

Introduction to Altaic Philology

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Introduction to Altaic Philology

Turkic, Mongolian, Manchu

By

Igor de Rachewiltz and Volker Rybatzki

With the collaboration of

Hung Chin-fu



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On the cover: An elaboration of the funerary monument of Alp Urungu against a steppe background, with the inscription in Turkic runic script on the three vertical stakes (see Text IV).

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IN MEMORY OF STEPHEN A. WURM

(1922-2001)

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Preface

The decades following WW II witnessed an extraordinary revival of Altaic studies in Europe, the former Soviet Union and the United States of America. The combined efforts of scholars like N. Poppe, A. Mostaert, E. Haenisch, K. Grønbech, A. von Gabain, L. Ligeti, F. D. Lessing, P. Aalto, V. I. Cincius, W. Heissig, W. Fuchs, D. Sinor, F. W. Cleaves, and their disciples, led to the growth of old as well as the establishment of new centres of excellence where Turkic, Mongolian and, to a lesser extent, Tungusic studies flourished. Turkey, Japan, China and eventually Mongolia, no doubt stimulated also by the brilliant contributions of Western scholars, followed suit and gave additional impetus to research in the Altaic field. All aspects of the history, languages and culture of the so-called Altaic people, i.e. of the people who speak the languages of the Altaic group, were investigated. As a result, the literature on the subject has become immense, being continuously enriched, *inter alia*, by the constant flow of scholarly papers presented at the numerous congresses and conferences on Asian, Altaic and linguistic studies.

Because of the unwieldy mass of material available at present, the beginner in Altaistics, whether a university student or interested layman, is often at a loss when approaching the languages and cultures of Central Asia, Mongolia and Manchuria. Teachers and instructors have also long felt the need for an up-to-date work of synthesis which, in a single volume, would provide a description of the Turkic, Mongolian and Manchu-Tungus languages within their historico-cultural context, duly illustrated with short samples of the respective literatures.

Thus was born the idea for the present work which is primarily designed to fill that lacuna and assist student and teacher alike. Being merely an introduction to Altaic philology, by which we mean *linguistics in culture*, we have confined ourselves to a survey of Old and Middle Turkic, Preclassical and Classical Mongolian, and literary Manchu. With regard to Turkic, we have only discussed the corpus of pre-Islamic material – a regrettable but unavoidable limitation – so as to keep the subject manageable. This accounts for the considerably larger space in the bibliography given to Mongolian (section 5) vis-à-vis Chuvash-Turkic (section 4). We have also dealt with both Kitan and Jurchen, albeit not in great depth (the linguistic status of Kitan is

still unresolved), and we have devoted the final chapter to the Altaic Hypothesis which is still sharply dividing the scholarly world into two opposing camps. The texts have been carefully selected and analyzed so as not to discourage prospective scholars. This volume is complete in itself. A second volume is envisaged, containing additional and more advanced readings for those who wish to pursue these topics further and gain greater familiarity with the syntactic and lexical aspects of the three major Altaic languages. However, we have included a number of challenging texts in each group, so that more advanced students can already become acquainted with increasingly complex topics and structures.

A shorter and simpler version of the present work was ‘tested’ on a group of students in the Dipartimento di Studi Orientali of the Università di Roma ‘La Sapienza’ in the late 1990s with good results. The authors are grateful to the late Prof. P. Daffinà and Prof.ssa P. Cannata for introducing this course in their curriculum.

The original text of the *Introduction* was revised and much enlarged after 2004 when Dr V. Rybatzki joined the project for the purpose of publishing the work in book form. The preparation of the new version was made possible by a grant from the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange. We wish to express our sincere thanks to the Foundation for its generous support. We also gratefully acknowledge the financial assistance received by Dr Rybatzki from the Ella and Georg Ehrnrooth Foundation of Nordea, Finland.

Two points need emphasizing and must be made absolutely clear at the outset since they are a prerequisite for gaining the maximum benefit from the use of this book.

Firstly, the reader must have a basic knowledge of grammar and grammatical terminology, i.e. a minimal training in linguistics. If he/she lacks it, we urge him/her to acquire it before proceeding further, since we take for granted that users of the book know what a dative-locative case or a passive verb is. The present *Introduction* is not a grammar, nor is it intended to be a substitute for a grammar of Turkic, Mongolian and Manchu. The reader should use our book as a guide, and should possess, or have easy access to, the standard grammars and dictionaries of these languages. References to the works we suggest should be used for each language group in conjunction with the *Introduction* are given throughout the relevant chapters. We also

strongly recommend that the reader constantly refer to the list of suffixes at the end of the volume where much additional information will be found. The list is also handy for comparative purposes.

Secondly, as our book is addressed to an English-speaking audience, we have done our best to direct the reader to the literature *in English* on the various subjects we deal with. However, many of the important (and often essential) works are in languages other than English, principally in German, French and Russian. Nor can we ignore the seminal contributions of Mongolian, Chinese and Japanese scholars, mostly written in their native languages. While we do not expect our readers to handle material in these languages, we have included some of the most prominent items in the Bibliography for reference. As for those in German, French and Russian, a basic *reading* knowledge of these three languages is not only desirable, but in most cases a required asset for any further progress.

In compiling this volume we have received much assistance from numerous friends and scholars, as well as from learned institutions.

For the Turkic section we are much indebted to Prof. P. Zieme of Berlin who has provided valuable information on the texts analyzed in this section. Our thanks also to Prof. M. Ölmez of Istanbul for his perceptive comments. We are likewise very grateful to Profs. N. S. Yakhontova and L. Yu. Tuguševa of St. Petersburg for timely help in obtaining scholarly publications not easily available outside Russia.

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For the latest data in the field of Kitan and Jurchen studies we are much obliged to Profs. D. Kane of Sydney and A. Vovin of

Honolulu, who have also given advice and contributed material for the Manchu section.

For the Manchu section, our special thanks go to Prof. G. Stary of Venice who has supplied some of the texts for analysis and checked the entire Chapter Three. Sincere thanks are also due to Dr A. Pozzi of Rome for many helpful suggestions.

The entire manuscript has been read and commented on by Dr J. R. Krueger of Bloomington, Indiana, who has also paid special attention to the Bibliography. We wish to thank him most sincerely for helping us to avoid a number of pitfalls. For bibliographical assistance we are also grateful to Prof. J. Richard of Dijon, Mme F. Aubin of Jumelle and Prof. M. C. Elliott of Harvard University.

We are especially indebted to our collaborator Dr. Hung Chin-fu of Academia Sinica, Taipei, for his invaluable expertise and advice on all matters Chinese.

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reply to our request was received we have assumed that this indicated a tacit consent. Should any omission be detected, the authors wish to apologize and invite those concerned to contact us through the publisher in order to ensure that appropriate acknowledgement is made in any further edition of this book.

While both authors take equal responsibility for the entire work, the choice and treatment of individual texts have been shared by us as follows: Texts I, II, IV, XIV, XVI-XXXII contributed by I. de Rachewiltz; Texts III, V-X, XI, XII, XIII, XV, XXXIII-XXXIX contributed by V. Rybatzki.

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This book is dedicated to the memory of Stephen A. Wurm, former Professor of Linguistics in the Research School of Pacific Studies at the Australian National University. Apart from close ties of friendship and collegiality with one of the authors, it was Stephen Wurm who first suggested the idea of presenting the three major Altaic languages within their historical and cultural framework, a suggestion that we have readily adopted and for which we are grateful.

Finally, for all errors of fact and interpretation, and for any other shortcomings, the authors are solely responsible.

Igor de Rachewiltz

Volker Rybatzki

Canberra/Helsinki, March 2010

Abbreviations and Conventional Signs

(Common and conventional abbreviations and signs are not listed)

1. *Abbreviations of grammatical and other terms*

abl.	=	ablative
acc.	=	accusative
adj.	=	adjective
adv.	=	adverb(ial)
AH	=	the Altaic Hypothesis
amo.	=	Ancient Mongolian
ar.	=	Arabic
aux.	=	auxiliary
Bibl.	=	Bibliography (in the present volume)
br.	=	Brāhmī (script)
Buddh.	=	Buddhism, Buddhist
bur.	=	Buriat
c.	=	century, centuries
caus.	=	causative
ch.	=	Chinese
com.	=	comitative
conc.	=	concessive
cond.	=	conditional
conn.	=	connective
conn. vo.	=	connective vowel
cons.	=	consonant
conv.	=	converb, converbum
conv. conc.	=	converbum concessivum
conv. cond.	=	converbum conditionale
conv. fin.	=	converbum finale
conv. imp.	=	converbum imperfecti
conv. mod.	=	converbum modale
conv. perf.	=	converbum perfecti
conv. praep.	=	converbum praeparativum
conv. succ.	=	converbum successivum
conv. term.	=	converbum terminale
co-op.	=	co-operative
cop.	=	copula
corr.	=	corroborative, strengthening

d.	=	died
dag.	=	Dagur (Daur)
dat.	=	dative
dat.-loc.	=	dative-locative
dat.-loc.-abl.	=	dative-locative-ablative
ded.	=	deductive
def.	=	definite
dem.	=	demonstrative
den.	=	denominal
desid.	=	desiderative
dev.	=	deverbal
dim.	=	diminutive
direct.	=	directive
dur.	=	durative
elat.	=	elative
emmo.	=	Eastern Middle Mongolian
emph.	=	emphatic
eng.	=	English
equat.	=	equative
err.	=	error for, erroneous(ly)
etym.	=	etymology
euph.	=	euphemistic(ally)
f.	=	form
fem.	=	feminine, female
Fig.	=	Figure
fig.	=	figuratively
form.	=	forming
fut.	=	future
gen.	=	genitive
ger.	=	gerund
gr.	=	Greek
hon.	=	honorific(ally)
imp.	=	imperative
impf.	=	imperfect
indef.	=	indefinite
instr.	=	instrumental
inter.	=	interrogative
interj.	=	interjection
intr.	=	intransitive

i.o.	=	instead of
iran.	=	Iranian
ju.	=	Jurchen
kh.	=	Khalkha
khlj.	=	Khalaj
kit.	=	Kitan
loc.	=	locative
loc.-abl.	=	locative-ablative
ma.	=	Manchu
masc.	=	masculine
mch.	=	Middle Chinese
mj.	=	Middle Jurchen
mmo.	=	Middle Mongolian
mo.	=	Written (Script) Mongolian
modmo.	=	Modern Mongolian
mpe.	=	Middle Persian
mprth.	=	Middle Parthian
ms., mss.	=	manuscript, manuscripts
mtu.	=	Middle Turkic
n.	=	noun, name
neg.	=	negation, negative
nom. act.	=	nomen actoris
nom. fut.	=	nomen futuri
nom. imp.	=	nomen imperfecti
nom. perf.	=	nomen perfecti
num.	=	numeral
obs.	=	obsolete
oju.	=	Old Jurchen
ope.	=	Old Persian
opp.	=	opposite (to)
opt.	=	optative
ord.	=	Ordos
otu.	=	Old Turkic
p.	=	person
part.	=	participle, participial
pass.	=	passive
pe.	=	Persian
perf.	=	perfect
pers.	=	personal

'ph.	=	'Phags-pa (script)
pl.	=	plural
pmo.	=	Preclassical Mongolian
poss.	=	possessive
postp.	=	postposition, postposed
pr.	=	proper
pred.	=	predicative
pres.	=	present
priv.	=	privative
prob.	=	probably
progr. assim.	=	progressive assimilation
prohib.	=	prohibitive
pron.	=	pronoun, pronominal
prth.	=	Parthian
q.v.	=	quod vide (which see)
r.	=	reigned
rec.	=	reciprocal
refl.	=	reflexive
s.	=	suffix
sg.	=	singular
sogd.	=	Sogdian
skr.	=	Sanskrit
sth.	=	something
subj.	=	subject
s.v.	=	sub voce
syr.	=	Syriac
t.	=	tense
temp.	=	temporal
tib.	=	Tibetan
toch.	=	Tocharian
tr.	=	transitive
Tu.	=	Turkish
tu.	=	Turkic
tuv.	=	Tuvinian
u.c.	=	upper case
uig.	=	Uighur
us.	=	usually
v.	=	verb(al)
v.n.	=	verbal noun

vo.	=	vowel
voc.	=	vocative
vol.	=	voluntative
vs.	=	versus
wmmo.	=	Western Middle Mongolian
yak.	=	Yakut (Sakha)

2. Conventional signs

- * form not recorded but merely inferred or reconstructed
- ? doubtful form
- = corresponds to, is the same as
- ~ alternates with
- ≈ regularly alternates with
- /
 1. appears in both forms according to general rules (gram.)
 2. synonym or variant form of the same word
 3. it marks the end of a line in a non-aligned strophe
- /// lacuna in the text
- | indicates that the continuation of the book title appears on the next page
- () the missing element of the full form is supplied in parentheses (e.g. *t(ä)ηri*)
- [] the missing text is reconstructed/supplied within brackets
- [...] the missing text cannot be reconstructed/supplied
- < derives from, developed from
- << ultimately derives from
- > developed into
- <> brackets enclosing superfluous elements
- forms; and, by extension, results in
- ← is formed from
- 1. before a letter or a group of letters indicates a suffix
 2. before and after a letter or a group of letters indicates a verbal derivational suffix
 3. after a word indicates a verbal stem
- + with the addition of (the suffix or word)
- 2 after a word indicates that it is a binom or *mot-couple* (see p. 25)
- 0 zero or no initial sound
- ∅ zero or no suffix; no corresponding form
- ° an Old Turkic vowel after a consonant
- { }, [], || for the special use of these signs see p. 114

Introduction

A question some may ask, and a legitimate one, is: why do we speak of Altaic Philology and not of Altaic Linguistics, philology now being for many an outdated or outmoded term, and one indeed discarded in most countries, especially in the English-speaking world?

The reason is simple: linguistics is only part of the larger picture, albeit an essential one. Philology is a convenient term encompassing also those aspects of epigraphy and literature which are relevant to the overall cultural-linguistic picture. Because of this, philology stands as a tree with its main root in historical and comparative linguistic research, and branching off into literature, textual criticism and other areas of investigation of written texts, such as epigraphy and numismatics. Now, if one takes linguistics broadly to mean what is meant by philology, well and good: he or she may regard the present Introduction as an Introduction to Altaic Linguistics, but with the proviso that it is *linguistics in culture*, and that the cultural and linguistic components are equally relevant.

Altaic Philology, like any other area of philology, is not a field of exact knowledge. Statements are made which are often tentative or hypothetical; some really important issues remain unresolved; scholars are at variance on many issues, including some central to the discipline, as in the case of the Altaic Hypothesis (see Chapter Four). There is by no means agreement even on the basic question of the classification of the Altaic languages. Therefore, we should not expect a black and white picture, for there are plenty of grey areas. However, for the present purpose it is best to stay clear as much as possible of controversial issues by simply stating the case. This is not an exhaustive course on Altaic philology, but a mere introduction to the subject – something to open the gates, as it were, and to make it possible to pursue the subject further, both in breadth and in depth, by providing the theoretical foundations and the basic bibliography.

Thus, within the limits we must impose on ourselves, we shall define Altaic Philology as the study of the languages, literatures and written documents of the Altaic family of languages which includes Turkic, Mongolian and Tungusic. In some general works on languages and linguistics, the Altaic family is combined with the Uralic family to form the Uralic-Altaic (or Ural-Altaic) family or, as it is now called, phylum. And here we must open a short parenthesis. As is known, the world's languages are divided into several large language groupings or categories called phyla (pl. of *phylum* < gr. *phýlon* meaning 'tribe'),

such as the Indo-European (with about 150 languages, including our Romance languages), the Dravidian, the Sino-Tibetan, the Hamito-Semitic, the African, the Malayo-Polynesian, the Uralic-Altai, the American Indian, etc. One can learn about these phyla in the current works on the world's languages, the handbooks and encyclopedias of linguistics and the various language atlases, general and specialized. (See Bibl. 1.1, 2, 3.)

For various reasons (presumed or real affinities, and so-called genetic or genealogical relationships between groups of languages), a number of different languages have been put under a single, convenient umbrella. This is the case of the Uralic-Altai group which includes many different languages from Europe and Asia. The names Uralic and Altaic refer to the Ural and Altai mountains, those great mountain ranges in eastern Russia and Central Asia dominating the regions which are regarded – rather incorrectly, especially in the case of the Altai – as the original home or habitat of the people who spoke, and still speak, these languages. These are the populations, nomadic and semi-nomadic, that throughout most of their known history lived and moved in that immense territory which we now refer to as Inner Asia and, by extension, Central Eurasia, the extreme limits of which are Hungary in the West and the Sea of Japan in the East. For the cultures and history of these people the reader is referred to the general works listed in the Bibliography (2.1, 2). There is no doubt that speakers of the Uralic-Altai languages at various times lived in close proximity with each other, in fact often intermingling before separating, and that, as a result, there were close language contacts and exchanges among them.

The Uralic languages are divided into two sub-groups or stocks:

- I. Finno-Ugric, which in turn comprises 5 families:
 1. Ugric (incl. Hungarian)
 2. Permian
 3. Volga-Finnic
 4. Balto-Finnic (incl. Finnish and Estonian)
 5. Lapp
- II. Samoyed, which comprises 2 families:
 1. N. Samoyed
 2. S. Samoyed

This is the classification found in the handy *Syllabus* on Inner Asia by D. Sinor (Bibl. 2.1), but again other authors have produced different classifications. In Moseley and Asher (Bibl. 1.3) we have, for instance, six stocks, viz. Samoyedic, Ugric, Permian, Volgaic, Lappish and Balto-Finnic – each of these branches comprising various languages.

We shall not go into the Uralic languages except to say that the Finno-Ugric languages are spoken in Northern and Central Europe (Finland, Estonia, Lapland, Hungary); in the northern and central Urals area; in the middle Volga region; and in the Ob River region; in other words, from the Baltic and central Europe to eastern Russia and western Siberia. Samoyedic is spoken also in the Yenisei River region of central Siberia. The Uralic languages are spoken today by over 20 million people, perhaps up to 25 million. (See Bibl. 3.1.)

Now, whereas there is a genealogical relationship between the Finno-Ugric languages similar to that of the Romance languages, and very likely between the Finno-Ugric languages and Samoyedic, the relationship between the Uralic and Altaic languages is still largely hypothetical, as is also that between the Altaic languages themselves, and up to now there exists no agreement between the different scientific opinions. The mere fact that we still speak today of ‘Altaic’ languages contains an implicit admission that the languages of this group might be somehow related, otherwise we would not lump them together. This is a very controversial issue and we shall discuss it in Chapter Four dedicated to the Altaic Hypothesis.

The Altaic language group or phylum comprises three large families or stocks, viz. the Turkic (which may also be referred to as the Chuvash-Turkic), the Mongolian, and the Tungusic, or Manchu-Tungus. Altaicists and linguists are at variance in the naming of these stocks, but that does not concern us at this stage, except for the fact that some of them wish to include among the Altaic languages also Korean and Japanese. (See Bibl. 3.2.) Please note that in the present work we use the term ‘Altaicist’ for a scholar who specializes in the languages of the Altaic family, irrespective of whether he or she is in favour of or against the Altaic Hypothesis.

It is an open question whether advanced research in this field in the future will determine that these two important languages should be included in the Altaic phylum alongside the three other stocks. However, if we take the Altaic group in its narrower sense, i.e.

excluding Korean and Japanese, the area covered by the Altaic languages is still an enormous one. It extends, albeit unevenly, over a large portion of Northern, Central and Western Asia, Asia Minor and Southeastern Europe. Starting from the east: Siberia, Mongolia, and Manchuria (both the Russian and Chinese portions); Inner Mongolia, Qinghai and Xinjiang in the PRC; most of the ex-Soviet Central Asian Republics; the middle and lower Volga region (where the Chuvash and Kalmyks live); certain areas of Iran, Afghanistan and Transcaucasia; and, of course, Turkey.

Although the geographical areas are quite well defined, and can be clearly observed in the linguistic atlases as well as on the language maps published in Russia, Mongolia, etc., the exact number of Altaic language speakers is not known. Some languages and dialects of the three stocks have virtually disappeared as living languages and dialects (this applies especially to the Manchu-Tungus stock); others have fewer and fewer speakers, such as the Mongolian languages of China and Russia. The main cause of the disappearance of these minority languages is the overwhelming influence of the two majority languages, viz. Russian (in Siberia, Manchuria, Central and Western Asia) and Chinese (in Manchuria, Inner Mongolia, Qinghai and Xinjiang). Nevertheless, we can make rough estimates on the basis of the more recent censuses available (2000 and 2005), and we can further extrapolate from information obtained locally by individual researchers. Let us begin with the first of the three major stocks of the Altaic phylum.

1 Chuvash – Turkic

This is a large family consisting of some 30 languages divided into several groups. The classification of Turkic languages is also a controversial subject and there are several different classifications. (See Bibl. 4.1.) One big problem is that of the diachronic vs. the synchronic approach. The diachronic approach (which was very popular in the 19th c. in comparative Indo-European philology) is the study of language changes that occur over longer periods of history, and therefore it tends to concentrate on the languages of the past. The synchronic approach (which is to a large extent a 20th c. reaction to the diachronic approach), concentrates on the other hand on the forms of one or more languages at one particular stage of their development, the emphasis being, of course, on the current spoken languages. Both approaches are valid and, indeed, complement each other; however, one cannot mix the two approaches: it is clear that a classification of the languages spoken today cannot include those of the past because languages of the same group have evolved and, in the process, have changed. This is why an alternative term for synchronic linguistics is static linguistics.

Thus, in classifying and subdividing languages, comparative Turcologists, like other comparativists, concentrate on phonological characteristics which distinguish certain languages, or groups of languages, from other languages or groups of languages within a language family. This provides the basis and the rationale for the various systems of classifications. One reads, therefore, about *z-* and *š-* languages vs. *r-* and *l-* languages (according to which of these consonants occurs at the end of certain words); or of an *adaq-*, *tay-* and *-iγ-* language; and so on. (Cf. the *centum* and *satem* languages in Indo-European comparative linguistics.)

We could easily devote an entire monograph to the problems of Turcology in their comparative and historical context, and to the pros and cons of the different schemes of classification proposed by G. J. Ramstedt, A. N. Samoilovič, J. Deny, N. A. Baskakov, N. N. Poppe, M. Räsänen, J. Németh, O. Pritsak, K. H. Menges, È. R. Tenišev, T. Tekin, M. Ölmez, C. Schönig, and L. Johanson and É. Á. Csató. For a discussion of this problem of classification the reader may profitably turn to the first volume of *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* (Bibl. 4.1, pp. 1-10). Altogether there are about a dozen different systems of classification, many of which have now been superseded.

To simplify the scheme as much as possible for our purpose, the following is the basic updated synchronic classification into groups as presented by D. Sinor, with some modifications:

1. Southern or Southwestern, or Oghuz group (Turkish of Turkey, Gagauz, Azerbaijani, Turkic languages of Iran and Turkmen)
2. Western or Kipchak group (Western subgroup: Karaim, Karachai-Balkar, Tatar of the Crimea, Kumyk; Northern subgroup: Tatar, Bashkir, Mishār, Tatar dialects of Western Siberia)
3. Central group (Kazakh, Karakalpak, Nogai, Qipchak-Özbek, Kirghiz)
4. Eastern group (Uzbek, Modern Uighur)
5. Northern group (Yakut [Sakha], Tuvinian [Tuvan] and several languages spoken in the Altai region)
6. Chuvash
7. Khalaj
8. Turkic languages of the Gansu-Qinghai area (Salar, Western Yughur)

It goes without saying that each language within a group is in turn divided into dialects, the dialects being regional or local varieties of the same languages, but often differing considerably from the standard language of the country which is usually the predominant (or socially favoured) dialect. In some cases it is difficult to determine the boundary between a language and a dialect, especially when political boundaries divide a language area. When political factors do not come into it, a rule of thumb is that if two speeches are not mutually intelligible, they must be regarded as two different languages even if they belong to the same group or stock of languages; when they are mutually understandable, they are mere variants of one language, hence dialects. Thus, Turkish which is spoken by about 74 million people in Turkey, is a language in its own right being a *national* language (a geopolitical fact), even though standard Turkish (based largely on the dialect of Istanbul) is understood by the Turkmens of Ashkhabad. Turkish, as a language, is in turn divided into a number of dialects. Turkmen, which is spoken by around 5.8 million people in the Turkmen Republic, Iran and Afghanistan also has several dialects.

In the present survey we shall use the designation Turkic for the languages, ancient and modern, of the Turks *outside* Turkey; and Turkish only for the language spoken in Turkey.

If we take a map of Asia we can easily find the countries where the main Turkic languages are spoken, such as Turkmen, Tatar, Bashkir, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Uzbek and Yakut (Sakha). Now, some of the languages – in fact several (Tatar, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Uzbek, and Uighur) – which are spoken in the ex-Soviet republics, are spoken also in Xinjiang and northwest China. Indeed modern Uighur and its dialects are mostly spoken in Xinjiang; there are also Turkic languages, like Salar and Western Yughur, also called Yellow or Sarı Uighur, that are only spoken in China (in the Gansu-Qinghai region). However, the exact classification of these two languages, especially the last one, is unclear; sometimes they are erroneously classified among the eastern group of Turkic languages.

In our scheme, Chuvash (and to a lesser extent Khalaj) deserves special mention because it is quite different from other Turkic languages, insofar as it does not share some of their common characteristics, to such an extent in fact that some scholars regard it as an independent member of the Altaic family, like Turkic or Mongol. This is why a compromise solution for the purpose of classification has been found by combining Chuvash with Turkic in the designation of this stock. Incidentally, Chuvash is spoken by about 1.3 million people in the Chuvash Republic in the middle course of the Volga and comprises two main dialects.

It would be useful to produce accurate statistics for all Turkic speakers, but this is virtually impossible. To illustrate our predicament in obtaining language statistics we can take the case of Turkey. In the *Atlas* of Moseley and Asher published in 1994, the total number of Turkish speakers is 28.3 million out of a total population of 31.4 million based on the 1965 census figures. However, the present population of Turkey is in the order of 73.9 million people, much more than double that of 1965. In his fundamental work *Introduction to Altaic Linguistics*, which is the best descriptive single-volume work on the subject, Nicholas Poppe wrote (1965) that the Turkic language speakers amount to no fewer than 50 million. A 1998 estimate (Johanson and Csató) raised this figure to over 127 million, 38 million less than the one generally accepted at the time in Turkey (165 million). On the basis of recent censuses and taking all variables into

account (some of the figures are not up-to-date), we may assume that the Turkic languages and dialects are spoken today (2008/9) by 185-200 million people, far below the UNESCO estimate of at least 300 million.

Now, a bibliographical pause.

We have already mentioned general language surveys, handbooks, atlases and encyclopedias (Bibl. 1.1, 2, 3). However, there are works – many works – devoted to Turcology in English, German, French, Turkish, Russian and other languages. For our immediate purpose, i.e. the description of Turkic languages in a succinct manner, we recommend Poppe's *Introduction to Altaic Linguistics*, which covers the Chuvash-Turkic languages in 40 pages. Although in some respects somewhat outdated, it is still excellent, especially if supplemented with the relevant section in his 'Overview' article in the *Sciences of Language* of 1975. Those who wish to pursue the investigation further should turn to the excellent volume *Turkologie* by A. von Gabain *et al.* in the *Handbuch der Orientalistik* edited by B. Spuler; K. H. Menges' book *The Turkic Languages and Peoples*; the two volumes of *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* published by the Steiner Verlag in 1959 and 1964; *The Turkic Languages* edited by Johanson and Csató; and (in Russian) the volume *Tyurkskie yazyki* edited by È. R. Tenišev *et al.* To the above we can add also some new *Discoveries on the Turkic Linguistic Map* presented by L. Johanson, and the recent volume *Exploring the Eastern Frontiers of Turkic* edited by M. Erdal and I. Nevskaja. (See Bibl. 3.2 and 4.1.)

Within the Altaic phylum, the Turkic languages are beyond doubt the most complex grouping, not only because of their number and extension, but also because of their history. The first written documents in any Turkic language are several centuries older than those in Mongolian and Tungusic. So far, our description has been a synchronic one – the overall picture of today's Turkic languages – but we must now look at them, or at least at some of them, diachronically.

First of all, we must establish some sort of periodization of Turkic. The dividing line is the (gradual) conversion of the Central Asian Turks to Islam, which meant the adoption of the Arabic script and Muslim literary and religious culture, chiefly through the intermediary of Iran; and, from the language point of view, the adoption of the Arabic-Persian vocabulary, prosody, figures of speech, etc. This process of Islamization of the Turks began in earnest in the 10th c. in

Western Asia and, advancing progressively eastwards into Central Asia, was virtually completed by the end of the 13th c. We have, therefore, an old pre-Islamic Turkic culture from the 6th to the 13th c., and a Turkic Islamic culture which, beginning in the 11th c., has lasted to the present time and is very much alive today. In this Introduction we shall concentrate on the earlier stages of the language, i.e. on pre-Islamic Old Turkic; we shall say something also about the following stage, the Islam-influenced Middle Turkic; and we shall just touch on the problems of Modern Turkic – an enormous field owing to the geographical extension of the Turkic-speaking world. Our main concern and geographical area will be Mongolia and Central Asia, the habitat *par excellence* of the Altaic populations and of the Turks in particular. Modern Turkic, i.e. Turkish of Turkey and the present-day languages of Central Asia, is outside the scope of this survey.

In the 6th c., when the Turks first appear in history as such, with their deeds recorded in written sources in their own language (the earliest ones dating, however, from the 8th c.), as well as in those of other countries they had dealings with, such as China and Byzantium, their numerous tribes were scattered in what is now Mongolia, north of the Gobi. These tribes, as was often the case, were brought together by energetic chieftains called khaghans (*qayan*) to form a tribal confederation (khaghanate), which in the 6th c. had its center, or power base, i.e. the main residence of the khaghan, near the Orkhon River, not far from the ruins of the 13th c. Mongol capital Qara Qorum (about 300 km southwest of Ulan Bator/Ulaanbaatar).

Like the later Mongols, the Turks built up an empire in Mongolia and soon expanded into Central Asia north of the Tianshan, between the rivers Ili and Amu Darya, i.e. in present-day Kirghizistan. The Turkic tribal confederation soon split and broke down (again a recurrent phenomenon in the history of the ‘steppe empires’), only to be reconstituted by confederations led by Turkic khaghans from other tribes. Thus, the first Turkic empire – that of the Eastern and Western Turks (*Türk* is the name they called themselves) – was overthrown by the Uighurs, another Turkic people – in the middle of the 8th c. They, in turn, were replaced by the Kirghiz, also a Turkic tribal complex, in the middle of the 9th c. The Uighur tribes who fled from Mongolia established a kingdom in Gansu (overthrown in the 11th c. by the Tanguts) and, most importantly, also in present-day Xinjiang which was to last until the 14th c. The Uighurs of Xinjiang are usually

referred to as the Western Uighurs, or the Uighurs of Qočo (from the name of one of their capitals in the Turfan Depression), to distinguish them from the Eastern Uighurs of the Orkhon.

In the midst of these great political upheavals which affected not only the Turks, but also – and profoundly – China, Transoxiana (= the region beyond the Oxus, i.e. the Amu Darya River), Khwarezm and Iran, profound cultural and religious changes occurred among the Inner Asian Turks as a result of their encounter with such diverse civilizations. Originally the Turks, like the Mongols in the 12th c., were essentially animists, believing in the power of the supreme Sky-Heaven god, the Earth-Water deity, the fertility goddess and other spirits or gods, including, and very importantly, those of sacred places like certain mountains – the mountains representing that part of the earth which is closer to the sky. It was therefore necessary, indeed imperative, to obtain their favour in order to succeed in any enterprise. Hence the need of sacrifices (prayers and offerings). Glory in battle was paramount: the spirits of the enemies killed would serve the soul of the dead warrior in the afterlife; at the same time, since this was a military culture, to die in battle was the only honourable way of dying for a man. Spirits could be good or bad, helpful or harmful. One communicated with the world of spirits through the intermediary of soothsayers or shamans (*qam*), who thus played an important role in society, their main functions being prognostication, weather-conjuring, and the treatment of diseases of men and animals by dispelling evil influences; but also the transmission of cultural traditions. Hunting and animals were very important in everyday life, and this is why we find a good deal of animal symbolism in the legends of origins of the Turks and in the so-called art of the steppe. (See Bibl. 4.2.)

This simple faith of a warlike people, and their heroic approach to life and death, is expressed most vividly in their early memorial inscriptions carved on monuments (stone stele) found in the basin of the Orkhon River in northern Mongolia, and therefore called ‘the Orkhon inscriptions’, although they are actually scattered over quite a wide area, in three separate localities. They are *the* first written monuments of the Turks written in the Turkic language and go back to the middle of the 8th c.; interestingly, the oldest known written monument to be connected with the Turks, the so called ‘Bugut stele’ from the latter half of the 6th c., was written in the Sogdian language and script. The main Old Turkic inscriptions were discovered in 1889

and were deciphered a few years later, in 1893, by the great Danish scholar V. Thomsen.

The alphabet used in the inscriptions is a runic script, insofar as its letters resemble the Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon runes (see Fig. 1 and 2). It consists of some 40 characters which were largely inspired by an Aramaic alphabet through one or more Iranian intermediaries, Sogdian being the main one. But many of the signs were actually devised by an unknown Turk, perhaps as early as the 4th-5th c., and possibly under the influence of earlier runes (there are indications that the Turkic runes may have a very ancient origin). We should add that there existed also a quasi-runic alphabet, similar but quite distinct from the Turkic runic script, specimens of which were found in northern Central Asia, as well as in Hungary, and which has been associated with the Proto-Bulgar people. However, we are not concerned with this problem, which is very complicated and still unresolved: the point to stress is that runes were widespread in Asia and in Europe.

The Turkic runic script is a complex and ingenious alphabetic script and more suitable for epigraphies, for it did not lend itself well to cursive writing. It was used not only in the Orkhon inscriptions, but also in funerary inscriptions on stone dating from the 9th and 10th c. found in the basin of the upper Yenisei and its tributaries, in other inscriptions on monuments erected by the Uighurs in northern and central Mongolia, as well as in a few manuscripts found at Dunhuang in northwest China and in Xinjiang, the most important of which is a book of divination called *İrq bitig*. The direction of the script is usually horizontal, from right to left. However, in some inscriptions it runs from left to right, in which case the letters are inscribed in the reverse position (Fig. 3; see Bibl. 4.1, 2, 3.1).

The Orkhon inscriptions celebrate posthumously the deeds, mostly military but also civil, of the Turkic khaghans and of a great statesman (Toñuquq, d. ca. AD 726). An excellent translation of these inscriptions is found in Talat Tekin's *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*. This book gives also a thorough description of the script and language of these extraordinary monuments (see Bibl. 4.3.1). The language is, of course, Old Turkic. The designation Old Turkic often applies to the Turkic language of the pre-Islamic period (ca. 750-1300); however some researchers call Old Turkic the language used in documents mainly written in runic script (ca. 750-900), while the language of the

following period (*ca.* 900-1300) is called Uighur. During this long period the Turks used a variety of alphabets, of which the runic is the oldest and, as we have seen, mainly confined to use in epigraphies.

The progressive expansion of the Turks in Central and Western Asia and closer contacts with Iran in the west, with the Indo-Iranian cultures in Central Asia, and with China in the south and east, brought their leaders in touch with different cultures and religions, in particular with Manicheism, Nestorianism and (Mahāyānic) Buddhism.

Manicheism was a religion that originated in Sassanid Persia in the 3rd c. The official state religion in Iran before and under Sassanian rule was of course Zoroastrism or Mazdeism. Mani (216-276) was a 'heretic' who established a new faith based on the two opposing principles of light and darkness, borrowing ideas, as it were, from both Mazdeism and early Christianity; in Central Asia also from Buddhism. The material world, including man, belongs to the sphere of darkness. By rejecting matter and purifying himself, man can move into the region of light. Mani established a clergy and strict moral rules. This gnostic (from *gnosis*, or esoteric knowledge, which one must acquire to gain salvation) and dualistic faith was a missionary one and found favour especially among the Sogdian merchants who virtually monopolized the trade between Iran, Central Asia and China, along the so-called Silk Route.

The Sogdians were the natives of Sogdiana, that ancient region the centre of which was Samarkand in present-day Uzbekistan. They spoke an Iranian language and used three scripts, all deriving (directly or indirectly) from Aramaic and very similar to each other. One is called Manichean, the second Nestorian and the last one Sogdian, the Manichean script being used by Manichean Sogdians in their religious texts, the Nestorian script by Nestorian Sogdians, and the Sogdian script by Sogdian Buddhists and for any other purpose. (See Figs. 1, 4, 5, 6, 7.)

Manicheism travelled with trade along the Silk Route and penetrated into China. In the middle of the 8th c. it was established in the Tang capitals Changan and Luoyang, where there were sizable Sogdian and foreign merchant communities. At that time, the Uighur Turks had good relations with China and it was at Luoyang that one of their khaghans met some Manichean priests and became a convert himself. Soon after, he imposed this faith on his people. By now the Uighurs were at the height of their power, having replaced the Türk

khaghans in the hegemony of Mongolia. With Manicheism came also a Sogdian clergy and sacred texts in Manichean script. Sogdian merchants introduced the Sogdian script, which either they or the Uighurs adapted also to Turkic, and which replaced the official runic script within a few decades, i.e. from the 9th c. on. (The earliest Turkic inscription in Uighur script in Mongolia might stem from the beginning of the 8th c.) The cursive Sogdian script in fact became, with only slight modifications, the Uighur script which was widely used by the Turks for all religious and secular purposes until the 13th-14th c. However, there was a certain time at the beginning of Uighur rule in the 8th c. when the runic script was still used not only as the official script, but also by Manichean missionaries in Central Asia and in the steppe. Although it rapidly declined after the adoption of the Uighur script, the runic script actually survived until around the 9th-10th c. We also have a few fragments of Turkic texts written in pure Sogdian script, i.e. not in the modified form that we call Uighur script. (See Figs. 7, 8a, 8b; Bibl. 4.1, 2, 3.1.)

As mentioned earlier, in several of the small Indo-Iranian kingdoms of Central Asia – those in the Tarim basin south of the Tianshan – the local rulers had embraced Buddhism. These kingdoms had close relations with the neighbouring Turks in the 7th c. There were also many Sogdians living in these kingdoms, the most important of which was in the area of Turfan, just southeast of Urumchi. The culture of the inhabitants, who spoke Indo-European and Iranian languages, derived mainly from India and from Iran. They used various scripts, including the Indian Brāhmī script which they employed in their translations from Sanskrit, the language of Buddhism (Fig. 9). Politically, these small kingdoms came under the Chinese umbrella, as a sort of protectorate – indeed the dynasty which ruled over Turfan was of Chinese origin. We have, therefore, also Chinese influence at work in this region, which was already under Chinese control during the Han dynasty in the 1st c. AD. It was in this setting that the Uighurs established themselves in the middle of the 9th c. Under the influence of the local Buddhist clergy, part of the Uighur settlers converted to Buddhism and so began, in the 9th c., the very industrious activity of translating Buddhist texts from Chinese, Tocharian and Tibetan into Uighur Turkic. For a while the Uighurs too used the Sogdian and, later (13th/14th c.), Brāhmī scripts in their translation work (confining, in fact, the use of these two scripts to Buddhist texts), and Manichean

Sogdian continued to be used alongside the other scripts, but the Uighur script born out of the late Sogdian cursive script became the all-purpose script.

For a long time it was believed that the Uighur script derived from a form of Syriac script called *estrangelo*, and occasionally this false assumption is still found in popular books. Here we must open a parenthesis on the subject of early Christianity and the Syriac script to clarify these relationships between alphabets and also because the whole question has a bearing on Uighur. From the 4th to the 7th c. the city of Ephesus, which was near the modern city of Smyrna in western Turkey, was an important centre of Christianity. This Eastern Church is usually called the Syrian Church because it used Syriac as its liturgical language. Syriac was, in fact, another name for Aramaic (Jesus spoke an Aramaic dialect). It was into this Semitic language that the Greek Gospels were translated in the 2nd c. The Syriac script derived directly from the Aramaic script, and one of the early forms that it adopted is called *estrangelo* or *estrangela*, meaning 'evangelical'. In 431, a great church council was convoked at Edessa to condemn certain heresies, in particular the beliefs of Nestorius (d. 451), the Greek patriarch of Constantinople, who maintained that there are two distinct, yet closely united, persons in Christ, the human and the divine, and who refused to call Mary the God Bearer because of that (= dyophysite teaching). As a result Nestorius' followers were persecuted and sought refuge in Iran, where they thrived for a while, and so were able to send missionaries farther east into Central Asia and as far as China, where they were well established in the 7th c. The Christian scriptures they used were in Syriac and the alphabet employed by the Nestorian Sogdians, i.e. the earlier-mentioned Nestorian script, is just a variant of *estrangelo*. (See Fig. 6.)

Thus, in 7th and 8th c. Central Asia we have several religious creeds actively making converts: Manicheism, Buddhism (mostly Mahāyānic), and Nestorian Christianity or Nestorianism. The Nestorians had to spread eastwards because they were regarded as heretics in the West, and they could not settle permanently in Iran because they were occasionally persecuted there too as a foreign religion. Most of the followers of this religion were engaged in trade, as in the case of Manicheism, and this helped their missionary activity.

Summing up the situation in the 8th-9th c., when the Uighurs were holding sway, and soon after when they withdrew into the

relative safety of the Tarim basin, we have this mixed population, partly Buddhist, partly Manichean and partly Christian, speaking Indo-European and Iranian languages, and an Altaic language (Turkic). In their writings they used various alphabets deriving either from India (Brāhmī), or from a North Semitic Aramaic script, such as the Manichean, Sogdian and its offshoot, Uighur (and, to a lesser extent, runic), as well as Syriac alphabets. (See Fig. 1.)

The Turks, i.e. the Uighurs, with whom we are mainly concerned, were largely Manichean but falling more and more under the spell of Buddhism, which was to become their principal faith in the following centuries until the arrival and spread of Islam. Zealous Nestorian proselytism made Christian converts among the Western Uighurs, and we know that the leaders of at least two Turkic-speaking tribes in Mongolia and another tribe on the northern fringes of China embraced Nestorianism in the 11th c.

The Western Uighurs had their political and cultural centres in the northern capital Beš Baliq, north of the Tianshan and to the north-east of present-day Urumchi, and at Qočo (Gaochang) near Turfan, farther south in the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region. All prevailing religions were patronized by wealthy Uighurs and by the aristocracy. The Nestorian Turks were found mainly in northern Kirghizistan, as well as in the city of Almalīq, just northwest of modern Kuldja (Yining) in western Xinjiang. A number of Christian funerary inscriptions in Turkic in Syriac script were discovered there; however, the inscriptions are mainly in Syriac in Syriac script. As a result, besides a great number of administrative, legal and commercial documents in Uighur, we have many important religious texts which are translations of Buddhist sutras or works dealing with Buddhism (such as the biography of the famous Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang [600-64], which was translated from Chinese into Uighur Turkic in the 10th c.); as well as fragments of Manichean and Nestorian religious texts spanning several centuries, to say nothing of splendid works of art: frescoes, statues, figurines, etc., which have come to light in the last one hundred years.

Early last century several expeditions were sent to the Tarim region and further east to Dunhuang (which was an important religious centre and for some time under Uighur control) from England, France, Germany, Russia and Japan, and the story of these expeditions led by such famous people as Sir Aurel Stein, Paul Pelliot and Albert

von Le Coq, is really fascinating. Three quite different books on the Uighurs and their rediscovery are: A. von Gabain, *Das Leben im uigurischen Königreich von Chotscho*, which gives an excellent picture of the life and culture at the Uighur southern capital from 850 to 1250; A. von Le Coq's own account entitled *Buried Treasures of Chinese Turkestan*; and the very readable, popular account of all the expeditions by P. Hopkirk entitled *Foreign Devils on the Silk Road. The Search for the Lost Cities and Treasures of Chinese Central Asia*. There is a vast literature on the subject, including the books by Sir A. Stein, works on Dunhuang and on the arts of Central Asia – in fact an entire library. (See Bibl. 4.2, 5.) The literary and artistic treasures of the Tarim region – Chinese or East Turkestan, as it used to be called – attracted so much attention because so many cultures and civilizations (Chinese, Tibetan, Indo-Iranian and Turkic) met and interacted in this relatively small geographical area, each leaving its distinctive mark.

In spite of its cosmopolitan and indeed modern character, the Uighur kingdom remained in some respects a cultural island. Virtually all the literature it produced consists of translations – indigenous works are rare, and mainly restricted to poetry and novels, but also some larger Buddhist works are known (Bibl. 4.3.1). Furthermore, they remained isolated from their close neighbours in the west, the Qarakhanid Turks who occupied the area formerly ruled by the Western Turks, i.e. the region of the Ili, from lake Balkash to Kashgar and, from the end of the 10th c., also Samarkand and Bukhara farther west. These Turks had converted to Islam (also at the end of the 10th c.), and from the 11th to the 13th c. produced a number of interesting and important works, two of which must be mentioned because they are of capital importance for the study of the language (see Bibl. 4.3.2). The first of these is the *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects (Dīwān ḥuṣṣat at-Turk)* by Maḥmūd al-Kāshgarī, compiled probably in 1077. This encyclopedic dictionary has been called ‘the cornerstone of modern Turcology’, and ‘the most important source in Turkic historical linguistics and also a vital source for Central Asian history and ethnography’ (R. Dankoff). It was, however, written in Arabic in Baghdad and must be regarded essentially as a product of Islamic linguistic culture. It was discovered just before WW I, and several editions exist, the most reliable and convenient of which is that by R. Dankoff and J. Kelly (1982-85). The bulk of the *Dīwān* is a Turkic-Arabic dictionary – which is, in fact, the oldest Turkic dictionary we

have – the Turkic in question being Qarakhanid, a language closely related to literary Uighur of the same period.

The second work is the didactic book entitled *The Wisdom of Royal Glory* (*Qutadqu bilig*) by Yūsuf Haṣṣ Hājib of Balasayun, written in verse in 1069-70 at Kashgar. A long poem in Turkic, originally written also in Arabic script but with one known text in Uighur script, this work is essentially a collection of gnomic sayings, wise pro-nouncements, and morally edifying stories – not a great work of art, and also greatly influenced by Arabic and Iranian Muslim culture, in fact largely a product of this culture. It is, nevertheless, also an important language source.

Some Turcologists distinguish Qarakhanid Turkic from Western Uighur Turkic: Orkhon and Western Uighur Turkic are designated as Old Turkic (otu.), whereas Qarakhanid is already Middle Turkic (mtu.), i.e. the stage in the language between Old and Modern Turkic.

Taking two steps ahead, it is necessary to mention that, whereas Old Turkic is geographically restricted to East Turkestan and Mongolia, Middle (and, subsequently, Modern) Turkic are spread over a much vaster area owing to the progressive Turkicization of Central and Western Asia through military conquests that saw the establishment of Turkish power in Afghanistan, Iran, northern India and a large part of Asia Minor under the Seljuk Turks (11th and 12th c.). Other Turks conquered Egypt in the west and established the sultanate of Delhi over northern and central India in the east in the 13th-14th c. The Mongols who had invaded Central and Western Asia, and Russia in the 13th c. soon became Turkicized too, adopting both Islam and Turkic languages like Chaghatai. In West Central Asia, i.e. in Transoxiana (Bukhara and Samarkand), the Mongols were replaced by Turkic emirs, the most famous of whom, Timūr Lang, our Tamerlane or Timberlane (? 1336-1405), created a great empire in the heart of Asia in the second half of the 14th c., from the border of China to the Aegean Sea. But his successors, the Timurids, soon lost it. In the 15th-16th c., the Ottoman Turks conquered modern Turkey and founded the mighty Ottoman empire which was to last until the 20th c.

Linguistically, the group of languages of the Muslim Turks of Central and Western Asia, and southern Russia from the 11th to the 15th-16th c. is called Middle Turkic. It comprises several languages and dialects divided into two branches, Eastern and Western Middle Turkic. Qarakhanid, Khwarezmian and Chaghatai Turkic belong to the

eastern branch of Middle Turkic, being literary languages used in this period in the area comprised between the Volga and the Caspian sea in the west, and the Ili and lake Balkash in the east. Western Middle Turkic comprises Kuman or Kipchak and Armeno-Kipchak, all languages spoken in the 12th-16th c. by Turks in southern Russia, including the Crimea, in parts of Central Asia and by Turkicized Armenians (in the 15th-18th c.).

Clearly, some of these later Middle Turkic languages are the immediate predecessors of the modern Turkic languages of Central Asia. Chaghatai, for instance, was used in a modernized form until the last century by Turkmens, Kazakhs, Tatars and Bashkirs. But what about Western Uighur, the old Turkic language of the Tarim region? Since the 1930s its modern descendant is again called Uighur, or rather Modern Uighur, and is spoken today by over 9 million people in the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region of China, and in Russia.

The question of the scripts used by the Turks does not become easier in time. We have already described the scripts used until the 13th-14th c., with Arabic being adopted by Muslim Turks in Central and Western Asia. The Uighur script survived, almost entirely for use in Buddhist texts, until the 17th-18th c. in Xinjiang. Turks who had converted to Judaism (like the Karaim Turks) used the Hebrew alphabet. The Kuman Christians of Crimea used Latin. The Armenian Turks used Armenian. In Turkey, the Arabic script was used until 1928, when it was replaced by a slightly modified Latin alphabet. In the former Soviet Turkic republics it was Cyrillic almost everywhere. We also have Turkic writings in Greek and Tibetan scripts. Altogether Turkic has been written in more than a dozen scripts. The present political developments in the Turkic-speaking regions of Asia formerly under Soviet rule indicate that we may expect some interesting developments regarding the scripts they will employ in the years ahead.

The linguistic picture of Middle and Modern Turkic is naturally a lot more complex than the rather simplified sketch presented here. There is a detailed analysis of its various ramifications in the descriptive works by Deny *et al.*, von Gabain, Poppe, Menges, and Johanson and Csató (see Bibl. 4.1). In these works one will also find discussions on Turkic and the language of the Huns, on Proto-Bulgar, as well as on Chuvash and other Turkic languages, like Khalaj, that are difficult to classify – all interesting subjects that we cannot un-

fortunately deal with at present but which deserve attention nevertheless.

With regard to Old Turkic and the Uighurs, we mentioned the importance of Qarakhanid literature as a primary source for our knowledge of Turkic in the 10th-11th c., the high point of Uighur culture. The Qarakhanid language material is so important for, and so close to, Old Turkic, that several scholars have actually included it under Old Turkic, not under Middle Turkic (among them, M. Erdal, S. E. Malov and O. Pritsak). We have therefore an abundance of material, both epigraphic and literary, on Old Turkic. We shall now have a closer look at this language and describe its main varieties or dialects, and attempt to isolate the common characteristics of Turkic, i.e. those features that are retained in all Turkic languages.

Our way to an ancient language is the script; for the present purpose we shall first concentrate on the Uighur alphabet because it was in this, the simplest of all alphabets, that most of the documents were written. Moreover, the Uighur script, with slight modifications, became also the script of the Mongols and of the Manchus in the 13th and 17th c. respectively. It is still the script of the Inner Mongolian Mongols and of the Oirats, and it was reintroduced by the Mongols of Mongolia in 1990, albeit on a limited scale. However, short Turkic texts in runic, Manichean, Brāhmī, Sogdian and Syriac scripts will also be discussed in the present chapter.

As we have seen, the Uighur alphabet evolved from the late Sogdian cursive script, and like it has only twenty letters. Therefore, beautiful as it undoubtedly is, this alphabet is not very accurate, since its letters must serve to express more than twice as many sounds in the Uighur language (see Fig. 7). The runic and Brāhmī scripts are much richer and more accurate but they are also more complex, less aesthetically pleasing and, what counted most at the time, they were not as convenient for business transactions; no doubt this is why Uighur evolved from Sogdian in the first place.

The main characteristic of the Uighur script is that it is easy-flowing. To make it even more so, variant forms in the middle and at the end of words were devised which simplify the initial sign. For example, we have an initial *a* with two strokes or ‘teeth’ coming off the main line of the word, a medial *a* consisting of only one stroke, and a final *a* which is just a tail stroke or ductus, originally horizontal, but subsequently vertical. This is because, when it first evolved, the

Uighur script was written, like Sogdian, horizontally from right to left (as are Aramaic and all Semitic scripts). In time, however, and probably under Chinese influence, the direction of the script was changed by turning it 90°, so that it became vertical. The horizontal and vertical styles were used concurrently until the 12th-13th c., when the vertical mode prevailed. (See Fig. 10a and 10b.)

The important thing to remember is that, in the Uighur script, the word is ideally a line – long or short according to the length of the word – to which are attached the signs of the individual letters, like ribs to the spine, or teeth to the jaw. This must be done with the maximum economy of strokes to allow for the continuous flowing of writing with the Chinese brush, or with the reed calamus, which is slower and more formal. The more formal style of writing is sometimes called uncial; for the other style (i.e. cursive), the brush was regularly employed. There is a wealth of information on the subject in A. von Gabain's book on Qočo, as well as in her contribution to *PTF*.

The signs of the script, i.e. the letters, are polyvalent, most of them representing more than one sound. Because of their Aramaic origin one normally designates the letters of the Uighur alphabet by their Semitic name, viz. *āleph*, *yōd*, *wāw*, *mīn*, *hēth*, etc. The confusion due to polyvalence is particularly obvious in non-initial positions. Because *a* is written like *ä*, *i* like *ī*, *o* and *u* like *ō* and *ū*, *p* like *b*, *t* like *d*, *s* like *š* and *z*, *χ* like *q* and *γ*, and *k* like *g*, and because certain vowels are often omitted in writing, Uighur – especially cursive Uighur – can often be read and interpreted only from the context. Various devices help us to read or decipher the words correctly, such as the diacritic marks (one or two dots added to certain letters), the fact that *o* and *ō* can only occur in the first syllable; and, most importantly, the rules of vowel harmony by which certain vowels can *only* occur with certain other vowels and *only* with certain consonants. On the whole, as with Hebrew and Arabic, one must really know the language before one can read it. Another problem we often encounter is that, although Uighur orthography has certain rules, these were often ignored by careless scribes or by people writing in a hurry.

A regular device by which the scribes filled the page, or the line, was to extend the final letter of a word whenever possible (certain finals could not be extended) by means of a ductus, which is a

characteristic of the Uighur script and which, in manuscripts in cursive, often virtually unites one word with another. (See Fig. 10a.)

Old Turkic had nine short vowels (*a, ä, e, i, ĩ, o, ö, u, ü*) and nine long ones (i.e. *ā, ā̄*, etc). Closed *e* occurred only in Old Turkic in a few stems and alternated with *i*; sometimes it was entirely omitted in writing. In transcribing this letter, as on many other issues, Turcologists follow different systems. Some use *ä* and *e* for the open and closed *e*; others use *e* and *é* (or *ê*) for the same letters. Several Turcologists actually deny the existence of an independent *e* phoneme, regarding it merely as a variant of *ä* or *i*; therefore they only write *ä* or *i*. The *e* problem is a difficult one. This sound certainly existed in Old Turkic since it is noted in the Brāhmī script texts; there is also evidence for it in the Orkhon inscriptions and from other Turkic languages. It was probably an intermediary sound between *ä* and *i*, but not necessarily an individual primary phoneme, i.e. the ninth vowel. The problem is unresolved and still much discussed. Now, short *a, ä, i, ĩ, and u* are often not written in the middle of a syllable. E.g. *t(ä)ŋri, y(a)rl(ĩ)γ* (the letter represented by *gamma* [γ] is a voiced deep velar stop). This apparently has something to do with the weakness of a non-accented vowel, which has a tendency to disappear in speech as well as in writing; however, since the phenomenon occurs in the first accented syllable too, it must also have to do with the traditional practice in Semitic alphabets not to note short vowels. Furthermore, one must likewise take into account the so-called ‘chancellery style’, reflecting a kind of hasty shorthand writing. Sometimes the long vowels are represented by a double vowel, but double vowels are not always long, and there is inconsistency in usage anyway. There are a few rare instances of a long vowel being represented by the combination vowel-velar-vowel; usually, however, long vowels are not indicated as such in the Uighur script, but are identified from other scripts used by the Turks, such as the Arabic script, and through Turkic historical and comparative phonology. The same applies to other sounds (*χ* for instance).

In certain words or situations, the vowel of the first syllable is written, but in a simplified form, e.g. *o* instead of *ö*, or *u* instead of *ü*; in such cases one transcribes these vowels as *ȯ* and *u̇*. When an initial *a* is written like an *ä* one transcribes it as *ȧ*. So, for example, *alp* written *älp* → *ȧlp*; *yüz* written *yüz* → *yü̇z*.

As stated earlier, *o* and *ö* occur only in the first syllable: the rounded vowels of the other syllables must therefore be *u* or *ü*. This is a basic rule when transcribing Uighur texts, but not necessarily valid for Brāhmī texts, where we find several instances with *o* and *ö* in non-initial syllables, e.g. *idoq* ‘holy’ instead of *iduq*. This problem needs further investigation.

Vocalic or vowel harmony is a phenomenon that characterises the Altaic languages. It is strictly observed in Turkic and Mongolian, less strictly in Manchu, as we shall see.

Briefly, it consists of the following: 1) front vowels (*ä, e, i, ö, ü*) can occur in a word only with other front vowels, so that if in the first syllable there is a front vowel, in the following syllables there can only be front vowels. The same applies to the back vowels (*a, ı, o, u*); 2) words with the pre-velar (or medio-palatal) stops *k* and *g* can only have front vowels; words with the deep velars *q, γ* and *χ* can only have back vowels; 3) a corollary to this rule is that one cannot have in the same words *k, g* and *q, γ, χ* (the letter we write as *χ* is a voiceless velar spirant like the Spanish *jota* which appears only in certain words, mostly foreign). Thus, the vocalism of a word depends on the quality (front-vocalic or back-vocalic) of the vowel of the first syllable, so that a word can only be front-vocalic or back-vocalic; and it can only be front-vocalic in association with the velar consonants, and back-vocalic in association with the deep-velar consonants. The group *ng* (written *ŋ*) stands for *n + g* and goes with front and back vowels, it thus has neutral value. E.g. *ärtmiš, atlıγ, ilig* (~ *elig*), *χan* (~ *qan*), but *öŋrä, muŋluγ*. Some scholars still use *ng* for *ŋ*.

Two more points about the vowels: 1) the accent, which falls on vowels, apparently fell mainly on the first syllable in Old Turkic, with a secondary accent falling on the last syllable of the word. Usually the middle syllables were unaccented. However, the addition of suffixes tended to push the accent back to the preceding syllable. To simplify things, one can put the accent always on the first syllable, like in Mongolian; 2) with regard to the transcription of vowels, we have already mentioned *ä* vs. *e*. With the phoneme *i*, there is a front *i* and a back *ı*. In modern Turkish, front *i* is written with the dot, and back *ı* without it. Some scholars (e.g. Clauson) follow the same system for Old Turkic; others (e.g. Deny) write *i* and *ı̇*, or *i* and *ı̇* (Hamilton), but the majority of Turcologists write *i* and *ı̇*, in (inverse!) conformity with *o, ö* and *u, ü*. Although by and large most scholars have adopted

the transcription system found in von Gabain's grammar and in *PTF*, other scholars, notably Clauson, Röhrborn and (following him) German and Turkish Turcologists, as also some Japanese ones, follow a system that conforms with the Modern Turkish alphabet, while Russian scholars have devised their own transcription systems. The system employed in the present work is that used in the *PTF*.

Now, some remarks on the consonants. Some of them occur in only, or virtually only, foreign words. These are χ , h , \check{j} . In Uighur script χ is written like γ , h like q and \check{j} like \check{c} . The phoneme \check{j} , so prevalent in Mongolian, does not exist in Turkic (Mongolian \check{j} becomes Turkic y , e.g. mo. $\check{j}am = tu. yam$).

As for the use of diacritic marks, which in Uighur script are dots, or tiny strokes, placed against certain consonants, q and γ are often, but not always, distinguished by writing q with two dots, whereas γ has none; χ is usually treated like γ (sometimes it has one dot), therefore in most cases it is not distinguished from it in writing; n is distinguished from a and \check{a} by having one dot; s with two dots becomes \check{s} . However, dots are often omitted altogether, especially in manuscripts written in cursive script.

Therefore, in transcribing these consonants and deciding whether they are χ , q , or γ ; s or \check{s} , and so on in the absence of diacritics, one must rely on Turkic texts in other scripts where these distinctions are made, viz. texts in Manichean and Brāhmī script (Manichean has a special letter for χ ; Brāhmī notes closed e), the Arabic script, which is very accurate for all consonants (but not so for vowels, being also a Semitic script; see Fig. 1); and, ultimately, historical and comparative phonology, in other words, the evidence from later Turkic languages. On the basis of this varied evidence we can now transcribe an Old Turkic text quite accurately, but our transcription will never be perfect because of the very nature of the script. Hence, a system devised a long time ago for Sogdian has been also adopted for the Uighur script which derives from it. This is *transliteration*. The Old Turkic text is first transliterated, then transcribed. A symbol is assigned to each basic element of the Sogdian-Uighur script, and this symbol is invariable. In the transliteration table (Fig. 11), the symbols are followed by the letters of the Uighur alphabet and the values they represent in transcription. For example, the word for 'people' in Old Turkic is *bodun*, but in Uighur script the word can be read in many different ways: *bodun*, *budun*, *podun*,

pučun, botun, butun, etc. In transliteration only one form is possible, viz. PWDWN. This transliteration permits us to reconstruct the original Uighur word immediately. We know, of course, that this word corresponds to *bodun*, and so we write *bodun* under PWDWN. This is the most scientific approach to the problem of transcribing Old Turkic texts and one which is now universally being adopted by scholars, often in conjunction with the regular transcription.

Another point about consonants. Old Turkic, and Turkic in general, tries to avoid consonant clusters by inserting vowels between stems ending in a consonant and suffixes beginning with a consonant. Hence, a suffix beginning with a consonant is usually preceded by an intercalary connective vowel which is not fixed, but which varies with the phonetic character of the word, i.e. if the first syllable of the word has a rounded vowel, the connective vowel would also be a rounded vowel; if not, the connective vowel would normally be a neutral *-i/-ï-*. This phenomenon (which, incidentally, also sometimes affects the internal vowel of a suffix) is called labial attraction, and is found in the modern Turkic languages. E.g. *qaŋ* ‘father’ + poss. s. *-m* → *qaŋim*, but *qut* ‘fortune’ + *-m* → *qutum*; *qut* + poss. s. *-liy* → *qutliy*. (By convention, *n* + *g* in Old Turkic is always transcribed as *ŋ*, whereas in Mongolian and Manchu it is transcribed as *ng*.) In the case of a suffix beginning with a vowel and following a stem ending in a vowel a ‘hiatus filler’ is inserted between the two vowels, such as a *-y-*. E.g. *kirigsä-* ‘to wish to enter’ + *-ür* aorist s. → *kirigsäyür*.

The key role in the language is, in fact, played by suffixes, which are many and varied. Turkic, like Mongolian and Manchu, is an agglutinative language, in which grammatical relationships are expressed by the free combination of elements – elements which we loosely refer to as suffixes, because in these languages there are no pre-fixes or infixes (i.e. no affixes before or within a word). These suffixes, which consist of a single morpheme, are added to the word root which basically – i.e. without any modifying suffix – also consists, or originally consisted, of a single morpheme, usually monosyllabic. The suffixes added to the root perform various functions, the most important ones being: 1) to change a verbal root into a noun (which can be a substantive or an adjective); 2) to change a nominal root into a verb; 3) to form other nouns out of nouns, and other verbs out of verbs; 4) to modify nouns and verbs, in which case they play the role of case and modal suffixes, thus in turn forming adverbs and

adjectives; and 5) to indicate relationships, such as possession (e.g. a possessive suffix used as a possessive pronoun). *Therefore, we cannot properly speak of adjectives and adverbs as special, distinct language categories, since they are formed from nouns and from verbs.* This means that there is normally a cumulation of suffixes and from a short nominal or verbal root we obtain a long word. E.g. *ayırlatmış* '(he) made respect (= caused to respect)' ← *ayır* 'important' (etymology uncertain) + *-la-* den. v. s. → *ayır-la-* 'to honour, respect' + *-t-* caus. s. → *ayırlat-* 'to cause to honour or respect' + *-miş* past part. s. acting as indef. past = 'caused to respect'

Another point about suffixes is that the same suffix can have several functions; thus, for instance, *-i/-i* can be a deverbal noun suffix and a gerundial suffix; and *-n* can be the accusative of the pronominal declension or the instrumental case suffix. It should be noted at this juncture that some suffixes (e.g. the plural suffix *-lar/-lär*) are usually written separately from the word.

The verb normally comes at the end, the word order in Turkic, as in all Altaic languages, being S(ubject)-O(bject)-V(erb), with all the qualifying words preceding what is qualified. In the case of set or idiomatic expressions, the qualifier may come after the qualified. E.g. *bodun qara*, lit. 'people black', means 'the black (= common) people' This is a very common expression (cf. 'things British', 'the body politic', etc.) and must be understood as 'the people (who) are black', i.e. as a pronominal phrase. Old Turkic is also very fond of compound nouns (or binoms, '*mots-couples*'), i.e. of two-word compounds in which both words have identical or similar meaning, one reinforcing the other as it were – something akin to our hendiadys – and resulting in a single idea or object. In translating, these binoms are often indicated by a small subscript ₂. E.g. *ayat- ayırlat-*, lit. 'to make respect – to make honour' = 'to make respect₂'; *yir (~ yer) orun* 'land – place' = 'place₂' or 'land₂' (Cf. Pelliot 1944, p. 75; Bibl. 4.3.1.)

It will be noticed that we keep on speaking of 'the Old Turkic language' as if it were one uniform language, which is actually not true. Old Turkic covers a period of five centuries, the same as that between, say, Dante Alighieri and Alessandro Manzoni, or the death of Walther von der Vogelweide and the birth of Gotthold Lessing, or between Chaucer and Dickens. We cannot expect the language not to have evolved and undergone changes in such a long period of time. Old Turkic of the Orkhon inscriptions obviously represents an earlier

and more primitive stage of the language than 11th c. Uighur. Also, the language of the Uighur manuscripts has dialect variations; indeed, there is evidence that what we call ‘Uighur’ comprises in fact *at least* five Turkic dialects. In her grammar, A. von Gabain has noted the characteristics of the two major dialects of Uighur – the so-called *y-* and *n-* dialects – and the dialect of the inscriptions. Briefly, in one dialect (or rather group of dialects), the word for ‘bad, much’ is *ayïγ*, while in the other dialect (or group of dialects) it is *anïγ*. In the older dialect of the inscriptions we find *añïγ*. Thus, we have in fact *y-*, *n-*, and *ñ-* dialects. However, dialect differences on the whole are not great, and we shall not discuss them here.

Before we introduce our first text for analysis, we should mention a few basic tools for the serious student of Old Turkic; they are, indeed, indispensable for anyone who wishes to approach this language without a teacher. The three best grammars are the classic one by A. von Gabain already referred to, which is now in its third edition; the grammar by T. Tekin (especially for the language of the Orkhon inscriptions); and the recent, more advanced, theoretical grammar by M. Erdal. The first of these contains also a basic Old Turkic-German-Modern Turkish vocabulary as well as a good selection of texts for reading. Excellent summaries of the grammar and syntax of Old Turkic by von Gabain and by Erdal are found in *PTF*, I, pp. 21-45, and *TL*, pp. 138-57 respectively. Sir G. Clauson’s etymological dictionary (*ED*) is a masterpiece of lexicography, but it is not easy to use for a beginner, hence the recourse to A. Róna-Tas’ handy *Index* (for all these publications see *Bibl.* 4.3.1). A note of caution: the transcription systems for Old Turkic used by von Gabain, Erdal and Clauson in the above-mentioned works are different from each other; therefore, the student will have to spend more time just learning *how* to use these tools. Furthermore – and this applies also to Mongolian and Manchu-Tungus – the terminology and explanations are not the same owing to the authors’ different approaches to these languages. In the case of Clauson, his system of transcription is based on the official alphabet of the Turkish Republic. Among German Turcologists, K. Röhrborn and his team also employ a modified version the same alphabet.

What we must now do is to illustrate briefly those features of the Uighur script and grammar that we have described in the previous pages. For this purpose a short text in Uighur (twelve lines in all) has been selected. This is the beginning of the famous Buddhist ‘rebirth

story' (*jātaka*) from the *Damamūkonāmasūtra* or *Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish* (which has come down to us in Tibetan, Chinese and Mongolian) popularly known as 'The Hungry Tigress'. The Uighur version of the story is also found in a late recension of the Uighur version of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* or *Sūtra of Golden Light* (*Altun yaruq*) published by V. V. Radlov and S. E. Malov in 1913. The original goes back to the early 10th c. The translator was a scholar-official from Beš Baliq called Šingqo (~ Šingqu) Šāli Tutung. These twelve opening lines are photocopied from Radlov's and Malov's printed edition, which is clear and easy to read; the transcription, with slight modifications, is that of A. von Gabain (*AG*, p. 294); a letter by letter transcription has been added by hand to facilitate the reading (Text I). For bibliographical references to the text the reader is referred to *UBL*, pp. 65-71.

THE HUNGRY TIGRESS (II. 1-12)

Transcription

(*N.B.* The punctuation is according to von Gabain)

¹Öñrä ärtmiš ötdä, bu Čambudi-²vip uhušta M(a)ħaradi atliγ ilig ħan
³bar ärti. ol ymä M(a)ħaradi ilig ħan ⁴ärtiñü uhγ bay barimlīγ,
 tsanlarī ⁵aγiliqlarī i tariγ äd tavar üzä ⁶tolu, alp atim suγlūg küčiñä
 tükäl-⁷lig, törttin siñar yir orunuy ⁸iymiš basmiš, üküškä ayatmiš ayir-
⁹latmiš, ürük uzatī köni nom-¹⁰ča törüčä bašladači, imärigmä qamay
¹¹bodunin qarasin asmīš üklitmiš, qop-¹²ün siñar yayisiz yavlaqsiz ärti.

Glossary and Explanations

(Please note that this text has no diacritic marks next to the letters *n*, *q* and *š*)

- öñrä before, formerly ← öñ the front + -räl/-ra loc.- temp. adv. s. (= direct. s. '-ly')
- ärtmiš that has passed ← ärt- to pass (time, etc.), to go beyond + -miš/-mīš past part. s.
- ötdä (pro ödtä!) at the time ← öd time + -däl/-da loc.-abl. s. (-täl/-ta after *l*, *r*, *n* in the Orkhon inscriptions, but irregular in the Uighur mss.)

'Formerly, at the time that has passed', i.e. 'Once upon a time.'

- bu (~ bo ~ boo) this, dem. pron. often used as the definite article

- Čambudivip < toch. *Jambudvip* < skr. *Jambudvīpa* ‘the Jambu country’, i.e. India; lit. ‘The Country of Rose-apples’ In Turkic there is no *ǰ*
- ulušta* in the country ← *uluš* (~ *ulus*) country + *-tal-tä* (*-dal-dä*) loc.-abl. s.
- M(a)ḡaradi* (~ *Maḡarade*) pr. name << skr. *Mahāratha* ‘the Great Chariot’
- atliḡ* called ← *at* name + *-liḡ/-lig* den. n. s. = poss. s. (= ‘having, possessing, with’)
- ilig ḡan* king₂, sovereign₂ (used as a royal title) ← *ilig* (~ *elig*) king ← *il* (~ *el*) nation, realm + *-lig/-liḡ*, *ḡan* (or *qan*) king, emperor; ruler, sovereign
- bar ärti* was in existence, was present = there was, there lived ← *bar* particle connoting existence (‘there is, was, are, were’), *ärti* ← *är-* to be + *-ti/-tī* (*-di/-dī*) perf. s. 3 p. sg.

‘In this Čambudivip country was in existence a sovereign king called Maḡaradi’, i.e. ‘In the country of Jambudvīpa (India), there lived a king₂ called Mahāratha.’

- ol* that, he/she/it (dem. pron. → pers. pron.)
- ymä* and, also; it appears also in the form *yimä* (or *yemä*)
- ärtiḡü* very, extremely ← *ärt-* to pass, to go beyond + *-i/-i-* conn. vo. + *-n-* refl. s. + *-ḡül/-ḡu* dev. n. s. forming adv. & adj. The idea expressed is that of ‘overpassing, going beyond’
- uhuy* great, big
- bay* rich
- barimliḡ* prosperous (lit. ‘having property’) ← *bar* existence, being + *-i/-i-* + *-m* den. n. s. (very rare) (= *barim* property, wealth) + *-liḡ/-lig*; note that here the s. *-liḡ* is written separately
- tsaḡları* his granaries ← *tsaḡ* granary, treasury, storehouse (< ch. *cang*) + *-lar/-lär* pl. s. + *-i/-i* 3 p. poss. s.
- aḡılıqları* his treasuries ← *aḡı* treasure + *-liḡ/-lik* den. n. s. (= *aḡılıḡ* treasury) + *-lar/-lär* + *-i*, *tsaḡlar aḡılıqlar* granaries and treasuries
- i tarıḡ* grain₂ ← *i* plant, grain; vegetation (bush), *tarıḡ* grain ← *tarı-* to cultivate (land); to sow + *-ḡ/-g* dev. n. s. (= *tarıḡ* cultivated land; the product of cultivated land; usually: grain)

- äd tavar* goods₂, property₂ (in general) ← *äd* property (movable), goods, *tavar* property, livestock, wealth; note that in the past the letter *v* was usually transcribed as *w* (von Gabain: *tawar*)
- üzä* (up)on, above, on high; by means of, with
- tolu* full ← *tol-* to be filled, or full + *-u/-ü* dev. n. s.

‘That Maḡaradi sovereign king (was) also very greatly rich (and) prosperous, his granaries (and) treasuries full with grain₂, goods (and) wealth’, i.e. ‘That king Mahāratha was also extremely rich and prosperous, and his granaries and treasuries were full of grain₂ and all kinds of goods₂.’

- alp* brave, written *älp*, hence it should be transcribed *alp*!
- aṭim* archer ← *at-* to shoot (an arrow), to throw + *-i/-i-* conn. vo. + *-m* dev. n. s.
- suülüg* mounted troops ← *süü* (~ *sü* ~ *suü*) army, troops + *-lüg/-luy* (*-lig/-liry*)
- küčinjä* by the (lit. ‘his’) strength ← *küč* strength + *-i/-i-* 3 p. poss. s. + *-ñä/-ña* pron. dat. s. (← *-n* pron. *n* + *-kä/-qa* dat. s.); note the use of the poss. s. also as the definite article. The *-n* before an oblique case (such as dat. and acc.) is known as the ‘pronominal *n*’ because it is a typical element of the pronominal declension
- tükällig* perfect, mighty ← *tükä-* to finish, to come to an end + *-l* dev. n. s. (= *tükäl* complete, whole) + *-lig/-liry*; thus, literally, ‘that has the completeness’
- törttin* in four ← *tört* four + *-tin/-tün* den. n. s. (with distributive value)
- sīnar* side; one (of two), like; (in) the direction
- yir orumy* place₂, country₂ ← *yir* (~ *yer*) earth, place, land; soil, ground, *orun* (~ *oron*) place + *-u/-ü-* conn. vo. + *-γ/-g* acc. s.
- iyimış basmıš* (he) suppressed₂, (he) conquered₂, ← *iyimış* (he) suppressed ← *iy-* to suppress + *-miš/-mıš* past part. s. acting as indef. past, *basmıš* (he) suppressed ← *bas-* to press, crush, oppress + *-mıš/-miš*

‘Mighty by the brave archers’ (and) (mounted) troops’ strength, he suppressed₂ places₂ in four directions’, i.e. ‘With the might and strength of his brave archers and horsemen, he conquered₂ lands₂ everywhere.’

- üküşkä* in great numbers ← *üküş* (~ *üküs*) many, numerous + *-kä/-qa* dat. s.

ayatmiš ayırlatmiš (he) made respect₂ ← *ayatmiš* (he) made respect ← *aya-* to respect, to revere, to honour + *-t-* caus. s. + *-miš/-müš*, *ayırlatmiš* (he) made respect ← *ayır-* important + *-la-/-lä-* den. v. s. (= *ayırla-* to honour, to respect) + *-t-* + *-miš/-müš*

‘He made respect₂ in great numbers’, i.e. ‘and he made them respect₂ him in great numbers.’

ürük uzatı for a long time₂ ← *ürük* a long time (n.) ← *ür* a long time + *-u/-ü-* conn. vo. + *-k/-q* den. n. s., *uzatı* for a long time ← *uza-* to be, or become, long + *-t-* (= *uzat-* to make long[er]) + *-i/-i* ger. s.: lit. ‘making longer’

köni right, straight, true ← *kön-* to be right, straight, true + *-i/-i* dev. n. s.

nomča törüčä according to the Buddhist doctrine₂ ← *nomča* in accordance with the doctrine ← *nom* doctrine, teaching, the Buddhist law (< sogd. *nom* < gr. *nomos* = skr. *dharma*) + *-çal/-čä* equat. s. (= ‘like, equal to’), *törüčä* in accordance with the rules ← *törü* (~ *törö*) traditional, customary, unwritten law; rule(s) + *-čäl/-ča*; *nom törü* the doctrine and rules (of Buddhism) = the Buddhist doctrine₂

bašladaçı one who leads, leader ← *baš* head + *-la-/-lä-* den. v. s. (= *bašla-* to lead, to begin) + *-daçı/-däči* (*-taçı/-täči*) part. s. (← *-dal/-dä* [*-tal/-tä*] loc.-abl. s. + *-či/-či* n. of agent s.)

‘For a long time₂ a leader in accordance with the (Buddhist) doctrine and rules’, i.e. ‘he was for a long time a leader according to the Buddhist doctrine.’

imärigmä who had gathered ← *imär-* to gather, to be surrounded with + *-i/-i-* conn. vo. + *-gmäl/-γma* part. s.; according to Clauson (*ED*, p. 159b) *imär-* is an error for *ämğä-* ‘to suffer pain’; however, this interpretation is not shared by other Turcologists

qamay all; an early loan word from mpe. *hamāg* all

bodunin qarasiñ (his) common people₂ (= (his) subjects₂) ← *bodunin* the (lit. ‘his’) tribes, people, nation (acc.) ← *bod* clan, lineage + *-u/-ü-* + *-n* pl. s. (= *bodun* the tribes, people, etc.) + *-i/-i-* 3 p. poss. s. + *-n* pron. acc. s., *qarasın* the (lit. ‘his’) black (= common) (acc.) ← *qara* black, common + *-si/-si* 3 p. poss. pron. + *-n*; *bodun qara* (common) people₂

asmış üklitmiş having increased₂ ← *asmış* having increased ← *as-* (~ *aš-*) to increase, enlarge + *-miş/-miş* past part. s., *üklitmiş* having augmented ← *ükli-* to increase (intr.); to become larger, more plentiful + *-t-* caus. s. (= *üklit-* to increase [tr.]) + *-miş/-miş*; *as- üklit-* to increase₂

‘Having increased₂ all his black (= common) people who have gathered around’, i.e. ‘having increased₂ the great mass of common people who had gathered around him (= his subjects).’

qoptin in all ← *qop* all + *-tın/-tin*
sınar direction (see above)
yayısız free from hostilities, peaceable ← *yayı* enemy, hostile + *-süz/-siz* priv. s. (= ‘without’, ‘-less’)
yavlaqsız without evil, good ← *yavlaq* evil (? < **yabal* bad + *-a/-ä-* conn. vo. + *-q/-k* den. n. s.) + *-süz/-siz*
ärti was (cop.) ← *är-* to be + *-ti/-tī* perf. s. 3 p. sg.

‘He was without enemy (and) without evil in all directions’, i.e. ‘he was free from hostilities and evil everywhere.’

Free Translation

Once upon a time, in India there lived a king called Mahāratha (‘Great Vehicle’). He was also extremely rich and prosperous, and his granaries and treasuries were full of grains and all kinds of goods. He had conquered lands everywhere with the might and strength of his brave archers and horsemen, and he had them (= the lands) in great numbers respect him. For a long time he had been a ruler (acting) in accordance with the true law and rules (of Buddhism) and, having increased the great mass of common people who had become his subjects, he was (now) free from hostilities and evil everywhere.

This short text is very useful because in twelve lines it gives us:

1. An overview of the Uighur script;
2. Several important formatives or derivation suffixes, like *-γ/-g*, *-ul/-ü*, *-m*, *-lïγ/-lig/-hry/-lüg*, *-la/-lä-* and *-tın/-tin*;
3. Several case and verbal endings, like *-dal-däl/-tal-tä*, *-al-ä*, *-ηal-ηä*, *-qal-kä*, *-il-i*, *-n*, *-ral-rä*, *-miş/-miş*, *-tī/-ti*;
4. The plural suffix *-lar/-lär*;
5. Connective elements like *-i/-i-*, *-u/-ü-* and *-a/-ä-*;
6. The use of the demonstrative pronoun and of the 3rd person possessive suffix as the definite article;

7. Models of sentence structures.

Our next text is in *cursive* Uighur and, therefore, more challenging for the reader. It consists of two pages from an incomplete ms. of a pre-11th c. Turkic version of the well-known Buddhist story of ‘The Good and the Bad Prince’ found at Dunhuang and preserved now in Paris and London (Text II). The latest and most comprehensive study of this ms. is by J. R. Hamilton (see Bibl. 4.3.1). However, cf. also von Gabain’s transcription (*AG*, p. 307). According to Hamilton the Paris/London text is an early translation from the Chinese, whereas von Gabain was of the opinion that the text is a later translation from Tibetan. Hamilton is probably right. For further studies concerning the text the reader is referred to *UBL*, pp. 37-39.

THE GOOD AND THE BAD PRINCE (pp. XXI-XXII)

Transcription

(N.B. The punctuation is ours)

[XXI] ¹*Tigin inčä* ²*tip ötüinti*, ‘*Luu xanlaränta* ³*čintamanä ärdini bar*; *kim* ⁴*ülüglüg quthuy kiši ol ärd(i)ni* ⁵*bulsar qamay tñlilylarqa asiy* ⁶*tusu qilur. Anä üčün tahy-* ⁷*qa kirigsäyür män’, tip ötüinti.* ⁸*Ol öčün qañi xan yarliy yarliqa* [XXII] ¹*äi, ‘Kim “Tahyqa barayin”* ²*tisär, kirinlär! Oylum tigin-* ³*kä iş bolunlar! Nä kärgäkin* ⁴*barča birgäy biz! Kim yirči* ⁵*suvči kimiči bar ärsär, yimä* ⁶*kälzün; tiginig äsän* ⁷*tükäl kälürzünlär!’*

Glossary and Explanations

<i>tigin</i>	prince: because of the phonemic <i>e:i</i> ambiguity, this word is also read <i>tegin</i>
<i>inčä</i>	as follows, thus, lit. ‘like or as the following’ ← <i>in</i> (< <i>iyin</i> ‘following’) + <i>-čä/-ča</i> equat. s.
<i>tip</i>	saying ← <i>ti-</i> (~ <i>te-</i>) to say + <i>-p</i> ger. s.; often it simply indicates the end of direct speech, which can then be turned into indirect speech in English and be translated with ‘that’ or ‘to’
<i>ötüinti</i>	spoke respectfully ← <i>ötün-</i> to speak respectfully + <i>-ti/-tī</i> perf. s. 3 p. sg.
<i>luu</i>	dragon < ch. <i>lu</i> id.
<i>xanlaränta</i>	at the kings’ ← <i>xan</i> king + <i>-lar/-lär</i> pl. s. + <i>-i/-i-</i> 3 p. poss. s. + <i>-nta/-ntä</i> (<i>-nda/-ndä</i>) pron. loc.-abl. s. (← <i>-n</i> pron. <i>n</i> + <i>-ta/-tä</i> loc.-abl. s.); <i>xan</i> is also read <i>qan</i> : <i>luu xan</i> = dragon king

- čintamanı* = toch., skr. *cintāmaṇi* ‘jewel of the mind’; the Turkic transcription can also be read *čintämäni* (Hamilton)
- ärdini* << skr. *ratna* ‘jewel’
- kim* who? who, whoever (inter. and indef. pron.)
- bar* see ‘The Hungry Tigress’, s.v.
- ülüglüg quthıy* fortunate₂ ← *ülüg* luck, fortune + *-lüg/-hıy* (*-lig/-lïy*), i.e. ‘having a good destiny, fortunate’, *quthıy* fortunate ← *qut* good fortune + *-hıy/-lüg*, i.e. ‘enjoying the favour of heaven; fortunate, happy, blessed’
- kişi* person (man or woman)
- bulsar* if finds ← *bul-* to find + *-sar/-sär* cond. s.
- qamaı* all
- tinliylarqa* to living beings ← *tinliy* living being, creature (lit. ‘having [*-liy*] breath/life [*tin*]’) + *-lar/-lär* + *-qa/-kä* dat. s.
- asıy tusu* benefit₂ ← *asıy* profit, advantage, *tusu* benefit, advantage
- qılur* will bring ← *qıl-* to do, produce + *-ur/-ür* aorist (pres.-fut.) s.; see also below, s.v. *kirigsäyür*
- anı* that; *anı* is the acc. of the dem. pron. *ol*
- üçün* because of (with the acc.)
- tahıyqa* to the sea/ocean ← *tahıy* sea, ocean + *-qa/-kä* dat. s.
- kirigsäyür* wish to enter ← *kir-* to enter, come (to the palace), go (by sea) + *-i/-ï-* conn. vo. + *-g/-ıy* dev. n. s. + *-sä/-sa-* desid. den. v. s. (= *kirigsä-* to wish or desire to enter) + *-yür/-yur* (= *-ür/-ur*, see above s.v. *qılur*) aorist s. after vo. stems: the letter *-y-* is a hiatus filler (= *-’-*), i.e. it ‘bridges’ the break between two vowels coming together not in the same syllable
- män* I
- tip ötünti* lit. ‘(so) saying, he spoke respectfully’ is simply equivalent to a closing quotation mark
- ‘The prince spoke respectfully, saying as follows, “At the kings of the dragons’ there is the *cintāmaṇi* jewel; if whoever (= any) person with luck (and) good fortune (= a fortunate₂ person) finds that jewel, (it) will bring benefit (and) advantage (= benefit₂) to all living beings. Because of that, I wish to go to sea (to fetch it)”. (So) he said, speaking respectfully.’
- ödün* at the moment ← *öd* moment, time + *-ü/-u-* conn. vo. + *-n* instr. s. (= instr. temporis: ‘when, at’)
- ol ödün* at that moment
- qañı* his father ← *qañ* father + *-i/-i* 3 p. poss. s.

<i>xa</i>	see <i>xa</i> larinta above
<i>yarli</i>	command, order, decree (etym. uncertain)
<i>yarliqadi</i>	proclaimed ← <i>yarliqa-</i> (~ <i>yarli</i> ya-) to proclaim, order, etc. (← <i>yarli</i> + <i>-qa/-ka</i> den. v. s.) + <i>-di/-di</i> (- <i>ti/-ti</i>) perf. s. 3 p. sg.; <i>yarli</i> <i>yarli</i> (y)ya-, lit. ‘to issue an order or command’ = ‘to speak, say (to an inferior) by a person in authority’
<i>barayin</i>	let me go! ← <i>bar-</i> to go + <i>-a/-ä-</i> conn. vo. + <i>-yin/-yin</i> opt.-imp. s. 1 p. sg.
<i>tisär</i>	if say ← <i>ti-</i> (~ <i>te-</i>) to say + <i>-sär/-sar</i> cond. s.: <i>kim</i> <i>tisär</i> , lit. ‘if whoever say’, i.e. ‘if any (among you) say’
<i>kirinlar</i>	do come (to the palace)! ← <i>kir-</i> to enter, come (to the palace) + <i>-i/-i-</i> conn. vo. + <i>-i-</i> opt.-imp. s. 2 p. pl. + <i>-lar/-lar</i> pl. s.
<i>oyum</i>	my son ← <i>oyul</i> (~ <i>oyl</i> ^o) son + <i>-u/-ü-</i> conn. vo. + <i>-m</i> 1 p. sg. poss. s.
<i>tiginkä</i>	to the prince ← <i>tigin</i> (~ <i>tegin</i>) prince + <i>-käl/-qa</i>
<i>iš</i>	(~ <i>eš</i>) companion(s)
<i>bolunlar</i>	be! ← <i>bol-</i> to be, become + <i>-u/-ü-</i> conn. vo. + <i>-i</i> + <i>-lar/-lar</i> pl. s.
<i>nä</i>	what?, what, whatever (inter. and indef. pron.)
<i>kärgäkin</i>	the necessary ← <i>kärgäk</i> necessity, necessary + <i>-i/-i-</i> 3 p. poss. s. + <i>-n</i> acc. s.
<i>barča</i>	all ← <i>bar</i> there is + <i>-čal/-čä</i> equat. s., i.e. ‘equal to or as much as there is’ <i>nä</i> <i>kärgäkin</i> <i>barča</i> whatever (or all that) is needed
<i>birgäy</i>	will/shall give or provide (with the instr.) ← <i>bir-</i> (or <i>ber-</i>) to give, provide + <i>-gäy/-gay</i> fut. s.
<i>biz</i>	we
<i>yirči</i>	guide ← <i>yir</i> (~ <i>yer</i>) place, country + <i>-či/-či</i> n. of agent s.
<i>suvči</i>	pilot ← <i>suv</i> water + <i>-či/-či</i>
<i>kimiči</i>	sailor ← <i>kimi</i> (~ <i>kemi</i>) boat + <i>-či/-či</i>
<i>bar</i>	there is; a particle connoting existence or presence in a certain place
<i>ärsär</i>	if there is ← <i>är-</i> to be + <i>-sär/-sar</i> cond. s.
<i>yimä</i>	also, and (read <i>ymä</i> by von Gabain, and <i>yemä</i> by Hamilton); cf. ‘The Hungry Tigris’, s.v. <i>ymä</i>
<i>kälzün</i>	let (him) come! ← <i>käl-</i> to come, come back + <i>-zün/-zun</i> imp. s. 3 p. sg.
<i>tiginig</i>	the prince (acc.) ← <i>tigin</i> (or <i>tegin</i>) prince + <i>-i/-i-</i> conn. vo. + <i>-g/-g</i> acc. s.

äsän tükäl safe and sound₂ ← *äsän* well, in good health, *tükel* complete, whole; cf. ‘The Hungry Tigress’, s.v. *tükällig*
kälürzünlär let them bring back! ← *käl-* to come back + *-ü/-u-* conn. vo. + *-r-* caus. s. (= *kälür-* to bring back) + *-zün/-zun* + *-lar/-lär* pl. s.; *kälür-* is the earliest caus. form of *käl-*, later displaced by *kältür-*

‘At that moment his father the king gave (the following) command, “Whoever (= any) that say, ‘Let me go to sea!’, do come in (and) be the companions of my son the prince! We shall provide whatever is needed. If there is any sailor (who is) a guide (and) pilot, let him also come; (and) let them (all) bring the prince back safe (and) sound₂!’”

Free Translation

[XXI] The prince spoke respectfully as follows: ‘Where the kings of the dragons live there is a jewel (called) *cintāmaṇi* which, should someone be fortunate (enough) to find it, will benefit all creatures. Because of this, I wish to go across the sea (to fetch it).’ Thereupon, his father the king said, [XXII] ‘Any (among you) who wish to go across the sea should come (to the palace) and be the companions of my son the prince. We shall provide all that is necessary (for the voyage). If there is any sailor (who can act as) guide and pilot, let him come too; and let them (all) bring the prince back safe and sound!’

Remarks on the text

1. Perhaps the most striking feature of the above text is the difference in the latest transcriptions, viz. that of Hamilton (1971) and the somewhat later one (1974) by von Gabain (we shall ignore the earlier ones). By far the majority of these differences concern the reading of the letters *i* vs. *e*, and *e* vs. *ä* (*tegin tigin, tep tip, tesär tisär, eš iš, bergäy : birgäy, yerči yirči, yemä : yimä : ymä, men män, kemiči kämiči, ersär ärsär, esän äsän*); but also *q* vs. *χ* (*qan χan*) and *β* vs. *v* (*sufči suvči*). Similar problems concerning vowels (especially *ö ü*) exist also in Mongolian. No attempt is made here to reconcile the different approaches of Turcologists on this issue; the transcription adopted by us is rather mechanical than interpretative, insofar of course as the Uighur script (with all its shortcomings) allows us to do so. For this purpose, we have based ourselves on the parallel mechanical transliteration provided for each word by Hamilton.

2. Suffixes. Among the new case and verbal endings found in this text we note the following in the order in which they appear: *-p*, *-ntal/-ntä* ('pronominal *n*' + *-tal/-tä*), *-luy/-lüg* (= *-lïy/-lig*), *-sar/-sär*, *-ur/-ür*, *-ysal/-gsä*, *-n* (acc.), *-qa/-kä* (den. v. s.), *-yïn/-yin*, *-zun/-zün*. To be noted are also the role of the intervocalic *-y-* as a hiatus filler, and the use of the plural suffix *-lar/-lär* in verbal forms.
3. Verbs: (i) Polite and ordinary verbs. In Turkic, as in other languages, there are various degrees of politeness expressed with the use of different verbs (or verbal expressions) to convey the same meaning, one of the most common being the verb 'to say' Cf. *ti-* (*te-*) 'to say' (ordinary usage); *yarlıy yarlıqa-* (~ *yarlıyqa-*), lit. 'to issue an order or command' = 'to say' (speaking to an inferior); and *ötün-* 'to speak respectfully', i.e. 'to submit a statement or request to a superior, to request'. (ii) Repetition of the *verba dicendi* at the end of a quotation to mark the end of the quotation (*tip ötünti tip ötünti*). The repetition need not be translated, of course. (iii) Relative clause expressed through the quotation of a statement of intent, viz. 'They said that they wished to go to sea' becomes in Turkic 'They said, "We wish to go to sea"' Cf., in our text, the sentence 'Whoever that say "Let me go to sea!", do come in!', i.e. 'Any who wish to go to sea should come in.'
4. Nouns: Apposition. A noun following one or two other nouns is qualified by the preceding noun(s) which are then 'appositional' to it, as in *yerçi suvçi kemiçi*, lit. 'guide-pilot sailor', i.e. 'a sailor who is a guide and a pilot'.

Next, we shall examine the beginning of the famous Toñuquq inscription, written in runic script (see Fig. 2) in the first part of the 8th c. (Text III, a & b). Contrary to the other large inscriptions of the second Turkic empire, the inscription of Toñuquq is not a funerary inscription (perhaps it was written during a time of exile); furthermore, it was written by a person who was only indirectly (through the marriage of his daughter) related to the royal Türk clan. Toñuquq, chief adviser of the first three rulers of the second Turkic empire, was probably the most influential statesman of his time. He strove to uphold the traditional Turkic way of life and held a strong hostile attitude towards sedentary nations, especially the Chinese. The inscription, on two stone stelae situated about 60 km east of Ulan Bator, was discovered in 1897. This monument, which must have been erected *ca.* 720, is still extant *in situ*. The bigger stele contains 35 lines; the second, smaller stele only 27. The beginning of the

inscription is on the west side of the bigger stele. The text of the inscription has been studied several times, the latest and most comprehensive studies being those by T. Tekin (*A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, pp. 249-53, 283-90) and V. Rybatzki (Bibl. 4.3.1).

THE TOŇUQUQ INSCRIPTION (ll. 1-5)

Transcription

- [1] *Bilgä ToŇuquq b(ä)n öz(ü)m T(a)bγ(a)č el(i)ŋä qilint(i)m*
türk bod(u)n T(a)bγ(a)čqa kör(ü)r (ä)rti
- [2] *Türk bod(u)n q(a)nün bulm(a)yün T(a)bγ(a)čda (a)dr(i)lti*
q(a)nl(a)nti q(a)nün qod(u)p T(a)bγ(a)čqa y(a)na ič(i)kdi
t(ä)ŋri (a)nča t(ä)miš (ä)rinč q(a)n b(ä)rtim :
- [3] *q(a)n(i)ŋ(i)n qod(u)p ič(i)kd(i)ŋ ič(i)kdük üč(ü)n t(ä)ŋri öl*
t(ä)m(i)š (ä)r(i)nč Türk bod(u)n ölti (a)lq(i)nti yoq bolti
Türk : Sir bod(u)n : y(ä)rintä
- [4] *bod q(a)lm(a)dī ida t(a)šda q(a)lm(i)ši qubr(a)n(i)p y(ä)ti*
yüz bolti (ä)ki ül(ü)gi (a)tl(i)γ (ä)rti bir ül(ü)gi y(a)d(a)γ
(ä)rti y(ä)ti yüz kišig
- [5] *ud(u)z(u)γma ul(u)γi š(a)d (ä)rti y(i)γil tedi y(i)γm(i)ši b(ä)n*
(ä)rt(i)m B(i)lgä ToŇuquq q(a)γ(a)n mu qis(a)yün t(ä)d(i)m
s(a)q(i)nt(i)m :

Glossary and Explanations

- bilgä* wise, a wise man; here perhaps a title ‘counsellor’ or the like ← *bil-* to know + *-gä/-ya* dev. n. s.
- ToŇuquq* pr. name the meaning of which is not clear; the first part of the name may correspond to *tun* ‘first born’
- bän* I
- özüm* myself ← *öz* spirit (→ self) + *-u/-ü-* conn. vo. + *-m* 1 p. poss. s.
- Tabγač* China; originally the name of the (Yuan) Wei Dynasty of China (386-535), also known as the Northern or Toba Wei, the Toba (< *Tabγač*) being a branch of the ‘Proto-Mongol’ Xianbei tribal confederation
- eliŋä* in the realm of ← *el* realm + *-i/-i-* 3 p. poss. s. + *-ŋä/-ŋa* pron. dat. s. (← *-n* pron. *n* + *-kä/-qa* dat. s.)
- qilintim* I grew up ← *qil-* to do or make something + *-i/-i-* conn. vo. + *-n-* refl. s. (usually in a pass. sense = *qilin-* to be made, to be created; to grow up) + *-tim/-tim* perf. s. 1 p. sg.

- Türk* ethnic name
bodun tribes, people, nation ← *bod* clan, lineage + *-u/-ü-* + *-n* pl. s.
- Tabyačqa* to the Chinese ← *tabyač* + *-qa/-kä* dat. s. (with the following verb *kör-*)
körür ärti had served ← *kör-* to look to, to obey, to serve + *-ür/-ur* aorist (pres.-fut.) s., *är-* to be + *-ti/-ti* perf. s. 3 p. sg. (the construction aorist + perfect is used to indicate a pluperfect)
- ‘Bilgä Toñuquq, I myself in the realm of China grew up. The Türk people had served the Chinese.’**
- qanin* their ruler ← *qan* ruler, khan + *-i/-i-* 3 p. poss. s. + *-n* pron. acc. s.
bulmayin not finding ← *bul-* to find + *-ma/-mä-* neg. s. + *-yin/-yin* ger. s. (rare)
Tabyačda from China ← *tabyač* + *-da/-dä* loc.-abl. s.
adrilti broke away ← *adir-* to separate + *-i/-i-* conn. vo. + *-l-* pass. s. (= *adiril-* to be separated, parted; to break away) + *-ti/-ti*
qanlantı got themselves a ruler ← *qan* + *-la/-lä-* den. v. s. + *-n* refl. s. + *-ti/-ti*
qodup abandoned ← *qod-* to put down, abandon, give up + *-u/-ü-* conn. vo. + *-p* ger. s.
yana and, again
ičikdi submitted ← *ič* the interior, or inside + *-i/-i-* conn. vo. + *-k/-q-* den. v. s. (= *ičik-* to submit to an enemy or foreign ruler) + *-di/-dä* perf. s. 3 p. sg.
- tänri* Heaven
anča thus ← *ol* that + *-čal/-čä* equat. s.
tämiš said ← *tä-* (~ *ti-* ~ *te-*) to say + *-miš/-miš* past part. s. acting as indef. past
- äriñč* presumably
qan ruler
bärtim I gave ← *bär-* (~ *bir-* ~ *ber-*) to give + *-tim/-tım*
qanıñin your ruler ← *qan* + *-i/-i-* conn. vo. + *-ñ* 2 p. poss. s. + *-i/-i-* + *-n* pron. acc. s.
ičikdiñ you have submitted ← *ičik-* + *-diñ/-dın* perf. s. 2 p. sg.
ičikdük submission ← *ičik-* + *-dük/-duq* dev. n. s.
üčün because of
öl die! ← *öl-* to die (the suffixless verb stem indicates the 2 p. sg. imp.)

‘The Türk people their ruler not finding, from China they broke away (and) got themselves a ruler. (Then) they abandoned their ruler and to the Chinese again submitted. Heaven thus said, “Presumably a ruler I gave, (but) your ruler you have abandoned (and) have submitted (again)”. Submission because of, Heaven “Die!” said presumably.’

- ölti* died ← *öl-* + *-ti/-tī*
- alqıntı* perished ← *alq-* to use up, finish, come to the end of something + *-i/-i-* + *-n-* refl. s. (= *alqın-* to use oneself up, exhaust oneself, perish) + *-tī/-ti*
- yoq boltı* ceased to exist ← *yoq* there is not, *bol-* to become + *-tī/-ti* (= *yoq bol-* to cease to exist, to die); *yoq* – the opposite of *bar* (see above) – is a particle connoting non-existence
- Sir* ethnic name
- yärintä* in the land of ← *yär* (~ *yir* ~ *yer*) ground, earth, land, soil, place + *-i/-i* 3 p. poss. s. + *-ntä/ntä* pron. loc.-abl. s. (← *-n* + *-tä/ta* loc.-abl. s.)
- bod* clan
- qalmadı* remained ← *qal-* to remain + *-ma/-mä-* + *-dī/-di*
- ‘The Türk people died, perished (and) ceased to exist. In the land of the Türk (and) Sir people, no clan remained.’**
- ıda taşda* in the semi-desert ← *ı* bush + *-da/-dä*, *taş* stone + *-da/-dä*
- qalmışi* those who had remained ← *qal-* + *-miş/-miş* past part. s. + *-i/-i* 3 p. poss. s. (= article)
- qubranıp* assembled ← *qubra-* to come together, assemble + *-n-* refl. s. (= *qubran-* same meaning as the basic verb) + *-i/-i-* conn. vo. + *-p*.
- yäti yüz* seven hundred ← *yäti* (~ *yiti* ~ *yeti*) seven, *yüz* hundred
- äki ülügi* two third ← *äki* (~ *iki* ~ *eki*) two, *ülüg* share, part + *-i/-i* 3 p. poss. s.
- atlıy* mounted ← *at* horse (nearly always indicating a riding horse) + *-līy/-lig*
- bir ülügi* one third ← *bir* one, *ülüg* + *-i/-i*
- yadaγ* on foot
- ärti* was ← *är-* + *-ti/-tī*

‘In the semi-desert those who had remained, assembled (and) seven hundred became. Two third mounted, one third on foot was.’

- kišig* men ← *kiši* man, person, human being (without distinction of sex) + *-g/γ* acc. s.
- uduzuyma* leading ← *ud-* to follow + *-u/-ü-* + *-z-* caus. s. (= *uduz-* to lead or conduct) + *-u/-ü-* + *-γmal/-gmä* part. s.
- uluhı* their leader ← *uluh* big, great + *-i/-i* 3 p. poss. s.
- šad* *šad* (title); prob. < sogd. *ʾγšyð* king, commander; cf. pe. *šāh*
- yıyıl* assemble! ← *yıy-* to collect, assemble + *-i/-i-* + *-l-* pass. s. (= *yıyıl-* to be assembled, assemble)
- tedi* said ← *te-* (~ *tä-* ~ *ti-*) + *-di/-dī*
- yıymışi* the one who assembled ← *yıy-* + *-miş/-miş* + *-i/-i*
- ärtim* I was ← *är-* + *-tim/-tīm*
- qayan mu qısayın* (him to become) *qayan* shall I press? ← *qayan* khaghan, title of the supreme ruler of a tribe or people, *mu* inter. particle (always postponed), *qıs-* to compress, squeeze, pinch + *-a/-ä-* conn. vo. + *-yın/-yin* 1 p. sg. imp. s.
- tädim* I said ← *tä-* (~ *te-* ~ *ti-*) + *-dim/-dīm*
- saqıntım* I thought ← *saqın-* to think + *-tım/-tīm*

‘Seven hundred men their leading leader a *šad* was. “Assemble (the men)!”, he said. The one who assembled I was, Bilgä Toñuquq. “(Him to become) *qayan* shall I press?”, I said (and) thought.’

Free Translation

[1] I, Bilgä Toñuquq, grew up in China, (when) the Türk people were serving the Chinese. [2] As the Türk people could not find their ruler, they broke away from the Chinese and got themselves a ruler. (But then) they abandoned their ruler and submitted again to the Chinese. Therefore Heaven said, ‘I gave you a ruler [3], (but) you have abandoned your ruler and submitted (again to the Chinese).’ Because of their submission, Heaven said, ‘Die!’ And the Türk people died, perished and ceased to exist. In the land of the Türk and Sir people [4] there remained not a single clan. Those who had remained in the semi-desert came together and became (a force of) seven hundred (men). Two thirds of them were mounted, one third was on foot. The leader of the seven hundred men [5] was a *šad*. ‘Assemble (the men)’, he said. The one who assembled them was I, Bilgä Toñuquq. ‘Shall I press him (to become) khaghan?’, (thus) I said (to myself, thus) I thought.

Remarks on the text

1. In comparison with the other large Old Turkic inscriptions, the Toñuquq inscription holds a special position as the text contains a lot of direct and indirect speech. This makes the text very lively, but in some places also very difficult to understand. Reading is, however, facilitated by the fact that in some parts of the text the punctuation is used in a way that resembles our direct speech markers. The whole structure of the text points strongly to oral presentation and recitation, which would in turn raise other problems that we cannot discuss at present.
2. In runic texts the genitive is generally expressed by a noun in the nominative case (i.e. without suffix) followed by a noun with the possessive suffix, cf. in our example *Tabyač elinä* ‘in the realm of the Chinese’, or *Kül Tegin atisi* ‘the nephew of Kül Tegin’ in the Kül Tegin inscription. The structure noun + genitive suffix *-nñj/-niñ* followed by a noun + possessive suffix *-i/-i/-sü/-si* is only rarely attested in runic and early Uighur texts. Plurality is generally not expressed in runic texts, the only exception is the word *bäg* ‘head of a clan, or tribe, a subordinate chief’ that takes the plural suffix *-lar/-lär* quite regularly. The ablative case *-tñ/-tin* is missing in the inscription, the case being expressed by the locative-ablative suffix *-ta/-tä*.
3. Several words of our short sample need further remarks. The first ones are *yaday* ‘on foot, pedestrian’ and *adaq* ‘foot’ (attested in the inscriptions of Kül Tegin and Bilgä Qayan). The word *adaq* goes back to **hadaq* (cf. khlj. *hadaq*) and the $0^\circ \sim y^\circ$ (O or zero indicates the absence of an initial sound, here h ; $^\circ$ indicates a vowel) in Old Turkic seems to be a reflection of an earlier h° as it is also shown by the word *otu.*, uig. *ürün* ~ *yürün* < **hürün* ‘white’ (khlj. *hirin* ~ *hürün* ~ *hirün*). The words *yaday* and *adaq* should therefore be considered as having originally the same meaning, ‘foot’, and the meaning *yaday* ‘on foot, pedestrian’ as a secondary one. The ethnic name *sir* is attested only in the inscriptions of Toñuquq and Bilgä Qayan, as well as in Bactrian documents written in Greek script from Afghanistan. In these documents, which predate the runic inscriptions by several centuries, the occurrences are clearly connected with Turkic ethnic groups. The verb *qanlan-*, translated by scholars either as ‘to possess a khan’, or ‘to get oneself a khan’, is a *hapax legomenon*, found only in this place. The verb *ičik-* ‘to

submit' was fairly common in Old Turkic, but it is not noted after the 11th c. The word-pair *ī taš*, another *hapax legomenon*, has been translated by Clauson as 'in the bush and stony desert', and by Tekin as 'in woods and wilderness' We think that both translations are incorrect. At this point of their history those Turks that were under direct Chinese rule were living north of the great bend of the Yellow River and south of the Gobi desert. This area, situated between the desert in the north and the steppe in the south, consists of stones and bushes, and is in fact a semi-desert — hence our translation.

Now, with the benefit of hindsight as it were, we shall examine a short inscription in runic script which is of a later date (9th-10th c.) than those of the Orkhon and therefore already contemporary with Turkic texts in Uighur script like the one we have just dealt with.

The funerary inscription for Alp Urungu (Text IV) is one of many such monuments found in the basin of the upper Yenisei River and its tributaries towards the end of the 19th c. It is Inscription IV of the Čaa-khol group in the region of Tuva, corresponding to No. 16 in D. D. Vasil'ev's *Korpus tyurkskikh runičeskikh pamyatnikov bassejna Eniseya* (see Bibl. 4.3.1), where (p. 21b) further details will be found. Important improvements in the reading of the inscription were made by M. Erdal (2002, pp. 57-58; Bibl. 4.3.1). The writing is distributed over three vertical stakes, the central one, bearing the seal or mark of ownership, contains the first line, the one on the right the second line, and the one on the left the third line. For the values of letters see Fig. 2.

THE FUNERARY INSCRIPTION FOR ALP URUNGU

Transcription

- [1] (A)lp Ur(u)ŋu totoq b(ä)n quyda qunč(u)y(i)m(a) (e)ki oyl(a)n(i)-
ma siz(i)mä y(a)lŋus qiz(i)ma
[2] biŋ čiŋiz q(a)d(a)šl(a)r(i)m(a) (a)dr(i)lu b(a)rd(i)ma (ä)s(i)zl(ä)-
r(i)mä b(ö)km(ä)d(i)m
[3] t(ä)ŋri el(i)mkä b(a)šda b(ä)g(i)mkä b(ö)km(ä)d(i)m siz(i)mä tört
y(a)šimda q(a)ŋsir(a)d(i)[m]

Glossary and Explanations

Alp Uruŋu pr. name, *alp* 'brave' being a common element in proper names; *uruŋu* means 'flag, banner' and is also common in names

- totoq* < ch. *dudu* military governor (of a district or region) – an official title assumed by the Turks quite early
- bän* I; it alternates with *män*
- quyda* in the women’s apartment ← *quy* women’s apartment (< ch. *gui* id.) + *-dal-dä* (*-tal-tä*) loc.-abl. s.
- qunčuyïma* oh my princess (= consort) ← *qunčuy* princess (< ch. *gongzhu* id.), used as a respectful designation for a wife + *-ï/-i-* conn. vo. + *-m* 1 p. poss. s. + *-al-ä* voc. s.
- eki* two
- oylanïma* oh my sons ← *oɣul* (~ *oɣl^o*) offspring, child (with a strong implication of male child), son + *-a/-ä-* conn. vo. + *-n* pl. s. (= *oɣlan* son[s], boy; [later:] servant, bodyguard) + *-ï/-i-* + *-m* + *-al-ä*
- sizimä* oh you of me (i.e. who belong to me) ← *siz* you + *-i/-ï-* + *-m* + *-ä/-a*
- yalɣus* one only, alone
- qïzïma* oh my daughter ← *qïz* daughter + *-ï/-i-* + *-m* + *-al-ä*
- bïŋ* thousand
- čïŋiz* tough, fierce; it is the first and only occurrence of this word in an Old Turkic text. Although attested in Anatolian and Yakut, the word cannot be Turkic because it does not occur in Common Turkic; its origin (? < ch.) is unknown. It became, however, the name/epithet of Činggis Qan.
- qadašlarïma* oh my kinsmen ← *qadaš* kinsman, member of the same family (← *qa* family < ch. *jia* id. + *-daš* den. n. s. indicating association) + *-lar/-lär* pl. s. + *-ï/-i-* + *-m* + *-al-ä*
- adrïlu* being separated ← *adïr-* to part, to separate + *-ï/-i-* conn. vo. + *-l-* pass. s. (= *adrïl-* to be separated, parted; to break away) + *-ul-ü* ger. s. (= ‘-ing’). This word could also be read *ad(ï)r(i)lu*, i.e. **adïrïlu*; however, such a form is not attested anywhere else
- bardïm* I have gone away ← *bar-* to go away + *-dïm/-dim* (*-tim/-tim*) perf. s. 1 p. sg. The final *a* after the letter *m* indicates an exclamation or interjection of address

‘I, the *totoq* Alp Urungu. Oh my princess (= consort) in the women’s apartment, oh my two sons, oh you of mine, oh my only daughter, oh my thousand tough kinsmen, being separated I have gone away’, i.e. ‘I am the military governor Alp Urungu. Oh my wife, my two sons, (all of) you who belong

to me, my only daughter and my thousand tough kinsmen,
separating (from you) I have gone away (= I died).’

äsizlärimä oh my poor ones ← *äsiz* poor one + *-lär/-lar* + *-i/-i-* + *-m*
+ *-ä/-a*

bökmädım I have not had too much (= not enough) ← *bök-* to be
satiated (with) + *-mä/-ma-* neg. s. + *-dim/-dım*

täñri heaven, divine

elimkä in (= with) my realm ← *el* (~ *il*) nation, country, realm + *-i/-*
-i- + *-m* + *-käl/-qa* dat. s.

başda in (= with) the leader(s) ← *baş* head, leader + *-da/-dä* (*-ta/-*
-tä)

bäğimkä in (= with) my lord(s) ← *bäg* chief, lord + *-i/-i-* + *-m* +
-käl/-qa

tört four(th); note that the ordinal numeral is here expressed by a
cardinal numeral; we shall come back to this feature in our
next text

yaşımda in my year (= in the year of my life) ← *yaş* year (of one’s
life) + *-i/-i-* + *-m* + *-da/-dä*

qañsıradım I lost my father ← *qañ* father + *-sıra/-sirä-* den. v. s. (to
be without something) + *-dım/-dım*

‘I have not been satiated oh my poor ones, I have not been
satiated with my divine realm, with my leaders (and) lords. In
my fourth year I lost my father’, i.e. ‘Oh my poor ones, I have
not enjoyed enough! I have not enjoyed enough of my divine
realm and of my leaders and lords. When I was four years old,
I lost my father.’

Remarks on the text

1. The first line, opening with the name of the deceased, is ‘marked’ with the characteristic *tamya*, the seal or mark of ownership.
2. The majority of the words are separated from each other by the characteristic two points, which are omitted between the two elements of the deceased’s name and at the end of the lines.
3. *Most of the vowels are omitted* partly for historical and conventional reasons, but chiefly to save space and simplify the stone inscriber’s work. The regular omission of vowels in texts of this kind can cause serious problems of transcription and identification in the case of proper and place names. The end of the inscription is broken off.

4. The first line of the monument is on the central stake. (This practice is also found in one Mongol stone inscription of the 13th c.)
5. The personage in whose memory the monument was erected, viz. the military governor (*totoq*) Alp Urungu, speaks as customary in the first person, mentioning the persons from whom he has departed, i.e. whom he has left behind, and regretting at the same time that he has not had a full measure of (lit., that he ‘was not satiated [with]’: *bökmädim*) his valiant companions, his divine country and his leaders.
6. The language used is (as we would expect) formulaic, with the wife being referred to as ‘the princess from the women’s apartment’, and the verb ‘to die’ being expressed with euphemisms like ‘to be separated’, and ‘to go away’ – all of them used in this inscription. Cf. eng. ‘departed’ However, other verbs, e.g. ‘to go astray’ (*az-*), as well as ‘to die’ (*öl-*) or ‘to fly (away)’ (*uç-*), are also employed in similar funerary inscriptions.
7. The importance of this remarkable inscription is that it provides us with a perfect specimen of the word *čijiz* in the second line, this being the name/epithet assumed – or conferred on – Temüjin in 1206, from which time he will be known solely as Činggis Qan. Tu. *čijiz* > *činggis* is a regular development, with *-ŋ-* > *-ngg-* and *z* > *s* (Mongolian has no *z*). Cf. de Rachewiltz 1989 in *Bibl.* 5.2.

Now let us move on to another group of Old Turkic texts, namely Manichean ones. Our first text samples belonging to this group are taken from the *İrq bitig* (*Book of Omens*), a booklet dealing with dice divination (Text V) discovered in 1907 by Sir Aurel Stein in Dunhuang. This text is linked with the former group of texts in that the script used is still the runic script. The *İrq bitig* consists of 58 leaves about 13.6 cm high and 8 cm wide, glued together at the end. The text of the booklet contains 65 chapters, each headed by three groups of small circles, followed by the text of each *irq* (omen), depicting in a lively way different scenes of common life. Every *irq* ends with a general statement of whether it is good or bad. Some *irqs*, however, have no statement at all, while some of them occur several times. We shall come back to this matter presently. It is not certain that the *İrq bitig* originates from a Manichean milieu. The colophon contains several Manichean terms, which may indicate a Manichean provenance. On the other hand one must remember that Manicheism,

although incorporating in its ideological framework many ideas from Early Christianity, Zoroastrianism and Buddhism, showed, as far as we know, little interest in popular religion, and it is to this sphere that our text belongs. Moreover, Manichean terms such as *dintar* ‘monk’ or *manistan* ‘monastery’ can be found also in Buddhist (and Nestorian) sources. For these reasons it is possible to assume that the text originates from another religious environment. Dice divination, also known from Tibetan and Indian cultures, used one or three oblong dices with four long and two short sides, which were thrown one or three times. Specimens of these dices have been found in excavations in Khotan, Turfan and Termez. Our booklet has sometimes been regarded as a kind of handbook, but since some of the possible omens are missing while (as mentioned before) others occur several times, this hypothesis does not seem to be realistic. Also, the omens are arranged in such a disorganized fashion that in order to look one up it is necessary to go through the entire booklet. For these reasons we think, albeit with reservations, that the *Īrq bitig* may not be a handbook of divination, but only a report on dice-throwing. A new edition of the text was prepared by T. Tekin. This should be used together with the important improvements suggested by M. Erdal 1997 and P. Zieme 2001 (see Bibl. 4.3.1). In Text V we have reproduced the texts of *īrq* 12 and 53.

THE *ĪRQ BITIG*

Transcription

- [4] *ürünj (ä)sri toy(a)n quš m(ä)n čint(a)n iγ(a)č üzä olurup(a)n mänil(ä)yür m(ä)n (a)nča biliñl(ä)r*
 [12] *(ä)r (a)bqa b(a)rmiš t(a)γda q(a)m(i)lmiš t(ä)ñridä (ä)rkl(i)g tir (a)nča biliñl(ä)r : y(a)b(i)z ol*
 [53] *boz bulit yoridi bodun üzä y(a)γdi q(a)ra bulit yoridi q(a)m(a)γ üzä y(a)γdi t(a)riγ bišdi y(a)š ot ündi yilqıqa kişikä (ä)dgü : bolti tir (a)nča biliñl(ä)r (ä)dgü : ol*
 [Colophon] *b(a)rs yil (ä)kinti (a)y biš yig(i)rmikä T(a)ygünt(a)n m(a)nist(a)nt(a)qı kič(i)g di[ñ]t(a)r Burua Ĥurušd ič(i)m(i)z isig (or Isig) s(a)ñun İtač(u)q ücün bitidim :*

Glossary and Explanations

<i>ürünj</i>	white
<i>äsri</i>	spotted, dappled

toyan quš falcon₂ ← *toyan* falcon, *quš* bird

män I

čintan iyač sandalwood tree₂ ← *čintan* sandalwood (< sogd. *candan* sandalwood << skr. *candana* sandalwood [tree]) + *iyač* tree, (later also:) wood, a piece of wood

üzä on, above, on high, upon

ohurupan sitting ← *ohur-* (~ *olor-*) to sit + *-u/-ü-* conn. vo. + *-pan/ -pän* (= *-p*) ger. s.

mäñiläyür (I) rejoice ← *mäñi* joy + *-lä-/la-* den. v. s. (= *mäñilä-* to rejoice, to be happy; to enjoy oneself) + *-y-* hiatus filler + *-ür/-ur* aorist s.

anča thus (equat. of the dem. pron. *ol* it, that)

biliñlär know! ← *bil-* to know + *-i/-i-* conn. vo. + *-ñ* imp. s. 2 p. pl. + *-lär/-lar* pl. s.

