Johannes Reckel and Merle Schatz (Eds.)

Ancient Texts and Languages of Ethnic Groups along the Silk Road

Universitätsdrucke Göttingen

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Bibliographic information

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Cover image: Abraham Cresques, Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Katalanischer_Atlas_01.jpg
Detail of Marco Polo traveling East in the *Catalan Atlas,* by Abraham Cresques (1325–1387), cartographer and geographer. The *Catalan Atlas* is the most detailed map of its time, showing key places along the road and also major figures who traveled the Silk Road. Its design conforms to the conventions of the *Mappamundi*, representing the known regions of the earth and the people who inhabit them. The map is oriented with North at the bottom so that it could be turned in various directions depending on which feature of the map was important to the viewer.

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Johannes Reckel and Merle Schatz

In November 2017, Johannes Reckel visited Beijing for a conference on Mongolian Studies. On this occasion, Prof. Zhang Tieshan and Prof. Erdemtu approached him with the idea to continue the annual series of "International Colloquia on Ancient Manuscripts and Literatures of the Minorities in China" with the eighth Colloquium (第八届中国少数民族古籍文献国际学术研讨会) to be held at the State and University Library (SUB) of Göttingen University in 2018. They agreed that the conference should be held under the broader theme "Ancient Texts and Languages of the Ethnic Groups along the Silk Road" to allow contributions from participants from outside China.

In November 2018, about 60 scholars from all over the world came together at Göttingen University to discuss a wide range of issues from ancient Tokharian texts to the first translations of stories by Edgar Allan Poe into Mongolian in the 1930s. At several conferences with a focus on Central Asia, which took place at the SUB Göttingen from 2014 to 2018, close relations were established with Central Asian scholars from China, Mongolia, Russia, Kyrgyzstan and other countries.

"Silk Roads" is a term coined by Ferdinand v. Richthofen in 1877. The term initially referred to trade routes through Central Asia.[1] Along these "Silk Roads"

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[1] Richthofen, Ferdinand Freiherr von: „Über die zentralasiatischen Seidenstraßen bis zum 2. Jh. n. Chr.", Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, 1877: 96–122.

goods were exchanged between the Mediterranean and East Asia since ancient times. Silk, coming from China as early as 2600 years ago as demonstrated by finds from Celtic tombs in Germany, was a prominent part of this trade. Though the term "Silk Road" is still widely used, more recently science has moved away from the idea of one single road and is thus now talking about a network of old trade routes between East and West with many branches to Siberia as well as to South and Southeast Asia and other regions of Europe and Asia, even Africa.

Following the establishment of the term "Silk Roads" by Richthofen, an intensive study of the sources on the Silk Road followed. In 1888, Bretscheider published his work "Mediaeval Researches", in which he examined the medieval connecting routes between the West and Central and East Asia on the basis of the written sources[2]. In the early 20th century, research on the Silk Road received new impulse mainly from the finds of ancient libraries and manuscripts in Dunhuang and Turfan and in other ruins in Sinkiang and neighboring regions. The culture and religion of the Central Asian region and its ancient languages, such as Tocharian, Sogdian, Old Uighur, etc. come to the fore.

Written testimonies, along with archaeological finds, are usually the only way to research the historical peoples of the region, in order to trace the development and migratory flows of languages, religions, and customs and to relate them to today's multi-ethnic societies in Central Asia. From an archaeological point of view the extension of the so called animal style in petroglyphs and other artefacts from the steppes of the Black Sea to Southern Siberia, the Ordos region etc. is a visible bond connecting East and West during the Bronze Age or earlier.

Central Asia has been dominated by Mongolian and Turkic speaking nations for the past 1300 years or so. Uyghurs and Uzbeks were the most important traders on the Central Asian Silk Roads. Earlier Sogdians and Tokharians and other ethnic groups speaking Indo-Germanic (Indo-Iranian) languages were active on these ancient trade routes.[3] In the 18th and 19th century a Tungus language, Manchu, became important for Sinkiang, Mongolia and the whole of China. Thus the written sources cover a wide range of mainly Altaic and Indo-Germanic languages and scripts.

Expansion policy of different realms, comprehensive commercial activities and the spread of religious ideas facilitated the exchange of (cultural) knowledge along the Silk Road. Historical written sources not only tell us of possible cultural contacts, but also provide insights into language contact and linguistic developments of the languages involved. We find traces of languages usage along the Silk Road in religious texts, on palm leaves and birch bark, on inscriptions and in written documents in official archives. The texts and scripts tell us not only about the different groups that were in contact, but also reflect details of diplomatic, religious, and economic

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[2] Bretschneider, Emil: *Mediæval researches from Eastern Asiatic sources–Fragments towards the knowledge of the geography and history of Central and Western Asia from the 13th to the 17th century*, London 1888.

[3] A Silk Road time line see Valerie Hansen: *The Silk Road: A New History*, Oxford University Press, 2012: XIV–XVI.

ambitions and the languages that were used for these different forms of communication. Several examples of contact induced language change or specific linguistic influence as a result of contacts along the Silk Road also invite us to understand more about the frequency, intensity and intention of contacts that took place in very different regions connected by the Silk Road. Often the ancient texts and scripts allow a deeper understanding of cultural exchange of the people that stood in contact and their mutual interest in each other.

Currently, the Silk Road is taking on a new political significance as the Chinese government has launched a "New Silk Road" as an infrastructure project under the Chinese slogan "一帶一路" (English: "One Belt one Road" – later changed to "Belt and Road Initiative"). This strategic project is based on China's idea of a maritime Silk Road via India to Africa and of trade routes through Central Asia to Europe.

Göttingen has a long and fruitful tradition of Silk Road research. Ji Xianlin (1911–2009) from Beijing studied Tocharian and Sanskrit in Göttingen from 1935 to 1945 under Prof. Ernst Waldschmidt and Prof. Emil Sieg.[4] After the war, he went back to China and became a famous Tocharologist and a member of the Academy of Sciences and Professor at Beijing University. In 1980, he visited Göttingen – the working place of the Sanskrit dictionary of the Turfan finds. He played an important mediating role between German and Chinese Turfan research, which was not always free of tension due to the transfer of many historical documents from Turfan and Dunhuang to Europe at the beginning of the 20th century by Aurel Stein, Paul Pelliot, Albert v. Le Coq and others. The study of Tocharian and ancient Uighur documents is therefore an important part of the conference. German scholars based for research at the Turfan Collection in Berlin exchanged and discussed their latest research results with colleagues from China during this conference.

The Department of Turcology and Central Asian Studies at Göttingen University has signed a cooperation agreement with the Museum of the Sinkiang Autonomous Province in China to work together on Old Uighur texts. Since 2017, the major research project "Dictionary of Old-Uyghur" ("Wörterbuch des Altuigurischen"), headed by Prof. Jens Peter Laut from the Department of Turcology and Central Asian Studies at the University of Göttingen, has been based at the Academy of Sciences and Humanities in Göttingen with support from the German Research Fundation (DFG).

At the same time, the State and University Library of Göttingen houses the most important collection in Germany of modern literature from and about Sinkiang and the languages, cultures and history of its peoples, built up in the special subject collection "Altaic and Palaeoasiatic Languages, Literatures and Cultures" funded by the DFG. This collection is now part of the "Specialized Information Service for Central Asia and Siberia (CASSIB), also based at Göttingen (https://fid-cassib.de/).

