Dalton, Barnett, Ghirshman und Muscarella zurück. Besonders in bezug auf Muscarella hat er recht, der Oxus-Schatz ist nicht mit dem von Ziwiye vergleichbar, er ist nicht eine von Händlern manipulierte „Komposition" heterogener Bestandteile.

Nun muß aber eine Diskussion auf der übersichtlichen Präsentation des Materials basieren. Dafür ist die umständlich dokumentierte Entdeckungsgeschichte (Kap. 1, S. 13–30) nur begrenzt relevant. Im 2. Kapitel „Die Weihgaben des Oxos-Tempels" (S. 32–58) wurden sowohl umfangreiche Komplexe (Goldplättchen, Bestandteile der achämenidischen und klassischen griechischen Bewaffnung) als auch Einzelstücke (z. B. Der Stab mit der Szene einer Gefäßdarbringung) behandelt. Nicht ein Nebeneinander, sondern ein Durcheinander ist das Resultat. Dieser Zustand hält im nächsten Kapitel an. Unter der Überschrift „Der Oxos-Schatz. Reale und erschlossene Informationsquellen zur Kultur Baktriens" wird zunächst noch einmal die Entdeckungsgeschichte einschließlich der russischenVersionen heraufbeschworen. Dann folgen unter Überschriften, die offenbar die Antike in die Moderne hineinstellen wollen, z. B. „Des Kyros Schwert und der Baktrische Groschen. Gegenstände aus dem Oxos-Schatz", längst fällige Ausführungen zur Chronologie (darunter wenig systematische Übersichten über Münzfunde) und wieder Diskussionen einzelner Stücke. Dann wird die Zusammenfassung vorgelegt, daß sie auch eine Revision darstellt, haben wir erwähnt.

Abschließend läßt sich feststellen, daß es dem Autor darum ging, seinen Anteil am Forschungsprozeß ins rechte Licht zu setzen. Der wissenschaftlich interessierte Leser gewinnt dabei zusätzliche Informationen durch einige neue Grundrisse, idealisierte Schemata, Rekonstruktionen, Photos während der Grabungen und durch die Publikation von wenigen bisher nicht bekannten Stücken. Einige Interpretationen sind – wenigstens für mich – neu, aber kaum akzeptabel, so die bereits erwähnte These, die Krieger Alexanders hätten ihre in den Tempeln und Palästen West-Irans zusammengeraubten Kostbarkeiten nun am Rande der Ökumene, inmitten einer meist feindlichen Bevölkerung, in spontaner Aufwallung dem Flußgott des Oxus geweiht. Und das soll in einem Tempel geschehen sein, der eben erst auf Befehl ihres königlichen Helden errichtet worden war (nachzulesen auf S. 100).

Der reale Kern liegt in der Tatsache, daß *bisher* keine definitiv achämenidische Bauphase in Tacht-i-Sangin entdeckt wurde, so daß man nicht annehmen darf, der Stock der kostbaren Weihegaben sei an Ort und Stelle zustande gekommen. Aber dafür gibt es eine andere Erklärung, und eine davon ist hier vorgetragen worden. – Seleucus Nicator ist am ehesten die Absicht zuzutrauen, auch für seine einheimischen Untertanen ein Kulturzentrum zu schaffen. Vielleicht wurde es später Widerstandszentrum; ohne aktive Mithilfe der seßhaftenBaktrier hätten die Nomaden kaum Ai Khanum erobern können.

so liefert das Buch nur relativ wenige Informationen, die über das bereits Bekannte hinausgehen.

Im Text finden sich mehrfach Versuche, durch originelle oder auch nur saloppe Formulierungen populär zu schreiben. Diese Versuche werden aber durch das Thema und durch die Probleme des Übersetzers mit dem Text im Keim erstickt. Möglicherweise sollte auch die (unübliche) durchgängige Übersetzung der russischen Titel der Einführung des Lesers dienen. Bei der Wiedergabe russischer Namen und Bezeichnungen verwendet der Übersetzer eine Mischung der Systeme, die bei wissenschaftlichen und literarischen Werken üblich sind.

Man kann dem Buch zugute halten, daß es zum fruchtbaren Widerspruch herausfordert. Mir ist bei der Lektüre klargeworden, daß Ai Khanum und Tacht-i-Sangin zeitgleiche oder konkurrierende Anlagen waren, Symbole der Hybris, der das gräko-baktrische Reich zum Opfer gefallen ist. Tacht-i-Sangin muß eine ältere Anlage ersetzt haben – und aus ihr könnten sehr wohl die Stücke des Oxus-Schatzes stammen.

Heidelberg Karl Jettmar

Paul Ratchnevsky, Genghis Khan – His Life and Legacy, Translated and edited by Thomas Nivison Haining, Oxford, UK. & Cambridge, USA: Blackwell 1991, pp. 313, Glossary, Tables, Bibliography, Index, £25.–

Über Paul Ratchnevskys „Činggis-Khan" kann man eigentlich nicht in der Art üblicher Rezensionen schreiben, es ist vielmehr eines jener Bücher, die gleich ihrem Autor Schicksal haben. Ratchnevsky, Sohn eines während des chinesischen Boxeraufstandes gefallenen russischen Generals, fand seinen Weg zur Mongolistik über seinen berühmten Doktorvater Paul Pelliot, den Nestor der französischen Mongolistik. Anfang der 60er Jahre in der DDR emeritiert, schrieb Ratchnevsky lange Zeit mit der ihm eigenen profunden Quellenkenntnis und Akribie an seinem „Činggis-Khan". Sein Rezept – „schreiben, ein paar Jahre liegenlassen, überarbeiten". Als dann das Manuskript endlich fertig war, dauerte es wieder Jahre, bis es seinen Verlag fand, mancher Verlag lehnte das Werk ob seiner vielen Fußnoten schlichtweg ab. Dankenswerterweise fand der „Činggis-Khan" schließlich Aufnahme in die Reihe „Münchener Ostasiatische Studien" und wurde so 1983 vom Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden, unter dem Titel „Činggis-Khan. Sein Leben und Wirken" herausgegeben.

Ratchnevsky gliederte sein Werk in fünf Kapitel:

I. Herkunft und Jugendjahre des Činggis-Khan (Temüǰin);
II. Aufstieg zur Vormacht in der Steppe;
III. Činggis-Khan als Herr des mongolischen Weltreiches;
IV. Persönlichkeit und Wirken Činggis-Khans;
V. Strukturen des mongolischen Weltreiches.

Ratchnevsky folgte bei der Rekonstruktion des Lebens Činggis Qaɤans der Diktion der „Geheimen Geschichte der Mongolen" (mongol. mongɤol-un niɤuča tobčiyan), der wahrscheinlich um das Jahr 1240 entstandenen, einzigen mongolischen Chronik aus der Zeit des mongolischen Weltreiches. Sorgfältig wertete er die Quelle aus, prüfte und ergänzte ihre Angaben durch den Vergleich mit den persischen (Rašid ad-Din; J̌uvaini), chinesischen (Yuanshi; Shenwu qinzheng lu; Meng-da beilu etc.) und mongolischen (Erdeni-yin tobči; Altan tobči; Šir-a tuɤuǰi etc.) Quellen. Von besonderer Signifikanz dürften dabei Ratchnevskys Wertungen von chinesischen Quellen (insbesondere Yuanshi) sein, mit denen er sich über Jahrzehnte beschäftigte. In seinem Kapitel IV „Persönlichkeit und Wirken Činggis-Khans" unternahm Ratchnevsky den Versuch, den Menschen Činggis, die Dinge, die sein Denken und Handeln prägten, seine inneren Beweggründe aufzuspüren und behutsam nachzuzeichnen. Dieses Kapitel deutet auf gelungene Weise die psychologische Dimensioniertheit der historischen Persönlichkeit Činggis an und vermag ein Beispiel dafür zu sein, wie sehr wir doch in der historischen Betrachtung einer „psycho history" bedürfen. In Kapitel V untersuchte Ratchnevsky den unmittelbaren Einfluß des Wirkens Činggis Qaɤans auf die gesellschaftliche Entwicklung der Mongolen selbst und der unterworfenen Fremdvölker. Er resümierte: „Činggis-Khan hat die Kräfte nicht geweckt, die zum Zerfall der Stammesordnung geführt haben, er hat den Expansionsdrang der Nomaden nicht entfesselt, und den Gedanken des Universalreiches nicht erfunden, die in seinen Eroberungskriegen ihren Ausdruck gefunden haben. Er war jedoch der profilierteste Exponent dieser Kräfte und hat ihre Entwicklung und ihre Entfaltung beschleunigt und zur Verwirklichung geführt." (dt. Ausgabe, S. 184)

Thomas Nivison Haining übersetzte nunmehr Ratchnevskys Werk in die englische Sprache und besorgte seine Herausgabe beim renommierten Verlag Blackwell. Hainings Übersetzung ist sehr behutsam, er war sehr bemüht, den ganzen Ratchnevsky, seine lebhafte Sprache sowie die filigranen Fußnoten in die englische Sprache „hinüberzubringen". Die Tatsache, daß Blackwell „Genghis Khan – His Life and Legacy" auf dem großen englischsprachigen Büchermarkt anbietet, wird dem Emigranten, Sinologen und Mongolisten Paul Ratchnevsky auf eine eigentümliche Weise spät gerecht, denn eigentlich war Ratchnevsky immer Weltbürger.

Berlin — Udo B. Barkmann

Per K[jeld] Sørensen: *A Provisional List of Tibetological Research-Papers and Articles Published in The People's Republic of China and Tibet.* Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden 1991. (Nepal Research Centre Publications. 17.), VIII, 101 Seiten. Kartoniert DM 44.-, ISBN 3-515-06079-0.

In der Volksrepublik China und Tibet hat sich vor allem in den letzten beiden Jahrzehnten eine tibetischsprachige Tibetologie entwickelt, von der wenig Kunde in die übrige wissenschaftliche Welt gedrungen ist. Die modernen Druckausgaben tibetischer klassischer Texte, vor allem der großen Historiker und einiger Biographen, sind weithin bekannt geworden, nicht hingegen die mannigfachen Arbeiten zeitgenössischer tibetischer und chinesischer Gelehrter, die in Büchern, Zeitschriften, Jahrbüchern und Sammelwerken erschienen sind. P. K. Sørensen hat während seiner Aufenthalte (1988 und 1990) in der Volksrepublik China und Tibet solche Veröffentlichungen – vornehmlich aus dem letzten Jahrzehnt – gesammelt. In der vorliegenden sehr nützlichen Liste gibt er einen ersten bibliographischen Überblick über diese Materialien, von denen die meisten nicht den Weg in Fachinstitute und wissenschaftliche Bibliotheken gefunden haben dürften.

Der Hauptteil des vorliegenden Bandes (pp. 1–86) enthält die eigentliche Bibliographie, sie ist in zwei Sektionen gegliedert: I. „Historical, Cultural, Medical & Religious Studies and Research Papers" (pp. 1–34) und II. „Tibetan (Folk) Songs & Contemporary and Traditional Poetry" (pp. 35–86). Während in der ersten Sektion nur die Titel zur traditionellen Medizin und Astrologie (pp. 32–34) gesondert verzeichnet werden, ist die zweite Sektion in fünf Abschnitte unterteilt, der erste – umfangreichste (pp. 35–68) – ist den „Contemporary Tibetan Collections of Songs, Literary Poetry & Popular Lyrics" gewidmet. Das zeigt, welchen Schwerpunkt die derzeitige Regierung der Volksrepublik China in ihrer Kulturpolitik gesetzt hat. Über die Bedeutung dieser Materialien sagt P. K. Sørensen in der sehr knappen „Compiler's Note" (p. V.): „... these papers only interest us for linguistic, lexicographical, and philological reasons." Um die betreffenden Titel dieser Sektion II.1 näher zu charakterisieren, führt er (op. rec., p. 35) acht Abkürzungen zur Klassifizierung ein. Drei weitere kurze Abschnitte in der Sektion II enthalten Arbeiten über tibetische Sprichwörter (pp. 68–70), über Oper und Theater (pp. 70–72) und über Gesar-Epen (pp. 72–74). Der abschließende Abschnitt (pp. 74–86) verzeichnet Titel zur Literatur-, Musik-, grammatisch/sprachwissenschaftlichen und philologischen Kritik.

P. K. Sørensen hat nicht nur bislang weitgehend unbekannte Publikationen zur Tibetologie in tibetischer Sprache aus der Volksrepublik China und Tibet gesammelt, er hat sich vielmehr der Mühe unterzogen, alle in ihnen enthaltenen – oft recht kurzen – Beiträge einzeln bibliographisch aufzunehmen und nach Verfassern geordnet Sachkategorien zuzuweisen. Der Tibetologe kann aus der vorliegenden Liste ersehen, zu welchen einzelnen Themen die tibetischen (und wenige chinesische, z. B. p. 26: Wun cang, oder p. 29: Li An-kre) Autoren gearbeitet haben. Damit ist eine erste Orientierung möglich, für die man P. K. Sørensen nur danken kann, zumal er auch bereit ist, auf Anfrage hin erforderliche Materialien zugänglich zu machen.

Das Inhaltsverzeichnis (p. VII) läßt die gefächerte Aufgliederung nicht erkennen: es verzeichnet nur den Titel des Buches für den gesamtenHauptteil [!] und den Appendix „A Survey of [Institutes and] Research Centres of Tibetology in The People's Republic of China [and Tibet] (pp. 87–101), den der Verfasser als „incomplete aperçu" verstanden wissen will. Der Anhang führt geographisch geordnet die einzelnen Institutionen an, die sich in der Volksrepublik China mit der Tibetologie befassen, charakterisiert sie kurz und nennt die in ihnen tätigen wissenschaftlichen Mitarbeiter. Vorangestellt ist ein kurzer Überblick über die Lage der Tibetologie in China (p. 89–91), der sich auch gut als Teil einer Einleitung für den vorliegenden Band geeignet hätte. Der Absatz „Sources and References" (pp. 100–101) nennt die Quellen, auf denen neben mündlichen Informationen die voranstehende Liste beruht. Die Angaben in diesem Appendix werden für die Zusammenarbeit in Forschungsfragen, die in Zukunft hoffentlich verstärkt möglich sein wird, von großem Nutzen sein.

Indologisches Seminar Bonn Helmut Eimer

Hartmut Walravens und Manfred Taube, *August Hermann Francke und die Westhimalaya-Mission der Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine* (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Supplementband 34), Franz Steiner Verlag, Suttgart 1992, 531 pp., 281 plates.

A. H. Francke (1870–1930) was the founder of the studies in Ladakhi history, epigraphy and folklore. It was indeed desirable that his figure should be brought back to the grateful remembrance of his successors in that field. The present volume supplies all information that can be desired on his life and works. It begins with a biographical sketch of him and of his wife Theodora, a sound piece of first hand research. Rather surprisingly, for the second part of this section, dedicated to an appraisal of Francke's work, the Authors limited themselves to printing, practically without changes, an old seminar paper by Michael Hahn, delivered in 1965 at the University of Marburg, which was insufficiently informed even at that time. For example, "Die Möglichkeiten weiterer Forschungen, die Francke ... geschaffen hat, sind bisher kaum ausgenutzt worden" is a statement which even in 1965 could hardly pass without challenge. The volume continues with a complete list of Francke's missionary and scholarly production. Four sections are dedicated to his books and manuscripts preserved at Leipzig, in the Herrnhut archives, in the British Library and in the Museum für Völkerkunde at Munich. The next four sections list the Tibetica from the Moravian mission found in Europe. Then follows a bibliography on the Western Himalayan mission and the writings of its members. The volume closes with sundry bits of information from reports and periodicals. There are detailed registers of titles and names. Thus this book presents all the material that can contribute to illuminate the life and career of the biographee.

A. H. Francke was a hard-working and prolific writer, of course in the missionary field, but chiefly on many subjects concerning Ladakh. As a historian, he curiously laboured under a (perhaps self-imposed?) limitation. For him, materials on Ladakhi history began and ended with the Chronicle (*La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*) and perhaps some inscriptions. One wonders why, living in a Tibetan country studded with monasteries, he never tried (or, if he tried, never succeeded) to obtain access and to utilize such common texts as the biographies of the Dalai-Lamas and of the Pan-chen. This lessens the value of his *History of Western Tibet* (1907). But every scholar will be grateful for his painstaking and comprehensive edition of the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* and minor local chronicles (*Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, 1926), which remains to this day the starting point on any further research. His activity in collecting popular songs has saved for posterity a complex of lore that was condemned to slow disappearance. His incomplete edition of the Bon-po text *gZer-myig* (1924–1930) has also permanent value. Francke was also an active collector of epigraphical material, albeit with unscholarly methods (eye-copies by himself or his attendants).

The volume is lavishly illustrated, well printed and well turned out, in the best tradition of the VOHD. We may take it to represent the final word on this subject.

Rome Luciano Petech

Alice Sárközi: *Political prophecies in Mongolia in the 17–20th centuries*, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1992. Asiatische Forschungen, Band 116, 165 pp., ISBN 3-447-03234-0, DM 88,–.

Scattered references in scholarly literature to Mongolian prophetic literature have ensured that the existence of this genre has been known about for some time, but Mrs. Sárközi's welcome book is the first attempt to publish samples of the various types such prophecies fall into. After an informative introduction to the subject she gives the transliterated versions of texts of the following types: prophetic books of Chinese origin; prophetic books of Tibetan origin; prophetic books transferred by supernatural beings; and prophetic books from the Jebtsundamba Khutuktus. Each text is translated and there is extensive annotation and a bibliography. This is a satisfying edition.

Mrs. Sárközi draws her material mainly from European libraries, the collection in Leningrad (now St. Petersburg) being quantitatively her main source. Libraries in Ulan Ude could not be examined. This type of literature is also represented in libraries in China, as is evident from a cursory look at the survey provided in *Bükü ulus-un mongγol qaγučin nom-un γarčaγ*, 1979.

The earliest text examined probably goes back to the 17th century, though most of them are from a later date. Some such texts still seem to be current. Mrs. Sárközi recalls that in my *Modern history of Mongolia* I referred to what I called the "Stone Text", a prophetic book which was being circulated in the 1920's and which, like some of those in her collection, promised rewards to those who propagated it. It now appears that it was being copied and read as late as 1972 (article in *Ünen*, no 182, 1972). Prophetic texts have common themes, which Mrs. Sárközi analyses. Thus they are of supernatural origin, they deal with the face of the wicked world, with signs of the end of the world, with punishment and the way of escape from it. It is not surprising, then, to find textual similarities between different texts. Furthermore, simply to judge from the number of similar or identical titles listed, these texts must have been copied over and over again with varying degrees of accuracy. I happen to have microfilm copies of two of the published texts (those beginning on p. 68 and p. 85) and have been able to note the occurrence of numerous small variations, most of them too insignificant to affect the general meaning. It may be worth while, though, to mention one or two which do seem to be of some import. At the bottom of p. 68, instead of *Altan gerel-ün dalalγa ab*, my text has

Altan gerel ungsiǰu dalalγa ab, permitting the translation "recite *Altan gerel* and summon good fortune". At the top of p. 69 my text has *seǰiglebesü* instead of *sinǰilebesü*, giving the sense "if you doubt this, it will be useless".

There are other instances where my understanding of the text differs from the translation offered, but in view of the complexity of the subject and the possibility of corruption one should perhaps not make too much of this. I would suggest, though, that *qariγulγa üiled* (p. 68) means "perform an exorcism" and not "the retribution will be" (p. 71) and that on p. 100, last line, *gebei* should be read as *kebei* and not as *gebküi* (p. 106, top). The rank of *gebküi*, that of a high, but still subordinate, cleric in a lamasery, fits badly with the other titles, those of men at the top of the secular ayimaγ hierarchy, and I am sure that what is meant here is *kėbei* for *hebei* (or *hebei amban*), namely the assistant to the general.

My version of the text beginning on p. 68 is very much shorter than the printed one. It omits a large part of what is on p. 69 and ends roughly at p. 70, line 25 (though at this point it actually adds some lines absent from the printed text). The first of these omissions is of some interest, suggesting that it is not an omission at all, but that the printed text, from part of line 12 to part of line 27 is an interpolation. The wording in this passage seems to make no sense in its context, but apart from that it is inserted so as to split the easy compound *činoa noqai*, "wolves and dogs". My text reads simply: *činoa noqai gertü oroqu čaγ*, "when wolves and dogs enter the tents". I mention these instances simply in order to suggest that there is no "correct" text which these various items ought to approach. They must have been copied so often as to defy consistent reconstruction.

A uniquely interesting document is that beginning on p. 100, a letter from the Eighth Jebtsundamba Khutuktu to the Head and Vice-Head of Tüsiyetü Qan ayimaγ. As far as one can penetrate its opaque verbosity, this letter is a self-justification on the part of the Khutuktu in the matter of events concerning a certain lama, named here as Sonibang blama Morilingču, and concerning also a prince of Sečen Qan ayimaγ, named as Dorǰipalamu. To that extent, the document seems to fall outside the normal pattern of the other prophetic texts, since it deals, not with eschatology, but with personal scandal and its political implications. Also, as we shall see, the Khutuktu shields himself from imputations of improper behaviour behind his dependence on the favour of the Emperor of China, to whom he owes his position as teacher (*baγsi*) of all the Khalkha Mongols. This looks like a political pamphlet.

First of all, as to Morilingču. This individual must be identical with that Mörlegtseg Semben or Soivon, whose erotic misadventures form the subject matter of one of the more entertaining chapters of that always revealing and sometimes scandalous book of mémoirs, *Övgön Jambalyn Yaria* ("Tales of Old Jambal"), first published in 1959 under the editorship of Ts. Damdinsüren, and reprinted in the second edition of his collected works (*Tüüver Zoxiol*) in 1969. Mörlegtseg's case was not one of fighting or murder, as Mrs. Sárközi suggests, but was rather more scurrilous. He was, in fact, a homosexual lover of the Eighth Khutuktu. Jambal calls him an *ix tseverxen lam*. *Tseverxen* might perhaps be translated here as "elegant, dandyish", but certainly not as "rather clean, rather nice" as the word is defined in Hangin's Dictionary. The two of them led what might be called a gay life in all senses of the word. As well as entertaining themselves as might be expected, they used to exchange clothes and pretend that Mörlegtseg was the Khutuktu. The Khutuktu built Mörlegtseg a splendid house at Gandang. Its opening was celebrated by holding a great party where the lamas were plied with kumis. Mörlegtseg disapproved of one lama who declined to drink, saying "If you won't drink what did you come here for?" and hit him in the face. He was, as Jambal remarks, a hot-tempered man.

The lamas of Urga began to wonder how long this affair would last. This upset Mörlegtseg who accused the Khutuktu of throwing him over in favour of other lamas, and hit him too in the face, smashing his front teeth.

Sometime in the decade after 1895 the Khutuktu took the matter up with the Shangjodba of Urga. In the middle of the night the Shangjodba had his doorkeeper, named as the Buryat Navaantseren, fetch two officers, the lama zaisan and the lay zaisan, and go with them and arrest Mörlegtseg, which they did. He was imprisoned first of all in the Shabi prison, but after two months was transferred to the charge of Do wang (Dorjpalam) in Khölönbuir. Mörlegtseg was evidently a man of some charm for in the following year he got off with Do wang's junior wife, and lived "more happily than Do wang himself".

After this, the Khutuktu sent a special messenger with a stern letter (*xatuu bichig*) and had Mörlegtseg moved to another banner, where the banner-prince buried him in the sand and got rid of him.

That was the end of Mörlegtseg, but not of the story. He actually sent a letter to the Khutuktu announcing the date of his death, and the Khutuktu held a memorial service for him, after which, in Jambal's words, he "issued a special instruction about this and proclaimed it to all the lamas". Whether or not this is the same as the document now given us it is hard to say, especially as Jambal gives a short quotation from it which does not figure in our printed text. Many years later the Khutuktu made a further effort to justify what he had done. After Mörlegtseg's death he put certain items into a box which he sealed and placed in a stupa in the Dambardarjaa lamasery. Years later, after he had become king, he had the box opened and took some bloodstained cloth out of it. Mörlegtseg, he said, had once stabbed him in the thigh. He continued: "If the Khamba, the Shangjodba and the Residents had seen this, there would have been trouble, so I kept quiet about it and bandaged it up myself. You may think that having been keen on Mörlegtseg I banished him to a frontier banner and killed him. But he was a man who not only harmed me, but would have been a danger to the religion and the state. I wanted to show you this. I did not know where to put it, so I put it in a stupa to the north. Now we are free of the Manchus. I have brought it here to show you and then destroy. It must be destroyed".

So that was that, and the document facing us is, in my opinion, not much more than a political device to whitewash the way the Khutuktu had disposed of an uncomfortable companion. Quite where Do wang fits in I do not know, but he must have been mixed up in it somehow. I think, though, that Mrs. Sárközi has not fully appreciated the relative positions of the Khutuktu and the banner-prince. Far from the Khutuktu applying, as in her version, to be allowed to visit a subordinate and twice accepting a rebuff – something hardly conceivable – he is complaining that Do wang did not comply with a summons to visit him. I would prefer to translate the top paragraph on p. 101 from the word *edüge* as follows: Now, as it happened (*sanamsaγar ügei*), my office twice sent men to convey an invitation to the Chün wang Dorǰipalamu, as befits the relationship of teacher and pupil, but on the first occasion he did not come on the pretext that his mother was ill and he could not abandon the duties of his office (*tamaγa kereg*), and on the second occasion he did not come saying that he was ill himself.

Again, in the following two paragraphs the political nature of the Khutuktu's complaint has been obscured through a misunderstanding of the title *Mangǰusiri boγda eǰen.* This does not refer to the well-known bodhisattva, as Mrs. Sárközi translates, but is a title of the Chinese Emperor. The sense of the paragraph is that the Khutuktu, who has been charged by the supreme secular authority with being the master of all the Khalkhas feels offended because a mere banner-prince, his own pupil or shabi, has disregarded his summons.

A few lines later it seems to me that the authority of the Dalai and Panchen Lamas has been exaggerated, to the detriment of that of the Emperor. They did not confer the title of Boγda eǰen (appropriate only to the Emperor) on the future Jebtsundamba and place him in a golden dome. What happened was that they put his name into a golden urn provided by the Emperor, from which it was withdrawn to validate his candidacy.

This study has opened up a new field of interest. Even if standard texts can not be established, comparison of all the manuscripts now known to be available would perhaps reveal even more about this rather neglected aspect of Mongolian religiosity. We should be grateful to Mrs. Sárközi for her pioneering work in a difficult area of research.

(This book is also available in an edition published by Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, as Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica, vol. XXXVIII.)

Iver (Bucks.) C. R. Bawden

Charles R. Bawden, viro in rebus mongolicis doctissimo, annum aetatis septuagesimum primum ineunti, gratulatio et aestimatio. In nomine collegarum et amicorum multitudinis oblata a Veronika Veit

Charles Bawden, on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday

by
VERONIKA VEIT
Bonn

I.

Professor Emeritus Charles Roskelly Bawden, whose 70th birthday we celebrate this year, was born on 22nd April 1924 in the town of Weymouth in the south of England. He was educated at Weymouth Grammar School and at Peterhouse, Cambridge, where, as a Minor Scholar, he studied French and German (Part one of the Tripos in Modern and Medieval Languages) from autumn 1941 to February 1943. The war interrupted his University education, and during his service in the Royal Navy he was taught Japanese, subsequently serving in Ceylon, Hongkong and Japan. In 1946–1947 he returned to Cambridge to take the Preliminary Examination for Part two of the Tripos in Modern and Medieval Languages, and in 1950 took: both parts of the Diploma in Oriental Languages in Chinese. He was awarded a BA degree in 1947 and MA in 1949.

From 1948 to 49 he worked as Assistant Principal in the German Section of the Foreign Office.

Charles Bawden's interest in the Far East, no doubt, like that of many of the eminent British Orientalists, was inspired by his service there, aided furthermore by a most fortunate circumstance: the Report of the Scarbrough Commission, completed in 1946 and published in 1947, recommended an unprecedented expansion in the provision for the study of, among others, Oriental languages and cultures at university level. As a result, and following the initiative taken by the Sinologist Gustav Haloun, a Lectureship in Altaic Studies was established within the Faculty of Oriental Studies of Cambridge University. The post was offered to Denis Sinor, with whom Charles Bawden first studied Mongolian in 1949–

1950, holding a studentship under the Treasury Committee for Studentships in Foreign Languages and Cultures for altogether five and a half years. His thesis on the Mongol Chronicle Altan Tobči, for which he received his Ph. D., was presented in 1954 and published a year later: (1) The Mongol Chronicle Altan Tobči. Text, Translation and Critical Notes. Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen 5. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1955.

The work on the Altan Tobči proved significant in several respects: it marked the beginning of a long and fruitful scholarly cooperation – turning into a lasting friendship – with Dr. Walther Heissig, then Privatdozent in Göttingen (later appointed Professor and Head of the Seminar für Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft Zentralasiens in the University of Bonn). It further led towards what was to become one of Bawden's main fields of research, traditional Mongol historiography. (2) Mongγol Borǰigid Oboγ-un Teüke von Lomi (1732)/Meng-ku shih-hsi-p'u. Herausgegeben und mit Einleitung versehen von Walther Heissig und Charles R. Bawden. Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen 9. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1957. (3) The Jebtsundamba Khutukhtus of Urga. Text, Translation and Notes. Asiatische Forschungen 9. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1961.

Charles Bawden was appointed Lecturer in Mongolian at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, on 1st October 1955. In January 1959, he was accepted as a Recognized Teacher by the University of London. His further SOAS appointments were: Reader in Mongolian, October 1962; Professor and Head of the Department of the Languages and Cultures of the Far East, October 1970; Pro-Director, October 1982.

II.

In 1953, the committee for a new catalogue of the Oriental collections in Denmark agreed upon entrusting Walther Heissig with describing the works of the Mongolian collection in the Royal Library, Copenhagen. In the summer of 1956, Charles Bawden was called in to describe the 67 divinatory and medical works. Professor Kaare Grønbech, adviser to the Royal Library on matters concerning the newly established Mongol collection, praised Bawden's "extensive knowledge of literary Mongolian, sound acumen and untiring energy"; "Bawden never falls prey to arbitrary hypotheses or convenient shortcuts". (4) Catalogue of Mongol Books, Manuscripts and Xylographs. By Walther Heissig, assisted by Charles Bawden. The Royal Library, Copenhagen, 1971. His work in the Royal Library in Copenhagen opened an additional field in Bawden's truly pioneering scholarly activity, apart from the continuation of cataloguing further Mongol collections, which is research on the linguistically as well as substantially difficult, albeit important, subject of Mongol folk religion. Reports claim that Bawden's scholarly enthusiasm, indeed Sherlock Holmesian meticulousness, led him to experiment himself with burning sheepbones in the fire-place at home – to the somewhat limited pleasure of his family – when dealing with the Mongol tradition of divination by scapulimancy and the interpretation of shoulder-blades. (5) A First Description of a Collection of Mongol Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge, in: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1957, 151–160. (6) Einiges zu den Ethnographika der Chalcha und Burjaten im Museum für Völkerkunde, Leipzig, in: Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde 25 (1968), 79–91. (7) The Chester Beatty Library. A Catalogue of the Tibetan Collection. By David L. Snellgrove. A Catalogue of the Mongolian Collection. By Charles R. Bawden. Dublin 1969. (8) A Note on Some Mongol Manuscripts in the University Library, Aberdeen, in: JRAS, 1973, 43–45. (9) Astrologie und Divination bei den Mongolen – die schriftlichen Quellen, in: Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft 108 (1958), 317–337. (10) On the Practice of Scapulimancy Among the Mongols, in: Central Asiatic Journal 4 (1958), 1–31. (11) Two Mongol Texts Concerning Obo-Worship, in: Oriens Extremus 5 (1958), 23–44. (12) The Supernatural Element in Sickness and Death According to Mongol Tradition, in: Asia Maior, n.s. 8 (1961), 215–275; 9 (1962), 153–178. (13) Calling the Soul: a Mongol Litany, in: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies 25 (1962), 81–103. (14) Mongol Notes: I. The Louvain Fire Ritual, in: CAJ 8 (1963), 281–303. (15) Mongol Notes: II. Some 'Shamanist' Hunting Rituals from Mongolia, in: CAJ 12 (1968), 101–143.

III.

Charles Bawden not only gave his attention to traditional Mongolian historiography, as we have seen earlier, he also saw the necessity to deal with documentary material concerning the social conditions in Mongolia during the Ch'ing period (1644–1911) and the period of Mongol Autonomy (1912–1919). (16) An Event in the Life of the Eighth Jebtsundamba Khutukhtu, in: Collectanea Mongolica (Festschrift für Professor Dr. Rintchen zum 60. Geburtstag), Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1966, 9–19. (17) A Joint Petition of Grievances Submitted to the Ministry of Justice of Autonomous Mongolia in 1919, in: BSOAS 30 (1967), 548–563. (18). The Mongol Rebellion of 1756/57 in: Journal of Asian History 2 (1968), 1–31. (19) A Case of Murder in Eighteenth Century Mongolia, in: BSOAS 32,1 (1969), 71–90. (20) The Investigation of a Case of Attempted Murder in Eighteenth Century Mongolia, in: BSOAS 32,3 (1969), 571–592. (21) A Juridical Document from Nineteenth Century Mongolia, in: Zentralasiatische Studien 3 (1969), 225–256. (22) A Contemporary Account of the Period of Autonomy, in: Mongolia Society Bulletin 9,1 (1970), 5–29. (23) Some Documents Concerning the Rebellion of 1756 in Outer Mongolia, in: Bulletin of the Institute of China Border Area Studies 1 (1970), 1–23. (24) A Mongol Document of 1764 Concerning the Repopulation of Ili, in: ZAS 5 (1971), 79–94. (25) Remarks on Land-Use Control in Later Ch'ing Dynasty Outer Mongolia, in: Proceedings of the International Conference on China Border Area Studies, Taipei 1985, 547–603. (26) Some Documents Concerning the Complement of Manchu Garrison Companies at Chapu in the Mid-Nineteenth Century, in: ZAS 18 (1985), 12–34.

Bawden also wrote what is to the present day the standard work on Mongolian History from the 18th to the mid-20th century: (27) The Modern History of Mongolia, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1968; Second revised edition, with afterword by Alan Sanders, Kegan Paul International, London, 1989.

IV.

Charles Bawden's scholarly interest in all aspects of Mongolian culture also turned to literature and the specialised field of Mongol epics. (28) On the Evils of Strong Dring: A Mongol Tract from the Early 20th Century, in: Tractata Altaica (Festschrift für Denis Sinor). Hrsg. von Walther Heissig et al., Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1976, 59–79. (29) Injanasi's Novel 'Nigen Dabqur Asar', in: Studia Sino-Mongolica (Festschrift für Herbert Franke). Hrsg.

von Wolfgang Bauer, Steiner, Wiesbaden 1979, 197–221. (30) The First Systematic Translation of Hung Lou Meng: Qasbuu's Commented Mongolian Version, in: ZAS 15 (1981), 241–305. (31) Injanasi's Romantic Novels as a Literary Tour-de-Force, in: Documenta Barbarorum (Festschrift für Walther Heissig zum 70. Geburtstag). Hrsg. von K. Sagaster und M. Weiers, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1983, 1–10. (32) Remarks on Some Contemporary Performances of Epics in the MPR, in: Die Mongolischen Epen. Bezüge, Sinndeutung und Überlieferung. Hrsg. von W. Heissig. Asiatische Forschungen 68. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1979, 37–43. (33) The Repertory of a Blind Mongolian Storyteller, in: Fragen der mongolischen Heldendichtung I. Hrsg. von W. Heissig. Asiatische Forschungen 72. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1981, 118–131. (34) Vitality and Death in the Mongolian Epic, in: Fragen der mongolischen Heldendichtung III. Hrsg. von W. Heissig. Asiatische Forschungen 91. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1985, 9–24. (35) Mongolische Epen X. Eight North Mongolian Epic Poems, transl. by C. R. Bawden. Asiatische Forschungen 75. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1985.

V.

Charles Bawden retired from his post at the School of Oriental and African Studies in September 1984, having been made Honorary Member of the School in June of that year in recognition of his services and Emeritus Professor of Mongolian in July 1984 "in recognition and appreciation of services to the University and his subject".

He was elected to the British Academy in 1971.

He sat on many SOAS bodies at various times, among them the Library Committee, Editorial Board of the 'Bulletin', the Governing Body.

He is co-editor of 'Asiatische Forschungen', he sits on the editorial board of Central Asiatic Journal and is a vice-president of the International Association for Mongol Studies. Charles Bawden first visited Mongolia in August 1958, with Group-Captain H. St. Clair Smallwood, O.B.E., of the Royal Central Asian Society. He returned to Mongolia in 1959 at the invitation of the Committee of Sciences to attend the First International Congress of Mongolists, and in August 1967 for a six-months-research leave.

He travelled to sessions of the Permanent Altaistic Conference, to Budapest in January 1963 as a guest of the Hungarian Academy, to Prague in 1969 and to Tokyo in 1984.

The 'Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft' took his expert opinion on numerous occasions.

On behalf of the British Academy he gave an excellent account of the life and work of the eminent German born scholar Ernst Julius Walter Simon, Professor Emeritus of Chinese in the University of London, on the occasion of his death. (36) Ernst Julius Walter Simon, 1893–1981, in: proceedings of the British Academy, London, Vol. LXVII (1981), 459–477.

Charles Bawden's retirement from official obligations did not mean a withdrawal from his scholarly activities. Once more giving proof of his fine scholarship and his talent as a writer, he tells "the little-known yet fascinating story of a missionary venture to Eastern Siberia in the year 1818": (37) Shamans, Lamas and Evangelicals. The English Missionaries in Siberia. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1985.

An extensive dictionary, Modern (Khalkha) Mongolian – English, for the first time giving proper equivalents rather than explanations of terms, is almost completed and awaits publication.
Of the scholar and friend Charles Bawden, can it not be said in the words of K'ung-tzu in the Analects I,1:

子曰:學而時習之,不亦說(read as 悅)乎。
有朋自遠方來,不亦樂乎。 「論語」

Ad multos annos!

Postscriptum:
The paper in hand lists but the most important books and articles by Charles Bawden. A complete bibliography will appear at a later date.

Materials for the Study of Modern Uyghur Published in China

by

ARIENNE DWYER

Seattle

I. Dictionaries

1. Dictionaries Intended Primarily for Language Students

Daniel St. John, ed. *A Uighur-English Dictionary.* Urumqi: Xinjiang Renmin Chubanshe [Xinjiang People's Publishing House], 1993. 671 pp. ISBN 7-228-01381-6. Hardcover, 19.20 yuang.
Anwar Feyzulla, ed. *Inglizcä-Uyghurcä lughat* [English-Uyghur dictionary]. Urumqi: Xinjiang Renmin Chubanshe [Xinjiang People's Publishing House], 1988. 558 pp. ISBN 7-228-00739. Hardcover 6.50 yuan.

Just recently published, Daniel St. John's *A Uighur-English Dictionary* contains approximately 12,500 'high-frequency' words from 'literary' and 'spoken' Uyghur. In addition, there are three sizeable appendices on morphology (totalling 130 pp.) compiled by Paul Dickenson.

The dictionary was compiled in Urumqi and Qashqar between 1987 and 1989. The author had native speakers select high-frequency words from the 1986 *Pronunciation Dictionary* (see below) and then combining these with his own word list, he filled in the English glosses. Example sentences were mostly taken from the 1982 *Wei-Han Cidian* [Uyghur-Chinese Dictionary] or composed by the author and his assistants.

The entries are arranged alphabetically according to the Arabic-based Uyghur script. Each entry is followed by a rather distracting period. Verbs are listed first as a hyphenated stem, followed by the conventionally-used nominal suffix -maQ, eg. yighlayighlimaq. This double-entry system, though redundant, follows the precedent of the *Pronunciation Dictionary.*

Each item is followed by its word class (eg. ی = noun) followed by a square-bracketed quasi-transcription. The publishers, apparently lacking an I.P.A. character set, unfortunately substituted the romanized Uyghur script. The result is a transliteration of the Arabic-script Uyghur, with vowel length usually but inconsistently indicated, eg. [dunya] 'world' but [dunya:wi] 'earthly'. These length 'transcriptions' (including primary long vowels in Arabic-Persian loans and secondary long vowels in Turkic words) have been taken directly from the *Pronunciation Dictionary.* With the exception of secondary vocalic lengthening, other phonological rules are not reflected in the transliteration.

Glosses are brief, and polysemous glosses are only separated by commas, which can lead to confusion.

The appendices ("Word-building suffixes/Derivative Affixes"; "Inflecting suffixes"; "Verb Tables"), though lengthy, do not contain any semantic information. The Verb Tables, in particular, list but do not distinguish between the past tenses.

The dictionary is quite adequate for beginning and intermediate students of Uyghur.

Due to some unfortunate formatting decisions at the publishing house, the dictionary is not the easiest to use. Each page has been divided into 3 columns, with the result that each entry and even most words have been broken up or hyphenated. In addition, since main headings and subheadings are formatted identically, it is hard to find items.

Anwar Feyzulla's *English-Uighur Dictionary* contains approximately 7200 'high-frequency' lexical items. The English word list was compiled by the 'short-cut' method typical in China: the author referred to an English-Chinese dictionary (in this case Gao Mingkai, Liu Jingyan et al's *Dictionary of High-Frequency English Words*) and simply translated the Chinese into Uyghur. When uncertain, Feyzulla often referred to Russian-English or Uzbek-English dictionaries. The author was assisted by Ablahat Ibrahim.

The dictionary contains appendices of English verbs and of common place names.

This dictionary was designed for Uyghurs learning English. The Uyghur glosses lack disambiguating example sentences, leaving the beginning student of Uyghur at a loss. As such, it must be used with great care, if it is to be used at all.

Xinjiang People's Publishing House is currently preparing a comprehensive English-Uyghur dictionary, which may be published in 1994.

2. Other Useful Dictionaries

Aminä Ghappar et al, eds. *Hazirqi zaman Uyghur ädäbiy tilining täläppuz lughiti* [A Pronunciation Dictionary of Modern Literary Uyghur]. Beijing: Minzu Chubanshe [Nationalities Publishing House], 1988. 680 pp. ISBN 7-105-00529-7. Hardcover, 7.30 yuan.

This dictionary, containing 25,000 entries, begins with a rather detailed introduction to Uyghur phonology and phonological rules. With numerous examples, vocalic rules such as compensatory lengthening, devoicing, weakening, and deletion are described; consonantal rules such as the devoicing of final stops, weakening, deaffricativization, and liquid deletion are also described. Certain syllabic rules and loan phonemes are also listed.

The second section of the dictionary lists unglossed words in two columns: once in the Arabic-based Uyghur script, and once in the romanized Uyghur script. The latter is intended to be a broad transcription, illustrating the operation of the aforementioned rules, such as vowel devoicing (waqit [waqi̥t'] 'time'), vowel weakening (/alma/ + /-(s)I/ → [almïsï] 'his apple'), liquid-deletion (/bar-/ + /-GAn/ → [ba: ghan] 'went'), and consonant spirantization (q→X/__C e.g. aqla- [aXla-] 'to step across'). Vowel spirantization (/uk'a/ + /-m/ → [ᶲu̥k'am] 'my younger brother') is not indicated.

The appendix contains a detailed list of environments where liquid-deletion occurs.

Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region Nationality Language and Script Task Committee, ed. *Hazirqi zaman Uyghur ädäbiy tilining imla lughiti* [An Orthographic Dictionary of Modern Literary Uyghur]. Urumqi: People's Publishing House, 1985. No ISBN number; Chinese Book Number M9098-42. 889 pp. Vinyl softcover, 3.00 yuan.

This orthographic dictionary, though unexciting, is an extremely helpful quick reference work for doing any kind of writing in

Uyghur. Those of us wrestling with the complex and often counter-intuitive new orthographic rules can flip quickly through this dictionary to check spelling.

It also includes a preface which describes which phonological rules are reflected in the current orthographic system. In addition, the preface contains information on the spelling of non-native names.

Abliz Yaqub et al. *Uyghur tilininq izahlig lughiti* [An Explanatory Dictionary of the Uyghur Language]. Beijing: Minzu Chubanshe [Nationalities Publishing House].

Volume I: A–P. 1990. ISBN 7-105-00928-4. 809 pp. Hardcover, 18.50 yuan.

Volume II. T–X. 1992. ISBN 7-105-01431-8. 908 pp. Hardcover, 19.90 yuan.

Volume III. D–F. 1992. ISBN 7-105-01692-2. 946 pp. Hardcover, 19.00 yuan.

Volume I is reviewed by Reinhart Hahn in CAJ 36.3–4 (1992).

II. Textbooks

Razzaq Mätniyaz and Mirzakerim In'amshah, eds. *Uyghur tilidin asas/Jichu Weiwueryu* [Elementary Uyghur]. Urumqi: Xinjiang Educational Press, 1991. Vol I: 380 pp. ISBN 7-5370-1562-1. Softcover, 5.30 yuan.
Vol II: 445 pp. ISBN 7-5370-1626-7. Softcover, 6.15 yuan.

Yi Kunxiu, Gao Shijie, eds. *Jichu Weiwueryu/Uyghur tilidin asas* [Elementary Uyghur]. Beijing: Central Minorities Institute, 1991. 617 pp. ISBN 7-81001-059-X. Softcover, 8.00 yuan.

These textbooks are designed for Chinese students of Uyghur. Vocabulary and grammatical explanations are provided in Chinese. Both are updated versions of mimeographed teaching materials used by these two institutions (Xinjiang University and the Central Minorities Institute) in the late 70's and early 80's.

The Xinjiang University textbooks have 70 lessons and introduce 3400 vocabulary items. The texts are primarily intended for reading practice; even when in dialogue form the language of some of the early texts is rather stiff. (The final Nasridin Ependi texts are fine examples of colloquial Uyghur, however.) Nonetheless, the texts provide both vocabulary and structures for communication, as well as a variety of cultural information. Excercises are extensive [and force the student to compare new structures to those already learned].

The main shortcoming of these books is an almost total lack of grammatical explanation. Each chapter includes a grammar section introducting word classes or linguistic concepts, yet there is no development of these concepts throughout the book.

These textbooks can be used for a two-year course or an accelerated one-year course.

Jichu Weiwueryu has 68 lessons and includes 1600 vocabulary items. Its strengths are the Xinjiang University textbooks' weaknesses: the grammatical explanations are relatively systematic, clear, and extensive, but the texts contain less cultural information and more political jargon.

Funktion, Kompetenz und Etymon

Bemerkungen zu einer ost-alttürkischen Wortbildungslehre

von

LARS JOHANSON

(Mainz)

Die reichen Wortbildungsstrukturen der östlichen alttürkischen Varietäten sind immer wieder behandelt worden, ohne daß eine zusammenfassende Darstellung entstanden wäre. Arbeiten von Willi Bang-Kaup, Johannes Benzing, Gerhard Doerfer, Annemarie von Gabain, Karl-Heinrich Menges, Talât Tekin, Andreasz Zajączkowski und anderen Turkologen haben hervorragende Teilergebnisse gebracht. Wertvolle Materialien finden sich vor allem auch in den Standardwerken von Sir Gerard Clauson (*An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish*, Oxford 1972), Klaus Röhrborn (*Uigurisches Wörterbuch*, Wiesbaden 1977 –) und Robert Dankoff-James Kelly (*Maḥmūd al-Kāšġarī – Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, 1–3, Duxbury 1982–1985). Eine solide, möglichst vollständige Bestandsaufnahme und eine synoptische Bearbeitung des morphologischen Materials sind jedoch seit langem dringende Desiderata. Um so willkommener ist die jetzt erschienene umfangreiche und gründliche Arbeit zur Wortbildung in den ost-alttürkischen Varietäten des Runentürkischen, Altuigurischen und Qarachanidischen:

Marcel Erdal: *Old Turkic Word Formation: A Functional Approach to the Lexicon* (Turcologica. Bd. 7). 2 Bde. XIV + VII + 874 S. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. ISBN 3-477-03084-4. DM 256,-.