‘A white-spotted falcon-bird₂ (am) I. Sandalwood tree₂ on sitting, rejoice I. Thus know!’

är man; male (vs. female), a fighting man, a husband

abqa to hunt ← *ab* the hunt, hunting wild game + *-qa/-kä* dat. s.

barmiš went ← *bar-* to go; (often:) to go away + *-miš/-miš* past part. s.

tayda on the mountain ← *tay* mountain + *-da/-dä* loc.-abl. s.

qamilmiš (he) fell to the ground ← *qamil-* to fall to the ground, to be struck down + *-miš/-miš* (for the translation of the first two sentences see below the *Remarks on the text*)

täñridä in heaven ← *täñri* sky, heaven; Heaven, God + *-dä/-da*

ärklig powerful ← *ärk* authority, power + *-lig/-liγ* (lit. ‘possessing power or authority’)

tir (it) says ← *ti-* (~ *te-* ~ *tä-*) to say + *-r* aorist s.

yabiz bad; the word is more or less synonymous with *yablaq*, generally used in the text

ol it; dem. pron., used here to indicate the 3 p. pers. pron.

‘A man went to hunt. On the mountain (he) fell to the ground. In heaven powerful. It (i.e. the omen) says. Thus know! It (is) bad.’

boz grey

bulit cloud

yoridi approached ← *yorı-* to walk, march, go; to pass, approach + *-di/-di* perf. s. 3 p. sg.

bodun people

<i>yaydi</i>	it rained ← <i>yay-</i> to rain + <i>-di/-di</i>
<i>qara</i>	black
<i>qamay</i>	(~ <i>qamuy</i> ~ <i>qamıy</i>) all, everything < mpe. <i>hamāg</i> all, whole
<i>tariy</i>	crop(s) ← <i>tari-</i> to cultivate the land + <i>-y/-g</i> dev. n. s. (= <i>tariy</i> (i) cultivated land, (ii) the produce of cultivated land)
<i>bišdi</i>	ripened ← <i>biš-</i> (<i>biš-</i>) to come to maturity, ripen + <i>-di/-di</i>
<i>yaš</i>	fresh
<i>ot</i>	grass
<i>üнди</i>	sprouted ← <i>ün-</i> to rise, sprout, stand up + <i>-di/-di</i>
<i>yılqıqa</i>	for animal(s) ← <i>yılqı</i> animal + <i>-qa/-kä</i>
<i>kişikä</i>	for human being(s) ← <i>kiši</i> man, person, human being (without distinction of sex, often in contrast to animals and supernatural beings) + <i>-kä/-qa</i>
<i>ädgü</i>	good
<i>boltı</i>	it was ← <i>bol-</i> to be(come) + <i>-tı/-ti</i> (~ <i>-di/-di</i>)

‘A grey cloud (*or*: Grey clouds) approached. People over it rained. A black cloud (*or*: Black clouds) approached. Everything (everyone) over it rained. The crop(s) ripened. The fresh grass sprouted. For animal(s) (and) human being(s) good it was. It (i.e. the omen) says. Thus know! Good (is) it.’

<i>bars</i>	tiger
<i>yıl</i>	year; note that, unlike Mongolian, Turkic has only one word for ‘year’, and the word <i>yaš</i> for ‘a year of one’s life’
<i>äkinti</i>	second ← <i>äki</i> (~ <i>iki</i> ~ <i>eki</i>) two + <i>-nti</i> s. forming the ordinal numeral 2; numbers from 3 onwards have the suffix <i>-nč</i>
<i>ay</i>	month
<i>biš yigirmikä</i>	on the fifteen(th) ← <i>biš</i> (~ <i>beš</i>) five + <i>yigirmi</i> (~ <i>yegirmi</i> ~ <i>ygirmi</i>) twenty + <i>-kä/-qa</i> (for the date see the <i>Remarks on the text</i>)
<i>Taygüntan</i>	place name
<i>manistantaqi</i>	staying at the monastery ← <i>manistan</i> (Manichean) monastery (< mpe. <i>mānestān</i> dwelling place; Manichean monastery) + <i>-taqi/-täki</i> den. n. s. ← <i>-tal/-tä</i> loc.-abl. s. + <i>-qi/-ki</i> den. n. s. (= <i>manistantaqi</i> staying at the monastery, situated at/in the monastery)
<i>kičig</i>	small, little; humble
<i>dıntar</i>	monk (Buddhist), priest (Nestorian), electus (Manichean) (< sogd. <i>ḍēndār/dēndār</i> religious, priest, monk, electus)

- Burua Ğurušd* ← (= *Burua Ğurušd*) pr. name ← *burua* omen < mpe. *murwāh*) + *γurušd* (= *ħurušd*) sunshine (pe. *ħoršīd*); see the *Remarks on the text* (§ 6)
- ičimiz* our elder brother (or: our elder brothers) ← *iči* (~ *eči*) a close male relative younger than one's father and older than oneself, (junior) paternal uncle, elder brother + *-i/-i-* conn. vo. + *-miz/-miz* 1 p. pl. poss. s.
- isig* hot, heat; affectionate; here perhaps used as a personal name, see the *Remarks on the text* (§ 6)
- sañun* (< ch. *xianggong*) minister; also used as a title and pr. name
- Ītačuq* pr. name ← *it* (*it*) dog + *-a/-ä-* conn. vo. + *-čuq/-čük* dim. s.
- üčün* (after a noun) because of, for the sake of, for
- bitidim* I wrote ← *biti-* to write + *-dim/-dim* perf. s. 1 p. sg.

‘(In) the tiger year, (in) the second month, on the fifteen(th day), staying in the Taygüntan monastery, (I), the humble monk Burua Ğurušd, for our elder brother, the affectionate Sañun Ītačuq (or: for our elder brothers, Isig Sañun [and] Ītačuq), (I) wrote.’

Free translation

[4] I am a white-spotted falcon. Sitting on a sandalwood tree, I rejoice. Know thus!

[12] A man went hunting. On the mountain he fell to the ground (and became) powerful in heaven (?= he died). (The omen) says: ‘Know thus: it is bad.’

[53] Grey clouds approached; it rained over people. Black clouds approached; it rained over everything. The crops ripened and fresh grass sprouted. It was good for animals and men. (The omen) says: ‘Know thus: it is good.’

[Colophon] In the Year of the Tiger, on the fifteenth (day of) the second month, I, the humble monk Burua Ğurušd, staying at the Taygüntan monastery, wrote (this book) for our elder brother (or: brothers), the affectionate Sañun Ītačuq (or: Isig Sañun [and] Ītačuq).

Remarks on the text

1. In our text there occur two binoms, *toyan quš* and *čintan iyač*. We have already mentioned these binoms which consist of two words with nearly identical meanings, e.g. *ülüghüg quthuy* ‘fortunate₂’ Here the second word is a kind of appendage used after a specific name to explain the first word. However, the use of explanatory

words after a specific name is not obligatory: in the *İrq bitig* we find also an example where *toyan* occurs without the additional *quš*. With nouns and verbs plurality is still not expressed, with the exception of the verb *bilinlär* ‘know’, but in identical sentences the form *bilin* is also attested.

2. An interesting example of the difficulty in interpreting runic texts is offered by the first two sentences of the second omen. The sentences read as follows: *r bqa brmiš tyda qmlmiš = är abqa barmiš tayda qamilmiš*. In accordance with other translations we translated the second word of the first sentence *ab* as ‘hunt’. However, the word can also be interpreted as *ab* ‘witchcraft; magic, sorcery’, in which case the first sentence may be translated as ‘A man went to practise sorcery’. Following this interpretation, the verb of the second sentence can be vocalized as *qamla-* ‘to act as a *qam*, to make magic’ (← *qam* sorcerer, soothsayer, magician; shaman + *-la/-lä* den. v. s.), and the translation would then be ‘On the mountain (he) performed shamanistic magic’. This translation would also make sense and it would be in accordance with the rest of the omen. Until the exact cultural background of the *İrq bitig* is fully understood, we cannot say with certainty which of the two translations is the correct one.
3. At the beginning of our third omen we detect signs of alliteration:

<i>boz bulit yoridi</i>	Grey clouds approached,
<i>bodun : üzä : yaydi :</i>	it rained over people.
<i>qara : bulit yoridi :</i>	Black clouds approached,
<i>qamay : üzä : yaydi :</i>	it rained over everything.

This type of alliteration is an exception in the *İrq bitig* as parallelism is mostly obtained by means of end-rhyme. For a similar combination of alliteration and rhyme cf. the following quatrain found in a document from Dunhuang:

<i>qara bulit örläntüktü</i>	When the black cloud rises,
<i>qarlıy toyan tüpintü</i>	there is a snowy (blackish) falcon behind it.
<i>boz bulit örläntüktü</i>	When the grey cloud rises,
<i>buzlu y toyan tüpintü</i>	there is an icy (greyish) falcon behind it.

4. The date of our colophon reads *bars yıl äkinti ay biš yigirmikä* ‘(In) the Year of the Tiger, on the fifteen(th day of) the second month’, corresponding either to 17 March 930, or 4 March 942. The most

interesting feature of the date is the formation of the cardinal number *biš yigirmi* ‘fifteen(th)’. Cardinal numbers between the second and ninth decades (i.e. 11 to 99) in the runic inscriptions and early Uighur texts are formed as follows: first the digit is stated, followed by the higher decade as in our example *biš yigirmi* ‘five (to) twenty’, i.e. ‘fifteen’, or *tört qırq* ‘four (to) forty’, i.e. ‘thirty-six’. This way of forming cardinal numbers is now employed only by the Western Yughurs of the Gansu province in China. It is also worth noting that in dates and similar expressions, such as *tört yaşımda* ‘in the four(th) year (of my life)’ of our previous text, ordinal numerals are *always expressed by cardinal numerals* and that only the last element of the date takes a suffix.

5. The word *ürün* and its variants (< **hürün*) was until the 11th c. the common word for ‘white’, whereas the meaning of *aq*, nowadays the usual word for ‘white’, was restricted to ‘white (as the colour of a horse’s coat)’. Thus in the *İrq bitig* we find: (*irq* 19:) *aq at* ‘a white horse’, (*irq* 5:) *aq bisi* ‘a white mare’, vs. (*irq* 4, 41:) *ürün äsri* ‘white-spotted (of a cow, bull, falcon)’, (*irq* 5:) *ürün ingän* ‘a white she-camel’, (*irq* 20:) *ürün köpük* ‘white froth’.
6. Our reading of the colophon differs in some respects from the one proposed by most other researchers. The words starting with *burua* have usually been read as *Burua ɣuru* (ä)š(i)d[ip] ‘after listening to the guru Burua’. This reading is not correct for several reasons. If the author of the *İrq bitig* had intended to write the title *guru*, he would have used *g* instead of *ɣ*. There is no double point between *ɣuru* and *šd*, which indicates that the last two letters still belong to the sequence *ɣuru*. The sequence *šd* cannot be interpreted as (ä)š(i)d- ‘to hear’ since this word occurs several times in the *İrq bitig*, always written, according to the orthographical rules, as (ä)šid^o. For these reasons it is necessary to find a new interpretation for the word *ɣurušd*. This was first done by P. Zieme (2001), who showed that the word in question should be read *hurušd*, being the second part of the scribe’s name Burua Hurušd (‘Omen-Sunshine’). As plurality is but seldom expressed in Old Turkic texts in runic script, it is difficult to decide whether the book was written for one person (‘our elder brother the affectionate Saɣun İtačuq’) or two persons (‘our elder brothers Isig Saɣun [and] İtačuq’). Zieme has opted for the second alternative.

Next in our presentation of Old Turkic texts we shall give short samples of four Manichean texts. Old Turkic Manichean texts were written in two scripts, i.e. Manichean and Uighur, but even without knowing the language, those in Uighur script are easily identified as Manichean since all Manichean texts use a special sign of inter-punctuation, a kind of four-folded leaf which is not found in other religious texts.

The first text (Text VI.1 and 2) is a Manichean hymn belonging to the category of liturgical literature, which includes hymns, confession texts (very important in Manicheism, but also in Buddhism), as well as various writings connected with the observance and performance of Manichean rituals. With only a few exceptions, our hymn among them, the Old Turkic Manichean liturgical and doctrinal texts are translations or adaptations from Sogdian. The hymn is written in Uighur script on a double leaf that contains three hymns. The titles of the first two are in Sogdian, indicating that they are most probably translations from that language. The third hymn, transcribed below, warns about the damnation awaiting those who deny the doctrine, bears the strophic alliteration of an original Turkic composition and is titled *Ađınčıy türkčä başık* 'A special Turkic hymn'. The latest complete treatment of the hymn is by A. von Gabain (*PTF*, II, pp. 232-233).

A MANICHEAN HYMN (III, ll. 2-10)

Transcription

tözün bilgä kişilär tirilälim :
t(ä)ñri-niñ³ bitigin biz işidälim :
tört ilig⁴ t(ä)ñri-lärkä tapinalim :
tört uluy⁵ ämgäkdä qurtulalim :
tört ilig t(ä)ñri-⁶lärdä tanıymalar
t(ä)ñri nomİN tudaymalar
⁷tünärig yäklärkä tapunuymalar
tümänlig⁸ irinçü qiliymalar
tüpintä oloqma⁹ ölmäki bar
tünärig t(a)muqa tüşmäki¹⁰ bar

Glossary and Explanations

tözün noble
bilgä wise
kişilär men ← *kişi* man, person, human being + *-lär/-lar* pl. s.

tirilälim let us come together! ← *tir-* (~ *ter-*) to bring together, collect, assemble + *-i/-i-* conn. vo. + *-l-* refl. s. (= *tiril-* ~ *teril-* to assemble, come together) + *-ä/-a-* conn. vo. + *-lim/-lim* imp. s. 1 p. pl. (indicating volition)

t(ä)ñri-niñ of God ← *t(ä)ñri* God, heaven + *-niñ/-niñ* gen. s.

bitigin scripture(s) ← *biti-* to write + *-g/-γ* dev. n. s. (= *bitig* inscription, book, letter, document, etc.) + *-i/-i* 3 p. poss. s. + *-n* pron. acc. s.

biz we

išidälim let us hear! ← *išid-* (~ *ešid-* ~ *äšid-*) to hear, to listen + *-ä/-a-* + *-lim/-lim*

tört four

ilig (~ *elig*) royal

t(ä)ñri-lärkä Gods ← *t(ä)ñri* + *-lär/-lar* + *-käl/-qa* dat. s.; the following verb *tapin-* requires the dat. case

tapinalim let us honour! ← *tap-* to serve, worship, honour + *-i/-i-* conn. vo. + *-n-* refl. s. (= *tapin-* ~ *tapun-* to serve, worship) + *-a/-ä-* + *-lim/-lim*

uluy great

ämgängädä from error(s) ← *ämgängä-* to suffer pain + *-k/-q* dev. n. s. (= *ämgängä* pain, affliction; error) + *-däl/-da* loc.-abl. s.

qurtulälim let us be rescued! ← **qurt-* to rescue, save + *-u/-ü-* conn. vo. + *-l-* pass. s. (= *qurtul-* to be rescued, saved) + *-a/-ä-* + *-lim/-lim*

‘Noble (and) wise men, let us come together! The scripture(s) of God, let us hear! The Four Royal Gods (= the Fourfold God), let us honour! From the four great error(s), let us be rescued!’

t(ä)ñri-lärdä Gods ← *t(ä)ñri* + *-lär/-lar* + *-däl/-da*; the following verb *tan-* requires the loc.-abl. case

tanïymalar those who deny ← *tan-* to deny, to disclaim + *-i/-i-* conn. vo. + *-γmal/-gmä* part. s. + *-lar/-lär*

nomin the law ← *nom* law, doctrine + *-i/-i* 3 p. poss. s. + *-n* pron. acc. s.

tudaγmalar those who despise ← *tuda-* (~ *tuta-*) to despise, to disparage + *-γmal/-gmä* + *-lar/-lär*

tünärig dark ← *tün* night + *-ä/-a-* + *-r-* den. v. s. (= *tünär-* to be or become dark) + *-i/-i-* conn. vo. + *-g/-γ* dev. n. s.

yäklärkä demons ← *yäk* demon, devil (<< skr. *yakṣa*) + *-lär/-lar* + *-käl/-qa*; the dat. s. is used because of the following v. *tapun-*

tapunıymalar those who worship ← *tap-* to serve + *-u/-ü-* conn. vo. + *-n-* refl. s. (= *tapun-* ~ *tapın-* to serve, worship) + *-u/-ü-* + *-ymal/-gmä* + *-lar/-lär*

tümänlig numbered in tens of thousands ← *tümän* ten thousand (often used for an indefinitely large number) + *-lig/-liγ* (lit. ‘having tens of thousands’)

irinčü sin(s); morphologically uncertain

qılıymalar those who do ← *qıl-* to do, to make + *-i/-i-* conn. vo. + *-ymal/-gmä* + *-lar/-lär*

‘The Four Royal Gods (= the Fourfold God), those who deny. The law of God, those who despise. The dark demons, those who worship. Numbered in tens of thousands sin(s), those who do.’

tüpintä in the end ← *tüp* end + *-i/-i* 3 p. poss. s. + *-ntä/-nta* pron. loc.-abl. s.

oloqma they indeed too ← *ol* dem. pron. (here used as a 3 p. pers. pron.) + *-oql/-ök* corr. particle + *-mal/-mä* also, too (← *ymä*)

ölmäki their death ← *öl-* to die + *-mäk/-maq* dev. n. s. (= *ölmäk* death) + *-i/-i* 3 p. poss. s.

bar is, will be

tamuqa into hell ← *tamu* hell (< sogd. *tam*, acc. *tamu*, hell) + *-qal/-kä*

tüşmäki their falling ← *tüş-* to fall + *-mäk/-maq* dev. n. s. (= *tüşmäk* falling) + *-i/-i*

‘(But) in the end, they (the sinners) indeed too, their death there will be. Into dark hell, their falling will be.’

Free translation

[2] We want to come together, noble and wise men! [2-3] We want to listen to the scriptures of God! [3-4] We want to honour the Four Royal Gods (= the Fourfold God)! [4-5] We want to be rescued from the four great errors! (These errors are committed by) [5-6] those who deny the Four Royal Gods (= the Fourfold God), [6] those who despise the Law of God, [7] those who worship the dark demons, (and by) [7-8] those who commit tens of thousands of sin(s). (But) [8-9] in the end (the sinners), too, shall find death and [9-10] fall into dark hell.

Remarks on the text

1. Although grammatically this text is more sophisticated than the runic ones we have been analysing, we still find in it older grammatical forms, such as instances where the plural suffix is used (*kişilär, t[ä]ñrilärkä, t[ä]ñrilärdä, tanıymalar, tuday-malar, yäklärkä, tapunıymalar, qılıymalar*), as well as forms where plurality is not expressed, although implied (*bitigin, ämgäkdä, irinçü, oloqma*). Furthermore, it should be noted that the attribute of a noun never takes the suffix of the word it refers to, but is in the nominative case (*tözün bilgä kişilär, ilig t[ä]ñri-lärkä, uhıy ämgäkdä, ilig t[ä]ñri-lärdä, tünärig yäklärkä, tünärig tamuqa*). In one case the genitive case is expressed (*t[ä]ñriniñ bitigin*), in another it is not (*t[ä]ñri nomı*). There is no ablative suffix, the function of the ablative case being still expressed with the help of the locative-ablative suffix (*ämgäkdä*).
2. Although the text cannot be strictly called doctrinal, it contains a term requiring a short explanation. The *tört ilig t(ä)ñrilär* ‘the Four Royal Gods’ in lines 3-4, also called *tört yruq ilig t(ä)ñrilär* ‘the Four Bright Royal Gods’, or *tört törlüg t(ä)ñrilär* ‘the Four Kinds of Gods’, indicate the Fourfold God. Being the highest being of Manicheism, this doctrine of the Four Royal Gods was fundamental and represents the essence and synopsis of the whole religion. The *tört ilig t(ä)ñrilär* are *äzrua t(ä)ñri* ‘Zurvān, the Father of Greatness’ (the highest god, the Principle of Good), *kün ay t(ä)ñri* ‘Jesus the Splendor’ (the embodiment of Light who will return as Saviour at the end of time; see below), *küçlüg t(ä)ñri* ‘the Column of Glory’ (the passing of the liberated Living Soul from man to Eternal Paradise), and the *burqanlar* ‘the Prophets’ (representing the concrete, visible Church).
3. A. von Gabain interprets *tanıymalar* in line 6 as ‘those who testify’, but such an interpretation seems to be wrong as in that case the verbal stem would have been *tamu-*, cf. *tamuq* ‘a witness’, and the word would have been written **tamıymalar*.

The literary genre of our next text (Text VII) is not very clear. It might pertain to the hagiographical literature dealing with the early history of the Manichean Church and its first missions in the 3rd and 4th c. AD, but it might also belong to a collection of legendary stories of which we shall give one more example after the present one. The text was found in 1980 or 1981 beneath the rubble in a star-shaped

Manichean stupa below the well-known caves of Bāzāklik near Turfan. The title of Manichean texts is generally split between the recto and verso of the leaf as, for example in Text VIII. In some cases, however, the title is split between several leaves, as in the present text. Accordingly, our title runs as follow: fol. 1a *Ādgū tatīylīy nomī bu* (end of the title) | 1b missing (beginning of the title) | 2a missing (second part of the title) | 2b *yayī wrmzt* (third part of the title), i.e. ‘This is the good and lovely book about Ohrmazd the Bold’ The story is about a contest between Mani, the founder of the Manichean religion, and Prince Ohrmazd, the son of the Sassanian king Šābuhr (r. 272-73). The text, also in Uighur script, was first published by Geng Shimin, H.-J. Klimkeit and J. P. Laut, and some improvements in the translation were made by H.-J. Klimkeit in his anthology of Manichean literature (1993; see Bibl. 4.3.1).

MANI’S COMPETITION WITH PRINCE OHRMAZD (II. 3-25)

Transcription

[1a] ¹[title] ²[blank line] ³*Amfī inčä qīlīñ küntämäk* ⁴*kün ay t(ä)ñrikä*
⁵*yükünün* ⁶*alqanañ biş t(ä)ñrig ayırlañ* ⁷*qanta yorisar barsar kirsär*
⁸*taşıqsar turqaru bu tört* ⁹*sav ayızañızda tutuñ* ¹⁰*b(a)γ roş(a)n*
¹¹*zaw(a)r žirivt ol* ¹²*ödüñ yayi Wrmzt t(ä)ñri Mani* ¹³*burqan-yaru inčä*
¹⁴*tip* ¹⁵*ötüñti nägü asıy bolıy bu* ¹⁶*tört sav aysar ötrü* ¹⁷*t(ä)ñri mani*
¹⁸*burqan inčä tip* ¹⁹*yarlıqadı muñ taq antay* ²⁰*kälgäy bu tört sav adın*
²¹*tusulmayay ap alp ärdämäniz* ²²*ap özlük başlıq atıñız* ²³*bärk*
²⁴*bilikäniz qal süñüz* ²⁵*alp ärdämliñ alpayutuñuz* ²⁶*qaltı bu tört sav*
²⁷*ayızañızda* ²⁸*tutsar siz inčip uluγ taqda* [1b] ¹:: [title] ²[blank line]
³*muñda qurtulıy siz*

Glossary and Explanations

- amfī* now
inčä thus ← *ol* dem. pron. + -čä/-ča equat. s.
qīlīñ do! ← *qil-* to do, to make + -i/-i- conn. vo. + -ñ imp. s. 2 p. pl.
küntämäk daily ← *kün* sun, day + -tä/-ta- den. v. s. + -mäk/-maq dev. n. s.
kün ay t(ä)ñrikä God (of) the Sun (and) Moon (= Jesus) ← *kün*, *ay* the moon, the (lunar) month, *t(ä)ñri* God, heaven + -kä/-qa dat. s.; the following verb *yükün-* requires the dat. case
yükünün worship! ← *yükün-* to bow, do obeisance to (someone), to worship + -ü/-u- conn. vo. + -ñ

- alqanaŋ* praise! ← *alqa-* to praise + *-n-* refl. s. (= *alqan-* to praise) + *-a/-ä-* conn. vo. + *-ŋ*
- biš t(ä)ŋriŋ* the Five(fold) God ← *biš* (~ *beš*) five, *t(ä)ŋri* + *-g/-γ* acc. s.
- aŋırlaŋ* honour! ← *aŋır* heavy (physically); important, distinguished + *-la/-lä-* den. v. s (= *aŋırla-* to honour, respect) + *-ŋ*

‘Now thus do! Daily the God (of) the Sun (and) Moon (= Jesus) worship (and) praise! The Five(fold) God honour!’

- qanta* where(ver) ← *qaŋu* (~ *qayu*) which, what; some + *-nta/-ntä* pron. loc.-abl. s.
- yorısar* if go to ← *yorı-* to walk, march; to go (to) + *-sar/-sä*r cond. s.
- barsar* if go away ← *bar-* to go (away) + *-sar/-sä*r
- kırsär* if enter ← *kir-* to enter + *-sä*r/*-sar*
- taşıqsar* if go out ← *taš* outside + *-i/-i-* conn. vo. + *-q/-k-* den. v. s. (= *taşıq-* to go out, step out) + *-sar/-sä*r
- turqaru* continuously ← *turq* length + *-yaru/-gärü* direct. s.
- bu* (~ *bo*) these; dem. pron. sg. used here with the pl. meaning
- tört* four
- sav* word(s)
- aŋızaŋızda* in your mouth ← *aŋız* mouth + *-a/-ä-* conn. vo. + *-ŋız/-ŋız* 2 p. pl. poss. s. + *-da/-dä* loc.-abl. s.
- tutuŋ* hold! ← *tut-* to hold, grasp, seize + *-u/-ü-* + *-ŋ*
- bay* God < prth., sogd. *bay* god (= otu. *t[ä]ŋri*)
- rošan* Light < prth., sogd. *rošn* light, bright (= otu. *yaruq* ~ *yaroq*)
- zawar* Power < prth., sogd. *zāwar* strength, power (= otu. *küčlüg*)
- žirivt* Wisdom < prth., sogd. *žirift* wisdom (= otu. *bilgä*)

‘Where(ver) if (you) go to, go away, enter (or) go out, continuously these four word(s) in your mouth hold: God, Light, Power (and) Wisdom!’

- ol ödü*n at that time ← *ol* that, *öd* time *-ü/-u-* + *-n* instr. s.
- yayı* bold < sogd. *yaxī* bold
- Wrmzt* Ohrmazd; a mpe. pr. name < ope. *Auramazdā*, the supreme god of the Zoroastrian religion
- t(ä)ŋri* (here:) Lord, divine
- Mani* pr. name: Mani, the founder of the Manichean religion < sogd., prth., mpe. *Mānī*
- burqan-yaru* to the prophet ← *burqan* Buddha; prophet + *-yaru/-gärü* direct. s.

- tip ötünti* saying respectfully said ← *ti-* (~ *te-*) to say + *-p* ger. s., *ötün-* to submit a statement or request to a superior; to speak respectfully (refl. form from *öt-*) + *-ti/-tî* perf. s. 3 p. sg.
nägü but what? ← *nä* what? + *-gü/-yu* corr. particle
asiy advantage
bolıyay will be ← *bol-* to become, to be + *-ıyay/-gäy* fut. s.
aysar if says ← *ay-* to say + *-sar/-sär*

‘At that time the bold Ohrmazd, to the Lord Mani the prophet saying respectfully said, “But what advantage will be those four words if (one) says?”’

- ötrü* then
yarlıqadı deigned to say ← *yarlıy* a command from a superior to an inferior + *-qa/-kä-* den. v. s. (= *yarlıyqa-* ~ *yarlıqa-*, to issue orders; to be pleased to, to deign to [do sth.]) + *-dî/-di* perf. s. 3 p. sg.
muñ taq distress₂ ← *muñ* (~ *bun*) grief, sorrow, melancholy, *taq* need; the word *taq* occurs only in association with *muñ*
antay all kinds of ← *an-* stem of the dem. pron. *ol* + *täg* like (= *antay* lit. ‘like that, so, thus’); here: all kinds of, much
kälgäy will come ← *käl-* to come (back) + *-gäy/-ıyay*
adın other
tusulmayay will not be advantageous ← *tus-* to be useful, beneficial + *-u/-ü-* + *-l* pass. s. (= *tusul-* to be advantageous, beneficial) + *-ma/-mä* neg. s. + *-ıyay/-gäy*
ap ap neither nor
alp heroic
ärdämäñiz your bravery ← *ärdäm* bravery, virtue, good qualities + *-ä/-a-* conn. vo. + *-ñiz/-ñiz* 2 p. pl. poss. s.
özlük başlıq atıñiz your full-blooded racehorse(s) ← *özlük* a high bred blood-horse, *başlıq* the winner of a race, *at* (riding) horse + *-i/-i-* conn. vo. + *-ñiz/-ñiz*
bärk sturdy
bilikäñiz your weapon(s) ← *bilik* weapon + *-ä/-a-* + *-ñiz/-ñiz*
qal strong; the usual meaning of the word is ‘wild, savage, mad’, but we have opted for ‘strong’ in accordance with tuv. *xal* ‘strong, daring’
süñüz your army ← *sü* army + *-ñüz/-ñuz* 2 p. pl. poss. s.
alp ärdämli heroic₂ ← *alp*, *ärdäm* + *-lig/-liy* den. n. s. (= *ärdämli* brave, virtuous)

alpçaynutuñuz your general(s) ← *alp* + *-a/-ä-* + *-γut/-güt* den. n. s.
forming social groupings and positions (= *alpçaynut* military
commander, general) + *-u/-ü-* + *-ñuz/-ñüz*

qaltı if

tutsar if hold ← *tut-* + *-sar/-sär*

siz you (pl.), also often used hon. for the sg.

inçip then

uhuy great

taqda muñda from distress₂ ← *taq* + *-da/-dä*, *muñ* + *-da/-dä*

qurtulyay will be saved ← *qurtul-* to be rescued, saved (pass. form of
**qurt-*) + *-γay/-gäy*

‘Then the Lord Mani the prophet thus deigned to say, “All kinds of distress₂ will come (and) other (than) these four words will not be advantageous, neither your heroic bravery, nor your full-blooded racehorse(s), (nor) your sturdy weapon(s), (nor) your strong army, (nor) your heroic₂ general(s). (But) if these four word(s) in your mouth if you keep, then from great distress₂ you will be saved.”’

Free translation

[1a] (3-5) Now do like this: Worship and praise the God of the Sun and the Moon (Jesus) daily, and honour the Fivefold God! (6-9) Wherever you go to, go away, enter or go out, keep these four words continuously in your mouth: God, Light, Power and Wisdom. (9-13) At that time Ohrmazd the Bold respectfully said to the Lord Mani the prophet, ‘But what is the advantage if one says those four words?’ (13-15) Thereupon the Lord Mani the prophet deigned to say as follows: (15-20) ‘All kinds of distress₂ will come (and then) nothing else will be advantageous (except) these four words, neither your heroic bravery, nor your full-blooded racing horses, nor your sturdy weapons, nor your strong army, nor your heroic₂ generals. (But) if you keep these four words in your mouth, [1b] then you will be saved from great distress₂.’

Remarks on the text

1. Our first Manichean text had virtually no specific Manichean terms; this text, however, introduces some. The expression *kün ay t(ä)ñri* indicates Jesus the Splendour. In the theological system of Manicheism the figure of Jesus is of uttermost importance and takes three forms: Jesus the Man (the historical Jesus), Jesus the

Living Soul (the suffering Jesus, the force of goodness in the form of light particles trapped in all living things), and Jesus the Splendour, already explained in our previous text. Next, *biš t[ä]ŋri*, the Fivefold God, refers to the five sons or elements of the Primal Man Ohrmazd, the actual saviour in the Manichean system (otu. *χormuzta t[ä]ŋri oylanī*), corresponding mythologically to the five limbs of the soul. The name of the sons/elements of the Primal Man are Ether (otu. *tintura t[ä]ŋri*), Wind (otu. *yil t[ä]ŋri*), Light (otu. *yruq t[ä]ŋri*), Water (otu. *suv t[ä]ŋri*), and Fire (otu. *oot t[ä]ŋri*). In our previous text we met *tört ilig t[ä]ŋrilär* ‘the Four Royal Gods’, i.e. ‘the Fourfold God’. The words *by rošn zawr žirivt* of our text, usually followed by their otu. translation *t(ä)ŋri y(a)ruq küčhig bilgä* ‘God, Light, Power and Wisdom’, represent the four aspects of the Fourfold God.

2. The 2nd person plural imperative suffix (-ŋ) and the 2nd person plural imperative suffix (-ŋiz/-ŋiz/-ŋuz/-ŋüz) are used as *pluralis majestatis*.

The next Manichean text (Text VIII) is a sample of the literary genre. Manichean literature consists of stories, most of them apparently predating Manicheism. Among them we find stories from the *Pañcatantra*, from the biography of Gautama Buddha and from Aesop’s fables. Here the important role of the Manicheans as transmitters of literature from the West to the East and *vice versa* is noteworthy. Our text deals with Zarathustra who, together with Buddha and Jesus, was regarded by Mani as one of his forerunners – in a way Mani considered himself the fulfiller and ‘completer’ of all the world’s religions. The occurrences of Zarathustra in Manichean texts can be divided into two groups: he occurs in the prophetic succession, and in a story about a fight against the sorcerers and demons of Babylon (our text). The story has survived in a Sogdian and Old Turkic version. However, the extant fragments are not identical, and we do not know how the two versions are related to each other. Our short example, likewise written in Uighur script, carries the title [*Zrušč burqan yäklär*] | *körtlä tat(i)yl(i)γ nomī* ‘The wonderful and lovely book on Zarathustra and the demons’. Until the beginning of the 20th c. Manicheism was known only through the writings of its enemies as no specimen of any kind of original Manichean literature had come to light until that time. It was only with the German, French, Japanese and British expeditions to East

Turkestan at the beginning of last century that original writings of Manicheism became known. More were later found in Egypt. Our text, published in 1908 by A. von Le Coq, was the first original Manichean text introduced to the scientific world. Important improvements of the text were provided by P. Zieme (Bibl. 4.3.1).

LEGEND ABOUT ZARATHUSTRA (ll. 4-12)

Transcription

⁴*Bavil baliqda taštın bir narun atl(a)γ* ⁵*ī ārti ol yāklārdā uluyī ol īda*
⁶*yašdī vrištılār tutup tartdī sūdūrđi* ⁷*ol ī yalp(ī)ryaqı yirdā tūšdi* ⁸*ymā*
ol ödün babil baliqdaqı bodun ⁹*ovqaladı yayıdıtı qamya taş alıp*
¹⁰*Z(a)rušč burqan(a)γ atılar ol taş* ¹¹*/// olarıyarı yantı başların* ¹²*///*
közlärin] täglärti

Glossary and Explanations

<i>Bavil</i>	(~ <i>Bavel</i>) Babylon < mpe., prth. <i>Bābēl</i>
<i>baliqda</i>	from the city ← <i>baliq</i> city, town + <i>-dal/-dā</i> loc.-abl. s.; the loc.-abl. is used in conjunction with <i>taštın</i>
<i>taštın</i>	outside ← <i>taš</i> outside + <i>-tın/-tin</i> den. n. s.
<i>bir</i>	one; used here as the indefinite article
<i>narun</i>	elm (tree), <i>ulmus</i> ; cf. pe. <i>nārwān</i> a tall shady tree, urdu <i>nārwān</i> ~ <i>nārwan</i> a species of lofty tree which gives much shade: according to the pe. and Urdu forms, the otu. word should perhaps be transcribed as <i>nary(a)n</i>
<i>atlay</i>	named ← <i>at</i> name + <i>-lay/-lāg</i> den. n. s. (= <i>atlay</i> ~ <i>atlıy</i> named, called)
<i>ī</i>	tree
<i>ārti</i>	was ← <i>ār-</i> to be + <i>-ti/-tī</i>
<i>ol</i>	the dem. pron. used here as the definite article
<i>yāklārdā uluyī</i>	the greatest of the demons ← <i>yāk</i> demon (<< skr. <i>yakṣa</i>) + <i>-lār/-lar</i> pl. s. + <i>-dā/-da</i> loc.-abl. s., <i>uluy</i> big, great + <i>-ī/-i</i> 3 p. poss. s. (see the <i>Remarks on the text</i>)
<i>ol īda</i>	in that tree ← <i>ol</i> that, <i>ī</i> tree + <i>-dal/-dā</i>
<i>yašdī</i>	hid himself ← <i>yaš-</i> to hide (oneself) + <i>-dī/-di</i>

‘From the city Babylon outside a *narun* (elm) named tree was.
 The greatest of the demons hid himself in that tree.’

vrištılār angels ← *vrišti* angel (< sogd. *frēštē* messenger, angel) + *-lār/-lar*

- tutup* grabbed and then ← *tut-* to hold, grasp, seize, grab + *-u/-ü-* conn. vo. + *-p* ger. s. (see the *Remarks on the text*)
- tartdī* pulled ← *tart-* to pull, drag + *-dī/-dī*
- südürdi* shook ← *südüir-* to shake, pull, drag + *-dī/-dī*; the first and only occurrence of this word in *otu.*; in modern Turkic languages the word is, however, well attested
- i yalpıryaqı* leaves of the tree ← *i* tree, *yalpıryaq* (~ *yapıryaq* ~ *yapuryaq*) leaf of a tree or plant + *-i/-i* 3 p. poss. s. (= gen. s.)
- yirdä* to (the) ground ← *yir* (~ *yer*) ground; earth, land, soil, place + *-däl/-da*
- tüşdi* fell ← *tüş-* to fall + *-dī/-dī*

‘The angels grabbed (the tree) and then pulled (it) (and) shook (it). The leaves of the tree to the ground fell.’

- ymä* and
- ol ödün* at that time ← *ol* that, *öd* time + *-ü/-u-* conn. vo. + *-n* instr. s.
- balıqdaqı* being in the city ← *balıq* + *-daqıl/-däki* den. n. s. (← *-dal/-dä* loc.-abl. s. + *-qıl/-ki* den. n. s.)
- bodun* people
- ovqaladı* became angry ← *ovqala-* to become or be angry + *-dī/-dī*; the verb is most probably a back-vocalic variant of *otu. övkälä-* to be angry ← *övkä* anger
- yayıdıtı* became inimical ← *yayı* enemy; hostile + *-d-* den. v. s. (= *yayıd-* to be or become hostile) + *-tī/-tī*
- qamya* mace(s); the meaning of this word, otherwise unattested in *otu.*, is not certain, but cf. Tu. *kama* wedge, dagger
- taş* stone(s)
- alıp* took and ← *al-* to take + *-i/-i-* conn. vo. + *-p* ger. s.
- Z(a)rušč* pr. name: Zarathustra < sogd. *Zarišč* ~ (E)*zrušč*
- burqan(a)γ* the prophet ← *burqan* prophet (<< skr. *buddha*) + *-a/-ä-* conn. vo. + *-γ/-g* acc. s.; the acc. s. is used here because the target of the following verb *at-* occurs in *otu.* in the acc. or dat. case
- atılar* threw ← *at-* to throw, to shoot + *-tī/-tī* (see the *Remarks on the text*) + *-lar/-lär*

‘And at that time being in Babylon city the people became angry (and) inimical. Mace(s) (and) stone(s) they took and at Zarathustra the prophet threw.’

- olaryaru* upon themselves ← *ol* dem. pron. used here as 3 p. poss.
pron. + *-lar/-lär* (see the *Remarks on the text*) + *-yaru/-gärü*
direct. s.
- yantï* turned back ← *yan-* to turn back + *-tï/-ti*
- başlarin* their heads ← *baş* head + *-lar/-lär* + *-ï/-i* 3 p. poss. s. + *-n*
pron. acc. s.
- közlärin* their eyes ← *köz* eye + *-lär/-lar* + *-il/-ï* + *-n*
- täglärti* blinded ← *täg-* to blind + *-lär/-lar* + *-ti/-tï*; ‘to blind’ is an
extended meaning of *täg-* to reach, to attack, etc.

‘(But) the stone(s) upon themselves turned back, (smashed)
their heads, (and) blinded (their eyes).’

Free translation

[4-5] Outside the city of Babylon was an elm tree. [5-6] The greatest of the demons hid himself in that tree. [6] The angels grabbed (the tree), pulled it and shook it. [7] The leaves of the tree fell to the ground. [8-9] Now, at that time the people of the city of Babylon became angry and inimical. [9-10] They took maces and stones and threw them at the prophet Zarathustra, [10-11] (but) the stones turned back upon themselves, (smashed) their heads and blinded (their eyes).

Remarks on the text

1. *otu. baliq* was the standard word for ‘city’ or ‘town’ in the early period; nowadays it is attested only in place names and as an independent word in Khalaj (*baluq* village). It was borrowed with the denominal noun suffix *-sun/-sün* into Mongolian as *balayasun* ~ *balyasun*.
2. The suffix *-tïn/-tin* of *taštïn* ‘outside’ and, in previous texts, of *törttin* ‘in the four (directions)’ and *qoptïn* ‘in all (directions)’, is not the ablative suffix, but a denominal noun suffix indicating a movement to somewhere, often cardinal points. The nouns with the suffix *-tïn/-tin* serve nearly always as attributes of the words *yınaq* ‘direction, point of the compass’, *buhuŋ* ‘cardinal point, quarter of the world’, or *sïnar* ‘side, direction’
3. The structure of this text is very simple. Verbal forms are almost always expressed by finite suffixes, and the only gerund suffix is the one in *-p*, used almost like a conjunction ‘and then’ Possibly these facts may indicate that this text is a translation by a person not too familiar with *otu*. (Cf. in this respect also the early Buddhist translations into Chinese.) The elative (absolute superlative)

as in *yäklärdä uluḡi* ‘the greatest of the demons’ is composed of a noun + locative-ablative suffix + noun, cf. also *yaruḡta yaruḡ* ‘brightest (of all)’ The 3rd person possessive suffix in *uluḡi* stands for the genitive case. There are several other ways to form superlatives: the particle *äḡ* + noun (*äḡ kičig* ‘the smallest’) ~ noun + 3rd person possessive suffix (*kičigi* ‘the smallest’), *äḡ* + noun + noun (*äḡ uluḡ oḡli* ‘his eldest son’) ~ noun + 3rd person possessive suffix + noun (*uluḡi oḡli* ‘his eldest son’) ~ *äḡ* + noun + 3rd person possessive suffix + noun (*äḡ uluḡi tigin* ‘the eldest prince’). The comparative is formed with the help of the suffix *-raq/-räk*, *küčlügräk* ‘stronger’ The comparative governs the locative-ablative case, *ay t(ä)ḡri tilgänintä sävigräk* ‘lovelier than the moon disc’ However, the last structure can also be used to indicate the elative, cf. the sentence *barčada ičgärüräk barčada üzäräk* ‘more central (*ičgärü* inside) than everything and highest (*üzä* above) of all’

4. As (relatively) common in texts of the early period, consonants of the same value are written only once, thus *atilar* ← *at-* + *-tī* + *-lar*, *olaryaru* ← *ol* + *-lar* + *-yaru*, and the earlier *yarliḡadi* ‘deigned to say’ ← *yarliḡ* + *-qa* + *-di*.
5. The text contains several words unattested elsewhere.

Our next Manichean text, belonging to the category of liturgical literature, introduces a confessional prayer, this time in Manichean script (see Text IX, and Fig. 5 for the script). With only a few exceptions, Manichean texts of doctrinal or liturgical nature were translated or adapted from Sogdian; our text is a translation from this language. For both monks and laymen confessional texts were one of the most popular forms of expressing religious feelings, as can be seen from the large number of manuscript fragments that have been found in Central Asia. Manichean confessional texts, especially those for laymen, correspond closely to Buddhist prayers of the same type. However, although Manicheism adopted in large measure Buddhist terminology and ideology into the framework of its religious system, it seems that in this case the borrowing is in the opposite direction since the Buddhists in India had no confessional texts for laymen. Our sample stems from the main confessional prayer, the *X^mästväniḡft*, or ‘Confession of Sins’, which probably originated in Eastern Iran or Sogdiana. Fragments of over twenty manuscripts, including a Sogdian version, have been found in Turfan and Dunhuang. Of the three main

manuscripts of the *X^uāstvānīft*, the ones now kept in London and Berlin are written in Manichean script, whereas the one in St. Petersburg is written in Uighur script. The confessional prayer was most probably recited as a part of the Monday ritual, for Monday, the holy day of the Manicheans, was the day of confession. In all likelihood the text was first recited by a Manichean priest, after which the laymen would respond together, either by reciting the same portion the priest had just spoken, or by reciting only the request for forgiveness, *manāstār hirzā* ‘Forgive my sins!’, which is in Parthian. Due to its importance, the text has been edited several times. Cf. L. V. Clark, *Bibl.* 4.2, pp. 94-100, 128-30, J. P. Asmussen, *Bibl.* 4.3.1, pp. 167-93, H.-J. Klimkeit, *Bibl.* 4.3.1, pp. 299-309. Our sample, from the manuscript in the Berlin Turfan collection, deals with the sin against God Āzrua, i.e. Zurvān, the Father of Greatness (the highest god, the Principle of Good); it is very interesting as it explains in a very simple way the mixing of Light and Darkness, i.e. the basic tenet of the Manichean theological system. (Please note that we use the letter X for u.c. 𐰆.) For a very recent (2008) study of the Uighur version see Tuguševa and Khosroev (*Bibl.* 4.3.1).

THE MANICHEAN *X^UĀSTVĀNĪFT* (fol. 8a-b)

Transcription

[8a] ¹Xormuzta-h t(ä)ḡri-i biš t(ä)ḡri-i ²birlä qam(a)ḡ t(ä)ḡrilär sözinlüg(ü)n ³yäkkä süñüşkālī-i kälti-i-h ⁴inti-i anīy qīlinč(i)ḡ š(i)mmuluḡun ⁵biš törlüg yäklärlügün süñüşdi-i ⁶t(ä)ḡrili[-i y]äkki-i y(a)ruqlī-ī qaralī-ī ol ⁷ödün q[a]tildī-ī Xormuzta t(ä)ḡri-i-h ⁸oylan[-i-] biš t(ä)ḡri-i bizniḡ üzüt(ü)müz ⁹sön y[äk]lügün süñüşüp bal(i)ḡ baš(i)ḡ ¹⁰bolti-ī : ymä qam(a)ḡ yäklär ul[uy]lar[iḡniḡ] ¹¹todunčsuz uvutsuz suq yäk [birlä] ¹²yüz artuḡi-ī ḡir[q t]ümän yäk [yavlaq] [8b] ¹biligiḡä-h qatilip ögsüz köñül ²süz b(o)lti-ī k(ä)ntü-ü tuymış qīlinmiş ³māñigü-ü t(ä)ḡri-i yirin unītu-u itddī-ī : ⁴y(a)ruq t(ä)ḡrilärddä atrilti-ī :

Glossary and Explanations

x^uāstvānīft (<< mprth.) confession of sins

Xormuzta-h (= *Xormuzta*) Hormuzta, the Ohrmazd or Auramazdā of our first Manichean text, for the final *h* see the *Remarks on the text*

t(ä)ḡri-i (= t[ä]ḡri) God, heaven

- Xormuzta-h t(ä)ñri-i* the Primal Man, the actual saviour in the Manichean system; for the double *i* see also the *Remarks on the text*
- biš* (~ *beš*) five
biš t(ä)ñri-i the Fivefold God; the sons or elements of the Primal Man, corresponding mythologically to the five limbs of the soul; see the ‘Manichean Hymn’ above
- birlä* with
qamay all
t(ä)ñrilär Gods ← *t(ä)ñri* + *-lär/-lar* pl. s.
sözinlügün at the command (lit. word[s]) of ← *söz* word, speech, statement + *-i/-i* 3 p. poss. s. + *-nlügün/-nluğun* pron. com. s.; for the suffix *-luğun/-lügün* see the *Remarks on the text*
qamay t(ä)ñrilär sözinlügün at the command of all the gods
- yäkkä* against the Devil ← *yäk* demon, devil << skr. *yakṣa* demon + *-käl/-qa* dat. s.
- sünüşkäl-i* (= *sünüşkäl-i*, read: *sünüşgäli*) to fight ← *sünüş-* to fight + *-gäli/-yali* ger. s. expressing aim or purpose
- kälti-i-h* (= *kälti*) he came ← *käl-* to come + *-ti/-ti* perf. s. 3 p. sg.
- inti-i* (= *inti*) he descended ← *in-* (~ *en-*) to descend, come down + *-ti/-ti*
- anÿ* evil(ly); extreme(ly), excessive(ly)
qilinčliÿ doing (used only before a qualifying word) ← *qilinč* act, deed, action + *-liÿ/-lig* den. n. s.
anÿ qilinčliÿ evildoing
- šimnulugun* with Šimnu ← *šimnu* devil (< sogd. *šmnw* Ahriman, devil) + *-luğun/-lügün* com. s.
- törlüg* (~ *törlög*) sort, kind; the etymology of the word is obscure
yäklärlügün with the devils ← *yäk* + *-lär/-lar* + *-lügün/-luğun*
- sünüşdi-i* (= *sünüşdi*) he fought ← *sünüş-* + *-di/-di* perf. s. 3 p. sg.
- t(ä)ñrili-i* (= *t[ä]ñrili*) God as well ← *ñri* + *-li/li*; ; the s. *-li/-li -li/-li* expresses the idea of ‘as well as’, in contrast to *t(ä)ñri yäk* that should be translated as ‘God (and) Devil’
- yäkli-i* (= *yäkli*) as the Devil ← *yäk* + *-li/-li*
- yaruqli-i* (= *yaruqli*) Light as well ← *yaru-* to be or become bright; to shine + *-q/-k* dev. n. s. (= *yaruq* light, gleam; bright, shining) + *-li/-li*
- qarali-i* (= *qarali*) as Darkness ← *qara* black + *-li/-li*
ol that

- ödün* at time ← *öd* time + *-ü/-u-* + *-n*
ol ödün at that time, then
- qatıldi-i* (= *qatıldi*) were mixed ← *qat-* to mix (two things); to add
to + *-i/-i-* + *-l-* pass. s. (= *qatıl-* to be mixed with or added
to) + *-di/-di*
- t(ä)ñri-i-h* (= *t[ä]ñri*) God
- oylanı-i* (= *oylanı*) the son of ← *oñul* offspring, (male) child, son + *-a/-*
-ä- conn. vo. + *-n* pl. s. + *-i/-i* 3 p. poss. s. (= gen.)
- bizniñ* our ← *biz* we + *-niñ/-niñ* gen. s.
- üzütümüz* soul ← *üzüt* (~ *özüüt*) the human soul + *-ü/-u-* + *-müz/-muz*
1 p. pl. poss. s.
- sön* for some time ← *sö* a long time + *-n* instr. s.
- yäkhügün* against the Devil ← *yäk* + *-hüg/-huy* + *-ü/-u-* + *-n*
- sünüşüp* fought and ← *sünüş-* + *-ü/-u-* + *-p* ger. s.
- balıy başlıy* wounded₂ ← *balıy* wounded, *başlıy* wounded
- bolti-i* (= *bolti*) became ← *bol-* to be(come) + *-ti/-ti;* *balıy başlıy bolti-*
i was wounded₂

‘Xormuzta God the Fivefold God with, at the command of all the gods against the Devil to fight came (and) descended. With the evildoing Šimnu (and) the five kind(s) of devils he fought. God as well as the Devil, Light as well as Darkness at that time were mixed. The son of Xormuzta God, the Fivefold God, our soul, for some time against the Devil fought and was wounded₂.’

- ymä* and, also
- yäklär* devils ← *yäk* + *-lär/-lar*
- uhıylarıniñ* the leaders ← *uhıy* big, great + *-lar/-lär* + *-i/-i* 3 p. poss. s. +
-niñ/-niñ gen. s.; cf. the *Remarks on the text* (§ 3) to the ‘Legend
about Zarathustra’
qamaç yäklär uhıyları the uppermost of all devils
- todunçsuz* insatiable ← *tod-* to be full, satiated + *-u/-ü-* + *-n-* refl. s.
(= *todun-* to be satisfied, satiated) + *-ç* dev. n. s. (= *todunç*
satisfaction, satisfied) + *-suz/-süz* priv. s. (= *todunçsuz*
insatiable)
- uvutsuz* shameless ← *uvut* modesty, shyness + *-suz/-süz*
- suq* greed, greedy; envious, covetous
suq yäk Devil of Greed, Āz-Devil
- yüz* (one) hundred

- artuqî-i* (= *artuqî*) and ← *art-* to become bigger, increase; to be or become excessive + *-u/-ü-* + *-q/-k* dev. n. s. (= *artuq* additional, an extra amount; a large additional amount; excess, excessive) + *-î/-i* 3 p. poss. s.; in the earliest text *artuqî* is used chiefly in numerical expressions
- qîrq* forty
yüz artuqî qîrq (one) hundred and forty
- tümân* ten thousand, myriad(s); an indefinitely large number (< *toch.*)
- yavlaq* bad, evil
biliginä-h (= *biliginä*) with the knowledge ← *bil-* + *-i/-î-* conn. vo. + *-g/-γ* dev. n. s. (= *bilig* knowledge, mind, consciousness) + *-i/-î* 3 p. poss. s. + *-ñä/-ña* pron. dat. s.
yavlaq bilig evil mind = evil
- qatîlip* (he) was mixed and ← *qat-* to mix + *-î/-i-* + *-l-* + *-î/-i-* + *-p*
- ögsüz* thoughtless ← *ö-* to think (of); to remember + *-g/-γ* (= *ög* thought, meditation, reflection) + *-süz/-suz* (= *ögsüz* witless, incapable of rational thought)
- könülsüz* mindless ← *könül* mind; thought + *-süz/-suz* (= *könülsüz* without the ability to think)
- käntü-ü* (= *käntü*) (he) himself; self; own
- tuymış* had been born ← *tuγ-* to be born + *-miş/-miş* past part. s.
- qilnmiş* had been created ← *qil-* to do; make + *-î/-i-* + *-n-* refl. s. (= *qilin-* to be made, created) + *-miş/-miş*
- mänigü-ü* (= *mänigü* ~ *mängü* ~ *bängü*) immortal; eternal, everlasting
- yirin* the land ← *yir* (~ *yer*) ground; earth, land, soil, place; etc. + *-i/-î* 3 p. poss. s. + *-n* pron. acc. s.
mänigü-ü t(ä)ñri yirin the land of the immortal gods
- unütu-u* (= *unütu*) forgetting ← *unüt-* (~ *unut-*) to forget + *-u/-ü* ger. s.
- itddî-i* (= *itdî*); the verb *it-* is used here as an auxiliary verb, which after gerunds in *-u/-ü* denotes completed actions ← *id-* to send; to allow to go, release + *-dî/-di*
unütu-u itddî-i he completely forgot
- t(ä)ñrilärdä* (= *t[ä]ñrilärdä*) from the gods ← *t(ä)ñri* + *-lär/-lar* + *-däl/-da* loc.-abl. s.

atrilti-ī (= *atrilti*) he was separated ← *adīr-* to separate; to distinguish + *-ī/-i-* + *-l-* (= *adīrīl-* ~ *adīrīl-* to be separated) + *-tīl/-ti*

‘And, the uppermost of all devils, the insatiable (and) shameless Devil of Greed with, and the (one) hundred and forty myriads (of) devil(s) with the evil (he) was mixed and thoughtless (and) mindless he became. (He) himself (in which) had been born (and) created, of the immortal gods the land he completely forgot, (and) from the Light-gods he was separated.’

Free translation

[1-4] The God Hormuzta came and descended at the command of all the gods with the Fivefold god to fight the Devil. [4-5] He fought the evildoing Šimnu and the five kinds of devils (escorting him). [6-7] At that time, God and the Devil, Light and Darkness were mixed. [7-10] The son of Hormuzta God, the Fivefold God, fought for some time against the Devil and was wounded. [10-14] And he commingled with the evil of the uppermost of all devils, (with that) of the insatiable and shameless Devil of Greed, and with that of the one hundred and forty myriads of devils, and became thoughtless and mindless. [14-16] He completely forgot the land of the immortal gods in which he himself had been born and created, and he was separated from the gods of Light.

Remarks on the text

1. Due to the common origin of the Manichean and Sogdian/Uighur scripts, both belonging to different branches of the Aramaic script, the text is orthographically very close to those written in Uighur script. The only difference between the two scripts is that Manichean has two separate letters for χ and h , which in Uighur script are represented only by Q (*hēth*). The most striking feature of the text is the double writing of consonants and vowels, as well as adding h at the end of words. The reason for this is not grammatical or phonological, but a purely aesthetic one. Manichean scribes were famous for the beauty and elegance of their manuscripts, a fact acknowledged by members of other religions. Thus, in order to avoid variations in the length of lines or the splitting of words between lines, the scribe would either double certain letters

- or add an additional *h* at the end of the word (or both), and in this way achieve the same length for every line of the manuscript.
2. The comitative suffix with the meaning ‘(together) with’, is a rare suffix, attested only in the early inscriptions as *-liγw/-ligü* (cf. *iniligü* ‘with a younger brother’ in the Bilgä Qayan inscription), and as *-luγun/-lügün* in Manichean texts. According to A. von Gabain this is a compound suffix formed with the help of the denominal noun suffix *-luγ/-lüg* + the connective vowel *-u/-ü-* + the instrumental suffix *-n*, but because of the shape of the suffix in inscriptional sources this does not seem to be correct. In his Old Turkic grammar (Bibl. 4.3.1), M. Erdal does not consider the suffix a compound one.

The next text, in Uighur script, represents a sort of transition in religious literature from Manicheism to Buddhism (Text X). It is an extract from the life of the Buddha about his famous encounter with an old man, a sick man and a dead man. There is nothing in our text denoting a non-Buddhist origin, but the interpunctuation signs clearly identify it as Manichean. This is a fine example of syncretism and adoption of foreign elements in the Manichean theological framework. The text, called *Cinak kiginč birmäki nom | bodisv tigin bu* ‘This is the Book about Chandaka’s answer to the Bodhisattva Prince’, is also among the original Manichean texts published soon after its discovery in 1909 by A. von Le Coq; the latest re-edition by P. Zieme includes several important improvements (2005; Bibl. 4.3.1). The Turkic text is most probably a translation from Sogdian, and this version seems to have been the prototype of the story of *Barlaam and Josaphat* (*Ioasaph*) – the Buddha legend which became known in Europe.

THE BODHISATTVA’S THREE ENCOUNTERS (ll. 1-16)

Transcription

¹Ötrü bodis(a)v tigin ²[säw]ig atin tinin tartap ³turdi qayap Činakkä
⁴inčä tip ayitti bu muntay ⁵körksüz aynay yatayma ⁶nä törlüg kiši
 bu tip ⁷ayitti Činak inčä ⁸tip ötti t(ä)ñrim bu kiši ⁹öñrä yigit ig-
 säz ¹⁰sizintäg kičig körtlä ¹¹urı ärti amfi q(a)ridi iglädi ¹²ig tägip
 muntay körksüz ¹³bolup yatur ötrü ¹⁴bodis(a)v inčä tip aymış
¹⁵bizmä uzun yaşap kiniñ ¹⁶munču[la]yu qoy bolur /// (four lines are
 missing except for a few mutilated words)

Glossary and Explanations

ötrü then, thereupon

- bodis(a)v* Bodhisattva, Buddha-to-be (< sogd. *Bōdisa[t]f* < skr. *bodhi-sattva*), the usual uig. form is *bodis(a)t(a)v*
- tegin* (~ *tegin*, written TK'YN throughout) prince
- sāvig* beloved ← *sāv* to love + *-i/-i-* conn. vo. + *-γ/-g* dev. n. s.
- atīn* his horse ← *at* (riding) horse + *-i/-i* 3 p. poss. s. + *-n* pron. acc. s.
- tinin* by the reins ← *tin* halter, bridle, rein + *-i/-i-* conn. vo. + *-n* instr. s.
- tartap* pulled ← *tart-* to pull, drag + *-a/-ä-* conn. vo. + *-p* ger. s.
- turdī* stopped ← *tur-* to stop, to stand (still) + *-dī/-di* perf. s. 3 p. sg.
- qayap* (he) looked back ← *qay-* to look back + *-a/-ä-* + *-p*
- Činakkä* to Chandaka ← *Činak* pr. name << skr. *Chandaka* name of the Bodhisattva's charioteer + *-käl-qa* dat. s.
- inčä* thus
- tip ayitī* saying asked ← *ti-* (~ *te-*) to say + *-p, ay-* to speak, say, declare + *-i/-i-* + *-t-* caus. s. (= *ayit-* to make speak, to ask) + *-tī/-ti* perf. s. 3 p. sg.
- bu* (~ *bo*) this
- muntay* like this ← *bu* dem. pron. + *täg* like (= *buntay* ~ *muntay* like this)
- körksüz* hideous ← *körk* shape, form; beauty + *-süz/-suz* priv. s.
- aγnayu* rolling ← *aγna-* (*aγīna-*) to roll on one's back + *-y-* hiatus filler + *-u/-ü* ger. s.
- yataγma* the one who lies ← *yat-* to lie (down) + *-a/-ä-* + *-γmal-gmä* part. s.
- nä* what?
- törlüg* kind (of)
- kiši* person, human being
- bu* (~ *bo*) he; dem. pron. used here as the 3 p. sg. pers. pron.
- 'Then the Bodhisattva prince his beloved horse by the reins pulled and stopped. (He) looked back (at the old man) and to Chandaka thus saying asked, "This like this hideous (person), rolling, the one who lies (there), what kind (of) person (is) he?"', saying (he) asked.'**
- tip ötti* saying respectfully said ← *ti-* (~ *te-*) + *-p, öt-* to say respectfully + *-tī/-tī*
- t(ä)ñrim* Majesty ← *t(ä)ñri* god, heaven + *-m* 1 p. poss. s. (= *t[ä]ñrim* Majesty, lit. 'my God')
- öñrä* formerly, once

<i>yigit</i>	vigorous
<i>igsüz</i>	healthy ← <i>ig</i> illness, disease + <i>-süz/-saz</i> priv. s. (= <i>igsüz</i> ~ <i>igsiz</i> free from disease, healthy)
<i>sizintäg</i>	like you ← <i>siz</i> 2 p. pl. pers. pron. + <i>-i/-i-</i> conn. vo. + <i>-n</i> pron. <i>n</i> + <i>täg</i> like
<i>kiçig</i>	young
<i>körtlä</i>	good-looking
<i>urî</i>	young man
<i>ärtili</i>	was ← <i>är-</i> to be + <i>-tili/-tî</i>
<i>amî</i>	now
<i>qarîdi</i>	he has become old ← <i>qarî-</i> to be or become old + <i>-dî/-di</i>
<i>iglädi</i>	he has become ill ← <i>ig</i> + <i>-lä/-la-</i> den. v. s. (= <i>iglä-</i> to be or become sick, ill) + <i>-dî/-di</i>
<i>ig tägip</i>	(written 'YK T'K'YP) after (he) fell ill ← <i>ig, täg-</i> to reach, attack (= <i>ig täg-</i> to fall ill) + <i>-i/-i-</i> + <i>-p</i>
<i>bolup</i>	(written BWL'WP) has become ← <i>bol-</i> to become, (later also:) to be + <i>-u/-ü-</i> + <i>-p</i>
<i>yatur</i>	(written Y'T'WR) (he) lies ← <i>yat-</i> + <i>-ur/-ür</i> aorist s.

‘Chandaka thus saying respectfully said, “Majesty, this person formerly a vigorous, healthy, like you young, good-looking young man was. Now he has become old (and) ill and after (he) fell ill, like this hideous (he) has become (and) lies (now on the ground).”

tîp aymîş saying said ← *tî-* (~ *te-*) + *-p, ay-* + *-mîş/-miş* past part. s.

bizmâ we too ← *biz* we + *-mâ/-ma* and, too

uzun yaşap long (we) have lived (= after a long life) ← *uzun* long, *yaşa-* to live + *-p*

kinîñä later, thereafter ← *kin* (~ *ken*) behind (of place), after (of time) + *-i/-i* 3 p. poss. s. + *-ñä/-ña* pron. dat. s.

munçulayu in this way ← *munça* (~ *bunça*) equat. form of the dem. pron. *bu* this + *ulayu* altogether, all

qoş dirt, dust

bolur (we) will become ← *bol-* + *-ur/-ür*

‘Then the Bodhisattva thus saying said, “We, too, long (we) have lived after, in this way dirt (we) will become.”

Free translation

[1-3] Then the Bodhisattva prince pulled his beloved horse by the reins and stopped. [3-4] He looked back (at the old man) and asked

Chandaka, [4-7] “This hideous (person), lying (there) and rolling (on the ground), what kind of person is he?” [7-8] Chandaka said respectfully, [8-11] “(Your) Majesty, this person was once vigorous and healthy, and a young, good-looking young man like You. [11-13] Now he has become old and ill, (but only) after he fell ill he became so hideous and lies (on the ground).” [13-14] Then the Bodhisattva said, [15-16] “We, too, will become dirt after a long life... (four lines missing).”

Remarks on the text

1. Previously we remarked that in early texts consonants of the same value are generally written only once. The present text is an example of the exception to the rule, since consonants are always written twice if needed: cf. *ayitti*, *Činakkä*, *ötti*. The last word, *öt-* ‘to speak respectfully’, deserves attention. It can be argued that it is a scribal error for *ötün-* ‘to submit a statement or request to a superior; to request, pray; to speak respectfully’, were it not for mo. *öči-* (< **öti-* > *öt-*) with the same meaning. For this reason the form *ötti* must be considered correct.
2. A short remark on the gerunds *-pan-/pän* \approx *-p* and *-u/-ü*. The gerundive suffix *-pan-/pän* \approx *-p* indicates an action that happened before the main action, e.g. *tartap turdä* ‘first he pulled and then he stopped’, while the gerund in *-u/-ü* designates an action that happens simultaneously with the main action, e.g. **tartu turdä* ‘while pulling he stopped’

The next, and much longer, Buddhist text that we present comes from the Uighur version of the Chinese biography of Xuanzang (Text XI.1 and 2). Xuanzang (602-64), the famous Chinese Buddhist pilgrim and scholar, set out for India from Chang’an in 629 in search of the original scriptures of Buddhism. From his journey he brought back to China a great number of Buddhist texts which he and his team translated from 645 until his death. As an account of his journey through Central Asia and Afghanistan to India and back, Xuanzang composed the *Xiyu ji* or *Record of the Western Regions*. Already during his lifetime Xuanzang became the subject of a large biography. This was begun by his disciple, the monk Huili, in 648-49, and it was completed by the monk Yancong in 688. The title of the biography in 10 *juan* is *Da Tang Da Cien si Sanzang fashi zhuan* or *Biography of the Master of the Law Sanzang (Tripiṭaka) of the Great Compassionate Love Monastery of the Great Tang*. Of this biography we are

fortunate to have a nearly complete translation into Uighur, a superb achievement by the earlier-mentioned 10th. c. translator Šingqo Šāli Tutung and his team. The manuscript, which has a very interesting history, was discovered some time at the end of the twenties or beginning of the thirties of last century. After its discovery it was purchased in the early thirties by a Tatar called Hāsān Fāhmi Murad in Turfan. To make the most profit out of the manuscript Murad divided it into three parts, each containing well preserved and less well preserved portions of the text. After that Murad first sold one part to a merchant from Peking called Yuan Fuli, who was the brother of Yuan Tongli, then director of Peking National Library. The latter bought the manuscript for the National Library. Subsequently Murad seems to have gone to St. Petersburg where he sold the second part of the manuscript to the Institut Vostokovedeniya. The last part was first offered to the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften in autumn 1931. However, because of the low price offered by G. R. Rachmati, who was then in charge of the negotiations, Murad went to Paris. Here, on P. Pelliot's advice, the manuscript was purchased by the Musée Guimet for 8000 Franc. Sample pages from the manuscript were first published by A. von Gabain, who also prepared a complete transcription of the parts of the manuscript preserved in Peking and Paris. Because in the course of time the manuscript suffered some damage to the text, this transcription is actually more complete than the text of the present manuscript. The editions and translations of the various sections of the text, associated with scholars such as K. Barat, A. T. Arlotto, M. Ölmez, K. Röhrborn, A. Semet, L. Yu. Tuguševa and P. Zieme, are of utmost importance for Old Turkic and Uighur studies not only because of the length of the manuscript, but also because of its rich vocabulary, with a good many words hitherto unattested. For bibliographical references the reader is referred to *UBL*, pp. 131-35, to be supplemented with the latest publications on the text (see *Bibl.* 4.3.1).

In what follows we transcribe, analyse and translate a section of the fifth book or chapter (*juan*, uig. *tägzinč*) which deals with events on Xuanzang's return journey in mid-645, just before he met the khaghan of the Western Turks after crossing the Hindukush. There is an annotated translation of this chapter into Russian by Tuguševa. Unfortunately, as yet there is no complete and reliable translation of Huili's biography of Xuanzang into any Western language. The

relevant section of Chapter 5 is found on pp. 189-91 of the mediocre English version published by the Chinese Buddhist Association (see Bibl. 4.3.1 under San Shih Buddhist Institute). For two good narratives on Xuanzang's life and travels (and the historical and cultural background to them) based on the *Biography*, the *Record* and other sources see R. Grousset and A. Waley in Bibl. 4.3.1. After each sectional translation of the Uighur text we have added our English translation of the Chinese original for comparison.

As can be seen from a comparison of the original Chinese and the Uighur version, Šingqo Šäli did not follow the Chinese text slavishly; from time to time his translation is quite free and has little to do with the original. In some parts the Uighur translation is apparently much closer to Xuanzang's *Record of the Western Regions* than to the *Biography*. However, until now no Uighur translation of the *Record* has been discovered, hence we do not know whether Šingqo Šäli had at his disposal an Uighur or Chinese version of the *Record*.

FROM XUANZANG'S BIOGRAPHY (Ch. 5, fol. 49-52)

Transcription

[V.49] ²yana yiti kün ärtm[iš-³tä] bir uhuy idiz artqa tæg[di :] ⁴[ol] art töpüsin-tä ⁵bir suz-aq ärdi kiši-⁶si yüz ilig barça qoyn-⁷çi ärdi-lär qoynları işgäkçä ⁸[o]l kün Samtso açari anta ⁹tünäp tün yarimä ärtmiş-tä ¹⁰kin täbrädi bir tay tävä-si ¹¹münmiş suz-aqlıy kişig yirçi ¹²[qä]lip yirtçilätädi nä üçün ¹³yirtçilätädi tisär kim ol yir ¹⁴[ü]küş qar-lıy buz-luy qışıl qış-¹⁵[mıq]-lıy ärdi birök antaqı ¹⁶[ki]şi yirtçilämäsär uduz-masar ¹⁷[yir]ini yortyalı bolmadın uçrum-¹⁸[lar]da qoquz-larda tüşgülik ¹⁹[bo]lyay tip anin yirtçilädi ²⁰///arun(?) yorup ol kün kächginçä ²¹yortup timin ök buz-luy tay-²²y ärtidilər bu buz-luy yoquşın ²³ärtmiş ödtä yalñuz yiti toyin ²⁴ygrmi tärkä bir yaña on ²⁵qadir tört at ärdi ikinti [V.50] ¹/// yolça ²/// [ü]z-ä aytınip körsär /// ³[ba]rça qar tæg yürün köz-[ümür ⁴ä]rdi yaqın tägsär tüü aq ⁵[ta]ş ärdi bu art ⁶[ä]rtinü idiz ol ⁷buliti ürär qarı uçar ⁸uçin qıdıyın bilgäli bolmaz ⁹bu kün kiçä bolu timin ök ¹⁰tay töpüsintä tägsär ucsuz [uluy] ¹¹tüpi ärdi Samtso açari t[ägürt]-¹²çi-läri arasinta kim ärsär s/// ¹³ip turyalı umadı-lar ¹⁴yana tay-inta otı iyaç-[i] ¹⁵ymä yoq ärdi yalñuz ul[uy] ¹⁶ükmäk ta[ş]-lar süvri säh[ir]-¹⁷lär qat qat bolup turur-[lar] ¹⁸ärdi inçä q(a)lti qamışli[ny] ¹⁹ariy tæg ol orun-ta ²⁰taqi idiz yili qatıy üç[ün] ²¹ärtigli quş quz-γun barça ²²uçu umaz : kim ol quş quz-γun] ²³bu art küntün-

intä taydin-²⁴inta yüz-är mañ turqı yirk[ä] ²⁵tägsär timin ök qanatarin ²⁶yadip uçyalı uyur-lar büdün [V.51] ¹/// titir Samtso açarı [ol] ²orun-niñ kidin tay-din [buluñ]-³ça qodı inip : qaç bär[ä] ⁴yir barduq-ta [tüz] ⁵yirkä tägdi ⁶anta käräkü tiktürti ⁷tünädi : ikinti kün tañ[da] ⁸irtä atlantı altı kün ⁹ärtginçä yortup tay qodı ¹⁰inti ötrü Atravapur kánt-¹¹kä tägdi bu kánt ärsär ¹²Toxri-lar-niñ öñrä tutmiş ¹³yiri ärür anta üç sañram ¹⁴[o]n toyın ol barçin mıxasañnik ¹⁵[n]ikay-dağı nom tutar-lar : bir ¹⁶[s]tup ol Aşoki ilig itmiş ¹⁷[Sa]mtso açarı anta biş kün ¹⁸turdi anfürdin kidin taydin ¹⁹buluñ-ça tay qodı inip : tört ²⁰yüz bärä yir yorip : Xasit ²¹kánt-kä tägdi bu kánt ymä ²²[T]oçarı-lar-niñ söki yiri titir ²³muntirdin kidin taydin buluñ-²⁴ça yana tay ara üç yüz ²⁵bärä yir yorip Vahşu ögüz [V.52] ¹/// [ö]ñtün sim-dağı ul[ıy] balıqı? ²Vahşu ögüz-niñ küntün qıdıy[³-ınta] titir bu tiltayın ⁴[yavı]ju qayanıñ ulıy ⁵[o]yıl oylı qayan birlä ⁶[kör]üşdi Toxri yavıy ⁷[ärür] m(ä)n tip öz ät'öz-in ⁸[köt]itü sözlädi ordusıña ⁹ildi : bir ay anta turdı [:]

Glossary and Explanations

yana	(and) again, (and) then
yiti	(~ yeti) seven
kün	day(s)
ärtmiş-tä	after had passed ← ärt- to pass (of time, of place) + -miş/ -miş past part. s. + -tä/-ta loc.-abl. s. (indicating time)
bir	one
uhıy	big, great; (here:) very
idiz	(~ ediz) high, lofty
artqa	to a mountain pass ← art mountain pass + -qa/-kä dat. s.
tägdi	he reached ← täg- to reach + -di/-dı perf. s. 3 p. sg.
ol	that
töpüsintä	on the top of ← töpü top + -si/-sı 3 p. poss. s. (= gen.) + -ntä/-nta pron. loc.-abl. s.; töpüsintä is probably a mistake for tüpintä (~ tübintä) 'at the foot of', as in the Chinese original
suzaq	village
ärdi	was ← är- to be + -di/-dı
kişisi	its people ← kişi man, a person in general, human being + -si/-sı
yüz ilig	(one) hundred (and) fifty ← yüz hundred; ilig (~ elig) fifty
barça	all
qoyncı	shepherd(s) ← qoyñ (~ qoñ ~ qoy) sheep + -cı/-cı den. n. s. (n. of agent s.)

- ärdilär* were ← *är-* + *-di/-di* + *-lär/-lar* pl. s.
qoynlari their sheep ← *qoyñ* + *-lar/-lär* + *-i/-i* 3 p. poss. s.
işgäkčä like donkey(s) ← *işgäk* (~ *eşgäk*) donkey + *-čä/-ča* equat. s.
Samtso ačari Master Tripiṭaka, i.e. Xuanzang < ch. *sanzang* the *Tripiṭaka* (lit. ‘Three Baskets’), i.e. the triple canon of Buddhism, consisting of the *sūtras* (discourses), *vinaya* (discipline) and *śāstra* (doctrine) + *ačari* master, teacher << skr. *ācārya* teacher; *Sanzang fashi* or Master of the Law *Sanzang* (Tripiṭaka) was Xuanzang’s honorific appellation
anta there (loc.-abl. of *ol*)
tünäp spent the night ← *tünä-* to spend the night + *-p* ger. s.
tün yarim half of the night ← *tün* night; *yarim* a half + *-i/-i* (= gen.), i.e. the middle of the night, midnight
kin (~ *ken*) after
täbrädi he set out (again) ← *täbrä-* to move, set out + *-di/-di*
tay täväsi mountain camel ← *tay* mountain, *tävä* camel + *-si/-si* (lit. ‘the mountain its camel’)
münmiş mounted ← *mün-* to mount or ride (a horse, etc.) + *-miş/-miş*
suzaqliy belonging to (= of) the village ← *suzaq* + *-liy/-lig* den. n. s.
kişig person ← *kişi* + *-g/-γ* acc. s.
yirči guide ← *yir* (~ *yer*) land; ground, soil, place + *-čil/-či*
qılıp made ← *qıl-* to make (someone something) + *-i/-i* conn. vo. + *-p*
yirtčilätädi (= *yirčilätädi*) he let guide ← *yir* (~ *yer*) + *-čil/-či* (= *yirči* ~ *yerči*) + *-lä/-la-* (= *yirčilä-* ~ *yerčilä-* to guide) + *-t* caus. s. (= *yirčilät-* ~ *yerčilät-* to let guide) + *-di/-di*

‘And again, after seven days had passed, he reached a very high mountain pass. On the top of that mountain pass was a village. Its people, (numbering) 150, were all shepherds. Their sheep (were) like donkeys. That day Master Samtso (Tripiṭaka) spent the night there, and after half the night had passed (= after midnight), they set out (again). A person of the village, who had mounted a mountain camel, he (i.e. Master Samtso) made a guide and let (him) guide.’

‘After seven more days he (i.e. Xuanzang) reached a high mountain range. At the foot of the range there was a village of some hundred families. They reared sheep (? goats) which were as large as donkeys. That day he spent the evening in that

village and, come midnight, he set out again getting a villager to lead the way (i.e. to act as guide) riding a mountain camel.’

- nä üčün* why ← *nä* what?, *üčün* because of, for the sake of, for
tisär if (one) says ← *ti-* (~ *te-*) to say + *-sär/-sar* cond. s.
kim because
yir (~ *yer*) land, country
üküş many
qarlıy snowy ← *qar* snow + *-lıy/-lig* (= *qarlıy* covered with snow)
buzlıy icy ← *buz* ice + *-lıy/-lig* den. n. s. (= *buzlıy* containing ice)
qışıl narrow gorge(s); sometimes (as here?) used to translate ch.
jian ‘mountain torrent’
qışmıqlıy possessing (= having) defile(s) ← *qışmıq* (~ *qışmaq*) gorge,
 defile + *-lıy/-lig*; perhaps *qarlıy buzlıy qışıl qışmıqlıy* should
 be translated as ‘having snowy (and) icy mountain torrents
 and gorges’
birök but, if
antaqı of that place ← *an-* (stem of *ol* that) + *-ta/-tä* (= *anta* there) +
-qıl/-ki den. n. s. (= *antaqı* being there, of that place)
kişi people
yirçilämäsär if do not guide ← *yirçilä-* (~ *yerçilä-*) + *-mä/-ma* neg. s.
 + *-sär/-sar*
uduzmasar if do not lead ← *ud-* to follow + *-u/-ü-* conn. vo. + *-z-* caus.
 s. (= *uduz-* to lead, or conduct [someone]) + *-ma/-mä* +
-sar/-sär
yirini their land ← *yir* (~ *yer*) + *-il/-i* 3 p. poss. s. + *-ni/-nı* pron. acc.
 s.
yortyalı bolmadın it is not possible to move ← *yort-* to move; budge;
 to trot, amble + *-yalı/-gäli* ger. s., *bol-* to become, (later also)
 to be + *-madın/-mädin* neg. s. of the *-pan/-pän* ger. s.; the
 construction with *-yalı/-gäli* + *bol-* is used to express ability
 or possibility to perform an action
uçrumlarda into gorges ← *uçrum* gorge + *-lar/-lär* + *-da/-dä*
qoquzlarda into precipices ← *qoquz* precipice + *-lar/-lär* + *-da/-dä*
tüşgülik falling ← *tüş-* to fall + *-gü/-yu* dev. n. s. (= *tüşgü* falling) +
-lük/-luq den. n. s. (= *tüşgülik* the act of falling)
bolıyay will be ← *bol-* + *-ıyay/-gäy* fut. s.
tip saying ← *ti-* (~ *te-*) + *-p*; as in Mongolian, it indicates the
 end of direct or indirect speech

- anin* therefore ← *an-* (← *ol*) + *-i/-i-* conn. vo. + *-n* instr. s. (= *anin* for that reason, that is why)
- yirčilädi* he led ← *yirčilä-* (~ *yerčilä-*) + *-di/-di*
- ‘If one says, “Why let (him) guide?”, (it is) because that country has many snowy and icy gorges₂ (*or*: mountain torrents and gorges). If people of that place do not guide and do not lead, (then) it is not possible to move (in) their land, and one will fall into gorges and precipices. Therefore he led.’
- ‘In this land there are many snow(-covered) mountain torrents and icy streams. Had he not relied on the villager he might have fallen into them together (with his companions).’
- yorup* advancing ← *yor-* (= *yorï-*) to go, to progress + *-u/-ü-* conn. vo. + *-p* ger. s.
- käčginčä* as long as passed ← *käč-* to pass (away, through), to elapse + *-i/-i-* conn. vo. + *-ginčäl/-yinča* ger. s. expressing the idea of ‘before, as long as, so long as, etc.’
- yortup* trotted ← *yort-* + *-u/-ü-* conn. vo. + *-p* ger. s.
- timin ök* immediately ← *timin* (~ *temin*) immediately + *ök/oq* corr. particle
- tayïy* mountain ← *tay* + *-i/-i-* + *-y/-g* acc. s.
- ärtdilär* they passed over ← *ärt-* + *-di/-di* + *-lär/-lar*
- bu* (~ *bo*) this
- yoqušïn* plateau ← *yoquš* plateau, elevation + *-ï/-i* 3 p. poss. s. + *-n* acc. s.
- ärtmiš* passing ← *ärt-* + *-miš/-miš* past part. s.
- ödtä* at the time ← *öd* time + *-tä/-ta*
- yalñuz* only
- toyïn* (< ch. *daoren*) monk(s)
- ygrmi* (~ *yigirmi* ~ *yegirmi*) twenty
- tärkä* porter(s) ← *tär* wages + *-käl/-qa* (= *tärkä*, lit. ‘for wages’, i.e. hired labourer)
- yaña* elephant; probably a loan word of unknown origin
- on* ten
- qadïr* (~ *qatïr*) mule(s)
- tört* four
- at* horse(s)

‘Advancing [? quickly] and as long as (= until) that day passed they trotted along and forthwith passed over an icy mountain. At the time when they were passing this icy plateau they were

only seven monks and twenty porters, one elephant, ten mules and four horses.'

'It was at noon of the following day that he crossed the(se) icy and dangerous heights. By then they were only seven monks together with some twenty hired men and others, one elephant, ten donkeys and four horses.'

- ikinti* (~ *ekinti*) second; (here:) next, the following
yol-ča on the road ← *yol* road + *-čäl/-ča* equat. s.
üzä on
aytınıp if (one) ascends ← *ay-* to rise, to climb + *-i/-i-* conn. vo. + *-t-* caus. s. (= *ayıt-* to rouse, to make get up, to make climb, etc.) + *-i/-i-* + *-n-* refl. s. (= *aytın-* ~ *aqtın-* to ascend, to walk upwards)
körsär if (one) sees ← *kör-* to see + *-sär/-sar*
barča all ← *bar* there is + *-čal/-čä* (lit. 'as much as there is', i.e. 'all')
qar snow
täg like
yürünj white
közünür ärdi has appeared ← *közün-* to be visible, to appear + *-ür/-ur* aorist s., *är-* to be + *-di/-di*; the formation *-ür/-ur* + *ärdi* is used to form a pre-past tense, corresponding somewhat to our perf. tense
yaqın near
tägsär if (one) reaches ← *täg-* + *-sär/-sar*
tüü exclusively
aq white
taş stone(s)
ärtiñü very
buliti the cloud(s) ← *bulit* cloud + *-i/-i* 3 p. poss. s. functioning as a definite article
ürär blow ← *ür-* to blow + *-är/-ar* aorist s.
qarı the snow ← *qar* + *-i/-i*
uçar whirls ← *uç-* to fly (→ to whirl) + *-ar/-är*
uçın its end ← *uç* extremity, end, tip + *-i/-i* 3 p. poss. s. + *-n* pron. acc. s.
qıdıyın its frontier ← *qıdıy* seashore, frontier of a country, etc. + *-i/-i* + *-n*

- bilgäli bolmaz* it is not possible to recognize ← *bil-* to know + *-gäli/-yalı, bol-* + *-maz/-mäz* neg. aorist s.
- kičä* (~ *kečä*) late evening
- bolu* becoming ← *bol-* + *-u/-ü* ger. s.
- tay töpüsintä* at the top of the mountain ← *tay, töpü* + *-si/-si* + *-ntäl/-nta*
- tägsär* when reached ← *täg-* + *-sär/-sar*
- učsuz* boundless ← *uč* + *-suz/-süz* priv. s. (= *učsuz* without tip, point, boundaries)
- uhuy* big
- tüpi* snowstorm
- tägürtčiläri* the companions of ← *täg-* + *-ü/-u-* + *-r-* caus. s. (= *tägür-* to deliver or convey, to bring) + *-t* dev. n. s. (= *tägürt* something delivered or brought) + *-či/-či* (= *tägürtči* someone who brings or delivers, conveyer; (here:) companion?) + *-lär/-lar* + *-i/-i* 3 p. poss. s. (= gen.)
- arasınta* among ← *ara* among, between + *-sı/-si* + *-nta/-ntä*
- kim ärsär* whoever (lit. 'who if is') ← *kim* who, *är-* + *-sär/-sar*
- turyalı* to stand ← *tur-* to stand + *-yalı/-gäli*
- umadılar* were not able ← *u-* to be able + *-ma/-mä* + *-di/-di* + *-lar/-lär*

'Next [? day] on the road ascending [? the mountain], everything appeared white like snow, (but) coming near, (there) were only white stones. This mountain pass (is) very high. The clouds blow, the snow whirls, and it is not possible to recognize its (i.e. the mountain's) end and frontier. When this day turned to late evening, as soon as they reached the top of the mountain, (there) was a boundless strong snowstorm. Among the companions of Master Samtso no one was able to stand [? Upright].'

'On the morrow he reached the bottom of the range. Tracing his way through the tortuous road he climbed another ridge which seemed as if covered with snow, but when he got there it was nothing but white stones. This ridge is very high: even the clouds gathering (around it) and the flying snow do not reach the summit. It was towards sundown when he reached the mountain top, but the cold wind was so fierce and biting that none of his companions could stand upright.'

- tayınta* on the mountain ← *tay* + *-i/-i* 3 p. poss. s. (= def. article) + *-nta/-ntä*

- otī iyač-i* its vegetation₂ ← *ot* grass, vegetation + *-i/-i*, *iyač* tree, wood (generally) + *-i/-i*
- ymä* and
- yoq ärdi* did not exist ← *yoq* nothing, there is not, *är-* + *-di/-di*
- ükmäk* accumulation ← *ük-* to heap up, accumulate + *-mäk/-maq* dev. n. s.
- tašlar* stones ← *taš* + *-lar/-lär*
- süvri* sharp
- sänjirlär* mountain peaks ← *sänjir* a projecting part (lateral or vertical) of a mountain + *-lär/-lar*
- qat qat* layer upon layer, over and over ← *qat* layer, storey
- bolup turur-lar ärdi* existed (there) ← *bol-* + *-u/-ü-* conn. vo. + *-p* ger. s., *tur-* to stand, (as aux. verb:) to exist + *-ur/-ür* aorist s. + *-lar/-lär*, *är-* + *-di/-di*
- inčä* as ← *inčä* (~ *anča* ~ *inča*) thus
- qalfi* just as
- qamišlïy* full of (or covered with) reed(s) ← *qamiš* reed + *-lïy/-lig*
- arıy* forest
- täg* like
- orunta* in the place ← *orun* (~ *oron*) place + *-ta/-tä*
- taqi* and, moreover
- yili* its wind ← *yil* (~ *yel*) wind + *-i/-i* 3 p. poss. s.
- qatïy* hard(ness), harsh(ness), firm(ness)
- üčün* because of
- ärtigli* passing ← *ärt-* + *-i/-i-* conn. vo. + *-gli/-yli* dev. n. s.
- quš quzyun* bird(s)₂ ← *quš* bird; *quzyun* raven, also used for other large black birds; or lit. 'bird(s and) raven(s)'
- uču umaz* are not able to fly ← *uč-* to fly + *-u/-ü* ger. s.; *u-* to be able + *-maz/-mäz* neg. aorist s.
- kim* as soon as
- küntünintä* to the south of ← *küntün* (~ *kündün*) south(wards) + *-i/-i* 3 p. poss. s. (= gen.) + *-ntäl/-nta*
- taydininta* to the north of ← *taydin* north(wards) + *-i/-i* + *-ntal/-ntä*
- yüzär* a hundred each ← *yüz* a hundred + *-är/-ar* s. forming distributive numerals
- mañ turqi* step-length or length of a step = a pace ← *mañ* step(s), *turqi* of length ← *turq* the length (of something) + *-i/-i* 3 p. poss. s. (= gen.)

- yirkä* in place(s) ← *yir* (~ *yer*) + *-käl/-qa*; the dat. case is required by the following verb *täg-*
- qanatlarin* their wings ← *qanat* a bird's wings + *-lar/-lär* + *-i/-i* 3 p. poss. s. + *-n* pron. acc. s.
- yadip* to spread out ← *yad-* to spread out + *-i/-i* conn. vo. + *-p*
- učyalı* to fly ← *uč-* + *-yalı/-gäli*
- uyur-lar* are able ← *u-* + *-y-* hiatus filler + *-ur/-ür* + *-lar/-lär*
- büdin* (~ *bütin*) complete, entire
- titir* (it) is said to be ← *ti-* (~ *te-*) + *-t-* caus. s. used as pass. (= *tit-* ~ *tet-* to be said to be, to be called) + *-ir/-ir* aorist s.

‘And further, on the mountain there did not exist (any) vegetation₂ at all. (There) existed only a great accumulation of rocks and sharp mountain peaks, over and over, just like a forest full of reeds. In that place, moreover, because of the height (and) its wind and harshness, passing birds₂ are all not able to fly. (Only) as soon as the birds₂ reach land a hundred step-lengths each to the south and to the north of this mountain pass, then are they immediately able to spread out their wings and fly. Entire ... it is said.’

‘Also, there was no vegetation on the mountain; only piles of rocks and rows of lofty peaks and pinnacles, like a forest of (fine pointed) bamboo shoots. In this spot the mountain is so high and the wind so strong that no bird can fly over it, but beyond a distance of several hundred paces on both the southern and northern (sides) of the ridge, only then can they stretch their wings. Throughout Jambudvīpa (= India), among the mountain peaks there is not one higher than this.’

- orunnin* from the place ← *orun* (~ *oron*) + *-nin/-niñ* gen. s.
- kidin taydin* north-west(wards) ← *kidin* (~ *kecin*) west(wards), *tay* north (lit. ‘mountain’) *-din/-din* den n. s. (= *taydin* northwards)
- buluñça* in the direction ← *buluñ* corner, angle + *-ça/-čä* equat. s.
qodi downwards
- inip* after he had descended ← *in-* (~ *en-*) to descend, come down + *-i/-i-* + *-p*
- qač* a few
- bärä* mile(s); perhaps a loan-word from *toch.*, = *ch. li*
- yir* (~ *yer*) land, ground; also (as here:) distance

- barduq-ta* after had covered ← *bar-* to go + *-duq/-dük* past part. s. + *-tal/-tä*
- tüz* level
- tägdi* he reached ← *täg-* + *-di/-di*
- käräkü* tent
- tiktürti* he had pitched ← *tik-* to insert; to set up + *-tür-/-tur-* caus. s. (= *tiktür-* to have [a tent] pitched) + *-ti/-ti*
- tünädi* he spent the night ← *tünä-* to spend the night + *-di/-di*
- ikinti* (~ *ekinti*) second, next
- tañda* at dawn ← *tañ* dawn + *-dal/-dä* loc.-abl. s.
- irtä* (~ *ertä*) in the early morning
- atlantı* he set out ← *atlan-* to set out, march against + *-tı/-ti*
- altı kün ärtginčä* for six days ← *altı* six, *kün*, *ärt-* + *-ginčäl/-yınčä*
- inti* he descended ← *in-* (~ *en-*) + *-ti/-ti*
- ötrü* then
- Atravapur* place name; present-day Andarāb or Andarāba, the name of a river and town in the modern province of Baghlān in north-eastern Afghanistan, on the northern slopes of the Hindu-kush range
- käntkä* at the town ← *känt* (< sogd. *knō*) town + *-käl/-qa*
- bu känt ärsär* what concerns (= as for) this town ← *bu*, *känt*, *är-* + *-sär/-sar*
- Toxrilarnıñ öñrä tutmıš yiri* the country formerly held by the Tocharians, (lit. ‘of Tocharians formerly held their country’) ← *toxri* Tocharian + *-lar/-lär* + *-niñ/-niñ*, *öñrä* formerly, *tut-* to hold + *-mıš/-mıš*, *yir* (~ *yer*) + *-i/-i*
- ärür* is ← *är-* + *-ür/-ur*
- üč* three
- sañram* (~ *säñräm*) monasteries << skr. *sañghārāma*; the pl. is not expressed
- barčın* (~ *barča*) all
- mıxasañik nikay-dağı nom mahāsāmghikā-nikāya* doctrine (lit. ‘being in the *mahāsāmghikā-nikāya* doctrine’) << skr. *mahāsāmghikā* one of the four schools of the *Vaibhāsika*, skr. *nikāya* collection (of sūtras in the Buddhist canon) + *-dağı/-däki* den. n. s., *nom* doctrine, law (Buddhist)
- tutarlar* keep to ← *tut-* to hold, keep + *-ar/-är* aorist s. + *-lar/-lär*
- stup* stūpa << skr. *stūpa* relic-mound, tope, tomb; this is an unusual word: *supuryan* is generally used in Uighur texts

- Ašoki ilig* king *Aśoka* ← *Ašoki* (~ *Ašoke*) name of the famous Indian king, patron saint of Buddhism (<< skr. *Aśoka*), *ilig* (~ *elig*) king
- itmiš* was erected ← *it-* (~ *et-*) to make, do; to ornament, adorn; (here:) to build, erect + *-miš/-mīš*
- biš* (~ *beš*) five
- turđi* he stayed ← *tur-* + *-đil/-di*
- antirdin* from there; the word derives ultimately from *anta* (loc.-abl. of *ol*), but the second syllable is inexplicable
- tört yüz* four hundred ← *tört*, *yüz*
- yorip* after had walked or travelled ← *yori-* to walk, march, travel + *-p*
- Xasit* place name; modern Khōst, a town north of Andarāb on the border of Badakhshan
- ymä* also
- söki* former
- muntirdin* from here; the word ultimately derives from *munta* (~ *bunta*, loc.-abl. of *bu* ~ *bo*), but the second syllable is inexplicable
- ara* between
- üč yüz* three hundred ← *üč* three, *yüz* one hundred
- Vahšu ögüz* the river *Vahšu* ← *vahšu* place name, *ögüz* river; this is the modern Amu Darya
- öñtün* east(wards)
- simdaqı* situated at the frontier ← *sim* border, frontier + *-daqıl/-däki* den. n. s.; a very rare word
- uhuy baliqı* the capital ← *uhuy* great, big; *baliq* town + *-il/-i* 3 p. poss. s. (= definite article); another name for ‘capital’ is uig. *ordu* (~ *ordo*) *baliq*
- ögüzünñ* of the river ← *ögüz* + *-nun/-nün* gen. s.
- küntün* south(wards)
- qıdıyınta* on the bank ← *qıdıy* edge, sea shore, bank (of a river) + *-il/-i* + *-nta/-ntä*
- tıltayın* for (this) reason ← *tıltay* (~ *tılday*) cause, reason, pretext + *-il/-i* conn. vo. + *-n* instr. s.
- yavıy qayanın* of (the) *yavıy qayan* ← *yavıy* (~ *yabyıy*) a very old non-Turkic title of unknown origin; *qayan* khaghan, title of the supreme ruler + *-nñ/-nñ*
- uhuy [oyu] öyli* nephew ← *uhuy*, *oyul* son, *oyul* + *-il/-i* 3 p. poss. s. (→ *öyli*); lit. ‘son of the son’

<i>birlä</i>	with
<i>körüşdi</i>	he met ← <i>kör-</i> to see + <i>-ü/-u-</i> + <i>-š-</i> rec. dev. v. s. (= <i>körüş-</i> to see one another, to meet) + <i>-di/-dī</i>
<i>män</i>	I
<i>öz ät'özin</i>	himself ← <i>öz</i> self, <i>ät'öz</i> body + <i>-i/-ī</i> + <i>-n</i>
<i>kötitü</i>	honouring ← <i>kötit-</i> to praise, honour + <i>-ü/-u</i> ger. s.; a rare word
<i>sözlädi</i>	he said ← <i>söz</i> word, speech, statement + <i>-lä/-la-</i> den. v. s. (= <i>sözlä-</i> to speak, say) + <i>-di/-dī</i>
<i>ordusiña</i>	to his royal camp ← <i>ordu</i> (~ <i>ordo</i>) royal camp + <i>-si/-si</i> + <i>-ña/-ñä</i> pron. dat. s.
<i>iltidi</i>	he brought ← <i>ilt-</i> (~ <i>elt-</i>) to bring + <i>-di/-dī</i>
<i>ay</i>	month

‘After Master Samtso had descended from this place in a north-western direction, and after he had covered a few miles’ distance, he reached level ground. There he had a tent pitched and spent the night. The next day, at dawn in the early morning, he set out (again). For six days he went on and descended the mountain. Then he reached the town of Atravapur. As for this town, it is (in) the country formerly held by the Tocharians. There (are) three monasteries and ten monks. They all keep to the *Mahāsamghika-nikāya* doctrine. One stūpa was erected (by) King Aśoka. Master Samtso stayed there five days. From there he descended the mountain in a north-western direction and after he had travelled four hundred miles, he reached the town of Xasīt. Also this town, it is said, (is in) the former land of the Tocharians. From here he travelled in a north-western direction again between mountains (for) three hundred miles [? and reached] the Vahšu River. [The capital,] situated at the eastern frontier, is on the southern bank of the [Vahšu] River, it is said. For this reason he met the *qayan*, the nephew of the *yavγu qayan*. Honouring himself, he (i.e. the *qayan*) said, “I (am) the Tocharian *yavγu!*”, and brought (Master Samtso) to his royal camp. He stayed there one month.’

‘Having descended some *li* to the north-west, the Master of the Law found a small (patch of) level ground where he spread his tent for the night. In the morning he again advanced, and after descending the mountains for five or six days he reached the

country of Antarāva (Andarāb), i.e. the old territory of Tukhāra. There are (here) three small monasteries and several tens of monks. They all belong to the Mahāsaṃghika school. There is one stūpa built by King Aśoka. Having stopped (here) for five days, the Master of the Law came down from the mountain in the north-west (side) and, travelling for some four hundred *li* reached the country of Khōst, which is also (part of) the old territory of Tukhāra. Proceeding north-west from here, and still continuing along the mountains for 300 *li* or so, he reached the country of Huo (Kunduz) which lies along the side of the Oxus River (i.e. the Amu Darya); this is the eastern boundary of Tukhāra. The capital is situated on the southern bank of the river. Since the nephew of the *yavṇu qayan* was ruling over Tukhāra, he had declared himself *yavṇu*. (The Master of the Law) repaired to his official residence and stopped there for a month.'

Remarks on the text

1. By comparing the Uighur text with the Chinese original, we notice that some words of the former are missing due to damage to the ms.
2. Also, comparing the Chinese with the Uighur version of the text, one can easily see that the two do not always correspond exactly to each other. Thus, for example, one finds *kiši-si yüz ilig* 'its people (numbering/are) 150' where the Chinese text has 'a village of about a hundred families' Furthermore, some parts of the Uighur text are not found in the Chinese original, e.g. *[yir]ini yortyalı bolmadın* 'it is not possible to move (in) their land' The Turkic version is also influenced by the Central Asian environment of the Uighurs, cf. *inčä qaltı qamışli[γ] arıy tæg* 'just like a forest full of reeds' and the Chinese 'like a forest of bamboo shoots' In some cases the differences between the Uighur version and the Chinese original might be due to mistranslation or a free rendering of the Chinese, as we mentioned before. In the introduction to this text we stated that some parts of the Uighur text are closer to the *Record* than to the *Biography*. Our short sample does not contain any example of this feature; however, in other sections the extracts and quotations are easily recognized as they are introduced by the sentence *bu sav Sñikki-dä titir* 'these words are in the *Xiyuji*'

Our next text example of a Buddhist Uighur text, the *Säkiz yükmäk yaruq sudur* or *Sūtra of the Eight Phenomena* (or [*Outer*]

Appearances) is a translation of the Chinese *Fo-shuo tian-di ba-yang shen-zhou jing* or *The Divine Spell Sūtra of Heaven and Earth and the Eight Yang Expounded by the Buddha*, and it belongs to the category of Chinese apocrypha (Text XII). The text seems to have been very popular among the Uighurs, as is testified by the great number of manuscripts and blockprints that have been preserved. Moreover, the text is of special interest as there are Uighur manuscripts in three different scripts: Uighur, Brāhmī and Tibetan. Manuscripts of the *Sākiz yūkmäk yaruq sudur* can be found in collections all over the world, from London and Berlin to Beijing and Kyoto. The more complete manuscript, containing about 80% of the text, is in London. On the basis of this manuscript, but using also fragments preserved in Berlin, St. Petersburg and Kyoto, W. Bang, A. von Gabain and G. R. Rachmati published the first edition of the text in 1934. This was followed by a great number of publications in which new fragments of the text were edited. A facsimile of the London manuscript was published by J. R. Hamilton in 1986. Juten Oda edited all the known fragments in 2006. For a detailed overview of these and other publications concerning the text see *UBL*, pp. 95-100.

Our text is in Brāhmī script which has been used among the Uighurs in three different ways, viz. to write bilingual texts in Sanskrit and Uighur, monolingual texts in Uighur, and in Uighur texts written in Uighur script. In these last texts we must distinguish two kinds of usage. In one group, Sanskrit in Brāhmī script is used alongside the running Uighur text to transcribe Sanskrit names or expressions, *mantras* or *dhāraṇīs*; in such cases Brāhmī is not an integral part of the text. Another group consists of documents in which Sanskrit in Brāhmī script forms an integral part of the Uighur text, either transcribing Sanskrit names or expressions, or consisting of sentences in Sanskrit in Brāhmī script followed by a translation into Uighur in Uighur script. This last group resembles the Sino-Mongolian *Xiaojing* (*Canon of Filial Piety*), in which a Chinese sentence is followed by its translation into Mongolian in Uighur script. Our transcription of the short extract from the *Sākiz yūkmäk yaruq sudur* – 10 lines altogether – consists of three parts: in the first line we give a slightly modified transcription of the text as published by A. von Gabain (1954, pp. 73-74), representing a faithful transliteration of the Brāhmī script; the second line presents a standardized transcription of the same following the one employed by D. Maue (1996), slightly modified to

accord with the transcription used in this book; and in the last line we give a transcription of the corresponding part of the text in Uighur script (W. Bang, A. von Gabain, G. R. Rachmatı 1934, pp. 26-27). In the translation we follow the Brāhmī text, with additions from the Uighur part in square brackets. For the Brāhmī and Uighur variants see the *Remarks on the text*. Please note that the text is read from left to right. Three slashes /// in the transcription indicate a lacuna (irrespective of its length) due to damage to the text; the words within round brackets were originally restored by A. von Gabain.

THE SĀKIZ YÜKMĀK YARUQ SUDUR (a 1-5, b 1-5)

Transcription

- [a] ¹taqi ymā tidhiysiz bodhisatv siz inčā (uquŋ pirök)
 taqi ymā tüdiysiz bodisatv siz inčā (uquŋ birök)
 taqi ymā tüdiysiz bodisvt inčā uquŋ
²/// plıysiz āyıy qiliñclay ėrrip tärs tätrü törökā kertyünc (ke-)
 /// biligsiz ayıy qilinčlıy ärip tärs tätrü törökā kertgünc (ke-)
 qayu tınlıy biligsiz ayıy qilinčlıy ärip tärs tätrü törökā kirtgünc ki-
³/// tükāl törlüy āyıy qiliñcliy şamñulār tärs ñomluŋ tirthila ///
 /// tükāl törlüg ayıy qilinčlıy şimnular tärs nomluŋ tirtıla ///
 -rtgünsär tükāl törlüg törüsüz ayıy qilinčlıy iş işläsär ötrü qamay
 ayıy qilinčlıy şimnu tärs tätrü nomluŋ tirtılar
⁴/// İpaylār yäklār quzŋum qobhu(rŋātā ulāti yawlāq) pālŋülüy
 qorqıñciŋ
 /// İpaylar yäklär quzŋun qobu(rŋata ulati yavlaq) bälgülüg
 qorqınčıy
 oŋžin yilpig yäklär quzŋun qoburya ulati yavlaq bälgülüg
 qorqınčıy
⁵/// (tö)rlüy yawlāhk irü pālŋülār a(lqo ėwtā parqtā) közüñür
 kälip ö-
 /// (tö)rlüg yavlaq irü bälgülär a(lqo ävtā barqta) közüñür kälip
 ö-
 ünlüg quşlar tükāl törlüg yavlaq irü bälgülär alqu ävdä barqta
 közüñür kälip ö-
- [b] ¹/// (rri)ŋ ādhā tudhā kälürür ėmyātü(r yilim) āyim turqārū ėw
 parq ici-
 /// (ri)ŋ ada tuda kälürür ämgätü(r yilin ayin) turqaru äv barq
 iči-
 -rlätir täŋ täŋ ig ayrıy ada tuda kälürür yilin ayin turqaru äv barq
 iči-

- ²/// *yāš əγsömāz öγ qāŋ (ohol qiz qa qādhāš) küŋ qul pir iki-*
 /// *yāš ägsömāz ög qaŋ (oγol qiz qa qadaš) küŋ qul bir iki-*
 -*ntā ada tuda qor yas ägsümāz ög qaŋ qa qadaš küŋ qul bir iki-*
- ³/// *otli sūwli tāγ tötöšlüy plor (əw) iyāsi turqārū pulγāñyu-*
 /// *otli suvli tāg tötöšlüg bolor (äv) iyāsi turqaru bulγanyu-*
 -*ntikā qarīšur otli suvli tāg tütüšlüg bolurlar äv iyāsi turqaru*
bulγanyu-
- ⁴/// *dhir sarsiy yāwlahk plor inčā bilmiş kārγāk ol parcā yāk ic*
 (*γā-*)
 /// *dir sarsiy yavlaq bolor inčā bilmiş kārγāk ol barča yāk*
ič(gā-)
 -*q köñüllüg qadir sarsiy övkälig bolur inčā bilmiş kārγāk ol*
barča yä-
- ⁵///
 ///
 -*klärinŋ qilinčī ol*

Glossary and Explanations

(N.B. Words only occurring in the Uighur part are put in square brackets)

- taqi* and; furthermore
ymä also, too
tidiysiz unhindered ← *tidiy* hindrance, obstacle + *-siz/-siz* priv. s. (= *tidiysiz* unhindered, unimpeded)
- br.** *bodisatv*, **uig.** *bodisvt* Bodhisattva (<< skr. *bodhisattva*)
- siz* you (2 p. pl. pers. pron.)
inčä (equat. form of *ol*) thus
uquŋ understand! ← *uq-* to understand + *-u/-ü-* conn. vo. + *-ŋ* imp. s. 2 p. pl.
- birök* if
 [*qayu* any (indef. pron.)]
 [*tinliy* living being ← *tin* breath + *-liy/-lig* den. n. s. (= *tinliy* living creature, human or animal)]
- biligsiz* ignorant ← *bilig* knowledge + *-siz/-siz* (= *biligsiz* ignorant)
ayiy (~ **uig.** *anıy* < *añiy*) evil
qilinčliy doing ← *qilinč* act, deed, action + *-liy/-lig* den. n. s. (= *qilinčliy* doing)
- ärip* is ← *är-* to be + *-i/-i-* conn. vo. + *-p* ger. s.
tärs false, hostile, awkward; more or less synonymous with *tätürü*, see below

- tätrü* wrong, false; more or less synonymous with *tärs*
br. *törökä*, uig. *törükä* in the law ← br. *törö*, uig. *törü* law, rule + *-käl*
-qa dat. s.
- br. *kertgünč*, uig. *kirtgünč* faith ← br. *kertgünč* (~ *kertgönč*), uig.
kirtgünč (~ *kertgünč*) belief, faith, believing
- br. *kertgünsär*, uig. *kirtgünsär* if (they) believe in ← br. *kertgün-*, uig.
kirtgün- (~ *kertgün-*) to believe (in) + *-sar/-sär* cond. s.
- tükäl* complete, entire
- törlüg* (br. also: *törlöy*) sort, kind
- [*törüsüz* lawless ← uig. *törü*, br. *törö* + *-süz/-suz* priv. s. (= *törüsüz*
unlawful, contrary to the rules)]
- [*iš* work, labour; deed]
- [*išläsär* if (they) do ← *iš* + *-lä-/-la-* den. v. s. (= *išlä-* to work, to do)
+ *-sär/-sar* cond. s.]
- [*ötrü* (br. *ötrü* ~ *ötrö*) then, thereupon]
- [*qamay* all]
- br. *šimmular*, uig. *šimnu* demon(s) ← *šimnu* (uig. also: *šmmu*; br., uig.
also: *šamnu*) devil; demon, evil spirit (< sogd. *šmanu*,
written form *šmnw*) + *-lar/-lär* pl. s.
- nomluγ* having a doctrine ← *nom* law, doctrine (< sogd. *nom* < gr.
nomós) + *-luγ/-lüg* den. n. s. (= *nomluγ* [br. also: *nomloy*]
possessing a doctrine)
- tirtilar* heretics ← *tirti* (<< skr. *tīrthika* heretic) + *-lar/-lär*
tärs nomluγ tirtilar heretics₂
- [*oñžin* demon, ghoul (< ch. *wang ren* dead man)]
- br. *yilpaγlar*, uig. *yilpig* evil spirit(s) ← br. *yilpaγ*, uig. *yilpig* (~ *yelpig*)
evil spirit + *-lar/-lär*
- [*yäklär* demons ← *yäk* demon, devil (<< skr. *yakṣa* demon) + *-lar/*
-lär]
- quzyun* raven; but also used of other large black birds
- br. *qoburyata ulatī*, uig. *qoburya* owl(s) and (other) ← *qoburya* owl (+
br. *-ta/-tä* loc.-abl. s.; the loc.-abl. s. is used here because of
the following word *ulatī*; in the Uighur text the loc.-abl. s. is
omitted). The word *ulatī* is used in two ways: (1) after one or
more nouns or pr. names, sometimes linked by *-li -li* or,
less often in the loc., meaning ‘et cetera’; (2) occasionally,
and probably only in translations from other languages, as a
conjunction meaning ‘and’
- yavlaq* bad, evil

- bälgülüg* having sign(s) ← *bälgü* sign, mark + *-lüg/-luγ* (= *bälgülüg* manifest, significant, possessing distinguishing signs)
- qorqinčiy* frightening ← *qorqinč* fear + *-i/-i-* + *-γ/-g-* dev. n. s. (= *qorqinčiy* frightening, terrible)
- [*ünlüg* having voice(s) ← *ün* sound, voice + *-lüg/-luγ* den. n. s. (= *ünlüg* having/with a voice)]
- [*qušlar* birds ← *quš* bird + *-lar/-lär*]
- irü* omen, sign
- bälgülär* signs ← *bälgü* + *-lar/-lär*
- br. *alqo* [also: *alqu*], uig. *alqu* all, everyone, everything
- br. *ävtä* *barqta*, uig. *ävdä barqta* in the house (and) home ← *äv* dwelling place; tent, house, *barq* movable property, household goods + *-tä/-ta* (*-dal/-dä*) loc.-abl. s.
äv barq (here:) house and home; holding₂, estate₂; (generally:) dwelling and household goods
- közünür* will be visible ← *közün-* (br. also: *közön-*) to be visible, to appear + *-ür/-ur* aorist s.
- kälip* will come ← *käl-* to come (back) + *-i/-i-* + *-p* ger. s.
- [*örlätir* will disturb ← *ör* height, high + *-lä/-la-* den. v. s. (= *örlä-* to rise, go upwards) + *-t-* caus. s. (= *örlät-* to rouse, disturb) + *-ir/-ir* aorist s.]

‘And furthermore Bodhisattva Unhindered, you thus understand! If [any living being] is (= If living beings are) ignorant (and) evil doing, (and) if (they) in the false (and) wrong law be[lieve] (lit. faith if believe in), (and) all kinds (of) [lawless and evil doing deed(s) if (they) do, then all] evil doing demons, heretics₂, [ghoul(s)], evil spirits, devils, raven(s), owl(s) and (other) [birds] having bad sign(s) (and) frightening [voice(s) (and) all] kind(s of other) bad omens (and) sign(s), all (these), in the house (and) home will be visible, come and disturb.’

- [*täñ täñ* all kinds, sort (of) ← uig. *täñ* kind, sort]
- [*ig* illness, disease]
- ayrïy* (br. also: *ayray*) pain, painful
- ada tuda* danger₂ ← *ada* danger, *tuda* danger
- kälürür* (they) will bring ← *käl-* + *-u/-ü-* + *-r-* caus. s. (= *kälür-* to bring) + *-ür/-ur*, this is the earliest caus. form of *käl-*, later it was displaced by *kältür-* with the same meaning

ämğätür (they) will cause pain ← *ämğä-* to suffer pain + *-t-* caus. s. (= *ämğät-* to cause pain) + *-ür/-ur*; *ämğä-* is a rather rare verb and was later replaced by *ämğän-* to suffer pain

yilin for year(s) ← *yil* year + *-i/-i-* + *-n* instr. s.

ayin for month(s) ← *ay* month, moon + *-in/-in*

turqaru continuously, uninterruptedly

[*ičintä* inside ← *ič* the interior, inside + *-il/-i* 3 p. poss. s. + *-ntäl/-nta* pron. loc.-abl. s. (= *ičintä* in the interior of)]

[*qor* loss, damage]

br. *yaş*, uig. *yas* damage, harm, destruction, loss. This word survived only until the 14th c. The exact reading of the Uighur form is not certain since the Brāhmī form could point to a reading *yaš*; in this case, uig. *yas* would be a defective form

br. *ägsömäz*, uig. *ägsümäz* will not diminish ← br. *ägsö-*, uig. *ägsü-* to diminish; to be, or become, defective, deficient + *-mäz/-maz* neg. aorist s.

‘All kinds (of) illness, pain (and) danger₂ (they) will bring (and) cause pain. For year(s) (and) month(s) continuously inside the house (and) home danger₂, damage (and) harm will not diminish.’

ög mother; the oldest Turkic word with this meaning, later replaced by *ana*

qañ father; the oldest Turkic word with this meaning, later replaced by *ata*

br. *oƷol* (also: *oƷul*), uig. *oƷul* son

qiz girl

qa qadaš member of the same family, kinsman (= skr. *bandhu* relative)

kün female slave; the feminine counterpart of *qul*

qul male slave; the masculine counterpart of *kün*

[*bir ikintikä* with one another ← *bir* one, *ikinti* (~ *ekinti*) second + *-käl/-qa* (= *bir ikintikä* ~ *bir ikintiškä* id.)]

[*qarišur* will quarrel ← *qariš-* to disagree with one another, to be opposite to one another + *-ur/-ür* aorist s.]

otli suvli fire as well as (and) fire ← *ot* fire, *suv* water; the s. *-li/-li* *-li/-li* expresses the idea of ‘as well as’ (often better translated ‘and’), whereas *ot suv* means simply ‘fire (and) water’

täg like

br. *tötöšlüg*, uig. *tütüšlüg* quarrelsome ← br. **tötöš*, uig. *tütüš* quarrel + *-lüg/-luy* (= br. *tötöšlüγ*, uig. *tütüšlüg* quarrelsome, mutually hostile)

br. *bolor*, uig. *bolurlar* (they) will be ← *bol-* to become, (later also) to be + *-ur/-ür (-or/-ör)* (= br. *bolor* [also: *bolur*], uig. *bolur*) [+ uig. *-lar/-lär*]; the ms. in Tibetan script has [*bolur*]*lar*, thus corresponding to the text in Uighur script

äv iyäsi the master of the house ← *äv* house, *iyä* (uig. also: *idi ~ igä*) master, owner + *-si/-sī* 3 p. poss. s.

bulyanyuq disturbed ← *bulyan-* ~ *bulyany-* to confuse, disturb + *-u/-ü-* + *-q/-k* dev. n. s. (= *bulyanuq ~ bulyanyuq* disturbed, mixed, turbid); in our example br. *ñ* in the combination *ñy* does not stand for *ny* [**nyy*], but transcribes *n* [*ny*]

[*könüllüg* with a mind ← *könül* (br. also: *könöl*) mind, thought + *-lüg/-luy* den. n. s. (= *könüllüg* having a mind)]

qadīr grim, brutal, oppressive, dangerous

sarsīγ rough, harsh

br. *yavlaq*, uig. *övkälig* evil/bad-tempered ← *yavlaq* bad, evil vs. *övkä* lung; anger + *-lig/-līγ* den. n. s. (= *övkälig* angry, bad-tempered)

br. *bolor*, uig. *bolur* will be ← *bol-* + *-or/-ör (-ur/-ür)*

bilmiš kargäk (one) must know ← *bil-* to know + *-miš/-miš* past part. s.; *kargäk ~ kāräk* (br. also *kägäk*) necessity, necessary; the formation *-miš/-miš + kargäk*, lit. '(do)ing (is) necessary', is used to indicate 'one must, has to, should (do something)'

ol that (dem. pron.)

barča all (equat. of *bar*)

br. *yäk ičgä[klärniγ]*, uig. *yäklärniγ* of the devils₂ ← *yäk*, *ič-* to drink + *-gäk/-yaq* dev. n. s. (= *ičgäk* demon, in some Buddhist texts *ičgäk* corresponds to skr. *bhūta* ghost) + *-lär/-lar + -niγ/-niγ* gen. s.

[*qilincī* ← the deed *qilinc* + *-i/-i* 3 p. poss. s.]

'Mother (and) father, son (and) daughter, relatives, male (and) female slave(s) with one [another will quarrel]; like fire (and) water quarrelsome will (they) be. The master of the house continuously [with a disturbed mind (= broken heart), gr]im, harsh (and) evil [bad-tempered] will be. Thus (one) must know: That all (is) the deed of the [devils₂].'