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[4] Ji Xianlin: *Zehn Jahre in Deutschland 1935–1945*, Übersetzt von Li Kuiliu, Göttingen 2009. (Chinese original title: 季羡林: 留德十年; 北京，东方出版社 1992).

Correlation of the Texts of Ancient Turks with Modern Folklore: "Kutadgu Bilik" and "Nur Dastani"

Saifulla Abdullaev

1 Introduction

The 11th century occupies a special place in the written literary tradition of the Turks. The city of Kashgar gave many famous works of literature to the world. "Kutadgu bilig" is one of them. This famous work can be studied from different angles. Today, its comparison with contemporary folklore is relevant. This makes it possible to open the lines of continuity in the temporal aspect. Interest in Uygur written texts in world science has never waned [Jarring, 1975]. Here we can call the names of Acad. V.V. Radlov, N.N. Pantusov, N.M. Przhevalsky, S.Ye. Malov, E.I. Ubryatova, A. von Lecock, G. Jarring, H. Vitaker, G. Rackett, A. von Gaben, R.F. Tarasenko, E.R. Tenishev, A.T. Kaydarov, G.S. Sadvakasov, T. Yakup, G. Shimin, M. Osmanov and many others.

The poem "Kutadgu bilik" became known to the Western world through the Austrian orientalist von Hammer-Purgsthal, in whose hands the manuscript fell in 1796 in Istanbul and was donated by him to the Vienna Library. The first edition in German was carried out by the well-known orientalist G. Vambery. The text of the poem was introduced into scientific use in full by V.V. Radlov in 1891–1900, who, along with the original, presented his translation into German. The well-known specialist Uygur Turkologist S.E. Malov first translated the excerpts from the poem into Russian. In 1970, the IV Turcological Conference dedicated to the "Kutadgu

Bilik", was held in the city of Leningrad, which pointed to the need to expand the scale and deepen the research of this monument.

A free translation called "Science to be happy" was carried out by N. Grebnev in 1971. In 1896, K. Kerimov translated "Kutadgu bilig" into Uzbek. R. Arat conducted a great work on critical understanding of the texts of all three manuscripts (Vienna, Cairo, Namangan) and presented in 1947 a scientifically reliable collection of the poem. Under the title "Gracious knowledge" the full text of "Kutadgu bilig" was translated into Russian by S.N. Ivanov (M., 1983). The publication was carried out on an academic level. In 1984, a fundamental translation of the poem in modern Uygur was published in Beijing. This edition includes both the translated version in the modern Uyghur language and the text in transcription of the original Uygur language. In 1986, A. Egeubaev presented the work of Yusuf Has Khadzhiba in the Kazakh language.

One of the first attempts to consider the work of Balasaguni in the context of a vast and cultural region, originally associated with the formation of a caliphate, belongs to the German scientist Otto Alberts. He put forward the concept of a continuity between the teachings of Ibn Sina, in particular, his ethics and similar views of Yusuf Balasaguni. Moreover, Alberts made an attempt to compare the ethical views of Aristotle and Yusuf Has Hashib. The study of Balasaguni's work, the epoch of creation of his work was successfully continued by prominent Russian orientalists V.V. Bartold and S.Ye. Malov, famous Soviet historians and literary scholars [Malov 1961]. Modern science, thus, has a certain amount of research on the work of Balasaguni. However, it should be noted that the scientific interest in the work of the thinker was manifested mainly in historical and philological terms, although it was emphasized that the significance of this monument in linguistic, literary, historical and cultural-historical relations is very large, and therefore it is imperative to ensure the expansion and deepening of its research.

The work of Yusuf Balasaguni "Kutadgu bilik" is the first encyclopedic work not in the official literary language, which was the Arabic language at that time, but in the native language of the Turks, a fact in itself very significant, which indicates patriotism and love for the native language. At the same time, he was led by political motives, the desire to teach the Central Asian Karakhanid dynasty, which had not yet become detached from the nomadic environment, to govern the country with highly developed sedentary areas and regions (Maverannakhr, East Turkestan). In order for his edification to be understood by the Karakhanid nomads, it was necessary to write in Turkic. But "Kutadgu bilik" is not only a political treatise, it is the sum of knowledge on various fields of science and culture of its era. It compiles and summarizes material with a philosophical understanding of the life positions of the author himself, in particular, considers the ideological problems of the meaning of life, the purpose of man, his places and roles in the social and natural universe. The work of Balasaguni represents an extensive system, in which both the problems of a general philosophical nature and of life-practical, ethnic and aesthetic plan are put forward. The desire for encyclopedicism, universality, coverage of worldview

problems was inherent in the very nature of philosophizing in the cultural region to which Yusuf Has Hajib belonged. The worldview of Yusuf Balasaguni has threefold roots: philosophical, shamanistic, Islamic. The folklore text "Nur Dastani" is registered in the city of Karakol according to the aksakals – representatives of the local Muslim community. Dastan is built as a three-part structure: introduction, main part, and epilogue-conclusion. The introduction pays tribute to the Muslim traditions of writing works of this genre and hints at the format of the presentation of the main theme. The main content begins with a reference to the migratory nature of the XIIII-XX century Ili Uighurs, which appeared between two large countries - Tsarist Russia and China and were forced to periodically find themselves in the role of migrants. Then the narration goes to the main pivotal image of Nuri, and here the descriptions of the nuances of the ethno-cultural picture of the world of modern Uigurs appear. In addition to the main character, a gallery of his ancestors and descendants is built from the text of the narrative, united by blood-related and ethno-cultural ties – seven tribes.

"Nur Dastani" is a kind of continuation of "existential" dastans-marcia in the Uygur culturological tradition. This is a summing up, a comprehension of the segments of the life path, an appeal to your inner "I". It seems that the publication of a kind of dynastic version of the Uygur worldview from the "Hinterland" in the language of Issyk-Kul-Semirechensky dialect will complement the panoramic picture of the unique Uygur written monuments of history and culture. The folklore dastan begins in the spirit of traditional Islamic writings with an appeal to the Almighty and his Messenger. We present several stanzas in two graphical versions.

2 Бисмилләһ –и- Раһмани-р- Раһиим

Мәдһия, һәмду- сәналар
Хас пәқәтла Аллаһға.
Чәксиз аләмләр егиси,
Қадир һәл қилғучиға.

Өзи барлиққа кәлтүрди
Бепаян аләмләрни.
Ай- куяшларни яратти,
Таң қалдуруп адәмни.

Ай шәкли - вақит бәлгүси,
Исламниң символидур.
Барча өтүп йоқ болиду,
Пәқәт Аллаһ бар болур.

Рәсулға салам ейтайли,
Униң төрт дост-яриға.
Аллаһ исмида башлайли
Сөзни китапханларға.

Bismilleh-i-Rahmani-r-Rahiim

Medhiya, hemdu-senalar
Khas peqatla Allahgha.
Cheksiz alemler egisi,
Qadir hel qilghuchigha.

Ozi barliqqa kelturdi
Bepayan alemlerni.
Ay-quyashlarni yaratti.
Tang qaldurup ademni.