In diesem bemerkenswerten Werk, einem Ergebnis langjähriger Bemühungen, hat sich der Autor ein Ziel gesteckt, das in der Turkologie ein Novum darstellt und daher vielfach mißverstanden worden ist. Erstrebt wird keine etymologische Untersuchung, sondern eine synchron-strukturelle Beschreibung der Kompetenz des „alttürkischen“ Sprachbenutzers, Lexeme zu schaffen und bereits geschaffene, noch transparente Lexeme zu verstehen. Die folgenden Bemerkungen beschränken sich darauf, die Grundlagen des so definierten Unternehmens, dem wir durchaus positiv gegenüberstehen und dessen Entstehung wir mit viel Interesse und Sympathie verfolgt haben, kritisch zu kommentieren. Besprochen werden sollen insbesondere der Anspruch einer synchronen, funktionalen und kompetenzbeschreibenden Analyse sowie Interferenzen einer genetisch-etymologischen Perspektive bei der Beschreibung und Erklärung von „Produktion“ und „Produkten“. Teils sollen einige der angedeuteten Mißverständnisse ausgeräumt werden, teils soll auf einige Punkte hingewiesen werden, in denen wir die Meinung des Autors nicht ganz teilen, u. a. gewisse Fragen der Beziehungen zwischen Graphie, Phonologie, Phonetik und Morphophonologie. Von vornherein sei jedoch ausdrücklich betont, daß wir meistens auch dort, wo wir eine abweichende Meinung anmelden, Erdals Argumentation scharfsinnig und prinzipiell erwägenswert finden.

*

Die Arbeit weist folgende äußere Struktur auf: Nach einer Einleitung mit einer Diskussion der theoretischen und textuellen Grundlagen der Untersuchung (Kap. I) folgen umfassende Abschnitte über die Bildung der denominalen Nomina (II), der deverbalen Nomina (III), der Adverbien (IV), der denominalen Verben (V) und der deverbalen Verben (VI, VII; Diathesen etc.). Abgeschlossen wird das Werk durch eine Bibliographie, einen Index der behandelten Verbstämme, einen Index, der sprachliche Erscheinungen, Morpheme und Dialektmerkmale verzeichnet, sowie einen dritten Index der verbesserten und neu interpretierten Textstellen.

Herangezogen wird praktisch das ganze bisher bekannte „alttürkische“ Wortgut. Bereits von der Materialmenge her ist die Arbeit somit sehr gründlich und kann, u. a. wegen der Indices, als Nachschlagewerk dienen. Sie bringt häufig Neues an den Tag und läßt manches Altbekannte in neuem, meist klärendem Licht erscheinen. Nicht wenige der vorgeschlagenen Lexemanalysen ermöglichen auch gute Neuinterpretationen von Textstellen. Auffallend ist allerdings eine gewisse Heterogeneität, indem gewisse Kapitel ausführliche Artikel zu einzelnen Lexemen bieten, während andere recht summarisch sind.

Auch aus linguistischer Sicht bringt das Werk höchst interessante Ergebnisse, etwa in bezug auf Klassifikation und funktionale Analyse der Wortbildungselemente. Die Diskussionen sind von Materialkenntnis und linguistischer Kompetenz geprägt, was in der Turkologie eine seltene Kombination darstellt. Für Turkologen jeder Ausrichtung – nicht nur für Spezialisten des „Alttürkischen" – wird die Arbeit von großem Nutzen sein, zumal die hier erörterten Probleme *mutatis mutandis* in jeder Türksprache präsent sind und also einen hohen Grad von allgemeinturkologischer Relevanz besitzen.

*

Erdals Ziel ist es, die aktive und passive Wortbildungskompetenz des „alttürkischen Sprachbenutzers" synchron zu beschreiben, was eine äußerst schwierige Aufgabe darstellt. Einige Schwierigkeiten sollten hier kurz angedeutet werden.

Jede ost-alttürkische Varietät besitzt teils ein Inventar von fertigen Lexemen, teils eine Ableitungsmorphologie mit produktiven Bildungsregeln, welche die Bildung neuer Lexeme aus Stämmen und Ableitungsmorphemen ermöglichen. Die als Eingabeformen dienenden Stämme, die der Form nach meistens mit konkreten Wortformen zusammenfallen, sind unanalysierbare oder bereits abgeleitete Segmente. Die durch produktive Regeln einer geordneten Grammatik analog geschaffenen Lexeme sind motiviert, transparent, voraussagbar. Ein lebendiges Formans weist als sprachliches Zeichen eine hohe Konstanz in bezug auf drei Aspekte auf: (1) den lautlichen, (2) den inhaltlichen und (3) den morpho-syntaktischen (der seine wortinterne und -externe Kombinierbarkeit bestimmt). Obwohl die analogische Kraft abnehmen kann, indem die Produktivität sinkt, mag das Ableitungsprodukt ausreichende Konstanz in bezug auf die drei Aspekte beibehalten, transparent bleiben und somit einen Teil der passiven Kompetenz der Sprachbenutzer darstellen. Ein Formans kann lebendig bleiben, obwohl es selten neue Lexeme produziert. Nach einer mehr oder weniger improduktiven Phase kann seine Produktivität eventuell auch wieder steigen.

Eine ursprünglich transparente Bildung kann jedoch auch demotiviert werden, wenn das Formans nicht mehr der Forderung nach Konstanz in bezug auf einen der genannten Aspekte entspricht, d. h. nicht mehr inhaltlich, lautlich oder morphosyntaktisch konsequent und voraussagbar ist. Gewisse solche Ableitungen schwinden, andere bleiben erhalten und unterliegen weiterem Wandel in bezug auf die erwähnten Aspekte. Ihre Beziehung zum Stamm wird getrübt; sie werden opak, entwickeln semantische Besonderheiten. Auch wenn sie als aus A + B bestehend analysiert werden mögen, kann keine Regel für ihre Bildung aus A + B formuliert werden.

Die Schwierigkeiten, bei einer toten Sprache die Kompetenz ihrer Benutzer zu beurteilen, liegen auf der Hand. Grade der Produktivität und Akzeptanz lassen sich kaum beurteilen. Die Grenzen zwischen produktiven und improduktiven transparenten Bildungen bleiben unklar. Über das Verhältnis zwischen der aktiven Kompetenz, neue transparente Lexeme zu schaffen, und der bloß rezeptiv-kreativen Fähigkeit, die Transparenz von Ableitungen zu erkennen und sie zu analysieren, lassen sich keine sinnvollen Aussagen machen. Völlig unzugänglich sind die vielen individuellen Parameter. Inwieweit ist eine regelmäßige Ableitung für den Sprachbenutzer transparent? Welche Formantien verwendet er; welche kann er lediglich identifizieren und verstehen? Inwieweit ist er sich der Ableitung und der ihr zugrundeliegenden Grammatik bewußt? Wenn er sie als opake Ganzheit gelernt hat, verwendet er sie auch weiterhin so, oder reanalysiert er sie?

Das Hauptproblem liegt natürlich darin, daß, während Erdal ausgerechnet die kreativen Vorgänge beschreiben will, die Quelle seiner Kenntnis lediglich verschiedene Beispiele für deren Produkte sind. Unbekannt bleibt meistens, was analog zu diesen Produkten noch alles produziert wurde oder werden konnte. Oft, vor allem bei *hapax legomena,* läßt sich nicht einmal sagen, ob die Ableitung eine einmalige Bildung darstellt oder von der betreffenden Sprechergemeinschaft konventionalisiert worden ist.

Obwohl Erdal erkennt, daß sein Ziel unerreichbar ist, schlägt er einige Kriterien zur Unterscheidung der lebendigen „word formation“ von der bloßen „word-formedness“ im Alttürkischen vor.

Dabei geht es darum, ob Regelmäßigkeit in Form und Inhalt vorliegt, ob sowohl Stamm als auch Suffix belegt sind, ob eine größere Anzahl Derivate bekannt ist, ob das Suffix an fremde Stämme und an derivierte Stämme angefügt wird etc. Die meisten dieser Punkte sind jedoch Minimalkriterien für Ableitungen überhaupt und gelten auch für nicht mehr produktive, aber noch transparente Produkte. So bleibt es fragwürdig, welche sprachlichen Kompetenzen in der Arbeit überhaupt beschrieben werden. Besonders problematisch erscheint der recht ungenau definierte Anspruch einer *funktionalen* Beschreibung. Es heißt, die Wortbildung werde als eine Aktivität betrachtet, deren besondere Motive jeweils zu bestimmen seien. Der Leser/Hörer müsse die Motive kennen, um den Inhalt des Texts voll zu verstehen. Was auch immer damit gemeint sein mag, kann nur festgestellt werden, daß es auf jeden Fall hier nicht untersucht wird. Ein „functional approach" im angedeuteten Sinne findet in der vorliegenden Arbeit einfach nicht statt. In der Tat erweist sie sich in manchem als erheblich konventioneller als die erwähnten programmatischen Zielangaben vermuten lassen.

Ein fundamentales, viele andere Schwierigkeiten überragendes Problem, das in der Arbeit nicht genügend erörtert wird, liegt jedoch darin, daß das zur Verfügung stehende „alttürkische" Material teils sehr beschränkt und einseitig, teils recht uneinheitlich ist. In Erdals Arbeit ist sogar von der Kompetenz des „alttürkischen" *Sprechers* die Rede, obwohl aus den verfügbaren Texten verläßliche Auskünfte darüber sehr schwer zu beziehen sind. Befremdend ist jedoch vor allem der Gedanke einer vereinheitlichten synchronen Beschreibung eines Materials, das in Wirklichkeit eine Zeitspanne von *über 600 Jahren* vertritt und somit auf jeden Fall Varietäten mit unterschiedlichen Systemen widerspiegelt.

*

Die Auswahl des Inventars basiert auf den Begriffen „Wort" und „Morphem". Erdal behandelt grundsätzlich die innere morphologische Struktur von Wörtern, beachtet also nicht den analytischen Ausdruck analoger inhaltlicher Konfigurationen, etwa mittels Komposition. Um so auffälliger ist das Fehlen klarer Wort- und Morphemdefinitionen. Auch die notwendige Distinktion im

Suffixinventar zwischen „Formantien“ und Flexionselementen scheint uns nicht gut definiert. Flexionsmorphologie (verwirrenderweise oft nur „morphology“ genannt) ist das Ergebnis von Regeln zum Ausdruck gewisser Operatoren der zugrundeliegenden Satzstruktur. Morphosyntaktische Kategorien, die durch Flexionselemente vertreten sind, werden in den syntaktischen Positionen, wo sie vorkommen können, obligatorisch realisiert. Weniger tauglich sind einfache morphotaktische Kriterien, welche die Position in der Suffixkette betreffen. So können türkische Formantien z. B. auch *nach* Flexionselementen stehen, z. B. ttü. *gün-de-lik* (= ‚Tag' + Lokativsuffix + Adjektivsuffix) ‚täglich'. Es trifft sicherlich zu, daß Flexionsmorpheme in geschlossenen und strukturierten Paradigmen auftreten. Wie Erdal bemerkt, sind aber auch Morpheme wie + *sXz*, + *sIrA-*, + *lXg*, + *lAn-* Beispiele für „structurisation within the lexicon“. Reziprok-, Kausativ-, Passiv- und Reflexivsuffixe werden von Erdal als Formantien behandelt, obwohl sie nicht nur der Wortbildung dienen, sondern zentrale Rollen im satzhierarchisch-diathetischen System der Partizipation spielen, geschlossene, strukturierte Paradigmen bilden und das paradigmatische Kriterium der obligatorischen Vertretung morphosyntaktischer Kategorien erfüllen. Bei denominaler Ableitung sei „reference“ das wichtigste Kriterium. Erdal zufolge dienen Nomina, die auf Spezifisches referieren, meist nicht als Stämme für Ableitung. Die Mehrzahl der Türksprachen verwende Plural- und Possessivsuffixe nur im „referierenden“ Sinne: „Counted and possessed entities are generally actual and particular ones“. Zu Fällen, die gegen diese Regel verstoßen – wenn z. B. atü. + *lXg* an Substantive mit Plural- oder Possessivsuffixen angefügt wird – heißt es, sie dienten nicht der „speaker/writer-reference“: die Pluralsuffixe zählten nicht, sondern bezeichneten eine inhärente Mehrzahl; die Possessivsuffixe bezögen sich auf keine tatsächlichen Besitzer. Diese Erklärung taugt allerdings nicht für das als Flexionselement klassifizierte + *ki*, das auch an „referierende“ Ausdrücke frei angefügt wird.

Es ist klar, daß keine konsequente Trennungslinie zwischen wortbildenden und flexionalen Suffixen möglich ist. Zu Recht bemerkt Erdal, daß Suffixe wie etwa *-gAn* zwischen Ableitung und Flexion fluktuieren können (S. 30). Diese Doppelheit gilt jedoch auch für z. B. verbalnominale Suffixe auf *-gU* und *-mAk*, die hier allerdings nur als Flexionsuffixe klassifiziert werden. Die Distinktion zwischen „deverbal nouns" und „participles" muß nicht deshalb unklar sein, weil gewisse Suffixe an beiden Bildungstypen teilnehmen (S. 29; vgl. auch die Einleitung zu „deverbal nouns"). Nur sollte festgestellt werden, unter welchen Umständen bestimmte Suffixe, etwa die der Verbalnomina, auch an der Wortbildung teilnehmen (s. L. Johanson: *Linguistische Beiträge zur Gesamtturkologie,* Budapest 1991 S. 12ff.). Erdal schließt jedoch von seiner Untersuchung ausgerechnet gewisse Suffixe aus, die konsequent als Formantien auftreten, etwa das denominale Nominalsuffix +*dXn*, das als Ortsausdruck in die Kasusgrammatik verwiesen wird. Ein Hauptgrund dafür scheint allerdings einfach zu sein, daß dieses Suffix, das als „orientational locative suffix" bezeichnet wird, obwohl es kein Kasussuffix darstellt, nicht immer vom Ablativsuffix +*dXn* ~ +*dln* graphisch klar zu unterscheiden ist.

Erdal unterscheidet drei Hauptfunktionen, zu denen die einzelnen Ableitungsformantien jeweils vorwiegend, wenn auch nicht ausschließlich neigen. Die einzigen primär *syntaktischen* Formantien seien vermutlich +*lXg* und +*lA*-. Die lexikalische Ableitung wird in eine *„semantische"* und eine *„pragmatische"* unterteilt. Nur die „semantische" schaffe Ausdrücke für neue Klassen von Gegenständen, Vorgängen etc. der beobachtbaren Welt. „Pragmatische" Ableitung liege vor, wenn das betreffende Formans die momentane Einstellung des Sprechers zum genannten Gegenstand anzeige. So drücke z. B. ein mit dem Diminutivsuffix +*klñA* versehenes Wort nur eine emotionale Beziehung aus und bezeichne keine andersartige Entität als das entsprechende suffixlose Lexem. Obwohl eine diesbezügliche Distinktion gerechtfertigt ist, finden wir die terminologische Unterscheidung, die den Begriff der Semantik stark einengt, weniger glücklich. Ein sprachliches Zeichen besitzt über seinen semantischen Inhalt hinaus auch einen pragmatischen Gehalt, der seinen Gebrauch in der sozialen Interaktion regelt. In der vorliegenden Arbeit wird aber kein systematischer Versuch unternommen, die Korrelationen der Wortbildungsstrukturen mit ihrem pragmatischen Verhalten aufzuzeigen.

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Ein Verdienst der Arbeit ist die prinzipielle Trennung von Deskription und etymologischer bzw. sprachgeschichtlicher Behandlung der Wortbildung. Die Etymologie rekonstruiert ja die produktiven Regeln, nach denen ein abgeleitetes Wort beim ersten Schöpfungsakt gebildet wurde; sie beschreibt synchron die ursprüngliche Motivation, die konstitutiven Merkmale, die in der darauffolgenden Sprachgeschichte irreversibel verändert werden. Türkische Wortbildung wurde bisher oft zu einseitig etymologisch und sprachgeschichtlich betrieben. Das Wissen um den Ursprung und die Entwicklung der Wörter durfte ihre synchronische Beschreibung oft in ungehöriger Weise beeinflussen. Erdals Untersuchung soll dagegen primär der Klärung von Zusammenhängen zwischen Stämmen, Suffixen, Bildungsregeln und den zu erfüllenden inhaltlichen Aufgaben dienen. Der Autor distanziert sich gewissermaßen von der ‚etymology' und schreibt sogar das Wort mit Gänsefüßchen. Besonders scharf kritisiert er die Vorstellung, daß alle mehrsilbigen Elemente aus kleineren Elementen bestehen müssen, sowie das daraus folgende „lexeme chopping".

Wenn etymologische Diskussionen dennoch einen erheblichen Platz in der Arbeit einnehmen, handelt es sich u.E. nicht unbedingt um eine zu tadelnde Inkonsequenz. Die Beschreibung synchroner Prozesse, die hier das Hauptziel darstellt, liefert oft eine wertvolle Grundlage für wesentliche etymologische und diachrone Erwägungen sowie für genetische bzw. areale Vergleiche. Dies ist deshalb so wichtig, weil auch türkische Etymologien mit den tatsächlichen Regeln türkischer Morphologie im Einklang stehen müssen. Erdal kann auf der Basis seiner deskriptiven Arbeit oft falsche Etymologien widerlegen oder neue gesunde Etymologien vorschlagen. So wird z. B. *ögrän-* ‚lernen' mangels eines Formans *+rA* nicht von *ög* ‚Sinn', sondern von *ögür* ‚Herde' abgeleitet. Die Etymologie *barq* ‚Habe' < **barïq* wird deshalb abgelehnt, weil kein alttürkisches deverbales Nominalsuffix *-IK* bekannt ist. Das Wort *irkäk* ‚männlich' wird nicht von *är* ‚Mann' (vgl. jakutisch *är*, chaladschisch *här*), sondern von *irk* ‚Widder' + Diminutiv *+Ak* (vgl. jak. *irgäx*, chal. *hirkäk*) abgeleitet. Besprochen werden auch unklare, weniger gut dokumentierte Ableitungen oder Formantien mit schwer bestimmbarem Status (z. B. *+dAm*), was gelegentlich zur Klärung gewisser Probleme führt.

Manchmal fallen die etymologischen Korrekturen weniger überzeugend aus. Aus semantischen Gründen wird z. B. die Ableitung des Lexems *qïsraq* ‚Stute' von *qïsïr* durch *+Ak* abgelehnt

(S. 42 Fn. 23). Die von Clausons angesetzte ursprüngliche Bedeutung ‚a young mare which has not foaled' sei falsch und „appears to have been demanded only by its etymology, which is unfounded and unconvincing". Erdal fügt hinzu: „The great conquest of the Turks would have been impossible if their young mares had been generally sterile and barren." Dieser Schluß folgt nun aber wirklich nicht aus Clausons Angabe! Ein **qïsïraq* mag – wie für kumandinisch *qïsraq*, sojonisch *qïzïraq* usw. tatsächlich belegt – die Bedeutung ‚junge Stute, die noch nicht geboren hat' gehabt haben und von einem **qïsïr* ‚nicht trächtig' abgeleitet worden sein. Sowohl ‚unfruchtbar' (*qïsïr*) als auch ‚Stute' (*qïsïraq*) können sehr wohl Ergebnisse sekundärer Bedeutungsentwicklungen sein.

Die Möglichkeiten, aufgrund deskriptiver Feststellungen Etymologien zu entkräften, sollten auch nicht überschätzt werden. Oft läßt sich nur feststellen, daß eine Etymologie anhand des vorhandenen Materials nicht positiv beweisbar ist und daß der Befund über andere, z. B. frühere Sprachzustände nichts aussagt. Es ist zwar ein gutes Prinzip, Stämme oder Suffixe, die im Rahmen etymologischer Hypothesen rekonstruiert werden, nicht *ad hoc* zu realen Elementen zu erklären. Zur sicheren Identifikation einer Ableitung müssen sowohl Stämme als auch Suffixe belegt sein. Die Nichterfüllung dieser Bedingung bedeutet umgekehrt jedoch nicht unbedingt die Widerlegung der Etymologie. Erdal behauptet, daß *qïrqïn* ‚Jungfrau' „cannot be a derivate, at least not a living one" von *qïz* ‚Mädchen', da ein denominales Suffix *+kin* fehle. Der betreffende Umstand schließt aber allenfalls eine lebendige Ableitung aus. Im synchronen Sinne gilt gewiß, daß „a single verb does not make a formation" (S. 477), aber z. B. damit, daß kein produktives deverbales *-U-* bekannt ist, mit dem sich *adru-* ‚übertreffen' von *adïr-* ‚trennen' ableiten ließe, ist Ramstedts altaistischer Vergleich bei weitem nicht entkräftet. Es wäre falsch, den Schluß zu ziehen, daß keine Ableitung im etymologischen Sinne vorliegen könne, wenn keine entsprechende ost-alttürkische synchrone Ableitung bekannt ist.

Argumente, die eher zugunsten einer altaischen Etymologie sprechen könnten, werden kaum erwähnt. Wegen des Vokalunterschieds lehnt Erdal zu Recht eine Ableitung des Lexems *äšgäk* ‚Esel' von *e:š* ‚Gefährte' ab (S. 74 Fn.95; 393) und führt es zu den deverbalen *-gAk*-Bildungen. Er erwähnt zwar das von *äš-* ‚im Paß-gang gehen' abgeleitete chaladschische *äšgä*, erwägt aber nicht die Möglichkeit, daß *äšgäk* ursprünglich ein +*Ak*-Diminutiv einer solchen Form und also eine Parallele zu mong. *elǰige[n]* darstellen könnte.

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Die „alttürkische" Wortbildungslehre bietet zahlreiche problematische und noch ungelöste Fälle von Beziehungen zwischen Stammform und Suffix. Oft ist das Verhältnis von Erdals synchron-deskriptiven Analysen zur entsprechenden Beschreibung der etymologischen Ableitungen hochinteressant. Obwohl sie nicht selten Regeln erzeugen, die weitaus komplizierter als die genetischen sind, sind sie durchaus legitim. Im Prinzip nimmt Erdal den Unterschied zwischen beschreibender (*descriptive*) und etymologisch erklärender (*explanatory*) Analyse sehr ernst. Tatsächlich ist jedoch sein eigenes Denken in der Praxis recht stark etymologisch geprägt; gelegentlich scheint seine Argumentation sogar gegen die eigenen Prinzipien in bezug auf ‚etymology' zu verstoßen. Besonders dann, wenn Unregelmäßigkeiten der Ableitung auftreten, neigt er zu genetischen Erwägungen, ohne diese immer *expressis verbis* anzukündigen. So mag der Leser manchmal im Zweifel darüber sein, ob die Feststellungen deskriptiv oder „erklärend" zu verstehen sind, ob eine *ultimate base* den deskriptiven Primärstamm oder die etymologische Wurzel bezeichnet, usw.

Ein Typ von Unregelmäßigkeit besteht darin, daß der Stamm einen auslautenden Vokal hat, der in der Ableitung fehlt. Wie verhält sich z. B. das Verb *bus+a-* (von *bus* ‚Nebel') zum Nomen *busuš* (oder *busöš*), wo, strukturell betrachtet, sein Suffixvokaltyp durch einen anderen ersetzt wird? Bei seiner rein synchronen Beschreibung, die keine genetischen Beziehungen klären will und nicht als etymologisch mißverstanden werden sollte, bedient sich Erdal des morphophonologischen Begriffs des sog. „dominanten Suffixes" (s. seinen Aufsatz „Die Morphemfuge im Alttürkischen", 1979, und Doerfers Kritik daran in WZKM 74/1982). Auch er wendet sich jedoch hier den etymologischen Klärungsversuchen zu. Clauson (*op. cit.* 216) zufolge gehen derartige Ableitungen auf vokalauslautende Stämme zurück, z. B. *arqïš* ‚Gesandter' auf *arqa-* ‚suchen'. Hamilton führt *arqïš* auf ein **arq-* ‚traverser' etc. zurück, was kaum glücklicher ist. Erdal vermutet hier eher eine Ableitung von **arqa-* ‚to send through' (S. 268), was wohl als ein Versuch aufgefaßt werden muß, die ursprüngliche Produktionsregel einer opak gewordenen Bildung zu rekonstruieren. Für die Behandlung des vokalischen Stammauslauts fehlt aber eine befriedigende Erklärung. Handelt es sich um einen ursprünglichen und z. T. verlorengegangenen Auslautvokal oder um ein sekundäres Element? Beim Verhältnis von *uza-* zu *uzun* ‚lang' wäre auch zu klären, warum das türkmenische *uzı:n* langen Suffixvokal aufweist und ob hier überhaupt dasselbe Formans wie in den anderen *-Xn*-Bildungen vorliegt. Etliche Verbalstämme, wie *tütä- : tüt-* ‚rauchen' (vgl. *tütün*), deuten auf eine Auslautvariation *K-* ~ *KV-* hin. Erdal lehnt jedoch das Vorhandensein von *tütä-* ab (S. 758), obwohl der zweisilbige Verbstamm in vielen Türksprachen belegt ist.

Bei -(*U*)*t* (S. 309) wird geltend gemacht, Ableitungen von Stämmen auf *-°rä* elidierten den Auslautvokal, z. B. *täprä-* ‚sich regen' : *täpirt* ‚Regung', was bestimmt keine vollständige synchrone Beschreibung der Form darstellt. Es wird hinzugefügt, daß „Röhrborn and Sertkaya are right in calling the forms the result of a metathesis", was jedoch eine etymologisch gemeinte Erklärung ist. Diese trifft wiederum nur dann zu, wenn **täprä-t* tatsächlich als Zwischenform existiert. Ähnlich ist das Verhältnis von *kükrä-* zu *kükürt* ‚Donner' usw.

Als Stamm für *„terkiš"* ‚Karawane' wird eine angebliche +*A*-Bildung **terkä-* angegeben, die vom Stamm *ter-ig* ‚Ansammlung' (← *ter-*) ausgehe: der zweite Vokal werde synkopiert, während die Kombination [rg] zu [rk] werde. Die Semantik deutet jedoch an, daß hier verschiedene Primärstämme vorliegen mögen: *ter-* bedeutet ‚sammeln', während das Wort für ‚Karawane' den Begriff ‚Reihung' impliziert. Auch die Vokalqualitäten mögen unterschiedlich sein; vgl. das türkmenische *tirkiš* ‚Reihe' und das von Erdal angeführte anatolische *tirkän-* ‚in einer Reihe fliegen'. Für eine andere mutmaßliche +*A*-Bildung, *tükä-* ‚aufhören, vollendet werden', wird ein etymologischer Stamm *türk* ‚reif, vital' angesetzt (S. 426), der angesichts der Semantik und des angeblichen *r*-Schwundes in dieser Stellung höchst zweifelhaft ist.

Bei der Behandlung vokalauslautender Verbstämme leugnet Erdal die Existenz alttürkischer Intensivsuffixe, kritisiert Gerhard Doerfers Argumente dafür und lehnt die von Carl Brockelmann angeführten Beispiele ab (S. 524 f.). Die Argumentation ist z. T. überraschend. Die *Schnelligkeit,* die Ibn Muhannā zufolge durch Verbformen wie *käl-i-di* und *bar-ï-dï* ausgedrückt sind, sei z. B. nicht als Intensität aufzufassen, sondern könne, da sie „shortness" impliziere, sogar „diminution (the opposite of intensity)", bezeichnen. Partizipien des Typus *-AgAn,* die Intensität im Sinne höherer Leistung, längerer Dauer, gewohnheitsmäßiger Ausführung o. ä. signalisieren (Kāšγarī *uraγan;* Ibn Muhannā *alaγan* usw.) werden in diesem Zusammenhang nicht besprochen. Zur möglichen Lesung *Qapaγan* heißt es, daß „there is no reason to think that there ever was a verb *'kapa-'* in Old Turkic. Such a verb could certainly not be derived from *kap-,* as there are no early traces of a formative '-A-'" (S. 385 Fn. 441).

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Kausativa verursachen durch ihre Unregelmäßigkeiten oft erhebliche Probleme. So ist *kigür-* ‚hineinführen' Kausativ von *kir-* ‚hineingehen' und synchron-deskriptiv davon abzuleiten: *kigür-* ← *kir-* mit *r*-Elision + *-gUr-.* Die etymologische Wurzel dürfte jedoch eher **ki:-* sein. Unklar bleibt, ob es eine Erwägung in der deskriptiven oder in der etymologischen Dimension ist, wenn Erdal bezweifelt, daß *kigür-* „should actually have been derived from *kir-*", da Kausativa dieses Typs sonst keine *r*-Elision aufweisen (S. 750). Bei *olγurt-* ‚setzen', das sich nicht regelmäßig von *olor-* ‚sitzen' ableiten läßt, nimmt Erdal eine Bildung *ol(o)r-* + *-ur-* + *-t-* an, in der das erste *r* zu *γ* „dissimiliert" sei (S. 780). Das einzige Argument für diese Ableitung, die sich nur als *Herleitung* verstehen läßt, ist jedoch synchron-deskriptiv. Da *olor-* „cannot be shown to be derived", wird ausgeschlossen, daß es sich um ein *-gUr*-Verb handeln könnte. Daß *olor-* sich in ost-alttürkischen Varietäten nicht als synchrone Ableitung analysieren läßt, schließt aber nicht aus, daß es ein Derivat im etymologischen Sinne ist. Nicht weniger wahrscheinlich als der dissimilatorische Vorschlag wäre die Herleitung im Sinne von *olor-* ← **ol[o]-* + *-(X)r-* (vgl. Ableitungen wie jak. *olox,* kirg. *olut,* soj. *olït-*). Die Annahme ist zumindest nicht dreister als z. B. die Vermutung, *käz* ‚Pfeilkerbe' gehe auf einen unbelegten Verbstamm **kär-* + Suffix *-(X)z* zurück (S. 234).

Beim Typus *ögüt* ‚Rat', *bišyut* ‚reif' (S. 313f.) erkennt Erdal die Verbindung zu *ö-* ‚denken', *biš-* ‚reifen' usw., findet aber keine *-gUr*-Kausativa dazu, die als Stämme für die Ableitung dienen können, weshalb die Beziehung zum Suffix -(*U*)*t* unklar bleibt. Die zumindest deskriptiv einleuchtende Ansetzung eines Suffixes *-gUt* für die betreffenden Lexeme hält Erdal für nicht gerechtfertigt. Auch in genetischer Sicht leuchtet aber nicht ein, warum /g/-anlautende deverbale Nominalsuffixe dieser Art unbedingt auf /g/-anlautende Kausativstämme zurückgehen müssen.

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Variationen *z* ~ *r* und *š* ~ *l* in Stämmen und Ableitungen bieten große Probleme. Für Verbalstämme auf +*I* schlägt Erdal synchrone Ersetzungsregeln vor: „When bases end in /z/ or /š/, these consonants are replaced by /r/ and /l/ respectively und +I- expansion". Diese offenbar nicht etymologisch gemeinte Feststellung bezieht sich z. B. auf den Typus *sämri-* ‚fett werden', der sich nicht regelmäßig von *sämiz* ‚fett' ableiten läßt (S. 480). Zugleich wird jedoch eine andere Ableitung des Typus *sämiz* vorgeschlagen, nämlich von **sämri-z*, d. h. mit *r*-Schwund (S. 323). Ähnlich wird etwa *qutuz* ‚tollwütig' von „*kūtur-(u)z*" abgeleitet. Obwohl es nicht explizit angegeben wird, dürfte diese zweite Ableitungsregel als etymologischer Herleitungsvorschlag aufzufassen sein, da sie sonst mit der ersten Regel unvereinbar wäre und einen ewigen Zirkel *sämiz* + *I* → *sämri-* + (*X*)*z* → *sämiz* usw. ergäbe. Bei der ersten Regel (*sämiz* + *I* → *sämri-*) betont Erdal: „This descriptive statement could be replaced by an explanatory one only within a theory accounting for Altaic rhotacism and lambdacism as a whole". Bei der zweiten, offensichtlich etymologisch-erklärenden Regel (*sämri-* + (*X*)*z* → *sämiz*) wird aber nicht einmal darauf hingewiesen, daß sie ja eine rhotazistische Erklärung ausschließt. Auch wer, wie Erdal, die Beziehungen *z* : *r* und *š* : *l* für unklar hält, sollte doch, wenn er genetische Erklärungsmöglichkeiten überhaupt bespricht, auch deren Implikationen andeuten. Im übrigen hätten unbedingt auch zetazistisch-sigmatistische Modelle erwähnt werden müssen, z. B. die Möglichkeit, daß ein ursprüngliches **r^2* in *sämr-i-* als *r* vertreten wird, während es in *sämiz* durch Zetazismus zu *z* geworden ist. Das gleiche Problem begegnet bei der Beziehung des Verbalbildungssuffixes *+sIrA-* zum Privativsuffix *+sXz*. Erdal formuliert hier einen komplizierten Vorschlag, der von einem **+sXz+A* ausgeht und drei sukzessive Veränderungen voraussetzt, nämlich (1) Vokalschwund, (2) Dissimilation und (3) Epenthese (S. 509). Durch Vokalschwund sei **+szA-* entstanden, wonach *z* zu *r* geworden sei (**+srA-*); schließlich sei zwischen *s* und *r* ein Vokal eingeschoben worden (*+sIrA-*). Diese eindeutig genetische Erklärung erscheint nun in der Tat nicht weniger spekulativ als etwa eine zetazistische.

Viele andere Derivate passen schlecht zu ihren vermuteten Stämmen, z. B. die *+tA*-Bildung *üstä-* ‚vermehren' zu *üzä* ‚oben' (S. 457), bei der aus unbekannten Gründen vorausgesetzt wird, daß der Stammauslaut *-ä* unbetont gewesen und deshalb geschwunden sei. Wie die synchronen Ableitungsregeln auch immer zu formulieren sind, die genetische Beziehung dürfte auf jeden Fall komplizierter sein.

Manchmal scheint es, daß Formantien nicht genügend differenziert werden. Unter *-(I)r-* werden sowohl Inchoativa wie *süči-r-* ‚süß werden' als auch Transitiva wie *adïr-* ‚trennen' zitiert (S 535 f.), obwohl sie deskriptiv wie genetisch unterschiedliche Typen vertreten. Andererseits wird z. B. die Tatsache, daß der Stamm *ut-* in *utuz-* ‚verlieren' nicht intransitiv (wie bei *tam-ïz-* etc.) ist, als ausreichend betrachtet, eine Ableitung durch *-tXz-* (< **ut-tuz-*) statt durch *-Xz-* anzunehmen (S. 708). Was die Diminutiva betrifft, hat Erdal Bedenken dagegen, *qaraq* ‚Augapfel' von *qara* ‚schwarz' abzuleiten, da es das einzige bekannte einschlägige Derivat von einem Adjektiv wäre (S. 43). Da türkische Nomina, die aus semantischen und/oder morphosyntaktischen Gründen primär als „Adjektive" gelten mögen, sekundär auch „substantivisch" verwendet werden, dürfte aber ein *qaraq* im Sinne von 'little black thing' (Clauson) keine auffällige Anomalie darstellen.

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Einige wichtige Fragen betreffen die lautliche Interpretation der Graphien und das Verhältnis zwischen Umschrift und Lautstruktur: Erdal verwendet eine Transkription „which tries to be phonemic as best as possible" (S. 15) und gibt zusammenfassende Notationen für Morpheme in morphophonemischer Transkription. Die Vor- und Nachteile einer phonemischen Transkription (u.a. mit Verzicht auf Unterscheidung vorderer und hinterer Konsonanten wie [k] : [q]) sollen hier nicht diskutiert werden. Dagegen soll kurz auf einige Probleme der Anwendung der gewählten Umschriftprinzipien eingegangen werden.

Der Charakter der morphophonemischen Transkription ist nicht immer klar. Es heißt z.B., *+tA-* trete im *eigentlichen* Alttürkischen fast immer in dieser Form und nicht als *+dA* auf, während im Qarachanidischen /t/ nach stimmlosem und /d/ nach stimmhaftem Stammauslaut erschienen (S. 457). Unklar bleibt, worauf sich dieser Vergleich bezieht, wie er eigentlich ausfällt und ob er auch impliziert, daß der Dental in *+tA* immer ein [t] sei. Wie wir gezeigt haben (*Alttürkisch als ‚dissimilierende Sprache'*, Wiesbaden 1979), bezeichnen alttürkische T-Runen sowohl [t] als auch [d]. Zu den damit verbundenen Problemen wird hier nicht Stellung genommen. In der Praxis folgen die Lesungen aber oft der alten abwegigen These von dissimilatorischer Desonorisierung der Dentale nach Sonoranten. So heißt es z.B., daß „*bir+däm* usually appear as *birtäm*, with /t/ following /r/" (S. 68).

Angesichts des phonematischen Prinzips erscheint es inkonsequent, phonologische Vokalquantitäten, genau wie in traditioneller Umschrift, unberücksichtigt zu lassen. Diese Praxis mag zur Not für die deskriptive Seite der Aufgabe akzeptabel sein; für etymologische Erwägungen ist die Unterscheidung jedoch unverzichtbar. Nur durch sie sind manchmal scheinbar homonyme Stämme voneinander zu unterscheiden. In der vorliegenden Arbeit werden Vokallängen nur gelegentlich beachtet. Bei der Ableitung des Lexems *tamγaq* ‚Gaumen' von *tam-* ‚tropfen' wird z.B. richtig bemerkt, daß eine Ableitung durch *tām* ‚Mauer' *+gAk* „is made difficult by the long vowel" (S. 392). Mittels der Vokallänge kann aber z.B. auch der etymologische Stamm von *aδïγ* ‚nüchtern', *aδïn-* ‚ernüchtern' usw. als **ād-* (vgl. tkm. *a:yïl-*) bestimmt werden, der von *aδïr-* ‚trennen', *aδïn* ‚verschieden' usw. dagegen als **adï-* (vgl. tkm. *ayïr-*). Sogar das langvokalische *tol-* ‚voll werden' (vgl. tkm. *do:l-*, jak. *tuol-*) ist vom kurzvokalischen *toq* ‚satt' (tkm. *doq*, jak. *tot*) zu trennen (S. 570), auch wenn die Stämme verwandt sein mögen.

Die Beachtung der Vokallänge ist nicht zuletzt für die Beurteilung der damit intim zusammenhängenden Konsonantenstärke wichtig (s. Johanson, *Linguistische Beiträge* S. 84ff.). So kann z.B.

aδaš ‚Freund' nicht auf *a:t* + *daš* zurückgehen, da die Entwicklung *δ* > *y* (kirg. *ayaš* usw.) sonst nicht zu erklären wäre. Der etymologische Stamm von *učuz* ‚leicht' kann nicht *uč-* ‚fliegen' sein (S.234), sondern muß angesichts der oghusischen Lenisierung (*uǰuz*) ein **ū* enthalten haben.

Wichtig für die Beurteilung der Konsonantenstärke sind vor allem die graphischen Repräsentationsverhältnisse. Erdal liest den Inlautkonsonanten in *butïq* ‚Zweig' als [d] und meint, das Wort könne, wohl weil es in vielen uigurischen Texten mit D geschrieben wird, kaum auf *but* ‚Schenkel, Bein' zurückgehen (S. 43f.). Sowohl *butïq* als auch *bu:t* besitzen jedoch einen auf eine urtürkische Fortis **t* zurückgehenden Dental. Die alte Lenis **d* dagegen ist im Alttürkischen als /d/, d.h. [d] und [δ], vertreten und später meist zu [y] geworden. Da der Stamm **būt* Langvokal hat, neigt er zur Fortisschwächung. Am deutlichsten äußert sich diese Neigung im Oghusischen, wo dadurch ein neuer Lenisdental entstanden ist (*bu:d*). Wie sind die uigurischen Notationen zu bewerten? D-Zeichen stehen hier oft für [d]. Drückt die D-Notation in *BWDQ* tatsächlich eine Lenisierungstendenz nach Langvokal aus, so spricht dies also eher zugunsten einer Verbindung mit [bu:t]. Zu einer Norm, die den Gegensatz von Fortis- und Lenisdental konsequent reflektiert, ist es im uigurischen Schrifttum jedoch nie gekommen. Vor allem späte Texte weisen eine starke graphische Promiskuität der Dentalnotationen auf, was aber nicht unbedingt auf die Aufhebung des phonologischen Gegensatzes /t/ : /d/ schließen läßt. Bei Kāšγarī finden sich deutliche *tā*-Schreibungen = [butïq]. Insgesamt sehen wir somit keinen lautlichen Grund, eine Ableitung im Sinne von *bu:t* + (*I*)*K* abzulehnen.

Ähnliche Probleme entstehen bei dorsalen Obstruenten. In „*yüksä-k*" (S. 258) ‚hoch' ist aus etymologischen Gründen ein [g] anstelle von [k] anzusetzen: *yüksäk* (vgl. *yüǰä* ‚erhaben' < **yügǰä*). Auch bei „*büksül-*" ‚platzen', dessen Quelle „**bük-üz*" sei (S. 657), ist eine Lenis anzunehmen: *bögsül-* (vgl. tkm. *böwüs-* ‚spalten', Passiv *böws-ül-*). Die von *üg-* ‚häufen, laden' abgeleiteten Lexeme *ügük* ‚beladen', *ügmä* ‚gehäuft', *ügün-* ‚sich sammeln' und *ügšürü* ‚aufstapelnd, wiederholt' liest Erdal als „*ükük*" (S. 253), „*ükmä*" (S. 318), „*ükün-*" (S.625) und „*ükşürü*" (S. 731). Jedoch würde nur *üg-* (und kein Stamm mit /k/-Auslaut) moderne Formen wie *üy-*, *ü:-* und *üv-* ergeben (z.B. kasach. *üymä*). Erdal nimmt aber für die erwähnten Lexeme denselben Stamm wie bei „*üküš*" ‚zahlreich' an, nämlich „*ük-*" ~ „*yük-*" ‚häufen'. Dieser gehe auf „*hük-*" als „ultimate base" zurück; „(*h*)*ük-*" bedeute ‚to get heaped up' (S. 267). Die Variante „*hük-*" stützt sich auf einen Beleg in Brāhmī-Schrift (TT VIII), „*hükün*" ‚Haufen' (S. 302), die Variante „*yük-*" wiederum u. a. auf eine Form bei Kāšγarī (s. Clauson *op. cit.* S. 100), die jedoch von Dankoff und Kelly als „*bög-*" gelesen wird. Erdal gibt zu, daß letzere Lesung „must clearly raise doubts concerning *yük-* as a variant for *ük-*" (S. 625 Fn. 294). Wie erwähnt, ist aber auch „*ük-*" höchst zweifelhaft.

Auch für die Beurteilung der dorsalen Obstruenten ist die graphische Interpretation entscheidend. Bei *k-* und *g*-Lauten begegnen analoge Probleme wie bei der Lesung der Dentale. Erdal macht geltend, daß nach /r/ „the replacement of /g/ by /k/ is demanded by rules" (S. 424). Was legitimiert diese Regeln? Erdal liest das erwähnte „*terkä-*" wohl zu Recht mit /k/, jedoch „because of *terkiş* of the Orkhon inscriptions". Erlaubt die orchontürkische Graphie aber tatsächlich die Unterscheidung von /k/ und /g/? Die internen Beziehungen der orchontürkischen Dorsalobstruenten – Fortis-Klusil, Lenis-Frikativ und Lenis-Klusil – scheinen denen der Dentale analog zu sein (s. *Alttürkisch als ‚dissimilierende Sprache'* S. 69). Die K-Runen (k^1, k^2), die G-Runen (g^1, g^2) und die ŋ-Rune dürften ähnliche Rollen spielen wie die Dentalrunen für die Darstellung der Dentale. Die K-Runen scheinen Klusile und die G-Runen Reibelaute zu bezeichnen, während die ŋ-Rune als Globalzeichen für die Koartikulation [n] + Dorsal verwendet wird. Wenn K sowohl [k] als auch [g] repräsentiert, bedeutet die Regel "K replaces G after /r/" (S. 383) also nicht unbedingt "/k/ replaces /g/". Eher ist die Situation anzunehmen, daß nach /r/ keine dorsalen Frikative (zu denen bereits im Runentürkischen vordere Realisationen, [γ'], gehört haben dürften), sondern Klusile erscheinen, d. h. nicht nur [k], [q], sondern auch [g], [ġ]. Z. B. ist nicht unbedingt *čäkürkä* ‚Heuschrecke' (S. 83), sondern eher *čäkürgä* zu lesen.

So kann die Form *ärkän*, deren [k] wegen verwandter Formen in späteren Sprachen plausibel ist, nicht einfach unter Hinweis auf die erwähnte zweifelhafte Regel „K replaces G after /r/" als „an original *-gAn* nominal" von *är-* ‚sein' interpretiert werden (S. 383). Normale *-gAn*-Partizipien weisen auch nach /r/ ein /g/ im Suffix-laut auf (z. B. *tur-yan*). Erdals Erklärung ist auch deshalb unwahrscheinlich, weil *ärkän* nie in normalen partizipiellen Funktionen auftritt und weil die konsequent konverbiale Funktion von *ärkän* für *-gAn*-Partizipien untypisch ist. Wenig überzeugend ist somit die spekulative Annahme, daß *ärkän* im Sinne eines *participium coniunctum* (ähnlich wie in engl. *you being*) verwendet worden sei. Für *ärkän* müssen sicherlich ganz andere strukturelle und genetische Erklärungen gesucht werden.

Da auch die Unterscheidung zwischen tiefen und hohen Labialvokalen anhand der ostalttürkischen Graphien problematisch ist, sind wir für die Lesung gewisser Wörter auf entsprechende Zeugnisse späterer Sprachen angewiesen. Solche Vergleiche ergeben, daß der Vokal der ersten Silbe in einigen Fällen anders anzusetzen ist als bei Erdal, z. B. als [o:] in „*uy*" ‚Loch' (S. 322; vgl. tkm. *o:y*); als [ö:] in „*tüzügü*" ‚alles [zusammen]' (S. 94; vgl. jak. *tüörä*); als [u] in „*ton-*" ‚gesperrt werden' (S. 620; vgl. tuw. *dun-*) und in „*yoγur*" ‚kneten' (S. 313, 725), wo nur Türkeitürkisch und Azeri [o] aufweisen; als [ü] in „*ögi-*" ‚mahlen' (S. 309), wo nur Türkeitürkisch [ö] aufweist; und als [ü:] in „*kö-*" ‚bewachen' (S. 194), das mit *kü:d-* verbunden ist und also kaum die Wurzel von *kör-* ‚sehen' und *köz* ‚Auge' darstellt.

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Erdals Absicht, aufzuzeigen, wie Wortbildungsstrukturen mit syntaktischem Verhalten korrelieren, wird vor allem in Bemerkungen zu den satzhierarchisch-diathetischen Grundlagen der Wortbildung sichtbar. Hier findet man auch einen guten Teil der aus seiner Dissertation (*Voice and Case in Old Turkish*, Jerusalem 1976) bekannten Erwägungen wieder. Behauptet wird u. a., daß Nominalisierungen meist einem *ergativen* Muster folgten, indem sie sich bei transitiven Verben auf den Zweitaktanten (das „object") und bei intransitiven Verben auf den Erstaktanten (das „subject") oder auf die Tätigkeit bzw. den Zustand selbst bezögen. Diese Situation ist u. E. nicht wesentlich stärker von Ergativität geprägt als z. B. der bei dem deutschen Perfektpartizip zu beobachtende Unterschied im Sinne von *getötet* : *gestorben*. Erdal neigt jedoch zur Erklärung der Erscheinung durch die spekulative Annahme, daß „Proto-Turkic" eine Sprache des ergativen Typus gewesen sei. Es heißt u.a. auch, gewisse Verbalnomina, z.B. *-gAy*, könnten, wie etwa auch ttü. *-(y)An*, nur auf den "agent" referieren. Um diese nicht ganz einleuchtende Aussage richtig einzuschätzen, darf man nicht vergessen, daß „agent" hier keine rollensemantische Entität, sondern den Erstaktanten des nicht-diathetischen Ausgangsmusters, d.h. das „subject" der „underlying proposition" von Passivsätzen usw., bezeichnet (S. 21).

Die oben erwähnte Tatsache, daß das „Alttürkische" im Sinne Erdals bei weitem keine einheitliche Sprache ist, sondern mehrere unterschiedliche, zumindest zeitlich sukzessive Systeme umfaßt, wirkt sich bei den geschlossenen, syntaktisch relevanten Kategorien im Sinne der Diathesen besonders deutlich und problematisch aus. Was hier als „the system of the grammatical means used in this language for the representation of the participant interaction" (S. 847) dargestellt wird, besteht in Wirklichkeit aus mehreren Systemen und Systemverschiebungen im Laufe eines guten halben Jahrtausends.