Free translation

And furthermore, Bodhisattva Unhindered, thus understand! If living beings are ignorant and evil, if they believe in the false and wrong law, and if they do all kinds of lawless and evil deeds, then all evil-doing demons, heretics, ghouls, evil spirits, devils, ravens, owls and other birds with bad signs and frightening voices, and all kinds of other bad omens and signs will be visible, and will come and disturb in the house and home. They will bring all kinds of illness, pain and danger, and will cause pain. Continuously, for years and months, danger, damage and harm will not diminish inside the house and home. Mother and father, son and daughter, relatives, male and female slaves will quarrel with one another; they will be quarrelsome like water and fire. The master of the house will continuously be with a broken heart, grim and bad-tempered. Thus one must know: all that (is) the deed of the devils.

Remarks on the text

1. When the first texts in Brāhmī script were published it was thought that they could be of great significance for the reconstruction of Uighur phonology since, unlike the Uighur script, the Brāhmī script can distinguish between *o* and *u*, *e* and *ä*, as well as *ö* and *ü*. Although some readings of the Brāhmī script, e.g. *idoq* instead of *ïduq*, or *köñöl* instead of *köñül*, have also been adapted when transcribing texts in Uighur script, it seems that these adaptations have been done too hastily. When the scribes were using Brāhmī to write Uighur, there existed great inconsistencies not only in the notation of vowels, but also of consonants. For this reason we think that much more work is needed before a firm conclusion concerning the phonology of Uighur in Brāhmī script can be reached; in fact, a sound analysis would also be of advantage for the study of the Mongolian 'Phags-pa script, as it seems that not only the notation of vowels, but also of consonants, was influenced by Brāhmī orthography. Further, although Brāhmī can indicate initial *h*, there are only two occurrences in the corpus where this is done: namely *hükün* (uig. *ükün*) 'heap' and *härä* (uig. *är*, khlj. *här*) 'man'; other forms that have an initial *h* in Khalaj are written without it in Brāhmī, cf. the *äv* (khlj. *häv* house, room), or *ot* (khlj. *hüt* fire) of our text. This feature might point either to the fact that initial *h* was already a vanishing phoneme in Uighur, expressed

only occasionally (like in Middle Mongolian in the same period), or it might be another example of the inconsistencies of Brāhmī texts.

2. Our sample text is interesting as it gives the possibility to compare mss. written in various scripts. The textual differences between those in Brāhmī and Uighur scripts, as well as in Tibetan, are partly due to the fact that the translation is inaccurate, cf. the long omission in Brāhmī, l. 3; in other cases they may reflect differences in translation technics and/or in the interpretation of the original text by different translators. The differences occur in the following order (always according to the line of the Brāhmī ms.): (l. 1) br. *siz* is not expressed in the Uighur text since the 2 p. pl. personal pronoun is also indicated by the suffix *-ŋ* of the verb *uquŋ*; (ll. 1-2) br. *birök* is missing in the Uighur text as the conditional is also expressed by the suffix *-sär* of the verb *kirtgünsär*; (l. 3) ‘false, heretic’ is expressed by br. *tärs*, while the Uighur text uses the binom *tärs tätrü*; (l. 4) a good example of the voluntary use of the plural suffix is given by br. *yilpaɣlar*, uig. *yilpig*; the differences in the use of *ulatı* have been explained in our glossary; (l. 6) br. *ämgätür* is missing in the Uighur text, as is also (l. 7) br. *oyol qız*; (l. 8) br. *bolor* vs. uig. *bohular* is another example of the voluntary use of the plural suffix; (l. 9) br. *yavlaq*, uig. *övkälig* are not easily explained since, semantically, the two words are not very similar; the differences in translation could point to the fact that the Brāhmī ms. is not just a transcription of an original in Uighur script, but an independent translation of the Chinese version; (l. 9) another example of the voluntary use of binoms is br. *yäk içgäklär* vs. uig. *yäklär*.

Our next Uighur text is from the beginning of the 27th chapter of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra*, commonly known as the *Lotus Sūtra*, and narrates the conversion of King Śubhavyūha (‘Fine Adornment’). It is written in Sogdian script and reads from right to left (Text XIII). The original Sanskrit text stems most probably from the 1st c. AD; the Chinese version, which became dominant in Eastern (and Central) Asia, was prepared by Kumārajīva in 406 AD under the title *Miao-fa lian-hua jing*, or *Sūtra of the Lotus Flower of the Wonderful Law*. Although a great number of fragments of the Chinese version of the *Lotus Sūtra* are known, only a comparatively small number of fragments of the Uighur version exists today, with the exception of the

25th chapter which is also known as an independent work under the title *Kuan-ši-m Pusa* (lit. *Bodhisattva Guanshiyin*), or *Avalokiteśvara Sūtra*. The Uighur fragments come from Turfan and Dunhuang, and are held in St. Petersburg, Berlin, London and in Japan. The textual history of this sūtra is quite interesting, as we have fragments from different chapters written in Uighur and Sogdian scripts, but we do not know whether the whole work, or only some chapters were actually translated into Uighur. It is generally believed that the Uighur translation was made in the 10th c. from a Sogdian translation of the Chinese version. However, this statement is difficult to verify. Although the text has some names and terms in typical Sogdian form, these words belong to the common Buddhist heritage of Central Asia; furthermore, no Sogdian version of the *Lotus Sūtra* has been found so far. The Uighur texts in Sogdian script are very fragmentary: not one of them contains a full line. For this reason A. von Gabain published in 1976 only a word-list of the vocabulary of the texts in Sogdian script (Bibl. 4.3.1). Later, our fragment, as well as all other texts in Sogdian script were published in transliteration and transcription, but without a translation, by Fedakâr (our text: 1996, pp. 140-141; Bibl. 4.3.1). An edition of the fragment of the conversion of King Śubhavyūha was published by P. Zieme (1998; Bibl. 4.3.1). For the most important bibliographical references see *UBL*, pp. 59-62. Apart from a few slight modifications to conform with our system, we follow the transcription of the text as provided by Zieme. We follow him also in our translation and in the emendations of the text presented in the free translation. This is accompanied by the English translation of the relevant passage of the *Lotus Sūtra* by Leon Hurvitz (1976, pp. 325-26; see Bibl. 4.3.1).

THE CONVERSION OF KING ŚUBHAVYŪHA

(a 1-11, b 1-11)

Transcription

[a] ¹ /// [in]čip ymä ol [ödün]n t(ä)nr[i t(ä)nrisi]

² [Burqan] /// ät özhüg yol[či] bäk-č[i]

³ /// [söz]läyür ärti inčip ymä [S]uqanči[γ]

⁴ [Itigliḡ Yaratıylıḡ bāḡ] /// [Bur]qan yolıḡa kiryūk ärti tip ymä

⁵ [inčip] /// [tün]lḡ oylanı irinčäkäyür ärt[i]

⁶ /// k tip ilgäti qamuy tör[lüg]

⁷ /// [inčip] ymä Suqančiḡ nom [updi]

- ⁸ [čäčäk bitig-ig] /// nomladi inčip [ymä]
⁹ /// [Arïy A]yi Arïy Köz kntü [oylan]
¹⁰ [-larï] /// rdi tägdilär inčip ymä []
¹¹ /// qavšurdi-lar ymä in[čip ...]
[b] ¹ /// bu kün bulit t(ä)ñri '[]
² /// [Bu]rqañ ul 'uŝ üzä bal[iq(?)]
³ [üzä] /// qa irinčkä-sär tapla[sar]
⁴ [/// t(ä)ñri t(ä)ñ]risi Burqañ-qa [...]
⁵ /// [yü]k[ü]nälim tapinalim []
⁶ /// [ü]zä soquŝyalï ärt'ïñü al[p]
⁷ /// [t(ä)ñ]rilig kiŝilärig uluñ quvray '[]
⁸ /// [Suq]ančiy nom updi čäčäk bitig yu[...]
⁹ /// añlasar biz alansar ymä tutsar h
¹⁰ /// [oylan]arïña inčä tidi atañznï oyl[an
¹¹ /// [tärs no]m üzä yori[yur]

Glossary and Explanations

- inčip* (~ *ančip*) this being so, so much for that; always in isolation at the beginning of sentences, probably a crasis of *anča ärip*
- ymä* and; also, too
inčip ymä ~ *ymä inčip* further
- ol* that
- ödün* at the time ← *öd* moment, time + *-ü/-u-* conn. vo. + *-n* instr. s.
ol ödün at that time
- t(ä)ñri* god; heaven
t(ä)ñrisi of god(s) ← *t(ä)ñri* + *-si/-sï* 3 p. poss. s. (= gen. s.)
burqañ Buddha
t(ä)ñri t(ä)ñrisi burqañ the God of Gods Buddha
- ät* flesh, meat
- özlüg* possessing a vital spark, living ← *öz* spirit + *-lüg/-luñ* den. n. s.; (or read:) *özlük* spirited ← *öz* + *-lük/-luñ* den. n. s.; for the two suffixes see the *Remarks on the text*
ät özlüg with a live body ← *ätöz* ~ *ät öz* ~ *ät'öz* lit. 'flesh spirit', used as a technical term in Buddhist (and Manichean) scriptures for 'a live body' as opposed to a corpse or spirit + *-lüg/-luñ*
- yolči* guide ← *yol* road, way + *-či/-čï* den. n. s. (= n. of agent s.)
bäk-čï guard ← *bäk* ~ *bärk* firm, solid, stable + *-či/-čï*; the word *bäk-čï* is rare in Uighur, apparently attested only in this text,

- but cf. Tu. *bekçi* ‘watchman, guard’; for the etymology cf. also *bäk* ~ *bärk* + *-lä-/la-* den. v. s. (= *bäklä-* to fasten, make fast, secure; to keep secure; to watch over; etc.)
- sözläyür* speaks ← *söz* word, speech, statement + *-lä-/la-* den. v. s. (= *sözlä-* to speak, say) + *-y-* hiatus filler + *-ür/-ur* aorist s.
- ärti* he was ← *är-* to be + *-ti/-tï*
sözläyür ärti he had spoken

‘Further at that [time] the God [of Gods Buddha (as)] [...] with a live body (a) guide and guard [...] had spoken.’

- Suqančïy* pr. name, King Śubhavyūha (lit. ‘Fine Adornment’) ← *suqančïy* (~ *soyančïy*) excellent, wonderful; fine
- itiglig* (~ *etiglig*) ornamented ← *it-* (~ *et-*) to organize, put in order; to ornament, adorn; etc. + *-i/-ï-* conn. vo. + *-g/-γ* dev. n. s. (= *itig* ~ *etig* ornament) + *-lig/-lïy* den. n. s. (= *itiglig* ~ *etiglig* ornamented, adorned)
- yaratïlyïy* adorned ← *yara-* to be suitable; etc. + *-t-* caus. s. (= *yarat-* to make or find suitable, convenient) + *-ï/-i-* + *-γ/-g* (= *yaratïy*, only in the phrase *itig yaratïy* ornament₂, adornment₂) + *-lïy/-lig* (= *yaratïlyïy*, only in the phrase *itiglig yaratïlyïy* ornamented₂, adorned₂)
- bäg* king; the name *Suqančïy Itiglig Yaratïlyïy bæg* or King Fine Adornment is restored according to a form preserved in another Uighur ms.
- yoliña* in the way of ← *yol* + *-ï/-i* 3 p. poss. s. (= gen.) + *-ñal/-ñä* pron. dat.-loc. s.
Burqan yoliña in the way of the Buddha; *kir-* requires the dat.-loc. s.
- kiryük* has entered ← *kir-* to enter + *-yükl/-yuq* perf. s.
kiryük ärti he might enter; the construction *-yuq/-yükl* + *är-* expresses a wish
- tip* saying ← *ti-* (~ *te-*) to say + *-p* ger. s.; here best translated as ‘wishing’
- tïnlïy* living being(s) ← *tïn* breath + *-lïy/-lig* (= *tïnlïy* living creature, human or animal)
- oylanï* their children ← *oñul* offspring, child, son + *-a/-ä-* conn. vo. + *-n* pl. s. (= *oñlan* children; son[s]) + *-ï/-i* (= gen.); here one would expect the acc. s.
tïnlïy oylanï children of living being(s)

- irinčkäyür* (he) pities ← *ir-* (~ *er-*) to mope, feel lonely or bored + *-i/-i-* conn. v. + *-n-* refl. s. (= *irin-* ~ *erin-* to be miserable, unhappy) + *-č* dev. n. s. (= *irinč* ~ *erinč* wretched, miserable, unhappy) + *-käl-qa* den. v. s. (= *irinčkä-* ~ *erinčkä-* to realize the misery of someone, to have compassion for someone) + *-y-* + *-ür/-ur*
irinčkäyür ärti being compassionately mindful (of)
- ilgäti* (~ *elgäti*); this word is not clear
- qamuy* all, everything
- törlüg* sort, kind
qamuy törlüg all kinds of
- nom* law, doctrine
- updi* lotus < sogd. < skr. *utpala* blossom of the blue lotus
- čäčäk* flower
- bitigig* the book ← *biti-* to write *-i/-i-* conn. vo. + *-g/-γ-* dev. n. s. (= *bitig* inscription, book, letter, document, etc.) + *-i/-i-* + *-g/-γ* acc. s.
Suqančiy nom updi čäčäk bitig is here the name of the *Saddharmapundarika Sūtra*, usually called in Uighur *Vapxuaki atly noom čäč(ä)ki sudur* (*The Fahuajing Named Dharma-Flower Sūtra*), *Bu nom vapxuaki nom čäč(ä)ki atly* (*This Sūtra, The One Called Fahuajing*), and *Bu vapxaki sudur* (*This Fahuajing Sūtra*)
- nomladī* he preached ← *nom* + *-la/-lä-* den. v. s. (= *nomla-* to preach) + *-dī/-di* perf. s. 3 p. sg.
- ‘Further, [King] Fine [Adornment] the way of the Buddha might enter wishing, (and) further [...] the children of living beings being compassionately mindful (of), [...], wishing, (?) all kinds of [...], (and) further the *Fine Dharma L[otus Flower]*, the scripture [...] he preached.’**
- ariy* clean, pure
- ayī* treasure
Ariy Ayī Pure Treasure; name of one of the two sons of King Śubhavyūha: skr. *Vimalagarbha*
- köz* eye
Ariy Köz Pure Eye; name of the other son of King Śubhavyūha: skr. *Vimalanetra*
- kntü* (~ *käntü*) own
- oylanlarī* his sons ← *oylan* + *-lar/-lär* pl. s. + *-i/-i* 3 p. poss. s.

- tägdilär* they reached ← *täg-* to reach + *-di/-di* + *-lär/-lar*
- qavšurdi-lar* they joined ← *qaviš-* to come together, assemble + *-u/-ü-* conn. vo. + *-r-* caus. s. (= *qavšur-* to collect, bring together, put together) + *-di/-di* + *-lar/-lär*
- bu* (~ *bo*) this
- kün* sun; day
bu kün today
- bulit* cloud
- uhuš* realm
- üzä* above, on, high; upon, on; in
- balıq* town, city
- irinčkä-sär* if (you) are compassionate ← *irinčkä-* (~ *erinčkä-*) + *-sar/-sär* cond. s.
- taplasar* if (you) are pleased ← *tap* satisfaction, sufficiency; satisfactory, sufficient + *-la/-lä-* (= *tapla-* to be pleased, satisfied) + *-sar/-sär*
- Burqan-qa* to the Buddha ← *burqan* + *-qa/-kä* dat. s.
- yükünälim* we will make offerings ← *yükün-* to bow, do obeisance to; to worship + *-ä/-a-* conn. vo. + *-lim/-līm* imp. s. 1 p. pl.; the noun governed by *yükün-* is in the dat. case
- tapinalim* we will worship ← *tap-* to serve, worship + *-i/-i-* conn. vo. + *-n-* refl. s. (= *tapin-* to serve or worship) + *-a/-ä-* + *-lim/-līm*; the noun governed by *tapin-* is in the dat. case
- ‘Further, [...] [Pure] Treasure and Pure Eye, [his] own [sons], [...] reached, and further [...] they joined, and further [...] today the Cloud God, the [...] Buddha, in the realm, town [...] if (you) are compassionate and if (you) are pleased, [...] to [the God] of [Gods] Buddha [...] we will make offerings and we will worship. [...]’**
- soqušyalı* to meet with ← *soq-* to beat, crush + *-u/-ü-* conn. vo. + *-š-* rec. dev. v. s. (= *soquš-* to beat, crush one another; [in the early period often:] to meet, encounter one another) + *-yalı/-gäli* ger. s.
- ärtiñü* very (much); extremely
- alp* difficult; (basically) tough, resistant, hard to overcome; brave
- t(ä)ñrilig* of god(s) ← *t(ä)ñri* + *-lig/-līy*; the den. n. s. *-lig/-līy* is used as a kind of gen. s.

- kišilärig* (a writing mistake for *kišilärlig* or *kišilig*) of men ← *kiši* man, person, human being (without distinction of sex, often in contrast to animals and supernatural beings) (+*-lär/-lar*) + *-lig/-līg* (= *kišilig*)
- uhuy* big, great
- quvray* multitude ← *quvra-* to come together, assemble + *-γ/-g-* dev. n. s. (= *quvray* crowd, gathering; multitude; in Uighur the standard translation of skr. *saṃgha* ‘a monastic community’)
- t(ä)ñrilig kišilig uhuy quvray* [in the midst of] the great multitude of gods and men
- añlasar* if (we) understand ← *añ* understanding, intelligence + *-la/-lä-* (= *añla-* to understand) + *-sar/-sär*
- biz* we; here used as a kind of suffix
añlasar biz if we understand
- alansar* if (we) accept ← *al-* to take + *-a/-ä-* (~ *-i/-i-*) conn. vo. + *-n-* refl. dev. v. s. (*alan-* ~ *alīn-* to take for oneself; to accept; etc.) + *-sar/-sär*
- tutsar* if (we) keep ← *tut-* to hold, grasp, seize + *-sar/-sär*; the word is written *tutsar-h*: in this case the final *-h* is a line filler
- oñlanlarıña* to her sons ← *oñlan* + *-lar/-lär* + *-i/-i* 3 p. poss. s. + *-ñal/-ñä*
- inčä* (~ *inča* ~ *anča*) thus
- tidi* she said ← *ti-* (~ *te-*) + *-di/-dī*; it is the mother of the two boys who is speaking
- atañznī* your father ← *ata* father + *-ñz* (~ *-ñiz/-ñiz*) 2 p. pl. poss. s. + *-ñil/-ni* pron. acc. s.
- tärs* false; hostile, adverse, awkward, uncomfortable
tärs nom heterodox doctrine(s)
- üzä* (here:) according to
- yorīyur* is marching ← *yorī-* to walk, march, go (and, by extension: to live (in accordance with)) + *-y-* + *-ur/-ür*

‘[...] to meet with (is) very difficult. [...] the great multitude of gods and men [...] the *Fine Dharma Lotus Flower* scripture [...] if we understand, if (we) accept and if (we) keep [...] to her [son]s thus she said, ‘Your father, (o) son[s ...] according to [heterodox doctrines] is marching.’ (The speech continues.)

Free Translation

[a1-3] Further at that time the God of Gods Buddha (as) a guide and guard with a [...] live body [...] had spoken. [3-8] Further, (he, i.e. the Buddha) wishing that King Fine Adornment might enter the way of the Buddha, and further compassionately mindful of [...] the children of human beings, [...] wishing, [...] all kinds of [...], and further the *Saddharmapundarika* scripture [...] he preached. [8-b1] Further [...] his sons Pure Treasure and Pure Eye reached [... (their mother)], and further they joined (their palms, ten fingers to ten fingers), and further [...] (they spoke): [b1-5] ‘[...] Today the Cloud God [...] in the realm of the Buddha [...], if you are compassionate and pleased, (we will attend) the God of Gods Buddha [...] we will make offerings to him and worship him. [5-6] To meet with (the God of Gods Buddha) is very difficult. [7-9] [...] (What is the reason? In the midst of) the great multitude of gods and men (the God of Gods Buddha preaches) the *Saddharmapundarika* scripture. [9] [...] if we understand it, if we accept and keep it. [10-11] (The mother) [...] thus said to her sons, ‘What concerns your father, o sons, [...] he is living in accordance with heterodox doctrines.’

Translation of the Chinese Version

At that time the Buddha, wishing to draw to him the king Fine Adornment, and being compassionately mindful of the beings, preached this Scripture of the Dharma Blossom. At the time the two sons, Pure Womb and Pure Eye, went before their mother and, joining their palms, ten fingers to ten fingers, deferentially spoke: ‘We beg leave, Mother, to go before the Buddha Wisdom Adorned with Flowers by the King of Constellations [named] Thunder-Sound of Clouds, where we too will attend him, approach him with familiarity, make offerings to him and worship him. What is the reason? In the midst of a multitude of all gods and men this Buddha preaches the Scripture of the Dharma Blossom, and we must listen to it receptively.’ The mother declared to her sons, ‘Your father believes in and accepts external ways, ’

Remarks on the text

N.B. In this section we use sogd. for Uighur texts in Sogdian script, and sgd. for Sogdian texts in Sogdian script.

1. Although our text is rather fragmentary, it is clear that it differs considerably from the Chinese version. The reason for this does

- not seem to lie in the fact that our text is a translation from the Chinese through a Sogdian intermediary, but that it is based on a local, non-canonical version of the *Lotus Sūtra*. This conclusion was reached by D. Maue and K. Röhrborn in connection with their publication of another part of the *Lotus Sūtra* also written in Sogdian script (1980, pp. 252-254; Bibl. 4.3.1).
2. As for the word *özlüg* or *özlük*, with the suffix *-lüg/-huy* or *-lük/-luq*, since *g/γ* and *q/k* are expressed with the same letter, and also because of the fragmentary state of our text, it is not clear which of the two suffixes is meant here. Furthermore, the meanings of the two derivational suffixes are rather close, cf. for example *yemiš* ‘fruit’ + *-lig/-līy* (= *yemišlig* ‘fruity, having fruits’), + *-lik/-liq* (= *yemišlik* ‘fruit-garden, orchard’).
 3. In *a7* and *b8* we find a typical Sogdian word *updi* (’WPDY) ‘lotus’ occurring in Uighur once as *utpal* and in all other occurrences as *linhua* (~ *lenhua*) < ch. *lianhua* id. In other texts in Sogdian script we find other typical Sogdian forms, such as SM’NTY-PTTR /s(a)mantib(a)ttr/ ‘Samantabhadra’, a personal name, the normal Uighur form being *samantabadre* or *samantabadire*, and WYDV’Q /widvag/ ‘chapter’ < sogd. *wyðβ’γ*. In general, the word ‘chapter’ is expressed in Uighur texts by genuine Turkic words like *bölük* or *ülüş*.
 4. Some orthographical features of texts written in Sogdian script are found seldom or not at all in those written in Uighur script. The use of *alif* before Y and W in non-initial position in loanwords from Sanskrit as well as in genuine Turkic words is attested but seldom in texts in Uighur script, but is well attested in those in Sogdian script. Until now this feature has not been really well understood, and suggestions have been made that ’W and ’Y in non-initial position in Sogdian texts are attempts to write skr. *o* and *e* respectively, or that this way of writing reflects the Middle Chinese form of Sanskrit loanwords; for the last hypothesis cf. sgd. *sywpuwð’y* ~ mch. *syow-bou-dei* = skr. *subhūti* ‘Subhūti’ This orthographic feature is not only found in loanwords of Sanskrit origin, but also in genuine Turkic words. Fedakār (1991, pp. 92-93; Bibl. 4.3.1) has suggested that this was done in analogy with the writing of W and Y in initial position. But, interestingly enough, in some cases the Sogdian orthography seems to reflect the same orthography as that of the Brāhmī texts, cf. for example sogd. *tör’ü*

(~ *törö*) ~ *törü*, br. *törö* ‘law’, sogd. *alq’u* (~ *alqo*) ~ *alqu*, br. *alqo* ~ *ālqu* ~ *ālqo* ~ *alqu* ‘all, everyone, everything’

Other features that differentiate Old Turkic texts written in Sogdian script from those written in Uighur script are: the *alif* is clearly distinguished from *n*, *y* from *w*, and *s* from *š*; and, contrary to Uighur practice, *z* is nearly always written together with the following letter and is thus easily confused with *n*. Also, the double writing of K and T in Sanskrit loanwords is a rather common feature in Sogdian texts, whereas in Uighur texts this feature is attested only in those written in Sogdian script and in some texts written in Uighur script which belong to the earliest period of Uighur Buddhist texts. Cf. sogd. DRMČKKR < sgd. *ḍrmckkr* << skr. *dharmacakra* ‘the wheel of religion’ In genuine Turkic words this feature is attested only rarely: sogd. ’WRYKK, uig. *örüg* ‘rest, repose; quiet, restful’

The defective writing of vowels is well known in Sogdian and Uighur texts written in Sogdian script. Defective writing is attested in connection with foreign words, but it occurs also in genuine Turkic words and might be considered an adaption of the Sogdian writing culture. In certain cases the orthographical picture of a given word was preserved also in later texts written in Uighur script, thus, for example, *bodis(a)t(a)v* ‘bodhisattva’, *b(ä)lgü* ‘sign, mark’, *yarl(i)γ* ‘command’, *y(a)ruq* ‘light, gleam; bright, shining’, and *y(i)g(i)rmi* ~ *y(e)g(i)rmi* ‘twenty’

The defective writing of initial *alif* is attested in Uighur texts written in Sogdian script more often than in those written in Uighur script. This particular feature is due to the direct influence of Sogdian orthography where a short initial *a-* is always written with only one *alif*, cf. ’QY /*aγi*/ ‘treasure’, ’LTY /*altī*/ ‘six’, ’MTY /*amtī*/ ‘now’, or ’R’YQ (once also ’RYQ) /*arīy*/ ‘pure, clean’ In texts belonging to a later (?) period, initial *a-* is written with two *alif*: in such cases the orthography seems to follow Uighur usage.

5. The Sogdian script is known in three principal forms: the *archaic script* in which most of the letters are distinct and do not change shape when joined, the *formal* or *sūtra script* used chiefly (but not exclusively) for Buddhist texts, and the *cursive script*, with various local sub-types. In the Old Turkic environment of Central Asia, the oldest known written document – the Bugut stele dating from the end of the 6th c. – is composed in Sogdian Sogdian, i.e. in Sogdian

language and script, and in Brāhmī Sanskrit. Sogdian Sogdian is further attested in the bilingual inscription from Sevrey and the trilingual inscription from Qara Qorum, both from the 8th c. Sometimes around the 8th/9th c., Uighurs started to use Sogdian script to write their own language. The oldest evidence of this development might be provided by a short inscription from Ulangom, or by some of the Buddhist fragments that still use the Sogdian script (Fedakâr; Bibl. 4.3.1). However, as stated by N. Sims-Williams (1981, p. 359; Bibl. 4.3.1), ‘it is not necessary to assume that the Sogdian script was consciously adapted for writing Turkish. One should rather see the Uyghur script as a natural development of the Sogdian’

Syriac being the liturgical language of the Nestorian Christians, the Syriac script in its ‘Nestorian’ variety (see Fig. 6; cf. Fig. 1) was also used by Turkic-speaking Nestorians in their writings, in tomb inscriptions, etc. To complete our brief survey of Turkic texts written in scripts other than the Uighur, we shall discuss below the legend on an unusual cruciform seal the language of which is Turkic and the script Syriac. We have chosen this text also because, owing to its hybrid nature, it contains some very interesting linguistic features. The seal is apposed three times on a document, written in Arabic, and held in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano in Rome. The document in question is a letter sent in 1304 by the Nestorian Patriarch, or Catholicus (as he was called) Mār Yaballāhā III (1245-1317) to Pope Benedict XI (1303-4) concerning ecclesiastical matters. This followed one other letter sent two years earlier by the Patriarch to Pope Boniface VIII (1294-1303), also held in the Archivio Segreto and, likewise, bearing an imprint of the same seal. Mār Yaballāhā, whose original name was Marḳōs (Mark), was a Turk of the (largely sinicized) Öngüt tribe which had settled on the northern border of China, in present-day central-western Inner Mongolia, whose leaders had for several generations embraced Christianity. Mark was ordained a monk in the Eastern or Nestorian Church in China and his name is closely associated with that of his more famous religious teacher and life-long companion Rabban Ṣāumā (1225-94), a native of Yanjing (i.e. Beijing), who may be regarded as the Eastern counterpart of Marco Polo. About 1275, Mark and Ṣāumā undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem which eventually, and unexpectedly, led in 1281 to the election of the former as Patriarch at Marāgha in Persia under the

name of Mār Yaballāhā III, and the latter to an extraordinary diplomatic mission to the Middle East, Italy, France and England. Much has been written on the subject because Šaumā's memorable account of his travels, originally written in Persian, has survived in a contemporary Syriac translation which, in spite of the translator's arbitrary omissions, is still of great historical and antiquarian interest. (See Budge 1928, Montgomery 1966, Rossabi 1992; Bibl. 4.2.)

The seal imprint (Text XIV) measures 17.3 cm on each side and most of it is taken up by a large Maltese cross in the centre of which there is a circle containing a smaller cross. The text consists of twenty lines distributed between the four arms of the cross, five lines on each side, to be read beginning with the lines between the two right arms (the writing going from right to left and from top to bottom), and proceeding then clockwise to the lower, left and upper arms.

Because of the Arabic text of the letter interfering with it, the text in Syriac script is not easy to read, but by using enlargements of all four seal imprints it has been possible to reconstruct and decipher the text *in toto*, a task brilliantly accomplished by J. Hamilton (1972; Bibl. 4.3.1). We have also profited from a recent study on the seal by J. Nakamura (2008; see *ibid.*). Below we give a transliteration (see Fig. 11) in capitals of the Syriac letters accompanied by a transcription of the same representing the Turkic text. For the letters Ķ, Ş, Ṭ and Ŵ see the *Remarks on the text*. The transcription we use is that employed throughout the book and differs to some extent from that used by Hamilton.

THE SEAL OF MĀR YABALLĀHĀ III

Transliteration and Transcription

Right arm

- [1] MNGW ṬNGRY KWYŞYNT'
m(ä)ŋw t(ä)ŋri küčintä
- [2] MNGK' Ķ'Ķ'N YRLYKMZ
M(ö)ŋkä qaŋan y(a)rlyŋ(i)m(i)z
- [3] PYZNYNG 'WYŞWN
bizniŋ üčün
- [4] ŞHR' Ṭ'PYNYP
š(a)qra tapinip
- [5] 'LKYŞ ĶYLP 'WRWĶ
alqiš qil(i)p uruy

Lower arm

- [6] 'WRWĶWMYZ Ķ' PWY'N
uruşumiz-qa buyan
- [7] PYRSWN ȚYP ŞLYB'
birsün tip ş(a)liba
- [8] Ț'MĶ PYRȚYMYZ
tamy(a) birtimiz
- [9] MRYS QTWLYQ' Ķ'PW
m(a)rı q(a)tolıqa-qa bu
- [10] Ț'MĶ'NY KWYZ K'Ş 'RYP
tamyani q(a)viz qaş arıp

Left arm

- [11] MRYS HSY' L'R RBN L'R
m(a)rı q(a)s(i)ya-lar r(a)b(a)n-lar
- [12] 'RK'KWN L'R MRYS
ärkägün-lär m(a)rı
- [13] QTWLYQ' ȚYN SWYZSYZ
q(a)tolıqa-ün sözsiz
- [14] 'ȚYĶSYZ KLM'SWN L'R
qatısız k(ä)lmäsün-lär
- [15] PW Ț'MĶ'LYĶ PYTYGSYZ
bu tamyalıy bitigsiz

Upper arm

- [16] 'WYZ KWNGWLS' KLGLG
öz köñülçä k(ä)l(i)gl(i)g
- [17] RBN L'R 'RK'KWN L'R
r(a)b(a)n-lar ärkägün-lär
- [18] Y'BYZ M'Ķ' S'
yabız ma(χ)qa sa-
- [19] ĶYNYP K'LYZ'RYN
qınıp qalızarın
- [20] ȚYP YRLĶ'ȚYMYZ
tip y(a)rl(i)qatımız

Glossary and Explanations

- m(ä)ñü* = *mängü* eternal
t(ä)ñri Heaven
küčintä by the strength (or might) ← *küč* strength, might + *-i/-i-* 3 p. poss. s. + *-ntä/-nta* pron. loc.-abl. s.
M(ö)ñkä pr. name: Möngke, i.e. Möngke Qayan (r. 1251-59), the eldest son of Činggis Qan's fourth son Tolui (1186/90-1231/32). He was the fourth Mongol emperor
Qayan khaghan: sovereign, emperor. This old Turkic title was adopted by the Mongols for the first time under Ögödei (r. 1229-41), Činggis' third son and his immediate successor
yarliñimiz Our (= my) order (or command) ← *yarliñ* order, command + *-i/-i-* conn. vo. + *-miz/-miz* 1 p. pl. poss. s. ('Our' – pluralis majestatis)

'By the strength of Eternal Heaven, Möngke Qayan, Our order.'

- bizniñ* of Us, Our ← *biz* we + *-niñ/-niñ* gen. s.
üčün because (of), for the sake (of)
šaqra < syr. *šahrā* vigil(s), nocturnal devotions or prayers
tapiniñ honouring (or celebrating) ← *tapin-* to honour, worship + *-i/-i-* + *-p* ger. s.
šahrā tapin- to celebrate (= to perform) vigils
alqış praise(s) (of God)
qılıp making (or performing) ← *qıl-* to make, do (very often used to make compound verbs with nouns) + *-i/-i-* + *-p*
alqış qıl- to perform (i.e. to sing) (God's) praises
uruy descendant(s), offspring
uruyumiz-qa to Our descendant(s) ← *uruy* + *-u/-ü-* conn. vo. + *-miz/miz* + *-qa/-kä* dat. s.
uruy uruyumiz-qa to the descendants of Our descendants
buyan (religious) merit << skr. *punya* id.
birsün let one procure! ← *bir-* (~ *ber-*) to give, procure + *-sün/-sun* (← *-zün/-zun*) opt. s. 3 p. sg.
tip saying ← *ti-* (~ *te-*) to say + *-p*; following an opt. form = 'in order to ..., so that ...'
šaliba < pe. *šalībī* cruciform
tamya seal
birtimiz we have given ← *bir-* (~ *ber-*) to give + *-timiz/-tümüz* (*-dimiz/-dümüz*) perf. s. 1 p. pl.

‘For Our sake vigil(s) performing, praise(s) (of God) making, to the descendants of Our descendants merit(s) let one procure in order to, a cruciform seal We have given.’

- marī* < syr. *mār* (religious) teacher, (as a title:) Venerable
qatoliqa-qa to the Catholicus ← *qatoliqa* Catholicus or Patriarch (i.e. the head of the Nestorian Church) (syr. *qathōliqā* < gr. *katholikós* general, universal) + *-qa/-kā*
- bu* (~ *bo*) **this**
- tamyani* seal ← *tamya* seal + *-ni/-ni* acc. s.; see the *Remarks on the text*
- qaviz qaš* < pe. *ḥafīz(-i) xāš* personal (= exclusive) keeper ← pe. *ḥafīz* keeper, guardian (< ar.) + *-i* the *eẓāfe* or adjective-forming particle, here to be subsumed, *xāš* particular, personal (< ar.)
- arip* (*arip*) being ← *ār-* to be + *-i/-ī-* + *-p*
- marī qasiya-lar* < syr. *mār ḥasyā-lar* the Venerable Bishops ← *mār, ḥasyā* (*ḥasiā*) saint (syr.): *mār ḥasiā* ‘Venerable Saint’ was the usual appellation of bishops + *-lar/-lār* pl. s.
- raban-lar* clerics ← *rabban* (syr.) master, doctor, hon. appellation of Nestorian priests + *-lar/-lār*
- ärkägün-lar* Christian clergymen ← *ärkägün* (mmo. *erke’ün*, pmo. *erkegün* << gr. *archēgón* ‘chief, leader, founder’ [acc.]) a term designating the Christian clergy + *-lar/-lār*
- qatoliqa-tin* from (or on behalf of) the Patriarch ← *qatoliqa* + *-tin/-tin* abl. s.
- sözsiz* without word (= communication, a statement or message) ← *söz* word, anything spoken or declared + *-siz/-siz* priv. s.
- atıysız* without (written) introduction or notification ← *atıy* ~ *atay* name, designation, etc. (< *ata-* to name, nominate + *-y/-g-* dev. n. s.) + *-siz/-siz*
- kälmäsün-lär* let them not come! ← *käl-* to come + *-mä/-ma-* neg. v. s. + *-sün/-sun* + *-lär/-lar*

‘To the Venerable Patriarch this seal personal being, the Venerable Bishops, clerics (and) Christian clergymen, from the Venerable Patriarch without a statement (and) without a (written) introduction shall not come!’

- bu tamyalıy* with this seal ← *bu* (~ *bo*); *tamya* + *-lıy/-lig* den. n. s. (= *tamyalıy* having, with a seal)

- bitigsiz* without a writing (= letter or document) ← *bitig* a general word for anything written + *-siz/-siz*
- öz* (their) own
- könülçä* according to the mind ← *könül* mind, will, heart, thought + *-çäl/-ça* equat. s. (with the meaning of ‘according to’ < ‘like’)
öz könülçä according to their own mind or will, i.e. on their own initiative
- käliglig* who come, coming – an error for *käligli* ← *käl-* to come + *-i/-i-* + *-gli/-yli* dev. n. s.
- yabiz* (~ *yaviz*) bad
- maḡqa* for (= as) false ← pe. *māx* false, adulterated + *-qa/-kä*
- saqinip* considering ← *saqin-* to think, consider + *-i/-i-* + *-p*; this verb does not usually govern the dat. case
- qalizarin* I will remain ← *qal-* to remain, as an aux. v. it expresses continuity + *-izarin/-izerin* (= *-isarin/-iserin*) fut. s. 1 p. sg. (see the *Remarks on the text*); *saqinip qalizarin* I will remain considering = I will always consider (i.e. regard as)
- tip* saying (see above) = (thus) saying, thus
- yarliḡqatimiz* We have ordered ← *yarliḡqa-* (~ *yarliḡqa-*) to order (← *yarliḡ* [~ *yrly*] order, command + *-qa/-kä* den. v. s.) + *-timiz/-timiz* perf. s. 1 p. pl.

‘With this seal without a letter, on their own initiative coming clerics (and) Christian clergymen, bad (and) false I will always consider. Thus We have ordered.’

Free Translation

By the strength of (= thanks to) Eternal Heaven, Mōngke Qayan, Our order. We have given the cruciform seal in order that one celebrates vigils for Us, sings (God’s) praises, and procures merits to the descendants of Our descendants. The Venerable Patriarch being the exclusive keeper of this seal, do not let the Venerable Bishops, clerics and (other) Christian clergymen come without a statement or (written) introduction from the Venerable Patriarch! I will always regard as bad and false (those) clerics and (other) Christian clergymen coming on their own initiative and without a letter with (= bearing) this seal. Thus We have ordered.

Remarks on the text

1. The seal imprint on the two letters of Mār Yaballāhā III to the Pope was made with a seal that was a copy of the gold seal which the Il-khan Abaya (r. 1265-82) had given in 1281 to Mark when he was elected Patriarch. This, the original seal, was the one which Mōngke Qayan had previously issued to the Nestorian Patriarchate in Marāgha, hence Mōngke's name on the inscription. This seal was lost during the disorders at Marāgha in 1297, and the Il-khan Gasan (r. 1295-1304) in 1298 had an identical one made which was given to Mār Yaballāhā as a replacement. This may explain some orthographic peculiarities of the reinscribed text which have been noted and discussed by Hamilton (1972).
2. With regard to the transliteration of the Syriac script and the letters Š (š) and T (t) see Fig. 6; the letter K̄ has been used for a letter similar to the Arabic and Persian *kāf* which is not in the Syriac alphabet, and the W̄ in line 10 for the letter *wāw* with the dot on top which is employed in our text to represent the sound *f* in the Persian word *hafīz*.
3. The Mongol empire established by Činggis Qan and his successors had considerably altered and reshaped societies in the countries under Mongol rule, not least in the linguistic sphere. Mongolian words and expressions were adopted into Turkic, Persian, Chinese and other languages, and a hybrid jargon was used in official and semi-official documents and speech. This multilingual phenomenon is to some extent reflected also in our short text which is peppered with Mongolian, Persian, Arabic, Syriac and even Greek terms and expressions, such as *šaqra* [šahrā] (l. 4), *šaliba* [šalībā] (l. 7), *marī* [mār] (ll. 9, 12) and *marī qasiya* [mār ḥasyā] (l. 11), *qatoliqa* [qathōliqā] (ll. 9, 13), *qavīz qaš* [hafīz-i xās] (l. 10), *rabān* [rabban] (ll. 11, 17), *ärkägün* (ll. 12, 17), and *maχ* [māx] (l. 18). The expression *māññi tāññri küčintā* in l. 1 is a regular initial formula of imperial edicts, like our 'By the Grace of God', as are also the words that follow, viz. the khan's name and the mention of his 'order' or 'word' In edicts and other documents issued by the Mongol court in Mongolian (in Uighur and 'Phags-pa scripts) and Chinese we find also references to special privileges granted to the local clergy and religious denominations (Muslims, Christians, Buddhists, Taoists), and we encounter the same type of warning/

prohibition against contraveners. We shall meet them again in the Mongolian section.

4. Concerning the orthography, we must first of all point out the aberrant spelling of Möngke Qayan's name which lacks the vowel of the first syllable. We have already mentioned the Uighur practice of omitting in writing the short vowel of the first syllable in certain words, such as *täñri* (written *tyri*) – a practice adopted by the Mongols when they borrowed the Uighur script in the 13th c. – but this was never the case with the name Möngke. It is true that the latter has often been transcribed in different ways (Mangu, Mengu, Mongka, etc.) because of its defective spelling Mongke in Uighur script – another peculiarity of this writing which is regularly present in the same word *möngke* used as an adjective ('eternal'). However defective, the vowel of the first syllable is never omitted except in this seal's inscription. Now, the Turkic counterpart of *mo. möngke* 'eternal' is *mängü ~ mäñü*, etc., written *mñü* as in the case of *tyri*. We think that the aberrant reading *Mñkä* in l. 2 is a scribal error caused by the *mñü* of l. 1 (cf. Mostaert and Cleaves 1962, p. 12; see Bibl. 5.3.1). Another peculiar reading is *marï* for syr. *mār*, since in other Turkic texts this word is transcribed as *mar*. And, as far as the language of our text is concerned, Hamilton claims that it is still 'almost classic Uighur Turkic' However, it appears from the use of certain suffixes, such as the verbal suffix *-izarin/-izerin* (= *-isarin/-iserin*), which is completely atypical of Uighur, that we are possibly dealing with a sort of Khwarezmian Turkic – a transitional stage from Qarakhanid Turkic – which we know was used in the chancellery of the Ilkhans at the time. (See *TL*, pp. 166-7.) The suffix in question occurs, in fact, in some Khwarezmian Turkic documents, albeit of later date. Equally interesting are the use of the accusative suffix *-ni/-ni* (in l. 10: *tamyani*), and the optative suffix of the 3rd person *-sun/-sün* (in ll. 7: *birsün*, 14: *kälmäsün-lär*), all typical forms of Khwarezmian Turkic. These and other unusual features of the text highlight the complexity of a language which, possibly as a direct result of the swift Mongol conquests of the 13th c., was undergoing some interesting and still unclear formal changes.

Our last sample of Uighur texts is from a late ms. stemming from the milieu of Tantric Buddhism and belonging to the Tibetan 'Book of the Dead' literature. The Uighur book consists of 65 pages,

and was discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Dunhuang in 1907. It is now kept in the British Library in London. It contains four different texts, three written by one hand and one by a different hand. Our extract (Text XV.1 and 2) comes from the first text which is an exposition of Naroda's (1016-100) teachings about *Bar-do*, the realm through which one passes between the time of death and of being reborn, and is similar in content to the Tibetan 'Book of the Dead'. As stated in the colophon, the book was copied in the summer of 1350 in the city of Üč-Lükčüng (ch. Liucheng) in the oasis of Turfan. The book was commissioned by the Mongol Prince Asudai of Xining, a son of Xining Wang Sulaimān and a descendant of Temüge, younger brother of Činggis Qan. Here we witness an interesting phenomenon attested also in other parts of the Mongol empire, viz. the use of Uighur Turkic instead of Mongolian among Mongols; and the text is read vertically from left to right like Mongolian. The book was published with a transcription, translation and an extensive commentary by P. Zieme and G. Kara (Bibl. 4.3.1); for further bibliographical references cf. *UBL*, pp. 117-20. Some important improvements on the reading and interpretation of the text were provided by Kara 2002. In the following example { } indicates deleted word(s) in the ms., [] additions in the margin, and || omissions.

THE UIGHUR BOOK OF THE DEAD (ll. 34-64)

Transcription

³⁴: qoş-a bişirunmaq-qa ymä iki ³⁵törlüg bolur boşyudluş boşyudsuz
boşyudsuz ³⁶bolmiş-ta tüş-in bulur tip körküdmış nomlamış ³⁷ärür
munda äd nom siñmäki ärsär yoyun siñmäki ³⁸ärsär aňbaşlayu öñ
ün-kä siñmiş öd-³⁹tä köz üz-ä yinçgä öñ {körür ::} [-ig körü umaz ün]
yüt-qa siñmiş-⁴⁰tä burun yüt tuymaz tađıy böridiğ-kä siñmiş-tä ⁴¹til
tađıy tuymaz tört maşabud-lar iyin käşigçä siñär ⁴²yir suv-qa
siñmiş-tä ät'öz [suv-qa] taş kämişmiş tæg ayır bolur ⁴³baş-ı örü
köđürsär sançar suv {od} oot-qa siñmiş-tä ⁴⁴ayız burun qurıyur
birär-tä burun-tin ayız-tin suv aqar ⁴⁵tamyaq qurıyur oot yil-kä
siñmiş-tä alig adaq ⁴⁶soyışur yil bilig-kä siñmiş-tä {twy} köz-i alarip
⁴⁷uşun tün alıp alig adaq täbinür bilig inçgä |bilig-kä| ⁴⁸siñmiş-tä
tört kşan-ta tört bilgä bilig yaruyur ⁴⁹taşđinqı {tyyny} tını üsülür
içdinki tii'n üsülmäyüik ⁵⁰öd-tä baş'đinqı kşan-ta [körgülük] {küçlüg}
bilgä bilig ⁵¹y(a)ruyur taşđinqı siñar körsär qar yaymış tæg ⁵²yurün
köşünür içdin siñar körsär tüdün tæg ⁵³köşünür ikindi kşan-ta

kiñürülmäklig bilgä bilig ⁵⁴*yaruyur taşđın sınar körsär kün tuymış*
täg ⁵⁵*qışıl köşümür içđin sınar körsär kadyod qurt-* ⁵⁶*nñ yaruqı tag*
az-qy-a az-qy-a yaruq köşümür ⁵⁷*üçünç kşan-ta bilgä bilig bulmaq-ı*
yruyur taşđın ⁵⁸*sınar körsär [añar qarayyu] {qarayyu} köşümür*
içđin sınar körsär ⁵⁹*yula yaruq-ı-çä köşümür oşaqı-tın koñül uluy*
yaruyur ⁶⁰*törtünç kşan-ta bilgä bilig yaqın bulmaqı yaruyur*
⁶¹*taşđın sınar körsär tañ sarıyındaqı yaruq* ⁶²*täg köşümür içđin sınar*
körsär yaruq ärip ⁶³*saqıncısız töz-lüg bolup kök qalıy-taqı bulıđ*
⁶⁴*açılmış tag yaruyur öz töz-i yaruq tip tiđir*

Glossary and Explanations

- qoš-a* together ← *qoš-* to conjoin, unite (two things), duplicate +
-a/-ä ger. s. used as a noun or adjective (= *qoşa* a pair,
 double; together)
- bışirunmaq-da* in realizing ← *bış-* to come to maturity, ripen + *-i/-i-*
 conn. vo. + *-r-* caus. s. (= *bışir-* to cause to mature) + *-u/-ü-*
 conn. vo. + *-n-* refl. s. (= *bışirun-* ~ *bışrun-* to realize) +
-maq/-mäk dev. n. s. (= *bışirunmaq* ~ *bışrunmaq* realizing) +
-da/-dä (= *-ta/-tä*) loc.-abl. s.; for the letter *đ* see the
Remarks on the text
- ymä* also
- iki* (~ *eki*) two
- törlüg* kind, sort
- bolur* are ← *bol-* to be(come) + *-ur/-ür* aorist s.
- boşyudıy* didactic ← *boşyut* instruction, teaching + *-ıy/-lüg* den. n. s.
 (= *boşyuthıy* didactic)
- boşyudsuz* undidactic ← *boşyut* + *-suz/-süz* priv. s.
- bolmiş-ta* after having become ← *bol-* + *-miş/-miş* past part. s. + *-ta/-tä*
- tüş-in* his fruit ← *tüş* fruit (also, metaphorically, the consequence
 of an act) + *-i/-i* 3 p. poss. s. + *-n* pron. acc. s.
- bulur* (one) will find ← *bul-* to find + *-ur/-ür*
- tip* saying ← *ti-* (~ *te-*) to say + *-p* ger. s.; see ‘The Good and the
 Bad Prince’, s. v.
- körküđmiş* (it) has been shown ← *körküt-* (~ *körkit-*) to show + *-miş/-miş*;
 the morphological structure of the verb is unclear: it is
 to be connected either with *körk* ‘something visible; shape,
 form; beauty’, or with *kör-* ‘to see’
- nomlamış ärür* (it) has been preached ← *nom* law, doctrine, dharma +
-la/-lä- den. v. s. (= *nomla-* to preach) + *-miş/-miş*, *är-* to be

- + *-ür/-ur*, the form *-miş/-miş ärür* is used to express the post-terminal or present perfect
- munda* here (loc.-abl. form of *bu ~ bo*)
- äd* matter
- siñmäki* absorbing of ← *siñ-* to sink (into), to be absorbed, digested + *-mäkl/-maq* (= *siñmäk* absorbing) + *-i/-i* 3 p. poss. s. (= gen.)
- ärsär* what concerns ← *är-* + *-sär/-sar* cond. s.
- yoyun* coarse
- añbaşlayu* (= *añ başlayu*) first of all ← *añ* intensifying particle + *başlayu* ← *baş* head, beginning + *-la/-lä-* den. v. s. (= *başla-* to begin, to lead) + *-y-* hiatus filler + *-u/-ü* ger. s.
- öñ* colour
- ün-kä* into/by the sound ← *ün* sound + *-käl/-qa* dat. s.
- siñmiş öd-tä* when is absorbed ← *siñ-* + *-miş/-miş*, *öd* time + *-täl/-ta* (= when, at the time); further on ‘when is absorbed’ is expressed by *siñmištä*
- köz* eye
- üz-ä* (= *üzä*) with; this usage of the word as a substitute for the instr. s. is peculiar to Uighur; generally, *üzä* means ‘above, upon, on’
- yinçgä* (~ *inçgä*) fine; subtle
- körür* sees ← *kör-* to see + *-ür/-ur*
- öñ-ig* colour ← *öñ* + *-i/-i* conn. vo. + *-g/-γ* acc. s.
- körü* seeing ← *kör-* + *-ü/-u* ger. s.
- umaz* (one) cannot ← *u-* can, to be able to + *-maz/-müz* neg. aorist s.
- ün* sound
- yüt-qa* into/by the smell ← *yüd* scent, odour, smell + *-qa/-kä*
- siñmiş-tä* when is absorbed ← *siñ-* + *-miş/-miş* + *-täl/-ta*; earlier on ‘when is absorbed’ is expressed by *siñmiş öd-tä*
- burun* nose
- yüt* (~ *yüd*) smell
- tuymaz* does not perceive ← *tuy-* to perceive, notice, feel + *-maz/-müz*
- tađıy* taste ← *tat-* to taste + *-i/-i-* conn. vo. + *-γ/-g* dev. n. s. (= *tatıy* taste, flavour; [but often also:] pleasant taste)
- böriđig-kä* into/by the touch ← *bört-* to touch + *-i/-i-* + *-g/-γ* (= *börtüg ~ börtig* touching, feeling) + *-käl/-qa*
- til* tongue; language

‘Also, in the together-realizing (there) are two kinds: didactic (and) undidactic. After having become undidactic (one) will find his fruit, (this) has been shown (and) preached. Here the absorbing of the matter (and) dharma what concerns, (there is) absorbing of the coarse. What concerns (this absorbing), first of all, when the colour is absorbed by the sound, with the eye (he/she = the dying person) the fine colour cannot see. When the sound by the smell is absorbed, the nose the smell does not perceive. When the taste by the touch is absorbed, the tongue the taste does not perceive.’

- tört maḡabud-lar* four elements ← *tört* four, *maḡabud* (~ *mḡabut*) element (< *toch. mahābhūt* < *skr. mahābhūta*)
- iyin kăsigčä* in the following order ← *iyin* (~ *eyin* ~ *äyin*) following, *kăzig* succession, order + *-čä/-ča* *equat. s.* (with a prolative meaning); for the letter *ş* see the *Remarks on the text*
- siḡär* will be absorbed ← *siḡ-* + *-är/-ar* *aorist s.*
- yir* (~ *yer*) earth
- suv-qa* into/by the water ← *suv* water + *-qa/-kä*
- ät'öz* body; lit. ‘flesh-spirit’ (← *ät* flesh, meat, *öz* spirit, self); a technical term in Buddhist and Manichean literature for ‘a live body’, as opposed to a corpse or a spirit
- taš* stone
- kămišmiš* thrown ← *kămiš-* to throw (away), abandon + *-miš/-miš*
- tăg* like
- aḡir* heavy
- bolur* becomes ← *bol-* to be(come) + *-ur/-ür*
- baš-ï* the head ← *baš* head + *-ï/-i* 3 p. *poss. s.* (= definite article)
- örü köḡürsär* if (one) raises ← *örü* upwards, *kötür-* to lift up, raise + *-sär/-sar* *cond. s.*
- sančar* (it) hurts ← *sanč-* to pierce, transfix; (here:) to hurt + *-ar/-är*
- suv* water
- oot-qa* into/by the fire ← *ot* (~ *oot*) fire + *-qa/-kä*
- aḡiz* mouth
- qurïyur* becomes dry ← *qurï-* to be or become dry + *-y-* + *-ur/-ür*
- birär-tä* sometimes ← *bir* one + *-är/-ar* *den. n. s.* forming distributive numerals (= *birär* one each) + *-tä/-ta*
- burun-tin* from the nose ← *burun* + *-tin/-tin* *abl. s.*
- aḡiz-tin* from the mouth ← *aḡiz* + *-tin/-tin*
- aqar* runs ← *aq-* to flow + *-ar/-är*

- tamyaq* throat
yül-kä into/by the wind ← *yül* (~ *yil* ~ *yel*) wind + *-kä/-qa*
alıg hand(s) ← *alıg* (= *älig*) hand, forearm
adaq feet
soyışur become cold ← *soyï-* to be cold + *-š-* co-op. dev. v. s. (= *soyış-* to become cold together) + *-ur/-ür*
biligkä into/by the mind ← *bil-* to know + *-i/-i-* conn. vo. + *-g/-γ*
 dev. n. s. (= *bilig* knowledge, mind, consciousness) + *-kä/-qa*
köz-i the eye(s) ← *köz* + *-i/-i* 3 p. poss. s. (= definite article)
alarıp become dazzled ← *ala* particoloured, dappled, mottled, spotted, blotchy + *-r-* den. v. s. (= *alar-* to become dazzled) + *-i/-i-* + *-p* ger. s.
ușun (~ *uzun*) long
tün breath
alıp (one) takes ← *al-* to take + *-i/-i-* conn. vo. + *-p*
täbinür writhe ← *täbin-* to writhe; to rub + *-ür/-ur*
inçgä (~ *yinçgä*) subtle, fine; the consonant of the last syllable is not clear, it could also be *k*, as *g* and *k* are written with the same letter in Uighur script
kšan-ta in instant(s) ← uig. *kšan* (< toch. *kšam* / sogd. *kšan* < skr. *kšana* moment, instant) + *-ta/-tä*
bilgä bilig wisdom(s)₂ ← *bilgä* wise, *bilig* knowledge
yarayur will shine/flash ← *yaru-* (~ *yru-*) to be, or become bright, to shine, flash + *-y-* + *-ur/-ür*

‘The four elements in the following order will be absorbed: the earth by the water when is absorbed, the body like a stone thrown into water heavy becomes. If (he/she) the head raises, (it) hurts. The water by the fire when is absorbed, the mouth (and) nose become dry. Sometimes from the nose (and) mouth water runs. The throat becomes dry. The fire by the wind when is absorbed, the hand(s) (and) feet become cold. The wind by the mind when is absorbed, the eye(s) become dazzled, (he/she) a long breath takes, the hand(s) (and) feet writhe. The mind by the subtle mind when is absorbed, in four instant(s) the four wisdom(s)₂ will flash.’

- tašdinqi* outer ← *taš* outside + *-dın/-din* (= *-tün/-tin*) den. n. s. (= *taštün* outside, situated outside) + *-qi/-ki* den. n. s. (= *taštinqi* outer, external, situated outside)
tüni the breath ← *tün* + *-i/-i* 3 p. poss. s. (= definite article)

- üsülür* ceases ← *üsül-* to cease, stop + *-ür/-ur*
- içdinki* inner ← *iç* the interior, inside (of something) + *-dın/-dın* (= *-tin/-tın*) + *-ki/-qi*
- tii'n* breath
- üsülmäyük* has not (yet) ceased ← *üsül-* + *-mä/-ma* neg. particle + *-yük/-yuq* perf. s. 3 p. sg.
- öd-tä* when (lit. 'at the time') ← *öd* time + *-tä/-ta*
- baş'dinqi* first ← *baş* head, beginning + *-dın/-dın* (= *-tın/-tin*) + *-qi/-ki*
- körgülük* to be seen ← *kör-* to see + *-gülük/-yuluq* part. s. (indicating a wish, aim or necessity)
- taşdın sınar* outside ← *taşdın*, *sınar* side
- körsär* if (one) looks around ← *kör-* + *-sär/-sar*
- qar* snow
- yaymış* had snowed ← *yay-* to pour down, to rain + *-miş/-miş*
- täg* as if; like
qar yaymış täg as if (it) had snowed
- yürün* (~ *yürün* ~ *ürün*) white
- köşünür* (it) appears ← *közün-* to appear, to be visible + *-ür/-ur*
- içdın sınar* inside
- tüdün* (~ *tütün*) smoke
- ikindi* (~ *ikinti* ~ *ekinti*) second
- kiñürülmäklig* extension-existence ← *kiñ* wide, broad + *-ül/-ü* den. v. s. (= *kiñü-* to be or become broad or wide) + *-r-* caus. s. (= *kiñür-* to widen, broaden) + *-ü/-u-* conn. vo. + *-l-* pass. s. (= *kiñürül-* to be or become widened, spread) + *-mäkl/-maq* dev. n. s. (= *kiñürülmäk* spreading, extension) + *-lig/-liγ* den. n. s. (= *kiñürülmäklig* possessing extension → extension-existence)
- kün tuymış* sunrise ← *kün* sun, *tuγ-* to be born, to rise (of sun) + *-miş/-miş*
- qışıl* (~ *qizil*) red
- kadyod qurt-niñ* of a glow-worm ← *kadyod* (<< skr. *khadyota* firefly), *qurt* worm + *-niñ/-niñ* gen. s.
- yaruqi* the light ← *yaru-* + *-q/-k* dev. n. s. (= *yaruq* light, gleam; bright, shining) + *-i/-i* 3 p. poss. s. (= def. article)
- az-qy-a az-qy-a* very, very little ← *az* few, scanty, a little + *-qy-a/-ky-ä* dim. s.
- üçünč* third

- bulmaq-ı* the acquisition of ← *bul-* to find + *-maq/-māk* (= *bulmaq* acquisition) + *-ı/-i* 3 p. poss. s. (= gen.); alternative reading: *bolmaq-ı* the existence of ← *bol-* + *-maq/-māk* (= *bolmaq* being, existence) + *-ı/-i*
- añar* to him/her (dat. of *ol*)
- qaranıy* dark
- yula* lamp
- yaruq-ı-çä* like the light of ← *yaruq* + *-ı/-i* (= gen.) + *-çä/-ça* equat. s.
- ozaqı-tın uluı* more than before ← *ozaqı* previous, of old time + *-tın/-tin* abl. s. (= comparative) + *uluı* big, great
- köñül* = *köñül* mind
- törtünç* fourth
- yaqın* near, close (= full)
- tañ sariyındaqı* at dawn ← *tañ* dawn, *sariy* yellow + *-ı/-i* 3 p. poss. s. + *-nda/-ndä* pron. loc.-abl. s. + *-qıl/-ki*
- ärip* is ← *är-* + *-ı/-i-* + *-p*
- saqınçsız* thoughtless ← *saqın-* to think + *-ç* dev. n. s. (= *saqınç* thought) + *-sız/-siz* priv. s.
- töz-lüg* of the nature ← *töz* root, basis, origin + *-lüg/-luy* den. n. s. (= *tözlüg* having a nature, root or origin)
- bolup* becomes ← *bol-* + *-u/-ü-* + *-p*
- kök* blue
- qalıy-taqı* being in the skies ← *qalıy* the air, atmosphere, *kök qalıy* the (visible) sky + *-taqıl/-täki* den. n. s. ← *-ta/-tä* + *-qıl/-ki* (= 'being in')
- bulıd* (~ *bulıt*) cloud(s)
- açılmıš* had opened ← *aç-* to open + *-ı/-i-* + *-l-* pass. s. (= *açıl-* to be opened) + *-mıš/-miš*
- öz töz-i* its essence ← *öz* spirit, self, *töz* root, basis, origin + *-ı/-i* 3 p. poss. s.
- tiđir* (it) is said ← *ti-* (~ *te-*) + *-đ-* (= *-t-*) caus. s. (= *tit-* ~ *tet-* it is said [to be], to be called) + *-ir/-ır* aorist s.

'The outer breath (when) ceases (and) the inner breath when has not (yet) ceased, in the first instant the to-be-seen-wisdom shines. Outside if (he/she) looks around, as if snow had snowed white (it) appears. Inside if (he/she) looks around, like smoke (it) appears. In the second instant the extension-existence wisdom shines. Outside if (he/she) looks around, like a sunrise a red appears. Inside if (he/she) looks around, like the light of a

glow-worm, very, very little light appears. In the third instant the acquisition of wisdom shines. Outside if (he/she) looks around, dark to him/her (it) appears. Inside if (he/she) looks around, like the light of a lamp (it) appears. More than before the mind shines. In the fourth instant the full acquisition of wisdom shines. Outside if (he/she) looks around, like the light at dawn (it) appears. Inside if (he/she) looks around, (it) is bright, (of) the thoughtless nature (it) becomes, as if the cloud(s) in the skies had opened (it) shines. Its essence (is) bright, it is said.'

Free translation

[34-41] Also, in the together-realizing there are two kinds: didactic and undidactic. It has been shown and preached that after having become undidactic (the dying person) will find his/her fruit. What concerns here the absorbing of the matter and dharma, there is an absorbing of the coarse. What concerns (the absorbing of the coarse), first of all, when the colour is absorbed by the sound, he/she cannot see the fine colour with the eye. When the sound is absorbed by the smell, the nose does not perceive the smell. When the taste is absorbed by the touch, the tongue does not perceive the taste. [41-48] The four elements will be absorbed in the following order: when the earth is absorbed by the water, the body becomes heavy like a stone thrown into the water. If he/she raises the head, it hurts. When the water is absorbed by the fire, the mouth and nose become dry. Sometimes water runs out of the nose and mouth. The throat becomes dry. When the fire is absorbed by the wind, the hands and feet become cold. When the wind is absorbed by the mind, the eyes become dazzled, he/she takes a long breath, and his/her hands and feet writhe. When the mind is absorbed by the subtle mind, the four wisdoms will flash in four instants. [49-64] When the outer breath ceases and the inner breath has not yet ceased, the 'to-be-seen-wisdom' shines in the first instant. If he/she looks around outside, it appears white as if it had snowed. If he/she looks around inside, it appears like smoke. The 'extension-existence-wisdom' shines in the second instant. If he/she looks around outside, a redness like a sunrise appears. If he/she looks around inside, very, very little light, like the light of a glow-worm appears. The acquisition of wisdom shines in the third instant. If he/she looks around outside, it appears dark to him/her. If he/she looks around inside, it appears like the light of a lamp. The mind shines

more than before. The full acquisition of wisdom shines in the fourth instant. If he/she looks around outside, it appears like the light at dawn. If he/she looks around inside, it is bright, it becomes of the thoughtless nature, it shines as if the clouds in the skies had opened. It is said that its essence is bright.

Remarks on the text

1. As in most Buddhist and, especially, Lamaist works, the grammatical structure of our sample is fairly simple but the understanding of the text is, however, considerably difficult. The use of a very colourful language rich in symbolism is designed to make the reader penetrate the subtle teachings.
2. The orthography of the text requires some explanations. Most obvious is a constant confusion of *t* and *d*, as well as *s* and *z*. In our transcription t (uig. *t*) = *d*, d (uig. *d*) = *t*, and s (uig. *s*) = *z*. The reason for this confusion, which is typical of Uighur texts of the Mongol Yuan period, is not yet fully understood; it may partly be due to Mongolian influence. Mongolian does not have the phoneme *z*; the phoneme *t* is known in all positions in Uighur; and *d* is known in both languages in medial position, but initial *d* is not known in Uighur. As for the double writing of vowels, when they are in initial position they have sometimes been regarded as a sign of an initial *h*. However, as we remarked in connection with the Brāhmī text, it is not clear whether the initial phoneme *h* actually existed in Uighur. Furthermore, the double writing of vowels occurs also in medial position, and here no *h* is expected. For this reason we suggest that this peculiar orthography is possibly an attempt to distinguish different words written in the same way in Uighur script, e.g. *oot* 'fire' vs. *ot* 'grass, vegetation' (but once *oot* in the latter meaning), *yiil* 'wind' vs. *yil* 'year', *tīin* 'breath' vs. *tin* 'halter'

* * *

For the student/reader who wants to approach longer and more complex texts in runic script, we recommend the Orkhon inscriptions transcribed and translated by T. Tekin in the earlier-mentioned *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic* (pp. 231-295, see Bibl. 4.3.1). For text in Uighur script there is, of course, an *embarras de richesses* (see further down and Bibl. 4.3.1). Short samples of Turkic in Uighur and Manichean scripts are found in von Gabain's grammar (pp. 29-31, 36-37), and an

anthology of Iranian and Old Turkic Manichean texts was prepared by H.-J. Klimkeit. For an overview of the literature on the subject with detailed bibliographical references see *UBL*.

Through the above samples the reader has – we hope – gained an insight, even if only superficially (for there are gaps in the areas of flexion, pronouns, verbal forms and formatives) into Old Turkic and, through it, also an inkling of today's Turkic languages. Which leads us to the next question, viz. what are the common characteristics of the Turkic languages?

The basic characteristics may be arranged for convenience into four groups; by and large they are shared also by the Mongolian and Manchu-Tungus languages, which is of course why these three families of languages have been brought together under the same roof.

I. Phonology.

- 1) The main feature is vowel harmony which in the Turkic languages is of two kinds: a) palatal, with front vowels opposed to back vowels, and b) labial, with round vowels opposed to non-labial or neutral vowels. It is the first vowel, or syllable, that determines the value or class of the subsequent vowels which, as we have seen, belong to formatives and other suffixes. Since this is a case of progressive vocalism, it must start somewhere, and it can only start in the first syllable which in the Turkic languages belongs necessarily to the root.
- 2) Turkic vocalism is perfectly, or almost perfectly balanced with its eight basic phonemes (i.e. the two series of four front and four back vowels). The closed *e*, which stands alone and is an intermediate sound between *ä* and *i* is not regarded as a basic phoneme (the ninth), but an accidental one, of no functional, i.e. semantic, value, and for this reason it is omitted in writing.
- 3) The effect of vowel harmony on certain consonants, viz. the two series of velar consonants *k*, *g* and *q*, *γ*.
- 4) The tendency to avoid certain initial consonants, especially *wāw*, *hēth*, *dāleth*, *lāmedh* and *rēš*.
- 5) Instability of final *n*.
- 6) No initial consonant cluster.

II. Morphology.

- 1) No grammatical gender.
- 2) No article, but a special use of the 3rd person possessive suffix which is akin to that of an article.
- 3) No dual number, only singular and plural.
- 4) No rigid rule concerning the plural.
- 5) A simple system of verbal and nominal roots which cannot be altered but only modified by suffixes. The root of a verb is the imperative form; the root of a noun is the absolute or nominative case. At the origin the roots were probably monosyllabic.
- 6) The capital role of suffixes, of which there are two types: derivation suffixes or formatives, and desinential (or flectional) suffixes.
- 7) No clear distinction between nouns (substantives), adjectives and adverbs.
- 8) The role of the nominal forms of the verb in creating nouns, adjectives and adverbs, which properly belongs to the domain of syntax.

III. Syntax.

- 1) The word order follows the principle that all secondary elements, such as those that specify or qualify, precede the principal element. This means that a) the subject precedes the predicate, i.e. the verb; b) the epithet, or adjective, precedes the noun that it qualifies; c) the adverb precedes the verb; d) the object comes between the subject and the verb; and e) the verb is placed at the end of the clause or sentence. As a corollary to this, all subordinate clauses also precede the principal clause. The word order can be changed in order to emphasize the subject. Here are some examples of how these Turkic constructs sound in English: a) ‘these tribes hostile were’; b) ‘the hostile tribes came’; c) ‘the hostile tribes here came’; d) ‘we the hostile tribes here defeated’; and, finally, e) ‘the hostile tribes here *we* defeated’ meaning ‘it was *we* who defeated the hostile tribes here’ For the same reason, the personal pronoun often follows the noun: ‘the gate-keepers *we*’ = ‘we who are the gate-keepers’, or ‘we are the gate-keepers’ (the copula is unnecessary).

- 2) Since there are only two categories of true words, i.e. nouns and verbs (= nominal and verbal roots, or nominals and verbals) – as distinct from auxiliary elements like suffixes – verbs play a fundamental role owing to their greater versatility. In this respect we must mention two important characteristics of verbs: a) verbal nouns can be used (i) as predicates in nominal propositions following the noun; and (ii) as attributes preceding the noun they qualify, as in English ‘a stolen horse’ = ‘a horse that has been stolen’; b) gerunds or converbs also play a very important role in verbal propositions by expressing relationships (modal, temporal, etc.) between verbs and, especially, to connect clauses in such a way that one can build up a virtually endless proposition by using a ger. form at the end of each subordinate clause where we would normally use a conjunction. E.g. ‘the khaghan collected the gold, distributed it among his troops and returned to his camp in haste’ becomes ‘the khaghan the gold having collected, his troops among having distributed, to his camp hastening returned’
- 3) As a result of this, there is in Turkic an almost complete absence of conjunctions and of relative pronouns.
- 4) Coordination can thus be achieved through verbal forms or, in the case of nouns, by simple apposition, such as ‘father mother’ = ‘father *and* mother’, or ‘father *or* mother’
- 5) In Turkic there is a tendency to emphasize possession by means of possessive suffixes which are added to the case endings, so that we have in fact (like in Mongolian) a possessive declension besides the regular one. Sometimes, however, these suffixes, especially in the case of the 3rd person (‘his’), have become so redundant that, as we have seen, they can be regarded as articles or mere enclitics.

IV. Vocabulary.

- 1) The indigenous Turkic vocabulary consists generally of monosyllabic or, more rarely, disyllabic roots, most of which
 - a) still exist in the modern Turkic languages (affected, of course, by evolutionary semantic changes); and b) are largely concrete in contents. Abstract elements are rare, and intel-

lectual notions greatly simplified. (This reflects the traditional culture of the Turkish tribes.)

- 2) Because of this, there is a large body of words borrowed from other languages, especially from Persian, Sanskrit, Chinese and Arabic, but also, in subsequent periods, from Mongolian, Greek, Italian and French, not to speak of Russian and English in more recent times. These borrowings have enormously enriched the religious, intellectual and technical vocabulary of the Turks.
- 3) An interesting feature of the Turkic vocabulary is the very frequent use of hendiadys, i.e. the expression of an idea or an object by two words in apposition, such as ‘goods-property’ = ‘wealth’, as mentioned earlier.

* * *

Clearly, there would be much more to add to what has been outlined above on this important topic in order to cover the characteristics of *all* Turkic languages and the various ramifications into other Altaic languages, such as Mongolian and Manchu. For a full treatment of the subject the reader is referred to the relevant literature (Bibl. 4.4). K. Grønbech’s ‘Résumé’ is very useful, short and to the point.

Before closing this section we should add a few words about some modern Turkic languages which do not quite fit into the general scheme, and also about a recently discovered Turkic language.

Earlier on we mentioned Chuvash, the language spoken by about 1.3 million people in the Chuvash Republic in the Volga basin. This language and Yakut, which is spoken in the former Yakut Republic in Siberia (now re-named Sakha, 951.000 speakers in 2005), are languages that in ancient times became isolated from the other Turkic languages through migrations and other reasons, and thus had a separate development, so much so that they are incomprehensible to other Turkic speakers. As a result, both languages have attracted considerable attention from linguists.

Chuvash is the descendant of the language (or of one of the dialects) of the Volga Bulgars and is, therefore, closely related to Bulgar, and, possibly, to the language of the mysterious Khazars of the Volga and Don. Chuvash has also some points of contact with Finno-Ugric languages.

Yakut or Sakha is very interesting linguistically, especially from the point of view of its vocabulary, which is a sort of living museum of Turkic and Mongolian words that have disappeared from these languages in the course of time, but have been preserved in that language.

In this context we must also mention Salar and Western Yughur (also called Sari or Yellow Uighur) spoken in the Gansu-Qinghai area of western China. Due to the profound impact of Chinese, Tibetan and Mongolian, these languages have undergone changes that have only recently attracted the attention of scholars. Both languages are sometimes erroneously classified as dialects of Modern Uighur.

Among the most recently investigated languages is Khalaj, spoken by about 20,000 people in Central Iran, which is not included in Poppe's *Introduction to Altaic Linguistics*. Khalaj was actually discovered in 1906, but it was not investigated until 1968 (by G. Doerfer). Its linguistic features seem to defy classification as a Turkic language according to the schemes proposed so far (hence its exclusion), although it certainly is a Turkic language. A good outline of the characteristics of Chuvash and Khalaj is found in Poppe's 'Overview', with important remarks on other interesting Turkic minority languages like Tofa, which is close to Tuvan. An informative overview over recent discoveries on the Turkic linguistic map is given in the earlier-mentioned work by L. Johanson (Bibl. 4.1).

We can then move to our next topic in this brief survey, i.e. the history of Turkic studies – of Turcology – and, with it, to the essential literature, or bibliography, that is the outcome of these studies. (See Bibl. 4.5 & 6.)

Historical and comparative Turkic studies began in earnest in the second half of the 19th c., although Turkish as a language, i.e. Osmanli Turkish – the Turkish of Turkey – had been studied, and Turkish texts translated, long before that (17th c.). Germany, Russia, Finland, Denmark, Hungary, France, Sweden, Poland, and, naturally, Turkey itself, are the Western countries which have contributed most to the scientific investigation of the Turkic languages; and some excellent work has also been done recently by scholars in England, in the USA, in Italy, in China and, especially, in Japan.

The founder of Turkic linguistics is Otto Böhtlingk (1815-1904), a Dutch-German-Russian who thoroughly investigated Yakut, but his fame has been overshadowed by his contemporary Wilhelm

Radloff (Radlov), a German-Russian (1837-1918). He was a great traveller and collector of Turkic language and folklore material from Central Asia, Mongolia and Siberia. Among his main works are the *Atlas der Altertümer der Mongolei* (a collection of inscriptions from Mongolia), and the monumental dictionary of Turkic languages *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialekte*, on which his fame largely rests. (Exact bibliographical references to these works and to most of those mentioned in this section are found in the books listed in the Bibl. 4.5). Radlov was the greatest collector, but not an outstanding comparativist. He and the brilliant Danish Turcologist Vilhelm Thomsen (1842-1927) independently translated and published the Orkhon inscriptions, but the real merit for the original and accurate decipherment goes to Thomsen (1896). Thomsen and his younger countryman Kaare Grønbech (1901-57) are regarded among the finest scholars in the field of Turkic linguistics. Grønbech's *Der türkische Sprachbau* is the best work on the subject.

Russia has produced great names in the field until the present time, like S. E. Malov (1880-1957), A. N. Samoilovič (1880-1938), N. A. Baskakov (1905-96), È. R. Tenišev (1921-2004), A. N. Kononov (1906-86), È. V. Sevortyan (1901-78), S. G. Klyaštornyĭ (b. 1928), A. M. Ščerbak (1928-2008), and N. N. Poppe (1897-1991), who is better known as a Mongolist. However, Poppe, about whom we shall have a lot more to say, was an all-round Altaicist and has also greatly contributed to Turkic studies. Many other Russian scholars have produced useful dictionaries and grammars of Turkic languages. They are mentioned in Poppe's *Introduction to Altaic Linguistics*, which also contains a basic bibliography. We must mention in this connection the excellent dictionary of Old Turkic (including also Qarakhanid) of V. M. Nadelyaev *et al.* (*Drevnetyurkskĭ slovar'*), published in Leningrad in 1969. To L. Yu. Tuguševa we owe an excellent study on the Uighur version of Xuanzang's biography.

While German and Russian Turcology was flourishing early last century in both countries with most of the works published in German, a star of first magnitude appeared in Finland, who also chose to publish most of his works in German. This was Gustav John Ramstedt (1873-1950) – an eclectic linguist, and probably the greatest Altaic comparativist. He is better known for his work on Mongolian, but his contribution to Turkic studies is also remarkable. He was the head of an important school of Altaic scholars such as Kotwicz, Rudnev,

Žamcarano, Vladimircov, Poppe, Aalto and others. His work – some of his finest published posthumously by P. Aalto (1917-98) and H. Halén (b. 1943) in Finland – is still fundamental. The post-Ramstedt Finnish school includes P. Aalto, a very versatile scholar, and M. Räsänen (1893-1976), a specialist in comparative Turkic grammar and author of an important etymological dictionary of the Turkic languages.

In Germany we have a continuous stream of scholars from the beginning to the present time, almost a glut of Turcologists, largely of course as a result of the German expeditions to Xinjiang of A. von Le Coq (who, incidentally, was also an excellent Turcologist) and of A. Grünwedel, and the establishment of the great Turfan collection in Berlin. A chair of Turkic studies was founded in Germany in 1890; among the first to fill it was the great F. W. K. Müller (1863-1930) who is especially known for his work on Uighur. A contemporary of Müller was W. Bang (1869-1934) who, also in Berlin, trained a number of leading Turcologists, among whom one must mention A. von Gabain (1901-93), author of the best-known Old Turkic grammar; the Swede G. Jarring (1907-2002), who became the leading specialist on Modern Uighur (or Turki); K. H. Menges (1908-99), a German who migrated to the USA and who was both a Turcologist and an Altaicist; G. R. Rachmati (d. 1964), one of the leading Turkish Turcologists of his generation; and O. Pritsak (d. 2006), also a Turcologist and Altaicist who went to Harvard and later returned to his native Ukraine. In Germany itself, the postwar generation of Turcologists teaching at various universities, particularly Berlin, Frankfurt a. M., Göttingen and Giessen, includes P. Zieme, G. Doerfer (1920-2003), K. Röhrborn and several other active younger scholars, such as U. Bläsing, M. Erdal, J. P. Laut, D. Maue, S.-C. Raschmann, C. Schönig and J. Wilkens.

In Poland, Turcology is represented chiefly by T. Kowalski (1889-1948), a gifted linguist, and, as in Hungary, Polish Mongolists like W. Kotwicz (1872-1944) and M. Lewicki (1908-55) also made important contributions to Turkic linguistics in their Altaic comparative studies. The Polish Turcological tradition is continued in Warsaw by E. Tryjarski and S. Kałużyński (d. 2007), in Kraków by M. and S. Stachowski, and in Poznań by H. Jankowski.

In Hungary, interest in Turkic studies and culture has deep cultural and historical roots. A chair of Turkic studies was established in Budapest as early as 1864 for A. Vámbéry (1831-1913), famous for

his journeys to Persia and Central Asia. The leading Turcologist in Hungary between the two world wars and the following decade was the prolific J. Németh (1890-1976). One should also mention T. Halasi-Kun (1914-91), a Kipchak specialist, G. Hazai, Á. Berta (1951-2008), and, again, Hungarian Mongolists like L. Ligeti (1902-87), G. Kara and A. Róna-Tas have all contributed greatly to Turkic studies. Thus they, like Hungarian-born D. Sinor, who has written on Turkic, Mongolian and Manchu, must be properly regarded as Altaicists.

In France, Turkic studies did not develop in the same way as they did in Germany, mainly because France did not acquire a great collection of early manuscripts as the Germans did, and also because the greatest Turcologist France produced, Jean Deny (1879-1962), was mainly interested in Modern Turkish. He wrote the best grammar of the language which, although somewhat aged (it was first published in 1921), is still unsurpassed for its comprehensive treatment. The line of transmission, as it were, continued in Paris with L. Bazin (b. 1920) and the American-French J. Hamilton (1921-2003) – excellent Turcologists both working in the field of Old Turkic, especially the latter. Hamilton has edited and published all the Uighur documents brought to France from Dunhuang by Pelliot. The French tradition in Old Turkic studies is nowadays continued by G.-J. Pinault, basically a specialist in Tocharian studies.

P. Pelliot (1878-1945), being a Sino-Mongolist with special interest in Central Asia, also did a good deal of work in the field of Old Turkic but did not produce a major work on the subject, his contribution being in the form of articles and, especially, very learned footnotes or commentaries, and book reviews.

Sweden, as stated earlier, has produced G. Jarring, who published most of his works in Lund, the major one being *An Eastern Turki-English Dialect Dictionary* (1964) and L. Johanson, who is mainly active in Germany. Also in Lund, the leading Finno-Ugrian scholar B. Collinder carried out his life-long work.

Concerning dictionaries, we should mention here England's major contribution, and a really important one, in the form of Sir G. Clauson's *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish* (1972), which is quite comprehensive for all pre-Islamic Turkic texts. Because the alphabetical order of the dictionary is out of the ordinary, a handy *Index* in the usual order has been prepared by A.

Róna-Tas (1981). Clauson, although primarily a Turcologist, has also written on Mongolian language and its relation with Turkic; furthermore, he has been very vocal on the subject of the Altaic Hypothesis (about which more later).

Works on Turkic philology in English, especially concerning the early period, are fewer in quantity – and of lesser quality one must say – than the German and Russian contributions, although some outstanding works have appeared in English for which there is no counterpart in other languages, except perhaps Turkish. The best grammar of Orkhon Turkic by T. Tekin is in English, and so is the monumental work on the *Dīwān* of al-Kāšgarī by Dankoff and Kelly (both already mentioned), and the numerous contributions to Turkic studies by Poppe, Pritsak, Menges and other scholars, mostly migrants from their native countries to the USA. However, there are also native American scholars, like J. R. Krueger (b. 1927), a former student of Grønbech and Poppe, who are well versed in Altaic languages and who have been very productive. It is, indeed, in the USA, as well as in Germany and in France, that we also find Turkish Turcologists being trained and publishing their works. The great Turcologist G. R. Rachmati was trained in Germany, Talat Tekin and Şinasi Tekin publish their books and articles in the USA and in Germany, besides Turkey, and so do several others.

Turkey, as we would expect, has produced a stream of great philologists besides the ones already mentioned: scholars like H. N. Orkun, A. Caferoğlu, A. Temir, Z. V. Togan, B. Ögel, O. N. Tuna, S. Tezcan, O. F. Sertkaya and M. Ölmez.

Although Italy has had a long historical relationship with Turkey (with many ups and downs), it cannot boast a great school of Turcology, but it has produced two serious and prolific scholars, authors of many translations from Turkish and of excellent language textbooks. They are E. Rossi (1894-1955) and A. Bombaci (1914-79), the latter known chiefly for his handy *History of Turkish Literature*, which we think is still the best work of its kind. U. Marazzi (b. 1948) in Naples has also made important contributions, combining philology with the cultural history of the Central Asian Turks.

Modern Turkish is taught in many universities; there are numerous scholars in this field scattered all over the world, and a great number of textbooks and language material is available. In English, the best known names are probably G. L. Lewis and Fahir İz; in

French, J. Deny (for his grammar) and L. Bazin (for his excellent *Introduction à l'étude pratique de la langue turque*, and his superb contribution to *PTF*).

Outside Europe and the USA there are many centres of Turkic studies in the ex-Soviet republics, in China and in Japan. We cannot survey them, but should especially mention Japan, which has a sound tradition in Turcology with names like T. Haneda, M. Mori, N. Yamada, and the very productive T. Moriyasu in Osaka as well as M. Shōgaito in Kyoto.

Turkic and Turkish studies are flourishing, witness the number of Turcological publications that appear each year, and the journals devoted to these studies. They are unquestionably ahead of both Mongol and Tungus-Manchu studies, and the quality of scholarship of the young generation of Turcologists is very high indeed.

An interesting phenomenon in Turcology is the cross-fertilization that we observe in many countries in the form of joint works, and in the migration of scholars. Thus, for instance, the present-day leading Chinese Turcologist Geng Shimin has written scholarly papers jointly with James Hamilton and G.-J. Pinault in Paris, and with H.-J. Klimkeit and J. P. Laut in Germany; the leading Israeli Turcologist M. Erdal, now in Frankfurt, worked for many years with G. Doerfer in Göttingen. We have already mentioned S. Tekin who, besides publishing text editions of Turkic material (in German) in Berlin, also co-edits the *Journal of Turkish Studies* at Harvard University. The Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften has launched several projects on Uighur (and Iranian) texts together with universities in Japan; another joint project, concerned with the publications of the Uighur Xuanzang Biography, involves scholarly centres in both Germany and Turkey (see below). There is a brotherhood of Turcologists which is unparalleled in other areas of Altaic studies.

For more details about personalities and the history of Turkic studies one can profitably consult the relevant sections of Poppe's, Menges', and Benzing's works (Bibl. 3.2, 4.1).

The above is a wide but rather superficial overview of Turkic studies, enough to familiarize the reader with the major players past and present; it would be incomplete as a picture, however, if we were not to say a bit more about books and publications in the field.

We are fortunate in that books and journals of Turkic studies, or containing contributions to Turkic studies, are quite numerous and,

with a few exceptions (confined mainly to journals published in Turkey, Central Asia, China and Japan), easily and generally available, as are the proceedings of conferences.

Anyone who wishes to enter the field should approach it through the standard reference works on history and language that we mentioned, viz. Sinor's *Syllabus* and *The Cambridge History of Early Central Asia* (Bibl. 2.1 & 2) in particular for the historical background, and the *PTF*, *IAL*, *TLP*, *T*, *TL*, *TY*, Laut, 'Bibliographie', Tsumagari, 'Guide', and Matsui's 'Recent Situation' (Bibl. 4.1) for the language. These works also contain surveys of the literature and languages of later periods, not merely Old Turkic.

To update our knowledge and keep up with developments in the broad field of Western Turcology, there are journals like *Turcica* (Louvain-Paris-Strasbourg), *Turkic Languages* (Wiesbaden), the *Journal of Turkish Studies* (Harvard), *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher* (Wiesbaden), *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* (Budapest), *Studia Uralo-Altica* (Szeged), *Acta Orientalia* (Lund), the *Journal de la Société Finno-ougrienne* (Helsinki), *Central Asiatic Journal* (Vienna; Wiesbaden), *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* (Warsaw), the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (London), the *Altorientalische Forschungen* (Berlin; only up to volume 20), and several others in Turkish, Russian and Japanese.

Many books on Turkic subjects are published in *Turcologica* (Wiesbaden); in the *Uralic and Altaic Series* of Indiana University; in the *Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures* of Harvard University; in the *Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne* (Helsinki); in the *Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altica* (Wiesbaden); in *Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica* (Budapest); in the *Studia Uralo-Altica* (Szeged); and by the Academies of Sciences in Berlin (nowadays by Brepolis, Turnhout), Budapest, and Moscow–St. Petersburg. Catalogues of booksellers like Harrassowitz in Wiesbaden and Brill in Leiden keep one informed on books on *Turcica* which are still available for sale.

The basic tools for the study of Old Turkic have been mentioned earlier on. We may add that Clauson's etymological dictionary (*ED*, with Róna-Tas' index) can profitably be used in conjunction with Nadelyaev *et al.*'s *Drevnetyurkskii slovar'* since these two dictionaries complete each other insofar as examples are concerned. Many fundamental studies of Uighur documents and text editions of Turfan

material by A. von Le Coq, F. W. K. Müller, W. Bang, A. von Gabain, and others have been reprinted in two volumes in Leipzig in 1972. A small selection of Old Turkic and Uighur text editions, consisting of transcriptions, translations and notes, can be found in the bibliography of this book (Bibl. 4.2, 4.3.1).

For the later period there is no lack of material either, with works like the fundamental 3-volume contribution by Dankoff and Kelly on the *Dīwān* of al-Kāšgarī. (Further titles can be found in our Bibl. 4.3.2.)

A special place in the popular and literary culture of the Turks (as in that of the Mongols) is occupied by oral epics. Sung by their bards and handed down for generations by word of mouth, they were eventually written down. Among the earliest and most famous is that of Dede Qorqut, which has been published as a collection of twelve stories, in which the narrative – about the heroic deeds of the ancient Oghuz Turks – is partly prose and partly poetry. (Dede Qorqut is the name of a semi-mythical *ozan*, or bard, who is the reputed compiler of this epic cycle.) These stories were given their present form in the 13th c., but the substance is no doubt much older. Turkic people have their own epics and these have been, and are being, studied and translated. The reader is referred to the works cited in Bibl. 4.2 for more details.

Modern Turkish and the Turkic languages of Central Asia are also well researched and there are plenty of grammars, dictionaries, and collections of texts. What we still lack is a good selection of Old Turkic texts with English translation and notes.

Among the important and urgent tasks of Turcology in the field of Old Turkic is the critical text edition and translation of the Uighur version of Xuanzang's biography, which is now being undertaken by K. Röhrborn and his colleagues at Göttingen (in cooperation with M. Ölmez at Istanbul), as well as the *Maitrisimit*, in preparation by J. P. Laut, successor of Röhrborn at Göttingen. Another massive project, also started by Röhrborn, is the compilation of an up-to-date Uighur dictionary to cover all the material known, including previously unpublished Turfan documents as well as documents discovered by the Chinese in Xinjiang in the last decades.

Thus, not only is there an abundance of original material, but there are also reference works and, indeed, interesting research projects. For someone venturing into Turkic studies there is only one

problem. If he/she wants to undertake these studies seriously, it is not sufficient to obtain the literature we have cited, the grammars, dictionaries, texts and critical investigations: it is necessary first to acquire a basic working knowledge of several languages, i.e. English, French, German, Russian and Turkish. To progress further, it will also be necessary to learn some Japanese and Chinese. This means, of course, a total commitment to the discipline – for life.

2 *Mongolian*

The short introduction to Turkic philology presented above can serve also as an introduction to Mongolian and Mongolian studies because a special relationship exists between these two Altaic languages which is both linguistic and historico-cultural.

First of all, following the pattern used for Turkic, we must say something about the classification of the Mongolian languages and at the same time give a few basic statistics to place this family of languages on the map, as it were.

Like Turkic (but for fewer speakers), Mongolian is a widely distributed family, consisting of only eight languages with numerous dialects. Their formal classification on a geographical basis and in a simplified scheme is the following:

1. Western group (compr. Kalmyk, Oirat and their dialects)
2. Eastern group, divided into:
 - i. Southern Mongol, or Inner Mongolian (incl. Ordos, Chakhar and Khorchin)
 - ii. Central Mongol, or Mongolian proper (incl. Khalkha and Darkhat)
 - iii. Northern Mongol (compr. Buriat and its various dialects, Khamnigan Mongol)
3. Isolated languages
 - i. Moghol of Afghanistan
 - ii. Monguor or Mongghul and other languages and dialects of Gansu and Qinghai (incl. Santa or Dongxiang, Shira ['Yellow'] or Eastern Yughur [= Uighur], Mangghuer, and Bao'an). On the two 'Yughur' see *TL*, p. 397.
 - iii. Dagur of Manchuria

The eight languages in question are: 1) Kalmyk/Oirat, the language spoken in the Kalmyk Republic in the lower Volga, and in various parts of China (Xinjiang, Qinghai) and northwestern Mongolia (Kobdo); 2) Buriat, which is spoken in the Buriat Republic in Eastern Siberia (thus being the northernmost Mongolian language), as well as in Northern Mongolia and in northeastern Inner Mongolia (Bargu-Buriat); 3) Inner Mongolian, spoken in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region and neighbouring regions in China; 4) Khalkha, spoken in Mongolia, where it is the official language and, therefore, geographically the most widely spoken Mongolian language; 5)

Moghol, which is, or was, spoken by small groups of people in Afghanistan; 6) Monguor and other Mongolian languages spoken in northwest China; 7) Dagur, spoken in northwestern Manchuria, around Hailar and Qiqihar, in present-day Inner Mongolia; 8) Khamnigan Mongol, spoken in the Mergel basin of Hulun Buir, Inner Mongolia.

We can (and perhaps we should) reduce the actual languages to seven if we combine groups (3) and (4), i.e. the Mongolian of Inner Mongolia and the Mongolian of Mongolia, since the linguistic characteristics of these languages and their dialects may not warrant separate grouping. Indeed, Poppe does not make a distinction between them and calls them cumulatively Mongol, or Mongolian, with Khalkha as its most important dialect (*IAL*, p. 13). However, we must emphasize that the above classification is largely geographical and only partly linguistic (in the case of the isolated languages); the division of the Mongolian languages into related groups on purely linguistic criteria produces a different classification and one which is not uniform, as Mongolists approach the problem differently. One scheme is the following: (i) Northeastern Mongolian (NE) = Dagur; (ii) Northern Mongolian (N) = Khamnigan Mongol, Buriat; (iii) Central Mongolian (C) = Mongol proper (Khalkha and the Mongol dialects of Mongolia, Inner Mongolia and Manchuria), Ordos, Oirat (including Kalmyk); (iv) South-Central Mongolian (SC) = Shira Yughur; (v) Southeastern Mongolian (SE) = Monguor, Bao'an or Bonan, Santa; (vi) Southwestern Mongolian (SW) = Moghol (*ML*, pp. 388-389). We may compare this scheme with the classifications proposed by Poppe (*IAL*, pp. 71-9), Doerfer (*M*, pp. 41-50) and Sanzheyev (Bibl. 5.1). According to Sanzheyev, for instance, Mongolian comprises only *two* groups of dialects, which he calls 'strident' and 'mellow' respectively. The 'strident' dialects, mainly Khalkha and Darkhat in Mongolia, are characterized *inter alia* by the presence of two series of affricates, viz. (1) the voiceless and voiced palatal-alveolar affricates \check{c} and \check{j} , and (2) the alveolar affricates c and z ; the 'mellow' dialects, mainly those of Inner Mongolia (Ordos, Chakhar), are characterized *inter alia* by the presence of only one series of affricates, i.e. the palatal-alveolar \check{c} and \check{j} . Although Sanzheyev was regarded in Soviet Russia as the leading Mongolian linguist (he himself was a native Buriat), his classification remains a purely personal one. Chinese linguists (chiefly Inner Mongolia

Mongols) have made their own classifications of the Mongolian languages and dialects spoken in China, revising it as their investigation progressed. Therefore, we are far from a generally accepted system of classification. The problems inherent in such an endeavour have been nicely summed up by C. R. Bawden in his article of 1973 and by R. I. Binnick in his article of 1987. (See Bibl. 5.1.)

We are not on much firmer ground either with the number of Mongol speakers, but we have figures (even if not wholly reliable) for all groups except Moghol. For purely statistical purposes we shall pool all the speakers of Mongol languages in three areas, viz. Russia and Siberia, Mongolia, and China. Russia and Siberia include Kalmyk and Buriat, Mongolia includes all the languages and dialects of the Republic of Mongolia, and China the rest. According to the available statistics, the speakers of the first group totalled 520,000 in 1989-90 and 750,000 in 2002; for 2007/8 an estimate of 850,000 can be made. The number of speakers of the second group, which represents the entire population of Mongolia, was about 2.4 million in 1993 and 2.5 million in 2005; the 2007 estimate of the United Nations was 2.6 million people of which 85%, i.e. 2.2 million, was composed of ethnic Mongols. The third group comprised 2.9 million in 1982, 6.3 million in 2000 and 6.6 million in 2004, but the validity of these figures is doubtful. This would make for an estimated grand total of 9.6 million Mongol speakers for the year 2007. Even if we add the Afghan Moghol speakers (assuming they still exist their number would be insignificant), this is only a fraction of the total figure for Turkic speakers, which is close to 200 million people. In fact, the Mongol speakers of China have been vastly decreasing in number through assimilation. According to official Chinese statistics for the year 2005, of the 5.2 million Mongols of China (mostly settled in Inner Mongolia, Heilongjiang, Jilin, Liaoning, Xinjiang, Qinghai, Gansu, Hebei, Henan and Yunnan) only about 3.2 million (!) could then still use their own Mongolian language and script. The same can probably be said of the Kalmyks and the Buriats. In a few years' time a great proportion of ethnic Mongols may have ceased to speak Mongolian in favour of Russian and Chinese, and the trend will no doubt continue.

A detailed breakdown of the various language groups and their geographical distribution can be found in the language atlases of Moseley and Asher, and Wurm *et al.* Further information can be

obtained from the sources cited in I. de Rachewiltz's article 'The Mongols Rethink Their Early History' (Bibl. 5.2).

The Mongolian languages are briefly described by Poppe in his *IAL*, and more fully treated in the volume *Mongolistik* in the *Handbuch der Orientalistik* edited by B. Spuler. To these books we should add Poppe's *Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies* which, although published over forty years ago, is still an indispensable tool, to be supplemented however with the section on Mongolian Studies in Poppe's 'Overview' of 1975, with the various contributions in *Mongol'skie yazyki* (*MY*, pp. 10-152) and, especially, with the recent volume edited by Janhunen (*ML*). For further references see Bibl. 5.1.

From the above figures it will also be noticed that the geographical distribution of the Mongolian languages present an abnormality which is not found in the Turkic language distribution, at least not to the same extent, viz. the fact that the majority of Mongol speakers does not live in Mongolia proper, but in China.

Another interesting phenomenon is that the traditional script of the Mongols, the Uighur vertical script which they borrowed from the Turks in the 13th c., is not the official script of Mongolia (which is still Cyrillic), whereas it is the official script of the Mongols of Inner Mongolia. All these peculiarities have their explanation in history and we shall look into them presently when dealing with the historical and cultural background of the Mongols.

In the latter part of the 12th c. the Mongol tribes were unified by Činggis Qan – our Genghis Khan (his name is spelled in several different ways) – the great conqueror (? 1162-1227) and, unquestionably, the greatest name in Mongol history.

After the unification of the tribes and his election as supreme leader in 1206, this enterprising illiterate military genius began the conquest of China and of Central and Western Asia. After his death in 1227, his immediate successors continued his work, extending and consolidating the Mongol conquests in China, Turkestan, Iran and Russia.

In China, as in Central and Western Asia, Mongol rule lasted well into the 14th c. The Chinese overthrew the Mongol Yuan dynasty in 1368, while in Turkestan and Iran the Mongols were Turkicized, converted to Islam and removed from the political scene by local provincial dynasties, which were in turn eliminated by Tamerlan (?).

1336-1405). In Russia, the Mongols of the Golden Horde were also Turkicized, and in the 15th c. they split into separate khanates (Crimea, Kazan and Astrakhan), which survived until the middle of the 16th c.

Those Mongols who after the collapse of the Yuan dynasty were forced to leave China and return to their native grassland in the middle of the 14th c. soon began quarrelling among themselves, while at the same time harassing the Chinese. However, weakened by feuds and constant warfare, they were finally conquered by the Manchus who established the Qing dynasty in 1644.

From the end of the 14th to the end of the 16th c., the Mongols reverted to the steppe in almost every sense: this was the period of their lowest ebb, politically, socially and culturally. It was only in the late 16th c. that they were 're-converted' to Buddhism under Altan Qan of the Tümed (1507-82) and experienced a renaissance in art and literature. Traditionally, the Mongols – like the early Turks – were animists, with shamans (*bö'e*) playing an important role in their society, but Nestorian Christianity, in a rather debased form, had penetrated some of the tribes in the 11th-12th c. Many Mongols, so it is claimed, had converted to Tibetan Buddhism or Lamaism at the time of Qubilai (r. 1260-94) and in the following reigns, but we have no figures. It is believed that during their 'Dark Ages' (14th-16th c.) they reverted to shamanism but underwent a second Buddhist conversion in the late 16th and in the 17th c.; however, the traditional account has been questioned by Dumas and others (Bibl. 5.2). Some Mongol tribes had settled along the northern borders of China and became known as the Inner or Southern Mongols. They were conquered by the Manchus in 1636. The Outer or Northern Mongols of Mongolia proper (mainly Khalkhas) fell under Manchu domination in 1691 and did not regain their independence until 1911, when the Manchu Qing dynasty came to an end.

Thus, it was in the period when they were under Manchu domination that the Mongols experienced their literary and artistic renaissance, with a massive translation of Buddhist texts, illumination of manuscripts, painting and beautiful craftsmanship largely inspired by Tibetan art, all chiefly under court patronage. Whereas in the 13th and 14th c. Uighur Turkic influence was predominant among the Mongols, from the 16th/17th c. onward the role of mentors to the Mongols fell to the Tibetans, and the Tibetan language became the

religious and cultural language, like Latin in Medieval and Renaissance Europe. It was, indeed, as a direct result of the large-scale translation into Mongolian of the Buddhist canonical and non-canonical texts in Tibetan (the *Kanjur* and the *Tanjur* translated in the 17th and 18th c. respectively), that Written Mongolian was standardized according to certain fixed rules, and assumed a form known as Classical Mongolian which remained in use until the 1920s. It was also in the 17th and 18th c. that the Mongols produced a number of important literary and historical works, epics and chronicles. Thus the bulk of Mongol classical literature was produced between the 17th and 20th c.

In 1924, Mongolia became a socialist state – the first state after Russia to embrace Communism – which lasted until 1990. From 1924 to 1990, the major influence on Mongolia in all areas was that of the Soviet Union, to the extent that in 1941 the Mongolian Uighur script was replaced by the Russian Cyrillic alphabet.

The Inner Mongols remained an integral part of China and they still are the inhabitants of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region (IMAR) which in 2005 had a total population of *ca.* 24 million. They, as well as the Mongol pockets in Xinjiang, Gansu, Qinghai, Manchuria and other areas are ethnic minorities (called *minzu* or ‘nationalities’ in Chinese); they are, of course, all citizens of the PRC. In Bibl. 5.2 a number of books and articles are listed which give a good overview of Mongol history and culture from the 12th c. to the present time. To broaden one’s knowledge, one can find references in them to other books and articles apart from specialized bibliographies on the subject (like that of Sinor). Further information, albeit of uneven quality, can be gained through the Internet. Unfortunately, we still lack a good, comprehensive cultural history of the Mongols, most books focusing on the political, social and economic history, or on the literary history of their country.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russian influence has all but disappeared in Mongolia, but the old Communist-inspired structure subsists while Cyrillic is still used for general purposes, although attempts have been made to revive the old script. We shall talk more about this later.

When we reviewed the Mongolian languages earlier on, we touched upon other Mongol-speaking minorities in the ex-Soviet Union and in Afghanistan, such as the Kalmyks, the Buriats and the

Moghols. The first two are at present trying hard to reassert and preserve their cultural individuality against great odds. The major obstacle for both is the highly advanced process of Russification. To preserve their Mongol heritage by teaching the language and through publications is an uphill struggle for the Kalmyks and Buriats whose economic situation is unenviable; yet they are certainly making a commendable effort, the Buriats in particular.

As for the small Moghol communities in Afghanistan, we do not know what has actually happened to them in the last two decades and in the present still extremely confused state of affairs in that region. Fortunately, American, Japanese, Afghan and German scholars investigated these communities in the '50s, '60s and '70s, recording and subsequently publishing a good deal of information about them. The likelihood is that most, if not all, of the old speakers of this isolated language – a heavily Iranized remnant of an old Mongolian dialect – are by now dead or dispersed.

This crucial problem of survival of ancient Mongolian dialects, and even of the modern Mongolian languages and dialects of China, where they are gradually being replaced by Chinese, leads us to the next question, i.e. the periodization of Mongolian, which we can now approach with a better understanding of the geographical and historical background.

Mongolists – both native and non-Mongolian – do not agree on periodization, and they also disagree on terminology. One of the leading Western Mongolists, the earlier-mentioned N. Poppe, author of the standard *Grammar of Written Mongolian*, under the influence of G. J. Ramstedt introduced a periodization and a terminology which still represent the mainstream view. In this he was followed by many other authorities, such as A. Mostaert, L. Ligeti and F. W. Cleaves.

Poppe separates Written Mongolian from the Spoken Mongolian languages. The history of Written Mongolian (also called Script Mongolian) begins in the early 13th c. when the Mongols of Činggis Qan adopted the Uighur script (Fig. 12). This early phase, called Pre-classical Mongolian, lasted until the beginning of the 17th c.

As mentioned earlier, with the so-called 'second conversion' of the Mongols to Buddhism, the written language underwent a change to meet the new requirements of the translators of Buddhist texts. To be sure, some of these texts had already been translated from Tibetan and from Turkic in the 13th and 14th c., but in the 17th c. the Mongol-

ian language had evolved considerably and, as a result, earlier translations had become obsolete. Many words current in the 13th and 14th c. were no longer used and had virtually been forgotten by the 17th c. For example, a simple word like *jöge(n)* or *jüge(n)* (pronounced *jö'e[n]* or *jü'e[n]*), meaning 'cold', had disappeared and been replaced by *küiten*, the word still used today. There was also a need for greater consistency in translating Buddhist concepts and terminology and, indeed, a whole new phraseology and vocabulary were necessary to render these concepts into Mongolian. This compelled the translators to revise the written language, update the vocabulary, unify the orthography and standardize the grammatical rules.

Under Tibetan tutorship, Mongol grammarians devised proper rules of orthography and grammar following Tibetan (and, ultimately, Sanskrit) models. These were eventually codified in a number of important works, the best known of which is the *Ĵirüken-ü toлта-yin tayilburi* or *Commentary on the Artery of the Heart* ('heart' here being synonymous with 'mind'), which was attributed to a famous early 14th c. Tibetan translator called Čoski Odzer, but which was actually compiled in the 18th c.

The result of such literary and philological activity was the establishment of a literary language which was used until two or three generations ago and which, in a somewhat modified and updated form, is still the written language of the Inner Mongols. This literary language is called Classical Mongolian to distinguish it from Pre-classical Mongolian. A (purely stylistically) modernized version of the Pre-classical Uighur alphabet gradually replaced the earlier one (Fig. 13).

Since the bulk of Mongol 'classical' literature is constituted by translations of Buddhist texts and their commentaries from Tibetan and Sanskrit, a special system of transcription using some slightly modified Mongol letters and combinations of letters was introduced to render Tibetan and Sanskrit letters and sounds – the so-called Galik alphabet. In more modern times these modified signs were also adopted to transcribe foreign sounds. See Figs. 14 and 15.

Thus, we have Preclassical Mongolian (pmo.) from the beginning of the 13th to the beginning of the 17th c., and Classical Mongolian (mo.) from the beginning of the 17th to the beginning of the 20th c. Since there was no Mongolian Academy to check and control the language, the chronological boundaries are rather loose;

there is also a body of literary *secular* works – as opposed to Buddhist texts – that tends to fall between two stools, such as the chronicles and the epics. However, in addition to the Tibetan-inspired grammatical works of the 18th c., a number of great lexicographical works compiled under imperial sponsorship in this period did contribute substantially to the standardization of the literary language.

With the great political, cultural and scientific changes of the early 20th c., and the impact of the West – especially Russia – on the Mongols, Written Mongolian evolved and underwent changes affecting both the grammar and the syntax, not to speak of the vocabulary, which gradually transformed Classical Mongolian into the modern literary language, i.e. the written language of the last 80 years or so. Whereas the difference between Preclassical and Classical Mongolian is quite considerable, also in the shape of some letters (such as, for instance, the abolition of the final ‘tail’ or ductus), that between Classical and Modern Mongolian is not so great, except for the vocabulary in areas like politics, economics, science and technology.

One point that needs stressing is that, as the written language of Buddhism, Classical Mongolian is rather rigid, rich in stereotypes and influenced in style by Tibetan, Tibetan being the canonical language, even if the scriptures were in turn translations from the Sanskrit. But, as pointed out by Poppe, Classical Written Mongolian failed to dominate all the literary activities, and secular literature continued to be influenced by the spoken languages, i.e. by the dialects. There is, therefore, a very noticeable and, indeed, disconcerting difference between the language of even a popular Buddhist text like the *Altan gerel*, i.e. the *Sūtra of Golden Light* (tu. *Altun yaruq*), and the *Geser Qan* epic, or the famous chronicle *Erdeni-yin tobči* (*The Precious Summary [of History]*) by the 17th c. historian Sayang Sečen. At times, the grammatical and stylistic differences between these near contemporary works are greater than those between the preclassical and classical languages. This, of course, considerably complicates the problem of periodization of the language, the chief difficulty being the constant interference of spoken forms into the written language, and the whim of the scribes and copyists. We must not forget that while the texts of the Buddhist scriptures (the *Kanjur* and the *Tanjur*) were printed in China, chiefly in Peking, as books in Tibetan style, most of the secular works continued to circulate in numerous manuscript copies, often many times removed from the original and reflecting the

language background of the copyists, who modified forms and misspelled words. The task of the scribes/transcribers was made all the more difficult because of the many versions of stories, legends and epics containing poetic passages that were in circulation, some consisting entirely of alliterative verses, which were recited by travelling bards who often improvised variations on the theme.

To improve the orthographic precision of the manuscripts in Uighur script, the Oirats or Western Mongols in 1648 created a modified Uighur script called the 'Clear Script' (*todo bičig*) – the work of a learned Buddhist priest called Zaya Pandita (1599-1662). This script was used only by the Oirats and, among them, the Kalmyks, and it is still used by the Oirats of Xinjiang today (Fig. 16). The other Oirats and Kalmyks have adopted the Cyrillic script (since 1937). Thus, whereas outside China Mongolian is still written in Cyrillic, in China itself we have two Uighur scripts: *uyiŋurjın* (or, as it is also called in Mongolia, *qayučin bičig* 'the old script'), i.e. the 'modernized' traditional Uighur-Mongol script (Fig. 13), and *todo bičig* or the Clear Script of the Oirats. As we can see from a comparison of the two scripts, the Clear Script is more precise in that it distinguishes between *o* and *u*, *ö* and *ü*, etc. This is, in fact, what the Manchus already had done when they adapted the Mongol script to their language a few decades earlier.

While in the south we have a continuity of script, in the north, under Soviet pressure, a slightly modified Cyrillic script replaced the Uighur-Mongol script in the 1940s (Fig. 17). This was an attempt, rather successful on the whole, to make the script reflect the spoken language, to create, in other words, a phonetic script for the Mongols and simplify their writing system. However, certain old literary works continued to be published in the old script, and students could learn it, but only at the university or on their own. As it happens, most of them did not. The old script was partially revived in 1990 and 1991, but after 1994 the Cyrillic script was reintroduced as the official script and it is still used for all government business, and indeed for all daily purposes. The old script is now taught at school, but is employed only sporadically in the press, for publicity, decorative purposes, etc. Most people find it alien and difficult to learn, it being so different and removed from the spoken language. We shall have more to say on this problem.

After this digression on the script, let us return to the spoken language of the Mongols and the problem of its periodization.

Spoken Mongolian – the language spoken by the Mongol tribes in a variety of dialects before the 13th c., when it was first recorded in Uighur script – is traditionally called Ancient Mongolian (amo.). We know that a number of tribes, or confederations of tribes, in Mongolia, which at various times in history attacked or invaded northern China – some of them actually founding dynasties there before the 13th c. – are regarded as Mongol-speaking people. Some scholars and certainly all Mongolian scholars regard the Xiongnu, the Xianbei, the Ruanruan (or Rouran) and the Toba (*Tabyač) founders of the Wei dynasty (386-535) as such. As for the Kitan tribes that conquered much of North China in the 10th c. and founded the Liao dynasty (907-1125), there is no doubt that their ruling class spoke an Altaic language with an obvious affinity to Mongolian, but how close was this affinity? About 200 Kitan terms (one fifth basic words, the rest official titles and technical terms) are transcribed and glossed into Chinese in the *History of the Liao (Dynasty) (Liaoshi)* completed in 1344 (!). An analysis of this limited vocabulary led P. Pelliot in 1931 to state that the Kitan language was ‘a strongly palatalized Mongol’. The subsequent investigation of the substantial corpus of Kitan inscriptions (mostly epitaphs) carried out in the last decades in China and in the West has provided additional material and linguistic data compelling scholars to review the nature of the Kitan language. The partial deciphering of the two scripts devised by the Kitans in 920 and 925 for writing their language has so far yielded only 160 native Kitan words plus a number of grammatical modifiers, such as gender, noun and verbal suffixes, and a wealth of data on Kitan phonology, morphology and structure. The language of the forty odd inscriptions in ‘small script’ and of the ten in ‘large script’ – these are the names of the two Kitan writing systems (ch. *xiaozi* and *dazi*) – cannot be understood solely through the medium of any known variety of Mongol, or of any other language of the area, in spite of the close affinity of many words to Mongol and Tungus. Cf., for instance, kit. *bas* ‘again’, mo., tu. *basa* id.; kit. *čau-* ‘to fight’, **čawur* ~ **ča’ur* ‘army’ (*Liaoshi*), mmo. *ča’ur* ‘a military campaign’, *ča’ura-* ‘to wage a campaign’; kit. *namur* ‘autumn’, mo. *namur* id.; kit. *jun* ‘summer’, mo. *jun* id.; kit. *moyo* ‘snake’, dag. *moyoj*, mo. *moyai*; kit. *tau* ‘five’, dag. *tawu*, mo. *tabun* id.; kit. *gu* ‘jade’, ju. *guwen*, *guwu* id.; kit. *po*, *poo* ‘monkey’, ma. *bonio*, *monio* id.; kit. *čar* ‘past, in the past’, ma. *cala* ‘previously’; kit.

-*d* ~ -*t*, -*s* plural suffixes, mmo., mo. id.; kit. *bi* copula, mmo. *bui* ~ *bei* ~ *bī*, ord. *bī*, mo. *bui*. We could cite several more examples. According to G. Kara the Kitans spoke a dialect closer to present-day Mongolian languages, such as Dagur or Daur, than to Written Mongolian, which makes sense also geographically since the modern Daurs are (at least partly) the descendants of the original Kitan inhabitants of that area of Inner Mongolia and Manchuria. J. Janhunen defines Kitan as a 'Para-Mongolic' language and suggests that the relationship between Kitan and Mongol is an indirect one, like that of Manchu to Evenki (both Tungusic languages), while D. Kane compares them to Latin and Oscan (both Italic). See *BMN*, pp. 8-9; *ML*, pp. 391-402; *KLS*, pp. x, 265-267; and the references in *Bibl.* 5.1. We shall have more to say on the intriguing Kitan script in the section on Jurchen in Chapter Three.

We know, therefore, of pre-13th c. people who, like the Turks, inhabited Mongolia, but who spoke Mongolian – Ancient Mongolian. Some phonetic features of this early stage of the language have been preserved in a few surviving dialects, but have been lost in all other dialects. These dialects are the Moghol of Afghanistan, those of Gansu and Qinghai, and the Dagur of Manchuria. However, one must point out that while these dialects are in certain respects archaic, due to the influence of the surrounding non-Mongolian languages they are also highly innovative. From an investigation of these dialects we may isolate the chief characteristics of Ancient Mongolian. They are:

1. The existence of an initial *p* or *f*, which later (in Middle Mongolian) passed to *h* and eventually disappeared.
2. The existence of the velar stops *g* and *γ* (in groups like *ɑγu*, *egü*, *oγu*, etc.) which subsequently became a hiatus, and then vanished altogether causing vowel contraction and lengthening. (This occurred sporadically also with other consonants such as intervocalic *m* and *b*.)
3. The vowels *i* and *e* were maintained as such in all positions. Later *i* was subject to the phenomenon known as 'breaking', i.e. *i* tended to be assimilated to the vowel of the following syllable, thus becoming, *a*, *u*, or *ü* under certain conditions. The vowel *e* tended also to be assimilated.

In the 13th and 14th c. certain changes occurred in the spoken language which differentiated it from Ancient Mongolian. However, this was not the starting point of the changes: we should rather regard them as outcomes of a gradual development, as can indeed be

observed from the inconsistencies we encounter, for example, in expressing initial *h*. How do we know it? Because we have a mass of Mongolian documents of that period which are phonetically transcribed into Chinese, as well as in Arabic script, and, what matters most for our purpose, in 'Phags-pa script.

The 'Phags-pa script ('ph.), based on the Tibetan alphabet, is a script especially devised by Qubilai Qan's Tibetan adviser 'Phags-pa (1235-80), a learned lama, to accurately render the sounds of Mongolian, Chinese and other languages, in other words a truly international alphabet (the Russian Mongolist B. Vladimircov called it just that). In China it was called the 'National Script' because it was the official script of the Yuan – the Mongol dynasty of China (1260-1367) – being promulgated by edict in 1269. It was also called the 'square script' (*dörbeljin bičig*) in Mongolian because of the shape of its letters, especially when arranged vertically. As one can see (Fig. 18), it is not as elegant and simple as the flowing Uighur script which it was supposed to replace, and this explains why it never really became popular; indeed, it did not survive the collapse of the Yuan dynasty, except for its use on seals and for decorative purposes. Nevertheless, we have several longish texts in the Mongolian language of the 13th and 14th c. written in 'Phags-pa script. They are a precious source of linguistic as well as historical data and have been the subject of a thorough investigation.

The Chinese transcriptions are also useful. They mainly go back to the 14th c., in fact to the beginning of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), when the Ming government used some Mongolian texts as language textbooks for Chinese officials to learn Mongolian, transcribing the Mongol words phonetically into Chinese and providing a word-by-word translation into Chinese. Incidentally, it is thanks to this practice that the masterpiece of Mongolian literature, the epic chronicle known as the *Secret History of the Mongols*, has survived.

We also have several Arabic-Mongolian, Persian-Mongolian, Turkic (Chaghatai)-Mongolian and other polyglot dictionaries compiled in the 13th-15th c., as well as numerous Mongolian words recorded in the medieval Western chronicles and especially in the Persian chronicles, which are very rich in lexical material. From the study of all these texts (about which we shall say more later), and of Moghol and Dagur, which have also retained many phonetic elements of that stage of the language, we can isolate the main features of the

13th-14th c. Mongolian languages and dialects which are cumulatively and conventionally referred to as Middle Mongolian (mmo.). They are:

1. The presence in many words of initial *h*, which had developed from an earlier *p* or *f*.
2. The disappearance of the intervocalic *g* and *ɣ* in groups like *ayu*, *egü*, *oɣu*, etc., and the intervocalic *m* and *b* in certain positions. However, the vowels in these groups have (in general) not yet contracted.
3. The vowels *i* and *e* are still maintained in all positions, but *ï* > *i* by the end of the 14th c. with the consequent *qï* > *ki* development.
4. The affricate consonants *č* and *ǰ* are still pronounced as such, whereas in the modern period, in certain dialects and in certain positions, they have developed into *c* (*ts*) and *z* (*dz*).