Ay shekli – vakit belgusi,
Islamning simvolidur.
Barcha otup yoq bolidu,
Peqet Allah bar bolur.

Resulgha salam eytayli,
Uning tort dost-yarigha.
Allah ismida bashlayli
Sozni kitaphanlargha.

In order to trace the correlative links between the two selected Turkic texts, we decided to use the ethno-cultural research model. It allows you to refer to the invariant bases of ethno-cultural processes, the reflection of which we consider the texts considered in this case. We follow the model itself, following G. Abdullayeva ("Model-legal issues of ethnoculturalism", Saarbrücken, 2016), we construct as a binary sign construction the components which are distinguished in formal and meaningful plans. The former can include, in particular, objects of material culture (for example, mosques built in past centuries), science and education institutions and their "products", including eminent scientists, graduates, commercial and industrial facilities. The latter include spirituality, education and enlightenment, new socio-cultural and economic relations.

Two texts that are compared by us unite the ideological view of human existence. This view is exacerbated in connection with the treatment of the demise of people. The clash in "Kutadgu bilig" of two life positions that do not have direct permission in the text, makes one think about the author's position, which is hidden

from the reader's immediate perception. Identifying implicit copyright content is fraught with the possibility of subjective judgments, but, as S.N. Ivanov emphasizes, "the death of two of the four main characters of the Grace of Knowledge is hardly accidental. Aytoldy and Odgurmysh die – symbols of Happiness and Detachment, Küntogdy and Ogdulmish remain alive – images of Justice and Reason. A certain author's intent can be discerned in this: the author considers the two last qualities the most essential and therefore eternal; happiness and detachment from vain are derivatives of reason and justice and do not themselves possess immutable value. The properties of happiness and detachment, no matter how desirable or commendable, the author makes dependent on reason and justice: they are valuable and possible only with the presence of the first two, preferred properties" [Valitova 1958: 129].

The demise of Ogurmysh is not only the symbol of the secondary character of the personified character. In the dispute between Küntogdy and Odgurmysh, the advantage is still on the side of Elik. The death of Odgurmish, as it seems to us, is a direct reinforcement of this artistic impression, a symbol of the collapse of what Künthogdy argued with. The position of Y. Balasaguni himself becomes clear: denying hermit withdrawal from life, he advocates active, fruitful service to people according to the laws of goodness and humanity.

The demise of Aitoldy and Odgurmish is perceived as a symbolic allegory. At the same time, this is an allegorical accusation to the society in which the poet lived, that happiness and virtuous morality died in him. The concluding chapters of the poem, indicative in nature, testify to this. The imaginary world of harmony described in Kutadgu bilig, which the poet advocates, gives way to an unattractive reality at the end of the poem:

Кто мудр, тот унижен, подавлен совсем,
Разумный обижен, затравлен и нем.
И в людях не верность, а злоба в чести,
Достойных доверья людей не найти!
Всей жизни – стесненье, раздолье – всем бедам,
Мрак алчности плотен, свет счастья неведом

In "Nur Dastani", the death of one of the characters in the narrative is the triggering motive for thinking about the meaning of life. Life appears as a path of change in the fate of people: "Turmush yolini ozgertip". Life is a kind of ethnic memory in the process of perception of the world. "Nur Dastani" is a peculiar representative of such a written version of ethnic memory. This is a narration about seven generations of Ili Uighurs-taranchi transmitted and written by a light "popular" verse. The narrative is united by a plot around one character, after whose name the dastan is named. "Nur dastani" is also a sample of the polished language of the Yettisu Uigurs, a sample of a dialect close and therefore ascending to the central dialect of the common language and, by the way, reflecting such unique features of the Uigur

speech as the phonetic law of umlaut. By the way, using the example of the speech of the younger generation, one can observe the obvious transformation processes of this juicy, capacious and colorful language. Therefore, a dastan carries with it an additional noble mission of preserving a changing language. Although its content can be found in other languages, for example, Russian. Here is one stanza from the Russian version of the dastan:

Минули годы, воды утекли.
Стекаются народы словно в море реки.
В долину семи рек пришли
Уйгуры чтоб осесть навеки.
("Nur dastani")

The leading character of the dastan is Nuri (Nurmuhammed). Ancestors and descendants are grouped and positioned around him, forming the notorious sequence of seven tribes, a chain of generations that binds and forms the neighbor's knot in a historical retrospective of ethnocultural self-consciousness. In this chain, an artistic ethnocultural picture of the world of the Kashgar, Ili, Yettisu and Issykkul Uigurs is visible [Malov 1961; Baskakov 1978].

Judging by the text, the main driving force behind the Uighur generations that passed along the path of life is the desire to change the style and conditions of life for the better while focusing on education and spiritual values. The peculiar style of the dastan and its clearly expressed ethnocultural character and orientation in many respects provide and open up possibilities for varying the various facets of the representation of the system of his characters and the main idea. Connotative shades of meaning in the semantic structure of the word as the main artistic means in relation to the literary version of the work under discussion allow more to convey unique idio-ethnic components that are lost not only during the film adaptation, but, for example, with the literary translation [Abdullaev2017; 2018]. This requires careful analysis and study of the entire fabric of the artistic text of the poem.

If in the poem "Kutadgu bilik" several views and worldviews collide among themselves, then in the folklore text "Nur Dastani" a complete picture of the world based on the concepts of the Turkic-Muslim linguistic culture is stated. The conceptual sphere unfolding in the text harmonizes with the attitudes of the Sunnah and the Shari'a. Thus, the work contains the main lines of the characteristics of the national mentality of the Uyghur ethnos [Abdullaeva 2015].

The poem of Yusuf Balasaguni "Kutadgu bilik" is the first encyclopedic work not in the official literary language, which was the Arabic language at that time, but in the native language of the Turks. This fact, in our opinion, is in itself very significant, which indicates the patriotism and love of the author to his native Turkic language. At the same time, he was led by political motives, the desire to teach the Central Asian Karakhanid dynasty, which had not yet become detached from the nomadic environment, to govern the country with highly developed sedentary areas and

regions (Maverannakhr, East Turkestan). In order for his edification to be understood by the Karakhanid nomads, it was necessary to write in Turkic. But "Kutadgu bilik" is not only a political treatise, it is the sum of knowledge on various fields of science and culture of its era. It compiles and summarizes material with a philosophical understanding of the life positions of the author himself, in particular, considers the ideological problems of the meaning of life, the purpose of man, his places and roles in the social and natural universe. The work of Balasaguni represents an extensive system, in which both the problems of a general philosophical nature and of life-practical, ethnic and aesthetic plan are put forward. The desire for encyclopedic, versatility, coverage of general philosophical problems was inherent in the very nature of philosophizing in the cultural region to which Yusuf belonged. Yusuf's worldview has threefold roots - philosophical, shamanistic, Islamic. Yusuf fits into the overall process of the Renaissance and in the East, in particular, in his work the imprints of the philosophy of Eastern peripateticism are quite clear. This is a powerful cultural and philosophical tradition, going from Aristotle and continued by al-Farabi and Ibn-Cina.