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Marcel Erdals großartige *Old Turkic Word Formation* ist ohne Zweifel als ein Meilenstein der sprachwissenschaftlichen Turkologie zu betrachten und wird lange ein kaum zu übertreffendes Standardwerk bleiben. Die Arbeit löst in überzeugender und eleganter Weise eine Vielzahl wesentlicher Detailprobleme und läßt zugleich zwangsläufig eine Reihe von Fragen offen. Vor allem wird hier aber endlich eine eingehende, kohärente und intelligente Diskussion über türkische Wortbildung geführt, die neue fruchtbare Problemstellungen ermöglicht. Unsere obigen kritischen, aber durchaus konstruktiv gemeinten Bemerkungen sind in diesem Sinne zu verstehen, nämlich als Reaktionen auf eine höchst anregende Darstellung, die wichtige, bisher kaum wahrgenommene turkologische Perspektiven eröffnet.

On Plural Formation in Manchu*

by

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Abstract.

In the present study, we re-examine the plural formation in Manchu, and attempt to describe more precisely the conditions under which various morphemes are used, using data drawn from resources of written (or literary) and spoken Manchu. In the past the research on this subject has been rather superficial, lacking sufficient documental support, particularly phonological interpretation. We argue that the plural formation is closely related to the vowel harmony in Manchu and to other non-linguistic factors as found also in some other Tungus-Manchu languages such as Solon and Even.

The study concludes that the plural in Manchu cannot be adequately accounted for by linguistic analysis alone. It suggests that some cultural factors in the traditional Manchu society play a significant role in forming the variety of plural forms.

0. General Background

Today the Manchu people exist as a distinct ethnic group in China (one of the 55 minorities) but their language is practically extinct, having been replaced by Chinese. Manchu is spoken only by a handful of older people in Heilongjiang, the People's Republic of China. Besides these Manchus the Sibe are now the only speakers

* This is a revised version of the preliminary paper titled "Plural Morphemes in Manchu" (1993).

of anything that can be called Manchu (Norman, 1974: 159). There is not much difference between Sibe (the language of the Sibe) and literary Manchu. Today, Sibe is believed to be spoken by some 20,000 people in Sibe Autonomous Region (northwestern part of Xinjiang, China bordering the former U.S.S.R.).[1]

Over a period of a few generations, political and historical forces have caused the Manchu to lose their language and much of their culture and to become marginal people in China, eking out a meagre existence in scattered villages in Heilongjiang Prefecture.

There are now 9,821,180 Manchus, living in Liaoning, Heilongjiang, Hebei, Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang, etc. Only some 50 people (all elderly persons, over 65 years old) are reported to speak Manchu fluently. Most of these Manchu speakers are living in small villages of Heilongjiang Province, e.g., Sanjiazi village (Fuyu county), Lanqui village, Wujiazi village, Kalun village (Heihe city), Yibuqi village (Tailai county), Sijitun village (Sunwu county). There are an estimated 1,000 people who can read and understand books in Manchu script. Manchu is a member of the Tungus-Manchu branch[2] of the Altaic language familiy.

1. Purpose of the Study

The present study re-examines the plural formation in Manchu, and attempts to describe more precisely the conditions under which the various plural morphemes are used, drawing data from resources of literary[3] and spoken Manchu.[4] Prior research on this

1 The total population of the Sibe is some 80,000 in China (1982 census). There are about 27,000 speakers living in the Sibe Autonomous Region.

2 Comrie (1981) classifies the Tungusic languages into two groups: Northern Tungusic (Evenki, Even or Lamut, Negidal, Solon) and Southern Tungusic (Manchu, Juchen, Nanay or Gold, Ulcha, Orok or Ulta, Udege, Oroch). Manchu thus belongs to Southern Tungusic group.

3 The present study has benefited greatly from these sources: Haneda Toru's *Manwa jiten* 'Manchu-Japanese dictionary' (1972), Park Eun-Yong's *Manjuo Munoyonku II* 'Studies in literary Manchu II' (1973), Jerry Norman's *A Concise Manchu-English Lexicon* (1978).

4 Some fieldwork on spoken Manchu was done in Sanjiazi village in 1992. The village has a population of about 700 people, out of which only some 20 people speak Manchu fluently.

subject has been rather sketchy, weak in documental support, most noticeably phonological interpretation. We argue that the plural morphemic variations are closely related to the vowel harmony in Manchu and also to other non-linguistic factors.

2. Plural Nouns and Vowel Harmony

In Manchu, the plural morpheme is predominantly used for human nouns and official titles (Ji and Liu, 1982). Norman (1965) notes that in Manchu only personal nouns have plural forms, saying that such forms as *morisa* (morin-sa) 'horses' must therefore be considered exceptional. In our study, the plural form *morisa* is not treated as exceptional,[5] the reason being that in the traditional Manchu culture, a horse played a very important role, inseperatable from the Manchu's daily life. The horse was used in their stock-farming, agriculture, hunting, and war. Use of the horse was so ubiquitous that the Manchu were often called a horseback nation[6] as Evens (or Lamuts) may be called a reindeer nation.[7] In Sibe, we notice the plural form of a cow and of a sheep, *ixas* (ixan-s) and *xonis* (xonin-s) (Li and Zhong: 1986: 40).

Common to all the Altaic languages is vowel harmony, which is generally characterized by two sets of vowels that cannot co-occur within the same word. The vowel harmony is well developed in Turkic and Mongolian, but less so in Tungus (Menges, 1968: 74) and Manchu. In what follows we will illustrate that the plural formation in Manchu is closely related to vowel harmony.

In Manchu there are various plural suffixes used in accordance with the vowel quality of the nouns they accompany. The harmonic suffix is largely determined by the quality of the stem final vowel. The following are those plural endings found in literary Manchu. The *A* of *-sA* and *-tA* below is unspecified for the harmonizing

5 Norman (1965) claims that the plural form *morisa* is exceptional.
6 In Manchu, there are about 80 different names for horses. Some of the examples include (Zhao, 1990):
unahan 'colt', sucutu 'two year old horse', artu 'three year old horse', saifatu 'four year old horse', taha 'small horse', ajirgan 'male horse'
7 In Even some 250 different names for reindeer have been reported (Dutkin, 1990).

feature; it stands for the archiphoneme representing non-high vowels *-a, ə,* and *-o* of *-sa, -sə, -so, -ta,* and *-tə.* (Notice there is not *-to* variation.)

I. -sA

1. *-sa:* bayasa (bayan-sa) 'rich people', hafasa (hafan-sa) 'government officials', hiyasa (hiya-sa) 'guards', hūwašasa (hūwašan-sa) 'abbots', ambasa (amban-sa) 'high officials', sadusa (sadun-sa) 'in-laws', fujisa (fujin-sa) 'ladies', šabisa (šabi-sa) 'disciples', hansa (han-sa) 'emperors', waŋsa (waŋ-sa) 'kings', sakdasa (sakda-sa) 'old people', jiyaŋgiyunsa (jiyaŋgiyun-sa) 'generals', antahasa (antaha-sa) 'guests'
2. -sə: gəgəsə (gəgə-sə) 'older sisters', mərgəsə (mərgən-sə) 'wise men', urusə (urun-sə) 'daughters-in-law', baturusə (baturu-sə) 'braves', jusə (jui-sə) 'children', dəosə (dəo-sə)/ dəotə (dəo-tə) 'younger brothers', bəiləsə (bəilə-sə)[8] 'rulers', gucusə (gucu-sə) 'friends', əcikəsə (əcikə-sə) 'uncles', irgəsə (irgən-sə) 'common people', guŋsə (guŋ-sə) 'dukes'
3. -so: moŋgoso (moŋgo-so) 'Mongolians', solhoso (solho-so) 'Koreans', gioroso (gioro-so) 'royal descendants, princes'

II. -tA

1. -ta: amjita (amji-ta) 'uncles', amuta (amu-ta) 'aunts', ahūta (ahūn-ta) 'older brothers', sargata (sargan-ta) 'wives', ambuta (ambu-ta) 'mother's elder sisters'
2. -tə: əmətə (əmə-tə) 'mothers', okətə (okə-tə) 'aunts', əshətə (əshən-tə) 'father's younger brothers', uhətə (uhə(n)-tə) 'younger brothers' wives', gətə (gə-tə) 'husband's elder brothers', əšətə (əšə-tə) 'brothers-in-law', gutə (gu-tə) 'father's sisters', gufutə (gufu-tə) 'husbands of father's sister', dəhəmətə (dəhəmə-tə) 'mother's younger sisters', əyutə (əyun-tə) 'elder sisters', əfutə (əfu-tə) 'husbands of elder sister', əigətə (əigən-tə) 'husbands'

On closer examination of the above data in I and II (-tA and -sA), we notice that the vowel harmony is apparently relevant to the plural formation in Manchu. That is, the suffix *-sA,* for instance, varies in form according to vowel harmony. In this study we reco-

8 In Jurchen, the plural form of *bəilə* was b*əisə,* but it became *bəiləsə* in the 17th century Manchu. Manchu is believed to be closely related to Jurchen.

gnize six different vowel phonemes: *i, u. ū, o, ə, and a,*[9] which may be classified into two groups.

Group I: u, o, ə
Group II: i, ū, a

The vowels are further analysable into distinctive features as shown below, using a matrix system:

	Group I			Group II		
	u	o	ə	i	ū	a
Tense	+	+		+	−	
Round	+	+	+	−	+	−
High	+	−	−	+	+	−

The blank above means that the feature is not relevant to or redundant for the segment. Note that the distinctions represented reflect phonological rather than phonetic considerations. On the basis of the information, we may summarize the plural formation as follows:

1. The plural suffixes *-sa* and *-ta* are used when noun stems end in Ca(N), Cū(N), or Ci(N),
i. e., $C\begin{Bmatrix} a \\ i \\ u \end{Bmatrix}(N)$.[10] In other words, the plural *-sa* or *-ta* occur with a noun stem ending in a vowel of Group II. Notice that all *-tA* (-ta, -tə) ending plurals are nouns specifically indicating one's kin rela-

9 Some Manchu scholars like Seong (1981) claims that the *ū* is an allophonic variation of the phoneme *u*. In our study the vowel *ū* is viewed as a separate phoneme. As evidence, we provide the following minimal pairs of words showing the contrast between *u* and *ū*.
aku 'teacher'/akū 'there isn't'; huru 'hill'/hūru 'a mouth harp (made of cow's horn and bamboo)'; kuru 'elevation'/kūru 'a type of sour cake (made from cow's or mare's milk and liquor)'; ulhu 'gray rat'/ ulhū 'reed'

10 Manchu nouns end either in a vowel or a nasal (n, ŋ). The nasal is the only consonant that comes at the end of a noun. It is, however, regularly deleted before a suffix. Exceptions to this rule are words 'king', 'khan', and personal names, in which case the following suffix is written with a space.

tionship (i.e. kinship terms), although certain kin terms have other plural markers (e.g., urusa 'daughters-in-law', mafari 'grandfathers').

2. The plural suffix *-sə* or *-tə* is uesd with a noun stem ending in *Cə(N), Cu(N), uV,* or *əV,* i.e., C$\left\{\begin{smallmatrix}\text{ə}\\ \text{u}\end{smallmatrix}\right\}$ (N) or $\left\{\begin{smallmatrix}\text{ə}\\ \text{u}\end{smallmatrix}\right\}$V. We should, however, note that when the final syllable of the noun ends in *u*(*N*) and is preceded by *a* in the foregoing syllable, the noun stem normally takes *-sa* as its plural suffix. For instance, in *sadusa* (sadun-sa) and *nakcusa* 'mother's brothers' (See *-sa* category above) the singular noun ends in *un* but it is preceded by the vowel *a,* so the suffix is *-sa,* not *sə.*

3. The plural suffix *-so* occurs with a noun ending in *o,* but there are few examples that use this plural suffix. The words listed above are all that we have found.

III. *-si:* ahasi (aha-si) 'slaves', həhəsi (həhə-si) 'women', hahasi (haha-si) 'men', hojihosi (hojihon-si) 'sons-in-law', omosi (omolo-si) 'grandsons'

IV. *-ri:* mafari (mafa-ri) 'grandfathers', mamari (mama-ri) 'grandmothers'

In categories III and IV, we observe that the plural formation has no relevance to the vowel harmony. In other words, the allomorphs in these categories cannot be phonologically predicted. The plural suffix *-si* is used to display contemptous treatment of inferiors. If the vowel harmony rule is applied to the data in III, we will get ungrammatical forms **ahasa, *həhəsə, *hahasa,* and so on. The *-si* nouns below, which seem to be semantically related to the plural *-si,* indicate inferior people or people who are lightly thought of (Wu, 1991).

namusi (namu 'warehouse' -si) 'warehousekeeper', usisi (usin 'field' -si) 'farmer', albasi (alban 'errand' -si) 'errand man', səjəsi (səjən 'cart' -si) 'footman', fusi 'lowly person', aŋgasi 'widow', mədəsi 'messenger'

Like the *-si,* the *-ri* is not subject to the vowel harmony rule. The *-ri* suffix connotes respect, or miraculousness. Originally, it was used only with 'god' related words. In the traditional Manchu society, their ancestors were regarded as divine spirits. The high level of respect accorded to grandparents is evident here with only these two words above exhibiting the *-ri* plural ending (at least we found no other examples in the literature). Norman (1965) and Park (1973) claim that these are the only two examples. The following are other words ending in *ri:*

əndurí 'god', muduri 'dragon', munari 'an exotic fruit', hūturi 'good fortune' (Cf. hūturi baimbi 'to pray for good fortune')

There are not many words that end in *-si* or *-ri* (Ji and Liu, 1982).

3. Special Plural Formation

In Manchu, *-sA* (*-sa, -sə*) or *-si* may be affixed to an adjective word to form a special plural noun (Liu, 1988). In this case the meaning of the plural noun is generic, and the vowel harmony seems to be largely responsible for the selection of the morphemic alternants with exception of two words *ambakasi* 'big people' and *ajigəsi* 'little people', words of 'size' as can be seen in the examples below:

bayasa (bayan 'rich' -sa) 'rich people', maŋgasa (maŋga 'strong' -sa) 'strong men', mərgəsə mərgən 'wise' -sə) 'wise men', ambakasi (ambakan 'rather big' -si) '(rather) big people', ajigəsi (ajigə 'small' -si) 'little people'

4. Plural Formation in Oral Manchu

In spoken Manchu, the plural formation is much simpler than in literary Manchu in that there is only one plural suffix *-sa*. In addition to this suffix, in oral Manchu, however, some inanimate nouns are made plural by reduplication of the nouns.

boo boo 'every house'/'houses', gašan gašan 'villages',
boco boco 'various colors', ba ba 'every place'/'places'
aniya aniya 'every year'/'year by year', golo golo 'provinces'

The use of reduplicated forms of nouns for plurality is, of course, not unique to Manchu. There are many other languages in which the reduplicated forms are quite commonly utilized as a plural marking device (e.g., Polynesian languages, Korean, and Japanese).

5. Concluding Remarks

We wish to point out in the present study that in literary Manchu the *-sA* is the most frequently used plural morpheme. As we observed earlier, the Manchu plural formation cannot be accounted for by linguistic explanation alone without some socio-cultural information on the Manchu. In order to have an in-depth understanding of the plural formation in Manchu, more extensive research may be required to compare Manchu plural morphemes with those in other Tunguisic languages such as *-sAl* in Sonon, *-səl* in Nanai, *-l/-sAl*[11] in Even, and *-s* in Sibe.

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11 See Koo's paper "On Plural suffixes in Even" (in mimeo).

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An Introduction to the Literature of the Sibe-People

by

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[Research carried out in 1993 at the University of Venice, with a grant from the Italian Government]

According to historical sources, the Sibe (in Chinese 錫伯 Xibo) already appear with this name during the period of tribal unification under Nurhaci (清太祖 Qing Taizu) at the beginning of the 17th century.[1]

Subdued by the Korcin Mongols up to the Kangxi period, the Sibe make an active entrance on the stage of history in 1764-1765 when, by Imperial order, some of them were transferred from Manchuria to Xinjiang, in order to defend the new territories just conquered by the Qing.

They settled along the Ili river, where they still live, in what is known as the "Autonomous Sibe district of Cabcal." Unlike their blood-relatives who remained in Manchuria and who, today, have been linguistically sinicized, the Sibe of the Ili Valley have still preserved their language (considered a Manchu dialect) and, because of this, have aroused the interest of linguists throughout the world.

Although research into the history of the Sibe people, undertaken especially in China and Japan and just recently in Europe,[2] is rather bountiful these days, very little is nonetheless known about Sibe literature. This is due almost entirely to the scarcity of sources and to difficult of access to them: publications in Sibe are very limited and are not usually available Xinjiang.

1 See the collection of Manchu archive documents *Cing gurun-i dangse ci sonjome banjibuha Sibe-i suduri mutun* ["Excerpts Concerning Sibe History Chosen from Qing Dynasty's Archives"], vols. 1-2, Urumqi 1987.

2 G. Stary, *Geschichte der Sibe-Mandschuren*, Wiesbaden 1985.

Regular editorial activity in Sibe began in the early 50's, and was brought to almost a complete standstill during the years of the "Cultural Revolution" (1968-1980), only to begin again with great enthusiasm in the 80's.

These premises are to be borne in mind in the following first-ever attempt to describe albeit summarily, the characteristics and content of Sibe literature. It should not, however, be forgotten that, running parallel to the commercialized publications, there is also editorial activity "for internal use", not available to the ordinary reader, like the stencilled literary review "Kuren folon". Our analysis can thus only take into consideration that part of Sibe literature that is more or less available to us, that is to say, the autochthonous part (works not translated from the Chinese) of the some 300 works in all that have been published to date.[3]

* * *

The first written documents of Sibe literature date back to the end of the last century and were collected - and thus saved - by Russian researchers. Xinjiang was then at the centre of the political and commercial interests of the tsarist Russia, and thus a destination for travellers, diplomats and scholars like V. V. Radlov, N. N. Krotkov and F. M. Muromskij. During their travels in "Eastern Turkestan" they collected manuscripts of various kinds or wrote down poetry, ballads, folk tales, fables, historical memoirs and shaman prayers.

Thus, from that moment on it is possible to subdivide Sibe literature into "prose works" and "verse compositions".

1) Prose works

a) Folk tales and fables

The first folk tales in Sibe language were published in 1895, by A.

3 For editorial activity in Sibe see Jin Ning, *A Catalogue of Sibe-Manchu Publications 1954-1989*, Wiesbaden 1989, and the supplements by M. Gimm, *Ergänzungen und Nachträge zu einem Katalog der Sibe (Xibo)-Literatur*, in "Aetas Manjurica", 3 (1992), pp. 73-108, and G. Stary, *Alcune aggiunte sull'attività editoriale in lingua Sibe*, in *ibid.*, pp. 213-221.

O. Ivanovskij in the second volume of his "Man'čžurskaja chrestomatija".[4] It deals with a "Kirghis story" and a "Tale about Emperor Kangxi", both transcribed phonetically by V. V. Radlov during his travels in the Ili valley in 1862.

Another collection of 13 tales transcribed phonetically by Radlov in 91 pages is called "Sidi kur" (< Mong. *šidi ke'ür* - "magic dead body"); considered lost for a long period, it is in course of publication at present.[5]

The collection of 53 tales transcribed by F. M. Muromskij and published during the last years by the Polish scholar S. Kałużyński[6] dates back to the years 1906-1908.

b) Historical memoirs

In the Manuscript Department of the Oriental Institute of St. Petersburg there exists a manuscript entitled *Ili-i ba facuhūraha erin-i baita be sakdasa-i gisurehe be donjime ejefi araha bithe*,[7] a Russian translation of which was published by A. A. D'jakov in 1908, i.e. "Reminiscences of a Sibe from Ili concerning the Dungan-Taračin rebellion of 1864-1871 in the Ili region".[8] The entire manuscript consists of 121+2 pages and seems to be a re-elaboration of a similar manuscript of 44 pages (entitled *Ili-i facuhūn be ejehe bithe* - "Description of the rebellion in Ili"),[9] the

4 St. Peterburg 1895; the Sibe texts have been recently re-published by H. Walravens, *Aleksej Osipovič Ivanovskij, a little-known Russian orientalist*, Hamburg 1982, pp.14-42. On the "Kirghiz Story" see also Jirō Ikegami 池上二良, *W. Radloff's Texts of the Ili Dialect of Manchu*, in "Sapporo University. Women's Junior College Journal" No. 12, (Sept. 1988), pp. 1-16, and No. 14 (Sept. 1989), pp. 17-30.

5 "Aetas Manjurica" No. 4, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz ed., 1994.

6 S. Kałużyński, *Die Sprache des mandschurischen Stammes Sibe aus der Gegend von Kuldscha*, I, Warszawa 1977.

7 M. P. Volkova, *Opisanie man'čžurskich rukopisej Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR*, Moskva 1965, No. 15, pp. 17-18.

8 A. A. D'jakov, *Vospominanija ilijskogo sibinca o dungansko-taračinskom vosstanii v 1864-1871 godach v Ilijskom krae*, in "Zapiski vostočnogo otdelenija imp. russkogo archeologičeskogo obščestva", No. 18 (1908), pp. 233-282.

9 Volkova, No. 14, p. 17.

work of Bališan, the teacher of Sibe to N. N. Krotkov, the Russian consul at Kul'dža. Both original versions still remain unpublished.

c) Shaman texts

An extremly rare shaman text entitled "Saman kūwaran-i bithe" ("The Book of the Shaman's Court") dating from about 1877, was handed to the Oriental Institute of St. Petersburg by N. N. Krotkov: it consists of a collection of prayers and shaman ceremonies practised by some Sibe shamans, in which prose and verse texts alternate. The entire manuscript was published[10] only in 1992 and turned out to be a variant of a similar manuscript compiled in the years 1873-1884, published for the first time in Urumqi in 1990 with the title *Saman jarin* - "Shaman prayers".[11]

2) Works in verse

The works in verse collected by the above-mentioned Russian scholars are concerned with folksongs, elegies and historical ballads, all dating from the second half of the last century or, in the case of Muromskij, from the early years of this century.

V. V. Radlov transcribed four folksongs and an "embryo" of a historical ballad dedicated to the conquest of Kashgar, to which we shall return later. The texts were published by A. O. Ivanovskij in the 19th century and later by other researchers.

F. Muromskij transcribed four songs, of which only one, a "wedding song", is preserved and has been published in Poland.[12]

The greater number of works in verse are however due to N. N. Krotkov who, unlike the other two scholars, preferred to have the texts written directly in Sibe (Manchu) instead of transcribing them phonetically. In his archive, kept in the Oriental Institute of St.

10 Tatjana A. Pang, *Die sibemandschurische Handschrift "Der Schamanenhof"*, Wiesbaden 1992 ("Shamanica Manchurica Collecta", No. 2).

11 German translation by G. Stary, *Das "Schamanenbuch" der Sibe-Mandschuren*, Wiesbaden 1992 ("Shamanica Manchurica Collecta", No. 1)

12 Kałużyński, p. 87, no. 52.

Petersburg, there are eight manuscripts containing various kinds of poems, among which the so-called "historical ballads", which are of particular value. Two of these are dedicated to the transfer of the Sibe from Manchuria to Xinjiang (*Ba nai ucun* and *Mukden ci tucike de bai ucun*), one to the conquest of Kashgar by the Qing troops (*Daicing gurun-i Kasigar ucun*), and two others concerning the well-known theme of the "Three Kingdoms" (*Ilan gurun-i ucun* and *Looye sunja furdan be duleke ucun*). One ballad is dedicated to the origin and victorious establishment of the Qing dynasty (*Muduri mukdeke ucun*). Added to these are two folk songs (*Fadu šeolere ucun* and *Sarin de uculere ucun*). All these manuscripts, with the exception of the two ballads on the theme of the "Three Kingdoms" and the one on the conquest of Kashgar, have been published and translated during the last few years.[13]

* * *

The literary material collected by the Russian scholars is important for two reasons:

1) It is a precious source for Sibe language at the end of last century and the early years of this century. This is particularly true of those texts which contain a phonetic transcription of the living language as actually heard.

2) As far as purely literary studies are concerned, it should be stressed that some works in verse, existing from the second half of the last century only in the form of short folk songs, have undergone

13 See G. Stary, *Mandschurische Reime und Lieder als Beispiele autochthoner Dichtkunst*, in "Florilegia Manjurica in Memoriam Walter Fuchs", Wiesbaden 1982, pp. 56-75; *Mandschurische Balladen und Lieder als historisches Spiegelbild der Ch'ing-Dynastie*, in "Fragen der mongolischen Heldendichtung, Teil I", Wiesbaden 1981, pp. 340-359; *Ein Nachtrag zu den 'Mandschurischen Balladen und Liedern als historisches Spiegelbild der Ch'ing-Dynastie'*, in "Fragen der mongolischen Heldendichtung, Teil II", Wiesbaden 1982, pp. 301-318; *Der Mandschukhan Nurhaci als Held mandschurischer Lieder und Gedichte - Teil II: volkstümliche und gehobene Dichtung*, in "Fragen der mongolischen Heldendichtung, Teil IV", Wiesbaden 1987, pp. 180-205. See also footnotes 17, 20, 21.

considerable artistic development and by now are long compositions with hundreds of verses. Thus, in some cases, it is possible to follow the evolution of a given composition from a simple folk song to a kind of "epic ballad".

* * *

The period between the turbulent years of the First World War up to the proclamation of the People's Republic of China has, it seems, brought about a reduction in literary activity. Reports which can not be verified speak of the brief existence of Sibe reviews in the 30's, but nothing is known about their content.

A certain literary activity has however existed since the first years of the Republic, as is shown by the poems of poets like Cangguwajai (dates unknown), Saracun (1885-1960), Siyalda (dates unknown) and Beilin (1903-1951). The 40's produced the poetic compositions of Jiošan (dates unknown) and of G'ujinan (*1923), at present the greatest living Sibe writer.[14]

With the creation of the Sibe Autonomous District, named "Cabcal", in 1954 there also arose intense editorial activity in the Sibe language. The language used now is different from that of the manuscripts collected by the Russian scholars and emphasises of the autochthonous elements; in fact, the "new" language can be calculated to contain 80% of words in common with Manchu, while the remaining 20% are made up of a lexicon that is typically autochthonous.[15] Added to this is a growing lexical influence of Chinese elements, which in some cases also substitutes other linguistic influences, for example, Russian ones:

numir (< Russian "nomer" - number) is substituted by the Chinese *hoo* (<號 *hao*),
piwo (< Russian "pivo" - beer) with *pijiu* (< 啤酒 *pijiu*),
pomidor (< Russian "pomidor" - tomato) with *sihungši* (< 西 紅 柿

14 Angiyūn [安 俊], U Yuwanfeng [吴 元 豐], Joo J'iciyang [趙 志 强]: *Sibe uksura-i šolokon suduri* [A Brief History of the Sibe People]. Urumqi 1985, pp. 511-513.

15 Heling [賀 靈], Tungkeri [佟 克 力], Kicešan [奇 車 山]: *Sibe uksurai an tacin* [Customs of the Sibe People]. Urumqi 1989, p. 249.

xihongshi),

teraktor (< Russian "traktor" - tractor) with *tolaji* (< 拖 拉 機 *tuolaji*).

However, sometimes we observe an attempt to translate (instead of transcribe) certain Chinese terms such as:

zij'isiyan (< 自 治 縣 *zizhixian*) = *beye dasangga siyan* ("self-administered county"),

sy jen bang (< 四 人 幫 *siren bang*) = *duin niyalmai hoki* ("Gang of Four").

Finally, we point out those neologisms which are formed by fusion of a Chinese element and a Sibe element, like *k'otacin* ("science"), formed from the Chinese *ke* 科 and the Sibe synonym *tacin*.

The main difficulties involved in studying Sibe literature are thus made up of not only the "autochthonous" lexicon, for which no dictionaries exist, but also of many transcriptions of Chinese words and their grammatical adaptation (for example conjugation: see *pipinglembi* < 批 評 *piping* "to criticise"); due to the lack of ideograms for them, the latter, especially, are often difficult to decipher.

* * *

Judging from the works published to date and from the very few studies yet completed, the literature of the Sibe comprises 1) Literature of "folk origin" and 2) "Authors' literature".

Literature of "folk origin"

In this field, the Sibe scholars distinguish seven different genres, namely:[16]

I. "Long Poems" *(gulmin irgebun)*

II. "Songs" *(ucun)*

III. "Biographical-historical tales" *(ulabun)*

IV. "Stories and Fables" *(jube)*

16 See the "References" given below.

V. "Sayings" *(dekdeni gisun)*
VI. "Riddles" *(onokcun).*
VII. "Sketches" *(handucun).*

I. Long Poems *(gulmin irgebun).*

These poems have also been defined, on the basis of their content and development, as "historical ballads" or "epic poems" and often find their origins in folk songs. The earliest nuclei of some poems are to be found in exactly those short compositions which were collected by the Russian scholars during the last century. Some of them are even today the subject of continious re-elaboration by Sibe poets and writers, and so it is possible to follow the evolution of a simple folk song into a refined epic-historical composition with hundreds of verses.

To date, the following "long poems" are known, some of which are characterized by more or less recent variants and rewritings:

1) Compositions dedicated to the transfer of the Sibe from Manchuria to Xinjiang.

To date we know 6 compositions whose subject is the theme of the transfer of part of the Sibe people in the 18th century.[17]

The first two, in chronological order, are the two poems collected by N. N. Krotkov (the already mentioned *Ba na-i ucun* and *Mukden ci tucike de bai ucun*). They are anonymous and comprise, respectively, 60 and 54 stanzas of 4 lines, characterized by alliteration at the beginning (each line of one stanza always begins with the same vowel or consonant) and a rhyme of the *a-a-b-a* type.

The third composition is called *Da gašan ci fakcaha ucun* ("Song about the separation from the original village") and consists of 120 verses that are not subdivided into stanzas and which do not have a verse pattern. The author is a certain Sijirhūn, also known by his "pen-name" Sibicen, in 1884 appointed "gūsai da" of the Blue Sibe Banner. He died in

17 For these versions see G. Stary, *Epengesänge der Sibe-Mandschuren*, Wiesbaden 1988, pp. 7-68

1910.[18]

The fourth and fifth compositions are works by the ethnographer and poet Guwan Singz'ai (Guan Xingcai 關興才 ?-1963), who re-elaborated and completed, with some descriptive details, the pre-existing folk songs.

Finally, the sixth composition is the work of Sinciyan of the Heyere clan, teacher at the middle school of Aisin Šeri, who transformed the subject into an "irgebun" of 239 stanzas with 956 verses. Unlike the previous compositions, this *Sibe-i gurinjihe irgebun* ("Ballad on the Sibe's transfer") now uses a language rich in local colour and which greatly accentuates social problems. The entire work was published in 5 instalments in the newspaper "Cabcal serkin".[19]

A very brief analysis of these six compositions brings out two major points:

I. - *from the point of view of content*, the first three compositions express the typical mentality of a Confucian education, a complete and unquestionable submission to the decisions of the dynasty. In the compositions of Guwan Singz'ai, written after 1949, there is more emphasis on the social aspects, the strictness of the dynastic regime, the corruption of the officials and the ensuing sufferings of the population.

II. - from the linguistic point of view one observes the use of the classical Manchu language in the first three compositions, whilst in the subsequent three compositions it is the lexicon of the Sibe language that dominates. The sixth composition, especially, uses a language which is very colloquial and thus difficult to understand.

18 Sufulin, *Sibe uksurai Ili de tebunenjihe amala-i gebungge ursei šolokon ulabun* ["Brief Biographies of Famous Sibe People after their Transfer to Ili"], Urumqi 1990, pp. 263-265, no. 169.

19 No. 1995 dated 6.11.1985, p. 3; No. 1996 dated 9.11.1985, p. 3-4; No. 1997 dated 13.11.1985, p. 3; No. 2001 dated 27.11.1985, p. 4; No. 2005 dated 11.12.1985, p. 3-4.

2) The "Song of Kashgar" (*Hasigar ucun*).[20]

The theme of this cycle is the war of the Manchu-Sibe troops against Janggar (張格爾), a descendant of the Hodjas who had ruled in Turkestan, the leader of four anti-Manchu rebellions (1820-1828); only in 1828 was he caught and killed by Sibe soldiers.

The first literary testimonies are found in a popular song transcribed by Radlov and made up of 14 four-line stanzas. A second composition of 35 stanzas was, in all probability, collected in 1903 by N. Krotkov, a variant of which with only 10 stanzas "sung by Baturbai of the third company" was published in 1984. Basing itself on these folk songs (*irgen ucun*), the theme was transformed into a long "irgebun" by Guwan Singz'ai in collaboration with Su Dešan (蘇德善). This new work comprises 255 stanzas and thus has 1020 lines, structured according to the already mentioned verse scheme (initial alliteration and rhyme a-a-b-a).

3) The "Song of Lasihiyantu" (*Lasihiyantu-i ucun*).[21]

Unlike the previous compositions, this poem has a central hero, Lasihiyantu (拉希罕圖), a young soldier of the Sibe-Manchu troops engaged in the conquest of Turkestan. His deeds and his meeting up with a culture hitherto unknown to him - the Islam one - form the content of this poem, the first version of which ("sung by Tacintai of the third company") has 472 lines. The action also concerns a love story, between Lasihiyantu and an Uyghur girl, Gulimaha, and thus, according to Chinese literary critics, the entire work constitutes an example of the peaceful cohabitation of the various nationalities of China (see references at the end of the paper). This work is anonymous and came into existence after the conquest of Kashgar by the Qing troops.

During the 1980's the text was re-elaborated by Hanja Hoojan (浩然) and transformed into a composition of 230

20 For the versions of this song see G. Stary, *Epengesänge...*, pp. 69-130.
21 For the version of this song see G. Stary, *ibid.*, pp. 130-164.

stanzas with a total of 920 lines.[22]

4) *Yacina.*

"Yacina" is the name of the protagonist of this composition which appears to date back to the time of the transfer, that is, to the end of the 18th century. It is the story of a young man who moves from his village to the banks of a river, where he lives as a fisherman until a great flood destroys his cottage. He then becomes a good hunter capable of maintaining himself and his family thanks to his perseverance and skill.

The text is extremely difficult because it uses a dialectal and local language which today is obsolete. It comprises stanzas of 4 verses, the first and third of which always begin with the name of the protagonist, Yacina:[23]

yacina yanjirde,
mafa mama juwe enen banjirde,
yacina yang dalin de,
muse mama juwe enen jiyang dalin de.

5) *Hairan gege.*

"Hairan gege" (lit. "Beloved Woman"), has for its subject the extremely poor life of a couple in "ancient times". The husband is forced to seek his fortune abroad. When, after years of being away, the separation from his wife (Hairan gege) becomes unbearable and he decides to return, he discovers that she has died of an illness. The composition is thus a vivid expression of his sorrow. It is in 27 stanzas of 10 lines each. Every stanza begins with "eri", the typical exclamation of sorrow, and ends with the invocation to the dead wife, "o! hairan gege!". The composition is anonymous and must date back to approximately last century: this can be deduced from the eighth stanza, where the husband talks of having been imprisoned in Russia:[24]

22 Hanja Hoošan, *Lasihiyantu-i ucun*, Urumqi 1987.
23 *Sibe uksurai irgen siden ucun*, Urumqi 1982, p. 192-196; also in G. Stary, *Ars Poetica Manjurica*, Wiesbaden 1989, pp. 304-305.
24 Heling [賀靈], Tungkeri [佟克力], Kicešan [奇車山]: *Sibe uksurai an tacin* [Customs of the Sibe People]. Urumqi 1989, pp. 333-334

Eri!	Eri!
oros bade genehe,	I went to Russia,
oros de jafabuha;	I was imprisoned in Russia;
ilan biya horibuha de,	after three months in prison
nimere yocara be wede alara;	who could I talk to about illness and discomfort?
yargiyani boo gašan be kidubuhai,	I longed to see my native village,
yàmji dari tolginame bitubuhe;	each night I lived it in my dreams;
šun biya be sabuhakūde,	I never saw the sun or moon again,
šolo funiyehe šehun šaraka;	and in the meantime my hair grew white;
O, hairan gege!	Oh, Hairan gege ["Beloved woman"]!

The theme of the separation of wife and husband, together with the sad ending (a very widespread theme in Chinese literature as well) and a very catchy use of language, are the reasons for this composition having become one of the most famous poems among the Sibe population.

6) The "Song of the Three Kingdoms" (*Ilan gurun-i ucun*).
This poem, seemingly dating from the last century and handed down in various forms, takes its origin from the novel of the same name; the version published in 1983 contains 98 stanzas which are rhythmically very elaborate due to a fundamentally constant number of syllables; each stanza comprises four verses constructed according to the scheme a-a-b-a; the first two verses always begin with the same vowel or consonant, for example:[25]

muduri jilgan be donji,	Listen the voice of the dragon,
musei gurun de fonji;	ask our country:
toro yafan-i ahūn deo be	the peach-garden's older and

25 *Ilan gurun-i ucun*, Urumqi 1983, p. 30.

seci,	younger brothers
jalan jalan de deji.	should fly generation after generation.

7) The "Poem of Mulan" (*Mulan-i irgebun*).
Belonging to this kind of historical composition there is also the "Poem of Mulan" which describes in 62 lines the story of the girl Mulan, who lived during the dynasty of the Northern Wei and belonged to the Xianbi 鲜 卑 people, of whom the Sibe claim to be descendants. Some critics see in it a literary proof of such descendancy, which from a historical viewpoint is not at all certain.[26]

8) The "Song of Šuhūwa" (*Šuhūwa-i ucun*).
As far as we are aware, the complete text of this "song" has not yet been published. It was composed during the 1940's and tells the story of the girl Šuhūwa, who lived during last century. It seems that the song was an elaboration of a story that was widespread among the Sibe, according to which Šuhūwa had to enter the harem of the local reigning Muslim on account of her beauty. As a concubine several times she had the opportunity to positively influence the politics of the Muslim prince towards the Sibe and, due to this, the figure of Šuhūwa was handed down in a legend called "The story of the divine Šuhūwa" (*Enduringge Šuhūwa-i ulabun*).[27]

II. Songs (*ucun*).[28]
The so-called "ucun" without a doubt constitute the richest

26 Angiyūn [安 俊], U Yuwanfeng [吴 元 豐], Joo J'iciyang [趙 志 强]: *Sibe uksura-i šolokon suduri* [A Brief History of the Sibe People]. Urumqi 1985, pp. 503-509.

27 See Kuang Su Meilin, *Enduringge Šuhūwa-i ulabun*, with English abstract *The story of the virtuous lady Šuhūwa*, in Ch'en Chieh-hsien (ed.), "Proceedings of International Ch'ing Archives Symposium, July 2 - July 6, 1978, Taipei, China", Taipei 1982, pp. 168-177.

28 Heling [賀 靈], Tungkeri [佟 克 力], Kicešan [奇 車 山]: *Sibe uksurai an tacin* [Customs of the Sibe People]. Urumqi 1989, pp. 253-412

chapter of Sibe literature. Side by side with simple folk songs handed down over the generations and thus anonymous, we also find recent compositions from the pens of contemporary poets and composers.

The enormous amount of songs known of to date has been subidvided by Sibe scholars into eight "genres":

1) Tributes (*Maktacara ucun*, or *maktacun*).

As can easily be deduced, these deal with praises composed in honour of worthy officials, popular heroes and military leaders such as Tubet, Ergule, Nasungga and Šusingga (the two soldiers who imprisonned the rebel Janggar - see the "Song of Kashgar"), Karmangga and many others. As well as songs about the distinguished figures of the Sibe people, there also exist compositions which extol the beauties of certain places, like "The Ode of Cabcal" (*Cabcal-i maktacun*) or "Dear native village" (*Haji boo gašan*).

2) "Advisory songs" (*Tafulara ucun*).

These are songs with educational purposes. They are aimed for the young, songs from parents to their children, from one friend to another, etc., as their titles themselves show:

Sefui gisun - "Words from the Master",

Hūsutuleme usin tariki - "Let us cultivate the fields with all our strength",

Uhei hūsutuleki - "Let us use all our strength together",

Ume faihacara - "Do not worry",

Sakda niyalmai jombun - "Advice of an old man".

3) "Songs concerning customs" (*An tacin ucun*).

These songs show the habits and customs of the people and thus are concerned with every aspect of daily life. According to the subjects they deal with, they are subdivided into:

a) "Burial and mourning songs" (*Umpure singgebure ucun*) (e.g. *Gasabume songgoro ucun, Songgoro ucun*).

b) Wedding banquet songs" (*Holbon sarin ucun*) (e.g. *Sarganjui fudere ucun, Ice urun be okdoro ucun*)

c) "Work songs" (*Weilere ucun*)
(e.g. *Duin forgon ucun*)
d) "Amusing songs" (*Saršame sebjelere ucun*)
(e.g. *Niman tatara ucun*)
e) "Songs concerning rules" (*Doro kooli ucun*)
(e.g. *Sengge be wesihulere ucun*)
f) "Religious songs" (*Akdan tacihiyan ucun*)
(e.g. *Sirin mamai ucun*).

It should be noted that according to Sibe scholars, the Shaman songs (Saman ucun) sung by the Shaman, the Elci, the Deoci and the Siyangtung during specific exorcisms, also belong to this genre.

4) "Street ~ steppe ~ field-songs" (*Giyai ~ Talai ~ Usin ucun*).
In general these refer to nature and extol the bucolic life, the mountains and rivers, and sometimes also animals and mankind, e.g.
"Field Song" (*Usin ucun*),
"The Yellow Earth" (*Suwayan na*)
"A Stupid Animal" (*Mentuhūn jaka*)

5) "Hunting songs" (*Abalara ucun*).
E.g. "The Song of the Butterfly" (*Domdokon ucun*) and "Song of the Hunter" (*Abalasi ucun*).

6) "Banquet-songs" (*Sarin ucun*).
These are generally long songs, sung during certain festivals, e.g. during wedding banquets. The oldest text is to be found in a manuscript collected by N. Krotkov.[29]

7) "Sentimental songs" (*Buyenin ucun*).[30]
More than songs, these are anonymous poems inspired by nature.

29 See Volkova..., no. 180.
30 Examples in G. Stary, *Ars Poetica Manjurica*, Wiesbaden 1989, pp. 316-326.

8) "New folk-songs" (*Ice irgen ucun*).
As the name implies, these are songs composed very recently. Their contents are often political and extol the social progress made under the guidance of the Communist Party of China.

These folksongs thus often have a political and educational role. Nonetheless, there is no shortage of compositions inspired by nature and the land of the Sibe, the Cabcal county. It is thus difficult to distinguish between "propaganda-songs", often published together with the corresponding musical notes (簡 譜 *jianpu*-system), and real poetry. An example of this is a collection of "ucun" composed on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Cabcal Autonomous County and published by the ethnographer Tạcintai in 1984. The collection[31] contains 72 short songs composed by Sibe poets, and their contents are mainly political as the titles themselves reveal, for example:

"Thanks to the Communist Party" (*Baniha gung can dang*),
"Singing in Honour of Prime Minister Zhou" (*Jeo zungli be uculembi*),both composed by Eldemboo.
"Praising the Party" (*Dang be maktacambi*), by Sirentai,
"Nostalgia for Comrade Mao" (*Moo jusi be kidumbi)*, by Šetuken.

The compositions by Siyoofu, of the same collection, have, however, more lyrical contents, e.g. in "My beloved Cabcal" (*Haji mini Cabcal*), the second stanza reads:[32]

Mudangga sidangga ili bira	Curved, broad Ili river,
menggun boljon debembi,	silver waves roll,
huweki tarhūn usin talade,	on the plains of fertile and fruitful fields,
acan yohi mekteme tarimbi.	everyone works the land with great zeal.
A!	Ah!

31 Tacintai, *Sibe uksurai fukjileme banjibuha ucun*, Urumqi 1984; see the introduction and partial translation in G. Stary, *Ars Poetica Manjurica*, pp. 197-251.
32 Tacintai..., pp. 67-70; Stary, *Ars Poetica Manjurica*, pp. 217-218.

Saikan meni mafa gurun alin bira,	Wonderful rivers and mountains of our fatherland [i.e. China],
ere oci mini haji eniye - Cabcal.	This is my dear mother - Cabcal.

The great differences existing within this genre of "folksongs" (民 歌) are underlined in a collection of "songs" by the poets Limei, Singlišan and Tiyešan, published in 1990.

Limei's composition, for example, consists of 301 stanzas, each comprising two verses subjected to very strict verse rules: in fact, every rhymed stanza always begins with the same vowel or consonant (alliteration), e.g.:[33]

yacin cecike ya ici deyehenggė be sarkū oho,
yamjidari jire agu ya ici yabuha be sarkū oho.
"No-one knows where the black bird flies,
no-one knows where the wayfarer goes each evening".

The subject of this collection is the relationship between nature and mankind, and it is written, like nearly all of its contemporary compositions, in a language that is full of local expressions. In comparing these two above-mentioned collections it also becomes difficult to define clearly what the Sibe mean by "ucun" - because, as we understand it, the term indicates both what we would generally call a "song" (with musical accompaniment), and a "poem".

Among the most famous contemporary poets, we name the following:

YUNGTORI UYUN (Chinese name: Jiushan 九 山). For many years he was the only Sibe poet known in the West, due to the study by a Hungarian scholar[34] of his poetry collection entitled

33 Limei 莉梅 等著 et. al., *Irgen ucun*, Urumqi 1990.

34 C. Melles, *A propos d'un recueil de poèmes de Yungtori Uyun, écrivain Sibo contemporain*, in "Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum

Gūsin yamji ("New Year's Eve") published in 1958. These are compositions with a very strong political and social emphasis, written in a language characterised by local expressions, neologisms and artificial creations many of which today are obsolete.

LINGFU. The only available biographical details come from a brief postscript to his main work, the poem (irgebun) *Hūwaliyasun jai Mergenje* ("Hūwaliyasun and Mergenje"), published in 1959. The only item of information concerning him reveals that Lingfu was a teacher at the "First Middle School of Cabcal". His compositions, based on an ancient Sibe fable, written in a modern tone, tell of how two youngsters approach the new socialist era in China after 1949. But, unlike other works of this kind (e.g. that of Yungtori Uyun), Lingfu's composition is pervaded with authentic, lyrical feelings and there are many references to nature extolled with simplicity and mastery. The complete work comprises 240 stanzas, each with four lines.

FULUNTAI 富倫太 (*1933) of the Guwalgiya clan (he also uses the Chinese name Guo Gengsheng 郭 根 生). His very numerous compositions are mainly published both in poetry collections and in the review "Sibe šuwen" as well as the newspaper "Cabcal serkin".

ELGIYECUN 爾吉春 (*1930), born to a family of peasants of the eighth *niru*, began to teach in the middle school at Kul'dža in 1948, transferring in 1951 to the one at Cabcal. Since 1953 he has been working in the Sibe publication sector of the "Xinjiang People's Publishing House" (*Xinjiang renmin chubanshe*) and since 1960 in the editorial office of the newspaper "Cabcal serkin". Since 1980 he has also worked at the Ili Cultural Institute. He is the author of more than one hundred

Hungaricae, No. 25 (1972), pp. 129-136. See the whole text in G. Stary, *Ars Poetica Manjurica*, pp. 1-64.

compositions, mainly dedicated to his native land and to the nature that characterizes it. 47 of his most important works (among which there is no lack of political songs) were published in 1991 with the title *Boo gašan maktacun* ("Praise of the Native Village").

FU JINZ'AI 富金才. We only know of his poetry collection entitled *Ahūn nun šeri* ("The Brother-Sister Fountain"), Urumqi 1985. These are poems and compositions - sometimes having hundreds of verses - dedicated to the past and present life of the Sibe people, and for the most part characterized by the classical scheme of Manchu poetry (stanzas of four verses, initial alliteration , rhyme of a-a-b-a).