Let us sum up and compare spoken Ancient Mongolian (amo.) and Middle Mongolian with a few examples:

- amo. **püker* or **füker* 'ox' > mmo. *hüker*
 amo. **ayula* 'mountain' > mmo. *a'ula*
 amo. **keme-* (*< *keɣe-*) 'to say' > mmo. *ke'e-*
 amo. **ibegen* 'protection' > mmo. *ibe'en*
 amo. **mīqa(n)* 'meat' > mmo. *mīqa(n)*
 amo. **ebül* 'winter' > mmo. *ebül*
 amo. **čayayan* 'white' > mmo. *čaya'an*, *čayān*
 amo. **taqil* 'sacrifice' > mmo. *takil*
 amo. **jam* 'post station' > mmo. *jam*

It will be noticed that in the above example we have written the Middle Mongolian form as *čaya'an*. Here two observations are called for. Firstly, in this word the first group *aya* has not changed to *a'a* (or *ā*), only the second group has. This means that the first *ɣ* is (to put it very simply) such an integral part of the word that it is virtually unchangeable, whereas the second *ɣ* is not. There are thus many words where what we call the primary consonant cannot and does not disappear. Secondly, we have used the letter *ɣ* in a Middle Mongolian form. However, in most works on Middle Mongolian, the letter *ɣ* (which is well attested in Uighur script) is transcribed as *q*; likewise the regular *g* and *d* at the end of words are transcribed as *k* and *t*. The reason for this is that Middle Mongolian is known to us through various groups of documents which, on the whole, write *q* where we would expect *ɣ*, *k* where we would expect *g*, and *t* where we would

normally expect *d*. There are complex phonological causes for this curious phenomenon and they are complicated by the fact that there are inconsistencies in transcriptions and other problems which have not yet been fully explained. Hence, some Mongolists write *čaya'an* while others write *čaqa'an*, some write *Güyüg* and some write *Güyük*, some write *Kitad* while others write *Kitat*. We shall have more to say about this problem later on. It should also be noted that the passage of *b* to *h* in the interior of words is quite exceptional.

The Middle Mongolian phase of the language lasted several centuries, i.e. until the 15th-17th c., when the Mongolian dialects took on the aspect they have largely retained to this day (with a few exceptions, such as Moghol, Monguor and Dagur). The phonetic changes in the dialects occurred gradually, not synchronically; they varied also geographically. Indeed, already in the 13th-14th c. there was a difference between Mongolian spoken in Central Asia, Iran and Western Asia in general and Mongolian spoken in China or Southern Mongolia. We do, therefore, divide Middle Mongolian into Eastern and Western Middle Mongolian. The 13th-14th c. Mongolian-Chaghatai Turkic vocabularies known as *Muqaddimat al-Adab* or *Introduction to Belles-lettres* (which is part of a larger Arabic polyglot dictionary) and the so-called *Rasūlid Hexaglot* – the two most important of such glossaries – reflect Western Middle Mongolian (wmmo.), while 'Phags-pa documents and material in Chinese transcription reflect Eastern Middle Mongolian (emmo.). The differences are on the whole small, e.g. wmmo. *olan* 'many' = emmo. *olon*; wmmo. *ötegüs* 'the elders' = emmo. *ötögüs*, i.e. the presence of *a* and *e* (instead of *o* and *ö*) in the second syllable following *o* and *ö* in the first syllable. Also Western Middle Mongolian is characterized by long vowels in words which are not long in Eastern Middle Mongolian, owing perhaps to Iranian influence. Another particularity is that a number of words which in Eastern Middle Mongolian begin with the voiceless deep velar stop *q*, in Western Middle Mongolian begin with its voiced counterpart *ɣ*. Some of these peculiarities, especially Western *a* and *e* vs. Eastern *o* and *ö* are evident also in the Mongolian documents in Uighur script that come from the western part of the Mongol empire, hence we may extend the designations Eastern and Western also to Preclassical Mongolian. (These eastern and western varieties are not mentioned by Poppe in his *Grammar*.)

With regard to the spoken language, which is the one we are dealing with now, Modern Mongolian (modmo.) is the generic name for the various languages and dialects that have been spoken for the last 300 years. The main differences between Middle Mongolian and Modern Mongolian are the following:

1. The disappearance of initial *h*.
2. The contraction of the vowels in the groups with velar consonants which had developed into a hiatus in Middle Mongolian.
3. The development of the vowels *i* and *e* of the first syllable into other vowels.
4. The passage of the affricates *č* and *ǰ* to *c* and *z* before all vowels except *i* in the majority of languages and dialects.

We can illustrate these changes as follows:

mmo. *hüker* > modmo. *üxer*

mmo. *a'ula* > modmo. *ūla*

mmo. *miqa(n)* > modmo. *maxa(n)*

mmo. *ebül* > modmo. *öwöl*

mmo. *čaya'an* > modmo. *cagān*

mmo. *ǰam* > modmo. *zam*

mmo. *čimeg* 'ornament' > modmo. *čimeg, čimge* (through metathesis)

mmo. *takil* > modmo. *taxil*

We must emphasize, however, that these are only the *main* differences seen diachronically. Synchronically, the picture is really varied. We mentioned the differences that existed in Middle Mongolian between the eastern and western groups of languages and dialects. When we come to Modern Mongolian we have not only differences in emphasis concerning the phenomena characteristic of Modern Mongolian as mentioned above, but also other important developments which are apparent in different degrees in the modern languages. One of the most common of these is the weakening of the non-initial, unstressed vowels, which all but disappear in some of them. E.g. *bügüde* 'all' becomes *bügd*, and *ūla* becomes *ül* in Khalkha.

Other notable linguistic phenomena are the merging of the velar stops *g* and *ɣ*, the passage of the velars *k* and *q* to the fricative *x* (= *χ*), and that of the bilabial stop *b* to a bilabial spirant *w* in certain positions. E.g. *čay* 'time' > *cag*; *qan* 'ruler' > *xan* (= *χan*); *yabu-* 'to go' > *yawa-*.

To this we must also add the great increase in the metathesis of words which we observe especially in Khalkha. E.g. *čimeg* ~ *čimge*, *tamga* ~ *tamag* ‘seal’

The study of these developments and of the changes that occurred not only in the phonology of the language, but also in the grammatical forms, is the study of comparative Mongolian dialectology which is a vast and complex field in itself.

When we take all these developments into account, we realize that the modern Mongolian languages and dialects are quite different from the language spoken by Činggis Qan, and quite different too from the Uighur-Mongol script used to write Modern Mongolian.

Now, *what stage of the language is reflected in the Uighur-Mongol script?* We know that this script was introduced in the time of Činggis Qan by Uighur or other Turkic-speaking scribes for use in the Mongol chancellery. The earliest monument in this script is assumed to be of *ca.* 1225 and consists of five lines of text on an inscribed stone called the ‘Stone of Chingis’ now kept at the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg. The next two texts chronologically are a three-line inscription dating from 1240, and the legend on the seal of Güyüg, Činggis Qan’s grandson (r. 1246-48), consisting of six short lines. After 1250 we have an increasing number of inscriptions and documents in Uighur script, some of them fairly long. All these texts are the early specimens of Preclassical Mongolian, the first phase of Written Mongolian, which, as mentioned earlier, lasted until the beginning of the 17th c. Following that we have Classical Mongolian and Modern Written or Literary Mongolian. Virtually all the Preclassical Mongolian documents have been edited and published by L. Ligeti 1971-, F. W. Cleaves 1949-, W. Heissig 1976, Cerensodnom and Taube 1993, Kara 2003, D. Tumurtogoo 2006 (see Bibl. 5.3.1), and other scholars in China and Japan, such as Qasartani, Danzan, J. Peng, J. Wang, J. Yoshida, A. Ohta (Yang Haiying), etc.

Taking the written language, i.e. Written or Script Mongolian, *as a whole*, its orthography reflects in some respects the Ancient Mongolian stage of the spoken language. The intervocalic velar stops *g* and *ɣ* are maintained in all positions (often merely as a means to express long vowels, which also occurs in Uighur), and so are the vowels *i* and *e*; only the ancient initial *p* or *f* has vanished, the initial Middle Mongolian *h* is not noted in the script, the reason being that there was no letter for *h* in the Uighur alphabet of the preclassical

period, and Ancient and Preclassical Mongolian *qi* (= *qi*) has developed into *ki*. Thus, we have spellings like *aḡula*, *čayayan*, *ebül*, etc., but *üker* instead of *hüker*, and *takil* instead of *taqil*.

As shown by Ligeti, however, if we disregard these purely orthographical features and we take the intervocalic *g* and *γ* to represent a mere hiatus in front- and back-vocalic words, Preclassical Mongolian can be defined as Middle Mongolian in Uighur-Mongol script. In other words, Preclassical Mongolian (written) and Middle Mongolian (spoken) are one and the same language except that when writing down the spoken language in Uighur script, the contemporary scribes, who were mostly Uighur Turks, employed certain orthographic conventions and archaisms, such as introducing typical Uighur spellings of certain words, like *jarliy*, meaning 'order' in Mongolian, written *jrly*, and *tenggeri* 'Heaven', written *tngrī* as in Uighur. (See Ligeti 1964 in Bibl. 5.3.1.)

Because of the inherent conservatism of the script, when *a'ula*, written *aḡula*, became *ūla* and *ül*, it continued to be written *aḡula* in the Uighur-Mongol script, and this practice continues until today. Obviously, with the many phonetic changes that occurred in the dialects, the gap between the spoken languages and the written language became wider and wider in time, so much so that if we compare Modern Written Mongolian with the currently spoken language (irrespective of dialect), we have a situation similar to that between modern written and spoken English and French. Take, for example, a simple sentence like 'my friend lives in the same house (or building) with me' In the spoken language it is *mini nōxōr nadātai nigēḡ baišīḡdā sūnā*, while in the written language it reads *minu nōkōr nada-huḡa nigen bayising-dur saḡumui*.

Therefore the change from *uyiḡurjīn*, i.e. the Uighur-Mongol script, to Cyrillic seemed justified and, in the eyes of most Mongols (including Buriats and Kalmyks), it has indeed been effective in reducing illiteracy, but we must emphasize that even Cyrillic is only very approximative. The greatest shortcoming of the Cyrillic alphabet for Mongolian is that it does not reflect the true quality of the vowels, but then many linguists will argue that the vowels do not really count, and we know that in the Semitic scripts they are not usually noted. We should also add that whereas the romanized transcription of *uyiḡurjīn* given in Fig. 13 is the generally accepted one, there is no uniformity of transcription for Cyrillic, *x* being transcribed as *x* and *kh*, *ш* as *š*

and *sh*, *з* as *z* and *dz*, *ж* as *j* and *ž*, *ц* as *c* and *ts*, *шч* as *šč* and *shch* – to mention only two systems (there are about half a dozen in current use).

As we said, Written Mongolian in *uyiurjin* was retained in Inner Mongolia, together with the Clear Script (*todo bičig*) of the Oirats in Xinjiang, and it has made a limited comeback in Mongolia. A future revival cannot be discounted, but it is most unlikely. The chances are that if the Mongols ever abandon Cyrillic, it will be to adopt, like the Turks of Turkey, a modified Latin script. (On this problem see S. Grivelet's studies in *Bibl.* 5.1, and *WAW*, pp. 101-107.)

Comparing the two examples of the same sentence that have just been quoted, we note that some endings in Written Mongolian are also different from those of Spoken Mongolian: *-luya* becomes *-tai*, *-dur* becomes *-da* and *-mui* becomes *-na*. These are actually morphological changes which have occurred in the modern languages whereby certain noun and verbal forms of the written language, although retained in writing, have been replaced with other forms in the spoken language.

This, then, raises the question of the grammatical, syntactic and lexical standing of Written Mongolian vis-à-vis Spoken Mongolian, because so far we have mainly dealt with problems of spelling, i.e. orthography. We should now enlarge a little on what has already been said about the differences *in substance* between the two languages. Since, apart from some orthographic peculiarities, Preclassical Mongolian and Middle Mongolian are one and the same language, it follows that their grammar is the same, except that in preclassical 'learned' texts, such as translations of, and commentaries to, Buddhist texts, we already find a specialized vocabulary and stricter adherence to a formal style carried over from the erudite Uighur tradition of translation, and, in the case of direct translations from Tibetan, Mongolian often acquires a definite 'translationese' character which makes reading quite difficult for the non-initiated. By contrast, secular works, especially epic narrative ones like the *Secret History*, are much freer and spontaneous in style and much closer to the everyday language, i.e. to the spoken language current at the time.

When we come to Classical Mongolian and the beginning of the modern languages and dialects, we have noted the difference between the language of the Buddhist literature revised in the 17th and 18th c. and the contemporary language of the secular literature, the latter

being influenced to some extent by the spoken languages while still formal in structure, albeit in varying degrees. Under the influence of the 'learned' language of the Buddhist texts, a new style developed in writing which is characterized by long (sometimes very long) and complex sentences, with numerous subordinate clauses and a rich vocabulary, borrowed in part from Buddhism. This, more than the grammar, is what distinguishes Classical Mongolian from Pre-classical Mongolian, and also, increasingly, from the ordinary language. When we reach the 19th and 20th c., the gap between the literary style and the spoken languages is very wide indeed, and we notice that it is not only a matter of style now, but also of grammar, with obsolete forms retained in writing, and other forms given preference and used currently in speech. Obviously, when we come to recent and contemporary times, i.e. broadly speaking to the last seventy years, we notice that both the written and spoken languages of the Mongols have undergone further changes reflecting changing conditions in society and foreign influences; this is particularly noticeable in Mongolia where the Soviet influence was paramount, and where the passage from *uyiurjin* to Cyrillic brought about a real cultural and literary revolution – a sort of severing of the umbilical cord that joined modern Mongolia to its traditional past, to a religion-dominated and largely feudal society, and to a particular type of life and culture. Literary Mongolian in Cyrillic script belongs to a new type of society and its style reflects that society; linguistically, i.e. grammatically, it reflects the current speech. The same applies, to an even higher degree, to the Buriats and the Kalmyks, whereas in Inner Mongolia the preservation of the Uighur script has not created, as in Mongolia, a majority of individuals unable to read a book published before 1945 – a state of affairs still obtaining today.

Summing up the whole question of periodization of Mongolian, we have first the earliest period, represented by Ancient Mongolian, which takes us to the early 13th c. For this period there are no documents or direct evidence except for a limited number of words in Chinese transcription (mostly in the Kitan language). Therefore, we have to rely heavily on dialects like Moghol, Monguor and Dagur that have preserved some archaic features.

Then come Preclassical Mongolian and Middle Mongolian, from the 13th to the early 17th c., which reflect the same language in its two aspects, one in Uighur script, the other transcribed in 'Phags-

pa script or in foreign scripts like Chinese, Arabic, etc. In the 13th-15th c. this language is recorded in two varieties, the Eastern and the Western, the former reflecting a dialect (or dialects) spoken in China and Mongolia, and the latter a dialect (or dialects) spoken in Central and Western Asia.

Next comes Classical Mongolian, from the early 17th to the early 20th c., comprising two broad groups, the scriptural or religious group consisting of Buddhist texts in translation and religious tracts, and the secular group consisting of literary works like chronicles and epics, containing a large amount of poetry (i.e. alliterative passages) and influenced, in varying degrees, by the contemporary spoken languages and dialects. Classical Mongolian written in Uighur-Mongol and Oirat scripts coincides with the development of the modern Mongolian spoken languages, eventually becoming Modern Written Mongolian. *The written language of the last 70 years should properly be called Modern Literary Mongolian to distinguish it from Classical Mongolian.* Modern Written or Literary Mongolian is written in Uighur-Mongol script, in Cyrillic, and in the Oirat script.

This is, broadly speaking, the traditional periodization of Ramstedt and Vladimircov popularized by Poppe, author of the most authoritative works on the Mongolian language in the West outside the ex-Soviet Union. Soviet, Russian, Finnish and Mongolian scholars have come up with other schemes modifying the traditional periodization. The one which, in the authors' view, may well replace it is, in simplified form, the following. Old (rather than Ancient) Mongolian defines the earliest period, up to the early 11th c. For this period we have no written documents or direct evidence, but the Kitans are mentioned in the Old Turkic inscriptions from the 8th c.

Old Mongolian is followed by Middle Mongolian and (later) Preclassical Mongolian, from the 10th/11th to the 16th/17th c. Until the 13th c. there is also no direct evidence except for those Kitan words in Chinese transcription. From the early 13th c. we have the first Mongol documents in Uighur script and the inception of Preclassical Mongolian which, as explained earlier, is nothing but the *written* aspect of Middle Mongolian.

For the next stage, i.e. Classical Mongolian (17th to 20th c.) the traditional scheme outlined above is valid. The modified periodization just proposed diverges from the traditional one of Ramstedt *et al.* chiefly with regard to Ancient Mongolian (= our Old Mongolian),

which these authorities make last right up to the early 13th c. We find their *terminus ad quem* difficult to accept, insofar as the Mongolian language, or rather languages, of the 13th/14th c. do not reflect linguistic developments *at the beginning of their stage*; on the contrary, they reflect linguistic stages indicating *the end of their developments*. (For a discussion of these issues see Vladimircov and de Rachewiltz in *Bibl.* 5.1, and, more recently, Janhunen and Rybatzki in *ML.*)

The study of the periodization of Mongolian is, indeed, one of the cornerstones of Mongolian philology and as such it is closely related to the history of Mongolian studies with which we shall deal later on. As with Turkic philology, we shall also discuss books and publications on Mongolistics. However, before we embark on the detailed description of the different stages of the language – Preclassical Mongolian, Middle Mongolian, etc. – by examining the original documents, we must say a few words about a small number of basic reference works for general purpose. More authors and book titles concerning the topics at hand will be mentioned as we go. Unfortunately, for Mongolian studies we do not have a counterpart of the *PTF*.

With regard to grammars, the standard work is the *Grammar of Written Mongolian* by N. Poppe, that should be used in conjunction with Poppe's *Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies* to which we have also referred. The *Introduction* complements the *Grammar* with regard to the development of the language, written and spoken, and the various dialects, both from the phonetic and morphological points of view. To supplement both works, and for a different perspective, we recommend G. Sanzheyev's book on *The Old-Script Mongolian Language*, which is now available in English. An indispensable tool for acquiring a basic knowledge of the phonology and morphology of the preclassical language is M. Weiers' *Untersuchungen*. (See *Bibl.* 5.1, 5.3.1, 5.3.2 and 5.3.3.) Please note that in dealing with Mongolian grammatical terminology we have followed the definitions of verb forms as found in Poppe's *Grammar*, e.g. *nomen futuri*, *converbum modale*, etc., in order to familiarize the student with a terminology not only found in most of the old works on Mongolistics, but also still employed in a large number of current publications.

There are two standard dictionaries of Written Mongolian:

1. J. E. Kowalewski's *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français* (1844-49; several reprints) is still the best dictionary of the Classical Mongolian language, particularly useful for Buddhist terminology. It gives Tibetan correspondences, and often also Sanskrit, Manchu, Turkic and Arabic-Persian ones. It is excellent for the language and literature of the 17th-19th c., but of little use for the older language and totally inadequate for Modern Written Mongolian (Bibl. 5.3.2).
2. F. D. Lessing (gen. ed.), *Mongolian-English Dictionary* (1960; several reprints) is a good general dictionary also for modern terminology, but is now rather out-of-date, and, like Kowalewski, it is not adequate for the preclassical language. There is as yet no dictionary of Preclassical and Middle Mongolian, but only dictionaries and word-indices to Preclassical and Middle Mongolian texts (Bibl. 5.3.2. & 5.3.1).

Whereas Kowalewski lists words in *uyiγurjin* according to the Mongolian alphabetical order and giving often, but not always, his own transcription in the Latin alphabet, Lessing has arranged the entries by a Latin transcription (regrettably not the standard one) of the *uyiγurjin* form, which is also given together with the Cyrillic equivalent. This is quite useful because, if one wants to check further a particular word, one can quickly go to the *Modern Mongolian-English Dictionary* of G. Hangin *et al.* (1986) and to C. Bawden's *Mongolian-English dictionary* (1997), where the entries are given only in Cyrillic. Hangin's and Bawden's dictionaries are the best dictionaries of the modern Mongolian language, i.e. standard Khalkha (Bibl. 5.3.3).

The best English-Mongolian dictionary is the one published by Oxford-Monsudar in 2006. (See *ibid.*)

The best scientific (not practical) grammar of Khalkha is still Poppe's *Khalkha-Mongolische Grammatik* of 1951, which also has an excellent bibliography (up to 1950). This may be supplemented with *The Modern Mongolian Language* by Sanzheyev. For a comprehensive grammar of modern Khalkha providing both *uyiγurjin* and Cyrillic forms, R. Kullmann and D. Tserenpil's *Mongolian Grammar*, first published in 1996, is the best effort so far. An excellent description and introduction to *uyiγurjin* (modern usage) will be found in Š. Čoymaa and A. Desjacques' *Manuel d'écriture mongole* of 2003 (Bibl. 5.3.3), which we strongly recommend to the beginner. An

indispensable historical survey of the use of diacritic marks in *uyiγurjin* is Lubsangdorji 2008 (Bibl. 5.1).

We shall now have a closer look at the earliest monuments of the Mongolian language. For our immediate purpose (and leaving aside, for the time being, Kitan and its *Problematik*), the Mongol language begins with the first recorded documents in Uighur script. In Činggis Qan's time the Mongols were still illiterate, which is really strange considering that for many centuries they had brushed shoulders with the neighbouring Turks. Their cultural level was clearly very low and, in fact, the thin veneer of culture that they possessed at that time came from other Turkicized Mongol-speaking tribes, or from direct contacts with the Uighurs and other Turks of the northern border of China. The traditional account is that an Uighur called *Tata(r) Tonga, who was formerly in the service of the khan of the Naiman tribe as seal-keeper, i.e. as secretary, entered the service of Činggis Qan when the Naimans were completely defeated in 1204. *Tata(r) Tonga apparently adapted the Uighur script to the Mongolian language and thus created a rudimentary chancellery to handle official correspondence, keep records and so on. Other Uighurs were subsequently appointed to run the Uighur chancellery (there was also a parallel Chinese chancellery to deal with documents in Chinese), hence the Uighur influence at court was paramount. Many Uighurs were Nestorian and, together with literacy, they also brought Nestorian Christianity to the Mongol court, but this was after Činggis Qan. In this period, therefore, the Uighur-Mongol script is virtually indistinguishable from the contemporary Uighur-Turkic script.

The immediate effect of this meeting of cultures was the introduction of Turkicisms into the Mongolian language, or rather an increase of Turkic borrowings. Turkic and Mongolian had a lot of words in common, but Mongolian continuously had to borrow so-called 'words of civilization' which did not exist in Mongolian, words like 'book', 'writing', 'written order, edict', 'secretary', and so on. (See Róna-Tas in Bibl. 5.1.)

The Uighur scribe-secretaries (*bičēčis*) knew Mongolian and wrote the official documents in the language, or dialect, spoken at the Mongol court, but they worked under two constraints: those imposed by the traditional Uighur chancellery practices and orthographic conventions, and by the very nature of the Uighur script, with all its limitations. On the whole they managed very well and it is a tribute to

these early scribes and to Uighur culture that, were *Tata(r) Tonga to wake up in Huhhot today after 800 years, he could pick up a newspaper, read it and understand quite a lot of it, much more in fact than if he were listening to a Mongol in the street talking to another Mongol. If the story of *Tata(r) Tonga is true, and we have no means of verifying it, the Mongol dialect represented in the Uighur writing that he introduced must have been the dialect used in Činggis Qan's immediate circle.

We mentioned the first Mongolian document in Uighur script, the so-called 'Stone of Chingis' in the Hermitage (Text XVI.1). This is an inscription on a stele celebrating the victory of Činggis Qan's nephew Yisüngge (*ca.* 1190-1270) in an archery contest that Činggis held in Central Asia on his return journey to Mongolia after the great campaign against Khwarezm (1218-24). The inscription has, therefore, been dated at 1224 or 1225. However, since it was found in northeastern Mongolia (in fact, near Nerchinsk, and therefore in Russian territory now), at the place where Yisüngge had his main camp, it is likely that this commemorative stele was erected there at a much later date, possibly as a funerary monument (see de Rachewiltz 1976; Bibl. 5.3.1). But we shall conform to tradition and take this to be the first specimen of Uighur-Mongol script. We think that a close analysis of its contents is a fitting introduction to Preclassical Mongolian.

The text of the 'Stone', which should properly be called the 'Stele in Honour of Yisüngge', consists of five lines carved in the granite of the monument. The stele, discovered in 1818, is about 2 m. high, 65 cm. wide and 22 cm. thick; it was accidentally broken in the middle while being transported from Mongolia to St. Petersburg in 1829-32.

In the first line we have two words which are placed higher and separated from the rest as a sign of respect, being those designating the ruler, Činggis Qan. In the fourth line, the first word, which is the name of Činggis' nephew Yisüngge, is also elevated, but not as much as the first line. For easier reading and for comparison the Mongol inscription is reproduced in Text XVI.2 in three forms: a rubbing of the original in the middle, a transcription of the five lines in preclassical Mongol script on the left, and a transcription of the same lines in modern print.

THE 'STONE OF CHINGIS'

Transcription

(N.B. The letters within parentheses are obliterated in the text)

- [1] Činggis Qan-i
 [2] Sartayul irge (d)ayulıju bayıju qamuy Mongyol ulus-un
 [3] noyad-i Buqa (S)očiyai quriysan-dur.
 [4] Yisüngge ontudur-un yurban jayud yučin tabun aldas-
 [5] tur ontudulay-a.

The same text with the original diacritics noted:

- [1] Činggis Qan-i
 [2] Sartayul irge (d)ayulıju bayıju qamuy Mongyol ulus-un
 [3] noyad-i Buqa (S)očiyai quriysan-dur.
 [4] Yisüngge ontudur-un yurban jayud yučin tabun aldas-
 [5] tur ontudulay-a.

Glossary and Explanations

Činggis Qan-i Činggis Qan, pr. name + -i acc. s. Činggis is probably tu. čijiz tough, fierce; qan ruler, emperor = tu. qan, xan < qayan id. Činggis Qan would then be an epithet rather than a title, meaning 'The Fierce Ruler' See the funerary inscription for Alp Urungu in Chapter I.

Sartayul Muslim < tu. sart Central Asian merchant (< iran. < skr. 'merchant') > mmo. *sarta + -yul den. n. s.

irge people; this form alternates with irgen (it is a variable -n stem word)

dayulıju despoiling = subjugating ← dayuli- to despoil + -ju/-jü conv. impf. s. (= subordinative gerund)

bayıju dismounting (from a horse) = setting up camp ← bayu- to dismount

qamuy all, entire < tu. qamay ~ qamuy id.

Mongyol Mongol, pr. name
 ulus-un of the nation ← ulus nation (orig. 'tribe') + -un/-ün gen. s.; cf. tu. uluš, ulus id.

noyad-i the noblemen (acc.) ← noyan nobleman, chief, official + -d pl. s. + -i

Buqa Sočiyai (at) Buqa Sočiyai, place name, lit. '(the place where) the bull gets frightened': buqa (us. written buq-a) bull (cf. tu. id.), and sočiyai gets frightened ← soči- to get frightened + -yai/-gei nomen imp. (= continuative verbal noun)

quriysan-dur when had gathered ← *quri-* to gather, assemble +
-ysan/-gsen nomen perf. s. (= past or preterit participle) +
-dur/-dür (-tur/-tür) dat.-loc. s. (= dativus temporis: ‘in/at
 the time’)

‘When Činggis Qan, despoiling the Sartayul people, dismounting, the noblemen of the entire Mongol nation had gathered (at) Buqa Sočiyai’, i.e. ‘When Činggis Qan, having subjugated the Sartayul (= Muslim) people set up camp and the noblemen of the entire Mongol nation had gathered at Buqa Sočiyai.’

Yisüngge Yisüngge, pr. name ← *yisün* nine + *-ge/-ya* den. n. s. (in name formations); here the final *n* of *yisün* > *ng* (*ŋ*) before *-g(e)*. It should be noted, however, that the reading Yisüngge is not certain; the name can also be read Yisüngke

ontudur-un (= *ontudurun*) when he shot at the long distance ← *ontud-* to shoot an arrow at a long distance + *-u* conn. vo. + *-run/-rün* conv. praep. (= ger. of reporting)

yurban three

jaγud hundred (pl.) ← *jaγu(n)* one hundred + *-d* pl. s.

yučün thirty

tabun five

aldas-tur to fathoms ← *alda* fathom + *-s* pl. s. + *-tur*

ontudulaγ-a (= *ontudulaγa*) he shot at the long distance ← *ontud-* + *-u* conn. vo. + *-laγa/-lege* II past s., used mainly for the 1 p. sg. & pl.

‘Yisüngge, when long-distance shooting, shot (an arrow) at long distance to 335 *aldas*,’ i.e. ‘When Yisüngge shot at the long distance (shooting contest), he shot an arrow 335 fathoms.’

Remarks on the text

I. Paleography and orthography. Note the following:

- 1) Different elevation of the lines for proper names, as in Uighur and Chinese documents.
- 2) Presence of punctuation (one dot or *čeg*) after the temporal clause and at the end of the text.
- 3) Diacritical marks, i.e. dots, against certain consonants (*n*, *q*, *γ*), but irregular and inconsistent: *n* sometimes has the dot, sometimes it does not; *q*, which should not have the two dots,

usually has them, sometimes it does not; γ sometimes has two dots, sometimes it does not.

- 4) The final vowel of *ontudulay-a* is separated from the rest of the word, and so is the *-un* of *-run*, according to the rules; but the *a* of *Buqa* is not, although it should be. (The rule, which is often ignored in preclassical texts, is that the final vowel *a* is written separately from the word when the consonant of the last syllable is q/γ , *s*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, *y*, the rule applies also to the vowel *e* after *m*, *r*, *s*, *y*).
- 5) The final *s* in the name Činggis is written like Uighur *z*.
- 6) Medial *t* is written differently in the two occurrences of the same word (*ontudur-un* and *ontudulay-a*), and so is medial *d*, the two actually interchanging (*ontuDur-un*, *onDutulay-a*).

II. Grammar and syntax.

- i) Accusative of the subject in temporal constructions with *-tur/-tür* (*-dur/-dür*), i.e. temporal sentence with verb-nominal construction and accusativus actoris (*noyad-i* is also an acc. actoris).
- ii) Variable *-n* stem present in *γurba(n)*, *γuči(n)* and *tabu(n)*, but not in *irge(n)*.
- iii) Regular plural in *-d* (for stems in *-n*) and *-s* (for stems in vowel), but *also* added to a numeral like *jaγun*.
- iv) Correlation of verbal forms: gerundives – temporal form = past participle + dative-locative – converb – perfect. *Ontudurun ontudulaya* is a finite sentence consisting of a converbum praeparativum with the past (perfect) tense.

III. Vocabulary.

- 1) Turco-Mongolian words: *qan* (tu. *qan*, *χan*), *qamuy* (tu. *qamay* < iran.), *ulus* (tu. *uluš*, *ulus*), *buqa* (tu. id.).
- 2) Preclassical words now obsolete: *dayuli-*, *quri-* (= mo. *quriya-*), *ontud-* (= mo. *ontus-*).

Conclusions

1. Definite Uighur influence on the orthography, as for example *q* with diacritics – a characteristic of Mongolian epigraphies and documents *throughout* the Mongol-Yuan period.
2. Inconsistency in spelling.
3. Vowel harmony, as in Turkic.

4. Agglutinative nature of the language, with the key role played by suffixes, as in Turkic.
5. Special features of the preclassical language in grammar (plural of cardinal numbers) and vocabulary.

We should also point out that there have been several readings of this important inscription and that the one given above is essentially the same as that given by L. Ligeti in his edition of Mongolian preclassical documents (1972; Bibl. 5.3.1), except that his own system of transcription is different from the standard one used here. By means of diacritics, Ligeti's system allows one to reproduce the Mongolian text *exactly as it is in the original*, which is impossible to do with the standard system, especially for preclassical texts. Ligeti makes much use of diacritics and in his system certain letters, such as *t* and *d*, are not represented by *t* and *d* but by *d* and *t*, which is at times confusing. However, because his system has been adopted in several important publications, it is given below. *All the words that are not listed below are transcribed by Ligeti according to the standard system.*

Ligeti's Transcription System for Preclassical Mongolian

- $\underset{\cdot}{a}$ = the letter *a* at the beginning of a word (and suffix) with value of *e*: *abüge*, *degür-ače*
- $\underset{\cdot}{o}$ = the letter *o* in the first syllable of a word with value of *ö*: *mönge*
- $\underset{\cdot}{ö}$ = 1. the letter *ö* in the first syllable with value of *ö*: *köke*
2. the letter *ö* in the first syllable with value of *o*: *mörilažu*
- $\underset{\cdot}{u}$ = the letter *u* in the first syllable with value of *ü*: *juḡ*
- $\underset{\cdot}{a}$ = the letter *a* in non-first syllables (or in suffixes), written as *a* [ʹ], with value of *a*: *modun-ača*
- $\underset{\cdot}{ü}$ = the letter *ü* in non-first syllables (or in suffixes), written as *ü* [ʹWY], with value of *ü*: *küčün-lüge*
- $\underset{\cdot}{n}$ = the letter *n* with a point: *nom*
- $\underset{\cdot}{q}$ = the letter *q* with two points with value of *q*: *yaqai*
- $\underset{\cdot}{\gamma}$ = the letter *q* with two points with value of *γ*: *doloḡan*
- $\underset{\cdot}{\gamma}$ = the letter *γ* with one point with value of *γ*: *ḡutuḡar*
- $\underset{\cdot}{s}$ = the letter *s* without points with value of *š*: *Šagimuni*
- $\underset{\cdot}{s}$ = the letter *s* with points with value of *š*: *šasin*
- $\underset{\cdot}{s}$ = the Uighur letter *š* : *s* (= *z*, final) with value of *š* and *s*: *taš*, *uḡs*
- $\underset{\cdot}{t}$ = 1. the Uighur letter *t* in non-initial position (or in suffixes) with value of *d*: *uritu*
2. Uighur *t* in non-initial position with value of *t*: *meḡü*

- d =
1. the Uighur letter *d* initially (and at the beginning of suffixes written separately) with value of *t*: darni, beye-den
 2. Uighur *d* initially with value of *d*: diyān
 3. Uighur *d* in non-initial position before a consonant with value of *d*: eddleküi
 4. Uighur *d* in final position with value of *d*: ed

Thus, the text of the 'Stone of Chingis' transcribed by Ligeti reads as follows:

- [1] Činggiš qan-i
- [2] Sartaγul irge [d]aγulijū baγūju qamuy Mongγol ulus-un
- [3] noyad-i Buqa [s]očiqai quriγsan-tur.
- [4] Yisüngge ontudur-un γurban jaγud γučin tabun aldaš
- [5] -tur ontuγulaγ-a.

With regard to hyphenation, a suggested improvement on the standard system which uses the hyphen indiscriminately to separate 1) final letters (including suffixes) that form an integral part of the word, and 2) suffixes which are regularly written separately (*auγ-a*, *üğüler-ün*; *ulus-un*), is to use a mid-point (·) for the former and reserve the hyphen for the latter (*auγ·a*, *üğüler·ün*; *ulus-un*). When in the transcription there is no need to apply the conventional orthographic rules normally followed in the case of the former, one can of course dispense with hyphens or mid-points altogether: *auγa*, *üğülerün*, *ulus-un*.

The next document is also an inscription, actually the legend of the imperial seal (*tamyā*) of Güyüg (r. 1246-48), which is apposed on the famous letter (in Persian) to Pope Innocent IV dating from 1246. The seal may well have been the same, if not physically, then certainly with regard to the legend, as that of his predecessor Ögödei (r. 1229-41). This seal is well known because it is reproduced in most books on the Mongols; this is also one of the reasons why it has been chosen for study.

The legend consists of six short lines in Uighur script, the sixth line ending with a large dot which is usually not reproduced in the illustrations but which is in the original. See Text XVII. As in the case of the 'Stone of Chingis', we shall examine the words one by one.

LEGEND ON THE SEAL OF GÜYÜG

(N.B. This text, unlike the ‘Stone of Chingis’, has no diacritic marks)

Transcription

- [1] *mõngke tngri-yin*
 [2] *küçüündür yeke Mongyol*
 [3] *ulus-un dalai-in*
 [4] *qamu jrly il bulya*
 [5] *irgen-dür kürbesü*
 [6] *büsiretügüi ayutuyai.*

Glossary and Explanations

- mõngke* = *mõngke* eternal; cf. tu. *m(ä)ngü*, *m(ä)ñü* id.
tngri-yin of Heaven ← *tngri* Heaven (cf. tu. *t[ä]ñri* id.) + *-yin* gen. s.
küçüündür (= *küçün-dür*) by the strength ← *küçün* strength, might, power (cf. tu. *küč* id.) + *-dür/-tür* dat.-loc. s. (= dativus instrumentalis: ‘by means of’)
yeke great
Mongyol pr. name: Mongol
ulus-un of the nation ← *ulus* nation (cf. tu. *uluš*, *ulus*) + *-un/-ün* gen. s.
dalai-in (pro *dalai-yin*) of the sea ← *dalai* sea (cf. tu. *tahuy*, *talay* id.) + *-in* (= *-yin*) gen. s. = of (all within) the seas, i.e. the whole world
qamu (= *qan-u*) of the ruler ← *qan* (cf. tu. *qan*, *çan*) khan, ruler + *-ul/-ü* gen. s. (after *-n* stems)
jrly (= *jarliy*) order (cf. tu. *y[a]rl[i]γ* id.)
 ‘By the strength of Eternal Heaven, order of the ruler of the Great Mongol Nation and of (all within) the seas (= the whole world)’, i.e. ‘By the strength (given to Us) by Eternal Heaven ...’
il (~ *el*) subject, ally (cf. tu. *il*, *äl*, *el* realm, land, people), opp. to *bulya*
bulya rebel, enemy, opp. to *il* (~ *el*)
irgen-dür to the people ← *irgen* (~ *irge*) people + *-dür*
kürbesü when it reaches (or arrives) ← *kür-* to reach, arrive (with dat.-loc. s.) + *-besül/-basu* conv. cond. (= conditional gerund: ‘when, if’)

bü̇siretügüi = *büsiretügüi* (pro *büsiretügei*) let respect (i.e. they must respect it) ← *büsire-* to respect + *-tügüi*(=*-tügei*)/*-tuyai* imp. 3 p. sg. & pl.

ayutuyai let fear (i.e. they must fear it) ← *ayu-* to fear + *-tuyai*

‘When it reaches the subject and rebel people, they must respect it, they must fear it!’, i.e. **‘When it reaches the people who have submitted (to the Mongols) and those who have not yet submitted (and are, therefore, regarded as rebels), ...’**

Remarks on the text

I. Paleography and orthography. Note the following:

- 1) The shape of the letters and, in general, the character of the script is quite different from the Uighur formal style, but it is the same as the cursive style that we find in the Uighur manuscripts of the 13th and 14th c.
- 2) Uighur treatment of certain vowels in particular words, viz. *o* for *ö*, *u* for *ü* in the first syllable; elision of *a* and *i* in *ǰrlg* = tu. *y(a)rl(i)ǰ*, and of *e* in *tengri* = tu. *t(ä)ŋri*.
- 3) Joining of suffix to the word (*kü̇cündür*, *qanu*) as in Uighur; however, the letter *d* (after *n*) in *kü̇cündür* is written like Uighur *t*, not like Uighur *d*.
- 4) Irregular forms of suffixes: *-in* pro *-yin* (gen.) and *-tügüi* pro *-tügei* (imp.). Initial *yi* ~ *i* is also common in Uighur; *-tügüi* pro *-tügei* is simply due to the assimilation of the vowel of the second syllable of the suffix to the vowel of the first syllable, i.e. to progressive assimilation – a common phenomenon in Mongolian. The reading in question no doubt reflects a dialect form.
- 5) Absence of all diacritic marks, which is normal in seal and coin legends. In the case of the syllable *si*, the *s* before *i* being pronounced *sh* (*š*), the diacritic mark in the Uighur alphabet is actually redundant; for this reason in transcribing a Written Mongolian text (preclassical and classical) one always writes *si*, not *ši*. However, it is customary to transcribe this syllable *ši*, not *si*, in Middle Mongolian.

II. Grammar.

- 1) The use of the dative-locative suffix in place of the instrumental suffix *-iyar/-iyer* in the word *kü̇cündür* ‘by (= by

means of, thanks to) the strength’ This *dativus instrumentalis* is very rare and unusual in Mongolian (it is not even included in Poppe’s *Grammar*), and in the present case it is definitely a Turkicism. The formula that we find in the legend of the seal, and as an initial formula of Mongol orders and edicts of this period, is actually a calque of the Old Turkic formula or expression *tänri küçinä* ‘by the strength of Heaven’ (← *küč* + *-i* 3 p. poss. s. + *-nä* pron. dat. s.; cf. Text I). The exact Turkic counterpart of the Mongolian formula is given at the very beginning of the letter of Güyüg on which the seal is apposed. Although written in Persian, this letter – interestingly enough – has a three-line preamble, or initial formula, in Turkic (in Arabic script) beginning with the words *M(ä)ngü t(ä)ngri küč(i)ndä* ‘By the strength (*küč* [+ *-i* 3 p. poss. s.] + *-ndä* [= *-ntä*] pron. loc.-abl. s.) of Eternal Heaven’ (In Old Turkic, the dative or locative-ablative was used to express the agent by means of which, or thanks to whom, something was obtained.) Thus, Mongolian *küčündür* is the exact equivalent or, better, calque of Turkic *küčintä*, also written as one word. We should add, however, that in the Mongolian conception and, probably also in that of the Turks from which it derives, the expression ‘by the strength of Heaven’ means ‘thanks to the strength given by Heaven’ rather than ‘by the power of Heaven’, although this idea is also certainly implicit in it. In other words, it is through the strength that Heaven *has given* (granted, conferred on) the khan that he has the power and authority to issue such a command.

- 2) The use of the imperative of the 3rd person (in *-tuyai/-tügei*, here *-tügüi/-tuyai*) as the regular verb form in official decrees and orders from above. This imperative is often called ‘concessive’ or ‘optative’ and is translated with ‘let him/them’, but in reality it is an imperative that leaves no option or concession since it has prescriptive force.

III. Syntax.

Note the ambiguity of the construction in the sentence *yeke Mongyol ulus-un dalai-in qanu jrly*. Mostaert and Cleaves have, in fact, translated it differently as ‘Order of the Sovereign of (all within) the seas of the empire of the Great Mongols’, which is perfectly legitimate. The reason why we have rendered it the way we did is

because of the Turkic preamble of the letter which, in the second and third line, says: *kür (u)l(u)γ ulus n(u)ng taluy mung χan y(a)rl(i)γ(i)m(i)z* (= *uluy ulusnuγ taluynuγ χan yarlıyımiz* ‘The Ruler (*χan*) of the whole Great Nation (*kür uluy ulusnuγ* [← *ulus* + *-nuγ* gen. s.]) (and) of (all within) the seas (*taluynuγ* [← *taluy* + *-nuγ*]). Our Order (*yarlıyımiz* [← *yarlıy* + *-i-* conn. vo. + *-miz* poss. pron. 1 p. pl.]).’ This is one of the great difficulties of Mongolian – the fact that a simple expression like *yeke Mongyol ulus* may mean ‘nation of the Great Mongols’ and ‘the great Mongol nation’ (or: the Great Mongol Nation – this being the official designation of the Mongol empire!); and that the failure to insert a simple conjunction can lead to a total misunderstanding of a sentence. This is another point of similarity between Turkic and Mongolian: although both have plenty of conjunctions to be used between nouns (with verbs the problem is completely different), they are not used enough, i.e. from our point of view, of course.

IV. Vocabulary.

- 1) Turco-Mongolian words: *möngke* (tu. *mängü, mänü*), *tengri* (tu. *tängri*), *küčü(n)* (tu. *küč*), *ulus* (tu. *uhš, ulus*), *dalai* (tu. *taluy, talay*), *qan* (tu. *qan, χan*), *jarlıy* (tu. *yarlıy*), *il* (tu. *il, el*).
- 2) Preclassical words now obsolete: *il* (= mo. *el* peace, accord), *bulya, büsire-* (mo. *bisire-*).

Conclusions

1. A very strong Uighur influence on all aspects of the text, which could in fact be regarded as a transposition of Turkic into Mongolian: most of the words are common to the two languages, and the formulas are calques of Turkic expressions. This is not at all surprising considering that Turkic cultural influence was paramount at the Mongol court during the first reigns, with the head of the Imperial Chancellery being an Uighur, or a man of Uighur culture, like Činqai (or, rather, Čingqai, ca. 1169-1252), Qadaq (d. 1251) and Bala (d. after 1253), who were all also Nestorian Christians. It was no doubt through the influence of these close advisers on the Mongol khan that the latter – beginning with Ögödei – assumed the additional Turkic title of khaghan (*qayan*).

2. Same inconsistencies in spelling observed in the 'Stone of Chingis', as well as in the placing of suffixes: a non-uniform orthography which is characteristic of the Uighur script.
3. The use of the large square seal with red ink-paste is ultimately of Chinese origin, and so is the expression 'all within the seas' for 'the whole world', and probably also the very word *dalai'talay, tahy* 'sea, ocean' Thus, indirectly via the Uighurs, the Mongols were also exposed to Chinese culture.

It was only natural when the Mongols (as any other foreigners) settled down to rule countries like China and Iran, that they adopted local traditional practices and institutions. The Kitans and Jurchens before them had already done that. For instance, when the Kitans occupied North China in the 10th c. they adopted the Chinese 'tablets of authority' (in Chinese *paizi*, known in the West as *paizas*), i.e. those oblong (sometimes round) metal tablets with a short inscription carved on them, and a hole in the top for a strap so that they could be attached to the belt when necessary; otherwise they were kept in a case. These *paizas* were given to messengers and envoys on official missions to use when travelling. They gave the holder the authority to obtain free lodgings, remounts and all the goods he required en route. They were made of bronze, silver, gilded silver and gold according to the status of the envoy (from simple messenger to envoy extraordinary). The average size of the oblong *paizas* was *ca.* 30 x 9 cm.

As soon as they occupied North China at the beginning of the 13th c., the Mongols too began using *paizas* on a large scale (to the despair of the Chinese). Their use continued throughout the Yuan dynasty, with the Mongols in Iran and the rulers of the Golden Horde also employing them. Several *paizas* still exist in museums in Russia, Mongolia and China, as well as in private collections, mostly coming from the western part of the Mongol empire, but some also from China, with inscriptions in Uighur and in 'Phags-pa scripts.

We shall now look at the text of some of these short inscriptions in both scripts, beginning with an oblong *paiza* in Uighur script, with writing on both sides. The one reproduced here is made of silver and is known as the 'Paiza of Abdulla', from the name of the khan of the Golden Horde (r. 1362-69) mentioned in the inscription. It was found in the Ukraine in 1848 and is now at the Hermitage. See Text XVIII.

THE PAIZA OF ABDULLA
Transcription and Translation

Side *a* (recto) has two lines which read:

- [1] *Mongke tngri-in kücü(n)dür*
 [2] *yeke suu jali-in igegendür*
 ‘By the strength of Eternal Heaven,
 By the protection of the Great Fortune and Flame (= Spirit)’

Side *b* (verso) has two lines which read:

- [1] *Abdull-a-in jrlγ ken ülü*
 [2] *büsirekü kümün aldaqu ükükü*
 ‘Order of Abdulla. Any person who
 shall not respect (it), shall be guilty and die.’

New Words and Explanations

- suu jali* lit. ‘the (Good) Fortune and Flame (= Spirit)’, is a compound or binom (*‘mot-couple’*) designating the Protecting Genius or Guardian Spirit of the founder of the dynasty, i.e. Činggis Qan
- igegendür* (= *igegen-dür*) by the protection ← *igegen* protection (← *igege-* to protect + *-n* dev. n. s.) + *-dür* dat.-loc. s. See what we have said about *kücündür*. *Igege-* ~ *ibege-*
- Abdull-a* pr. name: Abdulla (< ar. ‘Abdallāh)
- ken* who
- ülü* neg. particle
- büsirekü* ← *büsire-* to respect + *-kü/-qu* nom. fut. s. The nomen futuri indicates the action of the verb (‘the respecting’, ‘the killing’, ‘the dying’) as an ongoing process, hence its future force. It is sometimes referred to as an infinitive or as a future participle because it can also function as an attribute, as here: ‘the person (*kümün*) who shall not respect’ Infinitive, because the verbal stem, as in *büsire-*, is assumed to correspond to *büsirekü*, which is the form in which this verb is entered in most dictionaries, in the same way as in all dictionaries of Western languages verbs are entered in the infinitive form. (However, in the old Mongolian-Mongolian dictionaries the verbs are entered in the present form in *-mui/-müi*.)
- kümün* person (in general)

- aldaqu* lit. 'to commit an error (= infraction)', i.e. to be guilty (of a misdemeanour or crime); and, by extension, liable to punishment. In Mongolian, as in Chinese, the concept of being culpable of an offence is inseparable from that of being liable to punishment.
- üiküü* to die

Remarks on the text

- 1) The character of the script and the style of the inscription are the same as those of the legend on the seal of Güyüg (no diacritics, gen. in *-in*, etc.). Note, however, that:
 - i) the *n* of *küčündür* is missing. This is not a mistake or oversight, because it is also lacking in other *paizas* of the same type: it is a peculiarity of these *paizas*. The form without *n* is *not* incorrect since *küčün* has a variable *-n* stem, but it is unusual;
 - ii) the *d* of *dür* is written like Uighur *d* and not like Uighur *t*, as in the seal of Güyüg – a further indication that at this stage the two forms of this letter were used inconsistently.
- 2) In the present case, the authority for the order (*jrly*) comes from both Eternal Heaven (who confers the strength) and the Guardian Spirit of Činggis Qan (which provides the protection or blessing). Therefore, 'to make a mistake' (*alda-*), i.e. to infringe the order, is to go against the authority of Heaven *and* of Činggis' spirit, hence a doubly capital crime. Thus, to actually specify that the person who contravenes will die is a tautology. *Aldaqu* meant *alaydaq!*

Now let us look at a *paiza* of the same oblong type, but in 'Phags-pa script. The one in question is the so-called 'Paiza of Minusinsk', having been discovered in that district (on the Yenisei River) in 1846. It is in gilded silver. On one side (*a*) there are three lines, and on the other (*b*) two lines. See Text XIX. In the vertical 'Phags-pa script, the letters can be written either singly, i.e. as individual letters, or as a combination of two or three or even four letters, usually forming a syllable. Sometimes one sound is represented by a combination of two letters, for example, *e + o = ö*, and *e + u = ü*. These combinations and the lack of clear demarcation lines between letters in a group of letters joined together pose the greatest difficulty in reading the 'Phags-pa script. However, with the help of the script chart (Fig. 18) the reader should be able to recognize and decipher these short inscriptions. What one usually does is first to

prepare a letter-by-letter transcription of the text, viz. a transliteration, and then, as a second and final step, a proper transcription, which requires a certain amount of interpretation based on the knowledge of the script rules. We shall, therefore, give first the transliteration of the two sides as follows:

THE PAIZA OF MINUSINSK

- a* (r^o) [1] *dəŋ-ri-yin k'u-č'un-dur*
 [2] *moŋ-k'a*
 [3] *qa an ne-re qu-t'uq-t'ayi*
b (v^o) [1] *bol-t'u-qayi k'en ü-lu bu-*
 [2] *ši-re-gu al-da-qu ü-k'u-gu*

Next, the transcription and translation of the same:

- a* (r^o) [1] *dengri-yin küčündür*
 [2] *mōngka*
 [3] *qa'an nere qutuqtai*
b (v^o) [1] *boltuqai ken ülü bu-*
 [2] *širegü aldaqu ükügü*

'By the strength of Eternal Heaven
 let the name of the Emperor be
 sacred! He who shall not respect
 (it) shall be guilty and die.'

Since there is only a single letter for *n + g* in 'Phags-pa script, one transliterates this combination as *ŋ*.

The reader will notice immediately certain characteristics in the words of the text:

- 1) the word *tengri* 'Heaven' is written *dəŋri*, with initial *d* and a closed *é*;
- 2) *küčündür* is written with an aspirated velar stop *k'* and an aspirated affricate *č'*; but with *u* instead of *ü*, which is all right, since a word beginning with a *k* or *g* cannot have back vowels, but only front vowels;
- 3) the word *mōngke*, being the epithet of Heaven, is written in the central line which is also elevated above the others for respect. It is spelled *moŋk'a = mōngka*, the initial *o* reflecting the regular usage in Uighur, and the final *a = e* because of vowel harmony. *Mōngke* cannot possibly be the name of the ruler, i.e. Mōngke

- Qayan (r. 1251-59), as suggested by some early investigators, since the 'Phags-pa script was introduced ten years *after* Möngke's death;
- 4) the word *qayan* is written *qa'an*, the letter here transcribed with the *being* the sign for the hiatus, i.e. the hiatus between two vowels, represented by *γ* or *g* in Uighur script and by an apostrophe in the usual transcription system;
 - 5) *nere* 'name' is written with two open *e*;
 - 6) *qutuqtai*, lit. 'having blessing' = 'blessed, sacred' (← *qutuq* 'blessing' + *-tai* poss. s.), is written with *q* in the second syllable instead of the *γ* of the Uighur script; it has an aspirated *t*, and the diphthong *ai* is written *ayi*;
 - 7) *boltuyai* 'let it be, must be' (← *bol-* 'to be, become' + *-tuyai* imp. s.) is also written with the aspirated *t*, the *q* instead of *γ*, and *ayi* instead of *ai*;
 - 8) *k'en* 'who', with aspirated *k'* and open *e*;
 - 9) *ülü* is written *ülu* because the initial vowel establishes the reading of the other vowels (cf. above, 2, 3);
 - 10) *büširegü* 'shall respect' is written *buširegu* because the *u* of the first syllable is an *u = ü* (*u*), reflecting the Uighur orthography, hence the other *u* must also be *ü*; also, the nomen futuri is in *-gu* (= *-gü*) instead of *-k'u* (= *-kü*), which is an interesting peculiarity;
 - 11) *aldaqu* 'shall be guilty' is perfectly normal;
 - 12) *ükükü* 'shall die' has initial *ü*, middle *k'u = kü*, and final *gu = gü* as in *büširegü*.

Note especially the following correspondences:

1. Uighur script (pmo.) *t(e)ngri* = 'ph. (mmo.) *dengri*, hence pmo. *t* = mmo. *t ~ d* (cf. pmo. *qutuqtai* = mmo. *qutuqtai*);
2. pmo. *qayan* = mmo. *qa'an*, hence pmo. *aya* = mmo. *a'a*;
3. pmo. *qutuy*, *boltuyai* = mmo. *qutuq*, *boltuqai*, hence pmo. *γ* = mmo. *q*;
4. pmo. *büširekü*, *ükükü* = mmo. *büširegü*, *ükügü*, hence pmo. *-kü* = mmo. *-gü*.

It is clear that we are dealing here with a script that a) follows in part the Uighur orthographic conventions, and b) departs considerably from them by giving a more accurate representation of the individual sounds of the *East Mongolian dialect of the 13th c. spoken at court*. The comparison of the Uighur-Mongol and 'Phags-pa scripts as

evidenced by these *paizas* is most interesting because we have here in a nutshell, as it were, a contrasting picture of Preclassical and Middle Mongolian or, to be more precise, of a particular and important type of Middle Mongolian language, i.e. the language (or dialect) of the 'Phags-pa inscriptions, in which the intervocalic velar stop has disappeared creating a gap or hiatus, the voiced velar stop γ has become a voiceless q , and so on. Inevitably it follows that we shall have to use two somewhat different transcriptions for Preclassical and Middle Mongolian. For example, the Middle Mongolian sentence (from our *paiza*) *qa'an nere qutuqtai boltuqai* converted into Uighur script (thus becoming Preclassical Mongolian) would read *qayan nere qutuytai boltuyai*. (Incidentally 'ph. *ayi*, which corresponds to final *ai* in Uighur-Mongol script, is written in this way in 'Phags-pa to make sure that the final diphthong is clearly pronounced as $a + i$.)

All the oblong *paizas*, irrespective of the material they are made of, belong to these two types. There is, however, another type, in bronze and round in shape, which was apparently given to officials who were carrying out missions at night, for the purpose of conferring on them the authority to move about freely. It was therefore a safe-conduct. It cannot be dated with certainty, but it is probably from the middle-late Yuan period (13th-14th c.). The inscriptions on these *paizas* are in several languages: Persian, Mongolian and Chinese. The one we shall examine was found near Beijing early last century. One side (*a*) is inscribed in Persian, as well as in Mongolian in 'Phags-pa and Uighur scripts, and the other (*b*) in Chinese. See Text XX. The following is a transliteration, transcription and translation of the 'Phags-pa text:

THE PAIZA FOUND NEAR BEIJING

Transliteration

[1] *jar t'uŋ-qaq ma u*

[2] *ni se-reg-de-k'u*

Transcription

[1] *jar tungqaq ma'u-*

[2] *ni seregdekü*

'Proclamation. One must guard against the wicked.'

The text in Uighur script reads as follows:

[1] *jar tungqay*

[2] *mayun-i seregdekü*

The wording of the two texts is the same. Note the following:

1. *jar tungqaq* (pmo. *tungqay*), lit. ‘announcement – proclamation’, is a compound meaning ‘proclamation’; cf. *jarliy* ‘order, decree’ ← *jar* + *-liy/-lig* den. n. s. (generalizing suffix designating abundance of something);
2. *ma’un-i* (pmo. *mayun-i*) ‘the wicked (acc. pl.), i.e. ‘the wicked ones’ ← *ma’u* (*mayu*) + *-n* pl. s. + *-i* acc. s.;
3. *seregdegü* (pmo. *seregdekü*) ‘one must guard against (or beware)’ ← *sere-* ‘to guard against, beware’ + *-gde/-yda-* pass. s. + *-gü* (*-kü*)/*-qu* nom. fut. s. The nomen futuri of the passive form of the verb expresses the necessity or obligation to perform the action of the verb.

In contrasting the two inscriptions, we also note mmo. *q* vs. pmo. *γ*, mmo. *a’u* vs. pmo. *ayu*, and mmo. *-gü* vs. pmo. *-kü*.

For the sake of completeness, the readings of the Persian (*a*) and Chinese (*b*) inscriptions are the following:

Persian: *i ‘timād mānand bar lauh(i) šab gašt*

‘Credentials equal to (i.e. to be relied upon as) the tablet (of) night going round about’, i.e. ‘The tablet (= *paiza*) authorizing (the holder) to go round about (= circulate) at night.’

Chinese (translation only): ‘ORDER. Examine carefully for forgery. Guard against the wicked. It is forbidden to borrow and carry (this tablet). Those who contravene (the order) will incur punishment.’

* * *

These early documents in Uighur and ’Phags-pa scripts, viz. the stele of Yisünger, the seal of Güyüg and the *paizas* that we have just discussed, as well as other inscriptions and texts in Uighur-Mongol script and in ’Phags-pa discovered in Central Asia, China and Mongolia, have been well investigated by scholars. There are still differences in interpretation, especially in the case of the values of some of the ’Phags-pa letters, but no serious problem remains (see, e.g., G. Kara in *WWS*, pp. 437-441). Almost all the preclassical documents and the ’Phags-pa material have been collected, edited and published by L. Ligeti in his *Monumenta* (in a parallel series Ligeti also published the word-indices) and, more recently, by D. Tömörtogoo (Tumurtoogoo);

the Mongol documents from Turkestan in the Berlin Turfan Collection have been re-edited and translated (with an excellent commentary) by M. Taube and D. Cerensodnom; those from Olon Süme in Inner Mongolia by W. Heissig; those from Khara Khoto by G. Kara, J. Yoshida, J. Chimeddorji and others; those from Dunhuang (Magaoku) by scholars of the PRC; and those from the Arjai Caves in Inner Mongolia by Mongolian, Chinese and Japanese scholars. We have also editions and translations of the 'Phags-pa script material by N. Poppe, Junast, Hugjiltu, Janchiv, and D. Tumurtogoo (see Bibl. 5.3.1). Thus, in the last sixty years the virtual totality of early Mongol texts has been edited, translated and annotated, in many cases more than once, by a score of eminent Mongolists among whom one must name (besides the ones mentioned above) A. Mostaert and F. W. Cleaves. For an easy introduction to the study of the 'Phags-pa script we recommend P. Michalove's *Guide*, but see also Janhunen 2009 (Bibl. 5.3.1).

Before we move on to the two major monuments of Middle Mongolian, i.e. to that masterpiece of ancient Mongolian literature which is the so-called *Secret History of the Mongols*, and the Sino-Mongolian glossary *Hua-Yi yiyu* of 1389, we should complete our present review of Preclassical Mongolian by drawing special attention to two different but equally outstanding documents which highlight some interesting aspects of the cultural background of these early monuments of the old Mongolian language in Uighur-Mongol script.

Firstly, the famous letter of Arḡun to Philip the Fair (Philippe le Bel) of 1289, an excellent example of preclassical documentary style and of Uighur-Mongol calligraphy, the sort of calligraphy that was employed by court scribes. The original document, i.e. the very letter sent by the Il-khan of Persia Arḡun (r. 1284-91) to the king of France Philip the Fair (r. 1285-1314) is kept, together with the letter of the Il-khan Öljeitü (r. 1304-16) to Philip of 1305, in the Archives nationales de France in Paris. Both letters were first published in facsimile in 1895; they were studied and discussed by various scholars, and the definitive edition and translation by Mostaert and Cleaves appeared in 1962. (See Bibl. 5.3.1. These two scholars had done the same work ten years before with similar documents kept in the Secret Archives of the Vatican in Rome; see 'Trois documents...'.) A section of Arḡun's letter is reproduced in Text XXI. The following is a transcription of the text with a word-by-word translation.

THE LETTER OF ARĠUN TO PHILIP THE FAIR

- [1] *Mongke tngri-yin küčündür.*
Eternal Heaven-of the strength-by.
- [2] *qayan-u suu-dur*
the qayan-of the Good Fortune-by
- [3] *Aryun üge manu.*
Aryun word of Us.
- [4] *Ired Barans-a*
Roi de France-to
- [5] *ngdüni či Mar Bar*
last year you Mar Bar
- [6] *Savm-a Saγur-a*
Sawma the Visitor
- [7] *terigüten ilčin-*
having-as-head the envoys-
- [8] *iyer öçijü iler-ün*
through informing sent
- [9] *Il Qan-u çerigüd Misir-ün*
Il Qan-of the troops Misir-of
- [10] *jüg morilabasu bida ber*
in-the-direction if-set-out We also
- [11] *andeče morilaǰu qamsay-a*
herefrom attacking will-join

Translation

By the strength of Eternal Heaven and the Good Fortune of the Emperor. Word of Us, Aryun. To the Ired Barans (= King of France). Last year you sent (Us) (a message) through the envoys having at (their) head (i.e. led by) the Visitor Mâr Bar Şâwmâ informing (Us as follows): ‘If the troops of the Il Qan set out (to attack) (in) the direction of Misir (= Egypt), we too, jointly acting with (him), will set out (and attack) from here.’

Remarks on the text

Lines 1-2: For this opening formula, see above the remarks on the Seal of Güyüg and on the *Paiza* of Abdulla.

Line 3: *Aryun üge manu*. *Üge* ‘word’ is, of course, synonymous with ‘order, command’, as it comes from the sovereign, viz. the Il Qan (see below). *Manu* ‘of Us’ is the regular *pluralis majestatis* instead of *mimu* ‘of me’.

- Line 4: *Ired Barans* is a Mongol phonetic rendering of ‘Rey da Frans’, i.e. ‘Roi de France’, here Philip le Bel (Philip the Fair). The *i* of *Ired* is a prosthetic vowel; such a vowel is often prefixed to a word beginning with an *r*. The rendering of *f* with *b* is also quite common since there was no special letter in Mongolian to render the sound *f*.
- Lines 5-6: *Ngdūni* = *nigdūni* ‘last year’ (referring to the Year of the Rat 1288). The spelling *ngdūni* is due to the omission of the vowel of the first syllable (cf. *tngri* for *tengri*). *Mar Bar Savm-a* (*Savma*) *Sayur-a* (*Sayura*) are Mongol transcriptions of four Syriac words: *Mâr* ‘Mylord’, a title of respect for religious dignitaries and saints; *Bar Šâwmâ*, lit. ‘Son of Fasting’ – a common Syriac personal name; and *sâ’ôra* ‘Visitor’, a rank in the Nestorian Church hierarchy.
- Lines 7-8: *Terigūten* ← *terigū(n)* ‘head’ + *-ten/-tan* poss. s., pl. of *-teil/-tai* (= ‘having, possessing’). *Ilčīn* pl. in *-n* of *ilči* ~ *elči* ‘envoy, messenger’, here in the instr. case (*-iyer*) = ‘by means of, through’ *Öčijū iler-ün* (*ilerün*) ‘sent informing’, like ‘sent saying’ For these verbal forms see the ‘Stone of Chingis’
- Lines 9-10: *Il Qan* (lit. ‘Subject Ruler’; for *il* see the Seal of Güyüg), i.e. Ilkhan, was the title of the Mongol princes governing Iran who were subject to the authority of the emperor (*qaγan*), i.e. Qubilai, supreme ruler of the Mongol empire, in whose name they exercised authority. *Čerigūd*, pl. in *-d* (with *-ü-* conn. vo.) of *čerig* ‘warrior, soldier, army’ *Misir* < tu. < pe. < ar. *Miṣr* ‘Egypt’. *Ĵūg*, written *ĵūg* ‘direction’, means also ‘in the direction (of), towards’. *Morilabasu* is the conv. cond. in *-basu/-besü* of *morila-* ‘to mount a horse’ (← *mori[n]* ‘horse’ + *-la-* den. v. s.), from which also the meaning of ‘to set out, to go on a campaign, to attack’: a logical development. *Bida* is usually the inclusive pe. pron. of the 2nd p. pl. = ‘we’ (‘I and you’), but here is used in the exclusive meaning of ‘we’ (‘I, not you’), or rather ‘We’ (royal). *Ber* has three different meanings in Mongolian: 1) *-ber* (*-bar*) instr. s. after words ending in a vowel or diphthong; 2) a particle designating or emphasizing the subject, i.e. a subject indicator; and 3) a concessive or generalizing particle meaning ‘also, too’, often used together with a conv. cond. to serve as a conv. conc. (= ‘even if, even though’); and to turn an interrogative pron. into an indefinite one: *ali ber* ‘whoever’
- Line 11: *āndeče* = *ende-eče* (lit. ‘here-from’), i.e. ‘from here, hence’; *-ečel-ača* is the abl. s., often written *-čal-če* in the preclassical language. *Qamsay-a* (*qamsaya*) is the voluntative in *-yal/-ye-*, written with a

separate *a*, of *qamsa-* ‘to join, to do something jointly with’. *Endeče morilaǰu qamsaya* means ‘will act jointly with (him), setting out (and attacking) from here’

Given the personages involved, i.e. two kings, and the nature of the letter – a military accord of the highest importance – this document in Mongolian is matched only by the subsequent letter of the Il-khan Öljeitü to Philip the Fair as regards length and quality of writing. It must, therefore, be regarded as a top specimen of its kind from the point of view of language as well as of script. This calligraphic elegance is of course lacking in less exalted contemporary documents that have fortunately survived, such as legal and commercial documents, and ordinary copies of literary works. Modern archaeology has also brought to light lay and religious writings in Uighur Turkic dating from the 13th and 14th c. These manuscripts, whether Mongol or Turkic are, insofar as the script is concerned, virtually indistinguishable. Cf., for instance, the Mongolian and Uighur documents reproduced in Cleaves article (1955, Pl. I & II; Bibl. 5.3.1). The continuity of the Turkic, more specifically Uighur, tradition is likewise evident in the script style of printed works dating from the same period (see below).

At the time when Aryun’s letter was written, i.e. towards the end of the 13th c., there was in China already a well-developed literary activity in Mongolian, something that cannot be said for Mongolia or for any other part of the Mongol empire. Its centre was Dadu/Daidu, the present-day Beijing. There, in that bustling, cosmopolitan city which for many decades was the capital of Asia, and where many Uighur Turks and Tibetans had settled, Buddhist texts were translated from Sanskrit, Tibetan and Uighur, and books were printed, mostly in the then large compounds of the Great Temple with a White Pagoda (Čaγayan Suburyatu Yeke Süme), also called simply Čayan Suburya or White Pagoda, in Chinese Baita si, one of the famous sights of the Western City. Qubilai Qan had protected and promoted Buddhism, and as a result there was great literary activity under his long reign (1260-94) which continued under the reigns of his successors, who also patronized Buddhism. One of the outstanding works published in Dadu in the early 14th c. was the monumental translation of, and commentary on, the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (*The Path to Illumination*) – a religious poem, or poetical treatise, in Sanskrit by Śāntideva (7th c. AD), and one of the great works of Buddhism. This work had already been translated into Chinese and Tibetan when the learned Tibetan monk Čhos-kyi ’od-zer (Čosgi Odsir in Mongolian) made a translation of it into Mongolian

and published it together with his commentary in Dadu (at the White Pagoda) in a 1000-copy blockprint edition in 1312. Its title in Mongolian is *Bodistva čarya avatar-un tayilbur* (*Commentary of the Bodhicaryāvatāra*).

Unfortunately, the original edition has not survived except for 24 pages (12 leaves) which were found in Turfan, and are kept in the earlier-mentioned Turfan Collection in Berlin. E. Haenisch edited and translated the fragment in 1954, with an excellent facsimile reproduction of the original. A detailed study of it was published by F. W. Cleaves in the same year in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 17.

Even a superficial examination of this text reveals the uniformly high quality and beauty of the printing that we find also in the contemporary blockprints of Turkic texts (cf. Fig. 19a and b). With regard to the continuity of the Uighur tradition to which we have just referred, one should note, besides the typical ductus, the sparse use of diacritic marks, the three kinds of punctuation (single and double dots, and the four dots), the (also typical) double pagination in Mongolian and Chinese, the Uighurisms in the orthography and, if one reads the text, in the vocabulary as well. It is a great pity that this is all that remains of a 1000-copy edition, but perhaps one day more leaves or a complete exemplar will turn up. This famous text has been handed down, but without Čosgi Odsir's commentary: it was reprinted in the *Tanġur* collection in 1748 in a somewhat revised edition which, however, retains much, if not most, of the poetic quality of the original.

Below we give the transcription of the page of the Mongol text reproduced in Fig. 19b (see Text XXII), but with the lines arranged in such a way as to show the rhyming pattern of Čosgi Odsir's version based on alliteration and the repetition of verbal forms at the end of the lines. (The poetic section ends with line 11 of the blockprint; the last two lines contain the beginning of Čosgi Odsir's commentary; for line 12 see the *Remarks on the text*.) This is followed by Cleaves' literal translation, slightly modified. See Cleaves, *op.cit.*, pp. 76-77 [4-159a]; cf. Cerensodnom and Taube (Bibl. 5.3.1), pp. 82-83.

THE *BODISTVA ČARYA AVATAR-UN TAYILBUR* (Ch. 4, fol. 159a)

Transcription

{[158b] ¹⁴*sursuyai kemen*}

[159a] ¹*küseǵčid ayaγ-qa tegimlig-ūd*:

*aylay² orod-i olqu **bolıyayı** :-*
qamıy alyasaqu-yi³ tarqayajı:
*sedkil-ıyen jarubasu bolqu bolju bişilyaqu⁴ **bolıyayı** :-*
şimnanča-nar oljatu bolıyad:
*kereldüküi⁵ künügegdeküi-eçe tonilquı **bolıyayı** :-*
tegünçilen⁶ ger-tečegen yarıysad:
*čıysabd üliü aldaraqun⁷ **bolıyayı**:*
čıysabd ebdereküi ber sedkil-ıyen⁸ čökegüldejü:
*nasuda nigül-nügüd-ıyen⁹ arilyaquın **bolıyayı** :-*
degedü töröl-i ber olju¹⁰ bürin:
tende ber jasay yabudal amı buı¹¹ ebderetügei :-
¹²*kemekü dörben šlüg-i eyin uqaydaqı.*
¹³*jrly nom-ud kemekü. vinai sudır. abidarım ħurban*
¹⁴*bolıyı. teden-i bičig-ıyer umşıquı. sedkil-dür*
 {[159b] ⁸*kemekü bolıyı.*}

Translation

- [159a12] The four *šlüg* (*śloka*) which read:
- [159a1] Let the *ayay-qa tegimlig-üid* ('monks')
 who aspire, [158b14] saying, 'Let me learn,'
 Acquire solitary places.
 Let them be able, dispersing all that which is 'to
 be dissipated', (and)
 Becoming (people) capable of using their minds,
 to meditate.
 The *şimnanča-nar* ('nuns') having become one(s)
 having acquisitions,
 Let them be delivered from (the misfortune of)
 disputing among themselves and (of) being
 persecuted.
 Likewise, (in the case of) 'those who have issued
 "from their tents,"'
 Let the *čıysabd* ('commandments') not be lost.
 And let those (in the case of) whom the *čıysabd* are
 broken,
 Making their hearts to grieve, always purify
 (themselves of) their sins.
 When also they acquire the supreme reincarnation,
 There, too, let their code and conduct not be broken.
- [159a12] let one understand thus:

They mean: ‘That which is called *jrly nom-ud* (‘edicts and laws’) is the(se) three: *vinai* (*vinaya*) (‘discipline’), *sudur* (*sūtra*) (‘scripture’), and *abidarim* (*abhidharma*) (‘metaphysics’).’

Remarks on the text

The first line of the translation actually corresponds to line 12 of fol. 159a of the Mongol text, and the first of the four *šlūg* (~ *slūg* < *uig*. *šlük* < skr. *śloka* ‘stanza’) occurs at the end (ll. 11-14) of the previous fol. 158b, which we have omitted. Thus, our transcription and translation cover only the second, third and fourth stanzas; the beginning of the second stanza is on line 14 of fol. 158b (*sursuyai kemen*). We ended the translation with *bohuyu* on line 14 since what follows is the beginning of a new section. For the same text in the later Tanjur recension see de Rachewiltz 1996 (Bibl. 5.3.1, p. 122, ll. 3622-3633).

kemekü dörben šlūg-i eyin uqaydaqū. This is line 12 which literally reads: ‘which say the four *šlūg* thus are to be understood’, i.e. ‘the four *śloka* (= stanzas) which read: (see the text of the preceding four stanzas), let one understand thus’. In the translation we had to split this sentence in order to make sense in English, *eyin uqaydaqū* introducing Čosgi Odsir’s commentary following the fourth stanza. Let us look at the words:

kemekü ← *keme-* to say, read + *-kü/-qu* nom. fut. s.; *keme-* is regularly used to open a (preceding) quotation; for *kemekü* see also below

dörben four

šlūg-i ← *šlūg* (see above) + *-i* acc. s. (because the four stanzas are regarded as the object of the understanding)

eyin so, thus

uqaydaqū ← *uqa-* to understand + *-γda/-gde* + *-qu/-kü*: for the nomen futuri of the passive expressing the necessity to act see above, Text XX. One can render *uqaydaqū* ‘let one understand’ or ‘one must understand’

sursuyai kemen saying, ‘Let me learn’: *sursuyai* ← *sur-* to learn + *-suyai* *-sügei* vol. s. (expressing the wish to perform an action); *kemen* ← *keme-* + *-n* conv. mod. s.; *kemen* ‘saying’ usually terminates direct speech, which can then be turned into indirect discourse in English and be translated with ‘that’ or ‘to’, like tu. *tip*

küsegčid who aspire ← *küse-* to wish, desire, long for + *-gčid/-γčid*, pl. of *-gčin/-γčin* (~ *-gčil/-γčil*) nom. act. s. In view of what we said

above about the role of *kemen*, we can render the words *sursuyai kemen käsegečid* simply as ‘who aspire (or desire) to learn’

ayaγ-qa tegimlig-üid monks: *ayaγ-qa* (= *ayaγqa*) *teгимlig* < uig. id., lit. ‘worthy of honour or worship; reverend’, applied to Buddhist monks + *-ü/-u-* conn. vo. + *-d* pl. s.

aylay orod-i solitary places: *aylay* solitary, secluded; *orod* ← *oro(n)* place + *-d* + *-i* acc. s.

olqu acquire ← *ol-* to find, get, acquire + *-qu/-kü* nom. fut. s.

boltoyai let; see above, Text XIX

qamuy alyasaqu-yi all that which is ‘to be dissipated’: *qamuy* all; *alyasaqu* ← *alyasa-* to be distracted or dissipated (by wealth, etc.) + *-qu/-kü* + *-yi* acc. s. (after vo.)

tarqayaju dispersing ← *tarqa-* to scatter, disperse + *-ya/-ge-* caus. s. + *-ju/-ju* conv. imp.

sedkil-iyen jarubasu bolqu bolju lit. ‘becoming (people for whom), if they use their minds, it will do’: *sedkil-iyen* ← *sedkil* mind, heart + *-iyen/-iyan* poss. acc. s.; *jarubasu* ← *jaru-* to use + *-basu/-besü* conv. cond. s. *bolqu* nom. fut. of *bol-* to be, become, (here:) to be able, capable or adequate; *bolju* conv. imp. of *bol-*, i.e. ‘becoming’; ‘becoming (people for whom), if they use their minds (*sedkil-iyen jarubasu*), it will do (= it will suffice) (*bolqu*)’ is a typical Mongol circumlocution to say ‘becoming capable of using their minds’

bišilyaqu to meditate ← *bišilya-* to meditate, contemplate + *-qu/-kü*; note that the syllable *si* is transcribed as *ši* by Cleaves because the letter *s* has the diacritic mark (two dots on the right)

šimnanča-nar nuns ← uig. (< sogd.) *šimnanč* id. + *-nar/-ner* pl. s.

oljatu boluyad having become ones having acquisitions: *oljatu* ← *olja* acquisition, income, booty (← *ol-* to find, acquire + *-jal/-je* dev. n. s.) + *-tu/-tü* poss. s. (= *oljatu* having or possessing acquisitions, with possessions); *boluyad* having become ← *bol-* to become, be + *-yad/-ged* conv. perf. s.

kereldüküi künügegdeküi-eče tonilqui boltoyai lit. ‘let (them) be delivered from disputing among themselves and being persecuted’: *kereldüküi* ← *kereldü-* to dispute or quarrel with each other (← *kere-* to quarrel, fight + *-ldü/-ldu-* rec. s.) + *-küi/-qui* nom. fut. s. (= *-kü/-qu*) + *-eče/-ača* abl. s. (= ‘from’); *tonilqui* ← *tonil-* to be saved or delivered + *-qui/-küi*

tegünčilen likewise ← *tegünčile-* to be like that or likewise (← *tegün*, stem of the dem. pron. *tere* that) + *-n* (= *tegünčilen* lit. ‘being like that’)

ger-tečegen γаруьсад lit. ‘those who have come out of their tents (= homes)’, i.e. who have left their homes to become a monk or a nun; *ger-tečegen* ← *ger* tent, home + *-tečel/-tača* (*-dečel/-dača*) dat.-loc.-abl. s. + *-gen/-γan* poss. s. (= *tečegen* from their); *γаруьсад* ← *γar-* to come out, issue, leave + *-u/-ü-* conn. vo. + *-γsad/-gsed* pl. of the nom. perf. s. *-γsan/-gsen*

čiyşabd ← < uig. (<< skr. *śikṣāpada*) moral commandment or precept (Buddh.)

ülü neg. particle: not

aldaraqun be lost ← *alda-* to lose + *-ra/-re-* refl. v. s. + *-qun/-kün*, pl. of the nom. fut. s. *-qui/-küi*

ülü aldaraqun boltuγai let not be lost (pl.) to themselves (refl. action), i.e. to the monks and nuns; in other words: may the monks and nuns not lose (= infringe) the moral precepts. For the other connotations of *alda-* see above, Text XVIII

čiyşabd ebdereküi ber lit. ‘and (for those for whom) the commandments are broken’, i.e. for those who have infringed the moral precepts: *ebdereküi* ← *ebdere-* to break (down), be broken or infringed (← *ebde-* to destroy; to transgress, violate + *-ra/-re-*) + *-küi/-qui*; *ber* and, also

sedkil-iyen čökegüldejü making their hearts/minds to grieve: *sedkil-iyen* see above; *čökegüldejü* ← *čöke-* to grieve, be distressed + *-gül/-γul-* caus. s. + *-de/-da-* pass. s. + *-jü/-ju* (= *čökegüldejü*, lit. ‘suffering the action of causing to grieve’)

nasuda always, constantly ← *nasu(n)* age, lifetime + *-da/-de* temp. adv. s.

nigül-mügüd-iyen their sins (acc.) ← *nigül* sin, transgression (Buddh.) + *-nügüd/-nuγud* pl. s. (with any stems) + *-iyen/-iyan*

arilyaqun boltuγai let purify (themselves of): *arilyaqun* ← *aril-* to be(come) purified + *-γa/-ge-* caus. s. (= *arilya-* to purify, cleanse) + *-qun/-kün*; cf. *tonilqui boltuγai* above

degedü töröl-i lit. ‘highest birth’, i.e. supreme reincarnation (acc.): *degedü* highest, supreme, etc.; *töröl* birth, reincarnation (Buddh.) (← *törö-* to be born + *-l* dev. n. s.) + *-i*

olju būriin lit. ‘when acquiring’: for *olju* ← *ol-* see above; *būriin*, the conv. praep. of *bū-* to be, etc., used in conjunction with a conv. imp. becomes a temp. adv. (‘when ... -ing’) as here, but it also has other functions

tende there; there and then

jasay yabudal amu their code and conduct: *jasay* code, regulation, law; *yabudal* conduct (← *yabu-* to go, act, behave + *-dall/-del* dev. n. s.); *amu* their, gen. of *a* they

buu ebderetügei let not be broken: *buu* prohib. particle with imp., vol. and opt. forms; *ebdere-* to be broken (see above) + *-tügei/-tuγai* imp. s. 3 p. sg. & pl.

kemekü eyin uqaydaqū see above; the words *eyin uqaydaqū* ‘let one understand thus’ mark the opening of the commentary which actually begins with the words *kemekü bohuyu* ‘they (i.e. the four stanzas) mean’ found on line 8 of fol. 159b

kemekü bohuyu they mean, lit. ‘the(ir) meaning is’: *keme-* to say, mean + *-kü/-gü* nom. fut. s. (= *kemekü* the saying/meaning); *bol-* to be, become + *-u/-ü-* conn. vo. + *-yu/-yü* ded. pres. s. (= *boluyu* is, are); for the versatile *kemekü* see also above and below

jrly nom-ud kemekü that which is called ‘edicts (*jrly*) and laws (*nom-ud*): *jrly* edict, order, command = *jarliy* (< tu., see above, Text XVII); *nom-ud* ← *nom* law, teaching, religion, *dharma* (Buddh.); book, scripture (uig. << gr.) + *-u/-ü-* + *-d* pl. s.; by ‘edicts and laws’ is meant the body of teaching and scriptures of Buddhism which have been handed down in the three great collections mentioned immediately after

vinai sudur abidarmin < skr. *vinaya* ‘discipline’, *sūtra* ‘scripture(s)’, *abhidharma* ‘metaphysics’ – the three collections or ‘Three Baskets’ (*tripitaka*) forming the Canon of the Law (*dharma*) in which Buddha’s teaching and the regulations for monastic life are expounded

γurban bohuyu is/are the(se) three: *γurban* three; *bohuyu* is, are; see above

The above extract of the Turfan fragmentary text of a famous Buddhist work gives a good idea of the high standard of translation achieved by Čosgi Odsir in rendering into Mongolian complex concepts totally alien to the Mongol language and culture. For a further explanation of the textual and other problems encountered in this and the rest of the fragment the reader is referred to Cleaves’ as well as to Cerensodnom’s and Taube’s studies.

We come now to the *Secret History of the Mongols* (SH). The title of this epic chronicle of the 13th c. is still under discussion. The original text, which only comprised the life of Činggis Qan and his ancestors, was probably composed in 1228-29 in Uighur-Mongol script. The author is unknown, but there is strong internal evidence that it was a personage intimately associated with the royal household, possibly even a member of the household itself. This chronicle and similar ones covering the reigns of Činggis' successors were kept in the court archives and only authorized officials had access to them. When the Mongol Yuan dynasty came to an end in 1368, much of the archival material was displaced and disarranged, and some was lost.

In the following decades, officials of the newly established Ming government who were collecting historical documents on the previous dynasty found only incomplete manuscripts of these early Mongolian chronicles. These they put together and edited, producing a continuous narrative consisting of a genealogy of Činggis Qan with deeds of his forefathers, his own life and career (with several gaps), and a fragmentary account of the reign of Činggis' successor Ögödei (1229-41), almost certainly by the same author of the SH, the inclusion of which must have been an afterthought. They transcribed the text phonetically into Chinese characters, making at the same time a word-by-word interlinear translation as well as a free and abridged translation into vernacular Chinese. Apparently, the scholars who made the free summary used a slightly different Mongol manuscript. Eventually, the whole text, i.e. the Chinese transcription, translation and summary, was arbitrarily divided into 282 sections of varying length, arranged in 12 *juan* or chapters; or, to be more precise, in 10 + 2 supplementary *juan*, each *juan* being roughly of the same length. The text in Uighur-Mongol script was discarded and lost in China, but at least one copy found its way to Mongolia. The Chinese text was, also arbitrarily, given the title of *Secret History of the Yuan Dynasty* (*Yuanchao bishi*); this title was translated into Mongolian by the editors as the *Secret History of the Mongols* (*Mongqol-un ni'uča tobča'an*, pmo. *Mongqol-un niyuča tobčiyān*), which was later mistakenly assumed to be the original title of the work. Its original title was in all probability *Činggis Qan-u huja'ur*, lit. *The Origin (= Story) of Činggis Qan*, this being in fact the first line of the work. The *Yuanchao bishi* was duly printed and was subsequently included in a large 15th c. encyclopedia called *Yongluo dadian*. It is thanks to this

incorporation in the Ming encyclopedia that the work has survived to the present day. See Fig. 20, reproducing two extant leaves from the Ming printed edition, and below, the section on the *Hua-Yi yiyu*, for details concerning the Chinese phonetic transcription.

As for the original Mongolian text which, as we said, survived only in Mongolia, it dealt solely with the ancestors and the life of Činggis Qan, and we owe its existence to the fact that it was likewise incorporated into another work, in this case a 17th c. chronicle called *Altan tobči*, lit. *Golden Button*, i.e. the *Golden (or Imperial) Summary (of History)*, compiled by a learned priest called Lubsangdanjin (tib. Blo-bzañ bstan-'jin) in the second half of the 17th c., about which we shall have more to say further on. Unfortunately, the Mongol text has many *lacunae* and entire sections are missing, but it contains on the other hand much material, perhaps of later date, which is not in the Chinese edition. Being a 17th c. recension, the text has also been largely 'classicized' Nevertheless, it is still extremely important for comparison.

The *Secret History* is part prose, part alliterative poetry, part history, part epic; it contains military, administrative and legal data, and a mass of interesting information on the life and culture of the 12th-13th c. Mongols. Some of it is very beautiful, especially the poetical passages. It is regarded as the gem of Mongol literature, rather than historiography, because it is not, properly speaking, a chronicle.

This book was rediscovered in the middle of the 19th c. and since then it has been republished, edited in romanized transcription and translated into most European languages, into Chinese, Japanese and several modern Mongolian and Turkic languages. There are several translations into English, French and German. One of the most authoritative western-language translations is that by F. W. Cleaves (1982). A more recent one with extensive historical and philological commentary is by I. de Rachewiltz (2004, 2006). Among the scholars who have greatly contributed to the investigation of the *Secret History* we should mention M. Naka, P. Pelliot, E. Haenisch, S. A. Kozin, A. Mostaert, L. Ligeti, Š. Gaadamba, M. Murakami, Sh. Ozawa, M. Taube, D. Cerensodnom, and Š. Čoïmaa.

Regarding the language of the *Secret History*, what we have is the Chinese phonetic transcription of an early 13th c. Mongol text in Uighur-Mongol script as read by a late 14th c. Mongol. Therefore, the

present text is, from the phonetic point of view, *a specimen of late 14th c. Middle Mongolian*, the lost original being a 13th c. Preclassical Mongolian text.

From the text of the *Secret History*, and also with the indispensable help of the text contained in the *Altan tobči*, some scholars have endeavoured to reconstruct the preclassical original, which is a somewhat futile exercise since one can never be sure of the correctness of many readings. For example, the word 'rat' appears several times in the *Secret History* in the form *quluqana*, which corresponds to a written form *quluyana*, still the current form today. In the reconstruction of the preclassical text, the word is written *quluyana* (= SH *quluqana*). This is wrong, however, because we know from the inscription of 1240, hence more or less contemporary with the composition of the *Secret History*, that the word for 'rat' was *qulayana*, not *quluyana*. In the 150 years between the writing of the *Secret History* and its transcription by the Ming scholars, *qulayana* > *quluyana* through progressive assimilation. So, although these scholars saw the word in question in the *Secret History* manuscript written *qulayana*, they pronounced it *quluqana* and, accordingly, transcribed it in Chinese as *hu-hu-ha-na*.

Phonetically, the text of the *Secret History* is late 14th c. Middle Mongolian, but the actual language, i.e. the grammar, syntax and vocabulary, is early 13th c., hence reflecting a contemporary Mongol dialect. This dialect cannot be identified with the ancestor of any living Mongolian dialect; it was, in all probability, the dialect spoken at the Mongol court *ca.* 1230, hence a northern Mongolian speech.

The student of the *Secret History* should have access to Cleaves' and de Rachewiltz's English translations, de Rachewiltz's *Index to the Secret History of the Mongols* (which contains also a romanized transcription of the text), Haenisch's handy *Wörterbuch*, M. Weiers' *Untersuchungen* and J. C. Street's *The Language of the Secret History of the Mongols* to assist him/her with grammatical problems. Since the language of the *Secret History*, i.e. Middle Mongolian, is more or less the same as that used in the documents in 'Phags-pa script, N. Poppe's excellent description of the linguistic peculiarities of these documents in his *The Mongolian Monuments in hP'ags-pa Script* (pp. 27-42), is also recommended. (For all these works see Bibl. 5.3.1.) In Haenisch's *Wörterbuch* are found all the Mongol words that occur in the *Secret History*, but Haenisch has employed a mechanical system of transcription

(reflecting the Chinese system) which is different from any other. In his system there is, in fact, no distinction between *o* and *ö*, both being transcribed as *o*, whereas the vowel *ü* is transcribed sometimes as *u* and sometimes as *ü*; the group *awu* (= *a'u*) is transcribed as *ao'u*; *č* as *c*; *ǰ* as *j*; *q* as *h*; and *š* as *s*. The verbs are always entered in their 'infinitive' (i.e. nomen futuri) form, thus *bol-* is entered as *bolhu*, and *erüs-* as *erusgu*. Haenisch employs this system also in his other works on the *Secret History* and the *Hua-Yi yiyu*.

The literature – book and articles – on the *Secret History* is immense and much of it is discussed in the above-mentioned work by de Rachewiltz. While the latter's version is rather free, Cleaves' is a literal translation which allows the reader to follow the Mongol text word-by-word, which is of course very helpful for a beginner.

The *Secret History* is almost entirely devoted to the 'story' of Činggis Qan and his exploits, starting with his mythical and historical ancestors down to his birth in § 59, and through his childhood, marriage and subsequent career (tribal alliances, military exploits, etc.) to his election as Činggis Qan in § 202, followed by further wars and conquests until his death in northwest China in 1227 (§ 268). The rest of the work (§§ 269-282) is devoted to the reign of his third son and successor Ögödei but, as stated earlier, this is a later addition.

In order to provide representative samples of this fascinating work, we have chosen two sections, viz. §§ 55-56 and 110. The former contains a narrative as well as passages in alliterative poetry. It describes the abduction of Hö'elün, a beautiful woman married to a Merkit tribesman called Yeke ('Big') Čiledü, by Yisügei Ba'atur, a chief of the Kiyat, who is helped by his two brothers Nekün Taisi and Dāritai Otčigin. The three men ride together after Čiledü, who is taking the young bride to his camp, and who quickly realizes their intentions. The *Secret History* account of what follows is given here in romanized transcription (with alliteration in bold type) and in Cleaves' English rendering.

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS (§§ 55, 56, 110)

Transcription

(N.B. The punctuation has been added to facilitate reading)

§ 55. *Gürküi-lü'e Čiledü ayuǰu. Qurduñ qubitu aǰu'u. Qubi-yu'an quya imu deletčü quburi nambalis buruqui-lu'a qoyinača imu qurba'ula uda'aralduba. Čiledü qoši'un qučilis qarǰu tergen-düriyen ireküi-lü'e*

tende Hö'elün Üjin ügüleriin, 'Tede qurban haran-i uqaba'ü či? Čirai čirai-ača busut bui. Amin-tur čimu gürküi čiraitan bui. Amin ele čimu bö'esü,

öljige tutum

ökit

qara'u tutum

qatut

bui. Amin ele čimu bö'esü, öki qatu ohuyi je či. Busu neretei Hö'elün taki nereyidiyü je či. Amin-ıyan qoroq, hünür minu hümüsčü yabu!', ke'en čamča-ban mültüljü, morin de'ereče naruyitču abqui-lu'a, qurba'ula qoši'un qučilduju gürčü aisuqu-lu'a, Čiledü qurdun qubi-yin quya imu deletčü, juqus duta'aju Onan müren ö'ede duta'aba.

§ 56. Qurba'ula qoyinača nekeju, dolo'an quburi dabatala, hüldejü qariju ireju, Hö'elün Üjin-i Yisügei Ba'atur delbege-deče kötöljü, Nekiin Taisi aqa imu uduritču, Dāritai Otčigin de'ü imu kiligü dergečeju, ayisuqui-tur Hö'elün Üjin ügüleriin, 'Aqa mimu Čiledü

kei ö'ede

kegül-ıyen keyisümser,

ke'er qajar-a

ke'eli-ben öhüsümser büliyi.

Edö'e ker ele qoyar šibülger-ıyen nikente aru de'ere'en o'orču, nikente ebürēn de'ere o'orču, nikente uruqšida, nikente qoyinaqšida, ker ele kijü odumui?', kē'et

Onan müren-ni tolkistala,

hoi jubur da'uristala,

yeke da'u-bar uyilaaju ayisuqui-tur Dāritai Otčigin dergečeju yabuju ügüleriin,

'Teberigü čimu,

daba'at olon dababa.

Uyilaqdaqı čimu

usut olon ketülbe.

Qayila'asu

qarayıju ülü üjegu čimayi.

Qayibası

qa'ulqa imu ülü olqu či.

Sem bolil', ke'eju itqaba. Hö'elün Üjin-i Yisügei tedüi ger-dürıyen abčıraba. Hö'elün Üjin-i Yisügei-yin abčıraqsan yosun teyimü.

Translation

§ 55. With [their] arriving, Čiledü was afraid. He had a swift dun. With [his] striking the thigh of his dun and [his] fleeing over a hill, all three followed behind him. With Čiledü's returning round about a spur [of the hill] and coming unto his cart, then, when Hö'elün Üjin spake, saying, 'Hast thou observed those three men? They are other [in countenance] than [all other] countenances. They have the countenance [of being desirous] of attaining unto thy life. If there be [for thee] but thy life, there are [for thee]

Maidens

At every forefront;

Women

At every black cart.

If there be [for thee] but thy life, thou shalt find a maiden or a woman. Thou shalt also name Hö'elün [her] which hath another name. Save thy life. Go scenting my scent', she put off her shift and, with [his] reaching forth [his hands] and taking [it] from upon [his] horse and with [all] three coming round about the spur [of the hill] and drawing nigh, Čiledü struck the thigh of the swift dun, fled in haste, and fled up along the Onan River.

§ 56. All three, pursuing from behind, chased until they had passed over seven hills and, when they were come, returning, Yesügei Ba'atur led [the beast of] Hö'elün Üjin by the tether, his elder brother Někün Taisi guided, and his younger brother Daritai Odčigin rode beside the shafts and, at the moment when they drew nigh, when Hö'elün Üjin spake, having said, 'Mine "elder brother" Čiledü is one

Whose tuft hath never blown

Against the wind;

Whose belly hath never hungered

In the desert land.

Now how, tossing his two braids [of hair] one time on his back, tossing [them] one time on his breast, one time forward, one time backward, how [so] doing, goeth he?', at the moment when, wailing with a loud voice

Till she stirred up the Onan River;

Till she shook the woods and valley,

she drew nigh, when Daritai Odčigin going, riding beside [her], spake, he warned [her], saying,

'Thine who embraced [thee]

Hath much passed over passes.

Thine who is bewailed [of thee]

Hath much passed over waters.
 If [thou] shout,
 Though he look back, he will not see thee.
 If [thou] track [him],
 Thou shalt not find his way.

Be still!’ So Yesügei brought Hö’elün Üjin unto his tent. Such [was] the manner in which Yesügei brought Hö’elün Üjin.

From the abductor Yisügei Ba’atur (‘The Brave’) and his newly acquired wife Hö’elün Üjin (‘Lady Hö’elün’), Temüjin – the future Činggis Qan – will be born, the first of their five children (four boys and one girl). Eventually, Temüjin became engaged to Börte, the daughter of a chief of the Onggirat tribe. They subsequently married and, soon after, Börte in turn was abducted by Merkit tribesmen in revenge for the earlier rape of Hö’elün and was given as wife to Čiledü’s younger brother. Temüjin, with the support of two other friendly tribal leaders (To’oril Qan of the Kereit and Ĵamuqa of the Ĵajirat) attacked the Merkit camp at night and rescued Börte. The encounter of Temüjin and Börte in the enemy camp is told in § 110.

Besides the romanized transcription of § 110 followed by de Rachewiltz’s less literal translation, we shall also give the same account in the preclassical version in Uighur-Mongol script re-established by the contemporary Inner Mongolian scholar Irinchen, i.e. Ye. Irinčin, (Text XXIII), as well as a transcription of the same.

Transcription

§ 110. *Merkid-ün ulus Selengge huru’u söni-de dürbejü yabuqui-tur, bidan-u čeri’üt dürbejü yabuqun Merkid-i söni-de gü duračaju da’ulin talan yabuqui-tur, Temüjin dürbejü ayisuqun irgen-tür, ‘Börte, Börte!’, ke’en unğšju yabuqui-tur, učiraaju, Börte Üjin tede dürbekün irgen-tür büjü’üi. Temüjin-ü da’u sonosču taniju, tergen-eče ba’u’at güyijü irejü, Börte Üjin Qo’aqčın jirin Temüjin-ü jilu’a čilbur söni taniju barıju’ui. Sara’ur büle’e. Üje’esü Börte Üjin-i taniju teberildün tasulčaba. Tendeče Temüjin To’oril Qan Ĵamuqa anda qoyar-a mün söni bö’et ügülejü ilerün, ‘Erigü kereg-iyen olba bi. Söni bu düliye! Ende ba’uya bida!’, ke’eju ilebe. Merkid-ün ulus dürbejü ayisuqui-yi söni-de sandurču ayisuqui ja’ura mün tende ba’uju qonobai. Börte Üjin-i teyin jolqalduju, Merkit irgen-eče aburaqsan yosun eyimü.*

Translation

(N.B. The italicized words are supplied by the translator for greater intelligibility)

§ 110. At night the Merkit people fled in disarray down the Selengge River, but even in the night our troops were pressing hard after the hastily fleeing Merkit. As the pillaging and plundering went on, Temüjin moved among the people that were hurriedly escaping, calling, 'Börte, Börte!' And so he came upon her, for Lady Börte was among those fleeing people. She heard the voice of Temüjin and, recognizing it, she got off the cart and came running towards him. Although it was still night, Lady Börte and Qo'aqçin both recognized Temüjin's reins and tether and grabbed them. It was moonlight; he looked at them, recognized Lady Börte, and they fell into each other's arms. After this, that very night Temüjin sent a message to To'oril Qan and to sworn friend Jamuqa saying, 'I have found what I was looking for. Let us not travel all night; let us camp here!' He had this message delivered to them. As for the Merkit people who had been fleeing in disarray at night, while *still* scattering and on the run, they *too* stopped and spent the night right there.

This is how Lady Börte was rescued from the Merkit tribe, and how she was reunited *with Temüjin*.

IRINCHEN'S 'PRECLASSICAL' VERSION OF § 110

Transcription

(N.B. Irinchen's punctuation is his own)

Merkid-ün ulus Selengge uruγu sönide dürbeγü yabuqui-dur. bidan-u çerig-üid dürbeγü yabuqun Merkid-i sönide kü duraçaγu dayulin talan yabuqui-dur. Temüjin dürbeγü ayisuqun irgen-dür. Börte. Börte kemen ungsiγu yabuqui-dur uçıraγu. Börte Üjin tede dürbekün irgen-dür büjüγüi: Temüjin-ü dayu sonosçu taniγu tergen-eçe baγuyad güyijü irejü. Börte Üjin. Qoyaqçin jirin Temüjin-ü jiluyı çilbur söni taniγu bariγuyı: saraγur bülege: iγebesü. Börte Üjin-i taniγu. teberildün tasulçaba: tendeçe Temüjin Toyoril Qan. Jamuqa anda qoyar-a mün söni böged ügülejü ilerün. erikü kereg-iyen olba bi: söni buı düliye: ende baγuya bida kemejü ilebe: Merkid-ün ulus dürbeγü ayisuqui-yi sönide sandurçu ayisuqui jaγura mün tende baγıγu qonobai: Börte Üjin-i teyin joluyaldıγu (for jolγaldıγu) Merkid irgen-eçe aburaysan yosun ayimü:

Remarks on the text

N.B. With the help of Cleaves' literal translation and Haenisch's *Wörterbuch* it is easy to identify most of the Mongol words in §§ 55-56 and 110. The more difficult terms and some grammatical features are discussed below. The transcription of the texts is based on de Rachewiltz's and Ligeti's reconstructions, with minor changes. For a fuller understanding of these sections, the reader is referred to de Rachewiltz's commentary in his translation of the *Secret History*.

1. §§ 55-56:

gürküi-hi'e with the arriving, *buruqui-lu'a* with the fleeing, *ireküi-hi'e* with the coming (nom. fut. of *gür-*, *buru-* and *ire-* + *-lü'el-lu'a* com. s. with temporal meaning): 'as soon as (they) arrived', 'as soon as (he) fled', 'as soon as (he) came'

qubitu aju'u was with (*-tu/-tü* poss. s. = 'having, possessing, with') a pale yellow (horse) (*qubi*), i.e. had a dun

quburi an obsolete word meaning 'hill'

nambalis over, across – also unattested elsewhere

qoyinača behind, after ← *qoyina* after + *-ača* abl. s.

qoši'un proboscis, snout → spur of a mountain, promontory

qučilis round about ← *quči-* to surround + *-lis*, a rare adv. s.

Hö'elün Üjin the *Üjin* ('Lady') Hö'elün: Čiledü's wife is already called 'lady' in anticipation of her future status as the mother of Temüjin/Činggis Qan

haran people, men; note the initial *h*, still present in Middle Mongolian, and the use of the singular form which disappeared in the later literary language, being replaced by the plural (mo. *arad*)

uqaba'u či = *uqaba uu či* did you observe? *uqaba'u* ← *uqa-* to observe, to notice + *-ba/-be* I past s. + *'ü* (< *ui*) inter. particle

čirai countenance, aspect: *čirai čirai-ača busut* (pl. in *-t* of *busu* other, different) *bui* the countenance is different from (any other) countenance, i.e. their look is odd

taki/teki also

hünür minu hümüsčü yabu go scenting my scent, i.e. never forget to breathe my scent – for remembrance. Here *yabu* go! plays the role of auxiliary denoting continuity of action, i.e. 'go on ...'

juqus duta'a- to flee in haste. *Juqus* is an adverb in *-s* from *juqu* (= *juqu*), an obsolete word probably meaning 'swift'

- delbege* = mo. *delbeg(e)* rein(s), bridle; halter, but in the language of the *Secret History* *delbege* means only ‘halter’
- kiligü* shaft(s) of a cart – another obsolete word
- aqa mimu Čiledü* my ‘elder brother’ (*aqa*) Čiledü: here *aqa* ‘elder brother’ is used as a term of respect (as in Chinese and other languages)
- kegül* (~ *kekül*) tuft of hair, typical of the hairdressing of the medieval Mongols
- keyisümser* *ölösümser* has never blown ... has never hungered ← *keyis-* to blow or fly in the wind + *-ü-* conn. vo. + *-mser/-msar* neg. s.; and *ölös-* to feel hungry + *-ü-* + *-mser*
- ke'er qaǰar-a* in the desert land, i.e. in the steppe: *ke'er* = mo. *kegere* steppe, wasteland
- šibülger* (~ *šibilger*) braids, tresses (of twisted hair hanging behind the ears worn by Mongol men)
- kē'et* having said: *kē'et* < *ke'e'et* (= mo. *kemeged*) ← *kē-* (*ke'e-*) to say + *-'et/-'at* conv. perf. s. (= ‘after doing ...’)
- da'uristala* till she shook, rhyming with *tolkistala* till she stirred up, the rhyme in this couplet being an end-rhyme. *Da'uris-* to shake, like *da'u* voice (immediately below), *ma'u* evil, etc. are frequently transcribed *dawuris-*, *dawu*, *mawu*, etc., because the Chinese phonetic transcription is inconsistent, sometimes writing *dawu*, sometimes *da'u* and so on. The written forms are *dayu*, *mayu*, etc. with intervocalic *-γ-* = hiatus (*-'*), i.e. *da'u*, *ma'u*. In strict adherence to the Chinese transcription one should use both forms as they occur in the text (as has been done by de Rachewiltz in his *Index*, by Ligeti and others); however, for the sake of uniformity we have adopted the hiatus in each and every case
- qa'ulqa* path, way – another obsolete word
2. §110 :
Selengge the river Selenga
dürbe- to flee in disarray (in haste, in panic) – as when routed by the enemy
- gü* an emphatic particle = mo. *kü*
- yabu-* to go, but used several times in this section as an auxiliary verb denoting continuity of action (see above); it is followed by the temporal *-tür* dat.-loc. s. (= ‘when, at the moment when’)

- tala-* to plunder, spoil, ravish
ayisuquï (pl. *ayisuqun*) ← *ayis-* to go or come forward, to approach + *-u-* conn. vo. + *-qu(i)/-kü(i)* (pl. *-qun/-kün*) nomen fut. s., but – as often is also the case with the verbs of movement *ire-* to come and *yabu-* to go – it is frequently employed as an auxiliary verb, in this case to indicate that the action of the main verb has been going on for some time and is now close to completion (see the end of the section)
- büjü'üi* was ← *bü-* to be + *-jü'üi/-ju'ui* III past s. (= accidental past)
Qo'aqčïn an old maidservant of Temüjin's mother Hö'elün who had been seized by the Merkit together with Börte
- čilbur* tether, halter (strap)
söni bö'et that very (or same) night; *bö'et* (= pmo., mo. *böged, büged*) ← *bö-* (< *bü-*) to be + *-'et /-'at* conv. perf. s., lit. 'having been (= while it was still) night?'; *bö'et* can also mean 'then, thus, precisely', and 'and'
- ke'ejü ilebe* lit. 'sent saying'; *ilebe* (= mo. *ilegebe*) ← *ile-* to send + *-bel/-ba* I past s. (= narrative past)
- mün tende* right there, i.e. at the very place where the fugitives found themselves

3. Irinchen's 'Preclassical' version

Note the following:

1. The regular replacement of the mmo. intervocalic hiatus (-') with *-g-* or *-ɣ-*: *čeri'üt* → *čerigüd*, *da'ulin* → *daɣulin*.
2. The disappearance of the mmo. initial *h*: *huru'u* → *uruɣu*.
3. The old (preclassical only) written form *ayimü* for mmo. *eyimü*.

In reconstructing the preclassical, i.e. Uighur-Mongol script version, of the Middle Mongolian text, Irinchen has followed the orthographic conventions governing the script of the extant documents of the 13th-14th c. In retranscribing Irinchen's version in romanization, we have followed the rules established for Written Mongolian as expounded in Poppe's *Grammar*, thus we write *erikü* for *erigü*, *Qoɣaɣčïn* for *Qo'aqčïn*, *čerigüd* for *čeri'üt*, etc. For an interesting discussion on the differences between the Middle Mongolian forms of the *Secret History* and the corresponding Written Mongolian forms, the reader is referred to A. Mostaert's fundamental study 'Quelques problèmes phonétiques' (Bibl. 5.3.1).

We shall conclude our survey of Middle Mongolian with a Sino-Mongolian glossary called in Chinese *Hua-Yi yiyu* or *Chinese-Foreign Vocabulary* (the term *yi* 'foreign', lit. 'barbarian', refers to Mongolian)

compiled in 1389, and therefore more or less contemporary with the Chinese version of the *Secret History*. The purpose of this work was to provide a basic vocabulary and textbook of Mongolian for officials who had to acquire a knowledge of that language for diplomatic missions, as well as for translators and interpreters. The *Secret History* must have been put to the same use; this explains why both works employ vernacular Chinese, the colloquial language of the day, and not literary Chinese, which was the language used for the Chinese versions of Mongol chronicles during the Yuan dynasty. The compilers of the *Hua-Yi yiyu* were two translators in the Mongol section of the Hanlin Academy, called Qoniči and Ma Šāih-Muḥammad.

The *Hua-Yi yiyu* consists of two parts. The first part is a Chinese-Mongolian glossary, arranged by classes or categories, such as astronomy, geography, etc. (17 classes altogether comprising 844 terms). The first entry is in Chinese, followed by the corresponding Mongolian word in a Chinese phonetic transcription very similar to the one employed in the *Secret History*. The second part consists of twelve official documents, five originally written in Chinese but translated into Mongolian, and seven originally written in Mongolian, all of them transcribed phonetically into Chinese, with a word-by-word Chinese translation and, in the case of the first five, also with short sectional summaries, exactly as in the *Secret History*.

The *Hua-Yi yiyu* of 1389 has been the object of several investigations: the system of Chinese transcription has been dealt with by E. Haenisch, M. Lewicki and A. Mostaert (as well as by Chinese and Japanese scholars), the vocabulary and grammar by A. Mostaert and I. de Rachewiltz. To H. Kuribayashi we owe an excellent reproduction of the text, with transcription and word-index, and to Kuribayashi and Chojinjab an identical treatment of the *Secret History* text. (See Bibl. 5.3.1.)

In Text XXIV are reproduced the first two pages of sections I and IIa which are given below in transcription and translation. The Chinese phonetic transcription of I, 1a, is also romanized character by character; of IIa, 1a, only the first three sentences (= lines 2-4) are dealt with. Please note that in the second sample (from Ajaširi's edict) we have omitted the Chinese phonetic transcription altogether and given the Mongolian text in transcription only.

THE HUA-YI YIYU OF 1389

1. I, 1a 3-8 (Astronomy):

Heaven, sky (*tian*): *teng-ji-li*: *teng-giri*

Sun (*ri*) : *na-lan* : *naran*

Moon (*yue*) : *sa-la* : *sara*

Star (*xing*) : *huo-dun* : *hodun*

Wind (*feng*) : *ke* : *kei*

Cloud (*yun*) : *e-wu-lian* : *e'ülen*

Mist, smoke (*yan*) : *hu-nin* : *hunin*

Hoar frost (*shuang*) : *qi-la-wu* : *kira'u*

Ice (*bing*) : *mo^{le}-sun* : *mölsün*

Snow (*xue*) : *cha-sun* : *časun*

Thunder (*lei*) : *teng-ji-li dong-he-dun* : *tenggiri dongqodum*

Continuous rains (*lin*) : *zhu-xie* : *jüse*

Remarks

i. The Chinese phonetic system is inadequate for Mongolian, hence the transcribers had recourse to various devices to render sounds which do not exist in Chinese, such as *r* and *q*. The Mongolian syllables *ri* and *ra* are transcribed with Chinese characters pronounced *li* and *la*, but with a small diacritic character on the left indicating that the alveolar *l* is rolled, and the same applies (using a different diacritic-character) to change the Chinese spirant *h* into the velar stop *q*. A smaller character pronounced *le* is inserted (slightly on the side) to represent Mongolian *-l-*, as in *mölsün*. Several such devices are employed in the mechanical Chinese transcriptions of the *Secret History* and the *Hua-Yi yiyu*. Unfortunately, no technique was devised by the same transcribers to differentiate between Mongolian *o* and *ö*, *u* and *ü*; these sounds have been restored by modern scholars on the basis of Mongol historical phonology.

ii. The preclassical forms of the above twelve terms would be as follows: *tngri*, *nara(n)*, *sara(n)*, *odu(n)*, *kei*, *egüle(n)*, *uni(n)*, *qiraču(n)* (~ *kiraču[n]*), *mölsü(n)*, *času(n)*, *tngri dongyodum*, *jüse(n)*. (All the above words ending in a vowel have a variable *-n* stem.) The term for 'thunder', *tenggiri dongqodum/tngri dongyodum* is, literally, 'heaven resounds': *dongqod-* to make a sound + *-u-* conn. vo. + *-m* pres. s. (= narrative present).

2. IIa, 1a 2-4 (Edict of Ajaširi):

Transcription

Tenggiri-de nembekdeksen, ötögen-e ergükdeksen, olon amitan kedün bügü-yi ülü medekdemü. Qaçça tenggiri medeyü. Tenggiri gü ejeleyü.

Translation

One does not know how many are the numerous living beings covered by Heaven and supported by Earth. Only Heaven knows. Heaven rules (over them).

Remarks on the text

nembekdeksen, *ergükdeksen* these are both passive participles (← *nembe-* to cover + *-kde-/qda-* pass. s. + *-ksen/-qsan* nom. perf. s.; *ergü-* to raise + *-kde-* + *-ksen*) qualifying – as attributes – *olan amitan* many living beings (or creatures). The actors, i.e. Heaven and Earth, are in the dative case (dativus actoris) the suffixes of which are here *-de/-da-* and *-e/-a-*, the latter being very frequent in Middle and Preclassical Mongolian after stems ending in a consonant

kedün how many, pl. in *-n* of *kedüü* how much?

bügü-yi are, lit. ‘be’ (acc.)

ülü medekdemü (one) does not know: *mede-* to know + *-kde-* + *-mül/-mu* pres. s. (narrative present)

medeyü knows ← *mede-* + *-yü/-yu* pres. s. (deductive present)

In Preclassical Mongolian the above section would read as follows:

Tngri-de nembegdegsen, ötögen(or ötegen)-e ergügdegsen, olan amitan kedün-yi ülü medekdemü(i). Γayča tngri medeyü. Tngri kü ejeleyü.

The script being always more conservative, we find in Preclassical Mongolian forms such as *ötegen* ‘earth’ and *olan* ‘many’ which have not yet evolved through progressive assimilation into the forms *ötögen* and *olon* of the spoken (mmo.) language.

The *Hua-Yi yiyü* of 1389 is only one of several similar glossaries, i.e. arranged by categories, of the Yuan and Ming periods (14th-17th c.) that have been preserved. Some of the others have been studied by Hungarian scholars (L. Ligeti, G. Kara, Á. B. Apatóczky), as well as by Japanese and Mongolian ones (in particular, M. Ishida, H. Kuribayashi, Qa. Lubsangbaldan and Ü. Manduqu); however, there is not as yet a comprehensive work on these glossaries.

The *Secret History of the Mongols*, the *Hua-Yi yiyü* of 1389 and the other Mongolian vocabularies of the Yuan and Ming, together with the documents in ‘Phags-pa script, the Sino-Mongol inscriptions (mostly of the Yuan period) studied by F. W. Cleaves and published in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, the Mongolian names and terms found in transcription in the Chinese historical and literary works of the 13th-15th c.,

and a unique bilingual (Chinese and Mongolian) text, the *Xiaojing* or *Canon of Filial Piety*, form the body of material on which the discipline of Sino-Mongolistics rests. Recently, more Sino-Mongol inscriptions have turned up in China. They are of great interest.

As mentioned earlier, there exist also a number of polyglot vocabularies of the 14th and 15th c., compiled in Central and Western Asia, which include Mongolian, the other languages being Turkic, Persian, Arabic, Greek and Armenian. The two most famous and richest of these vocabularies are the Mongolian-Chaghatai *Muqaddimat al-Adab*, edited and translated by N. Poppe (1938), an excellent facsimile of which was published in 2008 by Z. Islomov *et al.*, followed, also in 2008, by a romanized text and word index by Y. Saitō, and the so-called *Rasūlid Hexaglot* edited by P. Golden (2000). Other Mongolian-Arabic glossaries were edited by Poppe, Ligeti, Tumurtogoo and Saitō. Another very important lexical source on Middle Mongolian is provided by the numerous Mongol words found in the Persian sources, mostly historical works and official documents of the 13th and 14th c., which have been studied in depth by G. Doerfer. (See Bibl. 5.3.1.)

Between the end of the 14th and the end of the 16th c., the political situation in Mongolia was not conducive to the development of belles-lettres: during this long period Mongolia has been described as, culturally, a *tabula rasa*. But culture did not die off entirely. As in our early Middle Ages, there were still people copying old texts, such as popular Buddhist works like the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, but especially *mantras* and *dhāraṇīs* (magic formulas and invocations), exorcistic prayers, manuals of astrology and divination, and similar texts for which there was still a demand. The earlier interest of the Mongols in Buddhism, which really began under Qubilai, survived, albeit in a low key, alongside prevailing shamanistic practices during these centuries of political upheaval in the steppe. A cache of manuscripts of this sort (badly damaged, unfortunately), dating from the 15th and 16th c., was found in the 1930s and 1940s at Olon Sūme in Inner Mongolia, later a similar find was made in Xarboxyn Balgas in Mongolia. In the middle of the 15th c. (1431), a four-language collection of *mantras* and *dhāraṇīs* intended for Mongols was actually reprinted in China – the four languages being Tibetan, Sanskrit, Chinese and Mongolian. This unique – because it is complete – multilingual text of the Ming period (but going back to the Yuan) has been beautifully edited by W. Heissig (1976; Bibl. 5.3.1).

Tibetan Buddhism gradually made inroads once again among the Mongols, and this process (as we said earlier on) culminated in the 16th c. with the so-called ‘second conversion’ under Altan Qan, which in turn triggered off a Mongolian renaissance of arts and letters in the following century. Besides the compilation and printing of the monumental *Kanjur* and *Tanjur* collections, we mentioned also the compilation of chronicles like the *Erdeni-yin tobči* by Sayang Sečen (1662) and the *Altan tobči* by his contemporary Lubsangdanjin. In fact, there was more than one text called *Altan tobči* (the one by Lubsangdanjin is often referred to as the *Altan tobči nova*), as well as many other chronicles written in the 17th and 18th c. using earlier texts now lost, and Tibetan historical sources. Tibetan influence on Mongol writings is quite conspicuous, the manuscripts and blockprints teeming with names and terms also written in Tibetan script.

The structuring of the Mongol chronicles also reflects Tibetan models, the account beginning with the origin of the world according to Mahāyānic Buddhist traditional cosmology, and the origin of the Mongol khans reaching back to the kings of India and Tibet.

Whereas preclassical texts and documents are comparatively few – one can read the entire *corpus* in a week or so – the literature of the classical period is so vast that one could not read it all in a lifetime.

One thing that immediately strikes the reader when comparing a preclassical text with a classical one is the way they differ in appearance. Take a manuscript or blockprint in Uighur-Mongol script of the 13th, 14th, or 15th c. and a manuscript or blockprint of the 17th or 18th c. and you will notice at once that the writing is different. The characteristic ductus of preclassical texts is greatly reduced or it has disappeared altogether to economize space; as a result the text is more compact, almost crowded. Cf. Fig. 19b and Texts XXV.1, XXVI. However, while this is certainly the general tendency, there was also in this period a continuous production of fine manuscripts and blockprints that not only followed the earlier tradition, but often improved it, e.g. with the addition of excellent illustrations. We shall have more to say later about these outstanding specimens of the calligraphic and printing art of the Mongols.