Tradition's influence on the author of "Kutadgu bilig" was first noted by the German orientalist O. Alberts. The ideological paradigm of the Eastern Middle Ages is not limited only by the mental activity of professional philosophers. It is also represented by the intermediate "non-professional" "philosophical works of such poets as Rudaki, Firdousi, Yusuf Balasaguni, Omar Khayyam, Nizami, Navoi, Nasimi. But the way of the existence of poetry of this time has characteristic features and traits: on the one hand, in the works of poets, pronounced rationalism of artistic thinking prevails, on the other, rationalism dressed in the symbolic veils of Sufism. The complication of poetic forms, images, techniques did not change the main content of poetry, aimed at the realities of life, the search for the realization of humanistic principles of truth, goodness, happiness.

In essence, medieval poetry was engaged in the development of the most universal philosophical, moral, and social problems that philosophy did. Many poetic works can be attributed to the work of a philosophical genre and, therefore, they can and should be included in the process of historical and philosophical development. Literature and poetry, along with philosophy, performed certain ideological and axiological functions. The expression of philosophy through poetry was an ancient and most enduring tradition of ideological development. The greatest poets of the medieval East can be safely attributed to the representatives of philosophical thought, and not to consider them as pure writers. The second layer defining Yusuf Balasaguni's worldview is heterogeneous pre-Islamic beliefs – Zoroastrianism, Manichaeiism, Buddhism, Christianity, common among nomadic and sedentary peoples before the penetration of Islam. Among these beliefs, pagan, shamanistic notions are the most powerful sources that make their way in the context of "Kutadgu bilig". Shamanist, actually Turkic origins of Yusuf Balasaguni's creativity allow revealing the ancient pre-Islamic Zoroastrian or Tengrian, named after the main

deity, the ideological stratum of beliefs, which, despite the Islamic, royal, Soviet persecution is still alive in the language and consciousness of the Turks.

Many researchers consider the "Muslim element" dominant in the philosophical foundations of the poem: Poem "Gracious Knowledge" by Yusuf Balasagunsky is the first, oldest and so far the only work in one of the Turkic languages based on the Muslim ideology and propagandizing this ideology. But Yusuf is not just an ideologue, politician, he is an artist of words. Therefore, philosophy, paganism, Islam could not affect the context of "Kutadgu bilig", besides poetic traditions, among which were mainly the Turkic poetic tradition (oral and written) and Tadjko Persian (specifically Rudaki and Ferdowsi). Holistic, including the philosophical reading of Balasaguni's poetry, in turn, will facilitate deciphering, penetrating the complex inner world of the medieval poet-thinker, revealing his deep layers, meets the interest and attention of the general public. The inclusion of "Kutadgu bilik" in the field of historical and cultural analysis will contribute to the further development of the history of social thought, artistic traditions of the Turkic peoples in the medieval period of development. The significance and relevance of the introduction of Yusuf Balasaguni's "Kutadgu bilig" into circulation clearly stands out in terms of a comprehensive study of the multidimensional process of the development of culture. The scientific use, study, interpretation of the work of Balasaguni in the historical and philosophical context complements our understanding of the mental content, intellectual life and connection of the peoples of the East during the Middle Ages.

Суть истинной жизни – благие деянья,
А доброе делать – всей жизни призванье.
У добрых исполнены жизни сердца,
А злой и при жизни – мертвей мертвеца!
(Ю. Баласагуни)

Some scholars suggest that Yusuf also wrote essays "A Book on Politics" and "A Book on Encyclopedia". Unfortunately, these works of the thinker disappeared without a trace. Yusuf died at the age of 68. He was buried in the south of the city of Kashgar in the area Paypap.

The poem of Yusuf "Kutadgu Bilig" is a significant phenomenon in world culture. It is one of the outstanding literary monuments in the cultural heritage of the Turkic peoples. This encyclopedic work of the thinker is not only a didactic poem, but also a work that studies a wide range of problems in the natural sciences and the humanities. Y. Balasaguni was a poet, scientist, thinker and public figure. In Kutadgu Bilig, general philosophical, social, legal, political, ethical and aesthetic problems are developed. Reds of speech are words, and thoughts are speeches, People are red in the face, and faces are eyes! In the worldview of an outstanding thinker, his pantheistic world view is clearly manifested. In the poem "Kutadgu bilig" he comes from the fact that God is the primary cause of the universe. The poet believed: "Allah" created all the earthly things with his command, "he made the spinning sky".

Like other peripatetics of Central Asia (Farabi, Beruni, Ibn Sina), Yusuf puts forward the concept that, having arisen by the will of Allah, the world exists independently and develops according to its own laws. Speaking about the model of the world and its harmonic development, he expressed a number of interesting ideas. In the field of epistemology, the thinker put forward fruitful ideas about the origin and essence of consciousness, about the role of reason and knowledge in people's lives. Like the representatives of eastern peripateticism, he acts as a rationalist. Yusuf sees the mind as a creative force and a tool for knowledge of objects of the material world. According to the concept of Yusuf, the mind illuminates a person with the light of knowledge. At the same time, the poet does not deny the role of sensory perception in the knowledge of truth. It is important to emphasize that the thinker correctly raises the question of the role of reason in human intellectual activity. Yusuf pays special attention to his contemporaries on the fact that knowledge is impossible without knowledge: in order to gain a deeper understanding of the world, it is necessary to systematically replenish one's education and knowledge. Balasaguni emphasizes: man differs from animals in such qualities as intelligence and knowledge. Wisdom, teaching and knowledge are the basis of respect and values of people. Knowledge is wealth, without knowledge, both man's speech and his mind are barren.

The Thinker deeply believed in the possibility of improving public life and government, based on education and science. These ideas of Yusuf are consonant with the views of Farabi, Ibn Sina and Ferdowsi. The thinker calls upon all members of society for friendliness and respect for farmers, herders and artisans, as they feed and clothe people. As a humanist, Yusuf condemns the despotism of the khans and beks, who cruelly exploit the masses, violate their dignity and rights, and rob them. He calls upon those in possession to be magnanimous towards the poor, "give them away," water and feed them. Yusuf sees that social inequality and contradictions between the haves and have-nots dominate in modern society. And trying to reconcile and explain them from the standpoint of spiritual knowledge and wisdom. He believes that the only way to establish harmonic relations between social groups and classes, the establishment of social justice is the development of a humane law of government. According to the poet, the ruler should be fair in compliance with the laws, in dealing with issues of managing society, he cannot divide people into beks and slaves in his actions, but must treat them equally, as the hero of the poem ruler of Küntogdy is a symbol of justice. Only when the head of state acts fairly, on the basis of the law, says Yusuf, does the ideal state arise. The thinker believes that the just lord must be enlightened, wise, he must have reason, knowledge and reason. He called on the rulers to govern the state, relying on the success of science, education, etc.