Finally, among both poetry and prose, we find the most famous of the Sibe writers, G'UJINAN (郭基南). Born in 1923 to a family of peasants in Cabcal, from 1935 onwards he attended the schools founded by Chen Tanjiu 陳潭秋, Mao Zemin 毛澤民 and Lin Jilu 林基路 and, in 1939, the "literary courses" of Zhang Zhongshi 張仲實 and Mao Dun 茅盾. In 1953 he joined the CP and in 1967 was accepted into the Xinjiang Union of Writers. Fallen in disgrace during the period of the "Gang of Four", he was reinstated by the 3rd General Congress of the CC of the CCP and in 1980 was elected vice-president of the "Union of Writers of China", Xinjiang Section. His literary activity began in 1939 under the pseudonym Beji and since then he has published hundreds of poems, songs, odes and works in prose (essays, stories, novels and theatrical works). Among his most famous poetical compositions we find the "Songs of the Heart" (*Niyaman-i ucun*), a collection of strong political inspiration, together with compositions which extol, with mastery, the nature of the Cabcal landscape.[35]

Other poets whose compositions are published in the above-

35 See G. Stary, *Note sulla vita e sull'opera di G'ujinan, poeta e scrittore del popolo Sibe*, in "Aetas Manjurica", No. 1 (1987), pp. 99-118.

mentioned journals and in specific collections, but whose biographical details are very sketchy, are Agebai, Guwan Šude, Gejun, Yangjiri Jenyuwan, Jakdan, Heyere Singciyan, Tungjoofei, G'uyuwakal, Šetuken, Getuken, Banjisu, Ujala Šumutun, Ujala Wenling, and many others.

III. "Biographical-historical tales" (*Ulabun*).

Literally translated, "ulabun" means "tradition" and in prose literature indicates those stories which refer to important episodes of the past. They are subdivided into "ulabun" about the period before the transfer and those about the period after the transfer. Of the earliest period we only know of three "ulabun", these beeing *Sirin mama, Kudure inenggi* and *Sabingga gurgu*, while there are many stories handed down from the second period: these concern the transfer itself, the deeds of heroic figures, and the protection of the frontier.

IV "Stories and Fables" (*Jube*).

The term "jube" (in Manchu "juben" or "julen") means imaginary stories, fables and tales, in which the Sibe culture is very rich.

To date two series[36] of these stories have been published, one of ten volumes and one of (up until now) two volumes. In total more than 200 stories and tales have been published, which local scholars have classified in the following five groups:[37]

1) "Tales of [daily] life" (*Banjin jube*), whose contents reflects everyday life.

2) "Tales for children" (*Eihun jusei jube*).

3) "Animal tales" (*Aššasu-i jube*): these are rather rare and are of educational value. The animals that appear in them are the wolf, the tiger, the bird in general, the dog, the hare, and the

36 *Sibe uksurai irgen siden jube*, vols. 1-10, Urumqi 1984-1991, and *Jube sonjon*, vols. 1-2, Urumqi 1987-1988.

37 Angiyūn [安俊], U Yuwanfeng [吳元豐], Joo J'iciyang [趙志强]: *Sibe uksura-i šolokon suduri* [A brief history of the Sibe people]. Urumqi 1985, pp. 443-445.

snake.

4) "Tales about famous sayings" (*Dekdeni gisun-i jube*).

5) "Tales about Divinities" (*Enduri jube*).

All of this material, due both to its recent publication and its local lexicon, has not yet been studied.

V. "Famous sayings" (*Dekdeni gisun* [lit. "Winged words": cf. German "Geflügelte Worte"]).

A collection of more than 300 examples was translated into German in 1986.[38]

VI. "Riddles" (*Onokcun*).

According to local scholars, these also form part of the folk literature of the Sibe. Here are two examples:[39]

beye gubci suwayan weihe,	Its body is full of yellow teeth,
yamji ome ujube gidambi,	every evening it lowers its head,
šun tucime uju tukiyefi injembi.	at sunrise it raises its head and laughs.
(šun ilha)	(The sunflower).
elei fulgiyeci elei yendembi,	The more you blow, the more it grows,
muke jai boihon ci gelembi.	but it fears the water and the earth.
(tuwa)	(Fire).

VII "Sketches" (*Handucun*).

Finally we should mention a literary genre introduced from China during the 1930's of this century: it is the so-called "handucun", that is, theatrical sketches or musical plays (戲 曲

38 G. Stary, *Mandschurische 'Geflügelte Worte'*, in "Ural-altaische Jahrbücher", N.F. 6 1986, pp. 153-183.

39 See Angiyūn... (note 37), pp. 451-455.

xiqu) in part recited, in part sung by two or three people.

In the Sibe language they are also known by the term "Yanggal", from Chinese 秧歌 *yangge*, which, like the Manchu "handucun" (*handu+ucun*) literally means "rice-song". Two versions exist: the one on the *pingdiao* 平調 tune, coming from Gansu and Qinghai, and the one on the *yuediao* 越調 tune, coming from Shensi and, deriving, it seems, from the local *Mei-hu* 眉戶 play. The first version was introduced in the 3rd and 6th *niru*, the second in the 4th and 6th *niru* by special "teachers" (*sefu*) invited for this purpose. The first performances were in Chinese, but they were soon replaced by local compositions, having as their subjects the daily life of the past and present. To date, only five "handucun" have been published with the corresponding musical notes, by the Sibe ethnologist Tacintai.[40]

Authors' literature

Alongside the rich chapter of "folk-origin literature" (where, as we have seen, we also find lyrical poetry, which often originates from anonymous folk poetry), there also exists obviously another kind of literature which, for the moment, we shall call "Authors' literature".

This genre includes novels, tales, and collections of short stories by contemporary authors. The publications are still rather rare and very recent, and thus analytical and comparative studies are missing. Of the few authors whose works are published in this genre, we mention the following:

G'UJINAN, already cited as a prolific writer in the lyrical field. His most recent publication is a collection of 21 short stories written during the period of 1986-1989 and published in 1990 with the title *Usiha be gurure niyalma* ("The Star-Collecting Man"). A similar collection of 20 essays dedicated to various aspects of the life and culture of the Sibe, often written in form of "conversations" was published in 1989 under the title *Niru gašan-i juse omosi* - "Children and Grand-Children of the *Niru*-Villages". Two other stories of his, entitled *Abalasi* ("The

40 Tacintai, *Sibe handucun*, Urumqi 1989.

Hunter") and *Niyaman-i jilgan* ("The Voice of the Heart"), are found in a collection of various stories published in 1990 under the title *Abalasi* ("The Hunter"). Additionally, a collection of his partly autobiographical historical-literary essays, entitled *Jungar-i ice miyamin* ("New Images from Zungaria"), was published in 1984. The 12 essays date from the period 1963-1982 and were first written in Chinese and later translated into Sibe by Linglan.

UJALA ŠUMUTUN (舒慕同) in 1990 published a book entitled *Liyan Hūwa mama-i jube* - "The Tale of Grandmother Liyan Hūwa". It is the biography, written in the form of a novel, of a historical figure well-known to the Sibe - Liyan Hūwa of the Tunggiya clan of the 3rd *niru*, who died at the age of 46. The book is based on a manuscript entitled *Hūsun amba hehe Liyan Hūwa* ("The Strong Great Lady Liyan Hūwa"), found by the editor in the house of a friend of the first *niru*.

The same Ujala Šumutun is also the author of a historical novel dedicated to the struggle against the troops of the Guomindang, entitled *Han Yailak-i afan* ("The Battle of Han Yailak"), published in Urumqi in 1989.

UJALA LIYANŠENG is, like the previous writer, the author of a book dedicated to the turbulent period of the 40's, and specifically to the famous "Sibe Cavalry Squadron" founded in 1944. His book is entitled just that, *Sibe moringga liyan coohai ejebun* ("Records of the Sibe Cavalry Squadron"), and is a form of historical research interlaced with novel-like elements (Urumqi 1987).

GETUKEN (格吐肯), also famous as a calligrapher, is the author of fable-like stories, where passages of prose and poetry are interwoven and alternate to form real masterpieces of artistic arrangement. A typical example is his collection of stories entitled *Yasai muke jai silenggi* ("Tears and Dew"), published in Urumqi in 1991.

The life of mankind, the nature that surrounds it, and the beloved places of the native landscape are the main theme of a work written entirely in verse comprising 36 compositions, entitled *Umudu gege-i iruhe ushacun* ("The Hidden Resentments of an Orphan"), Urumqi 1990.

Occupying a position between literature and calligraphy, there is a publication dedicated to his artistic calligraphy, comprising poems by famous poets such as the already-mentioned Guwan Sing'zai *Sibe uksurai gurinjihe ucun* - "Song on the transfer of the Sibe", Bei Siyofu *Han tiyang giyer-i maktacun* - "Ode to Han-tiyang-giyer", G'ujinan and others.

And finally, in addition to these contemporary authors, we must also point out two writers from last century, whose works, however, have only recently been released.

HEYER WEKJIN

Wekjin of the Heyer clan of the fifth *niru* came into the history of Sibe literature as the author of the "Letter from Hūifa sentry-post" (*Hūifa karun-i jasigan*, Urumqi 1982). Written around 1881, the "Letter" - sent to members of the author's family - gives a first-hand account, with lively personal participation, of a period spent on duty served at a sentry-post along the border with Russia.

DONJINA

Donjina is the pseudonym of Dehai of the G'ang clan and who came from Qiqihar, Manchuria. As a soldier of the Manchu troops he was transferred during the last century to Xinjiang where, due to illness, he decided to spend the rest of his life, settling down with the Sibe in the Ili valley. During his long stay he took note of "all the strange things he had seen and heard". The result consists of a manuscript of 6 chapters, which were re-ordered and published in 1989 by Yongj'ijiyan under the title *Donjina-i sabuha donjiha ejebun* - "Records of all that Donjina saw and heard". In its final form the work is divided into two parts: the first is called "Records on some things concerning the Ili region" (*Ili ba-i udu hacin ejebun*) and consists of 12 sets of "Records" about the places and the military life of the Ili region. The second part is called "Strange stories and rumors" (*Ferguwecuke donjin ulabun*) and consists of 29 stories of fantastic and unreal happenings, passed down by word of mouth among the people.

The work opens with a poem of 10 stanzasof four lines each, composed according to the classical scheme of Manchu poetry. In the first stanza Donjina introduces himself to the reader:

Cicihar hoton-i Donjina,	[I], Donjina of the town of Cicihar,
Cing gurun fon-i niyalma;	[am] a man of the times of the Qing dynasty;
cihalan buyen-i beyebe sehe,	Fired with desire and nostalgia
cihanggai coohai meyen de jihe.	[I] willingly came with the army units.

This poem entered into the history of Sibe literature under the name "The Song of Donjina" (*Donjina-i uçun*). The complete work is notable not only for its lively and flowing language but also for the unusual topics of the second part which sometimes recall the fantastic stories of Chinese literature.

* * *

In this brief and incomplete outline of Sibe literature we have only taken the so-called "autochthonous" works into account, thus excluding all the translations made from other languages (first and foremost from Chinese, but also directly from Russian, such as a recent one of the "Prisoner of the Caucasus" by Puškin[41]). Likewise we have also left out any reference to works not strictly associated with literature, such as historical, scientific, and political, works etc.

Nonetheless, we have thought it fitting to make this attempt - the very first one beyond the Chinese borders - in honour of the great value that the literature of this small minority has shown itself to possess.

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Important New Sources for the Study of Tibetan Geography

An Analysis of a Recent Chinese County Place Name Index of Dzamthang in Eastern Tibet

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Introduction

Recently available Chinese county place name indexes of Tibetan areas that give the Tibetan script form of each place name provide an entirely new set of data for foreign scholars of Tibetan studies.[1] In fact the information available is so vast, and covers such a wide range of topics that it is difficult to describe in any brief manner. For this reason the present study will focus on the main contributions to the study of the geography of one part of Eastern Tibet that is presently administered as Dzamthang County of Sichuan Province in order to provide a concise yet detailed analysis of these new sources.[2] The location of Dzamthang County in Asia is presented in figure 1.

1 To date 9 county place name indexes (*Xian Dimінglu*) published by the Aba Tibetan and Chiang Autonomous Prefecture of Sichuan Province have been received by the South Asian Division of the Library of Congress. The specific indexes received are of Aba, Barkam, Heishui, Hongyuan, Jinchuan (Quqên), Li, Xiaojin (Zainlha), Zamtang, and Zoigê counties (as romanized according to official PRC sources). These indexes were compiled during the 1980s by the local governments of each county. The *Xian Diminglu* for Têwo county located in the Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture of Gansu Province has also been received. All 10 of these indexes were in the process of being cataloged by the Library of Congress in 1993.

2 Due to the way in which the county place name indexes received are practically identical in format, and as this format is modelled according to a

This study will be divided into three main parts, 1; a general description of the geographical and historical setting of Dzamthang county, 2; an in-depth study of Kathog township, one of Dzamthang county's ten townships, to illustrate the exact level of detail provided by these county place name indexes, 3; a brief description of the method for the treatment of place names used by the author in this present study.

Although the Chinese title for these works is *Diminglu*, which literally translated means place name index, the wide range of data available for such topics as the areal extent of cultivated land and crop yields, population levels of specific ethnic groups in each township, local historical literary sources (in both Tibetan and Chinese), and historical geography leads the author to prefer the more appropriate term of gazetteer. However, it is necessary to refer to these works as place name indexes in order to avoid confusion with actual Chinese county gazetteers (*Xianzhi*). Unlike recent Chinese *Xianzhi* compiled according to the Chinese historical tradition of local record-keeping that mainly contain textual descriptions of important places and events in a county, these *Diminglu* provide very precise information concerning the location and name of almost every place and natural feature in each county. The data is assumed to be of high quality as it is derived directly from the monitoring and collection functions of local level Chinese work-units (comprised of both local Tibetans and Han Chinese) and is intended primarily for official use.[3] No Chinese or foreign publisher is known to provide these indexes for foreign sale or distribution in any manner. The specific volumes available to

national standard, this study may be considered as a template for the analysis of county place name indexes in terms of their potential benefit to all forms of research in the social sciences concerning geographic areas administered by the PRC. The specific volume analyzed in this study is the *Zamtang Xian Diminglu* (*Dzamthang County Place Name Index*, Barkam, 1986).

3 It would appear that the county level statistics contained in the *Zhongguo Fenxian Nongcun Jingji Tongji Gaiyao, 1980–1987, 1988, 1989* (*Summery of Rural Economic Statistics of China by County*), published by the *Zhongguo Tongji Chubanshe* (China Statistics Press, Beijing, 1989–1990), are derived from these same local-level survey results of the early 1980s. Many of the figures for the key economic indicators of this publication are merely county-level totals of the more extensive data contained in such *neibu* (work-unit-internal) works as the *Xian Diminglu*.

the author for this study were apparently given as gifts to a foreign visitor to Aba prefecture by local level officials perhaps ignorant of their total significance. Certainly the medium-scale foldout county maps included in each volume are in themselves extraordinary additions to available cartographic sources pertaining to Tibet.

Faced with the unavailability of detailed local records and maps of a particular area of interest in Tibet the foreign scholar who is unable to travel to the area is often forced to rely on fragments of relevant information from diverse sources in order to attempt to visualize those facets of cultural and physical geography of relevance to a regional study. The focus of this paper, although based mainly in the discipline of geography, is intended to help all scholars of the social sciences interested in geographic areas and/or specific bodies of knowledge in Tibet to understand the quality and extent of information recent county place name indexes provide concerning how human settlement patterns and activities are expressed spatially and temporally in specific localities in relation to local environmental and social conditions. Often the complexity of contemporary Tibetan studies research of a highly specialized nature and the corresponding splintering of area studies concerns into the specific methods of focus and analysis of different academic disciplines prevents this kind of inter-disciplinary data concerning Tibet from being easily available.

Part I

The Geographical and Historical Setting

The present-day boundary of Dzamthang county mainly follows the crests of parts of the drainage basins of the Dzi Chu and the Do Chu, two important rivers of this part of the Eastern Tibetan Plateau that comprise a segment of the Yangtze watershed. The two valleys of the Dzi Chu and the Do Chu, including the numerous side valleys, provide the most important areas for human settlements as the congregation of villages and monasteries in these valleys indicates. In fact it is these river-gorge regions that contain most of Tibet's settled population as compared to the smaller percentage that reside on true plateau areas at higher elevations. The town of Dzamkhog located on the bank of the Do Chu is the largest settlement in this valley and also the current seat of Dzamthang county. The main road that reaches Dzamkhog from the Sichuan-Tibet highway to the south continues north-eastward over a mountain pass and connects the Do Chu valley with that of the Dzi Chu. Located in the valley of the Dzi Chu is the important monastery of Dzamthang from whence the county derives its name.

This monastery belongs to the Jonangpa tradition of Tibetan buddhism, and is one of the most important centers for this school today.[4] After the Fifth Dalai Lama closed down all Jonangpa monasteries and forbade the publication of their texts in the seventeenth century in the areas of Tibet under his authority (resulting in part from certain Jonangpa religious tenets being earlier condemned as heretical by Tsongkhapa and his Geluk followers[5]) the Jonangpa continued to flourish in this rather inaccessible part of the Tibetan Plateau aptly illustrating the remoteness of this region and relative lack of historical records pertaining to it.[6] Although this and other Tibetan areas located in the vast border regions that historically separated Tibet and China were once united under the rule of the early kings of Tibet, the subsequent breakup of that empire in the 9th century resulted in many localities such as that of Dzamthang becoming either independent or falling under the authority of neighboring principalities. The survival of the Jonangpa tradition of Tibetan buddhism would indicate that the Tibetan settlements in the valleys of the Do Chu and Dzi Chu were for the most part isolated from events occurring both to the east in China and to the west in Central Tibet. Faced with attempting to account for such vacuums in the historical geographic

4 Kapstein, Matthew, "New Sources for Tibetan Buddhist History", *China Exchange News*, 19 (Fall/Winter 1991): 16–17.

5 Batchelor, Stephen, *The Tibet Guide* (London: Wisdom Publications, 1987), p. 314.

6 One of the better known Tibetan texts that deals in part with the geographical region of Dzamthang is the *Dpal ldan Jo-nan pai'i chos 'byun rgyal ba'i chos tshul gsal byed zla ba'i sgron me (An Historical Account of the Jo-nan-pa Tradition of Tibetan Buddhism)*, by the 'Dzam-than Bla-ma Nag-dban-blo-gros-grags-pa. Library of Congress call number: BQ7674.2.N34 1983.

extent of the rule of dynastic China it is usual for Chinese sources to define the local governing authorities of this region within the context of the *T'u-ssu* system. This well known system was organized by the Ming and Manchu (Qing) dynasties to deal with such neighboring peoples as the Tibetans through the granting of court titles to local lay or monastic chiefs. But due to the rugged terrain of the Sino-Tibetan borderlands and great distances that separated the political centers of China and Tibet this system often functioned more in theory than in practice. In a section of the *Zamtang Xian Diminglu* (ZXD) devoted to the history of the Jonangpa monastery of Dzamthang a passage states that in 1419 (the 16th year of Yongle) the head lama of Dzamthang travelled to Beijing to receive a title bestowed upon him by the Ming emperor.[7] Based on only this small piece of history it could be argued either that the granting of such titles helped the native elites to wield power under Chinese suzerainty, or that these local leaders faced the Chinese as equals on issues of trade and diplomacy and it is only as a result of traditional chauvinistic Chinese protocol that all foreign embassies to the imperial court were depicted as vassals. While it is clear that the daily lives of the farmers, herders, and monks of Dzamthang first began to be directly administered by local Chinese officials after the founding of the PRC in 1949, and subsequent establishment of Dzamthang county, the complete history of this region still needs to be carefully examined.

An understanding of the contemporary hierarchical nature of the administrative divisions of Chinese counties is vital to utilizing the county place name indexes to find the location and name of a specific place, such as a village or monastery.[8] The current ad-

7 Pages 81–83 of the ZCI are comprised of a section on the history of Dzamthang monastery which describes its founding in 1378 and important subsequent events up to the 1950s. Of additional interest in this regard is the reference to the creation of a Mdo-khams 'Dzamthang pacification commission (*Duogan Cangtang zhaotaosi*) in 1375, noted in Gu Zucheng, et al., *Mingshilu Zangzu shiliao* (Lhasa, 1982), p. 32.

8 The county itself comprises the 3rd-order administrative division in China. The provinces (*sheng*), autonomous regions (*zizhiqu*), and national-level municipalities (*shi*), such as Beijing, comprise the 1st-order administrative divisions. 2nd-order administrative divisions consist of either regions (*diqu*) or autonomous prefectures (*zizhizhou*), such as the Aba Tibetan and Chiang Autonomous Prefecture where Dzamthang county is located.

ministrative divisions of Dzamthang county are shown in figure 2. In the case of Dzamthang county there are three districts (*qu*) that are organized into a total of ten township (*xiang*). In addition, the large town (*zhen*) of Dzamkhog is directly administered by the county government due to its special status as the administrative seat of the county.[9] In figure 3 the names of these minor administrative divisions are listed with the names of their village seats. It is important to understand that contemporary Chinese maps tend to place the name of the county, district and township next to the settlement symbol of the actual administrative seat, thus preventing the map reader from obtaining the local settlement names in favor of these more recent administrative names. The complexity of this situation will be fully addressed in the next section of this study that will focus in-depth on Kathog township.

Part II

An In-depth Study of Kathog Township

The township of Kathog, like other townships in the Dzi Chu valley, tends to correspond in area with the natural river valley subsections created by the local topography. In Figure 4 a detailed map of Kathog township is presented. The township forms the basic organizational unit for data contained in Chinese county place name indexes. During the early 1980s the townships were created from the existing communes (*gongshe*). In terms of reconciling the previous commune names in the ZXD with the current township names it is important to realize that the designation of commune was merely changed to that of township. In almost all cases the name remained the same.

The settlements of each specific township are organized by the government of China into small administrative divisions termed simply "village" (*cun*). Individual settlements, which mainly con-

9 This total number of 1 town, 3 districts, and 10 townships for Dzamthang county is typical for counties of the relatively sparsely inhabited region of the Tibetan Plateau as compared to the lowland rice cultivating regions of China Proper where it is not uncommon for the highly populated counties to have 3–5 towns, 10–15 districts, and 30–60 townships.

sist of villages but also include monasteries and livestock herders' encampments, are termed "natural villages" (*zirancun*). Until the early 1980s these small administrative divisions were termed production brigades (*dadui or shengchandui*). In this present study the author has adopted the terms administrative village and regular village to describe this relationship. On the medium-scale map of Dzamthang county contained in the ZXD (see Figure 4) it is important to note that all of the administrative villages are depicted, while only some regular villages are included.[10] The number of settlements shown on the county map may be compared with the total number of settlements that are listed in the Kathog township place name list of the ZXD. It may be noted that the administrative villages of Kathog and Khyiloma are unique in Kathog township in that their administrative seats are in regular villages of different names even though regular villages named Kathog and Khyiloma exist within the respective administrative villages. In the remaining five administrative villages the name of each administrative village is the same as the specific regular village that serves as its seat. Perhaps in the cases of Kathog and Khyiloma these place names are of great local significance, and are thus preferred for the administrative village names which for practical reasons of site selection (such as the limitation of road access) have their seats in different regular villages.[11]

The 30 settlements of Kathog township consist of 24 villages, 2 monasteries, and 4 tent dwelling livestock herders' encampments. Although all of the settlements except one are named in the place name list of the ZXD for Kathog township, only 13 of the settle-

10 For this reason the latitude and longitude coordinates given in Figure 7 of the locations of Settlements are only exact for those regular villages depicted on the county map, while coordinates approximated to the tenth of a degree are given for the remaining settlements that are named in the index but not shown on the map. It is important to note that due to the way in which the indexes list all settlement names in groups according to their administrative village (which are all shown on the county maps) it is possible to approximate the location of each settlement in this way.

11 This tendency of the local authorities to name many administrative villages after a wellknown local place is illustrated in many examples throughout the county place name indexes. Often the name of a local monastery is adopted for the name of an administrative village while a nearby village serves as its actual seat.

ments are depicted on the medium-scale county map (Figure 4).[12] Large-scale Chinese topographic maps do exist from which this kind of detailed information contained in the county place name indexes is partly compiled from. In the preface to the ZXD it is clearly stated that 1:100,000 topographic maps were used as the base maps for the county survey. Certainly these large-scale topographic maps are highly sensitive to the Chinese military authorities in all regions of the PRC. And unlike the county place name indexes that are only limited in their accessibility and thus not necessarily "illegal" for a foreigner to obtain in China, large-scale Chinese topographic maps are given a secret classification by the Chinese government. But considering the way in which large scale topographic maps can now be drafted independent of ground surveys due to recent advancements in remote-sensing technology it is ironically the place name and boundary information provided by these Chinese county place name indexes that is the most vital to improving the imperfect knowledge in the West of Central and Inner Asian geography.

This in-depth study of Kathog township has up to now illustrated the exact extent and quality of data contained in Chinese county place name indexes in terms of the location, type, and geographic distribution of settlements. At this point several brief examples of some of the additional data is presented. Figure 5 lists the population, number of livestock, and amount of cultivated land in Kathog township by administrative village. Besides focusing only on the small area of a township it is also possible to study larger regions by combining the data for particular townships. In Figure 6 the population for all of Dzamthang county by township is presented.[13]

12 It is important to note that the monastery of Samar is only indicated on the Dzamthang county map, while the Kathog township place name list of the ZXD identifies Samar as a livestock herders' encampment. Due to this discrepancy the author has indexed both a monastery and an encampment in this paper.

13 It is important to note that these population figures include only people with *hukou*, i.e. an official Chinese term that denotes those people with legal residential status, and thus excludes the "floating" population.

Part III

The Treatment of Place Names

Within the area of the present-day Chinese county of Dzamthang almost every place name is written locally in the Tibetan script. In the Kathog township place name list of the ZXD the Chinese character renderings of the Tibetan place names are purely phonetic. No attempt is made to translate the literal meanings.[14] In fact, due to the disparities between Tibetan orthography and phonology these Chinese character phonetic renderings of the local pronunciation of Tibetan place names are of some value to Western efforts at romanizing Tibetan place names for use in maps and publications. The PRC does employ a Tibetan place name romanization system of its own, but the county place name indexes available for this study do not list the romanized forms of the Tibetan place names according to this system.[15] Instead, the indexes list the romanized forms of the Tibetan place names according to the *pinyin* system that reflects standard Mandarin pronunciation. This failure of the indexes to adhere to national guidelines in this respect is not surprising considering that the *"minority pinyin"* systems were designed for propagating PRC romanizations of Central and Inner Asian place names in the West, not within China itself where the Latin alphabet is of course not used at local levels.

In this present study the author has phonetically transcribed the Tibetan place names according to the general rules of the Wylie system in order to allow Western readers to more readily comprehend what the actual Tibetan spellings of the names most like-

14 A confusing aspect of the Chinese character renderings of Tibetan (as well as Mongolian and Uighur) place names concerns how particular characters are chosen to phonetically transcribe specific Tibetan letters. One of the best recent studies of this problem was published in China in the journal *Diming Zhishi* (*Place Name Knowledge,* 1991, No. 6) entitled "Toponymic Research on the Standardization of Translating and Writing Tibetan Place Names" (*"Cong Diming de Kaozheng Tan Zangyu Diming Yixie de Guifanhua"*), by Wen Shengyun.

15 See *Zangyu* (*Lhasa Hua*) *Diming Yiyin Guize* (*Tibetan* (*Lhasa Dialect*) *Place Name Transcription Rules*), compiled by the Chinese Survey Ministry (Beijing, Survey Press, 1986).

ly are. A complete place name table is presented in Figure 7 that lists the Tibetan script forms of the place names of Kathog township and their various Roman and Chinese character transcriptions. As to which Roman transcription system should be favored in maps and publications pertaining to Tibetan regions is very problematic due to the political ramifications concerning this debate. Because maps form such a strong statement as to the political status of an area the Tibetan issue has made it impossible for maps of Tibetan areas to be compiled that employ a romanization system for place names without offending at least one party to the issue. Of course the map maker would be quite diplomatic to simply give each place name in its Tibetan script form, or if Latin letters must be employed a literary transcription would suffice. But since the only organizations with the funds and resources to compile extensive map series of foreign areas tend to be governmental, and the intended map users (usually military) require place names that phonetically transcribe the local pronunciation of the name in a script that they can read, disagreements over which Tibetan phonetic transcription system is best are unlikely to end anytime soon.

Conclusion

The preceding analysis of Chinese county place name indexes of Tibetan areas has mainly focused on how the names and location of villages and monasteries can be obtained through an understanding of how data is organized in the indexes. Although it would appear that practically all the settlements and natural features of a county are named in each index, limitations imposed by the scale of available topographic maps of the Tibetan Plateau prevent the precise geographic coordinates of all settlements to be determined. Nevertheless, the picture that emerges of how human activity is expressed spatially in specific areas is far more detailed than that provided by other documented sources. However, several important limitations of these indexes need to be addressed. The first, and most obvious limitation, is that at present only 10 indexes have been obtained and deposited in a major library. Considering how vast the geographical extent of Tibet is, it is regrettable that detailed sources are only available for a relatively small area. Also, the manner in which these works index Tibetan place names only by their official PRC Chinese character renderings is problematic. It would be helpful if a separate Tibetan alphabetical index of all the Tibetan place names listed in these recent PRC sources was also available. The author is currently compiling an atlas and place name index of Tibetan regions based on both the data contained in the *Xian Dimінglu* analyzed in this article, and similar data contained in other kinds of place name indexes published recently by the local governments of the Tibetan Autonomous Region and Qinghai Province. The author plans in a future article to present the project scope and methodology of this Tibet atlas and place name index.

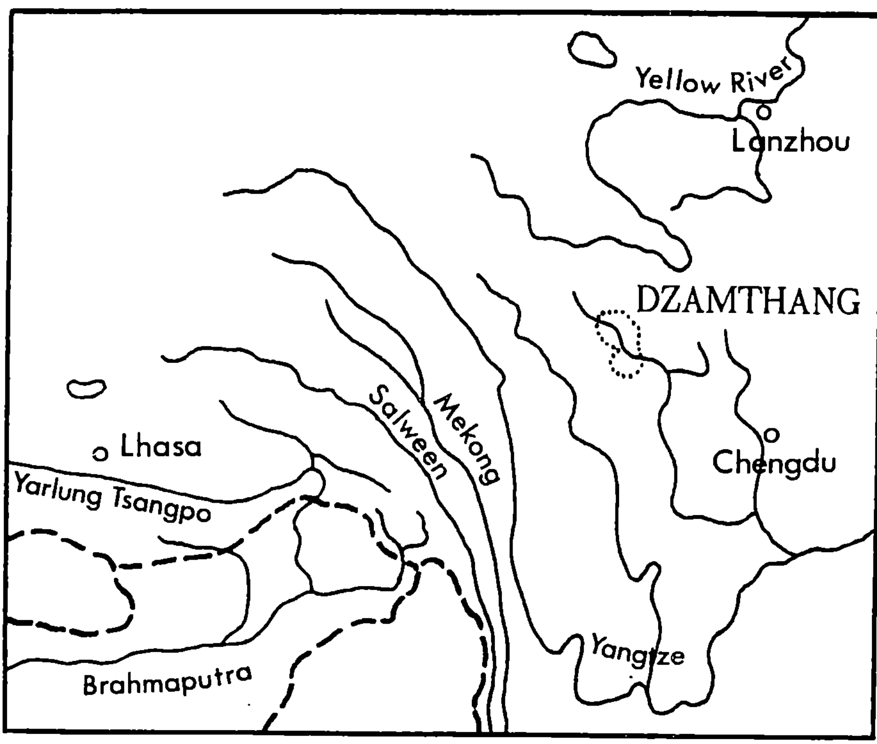

Figure 1
Location of Dzamthang county in Asia

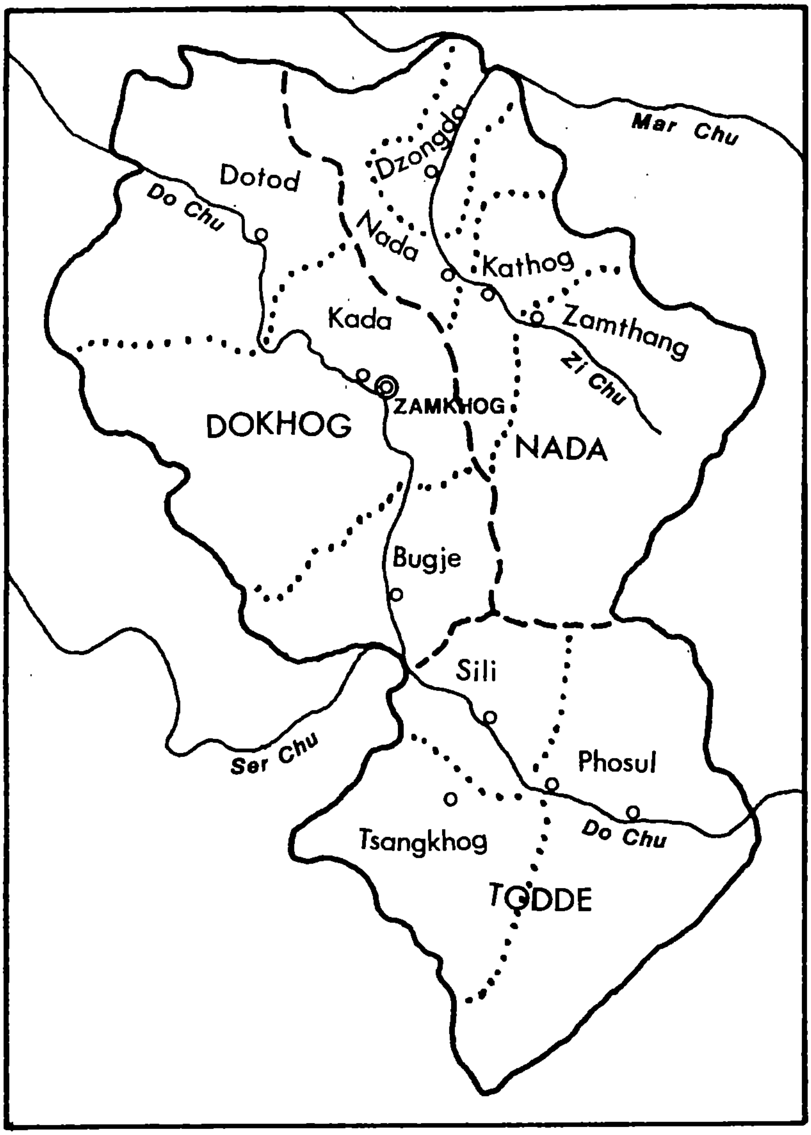

Fig. 2
Map of the Administrative
Divisions of Zamthang County
——— County
– – – – – District
· · · · · · · · Township

Roman Name	Desig.	Tibetan Name	Chinese Name	Latitude	Longitude
Dzamthang	COUN	འཛམ་ཐང་	壤塘		
Dzamkhog	VILL	འཛམ་ཁོག་	壤柯	32°16'	100°58'
Dokhog	DIST	རྡོ་ཁོག་	杜柯		
Dzamkhog	VILL	འཛམ་ཁོག་	壤柯	32°16'	100°58'
Kada	TOWN	ཀ་མདའ་	岗木达		
Kada	AVIL	ཀ་མདའ་	岗木达	32°17'	100°56'
Dotod	TOWN	རྡོ་སྟོད་	上杜柯		
Bugya	AVIL	བུ་རྒྱས་	吾克基	32°26'	100°48'
Bugje	TOWN	བུག་རྗེ་	吾伊		
Dodu	VILL	རྡོ་དུ་	尔多特	32°02'	100°59'
Todde	DIST	སྟོད་སྡེ་	上寨		
Yuna	VILL	ཡུ་ནས་	伊里	31°49'	101°12'
Phosul	TOWN	ཕོ་སྲུལ་	蒲西		

Designation Key for Figure 3

COUN = County
DIST = District
TOWN = Township
AVIL = Administrative Village
VILL = Regular Village

Buo	VILL	འབུ་འོས་	蒲荷	31°47'	101°18'
Tsangkhog	TOWN	ཙང་ཁོག་	宗科		
Gyamon	AVIL	རྒྱས་སྨོན་	加斯满	31°48'	101°04'
Sili	TOWN	སི་ལི་	石里		
Hildo	VILL	ཧིལ་མདོ་	德木多	31°54'	101°07'
Nada	DIST	ན་མདའ་	南木达		
Nathang	VILL	ན་ཐང་	纳塘	32°24'	101°04'
Nada	TOWN	ན་མདའ་	南木达		
Nathang	VILL	ན་ཐང་	纳塘	32°24'	101°04'
Dzongda	TOWN	རྫོང་མདའ་	茸木达		
Dzongda	AVIL	རྫོང་མདའ་	茸木达	32°31'	101°03'
Kathog	TOWN	ཀ་ཐོག་	旮多		
Kashabthang	VILL	ཀ་ཞབས་ཐང་	旮牙塘	32°23'	101°07'
Dzamthang[1]	TOWN	འཛམ་ཐང་	中壤塘		
Dzamthang	AVIL	འཛམ་ཐང་	壤塘	32°21'	101°11'

Figure 3
Names of the Administrative Divisions of Dzamthang County and their Village Seats

1 Post 1988 PRC sources list an additional township of "Upper Zamtang" for this county.

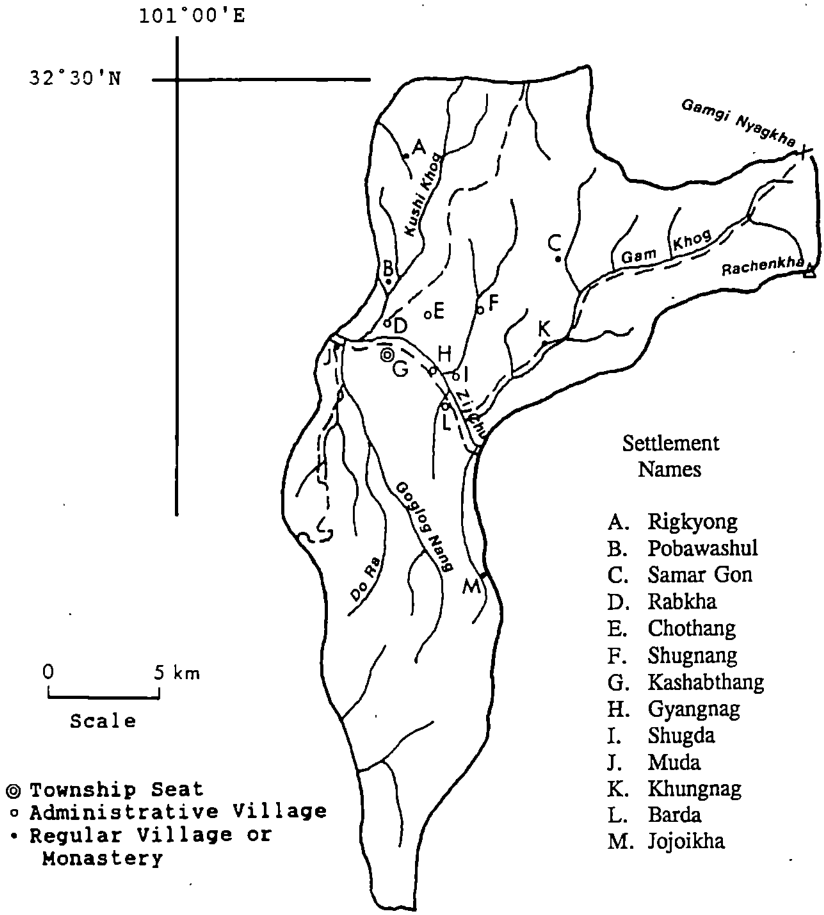

Figure 4
Detailed map of Kathog Township[1]

1 This map is based on the original Chinese map of Dzamthang county contained in the *Zamtang Xian Dimínglu* at the scale of 1:320,000. The above section showing Kathog township has been enlarged 141% and all place names have been presented in a Roman script form.

Figure 5
Kathog Township Population, Livestock, and Cultivated Land

Administrative Village Name	Population	Cultivated Land[1]	Livestock
Kathog	396	756	2,270
Khyiloma	196	460	968
Barda	383	731	2,310
Rabkha	602	1,058	3,038
Chothang	278	706	1,953
Shugda	429	964	2,731
Shugnang	322	364	2,124

1 Area of Measurement in Mou.

Figure 6
Dzamthang County Population

	Township Name	Population (Total)	Tibetan	Han	Other[1]
Dzamthang County		27,828[2]	21,746	5,892	190
Dzamkhog[3]		5,842	406	5,302	134
Dokhog District	Kada Dotod Bugje	2,196 2,486 1,978	2,149 2,473 1,963	47 12 14	0 1 1
Todde District	Phosul Tsangkhog Sili	2,163 2,071 1,301	1,893 2,056 1,275	241 14 26	29 1 0
Nada District	Nada Dzongda Kathog Dzamthang	2,540 1,218 2,722 3,311	2,367 1,208 2,672 3,284	165 6 40 25	8 4 10 2

1 Population levels for small groups of the Yi, Tujia, Qiang, and Hui ethnic groups (as named in official PRC sources) are also given. The *Zamtang Xian Diminglu* does not state what kinds of social activities these ethnic groups are engaged in, or how long they have resided in this area.

2 This total population figure does not agree exactly with the figure of 28,165 given in both the introduction to the *Zamtang Xian Diminglu* and the *Population Atlas of China* (New York, 1987). However, the small discrepancy is most likely due to the fact that the *Zamtang Xian Diminglu* does not provide population figures for the many small shops and offices listed on pp. 73–77.

3 Due to the special municipality status that the County seat of Dzamkhog occupies within the administrative divisions of Dzamthang County population data pertaining to Dzamkhog is not included within one of the ten Townships.

The large population figure for Dzamkhog is due to the inclusion of Aba Prefecture Dzamthang Forestry Bureau (Aba Zhou Zamtang Linyeju) personnel population figures. The *Zamtang Xian Diminglu* provides a one page description of this bureau. Although its headquarters are located in Dzamkhog the personnel are scattered in different parts of the county engaged in logging operations. The complete data on the dates and areal extent of areas logged are of value to the study of Tibet's forest resources. The specific ethnic composition of this bureau's personnel is as follows: Han 3637; Tibetan 43; other 32. It would appear that one of the main reasons for the movement of large numbers of Han Chinese into Eastern Tibet is for the exploitation of forest resources.

PRC Roman/ Wylie Roman	Desig.	Tibetan Name	Chinese Name	Lat.	Long.
Gatog/ Kathog	TOWN	ཀ་ཐོག་	ggan多	32°23'	101°07'
Gaxabtang/ Kashabthang	(VILL)	ཀ་ཞབས་ཐང་	旮牙塘	32°23'	101°07'
Gatog/ Kathog	AVIL	ཀ་ཐོག་	旮多	32.3	101.1
Gaxabtang/ Kashabthang	(VILL)	ཀ་ཞབས་ཐང་	旮牙塘	32°23'	101°07'
Karwar/ Kharwar	VILL	མཁར་བར་	克尔洼	32.3	101.1
Kyiloma/ Khyiloma	AVIL	འཁྱིལ་ལོ་མ་	切洛玛	32.3	101.1
Gyangnag/ Gyangnag	(VILL)	རྒྱང་ནག་	江拉	32°22'	101°08'
Damke/ Tamke	VILL	དམ་ཀེ་	达木克	32.3	101.1
Mêkongma/ Megongma	CAMP	མེས་གོང་མ་	明郎公玛	32.3	101.1

Pata/ Barda	AVIL	འབའ་ མདའ་	曼木达	32°21'	101°08'
Kagu/ Khaku	VILL	ཁ་སྐུ་	克尔格	32.3	101.1
Chagko/ Tago	VILL	བྲག་མགོ་	扎俄	32.3	101.1
Wamchoko/ Wamtogo	VILL	ལྷམ་འབྲོ་ མགོ་	阿木珠各	32.3	101.1
Cisib Gönba/ Zisib Gompa	MONS	འཛི་སྲིབས་ དགོན་པ་	日梭贡巴	32.3	101.1
Qoquäka/ Jojoikha	CAMP	ཛོ་ཛོའི་ཁ་	足足卡	32°18'	101°09'
Rabka/ Rabkha	AVIL	རབ་ཁ་	热不卡	32°24'	101°06'
Muta/ Muda	VILL	སྨུ་མདའ་	门底	32°23'	101°05'
Ayi/ Ayi	VILL	ཨ་ཡིས་	阿尔伊	32.3	101.1
Tongko/ Dogo	VILL	གདོང་མགོ་	洞戈	32.3	101.1
Pangxab/ Bangshab	CAMP	འབངས་ ཞབས་	芒亚	32.3	101.1

Qõtang/ Chothang	AVIL	ཆོས་ཐང་	求塘	32°24'	101°07'
Bopawaxü/ Pobawashul	VILL	པོ་བ་ཝ་ ཤུལ་	阿西	32°25'	101°06'
Rigyong/ Rigkyong	VILL	རིགས་སྐྱོང་	热格炯	32°28'	101°07'
Xuta/ Shugda	AVIL	ཤུག་མདའ་	刑木达	32°22'	101°08'
Raob/ Raob	VILL	ར་འོབས་	热窝	32.3	101.1
Ripong/ Riphong	VILL	རི་འཕོངས་	仁朋	32.3	101.1
Kamnang/ Gamnang	VILL	འགམ་ནང་	安木郎	32.3	101.1
Kungnag/ Khungnag	VILL	ཁྱུང་ནག་	孔纳	32°23'	101°11'
Xugnang/ Shugnang	AVIL	ཤུག་ནང་	昔郎	32°24'	101°09'
Qanying/ Janying	VILL	ཛ་སྙིང་	甲来尔粱	32.4	101.1
Samar/ Samar	CAMP	ས་དམར་	萨玛尔	32.4	101.1
Samar Gön/ Samar Gon	MONS	ས་དམར་ དགོན་	萨玛尔贡	32°25'	101°11'
Raqinka/ Rachenkha	PEAK	ར་ཆེན་ཁ་	日青卡	32°25'	101°18'

Kamki Nyagka/ Gamgi Nyagkha	PASS	འགམ་གི་ ཉག་ཁ་	昂木尼阿	32°27'	101°18'
Kam Kog/ Gam Khog	STRM	འགམ་ ཁོག་	昂木柯	32°21'	101°09'
Ci Qu/ Zi Chu	STRM	འཛི་ཆུ་	则曲	32°38'	101°07'
Koglog Nang/ Goglog Nang	STRM	སྒོག་ལོག་ ནང་	二戈洛郎	32°21'	101°06'
To Ra/ Do Ra	STRM	རྡོ་ར་	杜热	32°21'	101°06'
Guxi Kog/ Kushi Khog	STRM	ཀུ་ཤའི་	格西柯	32°24'	101°06'

Figure 7
Place names of Kathog Township

Designation Key:
AVIL = Administrative Village
CAMP = Campsite, Nomad Tent Dwelling(s)
MONS = Monastery
PEAK = Mountain Peak
PASS = Pass, Gap
STRM = Stream
TOWN = Township
VILL = Village

Xinjiang Kazak Adoption Practices

by

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China officially recognizes fifty-five minority nationalities (*xiaoshu minzu*), besides the Han Chinese. The changes in China during the 1980s have allowed Chinese ethnologists to publish the field material gathered during the 1950s. These publications will give us wider insight into the cultural variation of the areas of China which still are, to a large extent, blank spots on the ethnographical world map. In a recently published book concerning the Ili Kazak Autonomous Prefecture of Xinjiang a few "pre-revolutionary" customs among the local population are mentioned. One custom described among the Kazaks of the Ili Valley before 1949 is the institution of adoption.[1] While doing ethnographical field work in the late 1970s among Kazak refugees in Turkey who had left Xinjiang before or in connection with the Communist takeover, I discovered that young boys addressed their biological fathers as "older brother." This turned out to be widespread, and, in fact the boys actually regarded their fathers as brothers. As newborn infants they had been adopted by their own grandparents

* Paper read at the Nordic Seminar on Minorities in the People's Republic of China, May 28–29, 1990. NIAS, Copenhagen. This paper is presented as part of the Central Asian research project at the Centre for Multiethnic Research, Uppsala University, sponsored by the Swedish Council for Research in Humanities and Social Sciences 1984–1988. For a list of project publications, see Ingvar Svanberg, *Kazak Refugees in Turkey. A Study of Cultural Persistence and Social Change*. Studia Multiethnica Upsaliensia, 8. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1989, pp. 210–211.