We mentioned earlier some of the most important differences in the language of the preclassical and classical periods. The most striking difference is perhaps the style and construction of sentences. The simple diction and imagery of pre-Buddhist Mongolian literature which remains close to the everyday language of the Mongols of the time is now gone. We have instead the profuse imagery, the ornate style of writing, and the

erudition that characterize a language evolved through translations of Tibetan and Sanskrit religious and didactic treatises. Great sophistication and prolixity are taken here as marks of a good style. The model is Tibetan (ultimately Indian), the culture is essentially clerical and belles-lettres go with religion.

Although the bulk of the literature in Classical Mongolian is religious in nature, the chronicles and in particular the epic literature which has its origins in popular stories and oral epics, contain traditional Mongolian folkloristic themes, and genuine Mongolian poetry and imagery, often of high literary value and in a language which does not necessarily conform to the style of contemporary religious writings. As already pointed out, this is due on the one hand to the influence of the spoken languages (a fact that applies especially to epics like the Geser saga), and on the other to the fact that a good deal of the material comprises either a direct quotation, or a simple reworking of an earlier text – retaining therefore much of its original preclassical character. This also obtains in the case of Buddhist texts in Classical Mongolian which had already been translated from Tibetan in the preclassical language and which were still available to the 17th and 18th c. translators. Thus, e.g., the Classical Mongolian version of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, which dates from 1748 and is included in the *Tanjur* collection, is *essentially* the same as that of the Daidu edition of 1312. In some cases, the modernization was so superficial and the cosmetic changes so slight that the new text is virtually identical with the old one, the few differences being almost entirely orthographical. This is especially evident in the case of two texts which have been studied by L. Ligeti, J. E. Bosson and N. Poppe in the last three decades, i.e. the *Treasury of Aphoristic Jewels* (*Sayin üge-tü erdeni-yin sang*) by the great Tibetan teacher Sa skya Paṇḍita (1182-1251), and the *Twelve Deeds of Buddha* (*Burqan baysi-yin arban qoyar jokiyangγui*) by an unknown author. These two texts were translated from Tibetan into Mongolian in the 13th-14th c., and they exist now in two 17th c. recensions (the *Twelve Deeds* is unfortunately incomplete) which are, however, faithful representations of the original preclassical texts except for the orthography. The same can be said of a few other texts, such as the Mongolian *Pañcarakṣa*, but we need not go into it. (See Bibl. 5.3.1.)

When discussing the *Secret History of the Mongols*, we mentioned the fact that a large portion of this work is found quoted in the *Altan tobči* of Lubsangdanjin, and also that the *Altan tobči* contains passages which are

not found in the *Secret History*, either because they were left out, or perhaps because they were later additions.

We shall now examine one of these passages which is typical of its genre. The passage in question occurs in the *Altan tobči* between §§ 58 and 59 of the *Secret History* and is actually the continuation of § 58. Now §§ 57 and 58 of the *Secret History* deal with the question of succession to the khanship after the death of Ambaqai Qan, a cousin of Činggis Qan's great-grandfather Qabul Qan. Ambaqai had ten sons, and Qabul seven. Apparently, Ambaqai's sons were not considered suitable to succeed him, and Ambaqai himself had named as successors two of Qabul's sons, one of whom (Qutula) was in fact elected khan by the Mongol and Tayiči'ut tribes.

The poetic passage in the *Altan tobči* describes a scene that is supposed to have taken place at the time of the election, when a certain Küdei or Ködei Sečen – clearly a tribal elder – rose and spoke against the sons of Ambaqai and in favour of those of Qabul's, thus supporting the latter's candidature. C. Ž. Žamcarano, the great Buriat scholar who quotes this very passage in his masterly work on Mongol chronicles of the 17th c. (Bibl. 5.3.2), claims that it is a genuine account going back to the first half of the 12th c., i.e. to the time of Qabul and Ambaqai. However, it is almost certainly a later interpolation. In any event, it deserves attention. Text XXV.1 reproduces the two pages of the unique *Altan tobči* ms. (second half of the 17th – first half of the 18th c.) in which the passage occurs, and Text XXV.2 a modern printed text of the same passage from Žamcarano's book. The facsimile edition of the *Altan tobči* ms. was published in Ulan Bator in 1990 and there is a Russian translation of the entire chronicle by N. P. Šastina. See Bira 1990 and Šastina 1973 in Bibl. 5.3.2. Below are given the slightly revised transcription and translation of the same passage from R. Loewenthal's English version of the book, arranged so as to show the line-alliteration. Note also the repetition of words and rhyming endings in the lines.

THE *ALTAN TOBČI* OF LUBSANGDANJIN (fol. 11b-12a)

Transcription

Küdei Sečen ügüleriün. ta
Amaqai Qayan-u arban köbegün sonos.
adarya-tu ayla-yi abalam ta.
aryali uyuljan-i alam ta.
aryali uyulja-yin miqan-i
qubilan qubiyaqai-ača ulam;

alaldun teskildün qayačam ta.
budang-tu ayula-yi abalam ta.
buγu soyu alam ta.
buγu-yin miqa-yi.
 qubilan qubiyacı-ača ulam;
butaraldun teskildün qayačam ta.
čülayu-tu čöl-i abalam ta.
čükitei jegeren-i alam ta.
čükitei jegeri-yin¹ miqa-yi
 qubilan qubiyacı-ača ulam;
čabčilaldun göbsileldün qayačam ta.
 tere Qabul Qayan-u doloγan köbegüd-ün
 aya yabudal inu eyimü buyu.
yurbiqan yaγar-i abalam tede.
yularayıqan injaγan-i alam tede.
yularayıqan injaγan-ıyan miqa-yi
 qubilan qubiyacı abqui-dayan
qurimlaldun takildıya kemegeđ.
qutuγ-tu buyan-tu boltıyay kemejü
 tarqaldım tede.
küde-tü ayula-yi abalam tede.
küderi görögesün-i alam tede.
küderi görögesün-ıyen miqa-yi
 qubilan qubiyacı abqui-dayan
kündüleldün dayılaldıya kemejü.
küsekü metü sayıqan üge-ben ügüleldüged
 tarqaldım tede.
dabalıya-tu γool-i abalam tede.
taulai kirıyılul-i alam tede.
taulai kirıyılul-ıyan miqa-yi
 qubilan qubiyacı abqui-dayan
takildım kündüleldüye kemejü.
tayalaldıquı metü sayıqan üge-ben ügüleldüged
 tarqaldım tede.
ta Amaqai Qayan-u arban köbegüd
 aburi jaγ tan-u mayui.
 aqu albatu qaraçus bolqu ta.

1 For jegeri-yin.

tede Qabul Qayan-u doloyan köbegüd
eye ebtei-yin kücün-dür
qamuy-un qayan ulus-un ejen bohumi je.
ta namayi mayu ötege ebügen-i
kelebe geju buu ayimas.
ta aqamar degüü-ner
amuraldun sayiqan yabuytun ta.
kemen ügülegsen ajuyu.

Translation

Küdei Sečen spoke thus:
 ‘Listen, you ten sons of Amaqai Qayan
 You hunt in inaccessible mountains,
 You kill mountain rams and ewes;
 But when you share the meat of the mountain rams and ewes,
 You perpetrate murder and start strife among each other
 and separate.
 You hunt in the mountains which are covered with dense fog,
 You kill harts and hinds;
 But when you divide the deer meat,
 You begin to quarrel and brawl
 and separate.
 You hunt in stony deserts
 And kill wild asses and antelopes;
 For the division of the meat of the wild asses and antelopes
 You slash at each other and inflict blows upon one another
 and separate.
 But the conduct and the actions
 Of Qabul Qan’s seven sons are as follows:
 They hunt in hilly regions,
 They kill tender fawn and young deer;
 When they divide the meat of the young deer they say:
 ‘Let us feast and honour each other,
 That there be happiness and blessing!’ – having spoken thus,
 they disperse.
 They hunt in the mountains covered with fog and mist,
 And kill the wild animal (called) musk-deer;
 When they divide the meat of the musk-deer they say:
 ‘Let us regale and treat each other.’”

Having entertained each other with agreeable and pleasant words,
 they disperse.
 Hunting in the undulating vales,
 They kill hares and pheasants;
 Dividing among themselves the meat of the hares and pheasants they
 say:
 "Let us honour and regale each other."
 After the exchange of loving and kind words
 they disperse.
 You ten sons of Amaqai Qayan,
 Your conduct and your character are bad:
 You will become subject and common people.
 But the seven sons of Qabul Qan,
 By the strength of friendship and harmony
 Will certainly become
 Qans over all and lords over peoples.
 Do not be angry that I, a miserable and decrepit
 Old man (thus) talks (to you).
 You, older and younger brothers, live
 Lovingly and kindly with one another.'
 Thus he spoke.

Remarks on the text

(N.B. Most of the words are found in Kowalewski's and Lessing's dictionaries)

Küdei Sečen pr. name and epithet: Küdei the Wise

Amaqai Qayan the original name and title were Ambaqai Qan as attested by the *Secret History*: many of such names were distorted in the later chronicles; for his title see below

adarya-tu written *adary-a-tu* (i.e. with the final vowel of *adarya* written separately according to the rules of orthography), lit. 'having (-tu) unevenness (or roughness) of terrain (*adarya*)'

abalam pres. t. of *abala-* to hunt in a battue

aryali argali – the large Asiatic wild sheep, the male of which is called *uyulja*

qubilan qubiya- to apportion (*qubiya-*) dividing into parts or shares (*qubilan*)

-ača ulam proceeding from when it occurs that *ulam*, lit., 'gradually', implies gradual action, and the verb of action is a nom. fut. + abl. s.

alaldu-, *teskildü-*, *qayača-* to kill e.o., to dispose of e.o., to separate from o.

a. – all reciprocal verbs (in *-ldu/-ldü-*) of strife and discord

budang-tu lit. ‘having thick fog’

buɣu soɣu male and female deer, i.e. deer (pl.)

čilaytu-tu čöl stony deserts: *čöl* desert, dry land, is also a designation of the Gobi

čikitei jegeren wild asses and antelopes: *čikitei* or *dziggetai* is another name of the kulan (mo. *qulan*), the wild ass or onager (*Equus hemionus*) of NW Asia; *jegeren* is the dzeren (*Procapra gutturosa*), an antelope or gazelle. In the next line the text has *jegeri* for *jegere* (*jegeren* is a variable *-n* stem word), *e ~ i* being a common occurrence in the non-accented final syllable of the word, especially in mss.

Qabul Qayan Qabul Qan, a famous chief of the Mongol tribe, never bore the imperial title of *qayan*, which was ‘conferred’ on him retrospectively, as in the case of Ambaqai Qan. He had seven sons, one of whom, Bartan Ba’atur was Činggis Qan’s grandfather

aya yabudal both words mean ‘conduct’, but *aya* refers in particular to the ‘proper’ way of doing something

ɣurbıqan ɣaɣar hilly country or region: *ɣurbıqan* ← *ɣurbi* elevation + *-qan/-ken* dim. s. (= ‘somewhat, rather; a little’)

ɣularayıqan inɣayan tender fawn and roe, i.e. young deer (pl.): *ɣularayıqan* (in the text err. *ɣularayıyan*), which can also be read *qularayıqan*, is an obsolete and otherwise unattested word meaning, according to Žamcarano, ‘tender fawn’ – *-qan* no doubt being the dim. s.; *inɣayan* is the young of antelope, reindeer, etc.

tede those = they, in contrast with the previous *ta* you

qutuytu-tu buyan-tu bolıuyai lit. ‘let them be happy and blessed!’

küsekü metü lit. ‘desiring-like’, i.e. ‘desirable, agreeable’; *metü* like = ‘-able’

dabalya-tu ɣool valley(s) having waves, i.e. undulating valleys: *ɣool* is, properly, ‘river’, but by extension also ‘a river valley’

kirıyul = *ɣurıyul* pheasant (*Phasianus calchicus*); this word occurs in several forms reflecting dialect variations

aburi ɣang conduct and character = character, temperament

aqı ... bolqu ta lit. ‘as to being (or living : *aqı*), you will be(come) ...’

- bolumui je* will certainly become: the emph. pmo. and mmo. *je* → mo.
ja
- maγu ötege ebüge* lit. ‘bad, senior, old man’: bad (*maγu*) = poor, wretched, miserable (here a deprecatory term referring to self); *ötege* < *ötegü* old man, senior; *ebüge* id.
- kelebe geγü buu ayimas* lit. ‘do not be angry, saying (*geγü* = that) (I, ...) spoke’
- yabuytun ta* you live: *yabuytun* is the benedictive (i.e. the imp. of the 2 p. pl.) in *-γtun/-gtün* of *yabu-* to go, to conduct oneself or live (in a certain way)
- kemen ügülegsen aγuγu* lit. ‘spoke saying (= thus)’: *aγuγu* III past of *a-*, to be, after a nomen perfecti acts as an auxiliary verb to form a perfect or pluperfect tense

This piece is interesting because although quite short, it contains the three basic formal elements of Mongol epic songs, viz. alliteration, repetition, and contrast – elements that characterize not only Mongol epics, but also Central Asian epics in general, whether Turkic or Mongolian.

Both Turks and Mongols were keen hunters, hence hunting and animals are recurrent themes in the epics, and, of course, horses too play a capital role. The structure and themes of the Mongol epics have been studied in detail by W. Heissig, who has also produced a small volume of translations (into German) of several representative epic pieces of the preclassical-classical period. Some well-known ‘pieces’ are also given in translation in C. Bawden’s *Anthology*. (See Bibl. 5.3.2.)

Thematically, the most important ‘branch’ of Mongol epic literature of this period concerns the songs and legends evolved around the historical figures of Činggis Qan and several personages related to him, such as members of his family and clan, and his loyal companions (*nököd*, pl. of *nökör*). Some of these literary pieces of varying lengths, many of which are found in chronicles like the *Altan tobči* and the *Erdeni-yin tobči* (see below), are part of a corpus of *gesta* which began to evolve already during the lifetime of the great conqueror as evidenced by the epico-legendary passages of the *Secret History*. The trend towards the idealization of the Mongol heroes of the past continued in the following centuries and, in the process of elaboration and transmission over a period of some three hundred years (15th-17th c.), these legendary accounts of Činggis’ exploits

acquired an unmistakable Buddhist flavour, reflecting social and cultural changes in post-Yuan Mongolia. Besides the obviously anachronistic Buddhist element in the context of the stories, both the literary style and language of these pieces, some of which are very beautiful and evocative, are different from the older epic genre of the 13th c. insofar as they show a higher degree of sophistication, as well as an ethical element or dimension which was absent, or at least not so pronounced, in the earlier phase. This is clearly evident in a popular genre closely related to this particular type of literature, viz. the short collections of sayings and wise counsels (called *bilig* or *surγal*) attributed to Činggis Qan, which he supposedly addressed to his children, brothers and companions, about the proper way of behaving in various circumstances. They are related because of the poetic, epic style and diction, obviously meant to be recited and sung. The recitation of these *obiter dicta*, moral maxims and instructions on certain formal occasions was an ancient custom of the Mongols going back to the time of Činggis Qan and, no doubt, before then. Numerous sayings and aphorisms are already found in the *Secret History*. Later the Mongols, following the Tibetan model, compiled collections of aphorisms and developed a gnomic (essentially didactic) literature which, however, retains a distinctive Mongolian epic flavour. There are several such collections; Heissig has translated one version of these sayings in the above-mentioned volume (pp. 55-61); others are found in Bawden's *Anthology*. (See Bibl. 5.3.2.)

However, the two masterpieces of Mongol secular literature of the 17th and 18th c. are unquestionably the *Erdeni-yin tobči* of Sayang Sečen and the *Geser Qayan-u tuyuji* or *The Story of Geser Qayan*, i.e. the Geser saga.

Sayang Sečen, also known as Sayang Sečen Qung Tayiji, was an Ordos prince. He belonged to one of the southern Mongol tribes in North China (near the great bend of the Yellow River), and claimed descent from Činggis Qan. He was born in 1604 and died in (or after) 1662, the date of completion of his great work. The *Precious Summary* is a sizable work in 10 chapters with an extensive colophon, beginning with the mythical creation of the universe, the ancient history of India and Tibet, and then covering the history of the Mongols down to the rise of Manchu power and the enthronement of the Kangxi emperor in 1662. He used a variety of sources (Mongolian, Tibetan and Chinese), writing in an elegant, erudite language rich in Ordos elements and retaining numerous archaisms, often flowery and quite difficult as a result. Many passages are in alliterative poetry. It was first translated into Manchu and Chinese. In 1829, I. J.

Schmidt published a German translation of it in St. Petersburg and Leipzig. This has stood the test of time and was until recently the only complete and annotated rendition of the *Erdeni-yin tobči* in a Western language. However, we now have at our disposal many more manuscripts and versions of this work, which offer better readings, and a new translation (into English) prepared by J. R. Krueger. (See Bibl. 5.3.2. A complete and revised version by Krueger is still unpublished.) The best Mongolian manuscript, commonly known as the 'Urga text', was published in facsimile by E. Haenisch in 1955. A critical edition of this text in transcription and a complete word-index were prepared by M. Gō *et al.* (See *ibid.*)

One of the most famous passages in the *Precious Summary* is the so-called 'Lament of Toyon Temür' – a poem allegedly declaimed by the last emperor of the Yuan dynasty Toyon Temür (Shundi, r. 1333-67) when, defeated, he had to abandon China and his beloved capital Daidu (Beijing). There is an earlier version of the 'Lament' in the *Altan tobči* (and, indeed, other versions too in different works), but Sayang Sečen's text is the best known not only because of the wide fame of the *Erdeni-yin tobči*, but also because the six four-line stanzas are beautifully alliterated and elegantly phrased.

The lament, or song of regret, is a common motif in Mongolian literature (we must not forget that for the Mongols chronicles are as much literature as history). This motif is invariably poetical. The earliest example is Mother Hö'elün's lament in § 78 of the *Secret History*. Another well-known piece is also from the *Precious Summary*, where it is declaimed by Gilügen Bayatur (of the Sönid tribe), a retainer of Činggis Qan, when the royal cortège takes the conqueror's body back to Mongolia for burial. Toyon Temür's lament and Gilügen Bayatur's powerful funereal ode are found in Krueger's published version, pp. 112-17 and 104-11 respectively. See also Bawden's *Anthology*, pp. 47-48. Unlike Lubsangdanjin, Sayang Sečen had no direct access to the *Secret History*, and numerous episodes from it are related by him in a different form, as transmitted by the intermediary sources. Some stories derive from Chinese sources, often via Tibetan intermediaries, and were further elaborated by him, especially when turned into poetry. One of these concerns the well-known episode of Činggis Qan and the peace-loving rhinoceros which is told in the biography of the great statesman and humanitarian Yelü Chucai (1189-1243) in the *Yuanshi* (which in turn derives from Yelü's memorial inscription by Song Zizhen of 1267). According to the Chinese sources, at the time when Činggis Qan was encamped at the Iron Gate Pass (i.e. the Buzgala Pass in

Uzbekistan) in 1222, in the course of his Western Campaign, his body-guard saw an animal with a deer's body, a horse's tail, green and with a single horn. This mysterious creature told the guards that their master should return home immediately. Činggis Qan consulted Yelü about the apparition and the latter then informed him that the animal was a unicorn, a symbol of abhorrence to bloodshed, and capable of speech, which had been sent by Heaven to warn the emperor against further bloodshed. Thereupon Činggis withdrew his troops. Sayang Sečen (*Erdeni-yin tobči*, 1955 ed., fol. 36b29-37a10) retells the story as follows (Text XXVI):

THE *ERDENI-YIN TOBČI* OF SAĞANG SEČEN (fol. 36b-37a)

Transcription

Tendeče mön tere yabudal-iyar-ıyan Enedkeg-tür morilarun, Čidıyarang (pro Čandana-rang)-un dabaya kemekü kötel-i daban odtala. Nigen oroi-dur-ıyan yaıça eber-tei, serü neretü görögesün güyüjü iregseger, ejen-ü emüne ıurban-ta ebüdüg-ıyen bokırču mörgön abai. Tegün-i gotalayar yaıyıqaldun bükü-e, ejen eyin jarlıy bolurun:

*'Tere Enedkeg-ün včir-tu saıurın kemekü,
Erten-ü degedü burqan bodıstı-nar
Erketen boydas qad-un törögsen oron gele.
Edüge ene kelen aman ügei görögesün ber,
Eyin kümün metü mörgökü anu yaıun?
Kerbe kürbesü genüger bolqu yaıyan bolumu?
Degere tengri ečige mimı idqaysan bolbau?'*

kemegeđ egegerčü qarın urbaıı baıubai.

The above text has been somewhat edited, inasmuch as a new punctuation has been introduced and final letters separated from the stem have been joined to it, thus writing *morilarun* and *dabaya* for *morilar-un* and *dabay-a*, or *morilar-un* and *dabay-a*.

Translation

Thereupon, when he (i.e. Činggis Qan), following the same course, rode against India, on crossing the mountain defile called Čandanarang ('Brilliant Peak') Pass, a wild animal called the *serü* ('rhinoceros'), which had a single horn on top of its head, came swiftly towards him; it made obeisance, kneeling three times before the Lord. While everyone marvelled at it, the Lord spoke thus and said,

‘That *vajra*-seat of India, so-called,
 Is said to be the country where the sublime
 Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of yore, and
 The powerful Holy Rulers were born.
 Now, why is it that this speechless wild animal
 Makes obeisance thus, like a man?
 If we go there (i.e. to India), we will perhaps
 Be punished (by Heaven)?
 Could Heaven Above, my father, have warned me?’

He wheeled around and returned home.

Remarks on the text

Čandananarang-un dabaya The Čandananarang Pass: Čandananarang < skr. *Candrāgra* ‘Brilliant Peak(ed)’ This peak cannot be identified with any existing mountain; this name was probably chosen by the pious author as a suitable one for the mystical encounter

serü rhinoceros < tib. *bse-ru* id.

güiyüjü iregseger lit. ‘while coming (or as it came) running (= swiftly)’

ebüdüg-iyen bokirču kneeling, lit. ‘bending its knees’

qotalayar = *qotala-bar* all together ← *qotala* all + the instr. s. *-bar/-ber* (> *-yar/-ger*) used to form adverbs

yayiqaldun büküi-e lit. ‘while they were marvelling at each other’: *yayiqaldun* is the conv. mod. (in *-n*) of the rec. form (*-ldu-*) of *yayiqā-* to wonder, to marvel; *büküi-e* is the temporal dative (in *-e*) of the nom. fut. of the aux. verb *bü-* to be (= ‘when/while being’). The reciprocal form is often used in Mongolian instead of the co-operative form (in *-lča/-lče-*), so that ‘at each other’ = ‘together’

jarliy bolurun said, lit. ‘ordered’ When words are uttered by an eminent personage, the appropriate verb is *jarliy bol-* to order, to command, lit. ‘for the order to be’. The quote following it ends with the verb *kemeged* ‘(so) he said’ ← *keme-* to say + *-ged/-yad* conv. perf. s.

včir-tu sayurin kemekü the (so-)called *vajra*-seat (lit. ‘seat having *vajra*’): *včir* is an old form of *vačir* < skr. *vajra* thunderbolt; *včir(-tu) sayurin* or Thunderbolt Seat (skr. *Vajrāsana*) is the name of the seat on which Buddha Śakyamuni found enlightenment and, by extension, an epithet of India

gele it is said ← *ge-* to say + *-la/-le* II past s.; both *ge-* and *-la/-le* are not literary forms: *ge-* = *keme-*, and *-la/-le* = *-hɣa(-lɣa)/-lüge(-lege)*; see below the remarks on the language of the *Geser Qan*

kelen aman ügei speechless, lit. ‘without tongue and mouth’: *kele(n) ama(n)* is a *mot-couple*, i.e. a binom, meaning ‘talk, speech’

görögesün ber the particle *ber* is here the subject indicator, and is counterbalanced by the *amu* in the following line

kerbe bohumu? lit. ‘if we reach (as far as India), is it possible (*bohumu* = *bohumū* < *bohumuu*) that there will be chastisement (*genüger* = punishment sent by a divinity for sin)?’ *Yayan* is a dubitative particle very rare in literary Mongolian, but frequent in the Ordos dialect

idqaysan bolbau could have warned? *Bolbau* = *bolbaū* < *bolba uu*. In *bohumu* above and *bolbau* here, the interrogative particle *uu* has contracted (> *ū*, written *u*)

egegerčü = *egegerečü* turning, revolving; cf. mmo. *eke'er-* to surround, to besiege = mo. *egere-* to turn, to surround

qarin urbaĵu baĵubai lit. ‘again turning back he set up camp’

Comments

- i. The original account of the encounter has been modified (e.g. the unicorn has turned into a rhinoceros and from articulate has become speechless) and, at the same time, it has acquired a definite Buddhist garb, with references to the *vajra*-seat, Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. It has, however, retained a shamanistic base with its direct mention of Heaven Above (*Degere Tengri*) being Činggis Qan’s father. The locality of the encounter has also been given a suitable Sanskrit fictitious name, and the transformation of the Chinese traditional peace-loving unicorn into a rhinoceros designated with a term of Tibetan origin (*serü*) shows likewise a change in the cultural framework of the entire episode.
- ii. Language-wise, one should note the use of non-literary expressions like *gele* (very frequent in the *Geser Qan*) and *yayan*, reflecting the influence of the dialects, Ordos in particular (*Sayang*’s native tongue), in this work. The *Erdeni-yin tobči* contains, in fact, numerous terms and expressions that have been preserved *only* in the Ordos dialect.

For the benefit of those who are interested in *Sayang Sečen* we should mention that a good deal has been and is being written about this man and his work. E. Haenisch has devoted much of his life-long labour to

the *Precious Summary*, and A. Mostaert too has made an outstanding contribution to the subject. Scholars in Mongolia, China, Japan and the United States also have contributed substantially to the investigation of Sayang's *opus*. A point to stress is that, in spite of its strong Buddhist flavour and Tibetan dressing, this work is essentially a product of the Mongolian mind; indeed, it reflects the character and imagination of the Mongolian people as no other work does in the classical period with the possible exception of the Geser saga.

Before we move on to Geser and the (later) Mongolian epic, we should make a few additional remarks about the chronicles. These constitute, in fact, the most important area of erudite secular literature from the 17th to the 20th c. There are general chronicles like the various *Altan tobči* and the *Erdeni-yin tobči*; chronicles devoted to particular clans or families (these may be regarded as private or semi-private chronicles); and chronicles or histories of much larger ethnic groups like the Khalkhas and the Buriats, the latter having produced particularly fine works of this kind. There are also chronicles in Mongolian which are actually translations of imperial annals compiled in Manchu and Chinese during the Qing period.

Mongolian historiography is an immense field, especially when we include the biographies of the Dalai Lamas and of great religious figures (these are often, however, pure hagiography in the Tibetan mould). To find one's way through it we fortunately have the great work of Žamcarano, the numerous studies of W. Heissig, and the extremely informative book on the subject by Š. Bira, now available in English. (See Bibl. 5.3.2.)

Because of their importance as historical sources and their intrinsic value as literature, the titles of a few of these chronicles should be retained:

1. *Čayan teūke*, or *White History*, contains material on government and religion allegedly going back to the 13th and 14th c.
2. *Šara tuji* (= *tujuji*), or *Yellow History*, very important for the history of the Mongols from the 15th to the 17th c. – a very confused period. Both these chronicles, by unknown authors, have been discussed by Žamcarano, and have also been translated into German (by K. Sagaster) and Russian (by N. P. Šastina). See Bibl. 5.3.2. In his book, Žamcarano describes another *Altan tobči* chronicle of the early 17th c., also quite important for the period from the 15th to the 17th c., which has been critically edited and translated by C. R. Bawden.
3. *Asaraγči neretü-yin teūke*, or *The History by Asaraγči*, compiled in 1677 by the Khalkha nobleman Byamba or Asaraγči (d. 1707). His chronicle, covering the origins and history of the Mongol khans, the

post-empire period and the genealogy of the Khalkha ruling princes from the 16th c. to his own time, has been translated into German by H.-R. Kämpfe. (See Bibl. 5.3.2.)

4. *Bolor erike*, or *Chaplet of Crystal*, by Rasipungsur, dating from 1774-75/76, the real importance of which lies in having preserved for us a number of epic pieces concerning Činggis Qan and the Mongols in the Ming period. It has not yet been translated.
5. *Erdeni-yin erike*, or *Chaplet of Jewels*, a source on the history of Khalkha from 1636 to 1736, which is particularly important for its list of Buddhist monasteries in various parts of Mongolia.
6. *Köke sudur*, or *Blue Chronicle*, by the Tümed nobleman Injannasi (1837-92) who wrote this literary masterpiece more as a *histoire romancée* of the Mongols than as a historical work, skillfully blending fact and fiction, using both prose and poetry. It has been thoroughly investigated but not yet translated into any Western language.

The *Blue Chronicle* is already a 19th c. and, therefore, modern production; but the language, imagery and style are pure Classical Mongolian. Injannasi is the last of the traditional Mongol historiographers, the last writer of 'poetical' history. When historiography was resumed in Mongolia after Independence and the founding of the Socialist state in 1924, the Soviet Marxist model was followed, and this lasted until 1990. For Mongolian historiography of the 18th and 19th c., one may profitably read also the relevant sections in Heissig's essay on Mongolian literature in *M* (pp. 266-73), as well as the now rather obsolete 'Skizze der mongolischen Literatur' by Laufer (pp. 213-15).

We have mentioned the epic contents of the chronicles as one of the main characteristics of this type of writing. However, we must distinguish the literary epic of the chronicles from the popular, totally fictional epic sung by the bards which, although eventually recorded, is by its very nature an oral genre. The Mongols are rich in oral epics, and the most famous of these is that of Geser.

Geser is the hero of the famous Tibetan epos which has been studied in detail by R.-A. Stein of Paris. In the Tibetan epic the hero is known as Gesar of Ling (Gling), but in an older epic cycle he was called Gesar of Trhom (Phrom); the hero's name and the locality are taken to derive from 'kaisar' (Caesar) and Rüm, the eastern Rome, i.e. Byzantium. Undoubtedly the Tibetan original, which goes back to the 15th c. and earlier, has not only inspired but also supplied the contextual framework of the Mongolian epic. But in spite of the obvious Tibetan association (and inspiration), evidenced

also by the nomenclature, the Geser epic is a Mongolian production. Transposed from the plateau of Tibet to the grassland of Mongolia, and retold by generations of Mongol bards in Mongolian yurts, it became thoroughly ‘mongolized’ over a period of two or three centuries. The Mongol folklore themes constantly expanded through telling and retelling, acquiring in the process many local elements. Thus we have Oirat versions, Buriat versions, Khalkha versions and several Inner Mongolian versions, each with its own characteristics, both thematic and linguistic. We have long versions and short versions, oral versions and printed versions; and new versions keep on being discovered, or are being recorded from the mouths of old bards (*quγurčī*).

The epic or narrative (*üliger*) is recited and sung to the accompaniment of the Mongolian violin (*quγur*). The kernel of the story is the bad state of the world and the dispatch of the son of a sky god (Qormusta << pe. Ohrmazd, Ormuzd = skr. Indra) to earth to establish order. This he does by fighting a host of enemies who try to hinder him (demons, monsters), and by rescuing friends, etc. Because of his divine origin and magic powers he always comes out victorious. The central theme is common, but the variations on the theme are numerous in the narration of the extremely busy career of the hero Ĵoro before and after he becomes King Geser, i.e. Geser Qan or rather Qayan. The full title of the standard printed Mongol epic is, in fact, *Arban жүг-үн ејен Geser Qayan-utuyji*, or *The Story of Geser Qayan, Lord of the Ten Directions* (the 10 directions being the 4 + 4 cardinal points + above & below), usually shortened to *Geser Qan*. It was printed (in xylograph form) in Beijing in 1716. This edition, in seven chapters, was reproduced and translated into German by I. J. Schmidt in 1836 and 1839 respectively. Before him, in 1804, B. Bergmann had already translated a shorter Oirat (Kalmyk) version. Using Bergmann’s and Schmidt’s translations, Ida Zeitlin produced a conflated English version, which she published in New York in 1927 (see Bibl. 5.3.2.1). Later, seven new chapters were found and published: their contents are predominantly Lamaistic – they deal with the clergy, often in a satirical vein, whereas the earlier chapters are largely folkloristic. The Geser story is a ‘fixed’ epic in the sense that it is common to all the Mongols and is, therefore, the most widely spread, living epic in the world. Because of this fact and the epic’s relation to the Tibetan Gesar, it has attracted the attention of scholars in the West and in Asia, resulting in a vast, ever-growing body of literature on the subject. There are translations into German, Russian, English, Chinese and Japanese, and numerous linguistic

and comparative studies. The reader can find a mine of material on Geser and Mongolian epics in a series of volumes by N. Poppe, V. Veit, W. Heissig and others, published in the *Asiatische Forschungen* series (O. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden) from 1975 onwards.

Whereas the *Erdeni-yin tobči* of Sayang Sečen is written in a classical language which is somewhat archaic in its vocabulary and, at the same time, dialectal because of its many Ordosisms, the standard Geser epic, although published in the 18th c., is written in literary vernacular. This is a sort of Mongolian ‘volgare’, rich in colloquialisms and dialect forms which betray its South Mongolian origin, as shown long ago by Poppe. Subsequent investigations indicate that this version may have originated from the Ölöt bards of the Kokonor region in northwest China.

Curiously enough, the Peking xylograph of 1716 bears the Chinese title of *Sanguo zhi*, which is short for *Sanguo zhi yanyi*, the famous *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*. Guan Yu (d. AD 219), one of the heroes of this popular novel – in fact a Chinese epic in prose – was a real personage of the Three Kingdoms period, long regarded as the foremost Chinese military genius and eventually canonized in 1594 as Guan Di, the God of War, with temples all over the country. The Tibetan-Mongol Geser was assimilated by the Lamaist clergy in China to Guan Di – a fact that may explain why the Mongolian epic of Geser was also identified with the *Romance*, were it not for the fact that the printing of the epic (1716) is about half a century earlier than the *official* assimilation of the two personages. They were, it seems, already equated at the popular level at the beginning of the 18th c. The popular cult of Geser among the Inner Mongols continued until the late 1940s.

As a sample of the language of the standard version we can read the beginning of the story, which is common (with minor variants) to all the versions (Text XXVII.1 and 2).

THE *GESER QAIAN-U TUTUJĪ* (fol. 1b-3a)

Transcription

[1b] *Erte nigen čay-tur, Sigemuni Burqan-i nirvan-u düri üjgegülkü-yin urida, Qormusta tngri Burqan-dur mörgöye gejü ečibe. Kürčü mörgögsen qoyina, Burqan Qormusta tngri-dür jarliy bolba, [2a] ‘Tabun jaγun jil boluγsan-u qoyina yirtinčü-yin čay samayū bolqu bui. Gertegen qarīju tabun jaγun jil boluγad, γurban keüked-iyen nigen-i ilege. Tere yirtinčü-yin qan tere boltuγai. Küčüten küčün ügei-iyen bariju idekü bui, görögesün öber jaγuraban nigen nigen-iyen bariju*

idekü bui. Čimu ħurban köbegün-iyen nigen-i ečiküle tere yirtinčü-yi ejelegči qan tere bolqu bui', gebe. 'Tabun ħayun ħil-eče ħiryal-dayan tasiħuraħu saħuba ci. Mimu ħarliħ-iyer [2b] ödter ilegerei', gebe. Qormusta tngri ħöb geħü qarħu irebe. Iregsen-ü qoyina Burqan-u ħarliħ-i martaħu, Qormusta tngri doloħan ħayun ħil boltala saħuba. Saħutala Sudarasun Balħasun-u yeke qoton-u baraħun öncög ni nigen tümen bere-yin tedüi ħaħar-a ebderebe. Qormusta tngri terigülen ħüčün ħurban tngri-ner qamıħ ħer ħebe-yügen abču, 'Ene qoton-i bidan-i ken ebdebe', geħü, 'Mandu ösiye-tü dayisun ügei büliģe. Asuri-narun čerig ebdebeiü egüni?' Qoton-ıyan ebderegsen ħüg-tü ečibe, ečim geküle qoton-i öbesüben ebderegsen aħuħu. Qormusta tngri terigülen ħüčün ħurban tngri-ner büģüdeger erilčebe öber ħaħuraban, 'Ene qoto bidan-i ħayun-i tustu ebderebe', geħü, erilčetele Qormusta tngri sanaba. 'Sigemuni Burqan-i nirvan-u düri üģegülkü-yin urida mörgöye geħü ečħi bile bi, mörgögsen-ü qoyina Burqan nada ħarliħ bolħu büliģe, "Tabun ħayun ħil boluyad ħurban köbegün-iyen nigen-i ilege. Yirtinčü-yin čaħ samaħu bolqu bui, geħü bile, "Küčüten [3a] küčün ügei-iyen barħu idekü bui, görögesün öber ħaħuraban nigen nigen-iyen barħu idekü bui," geħü bile, 'Bi martaħu tabun ħayun ħil-eče ileģü doloħan ħayun ħil saħuħu bayınam bi,' ged.

Translation

Once, a long time ago, before Buddha Śakyamuni attained nirvana, the god Qormusta went to pay homage to him. After Qormusta had come and paid his respects, Buddha gave the god the following command: 'Five hundred years hence the world will go through an age of turmoil. Go home (now) and when five hundred years have elapsed, send down one of your three sons: he will become the ruler of the world. (At that time) the strong will conquer and swallow the weak, wild animals will seize and devour each other. As soon as one of your three sons arrives there he will become the lord and ruler of the world. Enjoy your bliss undisturbed for five hundred years, then send him off promptly in accordance with my order!' The god Qormusta assented and went back, but after his return he forgot Buddha's command and did nothing about it for seven hundred years. Thereupon, the western corner of the great wall of Sudarasun Balħasun for the length of some ten thousand leagues (suddenly) collapsed. The god Qormusta at the head of thirty-three gods all took arms and said, 'Who has destroyed this wall of ours? We have no enemies: could it have been the army of the Asuri-devils?'

They went to the place where the wall had collapsed and when they got there (they saw that) the wall had collapsed by itself. Saying, ‘What could have caused the collapse of this city of ours?’, the god Qormusta and the thirty-three gods held a consultation and all together tried to find out, when the god Qormusta remembered. He said, ‘I went to pay homage to the Buddha Śakyamuni before he attained nirvana. After I had paid my respects, Buddha gave me the following command: “Five hundred years hence send down one of your three sons. The world will go through an age of turmoil” – he said – “The strong will conquer and swallow the weak, wild animals will seize and devour each other” I forgot and did nothing for seven hundred years, instead of five hundred.’

Remarks on the text

The above transcription is based on the original text of the 1716 blockprint edition; the English translation is a rather free version of the same. Below are given only explanations of, and comments on, some of the less usual words and expressions. The grammatical peculiarities of the *Geser Qan* have been studied in detail by N. Poppe (1926). See Bibl. 5.3.2.1.

Sigemuni Śakyamuni; the more common form of this name in Mongolian is *Šaṅjamuni*

nirvan-u dūri üjegül- lit. ‘to show the aspect of (entering) *nirvāna*’ – a Buddhist expression meaning ‘to attain nirvana’

Qormusta tngri the god Qormusta or Qormusda (<< mpe. Ohrmazd), a major deity in the Mongol Buddhist pantheon, is an adaptation of the Iranian Auramazdā (Ahuramazda; cf. Text VII) and corresponds to the Hindu god Indra. It is also equated with Esrua (= Brahma). He is the chief of the thirty-three gods – one of several groupings of gods (*tngri*). Although we transcribe the term *tngri* according to its traditional spelling, in the 17th-18th c. the bookish pronunciation of this word was *tegri*, owing to a misreading of the second letter (*e* for *n*)

mörgöye geḷü = *mörgöye kemeḷü*, lit. ‘saying, “Let us (= me) pay homage!”’

boluṣan-u qoyina after the passing of (such and such time): *bol-*, ‘to be, to become, to happen’, means also ‘to pass (of time)’

- yirtinčü-yin čay samayū bolqu bui* lit. ‘the time (= circumstances, condition) of the world will become disturbed (or confused)’
- gertegen* = *ger-tegen* ‘to your (dat.-poss.) home’
- yurban keüked-iyen nigen-i ilege* send down one of your three sons.
This is, indeed, what will happen. Qormusta’s second son, Üile Bütügegči (‘The Accomplisher of Deeds’), is going to be sent down to the world where he will be reborn as Ĵoro alias Geser Qan (Qayan), whose wonderful exploits are the subject of the story
- tere yirtinčü* lit. ‘that world’ = ‘the world’, *tere* (dem. pron.) acting as the article
- ečiküle* as soon as he goes ← *eči-* = *oči-* to go + *-qula/-küle* conv. succ. s. (= ‘as soon as, when’)
- gebe* = *kemebe*, the form *ge-* for *keme-* ‘to say’ being prevalent in the popular semi-literary language rich in colloquialisms
- tabun jaγun jül-eče jiryal-dayan tasiγuraju sayuba či* lit. ‘you have been indulging in your bliss for (*-eče* temp. abl. s.) five hundred years’; *sayu-* ‘to sit, to dwell’ means also ‘to be doing sth.’, as well as ‘to sit still and do nothing’, see further on in the same section
- jöb geγü* lit. ‘saying, “Right”’, i.e. ‘agreeing, assenting’
- doloγan jaγun jül boltala sayuba* lit. ‘sat (= did nothing) until seven hundred years were finished (*boltala*)’, i.e. for seven hundred years: *boltala* ‘until done’ is a fossilized conv. term. in *-tala/-tele* of *bol-*, ‘to be, to become, to occur, etc.’, meaning ‘until, for’
- sayutala* while he was sitting (= doing nothing): here the conv. term. means ‘while’ rather than ‘until’
- Sударасун Баясун-у yeke qoto(n)* lit. ‘the great wall of Sudarasun City’, both *balyasun* and *qoto(n)* mean ‘city’, but *qoto(n)* also means ‘city wall’. Sudarasun, from skr. *sudaršana* ‘beautiful’ – name of the city of Indra – is the residence of Qormusta and his thirty-three subordinate gods
- bere* a measure of indeterminate length, now fixed at ab. 2 km and usually translated as ‘league’ or ‘mile’
- tedüi yaγar-a* at a distance of about, *yaγar* ‘place’ meaning also ‘distance’
- ebdere-* to collapse, to fall to pieces, is the passive in *-re/-ra-* of *ebde-* to destroy, to wreck
- terigülen* lit. ‘at the head (of), leading’ ← *terigüle-* to lead (< *terigün* head) + *-n* conv. mod. s.

- jer jebe* weapon–arrow = weapons, arms – a ‘*mot-couple*’
bidan-i of ours, for *bidan-u*; the gen. s. *-i* (= mo. *-u*) is a peculiarity of the language of the *Geser Qan*
- mandu ... ügei bülüge* to us is not = we have not; *bülüge* as copula serves as the past as well as the present tense
- Asuri* << skr. *asura*: a class of demi-gods, enemies of the *tngrī*; *-narun* = *-nar-un*
ebdebeü egüni = *ebdebeü* (< *ebdebeüü*) *egün-i*, i.e. ‘did destroy it (acc.)?’
- jüg-tü* lit. ‘in the direction of, towards’
ečim geküle as soon as they went, i.e. as soon as they got to that place: *geküle* (mo. *kemeküle* < *kemekü-lüge*), the fossilized conv. succ. of *ge-* to say, means ‘(when one says, if one says =) as soon as, when; if’; for *eči-* see above
- ebderegsen ajuγu* had collapsed: the nom. perf. + the copula *ajuγu* forms the pluperfect tense
- yaγun-i tustu* (= *tus-tu*) lit. ‘opposite (= against) what?’, i.e. ‘what for, for what reason?’
- ečiji bile bi* this is the non-classical Mongolian for *ečijü bülüge bi*, lit. ‘I was going’, i.e. ‘I went’: the conv. imp. with the aux. v. *bülüge* is employed to express the past imperfect; cf. further on *nada jarliγ bolju bülüge* he ordered (= said) to me, and *gejü bile* (= *bülüge*) said. The s. *-jil-či* < *-jul-ču* (*-jül-čüü*), and the also extremely common form *bile* = *bilē* < *bülüge*
- tabun jaγun jil-eče ilegü* lit. ‘more than (*-eče ilegü*) five hundred years’;
ilegü = *ilegü* < *ilegüü*
- saγūju bayinam* lit. ‘I have been sitting’: *bayi-*, ‘to be, to stay’, is (like *bü-* and *a-*) an aux. v. and *-nam/-nem* a common pres. s. in the non-classical language
- ged* = *kemege* said

Remarks on the text

To be noted in particular are the following:

- i. A mixture of classical and non-classical forms throughout, e.g. *ečiji*, *gejü*, *bile* (~ *bülüge*), *bidan-i* for *bidan-u*.
- ii. The very frequent use of the verb of saying *ge-*, virtually replacing mo. *keme-* and *ügüle-*, and ‘dotting’, as it were, the entire narrative.
- iii. The fast, almost colloquial style of the narrative, departing at times from the formal syntax of Classical Mongolian.

Besides the epic of Geser, and a lesser epic called *Qan Qarangyui* (*King Darkness*), which is purely Mongol and of the 'fixed' type like *Geser Qan*, individual Mongol populations have their own heroes and epics, and some of these epic songs are incredibly long. Oirats (Kalmyks), Buriats and Khalkhas have all been very productive. The most famous of these 'ethnic' Mongol epics is probably the *Ĵangyar* of the Kalmyks. All these populations have also produced other types of folk poetry, such as lyric songs, as well as shamanistic poetry, and a large number of riddles and proverbs which are in alliterative form. We shall have more to say about this when dealing with the development of the modern spoken languages.

Before we do, however, we must say something more about two or three areas of writing, in particular religious literature which, as stated earlier, forms the bulk of Mongol literature, consisting as it does of hundreds, nay thousands, of volumes of translations of Tibetan texts (in the *Kanĵur* and *Tanĵur* collections), to which one must add the original works by Mongol Buddhist scholars in several domains, especially that of the language (dictionaries, grammars, etc). This enormous and daunting dual task of translation and compilation, followed by the painstaking carving of blocks and printing, was carried out in the great monastic establishments of Kumbum in Kokonor, at Kōke Qota (Gueihua cheng, in Inner Mongolia), and Beijing. Artists joined the translators and the outcome was a wealth of beautifully illuminated manuscripts and xylographs rivalling their Western medieval and Renaissance counterparts. A book entitled *Kniga Mongolii* (*The Book in Mongolia*), published in Russia in 1988, gives a good idea of the consummate artistry and exquisite craftsmanship of Mongolian printers; it should profitably be read in conjunction with G. Kara's excellent *Books of the Mongolian Nomads* (see Bibl. 5.1), which is also an indispensable text on the evolution of the Mongolian script.

The translations enriched not only Buddhism as a faith, but also Mongolian culture as a whole, making the world of India and Tibet available to the readers across the steppe, especially the former, since most of the translated works were in turn translations of Sanskrit or Prakrit originals. In this way Indian legends, parables and fables embedded in philosophical treatises, or forming an integral part of *jātaka* or *avadāna* stories, became also the patrimony of Mongolia just as a few centuries earlier they had become that of the Uighurs. For instance, that great collection of stories, the *Pañcatantra*, and that other famous collection known as the *Sūtra of the Wise and the*

Foolish (see Chapter One), and even the Rāmāyaṇa epic – all these works were translated into Mongolian, some becoming very popular indeed, like the *Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish*. This work, a collection of *jātaka* stories apparently translated from Prakrit into Khotanese in the mid-5th c., was then translated into Chinese, Tibetan and Uighur, and from Tibetan into Mongolian, under the title of *Üliger-ün dalai* (*The Ocean of Stories*). The second story in this work is that of ‘The Hungry Tigress’ which is quoted in the Uighur version of the *Sūtra of Golden Light* (*Altun yaruq*), and which we used in part as a sample of the Uighur language.

The stories from the *Sūtra of the Wise and Foolish* were so popular in Mongolia that several versions were made of them at different times between the 17th and the 18th c. (four known so far). One of these was also incorporated into the *Kanjur*. The most widespread version is the one composed at the end of the 16th c. by Siregetü Güši Čorjiva of Köke Qota, a famous translator, and printed in 1714. This version is in simple, elegant early Classical Mongolian, quite different in style from the story found in the *Altan gerel*, the Mongolian translation of the *Sūtra of Golden Light* (included in the *Kanjur* collection), which is a literary and learned translation.

I. J. Schmidt and K. Grønbech & J. R. Krueger used the 1714 version of the story in their respective grammars (pp. 129-34; pl. II-IV) as a sample of the classical language at its best. We shall also use the same version for the beginning of the narrative which is given below in transcription and translation (Text XXVIII).

THE HUNGRY TIGRESS STORY IN THE ÜLIGER-ÜN DALAI (fol. 13b)

Transcription

[13b] *Erte toya tomsi ügei nögčigsen yalab-un urida amu, ene Cambudvib-tur Yeke Terge neretü qayan bülüge. Tere qayan-dur qariya-tu mingyan toyatan öčüken qad buyu, yurban köbegün buyu. Yeke köbegün amu Maqa-nada neretü buyu, dumdatu köbegün amu Maqa-diba neretü buyu, odqan köbegün amu Maqa-sadıva neretü buyu. Tere odqan köbegün amu öčüken-eče asaraqui nigülesküi sedkil-tü bolıyad, qamuy bügüde-yi yaıca köbegün-dür adali sedkimüi. Tere çay-tur, tere qayan amu noyad tüsimeed qatud selte-ber oi ayula-yi yayıqara üjen odıyad sayın büküi-dür, yurban köbegün ber oyın (= oi-yin) ditora yayıqara odıysan-dur, nigen bars julıyalaıju masi ölösün umdayasçu julıyayan-ıyan idere kürküi-yi üjeju, tedüi odqan köbegün*

amu qoyar aqa-nar-tur-ıyan ügüleriın, ‘Ai qoyar aqa mimu, ene ölägčın bars amu öl ügei bohıysan-ıyar jıljayan-ıyan idemüi’, kelen (pro kemen) ügüleksen-dür, qoyar aqa inu ügüleriın, ‘Ene bars masi öläsüksen-ıyer mayad jıljayan-ıyan idemüi ja’, kemen ügüleksen-dür, basa odqan köbegün amu qoyar aqa-dayan ügüleriın, ‘Ene bars-un idesi yaqun?’, kemen asaııysan-dur, qoyar aqa-nar amu ügüleriın, ‘Ali ba sine alaysan noyitan miqa čısun bügesü, bars-un idesi buyı ja’, kemen ügüleksen-dür, basa odqan köbegün ügüleriın, ‘Ken ber öber-ün miqa čısın-ıyar egümü amin-i aburan čıdamui?’, kemen asaııysan-dur, qoyar aqa amu ügüleriın, ‘Teyimü masi berke üil(e)-ıyer egünü amin-i abura<sa>n ken čıdamui?’

Translation

Once upon a time, countless past ages ago, in this Cambudvib (= India), there was a king called Yeke Terge (= Mahāratha). That king had a thousand small(er) princes as vassals and three sons. The eldest son was called Maqa-nada (= Mahānada), the middle son was called Maqa-dıba (= Mahādeva), and the youngest son was called Maqa-saduva (= Mahāsattva). Since childhood the youngest son had a compassionate and kind heart, and considered everything and everyone like (he would) an only son. At that time, the king, together with his noblemen, high officials and spouses went out to admire the forests and mountains (i.e. the scenery). As he was resting, the three sons went into the forest to look at it when they saw a tigress that, having (just) given birth and being extremely hungry and thirsty, was on the point of eating her cubs. Thereupon, the youngest son said to his two elder brothers, ‘O brothers of mine, because she is without food, this tigress will eat her cubs’, to which the two elder brothers said, ‘Because this tigress is extremely hungry, she surely will eat her cubs!’ So they said, and again the younger brother asked his two elder brothers, ‘What sort of food is this tigress’ (food)?’, to which the two elder brothers said, ‘Any fresh blood and newly killed meat available is the tigress’ food’. Again, the younger brother asked, ‘Can anyone save her life with his own flesh and blood?’ To this the two elder brothers said, ‘Who can save her life by means of such an exceedingly harsh act?’

Remarks on the text

Erte ... amu lit. ‘formerly, before countless (*toya tomsi* “number-number” = “amount”, *ügei* “without”) *kalpas* (*yalab* << skr. *kalpa* “eon”) had passed’

- Cambudvib* << skr. Jambudvīpa ‘the Jambu country’, i.e. India; cf. the Uighur version in Section I
- Yeke Tergen* lit. ‘the Great Chariot’ = skr. Mahāratha; cf. the Uighur version
- öcüken* small, minor, subordinate = *öcüken* < *öcügüken* id.
- qayan, qad* (pl. of *qan*) here *qayan* is translated as ‘king’ and *qan* as ‘prince’ to express the different degree of authority they wielded; we could have translated *qayan* as ‘emperor’ and *qan* as ‘king’ In the Uighur version *qayan* is replaced by *ilig xan* ‘sovereign’; there is no mention of vassal kings
- Maqa-nada, Maqa-diba, Maqa-saduva* are the Mongol transcriptions of skr. Mahānada (orig. Mahāprañada), Mahādeva and Mahāsattva
- öcüken-eče* since childhood, lit. ‘from/since (he was) small’
- asaraqıı nigülesküı sedkiltü bohıad* had a compassionate and kind heart, lit. ‘was with a compassionate and kind mind (= with compassion and kindness)’
- ıayıqara* in order to admire (or to look at with wonder or admiration); the Uighur version has instead ‘for pleasure’; now we would say ‘sightseeing’ in view of the preceding expression *oi aıula* ‘forest(s) and mountain(s)’ = ‘scenery’
- ıdere kürküı-yı üjeıü* saw that was on the point of eating, lit. ‘saw the reaching to (conv. finale) eating’, i.e. ‘saw that she had reached (the point) of eating’ – a typical Mongol construct
- qoyar aqa-nar-tur-ıyan* to his two elder brothers: *aqa* + pl. s. + dat.-loc. s. + poss. s.
- Aı qoyar aqa mııı* lit. ‘O two elder brothers of mine’
- üğülesen-dür* lit. ‘when he said’, rendered here simply as ‘to which’, the preceding *kemen* (lit. ‘saying’) being the equivalent of the closing quotation mark. Later, the same expression is rendered as ‘so they said’ to avoid repeating ‘to which’
- ıdemüı ja* she will surely eat: *ıdemüı* is the present-future (in *-müı/-müı*) of *ıde-*, to eat, followed by the emph. particle *ja*, which, as noted earlier, was pronounced *je* in mmo.
- basa üğülerün kemen asayıısan-dur* lit. ‘again said when he asked saying’
- alıba sine alayıısan noyıtan mııa čısun* lit. ‘any new(ly) killed fresh meat and blood’

berke difficult, harsh: this word was incorrectly carved in the blockprint (last line); the correct reading was added later by hand next to it

aburan čidamui can save: the potential verb *čida-*, can, usually requires the conv. mod. of the verb that it governs

In his grammar (pp. 143ff.) Schmidt gives also the *Altan gerel* version for comparison, but, as he himself says, this is only for more advanced students.

In contrast to the literary versions of the *sūtra*, the Mongolian *Pañcatantra* has reached us in both a literary recension and in a popular version full of colloquial forms. (The first story of the latter is reproduced on p. 29 of Poppe's *Grammar* from the edition published by B. Ya. Vladimircov in 1921.)

Two other Indo-Tibetan cycles of stories gained wide popularity among the Mongols, viz. the *Bewitched Corpse* tales (skr. *Vetā-lapañcaviṃśatika*; mo. *Siditü kegür-ün tuyūji* [~ *čadig, üliger*]) and the King Vikramāditya tales, in particular those concerning Bhoja Rāja (Araji Booji). Other popular legends of Indian origin were incorporated – as examples or illustrations – in the commentaries to philosophical or didactic works like the already mentioned *Treasury of Aphoristic Jewels* by Sa skya Paṇḍita.

All the works we have just cited have been translated and/or studied in considerable depth by Western, Mongolian and Japanese scholars. (See Bibl. 5.3.2.)

The tradition of translating works from Tibetan and Chinese began in the 13th c. and peaked in the 17th and 18th c. It continued to flourish in the 19th c., but the bulk of the works translated in this period consists of Chinese classics and Chinese popular fiction. It is not surprising, therefore, that until the beginning of this century it was widely believed that the Mongols had no literature of their own and that most of their writings were imitative or consisted of translations. Such rethinking about the Mongols and their culture is well illustrated in Heissig's book *A Lost Civilization. The Mongols Rediscovered* which is, in many respects, an eye-opener (see Bibl. 5.2; the original German edition is preferable to the English version).

Earlier on we briefly mentioned grammatical studies and the compilation of glossaries as aids in the work of translation. Usually these Buddhist terminological dictionaries are trilingual (Sanskrit, Tibetan and Mongolian), but some are richer and more polyglot,

giving also Chinese and Manchu equivalents. The polyglot tradition flourished under the Qing. During the two and a half centuries of Manchu rule, the three official languages were Manchu, Chinese and Mongolian; documents were drawn, and records kept, in these three languages. However, the Manchus were also heavily involved in Tibet and Central Asia, where they consolidated China's rule. For this reason, a mammoth polyglot dictionary project was undertaken in the 18th c. under the Qianlong emperor (r. 1736-95) resulting in the so-called 'Qing Pentaglot' (*Wuti Qingwenjian*). This unparalleled lexicographical work consists of 18,671 entries in Manchu, Tibetan, Mongolian, Uighur Turkic and Chinese, arranged into 37 major subject categories. The Tibetan and Uighur entries are followed by the pronunciation in Manchu. This huge work remained in manuscript form and was published for the first time in China in 1957. (See Bibl. 5.3.2.) This, and similar works of the Qing period, including Manchu-Mongolian, Mongolian-Chinese and Mongolian-Mongolian dictionaries, are indispensable tools for our knowledge of Written Mongolian, and have indeed been used by modern lexicographers.

The Mongols were very busy under the Qing, translating, compiling and codifying, in response to the encouragement and sponsorship of the Manchu authorities, as evidenced by the large dictionary projects, the vast encyclopedias, and the great codes that were written at the time. As well, the Mongols produced their compendia (of materia medica, among others) and their own code, the *Qalqa jirum*, or *Qalqa Code*, besides the great collections of Buddhist scriptures, the dictionaries, the chronicles and the epics.

Thus, paradoxically, Mongolia achieved her finest literature and art, absorbing and integrating, albeit selectively, Indo-Tibetan and Chinese influences at the time of her lowest political and social ebb – the 'classical' period coinciding exactly with the period of Manchu domination. This fact is not sufficiently recognized by modern Mongolian historiography which focuses exclusively on the purely negative, exploitative and oppressive character of the Manchu domination of Mongolia.

Certainly, the character of Mongolian society and of its components, the various Mongol ethnic groups, changed enormously since Buddhism and the clergy, in close alliance with the feudal aristocracy subservient to the Manchus, took over the country north and south of the Gobi. The old beliefs of the nomadic Mongols and the Turks were

swamped and had to be reconciled with Buddhist beliefs and practices in order to survive, so that a Buddho-Shamanist syncretism developed in which native animism combined with Buddhist formulas and prayers, very often retaining, however, its original character under a thin Buddhist veneer. In this way shamanism not only survived, but continued to flourish in the steppe among the herdsmen, hunters and simple folk (known collectively as *arad*, kh. *ard*). Scholars and researchers in the last hundred years have collected a vast oral shamanistic literature consisting of songs, prayers and hymns to propitiate and thank the ancestral spirits, the guardian spirits of the house and cattle (*ongyod*, kh. *ongod*), the gods of fire and water and earth, plus, of course, incantations, maledictions and the like. There is at present a revival of interest in Mongolian and Central Asian shamanism, notably in France, England, Germany and the Buriat Republic. Special attention is paid to Buriat shamanism in the north, and to the cult of Činggis Qan in the south owing to the discovery and publication of much new material. The following is the beginning of a typical shamanistic prayer in Buddhist disguise. It originates from the Ordos region of Inner Mongolia and was published by A. Mostaert in 1962 (Text XXIX). It is a prayer to the Fire Goddess and is in alliterative verse.

A PRAYER TO THE FIRE GODDESS (fol. 1b-2b)

Transcription

- [1b] (1) *Om ā hūm*
Qutuγtu burqan bayši-yin qubilγan-iyar geril
bolγan
- (2) *Qotala amitan-nu tula egüdiγsen.*
Qormusta tngri-yin öčiγsen
- (3) *Odqan γalayıqan eke-dür ariγun takil takimui.*
Qatan bolod (4) ečiγe-tü
Qayir čilaγun eke-tü.
Odqan (5) γalayıqan eke-dü ariγun takil-yi takimui.
Tngri qan töbšin büküi-eče
- (6) *Ötegen-nü qan üçüken büküi-eče egüdiγsen*
Odqan γalayıqan (7) eke-dür ariγun takil-yi takimui.
Burqan galdına-yin čakıγsan
- [2a] (1) *Boro körösütü Ötegen eke-yin öčiγsen*
Odqan γalayıqan eke-dür (2) ariγun takil takimui.

- Ayuragtai neretü kümün abun deledküi-dü*
Šara (3) qada-yin ayulan-du nočon odıysan
Odqan Ƴalayıqan eke-dür ariyun (4) takil takimui.
Degere yere yisün tngri-dür küriüme uniyar-tu.
Doora (5) dala doloyan dabqur Ötegen eke nebte
nelçiti
- Odqan Ƴalayıqan eke-dür (6) ariyun takil takimui.*
Arban jüg-eče kei keyisküi-eče
Aliman naran-nu (7) geril toytaqui-ača.
Altan delekei toytan bayiqui-ača
Amitan-nu jıyayın (2b,1) dörben ijaıur-tan
uhus bolqui-ača
Erdeni-yin alaman-ača egüdüysen
- (2) *Eke qas-ača jıyayaydaıysan*
Ečige Adam čakıgdaıysan
(Eke) Uuda uliyeydegsen
- (3) *Araıa šitam umda-tu*
Ariyun tosu ögekün ideši-tü
El torıyan (4) emüskeltü
Aıui yeke Odqan Ƴalayıqan eke-dür ariyun takil
takimui.

Translation

(fol. 1b1-2a6 only)

Om ā hūm. I offer a pure sacrifice to Mother Odqan Ƴalayıqan (= Fire Goddess) who, producing light by the supernatural power of the Holy Teacher Buddha, was born for (the benefit of) all living beings and was kindled by Qormusta.

I offer a pure sacrifice to Mother Odqan Ƴalayıqan who has the hard steel as father, the pebble (i.e. the flint) as mother, and the elmwood as lighter.

I offer a pure sacrifice to Mother Odqan Ƴalayıqan who was born when (Mount) Tengri Qan was still flat and when (Mount) Ötegen Qan was still small.

I offer a pure sacrifice to Mother Odqan Ƴalayıqan who was produced by the Burqan Galduna by striking a flint and whom the brown, crusty Mother Earth has kindled.

I offer a pure sacrifice to Mother Odqan Galayiqan who, when for the first time the man called Ayuraytai struck (a flint), began to burn on Yellow Rock Mountain.

I offer a pure sacrifice to Mother Odqan Galayiqan whose vapours rise up to the ninety-nine gods (*tengri*) above, and whose warmth penetrates the seventy-seven superimposed Earth Mothers (*Ötegen Eke*) below.

Remarks on the text

- Om ā hūm* < skr. *Om āḥ hūm* – a magic formula (*dhāraṇī*; mo. *tarni*) at the beginning of prayers
- Odqan Galayiqan Eke* Mother Odqan Galayiqan: the Fire Goddess is personified by the regular epithet *eke* ‘mother’ given also to other objects of cults, such as the Earth, the Sun and certain rivers; *odqan* ← tu. *ot* fire + *qan* sovereign; *yalayiqan* ← *yal* fire (gen. *yalai* < ord. *galū*) + *qan*: therefore, both names are designations of the Fire deity
- Qutuγtu Burqan Bayši* the Holy Teacher Buddha, i.e. Buddha Śākyamuni
qubilyan incarnation, but here meaning ‘supernatural power’
egüdüysen was born, written with a -γ- instead of a -g-. This incorrect orthography (γ for g and g for γ) is quite common in Mongol mss.
- Qormusta* = Ormuzd/Ahuramazda, corresponding to the Hindu god of fire Indra; see above the excerpt from the *Geser Qan*
- öčigsen* a scribal error for *nočōysan* (< *nočoyaysan*), nom. perf. of *nočoya-* to kindle, to light a fire (caus. of *nočo-* to burn, to catch fire)
- qatan bolod* hard steel: *qatan* = *qatayū* hard, strong; *bolod* < pe. *pūlād* steel; *pūlād* > mo. *bolad* > *bolod* (through progr. assim.) The ‘hard steel’ that strikes the ‘pebble’ (*qayir čilayun*), i.e. the flint, is regarded as the ‘father’, and the flint the ‘mother’ of fire; *qayir čilayun* ‘pebble-stone’ = ‘pebble’, here designating specifically the flint or silica (found in pebbly lumps) and used with the steel to kindle the elmwood (*qayilasun modun*) to obtain fire, the elmwood being ‘the lighter’ (*nočōlyā*, written *nočōly-a*), i.e. the tinder. *Nočōlyā* is the dialect contracted form of *nočoyalyā*, a dev. n. in *-lyal-lge* of *nočoya-* to light a fire (see above): *nočōlyā-tu* is, literally, ‘having a lighter’
- Tngri Qan* (Mount) Tngri Qan, i.e. Tengri Khan, the second highest peak of the Tianshan Mts., for a long time regarded as the highest

peak of the range. *Qan* ‘sovereign’ is the regular epithet of venerable mountains. Cf. Muna *Qan*, Kentei *Qan*, etc.

Ötegen-nü *Qan* the gen. s. -*nü* (geminated after an -*n* stem) is incorrect and should be disregarded. In *Ötegen Qan*, the name of *Ötegen* is actually due to a contamination with the name of the ‘Earth’ in Mongolian (see below); the original and appropriate name is *Ötüken*, the sacred mountain of the ancient Turks (T’u-chüeh) corresponding to the Khangai Range, followed also by ‘*Qan*’ A. Mostaert, like the modern Mongols, takes *Tngri Qan* and *Ötegen Qan* as meaning ‘Heaven’ and ‘Earth’ respectively, but we are of the opinion that this ancient saying, used metaphorically to indicate a long time past (or the beginning of time), originally referred to the two famous mountains: indeed, the adjective *töbšin* ‘flat’ could hardly apply to ‘heaven’, i.e. to the sky, but makes perfect sense in the case of a mountain

Burqaṅ Galduna = *Burqaṅ Qaldun*, the famous mountain in the Khentei Range in northern Mongolia (corresponding to the present-day Khentii Khan), closely connected with the origins of the Mongols and the life of Činggis *Qan*. The faulty reading *Galduna* occurs often in Ordos mss.

boro körösütü Ötegen Eke brown, crusty Mother Earth: ‘brown’ and ‘crusty’ (lit. ‘with epidermis’) are traditional epithets of the Earth; here *boro*, lit. ‘grey, dark; brown’ is used in place of the ancient term *dayir* ‘brown, dusky’

Ayurçytai the identity of this personage, obviously connected with the fire cult (for his name appears in other similar prayers), is unknown; the Yellow Rock Mountain (*Šara Qada-yin Aṅulan*), also not identified, is obviously part of the same legend on the origin of fire

abun deledküi-dü lit. ‘when (-*dü/-du* temp. dat.-loc. s.) beginning (*abun*, conv. mod. of *ab-* ‘to take; to begin’) to strike (*deledküi* – i.e. the flint)’

yere yisün tngri the ninety-nine gods or heavenly beings (*tngri*) in the pantheon of the Mongolian folk religion whose chief is the Eternal Blue Heaven (*Köke Möngke Tngri*); they are frequently invoked in fire-cult hymns and prayers together with their earthly counterpart, the seventy-seven ‘layered’ Mother Earth (see below)

doloyan dabqur Ötegen Eke the seventy-seven superimposed Earth Mothers – actually the Earth Mother consisting of seventy-seven separate layers or levels, each being an Earth Mother itself – as conceived by Mongol shamanists. Thus, above there is Heaven with the ninety-nine gods, and below, Earth with its seventy-seven ‘mothers’ one above the other.

The above short specimen of a popular cult prayer is a good illustration of the fusion of Buddhist and folk (shamanistic) elements happily coexisting in the popular religion of the Mongols until modern times. (For a selection of other prayers and rituals see Bawden’s *Anthology*, pp. 301-325.) The language of the prayers, offerings and various rituals (*öčig, takilya/tayilya, daralya/dalalya, irügel*, etc.) that have been recorded in great numbers is strongly influenced by the dialects, as one would expect. It is in the so-called ‘classical’ period (17th-19th c.) that the ‘dialects’, i.e. the diverse spoken Mongolian languages, took the shape they have today. Before we take a closer look at the common characteristics of these languages, we should conclude our brief survey of various script- and period-texts with a short sample of Mongolian in Oirat ‘Clear Script’ (*todo bičig*) devised by Zaya Pandita. See above, p. 145 and Fig. 16. Written Oirat is based on Western Spoken Mongolian of the 17th c., hence its significant differences from Written Mongolian; however, these differences – mainly in the area of phonology – are no greater than those existing between the literary vernacular of the *Geser Qan*, which is based on a southern Mongolian dialect, and Written Mongolian. Because of the close association of the Oirats, (the largest and most representative group of whom are the Kalmyks) with Russia from the 17th c. onwards, Oirat (*Öröd*) and its dialects, Kalmyk in particular, have been thoroughly investigated, and there are excellent grammars and dictionaries of both the spoken and the written language. (See Bibl. 5.3.3.)

The sample text we have chosen consists of a few lines from the beginning of the first of the Kalmyk-Oirat tales from the *Bewitched Corpse* (mo. *Siditü kegür*, oir. *Siddhi kūr*) cycle that we mentioned earlier on (p. 227). Those tales, translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan and from Tibetan into Classical Mongolian, were in turn rendered into Written Oirat. The text in question (Text XXX) – is reproduced from B. Jülg’s edition (1866) via J. R. Krueger’s reprint of 1978. The English translation is also from the latter work. Only lines 5-9 are transcribed and translated below. For comparison we have placed next to it the Written Mongolian version published in

Peking *ca.* 1925 and reprinted in 1965 by The Mongolia Society (see Bibl. 5.3.2 and 5.3.2.1 for all the above works).

THE FIRST TALE FROM THE OIRAT *SIDDHI KÜR* (p. 3, ll. 5-9)

Transcription

(5) *Enedkegiyin dundadu oron-du axa döü doton yelbiči ajiyu: töün-lüya* (6) *xolo nigen bereyin yazara: xāni köböün axa döü xoyoula bölüge: axa imu yelbičim-ēce yelbi surxā odči: zālyabači dolōn* (7) *on boltolo: yelbičin yelbiyin onisuni ünēn-yēr ese surjabai: kezē: nigen caq-tu döü imu axadān dünesü kürgeji oduqsan*(8)-*du: xāhryanin zabsar-yēr šayāji üzēd saca: yelbiyin onisuni surād: axadān künesün-yēn ühü ögön: üye xoyor ordu xaršidān* (9) *xaribai:*

Translation

In a central land of India there were seven magicians, elder and younger brothers. In a place a league distant from them were two princes, elder and younger brother. The elder went to learn magic from the magicians. Although instructing him for seven years, the magicians did not in truth teach him the secret of magic. Once, his younger brother came bringing provisions to the elder brother, and no sooner had he peered through a chink in the gate than he learned the secret of magic. He did not give his provisions to his elder brother, but the two of them returned to their palace.

Remarks on the text

I. Orthography. Note the following:

- 1) The velar consonants x (= χ), $-q$, γ , k , and g , and all the other voiced and unvoiced consonants are clearly distinguished by diacritics, additional marks and new letters derived from old variants to avoid ambiguity, this being the principle underlying the script.
- 2) The vowels are likewise distinguished, hence no more confusion between a and e , o and $ö$, u and $ü$. A special mark (called the *udān* 'long') is introduced to denote the length of a , e , o and $ö$; while long i , u and $ü$ are rendered by double letters.
- 3) Initial $yōd$ = y ; angular $šādhē$ = $š$ (if followed by i) or z (if followed by other vowels); smooth $šādhē$ = $š$ (if followed by i) or c (if followed by other vowels).

Glossary and Explanations

- Enedkegiyin* = *Enedkeg-i-yin* of India, *-i-yin* being the compound gen. s. after a consonant, as in the language of the *Geser Qan*. *Enedkeg* (< tu. < sogd.) India. In old Written Oirat the suffixes are often attached to the word they modify
- dumdadu* middle, central (mo. *dumdadu*): *-md-* > *-nd-*
- axa döü* elder and younger brother(s) (mo. *aqa degü*): mo. *-q* > oir. *-x-*, i.e. the velar becomes a spirant; mo. *e* of the first syllable > oir. *ö* before a syllable with *ü*
- dolōn* seven (mo. *doloyan*): *-oya-* > *-ō-*
- yelbiči* magician, sorcerer (mo. *ilbiči* ← *ilbi*, *yilbi*, *yilvi*, *yelbi* magic + *-či* s. designating names of vocation), pl.: *yelbičin*
- aǰıru* (there) were (mo. *aǰıru*): *-ǰıru* (= mo. *-ǰıru/-ǰüğü* III past s.) is a semi-literary form, *i* for *u* in the first syllable occurring also in the alternate form *aǰırai* id.
- töün-hıya* with (= from) them (mo. *tegün-lüge*): for *tegün* > *töün*, cf. *degü* > *döü*; as is often the case in the non-classical language, the suffixes do not conform to the rule of vowel harmony, hence *-hıya* for *-lüge* com. s.
- xolo* distant (mo. *qola*), here *xolo* through progressive assimilation, as in other Mongol languages such as Ordos
- bereyin* = *bere-yin* of a *bere* ('league')
- ıazara* = *ıazar-a* in a place (mo. *ıaǰar-a*): mo. *ǰ* = oir. *z* (*dz*) before a vowel other than *i*
- xāni köböün* lit. 'sons of the *xān* (= king)', i.e. princes; *xāni* = *xān-i*, *-i* being a gen. s. (= mo. *-u*) used after stems in *-n*, as in the *Geser Qan*, *xān* = mo. *qayan* (> *qa'an* > *qān* > *xān* [= *χān*]); *köböün* = mo. *köbegün*, with *-be-* > *-bö-* before *-ün* (see above)
- xoyoula* two together (mo. *qoyayula*), with *qoya* (< *qoyar* two) > *xoyo* through progressive assimilation; the intervocalic *-γ-* disappears leaving a hiatus which is ignored in writing as in *döü*, *töün*, etc. Cf. kh. *xoyoul* id.
- bölüge* (there) were (mo. *bülüge*): *bö-* ~ *bü-*, cf. mmo. *bö'et* ~ *bü'et*, mo. *büged*, conv. per. of the same verb 'to be'; *-hıyal-lüge* is the II past t. s.
- yelbičin-ēce* from the magicians: the initial *e* of the abl. s. *-ece* is long in Oirat as in other Mongol languages and dialects

- surxā odči* went to (= in order to) learn (mo. *surura odču*): mo. *surura* conv. fin. in *-ra/-re* (= supinum: ‘in order to’) of *sur-* to learn = oir. *surxā* because, for the conv. fin., Oirat (like other Mongolian languages except mo.) employs instead the dative in *-a* of the nom. fut. s. *-xu* (= mo. *-qu*) of the verb, thus *-xu + -a* → *-xā*: *surxā*, *odči* (mo. *odču*), conv. imp. of *od-* to go: mo. *-ču* = oir. *-či* (and mo. *-ju* = oir. *-ji*), as is often the case in the non-classical language
- zālyabači* although instructing: *zālyā-* (mo. *ḡalyā-*, *ḡyalyā-*) caus. in *-lyā-* (*-lge-*) of *zā-* (mo. *ḡalyā-*, *ḡyā-*) to teach, instruct + *-bači* (= mo. *-baču*) conv. conc. s. (= ‘although’)
- dolōn on boltolo* lit. ‘until the passing of seven years (*on*)’, i.e. for fully seven years. The sentence could also be rendered ‘Although they instructed him, until (= on) the completion of seven years’
- yelbiyin onisuni* the secret (= quintessence, acc.) of magic (mo. *ilbi[yilbi, yilvi]-yin onisun-i*)
- ünen-yēr* in truth (mo. *ünen-iyer*): mo. instr. s. *-iyer* = oir. *-yēr* – the *-i* in *-iyer* being a conn. vo. or ligature which disappears in Oirat
- kezē nigen caq-tu* once, lit. ‘once upon a time’ (mo. *keḡiye nigen čaq-tur*): mo. *keḡiye* = oir. *kezē*, cf. kh. *xézèè*, ord. *k’edzè*; the group *iyē* > *ē* is a regular development
- axadān* = *axa-dān* to the (lit. ‘his’) elder brother (mo. *aqa-dayan*): poss. dat.-loc. s.: mo. *-dayan* = oir. *-dān*, the group *aya* > *ā* being also a regular development
- künesü kürgeḡi* bringing provisions (mo. *künesü kürgeḡü*): mo. conv. imp. s. *-ḡü* = oir. *-ḡi*, as *-čü* id. = *-či* (see above)
- oduqsan-du* lit. ‘when (he) went’ (mo. *oduqsan-dur*)
- xāluḡanīn* = *xālyanīn* of (i.e. in) the gate (mo. *qayalyan-u*): mo. *qayalyā(n)* gate = oir. *xāluḡa(n)*, *xālyā(n)*, and mo. gen. s. *-u* = oir. *-īn* (= *-yin*)
- zabsar-yēr* through a chink (*or* gap) (mo. *ḡabsar-iyar*): for mo. instr. s. *-iyar* = oir. *-yēr*, and suffixes not following the rule of vowel harmony, see above
- sayāḡi üzēd* he had peered, lit. ‘he had seen peering’ (mo. *siqayāḡu üḡged*): mo. *siqayā-* to peer, peep through = oir. *šayā-* through regressive assimilation and the group *aya* > *ā* (see above); mo. *üḡged* = oir. *üzēd*, with the group *ege* > *ē* (cf. *aya* > *ā* above)

- saca* as soon as, no sooner than (mo. *sača*)
- yelbiyin onisuni surād* he learned the secret of magic (mo. *ilbi[yilbi, yilvi]-yin onisun-i suruṣad*): *suruṣad*, conv. perf. of *sur-* to learn = oir. *surād*, with the group *uṣa* > *ā*
- künesün-yēn ülü ögön* he did not give (lit. 'without giving') his provisions (mo. *künesün-iyen ülü öggün*): mo. poss. acc. s. *-iyen* = oir. *-yēn* (cf. mo. *-iyer* = oir. *-yēr* above); mo. *öggün* conv. mod. of *ög-* with gemination of the final *g* of the verbal stem + *-u* conn. vo. = oir. *ögön* through disappearance of geminated *g* and progressive assimilation
- üye xoyor* both, the two of them (mo. *üye qoyar*): mo. *qoyar* = oir. *xoyor* through progressive assimilation
- ordu xaršidān xaribai* returned to their palace (mo. *ordu qarsi-dayan qaribai*): mo. *ordu* (or *ordo*) *qarsi* is a binom meaning 'palace, royal residence'; for oir. *-dān* = mo. *-dayan*, see above, *axadān*; *xaribai* (mo. *qaribai*) is the I past t. of *xari-* (mo. *qari-*) to return.

THE FIRST TALE FROM THE *SIDITÜ KEGÜR* (fol. 1a)

(N.B. The punctuation is that of the Peking edition)

Transcription

Erte urida nigen čay-tur. Enedkeg-ün dumdadu oron-du. aqa degüü doloṣan yilvičün aṣuṣu. tegün-lüge qola busu. nigen bere-in ṣafar. qayan-u köbegün aqa degüü qoyayula bülüge. aqa imu yilvičün-eče yilvi surura odču ṣiyalyabasu ber. doloṣan on boltala. yilvičün ber yilvi-in onisun-i ünen-iyer ese suryayūqui. keṣiye nigen čay-tur. degüü imu aqa-dayan künisü (corr. künesü) küргеṣü ochyusan-dur-iyen. qayalyan-u ṣabsar-iyar siqayū üṣged. sača yilvi-in onisun-i suruṣad. aqa-dayan künesün-iyen ülü öggün. üye qoyar ordo qarsi dokiyen qaribai.

The Written Mongolian version is not absolutely identical with the Oirat version and has its own peculiar features. There are small textual differences like the *busu* 'not' after *qola* 'far, distant' (= 'not far'), and at the end the verb *dokiyen* 'acting together, in unison' (← *dokiya-*, *tokiya-* 'to coincide'); also the form *yilvi* for *yilbi*, both equally common alongside *ilbi*. Note too the genitives in *-in* instead of *-yin* after a vowel, under the influence of the spoken language (also found in the *Geser Qan*, and even in Preclassical Mongolian); and the verb *siqa-* (= *siqā-*) 'to peer' < *siqaya-* id. (the form *siya-* for *siqaya-* of the dictionaries is incorrect).

It is quite clear from the above that the major differences between Written Oirat and Written Mongolian are due to the contraction, lengthening and assimilation of vowels, and to certain orthographic peculiarities. In the domain of morphology Oirat employs an entirely different suffix for the converbum finale (-xā). One must always bear in mind that although a non-classical language, Written Oirat is still a *literary* vernacular (by reason of being written) and, therefore, rather different also from the spoken Oirat dialects, both old and modern. In this connection we should mention that the orthography of modern Written Oirat is somewhat at variance with that of old Written Oirat, and that the alphabetical order of this script differs from *uyiurjin*. Whereas the vertical Clear Script is used by the Oirat-speaking minorities in China, the Kalmyks in the former Soviet Union have used a number of Latin and Cyrillic alphabets since the 1920s. This is also the case of the Buriats who, after having devised their own script on the basis of *uyiurjin* and the Oirat alphabet at the beginning of the 20th c., eventually turned to the Latin and (1939) Cyrillic scripts. For these scripts and samples of short texts, see G. Kara's excellent descriptions in *WWS*, pp. 548-58.

Mongolian has thus been enriched by a variety of scripts, most of them deriving from the Aramaic via Uighur, one inspired by Tibetan ('Phags-pa), and the others from the West. As stated earlier, 'Phags-pa is still used, but almost entirely for decorative purposes (such as book covers), occasionally for seals and medals. Furthermore, because of the multicultural characters of the Mongol empire, Mongolian has been recorded in scripts as diverse as Chinese, Tibetan, Korean, Arabic/Persian, Armenian, Latin, Greek and Cyrillic – a tremendous challenge for the philologist.

* * *

At the beginning of this excursus we described the distribution of the contemporary Mongolian languages and outlined the evolution of Spoken Mongolian from the earliest recorded time to Modern Mongolian through Middle Mongolian. We referred to the sources available for our investigation of this complex problem, viz. the 'Phags-pa inscriptions, the rather imperfect Chinese transcriptions in texts of the Yuan and Ming periods, and the more (but not much more) accurate Arabic and Persian transcriptions of Mongolian.

Middle Mongolian lasted right into the classical period, when changes occurred gradually which came to characterize Modern Mongolian. We have described the main differences between Middle Mongolian and Modern Mongolian, such as the disappearance of initial *h*, the contraction of vowels, etc. Unfortunately, we cannot review all the changes that occurred in every Mongolian language. The most exhaustive general description of these changes in a Western language is found in Poppe's *Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies (IMCS)*, and, more succinctly, in his *Introduction to Altaic Linguistics (IAL)*. For detailed descriptions of changes and developments occurring in individual languages one has to turn to works like *M*, *MY* and *ML*, and of course to books and monographs devoted to the individual Mongolian languages. Since we are concerned here with philology, it behoves us to touch on how one can trace the emergence of Modern Mongolian from Middle Mongolian, since the Uighur-Mongol script alone provides no reliable guide to the changes that occurred in the spoken languages. This script is useful, nevertheless, insofar as 1) in the modified form which it acquired among the Oirats or Western Mongols (*todo bičig* or Clear Script), it gives us a much more accurate rendering of the sounds of that language; 2) in works like the *Geser Qan* it reflects many of the changes, both phonetic and morphological, that had taken place by the 17th-18th c. in Southern Mongol; 3) in certain Korean handbooks of Mongolian of the same period, such as the one known as *Nogöltai* (= ch. *Lao Qida*), it reflects similar changes in eastern Inner Mongolia (Kim, 1974; see Bibl. 5.3.2.1); and 4) in manuscripts from different parts of Mongolia it often gives the spoken forms of certain words.

However, this is not enough for a serious investigation as it is all too fragmentary, and both the date and origin of many sources remain unknown. Luckily we have other tools to assist us.

One of these is a special, large-scale Manchu-Mongolian-Chinese dictionary, also of the Qianlong period, in which the Manchu and Mongol words are very accurately transcribed into Chinese, so that we can reconstruct their pronunciation as it was about 1750 (the dictionary contains prefaces from 1772 and 1780). There are many other works of the Qing period in which Mongol words are transcribed into Chinese and vice versa, but none as accurately as this particular dictionary. We are also very fortunate in having a romanized transcription of all the Mongol words in the dictionary, arranged

in alphabetical order and followed by the original *uyiγurjin* form and the Manchu and Chinese correspondences, compiled by H. Kuribayashi and Hurelbator (2006; Bibl. 5.3.2). This is a most precious tool indeed.

In the 18th and 19th c., many travellers, chiefly from Russia and on behalf of the Russian imperial government, visited Mongolia and wrote accounts of the Mongols and their language. As early as 1730, the Swede P. J. von Strahlenberg (1676/77-1747), who had been captured at Poltava in 1709, published his Kalmyk dictionary containing 1431 Mongolian words (see Bibl. 5.3.3). Mongol studies were given great impetus in Russia at the beginning of the 19th c., and the serious, scientific investigation of Mongolian began soon after. By the end of the 19th c. and the beginning of the 20th c. a large amount of information had been collected by Russian investigators not only on Written Mongolian, but also on the spoken languages. Interest in the latter and in oral literature increased in the following decades with Russian, Finnish, Swedish, Mongolian and Belgian scholars gathering, editing and publishing much precious material from which to produce grammars and monographs. (We shall talk about them further on, when outlining the history of Mongolian studies.) The fullest development of this research occurred, however, after WW II, with the collaboration of many scholars all over the world.

We can now briefly summarize the common characteristics of the Mongolian languages, as we have done for the Turkic languages with which the Mongolian languages share a number of features.

I. Phonology

- 1) As in Turkic, the principal characteristic is vowel harmony, with back vowels opposed to front vowels (palatal harmony); in contrast to Turkic, however, labial harmony plays a lesser role in Mongolian. E.g. tu. *qut* ‘fortune’ + poss. s. *-liy* = *qutluy* (not *qutliy*); mo. *muquliy* ‘rounded’ (not *muquluy*), but mo. *bolbasu*, cond. of *bol-* (= ‘if’) = kh. *bolbol*; mo. *modun-tai* ‘wooded’ (lit. ‘having/with wood’) = kh. *modtoi* < *modotoi* < *modotai* < *modon-tai*.
- 2) Mongolian vocalism is not as ‘symmetrical’ and equally balanced as Turkic vocalism. This is because of a) the convergence of *ī* and *i* into *i* in Ancient Mongolian (a residual *ī* is still found in Preclassical Mongolian in the combination *qi* and *γi*, i.e. *qī* and *γī*, which later passed to *ki* and *gi* in Classical Mongolian) so that

Mongolian has only a front *i* vis-à-vis Turkic *ï* and *i*; and b) the so-called ‘breaking’ (a relatively recent phenomenon occurring only in the spoken languages), i.e. the assimilation in numerous words of *i* to the vowel of the following syllable. E.g. mo. *miqa(n)* ‘meat’ = kh. *max(an)*. However, since the ‘breaking’ of *i* is not a general phenomenon, even within a single language, it has created an uneven phonetic picture, quite distinct from that of the Turkic languages in general. This phenomenon is compounded by a) the frequent occurrence of assimilation and dissimilation, and b) the weakening of the non-initial, unstressed vowels, so that the vowel in question is reduced to the point of disappearance, as in Khalkha (where, e.g., the final vowel of *maxa* has all but disappeared). One has only to listen to a Mongol speaker from Ulan Bator and a Turkish speaker from Ankara or Istanbul to realize immediately that these phonetic developments have affected a language which at the origin must have sounded quite close to Turkic.

- 3) The impact of vowel harmony on the two series of velar consonants *k, g* and *q, γ* which, as in Turkic, is regularly observed in the written language, has naturally been affected by a) the contraction of the V-*g*-V and V-*γ*-V groups whereby the velar consonants disappear, and b) the convergence in virtually all Mongolian languages of *γ* into *g*. Thus mo. *ulayan* ‘red’ = kh. *ulān* (no trace left of the original intervocalic *γ*); *arilγayul-* ‘to cause to purify’ = kh. *arilgūl-* (with a *g* in a back-vocalic word, and *ū* < *ayū*). To be noted, en passant, also the development *q* > *χ* in most Mongol languages.
- 4) The contraction of certain V-C-V groups, such as those just mentioned, and the lengthening of the vowel resulting from the contraction, has greatly increased the number of words with long vowels. Hence the great contrast we observe in Mongolian between long and short vowels. The distinction between these two is essential because many words differ from each other only in their shortness or length. E.g. ord. *ūla* ‘mountain’, *ula* ‘sole’, and *ulā* ‘a relay horse’
- 5) The tendency, as in Turkic, to avoid certain initial consonants, especially *h, l, p, r* and *v* (cf. Turkic *d, γ, l, r,* and *v*).
- 6) Instability, as in Turkic, of final *n*, as well as of *i* in final diphthongs formed with a non-syllabic *i*, especially *aï* and *uï*. E.g. *malayai* ~ *malaya* ‘cap’, *mayui* ~ *mayu* ‘bad’.

- 7) No initial consonant clusters, just as in Turkic.
- 8) Metathesis, i.e. the transposition of sounds within a word is very common in the Mongolian languages, much more so than in Written Mongolian (cf. mmo. *maqalai* = mo. *malayai*, kh. *malgāi*). This is because metathesis is a regular phenomenon in noun inflection and in verb conjugation. E.g. kh. *gurvan* ‘three’, *guravny* ‘of three’ (gen. of *gurvan* > *gurav*).

II. Morphology

- 1) No grammatical gender, but feminine forms of colours, animals and groups of people are designated by special suffixes (-*γčīn*, -*jin*). In Middle Mongolian there are still traces of grammatical gender, cf. *ögbi* ‘gave’ (fem.), *ögbei* id. (masc.); *geretei* ‘with light, having light’ (fem.), *geretü* id. (masc.). This subject has not yet been properly investigated.
- 2) No article, but special use of the demonstrative pronoun ‘this’ (*ene*) or ‘that’ (*tere*) in lieu of the article.
- 3) No dual number, only singular and plural.
- 4) No rigid rule concerning the plural. In most languages there are several plural suffixes, and certain plural suffixes alter the meaning of the word and transform this word into another word with the function of a singular, even though it is formally a plural. E.g. *eke-ner*, lit. ‘mothers’ = ‘woman’; *keüked*, lit. ‘children’ = ‘child’
- 5) A system of verbal and nominal roots which cannot be altered, as in Turkic, but only modified by suffixes. The root of a verb is the imperative form; the root of a noun is the absolute or nominative case. However, in some languages the nominative form is different from the stem (e.g., kh. *mod* vs. stem *modon*), and the genitive form has converged with the accusative.
- 6) The capital role of suffixes, of which (as in Turkic) there are two types: derivational suffixes and inflectional suffixes.
- 7) No clear distinction between nouns (substantives), adjectives and adverbs. E.g. *sayin* ‘good, well’ However, local, temporal and modal adverbs can be formed from nouns by means of special suffixes.
- 8) The role of the nominal forms of the verb in creating nouns, adjectives and adverbs as in the Turkic languages.

- 9) Virtually no use of conjunctions, which are either ignored, or replaced by cardinal numbers in enumerations, or expressed through verbal nouns or converbs (see below).
- 10) The prominent role of postpositions to express temporal, local and causal situations; negations, doubt, limitation, and the like.

III. Syntax

- 1) The word order (S-O-V and all qualifiers before the qualified) is the same as in Turkic and, therefore, what was said on this point with regard to Turkic goes also for Mongolian.
- 2) The same applies to the role and functions of verbal nouns and gerunds or, as they are called by grammarians of Mongolian, converbs (lat. *converba*). In this connection, one should mention also the prominent role of auxiliary verbs. Whereas verbal forms in the Turkic languages are generally expressed by means of suffixes and the auxiliary verb *är-* 'to be' (in composite verbal forms), Mongolian makes a much wider use of auxiliary verbs. These fall into several categories such as auxiliaries of being or becoming (*a-*, *bü-*, *bol-*, *bui*), and auxiliaries of action, movement, etc., which are, in fact, ordinary verbs of action, movement, etc. (*od-* 'to go', *ire-* 'to come', *ab-* 'to take', *ög-* 'to give', etc.).
- 3) As in Turkic, the general tendency in Mongolian is to use gerunds or converbs in place of conjunctions. E.g. 'he ate and drank, and then went home' becomes 'he having eaten (and) drunk home-to went' Relative clauses are likewise expressed by means of verbal forms. E.g. 'he said that he would go' is, literally, "I shall go" saying (*kemen*) he said'
- 4) Mongolian too tends to emphasize possession by means of possessive suffixes which are added to the case endings, so that we have a possessive, or reflexive-possessive, declension besides the regular one. And, in the case of expressing possession ('I have, you have, he has a dog'), Mongolian, like Turkic, uses the dative of the owner followed by the object – which then becomes the grammatical subject – and the verb 'to be' ('To me, to you, to him a dog is').

IV. Vocabulary

- 1) The Mongol stock of words is, like that of Turkic and other languages, directly related to its history and culture, and is linked with those of the countries and peoples with which the Mongols had close relations. The early Mongol vocabulary was greatly

enriched by Uighur Turkic, especially in the 13th and 14th c. Furthermore, Uighur served as an intermediary for numerous Sanskrit, Iranian Sogdian, Greek and Arabic-Persian words. Subsequently, Tibetan, Chinese and Manchu contributed greatly to the Mongol lexical stock, which in modern times was further enriched with borrowings from Russian, Russian itself being a bridge to other European languages.

- 2) In the last decades, many words of foreign origin current during the pre-revolutionary period were discarded in favour of Soviet Russian terminology and jargon, and special neologisms. This is, in turn, being abandoned in line with political developments, but the Mongols continue to create new words and expressions to meet current needs. (Some important aspects of the development of a modern Mongolian terminology are discussed by C. R. Bawden in an important article which appeared in *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher* in 1988. See Bibl. 5.3.3.) Like the Turkic languages, Mongolian too makes much use of hendiadys and compound expressions to express a single idea or object.
- 3) Taking the written and spoken languages together, Mongolian is a very rich language. The Sanskrit-Tibetan-Uighur terminology of Buddhism has played a capital role in Mongolian similar to that of Arabic and Persian in the Turkic languages with the introduction of Islam. As a result, the gap between the tradition-enriched written language and the contemporary Mongolian spoken languages is immense.

Summing up, we wish to emphasize the following points:

1. In phonology: vowel harmony; the contraction and lengthening of vowels; the contrast of long vs. short vowels; the weakening (and disappearance) of the unstressed vowels of non-initial syllables; 'breaking', assimilation and dissimilation of vowels and consonants; and metathesis.
2. In morphology: the existence of only two categories of words: nouns and verbs; the capital role of suffixes in word formation; the role of postpositions; and the reflexive-possessive declension.
3. In syntax: adherence to the Altaic word-order; nominal and verbal constructions as the two basic types of constructions; and the role of the nominal forms of verbs (verbal nouns) and gerunds (converbs) to express grammatical relationships, create adjectives and adverbs, replace conjunctions, etc.

What has been said above applies to the *majority*, not to the totality of Mongolian languages, for a few isolated languages (Moghol, Monguor, Dagur and others) do not, in many respects, conform to the general characteristics. Even within the major groups there are plenty of departures from the norm, especially in those dialects which are spoken in border regions. This, however, is beyond our present scope. Of major concern here are the notable differences between the three major groups, i.e. Turkic, Mongolian and Manchu: these will be outlined in the next chapter.

* * *

We shall now briefly survey the history of Mongolian studies and deal to some extent with the essential literature on the subject. We shall consider only those scholars who have contributed chiefly to Mongolian philology, and leave aside, for the time being, specialists in the history, economics and politics of Mongolia ancient and modern. (For basic references see Bibl. 5.5.)

The Russians were the first to take a serious interest in the Mongolian language and culture because of their historical background, their proximity to the Mongols, and Mongols actually living in their midst. The scientific study of Mongolian began in earnest in the first half of the 19th c. with the publication of the first grammars and dictionaries, and the translation of texts by I. J. Schmidt (1779-1847), J. E. Kowalewski (1800-78), A. Popov (1808-80), A. Bobrovnikov (?1822-65), Dorži Banzarov (1822-55) and others. These pioneers, who were actually not all native Russians (Schmidt was Dutch, Kowalewski was Polish and Banzarov was a Buriat Mongol), trained the following generations of Russian Mongolists, scholars like K. F. Golstunskiĭ (1831-99) and A. M. Pozdneev (1851-1920), also authors of important dictionaries and translators of Mongolian texts. The two main centres of Mongolian studies were at the universities of Kazan and St. Petersburg; a new centre was later established in Vladivostok. Pozdneev published, inter alia, the best chrestomathy of Mongolian literature, containing a large selection of texts, and a Kalmyk (Oirat) chrestomathy, also excellent. His Written Oirat-Russian dictionary is still one of the best. Two other important chrestomaties, with useful annotations, were compiled by Kowalewski and Popov respectively. Incidentally, the latter scholar is regarded as the first truly Russian Mongolist.

Partly contemporary with these scholars, and partly succeeding them as professors were a constellation of Finnish, Polish and Russian Mongolists who determined the course of Mongolian studies through the following decades. These were A. M. Castrén (1813-52) and G. J. Ramstedt (1873-1950), both Finnish, W. Kotwicz (1872-1944), a Pole, A. D. Rudnev (1878-1958), B. Ya. Vladimircov (1884-1931), and N. N. Poppe (1897-1991) – all Russians – and another Buriat Mongol, C. Ž. Žamcarano (1880-1937). We have already encountered some of these great names. Ramstedt was the founder not only of comparative Altaic studies, but also of modern Mongolian linguistics, in which areas he was followed by Vladimircov and Poppe. Poppe, Ramstedt's true successor, is undoubtedly the world's most productive Mongolist: the list of his publications alone is 50 pages long. Poppe migrated to the U.S. in 1949 and the void he left in Russia (which he quit in 1943) was never filled: his student G. D. Sanžeev (Sanzheyev) (1902-82), a Buriat Mongol who became the Soviet Union's leading Mongolist, did some good work and established a school of Mongol studies still active today, but he was unfortunately too closely tied to the political regime and his scholarship suffered as a consequence.

To this troubled period belong also two scholars who, although not outstanding, should be mentioned. S. A. Kozin (1879-1956) had the distinction of producing two books which gained great popularity in Russia and which are still regularly cited: a translation of the *Geser Qan* (1936) that is inferior to that of Schmidt's, and an unreliable translation of the *Secret History of the Mongols* (1941), which was reprinted (partially) in 1990 and even translated into Italian. The other scholar is N. P. Šastina (1898-1980), who translated both the *Šara tuji* and *Altan tobči (nova)* chronicles and who wrote much on Mongol epic literature. B. Kh. Todaeva (b. 1915) is known mainly for her grammar of modern Mongolian (1951), as well as for her works on the Mongolian languages of the Gansu-Qinghai area and Inner Mongolia, and on Dagur. We should also mention the brilliant Sino-Mongolist N. C. Munkuev (1922-85) whose premature death dealt a serious blow to this area of research, especially since his major work, in the press at the time of his death, disappeared without a trace. Sino-Mongolian studies are pursued today in Russia by the young and promising scholar P. O. Rykin (b. 1978) of St. Petersburg.

Russia has quite a number of Mongolists who are teaching and researching both the languages and culture of Mongolia in St.

Petersburg, Moscow and as far as Ulan-Ude, Irkutsk and Vladivostok. Among the specialists in 'traditional' studies we should mention: M. N. Orlovskaya (b. 1926) of Moscow and A. G. Sazykin (1943-2005) of St. Petersburg in the fields of Preclassical and Classical Mongolian respectively, and N. S. Yakhontova of St. Petersburg and A. Tsendina (C. Damdinsüren's daughter) in Moscow who are working in both the modern and traditional areas of Mongolistics. Mongol scholars were actively engaged in research in pre-Soviet and Soviet Russia and have greatly contributed to the field of Mongolistics writing also in Russian and other European languages. Beside the earlier-mentioned Žamcarano, B. Rinčen (Rintchen, 1905-77), C. Damdinsüren (1908-86) and Š. Luvsanvandan occupy a special place.

Although a number of Mongolists had been active in Central and Western Europe already in the 19th c. (e.g., the Austrian B. Jülg, 1825-86, an excellent editor and translator of Mongol stories), it was only in the late 1920s and in the 1930s that Mongolistics took a new turn with P. Pelliot (1875-1945) in France and E. Haenisch (1880-1966) in Germany. These two scholars and their pupils greatly widened the scope of the discipline by opening the new field of Sino-Mongolian studies as a natural extension of their life-long interest in the *Secret History of the Mongols*. It was Haenisch who published the first full Western translation of this work, besides a transcription of the text and a very useful dictionary. (See Bibl. 5.3.1.)

Pelliot, the leading figure in this field and a man of genius, carried out fundamental research in Mongolian philology and history with extraordinary acumen and width of knowledge. He also trained a number of students who continued the Pelliot tradition in their respective countries. Among them one should mention L. Hambis, F. W. Cleaves, M. Lewicki, L. Ligeti and D. Sinor. These scholars have made outstanding contributions and have in turn produced a new generation of Mongolists and Sino-Mongolists who are at the forefront of research in Altaic studies. The Budapest school established by Ligeti (1902-87), which is second to none today, includes such names as G. Kara, A. Róna-Tas, A. Sárközi, L. Lőrincz, K. Uray-Kőhalmi, M. Tatár, G. Bethlenfalvy, and L. Bese (1926-88), with centres in Budapest and Szeged. Among the younger Hungarian Sino-Mongolists, a special mention should be made of Kara's former student A. B. Apatóczy.

Hambis (1906-78), Pelliot's successor at the Collège de France and pre-eminently a Sino-Mongolist, was mainly interested in Mongol and Inner Asian history. The French school is now represented by sociolinguists and historians, and by a number of young scholars with a wider interest in Inner Asia. One should mention, in particular, F. Aubin, R. Hamayon, M.-D. Even, J. Legrand, and M.-L. Beffa.

In Germany, the academic legacy of Haenisch passed to H. Franke (b. 1914), the eminent Sino-Mongolist and historian. After the war, Mongolian studies flourished in the Federal Republic thanks to the untiring efforts of scholars like Franke, W. Heissig (d. 2005), G. Doerfer (d. 2003) and their collaborators and disciples, notably K. Sagaster, M. Weiers, V. Veit, and M. M. Haltod (d. 1978), the main centres now being Bonn and Göttingen. Other Germans active in the field of Mongol studies were/are D. Schröder (1910-74), J. Schubert (1896-1976), E. and M. Taube, H.-P. Vietze (d. 2008), H.-R. Kämpfe, V. Rybatzki, and U. Barkmann. A number of non-German Mongolists have resided in Germany for lengthy periods producing numerous publications in German and English. Among them figure prominently J. Rinčindorji, J. Čimeddorji (Chimeddorji) – both Mongols from Inner Mongolia – and the Italian E. Chiodo, whose excellent work on Mongol literature, folklore and religion keeps the Heissig tradition alive.

Other European countries that have played a role in promoting Mongolian studies are England, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Poland, the Czech Republic and Bulgaria.

In England, Mongolistics is largely a post-war development. The appointment at Cambridge in 1948 of D. Sinor (b. 1916), a former student of Pelliot, created a favourable ground for Altaic studies in general. A chair of Mongolian was subsequently established at the School of Oriental and African Studies (London University); it was filled until 1984 by Charles R. Bawden, an outstanding scholar. Interest in the subject was furthered by the Programme of Mongolian Studies at the University of Leeds directed by the late O. Lattimore, who moved to England from the U.S. in 1963, and by the activity of U. Onon and C. Humphrey at Cambridge in recent years. Although not primarily a Mongolist, Sir G. Clauson (1891-1974) has made important contributions to the investigation of the Mongolian language and its role in the Altaic Hypothesis controversy. Also one must not forget the two early English missionaries in Siberia, E. Stallybrass (1793-1884) and W. Swan (1791-1866), who translated both the Old

and the New Testament into literary Mongolian, a formidable task which these two unsung heroes of Mongolistics successfully accomplished in 1840 and 1846 respectively. See Bawden 1985 (Bibl. 5.5).

Belgium, in spite of its small size, has contributed immensely to the field of Mongolistics. Virtually all its scholars belong to the Catholic order C. I. C. M. (Scheut), which was active in mission work in Inner Mongolia. The leading savant was A. Mostaert (1881-1971), undoubtedly the greatest Mongolist who ever lived. Other well-known scholars are A. De Smedt (1884-1941), and H. Serruys (1911-83). Mostaert and Serruys moved to the U.S. after leaving China in 1949.

In Denmark, Mongolistics was introduced by the Turcologist K. Grønbech, a brilliant linguist who died prematurely in 1957. His successor was K. Thomsen (1924-97). Finland has had a worthy successor to Ramstedt in the person of P. Aalto (1917-98); nowadays Mongolian and Altaic studies are in the capable hands of J. Janhunen, a scholar with manifold scientific interests. Poland's leading Mongolist after W. Kotwicz was M. Lewicki (1906-55), a brilliant Sino-Mongolist and Turcologist who in his short career helped considerably in promoting Altaic studies in that country. In the field of Mongolistics his work was continued by S. Kałużński (d. 2007) and S. Godziński. The best known Mongolist in the Czech Republic, formerly Czechoslovakia, is P. Poucha (1905-86), who produced an excellent book on the cultural aspects of the *Secret History*; nowadays the Mongolistic tradition is upheld by M. Kiripolská and an active team of ethnolinguists and sociolinguists. Bulgaria's leading Mongolist, A. Fedotov, has mainly worked on the *Secret History*, as has also R. Pop in Rumania. The two prominent names in the field of Mongolistics in Turkey are those of A. Temir and T. Gülensoy. Both these scholars have likewise contributed to the study of the *Secret History*.

Mongolian studies were introduced in the U.S.A. and have prospered there in the last fifty years largely thanks to an influx of scholars from different parts of the world. The first two American Mongolists, B. Laufer (1874-1934) and F. D. Lessing (1882-1961), were both originally German. Laufer never taught formally, however, and Mongolistics was only one of his many interests. Lessing was the first and virtually the only teacher of Mongolian (at the University of California, Berkeley) before Poppe started Mongolian studies at the

University of Washington, Seattle, in 1950. The same year Poppe arrived in the U.S. (1949), Mostaert settled in Arlington, Virginia. This also coincided with the beginning of the academic career of F. W. Cleaves (1911-95) at Harvard. Mostaert and his younger confrère H. Serruys did not engage in teaching, but published extensively, the former in the 50's and early 60's, the latter until his death in 1983. These two outstanding scholars, together with Poppe and Cleaves and their students, were responsible for the extraordinary flourishing of Mongolian studies in the U.S. in the period 1950-1970.

Poppe had several brilliant students, most of whom took up positions at various American universities. Among them one should mention J. R. Krueger (a student of both Grønbech and Poppe; b. 1927), J. E. Bosson, D. M. Farquhar (d. 1986), and Pao Kuo-yi (Ünensechin). Krueger joined Indiana University, where further impetus for the development of Altaic studies was generated by the arrival of D. Sinor from Cambridge in 1961. Among the younger Mongolists trained at, or associated with, Indiana University are L. V. Clark, L. W. Moses, S. A. Halkovic, S. N. Frye, D. C. Montgomery, H. Jackendoff, and C. P. Atwood.

Cleaves, for his part, trained a number of Mongolists and Sino-Mongolists, such as H. F. Schurmann, F. H. Buck, J. Fletcher (d. 1984), E. Endicott, H. C. Ch'ing, C. F. Hung, and Y.-C. (Ruby) Lam.

Besides the above, other Mongolists have distinguished themselves in the U.S. In particular, one should mention J. C. Street, an accomplished linguist and specialist of Middle Mongolian, H. G. Schwarz, a prolific scholar and great promoter of Mongol studies at Western Washington University, Bellingham, and P. D. Buell, a cultural historian. Among scholars in the U.S.A. whose primary interest is not Mongolian but who have also contributed to this discipline are D. Sinor, R. A. Miller, N. Di Cosmo, and R. I. Meserve.

Special mention should be made of a small but significant group of native Mongols from Inner Mongolia who after the war migrated to the U.S. and Europe. The following contributed greatly to Mongol scholarship and the teaching of Mongolian in various universities and research institutes: J. G. Hangin, the earlier mentioned Haltod, Onon, and Ünensechin, and S. Jagchid. To these one must add several outstanding scholars from Mongolia itself who either spent/spend time in Europe (especially France, Germany and the Czech Republic) and in the U.S., lecturing and writing in European languages, among

whom are C. Šagdansüren, D. Cerensodnom, Š. Bira, D. Tumurtogoo [Tömörtogoo], G. Cecegdari, Č. Luvsandžav and J. Lubsangdorji, or published some of their works in European languages while residing in Mongolia, like Š. Čoïmaa, Š. Gaadamba, and D. Tserenpil.

On the North American continent, Canada has also contributed to the field of Mongolistics in the person of R. I. Binnick who, although a citizen of the U.S.A., spent most of his career in that country.

In Australia, Mongolistics and Sino-Mongolistics have been represented since 1960 by I. de Rachewiltz (b. 1929) at the Australian National University (Canberra). Research on modern Mongolia was carried out for a time in Melbourne by M. Underdown. We should point out that a number of scholars have published some of their works (articles and books) on Mongolistics in various countries in Asia. Such is the case, for instance, of S. Frye's translation of the *Üliger-ün dalai*, which appeared in Dharamsala (1981), and of Bosson's work on the *Mila-yin namtar* (*Mila [Rêpa]'s Biography*) published in Taipei (1967). Western scholars regularly contribute to journals on Mongolian studies published in Mongolia, China (Inner Mongolia) and Japan, and of course in the *Proceedings* of conferences held in those and other countries.

Obviously, a great amount of scholarly work on Mongol languages, literature, history and culture in general has been and is currently being carried out in Mongolia itself, especially at the Academy of Sciences and at the National University in Ulan Bator; in Inner Mongolia (at the I. M. Academy of Sciences and the I. M. University in Hohhot); at Beijing's Institute of Nationalities Studies of the CASS; and at various universities and institutes in Japan (principally in Tokyo, Kyoto, Osaka and Sendai). From among the scholars of China and Inner Mongolia mention can be made of Ardaĵab Asaraltu, Bayar, Chimeddorji, Chinggeltei, Choiji, Danzan, Dob, Eldengtei, Hugjiltu, Irinchen, Junast, Oyundalai, Qasartani (Qasardeni) and Sečenčoytu; in Japan the best known Mongolists are S. Hattori, H. Kuribayashi, D. Matsui, T. Matsukawa, M. Murakami, Sh. Murayama, T. Nakami, J. Nakamura, H. and J. Okada, Sh. Ozawa, Y. Saitō, M. Sugiyama, H. Wakamatsu and J. Yoshida. Mongol scholars from Mongolia and Inner Mongolia are also attached to universities in Japan and Korea, like Yang Haiying (A. Ohno) at Shizuoka University and U. Hurelbator at Tohoku University. Most of the publications of

the above-mentioned bodies and individual scholars in those countries are in Mongolian (in *uyiurjin* and Cyrillic), Chinese and Japanese, but a few specialized journals appear also in English and French, like *Acta Mongolica* and the *Bulletin of the International Association for Mongol Studies* (IAMS) in Ulan Bator (1988-), the Japanese *Acta Asiatica*, and the Korean *Mongolhak* and *Altai Hakpo*. Such is the magnitude of the contributions to Mongolistics by Asian Mongolists (and we must now include also those from Korea and India, especially the former), that to keep up-to-date in the field has become a serious problem, especially if we consider how many Western journals are devoted to, or publish material on, Mongolian subjects. Some of these are the same ones we mentioned in connection with Turkic studies, i.e. *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher*, *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, *Acta Orientalia* (Lund), *Journal de la Société Finno-ougrienne* (Helsinki), *Central Asiatic Journal*, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* and, especially in earlier days, *T'oung Pao* and *Journal Asiatique*. The same applies to series like the *Uralic and Altaic Series*, the *Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne* and the *Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica*. Several extremely useful grammars and language textbooks were published in the former series, including the best course of modern colloquial Khalkha, and the large, excellent *Modern Mongolian-English Dictionary* by G. Hangin *et al.* Whereas Lessing's dictionary is in *uyiurjin*, Hangin's dictionary is in Cyrillic. (See Bibl. 5.3.3.)

Most of Cleaves' articles appeared in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, to which A. Mostaert also contributed some of his best papers.

Journals which are entirely, or almost exclusively, devoted to Mongolian studies are: *Zentralasiatische Studien* (Bonn); the publications of The Mongolia Society at Indiana University, Bloomington, viz. *Mongolian Studies*, *The Mongolia Society Special Papers*, *Occasional Papers*, *Bulletin and Newsletter*; *Etudes mongoles et sibériennes* (Nanterre); *Mongolica (Pragensia)* and *Mongolo-Tibetica Pragensia*; and the (now defunct) *Journal of the Anglo-Mongolian Society* (Cambridge) and *Canada-Mongolia Review* (Saskatoon). As for series, the *Asiatische Forschungen* series of O. Harrassowitz (Wiesbaden) is predominantly Mongolian in contents.

Sinological or 'Orientalist' journals like *Monumenta Serica* (St. Augustin near Bonn), the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and*

African Studies (London), and *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* (Warsaw) – to mention only three out of a dozen or so – often also publish articles on Mongolian subjects.

To help us in this *mare magnum* of periodicals and series, we have fortunately a number of bibliographies and catalogues by subjects (with indices of authors and titles) of which two, both by H. G. Schwarz, are essential: *Bibliotheca Mongolica*, and *Mongolia and the Mongols* (see Bibl. 5.6). These tools, together with the author- and subject-indices of journals like *T'oung Pao*, *Central Asiatic Journal*, etc., and the already-mentioned bibliography by Sinor (*IEEC*: Bibl. 2.1) which contains several sections consecrated to Mongolian studies, book reviews and the bibliographical sections of the *IAMS Bulletin* and of *Mongolica* (Ulan Bator), are indispensable for any serious research on our subject. Vol. 8/29 (1997) of *Mongolica* is, in fact, entirely devoted to an 'International Bibliography' on Mongolian studies. This was followed in 2002 by three volumes of 'national' bibliographies published by the International Association for Mongol Studies (IAMS), each dedicated to a separate country (Mongolia, China, Russia). This extremely useful reference work is, unfortunately, not easily available. There exist also specialized bibliographies (in Mongolian) on subjects like Činggis Qan and the *Secret History of the Mongols*, catalogues of manuscripts, etc., the main compiler being Č. Narantuya of IAMS. Very easily accessible is the handy bibliography on recent Mongol studies by Y. Yamakoshi in Tsumagari, 'Guide' (Bibl. 4.1; sect. 3, 3.1, 3.2).

Among the most urgent tasks of Mongolistics in the field of philology is the compilation of a comprehensive grammar and dictionary of the Preclassical and Middle Mongolian language. For anyone engaged in the study of Preclassical and Classical Mongolian, there is, however, no lack of material. The student may begin by reading Laufer's 'Skizze', Poppe's 'Stand und Aufgaben', 'Overview' and the relevant sections of his *IAL*, after which he/she can begin to study Grønbech and Krueger's *Introduction* (2nd ed.), together with Poppe's *Grammar*. For further readings there are several useful texts in *uyiγurjin* in an easily obtainable and inexpensive publication of The Mongolia Society called *Supplementary Texts in Mongolian Script for First-Year Readings*, edited by J. R. Krueger (*Special Papers* No. 4, 1965). This can all be done within a year, after which one can move to some interesting historical or literary text, to epigraphies, or any other

document that one is inclined to explore. The student with a basic knowledge of Japanese can make use of Y. Saitō's excellent illustrated survey of the rich material available. See Saitō 2009 (Bibl. 5.1). Cleaves' richly annotated articles in *HJAS* are unquestionably the best introduction to the study of the preclassical language. For a not too difficult introduction to Middle Mongolian we recommend the two volumes on the *Hua-Yi yiyu* of 1389 by Mostaert and de Rachewiltz (1977, 1995; Bibl. 5.3.1). Also reading books like Heissig's *A Lost Civilization*, and *Information Mongolia* (now somewhat outdated but still handy), with J. Schubert's useful *Paralipomena Mongolica* at hand for easy reference to a great variety of topics concerning Mongolia, would greatly assist the beginner in gaining a better understanding of what the country of Činggis Qan has to offer culturally and otherwise. Basic references to general and specialized studies on most areas of Mongolian studies up to 2009 are given in the Bibliography of this volume.

3 Manchu – Tungus

As in the case of the Turkic and the Mongolian languages, we shall briefly classify the Manchu-Tungus family or stock and then say something about the language distribution of this group – the third of the Altaic phyla – which is very interesting and important linguistically, albeit less so as a medium of literary culture.

Manchu-Tungus is not as widely distributed as Turkic and Mongolian. Essentially, it consists of two sub-groups or sub-families, the Southern Tungusic group, and the Northern Tungusic group, as follows:

- 1) The Southern Tungusic group, divided into:
 - i. Southeast or Lower Amur subgroup (incl. Nanai or Goldi, Orok, Ulcha, Oroch and Udege or Udihe)
 - ii. Southwest or Manchu subgroup (incl. Jurchen [extinct], Manchu, Sibe [Xibo])
- 2) Northern Tungusic group (incl. Evenki or Tungus proper, Even or Lamut, Negidal, and Solon)

As with Turkic and Mongolian, there is no agreement among Tungusologists and linguists on the classification of this group of languages, eight of which are spoken in Russia and five in China. There are at present four or five different classifications, none of which attracts the majority of Tungusologists. The one offered above is a reasonable compromise. For other systems, cf. *AWL*, *LAC*, *ESAPT*, *Tu*, *IAL*, and *TMY* (Bibl. 6.1). According to N. Poppe (*IAL*, p. 26), the languages of the northern group comprise Negidal, Evenki (or Tungus proper), Lamut and Solon; all the other languages (Jurchen, Manchu, Goldi, etc.) belong to the southern group. According to G. Doerfer (1978; Bibl. 6.1) the general classification of the Tungusic languages is: 1) Manchu (incl. Jurchen), 2) Nanai (incl. Ulcha, Orok and Kili), 3) Udege (incl. Oroch), 4) Evenki (incl. Solon and Negidal), 5) Even. There is no agreement either on the names of these languages, e.g. Nanai (formerly Goldi) is called by the Chinese Hezhe.

As for the distribution of Manchu-Tungus speakers, they are spread over a territory of more than 5 million km² comprising virtually all of eastern Siberia (including Sakhalin) and the northern part of Manchuria, as well as areas of North China and Xinjiang, with some spill-over into Mongolia.