In the work of Yusuf, special attention is paid to the problems of morality, ethical ideas run through the entire poem as a red thread. The poet reveals the content of such ethical categories as justice, good and evil, shows their interrelation, puts forward the concept: justice should be the basis and content of good. To be a

just ruler, he believes, is to do good deeds. The thinker shows the role and importance of scientific concepts in the moral improvement of man. He defends the position: "Knowledge is morality". Yusuf believed that knowledge and reason help a person to be virtuous and fair, that people, having mastered scientific knowledge, can improve themselves spiritually and morally. His aphorisms are instructive, for example, "All is well in science, greatness in knowledge". The Thinker was interested in the problems of the meaning of life and the immortality of man. He believed that each person should fulfill his duty to society, leave behind him his good name. Everything in the world will be forgotten, Yusuf writes, only "good deeds" and "wise speech" do not know death and corruption. The poet also reflects on the problems of moral education of people and its social role. The thinker focuses on the education of young people, the preparation of people devoted to the state, serving the interests of the people: And you should not want to benefit yourself, but to the people, to please you yourself. Yusuf pays attention to the problems of family education of the individual. This is not by chance, because in the family, children are laid the foundations of intelligence, moral and physical health. He believes that parents should be demanding, strict about children, they must be an example, worthy of imitation. The poet notes that the bad manners of children are unhappiness, both for themselves and for their parents:

А ежели сын твой не в строгости рос,
Оставь все надежды, какой с него спрос?
Детей баловал -- вред себе же нанес:
есь век горевал, настрадался до слез.
("Nur dastani")

Y. Balasaguni investigated universal, moral principles that have not lost their value today. Based on these principles, we must educate the modern young generation. The legacy of the thinker had a great influence on the further development of the culture of the Turkic peoples. With his creative genius, Yusuf proved that Turkic-speaking peoples can contribute to the development of global culture.

Of course, in terms of the scale and depth of the tasks assigned, Nur Dastani is inferior to Kutadgu bilik. But the fact of continuity between these texts is important for us. We consider the emphasis on the preservation of ethnocultural memory to be a significant line in such continuity. The Uigurs traditionally considered the formation of light. This light is the basis of progress. It reveals the essence and meaning of life (Turmush Mahiiti). In Nur Dastani, this is life itself and its spiritual component:

Nur-biliming keneyse,
Evladliringgha otse,
Nurning ustige nur bolup,
Turmush mahiyitini achsa!
("Nur dastani")

Thus, we tried to compare two Turkic texts. One of them is well studied in the special literature [Asker 2016]. Another text "Nur Dastani" is less studied. The purpose of our research work is to analyze the comparative plan of a folklore poem that appeared in the "outback". Such works, as a rule, remain outside the field of view of researchers. In our opinion, one of the main aspects of the study of artistic works is immersion into the artistic picture of the world, which is contained in the work. The poem "Nur Dastani", as we have said, is practically an unexplored work. Addressing it, we set ourselves tasks such as how to identify the main themes of a dastan, to comprehend the features of reflection and interpretation of events of objective reality. The main focus is on the ethnocultural originality of the content of the work, leaving behind the brackets the features of the language, composition, pathos and other characteristics of the poem.

"Nur Dastani" appeared in the Issyk-Kul region at the turn of the XX and XXI centuries. The content of the poem reflects migration processes as fateful events in the life of a whole ethnos [Abdullaeva 2016]. The next direction of the artistic thought of dastan is ethno-confessional continuity between generations, the transformation of national customs and traditions.

Consequently, both works are written under the influence of the Islamic artistic tradition. Nur Dastani emphasizes the importance of ethnocultural memory. The idea cultivates the idea of a family line (7 fathers). "Kutadgu bilig" at the state level addresses the issues of social management. In both texts, the use of the verb form in –ar as a predicate is the same. When comparing there is reason to talk about the continuity of literary traditions.

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Influence of the Great Silk Road on the Culture and Language of the Kyrgyz

Nazgul Abdyrakmatova

1   Introduction

The unity of the material world, the general laws of its knowledge and common stages of the history of individual nations – these are the factors that determine the formation, in any language, of the universal core of the world picture, which serves as a basis for mutual understanding of the people of the Earth. "A set of knowledge on the same subject from different linguistic cultures can to be unequal. It mainly depends on life experience and occupation, determined by the presence and nature of education" (Ibragimov 2004: 5).

At the same time, every nation develops in its own way, has its own history, its life proceeds in certain natural and climatic conditions, people differ in their way of life and beliefs, customs and traditions. All this is reflected in their languages, giving them national-specific characteristics. Each nation develops its own image of a single world, its own picture of the world, "each people has unique associations of figurative thinking, due to the special semantic content of each word – cultural meanings. They are fixed in the language system and constitute its national specificity" (Aytbaev 2002: 91). As A. Aytbayev notes, "national relations as part of world life, imposing their imprint on ideas, views, feelings and experiences, give them a unique flavor, allow to capture in the spiritual development of society everything that is specifically unique, which is connected with the life and activity of the nation, people. Thus, national self-consciousness is inseparable from social consciousness, bears in it its features, enriches it with features that are associated with the history of

a particular nation, its traditions, feelings, experiences, etc." (Aytbaev 2002: 47). National identity as a set of ideas, attitudes, beliefs of nations and peoples at a certain stage of social development, is an indicator of their spiritual development and ability, the main component of national life, the main means of familiarizing nations to universal values." As the authors further point out, "…national self-consciousness is a very multidimensional phenomenon of the life and relationships of peoples. This is a social memory (it is a social, and not only national, because this latter captures only the phenomena and processes of national life and interrelations of nations) about the past of the nation, and the idea of its diverse life today, and awareness of the immediate prospects for national development". National self-consciousness also includes an understanding of the place, the role of their national community in the development of mankind in general.

The Great Silk Road had a significant impact on the history, culture and language of the Kyrgyz. "The Great Silk Road (GSR, also Silk Road) is a phenomenon that unites the diversity of different regions of the Old World by a universal system of exchange of accumulated values, created, developed and supported by people of different ethnic, linguistic, religious affiliation for 18 centuries. Practically, the whole cultural oikumen found itself in the orbit of the influence of the GSR. Every nation, all countries involved in this system of international trade and contacts at various levels have made their own contribution to the development of relations and the exchange of material and spiritual values" (Amanbaeva 2017: 3). Repeatedly, we return to our origins. Moreover, we are looking for answers to the eternal questions: Who are we? Where are we from? People should know their history. As the Russian scientist M.V. Lomonosov wrote: "People who do not know their past have no future." In the modern world, when many nations of the world strive to study the "roots" of their history and determine their involvement in world culture, it is the phenomenon of the GSR that becomes one of the most relevant and developed topics.

2 Kyrgyz in Antiquity

Since ancient times, the Kyrgyz are considered a nation that has come a long historical way. "Kyrgyz are among the most ancient peoples of Central Asia. Of the peoples living in Central Asia at the present time, there seems to be no one whose name would have appeared so early in history", wrote Academician Barthold V. (Bartold 1927: 5). On the pages of history, they are also written as one of the oldest peoples of Southern Siberia, Central Asia. Ancient Chinese manuscripts evidence this. The Kyrgyz people left a rich cultural heritage. In peacetime, they had trade and cultural relations with other nations and tribes. In the manuscripts of the Tang Dynasty, it tells how the ancient Kyrgyz sent traders, ambassadors to China to strengthen cultural and trade ties. The fact that they had cultural trade relations with the countries of the East and the West, Tibet, Byzantium, Iran, Arab countries is

confirmed not only by historical manuscripts, but also by the Kyrgyz language, religion, traditions, epics, and craft.