1 *Yili Hasake Zizhizhou Gaikuangu* 伊犁哈萨克自治州概况, ed. Chen Yunbin. Urumqi 1985, p. 15. For details concerning the distribution of various minority nationalities of China, see Dudley R. Poston Jr. and Jing Shu, *The Distribution and Composition of the Major Minority Groups in China*. Population Research Center, the University of Texas at Austin. Paper No. 7.005. Austin 1985.

who raised the children as their own. The children were thus assimilated into that family, viewing their real father as an older brother.[2]

The institutionalized practice of the adoption of a child by grandparents and senior siblings is widespread among Turkic and Mongolian peoples of Central Asia. The ethnological literature on adoption is scant, however. Very few handbooks on kinship systems and household organizations deal with the custom.[3] It may be defined as the institutionalized practice by which a child aquires new social ties that are defined as equivalent to the congential ties. The institution function as *an* alternative way of child care. The interest of ethnologists in problematizing the adoption custom has also been very limited. It is not until very recently that a few American and British cultural anthropologists have written about the institution of adoption in Africa and East Asia. The best-known case in ethnographical textbooks is the practice of adopting a girl or a boy in order to prepare for a marriage between the adopted child and the biological child of the family among the Taiwanese peasant households.[4] The custom in Central Asia, however, is of another character than the Taiwanese case.

Since information concerning adoption in Central Asia is very limited, I will not restrict myself to the Kazaks of Xinjiang but also exemplify the habit among the neighbouring Turkic and Mongolian-speaking peoples of Central Asia and Kazakstan as well as of Outer Mongolia.

2 Ingvar Svanberg, *Kazak Refugees in Turkey. A Study of Cultural Persistence and Social Change*, Studia Multiethnica Upsaliensia, 8. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1989, pp. 128–129.

3 Robert H. Lowie, "Adoption, Primitive," pp. 459–460 in *The Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 1. New York: Macmillan 1930; Eugene A. Weinstein, "Adoption," pp. 96–100 in *The Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*. New York: Macmillan, 1968; Jack Goody, "Adoption in Cross-Cultural Perspective," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 11 (1969), pp. 55–78; Joan B. Silk, "Adoptation and Fosterage in Human Societies: Adaptations or Enigmas?," *Cultural Anthropology* 2 (1987), pp. 39–49. For a compilation of examples from the ethnographical literature, see Heinrich Ploss, *Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der Völker*. Leipzig 1912, pp. 676 ff.

4 Margery Wolf, *Women and the Family in Rural Taiwan*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972, p. 61 ff; Arthur P. Wolf and C. S. Huang, *Marriage and Adoption in China, 1845–1945*. Stanford: Stanford University Press 1980.

Adoption in Kazakstan, Kirgizistan and Uzbekistan

The custom is also described among the Kazaks of Kazakstan, although the evidence in the literature is also limited. The Kazak scholar Khalel Argïnbaev has described the traditional practice in a book on social organisation among the Kazaks. According to him the most common reason for adopting a child was childlessness. A couple might need to secure an heir. Another reason could be to secure a companion fo their own child.[5] It was possible to adopt a child from relatives or also from someone else. The adopted child enjoyed the same hereditary rights as the biological children did.[6]

Among the Kirghiz families the practice of bringing up adopted children is widespread. It is customary not only in childless families, but also in families having their own children. Usually children from cognate relatives are adopted. The Soviet ethnographer S. M. Abramzon relates several cases of adoption in his field report from a Kirghiz kolkhoz.[7] During the Second World War adopting a Russian child was widespread among the Kirghiz.[8] The Kirghiz author Kasïmalï Bayalinov even wrote a popular short story about a Kirghiz family who adopted a girl from Leningrad. The name of the story was *Al emi zhetim emes* ('She is not an orphan anymore') and was published in the reading book for 3rd grade primary school pupils in Kirghizistan.

Soviet ethnographers mention that Karakalpak *bays* often adopted (*asïrau* 'to adopt') the children of their dead distant relatives. They used the children as farm hands and housemaids and exploited their labour, considering the guardianship a benefit to the children.[9] In families where the senior generation had reached

5 Khalel A. Argïnbaev, *Qazaq xalgïndagï cem'ya men neke*. Almatï: "Kazakstan" 1973, pp. 62–63; Cf. also Alfred E. Hudson, *Kazak Social Structure*. Yale University Publications in Anthropology 20. New Haven 1938, p. 36.
6 V. V. Vostrov, "Kazakhi," p. 433 in *Narody Srednei Azii i Kazakhstana*, vol. II. Moscow 1963.
7 S. M. Abramzon, *Byt kolkhoznikov kirgizskich seleniy Darkhan i Chichkan*, Moscow 1958, pp. 234 + 236.
8 S. M. Abramzon, "Kirgizy", p. 278 in *Narody Srednei Azii i Kazakhstana*, vol. II. Moscow 1963.
9 R. Kosbergenov, "Polozhenie karakalpakskogo naselenya v Khivinskom khanstve v konce XIX-nachale XX v.," p. 257 in *Materialy i issledovaniya*

old age and already had married adult sons or daughters it is possible to see foster children adopted by quite an old wedded couple according to one of the two ancient customs. The most widespread one of these customs consisted in the young married couple giving their first-born child to the husband's parents for upbringing and usually adoption. The other custom was called *etekke saliw* (literally 'putting into a tail'). It was practiced not only by the old parents, but also by other childless relatives of that young couple. The baby was put into the tail of a dressing gown and in a festive celebration was handed over to the adopting relative.

In the post-war years the adoption custom has became more modern, and now even stranger's orphans are adopted, including those of another nationality. The adopted children are brought up with much care, enjoying the rights of a native-born child.[10]

Among the Tadzhiks in Jazgulemtsev the practice is mentioned of giving away a child as a fosterchild to protect it. If a woman's baby dies soon after its birth, her next born child is given to another women of the same *kaum* (lineage) whose children always survive. She feeds it with her milk, and brings him up until he is grown, sometimes until the age of eight to ten. The child is then returned to its own parents.[11]

The Adoption Custom in Mongolia

Among the Tuvins in Bayan ölgiy Aymag of Outer Mongolia it is still common for the first-born child to be offered to the grandparents for adoption. Adoption also occurs in connection with childlessness.[12]

The Khotons of Uvs Aymag in Outer Mongolia are said to be of Uighur origin, descendants of settlers or prisoners-of-war from the

po etnografii Karakalpakov, red. T. A. Zhdanko. Institut etnografii imeni N. N. Miklukho-Maklaya. Moscow 1958.

10 T. A. Zhdanko, "Karakalpaki," p. 492 in *Narody Srednej Azii i Kazakhstana*, vol. 1. Moscow 1962.

11 L. F. Monogarova, "Materialy po etnografii Jazguletsev," in *Sredneaziatskii etnograficheskij sbornik* N.S., 47. Moscow 1959, pp. 80.

12 Erika Taube, "Mutter und Kind im Brauchtum der Tuwiner der Westmongolei," *Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig*, XXVII (1970), pp. 76–77.

area today regarded as Xinjiang. When only girls are born in a family, a boy is adopted so that the family hearth would not die out.[13]

The custom has also been widespread among the Mongols. First, there is the custom of letting children grow up in a stranger's or relative's home to protect them from demons. This method of pseudo-adoption may have the same social impact as a real adoption. However, the child does not change its status. It still remains the child of its biological family. As do the Kazaks, the Mongols also adopt children within the kin group. Children are usually adopted between related families to secure heirs. The Chinese and Manchu custom of adopting a prospective son-in-law also occurs among the Mongols.[14]

Uighurs in Xinjiang

In the summer of 1986 I met a young Uighur woman in Urumchi who lived with her grandmother. Her parents had allowed her to be adopted and raised in her grandparents' household. She was then aware of that she was an adopted child and accepted the fact her parents had given her away. She often visited them and referred to them as parents. She was very independent regarding her parents, and she continued to live in her grandparents' household.

In Turpan, according to unpublished field notes gathered during fieldwork in the autumn of 1989 by my American colleague Mr. Justin Rudelson, the custom still survives. In the Turpan area the practice of offering the first born to the grandparents is fairly widespread, or, if a sibling remains childless, he will be offered a child of his brother.

The Xinjiang Kazaks

The Xinjiang Kazaks are fond of having children. They like to have small children around. "A house without children is a ceme-

13 Magdalena Tatár-Fosse, „The Khotons of Western Mongolia," *Acta orientalia Hungaricae*, XXXIII:1 (1979), p. 24.

14 Françoise Aubin, "Le statut de l'enfant dans la societé Mongoles," *L'Enfant*, 1 (1975), pp. 475–479.

tery; a house with children is a bazaar," as they say. If a couple remains childless there are certain cures used in order to induce conceptions. However, Kazaks never need to be childless, since the custom of adoption is so widespread among them. The custom seems to have been very common among the Xinjiang Kazaks in the pre-1949 period, according to my field notes from Kazak refugees living today in Turkey. However, the custom still exists among the Kazaks of Xinjiang. Kazak informants in Urumchi told me in 1986 that the custom was fairly widespread among their people.

The custom is well-known, but the documentation available is poor. However, some observations may be made. We have no data about extra-familial adoption practice among the Kazaks. In a novel-like description of Kazak refugees in Anatolia in the 1950s, the author Godfrey Lias claims that a well-known Kazak exile leader took care of several orphans.[15] However, the situation was very special at that time, since the refugees had lost a lot of lives during their almost two year long flight from Xinjiang to Kashmir. These "orphans" were also not regarded as adopted children in the Kazak refugee community in Turkey, but rather as servants dependent upon this particular leader.

According to the Koran an adopted child should not have the same rights as a biological child. Instead, the Koran is harsh in its view of adopted children.[16] The Kazaks do not pay any attention to the view of the Koran in this, as in many other matters. There are no references to religion at all in the custom of adoption among the Xinjiang Kazaks.

According to my filed notes, the most common cases were that a man should offer the first-born to his parents or, if they were not alive or did not want the child, to his older brother. This was done to show respect for their elders, as they say. Among the Kazak refugees in Istanbul, I also found cases of men who gave children away to their sisters' families. Even if the man's parents or his older brother still had several children living at home, the child was still to be offered to them. They claimed that "a child in the household keeps it young." The Kazaks regard an adopted child as their

15 Godfrey Lias, *Kazak Exodus*. London 1956.
16 See *Q'uran* Sura 33, verses 3 to 5.

real child with the same rights and duties as their own. It becomes assimilated into its new family and kin group. Despite the fact that the Kazaks have a strongly patrilineal bias, both girls and boys are adopted. If the child is adopted by its patrilineal grandparents, its biological father will be regarded as his/her real brother or sister. The other case which occurs among the Xinjiang Kazaks is to offer a child when a brother's marriage has remained childless. In that way the family secures an heir. In both cases the child believes the adoptive parents to be its real parents. The child is emotionally, legally and socially integrated as if it were the biological child of the new family.

Adoption has another implications. It has often been observed in western societies that a childless woman who is supposed to be sterile becomes pregnant after the couple has adopted a child. Among the Chinese this therapeutic aspect of adoption is recognized. The idea is that adopting a child stimulates conception. This is also described from the Mongol area. There is, for example, information from Buryat Mongols indicates that they regarded adoption as a way of curing sterility. The Kazaks do not seem to have an elaborated idea of this function of adoption, but couples that have been assumed to be sterile have later had their own children after adopting a child from a relative.

Of course the children become aware of the real situation when they grow up. Every adult in the surroundings was aware that a particular child is adopted. It is referred to as a *qol bala* in daily parlance. However, this seems not to have caused any problems, since in a community such as the traditional Kazaks a person is regarded as a member of a group, rather than as an individual. Among the Xinjiang refugees in Turkey, however, with urban values and an increasing individuality, the custom of adoption has nowadays causes adolescent problems similar to those known from western societis. In one case with which I am familiar, a girl was adopted as a newborn infant to her paternal uncle's family. When the girl grew up she became aware of the situation at the age of fourteen. This led to a crisis for her and the relationship with her adoptive parents. She moved out and decided to live in her biological parents' home, which she had recognized as her uncle's family until that time. The families lived in the same house, and the children of both families had always lived together almost as brothers and sisters, and therefore the step was not very difficult. However, the girl had difficulties adapting to the situation. She did not really know to whom she belonged. She stayed at her real parents' home for a while, but accused them of giving her away for adoption. She said that they had not loved her as their real child. Then she returned to her adoptive parents and began alternating between the households. She often stayed with her adoptive parents, and at the age of 16 she could sit and hold her adopted brother of the same age in an emotional way permissible only among brothers and sisters at that age among Kazaks. This situation was not unique among the Kazaks in Istanbul. Since they are in a transitional stage between a traditional way of living and modern individualized urbanites, this conflict will certainly continue for a long time among the Kazaks.

The traditional manner of adoption among the Kazaks may be seen as a way to strengthen the ties between the generations within a patrilineal group. However, it should also be regarded as a way to secure heirs. It is a way to guarantee the continuation of the patriline. Demographic information concerning the Kazaks is rather limited, but it is known that fertility was low and infant mortality was high among the Mongols until the 1940's. Many families remained childless, and for them the custom of adoption must have appeared to be the only solution for securing heirs and somebody to care for them in their old age.

The traditional Kazak way of life in the Altai area was, however, certainly more prosperous than the situation on the steppes of Mongolia. Many families are described as having numerous children. Since many adoptions took place in families who already had children, the function of securing an heir could not have been the sole funktion. Another function may have been to secure additional labour within the household. Another child in the household was not only one more mouth to feed, but it also furnished another herdman.

Adoption as a symbol

The traditional custom of adoption to other than childless couples among the Kazaks and other peoples of Central Asia is certainly obsolete today with the very high birth rate (in the former USSR, the Kazaks, Kirghiz and Uzbeks had the highest birthrate in the whole country), but in the Soviet Union the custom of adoption in Central Asia also became a symbol for the unity of the nation. It was sometimes mentioned that during the Second World War the Central Asians adopted Russian children and that the children even became linguistically assimilated among the natives.[17] The most renowned example of this is the statue in Tashkent of the Uzbek family who during the war adopted fifteen children, all of them belonging to various nationalities of the giant country. Today the statue, only a few years old, is already an anachronism in its attempt to remind the people of the unity and consensus of all the Soviet peoples and union republics at a time when the country has disintegrated. China, on the other hand, still keeps its minority nationalities within its borders. They also use the family as a symbol for this unity, but not as adopted children. The minority are *dìdi*, i.e., "little brothers," in the paternalistic and patronizing view of the Han Chinese and treated accordingly.

*Paper read at the Nordic Seminar on Minorities in the People's Republic of China, May 28–29, 1990- NIAS, Copenhagen. This paper is presented as part of the Central Asian research project at the Centre of Multiethnic Research, Uppsala University, sponsored by the Swedish Council for Research in Humanities and Social Sciences 1984–1988. For a list of project publications, see Ingvar Svanberg, *Kazak Refugees in Turkey. A Study of Cultural Persistence and Social Change*. Studia Multiethnica Upsaliensia, 8. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1989, pp. 210–211.

17 E.g. see S. M. Abramzon, "Kirgizi" p. 278 in *Narody Srednei Azii i Kazakhstana*, Vol. II. Moscow 1963.

Notes on *Old Turkic Word Formation*

by

Talat Tekin

(Ankara)

Old Turkic word formation was first dealt with by W. Bang in his numerous notes to his publications. Later on A. von Gabain gave a list of Old Turkic derivational suffixes with adequate examples in her *Alttürkische Grammatik* (Leipzig 1941). Thirdly, C. Brockelmann, making a good use of Mahmud Kashgari's dictionary and other Middle Turkic sources, tried to classify the Karakhanid, Khwarezmian and Chagatay Turkic lexical material under nominal and verbal derivative suffixes (*Osttürkische Grammatik der Islamischen Litteratur-Sprachen Mittelasiens*, Leiden 1954). Fourthly, Martti Räsänen published his *Materialien zur Morphologie der türkischen Sprachen* (Helsinki 1957) in which he brought together the Turkic etymologies made by previous scholars, adding to them also the Altaic etymologies established by Ramstedt, Kotwicz, Poppe and others. He then published the results of his lifetime studies on Turkic phonology and morphology in the shape of an etymological dictionary (*Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türksprachen*, Helsinki 1969). But a more careful and more reliable study of Old Turkic word formation in the shape of a dictionary was carried out by the late Sir Gerard Clauson (*An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-thirteenth-Century Turkish*, Oxford 1972).

Needless to say, all these previous works with the exception of Clauson's dictionary, were not specifically aimed at being a study of Old Turkic word formation. Clauson's etymological dictionary of Old and Early Middle Turkic is indeed an important contribution to the field of Turkic studies. This does not mean that it is free of deficiences, false readings, false interpretations and etymological errors. In spite of all its defects, however, Clauson's dictionary is and will for a long time to come be the main source of those who are interested in Old and Early Middle Turkic studies.

Other important works in the field of Old Turkic lexicology are *DTS*, i. e., *Drevnetjurkskij Slovar'* (Leningrad 1969) compiled by a group of Soviet Turkologists and K. Röhrborn's *UW*, i. e. *Uigurisches Wörterbuch*, appearing in fascicles since 1977. The first is, in spite of its all deficiencies, false readings and false interpretations, still a handy source for Old Turkic lexical material. Röhrborn's work, on the other hand, is an exhaustive and fully documented etymological dictionary of Old Uigur based on published and unpublished texts. However, since only four fascicles of the work have so far been published, it seems that the completion of the whole dictionary will take quite a long time. Therefore, it may be said that Erdal's *Old Turkic Word Formation: A Functional Approach to the Lexicon* has come out at the right time as a reference book to be used safely by the students of Turkology.

The book under review is a voluminous work aimed to be an exhaustive study of Old Turkic word formation. It consists of two volumes. The first volume deals with Old Turkic nouns, both denominal and deverbal. The second volume is assigned to denominal and deverbal verb constructions. It is in fact an enlarged and revised edition of the author's unpublished doctoral dissertation entitled *Voice and Case in Old Turkish* (Hebrew University, Jerusalem 1976).

The author expresses his aim at the beginning of his work as follows: 'The aim of this study is the description of a part of Old Turkic grammar, that part by which speakers of the language created new lexemes and recognised the transparency of lexemes created by others' (p. 3). Erdal's approach to Old Turkic word formation is functional as understood from both the title of his work and its first sentence quoted above. In this work, all nominal and verbal formatives of Old Turkic are classified according to their functions, e. g. 'Diminutives and caritatives; proper name formations' (39–59), 'Intensification' (59–66), 'Similatives' (67–76), 'Class markers' (76–90), 'Collectives' (90–97), 'Color names and their derivates' (97–103), 'Functional and local formatives' (103–131), 'Lack and negation' (131–138), etc. etc. Using this approach, Erdal rightfully rejects, for example, Kononov's etymology of *bark* deriving from **barık*, i. e. a noun in {-Ik}. The author states that the word in runic spelling may as well be read *barık,* and it could go back to either **bar-ok* or **bar-ıg,* but never to a form like **bar-ık,* for there is no a suffix {-Ik} in Old Turkic deriving nouns from verbs (p. 22). Similarly, he states that Kononov's *üläşik+* would be a possible *reading* for the runic *Ülsk+*, but not a possible *form.* He then adds that the only possible reading of *Ülsk+* would be *öl-sük+*, for 'we have positive Old Turkic evidence for a suffix *-sXk*' (ibid.).

Another such example showing the author's method and reasoning in analyzing Old Turkic words in his etymology of *ögrän-* 'to get used to, practice, exercise' and *ögrät-* 'to teach a certain behavior, instruct'. As is known, Menges regards the base of these stems as 'a denominal derivative in *-ra-/-rä-*' from *ög* 'reason, mind' (1968: 158–159). Erdal rightfully rejects this etymology saying that there is no formative '+rA-' in Turkic (p. 33) and derives **ögrä-*, i. e. the base of these verbal stems, from *ögür* 'herd' (p. 33). I fully agree with the author on this etymology of his, for it is in complete accordance with the rules of Turkic morphology and those of semantics: (1) {+A-} is one of the most common suffixes in Old Turkic and (2) the original meanings of *ögrän-* and *ögrät-* must have been 'to be associated, tamed, get used to, be accustomed' and 'to associate, tame, accustom' respectively. In this connection, I would like to point out that Modern Turkish *öğrän-* 'to learn' and *öğrät-* 'to teach' were still in use with their original and etymological meanings in Old Anatolian Turkish, e. g, *İstanbula öğrenen ādem, ele öğrenmiş kuş, kunlacı eylemiş tā ki dölin alup öğrede,* etc. (TS V: 3060–3061). All this makes it clear that the ultimate base of *ögrän-* and *ögrät-* is *ögür* 'herd', and not *ög* 'mind, reason'.

A typical etymology offered by Erdal is OT *irkäk* 'male' < *irk* 'ram'+ *Ak* (dim. suffix). As is known, CT *ärkäk* 'male' is generally regarded as a derivative of *är* 'man'. Erdal argues that *irkäk* cannot be derived from *är* 'man', it can, however, be connected with *irk* in MK which means 'a ram approaching his fourth year' (p. 41). The author's evidence for this etymology is the following: 1) To this day, *ärkäk* is 'a two year old ram' in some Anatolian and Azeri dialects, 2) in UigTot 384 *irkäk közi* translates a Tib. expression which corresponds to Chin. 'bull's or ram's eye', 3) in the oldest Old Turkic sources (twice in IrqB and in M I 36,10–11), *irkäk* denotes a male animal, 4) its derivate *ırkäk+län-* is clearly written with *i* in TT VIII P 19 (Brahmi). As for the form *ärkäk* occurring in some Middle Turkic sources, Erdal says that "Contamination with *är* and perhaps with *ärk* 'power' is probably responsible for the form *ärkäk,* common in DLT and QB and found also (with short vowels) in Tkm."

This etymology suggested by Erdal seems to be more plausible and convincing than the commonly accepted < *är+käk.* Here I would like to point out that there is also modern evidence supporting this etymology, i.e. Yak (dial.) *ırgäx* 'male (for animals and birds)' vs. *är* 'husband, man' and Khal. *hırkäk* 'männlich' vs. *här* 'Mann, Ehemann'.

Throughout the work Erdal refutes many wrong but generally accepted etymologies and offers the new ones which are more plausible and convincing like those just mentioned. However, some of the numerous new etymologies suggested by the author in this voluminous work do not seem very convincing to me. Below I will discuss such etymologies. I will also make some additional remarks on some of the etymologies which seem to be plausible and convincing.

1. Erdal does not regard MK *kısrak* as a diminutive in {+Ak} from MK *kısır* 'barren' (p. 42). But we have evidence showing that *kısrak* is derived from *kısır.* First of all, it occurs in MK with the meaning 'mare' in the phrase *adgır kısır* 'stallions and mares' occurring in a verse: *adgır kısır kişnädi* (MK I 235). Secondly, in Yakut we have, apart from *kıtırax//kıtarax* 'mare' (< **kısırak*), *kıtıt* < **kısıt*) which means 'a young mare'.

2. On *budık* 'branch' Erdal comments as follows: "*budık* 'branch' (spelled with D and not T in Maitr 57 v 2. etc. and with DH in Brahmi TT VIII K) hardly comes from *but* 'thigh, leg'" (p. 43–44).

The spelling of an original /t/ with D is quite common in Uigur texts. Besides we have the spelling *butık* in MK seven times. Clauson's etymology deriving *butık* from *butı-* (EDPT 301) is of course wrong. In my opinion *butık* is a metaphorical diminutive in {+Ik} from *bu:t,* very much like *topık* 'ankle bone or wrist bone' coming from *top* 'ball' (Clauson's *to:b* and *tobık* must be corrected to read *top* and *topık* respectively). For a reverse metaphorical use cf. *dal* 'arm' in many Anatolian dialects (DS IV 1333). OT *butık* survives in Tuv. *buduk* and Yak. *mutuk* with the same meaning.

3. On *äşgak* 'donkey', rejecting Gabain's etymology, Erdal says as follows: "*äşgak* 'donkey' cannot be derived from *eş* 'companion', whose vowel is an /e/; it belongs to the *-gAk* formation, q.v. below" (p. 74). Erdal is right in rejecting the old etymology, but not so, I think, in accepting Doerfer's etymology, i. e. *äşgäk* < *äş-* 'to amble' (p. 393). It should be reminded that OT *äşgak* has a good Altaic etymology: with the exception of its final *-k*, it perfectly corresponds to Mo. *elǰige(n)*. In the light of this equation and taking the Khal. form *äşgä* 'donkey' into consideration, we can safely assume that OT *äşgak* is a diminutive in {+Ak}.

4. Erdal reads MK *sulak* 'spleen' (according to MK, the Kipchak counterpart of Common Turkic *talak*) as *solak* and inclines to interpret it as a derivative of *sol* 'left' (p. 75). In my opinion, MK *sulak* does not have anything to do with *sol*, but it belongs to the Bulgar dialect (cf. Chuv. *sula* 'spleen'). This form is one of the earliest examples of the sporadic alternation *t-* ≈ *s-* seen in Turkic as well as in Altaic.

Erdal's doubts about *talak*'s belonging to the {+Ak} formation (p. 75) are out of place. The form *tal* 'spleen' occurring in Heilk II 1,2 and 85 has of course nothing to do with the other *tal* meaning 'branch' (with short /a/). The *tal* in Heilk II is in fact the base of CT *ta:lak* (> Trkm. *da:lak*) and it survives as such to this day in Yak. *ta:l* 'spleen'.

5. *karlıgaç*//*kargılaç* 'swallow' is rightly discussed under nouns in {+gAç} (p. 84). MK says that *karlıgaç* is a metathetical alternative form of *kargılaç* (*EDPT* 657). The exact opposite must be true, because all the forms in historical sources and in modern languages can be traced back to *karlıgaç*. In addition to this we have Tel. *karılık* 'die Schwalbe' beside *karılıgaş* in Wb. II 176.

6. *tüzügü* 'all' and its adverbial form *tüzügün* 'all together' mentioned among collective nouns in {+(A)gU} (p. 94) must be read *tözügü* and *tözügün*, for the base *TWYZW* comes from Proto-Turkic **tö:z-* which survives in Yakut together with its older counterpart in /r/, i.e. *tüös-* ≈ *tüör-* 'to uproot, eradicate, exterminate'. Cf. also Yak. *tüörä* 'all, all together' (see Tekin 1989).

7. Orkhon Turkic collective noun *käliñün* 'daughters in-law' may come from an older and original *kälin(ä)gün* with the loss of medial /ä/, as Erdal thinks (p. 97). The final /n/ in *in(i)y(ä)*gün and

k(ä)l(i)ñün is probably an archaic part of the suffix, retained here before the possessive suffix (cf. *ekin ara* 'between the two' in KT E 1 instead of the expected **eki ara*). As for *t(a)ygun(u)ñ(u)z* occurring synonymously with *ogl(a)n(ı)ñ(ı)z* in KT SE, it could be read *t(a)y(a)gun(u)ñ(u)z*, and contrary to what Erdal thinks, this too could be a collective noun derived from *tay* 'foal' but used here metaphorically in the sense of 'son'.

8. Erdal seems to regard MK *targıl* 'an animal with narrow white and black stripes on its back' as an adjective derived from *tar* 'narrow' (p. 99); but there is no a word meaning 'narrow' in MK's definition. MK *targıl* survives in modern languages, e.g., Kirg. *targıl* 'red with black spots (of cows and oxen)', Tat. *targıl* 'blakish red', etc. In my opinion, this word is related to Kirg. *tarlan* 'white with red, yellow or black spots' (cf. also Mo. *tarilan, tarlan* 'spotted, speckled, flecked; varicolored, streaked; a stripe', *t. üker* 'cow with a white stripe along the spine'). In Kirghiz we also find *tazıl* in the phrase *kızıl tazıl* 'various kinds of red objects', a form which could be related, through zetacism, to the base of *targıl* and *tarlan*.

9. Erdal seems to regard MK *kaşga* 'an animal with a white blaze on the forehead' as a derivative of *kaş* 'eyebrow' (p. 99). But there is a good Altaic etymology for *kaşga:* The base of *kaşga* corresponds to Mo. *qalǰan* 'blaze on the forehead' (of a horse, ox, etc.); bald-headed' (Poppe 1960: 17, 86). Apart from *qalǰan,* there is also a *qalǰa* in Mongolian with the meaning 'frontal band or stripe for decoration; clearing in a forest'. These two words are very close to each other both phonetically and semantically. Turkic *kaşga* may then be regarded as an adjective derived from an obsolete **kaş* 'a blaze or white spot on the forehead of an animal' corresponding to Mo. *qalǰa* and *qalǰan.*

10. Erdal accepts Bang's etymologies suggested for *kızıl* 'red' and *yaşıl* 'green', i.e. *kızıl* < **kızsıl* and *yaşıl* < **yaşsıl* (p. 100). Considering the fact that the Turkic medial clusters /zs/ and /şs/ have generally been retained, Bang's etymologies can hardly be accepted. Besides, Chuv. *xĕrlĕ* 'red' going back to an older **kırıl* speaks against them. It seems that there was also an old suffix {+(I)l} in Proto-Turkic functioning as the Old and Middle Turkic {+gIl}, e.g. Trk. *gövel* "a green-headed duck", Chuv. *kăvaGal* "a duck" < **kö:kä+l,* etc.

11. Concerning my view about the connection between *boz* 'gray' and *borsuk, borsmuk* 'badger', Erdal comments as follows: "If it (i. e. *borsmuk*) comes from *boz* 'gray', as suggested by Tekin, 1986: 157, it should belong to this formation" (p. 101).

Let me make my view once more clear: What I have suggested in the article mentioned by Erdal is that in *borsuk* and *borsmuk* we have the older form of CT *boz*, i. e. **bor*. Pre-Turkic **bor* developed into **boz* in Proto-Turkic, but it remained as **bor* in pre-zetacism derivates *borsuk* and *borsmuk* (cf. Hung. *borz* 'badger' < Proto-Bulg. **bors* > Chuv. *purăş* id.).

12. Erdal, following Doerfer (*TMEN* 1679), considers {+şIn} in MK *kökşin* 'bluish' and in Modern Turkish *sarışın* 'blonde' to be original and says that "It is rather likelier for *+şIn* to have become *+çIn* after consonants than the other way around" (p. 103). In my opinion, exactly the opposite seems to be likelier. It should be noted that MK *kökşin* 'bluish' occurs in QB always as *kökçin* (six times). Taking the forms derived with the almost identical suffix *+çIl* in modern languages into consideration (e. g. Trk. *akçıl* 'whitish', Kzk. *akşıl* id. *kırçıl* 'grayish', Kzk. *kökşil* 'bluish' < **kökçil*, etc), we can say that the first form with /ş/ in MK is in all likelihood secondary, as Clauson thinks (EDPT 710).

13. To support the change **çIn* < *şIn* he believes, Erdal brings the following evidence: 1) MK *kırça-l-* 'to hit the side of something' < OT *kırşa-l-* < *kırïış+a-*, 2) MK *yapçın-* and *yapçur-* coming from *yapış-*, 3) inscriptional *kik-şür-* > MK *kikçür-*, 4) the adverb *tutçı* from *tut-şı*. In my opinion, MK *kırça-* 'to hit the side of the target' seems to have been formed from **kır* 'side' with the rare suffix {+çA-}, and not from *kırış* coming from *kır-* 'to scrape, strip, cut off'. The base **kır* has not yet been attested in Old Turkic, but it occurs as the base of MK's *kırlat-* 'to cause to arise banks for a canal', i. e. *kır+la-t-*. The noun *kır* survives as such in some modern languages, e. g. Tat., Kzk., NUig., etc. *kır* 'side'. The formative {+çA-}, on the other hand, is found, among others, in the structure of Uig., MK *kurşa-* to gird; to surround, encircle' < **kur+ça-*, Alt., Kirg. *kurça-* id., Khak. *xurça-* id., Kzk. *korşa-* id. < **kurça-* (cf. Tekin 1989: 344).

Orkh. *kikşür-* 'to incite people to mutual enmity', too, seems to be a secondary form of MK's *kikçür-* 'to make two things strike one another', although the first is older than the latter.

As the forms *yapçın-*and *yapçur-* in MK, these too seem to be original and older than the forms with /ş/, for, in general, an original final consonant can preserve itself as such in medial position before or after another consonant, whereas in final position it is easily exposed to changes. Besides, the evidence found in Chuvash, i. e. śıpăs- 'to stick, adhere' < **yapıç-* = CT *yapış-*, *xirĕs-* 'to oppose, stand against' < **karıç-* = CT *karış-*, *xires* 'opposed, opposite, against' < **xirsĕ* < **karçı* = CT *karşı*, *vărś-* 'to fight, make war' < **u:ruç-* = CT *u:ruş-* and the Chuvash archaic reciprocal/cooperative suffix {-(A)s-} occurring in all the other genuine Chuvash verbs indicate the priority of /ç/ to /ş/ in Turkic (cf. Tekin 1989: 344–345).

14. MK *kömüldürük* 'the breast strap of a saddle' can hardly be connected with *köñül* (EDPT 722). First, the /ñ/ of *köñül* has changed to /m/ only in Chuvash: *kămăl* 'delight, pleasure, desire' and this must be a recent development; secondly, *köñül* does not have a material meaning. For a possible etymology of *kömüldürük* see my *Tuna Bulgarları ve Tuna Bulgarcası* (Ankara 1987), pp. 37, 38.

15. Among the place nouns {+lAg} (pp. 108, 109) the hap.leg. *sinläg* 'cemetery' occurring in the Tariat inscription, south, 5 (Tekin 1982: 54–55) could have safely been included (cf. Old Anatolian Turkish *sinlä* 'semetery' < **sinläg*).

16. For the base of *tozumçı* occurring in the phrase *yol tozumçı* 'highwayman' Erdal posits a hypothetical **to-z-* which he considers to be related to OT *to-d-* 'to be(come) satiated' (p. 117). But a hypothetical verb with such a meaning would not agree with the meaning of *yol tozumçı*. In my opinion, OT *tozumçı* comes from the verb **toz-* 'to bar, block up' which, I believe, survives in modern languages, e.g. Kirg. *toz-* ≈ *tos-* 'to bar, block up; to receive, encounter', Yel. Uig. *toz-* ≈ *tuz-* id., Tuv. *dos-* id., Kar.Cr. *toz-* 'to wait for, expect'. Kar.T. *tyoz-* ≈ *töz-* id., Uzb., NUig., Kzk., Kklp. *tos-* id. The phrases Kirg. *col tos-* 'to block the way' and Tuv. *oruk dos-* id. fit perfectly to the meaning of Uig. *yol tozumçı* 'highwayman'. The verb *toz-/tos-/dos-* cannot be related to OT *tod-* for semantic reasons. In my opinion, it is rather related, through zetacism, to Kirg. *toro-* 'to bar, block up the way' and NUig. *tora-* id. (cf. Tekin, 'New Examples of Zetacism' *TDA* 1991, 145–150).

17. Uig., MK *adaş* 'friend, comrade' cannot come from **a:t+daş* 'namesake', as thought by Doerfer (*TMEN* 437), for both phonological and semantic reasons. Neither can it be a {+dAş} noun, as Erdal seems to regard it (p. 119), for its /d/ has undergone the sound change *d* > *y*, in some languages, e.g. IM, Kirg. *ayaş* 'friend'. Trk., Az. *adaş* 'namesake', on the other hand, comes from **a:tdaş*, an original form which survives in Turkmen.

18. The adjective *yassı* occurring in a sentence taken from ŞU E9 (p. 123) must be a printing mistake for *yası*, a deverbal noun in {-I}.

19. Among the instrument names in {+lXk} Erdal mentions *tütsüklük* 'incence burner' from Suv (p. 129). In my opinion it must be read *tütsüglük*, for the base has lost its final velar in the Oghuz group: Trk. *tütsü*, Az. *tüssü*, Trkm. *tüsse*.

20. Discussing the vowel of the suffix {+sXz} in Old Turkic Erdal mentions *yolsızın* 'without any roads' from Ton 35 and says: '*yolsızın* can definitely not have had rounded vowels in its suffixes'. He also gives an additional example, i.e. *umugsızın* from Suv and TT VII supporting the inscriptional evidence. Erdal's conclusion is as follows: "Seeing that *+sIzIn* appears in the earliest attestation of the sequence and in one of the earliest Old Turkic texts, it seems possible that *+sXz* originally had /I/ instead of /X/" (p. 132). These examples and interpretations are very important, because they support the classical theory about the origin of the composite suffix {+sIrA-}, i.e. {+IsIr+A-} (cf. Poppe 1927: 112; T. Tekin 1969: 66).

21. Erdal offers two etymologies for OT *otuñ* 'firewood': < **ot+duñ* and < **otu-*, i.e. the base of hap.leg. *otun-* (p. 156). I would prefer the second etymology for the following reasons: 1. A development like **o:tduñ* > *otuñ* is phonologically difficult; 2. the OT verb *otun-* survives in Khakas *odın-* 'to make a fire' (for oneself); 3. the suffix {-(X)ñ} which makes nouns denoting objects (see pp. 337, 338) fits better the meaning of *otuñ*

22. On the etymology of Uig. *bilärzök* // *bilärsök* 'bracelet', MK *biläzök* id., Erdal has this to say:"The common base of this (i.e. *bilärsök*) and *biläk* 'wrist' may have been **bilä-*, possibly **belä-* 'to wrap'" (p. 158). This seems to be a good etymology, but both *biläk* and *bilärsök* have /i/ in their first syllables whereas *belä-* has /e/,

e.g. CC *bele-*, OAT and Anat. dial. *belä-*, Kzk. *böle-*. Khak. *pölä-*, Kirg. *bölä-*, etc. < **belä-*.

23. Clauson maintaines that the Old Turkic form of *tiş* 'tooth' was originally *tı:ş* (EDPT 557). Erdal, too, thinks that *tiş* had the shape *tiş* in Old Turkic, but "soon it went over to front vowels" (p. 162). Accordingly, he postulates a Proto-Turkic **tış+agu* to match Mo. *silegü* 'two year old animal' (p. 163). I do not share this view. In my opinion, Proto-Turkic form of *tiş* was in all likelihood *ti:ş (cf. Yak. *ti:s*, Tuv. *diş*). Clauson's view has obviously been based on examples like *tışıg* (acc.) in MK II 311, 346 and *tışlat-mak* 'to order to bite' in MK II 344. I believe that these examples could be read *ti:şıg* and *tişlätmak* respectively and could be regarded as the earliest disharmonic examples in Central Asian Turkic caused by the neutralization of the vowel /i/ (cf. NUig. *çiş* 'tooth', pl. *çiş-lar, çişañ* 'hustler, rude', but *çişlimäk* < *çişlä-, çişlätmäk;* Uzb. *tiş, tişlämâq, tişlätmâq*). As is known, as a result of the complete loss of the vowel /ı/ later on in Chagatay, not only Turkic words but also the Arabic and Persian loanwords with /i/ took the backvocalic allomorphs of suffixes, e.g. *di:nga'* 'to the religion', *'ilmga* 'to the science' *dilga* 'to the heart', etc.

24. Among the OT deverbal nouns in {-(X)g}, Erdal mentions Uig. *käñirsig* or *käñirsik* coming from MK *käñirsi-* (p. 175). The hap.leg. in MK occurs in the sentence *äşiç käñirsidi* 'something burnt at the bottom, for example, of a cooking pot, so that a smell rose from it'(EDPT 734). The Uig. example *käñirsiK* occurs in the following context: *k(a)ra tüntünlär çokrayur, käñirsiK yıdlar yıdı-yur* (p. 175). It is very curious that Uig. *käñirsiK* survives in Yak. *keñerdi:* 'smell of burning', e.g. *keñerdi: sıta* id., which goes back to **käñirsig yıdıt.* This Yak. data makes it clear that Uig. *K'Ñ'RSIK* is actually *käñirsig* with /g/. Cf. also Mo. *kengsi-* 'to burn slighty' (< Yak. *keñsiy-* // *keñsey-* id., *keñsik* 'burning, smell of burning' < **käñsi-k*), *kengsigün*//*kengsigüü* 'smell of frying food'. Khak. *kiñis-* 'to burn' < **käñsi-* and *kiñzig* 'burnt' < **käñsig*, too, are obvious cognates. In the light of Mo. data we may assume that the base of MK *käñirsi-* is **käñir*, an enlarged form of **käñ*.

25. *turuk* 'emaciated' on p. 175 and *twru-k* id. on p. 249 should be amended to read *toruk* with /o and analized as *tor-uk*, and not as *turu-k.*, for we have enough evidence to prove that the verb had the shape **to:r-* in Proto-Turkic: Yak. *tuor-* 'to grow thin' < **to:r-*,

torgon 'hungry', Alt., Tel. *toro* id., *torolo-* 'to grow thin', etc. On p. 249 Erdal further states that 'The base has the shape *turu-* in Khal. and Suv 116,22 in the series *küçsirämiş yavrumış twrumış umugsuz ınagsız,* but *twr-* in DLT fol. 524. It was lent into Mo. as *tura-* or *turu-*'.

I have already commented on the vowel of OT *tor-*. Let me add that PT **to:r-* and Mo. *tura-* 'to be(come) lean, emaciated; to loose weight; to be(come) exhausted, worn out' are good cognates. The disyllabic form in Suv may have been derived from a homophonous nominal base, i.e. **to:r+u-* (cf. Yel.Uig. *tor* 'hungry'). As for Khal. *turu-,* it means 'klar sein, geklart sein (vom Wasser)', and not 'to grow thin or emaciated' (cf. Doerfer & Tezcan, *Wörterbuch des Chaladsch,* p. 209).

26. Commenting on Ottoman Turkish *sıvık* 'liquid (adj.), runny', *sıvı* 'a liquid' and Khal. *sıvık* 'watery', Erdal says as follows: "The vowel of the first syllables here is probably not the result of unrounding: As the sibilant of Chuvash *şiv* shows, *suv* 'water' must originally have had an unrounded back vowel, subsequently rounded the by /v/" (p. 177). Let it be known that Chuv. *şıv* may better be explained as coming from a diphthongized long /u/, i.e. **su:b* > **si̯uv* > *şıv*. As for Uig. *sıvık* occurring in BT VII A326 and in Turkish, this form must be secondary coming from an original **suvık* (cf. Yak. *ubagas* 'watery' < **subıkaç,* Trkm. *suvuk,* Tuv. *suuk,* Alt., Kirg., etc. *suyuk*).

27. Commenting on the etymology of *adıg* 'sober' Erdal states as follows: "It is no doubt connected with *adıl, adın-, adın* and *adır-,* being closest in meaning to the UW's *adın-* I. **adı-* or **ad-,* the base, is taken to be tr., *adıg* would therefore be its object" (p. 181). I would like to make it clear that two different bases have been mixed up here: MK *adıg* 'sober' is from the same base as *adın-* 'to sober up, recover from drunkenness' and the base of both forms is **a:d-* (> Trk. *ay-* 'to come to senses', *ayıl-* 'to sober up', Trkm. *a:yıl-* id., etc.). OT *adır-* 'to separate' and *adın* 'different', on the other hand, go back to a base with a short /a/, i.e. **adı-* (cf. Trkm. *ayır-* 'to separate').

28. OT *büdi-* 'to dance' and its derivative *büdig* are read *bödi-* and *bödig* (p. 184), probably after Clauson who claims that Mo. *böci-* id. (which, in his view, a is a loanword borrowed from Turkic) 'fixes the first vowel as *-ö-*, not *-ü-* as usually transcribed' (EDPT

300). Putting aside Clauson's view about Mo. *böci-* for the time being, it may be claimed that the OT form of this verb was not *bödi-*, but *büdi-*. On the other hand, the inner-Türkic evidence given by Clauson himself indicates that the vowel of the first syllable was not /ö/ or /ü/, e. g. CC *beyi-, biyi-*, Kzk., Kirg. *biy* 'dance', *biyle-* 'to dance' (Clauson's Kzk. example *bile-* 'to dance' is a misreading of the Cyrillic spelling). Further examples are Tat. *biye-* 'to dance', *biyü* 'dance', Bşk. *beye-* 'to dance', *beyew* 'dance', Kum., Nog. *biyi-* 'to dance', Kum. *biyiv*, Nog. *biyüv* 'dance', etc. It is curious that Yak. *bitiy-* 'to dance by trampling on the floor', too, goes back to a form with /i/. In view of this evidence, it may be concluded that the original form of this very was either **bidi-* or **büdi-*.

29. Erdal seems to be willing to derive OT *kapıg* or *kapag* 'gate, door' and MK *kapga* 'a great gate' from a hypothetical **kapa-* (p. 190). In my opinion, all these words are derivatives of **kap-* 'to shut, close', a verb already obsolete in Old Turkic, but survives in Chuv. as *xup-: alak xup-* 'to shut the door', *kus xup-* 'to close one's eyes', *xupa* 'closed' (< **kapuk*) *xupa alak* 'a closed door', etc. MK's *kapgak* 'a leather cover of a quiver', too, is a deverbal noun in {-gAk} derived from the same **kap-*. Uig. and MK *kapak* 'eyelid', on the other hand, seems to be a diminutive in {+Ak} coming from MK *ka:p* 'cover, container'. Cf. Trkm. *ga:bak* 'eyelid' (< **ka:pak*) vs. *gapak* 'lid, cover' (< **kapgak*); cf. also Kirg. *kabak* vs. *kapkak*, Kzk. *kabak* vs. *kakpak*, Nog. *köz kabak* vs. *kapak, kapkaş*, Tat., Bşk. *kabak* vs. Tat. *kapkaç*, Bşk. *kapkas*, Uzb. *qåvåq* vs. *qåpqåq*, NUig. *kapak* vs. *kapkak*, etc. In some Turkic languages including Turkish the first word is replaced by the second, e. g. Trk. *göz kapağı* 'eyelid', Kum. *köznü kapkaçları*, etc. All these examples and Trkm. *gapık* 'closed (generally of eyes)' testify to the fact that the verb under question is **kap-*, not **kapa-*.

30. Erdal reads the mainly inscriptional *körüg* 'spy' as *küräg* 'fugitive', i. e. as a noun in {-(X)g} from the well-attested *kürä-* 'to run away, desert' (p. 196). This is very reasonable and convincing. It is more probable that the ancient Turks got information about their neighbors and enemies from the fugitives.

31. Erdal, following Clauson, reads *YILsG* in KT E 26 as *yılışıg* 'comfortable, prosperous or the like' (p. 218). But MK *yılış-* means only 'to become warm altogether' and its figurative use has not so far been attested. In my publications of the inscriptions I

have read this word *yılsıg*, and translated it as 'wealthy, prosperous'. I believe that the base of *yılsıg*, a denominal adjective in {+sIg} may be found in Trkm. *yılgır-* 'to smile' (< **yıl+ı-gir*), Kirg. *cılmay-* id., Tat., Bşk. *yılmay-* id. (< **yılmad-* < **yıl+ı-m+ad-*), Kirg. *cılmañ* 'joy, happiness' (< **yılmañ*), etc.

32. Discussing *sezik* 'doubt, apprehension, suspicion, questioning' from *sez-*, Erdal comments on the shape of the verb as follows: "The base cannot have been *sez-*, attested from Middle Turkic on, but has to be **sezi-*" (p. 242). I would like to remind my colleage that the Mongolian counterpart of *sez-* has /i/ as its stem-final vowel, i.e. it is *seri-* 'to awaken, revive; to recover consciousness; be become sober; to keep vigil; to learn, find out; to mistrust'. Hence, if OT *sezik* is in fact an {-Ok} noun, Mo. *seri-* may support Erdal's view, i.e. *sezik* < *sezi-k*.

33. MT *ügük* 'heaped up, loaded, full' occurring in the clause *köñli kadgun ügük* in OB 6198 is read *ükük* by Erdal (p. 253). He regards this *ükük* as a form derived from the base of *ük-üş*, *ük-ül-*, etc. Let me say that Arat's transcription of the word is correct, for the base of *ügük* is obviously *üg-* 'to heap up', e.g. Trkm. *üv-*, Khak. *üg-*, Kzk., Kirg. etc. *üy-*, Tat., Bşk. *öy-*, etc. < **üg-*. The passive stem *ükül-* in EDPT and elsewhere, too, must be corrected to read *ügül-*. As for OT *üküş* 'many' and MK *ükil* id., these two forms must have had a different base with /k/. In connection with this, I would like to point out that Clauson's interpretation of Orkh. *ökünüp* in the sentence *antag üdke ökünüp kül tiginig az ärin ıttımız* (KT E 40) as *ükünüp* 'collecting' (EDPT 111) is not convincing. OT *ökünüp* 'regretting' fits in well the whole context: 'Our army horses were lean (and exhausted) and our army had no provisions. (Our men were) in a bad condition ... (Furthermore), those who had attacked us were brave men. *Regretting such an (unsuitable) time*, we sent Prince Kül (forward), providing him with a few men'. Needless to say, Clauson's *az eren*, too, is a misreading for *az ärin* 'with a few men'.