The number of these Manchu-Tungus speakers has now shrunk dramatically because the present generation has largely adopted Russian and Chinese. In 1991 the Tungus population of Russia was a little over 66,000 of whom only 24,000 still spoke the ethnic languages. In 1990 the total Manchu-Tungus population of China, i.e. the five nationalities (ch. *minzu*) it consisted of, was just over 10 million, but of these only 46,000 still spoke their ethnic languages (plus a little over 1,000 in Mongolia). Of the 9.8 million Manchus, hardly any know the Manchu language: in 1982 there were 140 native speakers left; ten years later they were reduced to about 50, all of them in Heilongjiang, and in March 2007 fluent native speakers of 'genuine' Manchu were less than twenty individuals living in a single village just north of Qiqihar. In 2000 the Sibe nationality, speaking a dialect of Manchu and living west of Kuldja in the northwestern tip of Xinjiang, as well as in Liaoning, had a population of 189,000. In March 2007 about 30,000 Sibe still spoke their native tongue. According to the 2000 census in China and the 2002 census in Russia, there was a slight increase in the number of the Tungus population. The latest census can be broken down as follows (in brackets we give the percentages of native speakers; however, their language proficiency is unknown): 67,000 Evenki, including among others Solon and Khamnigan (43%), Even 20,000 (36%), Nanai 18,000 (33%), Negidal 600 (21%), Sibe 188,000 (18%), Oroqen 8,000 (15%), Udege 1,700 (6%), Orok 350 (?), Ulcha 3,000 (?), Oroch 700 (?), Manchu over 10 million (0.001%). This means that at the time only about 37% of the Tungus population of Russia was able to speak their language. In China, without taking into account Manchu, the number is even lower (about 22%). As we would expect, fluency in Russian or Chinese is very high among Tungus people, e.g. nearly 93% of the Evenki of Russia who belong to the group that has preserved its own language fairly well knew also Russian. Efforts are being made, however, to preserve the language and culture of these people: Manchu grammars and dictionaries, as well as linguistic studies, are published in China and the language is kept 'alive' against great odds. Some of these Manchu-Tungus-speaking people have rich oral traditions and shamanistic beliefs which have been studied by ethnographers and anthropologists, such as S. M. Shirokogoroff (1887-1939), who also collected a mass of linguistic material recently published by G. Doerfer (Bibl. 6.4). Sibe oral literature, consisting of

songs and epics, has recently been rediscovered and new findings are now available. Bold new theories have also been put forward regarding the ultimate origins of the people inhabiting Manchuria.

However, at present we are not concerned with the anthropological and ethnographic aspects, interesting as they may be, but with the language and literary culture of the Manchus. This group is, both historically and linguistically, by far the most important one and, although we shall have more to say also about the other Tungus languages for comparative purposes, we must now concentrate on the Manchus and their ancestors, the Jurchen, or Juchen, people.

The Jurchens (original name: *Jürčēn) formed a confederation of semi-nomadic pastoral tribes and forest tribes of hunters from eastern Manchuria, along the Sungari River, and also from Liaodong in southern Manchuria. At the beginning of the 12th c. they felt strong enough to challenge the authority of the Kitans of North China, founders of the Liao dynasty (907-1125) of whom the Jurchen chiefs were tributary. With the support of the Song court, the Jurchen chief Aguda (1068-1123) declared himself emperor of the Jin or Golden dynasty (1115-1234), from the name of the Anchuhu River where his people lived (in Jurchen *ancun* or *alcun* meant ‘gold’). He attacked and defeated the Kitan armies, and he and his successor conquered the whole Liao territory. The Jin dynasty lasted until 1234 when the Mongols, after invading China in 1211, conquered all the Jurchen provinces and brought their ruling house to an end. (History repeated itself, since the Mongols had also been tributaries of the Jurchens.) While the Kitans had been only partly assimilated to the Chinese, the Jurchens, who occupied a much larger area of China than the Kitans (virtually all the northern half except for Gansu and Ningxia, where the Tangut state of Xi Xia was established), were quickly assimilated to Chinese culture, and the court had to make an effort to retain, albeit selectively, the native tongue and some of their traditional customs. (See Bibl. 6.2; 6.3.1.)

The language of the Jurchens bears a close superficial resemblance to that of the later Manchus. Soon after the beginning of the Jin dynasty, in 1119 and 1138, the Jurchens devised a script of their own, in fact two scripts, one called ‘large script’ and the other ‘small script’ (ch. *dazi* and *xiaozi* respectively), following the model of the Kitans who, 200 years earlier, had likewise created two scripts – a ‘large’ and a ‘small’ one – to record their language (in 920 and 925 respect-

ively). All these scripts were ‘Sinitic’, i.e. imitative of Chinese ideographs. The Tangut state of Xi Xia, which lasted from 1032 to 1227 in northwest China (the Tanguts spoke a language now extinct related to Tibetan), had also invented in 1036 a Sinitic script for their own use, so unwieldy that it is regarded as the most complicated system of writing ever invented by the human mind. It consists of about 6,600 characters or logograms of more or less uniform shape designed to fit in a square. (See Figs. 21, 22 and 23 for samples of these scripts.)

Of all the Sinitic scripts devised by foreign rulers in North China from the 10th to the 13th c. (Kitan, Tangut, Jurchen), the Jurchen script is outwardly simpler in design, as we can observe from the samples at hand. Although the *immediate* model was undoubtedly the Kitan script, the more remote prototype of the Jurchen script may be a script devised in the north Korean kingdom of Bohai (Parhae, 686-926), likewise a Sinitic script, a few specimens of which have survived in short inscriptions on tiles. If so, the Jurchen script may be older in origin than both the Kitan and Tangut scripts. Whereas the Kitan writing is still being painfully and slowly deciphered by a number of dedicated scholars, the Tangut and Jurchen scripts have been largely deciphered thanks to bilingual glossaries and parallel texts (Sino-Tangut and Sino-Jurchen), and with the help of Tibetan and Manchu philology.

The problem with Kitan, as with Jurchen, is the confusing designations of ‘large’ and ‘small’ found with reference to their scripts in the Chinese sources. In the case of Kitan some scholars have suggested redefining them as ‘non-composite’ and ‘composite’, or ‘linear’ and ‘assembled’. The large script consists of several thousand graphs similar, and often identical, to the Chinese ideograms and like these written vertically and read from right to left. Some were used as logograms, i.e. as signs representing words, each with its own pronunciation and meaning. Others were used as phonograms, i.e. to represent sounds – in the case of the large script only syllables – and played the role of case endings and suffixes, as well as transcribing Chinese words like proper and place names, official titles, etc. Some sixty logographs for basic words such as numbers, months and years, seasons, directions, kinship terms, animals, etc., found in the ten extant inscriptions (mostly epitaphs) have been deciphered so far thanks to the formulaic style of the inscriptions. However, the imperial

eulogies and, therefore, most of the contents of the epitaphs remain practically incomprehensible except for some dates.

The small script was created in 925, only five years after the introduction of the large script, by Yelü Diela, the younger brother of the first Liao emperor Taizu (r. 907-25). According to the *Liaoshi*, Diela created this script after meeting some Uighur envoys at court and learning their spoken language and script in twenty days (!). The new script consisted of ‘small characters which, though few in number, covered everything’. These smaller characters (380 have been identified so far) were linked together to form characteristic ‘blocks’, i.e. graphic units of uneven shape (rectangular, triangular, etc.), each representing a word. Like the Japanese *kana*, the simpler phonetic elements express suffixes for word formation, flecion and conjugation. As explained by Kara (*WWS*, p. 230), these blocks ‘contain two to seven characters, usually arranged pairs below pairs. An odd-numbered final character is centered below the last pairs, the first element of the pair is on the left side’. Together with the blocks which transcribe phonetically in single graphemic units Kitan words modified or inflected, the small script also employed logograms similar to those of the large script for single words, the two scripts however using different graphs to express the same ideas or objects. Although never mixed, the two scripts were used concurrently. About forty inscriptions in small script have been found to date of which only one, the Langjun inscription, is in both Chinese and Kitan. Despite the existence of this bilingual text, and accurate rubbings of several other imperial epitaphs, little progress was made on deciphering the small script until the publication in China of the results of the ‘Kitan Small Script Research Group’ in 1985. Through a comparison of personal names, place names and official titles, it was possible to establish approximate readings for about one third of the graphs of this script.

Regarding the possible influence of Uighur in formulating the criteria for the reform of the Kitan script by Diela in 925, we may discard the shape of the Uighur script since the Kitan small script does not bear any resemblance to it. Now, the distinguishing feature – and an important one – of the small script vis-à-vis the large script is its capacity to represent not only syllables, but also the individual phonemes of Kitan, both vowels and consonants, something that the syllabograms of the large script could not do. It was perhaps the

phonemic nature of the Uighur alphabet that inspired Diela to introduce special graphs for vowels and consonants, as well as for syllables, thus prompting a complete revision of the Kitan script also shape-wise, with the creation of word-blocks to save space. Nevertheless, the new script, although widely used, never replaced the more formal large script.

In transcribing texts in the two Kitan scripts one conventionally separates the graphemic elements by a dot (full stop). In the case of the small script blocks, they are ‘disassembled’ into their phonetic components which are then individually transcribed as if they were written vertically in their proper sequence. Examples of both scripts are presented in Fig. 21 with, on the left (a), a detail of the epitaph of Yelü Xinnie in large script, dating from 1114; and, on the right (b), the text in small script of the famous Langjun inscription of 1134. (For these two late Kitan inscriptions see *KLS*, pp. 172, 186ff.)

Most of the logograms in the epitaph of Xinnie cannot be identified with certainty, but the meaning of many of them can be guessed, or rather inferred, from other inscriptions (in both scripts) where the same or similar expressions occur, and also by the very shape of some of them which are obviously inspired by Chinese ideographs. For instance, the first graph of the inscription is the Chinese character *guo* ‘country, nation, state’ in its regular simplified form, borrowed into Kitan as a logogram to render kit. *gür* id. This word is *phonetically* transcribed as *g.ür* in the small script (see below). The first two graphs combined form the word *tiau.du* ‘central’, which in the small script inscriptions is transcribed with three graphemes (*t.iau.du*). Kit. *tiaudu* corresponds to mo. *dumdadu* ← *dumda* ‘(in) the centre, (in) the middle’ + the suffix *-du/-dū* added to adverbs of place to form locative-adjectives: *dumdadu* ‘central, middle’ Thus, while the first graph of the inscription is kit. *tiau* ‘centre, middle’ – a logogram – the second graph is the syllabogram *du*, a suffix performing the same function as mo. *-du*. The third and fourth graphs together render the ethnic name ‘Kitan’, the two syllables of this word being written with two separate phonograms (*ki/qi.tan/dan*), understandably so since this is not a meaningful word requiring a logogram, but a proper name. The first five graphs of the inscription mean ‘The Central Kitan State’, one of the standard designations of the Kitan/Liao nation.

The Langjun inscription reproduced in (b) commemorates the visit of a brother of the Jin emperor Taizong (r. 1123-35) to the Tang imperial

tombs at Qianling after a hunting trip. It begins with two simple graphs, both logograms, meaning ‘great’ and ‘gold’, and presumably read *masqu/mas/mo* and *nigu/nigü* respectively. ‘Great Gold’ (ch. Da Jin) is the name of the Jurchen Jin (‘Gold’) dynasty and state. The third graph is a block consisting of three elements, i.e. the graphemes *g*, *úr* and *en*, the first two forming the word *gúr* (= *gür*) ‘state’, and the third being the genitive suffix *-en* after a stem ending in consonant: *gür-en* ‘of the state’. Ma. *gurun* ‘country, tribe, people; ruling house, dynasty’ is a borrowing from kit. *gür* which, in turn, is probably related to mmo. *gür* ‘the whole, general, universal’ – as a state or empire. The fourth graph, another block also made of three elements (two syllables + suffix), is read *qa.ha.an* = *qaha-an* ‘of the *qayan*’ ← *qaha* ‘khaghan, emperor’ + *-an* genitive suffix with stems in *-a*. For kit. *qaha* (read *qaya* ?) cf. tu., mo. *qayan* id.; in mmo. we also find the unusual form *qahan* = *qa’an* < *qayan*. The fifth graph is the logogram *deu* ‘younger brother’ (cf. mmo. *de’ü* id.). Thus, the first five graphs of the inscription mean ‘the younger brother of the emperor of the Great Jin State’, ‘great’ being by definition the epithet of the ruling dynasty. The text continues listing the titles of the emperor’s brother. We shall mention only the first one represented by the sixth and seventh graphs. The sixth graph consists of the logogram *čau* on the left with the suffix *-ji* on the right: *čau.ji* = *čauji* ← *čau-* ‘to go on a campaign, to fight’ + *-ji* the nomen actoris suffix (= mo. *-či*), hence *čauji* ‘fighter(s), troops’. Kit. *čau-* is an interesting term for it appears in the *Liaoshi* in the forms **čawur* ~ **čaur* ‘army’, as well as in mmo. *ča’ur* (pmo. *čayur*) id., in oju. *cauf[r]xa* id., and ma. *cooha* id. (see further on). The seventh graph, read *hur.ú* (? *quru*, *yuru*), known also from other inscriptions, is a noun meaning ‘in control of, controller’ *Čauji huru* would then mean ‘(official) in charge of troops’, hence ‘military (or campaign) commander’, which is confirmed by the Chinese text of the inscription which renders it as *dutong* ‘chief commander’ Now, our *čauji huru* resembles the puzzling military title *ča’ut quri* of Kitan origin, adopted by the Jurchens and conferred by the latter on Činggis Qan as recorded in § 179 of the *Secret History*. Writing in the late 14th c. this title was left untranslated by the editors of that work who evidently no longer knew its meaning. For the Kitan (and Jurchen) scripts cf. Bibl. 5.1 and 6.3.1; for Kitan, in particular, see the recent work by D. Kane (2009) which also contains an extensive and up-to-date bibliography.

In the case of the Jurchen script, the situation is again different, and here the designations ‘large’ and ‘small’ are both ambiguous and deceptive. What we know is that the Jurchen script consisted of

ideographs of the Chinese type, and of similar and identical ideographs used only phonetically, i.e. to transcribe sounds. These phonetic characters are not attached to the ideographs to form word-units as in the Kitan 'blocks', but they follow each other in sequence thus giving a homogenous linear look to the script, very much like Chinese writing and the Kitan large script. Superficially they bear a resemblance to the present-day simplified characters (*jianhuazì*) used in the PRC with which, however, they have nothing in common except that so many of them look very similar to each other. The Jurchen script is, therefore, a mixed one in which a grapheme can play a dual role as logogram or semantogram and phonetic symbol or phonogram (as in ancient Egyptian).

The development of the Jurchen script, which was officially introduced in 1145, is quite complex, and while we still do not really know what was meant by the terms 'large' and 'small' as applied to it, it is possible that by 'large' characters were meant the logograms, and by 'small' characters the phonograms. The Kitan script was used under the Jin until 1191-92, when it was finally abolished in favour of Chinese and Jurchen; but the Jurchen script survived until the beginning of the 16th c., the last inscription in that script dating from 1502. However, there is evidence that a knowledge of the Kitan spoken language survived in Central Asia, in the Western Liao (Xi Liao) or Qara Kitai state founded by the Kitan prince Yelü Dashi (1087-1143) in 1124, which lasted until 1218. One of the last persons to know Kitan was the earlier-mentioned Yelü Chucai who served under Činggis Qan and Ögödei. His translation of a Kitan song into Chinese is found in his *Collected Works*.

For the Jin period (12th-13th c.) we have little material in Jurchen: some inscriptions on stone, ceramics, seals and mirrors. After the collapse of Jin the Jurchens withdrew to their native regions in northeast China and Manchuria, and after the collapse of the Mongol Yuan dynasty in the mid-14th c. their tribes maintained relations with the Ming government through tribute, trade, and military service. (See Bibl. 6.2.) The Jurchens managed to keep their language and culture alive, and also their script (until the 15th c.), in spite of inroads by the Chinese and by the Koreans who were expanding their influence in the area. We have only one inscription from this late period (the Nurgan/Tyr inscription; see Ligeti 1961 in Bibl. 6.3.1), but we fortunately possess two Jurchen-Chinese glossaries of the *Hua-Yi yiyu*

kind, compiled by the two Ming Bureaus of Translators and of Interpreters, which also contain samples of official documents in Jurchen dating from the 15th c. It is largely thanks to these glossaries, and the rich material they contain, that scholars have been able to read, transcribe and translate texts in Jurchen script.

The following short sample of Old Jurchen (12th-13th c.) from the 1210 Aotun inscription cited by G. Kara (*WWS*, p. 237) is already indicative of the closeness of the Jurchen and Manchu vocabularies (Fig. 24). The date of the inscription runs as follows (with minor modifications on our part): [1] (*amba-an*) [2] (*el-xe*) [3] (*juwe*) [4] (*ania*) [5] (*nadan*) [6] (*bia*) [7] (*gušin*) [8] (*inenggi*) = *amban elxe juwe ania nadan bia gušin inenggi*, lit. ‘great peace two year seven month thirty day’, i.e. ‘The (Period of) Great Peace (= ch. Daan, 1209-11), second year, seventh month, thirtieth day.’ Cf. ma. *amba(n)* ‘great’; *elhe* ‘peace’; *juwe* ‘two’; *aniya* ‘year’; *nadan* ‘seven’; *biya* ‘month’; *gūsin* ‘thirty’ (cf. mo. *γučin*, id.); *inenggi* ‘day’. *Elxe* ‘peace’ < mo. *el* id. + den. n. s. *-xe* (= ma. *-he*).

The declensional and verbal suffixes in Jurchen follow the word they modify and are very similar to those of Manchu: [9] (*guru-un*) = *gurun* ‘state, nation’ (ma. *gurun* id.), [10] (*gurun-ni*) ‘state, nation (gen.)’; cf. ma. *-ni* gen. s. (after words ending in *-ng*).

The above examples illustrate the use of Jurchen graphs as logograms (*juwe*, *ania*, *nadan*, *bia*, *gušin*, *inenggi*, *guru*) and phonograms (*an*, *un*, *ni*). To distinguish the two, some scholarly editions capitalize the logograms, *AMBA-an ALCU-un GURU-un* = *amban alcun gurun* ‘the Great Jin State’

The so-called Jin Victory Stele of 1184 is one of the most important monuments of the Old Jurchen language; unfortunately, many passages are illegible. The following short extracts give an idea of the sentence structure of the earliest recorded Tungus language. Please note that with regard to Jurchen and Manchu grammatical terminology we have adopted in general the one employed by L. V. Clark (1979; Bibl. 6.3.2).

1. *Amban Alcun-ni Xutungai Gaman* ‘the Mountain Side (*gaman*) of Good Fortune (= Fortunate: *xutungai* ← *xutu* “Good Fortune” + *-ngai* den. n. s. [= “with, possessing”]) of the Great Jin (*amban* “great”, *alcun* “gold” = the Jin dynasty, *-ni* gen. s.)’.

2. *Wenji Ging-dö jabye* ‘(he) stationed (his) troops (*jabye* ← *ja-* ‘to station troops’ + *-bye* aorist s.) at the Upper Capital (*wenji* ‘above, upper’, *ging* [< ch.] ‘capital’, *-dö* dat.-loc. s.)’
3. *Sagai adi daxamai dimei* ‘Sagai (pr. name) and others (*adi*) following (*daxa-* ‘to follow’ + *-mai/-mei* impf. conv. s.) (him) came and (lit. ‘coming’) (*di-* ‘to come’ + *-mei*)’
4. *Mini cauxa tugi ere* ‘my (*mini*) army (*cau[r]xa*) (is) like (*ere*, lit. ‘this’) the clouds (*tugi*)’
5. *Ta exe-be abka doldiru* ‘Would that Heaven (*abka*) listen (*doldi-* ‘to listen’ + *-ru* opt. s.) to that (*ta*) evil (*exe* + *-be/-ba* acc. s.)’

Although some nominal and verbal suffixes of Old Jurchen are different from Manchu, many of the words are found in Manchu in the same (or virtually the same) form (*amban*, *xutu*, *daha-*, *mini*, *tugi*, *ere*, *ehe*, *abka*) or evolved (*ji-* ‘to come’ < *di-*, *wesihun* ‘upward’ < *weši* < *wenji*, *donji-* ‘to listen’ < *doldi-* ~ *dondi-*). The interesting word *cau[r]xa* ‘army’ is a borrowing from Kitan **čawur* ~ **čaur* id.; cf. mmo. *ča’ur* (pmo. *čayur*) ‘military campaign’ (see above). For *xutu* ‘Good Fortune’, cf. mo. *qutuγ*, kit. **xutu* id., but ma. *hutu* means ‘devil, ghost; an ugly man’! For *daxa-* ‘to follow’, cf. mo. *daya-* id.; for *mini* ‘my’, cf. mo. *minu* id.

As for the suffixes, oju. *-ni* = ma. *-ni*; oju. *-ngai* = ma. *-ngge/-ngga/-nggo*; oju. *-dö* = ma. *-de*; oju. *-bye* = ma. *-mbi*; oju. *-mai/-mei* = ma. *-me*; oju. *-ba/-be* = ma. *-be*.

We owe the reconstruction and decipherment of Old, Middle (15th c.) and Late (16th c.) Jurchen largely to the earlier-mentioned Jurchen-Chinese glossaries and the bilingual official documents which, altogether, provide phonetic transcriptions (in 15th c. Chinese) and interpretations of some 900 terms and expressions using a total of 728 graphs. Much of the groundwork for the reconstruction of Jurchen phonology was done by W. Grube (1896), G. N. Kiyose (1977), and, more recently, by D. Kane (1989). See Bibl. 6.3.1. Several other scholars in Hungary (esp. L. Ligeti and G. Kara), China (esp. Jin Qizong), the USA (A. Vovin), and Russia (esp. A. A. Burykin and A. M. Pevnov) have contributed to a further understanding of the phonology, morphology and lexicon of Jurchen.

Since the Sino-Jurchen vocabulary of the Ming Bureau of Translators edited and translated by Grube was the real starting point and foundation stone of the study of Jurchen, we have reproduced in Text XXXI the first bilingual document – eleven lines in (Middle) Jurchen and seven lines in Chinese – consisting of a memorial to the throne, written

some time after 1459 by a Guard commander applying for promotion. The Jurchen text is a literal, i.e. word-by-word, translation of the Chinese, hence it follows the Chinese word order. Therefore, syntactically it has no value; furthermore, being essentially a mechanical version, some grammatical forms are not accurate or appropriate. There are also unwarranted borrowings of Chinese function words. It is, nevertheless, interesting from the historical-philological point of view. Grube's transcription and translation of the text have been superseded by those of Kiyose which we have adopted with some modifications. Below are given the transliteration, transcription and translation of the document, followed by the usual glossary and explanations. Please note that the Jurchen text, like its Chinese counterpart, reads from right to left, and that the two Jurchen graphs (-*ji-mei*) of the second line of the text are actually part of the last word of the first line. Therefore, line 2 of the transcription = line 3 of the text.

Transliteration

(The vertical lines mark the word boundaries; each segment separated by hyphens corresponds to a Jurchen graph)

- [1] *a-lu-un | wei | jin-cen-hu | sa-ha | miye-e | je-ji-mei |*
 [2] *jau-la-mai | a-ha-ai | amin | ma-fa | bi-fume | je-ce |*
 [3] *tu-ti-mei | hu-sun | nu-gur | aniya | uju | kan-ke-le-mei |*
 [4] *cau-la-mai | gu-n | aha-ai | tiyen-šun | ilan | aniya | juwa |*
 [5] *emu | biya | juwe | juwa | ningu | inengi | baha-bi | di | e-je-hei |*
 [6] *weile-be | te-e | di-gun | te-te-buma | hai-dun-ci |*
 [7] *n | emu | miye-e | ši-la-sun | ilan | ge | ji-la-mai |*
 [8] *bai-šin | we-ši-buru | emu | her-ge-gi | jau-la-mai |*
 [9] *baha-bi |*
 [10] *aci-buru | ha-gan-ni | sa-hi |*

Transcription

- [1] *Alun wei jincenhu Sahaliyan jejimei* [2] *jaulamai ahai amin mafa bifume jece* [3] *tutimei husun nugur aniya uju kankelimei* [4] *caulamai gun ahai Tiyenšun ilan aniya juwa* [5] *emu biya juwe juwa ningu inengi bahabi di ejehei* [6] *weilebe tee digun tetebuma haiduncin* [7] *emu miyee šilasun ilan ge jilamai* [8] *baišin wešiburu emu hergegi jaulamai* [9] *bahabi* [10] *aciburu haganni sahi*

Translation

I, Sahaliyan, Battalion Commander of the Alun Guard, respectfully memorialize concerning the commission which, after my father and

grandfather having made efforts (= serving) being stationed at the frontier and, kowtowing, every year offered tribute to the Court, I obtained on the twenty-sixth day of the eleventh month of the third year of the Tianshun (period = 1459). I now come and offer tribute of a pair of falcons and three lynx (pelts) and, wishing you would take pity on me, request that you promote me one rank. Would that the Divine Emperor but acknowledge my petition.

Glossary and Explanations

- Alun* name of a Jurchen Guard
wei (< ch.) Guard
jincenhu (< ch.) battalion commander, lit. 'senior chiliarch (= commander of a thousand)'
Sahaliyan pr. name (written incorrectly *Sahamiyee*)
jejimei being respectful ← *jeji-* to be respectful + *-mei/-mai* impf. conv. s.; ma. *-me* impf. conv. s.
jaulamai memorializing ← *jaula-* to memorialize + *-mai*; cf. ma. *joola-* to join the hands as greeting + *-me*
ahai of the slave = my ← *aha* slave + *-i* gen. s.; ma. *aha* slave + *-i* gen. s. – ju. *ahai* (gen.) is a humble term for oneself and one's associates; see below
amin father; ma. *ama* id.
mafa grandfather; ma. *mafa* id.
bifume being caused to be ← *bi-* to be, stay + *-fu-* pass. & caus. s. + *-me* (= *-mei*); ma. *bi-* to be, stay + *-bu/-mbu-* pass. & caus. s. (= *bibu-* caus. of *bi-*, to detain, retain; to keep back, to leave behind)) + *-me*
jece frontier, border; ma. *jecen* id.
tutimei putting forth ← *tuti-* to put forth, issue + *-mei*; ma. *tuci-* to come out, to spring or put forth + *-me*
husun strength; ma. *hūsun* strength, power, might; labourer, worker; cf. mo. *kücü(n)* power, force, strength, might
nugur every; cf. ma. *nurhū-* to be connected or in series
aniyai year; ma. *aniya* id.
uju head; ma. *uju* id.
kankelemei kowtowing ← *kankele-* to kowtow + *-mei*; ma. *hengkile-* to kowtow + *-me*
caulamai going to (= presenting to) the Court ← *caula-* to go to (= present to) the Court (← *cau* [< ch.] Court + *-la-* den. v. s.) + *-mai*
gun tribute (< ch.); ma. *gung* id.
ahai I; see above

- Tiyenšun* = ch. Tianshun (reign period: 1457-63)
- ilan* three; ma. *ilan* id.
- juwa* ten; ma. *juwan* id.
- emu* one; ma. *emu* id.
- biya* moon, month; ma. *biya* id.
- juwe* two; ma. *juwe* id.
- ningu* six; ma. *ninggun* id.
- bahabi* obtained ← *baha-* to obtain, get + *-bi* perf. conv. s.; ma. *baha-* id.; *-fi/-pi* perf. conv. s.
- di* = ch. *di* 的 of – a solecism in Jurchen
- ejehei* of the commission ← *ejehe* commission, post + *-i*; ma. *ejehe* imperial edict, decree + *-i*
- weilebe* thing, affair, matter (acc.) ← *weile* thing, affair, matter + *-be* acc. s.; ma. *weilen* work; construction + *-be* acc. s.; cf. mo. *üyile* work, act; occupation, employment, service; action, deed; etc.
- tee* now; ma. *te* id.
- digun* coming ← *di-* to come + *-gun* (?) v. n. s.; ma. *ji-* id.
- tetebuma* bringing tribute ← *tete-* to offer, present (tribute) + *-bu-* caus. s. + *-ma* impf. conv. s.
- haiduncin* (< ch.) falcon
- miyee* a group of two, a couple; ma. *meyen* section, group
- šilasun* lynx; ma. *silun* id. (*Felis lynx*); cf. mo. *silugüsi(n)* id.
- ge* = ch. *ge* 個 a piece (num. adj.)
- jilamai* pitying ← *jila-* to pity + *-mai*; ma. *jila-* to pity, to have compassion for, to love + *-me*; cf. mo. *uyila-* to cry
- baišin* request ← *bai-* to request, ask + *-šin* (*-ši-n*) dev. n. s.; ma. *bai-* to ask for
- wešiburu* promotion ← *weši-* to raise, lift + *-buru*, probably a dev. n. s. (cf. *aciburu* below); ma. *wesi-* to go up, to advance in rank; *wesibun* advancement
- hergegi* by rank ← *herge* rank + *-gi* instr. s.; ma. *hergen* rank, title + *-i*; cf. mo. *kergem* high office or rank; title; honour
- ačiburu* divine, holy (= imperial) ← *ači-* to bless (cf. mo. *ači-* id.) + *-buru*; cf. ma. *enduringge* id.
- hagan* the emperor (acc.) ← *hagan* emperor + *-ni* gen. s.; ma. *han* id.; *-ni* gen. s.; cf. mo. *qayan* id.
- sahi* may know ← *sa-* to know + *-hi* opt. s.; ma. *sa-* id. + *-ki* opt. s.; (?) cf. mo. *sana-* to think, reflect, ponder; to hold an opinion; to intend, plan; etc.

From an examination of the Jurchen material at our disposal we can make the following general remarks.

1. Phonologically, the readings in the above text rely on the reconstruction of mid-Ming period sounds of the Chinese glosses by G. Kiyose, who is therefore mainly responsible for the reconstruction of Middle Jurchen phonology largely on the basis of the vocabulary of the Bureau of Translators. Additional information on the Middle Jurchen language can be gained from the parallel vocabulary of the Bureau of Interpreters studied by D. Kane (see Bibl. 6.3.1) who, in a later study, has discussed the phonology and morphology of Old Jurchen on the basis of inscriptions dating from 1185 and 1224, as well as of later material. The main difficulty (as pointed out by Kane) is when the Chinese transcription fails to distinguish between certain Jurchen phonemes or does so irregularly, e.g. there is only the Chinese syllable *ha* to represent Jurchen *ga*, *ka* and *xa*. This is, of course, where cognates in Manchu and other Tungus languages help the process of reconstruction. Among the significant differences between Jurchen and Manchu on the phonological level we find oju. *p-* (> mj. *f-*) > ma. *f-*; oju. *-w-* > ma. *-b-*; oju. *ti-* and *di-* > ma. *ci-* and *ji-*, and several others. See Kane's contribution in A. Vovin's forthcoming book *The Tungusic Languages* (Bibl. 6.1).
2. Morphologically and syntactically Jurchen is very close to Manchu, although the role of certain Jurchen suffixes is still not clear. A peculiarity of Jurchen vis-à-vis Manchu is that cardinal, instead of ordinal, numbers are used to designate a particular year, as shown by the above samples.
3. Whereas, for Kane, Jurchen and Manchu are closely related 'varieties' of the same language, according to A. A. Burykin (see *WAW* Bibl. 6.3.1) the language of the Jurchen documents and monuments is 'identical' with Manchu; the early sources on Jurchen may simply represent 'an idiom ancestral to the later forms of Manchu' Essentially, however, we are dealing with 'a single language written with two different systems of writing' Taking into account the natural development of the language over a period of several hundred years (from the 12th to the 16th c.), some of the other discrepancies that have intrigued scholars in the past may, in fact, be explained by the two totally different systems of writing employed by the Jurchens and the Manchus, and the problems of

interpretation of the former due to the often ambiguous nature of the Chinese transcription. Also, the language in the Chinese glossaries is not necessarily an accurate representation of the language in reality; and we know that Pelliot had serious reservations on the competence of the people who compiled these glossaries. For further information on the various aspects of the Jurchen language and writing the reader is referred to the literature cited in Bibl. 6.3.1.

4. Jurchen and Manchu, while so closely related to each other, are both lexically and structurally very different even from their closest relatives in the southern Tungusic group. According to A. Vovin (2006; Bibl. 6.3.1), the difference is possibly due not only to the areal influence of Kitan, a Mongolic or ‘Para-Mongolic’ language (as suggested by Janhunen), but also to the influence of the neighbouring language of the Bohai (Parhae) state, viz. Old Korean, as well as to other factors.

It was at the end of the 16th c. that the hereditary chief of one of the three main Jurchen tribes, Nurhaci (1559-1626), rose to power, unified and organized the tribes militarily in a very efficient manner, and began attacking the Chinese garrisons in Manchuria. His son Hong Taiji (1592-1643) continued the war against the Ming armies which were eventually defeated, bringing about the collapse of the government and the end of the Ming dynasty. Hong Taiji (erroneously called ‘Abahai’ in Western accounts) adopted the name Manju, our Manchu (ch. Manzhou) for his people, rejecting the name Jurchen which had historical connotations of subservience to the Chinese. In 1636 he had himself proclaimed emperor of the new Qing dynasty which, according to official Chinese dynastic chronology, began ruling over China in 1644 when Hong Taiji’s successor was proclaimed emperor in Peking after the final defeat of the Ming.

The Manchus ruled China until 1911. They quickly adopted Chinese ways and their emperors were rulers in the Chinese Confucian tradition; in fact two of them, Shengzu (Kangxi, r. 1662-1722) and Gaozong (Qianlong, r. 1736-95) were among the greatest patrons of Chinese culture, especially of art and belles-lettres. Their decline began soon after, with the Opium War of 1840 and the humiliating confrontations with the Western powers and Japan. The Qing dynasty collapsed in 1911 together with the imperial system that had governed China for more than two thousand years. (See Bibl. 6.2.)

When the Manchus came to power in China in the middle of the 17th c. they had already adopted a script that served as an efficient means of communicating their language. They did not wish to follow the example of their forefathers and return to either the Jurchen or any other Sinitic script. In fact, the old Jurchen script had virtually died out by the 15th c. and the Manchus would have had to resurrect it, which they had no intention of doing, not only for ideological reasons but also because it was cumbersome and inefficient. They had close contact with the Mongols and quite a number of Manchus were acquainted with Mongolian and its script. At the beginning Nurhaci actually used the Mongolian alphabet for official purposes, but in 1599 he decided to make two of his officials devise a script for the Manchu language. This resulted in the adoption of a slightly modified version of the Uighur-Mongol script (*uyiurjin*) generally ascribed to the brilliant young linguist Dahai (1593-1632), but actually the outcome of a rather long process of reform and revision by a group of 'experts' (*baksi*) lasting about twelve years. By comparing the Uighur-Mongol script with the Manchu version we can see the small but very significant changes which make reading Manchu such an easy task (Figs. 12 and 25).

After perfecting their script, which should really be called the Mongol-Manchu script (read, of course, from left to right like Mongolian), in the middle of the 17th c., the Manchus threw themselves into what one can only describe as a frenzy of translation directed towards the Chinese classics, histories and popular literature: from Confucius to Chinese erotic novels like *Jinpingmei*, it was all grist to the Manchu translators' mill. Significantly, the first book translated by Dahai was the *Mengzi* (*Mencius*) – a basic Confucian text. This set the tone, as it were, because this translation was followed by that of all the other classics, beginning in 1655 with the *Shijing* or *Classic of Poetry*, which clearly appealed to Manchu taste. From then on, and especially during the long and active reigns of the Kangxi and Qianlong emperors, translations were made of Chinese histories, administrative codes, biographies and the monumental Buddhist Canon. This, as we have already seen, was the time when the Buddhist scriptures were also being translated in China from Tibetan into Mongolian. The high point of this output, in both quantity and quality, was reached under the reign of the Kangxi emperor. Under Qianlong one already begins to note a certain decline, due to the fact

that there were fewer and fewer people capable of actually reading Manchu, a language definitely on the way out which, however, was to be kept alive artificially until the end of the dynasty within the very restricted circle of the court and the Manchu aristocracy. Indeed, a great part of these translations from the Chinese, especially the voluminous historical records and administrative codes, remained in manuscript form, and has fortunately survived the social and political upheavals following the collapse of the Qing dynasty.

Many of the official acts and most of the edicts and proclamations were issued in Manchu and Chinese, often also accompanied by the parallel Mongolian version, these three languages being the official languages of government. The Manchus were deeply involved with the Mongols whom they had subjugated in the course of long and bloody wars, and whose subsequent allegiance was of paramount importance to them. Hence also the special relationship of the Manchus with Tibet and the Tibetan clergy, and their encouragement of Lamaism in Mongolia to control its unruly populations through the monastic establishments. This was largely successful, but only after the 1750s, when Qianlong's armies completely destroyed Mongol power in Central Asia.

As for the original literary production of the Manchus, it consists mainly of historical records, imperial annals, accounts of military campaigns, official acts and correspondence, memoirs and reports of diplomatic missions, lexicographical works, and shamanistic texts both factual like the account of the shamanistic rites of the imperial clan Aisin Gioro in 1747, and popular like the novel, or story, called *Nišan saman-i bithe*, i.e. *Book of the Nišan Shamaness*, which has recently been the object of much research and publication. There are other stories in Manchu to be investigated and published. In the field of belles-lettres we note the elegant compositions of the Kangxi and Qianlong emperors in both prose and poetry, such as Kangxi's poem on his summer residence in Jehol, and Qianlong's *Ode to Mukden* (*Mukden-i fujurun bithe*). One of the centre-pieces of fine Manchu prose is the so-called 'Sacred Edict' of Kangxi, which is, however, a piece of pure Confucian ethics. Recently discovered works comprise also eulogies, folk songs and epic ballads, as well as poems written by individuals. Manchu poetry is, indeed, a field that promises new interesting and rewarding finds. A special place is occupied by the great work of Sungyun (ch. Songyun, 1752-1835) – a Khorchin

Mongol – entitled *Stories of the One Hundred and Twenty Old Men* (*Emu tanggū orin sakda-i gisun sarkiyān*). Sungyun served under the Qianlong, Jiaqing (1796-1820) and Daoguang (1821-50) emperors reaching top rank in the Qing administration. His work, a personal narrative and reflections on a great variety of topics, written in elegant prose, is unique of its kind in Manchu literature and of immense value, not only linguistically but also as a primary source on the social and cultural history of the period. There is an excellent edition and translation into German by G. Stary. A short extract from this work will be provided below.

The lexicographical texts and, in general, the linguistic production of Manchu scholars working with Chinese, Mongolian and Tibetan scholars is most impressive; we have already mentioned it in connection with Mongolian. Our knowledge of the Manchu language, especially of its vocabulary which, naturally, is greatly influenced by Chinese and Mongolian, owes much to these rich lexicographical works and to numerous Manchu-Chinese and Manchu-Mongolian textbooks.

The literature of the present-day Sibe ‘nationality’ of Xinjiang is in a class of its own. These Sibe tribesmen were moved in 1764-65 from their native Manchuria to the Ili Valley in Central Asia by the Manchu government to establish a military garrison, and are still there. The Sibe have tried hard to preserve their Manchu identity by publishing works on all sorts of subjects: language, political essays, folklore, history, etc., using literary Manchu as their medium, which offers some hope for a limited survival of the Manchu language and culture. They themselves speak what can be called a Manchu dialect (‘a sort of Manchu’, as a linguist recently said), beside Chinese. (See T. A. Pang’s and G. Stary’s contributions in Bibl. 6.3.2.) While in March 2007 fluent native speakers of ‘genuine’ Manchu were less than twenty individuals (see above), Sibe is at present spoken by about 30,000 to 40,000 people in Xinjiang.

For the student of Manchu the following basic works are recommended. E. Haenisch’s *Mandschu-Grammatik* (1961) is a small but useful practical grammar containing also a good selection of readings and specimens of Manchu script. However, it has no glossary and no proper index. The more scientific and detailed grammar by L. M. Gorelova (2002), although somewhat daunting for the beginner, is good for reference and has the great advantage of being in English.

Since much of the material in Manchu consists of official documents, we recommend G. Roth Li's *Manchu. A Textbook for Reading Documents* (2002). J. Norman's *A Concise Manchu-English Lexicon* (1978) is indispensable; for more advanced texts, the student may require also E. Hauer's *Handwörterbuch*, recently reprinted in one volume (2007). An excellent sketch of Manchu grammar, but unfortunately of no easy access, is the one published by J. Norman in the *Phi Theta Annual* (1965); and we owe to L. V. Clark a very handy 'Manchu Suffix List'. For all these publications see Bibl. 6.3.2.

For a survey of Manchu literature, B. Laufer's 'Skizze', now obsolete, is still useful in parts; better introductions to the subjects are W. Fuchs' 'Letteratura della Mancuria', D. Sinor's 'Letteratura mancese' and G. Stary's 'A New Subdivision of Manchu Literature' (see Bibl. 6.3.2).

Now, a few remarks about the Manchu alphabet to help with the reading of our text. The vowels are six: *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* and *ū*. This last letter, which is written like a long *u*, transcribes the Mongol symbol for *ö/ü*. However, phonemically, there is no difference in Manchu between *u* and *ū*; it is only that the *ū* is used after *k*, *g* and *h* in back-vowel words, whereas *u* is used after *k*, *g*, and *h* in front-vowel words (*i* is considered a front vowel). Sometimes *ū* is transcribed *ô* or *û* (Hauer, Haenisch), but we follow Möllendorff and Norman in using the macron for the circumflex. Should one wish to distinguish it from *u* in pronunciation, it can be read as a sound between *o* and *u*. It will be noticed that in script *a* and *o* are distinguished from *e* and *u* by a diacritic dot to the right.

Consonants are transcribed differently for Manchu than for Turkic and Mongolian. There are three velars instead of four: *k*, *g*, and *h*. The *h* is pronounced as a velar fricative (= χ); *k* is written without a dot to the right, but before a consonant it may take two dots to the left like Mongolian γ ; *g* is written with a dot to the right; and *h* takes a little circle to the right. Thus, in Manchu we can have syllables like *ka*, *ke*, *ki*, *ko*, *ku*, *kū*, and the same combinations with *g* and *h*. However, because of the new diacritics, we can distinguish *ka* from *ga* and from *ha*, *ke* from *ge* and from *he*, and so on. We should point out that the letters *k*, *g* and *h* are sometimes transcribed *q*, γ and χ .

Furthermore, there are two letters for *b* and *p*, and for *s* and *š* (*s*, *š*). *S* before *i* is pronounced *š*, as in Mongolian. *D* is distinguished from *t* by a dot to the right; there are also different forms for initial

and medial *t* and *d* when they are followed by *a* or *e*. *č* and *ǰ* are usually transcribed as *c* and *j*. There is a special letter for *f*, a very common sound in Manchu (unlike Turkic and Mongolian). The letter that we transcribe as *v* in Turkic and Mongolian is usually transcribed as *w* in Manchu. And there are modified signs for transcribing Chinese sounds like aspirated *k*; *z* and *c*, etc. Manchu has two *n*'s: a non-palatalized and a palatalized *n* (*ń*, *ng*). Unlike Turkic and Mongolian, the accent tends to fall on the last syllable of the word.

With such useful modifications one does not have to know Manchu to *read* it and to transcribe it correctly: it can actually be done mechanically. When comparing the Manchu script with Oirat script, the relationship is obvious (Zaya Pandita created his *todo bičig* in 1648, i.e. only 16 years after the introduction of the Manchu script).

In many respects the Manchu script is more practical than the Uighur-Mongol script as, for example, when one has to look up a word in a Manchu-Manchu or Manchu-Chinese dictionary – except for the fact they are sometimes arranged according to the order of the Manchu syllabary, which is a little confusing. The usual alphabetical order is *a, e, i, o, ū, u, n, k, g, h, ng, t, p, s, š, t, d, l, m, c, j, y, r, f, w* – i.e., by and large, like the Mongol alphabet.

Text XXXII is a sample of easy Written or Literary Manchu. We have chosen the beginning of an important historical text, the *Veritable Records of the Manchus* (*Manju-i yargiyan kooli*), compiled during Qianlong's reign in Manchu, Chinese and Mongolian, and covering the early history of the Manchus and the reign of Nurhaci up to his death in 1626. This was regarded by the Qing court as a 'secret' work to be kept in the Palace archives, hence it was not published until well after the fall of the dynasty. In 1937, the trilingual text of the *Manju-i yargiyan kooli* which had been earlier discovered in Mukden by the Japanese scholar Naitō Torajirō (1866-1934), was published in Tokyo in facsimile as the first work of the complete Mukden set of the *Veritable Records of the Qing (Dynasty)* (*Qing shilu*). The following year, Naitō's colleague Imanishi Shunjū (1907-79) published his great work consisting of an annotated edition of the *Manju-i yargiyan kooli* in Manchu and Mongolian in transcription, with a Japanese interlinear version, together with the punctuated Chinese text. The 1938 edition was reprinted in Taipei in 1964 and 1969 (in a different format), and the original text was published in

Beijing in 1986 as part of the facsimile reprint of the entire *Qing shilu* in 60 volumes. Several scholars have dealt with the Manchu and Mongolian texts of the *Manju-i yargiyan kooli* from various angles. A particularly important recent contribution on the legend of the origins of the Manchus is by Matsumura Jun. (For all these works see Bibl. 6.3.2.)

The short text presented below is given in transcription and in both a literal and free translation, followed by the Mongol parallel text in transcription for comparative purposes. The trilingual text of this piece is reproduced from the 1986 Beijing edition.

THE MANJU-I YARGIYAN KOOLI (Ch. 1, fol. 1a-3b)

Transcription

[*Manju-i yargiyan kooli.*

Uju i debtelin.

*Golmin Šanggiyan Alin.]**

[2b] *Golmin Šanggiyan Alin den juwe tanggū ba. šurdeme minggan ba. tere alin-i ninggu-de Tamun-i gebungge omo bi. šurdeme jakūnju ba. tere alin-ci tucikengge Yalu. Hüntung. Aihu sere ilan giyang. Yalu Giyang alin-i [3a] julergici tucifi wasihūn eyefi. Liyoodung-ni julergi mederi-de dosikabi. Hüntung Giyang alin-i amargici tucifi amasi eyefi. amargi mederi-de dosikabi. Aihu Bira wesihun eyefi. dergi mederi-de dosikabi. ere ilan giyang-de boobai tana. genggiyen [3b] nicuhe tucimbi. Šanggiyan Alin edun mangga, ba šahūrun ofi. juwari erin oho manggi. šurdeme alin-i gurgu gemu Šanggiyan Alin-de genefi bimbi. šun dekdere ergi ufuhu wehe noho Šanggiyan Alin tere imu:*

Literal Translation

[*VERITABLE RECORDS OF THE MANJU*

First Book

‘The Long White Mountain’]

The Long White Mountain high two hundred *ba*, around one thousand *ba*. On top of that mountain is a lake called Tamun, around eighty *ba*. Coming out of that mountain three rivers called Yalu, Hüntung, Aihu. The Yalu River having come out from the front (= south) of the mountain, having flowed downward (= westward), enters into the sea

* The title of the work, and the chapter number and subject, are all on fol. 1a-2a which are not reproduced here.

in the front (= south) of Liyoodung. The Hüntung River having come out from the back (= north) of the mountain, having flowed to the back (= north), enters into the sea in the back (= north). The Aihu River having flowed upward (= eastward) enters into the sea above (= in the east). From these three rivers come out precious pearls, clear pearls. Because the White Mountain wind strong, the place cold, after it has become summer time, the wild animals of surrounding mountains all going stay into the White Mountain. The sun-rising-direction (= the eastern side) covered with lung stone (= pumice stone). White Mountain that so.

Free Translation

[THE VERITABLE RECORDS OF THE MANCHUS

Book One

‘The Long White Mountain’]

The Long White Mountain is 200 *ba* (= ch. *li*) high and 1,000 *ba* in circumference. On top of the mountain there is a lake called Tamun, 80 *ba* in circumference. Three rivers called Yalu, Hüntung and Aihu issue from the mountain. The Yalu River issues from the south of the mountain, flows westward and enters the sea south of Liaodong. The Hüntung River issues from the north of the mountain, flows northward and enters the sea in the north. The Aihu River flows eastward and enters the sea in the east. These three rivers produce ‘precious pearls’ and ‘clear pearls’ Because the White Mountain has strong winds and the area is cold, when summer ends all the wild animals of the surrounding mountains move into the White Mountain (to hibernate). On the eastern side, (the mountain) is covered with pumice stone. The White Mountain is like this.

PARALLEL TEXT IN MONGOLIAN

Transcription

[*Manju-yin ünen mayad qauli.*

Terigün debter.

Öndör Čayan Ayulan.]

[2b] *Čayan Ayulan-u öndör inu qoyar jaγun bere. toγorin inu mingγan bere bui. orgil degere inu Tamun-i neretü nayur aγuγu. toγorin inu nayan bere buyu. tere ayulan-ača urusqu Yalu. Quntung. Ayikü kemekü yurban mören bui. Yahu Mören Čayan Ayulan-u emün-eče öröne jüg urusču. [3a] Liyoodung-un emüne-ki dalai-dur čidquyu. Quntung Mören Čayan*

Ayulan-u umar-ača urusču. umara-du dalai-dur čidquyu. Ayikü Mören Čayan Ayulan-u doron-ača urusču dorona-du dalai-dur čidquyu. ene yurban mören-eče erdeni tana kiged. subud yarumu Čayan [3b] Ayulan-dur salkin imu ülemji yeke. küiten bükü-yin tulada. jun-u qalayun-dur. orčin-u ayulas-un göröged imu Čayan Ayula-dur quražu amui. naran uryuqu жүг-үн dalai-yin kögesü-tü Öndör Čayan Ayula tere bühige.

Glossary and Explanations

- Manju* pr. name: Manchu; mo. *Manju*; ch. Manzhou
-i gen. s. > *-ni* after *ng*. Used also as instr. s. (It may or may not be joined to the word. Please note that some Manchu scholars do not hyphenate the suffixes, but treat them as separate words.); mo. *-yin*
yargiyan true, real; mo. *ünen mayad*
kooli statute, law, record; mo. *qauli* (? < ch.)
ujui head, first; mo. *terigün*
debtelin volume, book; mo. *debter* (< *uig*. << *gr*.)
golmin long; mo. *urtu*, but here = mo. *öndör* high
šanggiyan white; mo. *čayan*
alin mountain; mo. *ayulan*
den high; mo. *öndör*
juwe two; mo. *qoyar*
tanggū hundred; mo. *jaγun*
ba a Chinese mile (*li*); place; mo. *bere* a league or mile (about ½ km) < *uig*. *bärä* (see above, Text XI)
šurdeme around ← *šurde-* to go around + *-me* impf. conv. s. ('-ing') = surrounding > in circumference, also used as postp. mo. *toγorin*, lit. 'surrounding'
minggan 1,000; mo. *mingyan*
tere that (used as def. article); cf. mo. *tere* id.
ninggu-de on top ← *ninggu* top + *-de* dat.-loc. s.; mo. *orgil degere*
Tamun-i = *Tamun* place name; mo. *Tamun-i*; in both cases the *-i* is redundant
gebungge named ← *gebu* name + *-ngge/-ngga/-nggo* den. n. s. (= 'with, possessing'); mo. *neretü*
omo lake; mo. *nayur*
bi there is (are, has, have); *bi* is a pred. part. used as a copula, here = mo. *aγyu* id.
jakūnju eighty; mo. *nayan*
-ci elat. s. ('from'); mo. *-ača/-eče*

- tucikengge* the ones coming out ← *tuci-* to come out + *-kel/-ka/-ko* (= *-hel/-ha/-ho*) perf. part. s. = what comes out + *-ngge* den. n. s.;
mo. *urusqu* flowing ← *urus-* to flow
- Yahu, Hüntung, Aihu* place names; mo. Yalu, Quntung, Ayikü
sere called ← *se-* to call + *-re* impf. part. s.; mo. *kemekü* ← *keme-*
to say, to be called
- ilan* three; mo. *γurban*
- giyang* river (< ch. *jiang* id.); mo. *mören*
- julergici* from the front = from the south ← *julergi* front, south (<
juleri front, in front + *ergi* direction, side; this side) + *-ci*; mo.
emün-eče (= *emüne-eče*)
- tucifi* having come out ← *tuci-* to come out + *-fi* perf. conv. s.; mo.
∅
- wasihün* downward, down; westward, to the west ← *wasi-* to descend,
go down + *-hün/-hun/-hon* den. & dev. n. s.; mo. *öröne jüg*,
lit. 'western direction'
- eyefi* having flowed ← *eye-* to flow + *-fi*; mo. *urusçu*
- Liyoodung* place name: ch. Liaodong; mo. *Liyoodung*
-ni = *-i* (*-ni* after *ng*, see above); mo. *-un/-ün*
- julergi* front, south (see above); mo. *emüne-ki*
- mederi-de* in the sea ← *mederi* sea + *-de*; mo. *dalai-dur*
- dosikabi* = *dosihabi* entered ← *dosi-* to enter + *-kabil/-kebil/-kobi* =
-habil/-hebil/-hobi perf. s. (*-kabil/-kebil/-kobi* pro *-habi* etc. ←
-ka/-ke/-ko, -ha/-he/-ho perf. part. s. + *bi* is); mo. *čidquyu* ←
čidqu- to pour or flow into
- amargici* from the back = from the north ← *amargi* back, north (<
amala behind; after, later + *ergi* direction, side) + *-ci*; mo.
umar-ača (= *umara-ača*)
- amasi* to the back = to the north ← **ama* back, north + *-si* direct. s.;
mo. ∅
- amargi* north, back; see above
- bira* river; mo. *mören*
- wesihun* upward, up; eastward, east ← *wesi-* to ascend, go up + *-hun/*
-hün/-hon; mo. *doron-ača* (= *dorona-ača*)
- dergi* above, east; mo. *dorona-du*. Cf. mo. *degere* above
- ere* this, these; mo. *ene*
- giyang-de* in the river(s) ← *giyang* + *-de*; mo. *mören-eče*
- boobai* precious (< ch. *baobei* id.); mo. *erdeni*
- tana* pearl; mo. *tana* large pearl

- genggiyen* bright, clear; cf. mo. *gegegen* id.
- nicuhe* pearl
 ma. *genggiyen nicuhe*; mo. *subud* small pearl
- tucimbi* come out (issue, originate) ← *tuci-* + *-mbi* aorist s.; mo. *γarumu edun* wind; mo. *salkin*
- mangga* hard, strong, fierce; mo. *ülemji yeke* very great (= powerful); cf. ch. *meng* fierce; yak. *moŋol* great, big
- ba* place; see above
- šahūrun* cold; mo. *küiten*
- ofi* because (postp.) ← *o-* to become, be + *-fi* perf. conv. s. (lit. ‘having become’); mo. *tulada*
- juwari* summer; ma. *juwari erin*, mo. *jun-u qalaγun-dur* at the time of the summer heat
- erin* time, season
- oho* has been/become ← *o-* to be, become + *-ho/-ha/-he* perf. part. s.
- manggi* after (postp.)
 ma. *juwari erin oho manggi* after the summer time has come, mo. *jun-u qalaγun-dur* at the time of the summer heat
- šurdeme* around (see above); mo. *orčin-u* of the surrounding
- gurgu* wild animal; mo. *görögesün*, pl. *göröged*
- gemu* all; ma. *šurdeme alin-i gurgu gemu*; mo. *orčin-u ayulas-un göröged inu*
- alin* + *-de*; mo. *ayula-dur*
- genefi* went ← *gene-* to go + *-fi*
- bimbi* are, stay, live ← *bi-* to exist, be, stay + *-mbi* aorist s. (used for present and future time and, as here, to make a general factual statement: ‘stay there’); ma. *genefi bimbi* are going; mo. *quraγu amui* are gathering
- šun* sun, day; mo. *naran*
- dekdere* rises, which rises ← *dekde-* to rise + *-ra/-rel/-ro* impf. part. s.; mo. *uryuqu* rising (of the sun). Cf. mo. *degere* above, *degerele-* to elevate
- ergi* direction, side; mo. *jüg*
šun dekdere ergi the direction where the sun rises = the eastern side or direction, the east; mo. *naran uryuqu jüg*
- ufuhu* lung
- wehe* stone

- ufuhu wehe lung-stone* = pumice (stone); mo. *dalai-yin kögesü*, lit. ‘sea foam’
- noho* covered, filled, saturated, all over; the Mongol text has simply *dalai-yin kögesü-tü* ‘has pumice stone’
- inu* also, so; cf. mo. *inu* subj. designator
tere inu that (is) so = this is the way it is; mo. *tere bülüge* is (like) that

Remarks on the text

- 1) At first sight the writing is indistinguishable from that of the Mongolian text – in fact, it is almost identical except for the two Manchu diacritic marks (dot and circle: *tongki* and *fuka*). Later on, the Manchus will develop a type or style of letters somewhat different from the Mongolian. (By observing the two texts very closely one can already notice certain differences.)
- 2) The declensional suffixes may or may not be attached to the word they modify: *-i* gen. s. is separate, *-ci* elat. s. is joined. Verbal suffixes are normally joined.
- 3) The punctuation consists of one and two dots.

A quick look at the words and the way they are put together to form sentences will yield the following observations:

I. Orthography and phonology

- 1) The letters *k*, *g* and *h* can be followed by any vowel (*a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, *ü*), except that there are two forms for each of these consonants: one (of the *q/γ* type in *uyiγurjin*) for *a*, *o*, *ü*, and one (of the *k/g* type in *uyiγurjin*) for *e*, *i*, and *u*. There is a sort of inconsistency in the system, however, because the letter *ü* which goes with the *q/γ* consonant is actually written like *uyiγurjin ö/ü* instead of *uyiγurjin o/u* as we would expect (*ö/ü* in *uyiγurjin* always goes with *k/g*, of course). There are complex and still controversial historical-phonological reasons why Dahai and his colleagues employed the vowel *ö/ü* for what we transcribe as *ü*: see the detailed discussion in L. Ligeti’s article in *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* (pp. 249-256), and compare it with D. Sinor’s paper on the transcription of Manchu in *Journal Asiatique* (Bibl. 6.3.2). Let us say, for the sake of simplification, that it is an orthographic peculiarity of Written Manchu.

- 2) The letters *u* and *i* which, when joined to *k*, *g*, and *h* in writing belong, with the letter *e*, to one vowel group (the other being *a*, *o*, *ü*), are in fact neutral because they can be found in a word containing *a* or *e*. E.g. *juwe* and *juwari*, *alin* and *eyefi*. Furthermore, some suffixes, notably the dative-locative suffix *-de* (corresponding to mo. *-da/-de*) can go indifferently with front and back vocalic words; and in word-fusion – about which more later – *a* and *e* are found together in a single word, e.g. *ilase* ‘three years old’ ← *ila(n)* ‘three’ + *se* ‘year’
- 3) Taking all these facts into account, it becomes clear that vowel harmony in Manchu is quite different from that of Turkic and Mongolian. This is due to the different vowel and consonant system of the Tungus languages which do not have *ö* and *ü*, and which do not possess deep velar stops. We shall say more about these characteristics soon; what we want to point out here is that Dahai and his colleagues, by borrowing the Mongolian script, tried to adapt its orthographical rules to Manchu with mixed results, and that consequently we are left with some orthographic inconsistencies.
- 4) Labial attraction is noticeable in suffixes such as the perfect participle suffix *-hal/-hel/-ho,-kal/-kel/-ko*, the imperfect participle suffix *-ral/-rel/-ro*, etc.

II. Grammar

- 1) Words tend to be polysyllabic because of the agglutinative nature of the language, but also because the base or stem of the word usually consists of more than one syllable.
- 2) As in Mongolian, the final *n* of nouns is very unstable, e.g. *alin* ~ *ali* ‘mountain’, *ilan* ~ *ila* ‘three’
- 3) Word formation, declensions and verbal forms occur by means of suffixes which, as in Turkic and Mongolian, can be denominal noun and deverbal noun suffixes, or denominal verbal and deverbal verbal suffixes, comprising altogether over a hundred suffixes. (See the convenient list by L. V. Clark, *Bibl.* 6.3.2.) Hence, as in Turkic and Mongolian, we have really only two classes of words, nouns and verbs, with a subclass of adverbs that occur before verbal or adjectival expressions. As in Mongolian, adverbs can be formed by nouns in the instrumental case, e.g. *sain-i* ‘well’ Cf. mo. *sayibar* id. A characteristic of Manchu word formation is the

fusion of two or three words into one which can alter the original forms, e.g. *ila* + *se* = *ilase* ‘three years old’, but *fulgiyan* ‘red’ + *suwayan* ‘yellow’ + *bonio* ‘monkey’ = *fulsunio* ‘name of a fabulous yellow monkey with red eyes and mouth’. In Mongolian sometimes two verbs are joined, or a verb and a particle, but these cases are rare, e.g. *abčira-* ‘to bring’ ← *ab-* ‘to take’ + *ire-* ‘to come’. In Manchu, compound verbs formed with *ji-* ‘to come’ are very numerous, e.g. *tuwanji-* ‘to come to see or examine’ ← *tuwa-* ‘to see’ + *ji-*.

- 4) As in all Altaic languages, the Manchu verbal system is quite complex and there are subtle differences between the Mongolian and Manchu verbal forms. (Unfortunately, the Western terminology used for Manchu verbal forms is different from the standard terminology for Mongolian, so one of the future tasks of Altaicists is to make this terminology uniform for all three language groups, and also to standardize the transcription.)
- 5) The verb ‘to have’ does not exist in Manchu either, being replaced by the verb ‘to be’ (*bi-*) with the dative-locative of the possessor.
- 6) The conjunction ‘and’ is likewise absent in Manchu, being expressed by a simple sequence of nouns or gerundive forms as in Mongolian.
- 7) The subject indicators or markers in Manchu are *oci*, *serengge*, *seme* and *ningge*. Mongolian has, *anu*, *inu*, *ber*, etc.
- 8) Although plural suffixes exist, they are used primarily for names of people and offices. When necessary, the plural can be expressed through reduplication of the noun, using numbers or words like ‘several, many, all, etc.’ Apparently, the use of the plural in Manchu-Tungus is related to vowel harmony.
- 9) As in all Altaic languages, there is no article but the noun can be preceded by the demonstrative pronouns *ere* ‘this’ and *tere* ‘that’ (mo. *ene*, *tere*) which serve as a sort of definite article.

III. Syntax

- 1) Following the basic rule of the Altaic languages, the qualifying element(s) precede the qualified, and the word-order is always S-O-V; this also applies to the order of clauses (propositions) within a sentence.

- 2) The predicate is usually nominal, e.g. *mini gebu Bar* ‘my name (is) Bar’. The use of the copula (*bi*) is more restricted than in Mongolian. E.g. *Šanggiyan Alin tere imu* ‘the White Mountain (is) like that’ is rendered in Mongolian as *Čayan Ayula tere bültüge*, where *bültüge* is the copula.
- 3) The role and function of the verb in the sentence, and the way it is coordinated with other verbs, are similar to, but not identical with Mongol usage. We cannot go into this matter at present, but for both the grammar and syntax of Manchu the reader should consult the excellent summary by D. Sinor in *Tu* (pp. 257-80).

IV. Vocabulary. The two following features of the Manchu vocabulary are immediately apparent:

- 1) The great number of words which are common to both Manchu and Mongolian (in the same form, or in a similar form), just as we earlier noticed the common Turkic-Mongolian vocabulary. In our short passage we have *ma. kooki* = *mo. qauli*; *ma. debtelin* = *mo. debter*; *ma. minggan* = *mo. mingyan*; *ma. tere* = *mo. tere*; *ma. bi* = *mo. bui*; *ma. dergi* = *mo. degere*; *ma. tana* = *mo. tana*. Words like *ere*, *juwari* and *inu* might have an early etymological relationship with Mongolian, perhaps through Kitan. Suffixes too have often correspondences in Mongolian: *-de dat.-loc. s.* = *mo. -dal/-de*; *-či abl. s.* = *mo. -ačal/-eče*. There are hundreds more of these lexical correspondences and they have formed the subject of W. Rozycki’s book *Mongol Elements in Manchu* (Bibl. 6.2.2). The total number of Manchu-Mongol correspondences identified by Rozycki is 1,381. One must of course separate the loan words from the native stock of both languages, then determine the genetic origin of what is left through the investigation of sound correspondences and comparison with other Altaic languages. This has been done by scholars interested in the Altaic Hypothesis, but the interpretation of the data is still controversial, as we shall see presently. In any event, the student interested in Manchu-Mongolian correspondences will find Kuribashi’s and Hurelbator’s work (2008; see Bibl. 6.3.2) of great advantage.
- 2) The substantial borrowings (and here we definitely are dealing with loan words) from Chinese, such as *ma. giyang* ‘river’ <

ch. *jiang* id.; ma. *boobai* ‘precious’ < ch. *baobei* id. One can see the extent of these borrowings, especially in the field of administration and technical subjects, by opening at random E. Hauer’s comprehensive *Handwörterbuch* (Bibl. 6.3.2). We should add that both Jurchen and Manchu contain also Korean loan words due to their proximity to Korean-speaking people; in the same way we find Tungusic loan words in Korean.

Our next sample is an extract from a blockprint in the possession of the Musée Guimet in Paris. It is an interesting specimen of Manchu written in Mongol script, i.e. without the ‘dots and circles’ of the Manchu script. The blockprint consists of 78 pages in brownish thin paper bound in Chinese style and measuring 22 x 17 cm. Each page contains seven lines within a black frame. In Text XXXIII we reproduce only pages 12 and 13. A Chinese version of the text exists that is virtually identical with the Manchu one; there was also a handwritten Manchu script copy of which only two pages, corresponding to half of fol. 10, fol. 11, and the first line of fol. 12 (the beginning of our text), have been published. At present the handwritten copy must be considered lost. By comparing the printed version with the two pages of the handwritten copy we notice that the two versions are identical. The work is generally known as the ‘Proclamation of the Later Jin to the Ming Wanli Emperor’, but this is a purely conventional title since neither the Manchu nor the Chinese version bear a title. The work contains 21 episodes concerning Manchu and Chinese history, the latter being mostly devoted to Jurchen-Jin history. The main part of the work is in the form of direct speeches and reflections by Nurhaci addressed to the Chinese emperor (*nikan si* ‘you, Chinese’) the purpose of which is to demonstrate the wrong attitude of the Ming dynasty towards the Manchu khan, thus justifying Nurhaci’s action as sanctioned by Heaven. When dealing with Chinese (as in our example) or Jurchen-Jin history, the text narrates episodes relating to dynastic changes and to bad or good government. On the whole, the work gives the impression of being a literary compilation based on Nurhaci’s pronouncements on historical and philosophical matters as recorded in the *Jiu Manzhou dang*, rather than a ‘propagandistic tool for immediate and practical use’ (G. Stary). According to Stary, the author of this work was most probably a Mucengge *baksi*, and its date of compilation must be placed between the years 1623 and 1626. The text was published in facsimile, together

with an introduction by T. A. Pang and G. Stary, in 1998 (Bibl. 6.3.2; pp. 47-52, 263-340; for our sample reproducing fol. 12-13 see pp. 274-81). In this and the following texts references to Mongolian are given according to Rozycki's study. It should be noted that, according to the latter, in most cases the Mongol words are *recent* loan words in Manchu. Apparently, the corpus of old loan words is very small, and the number of those that might have a common origin in both languages is even smaller.

PROCLAMATION OF NURHACI (pp. 12-19)

Transcription

[12] ¹*Bi donjici* ¹⁻³*julge Nikan gurun-i Siyun gebungge niyalmai banjiha eme ajigan-de akū ofi* ³*ama Guseo mentuhun farhūn* ³⁻⁵*banirke eme banirke eme-de banjiha jui Hiyang-ni gisun-de dosifi:* ⁵*Siyun-be waki seme* ⁶*amai yadara hūcin fete seme dosimbufi* ⁷*hūcin-i angga-de wehe gidahabi* : [13] ¹⁻²*abka Siyun-i tondo sain-be tuwafi hūcin-ci tucibuhebi* ²⁻³*Siyun yadahūn ofi beye usin weileme banjihabi* ³⁻⁴*amala abkai erin isinjifi han ohobi* ⁴⁻⁶*abka emhun fusihūn-be tuwarakū tondo erdemu-be tuwame* ⁶⁻⁷*wehiyeme wasimbuhe kooli ere emu* ⁷*ere kooli-be tuwaci* [13-14] ⁷⁻¹*niyalmai gūnihangge tašan* ¹⁻²*abkai gūnihangge unenggi kai* ²⁻³*ama Guseoi gūnihai oci Siyun-i ergen bimbio* ³⁻⁴*abkai gūnihai ofi Siyun-be han obuhe bikai* ⁴⁻⁵*Nikan si enteke-be gūnirakū* ⁵*abka-be daburakū* ⁶*sini gurun amban cooha geren seme sarici* ⁷*abka geli simbe sini ciha obumbio* [15] ¹*jai geli donjici* : ¹⁻²*Jeo gurun-i Hiowan wang han-i fonde han-i hecen-i buya juse* ²⁻⁴*amba asihan gemu šun yamjime falanggū dume uculeme biya teni mukdembī* ⁴⁻⁵*šun teni tuhembī nimalan moo ji orho* *Jeo gūrun-be efulembī* ⁶⁻⁷*tuttu uculerebe hecen gidara coohai niyalma donjifi bithe arafi han-de alara* [16] ¹⁻²*jaka-de han sesulafi hendume ere gisun ai serengge* ²*Siyoomu gebungge amban hendume* ³⁻⁴*nimalan moo-be beri arambi : ji orho-be ladu arambi* : ⁴⁻⁵*mini mentuhun-i dolo gurun-de amala beri sirdan-i jobolon bi sembi* ⁵⁻⁷*han hendume tuttu oci hecen-i dorgi beri sirdan arara niyalma-be gemu wara* [16-17] ⁷⁻¹*kui beri sirdan-be gemu tuwa sindara oci antaka* : ²⁻³*tede Beyang fu gebungge amban hendume* ³*bi abkai arbun-be tuwaci* ³⁻⁴*tere ganio han-i hūwai dolo bi* ⁴*beri sirdan-i weile waka* : ⁵⁻⁶*amaga jalan-de urunakū hehe ejen tucifi gurun-be facuhūrambi* ⁶⁻⁷*tere anggala biya teni mukdembī šun teni tuhembī sehebi* [:] [18] ¹*šun serengge han niyalmai arbun* : ¹⁻²*tuhembī serengge sain akū* : ²⁻³*biya serengge hehe*

niyalmai arbun ³⁻⁵*mukdembi serengge hehe ejen tucifi doro-be*
facuhūrarangge yargiyan kai ⁵⁻⁷*han weile akū irgen-be wara*
coohai agūra-be tuwa sindara oci ombio seme tafulame nakabuha
 [18-19] ⁷⁻²*tereci Hiowan wang han bederehe manggi jui lu wang*
sireme han tefi ²⁻⁴*Boose-nū gebungge fujin-i gisun-de dosifi fujin*
etenggilefi doro efujehe sere ⁴⁻⁵*abkai joriha ganio jurcehekū efujehe*
kooli ere juwe : ⁵⁻⁶*ere kooli-be Nikan si sarkūn*

Glossary and Explanations

- bi* I, me; mo. *bi id.*
- donjici* as I heard ← *donji-* to listen, hear + *-ci* cond. conv. s. (temporal: when, as); note that in dictionaries all verbs are entered with the action form suffix *-mbi*, thus *donjimbi*, or *arambi* ‘to write’; mo. *duyul-* to hear, listen
- julge* old, ancient; antiquity
- nikan* Chinese
- gurun-i* of the dynasty ← *gurun* country, tribe, people; ruling house, dynasty + *-i* gen. s.; cf. mmo. *kūr* entire, general, common, universal
Nikan gurun Chinese dynasty
- Siyon* = Šūn, ch. Shun, pr. name: the early Chinese ruler Shun (? 2317-2208)
- gebungge* called ← *gebu* name, fame + *-nggal/-nggel/-nggo* den. n. s. (= *gebungge* named; well-known, famous)
- niyalma* man, person, someone else, others
- banjiha* natural ← *banji-* to live, be born; to form, come into existence, become + *-hal/-hel/-ho* perf. part. s.
- eme* mother; mo. *eme*
- ajigan-de* in childhood ← *ajigan* young, small; (here:) childhood + *-de* dat.-loc. s.
- akū ofi* since died ← *akū* neg. particle: there is not, there are not; it does not exist here (there), *o-* to become, change into; to be, exist; to be proper or permissible + *-fi/-pi* perf. conv. s. (temp.: after, when; causal: as, since)
- ama* father, head of the household; cf. mo. *aba*, *abu* father, grandfather
- Guseo* ch. Gusou, pr. name: Shun’s father
- mentuhun* stupid, foolish
- farhūn* dark, unclear, confused
- banirke eme* stepmother; also called *banirke eniye*

- banirke eme-de* to the stepmother ← *banirke eme* + *-de*
jui child; son
Hiyang-ni of Hiyang ← *Hiyang*, ch. Xiang, the son of Shun's step-
 mother + *-ni* gen. s. (after words ending in *-ng*)
gisun-de to the speech ← *gisun* speech, word, language; drumstick +
-de
dosifi ← *dosi-* to enter, advance + *-fi/-pi*
gisun-de dosi- to listen, agree with the words
Siyon-be Siyon (Šūn) + *-be* acc. s.
waki let us kill ← *wa-* to kill, slay + *-ki* opt. s. (expressing the
 speaker's desire for the realization of an action, thus *waki* 'I
 wish to kill, I will kill, let us kill')
seme saying ← *se-* to say, call; to mean + *-me* impf. conv. s.
amai by (your) father ← *ama* + *-i* instr. s.
yadara (as) wanted ← *yada-* (here:) to want; (generally:) to be poor,
 wretched, suffering + *-ra/-re/-ro* impf. part. s.; mo. *yada-* id.
hūcin well
fete dig! ← *fete-* to dig (out, up); to criticize, scrutinize; the
 imperative of the second person has no suffix and coincides
 with the stem of the verb; cf. mo. *ete-* to pick, pluck out
dosimbufi after (she) put in ← *dosi-* to enter + *-mbu-* (*-bu-*) caus. &
 pass. s. (= *dosimbu-* to put in, insert) + *-fi/-pi*
hūcin-i of the well ← *hūcin* + *-i* gen. s.
angga-de on the opening ← *angga* mouth; opening, hole; pass, gate +
-de; mo. *ama(n)* id.
wehe stone, rock
gidahabi (she) closed ← *gida-* to close, shut + *-habi/-hebi/-hobi* perf.
 s.

'As I heard. Of the ancient Chinese dynasty of a person called Šūn, the mother in (his) childhood since died and (since his) father Guseo (was) stupid and confused, (his) stepmother, of Xiang, son to the stepmother, to the words listened and "Šūn let us kill!" saying, "by (your) father (as) wanted a well dig!" saying, after (she) put (Šūn) into (the well) and on the opening of the well (with) a stone (she) closed'.

- abka* sky, heaven; weather; emperor
Siyon-i Šūn's ← *Šyon* + *-i* gen. s.
tondo loyal(ty), straight(ness); fair, public

- sain-be* goodness ← *sain* good(ness); well; auspicious + *-be*; mo. *sayin* id.; in the text the word is written *sayin* – a Mongolism
- tuwafi* after having seen ← *tuwa-* to look, look at; to observe + *-fi/-pi*
- hūcin-ci* from/out of the well ← *hūcin* + *-ci* elat. s.
- tucibuhebi* took out ← *tuci-* to come or go out; to leave; to rise (sun); to sprout, originate from + *-bu/-mbu-* caus. & pass. s. (= *tucibu-* to take out, bring out, remove; to save, rescue) + *-habil/-hebi/-hobi*
- yadahūn* poor ← *yada-* + *-han/-hen/-hon/-hūn* dev. n. s.
- ofi* since was; see above
- beye* (one)self, body; mo. *beye(n)* id.
- usin* field (for cultivation)
- weileme* cultivating ← *weile-* to work; to make, construct; to serve + *-me*; mo. *üyiled-* id.; in the text the word is written *üileme* – another Mongolism
- banjihabi* (he) lived ← *banji-* to live, be born; to form, become + *-habil/-hebi/-hobi*
- amala* after, later; behind
- abkai* by Heaven ← *abka* + *-i* instr. s.
- erin* time, season; one of the two-hour divisions of the day
- isinjifi* when came ← *isinji-* to arrive (at place), reach, come (time) + *-fi/-pi*
- han* king, emperor, khan; mo. *qan* id.
- ohobi* he became ← *o-* + *-habil/-hebi/-hobi* perf. s.
- emhun* loneliness; alone, sole, lonely
- fusihūn* poorness; (down)wards; westwards; humble; junior
- tuwarakū* does not see ← *tuwa-* + *-ra/-re/-ro* impf. part s. + *akū* neg. particle
- erdemu-be* capability ← *erdemu* capability, virtue, power + *-be*; mo. *erdem* knowledge, learning, skill, ability, wisdom, virtue
- tuwame* while looking ← *tuwa-* + *-me*
- wehiyeme* rising ← *wehiye-* to support, aid, watch after; (here:) to rise + *-me*
- wasimbuhe* falling ← *wasi-* to descend, go down, sink; to fall (of rulers), decline + *-mbu/-bu-* (= *wasimbu-* ~ *wasibu-* to issue [an order]; to demote; [here:] to fall [of a dynasty]) + *-ha/-hel/-ho* perf. part. s.

- kooli* example; (generally:) rule, norm, statute; custom, method;
mo. *qauli* id.
ere this; mo. *ene* id.
emu one; (here:) first

‘Heaven, Šün’s loyalty and goodness after having seen, out of the well took (him). Šün poor since was, (him)self field(s) cultivating, he lived. Later, by Heaven (established) the time when came, *han* (he) became. Heaven loneliness and poorness does not see, loyalty and uprightness while looking. Rising and falling (of a dynasty) example this first (is)’.

- kooli-be* example ← *kooli* + *-be*
tuwaci if (we) look ← *tuwa-* + *-ci* cond. conv. s.
niyalmai of men ← *niyalma* + *-i* gen. s.
gūnihangge thought(s) ← *gūni-* to think, consider, intend + *-hal/-hel/-ho* + *-ngge* den. n. s. (forming substantivized adjectives and participles; cf. also *ice* ‘new’ → *icengge* ‘the new’)
tašan false; error; mo. *tasiya* id.
abkai of Heaven ← *abka* + *-i*
unenggi true, honest, genuine; truly, really, honestly; mo. *ūnen* id.
kai indeed; a corr. & emph. particle; mo. *qai* interj. expressing grief, dissatisfaction, disapproval or doubt
ama Guseoi of Father Guseo ← *ama, Guseo* + *-i*
gūniha intention ← *gūni-* + *-hal/-hel/-ho* (= *gūniha* intention, thought, opinion, mind, spirit; plan)
oci according to; (cond. of *o-*) a particle used to set off the subject: ‘as for, referring to, according to’
Siyon-i for Šün ← *Šyon* + *-i* instr. s.
ergen life, breath
bimbio could there be? ← *bi-* to exist, be + *-mbi* + *o* inter. particle; mo. *bü-* to be (a defective verb)
Siyon-be Šün ← *Šyon* + *-be*
obuhe (he) caused to become ← *o-* + *-bu-* (= *obu-* to make [into], cause to become) + *-hal/-hel/-ho*
bikai corr. particle
si you
enteke-be (about) this ← *enteke* this sort of + *-be*
gūnirakū didn’t (you) think ← *gūni-* + *-ral/-rel/-ro* + *akū*
abka-be Heaven ← *abka* + *-be*

- daburakū* not considering ← *da-* to take care of; to mind someone else's business + *-bu-* (= *dabu-* to take into account, consider) + *-ra/-re/-ro* + *akū*
- sini* your; gen. of *si* 'you'
- amban* (~ *amba*) big, great, vast, important
- cooha* army, troops; soldier; military, martial; cf. *mmo.*, *kit. *čawur* ~ **čaur*
- geren* a crowd, a troupe; numerous, many; of common origin, common, general; issue of a concubine
- sarici* if (you) display the troops ← *sari-* to display the troops + *-ci* cond. conv. s.; *ma. sari-* is a variant of *sara-* 'to open (out), unfold, expand, rub smooth; to fan, winnow'; cf. also Sibe *sari-* 'to spread, broaden, expand, extend; to open'
- geli* also, still, again
- simbe* you; acc. of *si*
- ciha* desire, wish
- obumbio* how could follow? ← *o-* + *-bu-* (= *obu-*) + *-mbi* + *o*

'This example if (we) look, (we see that) of men the thought(s) (are) false (and) of Heaven the thought(s) (are) truthful, indeed. Father Guseo's intention according to, for Šūn life could there be? Heaven's plan since there was, Šūn *han* (he) caused to become, indeed. Chinese, you, this didn't (you) think? Heaven not considering, your dynasty (is) great and by the army numerous saying, if (you) display the troops, Heaven again you and your wishes how could follow?'

- jai* next, following; still, further; *jai geli* furthermore
- Jeo* Zhou; name of a Chinese dynasty (*ca.* 1050-249 BC)
- Hiowan* ch. Xuanwang, King Xuan of Zhou (827-782 BC)
- wang* (< ch.) prince; (in antiquity:) king, ruler
- han-i* of the khan ← *han* + *-i*
- fonde* in the period ← *fon* time, season, period + *-de*; cf. *kit. *po* time, *mmo. hon* ~ *on* calendar year
- hecen-i* of the city ← *hecen* city, city wall + *-i*; cf. ch. *cheng* id.
- buya* small, insignificant
- juse* children; pl. of *jui* 'child, son'
- amba* (~ *amban*) great; old
- asihan* young, youth
- gemu* all; in every case
- šun* sun, day

- yamjime* while is approaching the evening ← *yamji-* to become evening + *-me*
- falanggū* the palm of the hand(s); mmo. *halaqa(n) ~ alaqa(n) = pmo. alaya(n)* id.
- dume* striking ← *du-* to hit, strike + *-me*
falanggū du- to clap the hands
- uculeme* singing ← *ucu(n)* song, ballad + *-la-/-le-/-lo-* den. v. s. (= *ucule-* to sing, mix) + *-me*
- biya* moon, month
- teni* just, then and only then, not until, for the first time
- mukdembī* is rising ← *mukde-* to rise, go upwards + *-mbi* aorist s.
- tuhembī* is setting ← *tuhe-* to fall; to sink, set (of the sun) + *-mbi*
- nimalan* mulberry
- moo* tree, wood; cf. mmo., mo. *modu(n)* id.
- ji orho* safflower ← *ji* safflower, *orho* plant, grass
- gurun-be* the state ← *gurun* + *-be*
- efulembi* will destroy ← *efule-* to destroy, ruin, break + *-mbi*
- tuttu* thus, so
- uculerebe* (that) song ← *ucule-* + *-ra/-re/-ro* impf. part. (here used as a substantival form) + *-be* acc. s.
- gidara* oppressing ← *gida* to press, crush; to oppress + *-ra/-re/-ro*
- coohai* of the army ← *cooha* + *-i* gen. s.
coohai niyalma soldier(s)
- donjifi* after having heard ← *donji-* + *-fi/-pi*
- bithe* book, letter; (here:) report; mo. *bičig* anything written: script, letter, document, etc.
- arafi* wrote ← *ara-* to write, make; to appoint + *-fi/-pi*
- han-de* to the emperor ← *han* + *-de*
- alara* reported ← *ala-* to tell, report + *-ra/-re/-ro*

‘Furthermore, as I heard. Of the Zhou state, of the *han* Xuanwang prince in the period, the *han*’s city’s small children, old and young, all, the sun while is approaching the evening, the hands clapping, and singing “The moon just is rising, the sun just is setting, the mulberry tree and the safflower plant, the Zhou state will destroy”, thus that song the town-oppressing soldier(s) after having heard, a report (they) wrote and to the *han* reported.’

- jaka-de* when ← *jaka* thing, object; side, edge, border; (as a particle:) just, as soon as + *-de* (= *jaka-de* [after the impf.

- part.:] when, because of; [as postposition:] to the presence of, up to, by, in front of); mo. *jaqa* side, brim, border
- sesulafi* was surprised ← *sesula-* to be surprised, startled + *-fi/-pi*
- hendume* saying ← *hendu-* to say, speak + *-me*
- gisun* word(s) ← *gisun* speech, word, language
- ere gisun* these words
- ai* what? which?; hey!
- serengge* the saying ← *se-* + *-ra/-rel/-ro* + *-ngge* den. n. s.
- Siyoomu* = Šūmu, ch. Shao Mu, pr. name: a high official of King Xuan of Zhou
- amban* high official, dignitary
- moo-be* the tree ← *moo* + *-be* acc. s.
- beri* bow(s)
- arambi* (is used) to make ← *ara-* + *-mbi*
- orho-be* the plant ← *orho* + *-be*
- ladu* quiver(s) ← *ladu* a round quiver made of pigskin
- mini* my, of me; gen. of the pers. pron. *bi*; mo. *minu* ~ *mini* id.
- mentuhun-i* of stupidity ← *mentuhun* + *-i*
- dolo* inside, the inside, inner
- mini mentuhun-i dolo* lit. ‘inside my stupidity’ = ‘according to my humble opinion’
- gurun-de* in the country ← *gurun* + *-de*
- sirdan-i* with arrow(s) ← *sirdan* a military arrow with a two-edged iron arrowhead + *-i*
- beri sirdan-i* with bow(s) and arrow(s)
- jobolon* harm, calamity, sorrow; mo. *jobalang* id.
- bi* there is/will be
- sembi* (he) says ← *se-* + *-mbi*; *sembi* ends the direct speech (cf. *seme* and *sere* below)
- tuttu oci* if it is so; lit. ‘like that according to’
- dorgi* inside, inner; imperial, the court (← *dolo* + *ergi* direction, side; this side)
- hecen-i dorgi* in the city
- arara* who are making ← *ara-* + *-ra/-rel/-ro*
- niyalma-be* people (acc.) ← *niyalma* + *-be*
- arara niyalma-be* making people; people who make/are making
- wara* (I) will kill ← *wa-* + *-ra/-rel/-ro*
- kui* of the storehouse(s) ← *ku* storehouse, warehouse (< ch.) + *-i*

- sirdan-be* arrow(s) ← *sirdan* + *-be*
tuwa fire
sindara (we) put ← *sinda-* to put, place, set + *-ral-rel-ro*
tuwa sindara (we) put to fire
oci cond. of *o-*
antaka how is? what is it like? what about ...? how about ...?,
oci antaka how would it be if ...; *tuwa sindara oci antaka*
 how would it be if we put to fire
tede at that moment; dat.-loc. of *tere* there, in that place; up till
 now; mo. *tere*
Beyang Beyang, ch. Boyang, name of an astrologer
fu official title (< ch.)
arbutun-be the shape ← *arbutun* form, shape; situation + *-be*
tere that
ganio (here:) omen; (generally:) strange, odd; inauspicious
hūwai of the court ← *hūwa* courtyard, garden; in two, apart + *-i*
hūwai dolo inside the court
sirdan-i of arrow(s) ← *sirdan* + *-i*
weile matter, affair; work, act(ion); fault, offence; mo. *üyile* id.
waka is not; sentence particle that negates nominal predicates: is
 not, are not; mistake, error, blame
amaga afterwards, later, future
jalan-de in a generation ← *jalan* a section (of bamboo, grass, etc.), a
 joint; generation, age
amaga jalan-de in a later generation
urunakū certainly, surely, necessarily; must
hehe woman, female
ejen ruler, lord, master; mo. *ejen* id.
tucifi after having come out ← *tuci-* + *-fi/-pi*
gurun-be the state (acc.) ← *gurun* + *-be*
facuhūrambi will confuse ← *facuhūra-* to be in disorder, rebel; to feel
 confused and disoriented + *-mbi* aorist s.

‘When the *han* was surprised, saying, “These word(s) was (is) the saying?”, the dignitary called Shaomu saying, “The mulberry tree (is used) bow(s) to make, the safflower (is used) quiver(s) to make. According to my humble opinion in the country later with bow(s) and arrow(s) trouble there will be”, (he) says. The *han* saying, “If it is so, in the city bow(s) and arrow(s) making people all (I) will kill. The storehouse(s)’

bow(s) and arrow(s) all if (we) put to fire how would it be?" At that moment, the dignitary called Beyang fu saying, "I, Heaven's shape if (I) look at, that omen the *han*'s court's inside there is (= refers to something inside the court of the *han*.) Bow(s)' and arrow(s)' matter (it) is not. In a later generation surely a female ruler after having come out, the state will confuse."

- anggala* people, population, persons; (postp.) in place/instead of; rather than, not only
- sehebi* said ← *se-* + *-habil/-hebi/-hobi* perf. s.
- serengge* the one called ← *se-* + *-ral/-re/-ro* + *-nggal/-ngge/-nggo* den. n. s.
- niyalmai* of a person ← *niyalma* + *-i*
han niyalmai of a male emperor
- arbun* nature, form; situation
šun serengge han niyalmai arbun lit. 'the one called "sun" (is) a *han*-person's nature' = '(the word) "sun" refers to a male emperor'
- tuhembi* to fall ← *tuhe-* + *-mbi*
- mukdembi* to rise ← *mukde-* + *-mbi*
- doro-be* the royal rule ← *doro* the correct way (ch. *tao*), doctrine; rule, government + *-be*; mo. *törö* id.
- facuhūrarangge* will be in disorder ← *facuhūra-* + *-ral/-re/-ro* + *-ngge*
- yargiyan* true, genuine
- weile akū* innocent (lit. 'there is [= it has] no fault')
- irgen-be* people ← *irgen* (the common) people + *-be*; mo. *irgen* id.
- agūra-be* weapon(s) ← *agūra* vessel, implement, weapon; cf. mo. *aγura* chattels, belongings (? a recent loanword in Manchu)
- oci ombio* how is it possible? ← *o-* + *-ci* cond. s., *o-* + *-mbio*
- seme* saying ← *se-* + *-me*; indicates the end of direct speech (= mo. *kemen*)
- tafulame* advising ← *tafula-* to advise, counsel + *-me*
- nakabuha* left ← *naka-* to stop, cease; to leave (a post) + *-bu/-mbu-* (= *nakabu-* to dismiss, discharge) + *-hal/-hel/-ho* perf. part. s.
- tereci* after that, then; abl. of *tere* 'that'
- bederehe* had died ← *bedere-* to return; to die (of a noble person) + *-hal/-hel/-ho*
- manggi* after (after the perf. part. or imp.)
- Iu* ch. Yu, pr. name: the son of King Xuan

- sireme* following ← *sire-* to twist, spin; to follow + *-me*
- tefi* having sat, (he) sat and ← *te-* to sit; to reside, live; to occupy (a post) + *-fi/-pi*
sireme han tefi following became *han*, i.e. followed as *han*
- Boose-nü* ch. Baosi, pr. name: the wife of King Xuan's son Yu; *-nü* (< ch. *nü* a woman, feminine) is a female indicator. See the *Remarks on the text*
- fujin-i* of (his) wife ← *fujin* wife of a feudal lord or of a *beile* (prince of the third rank), lady; mmo. *ūjin* ~ *vujin* < ch. *fujen* > ma. *fujin*
- etenggilebi* used (her) influence ← *etenggile-* to use force; to use one's influence + *-bi*
- efujehe* was ruined ← *efuje-* to be ruined or spoiled, be defeated + *-hal/-hel/-ho*
- sere* it is that, lit. 'it says' ← *se-* + *-ral/-rel/-ro*; this word is also used as the indication of the end of direct speech, of a narrative or a definition. It is often represented by quotation marks, e.g. *abka sere gisun* the word 'abka'
- joriha* shown ← *jori-* to point, indicate, show; to aim + *-hal/-hel/-ho*; mo. *ǰori-* to move/go in the direction of
- jurcehekū* not following ← *jurce-* to follow, respect; to disobey, go against (one's word), turn the back on, oppose (in battle) + *-hal/-hel/-ho* + *akū*; fig. 'following without contradiction'
- efujehe* falling ← *efuje-* + *-hal/-hel/-ho*
- juwe* two; (here:) second
- kooli-be* (here:) example ← *kooli* + *-be*
- sarkūn* didn't (you) know ← *sara-* to open, unfold; to know + *akūn* (← *akū* + *n* inter. particle)

“Those people, ‘The moon just is rising, the sun just is setting’ said. ‘Sun’ the one called (is) a *han*-person’s nature (= [the word] ‘sun’ refers to a male emperor). ‘To fall’ the one called good there is not. ‘Moon’ the one called (is) a female person’s nature. ‘To raise’ the one called (means that) a female ruler after having come out, the royal rule will put in disorder. (This is) true indeed. The *han* innocent people will kill, the army’s weapon(s) will put to fire, how is it possible?” saying, advising (the *han*, the astronomer) left (the court). After that, Xuanwang prince the *han* died after, the son Yu prince following, sat (as) *han* and Boose-nü called wife’s words to (he)

listened and the wife used (her) influence and the royal rule (or government) was ruined, it is that. By Heaven shown omen not following, the falling (of a dynasty) example this second (is). This example, Chinese, you, didn't (you) know?

Free Translation

[12] ¹I have heard that ¹⁻³since the mother of a man called Šūn of the old Chinese dynasty died when he was in his childhood, ³and (since his) father Guseo was stupid and confused, ³⁻⁵the stepmother listened to Xiang, the stepmother's son, and saying, ⁵'Let us kill Šūn', and saying, ⁶'Dig a well (as it) is wanted by your father', she put (Šūn) into (the well) and ⁷closed the opening of the well (with a) stone. [13] ¹⁻²Heaven, after having seen Šūn's loyalty and goodness, took (Šūn) out of the well. ²⁻³As Šūn was poor, he lived cultivating the fields by himself. ³⁻⁴Later, when the time (appointed) by Heaven came, he became khan. ⁴⁻⁶Heaven does not see loneliness and poorness, He looks at loyalty and uprightness. ⁶⁻⁷This is the first example of the rising and the falling (of a dynasty). ⁷If we look at this example, (we see that) [13-14] while ⁷⁻¹the thoughts of men are false, ¹⁻²the thoughts of Heaven are indeed truthful. ²⁻³According to the thoughts of (his) father Guseo, could there have been a life for Šūn? ³⁻⁴Since there was the plan of Heaven, He indeed caused Šūn to become khan. ⁴⁻⁵You, Chinese, didn't you think about it? ⁵Not taking into account Heaven, ⁶if you display troops saying that your dynasty is great and the troops are numerous, ⁷how can Heaven follow you and your wishes? [15] ¹Furthermore, I heard that ¹⁻²in the period of the khan Prince Xuanwang of the Zhou dynasty, all the small children of the khan's city, ²⁻⁴old and young, while the sun was approaching the evening (= was setting), clapping their hands were singing, 'The moon is rising, ⁴⁻⁵the sun is setting, the mulberry tree and the safflower will destroy the state of Zhou.' ⁶⁻⁷After the soldiers oppressing the city had heard that song, they wrote a report and informed the emperor. [16] ¹⁻²When the khan, surprised, said, 'These words, what are they telling (= what do they mean)?', ²a dignitary named Shaomu said, ³⁻⁴'The mulberry-tree (is used) to make bows, safflower to make quivers. ⁴⁻⁵In my humble opinion, later there will be trouble with bows and arrows in the country.' ⁵⁻⁷The khan answered, 'If so, let us kill all the people who are making bows and arrows in the city. [16-17] ⁷⁻¹And what about putting to fire all the bows and arrows in the storehouses?' ²⁻³At that moment a dignitary called Beyang fu said, ³'If I look at the shape

of Heaven, (I see that) ³⁻⁴the omen (refers to something) inside the khan's court. ⁴It is not a matter of bows and arrows. ⁵⁻⁶In a later generation a female ruler will surely turn up and make trouble in the state. ⁶⁻⁷Those people said, "The moon is rising, the sun is falling" [18] ¹(The word) "sun" refers to a male emperor. ¹⁻²(The word) "to fall" is not good (i.e. inauspicious). ²⁻³(The word) "moon" refers to a female (ruler). ³⁻⁵(The word) "to rise" (means that) a female ruler will appear and will put in disarray the royal rule. And this is true. ⁵⁻⁷How can the khan kill innocent people and burn the army's weapons?' Advising (the khan with these words, the astronomer) left (the court). [18-19] ⁷⁻²Thereupon, after the khan Prince Xuanwang had died, (his) son Prince Yu succeeded as khan. He ²⁻⁴listened to his wife called Boose-nü; the wife used (her) influence and the government was ruined. ⁴⁻⁵Not following the omen shown by Heaven: this is the second example of the falling (of a dynasty). ⁵⁻⁶You, Chinese, didn't you know his example?

Remarks on the text

- 1) The first impression on reading this text is its 'Chineseness'. One can hardly imagine an Uighur or Mongol ruler writing a document of this kind. It is a good example of how, at this early stage, the Manchus were already strongly affected by Chinese cultural influence. This is probably due to the fact that Manchuria, unlike Mongolia, had throughout its history a substantial Chinese population, mostly inhabiting the southern part of the country. One may go as far as saying that Chinese culture is an integral part of the heterogeneous Manchurian culture. Besides Tungusic and Chinese, also Mongolian (in earliest times Kitan, and later also other Mongolian languages), Ghilyak (Nivkh) and Turkic elements are indeed part of this highly interesting cultural complex.
- 2) Although we have been transcribing the text according to the entries as they are found in Manchu dictionaries, the following orthographies should be especially noted: ma. *o*, *u* = mo. *W*; ma. *ū* = mo. *'WY* (initial), *WY* (first syllable, seldom also non-first syllable), *W* (non-first syllable, seldom first syllable); ma. *k*, *g*, *h* = mo. *K* (followed by *i*, *e*, *u*, *ū*), *Q* (followed by *a*, *o*); ma. *k* + cons. = mo. *K*, *Q*; ma. *f*, *w*, *b* (seldom) = mo. *V*; ma. *s*, *š*, *z*, *z*, *ǰ* = mo. *S*; ma. *š* = mo. *SY* (seldom); ma. *j* (initial), *y* (all positions) = mo. *J*; and ma. *c* (all positions), *j* (non-initial) = mo. *C*. Thus, e.g., *farhūn*

is written *VARKWN*, *abka* = ''BQ', *donjici* = *TW'CYCY*, and *banjihabi* = *B'NCYQ'BY*. Note also that in our text *ma. NYWY* = *nü* < *ch. nü* a woman, feminine; *ma. SYYWN* = *siyon* = *šün*; *KWYRWN* = *gūrun* = *gurun*. For a more detailed analysis of the orthography of the old Manchu script, see Pang and Stary (Bibl. 6.3.2, pp. 6-8) and the literature cited therein, as well as the relevant works cited in the bibliography (6.1), especially Ligeti 1952.

- 3) Plurality is generally not expressed in Manchu. When expressed, the plural suffixes are *-sa* or *-se* (more seldom *-so*, *-si*), e.g. *gege* 'elder sister' → *gegese* 'elder sisters', *Monggo* 'Mongol' → *Monggoso* 'Mongols'; and *-ta*, *-te*, e.g. *ahūn* 'elder brother' → *ahūta* 'elder brothers'. A rare plural suffix is *-ri*, occurring only in connection with *mafa* 'grandfather' → pl. *mafari*, and *mama* 'grandmother' → pl. *mamari*. These suffixes are mainly used with names and with grades of age and relationship. The final *-n* is dropped before the suffix, as in *ahūn*. Other ways to express plurality in Manchu are through the use of adnominal words, such as *geren* 'all', *eiten* 'everyone', *tanggū* 'hundred', *tumen* 'ten thousand', e.g. *geren niyalma* 'all people', *eiten jaka* 'everything, all things', *tanggū hafan* 'the hundred officials = officialdom', as well as by adverbial words such as *gemu*, *yooni*, *tome* 'all', e.g. *niyalma gemu sambi* 'the people all know'
- 4) An interesting case of word formation is the word *dorgi* of our text. Manchu has two different ways to form new words. The first one is with the help of suffixes, e.g. *gisun* 'word' → *gisure-* 'to speak', or *giru-* 'to be ashamed' → *girucun* 'shame'; this system is well-known from Turkic and Mongolian. The other one is, however, proper to Manchu. In such cases only certain syllables of two different words are taken to form a new word, e.g. *dorgi* 'inside' ← *do(lo)* 'inside, inner' + *(e)rgi* 'direction', *aisirgan* 'canary' ← *aisi(n)* 'gold' + *(siša)rgan* 'a small bird resembling the *fiyabkū* with a blue breast and black markings on the back', *bangguhe* 'myna bird' ← *ch. ba(ge)* 'myna' + *ma. (ye)ngguhe* 'a large parrot' ← *ch. ying(wu)* 'parrot' + *ma. (ke)kuhe* 'Asiatic cuckoo (*Cuculus canorus*)'. This last system of word formation has not been investigated properly, but it seems to have been very productive in Manchu, involving words of Manchu, Chinese and Mongolian origin.

Our next sample (Text XXXIV) is an extract from a manuscript in two volumes kept in the *Tōyōbunka kenkyūsho* at the University of Tokyo. The manuscript is a unique source on Manchu shamanistic rituals; furthermore, it is one of the very few illustrated texts on the subject. This work, catalogued under the Chinese title *Jisi quanshu wuren songnian quanlu* or ‘Complete Sacrificial Scriptures and Complete Record of Shamanistic Prayers’, was noted down in 1771 by the shaman Changching (ma. Cangcing). All the prayers are written in Manchu while the instructions for the various sacrifices are in Chinese. In some cases the Chinese texts are also short descriptions of the illustrations, but generally the short explanations of the illustrations are likewise written in Manchu. A number of scribal errors make the reading of the text occasionally difficult. On the one hand these mistakes point to the fact that Changching was highly sinicised, and on the other one cannot avoid the impression that although the recitation of the Manchu prayers seems to have been still alive, the text as a whole was not always understood properly, as shown for example by the indifferent use of the accusative suffix *-be* and the dative-locative suffix *-de*, or the erroneous *amba aname-de jahumbu* for *amba nagan-de jahumbu*, and *jalan halman* for *jalan halame* ‘generation after generation’ (For a similar phenomenon cf. the use of Latin as the Church language in the Middle Ages.) A transcription of the Manchu text, accompanied by a translation of the Manchu and Chinese texts was provided by A. Pozzi (Bibl. 6.3.2; our sample corresponds to pp. 44-46), who has also contributed several of the interpretations.

FROM THE *MANCHU-SHAMANICA ILLUSTRATA* (fol. 16a, ll. 1-9)

Transcription

[16a] ¹*Asuki Etehe Julehe Nojen Katun Nege šabure tugi-ci šala ninggude wasici niobure tugi-ci ningguci wasi wasime jici okdome* ²*bihe wasime geneki fudeme bihe Hasuri hala tere hala tere aniyangge elun-i ejen gaiha boihoji tere aniyangge beye ujha juse* ³*gaiha urun fuseke omosi uheri teheri ufuhu-de ulici fahūnde falici elgin niyengniyeri [erinde] bayan bolori erinde ulin jiha-be udame* ⁴*basa jiha baicame baitangga honin/niowangniyaha-be gaiŋi weceku jakade alibuki unenggi weceku kesi kai alime suwende gaiha kai* ⁵*ereci Julesi elun-i ejen-be gosiki yabure bade yargiyambu genere bade getuken kai sain jugūn yabuci ehe jugūn dalibu* ⁶*sain niyalma-be jailabu orin niyalma oilori dehi niyalma*

deleri juleri dalibu · amari alibu abdaha ⁷*suwende arsumbu fulehe suwende fusembu bayan-de banjiki wesihun-de wesibu calabuha babe cashūlame waliyaki endebuhe* ⁸*babe oncodome guwebuki hutu angga yaksibu banjija angga weribu baibi tefi banjimbu sain tefi sakdabu* ⁹*jidere gasgan dangnabu ehe sukduṅ mayambu ehe-de ejebuki mangga-de maribukini*

Glossary and Explanations

- Asuki Etehe Julehe Nojen* name of a Mongolian god; for the title/appellation *nojen* cf. mo. *noyan* ‘lord, prince, superior, commandant; seigneur; etc.’
- Katun Nege* name of a Mongolian goddess; for *katun* cf. mo. *qatun* ‘lady, wife’
- šabure* whitish, a dialect variant of ma. *šaburu* id; cf. *šaburu aisin* white gold
- tugi-ci* from the cloud(s) ← *tugi* cloud + *-ci* elat. s.
- šala* uttermost, extreme; edge, end, extremity; flank, side; etc.
- ninggude* (from) the heighth ← *ninggu* top, on top + *-de* dat.-loc. s.
šala ninggude (from) the uttermost heighth; an example of the use of the dat.-loc. case with abl. meaning
- wasici* as (You) come down ← *wasi-* to descend, go down, sink + *-ci* cond. conv. s.
- niobure* deep green, a dialect variant of ma. *nioboro* id.
- ningguci* from above ← *ninggu* + *-ci*
- wasi* descend! ← *wasi-* + \emptyset (= imp.; see the ‘Proclamation of Nurhaci’, s. v. *fete*)
- wasime* while descending ← *wasi-* + *-me* impf. conv. s.
- jici* if come ← *ji-* to come + *-ci*
wasime jici while (you) descend
- okdome* welcoming ← *okdo-* to go to meet, meet halfway, greet, welcome + *-me*
- bihe* who has been ← *bi-* to exist, be; etc. + *-hal/-hel/-ho* perf. part. s.; mo. *bü-* id.
okdome bihe (we) welcome (you)
- geneki* you should go ← *gene-* to go + *-ki* opt. s. (expressing the fut. and opt.), lit. ‘we wish you would go’
wasime geneki you should descend
- fudeme* accompanying ← *fude-* to see off, accompany + *-me*; cf. mmo. *hüde-* ~ *üde-* ~ *üdü-*, mo. *üde-* to see or send off, bid farewell; to escort

fudeme bihe (we) accompany (you)

‘Asuki Etehe Julehe Nojen! Katun Nege! From the whitish cloud(s), from the uttermost height(s), as (you) come down, from the deep green cloud(s), from above descend! While (you) descend, (we) welcome (you). You should descend (and) (we) accompany (you).’

- Hasuri* name of a clan
hala clan, family, family name
tere that; mo. *tere* id.
aniyangge born in a year ← *aniya* year + *-nggal/-ngge/-nggo* den. n. s.
 (= *aniyangge* ~ *aniyangga* pertaining to a certain year in the twelve-year cycle; aged)
tere aniyangge born in that year
elun-i of the clan ← *elun* clan + *-i* gen. s.
ejen ruler, lord, master, host; mo. *ejen* id.
elun-i ejen the lord (= head) of the clan
gaiha who has taken ← *gai-* to take (away/off); to marry (a wife)
 + *-hal/-hel/-ho*
boihoji (~ *boigoji*) host, master
gaiha boihoji mistress
beye personal; body, self; mo. *beye(n)* id.
ujiha nurtured ← *uji-* to raise, nurture + *-hal/-hel/-ho*
juse children ← *jui* child, son + *-se* pl. s.
ujiha juse the nurtured children
urun daughter-in-law; wife
gaiha urun daughter-in-law
fuseke numerous ← *fuse-* to propagate, reproduce, breed + *-kal/-kel/-ko* (= *-hal/-hel/-ho*) perf. part. s.
omosi grandsons ← *omolo* grandson + *-si* pl. s. (= *omosi*)
uheri teheri (we) altogether ← *uheri* altogether, jointly, etc. The second word is a play on words. In this formation, which is very common in Manchu, the first letter or syllable of a given word is substituted by another letter or syllable to form a new word, thus strengthening the meaning of the first word. Generally, this newly-formed word is not found in dictionaries. Cf. ma. *ederi teheri* here and there, this way and that ← *ederi* this time, this way
ufuhu-de in the lung ← *ufuhu* lung + *-de*

- ulici* as (we) pierce ← *uli-* to run a string or rope through a hole, string (cash) to hold the coins together + *-ci*
ufuhu-de ulici when (we) pierce the lung(s), i.e. to hold or bind them together
- fahūn-de* in the liver ← *fahūn* liver; courage + *-de*
- falici* as (we) bind ← *fali-* to tie, bind + *-ci*
fahūn-de falici when (we) bind the livers together
- elgin* (~ *elgiyen*) prosperous, rich, abundant; mo. *elbeg* id.
- niyengniyeri* spring (season)
- erinde* in the season ← *erin* time, season; one of the two-hour divisions of the day + *-de*
- bayan* rich, wealthy man; mo. *bayan* id.
- bolori* autumn
- ulin* goods, property, possessions, wealth
- jiha-be* money ← *jiha* money, copper coin + *-be* acc. s.
ulin jiha treasures
- udame* having bought ← *uda-* to buy + *-me*
- basa* salary, recompense
basa jiha wages
- baicame* having received ← *baica-* to inspect, examine; to control (> to adjudicate, award) + *-me*; mo. *baičaya-* id.
- baitangga* useful ← *baita* matter, affair + *-nggal/-nggel/-nggo* den. n. s.
- honin-be* sheep ← *honin* sheep + *-be*; mo. *qonin* id.
- niowangniyaha* goose, possibly a dialect variant of *niowanggiyaha*, a word so far unattested; the translation is according to A. Pozzi
- gaifi* (we) received and ← *gai-* + *-fi/-pi* perf. conv. s.
- weceku* household god(s)
- jakade* (postp.) to the presence of, in front of; (after impf. part.) because of, when
weceku jakade to the household god(s)
- alibuki* (we) will offer ← *ali-* to receive, accept; to undertake; etc. + *-bu/-mbu-* (= *alibu-* to present, to offer) + *-ki*

‘The Hasuri clan, that clan, born in that year the lord of the clan, the wife, born in that year the personal, the nurtured children, the daughter-in-law, the numerous grandsons, (we) altogether, as (we) pierce the lung(s), as (we) bind the liver(s) together, in the prosperous spring season (or) in the rich autumn season, treasures having bought (and) wages having

received, a useful sheep (or) a useful goose we received and to the household god(s) we will offer.’

- unenggi* true, truly, real(ly), honest(ly); mo. *ünen* id.
- kesi* kind act (from above), favour, grace, kindness; mo. *kesig* grace, favour, blessing; good luck or good fortune; etc.
- kai* indeed; sentence particle showing emphasis
- alime* receiving ← *ali-* + *-me*
- suwende* to you ← *suwe* you (2 p. pl. pers. pron.) + *-nde* dat.-loc. s.
- gaiha* what was taken ← *gai-* + *-hal/-he/-ho*
alime suwende gaiha kai you shall receiving take it
- ereci* from this ← *ere* this + *-ci* elat. s.
- julesi* forward(s), southwards
ereci Julesi from now on
- ejen-be* the lord ← *ejen* + *-be*
- gosiki* you shall pity ← *gosi-* to pity, have mercy; to love, cherish + *-ki*
ereci Julesi ehun-i ejen-be gosiki from now on you shall cherish the lord of the clan
- yabure* what acts ← *yabu-* to go, walk; to act, carry out + *-ral/-rel/-ro* impf. part. s.; mo. *yabu-* id.
- bade* in (our) matter(s) ← *ba* place; occasion, situation; matter; etc. + *-de*
yabure bade (us) in (our) matter(s)
- yargiyambu* you shall enlighten!; a dialect variant of *yargiyala-* to ascertain the truth, verify ← *yargiya(n)* true, genuine; truth + *-la/-le/-lo-* den. v. s. + *-mbu/-bu-* caus. & pass. s. (= *yargiyalabu-* to let ascertain the truth, let verify, enlighten); (here:) **yargiya-* + *-mbu/-bu-* + \emptyset (= imp.)
- genere* what goes ← *gene-* to go + *-ral/-rel/-ro*
genere bade on (our) travels
- getuken* clear, lucid, understandable
genere bade getuken kai you shall show the way on our travels; lit. ‘on our travels clearness (is/shall be) indeed’

‘The honest household god(s)’ favour(s) indeed you shall receiving take! From now on you shall cherish the lord of the clan. In (our) matter(s) you shall enlighten (us)! On (our) travel(s) clearness (shall be) indeed!’

- sain* good, well; mo. *sayin* id.
- jugūn* (on) road(s)

- yabuci* if (we) go ← *yabu-* + *-ci*
ehe bad, evil
dalibu shall be closed! ← *dali-* to block off, obstruct; etc. + *-bu/-mbu-* (= *dalibu-* to close, to cover over) + \emptyset
nyalma people; man, person; etc.
acabuki (we) wish to meet ← *aca-* to meet, get together + *-bu/-mbu-* (= *acabu-* to come together, meet) + *-ki*
nyalma-be people ← *nyalma* + *-be*
jailabu protect (us from)! ← *jaila-* to avoid, shun, hide + *-bu/-mbu-* (= *jailabu-* to protect; to ward off) + \emptyset ; mo. *jayila-* to go away, to avoid; etc.
orin twenty; mo. *qorin* id.
oilori on the surface, on the outside; suddenly, without reason
oilori deleri superficial, trivial, frivolous
dehi forty
deleri top, surface; superficial, careless; (?) mo. *delekei* earth, world
juleri front, in front
juleri dalibu shall be kept away in front of (us)!
amari (~ *amargi*) back, behind; north
alibu shall be stopped! ← *ali-* + *-bu/-mbu-* + \emptyset
amari alibu shall be stopped behind (us)!
abdaha leaf
suwende by you; dat.-loc. of *suwe* you (pl.)
arsumbu shall sprout! ← *arsu-* to sprout, germinate + *-mbu/-bu-* + \emptyset
fulehe root(s)
fusembu shall propagate! ← *fuse-* to propagate, reproduce, breed + *-mbu/-bu-* + \emptyset
bayan-de in richness ← *bayan* + *-de*
banjiki (we) wish to live ← *banji-* to live; to form, come into existence + *-ki*
wesihun-de in honour ← *wesihun* honour(able), revered; upwards; eastwards + *-de*
wesibu let (us) be promoted! ← *wesi-* to go up, advance (in rank) + *-bu/-mbu-* (= *wesibu-* ~ *wesimbu-* to lift, raise; to promote, advance) + \emptyset

**‘(On) good road(s) if (we) walk, bad road(s) shall be closed!
 Good people (we only) wish to meet! (From) bad people
 protect (us)! Twenty people careless, forty people superficial**

shall be kept away in front of (us), shall be stopped behind (us)!
 The leaves by you shall sprout, the root(s) by you shall
 propagate! In richness (we) wish to live, in honour let (us) be
 promoted!’

calabuha what was wrong ← *cala-* to err, miss + *-bu/-mbu-* + *-hal/-hel/-ho*

babe thing(s) ← *ba* + *-be*
calabuha babe erroneous thing(s)

cashūlame turning the back on ← *cashū(n)* backwards + *-la/-le/-lo-*
 den. v. s. (= *cashūla-* to turn the back on, stand or sit with
 one’s back to) + *-me*

waliyaki we shall reject ← *waliya-* to throw away/down, get rid of,
 abandon; etc. + *-ki*
cashūlame waliyaki warding off you shall reject

endebuhe what was erroneous ← *ende-* to err, be mistaken about;
 (euph.) to die + *-bu/-mbu-* + *-hal/-hel/-ho*; mo. *ende-* id.
endebuhe babe devious thing(s)

oncodome forgiving ← *oncod-* to forgive + *-me*

guwebuki we shall forgive ← *guwe-* to forgive, pardon + *-bu/-mbu-*
 (= *guwebu-* to remit, pardon, spare) + *-ki*
oncodome guwebuki you shall indulgently forgive

hutu demon, ghost; an ugly man; kit. **xutu*, mo. *qutuɣ* sanctity,
 holy rank, dignity; happiness, blessing

angga mouth; opening, hole; pass, gate; mo. *ama(n)* id.
hutu angga the gate (of) the demon(s); the genitive is not
 expressed

yaksibu shut! ← *yaksi-* to close + *-bu/-mbu-*; mo. *yaysi-* to be firm
 or obstinate; to lock

banjiha what was lived ← *banji-* + *-hal/-hel/-ho*
banjiha angga (to) the gate (of) life

weribu lead (us) back! ← *weri-* to leave behind + *-bu/-mbu-* + \emptyset

baibi unemployed; plain; with no purpose ← *bai* at leisure,
 unemployed; etc. + *bi* there is/are

tefi having sat ← *te-* to sit; to reside, live + *-fi/-pi*
baibi tefi retired

banjimbu let (us) live! ← *banji-* + *-mbu/-bu-* + \emptyset ; generally *banjibu-*
sain tefi in a friendly manner

sakdabu let (us) get old! ← *sakda-* to get old, age + *-bu/-mbu-* + \emptyset

- jidere* future ← *ji-* to come + *-dara/-dere/-doro* irregular impf. part. s.
- gasgan* (~ *gashan*) calamity, disaster; mo. *γasayan* ~ *γačaya(n)* obstacle, annoyance
- dangnabu* ward off! ← *dangna-* to substitute; to oppose + *-bu/-mbu-* (= *dangnabu-* to ward off) + *∅*
- sukdun* influence(s); vapour, air, breath, vital fluid, spirit; aspect
- mayambu* suppress! ← *maya-* to diminish, subside; to be freed from a spell + *-mbu/-bu-* (= *mayambu-* to exorcise, break a spell) + *∅*
- ehe-de* in bad (times) ← *ehe* + *-de*
- ejebuki* (we) wish to be remembered ← *eje-* to remember, record + *-bu/-mbu-* (= *ejebu-* pass. of *eje-*) + *-ki*
- mangga-de* into good (times) ← *mangga* (generally:) hard (not soft); expensive; expert at; expertly made, strong + *-de*
- maribukini* may (they) lead (us) back! ← *mari-* to return, go back + *-bu/-mbu-* (= *maribu-* caus. of *mari-* to lead back) + *-kini* imp. s.

‘Erroneous thing(s) warding (we) wish to reject. Devious thing(s) forgiving (we) wish to forgive. The demon(s’) gate shut, (to) life(s) gate lead (us) back! Retired let (us) live! (In) a friendly manner let (us) get old! Future calamity ward off! Bad influence(s) suppress! In bad (times) (we) wish to be remembered, into good (times) may (they) lead (us) back!’

Free Translation

[16a] Asuki Etehe Julehe Nojen! Katun Nege! Come down from the whitish clouds, from the uttermost heights! Descend from the deep green clouds, from above! While you descend, we welcome you. You should descend and we accompany you. The Hasuri clan, that clan, the lord of the clan born in that year, the wife, the personal, nurtured children born in that year, the daughter-in-law, and the numerous grandsons, we altogether have brought treasures, in the prosperous spring season or in the rich autumn season, as we pierced (and joined) the lungs, and as we bound the livers together, and (for our) wages we received a useful sheep or a useful goose, we will offer them to the household gods. (In order to receive) the favour of the household gods, you shall receive and take them! From now on you shall cherish the lord of the clan! You shall enliven us in our matters! You shall

show the way on our travels! If we walk on good roads, the bad roads shall be closed! We wish to meet (only) good people! Protect us from bad people! Twenty careless people and forty superficial people shall be kept away in front of us, they shall be stopped behind us! The leaves shall sprout with your help, and the roots shall propagate with your help! We wish to live in richness, and let us be promoted in honour! Warding off we wish to reject erroneous things. Indulgently we wish to forgive devious things. Shut the gate of the demons and lead us back to the gate of life! Let us live (further) in retirement and let us get old in a friendly manner! Ward off future calamity and suppress bad influences! We wish to be remembered in bad (times) and may they (= the gods) lead us back into good (times)!