Two tables, two large cauldrons, two objects similar to altars with cast figures around the edges, a lamp, a sculpture of a bull, etc. were found in the Semenov Gorge. All these objects are made of red copper. These items are examples of high artistic skill known throughout the world, as they are stored in the halls of the Hermitage in St. Petersburg.

2.1 Culture of the Ancient Kyrgyz

The Kyrgyz culture is formed mainly on the common cultural heritage of the nomadic peoples of Central Asia and Western Siberia. The golden age of culture of the ancient Kyrgyz developed in the VII–IX centuries. The Kyrgyz built relations with the Tang dynasty, the Saka, the Huns, Dulces, Jujans, Tibetans, Turgeshes, Turks, Uighurs, and other nomadic and sedentary peoples. They also had information about the culture of the countries through which the GSR passed, about Iran, Afghanistan, India, Syria, Byzantium, about the Arab and Western countries. We find the ancient history and culture of our nation in oral tales, myths, legends, legends, in ancient Chinese, Arab, Tibetan, Mongolian manuscripts, in rock paintings and runic inscriptions.

In the Bronze Age, representatives of two cultures lived in the territory of Kyrgyzstan. In the Chui and Talas valleys, in Issyk-Kul and in the Central Ala-Too, the culture of the shepherd's agricultural tribes, closely connected with the tribes of the Kazakhstan steppes and Southern Siberia, was established. It is conventionally called the "Andronovo culture" (named after the village of Andronovo near Achinsk). In the Fergana Valley, they were engaged in farming, it was conventionally called the "Chust culture". (One of these settlements of farmers was discovered near the town of Chust, in Namangan region). The Andronovo tribes remaining in the steppes of Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan were called Scythians and Saki; they were the ancestors of nomadic peoples. In the northern region of Kyrgyzstan, various monuments of tribes of farmers and pastoralists were discovered: settlements, burial grounds, rock paintings and archaeological findings.

In the Chuy valley, ancient settlements dating back to the Bronze Age were found: Alamedin, Ak-Suu (Aleksandrovka), Zhayylma, Kaiynda, and others. About thirty similar sickles were found near the village of Aleksandrovka and five swords were found near Karakol city. These items were made for exchange purpose but not for personal use; it was a question of trade and craft. Of the rock paintings carved out in the Bronze Age, the so-called "rock gallery", Saimaly-Tash is considered as the largest one in the Naryn region. Some cave paintings are found near Cholpon-Ata, in Ketmen-Tyube and in Talas. In the Chinese chronicle, the state called "Usun go" which meant Usun's state formed in Central Ala-Too. In 160 BC, Usuns defeated Sakas and Yuezhi, they moved to the territory of Central Ala-Too and Semirechye. During the formation of the Usuni state, trade relations on the GSR between China

and the Mediterranean countries develop. Besides the exchange of goods, the exchange of cultural property took place. Cattle breeding played a decisive role in the life of the Usuns; horses were considered as the main wealth.

Kyrgyz did not lag behind developed civilizations. They sent their merchants to China many times. Foreign traders bought Kyrgyz goods. "Of the all goods exported from the country by the Kirgiz, musk was apparently the most appreciated in Muslim countries" (Askarov u. a. 1990, 46). The main route of the Great Silk Road that crossed Central Asia passed through Kyrgyzstan.
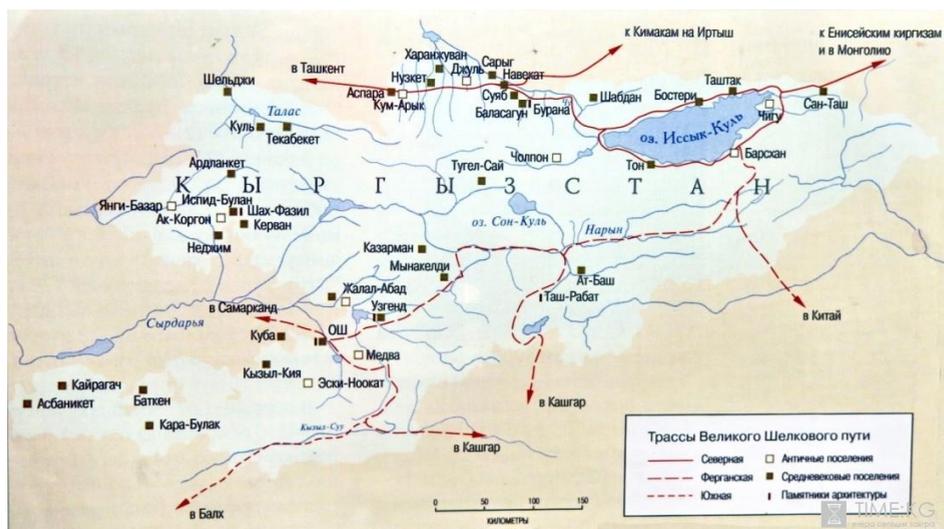
Picture 1: Routes of the Great Silk Road.[1]

The population of the Kyrgyz state was engaged in integrated farming: farming, cattle breeding, mining, fishing, and hunting. Among the Kyrgyz were experts in the extraction of minerals, iron, copper, gold, silver, tin, and tungsten. Regardless of foreign trade, they had their own metal production, perhaps inherited from the peoples of the former bronze culture that once lived on the Yenisei, which still cannot be matched to a specific ethnographic type or to a certain chronological period. The Kyrgyz, apparently, had long known iron.

The Chinese sources of the Tang period describe the Yenisei Kyrgyz as tall, with red hair and white face, with green and blue eyes Euroepoids. They lived in numerous patriarchal families. Polygamy was common. For the bride paid kalym (ransom). Sometimes they paid kalym in large quantities, up to a thousand heads of cattle. The clothes of rich people were sewn from fabrics brought from other

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[1] Source: http://www.time.kg/vremyakg/7767-sokrovischa-nacii-pamyatniki-kyrgyzstana-na-velikom-shelkovom-puti.html (last retrieved 27.1.2021).

countries and the furs of valuable animals. The nobility was distinguished by white kalpaks with pointed edges.

2.2 The Most Ancient Art of the Saks of Kyrgyzstan

One of the most ancient arts of the Saks of Kyrgyzstan is considered animal images or the so-called "animal style". The main theme in the art of Sakas is the image of animals and mythological monsters in motion. The jewelry, weapons, clothing, horse harness, bronze cauldrons and altars were decorated with these images. The plot of the "animal style" was preserved from ancient time's myths about the origin of people from various animals. This is a kind of special sign system for the expression of nomadic ideology. Some archaeological findings were discovered near the village of Barskoon. They consisted of two massive round badges. They were cast in the same form. The plaques served for the cross-attachment of the straps of the horse harness. The treasure is invaluable for the history of art of Kyrgyzstan. Each plaque is a highly artistic image of a panther, coiled into a ring. This is the most ancient story (VIII.–VII. centuries, BCE) in the art of the ancient nomads stored in the Republican Historical Museum. Many bronze objects were found at the bottom of the lake in the ruins of the city of Chigu. One of them shows a grinded panther with the heads of three saigaks.

Two tables, two large cauldrons, two objects similar to altars with cast figures around the edges, a lamp, a sculpture of a bull, etc. were found in the Semenov Gorge. All these objects are made of red copper. These items are examples of high artistic skill known throughout the world, as they are stored in the halls of the Hermitage in St. Petersburg.