34. The word *yüksä-k* 'eminent, lofty' mentioned among the {-(O)k} nouns (p. 258) should be transcribed as *yügsäk*, for its base in Orkh. *yügärü* 'up, upwards' is obviously **yüg* with /g/, i.e. < **yüggärü;* cf. also Gag. *ü:säk* 'high' < **yügsäk*.

35. The word *iy(i)nç* mentioned among the deverbal nouns in {-(X)nç} on p. 282 should be amended to read *ıyınç*, for it is writ-

ten with the back-vocalic sign Y in the Tes inscription: [*y*]*oll*(*u*)*g ıya b*(*a*)*s*(*ı*)*p* (*or, basa*) *ol*(*u*)*rm*(*ı*)*ş* 'Yollug reportedly reigned, suppressing (his subjects)' (Tes19). The verb *ıy-* does not seem to have survived, but its derivatives live on with /ı/ to this day, e.g. Kirg. *ıyın-* 'to make a great physical effort, to force oneself', Tuv. *ıyıt-* 'to press, oppress, suppress', *ıyık* 'crushed, bruised', etc. The examples *iyin-* and *iyinç* in DTS must therefore be corrected to read *ıyın-* and *ıyınç*.

36. Among the {-nçU} nouns Erdal mentions *to-nçu* 'a stopped up hole in the earth' (p. 289). He also reads the passive stem of the verb as *to-n-* 'to be blocked, be closed up' (p. 620). In addition to this, he connects this *to-* with the base of *tod-* 'to be satiated', *tok* 'full, satiated', *tol-* 'to be filled' and *toş-* id. Let it be known that the OT verb meaning 'to block up, close' was *tu-* with /u/, for all the survived derivatives of this verb have /u/, not /o/, e.g. Alt., Tel. *tul-* 'to be blocked up, be barred', Tel. *tulum* 'an impassable place', Khak., etc. *tuyuk* 'closed, shut', Tat. Bşk. *ton-* 'to become deaf (of ears); to become dim (of eyes)', Tuv. *dun-* 'to be stopped up, be choked', *dunuk* 'hoarse or choked (of voice)', *dumcuk-*, *duncuk-* 'to be clogged up', Nog. *tunşık* 'overcast (of weather)'; suffocating, stuffy', NUig. *tuncuk-* 'to be suffocated', *tuyuk* 'closed', etc. In this connection, I would also like to remind that Orkh. *tug.* 'barrier, obstacle' occurring in Ton 26 is in all likelihood a deverbal noun in {-(X)g}.

37. Uig. *tolum* in the fixed phrase *tuş tolum bol-* 'to meet' should be read with /u/, not with /o/ (p. 293); for it is in all likelihood related to *tuş* 'to meet' through sigmatism.

38. MK, etc. *tulum* 'weapons, military equipment', too, should be read with /u/, not with /o/ as done in DTS and elsewhere. I agree with Erdal who states that it probably comes from MK *tul-* 'to strike (a ball)' (p. 293).

39. Among the {-(U)t} nouns Erdal mentions *ögit* 'grinding wheat' from MK and comments as follows: "The DLT's entry *ögit* 'grinding wheat etc.' has an *i* in the second syllable instead of the base's original vowel *ögü-*, and may be a hypercorrection. All this shows that there was some uncertainty as to this vowel in Qarakhanid Turkic, at any rate" (p. 309).

The causative stem of this verb is with /ö/ in Turkish (*öğüt-*), but it is with /ü/ elsewhere in the Oghuz group: Az. *üyüt-*, Trkm. *üve-*

'to grind; to mince', *üvet-* id., Gag. *ü:t-* 'to grind'. All these forms go back to **ügi-*, not to **ögi-*. A possible Mo. cognate also supports this reconstruction: *üyire-* (intr.) 'to break into small pieces; to crumble' < **ügi-re-*. Consequently, EDPT's *ögi-* and *ögit* must be corrected to read *ügi-* and *ügit*. On the other hand, the following Kipchak examples compel us to reconstruct a voiceless velar for this group: Kzk., Kklp. *ügi-* 'to mill, grind' (< **üki-*) Kzk. *ügit-* id., *ügil-* (pas.), *ügindi* 'wood shavings, sawdust', etc. We even have a monosyllabic *ük-* in Kzk., Kklp. and Kirg. which means 'to thresh; to break into small pieces, crumble'. In this case, the element *-i-* in **ügi-, *üki-* may be explained as the frequentative suffix {-I-} which is also seen in MK's *kazı-* 'to excavate, scrape off'.

40. Erdal maintains that *mañırt* 'shouting' comes from *mañra-*, *käñirt* 'grumbling' from *käñrä-* and *kükürt* 'thunder' from *kükrä-* (p. 309). Let me say right away that I agree with him on these etymologies. The discrepancies between these nouns and their bases, however, remain unexplained. In my opinion, the nouns under discussion must have been derived when these verbs had the shapes **kükir-*, **käñgir-* and **mañgir-* respectively. Later on,when the aorist forms in {-yUr} were replaced by those in {-r} after vocalic stems, as a result of syncopation, the new aorist forms in {-Ar} misanalyzed as *-A-r* by the speakers and the new verbal stems in pseudo-suffix {+rA-} came into existence: *kükir-ar* > *kükr-är* > *kükrä* -r, **mañgır-ar* > *mañr-ar* > *mañra-r*, etc. I believe that this explanation would satisfy Erdal who comments about the connection between echoic verbs in {+kIrA-} and {+krA-} as follows: "Proto-Turkic form of the formative was **+kIrA-*. A few onomatopoetic verbs ending in *+krA-* will be mentioned below. It will be difficult to connect the two sets convincingly, if it cannot be shown why the stem-final /A/ was dropped here but retained there" (p. 467).

41. Dealing with MK *urt* 'eye of a needle', Erdal mentions Tezcan's etymology connecting this word with *ur-* 'to put, place' (p. 310). In view of Trk. *yurdu* 'eye of a needle' (< *yurd-ı*), Chuv. *sarta* id. (< **yurt+ak*) and Trk. *vur-*, Chuv. *var-* (< **u:r-*), however, this etymology does not seem to be very likely.

42. Erdal maintains that *ölüt* 'slaughter', *saşut* in *saşutsuz* 'without mixing up', *takşut* 'verse', *çaşut* 'delation', *batut* 'secrecy', *kaçut* 'a pursuit in battle', etc., come from *ölür-* 'to kill', *saşur-* 'to mix

up', *takşur-* 'to compose verses', *çaşur-* 'to delate', *batur-* 'to cause to sink' and *kaçur-* 'to put to flight', etc. respectively (pp. 310, 311). While this view seems to be plausible semantically, it does not so phonetically. It would indeed be difficult to explain why the sound /r/ disappeared here and retained in *kükürt, mañırt, käñirt* etc. Besides, if *kavşut* 'a place of coming together' could be either from *kavış-* or from *kavşur-*, as Erdal states (p. 312), why could all these nouns not come from *öl-, saş-, *takış-, bat-, kaç-*, etc.?

43. On the etymology of *yogurt,* Erdal says as follows:" It is commonly thought that *yogrut* ≈ *yorgut* comes from *yogur-* 'to knead'. This is indeed possible, since **yog-,* the base which this and *yogun* 'thick' have in common, may have signified 'to become dense or thick'" (p. 313). Let it be known that *yogurt* cannot come from *yogur-*, because the latter has an /u/ in its first syllable everywhere (except Turkish and Azeri) and not with /o/. Secondly, and perhaps being more important than this, *yogurt* is not made by 'kneading'. Therefore, it is very probable that *yogurt* is connected with the base of *yogun* 'thick'. In other words, *yogurt* may be an {-Ut} noun derived from **yogur-* 'to make thick', i. e. the hypothetical causative stem of the hypothetical base **yog-* 'to become thick or dense'.

44. Erdal tries to explain Uig., MK *kızgut* 'punishment', MK *ögüt* 'advice', Uig. *boşgut* 'instruction, teaching', Uig. *bışgut* appearing in the binary *bışıg bışgut* 'matured', etc. as deverbal nouns in {-Ut}, but the existence of /g/ in these forms makes such an explanation difficult, if not impossible. In the end, he summarizes his comments as follows: "The positing of an independent suffix '-gUt' for these lexemes does not seem sufficiently justified" (p. 314).

In my opinion, the evidence we have is sufficient for positing the existence of such a suffix: *ö-güt* and *bış-gut* are derived from the well-attested bases; *kız-gut* 'torment, torture, punishment' comes from **kız-* 'to be punished' (cf. MK *kızıl-* 'to be punished') the older base of which is found in Uig. *kırkın* 'torment, torture, punishment' occurring with its synonym *kıyın; yapgut* 'stuffing or matted masses of hair or wool, for pillows and the like' is connected with MK *yap* 'matted wool' and *yapaku* 'a thick mass of wool or hair on the head' surviving in Trk., Az. *yapağı* 'wool of a sheep sheared in the spring' (probably a collective noun) and may ultimately come from *yap-* 'to cover' as suggested by Clauson and others; Uig. *ürgüt* 'continously' used together with its synonym *ürüg* (**ürü-g*) may come from **ürü-* (< *ür* 'a long time'). As for *boşgut* 'instruction, teaching', it belongs to deverbal nouns in {-Ut}, not to those in {-gUt}, for we have *boşgun-* 'to learn' and *boşgur-* 'to teach', but not **boş-*.

45. *ük-mä* 'heap' mentioned among the {-mA} nouns (p. 318) should be read with /g/ and not with /k/, for the base is spelt as *üg-* in TT VIII A 27 and the noun in {-Xn} as *ügüm* (D 29), although it is once written as *hyukyum* (K 3). The forms of the verb and its derivatives in modern languages all show an original /g/: Khak. *üg-*, *ü:l-* pass., Kzk., Kirg. etc. *üy-*, Alt. *ü:-*, Tat., Bsk. *öy-*, Trkm. *üvmek* 'heap', Krg. *üymök* id., etc. The readings *ük-*, *ükmäk*, *ükül-*, *üküm* and *ükün* in *DTS* and *EDPT* should therefore be corrected.

46. *uysuz:* This word occurring in the phrase *uysuz kötgisiz tüz süñüki* 'his smooth bones which had no holes or protrusions' in MaitrGeng 5 a 13 has been read *ösüz* by Geng Shimin. Erdal reads this *uysuz* (p. 322). In my opinion, however, it should be read *oysuz* with /o/, for we have Turkic data supporting this reading, e. g. Trkm. *o:y* 'a depressed, low-lying place; hollow, hole, cavity', Tuv. *oy* d., Kzk. *oy* 'lowland, depression', Kirg. *oyduñ* id., Tat., Bşk. *uy* 'valley', Bşk. *uyhıw* 'depression; depressed, low-lying' (< **oysıg*), etc. Furthermore, the meaning of *oysuz* in the abovementioned phrase must be "without depression(s)".

47. In the section dealing with the -(X)z nouns, Erdal maintains that *ku:tuz* 'a mad dog' may, with the loss of /r/, come from **ku:tur-(u)z*, *ärgüz* 'melted ice' from **ärgür-(ü)z*, *munduz* 'feeble-minded, stupid' from **mun-dur-(u)z*, *yavız*, 'bad' from from **yavrı-z*, *sämiz* 'fat' from **sämri-z*, etc. (p. 323).

Let me first remind that *kutur-* in Uig. and MK is in all likelihood a late metathetical form of **ku:tri-*, an older and original form which survives in Trkm. as *gu:dura-* 'to be wild with joy; to become rude and naughty; to become unruly and unmanageable'. This hypothetical **ku:trı-*, in its turn, could be an {+I-} derivative from **ku:tur assemri-* could be one from **semir* (T. Tekin 1969; 62, 63). The reason why **ku:trı-* could not preserve its original form in Uig. and MK may be the fact that it had a long /u/ in its first syllable; with an early shortening of this vowel, metathesis must have taken place in this verb at an early date.

Secondly, if we posit that *yavız* comes from **yavrı-z* and *semiz* from **semri-z,* etc. how could **yavır* and **semir,* i.e. the nominal bases of these verbs, be explained? Erdal is right in regarding the verbs *semri-* and *yavrı-* as being {+I-} formations (p. 480), but he is not so when he states that '*semri-* comes from *semiz* and *yavrı-* comes from *yavız*'. His descriptive statement to the effect that "When bases end in /z/ or /ş/, these consonants are replaced by /r/ and /l/ respectively und +*I-* expansion" does not seem to me sound and satisfactory at all. Why should a final /z/ in a word change to /r/ when the suffix {+I-} added to it? Similarly, why should a final /ş/ in a word turn into /l/ before the suffix {+I-}? As far as I know, a medial consonant occurring before or after another consonant is hardly exposed to such drastic changes as *z* > *r* and *ş* > *l*. Therefore, a zetacistic and sigmatistic explanation is much more plausible for such formations: In cases like *semiz* ≈ *semri-, üküş* ≈ *ükli-,* etc., the older and original final /r/ (i.e. r2) and /l/ (i.e. l2) became /z/ and /ş/ respectively, but they changed to normal /r/ and /l/ in pre-zetacism and pre-sigmatism derivatives like *semri-* and *ükli-.* In this connection, it should be emphasized that consonants in final position are more exposed to phonetic changes than those occurring in medial clusters.

48. MK's *käz* 'the notch of an arrow' cannot come from the unattested base of *kärt-* 'to notch', as assumed by Erdal (p. 324). The element *-t-* in *kärt-* is in all likelihood the causative suffix {-(X)t-} (cf. Mo. *kerçi-* 'to notch' < **ker-ti-, -ti-* being the causative suffix). The base of *kärt-,* then, could only be **kär-* which is also seen in MK's *kärki* 'a carpenter's implement'. Consequently, the base **kär-* cannot be identical with the noun *käz.* The latter may better be explained as a deverbal nouns in {-z} derived from a hypothetical simplex **kä-.*

49. On the structure of OT *uçuz* 'easy' Erdal has this to say: "*uçuz,* whose first and most dominant meaning is 'easy', *may* have come from *uç-* 'to fly', taking the latter in an (unattested) metaphorical sense" (p. 324). This etymology seems to be weak phonetically, for the voicing of /ç/ in *uçuz* in the Oghuz group (cf. Trk., Az. *ucuz,* Trkm. *ucı:z,* etc.) shows that the initial /u/ in this word was originally long.

50. Dealing with the structure of *baz* 'pacified' Erdal contents himself with mentioning Tezcan's etymology deriving it from *ba-*

'to bind' (p. 325). Let me point out that I too had derived Orkh. *baz* 'pacified, obedient' from *ba:* 'to bind' in my Orkhon Turkic grammar (p. 115). Later, however, I saw a zetacistic connection between this and IM *barış-* 'to be reconciled', Hou., Trk., Az. *barış-* 'to make peace' (T. Tekin 1975: 276). Note that *ba:-* 'to bind' has a long /a/ (cf. Khal. *va:-* 'to bind', Trkm. *ba:g* 'bond, tie'), but Trkm. *barşık* and *barlış-* have a short one. Therefore, I still hold the view that Orkh., Uig. *baz*, CC *bazlık, bazılık, bazlux* 'peace, tranquility', Kar. TL *baz* 'peace; peaceable, peaceful', Kar. T *bazlan-* 'to make friends' and *bazlaş-* 'to be reconciled' are zetacistically related to forms with /r/ in the Oghuz group.

51. MK's *ärgüz* 'the melting of snow and ice at the beginning of spring' is hard to explain, although its connection with *ärü-* 'to melt' is obvious. Erdal connects *ärgüz* with transitive *ärgür-*, for the reason that "a direct connection with *ärü-* 'to melt' (intr.) appears morphologically impossible" (p. 325). Since there is no a suffix {-gUz}, he seems to be right in his assumption. For this word he actually thinks of a development *ärgüz* < **ärgür-(ü)z*, i.e. a development of the type *ku:tuz* < **ku:tur-(u)z*, etc. (p. 323). This assumption seems to me too far-fetched as I have already made it clear. A more possible explanation would be as follows: The causative suffix {-gUr-} could be a compound consisting of {-gU-} and {-r-} as {-tUr-} actually is. If this is correct, *ärgüz* can then be explained as a noun in {-(X)z} derived from an unattested **ärgü-*.

52. Uig. *kırkın* occurring in the binomial *kıyın kırkın* 'torture, punishment', seems to be regarded as a noun in {-gXn} connected the base of *kırıl-* 'to be killed' (p. 328). In my opinion, *kırkın* is related, through zetacism, to Uig., MK *kızgut* 'torture, punishment', Uig., MK *kızgur-* 'to punish' and MK *kızıl-* 'to be punished". Turkish *kırgın* 'murrain, casualties resulted infectious diseases of cattle', on the other hand, obviously comes from *kır-*.

53. Bang derived *kızıl* 'red' and *yaşıl* 'green' from **kızsıl* and **yaşsıl* respectively. Erdal rightly says that "Concerning *yaşıl* and *kızıl*, the existence of *+sIl* is no more than a hypothesis" (p. 100). In the section dealing with the formations in {-(X)l}, however, he seems to have accepted this hypothesis (p. 331). Bang's hypothesis on the etymologies of these two nouns, however, cannot be accepted for the following reason: The traces of medial consonant clus-

ters /zs/ and /şs/ in these hypothetical forms are not seen anywhere in Turkic including Chuvash and Yakut, e.g. Chuv. *xerle* 'red' < **kırıl,* Yak. *kıhıl* id. < **kızıl,* Yak. *sahıl* 'fox' < **ya:şıl* (cf. Yak. *a:stıy-* 'to become white' < **a:zsı-, ta:stıy-* 'to become petrified' < **ta:şsı-*). Therefore, it would be more reasonable to regard *kızıl* and *yaşıl* as denominal formations derived with the suffix {+l} from **kız* (cf. *kız+ar-* 'to become red') and **ya:ş* 'fresh, green', respectively. See also note 10.

54. Erdal is probably right in deriving OT *kudı* 'downwards' (generally read *kodı*) from *kud-* 'to pour' (p. 341). In the inscriptions it generally governs running waters: *ol sub kudı bardımız* (Ton 27), *Säläñä kudı yorıpan* (BK E 37), etc. and it is spelt with /u/ in Brahmi *qutiqı* [kudıkı] 'situated below'. The word survives in modern languages both with /u/ and /o/, however: Tuv. *kudu,* Uzb. *quyi,* but Yak. *xotu* 'along' (*sü:rük xotu* 'along the current'), *xotugu* 'northern', Yel.Uig. *kozı* 'low, below; north', Turkish *koyun* in the expression *yüzü koyun* 'face downwards' (< EAT *yüzi koyı*). The change /u/ > /o/ is quite common in the Oghuz group, e.g. *boz* 'to destroy' < *buz-, sok-* 'to insert' < *suk-*, etc. It is also found in Yakut, e.g. *xotuo* 'vomiting, vomit' < *kus-*, etc.

55. For inscriptional *yalıñus* and MK *yalñus* 'alone, solitary' Erdal suggests a new etymology: *yalıñ+us* 'intelligence' (p. 338). This etymology mainly depends on the fact that the word is spelt with /s/ in its earliest occurrences, i.e. in the Yenisei inscriptions and in MK. But in MK (actually in Karakhanid Turkic) devoicing of final /z/ is a general development, e.g. *-mAs* < *-mAz käñäs* 'shallow' < **käñäz, öläs* 'fainting' < **öläz*, etc. In languages spoken in the area where the Yenisei inscriptions are found, i.e. in Tuvinian, Khakas and Altay, there is no final /z/. As a matter of fact, devoicing of final /z/ in polysyllabic words is natural only for Turkic, the opposite change being extremely rare (e.g. Trk. *horoz* 'rooster' < Persian *xoru:s*). Another weakness of this etymology is that *us* is not Common Turkic. Finally, it must be added that this etymology is weak also semantically: In conclusion, the old etymology deriving *yalıñuz* from **yalıñ öz* still seems to be more convincing.

56. Erdal is right in rejecting MK's explanation to the effect that *konşı* is an Oghuz metathetical form of *koşnı* 'neighbor' (p. 344). The exactly opposite must be true, i.e. *konşı* comes from

**konuş-* 'to settle together'. Although the latter has not yet been attested, *konaş-* is found in Uig. *konaşı*. This and *konat* in MK shows that the older form of *kon-* was **kona-* (= Mo. *qono-* < **qona-*). This also explains why we have *konak* for 'guest' instead of the expected *konuk* in most of the modern languages today, e.g. Kzk., Kklp., Nog. *konak,* Kirg. *konok,* Tat., Bşk. *kunak,* Uzb. *qonåq,* Trkm.dial. *gonak,* Az *gonag,* etc.

57. Erdal, as a careful reader and investigator of DLT, pays utmost attention to the spellings of words in the manuscript, to MK's morphological comments and makes many corrections. A very important correction he makes is the identification of passive participles in {-(X)glXg}, e.g. *töşäglig töşäk* 'bedding that is spread out' (p. 345). Another such correction is *üläglig* occurring in MK's example *bilig, kişi ara üläglig ol.* Atalay reads this word as *ülüklüğ,* Clauson, Dankoff and Kelly as *ülüglüg*. These are all wrong. First, the word is actually written as 'ULKLK in the manuscript', as Erdal points out (p. 344). Secondly, MK gives this example as a passive participle (*mafu:l*) and translates it accordingly: 'Intelligence is divided (*maqsu:m*) among people' (Erdal's translation). Such passive participles could actually be recognized easily for what they are by looking at the back-vocalic examples like *kuruglug ya:* 'a strung bow', *tutuglug yer* 'a place occupied (by evil spirits)', etc.

58. *iy(i)nçsiz* in the binomial *basınçsız iy(i)nçsiz* taken from Maitr and the one occurring in the expression *iyinçsiz basınçsız bolmak* quoted from Neujahr (p. 349) should be corrected to read as *ıyınçsız* (see note 32).

59. Another important correction made by Erdal (p. 350) is the transcription and interpretation of the expression *ogsuz tägingsiz* occurring many times in Maitr and *og täginç* occurring in Suv 610, 4. He shows that *ogsuz täginçsiz* in Miatr and elsewhere means 'without occasion', and not 'gelişi-güzel, nasipsiz' as translated by Ş. Tekin, for *täginç* corresponds to Skr. *ksana* 'moment' in the sentence *oglug täginçlig turur sizlär ... sözlägäi bo şlokların* (Sho-Agon 3, p. 206, 10–11). Similarly, *og teginç* in Suv 610, 4 means 'a free moment, an occasion to do something'. I agree with Erdal in his interpretation of the binomial, but I think what he reads with /o/ is close to, actually identical with, Uig., MK*ugur* 'occasion, time' in meaning and is probably the base of the latter (cf. also

Tuv. *ug* in *çañıs ugda* 'once, on one occasion'). I therefore suggest that the word be read *ug*, and not *og*.

60. Erdal derives MK's *saraguç* 'a woman's veil' from **sara-*, "a verb which is attested only in Turkmen: The DLT has *saru-* and *sarla-* instead of it" (p. 358). Let it be known that Trkm. *sara-* 'to wrap' goes back to MK's *saru-*. According to Clauson *saraguç* is 'probably a metathesis of **sarugaç*' (EDPT 849). But this kind of metathesis is rather unusual for Karakhanid Turkic. On the other hand, a development **saruguç* > *saraguç* does not seem very likely either. All this shows that a better etymology should be sought for this word.

Commenting on the synonymous *saru-* and *sarla-* in MK, Erdal says as follows: "It appears that Qarakhanid Turkic created three alternate denominal verbs from Persian *sar* 'head'. West Turkish *sar-* 'to wind or wrap-round' (Middle and Modern Turkic) may be a shortening of *sar+u-* or **sar+a-*, with its meaning presumably widened through the influence of *sarmal-/sarmaş-*, qq.v. in the *EDPT*" (p. 358, note 410). In view of the Turkic data we possess, however, this etymology does not seem to be sound and satisfactory: Chuv. *sır-* 'to wind, wrap round', Bşk. *hır-* id., Tat., Trk. *sar-* id., Khak. Az. *sarı-* id. < *saru-*, Trkm. *sara-* id. < *saru-*, etc. The monosyllabic stems may come from *saru-* with the loss of the final vowel; *sarla-* in MK may go back to **sarula-*, i.e. a stem formed with the frequentative suffix {-lA-} and **sarma-* in MK *samal-*, *sarmaş-* and *sarmat-* may be explained as an {+A-} verb derived from **saru-m* as assumed by Clauson (EDPT 853).

61. Referring to my reading BK SE *YULGçA* as *yuluggı* Erdal comments as follows: "A word read as *yuluggı* by T. Tekin in BQ SE and translated as above (i.e. 'merchant') appears in fragmentary context and is dubious" (p. 372). First, I would like to make a correction here: I translated the word *yuluyggı* as 'plunderer', not as 'merchant', deriving from *yul-* // *yulı-* 'to plunder' in my Orkhon Turkic grammar (pp. 111, 279, 407). Later, however, I changed my view and read the same word as *yol(a)gçı* 'öncü (?)' taking it to be a noun in {-gçI} from *yola-* 'yola çıkmak, yürümek' in my reedition of the two main inscriptions (*Orhon Yazıtları*, Ankara 1988, pp. 52, 11:-111: note 226, 188). This word survives in modern languages, e.g. Trkm. *yo:lagçı* 'traveller, passenger', Kirg. *colo:çu*, Kzk. *jolawşı*, etc. Tuv. *çola:çı*, however, means 'driver', closer to the meaning

I assume for Orkh. *yolagçı*, i. e. either 'vanguard' or 'guide'. Therefore, I now believe that this reading fits better the fragmentary context in BK SE: *çor(a)kka t(ä)g(i)p yol(a)gçı [(ä)r](i)g* ... 'çorak (arazi)ye varıp öncü (askerler)i ...'. This all depends of course on the assumption that the final *A* in *YULGçA* is a misreading for *I*.

62. Erdal thinks that *kü-* 'to guard' which has so far been read as such should be spelt with /ö/, because *kö-* is probably the base of *kör-*, *köz* etc. (p. 194). For this reason he reads *kügçi* in the binomial *kügçi küzätçi* 'watchmen' as *kögçi* (p. 373). But *küzäd-* 'to watch, guard, protect' is spelt with /ü/ in TT VIII and *kü:d-* 'to wait; to wait on, tend, attend to (guests, animals, etc.)' lives on in modern languages with /ü/. Erdal obviously does not regard the two verbs as cognates. But the semantic relation between the two is obvious. Cf. also MK *bärklä-* 'to guard, keep secure', Uig., MK *bäklä-* 'to fasten, make fast, secure' > Trk. *bekle-* 'to wait; to watch, guard, protect', *bekçi* 'watchman'.

63. Erdal explains *bärgä* 'whip, goad' as a form derived from *bärt-* 'to bruise' 'by simplification of the consonant cluster' (p. 379), but it may also be derived from the base of *bärt-* i. e. from **bär-*. Cf. Mo. *berte-* 'to be injured, hurt', *-te-* being the allomorph of the passive suffix {-dA-}.

64. Mentioning *tuman* first among the nouns in {-mAn}, Erdal comments as follows: "It can't be derived from *to-* 'to block', which has a different vowel" (p. 387). To the contrary of what Erdal says, however, the OT verb meaning 'to block' must have had the shape *tu-* (cf. note 33 above). Doerfer's suggestion to relate *tuman* 'mist, fog' with *tumagu* 'a cold in the head' and *tumlı-* 'to be cold' (*TMEN* 935) is weak semantically. MK *tumlı-* 'to be cold' can best be explained as an {+I-} derivative (not found in Erdal), for we have *tum* in MK meaining 'cold' (EDPT 503), *tumagu* may then be explained as a collective noun in {+AgU} (not found in Erdal). We may also assume a **tumul*, an {+(X)l} derivative as the base of *tumlı-*, i. e. *tumlı-* < **tumul+ı-*. As for *tuman*, it may well be regarded as a deverbal noun in {-mAn} derived from *tu-*, very much like *ürtmen* 'a flat upper surface of a house, roof' (originally 'something which covers').

65. Dealing with the etymology of Uig. *yapırgak*, *yalpırgak* 'leaf', Erdal says as follows: "A verb '*yalpır-*' is not known to me, but several other verbs of similar shape signifying 'to flutter' are

mentioned in the section dealing with the formative +Ar-" (p. 392). It is true that a verb *yaplır-* has not yet been attested in Old and Middle Turkic texts. But the existence of such a verb can be deduced from the data found in modern languages, e. g. Tel. *yalbı-* 'to fan', *yalbra-* 'to flutter', Shor. *çalbra-* id., Kirg. *calbıra-* id., *calbırak* 'leaf', Kzk. *japırak* **yalpırak*) id., etc. The last two nouns are obviously derivatives in {-k} whereas OT *yalpırgak* is a deverbal noun in {-gAk}. The base of OT *yalpırgak* is probably an inchoative verb in {-(I)r-}, i.e. **yalpı-r-*, and the surviving *yalbra-*, *çalbra-*, *calbıra-* are obviously the older vocalized forms of the unattested **yalpır-*.

66. OT *tamgak* 'palate' is derived by Erdal from *tam-* 'to drip' on Doerfer's suggestion (p. 392). However, this is not very convincing semantically. An Altaic etymology suggested by Tsintsius (*SSTMYa* II 158) seems to be more plausible: Evk. *tam-* 'to inhale', Nan. *tami-* 'to swallow air, spittle, saliva' (cf. also Mo. *tama-* 'to collect or gather together', Ma. *tama-* id.).

67. Erdal is right in correcting my reading *TURDI* as *tur(ut)dı* in Tariat N2 and my interpretation of *turg(a)k* occurring in the same place as 'watching posts' (p. 392). As he clearly shows, OT *turgak* means 'day sentry'.

68. Commenting on QB *karakçı* 'brigand' and DLT's *karakla-* 'to pillage', Erdal says that "they come from -(O)k derivate of *karga-* 'to curse'. This *karga-k* would then denote 'something accursed'" (p. 395, note 463). I think this is a semantically weak etymology. In my opinion, MK, QB *karma* pillage, theft' and MK *karmala-* 'to pillage', Kirg. *karma-* 'to seize, catch, grasp', *karmala-* id. (freq.), etc. seem to be more convincing cognates. If MK *karma* is a verbal noun in {-mA}, *karak* would then be an action noun in {-k} derived from **kara-*, i.e. the archaic disyllabic form of **kar-*.

69. In the same note Erdal says that "*kuç-ak* 'an armful' in the DLT, 'bosom' in later texts, may possibly also come from **kuçgak;* in this case this is correct, the DLT hapax *kuçam* could be an analogical creation following *kuçak*". The data obtained from modern languages, however, do not support this etymology. A form like **kuçgak* or **kuçkak* occurs nowhere in Turkic. The word occurs without suffix-initial velar in those languages where this velar is preserved. Consequently, we may assume that *kuçak* and MK's hapax *kuçam* are old derivatives coming from the disyllabic

stem of OT *kuç-*, i. e. **ku:ça-* (cf. MK *konat-, konal-, konat-, konaşı, tutaşı*, QB *tutam*, etc.).

70. Erdal derives MK *kırça-* 'to hit the side of the target and pass on' from an unattested **kırış*, a noun in {-Xş} from *kır-* 'to scrape' (p. 421). The etymology I suggest seems to be more plausible for phonetic and semantic reasons (see Note 11).

71. Erdal derives *kurşa-* 'to gird, surround' from a hypothetical **kuruş*, a hypothetical denominal noun in {+Xş} from *kur* 'belt, girdle', like OT *bagış* 'joints' from *ba:g* 'tie, bond' (p. 422). But OT *kurşa-* occurs in Altay and Kirghiz as *kurça-* and in Khakas as *xurça-*. These forms go back to an older **kurça-*, not to **kurşa-*. Therefore, it is very probable that /ş/ in Common Turkic *kurşa-* was originally /ç/ (see Tekin 1989: 344).

72. Erdal transcribes Orkh. *tirkiş* 'caravan' as *terkiş* and its base as **terkä-* among the {+A-} verbs, deriving it from *ter-ig* (p. 424). But *tirkiş* is spelt with /i/ in the inscriptions. More important than that it survives with /i/ in Trkm. *tirkiş* 'line, row', e.g. *bir tirkiş düye* 'a line of camels'. The base of this word, i. e. *tirkä-*, survives in modern languages: Kzk., Nog. etc. *tirke-* 'to join together, conjoin, tie, bind', Tat. *terkä-* id., etc. Therefore, *tirkäş-* 'to walk in a line (used of camels and warriors)' in DLT fol. 269 must be read so and not *tergeş-* as Caluson did (*EDPT:* 545 b) or *terkäş-* as Erdal reads (p. 424). These words have nothing to do with *ter-* 'to collect, gather together' or *terig* derived from it. In my opinion, Orkh., Trkm. *tirkiş* and Mk's *tirkäş-* are zetacistically related to CT *tiz-* 'to arrange things in a row' (see Tekin 1975).

73. Erdal who mentions *tükä-* 'to be completed, fulfilled' among the {+A-} verbs finds Dankoff's etymology deriving it from *türk* 'mature, in the prime of life, young, vigorous' quite plausible (p. 426). This etymology has two important weaknesses, however: 1. OT *tükä-* means 'to come to an end', a meaning quite far from that of *türk;* 2. the loss of /r/ before /k/ which is quite difficult if not impossible. For the loss of /r/ Erdal gives three examples, i. e. *iklä-*, *bärk* and *kigür-*. In two of the examples given for the loss of /r/ before /k/, i. e. *irklä-* > *iklä-* and *bärk* > *bäk* the sonant /r/ occurs as the first element of a final consonant cluster occurring in one and the same syllable. In *kigür-* < **kir-Kür-*, on the other hand, /r/ and /g/ occur in two different syllables. For this reason, the development **kirgür-* > *kigür-* seems very doubtful to me (cf. *argur-*,

ärgür- 'to melt, dissolve', *ärgür-* 'to make something be', *särgür-*, *tirgür-*, *turgur-*, etc.). I would like to point out that OT *kigür-* can be analyzed as **ki:-gür-*, **ki:-* being the base of *ki:r-* 'to enter'. The element *-r-* in *ki:r-*, in its turn, can be explained as the inchoative suffix {-(I)r-}.

74. Erdal tentatively includes Uig. *butarla-* 'to tear to pieces, to destroy' among the {+lA-} verbs (p. 434). Clauson's etymology to the effect that the verb comes from the aorist form of *buta-*, *butı-* (EDPT 309) is unlikely, as Erdal states. In my opinion, *butarla-* is a frequentative stem in {-lA-} coming from an unattested **butar-*; cf. Mo. *butara-* 'to break to pieces, smash; to disperse, scatter' (intr.), *buta* 'in fragments or pieces; into pieces'.

75. Erdal is right in his judgement that the Uig. verb meaning 'to steal' is *ogurla-*, and not *ogrıla-* (p. 442). The latter, however, seems to be the original form of the verb which, with the regular loss of /ı/, must have acquired the shape *ogurla-* at an early date. As for *ogrı* 'thief', it can best be explained as an {-I} noun from **ogur-*, an unattested base which seems to have been preserved only in Yak. *uor-* 'to steal' < **o:r-* < **ogur-*.

76. Erdal transcribes the Uig. word meaning 'to sweat' *asterlä-*, apparently on the basis of its spelling in Uigur script (p. 448). But the verb, its base *tär* 'sweat' and *tärit-* 'to sweat' (intr.) are all spelt with /ä/ in MK. The latter is also spelt as *trIt-* in Irk Bitig 50. Cf. also Chuv. *tar* 'sweat' (< **tär*), Trkm. *der* id. etc. The vowel /i/ in Yak. *tirit-* 'to swear' is secondary.

77. About the base vowel of *tış+la-* (p. 448) see note 21 above.

78. *istä-* 'to seek something or ask for it' is obviously a verb in {+tA-} derived from *iz* 'trace, track, footprints' as Erdal confirms (p. 455). The fact that it is usually written with /s/ both in Uigur and in Karakhanik Turkic is not a strong evidence against this etymology as Erdal seems to believe, let alone the fact that the word is spelt with /z/ in at least one of its occurrences in the Uigur texts (p. 433). See also note 77 below.

79. Erdal thinks that "*üstä-* 'to increase something' is possibly derived from *üzä* 'above' with syncope of the unstressed and open second vowel" (p. 457). This etymology does not seem very likely. First, how do we know that the final vowel of *üzä* is unstressed? Secondly, even it were unstressed, the loss of a medial /ä/ in a formation like **üzä+tä-* would not be easy. In my opinion, *üstä-* is a

derivative of *üz* 'top, the upper part' (occurs in CC) which is also the base of Uig. *üzdün* ≈ *üztün* ≈ *üstün* and *üzä*. The latter is derived from this *üz* with the archaic dative-locative suffix *+A* (for these etymologies see Tekin 1991: 145–146)).

80. Erdal says that "*äsirkä-* comes from *äsiz*, an exclamation of bereavement found already in the Yenisei inscriptions" (p. 459). In my opinion, exactly the opposite seems to be true. This etymological explanation should then be changed to read "*asirkä* – comes from **äsir*, i. e. the older and original form of *äsiz*" (see Tekin 1991: 149).

81. I had read runic *TwKRKK* in KT S 8 and *TWKRKK* in BK N 6 as *tokurkak* 'one who regards himself as full' in my Orkhon Turkic grammar (pp. 109, 232, 383). In my reedition of the two Orkhon inscriptions, however, I read this word *astok* *(ar)k(u)k* 'tok (gözlü) ve aksi', in spite of the fact that runic *RKK* could hardly be read *arkuk* (*Orhon Yazıtları*, pp. 4, 5, etc.). Now, I see that Erdal accepts my first reading and interpretation (p. 462). The reason why I changed my reading from *tokurkak* to *tok (a)rk(u)k* was that I thought the context requires here an adjective meaning 'contrary, perverse, obstinate, stubborn', for in the immediately following sentence the kaghan analyzes the Turkish people's character as 'contrary, perverse' etc.: *a:çs(a)r tos(ı)k öm(ä)z s(a)n, bir tods(a)r a:çs(ı)k öm(ä)z s(ä)n* 'if you are hungry you do not think about you would be satiated (again), (and) once you are satiated you do not think that you would be hungry (again)' (BK N 6). In MK we find *arkuk* signifying 'obstinate, refractory', a word no doubt related with *arkuru* 'crosswise; transverse, perverse' (> Turkish *aykırı*). But, as I have already said, runic *RKK* can only be read **arkak*. However, it should be pointed out that in the inscriptions there are some examples in which the rounded vowel of the second syllable occurring after an unrounded vowel is not written, e. g. *y(a)r(u)k* 'sun' (Shine-Usu E 1).

82. After dealing with echoic verbs in {+kIr-}, Erdal says as follows: "A few onomatopoeic verbs ending in *krA-* will be mentioned below. It will be difficult to connect the two sets convincingly, if it cannot be shown why the stem-final /A/ was dropped here but retained there" (p. 467). The alternation {+kIr-} ≈ {+krA-} can be explained as follows: The aorist forms of the echoic verbs in {+kIr-} is always {-Ar}, -A- being the relic of the older forms of such verbs,

e. g. *ba:kır-*, *ba:kır-ar*, i. e. *ba:kıra-r*, but occasionally with the loss of /ı/, as *ba:kr-ar* (cf. MK *sıkır-* 'to whistle', *sıkr-ar*). Such being the case, the aorist forms of these verbs were apparently analyzed by the speakers in two different ways, i.e. either as *ba:kır-ar* or as *ba:kra-r*. In MK the verb is recorded as *ba:kır-* and its aorist form as *ba:kır-ar*, but in Tafs. the verb occurs as *bakra-*, e.g. *teväläriñ bozlamakı bakramakı* (Borovkov, p. 90). Tafs. *bakra-* survives in New Uigur as *waqıra-* (cf. Tekin 1983: 510).

83. After dealing with {+U-} verbs, Erdal mentions two derived verbs, i.e. *säşü-* 'to weaken' (intr.) and *adru-* 'to be superior to, excel' which, according to him, "look as if they were derived from verbs" (p. 476). The first of these two verbs was derived by Ramstedt from *säş-* 'to loosen, untie, unfasten' with the suffix *-ü-* (II:157). According to him this *-ü-* is cognate with Mo. *-bu-/-bü-* forming passive stems, a view accepted by Räsänen (1957: 163) and Street (). Erdal rejects this etymology and derives *säşü-* from **säş* which he describes as "an *-Xş* derivate from *säş-*" (p. 476).

The existence of the verb *adru-* 'to be superior to, excel' apart from *adır-* 'to separate' was first recognized by Röhrborn who translates it as 'sich auszeichnen' (*UW* 61). Erdal, after giving additional examples which display the existence of such a verb in Uigur, rightly states that "*adru-* is certainly not a variant of *adır-*, as it differs from it in shape, meaning and government" (p. 477). Röhrborn derives *adru-* from *adır-*, i.e. *adru-* < *adır-u-* with the loss of medial /ı/, but Erdal does not accept the existence of such a suffix: "No deverbal formative *-U-* can yet be postulated, as some might be tempted to do for the sake of Altaic comparison (following Ramstedt): A single verb does not make a formation" (p. 477). But we now have, together with *saşü-*, at least two {-U-} verbs, not one. Another such formation could be El-İdrak *koku-* 'to emit a smell of burning', Trkm. *koka-* 'to smell bad' < **koku-*, Az. *goxu-* id. coming from MK *kok-* 'to give out a smell of burning, stink', Trk. *kok-* 'to smell, stink'.

84. In the section assigned to the +*I-* verbs Erdal deals, among others, with *sämri-*, *sekri-*, *yavrı-*, *ükli-*, *yaltrı-* and *yuldrı-* and he makes the following statement: "When bases end in /z/ or /ş/, these consonants are replaced by /r/ and /l/ respectively under +*I-* expansion. This descriptive statement could be replaced by an ex-

planatory one only within a theory accounting for Altaic rhotacism and lambdacism as a whole" (p. 480). As I have already said above (note 45), these verbs could only be explained as *+I-* formations coming from Pre-Turkic nouns with final /r/ and /l/ which changed into /z/ and /ş/ in Proto-Turkic.

An important discovery made by Erdal is the Uigur word *sekiz* occurring in the phrases *tetik sekiz biliglig ü[zä]* 'because he is sharp-witted and bright' (Maitr 4 r 23) and *y(i)ti sekiz bilgä biligin* ... 'a sharp and quick-witted mind' (153 v 12). This word cannot have anything to do with the numeral *säkiz*. Erdal rightfully thinks that this *sekiz* which seems to be used metaphorically in these phrases is etymologically related to *sekri-* 'to jump, start off (intr.)'. We thus have one more doublet for the type *sämiz* ≈ *sämri-* supporting the theory of zetacism. i. e. *sekiz* ≈ *sekri-*.

85. In the *+I-* verbs section Erdal also mentions *yeltri-* 'to blow' and says as follows: "The direct base of *yeltri-* is not attested, but it must, in some way, come from *yel*" (p. 482). Erdal's conjecture about the ultimate base of this verb is correct, but the same cannot be said of his etymology, for this verb generally appears as *yeltir-* in Uigur and is spelt as *yeldir-* in MK. The variant *yeltri-*, on the other hand, appears only once in Uigur, as noted also by the author himself. Since its aorist form is *yeltir-är* in Uigur and *yeldir-är* in MK, it cannot be an *+I-* formation. In my opinion, the original form of the verb is *yeltir-* ≈ *yeldir-*, the unique *yeltri-* in M III being metathetical. This verb may have been derived from *yel* with a suffix {+dir-}. This suffix may correspond to Mo. {+jirA-}, a denominal suffix forming intransitive verbs, e. g. *qatagujira-* 'to become hard' (< *qatagu* 'hard'), *sayijira-* 'to become better, improve' (< *sayin* 'good, well'), etc. This etymology also explains the existence of /ä/ in the aorist form: It is a relic of the original stem-final vowel.

86. Commenting on *bIrkI* [bi:rki] 'united' in the inscriptions, Erdal says that this word cannot be a derivative of *birik-* 'to get together, join, to be united' (p. 494). In my opinion, Orkh. *birki* is an adjective in {-I} derived from *bi:rik-*, very much like *adrı* 'forked', *karşı* 'opposite, opponent', *konaşı* ≈ *konşı* 'neighbor', *tutaşı* ≈ *tutşı* 'continuous', *yaraşı* 'suitable', etc. This word seems to have survived only in Yak. *bi:rgä* 'together', e. g. *bi:rgä barıax* 'let's go together'.

87. In the {+(A)r-} verbs section, Erdal derives *kapar-* 'to form into a blister or a vesicle' from *kap* 'container' (p. 501). This etymology belongs to Clauson who wrongly spells the noun as *ka:b* and the verb as *kabar-* (*EDPT:* 585). In my opinion, Uig., MK *kapar-* (< **ka:par-*) comes from the adjective **ka:pa*. The latter is found in MK: *kapa* 'thick, protruding' (III 225), wrongly spelt as *kaba* by Clauson (p. 580). It survives in modern languages with the meanings 'thick, dense, bushy, swollen': Trk. etc. *kaba* 'puffed out, bushy, spongy', Trkm. *ga:ba* 'bushy; big; swollen' < **ka:pa*, etc. In this connection, I would like to point out that Trk. **ka:pa* and **ka:par-* have cognates in Mongolian: *qabuda-* 'to swell, puff', Kh. *xavda-* id., *qabudur, qabudar* 'swelling, tumor', Kh. *xavdar* id., etc.

88. In the same section, the spelling *kebä+r-* 'to swell, to be inflated (of one's belly)' should be corrected to read *käpär-;* cf. Trk. *gebe* 'pregnant', Az. *gäbä* id., Trkm. *gä:be* 'swollen, inflated' < **kä:pä, gä:ber-* 'to swell' < **kä:pär-*, etc.

89. At the end of the section assigned to the verbs in {+s(I)rA-}, Erdal comments on the obvious relation of this suffix to {+sXz} as follows: "A possible explanation could be that *+sIrA-* was originally **+sXz+A-*. As so often happens in *+A-* derivation, the final vowel of the base was syncopated, resulting in **+szA-*. The two sibilants were apparently dissimilated and, in later texts, an anaptyctic vowel appeared. A zetacistic explanation is also possible" (p. 509).

Erdal's theory which is based on four assumptions (i.e. syncopation, assimilation, dissimilation, vowel epenthesis) seems to me etremely hypothetical, let alone the fact that in Turkic medial consonants cluster /ss/ coming from /s/, /sz/ or /zs/ usually results in /st/, e.g. Az. *isti* 'warm' < **issi*, Kzk. *ıstık* id. < *ıssık*, Yak. *a:stıy-* 'to become white' < **a:zsı-*, etc. Consequently, a zetacistic explanation, i.e. *+sIr2* > *+sIz* and *+sIr2+A-* > *+sIrA-*, seems to be the only solution.

90. After a discussion of the so-called 'intensive formatives' *-A-*, *-I-* and *-U-* Erdal comments as follows: "There is no much ground for the assumptions that there were any suffixes of the form '*-A-*' or that there were any 'intensive' verbs in early Turkic. With the material we have at present, such a hypothesis cannot be supported" (p. 525).

Let it be known beforehand that Erdal rightfully refutes most of the examples brought by Brockelmann, 1954: 199ff. (p. 524, 525). Yet, as he accepts, there are "a few real candidates for comparatively early *-I-*", i.e. *kazı-* 'to dig and scrape' in MK beside *kaz-* 'to dig' and *tatı-* 'to be tasty, delightful, pleasant' in MK beside Uig., QB *tat-* 'to taste'. The intransitive *tatı-* could be explained as a denominal verb in {+*I*-}, although a noun *tat* 'taste' (< **ta:t*) homophonous with *tat-* (< **ta:t-*) has not been attested so far (cf., however, Tat., Bşk. *tat,* Trk. *tad,* Az. *dad,* Trkm. *da:t* etc.). MK's *kazı,* on the other hand, seems to be a diminutive (or frequentative?) stem.

91. Discussing the structure of *adır-* 'to separate', Erdal states as follows: "It shares its base with *adın* 'different', *adıg* 'sober', *adıl* 'excellent' and *adın-* 'to sober up; to be impressed, surprised, shocked' ..." (p. 535). Let it be said that *adıg* 'sober' and *adın-* 'to sober up' cannot be cognates with *adır-*, for *adın-* must have had a long /a/ originally, whereas *adır-* has a short one (cf. Trkm. *a:yıl-* vs. *ayır-*). See note 27.