Remarks on the text

- 1) Several words in Manchu can occur in the same form as verbs and nouns, e.g. *sakda-* ‘to get old, age’ \approx *sakda* ‘old (of people); old man; a four-year-old wild sow’, *ilha-* ‘to bloom; to grow dim (of the eyes)’ \approx *ilha* ‘flower, blossom; patterned, coloured; etc.’, *aga-* ‘to rain’ \approx *aga* ‘rain’, *hūlha-* ‘to steal; to act secretly or furtively’ \approx *hūlha* ‘bandit, robber, rebel; secret, on the sly’, *efule-* ‘to destroy, ruin, break; to dismiss’ \approx *efule(n)* ‘destruction, ruin’ Although this phenomenon is attested also in Turkic and Mongolian, it seems to be much more common in Manchu; however, in some cases it may be of recent origin as, for instance, with *ma. hūlha* which goes back to *ju. hulahai niyarma* < *mo. qulayai* ‘thief, robber’
- 2) Although generally the word order in Manchu is, as in Turkic and Mongolian, attribute + noun, the opposite is also possible, cf. *orin niyalma oihori* ‘twenty careless people’, *dehi niyalma deleri* ‘forty superficial people’
- 3) As can be seen from our short sample, the imperative form in Manchu is much more complex than the corresponding one in Turkic or Mongolian. In Manchu one distinguishes the *first imperative* = verb stem, expressing an informal command *ara* ‘write!’ (interestingly, among Manchu-Tungus languages only Manchu and Sibe know this form); the *second imperative* = verb stem + *-raol/-reol/-roo*, a more polite imperative: *areo* ‘please write’; the *third imperative* = verb stem + *-ki*, a polite request: *teki* ‘please sit down’; the *first desiderative* = verb stem + *-ki*, expressing a desire or intention: *araki* ‘I will/want to write’; the

second desiderative = verb stem + *-ki sembi*, expressing the idea of someone wanting to do something: *araki sembi* ‘I want to write’; the *first optative* = verb stem + *-kini*, expressing the hope or permission that somebody may do something: *arakini* ‘may/I hope he will write’; and lastly the *second optative* = verb stem + *-cina*, a polite expression of desire: *aracina* ‘I hope you will write’ Thus, with regard to the various imperative forms, one can say that it is more a matter of *how* things are done than of *who* is doing them. ‘I want you to do something’ may be expressed with the help of the suffixes *-ki*, *-cina*, *-raol-reol-roo*, *-kini*, *-kini sembi*, while the idea of ‘somebody wants/wishes to do something’, with the suffixes *-ki*, *-ki sembi*, and ‘I want a third person to do something’ with *-kini* and *-kini sembi*.

- 4) As in Turkic and Mongolian, Manchu has also a number of identical suffixes for different functions. E.g., *-ci* may act as the relative suffix (*ama-ci* ‘from the father’), as the ordinal numbers suffix (*ilan* ‘three’ → *ilaci* ‘third’), as names of agent suffix (*kumu[n]* ‘music’ → *kumuci* ‘dancer’), as denominal noun suffix (*fomo[n]* ‘foot-wrappings’ → *fomoci* ‘stockings’), and as the conditional suffix (*ara-* to do → *araci* ‘if one does’); *-lal-lel-lo* is an obsolete locative suffix (*amala* ‘behind’); it also forms denominal verbs (*eruf[n]* ‘torture’ → *erule-* ‘to torture’), and deverbial verbs (*nicu-* ‘to close one’s eyes’ → *nicula-* ‘to blink’); *-me* is a denominal noun suffix (*sele* ‘iron’ → *seleme* ‘dagger’), as well as the imperfect converb suffix (*arame* ‘doing, while doing, was doing’); *-ral-rel-ro* is a denominal verb suffix (*gisuf[n]* ‘word’ → *gisure* ‘to speak’), a deverbial verb suffix (*faita-* ‘to cut’ → *faitara-* ‘to cut in pieces’), and the imperfect participle suffix (*arara* ‘he does, is doing, will do; who does, what does’); *-bu/-mbu-* is both a passive and causative suffix (*abala-* ‘to hunt’, *abalabu-* ‘to cause to hunt’ or ‘to be hunted’). There are several other identical suffixes with different functions; cf. the list in Clark (Bibl. 6.3.2).

Next (Text XXXV) we would like to introduce a letter of the Kangxi emperor (r. 1662-1722), first transcribed, analysed and translated by Čimeddorji (Bibl. 6.3.2, pp. 69-71). The text belongs to a set of archival documents recently discovered in the Palace Museum in Taipei. Through these documents one can gain many new insights into the Mongolia policy of the last dynasty of China. One section of

the documents, comprising the letters of the Kangxi emperor to the crown prince Yinreng (1674-1725) from the years 1696-97, are of special interest as they throw light on the events that led to the final defeat of Galdan, the leader of the Western Dzungars, who since 1690 had fought against the conquest of the western and northern Mongols by the Manchus. The exact facts that led to Galdan's defeat have, however, remained largely unknown until now, and it is only with the publication of the Kangxi emperor's letters that some new information has been gained. Our letter was written personally by the emperor in response to a petition of Yinreng dating from 6 April 1696. Although the letter itself contains no date, it was most probably written on 11 April, just before the Manchu army left Dushikou in Hebei Province to enter the Mongolian territory.

A LETTER OF THE KANGXI EMPEROR (ll. 1-11)

Transcription

[1] *Mini beye elhe ere biyai juwan-de Du-*[2]*ši-de isinjiha juwan emu-de giyase* [3] *tucifi genembi cooha morin meni meyen* [4] *ningge teksin sain amargi gūsangge-be* [5] *sabure unde donjici sain sembi damu* [6] *meni meyen-de dahalara morin dorgi adun-i* [7] *minggan coohai jurgan-i minggan-ci tulgiyen* [8] *jai akū Fiyanggū be-i meyen-de nadan minggan* [9] *morin ilan minggan temen bi uttu ofi bi* [10] *gisurefi tarhūn morin ilan minggan belheki seme* [11] *ganabuha umai encu turgun akū :*

Glossary and Explanations

<i>mini</i>	my, of me; gen. of the 1 p. pers. pron. <i>bi</i> ; mo. <i>minu</i> ~ <i>mini</i> id.
<i>beye</i>	body, self; mo. <i>beye(n)</i> id.
<i>elhe</i>	well-being, peace, well, healthy; mo. <i>engke</i> id. <i>mini beye elhe</i> I am well, lit. 'my body (is) healthy'
<i>ere</i>	this; mo. <i>ene</i> id.
<i>biyai</i>	of month ← <i>biya</i> month, moon + <i>-i</i> gen. s.
<i>juwan-de</i>	on the ten(th) ← <i>juwan</i> ten + <i>-de</i> dat.-loc. s.; note that the ordinal number is expressed with the help of the cardinal number, the suffix <i>-ci</i> used to form ordinal numbers (<i>juwanci</i> tenth) is not used in dates
<i>Du-ši-de</i>	at Dushi ← <i>Du-ši</i> place name + <i>-de</i> . Dushi is a town situated about 180 km northwest of Beijing

- isinjiha* (we) arrived ← *isinji-* to arrive at, reach (a place) + *-hal/-hel* -*ho* perf. part. s.
- emu-de* on the first ← *emu* one + *-de*
juwan em-de on the eleven(th)
- giyase* gateway of the Great Wall; the word is not attested with this meaning in the dictionaries where it is rendered ‘stand, frame’ Most probably (as pointed out by Čimeddorġi in his commentary) the word corresponds to *ma. jase* ‘border, border region; water gate; palisade, barricade’ In one case *jase* is rendered into Chinese as ‘gateway of the Great Wall’, which we have adopted in the present instance
- tucifi* having left ← *tuci-* to come out/forth; to exit, leave + *-fi/-pi*
- genembi* (we) shall set forth ← *gene-* to go, set forth + *-mbi* aorist s.
- cooha* (our) troop(s) ← *cooha* army, troops
- morin* horse(s); *mo. mori(n)* id.
- meni* our; gen. of the pers. pron. *be* ‘we’ (exclusive); the 1 p. pl. pers. pron. ‘we’ (inclusive) is *muse* (← **mu* + *-se* pl. s.)
- meyen* detachment; section, piece
- ningge* the one which ..., he who ...; a postposition substituting a missing substantive
- teksin* even(ly), equal(ly), straight; *mo. tegsi* id.
- sain* good, well; *mo. sayin* id.
ningge teksin sain (are) likewise well
- amargi* back, behind; north ← *amala* behind; after, later + *ergi* direction, side
- gūsangge-be* bannermen; the banner troops ← *gūsa* banner + *-nggal* -*nggel*-*nggo* ~ *-ingge* den. n. s. expressing the idea of ‘belonging to, pertaining to’ (= *gūsangge* ~ *gūsaingge*, lit. ‘belonging to the banner’) + *-be* acc. s.
- sabure* is seeing ← *sabu-* to see, perceive + *-ral/-re/-ro* impf. part. s.
- unde* not yet; particle used after the impf. part.
sabure unde (I) have not yet seen
- donjici* as (I) hear ← *donji-* to listen, hear + *-ci* cond. conv. s.
- sembi* (one) says ← *se-* to say + *-mbi*
donjici sain sembi as (I) hear (they are) well (too)

‘I am well. This month’s on the ten(th) at Dushi (we) arrived. On the eleven(th) the gateway of the Great Wall after having left, (we) will move on. (Our) troop(s) and horse(s) (as well as) our detachment, (they) are likewise well. The bannermen

behind (I) have not yet seen. (But) as (I) hear (they are) well (too).’

- damu* nevertheless; only, but
meyen-de in the detachment ← *meyen* + *-de*
dahalara which follows ← *dahala-* to follow, pursue + *-ral/-rel/-ro*
dahalara morin brought-along horse(s)
dorgi the inner part, imperial, the court ← *dolo* inside, the inside, inner + *ergi* direction, side
adun-i of the herd of horses ← *adun* herd of horses + *-i*; mo. *adaɣu(n)* ~ *adɣu(n)*, kh. *aduu*, bur. *aduu(n)* id.
dorgi adun imperial herd of horses
minggan thousand; mo. *mingya(n)* id.
coohai of the troops ← *cooha* + *-i*
jurgan-i of the board ← *jurgan* line; duty; ministry, board + *-i*; mo. *ḵiruyā* ~ *ḵuruyā* line
coohai jurgan Board of War
minggan-ci from the thousand ← *minggan* + *-ci* elat. s.
tulgiyen besides, aside from; the preceding word takes the elat. s. *-ci*
minggan-ci tulgiyen besides the thousand (horses)
jai next; still, more
akū particle of negation: there is/are not, does not exist
jai akū there are not more/other horses

‘Nevertheless, in our detachment brought-along horse(s), the imperial herd’s thousand and the Board of War’s from the thousand besides, other (horses) there are not.’

- Fiyanggū* pr. name: a Manchu general (1645-1701), member of the Donggo clan
be-i of the count ← *be* count (title, ch. *bo*) + *-i*
nadan seven
nadan minggan seven thousand
ilan three
ilan minggan three thousand
temen camel(s); ju. *temuge* or *temge*; mo. *temege(n)* id.
bi there are
uttu thus, so; cf. *tuttu* id. (= mo. *eyimū*, *teyimū*)
ofi having been ← *o-* to become, be, exist + *-fi/-pi*
uttu ofi (the matter) being like this
bi I; mo. *bi* id.

- gisurefi* having discussed, (I) have discussed and ← *gisure-* to speak, talk + *-fi/-pi*
- tarhūn* (~ *targū*) fat; (here:) well-nourished; mo. *taryu(n)* id.
- belheki* (I) wish to have prepared (i.e. should be kept ready) ← *belhe-* to prepare + *-ki* imp. s.; for the various imperative suffixes see the previous *Remarks on the text*
- seme* saying ← *se-* + *-me* impf. conv.
- ganabuha* (I) ordered to fetch ← *gana-* to fetch, go to get + *-bu* dev. v. s. (= *ganabu-* caus. of *gana-* to order to fetch) + *-ha/-he/-ho*
- umai* (not) at all, totally
- encu* different, other
- turgun* circumstances, reason
umai encu turgun akū otherwise nothing else has happened

‘Count Fiyanggū’s in detachment seven thousand horse(s) and three thousand camel(s) there are. (The matter) being like this, I have discussed (it) and well-nourished horse(s) three thousand (I) wish to have ready saying, (I) ordered to fetch (these horses). Otherwise nothing has happened.’

Free Translation

[1] I am well. [1-2] On the tenth (day) of this month we arrived at Dushi. [2-3] On the eleventh we shall leave the gateway of the Great Wall and we shall set forth. [3-4] Our troops and horses (as well as) our detachment are likewise in order. [4-5] I have not yet seen the bannermen, who are behind us, [5] (but,) as I heard, they are well (too). [5-8] Nevertheless, as for the horses brought along, we have in our detachment no other (horses) than the thousand of the imperial herd and the thousand of the Board of War. [8-9] In the detachment of Count Fiyanggū there are seven thousand horses and three thousand camels. [9-11] The matter being so, I have discussed it and said that from the well-nourished horses three thousand should be kept ready, and I ordered to fetch (them). [11] Otherwise nothing else has happened.

Remarks on the text

- 1) In enumerations, the suffix is added only to the last word, thus *dorgi adun-i minggan coohai jurgan-i minggan-ci tulgiyen* ‘Aside from/Besides (*-ci tulgiyen*) the thousand (horses) of the imperial herd and the thousand from the Board of War.’

- 2) As is the case in Old Turkic and Uighur, as well as in Middle and Classical Mongolian, also in Manchu ordinal numbers in dates are mostly expressed by cardinal numbers. In Manchu as in Mongolian only numerals for the reign are ordinal numbers, cf. mo. *Gingtai yurbaduyar on arban nigen sara-yin qorin yisüne* ‘on the twenty-ninth of the eleventh month of the third year (of) Jingtai’, *Qoong-king terigün oon-dur* ‘in the first year of Huangqing’, *arban nigen sara* ‘the eleventh month’ ≈ ma. *Abkai Wehiyehe-i dehi duici aniya juwe biyai ice duin* ‘on the fourth of the second month of the forty-fourth year of the Qianlong period’ In Uighur texts this way of expressing the date is found only in documents from the Mongol period; cf., for example, *Či Čing omunč-i bars yil altinč ay tört yañi-qa* ‘on the fourth (lit. four [of] the new days) (day) of the sixth month, (in) the year of the tiger, (in) the tenth (year) of Zhizheng’ from the *Book of the Dead*. Generally, in Uighur the date is expressed in the following way: *küskü yil üçünč ay altı yañıqa* ‘on the sixth (lit. six [of] the new days) (day), (on) the third (lit. three) month, (in) the year of the mouse’, i.e. the number of the month is an ordinal number.
- 3) A striking feature of our letter is its highly impersonal style, even though it was addressed to the crown prince, i.e. the son of Kangxi. Personal matters are restricted to the brief introductory expression *mini beye elhe* ‘I am well’, and the closing words *umai encu turgun akū* ‘otherwise nothing else has happened’

The next text (Text XXXVI) is an example of everyday life events, viz. a weather report from Mukden, the old capital of the Manchus. The text gives some information concerning rain- and snowfalls, harvesting and also the price of grain for the year 1778/79. This text too is from the archival documents mentioned in the previous section. The report has been transcribed, explained and translated by Roth Li (Bibl. 6.3.2, pp. 184-91).

WEATHER REPORT FROM MUKDEN (ll. 1-28)

Transcription

¹*Wesimburengge.*

²*Aha Fuk'anggan-sei gingguleme* ³*wesimburengge* *geren harangga*
bade erin-de acabure ⁴*aga baha babe gingguleme* ⁵*donjibume*
wesimbure jalin baicaci ⁶*Mukden-i harangga bade duleke aniya*
juwan biyai ⁷*orin uyun-de majige nimanggi baha amala.* ⁸*tuweri*

forgon-i nimanggi hibcan bime niyengniyeri ⁹*dosika-ci ebsi inu asuru aga bahakū* ¹⁰*te Abkai Wehiyehe-i dehi duici aniya juwe* ¹¹*biyai ice juwe-i honin erin-ci ice* ¹²*ilan-i tasha erinde isibume sunja jurhun* ¹³*funceme agafi gubci ba-i usin gemu* ¹⁴*simebufi jing maise muji tarire erin-de* ¹⁵*usin tarire urse niyengniyeri tariha maise* ¹⁶*elgiyen tumin-i bargiyara-be erehunjeci ombi* ¹⁷*seme geren gemu urgunjendumbi ne hacingga jekui* ¹⁸*hūda imu umesi necin erin-de acabure* ¹⁹*aga baha babe giyan-i gingguleme* ²⁰*donjibume wesimbuci acame ofi erei jalin gingguleme* ²¹*donjibume wesimbuhe*
²²*Saha.*
²³*Abkai Wehiyehe-i dehi duici aniya juwe biyai ice duin.*
²⁴*Aha Fuk'anggan.*
²⁵*Aha Manggūlai.*
²⁶*Aha Ciowankui.*
²⁷*Aha Mingtung.*
²⁸*Wesimburengge.*

Glossary and Explanations

- wesimburengge* memorial ← *wesi-* to ascend, rise + *-mbu/-bu-* (= *wesimbu-* ~ *wesibu-* caus. of *wesi-* to raise, lift; to submit, present [to the emperor]; to report [to the throne]) + *-ra/-re/-ro* impf. part. s. (= *wesimbure-* what is reported to the throne) + *-ngga/-ngge/-nggo* den. n. s.
- aha* slave, servant; self-deprecatory designation of an official addressing the emperor
- Fuk'anggan-sei* of *Fuk'anggan* and others ← *Fuk'anggan* pr. name + *-se* pl. s. + *-i* gen. s.; *-se* corresponds here to ch. *deng* 'and others' (mo. *terigūten*)
- gingguleme* acting respectfully ← *ginggu(n)* (< ch.) respect, honour + *-la/-le/-lo-* den. v. s. (*ginggule-* to respect, honour, act respectfully) + *-me* impf. conv. s.
gingguleme wesimbu- respectfully to memorialize
- geren* numerous; the various
- harangga* subordinate, belonging to, pertinent; (the one) in question, the said mo. *qariya(n)* relation, dependence, jurisdiction; etc.
- bade* in place(s) ← *ba* place, local; matter + *-de* dat.-loc. s.
geren harangga bade in (our) pertinent (= respective) localities

- erin-de* in time ← *erin* time, season + *-de*
- acabure* what matches ← *aca-* to come together, combine, be in agreement + *-bu/-mbu-* (= *acabu-* to match) + *-ral-re/-ro*
erin-de acabure seasonal
- aga* rain(s); mo. *ayar* celestial sphere, atmosphere, weather
- baha* (we) got; irregular perf. part. of *baha-* to get, obtain
- babe* (this) matter ← *ba* + *-be* acc. s.
- donjibume* notifying ← *donji-* to listen, hear + *-bu/-mbu-* (= *donjibu-* to notify) + *-me*; mo. *duyul-* id.
- wesimbure* (we) report to the throne ← *wesi-* + *-mbu/-bu-* (= *wesimbu-*) + *-ral-re/-ro*
donjibume wesimbu- to memorialize, inform
- jalin* reason, occasion; (postp.) because of, in respect of, on account of, with regard to
- baicaci* upon review (we) note that ← *baica-* to inspect, examine, investigate + *-ci* cond. conv. s.; it introduces the petitioner's comments on a certain matter – often it is best left untranslated; mo. *bayičaya-* to investigate, inspect, check
- 'Memorial. Of the slave Fuk'anggan and others acting respectfully a memorial. In (our) various pertinent place(s) seasonal rain(s) (we) got, (this) matter acting respectfully, notifying, (we) report to the Throne in respect of (this). Upon review (we) note that:'**
- Mukden-i* of Mukden ← *Mukden* place name + *-i* gen. s.; see the *Remarks on the text*
- duleke* last ← *dule-* to pass + *-ka/-ke/-ko* (*-hal/-hel/-ho*) perf. part. s. (= *duleke* last)
- aniya* year
- juwan* ten; (here:) tenth
- biyai* of the month ← *biya* month, moon + *-i*
juwan biya tenth month
- orin* twenty; mo. *qorin* id.
- uyun-de* on the ninth (lit. 'nine') ← *uyun* nine + *-de*
orin uyun-de on the twenty-ninth (day)
- majige* a little (bit), a small amount, somewhat
- nimanggi* snow
- amala* behind; after, later; north
- tuweri* (in the) winter
- forgon-i* of the season ← *forgon* season + *-i*

- hibcan* scarce, meager
bime was being ← *bi-* to be, exist; to stay + *-me*; mo. *bü-* to be
niyengniyeri spring (season)
dosika-ci from the beginning ← *dosi-* to enter + *-ka/-kel/-ko* (= *dosika* beginning) + *-ci* elat. s.
ebsi hither, up till now, since; used with the abl. s.
niyengniyeri dosika-ci ebsi after the beginning (of) spring
imu also, even (adverb)
asuru very, exceedingly; mo. *asuru* id.
bahakū (we) did not get ← *baha-* + *akū* particle of negation: there is/are not, etc.
te now
abkai by Heaven ← *abka* sky, Heaven + *-i* instr. s.
wehiyehe-i of support ← *wehiye-* to support, aid, look after + *-hal/-hel/-ho* (= *wehiyehe* what is supported = support) + *-i* gen. s.
Abkai Wehiyehe the Qianlong reign period, 1736-95; the Manchu designation is a calque of the Chinese ‘Qianlong’ or ‘Favoured by Heaven’
dehi forty
duici fourth ← *dui(n)* four + *-ci* den. n. s. forming ordinal numerals
Abkai Wehiyehe-i dehi duici aniya (in the) forty-fourth year of the Qianlong reign period
juwe two; (here:) second
juwe biyai of the second month
ice new; the first decade of the month; the first day of a lunar month
juwe-i of the second (day) ← *juwe* + *-i*
ice juwe-i of the second (day of the month)
honin sheep; the eighth of the earth’s branches; mo. *qonin* id.
erin-ci from the time ← *erin* + *-ci*
honin erin the sheep-time, i.e. 1-3 p.m.
ilan-i of the third (day) ← *ilan* three; (here:) third + *-i*
tasha tiger (the Manchurian species being *Felis tigris amurensis*); the third of the earth’s branches
erinde (~ *erin-de*) to the time ← *erin* + *-de*
tasha erin the tiger-time, i.e. 3-5 a.m.
isibume reaching ← *isi-* to reach, arrive + *-bu/-mbu-* (= *isibu-*) + *-me*

<i>sunja</i>	five
<i>jurhun</i>	a Chinese inch (= 3.2 cm in the Qing period) ← <i>juwe</i> two + <i>urhun</i> a unit of measure equalling half a Chinese inch
<i>funceme</i>	over ← <i>func-</i> to be left over, be in excess + <i>-me</i> (= <i>funceme</i> over, in excess)
<i>agafi</i>	having rained, (it) rained and ← <i>aga-</i> to rain + <i>-fi/-pi</i> perf. conv. s.; mo. <i>ayur</i> atmosphere, vapour, air
<i>gubci</i>	universal, all, entire
<i>ba-i</i>	of the place(s) ← <i>ba</i> + <i>-i</i>
<i>usin</i>	field(s) (for cultivation)
<i>gemu</i>	all, in every case; even (adv.)
<i>simebufi</i>	(the rain) soaked ← <i>sime-</i> to soak, moisten + <i>-bu/-mbu-</i> (= <i>simebu-</i>) + <i>-fi/-pi</i> ; for ma. <i>simen</i> moisture; juice, fluids cf. mo. <i>sime</i> sap; essence, elixir, extract; etc.

‘Of Mukden in pertinent place(s) last year of the tenth month on the twenty-ninth (day) a small amount of snow (we) got. Later, (in) the winter of the season snow scarce was being. After the beginning (of) spring also a lot (of) rain (we) did not get. Now, of the Qianlong reign period, (in) the forty-fourth year of the second month of the second (day) from the sheep-time of the third (day) to the tiger-time, reaching five inches over (it) rained and all the places’ field(s) (the rain) soaked.’

<i>jing</i>	(< ch.) just, just at the time when, on the point of
<i>maise</i>	(< ch.) wheat, grain
<i>muji</i>	barley
<i>tarire</i>	cultivating ← <i>tari-</i> to cultivate, farm + <i>-ra/-re/-ro</i> ; mo. <i>tari-</i> id.
<i>erin-de</i>	(~ <i>erinde</i>) at the time ← <i>erin</i> + <i>-de</i>
<i>urse</i>	people, men, persons (pl. of <i>niyalma</i>); others <i>usin tarire urse</i> farmers, lit. ‘people cultivating fields’
<i>tariha</i>	cultivated ← <i>tari-</i> + <i>-ha/-he/-ho</i>
<i>elgiyen</i>	(~ <i>elgin</i>) prosperous, rich, abundant; mo. <i>elbeg</i> id.
<i>tumin-i</i>	of plentiful ← <i>tumin</i> thick (of soup, paste, etc.), dense + <i>-i</i>
<i>bargiyara-be</i>	harvest ← <i>bargiya-</i> to store; to take in; to harvest, gather + <i>-ra/-re/-ro</i> (<i>bargiyara</i> what is harvested = harvest) + <i>-be</i> acc. s.
<i>erehunjeci</i>	as (they) constantly hope ← <i>erehunje-</i> to hope constantly or earnestly + <i>-ci</i> cond. conv. s.

- ombi* will become ← *o-* to become; to be, exist + *-mbi* aorist s.
erehunjeci ombi (they) can hope
- seme* saying ← *se-* to say, call + *-me*
- urgunjendumbi* (they) rejoice together ← *urgun* joy, happiness + *-ja/-je/-jo-* den. v. s. (= *urgunje-* to rejoice, be glad) + *-ndu/-mu-* dev. v. s. indicating cooperation or reciprocation (= *urgunjendu-* ~ *urgunjemu-* to rejoice together) + *-mbi*
- ne* now, at present
- hacingga* all kinds ← *haci(n)* kind, sort, class; etc. + *-nggal/-nggel/-nggo* den. n. s.
- jekui* of grain(s) ← *jeku* grain, provision + *-i*
- hūda* business; price, value; goods; mo. *qudaldu-* to trade; to sell
- umesi* very, to a high degree
- necin* stable, level; calm

‘Just when wheat and barley cultivating at the time, farmers (for) spring cultivated grain abundant, of plentiful harvest (they) can hope, saying, numerous all (they) rejoice together. Now, all kinds of grain(s)’ price too very stable (is).’

- giyan-i* duty-bound ← *giyan* (< ch.) reason, right, principle, order; reasonable, proper + *-i* (= *giyan-i* on principle, appropriate[ly]; duty-bound)
- wesimbuci* as (we) report to the throne ← *wesi-* + *-mbu/-bu-* (*wesimbu-* ~ *wesibu-*) + *-ci*
- acame* being in agreement ← *aca-* + *-me*
- ofi* (we) did ← *o-* + *-fi/-pi*
- erei* of this ← *ere* this + *-i*
- saha* noted ← *sa-* to know, understand + *-hal/-hel/-he*; this is an addition to the original text indicating that the report has been read; cf. mo. *sana-* to think, plan; etc.
- duin* four; (here:) fourth; mo. *dörbe(n)* id.
- Manggūlai* pr. name; cf. Manggūtai, the name of Nurhaci’s fifth son
- Ciowankui* pr. name, of Chinese origin
- Mingtung* pr. name, also of Chinese origin

‘Seasonal rain(s) (we) got, (this) matter duty-bound acting respectfully, notifying, as (we) report to the Throne, being in agreement (we) did. Of this (reason) because of, acting respectfully, notifying (we) reported to the Throne. *Noted.* Of the Qianlong reign period, (in) the forty-fourth year of the

second month (on) the fourth (day). Slave Fuk'anggan, slave Manggulai, slave Ciowankui, slave Mingtung, Memorial. '

Free Translation

¹Memorial.

²Your slave Fuk'anggan and others respectfully ³⁻⁴memorialize. In our respective localities we got seasonal rains. ⁵⁻⁷In notifying this matter, we respectfully report to the Throne with regard to it. Upon review, we note that last year, on the twenty-ninth day of the tenth month we got a little snow in (our) respective localities of Mukden. ⁸⁻⁹Later in the winter season snow was scarce, and also after the beginning of spring we did not get much rain. ¹⁰⁻¹²Now, however, from the time of the sheep (1-3 p.m.) of the second day to the time of the tiger (3-5 a.m.) of the third day of the second month in the forty-fourth year of the Qianlong reign period, it has rained ¹³⁻¹⁴over five inches and (the rain) has soaked all the local fields. Since this is just the time for sowing ¹⁵⁻¹⁷wheat and barley, the farmers all rejoice together as they can hope for a plentiful harvest of their spring grain. At this time ¹⁸⁻²¹the price of all kinds of grains is also very stable. Duty-bound to report on the seasonal rains, we respectfully report to the throne. Because of this reason we report respectfully to the Throne. ²²*Noted.*

²³On the fourth day of the second month in the forty-fourth year of the Qianlong reign period.

²⁴Slave Fuk'anggan

²⁵Slave Manggulai

²⁶Slave Ciowankui

²⁷Slave Mingtung.

²⁸Memorial.

Remarks on the text

- 1) For the use of cardinal instead of ordinal numbers in connection with months and days see our remarks on the previous text.
- 2) Mukden, also known by the names Shengjing, Fengtian, and Shenyang, is situated in the Liaoning province in northeast China. The city was first established about 300 BC. In 1625 Nurhaci moved to Simiyán Hoton, as the place was called at that time by the Manchus. In 1634 the official name of the city was changed to Shengjing in Chinese and Mukden in Manchu, and became the capital of the Manchus. With the fall of the Ming dynasty in 1644, the Manchus moved their capital to Peking (Beijing). Mukden

retained considerable prestige as the older capital, and treasures of the royal house were kept in its palaces. The tombs of the early Qing rulers are also situated there. In 1657 the Fengtian prefecture was established in the area of Mukden and the name Fengtian is sometimes used synonymously with Shengjing and Mukden. In 1914 the name was changed back to Shenyang, the one it had during the Yuan dynasty.

- 3) According to the Manchu system, the hours of the day consist of 12 x 2 units (ma. *erin* double hour), corresponding to the names of the twelve earth's branches: 1. *singgeri* rat, first of the earth's branches = 11 p.m.–1 a.m.; 2. *ihan* ox = 1–3 a.m.; 3. *tasha* tiger = 3–5 a.m.; 4. *gūlmahūn* hare = 5–7 a.m.; 5. *muduri* dragon = 7–9 a.m.; 6. *meihe* snake = 9–11 a.m.; 7. *morin* horse = 11 a.m.–1 p.m.; 8. *honin* sheep = 1–3 p.m.; 9. *bonio* monkey = 3–5 p.m.; 10. *coko* rooster = 5–7 p.m.; 11. *indahūn* dog = 7–9 p.m.; 12. *ulgiyan* boar = 9–11 p.m. The time of the double hours is given according to Roth Li (Bibl. 6.3.2, p. 377). The Manchu (lunar) year, following the traditional Mongolian system, started with the 'tiger-month' (*tasha biya*), corresponding to February/March. The Mongols' first month (*bars sara* 'tiger-month') is also called *čayan sara* or 'white (= auspicious, good) month', which is its current designation (kh. *cagaan sar*).

Our next sample (Text XXXVII) is from the earlier-mentioned *Emu tanggū orin sakda-i gisun sarkiyān* or *Stories of the One Hundred and Twenty Old Men*, published, with transcription, explanations and translation, by G. Stary in 1983 (Bibl. 6.3.2; for our text see pp. 172, 412). The author, Sungyun, wrote his work some time between 1785 and 1789 during his stay in Kuren, i.e. Urga, the modern Ulan Bator (Ulaanbaatar). He incorporated into the text a good deal of personal information, see for example his remarks on the Russians, or those on the ginseng trade in Manchuria, but it would be an exaggeration to call the work an autobiography. More properly, the work should be regarded as a glorification of the Manchu dynasty and an exaltation of the virtues and obligations of ideal public servants based on the Neo-Confucian tradition, as rightly remarked by Stary. It seems that the difference between Sungyun's vision of a state and its idealized subjects, and the real life experienced by him in his everyday duties was one of the inspirations of his stories. The structure of the work is quite homogeneous. Every story starts with the word *donjici*

(‘I have heard’, ‘As I have heard’), followed by the actual story, which can be a report, a letter, a friend’s experience, or a quotation from classic Confucian writings. The stories end often with a remark by the storyteller, such as ‘This is really good’, or ‘This is really horrible’ The text is written in a very lively style, possibly reflecting the colloquial language. For Manchu studies the *Emu tanggū orin sakda-i gisun sarkiyān* is a mine of information on sociological, historical and linguistic matters, and is particularly valuable for Manchu lexicography and grammar. The extract we have selected contains a short description of the Amdo-Tibetan region in Gansu-Qinghai. It has been chosen mainly because we shall have to say more about this region (recently the goal of intensive scientific fieldwork) in connection with our remarks on the Altaic Hypothesis.

THE *EMU TANGGŪ ORIN SAKDA-I GISUN SARKIYAN*
(fol. 359-361)

Transcription

[359] ⁸*Kuku noor-ci ere Tanggūt nukte derei* [360] ¹*Wargi Zang-de hafunambime Kuku noor-i wargi-ci *caktame jugūn deri Jun* ²*gar-de hafunaci ome ofi onggolo Jun gar-se ere jugūn deri* ³*jendu Wargi Zang-de genembi Lobzang Danjin-be dailame toktobuha amala* ⁴*Jun gar-se jai gelhun akū hūlhame jihekū ofi Wargi Zang-ni ba* ⁵*enteheme elhe oho · ede Wargi Zang-ni Dalai Lama · Amargi Zang-ni Bancan* ⁶*Erdeni aniyadari halanjame elcin takūrafi* ⁷*enduringge ejen-de danšuk tukiye gemun hecen-i baru jidere-de Zang-ci* ⁸*ebsi yabume Muru usu-be dulefi urunakū Tanggūt-sai* [read *Tanggūt-sei*] *babe darime Kuku* [361] ¹*noor jasak nukte deri Si ning-de ijisinjiha* [read *isinjiha*] *manggi Si ning-ci hafan* ²*tucibufi tuwašatame gemun hecen-de jibumbi ere Tanggūt-sai* [read *Tanggūt-sei*] *banjire werengge* ³*umesi yadahūn bime banin inu eshun damu aifinci* [read *aifini*] ⁴*wen-de forome dahaha ofi doro yoso-i amba muru-be majige ulhimbi* ⁵*tuttu Zang-ni elcin darime yabuha dari* [read *dari ce*] *hono gelhun akū durime hūlhame* ⁶*yaburakū teisu teisu an-be tuwakiyambi*

Glossary and Explanations

Kuku noor-ci from Kokonor (Qinghai), mo. *Köke nayur*; ma. *kuku* blue-gray, mo. *köke* (sky-)blue, green + mo. *nayur* lake;

- noor* is attested in Manchu only in transcriptions of mo. *nayur*
- ere* this; (here:) the; mo. *ene* id.
- Tanggūt* place and ethnic name: Tibet, Tibetan; Tangut
- nukte* pasture, nomad ground; mo. *mutuy* id.
- derei* of the area ← *dere* direction, area; etc. + *-i* gen. s.
nukte dere pasture-ground
- wargi* under, underneath; west; right (side)
- Zang-de* to Tibet ← *Zang* (~ *Dzang* < ch.) Tibet + *-de* dat.-loc. s.
Wargi Zang (~ *Wargi Dzang*) Tibet = ch. Xizang, id.
- hafunambime* extend ← *hafuna-* to connect with another place, extend
to + *-mbime* dur. conv. s. (lit. ‘while extending’)
- Kuku noor-i* of Kokonor ← *Kuku noor* + *-i*
- wargi-ci* from the west ← *wargi* + *-ci* elat. s.
Kuku noor-i wargi-ci from the west of Kokonor
- **caktame* probably a scribal error; all the other mss. have *cairam*.
Thus, *Cairam jugūn* ‘the road (over) Cairam’
- jugūn* road, way
- deri* from (here), than; elat. particle
- Jun gar-de* to Dzungaria ← *Jun gar* place and ethnic name;
Dzungaria, Dzungar(s) < mo. *jegūn yar* left wing (of an
army), lit. ‘left hand’ (← *jegūn* left; east[ern] + *yar* hand,
arm; wing [of an army]), Dzungaria + *-de*
- hafunaci* as extends ← *hafuna-* + *-ci* cond. conv. s.
- ome* being ← *o-* to be, exist + *-me* impf. conv. s.
- ofi* was ← *o-* + *-fi/-pi* perf. conv. s.
hafunaci ome ofi leads
- onggolo* before, previous(ly), ago; in front
- Jun gar-se* the Dzungars ← *Jun gar* Dzungar + *-se* pl. s.
- jendu* secretly
- genembi* were going ← *gene-* to go + *-mbi* aorist s.
- Lobzang Danjin-be* pr. name: Lobzang Danjin (< tib. *blo-bzan* sound
sense + *bstan-* ‘dzin follower, adherent of a doctrine) + *-be*
acc. s.; he was the son of Guśri Khan’s second son bKras-
śis Bātur, and the leader of the Khoshots of Kokonor; he
was born in 1692, the date of his death is not known, but he
was still alive in 1762

- dailame* fighting against ← *dai(n)* troops, army; war, battle + *-la/-le/-lo-* den. v. s. (= *daila-* to make war against, undertake a punitive expedition) + *-me*; mo. *dayin* war, enemy
- toktobuha* having pacified ← *tokto-* to fix, settle + *-bu/-mbu-* (= *toktobu-* to bring under control, pacify) + *-hal/-hel/-ho* perf. part. s.; mo. *toyta-* ~ *toyto-* to stop, rest; to fix
- amala* behind; after, later
- jai* next; still, again, more
- gelhun* timid, faint-hearted
- akū* particle of negation: there is/are not, doesn't exist
gelhun akū dare to ..., fearlessly
- hūlhame* robbing ← *hūlha-* to rob, steal + *-me*; ma. *hūlha* thief, robber
< mo. *qulayai* id.
- jihekū* did not come ← *ji-* to come + *-hal/-hel/-ho* + *akū*
gelhun akū hūlhame jihekū ofi did not dare to come robbing
- Wargi Zang-ni* of Tibet ← *Wargi Zang* + *-ni* gen. s. after *-ng*
- ba* territory, place
- enteheme* eternal(ly), always
- elhe* peace, well-being; healthy; mo. *engke* id.
- oho* became ← *o-* + *-hal/-hel/-ho*

'From Kokonor the Tangut(s)' pasture-ground to Tibet extend. From the west of Kokonor the road (over) Cairam (?) from here to Dzungaria leads. Previously the Dzungars this road from secretly to Tibet were going. Lobzang Danjin fighting against and having pacified after, the Dzungars anymore did not dare to come robbing and Tibet's territory eternally peaceful became.'

- ede* hence, therefore; dat.-loc. of *ere* this
- Dalai Lama* Dalai Lama, spiritual head of the Lamaist church and (formerly) temporal ruler of Tibet ← mo. *dalai (b)lama* id. (< mo. *dalai* ocean, sea, great lake; universal, great [obs.] + tib. *bla-ma* spiritual teacher or master [= skr. *guru*], priest, Lama)
Wargi Zang-ni Dalai Lama the Dalai Lama of Tibet
- amargi* behind, back; north ← *amala* behind; after, later + *ergi* direction, side
Amargi Zang-ni of Farther Tibet; it indicates the area around Tashilumpo southwest of Lhasa

- Bancan Erdeni* Panchen Lama, the second highest ranking Lama after the Dalai Lama in the Gelugpa sect of Tibetan Buddhism ← mo. *bancin erdeni* id. (< skr. *paṇḍita* scholar + tib. *chen* great [= tib. *paṅ-chen*] + mo. *erdeni* treasure, jewel, precious)
- Amargi Zang-ni Bancan Erdeni* the Panchen Lama of Farther Tibet
- aniyadari* every year ← *aniya* year + *-dari* den. n. s., properly a postposition meaning ‘each, every’
- halanjame* in turns changing ← *halanja-* to exchange in turns, take turns + *-me*
- elcin* emissary, messenger; mo. *elči(n)* id.
- takūrafi* sent ← *takūra-* to send on a mission, commission + *-fi/-pi*
- enduringge* divine ← *enduri* spirit, god, deity + *-nggal-nggel-nggo* den. n. s.; mo. *öndör* high, height
- ejen-de* to the emperor ← *ejen* ruler, lord, master, host, emperor + *-de*; mo. *ejen* id.
- danšuk* marvellous object(s), i.e. precious gift(s); pmo., mo. *tansuy* id. (< tu.)
- tukiyeme* in order to present ← *tukiye-* to lift, raise, carry; to offer (with both hands); etc. + *-me*
- gemun* (imperial) capital
- hecen-i* of the city ← *hecen* city, city wall + *-i*
gemun hecen the capital city, Peking (Beijing); (also:) Urga (Ulaanbaatar)
- baru* (postp.) towards, to
- jidere-de* when setting out ← *ji-* + *-dara/-dere/-doro* irregular impf. part. s. + *-de* (temp. dat.)
gemun hecen-i baru jidere-de when travelling towards/to the capital city
- Zang-ci* from Tibet ← *Zang* + *-ci*; note that here *Zang* is used alone, without an attribute, as the designation of Tibet
- ebsi* hither, up till now, since
- yabume* going ← *yabu-* to go, walk; to act, put into effect + *-me*; mo. *yabu-* id.
- Muru usu-be* Muru Usu; the area of the upper branch of the Yangzi river in Qinghai through which passed one of the four roads from Xinjiang to Tibet + *-be*; ma. *murū usu* < mo. *murui*

- usu*, lit. ‘bent river’ ← mo. *murui* awry, bent + *usu(n)* water (course), river
- dulefi* having passed ← *dule-* to pass, go by; to burn + *-fi/-pi*; mo. *tüle-* ~ *tüli-* to burn
- urunakū* in any case, certainly, under any circumstances
- Tanggūt-sei* of the Tanguts ← *Tanggūt* + *-se* + *-i*
- babe* territory ← *ba* + *-be*
- darime* passing through ← *dari-* to pass by or through + *-me*; mo. *dayari-* id.
- Kuku noor* (of) Kokonor – the plain noun used attributively
- jasak* chief of a Mongol banner, the ‘banner’ (ma. *gūsa*, mo. *qosiyu[n]*) being any of the numerous military-administrative units or ‘princedom’ into which the Mongol tribes were organized under the Manchu dynasty; mo. *jasay* rule, government; ruling prince of a banner
jasak mukte state-owned pasture(s)
- Si ning-de* to Xining ← *Si ning* place name + *-de*
- isinjiha* (they) arrived ← *isinji-* to reach, arrive + *-hal/-hel/-ho*
- manggi* after (after the perf. part. or imp.)
- Si ning-ci* from Xining ← *Si ning* + *-ci*
- hafan* official(s), officer(s)
- tucibufi* being delegated ← *tuci-* to come out/forth; to go out, leave + *-bu/-mbu-* (= *tucibu-* to take or bring out; to appoint, delegate, send out [on a mission]) + *-fi/-pi*
- tuwašatame* in order to supervise (them) ← *tuwaša-* to watch, guard; to supervise + *-ta/-te/-to-* dev. v. s. indicating intensesness or iteration (= *tuwašata-* to take care of, supervise) + *-me*
- gemun hecen-de* to the capital city ← *gemun hecen* + *-de*
- jibumbi* to accompany (them) ← *ji-* to come + *-mbu/-bu-* + *-mbi* aorist s.

‘Therefore Tibet’s Dalai Lama and Farther Tibet’s Panchen Lama every year in turns changing an emissary (they) sent, to the divine emperor marvellous objects in order to present. Towards the capital city when setting out from Tibet hither going, Muru Usu having passed in any case the Tanguts’ territory passing through, Kokonor(’s) state-owned pasture(s) from here (near) to Xining (they) arrived after, from Xining

official(s) being delegated in order to supervise (them) and to the capital city to accompany (them).’

- ere* this; (here:) these
- banjire* what lives ← *banji-* to live, be born + *-ral/-rel/-ro* impf. part. s.
- were* will become cultivated ← *we-* to melt; to be transformed, become cultivated or civilized + *-ral/-rel/-ro*
banjire were life, livelihood + *-nggal/-ngge/-nggo* den. n. s. expressing the idea of pertaining to, belonging to (= *banjire werengge* standard of life)
- umesi* very, to a high degree
- yadahūn* poor, wretched ← *yada-* to be poor, wretched, suffer want + *-hūn/-hon/-hun* dev. n. s.; mo. *yada-* id.
- bime* is and ← *bi-* to be, exist + *-me*; mo. *bū-* to be
- banin* appearance, form
- inu* also, too; even (adv.)
- eshun* raw; unfamiliar, uncouth
- damu* only, but
- aifini* a long time before, much earlier, already
- wen-de* to (our) culture ← *wen* culture, civilization, education (< ch.) + *-de*
- forome* turning towards ← *foro-* to spin; to turn (around/towards), face + *-me*; mmo. *horči-* ~ *orči-*, mo. *orči-* to turn around, revolve; to transmigrate (Buddh.)
- dahaha* submitted ← *daha-* to follow; to submit, surrender, obey + *-hal/-hel/-ho*; mo. *daya-* id.
forome dahaha ofi because (they) have submitted
- doro* doctrine, rule, way, Tao, ritual; gift; mo. *törö* law (national, traditional, or established), norm; power; rule, government, state
- yoso-i* of the principle ← *yoso* (~ *yosu*) principle, rule, way + *-i*; mo. *yosu(n)* generally accepted rule; traditional custom, habit, usage or manner; etiquette; doctrine, principle; regime, system
doro yoso norms and customs = the proper rules of behaviour; mo. *törö yosu(n)* id.
- amba* big, great, vast, important
- muru-be* manner ← *muru* form, style, manner; nearly, almost + *-be*
amba muru generally, in general lines

<i>majige</i>	a little; somewhat, rather
<i>ulhimbi</i>	(they) cultivate ← <i>ulhi-</i> to understand, comprehend + <i>-mbi</i>
<i>tuttu</i>	thus, so
<i>darime</i>	while passing through ← <i>dari-</i> + <i>-me</i>
<i>yabuha</i>	what has gone ← <i>yabu-</i> + <i>-ha/-he/-ho</i> <i>darime yabuha</i> during (their) passage
<i>dari</i>	each, every
<i>ce</i>	they
<i>hono</i>	still, yet
<i>durime</i>	robbing ← <i>duri-</i> to seize, rob + <i>-me</i>
<i>yaburakū</i>	who act there are not ← <i>yabu-</i> + <i>-ra/-rel/-ro</i> + <i>akū</i> <i>gelhun akū durime hūlhame yaburakū</i> (they) do not dare to attack and rob
<i>teisu</i>	assigned place; corresponding, matching <i>teisu teisu</i> all together, on every occasion
<i>an-be</i>	customary ← <i>an</i> usual, regular, common + <i>-be</i> ; cf. mo. <i>ang</i> <i>jang</i> customs, manners, habits
<i>tuwakiyambi</i>	(they) observe ← <i>tuwa-</i> to look at, observe + <i>-kiya/-</i> <i>-kiye-</i> (= <i>-hiye-</i>) caus. s. (= <i>tuwakiya-</i> to watch, observe) + <i>-mbi</i> <i>an-be tuwakiyambi</i> (they) follow what is customary, i.e. the rules

‘These Tanguts’ standard of life very poor is and (their) appearance also uncouth (is). Only much earlier to (our) culture because (they) have submitted, the norms and customs generally somewhat (they) cultivate. Thus Tibet’s emissarie(s) during (their) passage, they still do not dare to attack and rob. On every occasion what is customary (they) observe.’

Free Translation

The pasture-ground of the Tanguts extends from Kokonor to Tibet. The road over Cairam (?) leads from the west of Kokonor to Dzungaria. On this road the Dzungars were previously going secretly to Tibet. After Lobzang Danjin had been attacked and subjugated, the Dzungars no longer dare to come and rob, and the territory of Tibet has (thus) become eternally peaceful. Therefore, the Dalai Lama of Tibet and the Panchen Lama of Farther Tibet in turn send every year an emissary in order to present precious gifts to the divine Emperor. Travelling towards the capital city, they set out from Tibet, pass Muru

Usu, and invariably pass through the territory of the Tanguts. After they arrive from the state-owned pastures of Kokonor (close) to Xining, officials are delegated from Xining to take care of them and accompany them to the capital city. The standard of life of these Tanguts is very poor and their appearance is also uncouth. Only because they earlier submitted to (our) culture, they (now) cultivate the proper rules of conduct in rather general lines. Thus they no longer dare to attack and rob the emissaries of Tibet during their passage. They always follow the rules.

Remarks on the text

- 1) Kokonor Lake, known also as Qinghai Lake, is a salt lake situated in the Qinghai province of China, and is also China's largest lake. It is situated about 100 km west of the provincial capital Xining, and about 3200 m above sea-level, in a depression of the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau in the former Tibetan province of Amdo. The designation Qinghai (← ch. *qing* green, blue + *hai* sea, lake) is actually a translation of mo. *Köke nayur*.
- 2) *Tanggūt* (Tangut) is a very old ethnic name attested already in the Old Turkic inscriptions of the 8th c. Historically it is the name of the population which in the 11th c. founded the Xi Xia kingdom in northwest China; nowadays it is used by Mongolian ethnic groups to indicate the Amdo Tibetan population in Qinghai and Gansu. In fact, Mongolian speakers make a strict distinction between *töbed* 'Central Tibetans' and *tangyud* 'Amdo Tibetans'
- 3) Xining (lit. 'Peace in the West') is located on the eastern edge of the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau and the upper reaches of the Huangshui or Xining River. To the southeast of Xining lies the important Tibetan Lamaist monastery Kumbum (tib. *sku-'bum*). Xining has a long history as a trading centre on the old caravan route to Tibet. During the Sui and Tang dynasties it was a frontier town. First conquered by the Tuyuhun (probably a proto-Mongol ethnic group) and then by the Tibetans and Tanguts, it was recovered by the Song only at the beginning of the 12th c., when the town also took the name Xining. From that time on it has been the seat of a prefecture and the extraterritorial capital of the Kokonor territory; it remained in Gansu until 1928, when it became the provincial capital of the newly established independent province of Qinghai. It has now more than a million inhabitants belonging to 37 different ethnic groups.

- 4) Previously, when discussing the various forms of the imperative, we noted that the naming and interpretation of these forms are not consistent and need further investigation. In a way this can be said for the whole verbal system of Manchu. A look at the grammars (cf. Bibl. 6.3.2) shows that suffixes are interpreted in several different ways. The reason for it lies in the fact that the Manchu verbal system is primarily concerned with the state or process of an action or situation (which is either completed or waiting to be completed), and with the way a certain action is performed rather than relating actions and situations to a definite time. Therefore, it would be better to use the terms ‘aspect’ and ‘modality’ instead of ‘tense’ when describing Manchu verbs. Furthermore, Manchu verbal suffixes do not indicate singularity or plurality, and do not provide information concerning gender or person. In comparison with the Turkic and Mongolian verbal systems, the Manchu verbal system is certainly the most complex, or analytic, making it appear ‘strange’ to western eyes and, from time to time, difficult to interpret.
- 5) In old loan words from Mongolian (or Kitan), Manchu has preserved mmo. *h-*, kit. **p-*, in the form of *f-* (partly ← ju. *f-* ← *p-*), e.g. mmo. *haluqa* ~ *aluqa* hammer > ju. *poluho* → ma. *folho* small iron hammer; mmo. *halaqa(n)* ~ *alaqa(n)*, pmo. *alaya(n)* palm of the hand >> ma. *falanggū* id. In other cases it is more likely that the Manchu/Jurchen word derives from Kitan than from the Mongolian: mmo. *hon* ~ *on* ~ *oon* year, kit. **po* > ju. *fo'on-do* (**pon*) at that time → *fo'un-de* → ma. *fonde* id.; mmo. *hülewü* > *hüle'ü* > *hülü* (pmo. *ülegü*) exceeding, superfluous, etc., kit. **pulu* intercalary (of months) >> ma. *fulu* surplus, excess, etc. In the future, a detailed investigation of the Manchu vocabulary could also throw new light on the language of the Kitans.

Our next text (Text XXXVIII) comes from the *Nišan saman-i bithe* or *Book of the Nišan Shamaness*, a shamanistic epic belonging to the genre of folk literature, hence a ‘folk epic’ Within the framework of Eurasian shamanism, Manchu shamanism holds a special position in so far as it is only in this cultural context that we find indigenous works on shamanism in written form: handbooks (we cited one example before), epics, poems, etc. In all other cultures, shamanism belongs to the non-literate religious sphere. After the first publication of the text by M. P. Volkova in 1961 (Bibl. 6.3.2), the *Nišan saman-i*

bithe has attracted much attention, becoming the focus of extensive research in many countries. There exist translations into at least nine languages and also a vast number of articles dealing with the socio-religious, literary-poetic, linguistic or grammatical aspects of this work, so much so that research in the field has sometimes been called ‘Nishanology’ The text tells, in short, the story of the journey of the Nišan shamaness to the underworld to rescue the soul of a boy who had died young (for a detailed analysis of the story see Stary 1979; Bibl. 6.3.2). Geographically, the origin of the text may be traced to the Heilongjiang region which borders on Siberia and the Amur river in the north, Korea in the southeast, China in the southwest, and Mongolia in the west. The setting of the tale is greatly affected by the historical relation between the indigenous (Altaic) population of Manchuria on the one hand, and China on the other. At the beginning the text mentions the Ming dynasty (1368-1643), and at the end the ‘Taizong emperor’ – a posthumous title which could only refer to the second Manchu emperor Hong Taiji (r. 1626-43). But, contrary to the opinion expressed by M. Nowak and S. Durrant (Bibl. 6.3.2, p. 31), the *Nišan saman-i bithe* being a piece of folk literature, those dates cannot be taken as an indication (even approximately) of the time of its composition. The edition on which the transcription and Russian translation by Volkova was based was written down in Vladivostok in 1913 by a Manchu called Dekdengge. He did so at the request of A. V. Grebenščikov, an instructor of Manchu language and literature at the Oriental Institute of Vladivostok. Grebenščikov had heard about the existence of the tale from P. P. Schmidt in 1908. Although the tale was very popular among various ethnic groups of northern Manchuria, it was mostly transmitted orally, and written versions were difficult to come by. In Qiqihar, Grebenščikov succeeded in acquiring in 1908 an incomplete manuscript from a Manchu called Jingkeri, and another incomplete manuscript was purchased by him in 1909 near Aigun. As G. Stary discovered later, these two manuscripts do not contain two, but three variants of the tale. A fifth variant of the tale was collected by Jin Qizong in 1961 in a village near Qiqihar; a sixth is preserved at the Institute of Nationalities Studies of the Chinese Academy in Beijing. In 1983 another manuscript, the seventh, was discovered in Heilongjiang (cf. Stary 1991, Bibl. 6.3.2). Nine years later the eighth manuscript, discovered by K. S. Yakhontov in the former Saltykov-Ščedrin Public Library (now the State Library) in St. Petersburg, was

published in facsimile, with transliteration and annotated Russian translation (see Bibl. 6.3.2). We mentioned earlier the great popularity of folk epic among the ethnic groups of northern Manchuria. This statement is supported by a number of recently discovered versions, noted down and partly translated into Chinese among the Evenki, Solon and Dagur people. For our transcription and translation we have relied on that of Nowak and Durrant (see p. 119 [transcription], and p. 39 [translation]) which in turn is based on Volkova's work.

FROM THE *NIŠAN SAMAN-I BITHE* (fol. 1a)

Transcription

[1a] ¹*Julgei Ming gurun-i forgon-de. emu Lolo sere. gašan bihe. ere*
²*tokso-de tehe. emu Baldu Bayan sere. gebungge yuwan wai. boo*
³*banjirengge. umesi baktarakū bayan. takūrara ahasi morin lorin*
⁴*jergi toloho seme wajirakū. se dulin-de emu jui banjifi. ujime*
⁵*tofohon se de isinafi emu inenggi boo ahasi sabe gamame. Heng*
Lang Šan alin-de ⁶*abalame genefi. jugūn-i andala nimeku bahafi*
bucehebi.

Glossary and Explanations

- julgei* ancient ← *julge* antiquity, ancient times + *-i* gen. s. (= adj. 'ancient'; lit. 'of ancient times')
- Ming* Ming, name of the Chinese dynasty, 1368-1643
- gurun-i* of dynasty ← *gurun* country, people; ruling house, dynasty + *-i*; kit. **gur* country, state, empire
- forgon-de* in the time ← *forgon* season, the course of the year + *-de* dat.-loc. s.
- emu* one; (here:) indefinite article
- Lolo* place name
- sere* called ← *se-* to say, call + *-re/-ra/-ro* impf. part. s.
- gašan* village, country (as opposed to city)
- bihe* was ← *bi-* to be, exist + *-he/-ha/-ho* part. perf. s.
- ere* this
- tokso-de* in the village ← *tokso* village + *-de*
- tehe* resided ← *te-* to sit; to reside, live + *-he/-ha/-ho*
- Baldu* pr. name
- Bayan* pr. name; rich, rich man; mo. *bayan* id.
Baldu Bayan Baldu the Rich
- gebungge* famous ← *gebu* name, reputé, fame + *-ngge/-ngga/-nggo* den. n. s.

- yuwan wai* an official title < ch. *yuanwai* a supernumerary or auxiliary official (in traditional China)
- boo* household, family
- banjirengge* lived ← *banji-* to live + *-rel/-ral/-ro* + *-ngge* dev. n. s. (it changes a verb into a noun or substantivizes participial forms: *banjirengge* those who lived)
- umesi* very, to a high degree
- baktarakū* immense ← *bakta-* to contain; to bear + *-rakū/-rekū/-rokū* neg. of *-ral/-rel/-ro* (= *bakatarakū* immeasurable, immense); mo. *bayta-* to fit in (of size or shape), be contained; etc.
umesi baktarakū bayan immense wealth
- takūrara* who is in one's service ← *takūra-* to employ, appoint, have in one's service; + *-ral/-rel/-ro*
- ahasi* slaves ← *aha* slave + *-si* pl. s. (rare)
takūrara ahasi servants
- morin* horse(s); mo. *mori(n)* id.
- lorin* mule(s); note the word formation *lo(sal/se)* + *(mo)rin* → *lorin*
- jergi* and so forth, et cetera; mo. *jerge* id. (= ch. *deng*)
- toloho* counted ← *tolo-* to count + *-hal/-hel/-ho*
- seme* saying ← *se-* + *-me* impf. conv.; (here:) although, even if/when
- wajirakū* immeasurable ← *waji-* to finish + *-rakū/-rekū/-rokū*
toloho seme wajirakū (were) immeasurable, lit. 'even if counted, (they) were immeasurable'
- 'Ancient Ming dynasty of time in one Lolo called village (there) was. This village in resided one Baldu Bayan called, famous *yuwan wai* (official). (His) household lived (in) immense wealth, (his) servants, horse(s), mule(s) et cetera (were) immeasurable.'**
- se* (< ch.) year (of age), age
- dulin-de* in the middle ← *dulin* middle, half + *-de* dat.-loc. s.; mo. *dūli* id.
se dulin-de in (his) middle year(s)
- jui* son; child
- banjifi* after being born, was born and ← *banji-* + *-fi* perf. conv. s.
- ujime* raising ← *uji-* to raise, nurture
- tofohon* fifteen
- se-de* to year(s) ← *se* + *-de*

- isinafi* after reaching, reached and ← *isina-* to reach, arrive (at) +
-*fi*
- inenggi* (one) day
- ahasi-sabe* servants ← *aha* + *si* + *-sa/-se/-so* pl. s. + *-be* acc. s.
boo ahasi-sabe household servants
- gamame* taking ← *gama-* to take (to another place) + *-me*
- Heng Lang Šan* name of a mountain, ch. Heng-lang shan ('Heng-lang
Mountain')
- alin-de* to the mountain ← *alin* mountain + *-de*
- abalame* in order to hunt ← *aba* hunt, battue + *-la/-le/-lo-* den. v. s.
(= *abala-* to participate in a battue, hunt) + *-me*; mo. *aba*,
abala- id.
- genefi* after going, went and ← *gene-* to go + *-fi*
- jugūn-i* of the way ← *jugūn* road, way + *-i*
- andala* on the way, midway
jugūn-i andala on the way, along the way
- nimeku* sickness, illness
- bahafi* after becoming, became and ← *baha-* to get, obtain; to
be able + *-fi*
nimeku bahafi (he) became ill and
- bucehebi* died ← *buce-* to die + *-habi/-hebi/-hobi* perf. s.

**'In (his) middle year(s) a son after being born, raising fifteen
year(s) to after reaching, (one) day the household servants
taking, Heng Lang Šan Mountain to in order to hunt after
going, along the way, after becoming ill (he) died.'**

Free Translation

In the time of the Ming Dynasty there was a village called Lolo where resided a famous *yuanwai* (official) named Baldu the Rich. His household lived in immense wealth and his servants, horses, mules, etc., were countless. In his middle years a son was born to him. Upon reaching the age of fifteen, this boy one day took the household servants to go hunting at Heng-lang Mountain. On the way he became ill and died.

Remarks on the text

- 1) In the beginning of our text we find the numeral *emu* 'one' used as an indefinite article: *emu gašan* 'one (= a) village', *emu ... yuwan wai* 'one (= a) *yuanwai* (official)'.

- 2) The word *aha* ‘slave, servant’ takes the exceptional plural suffix *-si*, otherwise attested only with the words *haha* ‘man’, *hehe* ‘woman’, *hojoho(n)* ‘son-in-law’, and *omo(lo)* ‘grandson’ In our text we find *ahasi* ‘servants’, and *boo ahasi-sebe* ‘household servants’ In this last case the word takes two plural suffixes (*-si* + *-se* + *-be* acc. s.). There are a number of double plurals in Manchu, the best example being *mafari-sa* ‘grandfathers’ (← *mafa* grandfather + *-ri* + *-sa* both pl. s.). The semantical function of the double plural is not understood; in the above example the reason might be that *-ri*, being a very rare suffix and originally attested only in connection with *mama* ‘grandmother’, was no longer considered a plural suffix. Alternatively, it may denote a semantic distinction between ‘grandfathers’ and ‘ancestors’ In Mongolian, words can take more than one plural suffix at the same time without semantic differentiation.
- 3) We have already mentioned the very interesting but not yet investigated word formation of the type Noun (minus the last syllable) + Noun (minus the first syllable) = a new word. In our text a very good example is provided by the word *lorin* ‘mule’ ← *lo(sa/se)* ‘mule’ + *(mo)rin* horse.

Our last Manchu text (Text XXXIX) is an example of Manchu written by the Sibe people and comes from the *Sibe uksurai gurineme tebunebuhe ejebun* or *Record of the Transfer and Settlement of the Sibe People* (hereafter referred to simply as *History of the Sibe*). The text was composed in Urumchi, Xinjiang, in 1982 by Anjiyun, U Yuwanfeng (Wu Yuanfeng) and Joo Jiciyang (Zhao Zhiqiang); in 1985 it was published with transcription, translation and annotations by G. Stary in *Geschichte der Sibe-Mandschuren* (Bibl. 6.3.2, pp. 29, 123). The extract presented below is of special interest as it refers to the linguistic situation of the Manchu people during the Qianlong period in the 18th c. The text relates how, while the Sibe were living in Qiqihar (ma. Cicigar) in the Heilongjiang province of northeast China, they used Manchu as well as Mongolian and were able to employ both writing systems. For this reason they were responsible for the translation of documents into the Mongolian language and script. According to the *History of the Sibe*, in the early Manchu administration the Mongolian documents were first noted down in Manchu script, after which they were forwarded to Qiqihar and translated by Sibe officials into Manchu. The following excerpt

describes what happened later in the mid-Qing period. (In Text XXXIX there is no break between p. 59 and p. 60.)

FROM THE *HISTORY OF THE SIBE* (p. 59, l. 6-60, l. 1)

Transcription

[59] ⁶*Mukden-de guribuhe amala Sibe-sabe gemu Manju-⁷i cooha irgen-i dolo suwalyaganjame tebuhe ofi Sibe-sa gemu ⁸ulhiyen ulhiyen-i Monggo-i gisun hergen-be waliyafi Manju gisun-be ⁹teile gisureme Manju-i hergen-be teile baitalame ohobi. ¹⁰Abkai Wehiyehe-i fon-de isiname Mukden-i harangga ba-i ¹¹Manju-i cooha irgen-se emgeri bederefi ini beye gisun hergen-¹²de hafu muterkū Nikan gisun hergen-de dosime deribuhebi ¹³damu Sibe uksura elemangga Manju gisun hergen-de hafu muteme [60] ¹ohobi*

Glossary and Explanations

- Mukden-de* to Mukden ← *Mukden* place name + *-de* dat.-loc. s.; see Text XXXVI for our remarks on the history of Mukden
- guribuhe* transfer ← *guri-* to move (to another place) + *-bu/-mbu-* (= *guribu-* caus. of *guri-* to move, transfer) + *-hal/-hel/-ho* perf. part. s.; according to the *History of the Sibe*, the transfer to Mukden occurred between the 38th and 40th year of *Elhe Taifin* (i.e. the Kangxi period, 1662-1722), i.e. between 1699 and 1701
- amala* after, later; behind
- Sibe-sabe* the Sibe (pl.) ← *Sibe* ethnic name + *-sa* pl. s. + *-be* acc. s.
- gemu* all
- Manju-i* Manchurian ← *Manju* ethnic name + *-i* gen. s., used here to form an attribute
- cooha* army, troops
- irgen-i* of the people ← *irgen* people, the common people + *-i*; mo. *irgen* id.; Chinese (coll.)
cooha irgen soldier(s), troop(s)
- dolo* inside
- suwalyaganjame* mixing up ← *suwalyaganja-* to mix up, mix together + *-me* impf. conv. s.
Manju-i cooha irgen-i dolo suwalyaganjame together with the Manchurian troop(s)
- tebuhe* let sit ← *te-* to sit; live + *-bu/-mbu-* (= *tebu-* caus. of *te-*) + *-hal/-hel/-ho*

- ofi* having become ← *o-* to become, be + *-fi*
tebuhe ofi lived and
- Sibe-sa* the Sibe (pl.) ← *Sibe* + *-sa*
- ulhiyen* gradual
ulhiyen ulhiyen-i gradually; *-i* is here the instr. s., see
Remarks on the text
- Monggo-i* Mongolian ← *Monggo* Mongolia, Mongolian + *-i* gen. s.;
 mo. *Mongyol* Mongol, Mongolian; Mongolia
- gisun* speech, word, language
- hergen-be* script ← *hergen* writing, letter; rank, title + *-be*; ma. *hergen*
 rank, title < mo. *kergem* high office or rank; title, honour
- waliyafi* after abandoning, abandoned and ← *waliya-* to throw
 away/down, get rid of, abandon + *-fi*
- gisun-be* language ← *gisun* + *-be*
- teile* only
- gisureme* speaking ← *gisu(n)* + *-ra-/-re-/-ro-* den. v. s. (= *gisure-* to
 speak, talk)
- baitalame* using ← *baita* matter, affair + *-la-/-le-/-lo-* den. v. s. (= *baita-*
 to use, employ); mo. *bayiča* state of being, staying, or
 existing; circumstances; etc.
- ohobi* were ← *o-* + *-habil-hebil-hobi* perf. s.
baitalame ohobi used

'To Mukden transfer after the Sibe all together with the Manchurian troop(s) lived and the Sibe all gradually the Mongolian language and script abandoned and the Manchu language only speaking, (also) the Manchurian script only used.'

- Abkai Wehiyehe* the Qianlong reign period, 1736-95; see above, Text
 XXXV
- fon-de* during the time ← *fon* time, season, period + *-de*; cf. kit.
 **po* time, mmo. *hon* ~ *on* calendar year
- isiname* reaching ← *isina-* to reach, arrive to + *-me*
fon-de isiname by the time
- Mukden-i* of Mukden ← *Mukden* + *-i*
- harangga* subordinate, subject, belonging to; mo. *qariya(n)* relation,
 dependence; jurisdiction; etc.
- ba-i* of place(s) ← *ba* place + *-i*
- irgen-se* the people ← *irgen* + *-se* pl. s.

- emgeri* already
bederefi having returned ← *bedere-* to return; to join again (a group) + *-fi*; the meaning here is: '(upon their) installation (or deployment)'
ini their, his ← *i* he, she + *-ni* pron. gen. s.; mo. *inu*, originally the gen. form of the extinct pronoun **i* 'he, she, it'
beye own; body, self; mo. *beye(n)* id.
hergen-de in script ← *hergen* + *-de*
hafu penetrating; thorough, enlightened; possessing understanding
muterkū ability there is not ← *mute-* to be able, can + *-ra/-rel/-ro* impf. part. s. + *akū* particle of negation; *muterkū* is colloquial, the literary form is *muterakū*; cf. *asarkū* without storing (for *asarakū*), *generkū* without going (for *generekū*), etc.
hafu muterakū lit. 'understanding and ability there was not', i.e. 'did not understand'
Nikan Chinese
dosime entering ← *dosi-* to enter, advance; to become addicted to + *-me*
deribuhebi (they) had started ← *deri-* to enter + *-bu/-mbu-* (= *deribu-* caus. of *deri-* to begin, start) + *-habil/-hebi/-hobi*
dosime deribuhebi (they) have started to embrace (or adopt)
damu only
uksura branch of a clan; a people, a tribe
elemangga on the other hand; in spite of that, still; (here:) to continue (to do something)
muteme being able ← *mute-* + *-me*
hafu muteme ohobi were able to understand

'Of Qianlong reign period by the time, Mukden's dependant place(s)' Manchurian soldiers already (upon their) installation their own language and script in understanding and ability there was not (= lacked), Chinese language and script in adopting (they) had started. Only the Sibe people still the Manchu language and script in understanding were able.'

Free Translation

After the transfer to Mukden all the Sibe lived together with the troops of the Manchus, and they all gradually abandoned the language and

script of the Mongols; speaking only the Manchu language, they (also) used only the script of the Manchus. Already by the Qianlong reign period, the soldiers of the Manchus upon their deployment in the places depending on Mukden did not understand their own language and script and had started to adopt the Chinese language and script. Only the Sibe people were still able to understand (and use) the Manchu language and script.

Remarks on the text

- 1) Beside the use of the suffix *-i* as genitive and instrumental suffix, in our text we find this suffix used to form attributes: *Manju-i hergen* ‘Manchu script’, lit. ‘script of the Manchu(s)’, *Monggo-i gisun hergen* ‘Mongolian language and script’, lit. ‘language (and) script of (the) Mongol(s)’, *doro-i yoro* ‘ceremonial arrow’, lit. ‘arrow of rite’; and *urgun-i cira* ‘merry (or lively) face’, lit. ‘face of joy’ However, due to the minimal use of nominal suffixes in Manchu, the same construction can also be formed without using a genitive suffix, cf. *Manju gisun* ‘Manchu language’, *Niken gisun hergen* ‘Chinese language and script’ Another example of this construction is *Manju-i cooha irgen* ‘Manchu soldier(s)’, lit. ‘the army-people of the Manchu(s)’ In this last example the compound *cooha irgen* ‘soldier, troop(s)’, lit. ‘army-people’, is also of interest as in the same formation the genitive suffix may be used, e.g. *bithe-i niyalma* ‘scholar’, lit. ‘person of book(s)’, *cooha-i niyalma* ‘soldier, warrior’, lit. ‘person of the army’, or *abka-i fejergi* ‘the world, China’, lit. ‘underneath of heaven’ See Gorelova 2002 (Bibl. 6.3.2, pp. 175-82) These examples are further instances of the rather ambiguous nature of Manchu grammatical categories to which we have referred before. We shall have to say more about this matter in the section on the Altaic Hypothesis.
- 2) As stated earlier plurality is seldom expressed in Manchu; it is expressed more or less regularly only in connection with certain terms of relationship and rank, as well as with ethnic names, since ethnicity implies plurality. Our text is a good example of the use of the plural suffix with ethnic names, cf. *Sibe-se* ‘the Sibe (people)’, *Manju-i cooha irgen-se* ‘Manchurian soldiers’
- 3) According to data gathered by W. Radloff in the late 19th c., the language of the Sibe people was completely identical with the Written Manchu script, i.e. their pronunciation was exactly the

same as the Manchus *wrote*, but was different from the way the Manchus spoke. Thus, the Sibe pronounced *gisun* ‘word’ as it is written in Manchu script, whereas the Manchus wrote *gisun* but pronounced it *dsisun*. According to the account of A. D’yakov from about the same time, the Sibe language had undergone an independent development due to its isolation. The basic vocabulary as well as the grammatical structure were preserved, but due to local influences some changes had occurred in the vocabulary, phonetics, syntax and orthography. (See Stary 1985; Bibl. 6.3.2, pp. vi-vii.) Sibe material collected at the beginning of the 20th c. seems to confirm to some extent the observations made by Radloff as ma. *gisun* is recorded there as *gisun* ~ *gizn* ~ *gizuñ*. In the following we give a few short sentences of Spoken Sibe compared with their counterpart in Written Manchu, as kindly provided by G. Stary:

- (Sibe) *Mini gev Hualiasu, moni bod duyin anggala bi.*
 (ma.) Mini gebu Hūwaliyasun, meni boode duin anggala bi.
 ‘My name is H., in our family there are four people.’
- (Sibe) *Er bai afkai suhdunni avxi ye? Er bai afkai suhdunni xian.*
 (ma.) Ere bai abkai sukdun absi ye? Ere bai abkai sukdun sain.
 ‘How is weather in this place? The weather in this place is fine.’
- (Sibe) *Em anid ningnir, jur, bolori, tur sim duyin forhun bi.*
 (ma.) Emu aniyade niyengniyeri, juwari, bolori, tuweri seme duin forgon bi.
 ‘In one year there are four seasons called spring, summer, autumn, winter.’

Thus it may be said that the major differences between Manchu and Sibe are phonological. Grammatically Sibe, with the exception of the possessive suffixes which have developed into subject designators, and taking into account the phonetic changes, is more or less identical with Manchu. Although a number of loan words from the surrounding languages (Uighur, Kazakh, Chinese, Russian) have crept into Sibe, the vocabulary of both languages is basically identical.

What we have discussed so far concerns only the language of the Tungus group which can boast a substantial literary corpus, but has virtually ceased to exist as a spoken language. The only spoken Manchu is the Manchu dialect of the Sibe people of Xinjiang. However, as stated earlier, in 2007 there were apparently still some

twenty fluent Manchu speakers in Heilongjiang. Old Manchu, i.e. Jurchen, has some written records, as we have seen, and for the rest we have: a) the written material of the Sibe nationality, and b) a corpus of word-lists, stories and songs from other Tungus language groups recorded over a long period down to the present time by (mostly) Russian travellers, linguists and anthropologists, i.e. the oral literature of the Tungus.

From a study of all this material, certain generalizations can be made regarding the common characteristics of the Manchu-Tungus languages, particularly with regard to their phonology.

I. Phonology

- 1) As in Turkic and Mongolian, the principal characteristic is vowel harmony. However, Tungus vowel harmony is affected by the general lack, or disappearance, of the two front rounded vowels *ö* and *ü*, since **ö* has developed into *u* converging with the *u* sound that already existed in Tungus; and **ü* has become *i*, converging with both *i* and **i* into an *i*. Also, the sound *ya* has become *ē*, but, instead of causing the words with this sound to pass from back to front vocalism, *ē* has retained its original back vocalic quality. E.g. *sēn* 'ear' (= *ma. šan < šyan*) becomes *sēnma* in the accusative, instead of *sēnme*. We have also mentioned the fact that *u* and *i* are neutral. Hence palatal harmony is affected, and in comparison to Mongolian – not to speak of Turkic – it is outwardly unstable. To this we must add that Tungus has limited labial attraction (something we have noticed in some Manchu suffixes): after *o* there cannot follow *a* (and *ā*), but only *o* (or *ō*); after *ō* only *a* and *ā* occur, but not *o* or *ō*; after *ā* no *a* can occur but only *e*.

Tungus does have rules of vowel harmony but they are very different from Turkic and Mongolian harmony, as N. Poppe rightly points out (*IAL*, p. 185). Tungus does not in fact have the back *versus* front opposition; instead some back vowels are followed by certain back or even front vowels, but are never followed by certain other back vowels (*loc. cit.*).

- 2) Tungus languages, i.e. the spoken languages, do not have deep velar consonants, so that *k*, *g* and *h* (*χ*, *x*) occur independently from the vocalism. The apparent relationship between these

consonants and certain vowels that we have noted in the Manchu script is only due to the fact that that script has been borrowed from Mongolian *carrying with it the Mongolian orthographic rules* – rules that were made by Dahai and others to fit (somewhat uncomfortably) into the Manchu phonetic system. It is always the case, according to Poppe, that Tungus has actually preserved the most ancient, original features, whereas consonant harmony in Turkic and Mongolian is a later development.

- 3) Tungus languages, like the Turkic and Mongolian languages, have a tendency to avoid certain initial consonants: *r* never occurs in initial position. In final position we find vowels and the consonant *n*.
 - 4) Instability, as in Mongolian, of final *n*.
 - 5) Avoidance of initial consonant clusters, already observed in Turkic and Mongolian.
- II. Morphology. Essentially, the same features observed in the Mongolian languages, the chief characteristic being the agglutinative nature of word inflection through the addition of suffixes to a stem, which in nouns is the nominative form, and in verbs the imperative. In general, nouns and verbs are clearly differentiated; in contrast to Turkic and Mongolian there exist, however, a large number of cases in which the two are identical in shape (i.e. if we do not take into account the suffix *-mbi*), as we remarked before.
- III. Syntax. Again, what we said for Mongolian regarding word order and the role and functions of verbal nouns and gerunds or converbs, is also valid for the Tungus languages. The syntax of the Tungus languages is too little studied to make generalizations at this stage merely on the basis of Manchu or Sibe.

As a matter of fact, a good deal more work on Tungus is called for. Although Manchu-Tungus studies had very good beginnings, and enjoyed a real vogue in the 19th c., they suffered considerably in the first half of this century, to pick up again in the last twenty years. Here are a few historical facts about the investigation of this interesting group of languages, the first written documents of which, viz. the Jurchen inscriptions, are earlier (about a hundred years) than the first Mongolian ones.

The story begins with the Catholic missionaries, mainly Jesuits, at the Manchu court in the 17th c. It was the Flamand Fr. F. Verbiest (1623-88) who in 1668 wrote the first account of the Manchu language in a Western language (Latin), which was published in Paris almost twenty years later. Other missionaries compiled dictionaries and grammars of Manchu for their use, until Fr. J. J. Amyot (1718-93) had his great Tartar-Manchu-French dictionary published in 1789-90, also in Paris. The work of these early missionaries was directed to the propagation of the faith in Manchu-ruled China: those clerics were, at the same time, busy compiling grammars and dictionaries of Chinese for this purpose. However, thanks to their labours, Manchu was seriously studied in Europe for both political and scholarly reasons. A knowledge of Manchu was deemed an asset in dealing with Manchu officials, and Manchu was useful in reading the Chinese classics translated in that language. At the time when Chinese studies in Europe were in their infancy, Manchu – a comparatively easy language – could, and indeed was used as a convenient crib. Hence, the large numbers of Manchu grammars, chrestomathies, and editions of Manchu-Chinese textbooks in French, German, English and Russian. The best grammars were those of H. Conon von der Gabelentz (1832) and C. de Harlez (1884) in French, that of P. G. von Möllendorff (1892) in English, and those by A. Orlov (1873) and I. I. Zakharov (1879) in Russian. Zakharov is also the author of one of the two best dictionaries of Manchu, the other being Hauer's, a second, improved and enlarged edition of which, edited by O. Corff, was published in 2007 by Harrassowitz (Bibl. 6.3.2). The old Manchu chrestomathy of J. Klaproth, originally published in Paris in 1828, was reprinted in Germany in 1985. For a long time this was the only anthology of Manchu literature easily available for an introductory course. Now we have also G. Roth Li's useful *Textbook for Reading Documents*, including transcriptions, translations and explanations, together with grammatical sketches (Bibl. 6.3.2).

While Manchu studies sadly declined in France at the turn of the 19th c., they were kept alive in Germany and Russia. In Germany the emphasis was always on Manchu and Jurchen, whereas in Russia (for geopolitical reasons) the investigation was extended to all Tungus languages and the comparative analysis of the linguistic material collected *in situ*.

Germany certainly still leads in the field of Jurchen and Manchu studies in the West. The contributions of scholars like W. Grube (1855-1908), E. Haenisch (1880-1966), E. Hauer (1878-1935), W. Fuchs (1902-79), M. Gimm, W. Bauer, M. Weiers, H. Walravens and G. Doerfer are very impressive. H. Franke, a disciple of, and successor to E. Haenisch, has also contributed to Jurchen and Manchu studies; and the Italian G. Stary has produced many of his learned works in German. The main centres of Manchu studies and research in Germany are Bonn, Cologne, Berlin, Hamburg and Göttingen.

For the student of Manchu we have already drawn attention to Haenisch's grammar and to Hauer's unsurpassed dictionary (Bibl. 6.3.2). Manchu studies are doing well in Germany and one can expect a lot more to come from that country. On the other hand, the investigation of other Tungus languages has been somewhat neglected, except for some early contributions to Goldi (Nanai) by W. Grube and some later contributions by J. Benzing (of rather uneven value), as well as those by G. Doerfer and his school at Göttingen; especially G. Hesche and H. Scheinhardt.

By contrast, Russia, which had contributed substantially to Manchu studies in the 19th c., began pursuing Tungus studies with major effort in the 20th c. and contributed greatly to our knowledge of these otherwise little known languages. The first serious study of Tungus is actually due to the Finnish scholar A. M. Castrén (1813-52), whom we shall have to mention again soon in connection with the Altaic Hypothesis. He wrote a grammar of Tungus (Evenki) based on the Nerchinsk dialect, which opened the way, as it were, to similar studies, such as those of N. Poppe on Evenki and Solon (1927 and 1931). But the greatest Russian Tungus specialist is unquestionably V. I. Cincius (1903-83) of Leningrad/St. Petersburg, who after studying several Tungus languages *in situ*, began her life-long investigation of the comparative phonology of the Manchu-Tungus languages the outcome of which was a monumental, 2-volume *Comparative Dictionary* published in Leningrad in 1975-77. (She had already published a *Comparative Phonology* of these languages in 1949.) See Bibl. 6.4. Among the present-day Russian Manchu scholars one should mention K. S. Yakhontov of St. Petersburg who, like H. Walravens in Berlin, has specialized in bibliography, the latter scholar being also very active as biographer and editor; T. A. Pang, also of St. Petersburg; and L. M. Gorelova of Moscow (now in Auckland, New

Zealand), author of the only comprehensive grammar of Manchu in English; the Tungusologists V. A. Avrorin, A. H. Girfanova, A. L. Malchukov, K. A. Novikova, T. I. Petrova, O. P. Sunik, G. M. Vasilevič; and A. M. Pevnov and A. A. Burykin who have specialized in Jurchen.

In modern times, Altaicists in various countries such as P. Pelliot in France, L. Ligeti and his disciples (G. Kara, K. Uray-Köhalmi and C. Melles in particular) in Hungary, and D. Sinor and K. H. Menges in the U.S.A., have also contributed to various aspects of Manchu-Tungus linguistics. For our purposes we recommend in particular the articles by Ligeti and Sinor cited in Bibl. 6.3.2.

Manchu studies in the U.S.A. were specially promoted by J. Norman of the University of Washington in Seattle, who has produced an excellent grammatical sketch of the language, and a very handy Manchu-English dictionary (see also Bibl. 6.3.2). His work complements that of the Bloomington Mongolists-Manchurologists, such as D. Sinor, L. Clark and W. Rozycki. The Mongolist J. E. Bosson was also engaged in the teaching of Manchu and promoting Manchu studies at Harvard University after the premature death of J. Fletcher, certainly one of the most promising scholars in the field. Among the younger Manchu scholars in the U.S.A. we should mention S. Wadley and B. Tawny. Since official documents in Manchu form such a prominent class of writings in that language it is essential to acquire a knowledge of Manchu 'officialese'. A useful introduction is the textbook prepared by G. Roth Li (Bibl. 6.3.2), but it should be noted that her grammatical definitions and her terminology (in the case of certain suffixes, etc.) is not always in accordance with the generally accepted ones. This useful work complements and supplements Gorelova's grammar. Norman's dictionary used in conjunction with the above grammar and Roth Li's textbook would enable the student to approach any Manchu text with confidence. Gorelova's work is endowed with a rich bibliography and is particularly good with regard to Russian publications on Manchu.

The leading American Tungusologist of the younger generation is A. Vovin (b. 1961) who is also active, like G. Kara and D. Kane, in research on Kitan.

Whereas Manchu studies have virtually died out in France, Italy is at the forefront with two scholars, G. Stary in Venice and N. Di Cosmo now at Princeton, who – as is often the case – write mostly in

languages other than Italian. This situation, which obtains also in the field of Mongolistics, creates a certain ambiguity as to the ‘nationality’ of the scholarship. This equally applies to the outstanding German-American polymath B. Laufer (1874-1934), already mentioned as a Mongolist, who also contributed to Manchu studies. Among Sary’s students active in the field we wish to mention A. Pozzi of Rome.

In Finland, Manchu-Tungus studies are promoted by J. Janhunen, who has been mentioned earlier in connection with Mongol and comparative Altaic studies.

Thus, Germany, Russia, the U.S.A., Italy and Finland are the Western countries where Manchu-Tungus studies are pursued with a certain vigour, albeit at a level not comparable with Turkic and Mongolian studies. England too has played a part thanks to limited contributions by W. Simon, an expatriate German Sinologist, and the Mongolist C. R. Bawden. S. Kałużyński from Poland, already referred to in connection with Turkic studies, and P. Schmidt from Latvia should also be mentioned.

In Asia much work has been done on this group of languages in Japan, China and Taiwan, as well as in Mongolia and Korea. Japan has a long tradition – largely related to political circumstances (Japanese interests in Manchuria and the creation of Manchukuo in September 1932 – an ill-conceived and artificial political state) – which, fortunately, continued to flourish independently from politics, so much so that the world’s leading Manchurologists in the 1960s and ’70s were, in fact, Japanese (H. Okada, N. Kanda and J. Matsumura). Jurchen was also not neglected by the Japanese, with substantial contributions by G. N. Kiyose, nor was Tungusology, by scholars like J. Ikegami and T. Tsumagari.

In China, where interest in Manchu-Tungus studies has centered mainly in the fields of Jurchen, Manchu and Sibe languages, the greatest contribution has come from Jin Qizong, author of an important Jurchen lexicon, and himself a man of aristocratic Manchu lineage (Jin ‘Gold’ for ma. Aisin, of the Aisin Gioro clan of the Manchu Qing rulers), and his daughter Shi/Ulhicun. In recent years Chinese Tungusologists have largely engaged in describing what is left of the minor Tungusic languages of Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, a most commendable task. Taiwan, which possesses a large collection of Manchu documents and records of the Qing period in its

rich libraries and archives, has also active scholars investigating in particular the Manchu documentary language, the leading one being Chuang Chi-fa (Zhuang Jifa), who is also the author of a study on the *Lao Qida* in Manchu (see Bibl. 6.3.2) which, incidentally, is an excellent teaching/learning book if one has a basic knowledge of Chinese.

Manchu studies are also carried out in Mongolia, mainly in the field of lexicography, and especially in Korea, a country that has had a long association with Tungus people. The Korean contribution is so interesting from the historical and linguistic points of view that an entire book has been devoted to this very subject by Hiu Lie (1972).

In Australia, as mentioned earlier, D. Kane of Sydney has contributed several important studies on Jurchen and Manchu; he is at present also deeply involved in research on the Kitan language and script (see Bibl. 6.3.1 & 2).

Publications on Manchu-Tungus languages are therefore not lacking, even if in certain areas of grammar, syntax and literature there are still wide gaps to fill. Sibe studies and Manchu poetry, together with documentary Manchu, are at present receiving a good deal of attention; an increasing number of Manchu texts are being edited and translated, and Manchu bibliographies and catalogues of important collections of Manchu books and manuscripts are being published in increasing number.

For good, even if not up-to-date, surveys of Manchu-Tungus studies, one should turn, as usual, to Poppe's 'Overview' and *IAL*, to *ESAPT* and *Tu*. All this must be supplemented with comprehensive bibliographies like that contained in *ET* and, especially, G. Stary's monumental and indispensable *Manchu Studies* (Bibl. 6.6), which is by far the most complete bibliography of Manchu studies available today. Special mention should be made here of the volume *Tungusic Languages*, edited by A. Vovin, to be published in the near future. For the first time up-to-date information on, and descriptions of all the Tungusic languages will be available to the English reader. In the meantime, students of Manchu and of Tungusic languages can profitably make use of the bibliographical information contained in Tsumagari, 'Guide', available through the Internet.

Articles and books on Manchu studies appear in various countries and in numerous journals: *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*,

Central Asiatic Journal, *Journal Asiatique*, *T'oung Pao*, *Asia Major*, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* and others.

Volumes devoted to Manchu language and literature appear also in *Asiatische Forschungen* and the *Uralic and Altaic Series*. An interesting journal of Manchu studies, called the *Manchu Studies Newsletter*, was published at Indiana University (Bloomington), and later at the University of Washington between 1977 and 1982. Several contributions in this journal (which has unfortunately expired) would be of interest to the student of Manchu. A new and welcome series devoted to Manchu studies is *Aetas Manjurica*, edited by M. Gimm, G. Stary and M. Weiers, the first volume of which appeared in 1987. The series is published by O. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden. Equally interesting are the series *Shamanica Manchurica Collecta*, *Tungusica* and *Tungusu-Sibirica*, also published by Harrassowitz. In the U.S.A. the journal *Saksaha (Magpie)*, founded in 1996 with the support of Portland State University and edited by J. Norman and S. Wadley, keeps the interest in Manchu studies alive.

To conclude: there is plenty of scope for research in almost all areas of Manchu-Tungus studies because of the large mass of material available. Some has been published but much, if not most of it, still remains unpublished. It is, therefore, a field with a future. One of the most urgent tasks of Manchu scholars the world over is, however, to reach a consensus regarding the linguistic terminology which, in the case of Manchu, is now sadly lacking.

4 *The Altaic Hypothesis*

To complete our overview of Altaic philology, we must say something about one of the most controversial aspects of Altaic studies, the so-called Altaic Hypothesis (AH). Also referred to as the Altaic Theory, the AH is a by-product of comparative research in the field of Uralic and Altaic linguistics. When, in the 19th c., enough data had been collected by individuals investigating the Finno-Ugric and Altaic languages (or, to be more precise, the ones we now call the Finno-Ugric and Altaic languages), certain apparent relationships between the languages of these groups were noticed. Further investigations caused a number of scholars interested in historical linguistics to establish correlations between these languages and propose a genetic rapport between them, as indeed was being done by their colleagues in the field of Indo-European languages. The way this process occurred is, briefly, as follows.

Although the theory developed in the 19th c. and flourished in the 20th, it first germinated in the 18th c. with von Strahlenberg, whom we met in connection with his work on Kalmyk. On the basis of his knowledge of several languages (which he had acquired during his extensive travels) and the similarities which he discovered among them, he classified their speakers into six groups: 1) Uighurs, i.e. the Finno-Ugric speaking people, the Baraba Tatars and the Huns, 2) Turco-Tatars, 3) Samoyeds, 4) Mongols and Manchus, 5) Tungus, and 6) the tribes between the Black Sea and the Caspian. This first classification was rough, unscientific and incorrect. The Finno-Ugric people cannot be grouped together with the Baraba Tatars who are a Turkic tribe; and the tribes between the Black and Caspian Seas belonged to several different ethnic groups speaking different languages: Turkic, Iranian and Caucasian languages. But it was a first attempt.

Rectifications of his classification, always on the basis of language affinity, and the renaming of the groups, with inclusion of other peoples and languages (including Basque, Eskimo, etc.), were carried out by the Danish linguist R. Rask in 1834. His scheme is called the 'Scythian hypothesis' because he renamed Strahlenberg's 'Tatar' languages the 'Scythian' languages.

A few decades later, Indo-European comparative linguistics was in full swing, and this promoted further revisions and reclassifications

of the languages in question. This led to the new 'Turanian hypothesis' of Max Müller (1823-1900) which in the earlier groupings included also Siamese, Tibetan, Dravidian and Malayan on the assumption that Turan, i.e. broadly Central Asia, was the original homeland of all these peoples.

The situation changed with A. M. Castrén, the Finnish scholar already mentioned as a Tungusologist and general linguist. He was really the first to use scientific criteria to classify languages. The previous investigators relied largely on the principle of agglutination vs. flexion, i.e. essentially on morphological structure. Castrén accepted that but found the argument insufficient and went to the root of one of the major problems, viz. identity of the morphemes as a criterion to determine the affinity of languages. In the process he discovered that there was considerably less affinity within the Altaic languages than that within the Indo-European languages. He was the first to use the term 'Altaic' for the Uralic and Altaic groups. The affinity of the Uralic languages, i.e. the Finno-Ugric and Samoyed stocks, was then recognized and has since been proven (although there are still reservations as to the exact position in the scheme, i.e. in the family tree, of Samoyed). Yet the genetic relationship between the languages of the Altaic group is debated, and that between the Uralic and Altaic groups or phyla is still highly hypothetical. Hence, Castrén's 'Altaic' theory, although marking progress in research, cannot be accepted as it stands because for him 'Altaic' meant both Uralic *and* Altaic.

After Castrén came the German comparativists W. Schott and H. Winkler, followed by the French linguist A. Sauvageot, the Finnish Turcologist M. Räsänen, the Swede B. Collinder and the Russian S. M. Shirokogoroff, all of whom approached the Ural-Altai theory from various angles without however coming to any definite conclusions. With these scholars we have moved not only in time (from the 19th to the 20th c.), but also in methodology: we have progressed from morphologic correspondences to vocabulary and to sound correspondences, i.e. to comparative phonology. This was made possible through the in-depth research into the Altaic languages by the great Ramstedt, research that also broadened the field of investigation geographically to include Korean and Japanese. Ramstedt was also versed in the Finno-Ugric languages (he himself was Swedo-Finnish) and his forte was really the establishment of phonetic correspondences

between these languages. He was a proponent of the inclusion of Korean. According to him, at the beginning there was a common language, called Common Altaic, which included Proto-Korean, Proto-Turkic, Proto-Mongolian and Proto-Manchu-Tungus, these four being dialects of Common Altaic. These dialects were distributed over four areas: Proto-Mongolian and Proto-Manchu-Tungus in the north; Proto-Korean and Proto-Turkic in the south; with Proto-Manchu-Tungus and Proto-Korean extending eastward, and Proto-Turkic and Proto-Mongolian extending westward.

Ramstedt's Altaic theory was accepted, albeit with minor modifications by most of the Russian Mongolists and Turcologists, as also by several linguists outside Russia, such as J. Németh and Z. Gombocz. The Russian school, centred at St. Petersburg/Petrograd/Leningrad and comprising also the Polish Mongolist W. Kotwicz, was represented by Rudnev, Vladimircov and Poppe – all familiar names. Whereas Vladimircov had come to agree completely with Ramstedt's theory at the end of his life, and regarded the three groups of languages (Turkic, Mongolian and Manchu-Tungus) as stemming from a common parent, Kotwicz held a somewhat different view, which is very interesting. While agreeing with Ramstedt that the three language groups are indeed related, he saw this connection as being due to the mutual influence of one group over the other, i.e. Turkic upon Mongolian, and Mongolian upon Tungus, with Korean possibly being involved too. For Kotwicz, the Altaic group presented not so much a case of genetic affinity as a group of languages that have strongly influenced one another over the past thousand years through borrowing words and sound systems such as vowel harmony.

Ramstedt's theory was accepted in full by his disciple P. Aalto, who after Ramstedt's death published the exposition of his theory (see *Bibl.* 3.2). One of the most controversial aspects of the theory is its inclusion of Korean, in view of the affinity between Korean and Japanese which is affirmed by several scholars in Japan and by some eminent American linguists (R. A. Miller and J. C. Street), and the resultant inclusion of Japanese itself into the Altaic group.

Other side issues of the general problem are the eventual affinities of Korean with the Dravidian languages of India (such as Tamil), with Chinese and even with Indo-European languages. Correlations with Indo-European leading to a Korean-Indo-European, and an Altaic-Indo-European theory, have found supporters (e.g. K. H.

Menges for the latter), while an almost extreme position is taken by L. Kazar, whose thesis is that Japanese is not only genetically related to the Altaic, but also to the Uralic languages: his thesis is impressive, but not convincing.

In recent times, Ramstedt's theory was supported by his intellectual heir and successor N. Poppe, but hotly opposed by Sir G. Clauson in England and G. Doerfer in Germany. The position of the Budapest school, i.e. of L. Ligeti and his disciples, and that of K. Grønbech and his pupil J. R. Krueger (who was a student of both Grønbech and Poppe) is that the theory is premature and that it needs further proof, i.e. that it is acceptable only as a *working hypothesis* which has not yet been demonstrated scientifically. Thus, this group of scholars, which also includes J. Benzing, do not reject the AH outright; rather, they are waiting for additional evidence through historical and comparative research before adopting it. This is certainly not the case with Clauson, Doerfer and, albeit less vocally, D. Sinor. The viewpoint of these scholars is that certain sound correspondences, and a number of common words and suffixes are not sufficient for building such a complex genealogical tree. The common vocabulary of the three language groups is due to long historical contacts between these groups; in fact, the three groups of languages do not have a common vocabulary at all when it comes to basic words such as numerals and parts of the body, and very common verbs like 'to go', 'to give', 'to take', etc. There is, therefore, no common ancestor or parent language – no *Ursprache*. What we have are *loan words* in all these languages, with mostly Mongolian borrowing from Turkic at the 'proto' stage of the language, which is the earliest state of each language reconstructed through comparative and historical methodology, as has been done for Indo-European languages. Hence, many of the correspondences and etymologies proposed by Ramstedt and Poppe in their respective comparative grammars are rejected as unsound for the purpose of proving that these words or suffixes are part of a common stock: for the anti-AH, these affinities or identities are only due to exchanges and borrowings between languages whose speakers have been neighbours or, in any event, in close contact with each other for a long time.

Those who wish to examine more closely the arguments for and against the AH, with numerous examples of contested etymologies, refutations of sound correspondences, and also lists of common

suffixes, examples of identical structures of personal pronouns and similarities in syntax, can look up Poppe's *IAL* and the relevant section of his 'Overview', Clauson's article 'The Case Against the Altaic Theory', Sinor's article 'Observations on a New Comparative Altaic Phonology', Doerfer's essay in his book on Turkish and Mongolian elements in Modern Persian, and A. Vovin's 'The End of the Altaic Controversy' which are cited in Bibl. 7. One may also still read with profit the 'Généralités' section of J. Deny's *esquisse* on the three groups of languages in *LM* (pp. 319-30).

On the one hand, from what we have seen in our brief survey of these languages, one cannot deny that there are striking similarities between them and, indeed, so many common features in morphology and syntax which may well justify placing them in the same drawer, as it were, and labelling them as 'Altaic'. Few would disagree with this providing that we define exactly what we mean by 'Altaic'. The reader is therefore advised to read also what A. Róna-Tas, the eminent Hungarian Altaicist, has to say on this topic (1986, Bibl. 7). At the same time, we must of course keep an open mind regarding possible developments which may also justify the inclusion of both Korean and Japanese in that drawer. On this specific problem, and for the most recent developments in comparative linguistics affecting the AH, it is essential to take into account the contributions of R. A. Miller on the subject, as well as A. Vovin's pertinent remarks.

On the other hand, one cannot dismiss the concerns expressed by those who feel that in spite of the argumentations of the AH advocates, and even the recent appearance of two Altaic etymological dictionaries (Starostin *et al.* 2003, Robbeets, 2005; Bibl. 3.2, 7), the debate has reached a dead end. What are the real prospects for a definite solution of the problem? Are there *any* solutions? Some, indeed, maintain that it is no longer sufficient to investigate single words or even groups of words, suffixes, sound correspondences and the like, and to state which belong or do not belong to the common genetic heritage, or are borrowed. What we need (they claim) is not only the examination of all these features as part of a whole unity, but also the investigation of, for example, how morphological or lexical features are used or have changed in practice. This can be done in several different ways. One is the investigation of living languages, and especially of languages that exist in areas where several languages of different origin live in close contact with each other. As it has been

shown by J. Janhunen and his team in their research on the Turkic, Mongolian, Tibetan and Chinese languages and dialects in the Amdo region of Qinghai, languages of very different origin influence each other, even in a relatively short time, to the extent that they completely change their former characteristics (Janhunen *et al.*, 2008; Bibl. 7). There are several other areas, such as Manchuria, the Volga region, the Caucasus and southern Siberia, just to mention a few, where this phenomenon can be (and partly is) investigated in detail. Research of this kind is of the utmost importance also when investigating older languages in order to obtain a theoretical understanding of language changes.

In philology we are mainly interested in the written monuments of languages, but in this domain too we have several opportunities to approach the AH in a novel way. In the former Soviet Union, as also in the PRC, a number of books, considered important for various reasons, were translated into all the different languages of these multicultural states. Without taking into account the ideological background, but simply comparing the different versions issued in Turkic, Mongolian or Tungus languages, it is possible to sort out differences and similarities in the phonological, morphological and lexical areas of the given languages, and, even more importantly, to obtain a picture of how these features are used in practice. In a second stage of research one may proceed to investigate earlier Turkic, Mongolian or Tungus texts. This can be done, for instance, by comparing Uighur-Mongolian (mainly Buddhist) texts, and Mongol-Manchu (mainly administrative) bilingual documents. We may quote again, as an example of this approach, the *Veritable Records of the Manchus* analysed above as Text XXXII. Differences in the two texts are underscored.

<u>Golmin Šanggiyan</u> <u>Alin den juwe</u>	<u>Čayan</u> <u>Ayulan-u öndör inu qoyar</u>
<u>tanggū ba</u> <u>šurdeme minggan ba</u>	<u>jaγun bere toyorin inu mingyan</u>
<u>tere alin-i ninggu-de</u> <u>Tamun-i</u>	<u>bere bui orgil degere inu Tamun-i</u>
<u>gebungge omo bi</u> <u>šurdeme</u>	<u>neretü nayar aγuγu toyorin inu</u>
<u>jakūnju ba</u> <u>tere alin-ci</u>	<u>nayan bere buγu tere ayulan-ača</u>
<u>tucikengge Yalu Hüntung Aihu</u>	<u>urusqu Yalu Quntung Ayikü</u>
<u>sere ilan giyang</u> <u>Yalu Giyang</u>	<u>kemekü γurban mören bui Yalu</u>
<u>alin-i julergici</u> <u>tucifi</u> <u>wasihün</u>	<u>Mören Čayan Ayulan-u emün-eče</u>
<u>eyefi</u> <u>Liyoodung-ni</u> <u>julergi</u>	<u>öröne jüg urusču Liyoodung-un</u>
<u>mederi-de dosikabi</u> <u>Hüntung</u>	<u>emüne-ki dalai-dur čidquy</u>

Giyang alin-i amargici tucifi
amasi eyefi amargi mederi-de
dosikabi Aihu Bira wesihun eyefi
dergi mederi-de dosikabi ere
ilan giyang-de boobai tana
genggiyen nicuhe tucimbi
Šanggiyan Alin edun mangga ba
šahürun ofi juwari erin oho
manggi šurdeme alin-i gurgu
gemu Šanggiyan Alin-de genefi
bimbi šun dekdere ergi ufuhu
wehe noho Šanggiyan Alin tere
inu :

Quntung Mören Čayan Ayulan-u
umar-ača urušču umara-du dalai-
dur čidquyu Ayikü Mören Čayan
Ayulan-u doron-ača urušču dorona-
du dalai-dur čidquyu ene yurban
mören-eče erdeni tana kiged
subud yarumu Čayan Ayulan-dur
salkin imu ülemji yeke küiten
bükü-yin tulada jun-u qalayun-
dur · orčin-u ayulas-un göröged imu
Čayan Ayula-dur quraju amui
naran uryuqu jüg-ün dalai-yin
kögesü-tü Öndör Čayan Ayula tere
bühige .

Comparing the two versions, and without going into details, we notice immediately striking differences between the two texts at the morphological, lexical and syntactical level. To mention just a few: the copula is used much less in Manchu than in Mongolian; ma. *alin* ‘mountain’ = mo. (1) *ayulan-u* ‘of the mountain’, (2) *ayulan-dur* ‘in, on the mountain’, and (3) *ayula* ‘mountain’; ma. *tere alin-i ninggu-de* ‘on the top of that mountain’ = mo. *orgil degere imu* ‘on its summit’; ma. *surdeme alin-i* ‘of surrounding mountain(s)’ (pl. not expressed) = *orčin-u ayulas-un* ‘of the mountains of the surrounding’ (pl. expressed); the use of ma. *giyang* ‘river’ (in the Chinese text *jiang*), a rather rare word in northern China at the time but common in Korea (and Manchuria), vs. *bira* ‘id.’ (in the Chinese text *he*). This shows that following this path also new insights can be gained into the functioning of Altaic languages, and new questions can thus be formulated. It also shows, however, that it is not enough to state that, for example, Manchu has a dative-locative suffix without also stating *why* it is not used all the time, and *how* it is used exactly. Another example of this kind of approach could be the investigation of personal pronouns, considered one of the cornerstones of the AH, but used very differently in the three languages.

Summarizing what has been said so far, we may state that there are indeed common elements in the Altaic languages, but these elements, for reasons not yet fully understood, are not always used in the same way. Therefore, at the present stage of research, one may well have doubts as to whether such features can be used to place

Turkic, Mongolian and Tungus into the same drawer. The authors of this book have different views on what is the wisest course to follow with regard to the vexed problem of the AH. While one of us is inclined to adopt the attitude of the Hungarian Altaicists which consists of approaching it 'in a positive, yet cautious frame of mind', the other is rather in favour of approaching it 'in a negative, yet cautious frame of mind' As B. Kempf rightly says in his review of *An Etymological Dictionary of the Altaic Languages* by S. Starostin *et al.* (see Bibl. 7, p. 404), 'the problem is not solved, so the discussion is not finished'.

Bibliography and Abbreviations

Abbreviations of titles

- AG = Gabain, A. von *Alttürkische Grammatik*. See 4.3.1
- AWL = Moseley, C. and Asher, R.E. (eds) *Atlas of the World's Languages*. See 1.3
- BMN = Kara, G. *Books of the Mongolian Nomads*. See 5.1
- CHC = Twitchett, D. and Fairbank, J.K. (eds) *The Cambridge History of China*, I-XV. CUP, Cambridge, 1979-2002.
- CHEIA = Sinor, D. (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*. See 2.2
- DA = Barthold, V.-V. *La découverte de l'Asie. Histoire de l'orientalisme en Europe et en Russie*. See 4.5
- ED = Clauson, G. *An Etymological Dictionary* See 4.3.1
- EEFT = Erdal, M. and Nevskaya, I. (eds) *Exploring the Eastern Frontiers of Turkic*. See 4.1
- ESAPT = Benzing, J. *Einführung in das Studium der altaischen Philologie und der Turkologie*. See 3.2
- ET = Stary, G. *Emu tanggû* See 6.3.2
- GWM = Poppe, N. *Grammar of Written Mongolian*. See 5.3.2
- IAL = Poppe, N. *Introduction to Altaic Linguistics*. See 3.2
- ICA = Klyaštornyi, S.G. *Istoriya Central'noi Azii*. See 4.2
- IEEC = Sinor, D. *Introduction à l'étude de l'Eurasie Centrale*. See 2.1
- IHTP = Golden, P.B. *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples*. See 4.2
- IM = *Information Mongolia*. See 5.1
- IMCS = Poppe, N. *Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies*. See 5.1
- KLS = Kane, D. *The Kitan Language and Script*. See 5.1
- Kononov, 'Alt. Ling.' = Kononov, A.N. 'Altaic Linguistics in the USSR – A Brief Survey.' See 3.2
- LAC = Wurm, S.A. et al. (eds) *Language Atlas of China*. See 1.3
- Laufer, 'Skizze' = Laufer, B. 'Skizze der manj. Lit.' See 6.3.2
- Laut, 'Bibliographie' = Laut, J.P. 'Bibliographie alttürkischer Studien.' See 4.1

- LĚS* = Yarceva, V.N. (ed.) *Lingvističeskii ěnciklopedičeskii slovar'* See 1.2
- LM* = Meillet, A. and Cohen, M. *Les langues du monde*. See 1.1
- M* = Poppe, N. *et al.* *Mongolistik. Handbuch der Orientalistik*. See 5.1
- MEH* = Janhunen, J. *Manchuria. An Ethnic History*. See 6.2
- ML* = Janhunen, J. (ed.) *The Mongolic Languages*. See 5.1
- MML* = Sanzheyev, G.D. *The Modern Mongolian Language*. See 5.3.3
- MY* = Alpatov, V.M. *et al.* (eds) *Mongol'skie yazyki* See 5.1
- OSML* = Sanzheyev, G.D. *The Old-Script Mongolian Language and Its Development in Khalkha*. See 5.3.3
- Poppe, 'Overview' = Poppe, N. 'Altaic Linguistics – An Overview' See 3.2
- PTF* = Deny, J. *et al.* (eds) *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*. See 4.1
- Sinor, *Syllabus* = Sinor, D. *Inner Asia. A Syllabus*. See 2.1
- T* = von Gabain, A. *et al.* *Turkologie*. See 4.1
- TL* = Johanson, L. and Csató, É.Á. (eds) *The Turkic Languages*. See 4.1
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- TS* = Grønbech, K. *Der türkische Sprachbau*. See 4.4
- Tsumagari, 'Guide' = Tsumagari, T. 'Bibliographical Guide' See 4.1
- Tu* = Fuchs, W. *et al.* *Tungusologie. Handbuch der Orientalistik*. See 6.1
- TY* = Tenišev, É. R. *et al.* (eds) *Tyurkskie yazyki*. See 4.1
- UBL* = Elverskog, J. *Uygur Buddhist Literature*. See 4.2
- WAW* = Janhunen, J. and Rybatzki, V. (eds) *Writing in the Altaic World*. See 1.4
- WWS* = Daniels, P.T. and Bright, W. (eds) *The World's Writing Systems*. See 1.4

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List of Suffixes and Particles

Abbreviations

- C. = L.V. Clark, 'Manchu Suffix List' (Bibl. 6.3.2)
G. = A. von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik* (Bibl. 4.3.1)
GK. = K. Grønbech, J.R. Krueger, *An Introduction to Classical (Literary) Mongolian* (Bibl. 5.3.2)
GO. = L.M. Gorelova, *Manchu Grammar* (Bibl. 6.3.2)
K. = D. Kane, *The Kitan Language and Script* (Bibl. 5.1)
*K. = D. Kane, 'Jurchen', to appear in A. Vovin (ed.), *The Tungusic Languages* (Bibl. 6.1)
KI. = G.N. Kiyose, *A Study of the Jurchen Language and Script* (Bibl. 6.3.1)
P. = N. Poppe, *Grammar of Written Mongolian* (Bibl. 5.3.2)
P.¹ = N. Poppe, 'Die Nominalstammbildungsuffixe im Mongolischen' (Bibl. 5.3.2)
T. = T. Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic* (Bibl. 4.3.1)
W. = M. Weiers, *Untersuchungen* (Bibl. 5.3.1)

For further information on, and examples of usage of Turkic, Mongolian and Manchu suffixes see the following:

ED, pp. xxxix-xlviii

M. Erdal 1991 and 2004 (Bibl. 4.3.1)

J.R. Hamilton 1971 (Bibl. 4.3.1), pp. 145-150

IAL, *passim*

Y. Kawachi, *Manshūgo bungo buntēn*, Kyōto Daigaku Gakujutsu Shuppankai, Kyoto, 1996, pp. 337-344

V.M. Nadelyaev *et al.* (eds) 1969 (Bibl. 4.3.1), pp. 649-668

G.J. Ramstedt 1912 (Bibl. 4.3.1)

For students with knowledge of modern Mongolian in vertical script (*uyiurjin*) we recommend also the section on Mongol suffixes in Sečenčoytu (ed.), *Mongyol üges-ün ijayur-un toli*, Zhangjiakou, 1988, pp. 2501-2972.

- N.B. 1. References to mmo. and pmo. are only to those suffixes which occur in that particular form chiefly or exclusively in mmo. and pmo.
2. Front-vocalic suffixes which have back-vocalic counterparts are listed under the latter.

3. While references to G., GK., P., P.¹ and W. are to paragraphs, those to all the other works are to pages. For GO., the page references are to the entries in the 'Index of Suffixes' on pp. 593-600.

A

- a/-ä* (tu.) 1. vocative. G. 343; T. 174.
2. (= *-i/-i*, *-u/-ü*) gerund. See *-u/-ü*.
- a/-e* (mmo., pmo.) dative-locative (after consonants and diphthongs in *i*). P. 287; W. 14d; GK. 14. See *-dur/-dür*.
- a/-ä-* (tu.) (= *-i/-i*, *-u/-ü*-) connective vowel. See *-i/-i-*.
- 'a/-'e* (mmo.) see *-yal/-ge* 2
- ačal/-eče* (mo.) ablative. P. 290, 524-530; W. 18; GK. 15. See *-čal/-če*.
- ai* (mo.) vocative particle and interjection. GK. 44d.
- ai* (mmo.) see *-i* 5
- 'ai/-'ei* (mmo.) see *-ya(i)/-ge(i)*
- akū* (ma.) negation particle. GO. 593. Cf. *akūn*.
- akūn* (ma.) (= *akū* + *n*) negation particle + interrogative particle. GO. 593, 597, s.v. *ni* (*n*). Cf. *akū*.
- an* (kit.) genitive. K. 132-133, 143.
- 'an/-'en* (mmo.) see *-ban/-ben*, *-iyan/-iyen*
- amu* (mo.) particle emphasizing the subject. P. 441, 495-497. See *inu*.
- ar/-är* (tu.) 1. (= *-ir/-ir*, *-or/-ör*, *-r*, *-ur/-ür*) aorist. See *-r*.
2. suffix forming distributive numerals. G. 204.
- 'asul/-'esü* (mmo.) see *-basul/-besü*
- 'at/-'et* (mmo.) see *-yad/-ged*

Ä

- ärinč* (tu.) particle of assumption or supposition ('probably, apparently'). G. 359; T. 173-174.

B

- ba* (mo.) particle. See *ber* 3.
- bal/-be* (ju.) accusative (= ma. *-be*). KI. 55 (410), 63 (34); *K.
- bal/-be* (ma.) deverbial noun suffix (indicating possession of a quality). GO. 593.
- ba(i)/-be(i)* (mo.) I past tense or preterite, also called praeteritum perfecti and narrative past. P. 350, 358-359; W. 32; GK. 27.
- bačil/-beči* (mo.) see *-bačul/-bečü*. P. 371.

- bačul/-bečü* (mo.) *converbum concessivum* or *adversative gerund*. P. 371, 668, 693; GK. 40.
- ban/-ben* (mo.) *reflexive-possessive* (after vowels). P. 306-317; W. 17; GK. 20. See *-iyan/-iyen*.
- bar/-ber* (mo.) *instrumental* (after vowels). P. 293, 531-537; W. 20; GK. 16. See *-iyar/-iyer*.
- bar-iyan/-ber-iyen* (mo.) *reflexive-possessive instrumental* (after vowels). See *-iyar-iyan/-iyer-iyen*.
- basu/-besü* (mo.) *converbum conditionale* or *conditional gerund*. P. 366-367, 414, 665; W. 42; GK. 340.
- be* (ma.) *accusative*. C. 31; GO. 593.
- ber* (mo.) 1. *particle emphasizing subject*.
2. *concessive and generalizing particle* ('even', 'also').
3. *particle turning an interrogative pronoun into an indefinite one* (= *ba*). P. 192, 441, 495-498, 665-687.
- bi* (ju.) *perfect converb* (= ma. *-fi/-pi*). KI. 79 (381) calls it a 'non-perfective indicative suffix' *K. reads **pi*.
- bikai* (ma.) (*bi + kai*) *corroborative particle*
- bu* (mmo.) see *buu*
- bu-* (ma.) *passive & causative*. C. 31; GO. 594.
- buru* (ju.) *deverbal noun suffix* (?). KI. 71 (213) calls it a 'non-perfective participle suffix' *K.
- busu* (mo.) *relative negation* ('is only but not'), and *negative copula* ('is not'). P. 628.
- buu* (mo.) *prohibitive particle* (preceding verbal forms). P. 600, 640; IAL, 290.
- bye* (ju.) *aorist or present final* (= ma. *-mbi*). *K.

C

- ci* (ma.) 1. *denominal noun suffix* (*nomen agentis*, etc.). C. 31; GO. 594.
2. *elative or ablative*. C. 31; GO. 594.
3. *ordinal numbers suffix*. C. 31; GO. 594.
4. *conditional converb*. C. 31; GO 594.

Č

- č* (tu.) *deverbal noun suffix*, as in *irinč* or *ögrünč*; according to Gabain and Tekin the *deverbal noun suffix* is *-nč*; according to Clauson the analysis is *-n-* reflexive + *-č* *deverbal noun suffix*. G. 125; T. 114; ED, xlili.

- čal/-čã (tu.) equative, sometimes with prolative meaning. G. 185, 189-190, 334, 364, 385, 397, 407, 423; T. 136.
- čal/-če (pmo.) ablative. P. 291; W. 18. See *-ačal/-eče*.
- ča-/če- (mo.) denominal verbal suffix (reciprocal/co-operative)
- čŕ/-čŕi (tu.) denominal noun suffix. G. 47; T. 59, 62-63, 104.
- čŕi (mo.) denominal noun suffix (for names of vocations = *nomen actoris*). P. 114; GK. 52a.
- čŕid (mo.) plural of *-čŕi*, *-γčŕi/-gčŕi*.
- čŕin (mo.) 1. plural of *-čŕi*, esp. in pmo. and mmo.
2. denominal noun suffix (forming ethnonyms).
3. denominal noun suffix (forming abstract nouns). P. 270; P.¹ 23.
- čul/-čŭ (mo.) *converbum imperfecti* or subordinating gerund. P. 372, 413, 415, 443, 572, 573, 576, 656; GK. 29b. See *-ju/-jŭ*.
- čuq/-čŭk (tu.) diminutive suffix. G. 46; T. 104.
- ču'u(i)/-čŭ'ŭ(i) (mmo.) see *-čuγu(i)/-čŭgŭ(i)*. W. 34.
- čuγu(i)/-čŭgŭ(i) (pmo.) see *-čuquŕ/-čŭkŭi*. P. 353; W. 34.
- čuquŕ/-čŭkŭi (mo.) III past tense (after *b, d, g, γ, r, s*). See *-juquŕ/-jŭkŭi*.