3 The Emerging of the First Cities in Kyrgyzstan

In Kyrgyzstan, cities appeared along the GSR. Most of them were founded by Sogdians, partly by the ancestors of Usuns and Saks, and later by sedentary Turks. In the Middle Ages, in the southern regions of Kyrgyzstan, two cities were known far beyond the borders of Fergana: Osh and Uzgen. Starting from the 6th century, cities and villages appeared in the northern regions of Kyrgyzstan. In the X.–XI. centuries with the advent of cities founded by the Turks themselves, and as a rule, named after the Turkic tribes: for example, Karluk, Yagma, Sarygda and in the X.–XI. centuries in the Talas and Chui valley, and in Issyk-Kul hollow lands suitable for agriculture developed. A sedentary agricultural culture reached the mountainous regions of Central Ala-Too; the city of At-Bashy (Koshoi-Korgon mound) was built. Highly artistic silver items were made in these cities. Such things are stored in the halls of the Hermitage. A jewelry workshop that kept about 10 kilograms of silver was found in Balasagun. Tinkers from Osh and Uzgen were especially favored. They made jugs,

cups, lamps, basins with ornate embossed patterns. In the city of Uzgen, a treasure with more than a hundred copper products were found.

In the Middle Ages, entire quarters of potters with huge ovens for roasting dishes were dug. Near the Sokouluk village, an oven filled with pottery was found. At the same time, glass blowing, stone cutting, carpenters, tanners, weavers and other crafts men worked in the cities.

Gilded bronze and silver statues of Buddha (made in India), swords brought from Syria, beads from Iran, Arabia, India and Egypt, amber from the Baltic coast, jade from China, copper mirrors, etc. were found in the cities of early medieval Kyrgyzstan.

The emergence of the culture of nomads and peasants in the early Middle Ages is considered as a characteristic feature of the development of culture of Kyrgyzstan. The outstanding cultural works of the Turks, Saks and Usuns are considered as the basis of the nomadic culture. In the VI–VII centuries, the settled culture of the Sogdians spread here. Since this period, as a result of the merging of cultures mutual enrichment has emerged.

Picture 2: Products of Kyrgyz potters of the times of the Great Silk Road.[2]

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[2] Source: http://www.time.kg/vremyakg/7767-sokrovischa-nacii-pamyatniki-kyrgyzstana-na-velikom -shelkovom-puti.html (last retrieved 27.1.2021).

4   The Emergence of Writing

In the 6th century, the Turkic nobility used Sogdian script. In the 7th century, the ancient Turkic writing is compiled on its basis. It consisted of 37 characters and was adapted for writing not only on paper, but also on stone, metal, and wood. This writing was used by the ancient Türks, Kyrgyz, Uygurs, Turgeshes, Karluks. In Kyrgyzstan, the monuments of ancient writing were found near the city of Talas, Issyk-Kul (Koy-Sary) and Alai. X.–XI. centuries. With the adoption of Islam by the Karakhanids, the Sogdian and Ancient Turkic writing was supplanted by Arabic. Monuments of Arabic written language found in all regions of Kyrgyzstan. In most of them, there are excerpts from the Koran. The first Turkic poems and scientific works were written in Arabic graphics.

5   Religion of Ancient Kyrgyzstan

In the ancient Turkic states, there was no official state religion until the X. century. The ancient Turks of the pre-Muslim period worshiped the forces of nature and idols. The ancient Turks worshiped the batyr Tengri, which reflected the blue sky. On Earth, his wife Umay ruled – the patroness of the home and children. The image of Umai is also closely connected with the cult of fire, since the ancient Turks believed in the miraculous cleansing power of fire and called it "ot ana" – "mother fire". Ancient Turks, Kyrgyz, Uighurs worshiped the sun, moon, earth and water. They made sacrifices to them. Especially they worshiped the mountains. The defender of the country, the holy mountains were located near the capital of the Western Turkic Kaganate Suyab. The Iranians who came from Soghda professed the ancient religion of Zoroastrianism. Zoroastrians considered fire, air, water, and land holy, and the human body was considered as dirty and sinful. They gave the body of the deceased to beasts and birds to be torn apart, and the bones were collected and piled up in a ceramic or earthen box or urn (ossuary). Such cemeteries were found in Suyab, Nevaket and other Sogdian settlements. Sogdians and Turks VII.–IX. centuries professed other religions either.

In the VII.–IX. centuries Sogdians and Turks were adherents of other religious systems: some of them professed Buddhism, which penetrated from India, the other part - Nestorian Christianity, which spread from Syria. "Butparas (Buddhists) from South Asia appeared among the peoples of Central Asia much earlier than among the Han Chinese. There were early medieval Buddhist temples even in the Chui valley. With Buddhism the Sanskrit written culture of South Asia came to Tengir-Too" (Chorotegin, 2017: 4). In the VIII. century along with the Arab conquerors, Islam entered the southern districts of Kyrgyzstan. Turks and Sogdians of the northern regions of Kyrgyzstan have long fight against Islam, considering the

new ideology to be a hostile religion of the conquerors. Only in the 10th century the Turkic feudal lords understand the advantage of Islam in the unity of the people. The Karakhanid Kagans themselves converted to Islam, then declared it the state religion. The magnificent Muslim buildings began to be built in the cities of Kyrgyzstan. Some of them have survived to this day: the minaret in Balasagun (Burana tower), the tombs of the Karakhanid nobility in Uzgen and Safid Bulan (Alabuka district of the Jalal-Abad region).

6   Early Medieval Culture of Kyrgyzstan

In the X.–XII. centuries Kyrgyzstan was a source of Muslim culture and science. It was possible to gain in-depth knowledge of mathematics, astronomy, medicine, and literature in Balasagun, Uzgen, Osh and Kashgar. A special place here was given to the Turks. In the XI. century the prominent Turkic expert Mahmud al-Kashgari from the Karakhanid, Kagan family lived and worked here. Mahmud's father was the emir of Barskhan. In 1072–1074, Mahmud Kashgari wrote his famous book "Divan lugat at-Turk" ("Dictionary of Turkic dialects"). It contains information about the peoples of medieval Kyrgyzstan. The scientist attached a round world map to his work. In the map compiled according to the traditions of classical Arabic geography, the Turkic world of the cities Balasagun, Kashgar, Isfizhab and Issyk-Kul Lake were pointed as the center of the earth. In the XI. century, the cultural rise of the Turkic peoples was marked by the appearance of the first poem in the Turkic language. The poem was written in 1069, by Zhusup, a native of Balasagun. He called the poem "Kutadgu bilig" ("Gracious knowledge") and presented it as a gift to the Karakhanid kagan Bogra-khan, who awarded him the highest court rite "khas hajib". The poet was one of the first to introduce the Turkic language in literature along with the Arabic and Persian languages. In the X.–XI. centuries the early medieval culture of Kyrgyzstan reached its peak. Cities, crafts, trade, agriculture flourished here. Scientists, poets who belonged to all Turkic peoples were born and worked here. From Baikal to the Bosporus, the huge Turkic world today is agreed with the fact that the first Turkic cities arose in Kyrgyzstan, the first Turkic money (coins) were issued, the first poem was written in a sound Turkic language.