92. In chapter 6.3 which deals mostly with inchoative verbs in {-(I)r-}, Erdal also mentions the verbs *adır-, ägir-* ≈ *äñir-, kadır-* and **tägir-* (pp. 535–537). But these verbs are all transitive; therefore they must have been formed with a different formative, perhaps an archaic transitive suffix {-r-}. Uig. *tävir-* 'to turn (tr.)' in the phrases *nom tilgänin tävir-, nomlug tilgän tävir-* 'to turn the wheel of *dharma*' (p. 676) also seems to have been formed with the same suffix.

93. When dealing with *to-ş-* 'to become full' in the chapter assigned to 'Verbs of vying and cooperation', Erdal says as follows: "*tok, tol-* and *tod-* are cognates" (p. 570). This seems impossible, however, because of the quantitative difference in their vowels: Both *tok* and *tod-* have short vowels, whereas the vowel of *tol-* is a long one (cf. Trkm. *do:l-,* Yak. *tuol-* vs. Trkm. *dok, doy-* and Yak. *tot, tot-*). OT *toş-,* too, must have had a long /o/ originally, for it is synonymous with and perhaps lambdacistically related to **to:l-*.

94. In the section where verbal stems in {-(X)n-} are dealt with, Erdal writes the verb meaning 'to be blocked, to be closed up' with /o/, i.e. as *ton-* (p. 620). This spelling cannot be correct, for the verb occurs with /u/ everywhere as I have already said above: Tuv. *dun-* 'to be stopped up, be choked', *dunuk* 'deaf', *dugla-* 'to shut,

close', Khak. *tun-* 'to become deaf', *tunux* 'deaf', *tuyux* 'shut, closed', *tug* 'pond, puddle', *tulga-* 'to close firmly';'to block the way' < **tugla-*, Kzk. Kklp. *tuyık* id., Tat. *ton-* 'to become deaf', etc. OT *tuman* 'mist, fog', can then be derived from the base *tu-* 'to bar, block up, obstruct', contrary to what Erdal thinks (p. 387). See also note 27.

95. *ük-ün-* '(of troops) to collect (intr.)' mentioned among the {-(X)n-} verbs (p. 625) should be corrected to read *ügün-* see § 45). As Erdal mentions, in the *EDPT* this verb is quoted twice from the Orkhon inscriptions (p. 111). This, too, should be corrected. The verb which occurs in the Orkhon inscriptions is not *ükün-* 'to bring together, concentrate (troops)', but *ökün-* 'to repent, regret, feel sorry'. Furthermore, the *EDPT*s *ük-* 'to heap up, accumulate (something)', too, is a mistake for *üg-*. Clauson's runic example *uyur kadaşım üçün ükdim* 'I heaped up (wealth) for my capable (?) kinsmen' (Malov 17, 2), too, should be corrected to read *uyur kadınım üçün öldüm* 'I died for the sake of my capable in-law' (see Vasil'ev 1983, 22, 62). See also note 45.

96. On *yetlin-* listed among the verbs formed with {-lXn-} Erdal comments as follows: "*yet-lin-* 'to disappear' is common, and so is its base *yet-* 'to lose'; an -(X)n- derivate from this base is not attested, however, and *yet-il-* is very rare" (p. 640). It is unknown to me why Erdal writes the base with /e/ and not /i/. Although he says that he would explain it when dealing with *yet-tür-* 'to allow something to get lost' (p. 686), he does not do so (see p. 815). His reason or reasons notwithstanding, it should be reminded that the base occurs with /i/ everywhere with the exception of Yakut where it is with /ü/, i.e. *süt-*, going back to an older **yüt-*. It seems that this verb had two slightly different forms in Proto-Turkic, i.e. **yit-* and **yüt-*. In connection with this, I would like to draw attention to *yütürüp* 'having lost' occurring in Irq Bitig 24: *täglük kulun irkäk yunt(t)a ämig tiläyür. kün ortu yütürüp tün ortu nägüdä bulgay ol tir.* 'A blind foal looks for an udder on a stallion. Having lost it at midday, where and how to find it at midnight? it says.' Thomsen and Clauson read the word *yütürük*, taking the final letter to be *Ük*. But the final letter is clearly *Up* in the manuscript, as first pointed out by Erdal (1977: 96). Therefore the word should be read *yütürüp*, although it is the only case in IB where the letter *Up* is used to write the sound group *üp*.

97. Dealing with *tod-* among the medial verbs in -(*X*)*d-*, Erdal says as follows: "*to-d-* 'to be or become satiated'. This, *to-k, to-l-* and *to-ş-* are all cognates. Cf. also *to-z-umçı*" (p. 643). I have already pointed out that *tol-* and *to-ş-* must have had a long /o/ originally, and therefore they cannot be cognates to short-vocalic *to-*, *tod-* and *tok-* (see § 93). For the base of *tozumçı*. See note 16.

98. Among the passive verbs in -(*X*)*l-* a verb *büksül-* 'to burst and split open' is listed (p. 657). This verb is read as *böksil-, böksül-* in the *DTS* (p. 117) and as *bükşül-* in the *EDPT* where it is thought to be connected with *büküş-* (p. 329). Erdal comments on this verb as follows: "I take the *EDPT* to be right about the connection with *bük-*, but the immediate source could have been **bük-üz-*" (ibid.). But all these readings and assumptions are wrong. The word under discussion should be read *bögsül-*, for both this and its base survive in Turkmen: *böviis-* 'to pierce, split', *bövsül-* 'to be pierced, be split'. Turkmen /v/ in these words can only go back to an original /g/.

99. Commenting on *taral-* 'to be or to get dispersed', i. e. the unusual passive form of *tar-* 'to disperse', Erdal says as follows: "The Uigur variant *taral-* may have arisen out of contamination between *tar-* and *tara-* (i. e. 'to comb') or, alternatively, the second vowel may be due to the influence of the /r/. As we read in *EDPT* 547 a, some modern languages have *tara-* as a secondary form of *tar-*. The present ex. *may* also be the first instance of such an -A-expansion, as comes up in a number of verbs in Middle Turkic. This remains only a possibility as long as there is no certain such ex. of *tara-* itself" (p. 675).

In my opinion, there is nothing unusual in Uig. *taral-*. The vowel /a/ of the second syllable is a relic of the original disyllabic stem of *tar-* which apparently was **tara-* (cf. Mo. *tara-* 'to disperse'). Such cases are not rare in Old and Middle Turkic, e. g. OT *kon-* 'to settle down', but MK *kona-t-*, Uig. *kona-ş-ı* 'neighbor(ing), adjacent' (cf. Mo. *qono-* 'to spend the night' < **qona-*), MK *irk-* 'to collect, assemble', but *irkä-ş-* // *irk-i-ş-* (cf. Mo. *irge-* 'to collect, assemble'), etc.

100. For my view about *yet-il-* from *yet-* 'to get lost' on p. 686. See note 96 above.

101. Erdal deals with *utuz-* 'to give up, lose' among the {-tXz-} verbs instead of those formed with {-Xz-}, because he thinks that

"The behavoir of *utuz-* would be quite aberrant among -Xz- verbs and can be explained by assuming that it comes from a simplification of **ut-tuz-*" (p. 708). I must say that this is a rather far-fetched explanation. OT *ut-* means 'to win at gambling; to beat, defeat (someone) at gambling, in battle, etc.', whereas *utuz-* signifies 'to lose, be beaten', i. e. to let someone to win'. The meaning of *utuz-* is thus in complete agreement with the meanings of other verbs in -Xz-, e.g. *tam-* 'to drip', *tamız* 'to let something to pour out drop by drop', *tüt-* 'to smoke', *tütüz-* 'to let something smoke', *ud-* 'to follow', *uduz-* 'to lead', i.e. 'to let someone lead', etc.

102. *yet-ür-* ≈ *et-ür-* 'to lose' cited among the causative verbs in -(U)-r- (p. 724) should be corrected to read *yit-ür-* and *it-ür-*. To these must also be added the form *yütür-* occurring in IB 24: *kün ortu yütür-üp* 'Having lost it at midday'. See note 96 above.

103. Among the causative verbs, Erdal also mentions *yogur-* and comments on this verb as follows: "*yogur-* 'to knead'; originally perhaps 'to condense, thicken (tr.)' if it is related to *yogrut* and *yogun*" (p. 725). As far as I know, this verb survives with /u/ in its first syllable everywhere except for Turkish and Azeri. Even in Turkmen it lives on as *yugur-*, *yogrut* and *yogun,* on the other hand, have an /o/ in their first syllables. Only for this reason, Clauson's etymology connecting *yogrut* with *yugur-* (EDPT: 905 b) cannot be accepted. Besides, the two lexemes are not related to each other semantically. *yugur-* means 'to knead' and *yogrut* is not made by 'kneading'. See note 43.

104. *ükşürü* 'repeatedly' discussed among the petrified converbs in the shape of *-Ur-U* (p. 726) should be corrected to read *ügşürü* (see §95).

105. Discussing *kigür-* among the causative stems in {-gUr-}, Erdal comments as follows: "*kigür-* 'to introduce, bring in' served as causative of *kir-* 'to enter'. It is unlikey, however, that it should actually have been derived from *kir-:* no elision of /r/ occurs with a number of *-gUr-* derivates from bases ending in this phoneme, the most relevant instance being *tir-gür-* ... *kir-* (which had a long vowel) and *kigür-* could-, however, come from the same unattested base ..." (p. 750).

I agree with Erdal on his assumption of his. OT *kir-* is an inchoative stem in {-(I)r-} derived from the unattested **ki:-* which is also the base of *kigür-* < **ki:gür-*. A similar etymological relation seems to be found between *olur-* and *olgur-t-*. See note 108 below.

106. When discussing *tir-gür-* 'to bring to life' among the *-gUr-* verbs, Erdal also mentions the inscriptional *tirg(ü)rü* and comments as follows: "T2IR2G2R2W in KT E 29 is hardly an ex. for this verb, as the *EDPT* writes; rather of *tirig+gärü*" (p. 753). And in note 482 below, on the same page he further states as follows: "As Meyer, 1965–1966 has shown, rounded vowels are not tacit in Orkhon spelling after unrounded ones. The parallel passage in the BQ inscr. (also in the *EDPT*) is damaged. The exs. in the short list in Tekin, 1968: 36 (headed "Rounded vowels occurring after unrounded ones are not marked only in the following examples.") can all be refuted, excepting two in the Ongin inscr."

First of all, let it be made clear that the spelling rules observed in the Orkhon inscriptions are not without exceptions. For example, the unrounded narrow vowels occurring after rounded vowels are generally written; but there are quite many exceptions to this rule, e.g. *süçig* (KT S 5, 5, 6)), but *süç(i)g* (BQ N 4, 4, 5)), *tölis* (KT E 33), but *töl(i)s* (BQ E 12, S 13), *udım(a)d(ı)m* (BQ E 22), but *ud(ı)m(a)d(ı)m* (KT E 27), *yor(ı)td(ı)m* (KT S 4), *yor(ı)tm(a)z* (KT S 6), etc. Again, the initial /i/ is, as a rule, always written; but we once have *lgrÜ*, i.e. *(i)lg(ä)rü* in KT E 21 as against the 13 instances of *ilg(ä)rü* in the two Orkhon inscriptions. In Tonyukuk and the other inscriptions, there are even more exceptions to such spelling rules. Yollug Tegin and the scribes of other inscriptions were, after all, human beings living in Mongolia in the first half of the eighth century and it would only be natural for them to have made such spelling mistakes. Therefore, I see no reason to think that the scribe would not have forgotten to write the letter *Ü* after *g* in *trgrÜ*.

As for Erdal's suggestion to read to word *tIrgÜ* as *tiriggärü*, this is of course possible, but not plausible; for *tirig* is not an action noun in Orkhon Turkic. It signifies 'living, alive' and **tiriggärü* could only mean 'toward those who are alive', a meaning which would be out of place in a context like *öltäçi bodunug ... igittim* 'I fed (or, nourished) the dying people ..." There is no doubt that the word under discussion is the vocalic gerund of *tirgür-*. If we cannot read it *tirg(ü)rü*, we have to read it *tirgrü*.

107. In connection with *tütüz-* listed among the *-Xz-* verbs, Erdal says as follows: "*tüt-üz-* 'to let something smoke; to fumigate something'. The *EDPT* is wrong in taking 'to emit smoke' to be *tütä-*" (p. 758). In the note 491 below, on the same page, he makes the following comment: "*tütär* in KP, the only ex. adduced for this, is better devided *tüt-är* than otherwise. *tütäk* 'spout' spelled TUTAK in DLT fol. 194, may be one of the numerous vowel errors of that source: All other documentation indicates a narrow vowel. *tütäk* could also come from **tüt-gäk;* note that this lexeme has a long vowel in Tkm., whereas the verb has a short one there. There may have been an *+A-* derivate from *tü:t* as onomatopoeic for the sound emitted from a reed pipe (unrelated to the verb denoting the emittance of smoke). As for the *-(X)t-* causative signifying 'to emit smoke (of fire)' in DLT fol. 415: Attested are *tütätti, tütitür, tütitmäk,* of which the first must be a simple error (for *tütit-*)."

Erdal is right in analyzing KP's *tütär* as *tüt-är,* for otherwise we would have expected **tütäyür.* He is also right in rejecting Clauson's etymology deriving *tütäk* 'spout' from *tütä-* 'to emit smoke' (EDPT: 455). But he is not so when he says that *tütäk* could come from **tüt-gäk.* The reasons are: 1. The suffix-initial /g/ could not have been lost in Karakhanid Turkic, 2. Trkm. *tüydek* has an originally long /ü/, as Erdal notes. His assumption to the effect that *tütäk* may have been derived from a hypothetical **tü:tä-* formed from an echoic **tü:t* with the suffix *+A-* is not very convincing either, for echoic verbs are usually formed with {+kIr-} and {+kI-}, as shown by Erdal himself. In my opinion, **tü:täk* could be a loanword borrowed from some Iranian language.

Erdal is not right either in stating that *tütät-* in MK must be an error for *tütit-*, for in most of the modern languages this verb is disyllabic: Trkm. *tüte-*, Khak. *tüde-*, Kirg. *tütö-*, Kzk., Kklp. Nog. *tüte-*, Tat., Bşk. *tötä-*, Uzb. *tutä-*, YUig. *t'uti-*, Khal. *titi-*, etc. All this shows that *tüt-* had a final /ä/ originally and the vowel /ä/ in MK's *tütät-* is a relic of this stem-final vowel.

108. On the structure of Uig. *olgurt-* 'to seat', Erdal comments as follows: "*olgurt-* may have come from **ol(o)r-ur-t-* by /r/ dissimilation: Since *olor-* 'to sit' cannot be shown to be derived I prefer this account to the hypothesis that there was a *-gUr-* verb underlying *olgurt-*." (p. 780).

First, I must say that a development like *olgurt-* < **ol(o)r-ur-t-* is not very likely in Old Turkic. Secondly, I must make it clear that I don't agree with Erdal on his opinion to the effect that *olur-* 'to sit' cannot be shown to be derived. This verb seems to have been derived with the inchoative suffix {-(X)r}-} from a base like **ol-* or **olu-*, very much like the verb *kir-* coming from **ki:-* (see above). The data found in some modern languages may support this etymology. First of all, there is an *olut* 'seat, place to sit; sitting' surviving, as far as I know, only in Tuvinian and Kirghiz. (Radloff has Kkir. *olut* 'chair, armchair, table; plateau, terrace' and two more variants belonging to the Sagai dialect, i. e. *olıt* and *olat* both meaning 'a place where one can sit'). This word could well be a noun in {-(U)t} derived from the obsolete base of **ol-or-*, i. e. **ol-* or **olu-*. Secondly, we have *olox* in Yakut which means 'sitting; life; home, residence'. This, too, may have been derived from the same root with the suffix {-{U)k} or {-{O)k}, i. e. *olox* < **olak,* very much like **ku:çak* 'the bosom, lap' derived from Proto-Turkic **ku:ça-* 'to embrace sexually'. Uig. *olgurt-* 'to seat' could, then, be a formation like *ar-gur-t, toş-gur-t,* etc. On the other hand, /t/ in Uig. *oltr-up* (M II,13), may have been an epenthetic consonant introduced when the second vowel of *olur-* was dropped in cases like **olr-up,* as Erdal rightly assumes (p. 780, note 515). The form *oltrup* could then have given rise to the forms *oltur-, oldur-* in Middle Turkic. As for the causative *olxut-* 'to seat' in MK; it, in all likelihood, goes back to an older **olgut-,* as Kashgari remarks, and this, in its turn, may have resulted from *olgurt-*, with the loss of /r/ before /t/.

Finally, there is also a curious *olıt-* 'to sit' recorded by Radloff as a lexeme belonging to the Soyon dialect, but not found in modern dictionaries. If it is not a back formation extracted from *oltır-, olıt-,* it could be explained as a medial verb in -(X)d- like *si-d, to-d,* etc.

109. In discussing Uig. and Karakhanid *müntür-* 'to help someone to mount', Erdal also mentions the inscriptional *b(i)nt(ü)rä* and comments on it as follows: "Several scholars (including the *EDPT*) read *bintürä* in Toñ 25 and assign the form to the verb discussed here. This is quite unlikely as the second vowel is not written out and cannot therefore be rounded, and the converb vowel of this formation is not /A/. Read perhaps *ävin terä* instead" (p. 801–802).

Erdal does not give the meaning of his *ävin terä*. It could only signify, however, something like 'tidying their tents up'. But such a phrase would not fit the context better than *b(i)nt(ü)rä: (a)t üzä b(i)nt(ü)rä k(a)r(ı)g sö̱kd(ü)m* 'ordering (the soldiers) to mount (their) horses, I broke through the snow'. It would only be logical to think that Tonyukuk, in order to break the snow, ordered his soldiers to mount their horses. In short, it must be admitted that the scribe has made two spelling mistakes in writing *bintüre:* 1. He forgot to write *I* after *b*, 2. he also omitted the letter *Ü* after *t*. Such spelling mistakes occur frequently in the Tonyukuk inscription.

As for the quality of the converb vowel of *bintür-*, Erdal is right in stating that the converb vowel of *-tUr-* verbs is not /A/. But aren't there exceptions to the rules regarding the converb vowels on Old Turkic texts? For example, the converb vowel of the -(X)t- verbs is generally /I/ in Old Turkic and the vocalic converb of *el(i)t-* 'to carry' is expectedly *elt-i* in Irk Bitig (7, 11), KP, etc., but it is *elt-ü* in TT V, TT X and Hsüan Tsang. *terä* in Erdal's alternative reading *ävin terä* must be the vocalic converb of *ter-* 'to collect, bring together, assemble'; but we find *tir-ü*, not *terä*, in the Shine-Usu inscription dating from 759–760: *tok(u)z og(u)z bod(u)n(u)m(ı)n tirü kubr(a)tı alt(ı)m* (N 5). The form *terä*, on the other hand, is a late form attested only in TT X and Insadi Sutra. All this shows that there are exceptions to the rules concerning the converb vowels in Old Turkic.

110. *yetlin-tür-* 'to make something vanish' on p. 824 should be corrected to read *yitlin-tür-*, for the vowel of the base is undoubtedly /i/ (see §§ 96, 102).

Here come to an end my remarks on Marcel Erdal's *Old Turkic Word Formation*. Altough I think I have almost covered all the views which did not seem acceptable to me, I am sure that there still are some points on which I have not made any remarks or comments. Before concluding this paper, I must once more say that Erdal's work is a great contribution to Old Turkic studies. I enjoyed reading this work and no doubt benefited from it. Needless to say, *Old Turkic Word Formation* will certainly remain as a main and reliable reference book for the students of Turkic for a long time to come.

Errata corrige: A. Forte, An Ancient Chinese Monastery Excavated in Kirgiziya (CAJ 38 (1994) 1)

p. 43, end of note 6, read "pp. 51–52" instead of "p. 44";
p. 45, line "Chavannes", read "1903" instead of "1900";
p. 50, line "should", read "p. 42" instead of "p. 48";
p. 56, in the title of Hambis, 1962, read "Ak Bešim" instead of "Ak Besim".

Reviews

Franz Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time* (Bollingen Series, No. 96, paperback). Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1978, xx, 549 pp.

Franz Babinger's comprehensive investigation of the personality and achievements of Mehmed II is in certain respects a classic. There is no other full-length treatment of an Ottoman sultan like it in any language, and when the initial, German edition appeared in 1953, it was the first major study of Mehmed in over two centuries. Babinger drew upon his own extensive researches in Ottoman and Western sources, out of which had come a steady flow of articles, including over 100 entries in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, and his monumental *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* (1927), still a standard reference work. The English version under review here follows translations into French (1954), Italian (1957), and Serbo-Croatian (1968), and is based on the second German edition (1959) and on significant changes in the organization of the material made by the author before his death in 1967.

True to the title of his book, Babinger focuses his attention on Mehmed's military campaigns and conquests, which stretched from Asia Minor to Hungary and encompassed all of Southeastern Europe. Notable among the detailed descriptions of these wars are the accounts of the siege and capture of Constantinople in 1453, the defense of Belgrade against Mehmed's armies by John Hunyadi of Transylvania in 1456, the expeditions in the Morea in 1458 and 1460, and the long contest with Venice. Babinger's approach to these crucial encounters is well illustrated by his account of Mehmed's wars against Uzun Hasan, the ruler of the White Sheep, whom he finally defeated in 1473; he places the issues immediately at hand within the broad context of Mehmed's overall plans and maneuverings in both East and West. It also makes manifest Babinger's primary concern with political and diplomatic history and his striving to set down a history of events in their proper chronological sequence. He is thus a practitioner of *histoire événementielle*, which has fallen into disfavor with many historians who think that history should concern itself with structures and broad social and economic developments.

In a work of such scope many issues, inevitably, could not be given the attention specialists might wish. Historians of Eastern Europe, for example, would argue for a more thorough discussion of Mehmed's policies on the northern frontier of his empire or for a clearer delineation of Wallachia's role in the wars between the Ottomans and Hungary. Much more needs to be said about Mehmed's internal policies, for the chapter Babinger devotes to the state is brief and comes at the end of the book. Discussions of Mehmed's efforts to centralize government administration as a means of holding his diverse and expanding empire together and of his tax and land policies as generators of revenue to finance his wars of conquest are essential to an understanding of his military and diplomatic initiatives and should be integrated into the general narrative. Missing are footnotes and detailed references to the sources and secondary literature. In the preface to the German edition Babinger had promised a second volume, which would provide a critique of the materials he had used, but it was never published. The present edition contains an occasional explanatory note or the citation of a recent work containing new information.

Perhaps the most enduring contribution of the book lies in the many-sided portrait it offers of a complex and contradictory personality. Mehmed was capable of a tolerance for Christians and Jews unequaled among the rulers of Europe of his day, and yet, at the same time he could give himself over to unimagined cruelty and could engage in mass violence as a matter of course. As he emerges from Babinger's pages there can be no doubt either about his unrestrained ambition and pursuit of personal glory. He was eager to make his court a center of learning and creativity by drawing to it renowned scholars and poets, especially from the Persian East, whose ruler-patrons were apparently his models. But the results, as Babinger points out, fell short of his expectations. Mehmed had other models, too. As a conqueror he thought of himself as a new Alexander the Great who would turn westward and conquer Rome and complete the triumph of Islam (and his own) over Christianity.

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A. H. Dani, V. M. Masson (ed.): *History of civilizations of Central Asia*. Volume 1. The dawn of civilization: earliest times to 700 B.C. UNESCO Publishing. Paris, 1992.

In Vorwort und Projektbeschreibung, Einführung sowie Appendix wird klargestellt, daß Zentralasien im Verlaufe von Verhandlungen in den Gremien der UNESCO seine Gestalt neuerdings geändert hat: Danach reicht Zentralasien zwar wie bisher vom Kaspisee im Westen bis an die Große Chingan-Kette im Osten, jedoch mit einer gewaltigen Ausbuchtung nach Süden bis an den Indischen Ozean. Da es sich bei diesem Buch um den Auftakt zu einer Reihe mit insgesamt 6 Bänden handelt, ist dies ein bemerkenswertes Präjudiz.

Entstanden ist diese Deformation, weil die damaligen Herren über fast ganz Zentralasien, die Weltmächte Sowjetunion und China, nicht die Absicht hatten, eine Geschichte der zentralasiatischen Kultur in trauter Zweisamkeit abzuhandeln. Sie stimmten daher der Aufnahme möglichst vieler Anrainer zu, von denen sich allerdings zwei (Afghanistan und Iran) im Verlauf der Ereignisse als wenig kooperativ zeigten. Auf diese Weise fiel dem verbliebenen Partner Pakistan eine Schlüsselstellung zu. Sein führender Archäologe, A. H. Dani, konnte sie mit bemerkenswertem diplomatischen Geschick zur Realisierung des UNESCO-Projekts nutzen.

Die Zuständigkeit auf russischer Seite mußte neu geregelt werden, allerdings blieb die Mitsprache der "echten" Zentralasiaten eher bescheiden. Die chinesischen Fachleute zeigten schließlich Präsenz. Hervorragende Spezialisten aus dem alten Europa wurden integriert, die südasiatische Flanke zusammen mit jenen indischen Experten ausgebaut, denen Dani durch das Nachwirken der gemeinsamen Ausbildung im Archaeological Survey of India verbunden ist. Es ist abzuwarten, welche Auswirkungen diese südasiatische Expansion auf die Planung künftiger Bände haben wird. Hier zeichnet sich in der Wissenschaft eine politische Neuorientierung ab.

Für die drei Artikel, die chronologisch gegliedert das Paläolithikum darstellen, wäre eine Erweiterung des Gesichtsfeldes (durch Einbeziehen der Soan-Problematik) jedenfalls nötig gewesen. Das Bild, das zuletzt Ranov entworfen hatte, kann auch nach Ergänzungen durch englische Grabungen in Pakistan aufrechterhalten werden. Dies ist ein guter Auftakt.

Mit dem Neolithikum setzen regional gegliederte Darstellungen ein. Schon in deren Anordnung wird deutlich, daß den Oasen, die dem Nordrand des Iranischen Plateaus vorgelagert sind, ein zeitlicher Vorsprung beim Übergang zur produzierenden Wirtschaft (Feldbau, Viehzucht) eingeräumt wird. In den nördlich angrenzenden Steppen wird vorläufig mit dem Weiterbestand von Jagd, Fischfang und Sammelwirtschaft gerechnet.

Der darauf folgende Beitrag, von einem pakistanischen (M. Sharif) und einem indischen Autor (B. K. Thapar) verfaßt, beschäftigt sich nach gebührender Würdigung der französischen Grabungen von Mehrgarh mit dem erstaunlichen Phänomen, daß man in Kashmir, Potwar und Swat (neuerdings auch in Ladakh und im nördlichen Sikkim) auf Stationen gestoßen ist, die sich als „separate extensions from one long cultural tradition of Yangshao Neolithic cultures" auffassen lassen.

Hier bringt schon der Beitrag des chinesischen Forschers An Zhimin eine Hintergrundinformation. Inzwischen haben Archäologen der Volksrepublik in Gansu (auch in Qinghai und Ningxia) eine ganze Serie von Agrarkulturen entdeckt, innerasiatische Verwandte der Yangshao-Kultur. Es haben sich lokale Varianten gebildet, die Sequenz reicht vom sechsten bis ins zweite vorchristliche Jahrtausend. Wir müssen daher mit Zentren rechnen, die einerseits den Übergang zu Feldbau und Viehzucht bei ihren Nachbarn auslösen konnten, diese aber vielleicht unter demographischem Druck zur Abwanderung nötigten. Neben den Kulturen am Südwestrand haben also auch jene am Südostrand beim Übergang Zentralasiens zu Feldbau und Viehzucht mitgespielt. Von hier gingen Einflüsse aus, die in Ferghana zum Auftreten von bemalter Keramik und geschliffenem Steingerät (etwa Sicheln) führten.

Das Neolithikum im Norden Zentralasiens wird zunächst von Derevjanko und Dorj ohne Beschränkung auf Kulturen mit produzierender Wirtschaft abgehandelt. In der Mongolei geht ein gut dokumentiertes Mesolithikum in eine Kultur seßhafter Jäger und Fischer über. Sie lebten an den vielen kleinen Seen, die es auch in der heutigen Gobi gab. In Tamsagbulak stellte man Erdhäuser und Keramik fest – angeblich auch Haustiere (Rind und Pferd). In einer anderen Siedlung (Baotai in Nordkazachstan), die geräumige Erdhäuser aufwies, stammen 99% der Knochenfunde von Pferden. Angeblich konnte G. F. Korobkova auch Knebel aus Knochen feststellen, die zu Trensen gehörten, die aus Leder geflochten waren. Solche Trensen – ohne Metallbestandteile – wurden in Xinjiang von chinesischen Archäologen gefunden, aber dem späten zweiten Jahrtausend v. Chr. zugewiesen. Boatai hingegen, mit zahlreichem, auch mikrolithischem Steingerät, wird ins Endneolithikum (3.–4. Jahrtausend v. Chr.) datiert.

Das Steingerät anderer Fundstellen am Nordrand des eurasischen Steppengürtels deutet auf Beziehungen zur lange jägerisch bleibenden Kel'teminar-Kultur. Deren Keramik läßt an Verbindungen zum Ural denken.

Der folgende Artikel beschäftigt sich mit der Bronzezeit in Nordost-Iran und Nord-Afghanistan. Hier bildet M. Tosi mit seinem iranischen Kollegen S. M. Shahmirzadi und mit M. A. Joyenda, der die afghanische Lücke füllt, ein Team. Das Hauptinteresse gilt Außer-Iran. Früher hat Tosi die handliche Bezeichnung „Turan" verwendet, man sollte sie beibehalten. Die Flüsse, die von den Randbergen des Plateaus herabströmen, enden in Oasen, wichtig für das Aufblühen von Feldbau und Tierhaltung. Ähnliche Zentren gibt es in Kerman und Mekran, auch in Seistan. In größeren Siedlungen konnte sich eine differenzierte Handwerkerschicht entwickeln, vermutlich auch eine mächtige Priesterschaft. Fernhandel wird durch Kunstwerke greifbar, deren Vorbilder im Vorderen Orient nachweisbar sind. Frühe Kolonisten aus Elam, weit über das Plateau verteilt, mögen eine wichtige Rolle gespielt haben. Imponierende Vorkenntnisse haben Pierre Amiet befähigt, die Koiné darzustellen. Ihm standen das von Victor Sarianidi neu ergrabene Material und die Schätze aus den (während der Kämpfe geplünderten) Gräbern Nordafghanistans zur Verfügung. (Das Titelbild des Buches gibt ein solches Importstück wieder.) Es sieht fast so aus, als seien die interessantesten Kulturen am Rande dieser Koiné direkte Ableger Elams gewesen.

Der folgende Aufsatz von V. M. Masson, dem zweiten Herausgeber, behandelt jene Teile von Turan, die bisher zum russischen Imperium gehörten. Er bestätigt, was bereits der Amerikaner Lamberg-Karlovsky konstatiert hat: Man muß jetzt neben Mesopotamien, Ägypten, Indien und China mit „Turan" als einem fünften Zentrum der altorientalischen Zivilisationen rechnen! Umfangreiche Kanalsysteme ermöglichen einen ertragreichen Ackerbau; Viehzucht ist gut belegt. Die Differenzierung in Städte, Märkte und Dörfer wird deutlicher. Altyn-depe könnte eine Hauptstadt gewesen sein wie Harappa und Mohenjo-Daro – mit einem Tempel, der einem Zikkurat gleicht. In den Gräbern der Priesterschaft wurden die kostbarsten Funde gemacht. Regionale Unterschiede sind deutlich, die östlichen Agrarsiedler fühlten offenbar die Notwendigkeit, sich gegen die Barbaren der Umgebung durch kompakte Siedlungen zu schützen.

Masson betrachtet die Zaman-Baba-Kultur am Serafschan-Unterlauf als eine nördliche Kolonie dieser Koiné, an deren Aufbau – noch im 3. Jahrtausend v. Chr. – auch die einheimischen Kel'teminarier und wandernde Hirtenstämme beteiligt waren. Sarazm, am oberen Serafschan, war schon im 4. Jahrtausend ein blühendes Agrarzentrum, es entwickelt enge Kontakte zu benachbarten Jägerstämmen, die zur Viehzucht und zur Metallurgie übergingen.

Es fehlt also nicht an Hinweisen auf Nachbarn, die das Gleichgewicht dieser turanischen Kulturprovinz gefährden konnten. Hier jedoch bricht die Darstellung ab. Die folgenden Beiträge, Belutschistan und dem Industal bzw. der vom Industal ausgreifenden Stromtalkultur gewidmet, bleiben der lokalen Problematik verhaftet. Dieser Beschränkung unterliegt auch die Darstellung der Bronzezeit im östlichen Teil Zentralasiens durch An Zhimin. Die Verstrikkung in ein überreiches Material erlaubt dem Autor keine systematische Verknüpfung mit den Vorgängen im Westen. Das Nebeneinander mongolider und europider Skelette im gleichen Gräberfeld, der Fund von Trockenmumien mit goldgelbem Haar, deuten jedoch auf den Kontakt mit Zuwanderern aus dem Westen hin.

Nach fast hundert Seiten Text und der Konfrontation mit ganz anderen Problemen müht sich dann Masson, den lang geschnürten Knoten zu lösen. Auf knapp 14 Seiten behandelt er einen weiteren Verlauf in Turan und im angrenzenden Steppenraum. Zunächst einmal berichtet er, daß ein Niedergang, eine Provinzialisierung der mittelasiatischen Bronzezeitstationen, stattgefunden habe – was eventuell durch den Übergang in eine Phase großer Trockenheit erklärbar ist. Dem widerspricht aber eine gleichzeitige Neubesiedlung am Ostrand der bisherigen Agrarzone, in der Margiane und in Baktrien. Dieser Komplex ist auch nördlich von Amu Darja faßbar: in der Sapalli-Kultur. Darin tritt zwar – vereinzelt – Keramik aus dem Steppenraum auf, vor allem aber ist eine letzte Welle vorderasiatischer Motive feststellbar. Diese Vorgänge müssen irgendwie mit dem Auftreten von Hirtennomaden in den Steppen und Halbwüsten zusammenhängen. Mit ihren Streitwagen schwärmten sie in viele Richtungen aus, meint Masson. Daher ist es höchste Zeit, sich mit den nördlichen Nachbarn zu befassen – mit den Stämmen der Afanasjevo- und der Andronovo-Kultur, aber das geschieht nur en passant. Nur in den reichen Gräbern von Sintashta hat man wirkliche Streitwagen in großer Zahl gefunden – in einer Kultur, in der Rinderzucht die ökonomische Basis bildete. Die Afanasjevo-Kultur ist fern (das Material vieldeutig), die Andronovo-Kultur ist zu friedlich, die Datierungen meist nach dem 14. Jh. v. Chr. liegen zu spät, um die Andronovoleute für den Wandel in Turan verantwortlich zu machen. Das Ende der Induskultur haben solche Stämme sicher nicht verschuldet.

Eher undeutlich werden Einflüsse aus Europa, den Pontischen Steppen, angedeutet. Dort und nicht in Zentralasien könnte die Zähmung des Pferdes erfolgt sein!

Masson schließt mit der Feststellung, unübersehbar sei im westlichen Zentralasien „the manifest arrival of new inhabitants, linked for the most part with the world of the steppe pastoralists."

Daß es sich bei diesen Störenfrieden um Indo-Iranier handeln muß, wird spätestens aus dem folgenden Beitrag Harmattas deutlich, der die Sprachgeschichte der Indoeuropäer darstellt.

Anschließend behandeln Litvinskij und Pjankova ein kleines Randgebiet Turans. In Nekropolen, die man am Vachš und Kyzyl-su entdeckt hat, erfolgte die Beisetzung z. T. nach Ritualen, die in Texten der Indo-Iranier beschrieben werden. Hügelgräber sind aus Vorstufen ableitbar, die man am westlichen Rand der Steppenzone, in Europa, kennt. Beziehungen zu den westlichen Teilen Turans sind ebenso deutlich. Vielleicht hatten hier Proto-Indoarier gesiedelt, die dann von Iraniern assimiliert wurden, so wie das von Burrow postuliert wurde.

Stämme, die beim Vordringen der Indo-Arier im Bereich der Grenzberge Pakistans verblieben sind, haben Gräber hinterlassen, die Dani im nächsten, dem 17. Kapitel, beschreibt. Der folgende Abschnitt über Painted Gray Ware ist gut, greift aber allzu weit nach Zentral-Indien aus. Die in Abb. 9, S. 438 gezeigte Terracotta-Scheibe zeigt übrigens eine Quadriga – erkennbar, wenn man die Scheibe nach links dreht.

Der kurze Aufsatz von Askarov über die frühe Eisenzeit Transoxaniens berichtet auch über Tagisken, d. h. die Aussetzung der Toten in Hütten, die man schließlich „rituell" niedergebrannt hat.

Den Übergang zur Periode der Reiternomaden – bis hin nach Tuwa und in die Mongolei – hat dann Askarov, zusammen mit V. Volkov und N. Ser-Odjav dargestellt. Wer für die Erklärung des Ortsnamens Ziwiyé als Personenname des Bestatteten, des „Ancient Lord Ziviya", verantwortlich ist, bleibt offen. Immerhin werden alle Faktoren und Fundgruppen erwähnt, die in den asiatischen Steppen und in den Oasengebieten dieser Zone den Übergang zu den Kulturen skythischen Typs markieren, beziehungsweise aber bei diesem Prozeß mitgewirkt haben.

Aber aus der Zusammenstellung wird keine Synthese. Diese Situation bleibt für das Buch charakteristisch. Sie ändert sich auch nicht in der Conclusion der Herausgeber. So wird zwar mit Recht das Fürstengrab von Aržan vorgestellt, das den Bestatteten als Universalherrscher (buddhistisch würde man sagen „Cakravartin") ausweist, er lag im Zentrum einer radförmigen Konstruktion aus riesigen Baumstämmen. Es wird aber nicht erwähnt, daß es unter den Sakralfestungen von Baktrien ein Denkmal gibt (Dašly 3), das aus derselben Konzeption heraus entstanden war – allerdings mit erheblichem zeitlichen Vorsprung. Inzwischen war eine Umdeutung erfolgt: Es wird nun der religiös fundierte Anspruch auf allgemeine Herrschaft in göttlichem Auftrag dokumentiert. Sarianidi, dem Entdecker des „Baktriano-Margianischen Komplexes", war es nicht vergönnt, darüber zu schreiben. Viele Fragen bleiben offen. Vielleicht hatten Indo-Arier politische Strukturen, die sie in der Koiné vorfanden, an ihre nachdrängenden (iranischen) Sprachverwandten weitergegeben. Hier scheint sich die These Wittfogels zu bestätigen, daß die Hirtenvölker erst unter dem Regime „agrarischer Despotien" zur gefährlichen Macht geworden sind. So wurde nicht nur die Expansion auf das iranische Plateau, sondern auch der Vorstoß in die Weite der östlichen Steppen möglich.

Aber das war nicht die erste und einzige Welle, die sich nach Osten vorschob. Schon zuvor hatten sich Stämme in Bewegung gesetzt, deren indoeuropäisches Erbe in zwei tocharischen Sprachen (zwischen Kuča und Turfan) bis ins 8. Jh. n. Chr. erhalten blieb. Die Lehnbeziehungen zu anderen Sprachen sind so vielfältig, daß man vor dem Erreichen dieses fernen Zieles mit verschiedenen, sich überkreuzenden Wanderungen rechnen muß. Daraus kann man schließen, daß die Einheimischen des Steppenraumes – die vielerorts noch von Jagd und Fischfang lebten – keinen Widerstand leisten konnten. Daß die Sprachen der Autochthonen, die als Kel'teminarier und (tadschikische) Hissar-Kultur archäologisch faßbar werden, in Gebirgstälern des Karakorum als Burushaski weiterleben istnur eine Vermutung (Harmatta).

Die Wege nach dem Osten sind vielleicht von Bergleuten und Schmieden erkundet worden, deren Pferde (als Tragtiere) sich erheblich von den hochgezüchteten Rassen der Streitwagenfahrer unterschieden. Diese Metallurgen haben als erste die Erzlager im Tienschan und Südaltai ausgebeutet, darüber liegen gute Zusammenfassungen vor, vor allem das Buch von Černych und Kuz'minych über das Seyma-Turbino-Phänomen. Es hatte aber zuvor schon eine Verbindung zwischen West und Ost durch die Waldsteppe am Südrand der Taiga gegeben, Kyzlasov sprach von einer „Nephritstraße" (unter Anspielung auf ein wichtiges Exportmaterial dieses Raumes).

Ein sehr wesentlicher Faktor muß jedoch jenes innerasiatische Zentrum in Gansu und den Nachbargebieten gewesen sein, das sich parallel zu den neolithischen Kulturen in Nord- und Südchina herausbildete. Hier trafen die Zuwanderer aus dem fernen Westen auf starke, zeitweise überlegene Partner. Einflüsse, die aus Südostasien kamen, haben vielleicht die Verwendung von Zinnbronze und „dünnschaligen" Bronzegüssen angeregt. Von hier aus laufen

Diffusionsvorgänge nach Westen – und auch bis in die Zone der Nephritstraße.

Aufgabe des russischen Mitherausgebers wäre gewesen, die modernen Studien zur eurasischen Metallurgie (Cernych) und zur Symbolwelt der Okunev-Kultur einzubeziehen, die aus dem Tarimbecken bis an den Jenissei vordrang. Es bleibt ferner die Aufgabe, die Andeutungen (etwa hinsichtlich der Rolle Ferghanas) zu ersetzen, zwar vielleicht weniger durch fertige Antworten, aber durch die richtigen Fragen.

Gerade in einem Augenblick, in dem die Archäologie Zentralasiens nicht mehr ein Reservat der früheren Herren bleibt (amerikanische Forscher haben sich massiv in Turkmenien eingeschaltet, Japaner in Südsibirien und im Tarimbecken) ist es wichtig, Forschungslücken zu erkennen. Den künftigen Partnern muß gesagt werden, wo sie sich engagieren sollen. Dafür kann das vorliegende Buch sehr hilfreich werden.

Heidelberg — Karl Jettmar

Dahiya, B[him] S[ingh]: *Aryan Tribes and the Rigveda. A search for identity.* Sonepat: Dahinam Publishers [1992]. XI, 196 pp., 5 plates, 3 maps. 8°

The title of the book promises a study of so-called Aryan tribes (that means Indo-Aryan tribes) relating to the Ṛgveda. Instead, the author makes an attempt to identify various peoples of the Ancient Near East, as well as some of Central Asia, with names of tribes, which the author himself styles as Aryans. Already in his introduction (p. II) he ignores the fact that the names *Hari* (a tribe mentioned in the Ṛgveda) and *Ḫurri* (the Ḫurrians of West Asia) are not at all identical. He does not even quote the Ḫurrians, but arbitrarly converts their name into "Harrians". Dahiya proclaims these "Harrians" as an Indo-Aryan people although the language of the "Ḫurri" is an agglutinating one.

In the introduction we also find fictitious explanations of the names of the Akkadian kings *Šarrukīn* (the "Sargon" of the Greeks) and *Maništūšu* which according to the author, are "pure Sanskrit": "the correct name of Sargon of Akade was Shrumkan or Shrumgan ... viz. Srum-ghna meaning 'killer of enemies', just like Śatrughna"; he explains Maništūšu as "Maniṣ + tuṣ meaning 'satiated with wisdom', 'full of intelligence'". Here the author shows his total lack of understanding of the Akkadian language which eventually is Semitic: Šarrukīn means "legitime king" (šarru, "king" + kēnu, "legitime") and Maništūšu "Who-is-with-Him?" (man, "who" + ištu, "with" + šu, "him"). A pure Sanskrit name of the meaning "satiated with wisdom" would have been *Maniṣātuṣṭa* and it is difficult to see how this can be regarded the same as Maništūšu.

Although it is not a matter of question that parts of the Ṛgveda contain historical references, investigations in that direction should be worked out carefully. It is the fatal mixture of science and fiction which makes Dahiya's book rather useless. On page 4, for instance, the author refers to the invasion of the Guti people into Mesopotamia during the Akkad period, which "had received the kingdom of Naram-Sin (2291–2254 BC) as 'a gift of god Marduk' (Marut)". No footnote leads the reader to the source of this assertion, but it is clear that here we have a misinterpretation of the Neo-Sumerian poem "Curse on Akkad" (*Sag-ki-gíd-da*), where god Enlil (not Marduk) caused the Guti to conquer the realm of Akkad. Besides the fact that this poem – composed centuries after the fall of Akkad – is a non-historical text, Narām-Sîn is by no means the last king of Akkad; and (the not mentioned) Marduk, becoming prominent not before the 2nd millenium B. C., has nothing to do with the Maruts. The invasion of the Guti into the Indus Valley is purely fictitious and is based only on the imagination of the author who identifies that people with Jāṭs and Gots (Goths).

Even if Dahiya uses recently published works like the article by W[ilfred] G[eorge] Lambert, "Trees, snakes and gods in ancient Syria and Anatolia" (BSOAS XLVII, 1985, pp. 435–451) only nonsensical interpretations emerge. He converts (p. 18) the bull pair of the Ḫurrian god Tešub, *Seri* and *Ḫurri* (mentioned by Lambert on page 449) into *Śrī* and *Hari*, but to my knowledge there is nowhere such a bullpair in an Indian context (bulls of which Indian god?). And here, too, the unavoidable combination of *Asuras* ("anti-gods") and Assyrians as enemies of the Āryans appears, not considering the fact firstly, that *Asura* is related to the Iranian *Ahura* (a kind of god class) and the word *sura* in Sanskrit is a later, secondary creation, and secondly, that Assyrian, a noun derived from the name *Aššur* has nothing to do with that word.

These examples are only a small selection of Dahiya's idiosyncratic views and the correction of every item by the reviewer would fill more pages than the editor of the CAJ might allow.

Bonn Karl-Heinz Golzio

Franz-Karl Ehrhard and Alexander W[illiam] Macdonald (Editors), *Snowlight of Everest. A History of the Sherpas of Nepal.* Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden 1992. (Nepal Research Centre Publications. 18.), IX (ungezählte), 178 Seiten. Kartoniert DM 68,-. ISBN 3-515-06079-0.

Liest man den Titel des vorliegenden Bändchens, erwartet man eine englisch verfaßte historische Arbeit. Statt dessen liegt ein Faksimile-Nachdruck (pp. 1–178) einer modernen tibetischen Handschrift mit dem Titel *Ne śar lo rgyus Jo glaṅ gaṅs 'od* in europäischem Buchformat (20 x 13 cm) vor. Eine ganz knappe „Introduction" (von A. W. Macdonald, p. V) und eine „short table of contents" (p. VII) sind vorangestellt. Der englische Haupttitel ist die Entsprechung des tibetischen Schmucktitels, der Untertitel interpretiert den Sachtitel; doch die Wiedergabe von *lo rgyus* mit „history" – dies ist nur eine der Bedeutungen, die die Wörterbücher verzeichnen – ist wohl nicht ganz angemessen, da der tibetische Text vornehmlich von der Herkunft und den Sitten der Sherpas handelt, also eher als eine ethnographische Quelle angesehen werden muß.

Die „Introduction" nennt das Jahr 1987 für die Fertigstellung des *Ne śar lo rgyus Jo glaṅ gaṅs 'od* durch den auf der Titelei nicht verzeichneten Autor Saṅs rgyas bstan 'dzin, als Todesdatum ist der 12. Juli 1990 angegeben, das Geburtsjahr 1924 ist einer Verlagsanzeige in der *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* zu entnehmen. Man erfährt außerdem aus dieser „Introduction", daß drei weitere Arbeiten von Saṅs rgyas bstan 'dzin bereits 1971 im 1. Band von „Documents pour l'étude de la religion et l'organisation sociale des Sherpa" veröffentlicht worden waren, und zwar die Autobiographie, eine Kirchengeschichte und eine genealogische Liste der Sherpa.