D

- d (mo.) plural. P. 265-269, 373a, 413; GK. 24d.
- d- (tu.) denominal verb suffix. G. 86; T. 108.
- dal/-dã (tu.) (*-tal/-tã*) 1. locative-ablative. G. 182, 200, 274, 279, 281, 287, 294, 297, 318, 323, 388, 396, 409, 412, 426; T. 133, 134. See also *-ntal/-ntã*.
(*-tal/-tã*) 2. denominal verb suffix. G. 101; T. 110.
- dal/-de (mo.) 1. dative-locative (= *-du/-dŭ*). See *-tal/-te* 1.
2. adverbial suffix (temporal, etc.). P. 208.
- da-/de- (mo.) passive (after *l, m, n*). P. 231, 451, 604-608; GK. 42. See *-ta/-te-*.
- dačal/-deče (pmo.) dative-locative-ablative (after vowels, *l, m, n*). P. 300; W. 18. See *-tačal/-teče*.
- dačŕi/-dãčŕi (tu.) (*-tačŕi/-tãčŕi*) future participle suffix. G. 132, 221, 243, 266-267, 442; T. 180, 192, 196.
- dayan/-degen (mo.) reflexive-possessive dative-locative (after vowels, *l, m, n*). P. 309; W. 15; GK. 20. See *-tayan/-tegen*.
- dal/-del (mo.) deverbal noun suffix. P. 143. See *-tal/-tel*.
- dãn/-dën (oir.) see *-dayan/-degen*

- daqil/-däki* (tu.) (-*taqil/-täki*) denominal noun suffix. G. 49, 74, 333, 410; T. 104, 105, 133, 134.
- dara/-dere/-doro* (ma.) see *-ra/-re/-ro* 2. C. 32.
- dari* (ma.) denominal noun suffix (postp.): 'each, every' C. 32; GO. 594
- daš/-däš* (tu.) (-*taš/-täš*) denominal noun suffix. G. 68.
- de* (ma.) dative-locative. C. 32; GO. 594.
- deri* (ma.) elative (ablative) or prolative particle. C. 32; GO. 594.
- dil/-di* (tu.) (*til/-ti*) 3 p. sg. perfect. G. 217, 242-243, 264-266, 268-270, 341; T. 188-190, 193-197.
- dim/-dim* (tu.) (-*tim/-tim*) 1 p. sg. perfect. See *-dil/-di*.
- dımız/-dimiz* (tu.) (-*tımız/-timiz*) 1 p. pl. perfect. See *-dil/-di*.
- din/-din* (tu.) see *-tın/-tin* 1 & 2
- diñ/-diñ* (tu.) (-*tıñ/-tıñ*) 2 p. sg. perfect. See *-dil/-di*.
- dıñız/-dıñiz* (tu.) (-*tıñız/-tıñiz*) 2 p. pl. perfect. See *-dil/-di*.
- dö* (ju.) dative-locative (= ma. *-de*). KI. 93 (704); *K.
- du/-dü* (mo.) dative-locative (= *-dur/-dür*). P. 286; W. 14b; GK. 14. See *-tu/-tü* 1.
- dun/-dün* (tu.) see *-tun/-tün*
- duq/-dük* (tu.) (-*tuq/-tük*) past participle suffix. G. 107, 136, 224, 339, 442. T. 178-179, 190-191, 194.
- dur/-dür* (mo.) dative-locative (after vowels, *l, m, n*). P. 285, 504-510, 604, 614, 645; W. 14c; GK. 14c. See *-tur/-tür*.
- dur/-dür-* (tu.) see *-tur/-tür-*
- dur-ıyan/-dür-ıyen* (mo.) reflexive-possessive dative-locative (after vowels, *l, m, n*). P. 308; W. 15; GK. 20. See *-tur-ıyan/-tür-ıyen*.
- duriyan/-dürıyen* (mmo.) = *-dur-ıyan/-dür-ıyen* reflexive-possessive dative-locative. P. 308; W. 15; GK. 20.

E

- ele* (mo.) corroborative, generalizing and conditional/optative particle. P. 664, 698, 699.
- ese* (mo.) negation particle (preceding verbal forms). P. 637-638; IAL, 290-291. Cf. *ülü*.

F

- fî* (ma.) perfect (or perfective) converb. C. 32; GO. 595. Cf. *-pi*.

- fū-* (ju.) passive & causative (= ma. -*bu-*/*mbu-*). KI. 84 (476) reads **bu* and calls it a ‘causative verbal suffix’

Γ

- γ/-g* (tu.) 1. accusative. G. 181, 273, 319, 336, 454; T. 127-128. See also -*n* 3.
2. deverbial noun suffix. G. 108, 137; T. 111.
- γα/-gä* (tu.) deverbial noun suffix. G. 109; T. 111-112.
- γα/-ge* (mo.) 1. denominal noun suffix (in proper names).
2. nomen imperfecti or continuative verbal noun. P. 362, 406, 564-567; W. 37; GK. 39b. See -*γα(i)/-ge(i)*.
- γα/-ge-* (mo.) causative or factitive (after *l* and *r*). P. 224, 225; GK. 41.
- γadl/-ged* (mo.) converbum perfecti or co-ordinative gerund. P. 374, 413, 415, 574, 656; W. 39; GK. 26.
- γα(i)/-ge(i)* (pmo.) nomen imperfecti. P. 363; W. 37. See -*γα/-ge*.
- γälil/-gäli* (tu.) gerund. G. 233, 240, 250, 252, 258, 340, 371, 376-377, 399, 435; T. 184-185.
- γan/-gen* (pmo.) 1. reflexive-possessive (= -*ban/-ben*). W. 17.
2. denominal noun suffix (rare). See Mostaert & Cleaves 1952 (Bibl. 5.3.1), 452-453.
- γar/-ger* (mo.) (= -*bar/-ber*//*-iyar/-iyer*) instrumental, forming adverbs. P. 210; W. 20.
- γarai/-gerei* (mo.) imperative of the 2 p. sg. & pl. or prescriptive. P. 336.
- γarul/-gärü* (tu.) directive. G. 186, 393, 428; T. 135, 152-154. See also -*γarul/-γärü*.
- γasul/-gesü* (mo.) see -*basul/-besü*. P. 369.
- γayl/-gäy* (tu.) future. G. 220, 263-264, 269-270, 341, 442.
- γčil/-gči* (mo.) nomen actoris or present participle. P. 356, 570; W. 38; GK. 30b.
- γčidl/-gčid* (mo.) nomen actoris (pl.). P. 269. See -*γčil/-gči*, -*γčin/-gčin*.
- γčinl/-gčin* (mo.) nomen actoris (pl.) P. 270. See -*γčil/-gči*, -*γčidl/-gčid*.
- γda/-gde-* (mo.) passive (after vowels). P. 230; GK. 42.
- γdaqu(i)/-gdekü(i)* (pmo. = mo. -*γdaquil/-gdeküi*) passive nomen futuri or passivum necessitatis (indicating necessity to act), also called ‘bénédictif’ by A. Mostaert. P. 607.
- γinčal/-ginčä* (tu.) gerund. G. 236, 341, 436.
- γlil/-gli* (tu.) deverbial noun suffix. G. 111, 139, 339, 442; T. 180, 186.
- γmal/-gmä* (tu.) deverbial noun suffix (participle). G. 112, 140, 339, 442; T. 176.

- γsadl/-gsed* (mo.) nomen perfecti (pl.). W. 36. See *-γsan/-gsen*.
- γsarγar/-gseger* (mo.) converbum abtemporale, being the instrumental of the nomen perfecti (*-γsan/-gsen* + *-γar/-ger* < *-bar/-ber*). P. 376, 658; W. 41; GK. 31c.
- γsan/-gsen* (mo.) nomen perfecti or preterite (= past) participle. P. 364, 406, 565-567; W. 36; GK. 30c.
- γtunl/-gtün* (mo.) imperative of the 2 p. pl., also called benedictive or polite imperative. P. 333; W. 27; GK. 47a.
- γul/-gü* (tu.) 1. deverbale noun suffix. G. 115, 141; T. 112, 175.
2. interrogative particle. G. 357; T. 174.
- γul/-gül* (pmo.) denominal noun suffix (forming ethnonyms): Sartayul 'Central Asian Muslim'
- γul/-gül-* (mo.) causative or factitive (after vowels). P. 226, 609-614; GK. 41.
- γula(n)/-güle(n)* (mo.) collective numerals. P. 199; GK. 46c.
- γuluq/-gülük* (tu.) participle suffix. G. 141, 227; T. 112, 175.
- γut/-güt* (tu.) denominal noun suffix. T. 122.

G

- gi* (ju.) instrumental. *K.
- gun* (?) (ju.) verbal noun suffix. KI. 67 (116).
- gü* (mmo.) see *kü*

χ

- xe* (ju.) denominal noun suffix (= ma. *-he*). KI. 84-85 (496) calls it a 'perfective participle suffix and nominal suffix' *K.
- xu(i)/-kü(i)* (oir.) see *-qu(i)/-kü(i)*

H

- ha/-he/-ho* (ma.) 1. denominal noun suffix. C. 33; GO. 595.
2. perfect (or perfective) participle. C. 33; GO. 595.
Cf. *-ka/-ke/-ko*.
- habil/-hebi/-hobi* (ma.) perfect or perfective finite, also called past indefinite. C. 33; GO. 595. Cf. *-kabil/-kebi/-kobi*.
- hi* (ju.) optative (= ma. *-ki*). KI. 85 (511); *K.
- hiya/-hiye-* (ma.) see *-kiya/-kiye-*. C. 33; GO. 596.
- hon(-)/-hun(-)/-hün(-)* (ma.) denominal and deverbale noun suffix. C. 33; GO. 596.

ï

- ï/-i (tu.) 1. (= -a/-ä, -u/-ü) gerund. See -u/-ü.
 2. (= -sï/-si) 3 p. possessive suffix. G. 193, 403; T. 59-61, 70, 72, 122-124.
 3. deverbal noun suffix. G. 105; T. 112.
- ï/-i- (tu.) (= -a/-ä-, -u/-ü-) connective vowel. T. 63-65.
- ïr/-ir (tu.) (= -ar/-är, -or/-ör, -r, -ur/-ür) aorist. See -r.
- ïzarïn/-izerin (tu.) (-ïsarïn/-iserin) 1 p. sg. future (Khwarezmian Turkic).

I

- i (mo.) 1. accusative (after consonants). P. 288-289, 512-517; W. 16; GK. 12. See -yi.
 2. genitive, in the non-classical language (literary vernacular). P. 284.
 3. variable nominal and verbal ending (*mayu ~ mayui, -bal-be ~ -bail-bei*).
 4. feminine and honorific (?) verbal ending (mmo.)
 5. nomen praesentis or present-future. P. 357; *IAL*, 264.
- i (ma.) 1. genitive. C. 33; GO. 596. See -ni.
 2. instrumental. C. 33. Cf. Kawachi, 340.
- i (ju.) genitive (= ma. -i). KI. 63 (25).
- in (mo.) genitive. W. 12. See -yin.
- īn (oir.) see -u 1. *IAL*, 223.
- ingge (ma.) see -ngga/-ngge/-nggo
- inu (mo.) particle emphasizing the subject. P. 441, 495-497. See *anu*.
- inu (ma.) 1. affirmative particle.
 2. concessive & generalizing particle ('also, too, so, even'). GO. 596.
- iyan/-iyen (mo.) reflexive-possessive (after consonants). P. 306-315, 650; W. 17; GK. 20. See -ban/-ben.
- iyar/-iyer (mo.) instrumental (after consonants). P. 294; W. 20. See -bar/-ber.
- iyar-iyen/-iyer-iyen (mo.) reflexive-possessive instrumental (after consonants). P. 314; W. 21; GK. 20. See -bar-iyen/-ber-iyen.

J

-ja/-jel/-jo (ma.) denominal verb suffix. C. 33; G. 596.

Ĵ

ĵa (mo.) emphatic and affirmative particle, but also expressing doubt, presumption and probability (following verbal forms). P. 695. Cf. eng. ‘surely’

ĵe (mmo.) see *ĵa*

-ĵi (kit.) nomen actoris. K. 187, n. 2.

-ĵi/-ĉi (mo.) = *-ĵu/-ĵü* in Oirat and the non-classical language. P. 372.

-ĵiyu/-ĵügü (mo.) = *-ĵuyu(i)/-ĵügüi* in the non-classical language. W. 34.

-ĵu/-ĵü (mo.) converbum imperfecti (after vowels and *l*). See *-ču/-čü*.

-ĵu'u(i)/-ĵü'ü(i) (mmo.) see *-ĵuyu(i)/-ĵügü(i)*. W. 34.

-ĵuyu(i)/-ĵügü(i) (pmo.) see *-ĵuquī/-ĵüküi*. P. 353; W. 34.

-ĵuquī/-ĵüküi (mo.) III past tense or accidental past, also called praeteritum imperfecti (after vowels and *l*). P. 352, 591; GK. 33b. See *-čuquī/-čüküi*, *-ĵuyu(i)/-ĵügü(i)*.

K

-ka/-ke/-ko (ma.) see *-ha/-he/-ho* 2. C. 34; GO. 596.

-kabi/-kebi/-kobi (ma.) see *-habi/-hebi/-hobi*

kai (ma.) corroborative & emphatic particle (‘indeed’). GO. 596. Cf. Kawachi, 340.

-ki (ma.) optative/desiderative finite or future. C. 34; GO. 596. Cf. *-kini*.

-kini (ma.) imperative of the 2 & 3 p. or optative, desiderative. C. 34; GO. 596. Cf. *-ki*.

-kiya-/-kiye- (ma.) (= *-hiya-/-hiye-*) causative. C. 34; GO. 596.

kü (mo.) emphatic particle (postp.). P. 696; GK. 51b. See *gü*.

L

-l (tu.) deverbal noun suffix. G. 117; T. 113.

-l (mo.) deverbal noun suffix. P. 159.

-l (tu.) deverbal verb suffix (passive, reflexive). G. 156; T. 115.

-la/-le (mo.) see *-laya/-lege*. P. 351.

-la/-lä- (tu.) denominal verb suffix. G. 89; T. 109.

-la/-le- (mo.) denominal verb suffix (very common). P. 245; GK. 53.

-la/-le-/-lo- (ma.) denominal verb suffix. C. 34; GO. 596.

- la'a/-le'e* (mmo.) see *-layal/-lege*
- layl/-läg* (tu.) denominal noun suffix. G. 52. See *-l̥iy/-lig*.
- layal/-lege* (pmo.) II past tense. See *-huyal/-hüge*.
- larl/-lär* (tu.) plural. G. 168, 173-174, 191, 264, 327; T. 121-122.
- lča/-lče-* (mo.) co-operative; in mmo. also used for reciprocal. P. 233; GK. 43.
- ldu/-ldü-* (mmo.) reciprocal; in mmo. also used for co-operative. P. 232; GK. 43.
- lya/-lge-* (mo.) causative or factitive (after *ɣ/g + vo.*). P. 228; GK. 41.
- l̥il/-li* -*l̥il/-li* (tu.) co-ordinating suffix. G. 361; T. 124-125.
- l̥iy/-lig* (tu.) denominal noun suffix (possessive). G. 4, 53, 77, 206, 333, 383, 404; T. 105-106.
- liy/-lig* (mo.) denominal noun suffix of abundance or importance; a generalizing suffix. P. 127.
- lim/-lim* (tu.) imperative of the 1 p. pl. or voluntative. G. 215, 341; T. 188.
- liq/-lik* (tu.) denominal noun suffix. G. 54; T. 106, 112, 175.
- lis* (mmo.) = *-li-* + *-s* (?) deverbial adverbial suffix (rare), as in *qučilis* 'round about' (← *quči-* 'to surround').
- lu'a/-lü'e* (mmo.) see *-huyal/-hüge 2*.
- huyal/-hüg* (tu.) denominal noun suffix. See *-l̥iy/-lig*.
- huyal/-hüge* (mo.) 1. II past tense or definite/attestative past, also called perfect or praesens perfecti. P. 351; W. 33; GK. 33a. See *-layal/-lege*, *-huyal/-hügei*.
2. comitative. P. 295, 539, 541; W. 22; GK. 17.
- liyi* (mmo.) II past tense, normally a feminine form, but also used for the masculine. See *-huyal/-hüge*.
- huyal/-hügei* (pmo.) II past tense. See *-huyal/-hüge*.
- huyun/-hügün* (tu.) (*-l̥iyun/-ligün*) comitative. G. 424; T. 137-138.
- luq/-lük* (tu.) denominal noun suffix. See *-liq/-lik*.

M

- m* (tu.) 1. denominal noun suffix (rare). G. 55.
2. deverbial noun suffix. G. 118; T. 113.
3. 1 p. sg. possessive suffix. G. 193; T. 122-123.
- m* (mmo., pmo.) present tense (narrative). See *-mu(i)/-mü(i)*.
- mal/-mä* (tu.) 1. verbal negation suffix. G. 158, 211; T. 115, 209.
2. conjunctive: 'and, also, too' (← *ymä*). G. 291, 352, 415; T. 170-171.

- mal-me* (mo.) deverbale noun suffix. P. 165.
- madin/-mädin* (tu.) negation suffix of the *-pan/-pän* gerund. G. 211, 235, 340, 434; T. 70, 184.
- mai/-mei* (ju.) imperfect converb or gerund (= ma. *-me*). KI. 78 (355); *K.
- maq/-mäk* (tu.) deverbale noun suffix. G. 120; T. 114, 175.
- maz/-mäz* (tu.) negative aorist. G. 121, 144, 211, 242-243, 268, 339, 442; T. 178, 191-192, 193-195.
- mbi* (ma.) aorist or present, also called imperfect (or non-perfective) finite. C. 35; GO. 597. Cf. Kawachi, 341.
- mbime* (ma.) durative or simultaneous converb. C. 35; GO. 597.
- mbio* (ma.) = *-mbi* + *o* (aorist + interr. particle), q.v.
- mbu-* (ma.) see *-bu-*. C. 35; GO. 597.
- me* (ma.) 1. denominal noun suffix. C. 35; GO. 597.
2. imperfect (or non-perfective) converb. C. 35; GO. 597.
- mış/-miş* (tu.) past participle. G. 122, 145, 219, 242-243, 269, 301, 339, 442; T. 61-62, 97-98, 114, 179-180, 192-193, 195-196.
- müz/-miz* (tu.) (*-muz/-müz*) 1 p. pl. possessive suffix. G. 193; T. 122, 123.
- msar/-mser* (mo. + *ügei*) deverbale noun suffix (indicating durative negation or lack of sth.). P. 172.
- mu* (tu.) interrogative particle (postp.). G. 356; T. 174.
- mu(i)/-mü(i)* (mo.) I narrative present or durative, also called praesens imperfecti I. P. 344-346, 585, 695; W. 29; GK. 26.
- muz/-müz* (tu.) 1 p. pl. possessive suffix. See *-müz/-miz*.

N

- n* (tu.) 1. plural. G. 56; T. 121-122.
2. pronominal accusative. G. 189-190, 193, 196, 200-201, 209, 272, 276, 278, 290, 301, 391; T. 59-60, 128-130. See also *-ŋ/-g* 1.
3. (pronominal) instrumental. G. 184, 190, 193, 200-201, 337, 386, 424, 443; T. 136-137.
- n* (mo.) 1. variable nominal stem. GK. 18.
2. deverbale noun suffix. P. 175.
3. plural. P. 270-272.

4. *converbum modale* or *gerund* of absolute subordination. P. 373, 413, 415, 443, 572, 575-576, 656; GK. 29a.
- n* (ma.) see *ni*
- n-* (tu.) deverbial verb suffix (reflexive). G. 159; T. 116.
- nam/-nem* (mo.) II narrative present, also called *praesens imperfecti* II. P. 347, 585; W. 30.
- nar/-ner* (mo.) plural. P. 261; GK. 24a.
- nč* (tu.) deverbial noun suffix. See -*č*.
- nčal/-nčä* (tu.) pronominal equative. G. 193-195, 348.
- nda/-ndä* (tu.) see -*ntal/-ntä*
- nde* (ma.) (= -*de*) dative-locative suffix in *suwende* 'to you' (pl.).
- ndu/-nu-* (ma.) co-operative & reciprocal. C. 36; G. 597.
- ngai* (ju.) denominal noun suffix (indicating possession) (= ma. -*nggal/-nggel/-nggo*). *K.
- nggal/-nggel/-nggo* ~ -*ingge* (ma.) denominal noun suffix (indicating possession & belonging to). C. 33, 36; GO. 507. Cf. -*ngge*.
- ngge* (ma.) deverbial noun suffix (it substantivizes participial forms). C. 36; GO. 597. Cf. -*nggal/-nggel/-nggo*.
- ni* (mo.) 1. particle of uncertainty and doubt in the non-classical language (*Geser Qan*). See Poppe 1926 (Bibl. 5.3.2.1), 184.
2. = *inu* (subject indicator).
- ni* (ma.) (= -*n*) interrogative particle. GO. 597.
- ni/-ni* (tu.) accusative (Khwarezmian Turkic). Cf. G. 181, 193, 209.
- ni* (mmo.) (= -*i*) accusative (after *n*). See W. 16.
- ni* (ju.) genitive (after *n*) (= ma. -*ni*). KI. 88 (581).
- ni* (ma.) genitive/instrumental (after *ng*). C. 36; GO. 597. See -*i* 1.
- niŋ/-niŋ* (tu.) (pronominal) genitive. G. 189-190, 192-193, 201, 238, 289, 304-316, 333, 405, 443; T. 126-127.
- nluyun/-nlügün* (tu.) pronominal comitative. See -*huyun/-lügün*.
- ntal/-ntä* (tu.) (-*nda/-ndä*) pronominal locative-ablative. G. 189-190, 193-195, 280, 290, 321. See also -*dal/-dä*.
- nu/-nü* (mo.) (= -*u/-ü*) genitive (after *n*) in the non-classical language. See Poppe 1926 (Bibl. 5.3.2.1), 16.
- nü* (ma. < ch.) female indicator.
- nuyud/-mügüd* (mo.) plural. P. 275; GK. 24a.
- nuŋ/-nüŋ* (tu.) (pronominal) genitive. See -*niŋ/-niŋ*.

ŋ

- ŋ (tu.) 1. imperative of the 2 p. pl. or optative. G. 341; T. 188.
See also *-līm/-lim*.
2. 2 p. sg. possessive suffix. G. 193; T. 122-123.
- ŋal/-ŋä (tu.) pronominal dative. G. 189-190, 193, 238, 427, 445; T. 130-131. See also *-qal/-kä*.
- ŋarul/-ŋärü (tu.) pronominal directive. G. 193; T. 135. See also *-γarul/-gärü*.
- ŋīz/-ŋiz (tu.) 2 p. pl. possessive suffix. G. 193; T. 122-123.
- ŋuz/-ŋüz (tu.) 2 p. pl. possessive suffix. See *-ŋīz/-ŋiz*.

O

- o (ma.) interrogative particle (joined to the verb). GO. 597.
- oci (ma.) particle emphasizing the subject. GO. 597.
- oq/ök (tu.) corroborative particle. G. 345, 412, 443; T. 172.
- or/-ör (tu.) (*-ur/-ür = -ir/-ir, -r*) aorist. See *-r*.

P

- p (tu.) (= *-pan/-pän*) gerund. G. 230, 253, 256-257, 302, 340, 431, 453-455; T. 182-183.
- pan/-pän (tu.) (= *-p*) gerund. G. 231, 303, 340, 432; T. 183.
- pi (ma.) see *-fi*. C. 37; GO. 398.

Q

- q/-k (tu.) 1. denominal noun suffix. G. 57; T. 105.
2. deverbial noun suffix. G. 127, 149; T. 113.
- q/-k- (tu.) denominal verb suffix. G. 91; T. 108.
- qal/-kä (tu.) dative. G. 180, 195-196, 200-201, 277, 285, 289, 389, 392, 411; T. 130-132. See also *-ŋal/-ŋä*.
- qa/-kä- (tu.) denominal verb suffix. G. 92; T. 108-109.
- qan/-ken (mo.) 1. so-called 'diminutive' suffix, with a comparative or even superlative nuance ('quite, rather, very'). P. 124; GK. 52d.
2. often confused with *-γan/-gen*. Cf. *-γan/-gen* 2.
- qda/-kde- (mmo.) see *-γda/-gde-*
- qdaqul/-kdekü (mmo.) see *-γdaqul(i)/-gdekü(i)*
- qil/-ki (tu.) denominal noun suffix (adjectival). T. 104-105. See *-daqil/-däki*.

- qsan/-ksen* (mmo.) see -*γsan/-gsen*
 -*qsan/-qsen/-qson* (oir.) see -*γsan/-gsen*
 -*qu(i)/-gü(i)* (mmo.) see -*qu(i)/-kü(i)*
 -*qu(i)/-kü(i)* (mo.) nomen futuri (or abstractum) or future participle:
 1. in pmo. the form without *i* and the one with *i* were used indiscriminately, the plural of the latter being -*qun/-kün*.
 2. in mo. the form with *i* is used only as a noun: *yabuqui* ‘the going’ P. 359-361, 558-563; W. 35; GK. 39a.
 -*qula/-küle* (mo.) converbum successivum. P. 378, 666.
 -*qun/-kün* (pmo.) nomen futuri (pl.). P. 361; W. 35. See -*qu(i)/-kü(i)*.
 -*qy-a/-ky-ä* (tu.) diminutive. G. 31, 351; T. 105.

R

- r* (tu.) (= -*ar/-är*, -*ir/-ir*, -*or/-ör*, -*ur/-ür*) aorist. G. 128, 150, 216, 241-243, 268, 301, 324, 339, 442; T. 177, 191, 193-195.
 -*r*- (tu.) 1. deverbial verb suffix (causative). G. 161; T. 166.
 2. denominal verb suffix. G. 94, 128.
 -*ral-rä* (tu.) denominal noun suffix (forming locative-temporal adverbs). G. 187, 394, 429; T. 107.
 -*ral-re* (mo.) converbum finale or supinum, also called gerund of purpose. P. 379, 658, 669, 670; GK. 34b.
 -*ra-l/-re-* (mo.) passive/reflexive or middle verbs (*verba media*). P. 237.
 -*ral-rel-ro* (ma.) imperfect participle. C. 37; GO. 598. Cf. *daral-dere/-doro*.
 -*ra-l/-re-l/-ro-* (ma.) denominal verb suffix. C. 37; GO. 598.
 -*rakül/-rekül/-rokü* (ma.) negative of -*ral-rel-ro*. C. 37; GO. 598.
 -*raol-reol-roo* (ma.) polite imperative. C. 38; GO. 598.
 -*ru* (ju.) optative. KI. 63 (35) calls it a ‘hortative verbal suffix’
 -*run/-rün* (mo.) converbum praeparativum or gerund of reporting. P. 380, 658; W. 40; GK. 34a.

S

- s* (mo.) 1. denominal and deverbial noun suffix (forming adverbs). P.¹ 6.
 2. plural (after vowels). P. 264; GK. 24c.
 -*sa-l/-sä-* (tu.) deverbial verb suffix (desiderative). G. 97; T. 116.
 -*sal-sel-so* (ma.) plural. C. 38; GO. 598. Cf. -*si*.
 -*sar/-sär* (tu.) conditional. G. 260-262, 341, 373, 442, 448-449; T. 185-186, 95, 197.

- saz/-söz* (tu.) denominal noun suffix (privative). See *-söz/-söz*.
sere (ma.) end of quote or topic marker. GO. 598.
-söl/-söl (tu.) 3 p. sg. possessive suffix. See *-öl/-öl*.
-si (mo.) 1. deverbal noun suffix. P.¹ 7.
 2. local adverbial suffix (directive). P. 216.
-si (ma.) 1. directive. C. 39; GO. 599.
 2. plural (rare). C. 38; GO. 599. Cf. *-sal/-sel/-so*.
-sira/-sira- (tu.) denominal verb suffix. G. 99; T. 67, 110.
-söz/-söz (tu.) denominal noun suffix (privative). G. 61, 82, 213; T. 107.
-suyai/-sügei (mo.) voluntative or intentional imperative. P. 338, 596-597; W. 25; GK. 47b.
-sun/-sün (tu.) (← *-zun/-zün*) imperative of the 3 p. sg. (Khwarezmian Turkic).
-suz/-süz (tu.) denominal noun suffix (privative). See *-söz/-söz*.

Š

- š-* (tu.) deverbal verb suffix (reciprocal, co-operative). G. 164; T. 116.
-ši (mmo.) see *-si*
-šida/-šide (mmo.) = *-ši* + *-da/-de* (directive + dative-locative): 'towards, -wards'
-šin (ju.) deverbal noun suffix. KI. 85 (506).

T

- t* (tu.) deverbal noun suffix. G. 131.
-t (mmo.) see *-d* (mo.)
-t- (tu.) deverbal verb suffix (causative). G. 165; T. 116-117.
-ta/-tä (tu.) see *-da/-dä*
-ta/-te (mo.) 1. dative-locative (= *-tu/-tü* 1). See *-da/-de* 1.
 2. multiplicative numeral. See P. 201.
-ta/-te- (mo.) passive (after *b, d, g, γ, r, s*). See *-da/-de-*.
-ta/-te/-to- (ma.) deverbal verb suffix (indicating iteration and intensity). C. 39; GO. 599.
-tačal/-teče (pmo.) dative-locative-ablative (after *b, d, g, γ, r, s*). P. 300; W. 18. See *-dačal/-deče*.
-tačil/-täči (tu.) see *-dačil/-däči*
-tağan/-tegen (mo.) reflexive-possessive dative-locative (after *b, d, g, γ, r, s*). See *-dağan/-degen*.

- tai/-tei* (mo.) denominal noun suffix, also called possessive or adjectival suffix (indicating possession, connection with, containment in sth.). P. 138, 271. See *-tan/-ten* 2, *-tu/-tü* 2.
- taki/teki* (mo.) 1. conjunction and adverb ('and, also').
2. conditional/concessive particle ('if, even if').
- tall/-tel* (mo.) deverbal noun suffix (after *r*). See *-dall/-del*.
- tala/-tele* (mo.) converbum terminale or terminative gerund. P. 375, 658; GK. 34d.
- tan/-ten* (mo.) 1. denominal noun suffix (forming collective nouns). P. 139.
2. plural of *-tai/-tei*, *-tu/-tü* 2, q.v. P. 139; GK. 22.
3. enclitic & conjunction ('and, and others') (= *ch. deng*).
- taqı/-täki* (tu.) see *-daqı/-däki*
- taş/-täş* (tu.) see *-daş/-däş*
- tï/-ti* (tu.) see *-dï/-di*
- tım/-tim* (tu.) see *-dım/-dim*
- tımız/-timiz* (tu.) see *-dımız/-dimiz*
- tın/-tin* (tu.) 1. (*-dın/-din* = *-tın/-tün*) denominal noun suffix. G. 70, 84, 183, 335, 387, 408, 425; T. 152.
2. (*-dın/-din*) (pronominal) ablative. G. 183, 189-190, 193-194, 279-280, 282, 319, 335, 395, 425, 443; T. 133-134, 144.
- tiñ/-tiñ* (tu.) see *-diñ/-diñ*
- tiñiz/-tiñiz* (tu.) see *-diñiz/-diñiz*
- tolol/-tölö* (oir.) see *-tala/-tele*
- tul/-tü* (mo.) 1. dative-locative (= *-tur/-tür*). P. 286; W. 14b; GK. 14.
See *-dul/-dii*.
2. denominal noun suffix, also called adjectival suffix. P. 140; GK. 22. See *-tai/-tei*, *-tan/-ten* 2.
- tuɣai/-tügei* (mo.) imperative of the 3 p. sg. & pl. or concessive. P. 337, 595, 600; W. 26; GK. 47d. See *-tuɣul/-tügüi*.
- tuɣul/-tügei* (pmo.) imperative. W. 26. See *-tuɣai/-tügei*.
- tun/-tün* (tu.) (*-dun/-dün*) denominal noun suffix. See *-tın/-tin*.
- tuq/-tük* (tu.) see *-duq/-dük*
- tur/-tür* (mo.) dative-locative (after *b, d, g, γ, r, s*). See *-dur/-dür*.
- tur/-tür-* (tu.) (*-dur/-dür-*) deverbal verb suffix (causative). G. 166; T. 117.
- tur-ıyan/-tür-ıyen* (mo.) reflexive-possessive dative-locative (after *b, d, g, γ, r, s*). See *-dur-ıyan/-dür-ıyen*.

U

- u/-ü* (tu.) 1. (= *-a/-ä, -i/-i*) gerund. G. 232, 240, 249, 251, 255, 257, 272, 292, 340, 371, 376-377, 379, 415, 431; T. 119-120, 180-182.
2. deverbial noun suffix. G. 105.
- u/-ü* (mo.) 1. genitive (after *n*). P. 282, 500-501; W. 12; GK. 11. See *-un/-ün, -yin (-in)*.
2. present tense suffix (mmo., pmo.). According to W. 31 it is a variant of *-yu/-yü*. See Mostaert 1953 (Bibl. 5.3.1), 96.
- u/-ü-* (tu.) (= *-a/-ä, -i/-i*) connective vowel. See *-i/-i-*.
- u/-ü-* (mo.) connecting or intercalary vowel. P. 230 *et passim*; GK. 25.
- ū/ü* ('*ū*' '*ü*') (mmo.) see *uu/iüi*
- ud/-üd* (mo.) plural. P. 273; GK. 24d.
- '*ula/-üle* (mmo.) see *-yula(n)/-güle(n)*
- un/-ün* (mo.) genitive (after consonants, except *n*). P. 283, 500-501; W. 12; GK. 11. See *-u/-ü, -yin (-in)*.
- ur/-ür* (tu.) (= *-ar/-är, -ir/-ir, -or/-ör, -r*) aorist. See *-r*.
- uu/iüi* (mo.) interrogative particle (postp.); it is sometimes treated as a suffix. P. 351, 622, 628; GK. 44c.

Ü

- ügei* (mo.) negation particle (after nouns). P. 331-335; *IAL*, 291.
- ülü* (mo.) negation particle (preceding verbal forms). P. 639; *IAL*, 290-291. See *ese*.

Y

- y* (tu.) hiatus filler. T. 101.
- y* (pmo.) hiatus filler or connecting consonant ('*consonne de liaison*'). See Mostaert & Cleaves 1962 (Bibl. 5.3.1), 14, 67.
- yal/-ye* (mo.) imperative of the 1 p. pl. or voluntative. P. 339, 596, 600; GK. 47c.
- yān/-yēn* (oir.) see *-iyan/-iyen*
- yār/-yēr* (oir.) see *-iyar/-iyer*
- yi* (mo.) 1. accusative (after vowels). See *-i* 1.
2. praesens imperfecti III (fem. in mmo., pmo.). See *-yu/-yü*.

- yĭn/-yin* (tu.) 1. imperative of the 1 p. sg. or optative. G. 270; T. 187.
See also *-lĭm/-lim*.
2. gerund. G. 234, 294-301, 340, 380, 433; T. 183-184.
- yin* (mo.) genitive (after vowels). P. 281, 500-503; W. 12; GK. 11.
See *-in*, *-u/-ü*, *-un/-ün*.
- yin* (*īn*) (oir.) see *-u* 1. *IAL*, 223.
- yu/-yü* (mo.) praesens imperfecti III or deductive present, also called illative present (usually 3 p. sg. & pl.). P. 349, 586-587; W. 31; GK. 33c. Cf. *IAL*, 264.
- yu'an/-yü'en* (mo.) see *-yuyan/-yügen*. W. 17.
- yuyan/-yügen* (mo.) reflexive-possessive genitive & accusative. P. 305, 311; W. 17; GK. 20. See *-iyan/-iyen*.
- yuq/-yük* (tu.) perfect. G. 134, 152, 218, 242, 339, 442.

Z

- z* (tu.) deverbial verb suffix (causative). G. 167; T. 117.
- zun/-zün* (tu.) imperative of the 3 p. sg. & pl. G. 270; T. 187, 188. See also *-sun/-sün*.

General Index

(Numbers refer to pages. The following abbreviations have been used: cl. = clan; des. = desert; lk. = lake; mt. = mountain(s), any elevation; peo. = people(s), tribe, nation; pl. = place, locality; pr. = person, any individual; rv. = river, any watercourse. In the case of languages, tu. stands for both Old and Middle Turkic, and mo. for both Preclassical and Classical Mongolian.)

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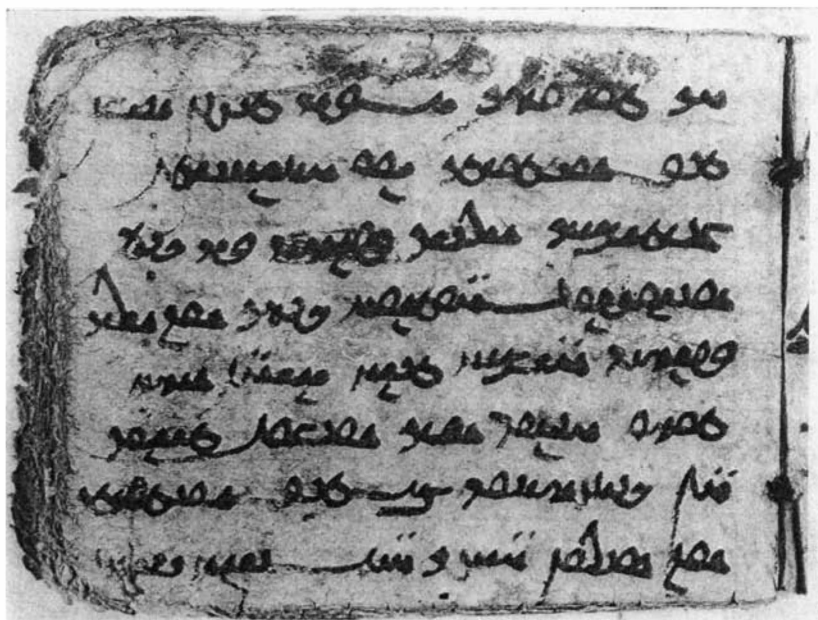
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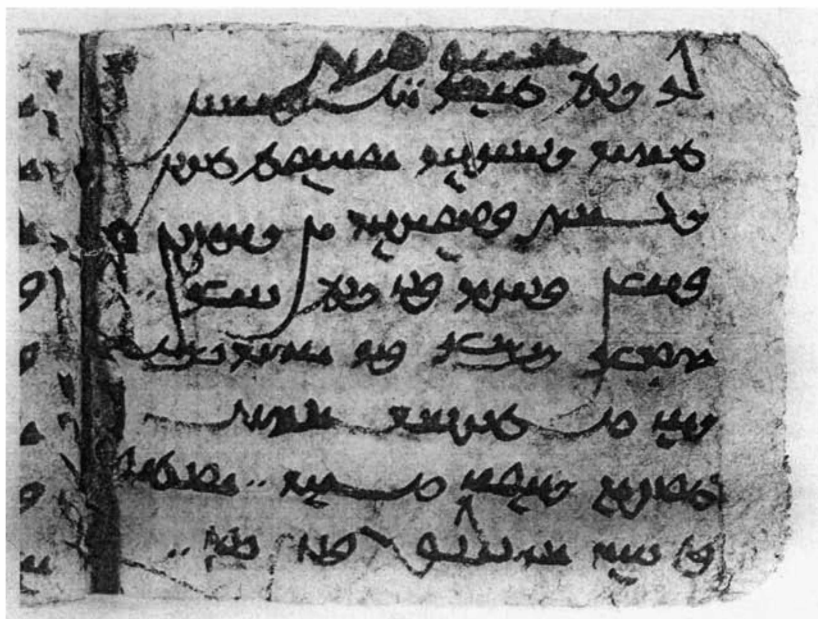
TEXTS

The Good and the Bad Prince



[XXI]

(BnF)



[XXII]

(BnF)

Text II

The Tofuquq inscription



a

*(The National Board
of Antiquities, Helsinki)*

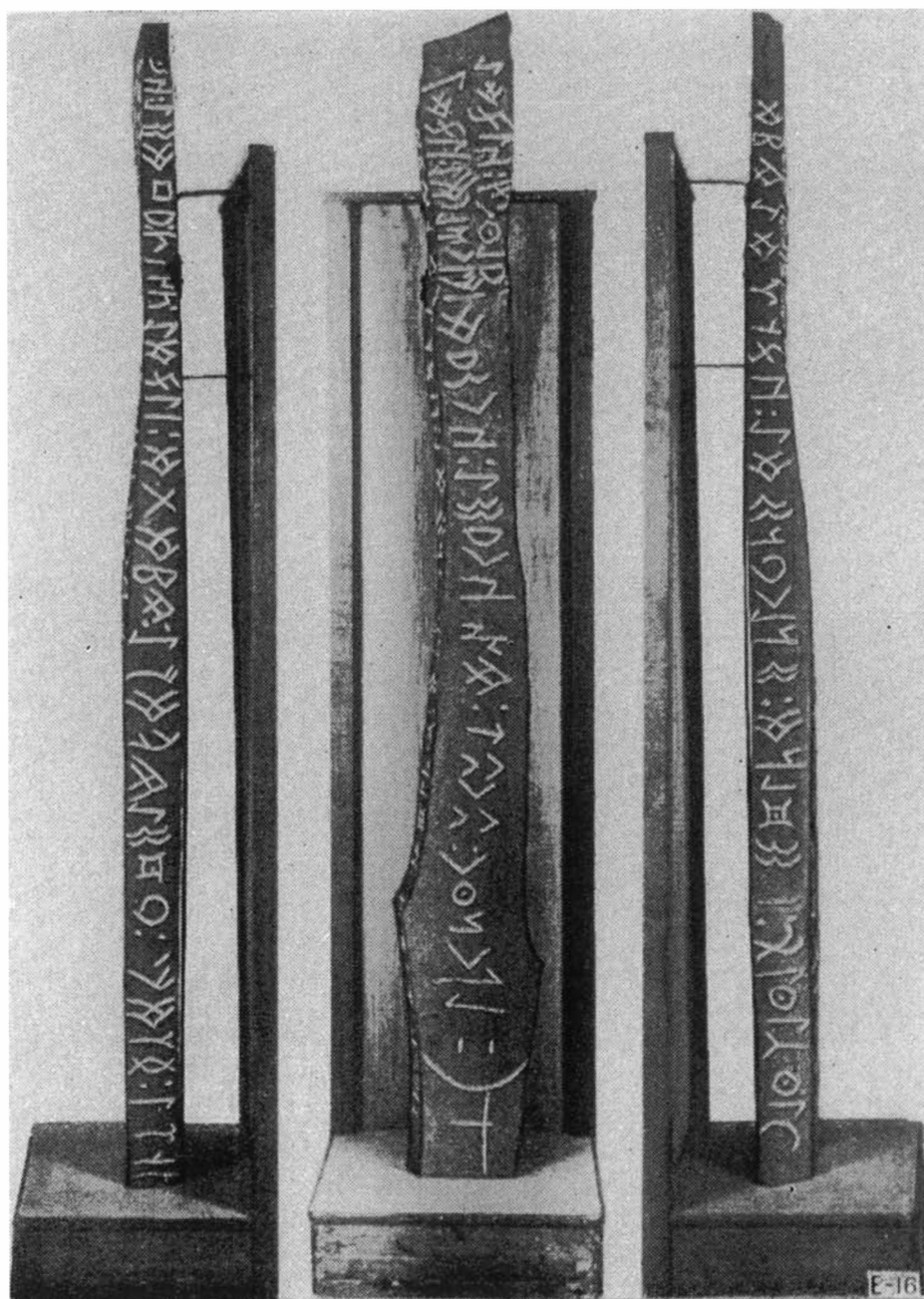


b

(from Malov 1951)

Text III

The funerary inscription for Alp Urungu



[3]

[1]

[2]

(from Vasil'ev 1983)

Text IV

000 0000 000
 КСМНСМНКС
 ІХІІІІІІІІІІ
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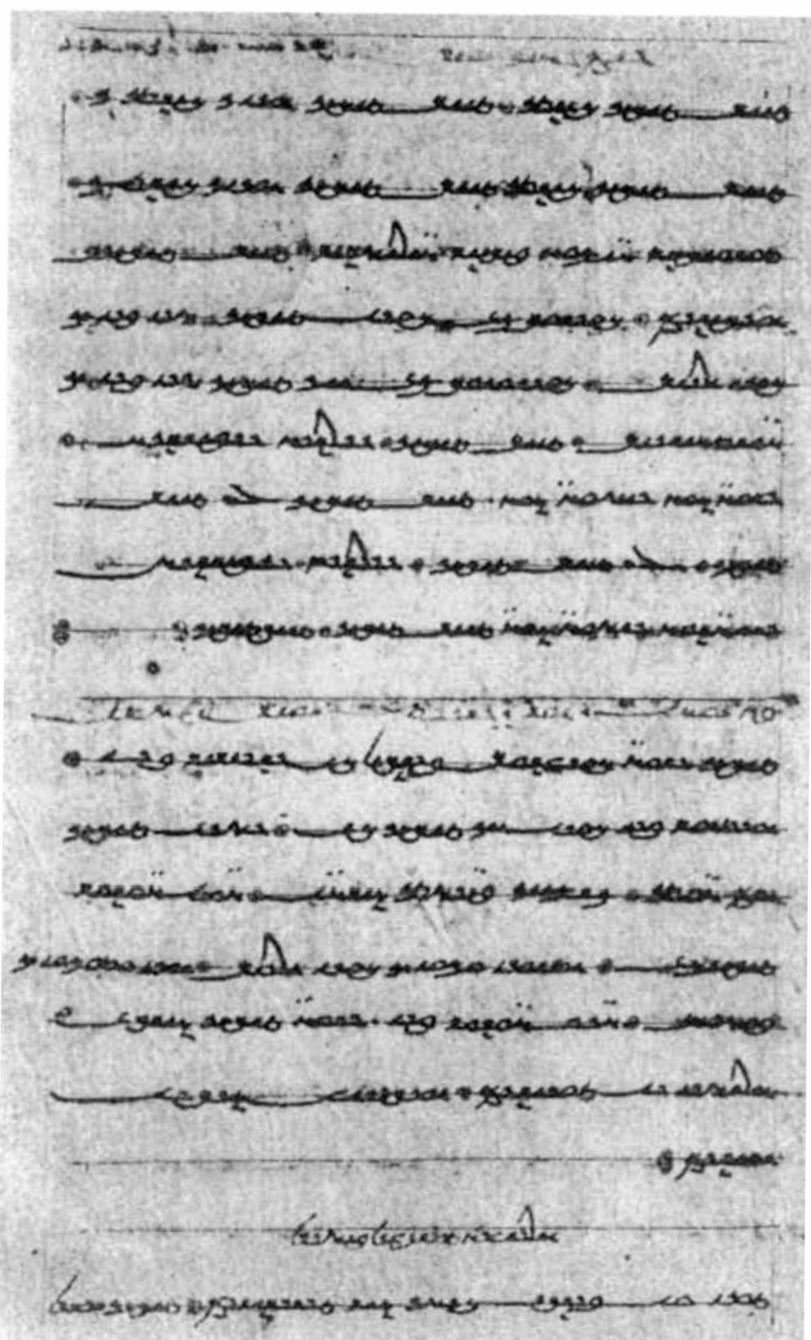
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[53]

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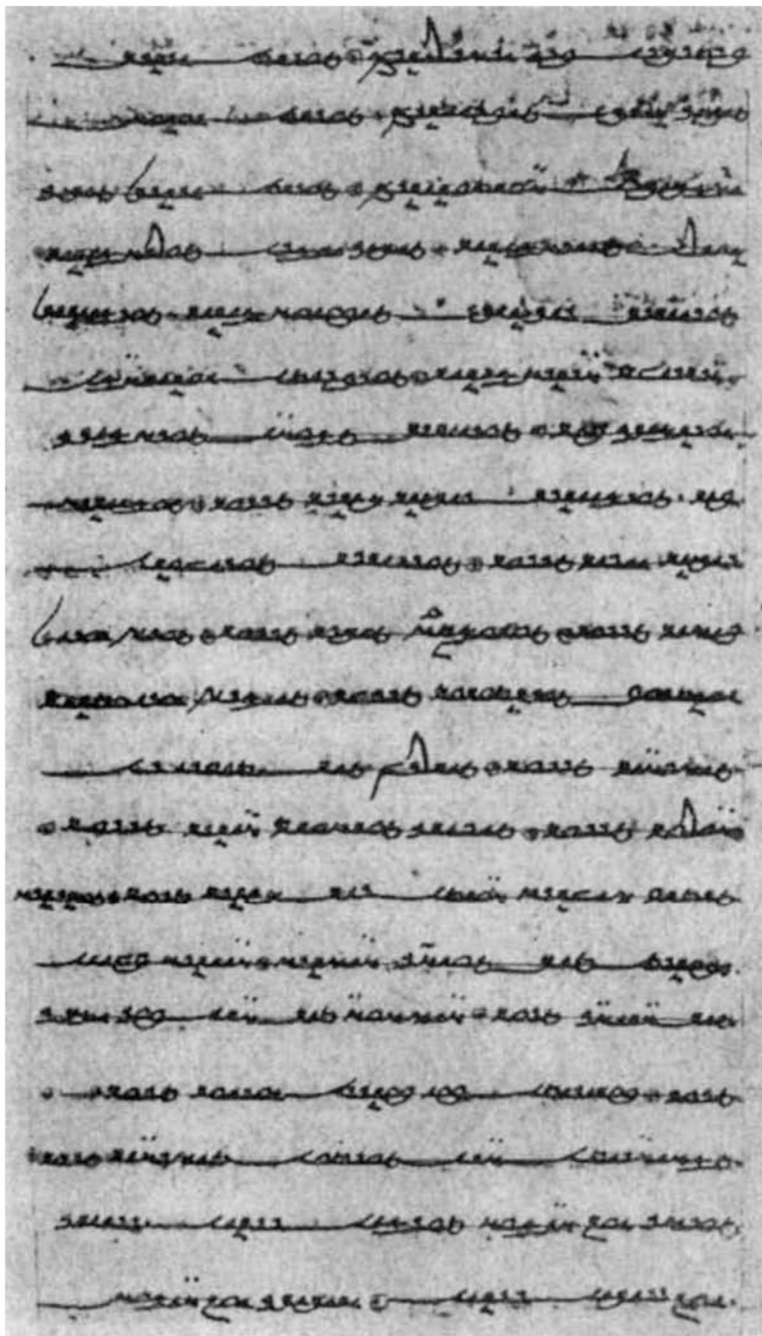
(The British Library)

Three Manichean hymns



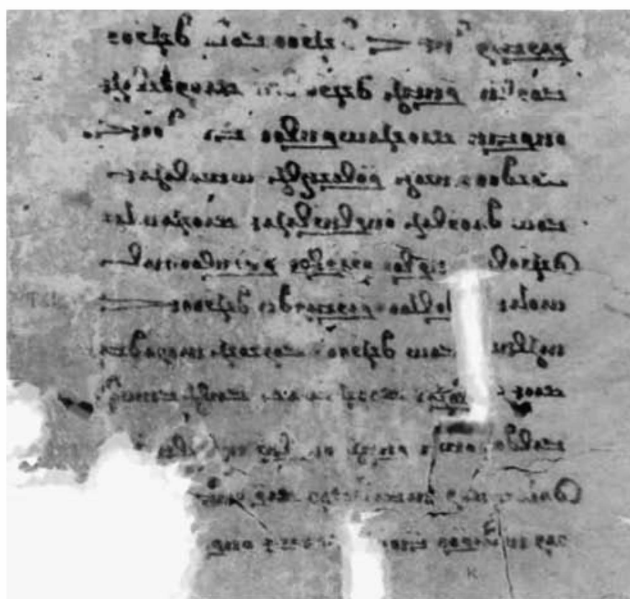
(Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin)

Three Manichean hymns

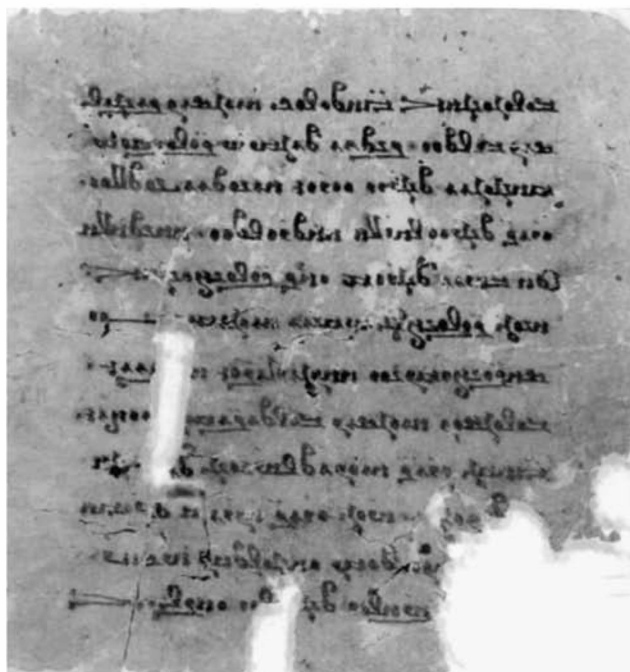


(Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin)

Text VI.2



8a



8b

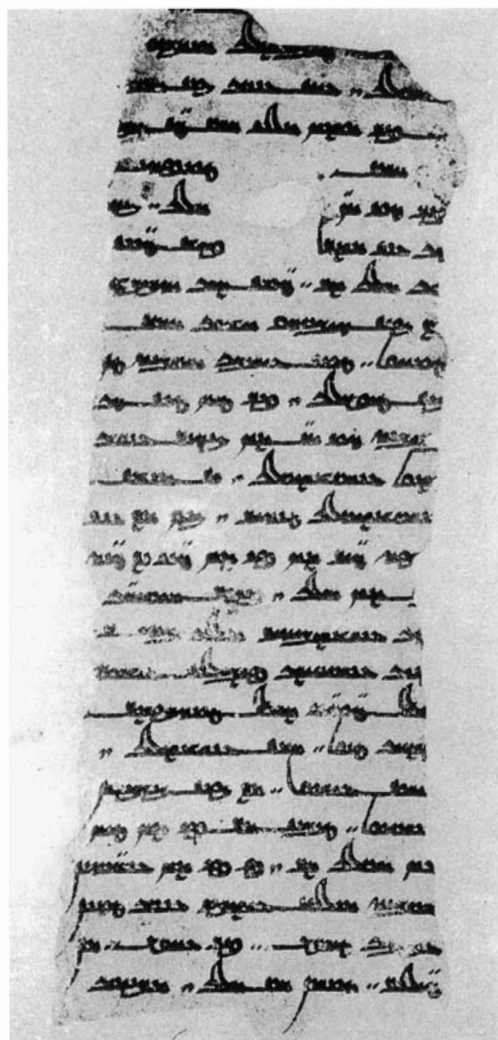
(BBAW)

The Bodhisattva's three encounters

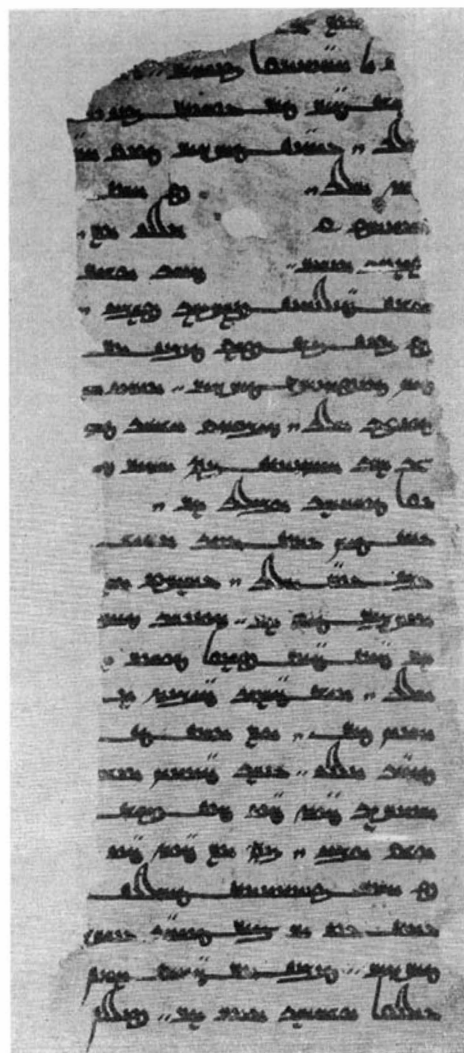
Handwritten text in a script, likely Tibetan, on a piece of aged, torn paper. The text is arranged in approximately 20 horizontal lines, with some lines starting with a small circular symbol. The script is dense and appears to be a form of Buddhist sutra or commentary. The paper is heavily damaged, with large irregular holes and missing sections, particularly on the left side and bottom.

(BBAW)

The Uighur version of Xuanzang's biography

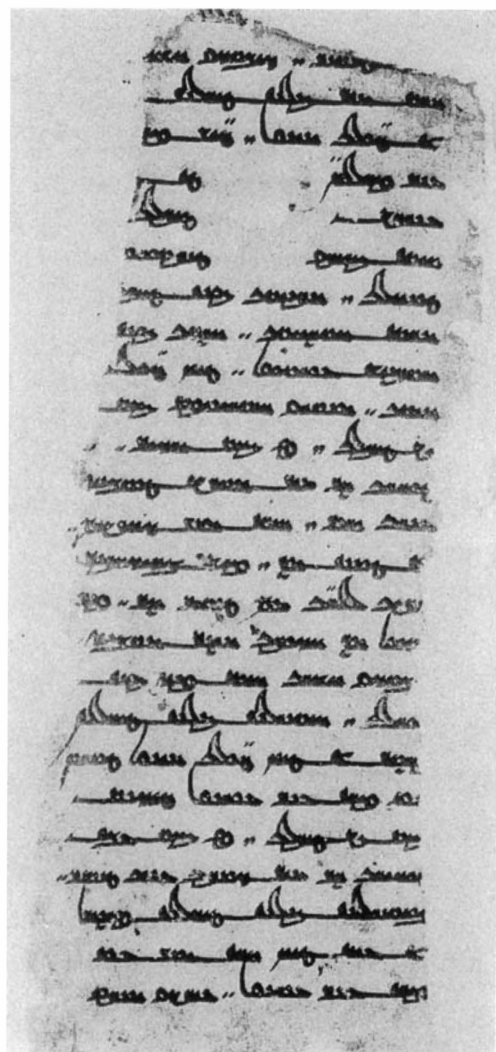


V. 49

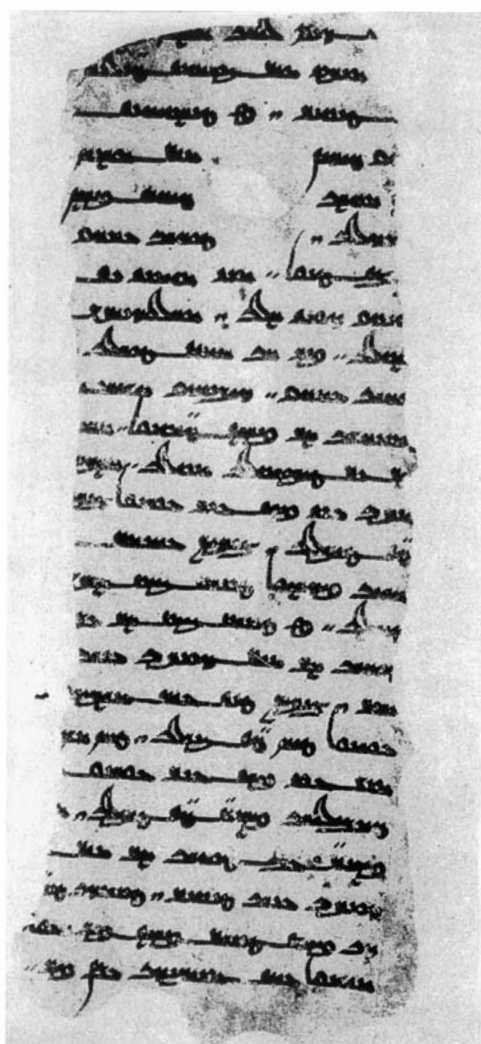


V. 50

(from Tuguševa 1991)



V.51



V.52

(from Tiguševa 1991)



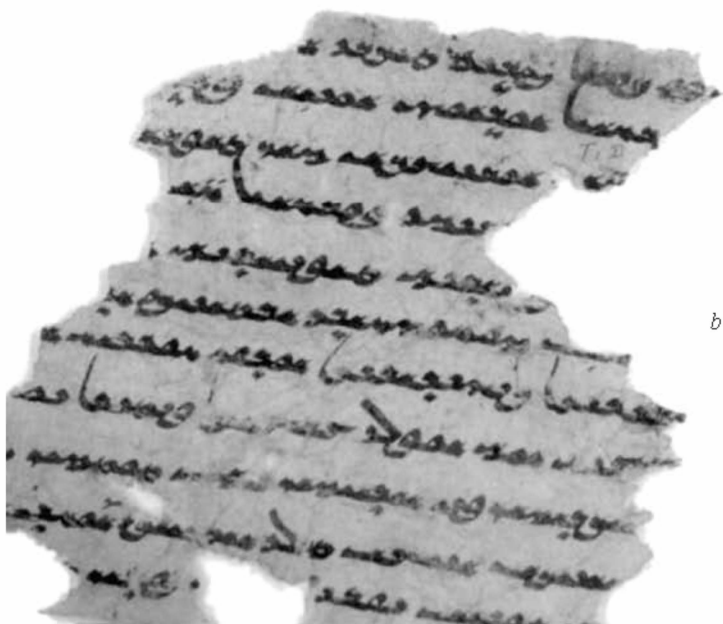
(BBAW)

The conversion of King Śubhavyūha



Fragment a of a palm-leaf manuscript, showing several lines of handwritten text in an Indic script. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines across the fragment. The script is dark and appears to be a form of Devanagari or a related Indic script. The fragment is irregularly shaped, suggesting it is a piece from a larger leaf.

a

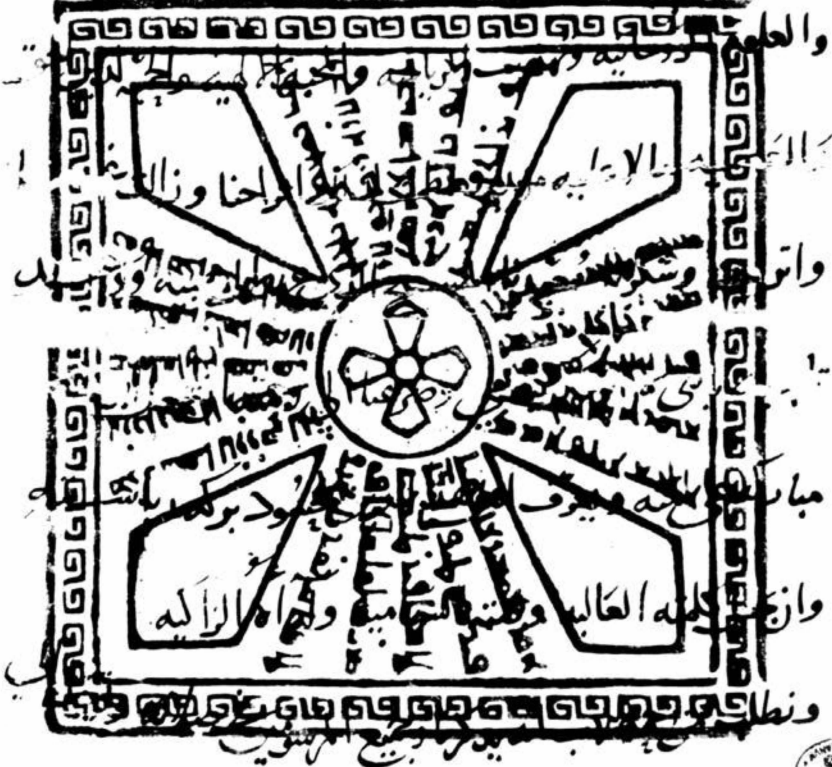


Fragment b of a palm-leaf manuscript, showing several lines of handwritten text in an Indic script. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines across the fragment. The script is dark and appears to be a form of Devanagari or a related Indic script. The fragment is irregularly shaped, suggesting it is a piece from a larger leaf.

b

(BBAW)

للمومنه باختيار روح القدس وازعنده من الطهاره وحسن الشياسته



جميع الامبا والرمبا وابنه البيعه الذين تحت ولايته ان يساعده

(Archivio Segreto Vaticano)

Handwritten Uighur script, likely a transcription of a manuscript. The text is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines. A circular stamp is visible at the top center of the page. The script is dense and cursive, with some characters appearing to be ligatures or specific dialectal forms. The lines are roughly parallel, with some variations in spacing and alignment.

Handwritten Uighur script, continuing the text from the previous block. It consists of approximately 12 horizontal lines of dense, cursive script. The lines are roughly parallel, with some variations in spacing and alignment. The script is consistent in style with the first block, suggesting it is part of the same document.

(The British Library)

Handwritten Uighur script, lines 56-77. The text is written in a cursive style on a light-colored background. The lines are arranged vertically, with some lines starting with a small decorative flourish or symbol. The script is dense and fills most of the page area.

Handwritten Uighur script, lines 78-89. This section continues the text from the previous block, maintaining the same cursive style and vertical arrangement. The lines are clearly separated, and the overall appearance is consistent with the first block.

(The British Library)

The 'Stone of Chingis'



(The Hermitage Museum, St. Pbg.)

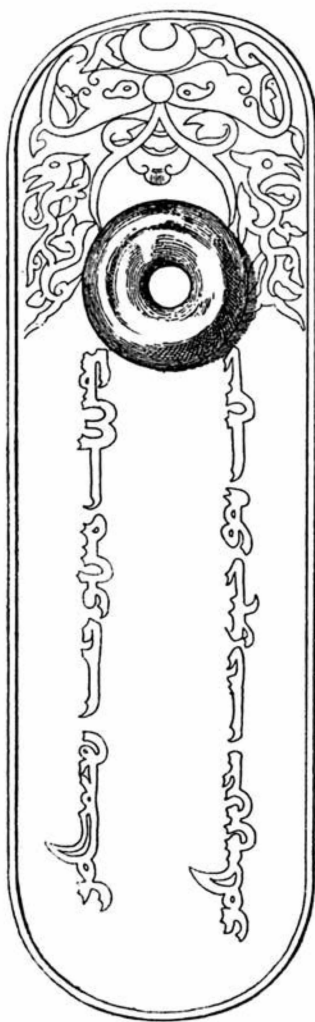
Text XVI.1



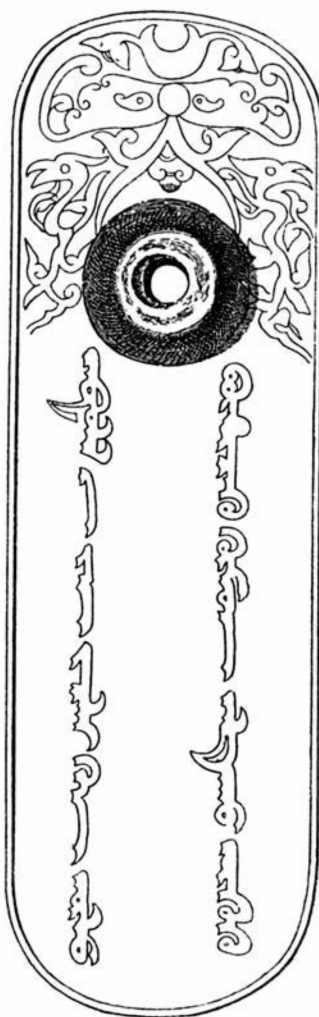
- [6] ᠭᠠᠨᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠯᠠᠭ ᠨᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤᠨ .
- [5] ᠨᠠᠨ ᠨᠠᠨ ᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨ
- [4] ᠨᠠᠨ (ᠨᠠᠨ ᠨ) ᠨᠠᠨ ᠨ ᠨᠠᠨ
- [3] ᠨᠠᠨ ᠨ ᠨᠠᠨ ᠨ (ᠨᠠᠨ)
- [2] ᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨ ᠨᠠᠨ ᠨᠠᠨᠠᠨ
- [1] ᠨᠠᠨ ᠨᠠᠨ ᠨᠠᠨ

(Archivio Segreto Vaticano)

The *paiza* of Abdulla



a



b

(from Poppe 1957)



a



b

(from Poppe 1957)

The *paiza* found near Peking

不許奸防偽閱



b

罪治者違帶借



a

(modified from Poppe 1957)

The letter of Aryun to Philip the Fair

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(Archives nationales de France)

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 ବାକି ବଦ ବା . ନାହିଁ . ବାକ ବନ୍ଧୁ . ବାକି ବାକି
 ନାହିଁ ବାକି . ନାହିଁ . ଓ ବାକ . ବାକି .
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 ବିକଳ . ବାକି . ବାକି . ବାକି . ବାକି .

(BBAW)

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(from Irinčin 1987)

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| 天文門 | |
| 天 <small>騰吉里</small> | 日 <small>納蘭</small> |
| 月 <small>撒刺</small> | 星 <small>火敦</small> |
| 風 <small>克</small> | 雲 <small>額兀連</small> |
| 烟 <small>忽紉</small> | 霜 <small>乞刺兀</small> |
| 冰 <small>莫勒孫</small> | 雪 <small>察孫</small> |
| 雷 <small>騰吉里董密敦</small> | 霖 <small>主薛</small> |

I, 1a

| | |
|-------------------------|---------------------|
| 詔阿札失里 | |
| 騰吉里迭占別克達先。 | 天之所覆。 |
| 幹駱格額兒古達先。 | 地之載的。 |
| 幹藥阿迷壇客敦不吉宜兀祿篋迭迭模。 | 多生靈幾有的不知可。生民之名莫知幾何。 |
| 察騰吉里篋迭由。 | 天知有。 |
| 騰吉里古額者列由。 | 天主有。 |
| 申塔安亦訥阿迷塔納完澤充把額地阿谷古坦堅麥魯。 | 緣故他的生靈每行福祿并害禍到他的。 |

IIa, 1a



ᠪᠠᠭᠤᠨ ᠶ᠋ᠢᠨ ᠪᠠᠭᠤᠨ ᠶ᠋ᠢᠨ ᠶ᠋ᠢᠨ
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ᠶ᠋ᠢᠨ ᠶ᠋ᠢᠨ ᠶ᠋ᠢᠨ ᠶ᠋ᠢᠨ ᠶ᠋ᠢᠨ



1b

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ᠶ᠋ᠢᠨ ᠶ᠋ᠢᠨ ᠶ᠋ᠢᠨ ᠶ᠋ᠢᠨ ᠶ᠋ᠢᠨ
ᠶ᠋ᠢᠨ ᠶ᠋ᠢᠨ ᠶ᠋ᠢᠨ ᠶ᠋ᠢᠨ ᠶ᠋ᠢᠨ

2a

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a prayer to the Fire Goddess, consisting of six lines of text.

2a

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a prayer to the Fire Goddess, consisting of six lines of text.

1b

(F. Verbiest Institute, Leuven)

CHINESE

阿倫衛正千戶撒哈連謹
 奏奴婢父祖在邊出力每年叩頭
 朝貢奴婢天順三年十一月二
 十六日得的職事今來進貢海
 東青一連失刺孫三箇可憐見
 討陞一級奏得
 聖皇帝知道

JURCHEN

亦弓及 勿失 吏尚 恭中 乞夫
 奈石
 乃反 夫祖 光光 乞化 吏告 夫平 夫美
 伴右 乎王 反盖 赤南 府負 化石
 五反 夫王 反祖 光奉 吏斗 赤丰
 一月 二十 于日 育老 角泮 夏升
 夫史 丰本 角伴 壳並 勿及 交卷
 夫一 光乞 五反 王斗 庆采 夫夫
 金夫 卷五 夫一 勿屋 序乃 反夫
 育老
 今夫 光赤 乞平

(from Grube 1896)

| | |
|--|--|
| <p>出鴨綠江自山
江俱從此山流
綠混同愛濤三
圍約八十里鴨
一潭名閨門週
里此山之上有
百里週圍約千
長白山高約二</p> | <p>每出珠寶長白
東海此三江中
江向東流直入
直入北海愛濤
北瀉出向北流
海混同江自山
直入遼東之南
而瀉出向西流</p> |
| <p>長白山高約二
百里週圍約千
里此山之上有
一潭名閨門週
圍約八十里鴨
綠混同愛濤三
江俱從此山流
出鴨綠江自山</p> | <p>直入遼東之南
而瀉出向西流
海混同江自山
北瀉出向北流
直入北海愛濤
江向東流直入
東海此三江中
每出珠寶長白</p> |
| <p>長白山高約二
百里週圍約千
里此山之上有
一潭名閨門週
圍約八十里鴨
綠混同愛濤三
江俱從此山流
出鴨綠江自山</p> | <p>直入遼東之南
而瀉出向西流
海混同江自山
北瀉出向北流
直入北海愛濤
江向東流直入
東海此三江中
每出珠寶長白</p> |

| | |
|---|--|
| <p>一名山也
浮石乃東北
中此山盡是
俱投總此山
日環山之獸
風動不休夏
山山高地寒</p> | <p>勒瑚里泊
三仙女浴布</p>  |
| <p>一名山也
浮石乃東北
中此山盡是
俱投總此山
日環山之獸
風動不休夏
山山高地寒</p> | <p>勒瑚里泊
三仙女浴布</p> |
| <p>一名山也
浮石乃東北
中此山盡是
俱投總此山
日環山之獸
風動不休夏
山山高地寒</p> | <p>勒瑚里泊
三仙女浴布</p> |

1. 凡我臣民，其有欲效忠者，
 2. 宜早告我，勿延勿阻。
 3. 其有欲效忠者，
 4. 宜早告我，勿延勿阻。
 5. 其有欲效忠者，
 6. 宜早告我，勿延勿阻。
 7. 其有欲效忠者，
 8. 宜早告我，勿延勿阻。
 9. 其有欲效忠者，
 10. 宜早告我，勿延勿阻。

[13]

1. 凡我臣民，其有欲效忠者，
 2. 宜早告我，勿延勿阻。
 3. 其有欲效忠者，
 4. 宜早告我，勿延勿阻。
 5. 其有欲效忠者，
 6. 宜早告我，勿延勿阻。
 7. 其有欲效忠者，
 8. 宜早告我，勿延勿阻。
 9. 其有欲效忠者，
 10. 宜早告我，勿延勿阻。

[12]

(Musée Guimet)

Handwritten text in Manchu script, consisting of approximately 15 vertical columns of characters. The script is dense and characteristic of the Manchu language.

Handwritten text in Manchu script, consisting of approximately 12 vertical lines of characters.

1911

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4th

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Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely Pahlavi, arranged in approximately 12 vertical columns. The script is dense and characteristic of ancient Iranian inscriptions. The text is oriented vertically on the page, with the rightmost column at the top and the leftmost at the bottom.

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely Manchu or a related language, arranged in vertical columns. The text is written on a light-colored background with some dark spots. The characters are small and closely spaced, typical of traditional East Asian calligraphy. The text is organized into several vertical columns, with a small vertical line of text on the far left side.

FIGURES

Main branches of the North Semitic alphabet

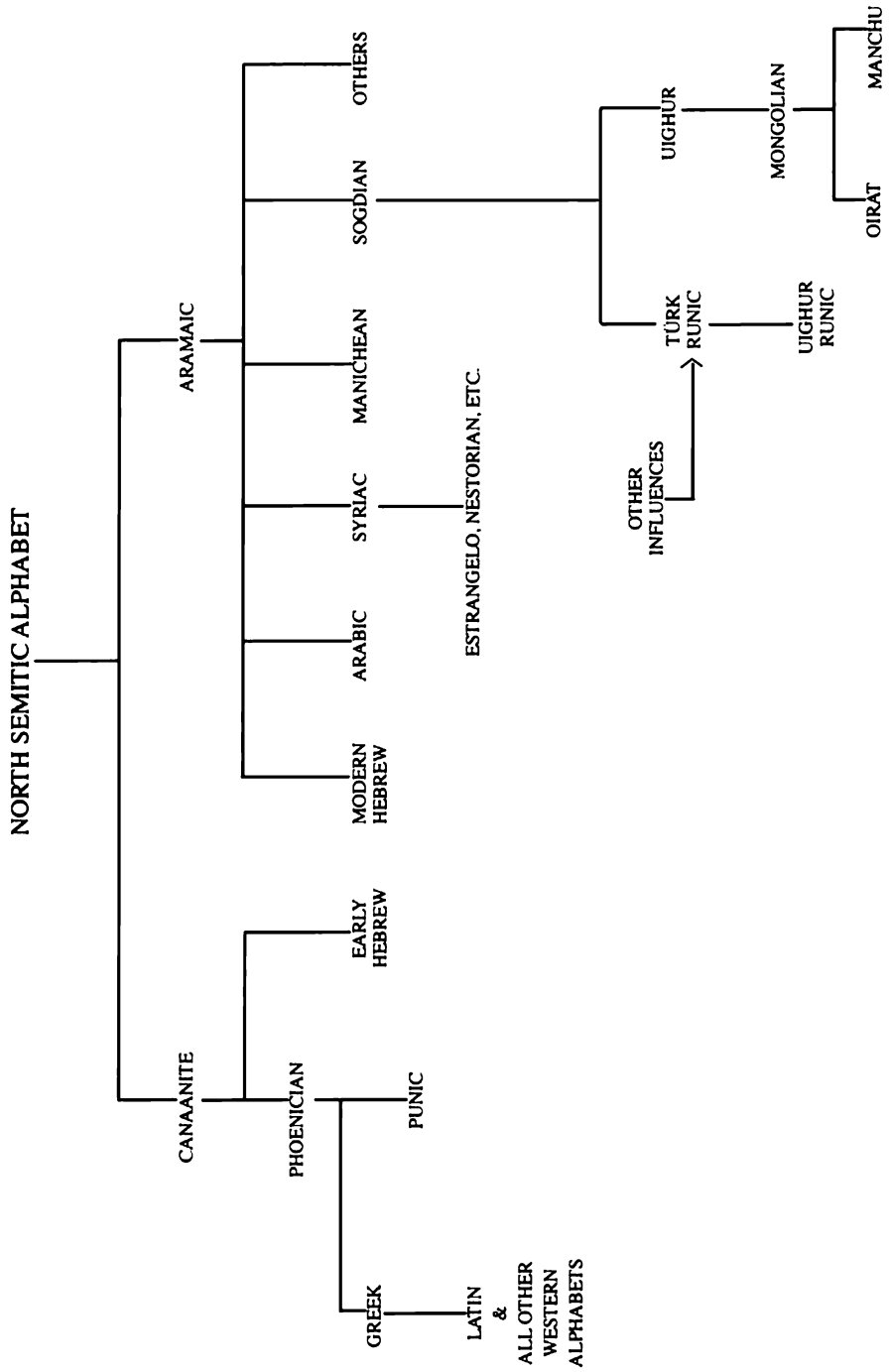


Fig. 1

Old runic alphabet (Orkhon & Yenisei)

| Letters | | Transcription | Letters | | Transcription |
|---------|-----|----------------|---------|-------|----------------|
| 1. | ↓ | a/ä | 23. | ⇒ > | m |
| 2. | ∪ | b ¹ | 23a. | 80 8 | m |
| 3. | ⋈ | b ² | 24. |) | n ¹ |
| 4. | ∧ | č | 25. | ㄣ ㄵ | n ² |
| 5. | ∧ | (i)č | 26. | } | nč |
| 6. | ⌘ ⌘ | d ¹ | 27. | ☺ ☻ | nt |
| 7. | × | d ² | 28. | † † | ŋ |
| 7a. | ⊗ | d ² | 28a. | ◇ ○ | ŋ |
| 8. | χ χ | e | 29. | > | o/u |
| 9. | γ γ | γ/b | 30. | ℱ | ö/ü |
| 10. | ε ε | g | 31. | ↑ | p |
| 11. | ↑ | ī/i | 32. | ∩ | r ¹ |
| 12. | D | y ¹ | 33. | ∩ | r ² |
| 13. | q q | y ² | 34. | ϣ ϣ ϣ | s ¹ |
| 14. | 3 | ñ | 35. | | s ² |
| 15. | π π | q | 36. | ∩ | š |
| 16. | ∩ | k | 36a. | ∩ | š |
| 17. | ∠ ∠ | (i)q | 36b. | ⊗ | š |
| 18. | ↓ ↑ | (u)q | 37. | ‡ ‡ ‡ | t ¹ |
| 19. | ℱ ℱ | (ü)k | 37a. | ∧ | t ¹ |
| 20. | ∩ | l ¹ | 38. | h | t ² |
| 21. | ∩ | l ² | 39. | h ʒ | z |
| 22. | M | lt | | | |

N.B. ¹ = back vocalic; ² = front vocalic

Turkic runic inscriptions (Yenisei)

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(from Vasil'ev 1983)

Fig. 3

Comparative table of Eastern and Western alphabets

| Aramaic-Syriac:
*Estrangelo
(V c. AD) | Aramaic:
Palmyra
(III c. AD) | Aramaic
(V c. BC) | Semitic alphabets:
Names of letters
and transcription | Phoenician
(X-IX c. BC) | Greek:
Names of letters
and transcription | Early Greek
(VII c. BC) | Classical Greek
(V-IV c. BC) | Western Greek
(bef. V c. BC) | Latin
(IV c. BC) | Latin
(IV c. AD) |
|---|------------------------------------|----------------------|---|----------------------------|---|----------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Ⲁ | Ⲁ | Ⲁ | aleph | Ⲁ | alpha | Α | Α | Α Α | Α Δ | A |
| ⲁ | ⲁ | ⲁ | bēth | ⲁ | bēta | Β | Β | Β Β | Β | B |
| Ⲃ | Ⲃ | Ⲃ | gimel | Ⲃ | gamma | Γ | Γ | Γ Γ | Ⲙ | C |
| ⲃ | ⲃ | ⲃ | dāleth | ⲃ | delta | Δ | Δ | Δ | Δ | D |
| Ⲅ | Ⲅ | Ⲅ | hēth | Ⲅ | epsilon | Ε | Ε | Ε | Ε | E |
| ⲅ | ⲅ | ⲅ | wāw | ⲅ | vau | Ϝ | Ϝ | Ϝ | Ϝ | F |
| Ⲇ | Ⲇ | Ⲇ | zayin | Ⲇ | zēta | Ζ | Ζ | Ζ | Ζ | G |
| ⲇ | ⲇ | ⲇ | hēth | ⲇ | ēta | Θ | Θ | Θ | Θ | H |
| Ⲉ | Ⲉ | Ⲉ | hēth | Ⲉ | thēta | ⊖ | ⊖ | ⊖ | ⊖ | I |
| ⲉ | ⲉ | ⲉ | yōd | ⲉ | iōta | Ι | Ι | Ι | Ι | I |
| Ⲋ | Ⲋ | Ⲋ | kāph | Ⲋ | kappa | Κ | Κ | Κ | Κ | K |
| ⲋ | ⲋ | ⲋ | lāmedh | ⲋ | lambda | Λ | Λ | Λ | Λ | L |
| Ⲍ | Ⲍ | Ⲍ | mēm | Ⲍ | mu | Μ | Μ | Μ | Μ | M |
| ⲍ | ⲍ | ⲍ | nūn | ⲍ | nu | Ν | Ν | Ν | Ν | N |
| Ⲏ | Ⲏ | Ⲏ | sāmekh | Ⲏ | xi | Ξ | Ξ | Ξ | Ξ | O |
| ⲏ | ⲏ | ⲏ | 'ayin | ⲏ | omicron | Ο | Ο | Ο | Ο | P |
| Ⲑ | Ⲑ | Ⲑ | pē | Ⲑ | pi | Π | Π | Π | Π | P |
| ⲑ | ⲑ | ⲑ | sādhē | ⲑ | san | Σ | Σ | Σ | Σ | Q |
| Ⲓ | Ⲓ | Ⲓ | qōph | Ⲓ | koppa | Ϙ | Ϙ | Ϙ | Ϙ | R |
| ⲓ | ⲓ | ⲓ | rēš | ⲓ | rhō | ϙ | ϙ | ϙ | ϙ | R |
| Ⲕ | Ⲕ | Ⲕ | šīn | Ⲕ | sigma | Σ | Σ | Σ | Σ | S |
| ⲕ | ⲕ | ⲕ | tāw | ⲕ | tau | Τ | Τ | Τ | Τ | T |
| Ⲍ | Ⲍ | Ⲍ | | | upsilon | Υ | Υ | Υ | Υ | V |
| Ⲏ | Ⲏ | Ⲏ | | | phi | Φ | Φ | Φ | Φ | |
| ⲏ | ⲏ | ⲏ | | | ph | Χ | Χ | Υ | Υ | |
| Ⲑ | Ⲑ | Ⲑ | | | ch | Ψ | Ψ | | | |
| ⲑ | ⲑ | ⲑ | | | psi | Ω | Ω | | | |
| Ⲓ | Ⲓ | Ⲓ | | | ps | | | | | |
| ⲓ | ⲓ | ⲓ | | | omega | | | | | |
| Ⲕ | Ⲕ | Ⲕ | | | ō | | | | | |
| ⲕ | ⲕ | ⲕ | | | xi | | | | | |
| Ⲍ | Ⲍ | Ⲍ | | | x | | | | | |

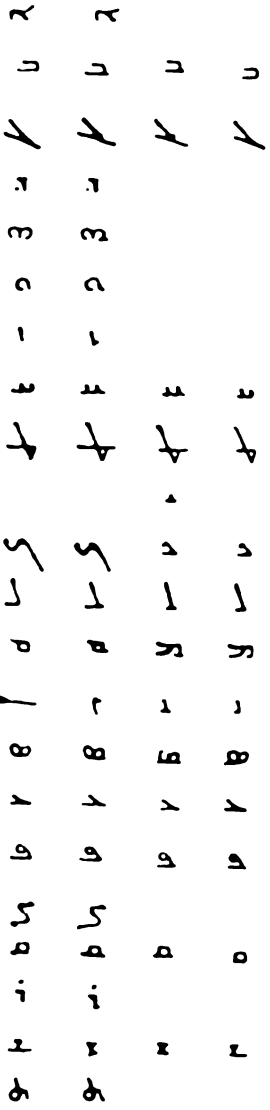
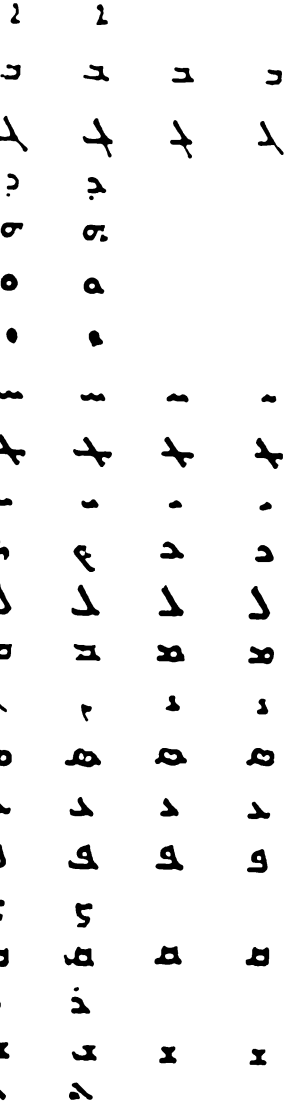
Fig. 4

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| Isolated | | |
| Finally | | |
| Medially | | |
| Initially | | |
| Transcription | | |
| Isolated | | |
| Finally | | |
| Medially | | |
| Initially | | |
| Transcription | | |

(modified from IAL)

Fig. 5

Two Syriac alphabets

| Transcr. | Estrangelo | Nestorian |
|--|---|---|
| , b g d h w z x t y k l m n s c p, f s q r t s x t | <p>  </p> | <p>  </p> |

(modified from IAL)

Fig. 6

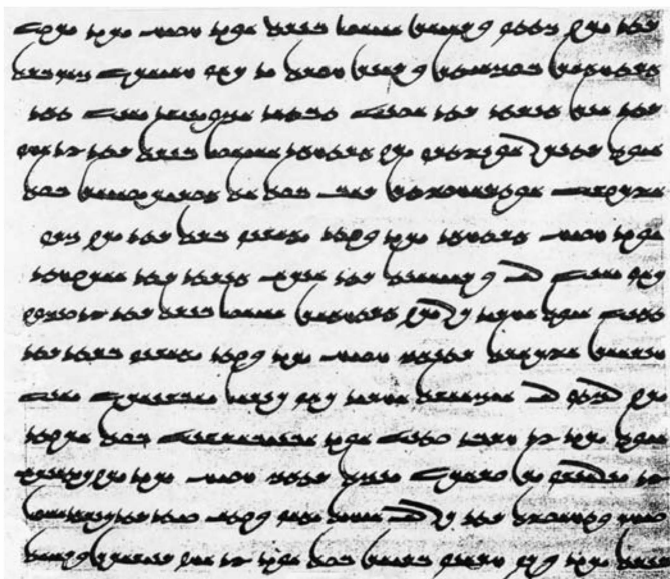
Sogdian and Uighur alphabets

| Finally | Medially | Initially | Transcription | Finally | Medially | Initially | Transcription |
|---------|----------|-----------|---------------|---------|----------|-----------|---------------|
| | | | a,ä | | | | a,ä |
| | | | i,ī | | | | ī,i |
| | | | o,ö | | | | o,ö |
| | | | u,ü | | | | u,ü |
| | | | γ,q,x | | | | γ,q,x |
| | | | g,k | | | | g,k |
| | | | i,y | | | | ī,i,y |
| | | | r | | | | r |
| | | | l | | | | l |
| | | | t | | | | t |
| | | | d | | | | d |
| | | | č | | | | č,ǰ |
| | | | s | | | | s |
| | | | š | | | | š |
| | | | z,ž | | | | z |
| | | | n | | | | n |
| | | | b,p | | | | b,p |
| | | | v | | | | w,v |
| | | | w | | | | w,v |
| | | | m | | | | m |
| | | | h | | | | |

(modified from IAL)

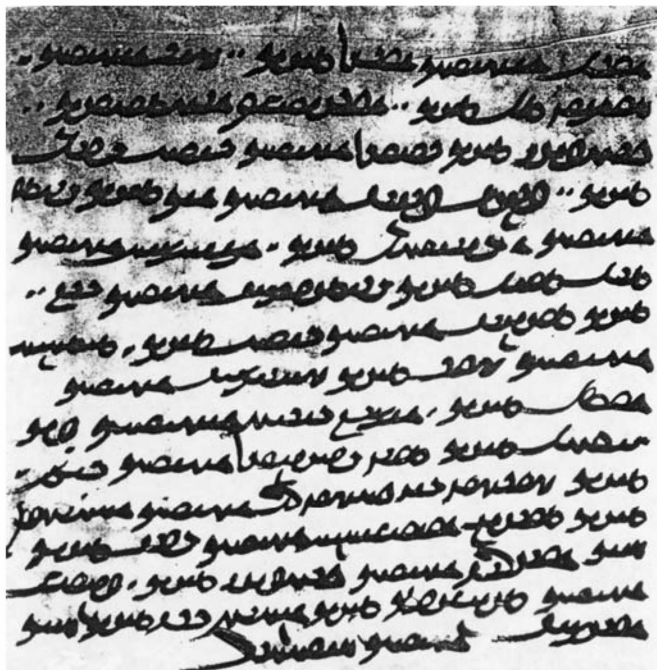
Fig. 7

a. Sogdian manuscript from Dunhuang, IX c.



(BnF)

b. Uighur manuscript from Dunhuang, IX-X c.



(BnF)

Fig. 8

The Brāhmī script

ॠ a ॡ ā ॢ (aya =) ä ॣ i = i । u ॥ ū ० (uyu =) ü

१ e ॡ (eya =) ë ॢ ai ॣ o । (oya =) ö ॥ (oyo =) ô

ॠ ka ॡ kha ॢ ga (gha) ॣ na
 । ca ॥ cha ० ja ॡ nu
 ॢ na
 ॠ ta ॡ tha ॢ da ॣ dha । na
 ॥ pa ० pha ॢ ba ॣ bha । ma
 ॥ ya ॠ ra ॡ la ॢ va
 ॣ śa ॥ ṣa ॢ sa ॣ ha
 ॠ ḳ ॡ p̣ ॢ ṃ ॣ ṛ
 ॠ ḷ ॡ ṣ́ ॢ ṣ̣ ॣ ḥ̣
 ॠ ga ॡ ga ॢ da (dza) (?) ॣ wa
 ॠ za (za)

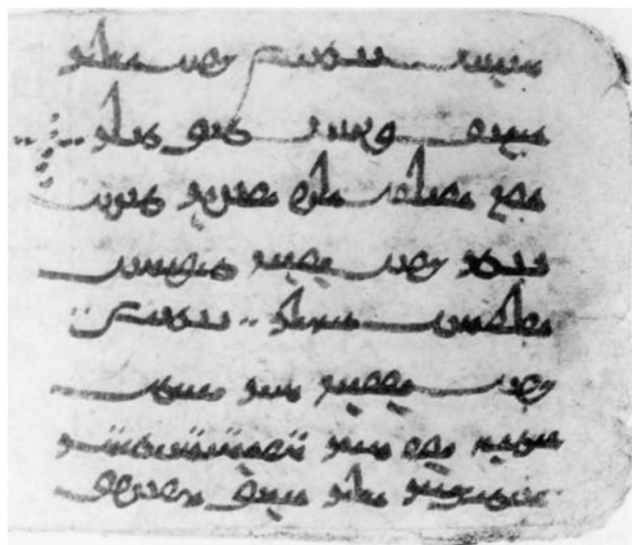
ॡ nū ॢ nā ॣ yū । lā ॥ nā ॠ gā ॡ mā
 ॠ lā ॡ cā ॢ kā ॣ lī ॠ gi ॡ lī ॢ ni
 ॠ nu ॡ ru ॢ lu ॣ qu । tu ॢ rū ॣ lū
 ॠ tā ॡ yū ॢ rā ॣ lā ॢ rū ॣ pra ॢ lo
 ॣ le ॢ le ॣ lai ॢ hai ॣ to ॣ lo ॣ lō
 ॠ kō ॢ kau

ॠ kpi ॢ krām ॢ nli ॣ nri ॢ jñā ॠ ficu
 ॠ tkū ॢ tti ॣ tra ॣ tru ॠ tui ॢ lqu
 ॢ ntu ॢ nda ॢ nya ॣ ṇ ॢ plu ॢ ymā
 ॢ rni ॢ rtā ॢ rdhā ॢ rri ॢ rlā ॢ lnu
 ॠ lao ॢ lqu ॣ rā ॣ ru ॢ slā ॢ hā
 ॠ ḥ ॢ ḷ ॢ qli ॢ gsi ॢ zwa

ॠ iki ॢ iśi ॢ umu ॢ uya ॢ ula ॢ lr

Fig. 9

a. Uighur manuscript from Dunhuang, X c.



(BnF)

b. Uighur manuscript from Turfan, XI c.



(from Tuguševa 1971)

Fig. 10

Transliteration and transcription of Uighur

| Transliteration | Uighur Letters | Usual Transcription |
|--------------------|----------------|--|
| | ا | <i>a</i> |
| | آ | <i>a/ä</i> or <i>ā</i> |
| 'w | و | <i>o/u</i> or <i>o/ü</i> |
| 'wy | ۋ | <i>ö/ü</i> or <i>oy/uy</i> or <i>oy/üy</i> |
| w | ۋ | <i>o/u; ö/ü</i> or <i>w/v</i> or <i>o/u</i> |
| 'y | ي | <i>ï/i</i> or <i>ay/äy</i> |
| y | ي | <i>ï/i</i> or <i>y (= j)</i> |
| c | چ | <i>č/j</i> or <i>c</i> |
| d | د | <i>d</i> or <i>ḍ</i> (for <i>t</i>) |
| k | ك | <i>k/g</i> or <i>h</i> |
| l | ل | <i>l</i> |
| m | م | <i>m</i> |
| n (ñ : with dot) | ن | <i>n</i> |
| p | پ | <i>b/p</i> |
| q (q̇ : with dots) | ق | <i>q/γ</i> or <i>χ</i> |
| r | ر | <i>r</i> |
| s (š : with dots) | ش | <i>s/š</i> or <i>š</i> (for <i>z</i>) |
| t | ت | <i>t</i> or <i>ṭ</i> (for <i>d</i>) |
| β | ب | <i>w/v</i> |
| z (ž : with dots) | ز | <i>z/ž</i> (i. e. <i>ž</i>) or <i>z</i> (for <i>s</i>) |
| · | | (Punctuation marks) |

N.B. For *ā* read *ä,e*.

Fig. 11

Uighur-Mongolian alphabet (Preclassical)

| Name of letter
& mech. transcription | | Initial | Medial | Final | Transcription |
|---|--------------|---------|---------|-------|----------------|
| āleph | ” | 𐰀 | 𐰁 | 𐰂 𐰃 | <i>a ǰ</i> |
| — | ’ | 𐰄 | 𐰅 | 𐰆 𐰇 | <i>e</i> |
| yōd | ’y | 𐰈 | 𐰉 | 𐰊 | <i>i</i> |
| wāw | ’w | 𐰋 | 𐰌 | 𐰍 | <i>o q u ʉ</i> |
| — | ’wy | 𐰎 | 𐰏 𐰐 | 𐰑 | <i>ö ü</i> |
| nūn | <i>n, ɳ</i> | 𐰒 𐰓 | 𐰔 𐰕 | 𐰖 𐰗 𐰘 | <i>n</i> |
| nūn + kāph | <i>nk</i> | | 𐰙 𐰚 | 𐰛 | <i>ng</i> |
| ḥēth | <i>q</i> | 𐰜 | 𐰝 | | <i>q</i> |
| — | <i>q, q̄</i> | 𐰞 : 𐰟 | 𐰠 : 𐰡 | 𐰢 : 𐰣 | <i>γ q</i> |
| pē | <i>p</i> | 𐰤 | 𐰥 | 𐰦 | <i>b</i> |
| semkath | <i>s</i> | 𐰧 | 𐰨 | 𐰩 𐰪 | <i>s š</i> |
| šīn | <i>š</i> | 𐰫 | 𐰬 | | <i>š</i> |
| tāw, dāleth | <i>t, d</i> | 𐰭 | 𐰮 𐰯 𐰰 𐰱 | 𐰲 𐰳 | <i>t d</i> |
| lāmedh | <i>l</i> | 𐰴 | 𐰵 | 𐰶 | <i>l</i> |
| mēm | <i>m</i> | 𐰷 | 𐰸 | 𐰹 | <i>m</i> |
| ṣādhē | <i>c</i> | 𐰺 | 𐰻 | 𐰼 | <i>č</i> |
| yōd | <i>y</i> | 𐰿 | 𐱀 | 𐱁 | <i>j̄ y</i> |
| kāph | <i>k</i> | 𐱂 | 𐱃 | 𐱄 𐱅 | <i>k g</i> |
| rēš | <i>r</i> | 𐱆 | 𐱇 | 𐱈 | <i>r</i> |
| bēth | <i>β</i> | 𐱉 | 𐱊 | | <i>v (w)</i> |

Fig. 12

Mongolian alphabet (Classical & Modern)

| Transcription | Characters | | |
|---------------|------------|--------|-------|
| | Initial | Medial | Final |
| a | ᠠ | ᠡ | ᠢ ᠣ |
| e | ᠡ | ᠢ | ᠣ ᠤ |
| i | ᠢ | ᠣ | ᠤ |
| o u | ᠣ | ᠣ | ᠤ |
| ö ü | ᠣᠢ | ᠣᠣ | ᠣᠤ |
| n | ᠨ | ᠨ ᠢ | ᠨ |
| ng | | ᠨᠭ | ᠨᠭ |
| q | ᠣ | ᠣ | ᠣ |
| γ | ᠣᠢ | ᠣᠢ ᠣ | ᠣᠢ ᠣ |
| b | ᠪ | ᠪ | ᠪ |
| p | ᠪ | ᠪ | |
| s | ᠰ | ᠰ | ᠰ ᠰ |
| š | ᠰ | ᠰ | ᠰ |
| t d | ᠲ | ᠲ ᠲ | ᠲ |
| l | ᠯ | ᠯ | ᠯ |
| m | ᠮ | ᠮ | ᠮ |
| č | ᠴ | ᠴ | |
| j | ᠵ | ᠵ | |
| y | ᠶ ᠶ | ᠶ | ᠶ |
| k g | ᠬ | ᠬ | ᠬ |
| k' g' | ᠬ | ᠬ | |
| r | ᠷ | ᠷ | ᠷ |
| v | ᠸ | ᠸ | |
| h e' | ᠬᠡ | ᠬ | |

1 In foreign words, or words of foreign origin, with back vowels.

2 In foreign words, medially.

(modified from GWM)

Fig. 13

Mongolian transcription of Tibetan and Sanskrit

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|------|------|------|-------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-----|------|------|------|
| ཨ | ཨི | ཨུ | ཨེ | ཨོ | ཀ | ཁ | ཀྱ | ང | ཅ | ཅཱ | ཇ | ཉ | ཏ | ཐ | ཏྱ |
| a | i | u | e | o | ka | kha | ga | na | ča | čha | ja | ña | ta | tha | da |
| ན | མ | མྱ | མྲ | མླ | མྴ | མྵ | མྶ | མྷ | མྸ | མྐྵ | མྺ | མྻ | མྼ | མ྽ | མ྿ |
| na | pa | pha | ba | ma | ca | cha | ja | va | ža | za | 'a | ya | ra | la | |
| མ | མ | ཉ | ཉྱ | ཉྲ | ཉླ | ཉྴ | ཉྵ | ཉྶ | ཉྷ | ཉྸ | ཉྐྵ | ཉྺ | ཉྻ | ཉྼ | ཉ྽ |
| sa | sa | ha | kya | khya | gya | pya | phya | bya | mya | kra | khra | gra | tra | dra | |
| མ | མ | མ | མ | མ | མ | མ | མ | མ | མ | མ | མ | མ | མ | མ | མ |
| ཉྱ | ཉྲ | ཉླ | ཉྴ | ཉྵ | ཉྶ | ཉྷ | ཉྸ | ཉྐྵ | ཉྺ | ཉྻ | ཉྼ | ཉ྽ | ཉ྿ | ཉྻ | ཉ྿ |
| pra | phra | bra | mra | sra | hra | kla | gla | bla | zla | rla | sla | kva | khva | gva | |
| ཉྱ | ཉྲ | ཉླ | ཉྴ | ཉྵ | ཉྶ | ཉྷ | ཉྸ | ཉྐྵ | ཉྺ | ཉྻ | ཉྼ | ཉ྽ | ཉ྿ | ཉྻ | ཉ྿ |
| grva | ñva | dva | rcva | rchva | žva | zva | lva | šva | hva | rka | rga | rña | rja | rña | |
| ཉྱ | ཉྲ | ཉླ | ཉྴ | ཉྵ | ཉྶ | ཉྷ | ཉྸ | ཉྐྵ | ཉྺ | ཉྻ | ཉྼ | ཉ྽ | ཉ྿ | ཉྻ | ཉ྿ |
| rta | rda | rna | rba | rma | rca | rja | rla | lka | lga | lña | lča | lja | lta | lda | lpa |
| ཉྱ | ཉྲ | ཉླ | ཉྴ | ཉྵ | ཉྶ | ཉྷ | ཉྸ | ཉྐྵ | ཉྺ | ཉྻ | ཉྼ | ཉ྽ | ཉ྿ | ཉྻ | ཉ྿ |
| lba | lha | ska | sga | sña | sña | sta | sda | sna | spa | sba | sma | sca | sla | rkya | rgya |
| ཉྱ | ཉྲ | ཉླ | ཉྴ | ཉྵ | ཉྶ | ཉྷ | ཉྸ | ཉྐྵ | ཉྺ | ཉྻ | ཉྼ | ཉ྽ | ཉ྿ | ཉྻ | ཉ྿ |
| rmya | skya | sgya | spya | šbya | smya | skra | sgra | snra | spra | sbra | smra | | | | |

(from GWM)

Fig. 14

The Oirat 'Clear Script' (*Todo Bičig*)

| | <i>Initial</i> | <i>Medial</i> | <i>Final</i> | <i>Miscellaneous</i> | |
|------------------|----------------|---------------|--------------|----------------------|---|
| a | ᠠ | ᠡ | ᠢ | after k or b | ᠠ |
| e | ᠡ | ᠢ | ᠣ | after k or b | ᠡ |
| i | ᠢ | ᠣ | ᠤ | after k or b | ᠢ |
| o | ᠣ | ᠣ | ᠣ | | |
| u | ᠣ | ᠣ | ᠣ | | |
| ö | ᠣ | ᠣ | ᠣ | kö | ᠣ |
| ü | ᠣ | ᠣ | ᠣ | kü | ᠣ |
| vowel length (â) | - | ᠠ | | | |
| n | ᠨ | ᠨ | ᠨ | -ngg- | ᠨ |
| b | ᠪ | ᠪ | ᠪ | | |
| γ | ᠮ | ᠮ | ᠮ | -q | |
| g | ᠮ | ᠮ | ᠮ | | |
| k | ᠮ | ᠮ | ᠮ | kâ | ᠮ |
| x | ᠮ | ᠮ | ᠮ | | |
| m | ᠮ | ᠮ | ᠮ | | |
| l | ᠮ | ᠮ | ᠮ | | |
| r | ᠮ | ᠮ | ᠮ | | |
| t | ᠮ | ᠮ | ᠮ | | |
| d | ᠮ | ᠮ | ᠮ | | |
| y | ᠮ | ᠮ | ᠮ | | |
| z-/ʃ | ᠮ | ᠮ | ᠮ | init. c/č med. | ᠮ |
| s | ᠮ | ᠮ | ᠮ | š | ᠮ |
| w/v | ᠮ | ᠮ | ᠮ | -ng | ᠮ |

(G. Kara in Daniels & Bright 1996; by permission of OUP)

Fig. 16

Correspondence of the *Uyiyurjin* and Cyrillic alphabets

| <i>Uyiyurjin</i> | Cyrillic |
|------------------|-------------------|
| ᠠ | Аа |
| ᠡ | Ээ |
| ᠢ | Ии (Й) |
| ᠣ | Оо |
| ᠤ | Уу |
| ᠥ | Өө |
| ᠦ | Үү |
| ᠨ | Нн |
| ᠪ | Бб |
| ᠬ | Хх |
| ᠭ | Хх |
| ᠭᠦ | Гг |
| ᠭ | Гг |
| ᠯ | Лл |
| ᠮ | Мм |
| ᠰ | Сс/Шш |
| ᠱ | Ш ш |
| ᠳ | Тт |
| ᠴ | Дд |
| ᠴᠢ | Цш/Чч |
| ᠵ | Зз/Жж |
| ᠶ | (Яя/Ее/
Её/Юю) |
| ᠷ | Рр |
| ᠪ | Вв |

| <i>Uyiyurjin</i> | Cyrillic |
|------------------|-----------------|
| ᠮ | Пп |
| ᠮ | Фф |
| ᠮ | Кк |
| ᠮ | Ее |
| ᠮ | Цц |
| ᠮ | Зз |
| ᠮ | Хх |
| ᠮ | Жж |
| ᠮ | Её |
| | Щщ ¹ |
| | ь ² |
| | ь ³ |
| ᠮ | ы ⁴ |
| ᠮ ᠮ | Юю |
| ᠮ | Яя |

- 1 Occurs only in Russian loan words
- 2 Indicates a palatalized consonant
- 3 Sign of separation between a hard consonant and the iotacized vowels *ya* and *yo*; also used in Russian words
- 4 Used for a long *i*

Fig. 17

The 'Phags-pa script

I. Consonants

| | | | | |
|--------|--------------|----|-------|--------------|
| པ, པ' | <i>p, p'</i> | 16 | ཀ | <i>č'</i> |
| བ | <i>b</i> | 17 | ཁ | <i>j</i> |
| ཕ, ཕ' | <i>u (w)</i> | 18 | ག | <i>š</i> |
| མ | <i>m</i> | 19 | ང | <i>ž</i> |
| ཏ | <i>t</i> | 20 | ཙ | <i>y</i> |
| ཐ | <i>t'</i> | 21 | མ | <i>k</i> |
| ཎ | <i>d</i> | 22 | ཁ | <i>k'</i> |
| ཏ', ཏ' | <i>n, ñ</i> | 23 | ག | <i>g</i> |
| ར | <i>r</i> | 24 | ཅ | <i>q</i> |
| ལ | <i>l</i> | 25 | ཆ | <i>γ</i> |
| ཅ, ཅ' | <i>c, c'</i> | 26 | ཇ | <i>ŋ</i> |
| ཉ, ཉ' | <i>j</i> | 27 | མ, མ' | <i>h, f</i> |
| ས | <i>s</i> | 28 | ཏ | <i>(')</i> |
| ཚ | <i>z</i> | 29 | ཏ' | <i>' (č)</i> |
| ཅ' | <i>č</i> | 30 | ཏ | <i>ç</i> |

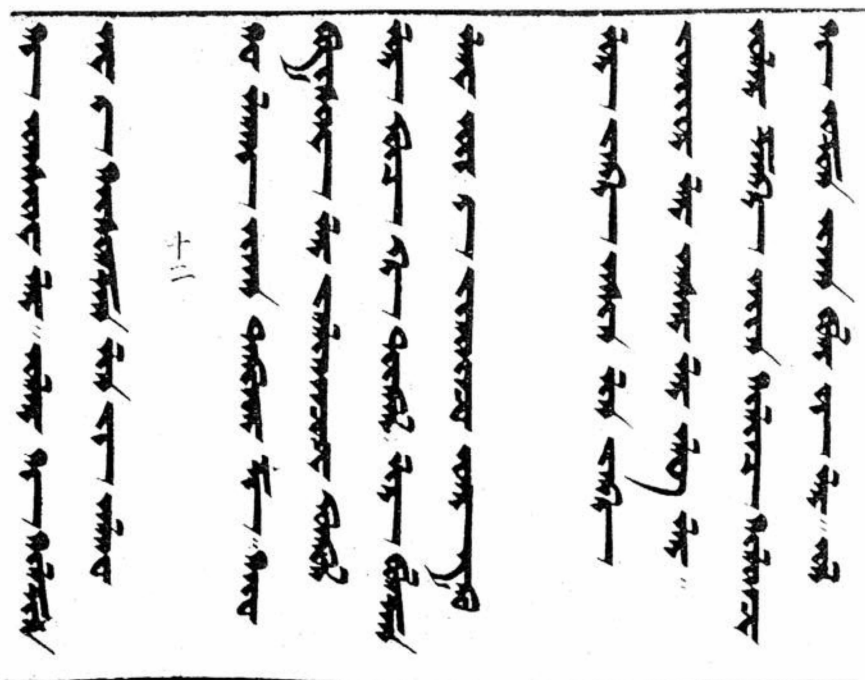
II. Vowels

| Initial | Medial | |
|---------|--------|----------|
| ཨ | ཨ | <i>a</i> |
| ཀ, ཀ' | ཀ, ཀ' | <i>o</i> |
| ཁ | ཁ | <i>u</i> |
| ཎ | ཎ | |
| ཏ, ཏ' | ཏ, ཏ' | <i>e</i> |
| ཏ', ཏ' | ཏ, ཏ' | <i>ö</i> |
| ཏ', ཏ' | ཏ, ཏ' | <i>ü</i> |
| ཏ | ཏ | |

(modified from GWM)

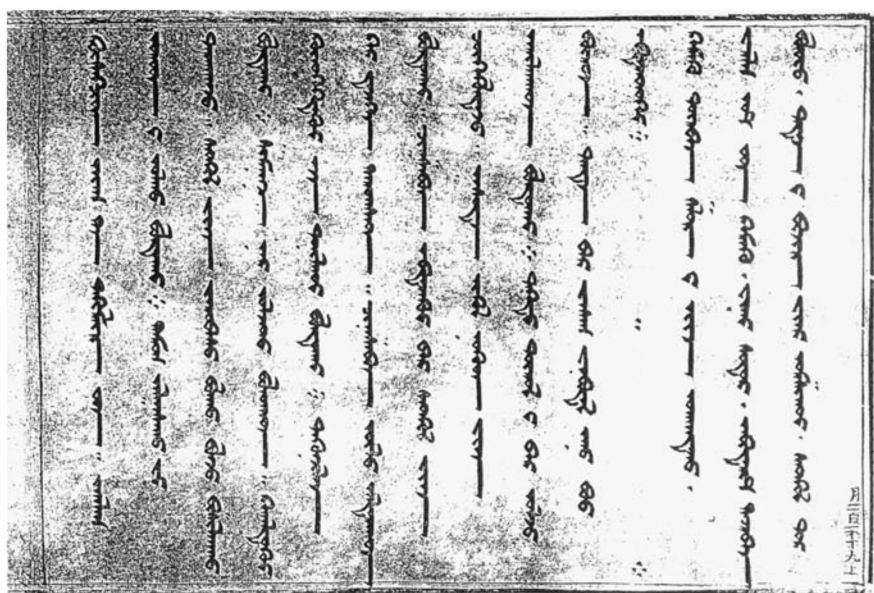
Fig. 18

a. Uighur blockprint (? Daidu), XIII-XIV c.



(BEAW)

b. Mongolian blockprint (Daidu), 1312



(BEAW)

Fig. 19

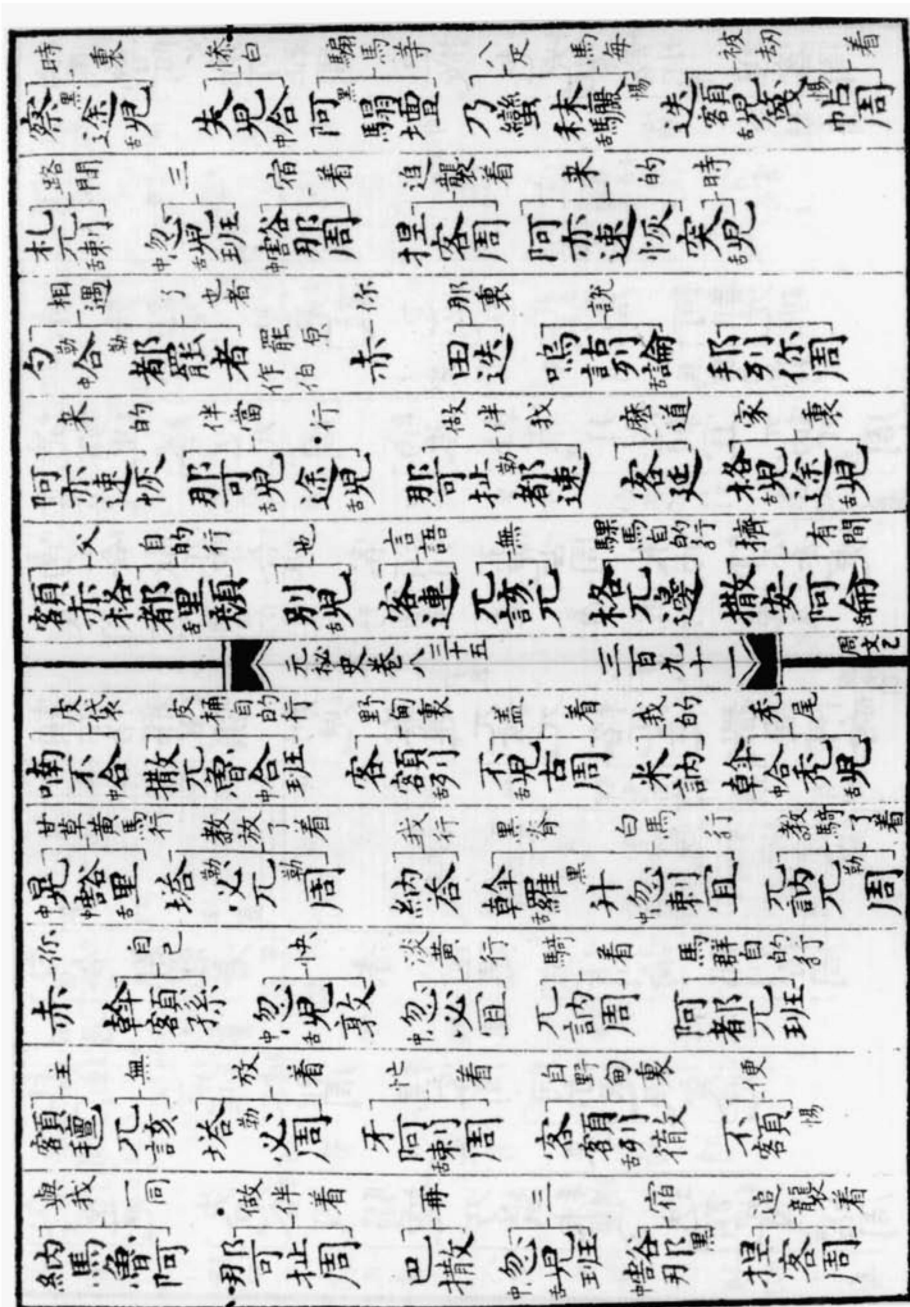
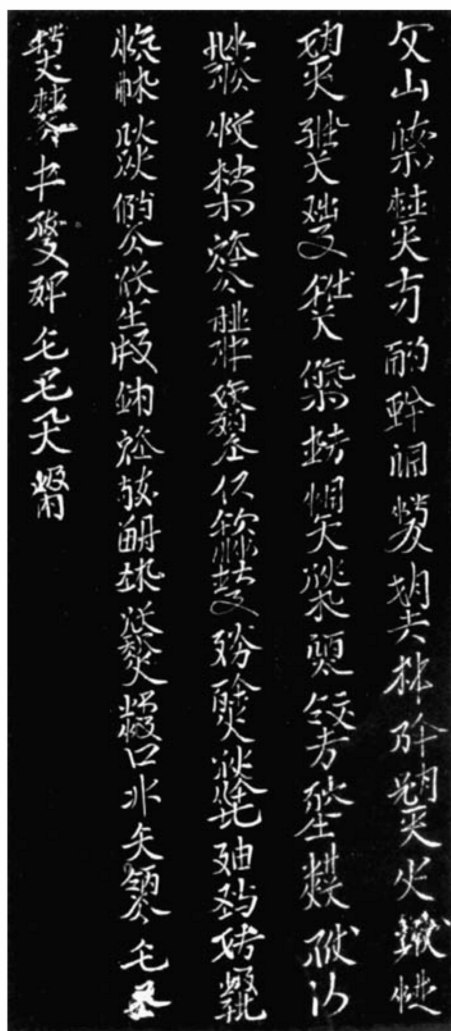


Fig. 20



a

Section of Yelü Ximie's epitaph in 'large script',
1114



b

The Langjun inscription in 'small script',
1134

月 孟 北 柔 又 力 弟 孟 火 休 余 禾
 南 凡 于 早 早 又 夫 余 右
 友 夫 社 免 元 北 更 苦 夫 年 孟 姜
 宅 表 伟 右 乎 王 更 乞 赤 共 仇 干
 社 赤 干 丹 乎 干 日 育 老 守 居 漆
 足 升 支 丈 礼 斥 社 免 凡 于 早 早
 又 壳 史 漆 足 升 友 友 夫 育 老
 余 又 鹿 壳 杀 兄 辱

(from Grube 1896)



(from V.S. Kolokolov & E.I. Kyčanov, eds, *Kitaïškaya klassika v tangutskom perevođe*, Moscow, 1960)

- [1] 𠂇 𠂈
- [2] 𠂇 𠂉
- [3] 𠂊
- [4] 𠂋
- [5] 𠂌
- [6] 𠂍
- [7] 𠂎
- [8] 𠂏
- [9] 𠂐 𠂑
- [10] 𠂐 𠂑 𠂒

Manchu alphabet

| Transcription | Initial | Medial | Final |
|---------------|---------|--------|-------|
| a | ᠠ | | ᠠ |
| e | ᠡ | ᠡ | ᠡ |
| i | ᠢ | ᠢ | ᠢ |
| o | ᠣ | ᠣ | ᠣ |
| u | ᠤ | ᠤ | ᠤ |
| ū | ᠥ | ᠥ | ᠥ |
| n | ᠨ | ᠨ (ᠨ) | ᠨ |
| ng | | ᠨ | ᠨ |
| k | ᠬ | ᠬ (ᠬ) | ᠬ |
| g | ᠭ | ᠭ (ᠭ) | ᠭ |
| h | ᠬ | ᠬ | ᠬ |
| b | ᠪ | ᠪ | ᠪ |
| p | ᠪ | ᠪ | ᠪ |
| s | ᠰ | ᠰ | ᠰ |
| ś | ᠰ | ᠰ | ᠰ |
| t | ᠲ | ᠲ (ᠲ) | ᠲ |
| d | ᠲ | ᠲ | ᠲ |
| l | ᠯ | ᠯ | ᠯ |
| m | ᠮ | ᠮ | ᠮ |
| c | ᠴ | ᠴ | ᠴ |
| j | ᠵ | ᠵ | ᠵ |
| y | ᠶ | ᠶ | ᠶ |
| r | ᠷ | ᠷ | ᠷ |
| f | ᠸ | ᠸ | ᠸ |
| w | ᠸ | ᠸ | ᠸ |

(modified from IAL)

Fig. 25