Die „short table of contents", eine extrem knapp gehaltene Übersicht über die Hauptteile des faksimilierten Werkes (p. VII), soll dem Leser eine Hilfe bieten; der Text ist in vier Kapitel gegliedert: die Herkunft der Sherpa (pp. 2–18), die Lebensweise der Sherpa (pp. 18–29), die Eheschließung (pp. 30–153) und die Totenbräuche (pp. 153–176). Fast ein Drittel des Umfanges (pp. 49–111) behandelt die Reden anläßlich religiöser Feiern (*mo la gtoṅ ba*), hierzu verweist die Einleitung auf David P. Jackson, The Mollas of Mustang. (Dharamsala:) Library of Tibetan Works & Archives (1984). Daß auf den Seiten 176–178 der Kolophon des tibetischen Textes erscheint, ist aus der Übersicht nicht zu ersehen. Der Abdruck des tibetischen Textes erfolgte – so der Kolophon – nach der Kalligraphie von Padma mthar phyin aus der Familie Drags mtho ba. Die Schrift ist äußerst gleichmäßig und stets gut zu lesen. Die Paginierung ist in tibetischen Ziffern oben auf der Mitte einer jeden Seite gegeben.

Der Benutzer hätte eine etwas ausführlichere Einleitung, die den besonderen Wert des faksimilierten Textes herausstellt und eventuell ein Lebensbild von dessen Autor bietet, erwartet. Bücher von der Art wie das vorliegende werden in Indien oder Nepal in großer Zahl gedruckt und zu einem erheblich niedrigeren Preis auf den Markt gebracht.

Indologisches Seminar Bonn Helmut Eimer

Eimer, Helmut, *Ein Jahrzehnt Studien zur Überlieferung des tibetischen Kanjur* (*Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, Heft 28*), Wien: Arbeitskreis für tibetische und buddhistische Studien Universität Wien, 1992.

Scholars in the fields of Buddhist Studies and Tibetology are well aware of the importance of the Tibetan canon for the study of Buddhist philosophy and literature and for the study of Tibetan religious history and culture. This canon is divided into two massive compendia, the Kanjur (bKa' 'gyur), or translations into Tibetan of the sacred word proper, and the Tanjur (bsTan 'gyur), translations of treatises, commentaries and other secondary literature. The volume under review is concerned with the development of the first of these collections, the Kanjur, and contains reprints of 17 of the most significant contributions from among nearly 30 books and articles published on this topic, mostly between 1979 and 1989, by the German scholar Helmut Eimer. The reprinted articles, in German or English, are preceded by a general introduction in which the author provides essential background on the subject and his method of approaching it, with specific notes on his publications and a useful list of sources.

Until Eimer began his work in this area it was assumed by most scholars working with Tibetan canonical texts that the Kanjur tradition was more or less unitary and unproblematic; to cite a text or even to edit it, it was enough to consult one or two of the more readily available editions. It is Eimer's great achievement to have dispelled this comfortable illusion and to have almost singlehandedly opened up the field which has of late become known as Kanjur Studies. His first major contribution was his work on the posthumous papers of Frank-Richard Hamm, which culminated in a critical edition of the Tibetan translation of the *Pravrajyā-vastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya (published in 1983; see p. xxvi, no. 8). This edition, on a scale not previously attempted, applied classical Western text-critical methodology to the Tibetan text, supplementing it with a detailed consideration of Tibetan historical sources to produce a more systematic and sounder picture of the relationships between the various available witnesses and thus a better basis for a truly critical edition (for a brief discussion of this method, see pp. x–xiii, also p. xxvi). The result was a great improvement on the unreliable *ad hoc* collations which had previously done service in this area. However, once embarked upon, Eimer's project revealed more problems than it resolved, and thus he has continued to investigate various aspects of the Kanjur tradition over the decade represented by this publication, and into the 90s, steadily advancing our knowledge of the history of the Kanjur. During these years hitherto unknown Kanjurs like the Stog Palace manuscript, the Li thang woodblock edition and the Phug brag (Phudrag) manuscript have also become accessible to Western scholars, and these too have attracted his critical attention (see, e.g., "Zur Beurteilung der Textqualität der Kanjurhandschrift aus dem Palast in Tog/ Ladakh", pp. 29–44; "The Position of the 'Jaṅ Sa tham/Lithang Edition Within the Tradition of the Tibetan Kanjur", pp. 139–148). Generally speaking, Eimer's concern has been to identify the place of given printed editions or manuscripts in the tradition overall, so that a *stemma codicum* for particular texts may be more readily drawn up and derivative editions identified as such and eliminated from consideration. At the same time he stresses the need to proceed cautiously in this regard (see p. xxxiii), and emphasises the problems that contamination causes in the Tibetan tradition, making it dangerous to apply the text-critical method propounded by Paul Maas without due care (p. xxxii). In order to avoid the pitfalls, one should know exactly what kind of tradition it is one is dealing with here, and for this purpose Eimer's various contributions are extremely helpful, as all those who work in this area will know. Sometimes the problems he addresses are rather technical and specialised, and the relevant articles are hardly light reading, but in all cases the lessons to be learned from them are of practical value. A good example of this is the paper on the Peking editions, "Einige Hinweise zur Edition tibetischer kanonischer Texte", pp. 1–15, which demonstrates conclusively that all the editions produced in Peking derive ultimately from the Yongle print of 1410, i.e., that they are "technically identical", but that later alterations have been made to the blocks. The merit of this article is that, having read it, anyone who uses the popular Peking edition can easily spot such alterations in the text and know what they mean. Similarly useful is Eimer's essay on orthographical contractions and abbreviations (excerpted from his work on the *Pravrajyā-vastu*; see pp. 53–104), which can often help one to determine the correct readings where corruptions have resulted from the incorrect resolution of such forms, corruptions which might otherwise be inexplicable. From such detailed studies of specific features of the tradition Eimer has carefully built up a general portrait of the Tibetan Kanjur. This portrait is sketched in the introduction ("Skizze der Überlieferungsgeschichte des tibetischen Kanjur", pp. xiii–xxi), but the non-specialist reader may also refer to "A Note on the History of the Tibetan Kanjur", on pp. 175–183.

Eimer's dedication to his project has without doubt borne fruit. Following in his footsteps, and greatly assisted by his personal advice and generosity as well as by the publications reprinted here, a handful of younger scholars have since entered the field, sometimes confirming his hypotheses, sometimes refining or questioning them, with the result that our current map of the Kanjur tradition, with all its complexities, nuances and obscurities, bears very little relation to the picture that obtained when Eimer began his work. Indeed, the boundaries are continually being redrawn, and the field is developing so fast that some of Eimer's observations in his review of the state of play (in "Zum Stand der Kanjurforschung", especially pp. xiii–xxi, xxxii–xxxvi) now stand in need of revision, although his identification of the two principal branches of the classical tradition has stood the test of time. For example, the close relationship of much of the Narthang xylograph edition of 1730–1732 to the Lithang print of 1609–1614 has recently been established, even though the precise nature of that relationship (are they sisters, or mother and daughter?) is still in dispute. The derivation of the London manuscript from the *Them spangs ma* edition of 1431 has also been shown, revealing it to be a cousin of the Tokyo and Stog manuscripts. More significantly, the status of the Old Narthang edition (ca. 1310–1320) as the fountainhead of all the classical or standard editions is now in some doubt (c.f. pp. xiv, 175–176), although a great deal more research is required to work out just what happened in the 14th century. In this regard the imminent entry into the debate of ancient canonical collections held in Tabo monastery in Spiti District, Himachal Pradesh, and in the Newark Museum looks likely to change the picture entirely. They also promise to increase still further the minimum requirements for producing a truly critical edition of a Kanjur text (c.f. pp. xxxiii–xxxiv), a fact which is bound to be greeted with dismay or scepticism by those who, unmoved by Eimer's findings, have gone on thinking that it is sufficient and acceptable simply to consult the Derge edition. However, those who have worked in this area know only too well how unreliable the later printed Kanjur editions in common use (Derge, Lhasa, Narthang and Peking) can be, and how a properly established text is absolutely essential for sound scholarship. (The same holds true for the Tanjur, although it is less complicated and less the focus of recent study.) We owe our better understanding of the complexities of this uniquely valuable literary tradition to the pioneering work of Helmut Eimer, and thus this collection of meticulous scholarly essays will be a welcome and, indeed, essential manual for all those concerned to put their work with Kanjur texts on a proper scientific footing.

Canterbury University, Christchurch, New Zealand Paul Harrison

Jo-Ann Gross, (ed.). *Muslims in Central Asia. Expressions of Identity and Change.* Durham, Duke University Press, 1992, xiv, 224 pp.

Ethnic and religious identity in Central Asia have taken on a new urgency since the unravelling of the Soviet Union. As the independent states of the region seek new paths of development and expand international contacts, thereby opening themselves to diverse and powerful outside influences, self-definition has become imperative. But, as Jo-Ann Gross points out in her perceptive introductory essay, identity is a dynamic notion that does not lend itself easily to definition. The nine essays that compose the volume offer ample testimony to that fact, but they also reveal the decisive influence which feelings of identity have had on the most diverse societies.

The first group of essays examines the formation and evolution of identity. Beatrice Forbes Manz shows how the major tribes of the Ulus Chaghatay in the fourteenth century transcended traditional, nomad tribal loyalties to acknowledge membership in a larger, supra-tribal entity. She points out that by the beginning of the Timurid era the Chaghatay had become conscious of their own distinctiveness within the mass of nomadic and sedentary peoples they ruled, an identity based on origins, tradition, and language which the Timurids eagerly promoted. Muriel Atkin focuses on the ways in which contemporary Tajiks have defined their identity. She contrasts the "national" concerns of the intellectual elite with the preeminently "local" loyalties of the majority of the population. The former were anxious to prove a noble lineage and an ethnic identity that would set the Tajiks apart from the surrounding Turkic peoples, and thus they were given to exaggeration in assessing the role the Tajiks had played in the development of Iranian civilization. But she concludes that the efforts of the elite to create a national identity have had little effect on the majority of Tajiks because of their rural origins, the lack of modern communications, and the prevalence of local dialects over the standard written language. Olivier Roy investigates questions of identity in northern Afghanistan, a region lacking clearcut boundaries between its diverse ethnic groups. He finds that language, ethnicity, and Islam failed to create permanent foundations for identity, which ebbed and flowed as new political and social circumstances required. Instead, supra-ethnic identities flourished, as, for example, when Uzbeks and Tajiks united on the basis of fundamentalist Islam to combat Pashtun nationalism and the secularism represented by the Afghan government.

Three studies show how Islam served as a source of identity and how that identity manifested itself in community life, education, and politics. Dru Gladney calls attention to the resurgence of religious feeling among the Hui in northwest China. He notes the stricter observance of dietary laws, increased mosque attendance, and the larger number of children studying the Koran at private madrasas, even in the families of party activists. Thinly scattered over a wide area among the far larger Han majority and speaking Chinese, the Hui thus relied on Islam to preserve a separate identity. Hamid Algar investigates a similar manifestation of Islamic identity in the career of Shaykh Zaynullah Rasulev, the founder of a renowned madrasa at Troitsk, which became a major center of learning for Muslims of the Russian Empire before 1917. He points to Rasulev's willingness to expand the curriculum to include certain modern, secular subjects, but he denies him the status of a Jadidist, since he insisted that the Koran and the Sunna remain the foundation of Muslim education, a stand that was popular among many Muslims, who regarded the Koran and the Sunna as primary sources of identity. Isenbike Togan describes how in East Turkistan under the khojas between 1679 and 1759 rule based upon the values of the steppe gave way to Islam and legitimacy passed from the heirs of Chinggis Khan to those who claimed descent from the Prophet Muhammad.

The final group of studies examines the expression of identity in the works of three leading writers who confronted change in traditional societies. William

Feldman analyzes the verse of the eighteenth-century Turkmen poet, Mäkhtumquli, at a time of emerging Turkmen ethnic consciousness. He shows how Mäkhtumquli combined elements of Central Asian classical, religious, and folk literature in unique ways, thereby making his poetry a vehicle for the new Turkmen sense of identity. Edward Lazzerini, in "Beyond Renewal," contrasts the thought of Abū Nāṣr Qursavī, the early nineteenth-century theologian from Kazan, with that of Ismail Bey Gasprinski, the Crimean Tatar social critic of the latter nineteenth and early twentieth century, in order to clarify the meaning of Jadidism. He rejects the notion that Qursavī was a Jadidist before the fact because, despite his criticism of the ulama, he was anxious to return to the roots of Islam. Lazzerini reserves the epithet Jadidist for Gasprinskii, the most influential advocate of Jadidism, who urged his fellow Muslims to take a new approach to the crisis of Islamic society posed by the West. He advocated the adoption of the economic skills and technology of the West, but he also sought to avoid the dehumanization he perceived in modern society by maintaining the ethical system of Islam as a guide to modernization. The move beyond Jadidism to the acceptance of revolutionary social change is the subject of Christopher Murphy's essay on the Uzbek poet and novelist Abdullah Qadiriy. He credits the Bolshevik Revolution with forcing Qadiriy, a Jadidist, to deal with pressing issues of Central Asia's political and economic development and to adopt radical solutions, but he also suggests that Qadiriy could not abandon Islam because it was crucial to his self-identification as an Uzbek.

The authors have based their findings upon research in original sources and a comprehensive reading of the secondary literature. A number of them break new ground in the interpretation of identity.

Urbana, Illinois — Keith Hitchins

Mode, Markus: *Sogdien und die Herrscher der Welt: Türken, Sasaniden und Chinesen in Historiengemälden des 7. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. aus Alt-Samarkand.* Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, Bern, New-York, Paris, Wien Lang-Verlag 1993 (Europäische Hochschulschriften: Reihe 28, Kunstgeschichte, Bd. 162, ISBN 3-631-45919-X, ISBN 0721-3557 Verlag Peter Lang GmbH, Frankfurt am Main 1993, 190 Seiten Text und Anhänge, 27b Zeichnungen (davon zwei Karten)

Die vorliegende Arbeit entstand als Teil einer 1991 in Halle an der Saale als Habilitationsschrift angenommenen größeren Arbeit, die unter dem Titel „Studien zur Ikonographie sogdischer Wandgemälde" den erreichbaren Bestand in Usbekistan und Tadshikistan ausgegrabener Wandmalereien aufarbeitete. M. Mode hatte als Teilnehmer der Grabungen in Pandžikent und durch einen längeren Studienaufenthalt in Leningrad – dem heutigen Petersburg – Gelegenheit, auch das unpublizierte Material zu sehen bzw. die vorliegenden Publikationen, die zum Teil nur Zeichnungen oder Aquarellkopien bieten, mit den Originalen vergleichen.

Der Umfang der Arbeit überstieg die Möglichkeiten der Schriftenreihe, und so entschied sich der Verfasser, einen bislang außerhalb des Wirkungsbereiches russischsprachiger Literatur kaum bekannten Komplex vorzustellen, der zudem sehr wesentliche Grundzüge der sogdischen Bildkunst darzustellen erlaubte. Auch konnte M. Mode für diese Wandmalereien aus einem Saal von Altsamarkand eine Folge neuer Interpretationen vorlegen, die sowohl die Eigenständigkeit dieser Kunst gegenüber der ja vorwiegend buddhistisch bestimmten Kunst Ostturkestans sowie ihre bis nach Qusejr al-Amra reichenden Nachwirkungen in der islamischen Kunst bezeugen.

Die Gemälde fanden sich in einem Prunksaal eines Großbaus des 7. Jahrhunderts. Der „Palast" läuft in den Grabungsberichten als Objektnummer 23 und der Saal als Raum 2. Die Grundfläche des Saals maß 11 m im Quadrat. Erhalten waren die Wände in unterschiedlicher Höhe (2,7 m – 1 m). Der Verfasser vermutet eine Originalhöhe von ca. 6 m. Eine umlaufende Lehmbank war knapp 50 cm hoch. Die darüber stehende Wandfläche war polychrom mit vielfigürlichen Malereien überzogen, die heute im Museum zur Entstehungsgeschichte Samarkands in einem eigenen Saal montiert sind. Leider haben sie beträchtlich an Farbwirkung verloren. Der Rezensent sah sie 1969 (kurz nach der Freilegung), und 15 Jahre danach war der Zustand beklagenswert.

Die Grabung und Erstpublikation – mit Aquarellen, die sich zwar an die originalen Farbwerte annähern, aber in Details problematisch sind – waren Arbeiten von Lazar Israelovič Al'baum. Er interpretierte den Bildzyklus als zusammenhängende Erzählfolge um den König Varxūman, der im 7. Jahrhundert das Gebiet von Samarkand beherrschte.

A. M. Belenizkij und B. I. Maršak, die vor allem in Pandžikent an Wandmalereien gearbeitet haben, widersprachen mit dem Hinweis, daß auf der Hauptwand nach Pandžikenter Parallelen Götterbilder gewesen sein dürften. Maršak versuchte später, eine der Reitergestalten an der Nordwand als einen T'ang-Kaiser zu deuten, eine Auffassung, der sich Mode anschließt, während der Rezensent hier Vorbehalte anmeldet.

Ch. Silvo Antonini hat sich in einer Gesamtanalyse weitgehend an Al'baum angeschlossen. Nach mehrfacher Autopsie sucht Mode eine weitgehend neue Interpretation zu geben, die nach den Kompositionen der Wände gegliedert wird. Er geht von der archäologisch gesicherten Zuweisung des Gebäudes in die Zeit Varxumans aus, den der Kaiser Kao-tsong (650–655) als Statthalter der Region anerkannte. Er akzeptiert den auf der Westwand eingetragenen langen sogdischen Text als Argument für den historischen Charakter der Bildidee, ordnet den Text aber den Bildaussagen als ein Element ein und nimmt ihn nicht als Schlüssel für die gesamten Gemälde. Mode sieht als Hauptperson der Komposition den Qayan der Westtürken, der einen international beschickten Empfang gibt. Er beschreibt die auf der Westwand dargestellten Figurengruppen und interpretiert u. a. die „Stangen"- und Trommelgruppe auf der rechten Seite als die Symbole der On Oq und ihres Qayans.

Leider ist auf dieser sehr interessanten Wand nur der untere Bildstreifen erhalten geblieben, der eine Folge von „Gesandtschaften" zeigt, während der Oberteil der Komposition unwiederbringlich verloren ist.

Bei der Deutung der durch ihre Kleidung weitgehend unterschiedenen Gruppen hält sich Mode zurück. Er akzeptiert Al'baums Interpretation der Koreaner und Chinesen sowie der Tibeter. Er leitet aus der Situation um 650 überzeugend ab, daß der nach seiner Annahme auf dem Wandbild einst dargestellte Qayan der Westtürken nur der chinesenfreundliche Shekui gewesen sein kann, so daß die Bilder vor 651 (Todesjahr Shekuis) entstanden sein müssen, womit er zu dem Zeitansatz kommt, in der reich in persischer Tracht gekleideten Gestalt Jazdegerd III. sehen zu können. Er kann sich hierbei auf Tabaris

Verweis stützen bezüglich des Jahres 643, in dem der Qayan Jazdegerd Truppen gestellt habe, um die Araber abzuwehren.

Problematisch bleibt Modes Versuch (S. 60), die Reliefs am Taq-i Bustan spät zu datieren.

Zu der Nordwand des Raums 1 in Pandžikent gehören zwei Sujets – westlich eine Gewässerszene und östlich eine Jagdszene. Eine chinesische oder türkische Damengesellschaft fährt in einem Boot über einen See. Hier geht der Streit um die Deutung als Heiratszug. Mode plädiert für eine chinesische Prinzessin, die Shekui 646 angefordert habe, ein Vorhaben, das nicht verwirklicht wurde. Die sich anschließende Jagdszene deutet Mode als Begleiter des als Figur NW 1 dargestellten chinesischen Kaisers Tai Zong.

Die Malereien der Südwand betrachtete Al'baum als Darstellung eines Hochzeitzuges. Hierbei spielt die leider zerstörte Partie über dem weißen Elefanten eine Rolle. Al-baum meinte hier einen Hochzeitspalanqin rekonstruieren zu können, während Mode eine jener zur T'angzeig oft dargestellten Musikkapellen auf einem Reittier hierher setzt. Er sieht die Hauptfigur des Wandbildes in dem reiterlosen Pferde, das auf einen Totenkult weist.

Die Malereien der Ostwand waren sehr stark zerstört und sind zudem durch den Eingang geteilt. Der Südabschnitt bietet eine „Pygmäen"szene am Wasser, einen Mann, den Büffel durch das Wasser ziehen und andere Fragmente. Das Fragment über dem Gewässer ergänzt Mode wohl zu Recht zu einem Wolfsbild mit einem Menschen, der Stammeslegende der Ashina. Für den Nordteil wagt der Verfasser keine Deutung.

Als Hauptergebnis seiner Arbeit sieht der Verfasser den Nachweis einer sogdischen Historienmalerei mit der Wiedergabe der Herrscher jener Zeit. Das erinnert an die umayyadische Szene aus dem Wüstenschloß Qusejr el-Amra, die nur jünger ist (S. 115–116).

Die reichen Anmerkungen (S. 119–160) und das Literaturverzeichnis sind wesentliche Werkzeuge für eine weitere Einarbeitung in die bisher im „Westen" noch wenig beachtete Materie.

Berlin B. Brentjes

Sayed Ghulam Mustafa Shah u. Asko Parpola (Herausgeber): *Corpus of Indus Seals and Inscriptions*. 2. Collections in Pakistan Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, Serie B 240 Memoirs of the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan, Vol. 5, 28 Seiten Text und 448 Tafeln mit 5453 Photographien (davon 36 in Farbe) von 2138 Gegenständen. Preis 250 US-Dollars. Helsinki 1991, Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia

Der vorliegende Dokumentationsband schließt sich an den von Jagat Pati Joshi und Asko Parpola herausgegebenen Bd. 1 „Collections in India", an, der 1987 mit 32 Seiten, 392 Tafeln und 3900 Aufnahmen (davon 35 in Farbe) von 1536 Objekten an (Preis 195 US-Dollars) erschienen ist.

Ein dritter Band soll die Indussiegel und Inschriften in Sammlungen außerhalb Indiens und Pakistans sowie Belege über verlorene Stücke und Nachträge zu den beiden ersten Bänden enthalten.

Der Umfang und die Qualität der vorgelegten Arbeit nötigen Hochachtung darüber ab, daß ein solches umfassendes Werk in unserer Zeit nicht nur geplant, sondern offenbar auch vollendet werden kann.

Das Vorwort gibt Rechenschaft über die Entstehungsgeschichte.

Eine knappe Einführung (S. XIV–XXXII) weist die Fundorte und die Publikationen nach (soweit es sich nicht um unpublizierte Stücke handelt – hier rund 500 Objekte). Fraglich erscheint die Einbeziehung der „Dilmun"-Sigel in die „Indus seals", so sehr sie in den beschrifteten Exemplaren Kontakte belegen (S. XX). Aber noch ist nicht bewiesen, ob die „Dilmun"-Inschriften in der gleichen Sprache gehalten sind wie die des Industales. Die anscheinend gleiche Schrift kann zu Fixierung mehrerer Sprachen gedient haben.

Der weitere Text gibt die zehn Ordnungskriterien an, die in diesem Band benutzt worden sind. Daten und Theorien sind zumeist in die Fußnoten verbannt, um den Zweck des Bandes zu erreichen.

Die in zweifacher Größe reproduzierten Bilder und Inschriften bilden eine gute Basis für die weitere Arbeit, aber es bleibt abzuwarten, ob so grundsätzliche Fragen wie die Beschränkung der Bildmotive auf eine so kleine Zahl oder die Deutung dieser Abbildungen wesentlich vorankommen werden. Vielleicht hilft die lange Reihe der Inschrift-Stempel (?) weiter.

Bei Stempeln wie M 1390 B (T. 184) ist an Importe zu denken. Sie gleichen chorasanischen Funden. Die Siegel M 1393 bis 1395 erinnern an eine Bulla aus Uruk V, die keine bekannten Parallelen im Irak hat.

Begrüßenswert ist die Einbeziehung der Kupfertafeln in die Dokumentation, wobei auch Tiere auftauchen, die auf den Siegeln fehlen, so der Hase (T. 210), desgleichen neue Mischwesentypen (T. 218ff).

Die Problematik des Titels (Indus-Seals) wird in dem Teil über „Post-Harappan"-Seals deutlich. Die abgebildeten Stücke schließen eher an Zentralasien oder Ostiran an, an die Kreuz- und die Kompartmentsiegel (so T. 386, 402), wobei diese sowohl in Schichten der Nachharappazeit wie der Frühphase (z. B. Nansharo, T. 407) auftreten. Besonders die Nansharo-Siegel sind durch ihre Nähe zu turkmenischen Stücken wichtig. Auch die aus Sibri abgebildeten Rollsiegel weisen nach Baktrien (T. 410–413).

Berlin B. Brentjes

Werner Sundermann: *Der Sermon vom Licht-Nous*. Eine Lehrschrift des östlichen Manichäismus, Edition der parthischen und sogdischen Version. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag 1992, ISBN 3-05-002016-4. 165 S., 76 Faksimiles auf XL Tafeln. 4°.

Nicht nur in Sundermanns Schaffen, sondern auch in der weltweiten Literatur zum zentralasiatischen Manichäismus nimmt dieses Werk eine herausragende Stellung ein. Es geht auf sehr alte Quellen und Traditionen zurück (vgl. S. 18 und 22 op.rec.) und ist (wenngleich Vf. keine nähere Datierung geben kann) schon aus terminologischen Gründen in die älteste Periode des zentralasiatischen Manichäismus zu stellen. Diesen kann man ja zeitlich in drei Stufen teilen: (1) der noch reine Manichäismus, dem westlichen noch recht nahestehend, mit nur geringen indischen Einflüssen im Lehnwortschatz (vgl. etwa Hans-

Joachim Klimkeit: Buddhistische Übernahmen im iranischen und türkischen Manichäismus, Studies in Oriental Religions 13, Wiesbaden 1987, 59); diese finden sich auch in op.rec., z. B. *mrn* ,Tod', *zmbwdyg* ,Welt'; (2) eine Epoche erheblicher Übernahme buddhistischer Begriffe und Termini, die den Manichäismus zwar noch sich behaupten läßt, aber eine immer stärkere Überfremdung bewirkt (diese zeigt sich, s. S. 19 op.rec., in der chinesischen Parallele zu den von Sundermann herausgegebenen Texten deutlich, nicht jedoch in der parthischen); (3) in der letzten Epoche (in der Yüan-Zeit) geht der Manichäismus allmählich zugrunde. Dies zeigt sich in dramatischer Weise in einem von Geng und Klimkeit herausgegebenen Text „Zerstörung manichäischer Klöster in Turfan" (Zentralasiatische Studien 18, 1985, 7–11). Wie ich in „Versuch einer linguistischen Datierung älterer osttürkischer Texte", Wiesbaden 1993, gezeigt habe, gehören viele (manichäisch oder uighurisch geschriebene) „alttürkische" manichäische Texte einer recht späten Zeit (13./14. Jh.) an. Die manichäische Schrift allein ist also noch kein Beweis für hohes (voryüanzeitliches) Alter eines Textes. So ist das sog. Pothi-Buch nicht nur sprachlich spät, sondern auch „stark von buddhistischen Vorstellungen und Begriffen geprägt" (so Klimkeit in Hymnen und Gebete der Religion des Lichts, Opladen 1989, 212). Die iranischen manichäischen Texte machen jedoch (im Gegensatz zu den chinesischen und türkischen) insgesamt einen wesentlich altertümlicheren Eindruck in Wortschatz und Begriffsbildung.

Das Buch ist, wie folgt, aufgebaut: I Vorbemerkungen, II eine Einleitung, worin die bisherigen Arbeiten am Sermon vom Licht-Nous und seine verschiedenen Versionen (parthisch, chinesisch, alttürkisch, soghdisch) sowie zahlreiche Einzelfragen zu den Begriffen, Handschriften und technischen Gestaltungen des Sermons dargestellt sind; in III und IV werden die Texte des Sermons (der parthischen und soghdischen Version) dargeboten, V erbringt zahlreiche, höchst wertvolle „kommentierende Anmerkungen zur Übersetzung", VI einen Anhang „Mitteliranische Texte verwandten Inhalts" (dem Rezensenten ist nicht klar, warum der vag-allgemeine Terminus gewählt worden ist statt einfach-präzis „soghdisch"), hierzu gehört auch VII; VIII erbringt die Verzeichnisse der parthischen und der soghdischen Wörter (hier also korrekt „soghdisch"), IX Bibliographisches und schließlich X die Faksimiles in der Reihenfolge ihrer Buchstaben.

Das Werk ist, wie von Sundermann gewohnt, von höchster Präzision, Datailliertheit und Belesenheit. (Rez. hätte die Boycesche Markierung der restaurierten Wörter mit * vorgezogen, da die Verwendung von [ ] den Text zuweilen etwas unübersichtlich gestaltet. Ohnehin wird sich Rez. an eine bloße *Transliteration* der Texte statt einer – wie u. a. Mary Boice in ihrem „Reader" von 1975, S. 29–38, so schön gezeigt hat – durchaus möglichen *Transkription* nie gewöhnen können. Nach einem chinesischen Sprichwort sollte etwas, um in Ordnung zu sein, nicht nur korrekt sein, sondern auch menschlich. Und wer kann schon z. B. das an die Pferdesprache in Gullivers Reise erinnernde dyn 'yg mn wcyd 'c 'b'ryg'n wirklich *aussprechen*? [Merke: „Sprache" kommt von „sprechen".] Warum nicht dēn 'ig man wizīd az abārigān?)

Im einzelnen bietet die Deutung der Texte eine Fülle von Problemen (wenngleich Vf. sicherlich auch die weitaus meisten gelöst hat). Beispielsweise: hat auf S. 140, Abschnitt 4.5.2 tatsächlich dwdyft und wdyšn'sgyft die gleiche Bedeutung? Echte Synonyme sind ja ganz selten. Sollte nicht eher dwdyft ,Torheit' (= Unwissenheit, quantitativ), dagegen wdyšn'sgyft ,falsches, übles Wissen' (qualitativ) bedeuten? (Kann dafür S. 84, Anm. 9 sprechen?) Aber auf diese Probleme läßt sich im Rahmen einer Besprechung nicht eingehen.

Alles in allem, eine Arbeit höchsten Ranges, ein Standardwerk, an dem keiner, der sich mit dem Manichäismus befaßt, jemals wird vorbeigehen können.

Göttingen Gerhard Doerfer

Ahmet Temir, *Yusuf Akçura*, Ankara 1987, VII+103 S., 5 Abbildungen, Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları: 836.

Das vom Kultus- und Tourismusministerium herausgegebene Werk erschien in der Reihe „Türk Büyükleri Dizisi", welche das Ziel hat, die bedeutendsten türkischen Persönlichkeiten dem türkischen Publikum bekannt zu machen.

Neben Ziya Gökalp gilt der Kasantatare Yusuf Akçura (1872/76/790–11.3.1935) als bedeutendste Vertreter der politischen und wissenschaftlichen Bewegung des „Türklük" und „Türkçülük". Er gehörte schon zu den ersten Vertretern dieser Denkweise, als das Türkentum noch nicht aufgekommen war. Als es noch üblich war, „Osmanisch" zu empfinden, begann er in seinem Werk „Üç tarz-ı siyaset" (Drei Formen von Politik) im Jahre 1904 zum ersten Mal die Diskussion über die Themen „Osmanlıcılık", „Islamcılık" und „Türkçülük". Er gab jahrelang die Zeitschrift „Türk Yurdu" (türkische Heimat) heraus und spielte darüberhinaus am Anfang der türkischen Republik als naher Arbeitskollege Atatürks besonders in den Angelegenheiten von Außenpolitik und Kultur eine unmittelbar bedeutende Rolle. Unter diesen Aspekten behandelt Temir Yusuf Akçura im vorliegenden Werk, in dem sein Leben, seine Werke und seine Ideen in Grundzügen geschildert werden und auf den heutigen Stand der Forschungen hingewiesen wird.

In der Einführung (S. 1–7) gibt der Autor *einen gesamten Überblick über die Forschung, die über Yusuf Akçura betrieben wurde.* Hier erfahren wir, daß von einer bestimmten Kommission im Jahre 1936/37 eine Gedenkschrift (Hatıra Kitabı) zu Ehren Yusuf Akçuras geplant wurde. Da die Materialien über ihn an zwei Personen, nämlich an M. F. Togay und R. R. Art vergeben worden waren, welche gegenseitig zwei rivalisierende Gruppen repräsentierten, scheiterte die geplante Ausgabe. Später gibt M. F. Togay ein Werk heraus (Yusuf Akçura, hayatı ve eserleri, 1944), zu dem er die Artikel, die für die Gedenkschrift vorgesehen waren, heranzieht. Es scheint, daß Togay die gesamten Materialien für die Gedenkschrift bearbeiten und als sein eigenes Werk herausgeben will, worauf jedoch Arat sich nicht einläßt. Somit ist die „Gedenkschrift" – mit den Worten Temirs – in den Eimer gefallen. Kurz bevor Arat 1964 stirbt, bringt er die Akten über Yusuf Akçura zum Forschungsinstitut der Türkischen Kultur (Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü) mit der Bitte um eine neue Bearbeitung des geplanten Werkes. Temir wünscht, daß von einer neu bestimmten „Akçura Kommission" in diesem Institut die gesamten Materialien, die sowohl die ältere wie auch die neuere Forschung enthalten, herausgegeben werden, so daß die geplante Gedenkschrift von 1936/37 endlich verwirklicht werden kann.

Nachdem Temir auf die Forschung über Akçura, auf Gedenktage anläßlich seines hundersten Geburtstags (1976) und fünfzigsten Todestag (1985) eingegangen ist, behandelt er die Forschung von François Georgeon (Yusuf Akçura: Contribution à l'étude du mouvement national en Turquie, Paris 1978), in der neubearbeiteten zweiten Auflage (Aux origines du nationalisme Turque – Yusuf Akçura (1876–1935), Paris 1980). Temir weist darauf hin, daß auch in dieser Auflage, die auch ins Türkische übersetzt wurde, die Liste der Werke von Akçura immer noch unvollständig ist. Während Temir diese Arbeit als neutrale lobenswerte Forschung ansieht, hält er dennoch eine kritische Bearbeitung der Werke Akçuras für unbedingt notwendig.

Im Hauptabschnitt (*Yusuf Akçura, sein Leben und seine Werke*, S. 9–72) geht Temir auf das wichtigste Werk Akçura's *Üç tarz-ı siyaset* ein und bewertet es. Er weist hier besonders auf die widersprüchlichen Ideen Yusuf Akçuras hin, indem er einige Passagen aus seinem Artikel zitiert. Nach Akçura sei die Politik, eine osmanische Nation zu bilden, vergeblich, und was die Umsetzung der Ideen angeht über die „islamische Einheit" und die „türkische Einheit", will er sich nicht festlegen, welche jeweils der anderen vorzuziehen wäre (S. 35). Danach behandelt Temir die folgenden Themen in Stichworten: Yusuf Akçuras Aktivitäten in Kasan (1904–1908); Yusuf Akçura wieder in der Türkei (1908) – seine Aktivitäten bei den nationaltürkischen Vereinen (1908–1915); die Rolle der „Türk Ocakları" und „Halkevleri"; Akçuras Aktivitäten während des ersten Weltkriegs (1915–1916) – Yusuf Akçura in Österreich-Ungarn und Deutschland; Yusuf Akçura in der Schweiz (1916); Yusuf Akçura als Bevollmächtigter der „Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti" im West Europa und Rußland (1917–1919); Yusuf Akçura im nationalen Kampf und während der Republik (1919–1935).

Wenn Akçura auch bei der Wahl zwischen „Islamcılık" und „Türkçülük" sich nicht zu entscheiden vermochte, hatte er doch, Temirs Meinung nach, sich schon längst für „Türkçülük" entschieden. Temir sieht den Beweis dafür, daß er recht hatte in der späteren Begründung des türkischen Staates. Aus diesem Grunde könne man seine Ideen „als Vorläufer dieser Entwicklungen" betrachten (S. 67).

Danach schreibt Temir, daß einige Denker in der türkischen Welt, z. B. der Aserbaidschane Hüseyinzade Ali und Ziya Gökalp, die schnell aufeinander folgenden kulturellen und sozialen Reformbewegungen seit dem 19. Jh. auf drei Aspekte (Türkisierung, Islamisierung und Modernisierung) hin analysieren, so wie Yusuf Akçura es auf der Ebene der Politik gemacht hatte; Im Zusammenhang damit kritisiert Temir einige westliche Autoren, die für Akçura die Bezeichnung „Pantürkist" oder „Vater des Pantürkismus" verwenden, wie etwa François Georgon in seiner Arbeit (Aux origines du nationalisme Turc – Yusuf Akçura, Paris 1980). Nach Temir: „Daß Akçura als Pantürkist bezeichnet wurde und wird, geht vor allem zurück auf einige Sätze in seinem Artikel „Üç tarz-ı siyaset" ... „In Wirklichkeit jedoch hatte Akçura hier noch nicht seine eigenen Ideen und seine Persönlichkeit hervorgebracht: Als er vom Osmanismus, Islamismus und Türkismus sprach, hatte er diese Themen für ein Forschungs- und Diskussionsthema aufgestellt" (S. 70). Temir weist danach auf Unvollständigkeit der Argumentation in „Üç tarz-ı siyaset" und in den späteren Schriften Akçuras hin, welche von den Forschern übersehen wurde. In einem Artikel im Türk Yılı (1928, 406) zitiert Temir aus Akçura folgendes: „Nach meiner heutigen Ansicht gibt es in diesem Artikel („Üç tarz-ı siyaset") einen wichtigen Forschungsmangel: Die Politik des „Türkentums" wurde mit der „Vereinigung der Türken" und die „Politik des Islams" mit der „Vereinigung des Islams" verwechselt. Wenn das Osmanische Reich eine Politik des „Türkentums" oder „Islams" verfolgt, dann folgt daraus nicht automatisch, daß es von außen unbedingt „Pantürkismus" oder „Panislamismus" sein muß. Wenn diese Analyse gemacht worden wäre, wären die Entwicklungen von 1908 bis heute präziser betrachtet und dargelegt worden."

Nach Begründungen Temirs war Yusuf Akçura im heutigen Sinne ein „Nationalist der türkischen Kultur". Die Verwechslung bei der Deutung der Ausdrücke kommt wohl daher, daß die westlichen Autoren, von „Pantürkismus" sprechen wobei sie ihren Forschungen über die türkische Kultur eine politische Färbung geben. (S. 70–71) Nach der Begründung der Türkischen Republik ist nach Temir das Interesse an den Turkvölkern außerhalb der Türkei gewachsen, und unter der Bezeichnung der „Außen-Türken" ist ein von der Politik unabhängiger wissenschaftlicher Forschungsbereich entstanden. Das Forschungsinstitut der Türkischen Kultur (Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1961), welches halboffizielle Funktion besitzt, ist Timurs Meinung nach in dieser Absicht begründet worden.

Abschließend betont der Autor, daß man noch mehr Vorarbeiten benötige, um die Ansichten und Ideen Akçuras vollständig und fehlerfrei festlegen zu können.

Bei der Erforschung von „Türklük" und von der nationalistischen Bewegungen des „Türkçülük" ist das Werk von Temir eine empfehlenswerte Arbeit. Für seinen Beitrag zur „Erleuchtung" der historischen Daten sind wir dem Autor zu Dank verpflichtet.

Erzurum Sultan Tulu

Ahmet Temir, *Cengiz Han*, Ankara 1989, XI+158 S., Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları 110 S.

Das vorgelegte Werk stellt eine Abhandlung über Tschingis Chans Leben und Schaffen dar. Es handelt sich dabei um eine kommentierte Übersetzung der Quelle „Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen". Dieses Werk war schon früher vom Autor ins Türkische übersetzt und herausgegeben worden (A. Temir, Moğolların Gizli Tarihi, Manghol-un niuça topça'an (Yüan-ch'ao ph-shi), (yazılışı 1240), I tercüme, Türk Tarih Kurumu 1948, II. seri, No. 13, LII + 300 S.).

Das Werk teilt sich in zwei Abschnitte: In einen Abschnitt über Tschingis Chan entsprechend der *„geheimen Geschichte der Mongolen"*, und in einen zweiten Abschnitt über *das turk-mongolische Reich und seine Fortsetzung.*

In seiner Einführung (S. 1–12) geht der Autor auf die „historische Quellen des Turko-Mongolischen Reiches und die „geheime Geschichte der Mongolen" ein. Hier behandelt Temir die folgenden Themen: 1. Die in Europa, in der islamischen Welt, in China und in mongolischer Sprache geschriebenen Werke über die mongolische Geschichte (S. 1–3); 2. „Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen" und die Manuskripte zu diesem Werk (S. 3–6); 3. Die bisher vorgelegten Bearbeitungen der „geheimen Geschichte der Mongolen" (S. 6–11); 4. Die Bekanntmachung der „geheimen Geschichte der Mongolen" in der Türkei und ihre Übersetzung ins Türkische (S. 11–12).

Im ersten Abschnitt (S. 13–111) wird Tschingis Chan entsprechend des genannten Werkes behandelt, indem der Autor die Geschichte in 12 Kapitel teilt und dazu bisweilen seinen Kommentar gibt.

Im Abschnitt über das „Turk-Mongolische Reich und seine Fortsetzung" (S. 112–125) erstellt Temir eine Zusammenfassung der historischen Ereignisse nach 1240, nachdem die „Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen" entstanden war. Dieses Kapitel wird in folgende Abschnitte (S. 115–144) geteilt:

– Die grossen Chanate: 1. Kubilay und die Yüan-Dynastie in China; 2. Die Tschagatai-Dynastie und Türkistan; 3. Hulagu und die Ilchane; 4. Dschotschi und die Goldene Horde.

– Die soziale und militärische Organisation zur Zeit des Turko-Mongolischen Reiches. Anschließend geht er ein auf die wichtigsten Stämme und ihre Führer mit Stammbaum und Chronologie. Das Werk schließt mit einer Bibliographie und zwei Landkarten.

Das Werk kann weniger eine wissenschaftliche Arbeit genannt werden und richtet sich hauptsächlich an das türkische Leserpublikum. Dennoch kann es auch für die mongolische Forschung herangezogen werden.

Erzurum Sultan Tulu

Ahmet Temir, *Türkoloji Tarihinde Wilhelm Radloff Devri*, Ankara 1991, XV+191 S., 40 Abbildungen und 2 Landkarten, Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları: 552.

Nach dem Vorwort des vorgelegten Werkes liegen die Forschungen des Autors über Radloff vierzig Jahre zurück. Temir hatte schon in den Jahren 1952–1954 während seiner Tätigkeit als Lektor und Privatdozent an der Universität Hamburg einen Artikel über Radloff geschrieben, welcher in der Zeitschrift „Oriens" gedruckt wurde: *Leben und Schaffen von Friedrich Wilhelm Radloff (1837–1918), Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Turkologie,* (Oriens, Leiden-Brill 1955, VIII, No. 1, S. 51–93). Darüber hinaus hatte er auch im Türkischen mehrere Artikel über Radloff veröffentlicht, z. B.: *Wilhelm Radloff'un Hayatı,* in: Türk Dili, Nr. 444, Dezember 1988.

Dieses Werk will „die wichtigsten Turkologen, welche Deutschland und die deutsche Sprachwelt hervorgebracht hat, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung ihres Lebens und Schaffens chronologisch (zu) untersuchen und (zu) beschreiben". Das Werk soll diesem Zweck dienen.

Das vorliegende Werk gliedert sich in die folgenden drei Abschnitte: Das Leben Wilhelm Radloffs, die wissenschaftliche Persönlichkeit W. Radloffs und seine Werke.

Der erste Abschnitt gliedert sich wiederum in sechs Teile und endet mit einem Epilog. Die Teile behandeln die folgenden Themen:

1. Die Jugend Radloffs und der Kreis, in dem er gelebt hat (Die Zeit in Berlin, Halle und Jena) (1837–1858), (S. 1–9); 2. Radloff in Petersburg und in Sibirien (1858–59/1859–1871), (S. 9–20); 3. Radloff in Kasan (1872–1884), (S. 29–29); 4. Radloff als akademisches Mitglied in Petersburg (1884–1918), (S. 34–36); 5. Ein Überblick über die Forschungsgeschichte des Alttürkischen, (S. 36–64); 6. Radloffs privates Leben und sein Tod (29.IV.1918), (S. 64–67); 7. (Epilog) „Die Zeit von Radloff" in der Geschichte der Turkologie, (S. 67–72).

In einem Prolog wird der Wirkungskreis, in dem Radloff gelebt und studiert hat, beschrieben. Danach folgen Berichte über seine Studienzeit, akademischen Wirkungen, Expeditionen von Petersburg aus nach Sibirien und in andere Orte, um die Turksprachen der Turkvölker zu untersuchen. Anläßlich seines Aufenthalts in Kasan werden die Beziehungen Radloffs zu den Kasantatarischen Gelehrten wie Mercani und Nasiri beschrieben. Hier wird auch auf die Berichte über die Kasantataren, die Radloff der zaristischen Regierung hatte vorlegen müssen, eingegangen. Die Kasaner Berichte Radloffs haben hinsichtlich der Erziehungs- und Russifizierungspolitik gegenüber den Kasantataren unter der zaristischen Regierung eine bedeutende Rolle gespielt. Wenn auch einige Wissenschaftler die missionarischen Pflichten Radloffs übersehen haben, so legt Temir doch anhand dieser Berichte seine missionarischen Tätigkeiten deutlich dar. Gleichzeitig wird berichtet, daß Radloff im Gegensatz zu Ilminski bei der Eröffnung des Tatarischen Lehrerseminars „Tatar Muallim Mektebi" sich erfolgreich dafür eingesetzt hat, in diesen Schulen statt Russen tatarische Gelehrte einzustellen. Außer über den wirksamen Einfluß Radloffs auf die Erziehung der Kasantataren wird der Leser auch über die Aktivitäten der tatarischen Gelehrten wie Mercani und Nasiri in Kasan informiert.

Bei der „Übersicht über die Forschungsgeschichte des Alttürkischen" wird die Wirkungs Radloffs mitbehandelt. An dieser Stelle geht Temir auch auf die ersten Funde der Yenissey- und Runeninschriften, sowie auf die ersten Bemühungen zu deren Entzifferung und auf die Arbeiten über die chinesischen Texte und die Entdeckungen der uigurischen Epochen ein.

Unter den Expeditionen werden auch die englischen, russischen, deutschen, finnischen, französischen und japanischen Forschungsgruppen in Zentralasien und im Fernen Osten erwähnt. Hier erfahren wir auch von den Studien Radloffs der vorislamischen, alttürkischen und uigurischen Handschriften (S. 70). Und hier werden die Forscher, die zur Erforschung der Köktürken und Uiguren beigetragen haben, in chronologischer Reihenfolge erwähnt.

Über das private Leben Radloffs läßt sich nichts Näheres erfahren, da Radloff offenbar über sich selbst nicht so gerne berichtet hat.

Im Epilog wird der größte Teil der Werke, die Radloff im Zusammenhang mit dem Türkentum während der Dauer seines Arbeitslebens herausgegeben hat, in chronologischer Reihenfolge abgehandelt. Hier wird der Leser auch auf die wissenschaftlichen Diskussionen zwischen Radloff, Bang, Barthold u.a. hingewiesen.

Der zweite Abschnitt teilt sich mit einer Einführung (S. 73–77) in vier mit römischen Ziffern bezeichnete Teile: I. Proben (S. 77–97); II. Wörterbuch (S. 97–111); III. Vergleichende Grammatik (S. 111–117); IV. Reisen und die Reiseberichte (S. 117–124). Aus diesen Kapiteln legt Temir bestimmte Passagen vor und informiert insgesamt über deren Inhalt, so daß der Leser einen umfangreichen Überblick erhält. Besonders deutlich zeigen sich die Ansichten Radloffs über die Turkvölker in den dem Abschnitt „Aus Sibirien" entnommenen Passagen.

Im dritten Abschnitt versieht Temir die Werke (insgesamt 149) mit einer Einführung (S. 131–135), ordnet sie chronologisch, numeriert sie und fügt die ihm bekanntenWerke und Rezensionen über Radloff hinzu (S. 135–166). Danach folgt eine Liste der Neuausgaben und ein alphabetischer Index des Gesamtwerkes (S. 166–173). Der Bibliographie möchte ich noch das folgende Werk hinzufügen, das der Autor wohl übersehen hat: K. Š. Chusainov, "V. V. Radlov i kazachskij jazyk", Alma-Ata, 1981, 172 S.

Das Werk schließt mit einer umfangreichen Bibliographie, mit einem Verzeichnis der Abkürzungen und mit einem Personenindex (S. 173–191) ab. Zum Schluß kommen vierzig Abbildungen von den Gelehrten und Wissenschaft-