The Silk Road had a great influence on the formation of the political, economic, and cultural structure of the countries through which it passed. Along all its routes, large and small trading cities and settlements arose, and Central Asia was especially spotted with caravan routes. Dozens of trade routes crossed this region. Most important ethnic processes, active interaction of cultures and large-scale trade operations were carried out here, diplomatic agreements and military alliances were concluded. The peoples of this region have a prominent role in the distribution of letter and world religions, and contributed to many cultural and technical achievements.

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A Study on Qing Dynasty Kazakh Documents in Chagatai Language, Collected in Beijing[1]

Erkin Awghaly

1   Abstract

China's first historical archives have a batch of Kazakh documents belonging to the Kazakh Khanate during the Qing Dynasty. These documents both are letters, which represent the relationship between the Qing Dynasty and the Kazakh Khanate. Studying these documents is of great significance for understanding the history, society and foreign relations of the Kazakh Khanate. Especially, these documents provide us a lot of material to study modern Kazakh language and its language history. This paper introduces three documents. At the same time, this paper translated into Chinese, transcribed and annotated the three documents, in order to make them easier to understand and get more attention in academia.

Regarding the research on Kazakh documents in the first historical archives of China, which I address in part two, a series of Kazakh documents of the Kazakh Khanate during the Qing Dynasty have been discovered in China's first historical archives since 2005. Studying these documents is of great significance to the history and society of the Kazakh Khanate and its foreign relations. Especially, it provides us with abundant material to the study of the Modern Kazakh language and its language history. This paper introduces these documents, summarizes and analyzes their main language features, and compares them with Modern Kazakh to conclude their main features.

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2   清廷与哈萨克的交往

自康熙三十七年至乾隆十九年长达五十余年里，清廷虽获得越来越多有关哈萨克的消息，并有过一次接触，清使者却从未到达哈萨克，哈萨克使者也未来过清朝，即双方并未达成通使。在乾隆出征准噶尔部过程中，清朝对于哈萨克游牧汗国的实力有了初步了解，并开始互派使者，正式来往。左部哈萨克首领阿布赉是最早与清朝通使的首领。[2]紧接着哈萨克右部遣使，至此，哈萨克左右二部均与清朝建立正式交往关系。

1750 年，中玉兹可汗巴拉克去世，阿布赉苏丹承担了团结统一中玉兹的历史重任。这位历经沙场、足智多勇的哈萨克近代史上最著名的可汗显示了他在内外交困、错综复杂的局势面前驾驭内政外交的才能，也打开了中哈关系交往的历史。[3]中哈建立关系的目的首先是为了对付第三者—准噶尔蒙古。1755 年，清军兵分两路向伊犁进发，以着手实施平定准噶尔方略，阿布赉同时出兵，从西面进攻达瓦齐，由此平定了准噶尔蒙古。乾隆皇帝接受阿布赉和清之后，颁发了加封阿布赉的诏谕并赏赐厚礼。此后，哈萨克大玉兹和小玉兹也相继表示与清室建交，并先后遣使前往北京。

由于乾隆帝与哈萨克汗国诸部首领的重视，引发双方首次通使。清廷对哈萨克初期政策，从属于平准大局。哈萨克左、右、西部与清交往，则在于谋求生存与发展。清朝以平准为首务，而哈萨克游牧社会经历长期分裂战乱，迫切需要休养生息。双方通使往来即发生于此背景下。清廷得知哈萨克交往意愿、贸易需求，哈萨克亦知晓清廷平准、定边政策，为双方后续交往奠定基石。乾隆二十年七月二十五日，左部哈萨克使者阿穆尔巴图鲁，在清朝使者丹津央金带领下，到达清朝伊犁军营，带来了阿布赉口信，表达了希望交好，并由阿穆尔巴图鲁代其前往京城入觐的意愿。清朝使者特古斯穆彰阿于乾隆二十年八月见到右部哈萨克首领，于八月十二日前带领使者铁木尔真回到伊犁班第处。右部哈萨克在书信中表达出希望。五年后遥远的西部哈萨克遣使入觐，由此使哈萨克三部与清朝建立了维持近一个世纪的友好关系。乾隆帝对哈萨克的态度，直接决定了清廷政策走向.[4]北京中国第一历史档案馆所藏哈萨克文书及所载信息，正好能够弥补官修

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[2] 清代官方称哈萨克三部为"左、右、西"部，分别对应于准噶尔西北、西南和以上两部以西地方的哈萨克三大部落。哈萨克和俄罗斯文献称此三部为中玉兹、大玉兹和小玉兹，清朝在交往初期曾将右部哈萨克称为西哈萨克，后逐渐固定为：左部= 中玉兹，右部= 大玉兹，西部= 小玉兹。左部当时由苏丹阿布赉统领，右部名义上由阿布勒班毕特汗，实际上由头目图里拜等统领，西部由阿布勒海尔汗家族统领。清朝与哈萨克通使交往，始于乾隆二十年(1755)。侍卫顺德讷出使哈萨克归来，被学界公认为是双方第一次正式会面。

[3] 据《清实录》记载，乾隆二十二年九月（1757 年 10 月）至道光三年十二月（1824 年 1 月）的 67 年间，其使臣单独或共同至京或至热河行宫觐见者，就有 41 次之多。可以说，平准后，清政府与哈萨克之间进入了一个接触较为频繁和友好的阶段.

[4] 郭文忠：清朝与哈萨克汗国首次通使若干问题再探讨，《清史研究》2016 年第 1 期，28-38 页.

汉文史籍失缺部分，为厘清史实提供了可靠依据。这些材料时间脉络清楚，记录事实准确，是我们研究近代哈萨克语言、历史和文化的重要文献材料。

3 中国第一历史档案馆藏哈萨克文书简介

笔者于 2005 年 6 月接触到藏于中国第一历史档案馆的两件阿拉伯文文书。经认读，笔者确定该文书为哈萨克—察哈台语文，并做了初步的研究报告。清代汉文文献中有大量记载中国西部边疆地区中哈关系的史料，但可映证的民族文字文献罕见。因此，这些文书的研究，对于中哈关系史的研究和哈萨克族历史的研究具有重要意义。2006 年、2009 年笔者先后刊布了这两个文书，受到中哈学者广泛关注。期间，我让在日本攻读中亚史博士学位的学生 Düysenäli Abdilašim 把研究中国第一历史档案馆这一批文书作为其学位论文的选题并开始搜集所藏文书。从 Düysenäli 博士搜集、整理的中国第一历史档案馆所藏清代哈萨克文书看，这些文书均为哈萨克可汗、苏勒坦、王公贵族们给清朝皇帝、边境地方钦差大臣们的各种信函，亦即奏书。这些档案主要是前线将领、伊犁将军、塔尔巴哈台参赞大臣等官员的奏折及随折进呈这些奏书附件。按照清史对哈萨克的划分，文书可区分为左帐、右帐和西帐文书三大类。其中左帐信函共计 25 件，右帐信函共计 109 件，西帐信函共计 17 件，目前共收集到 151 件。这些信函中，最早写成的信函为由 Abïlay han 和 Abilpeyiz sultan 共同署名呈清皇帝的信，写于 1757 年 10 月 17 日。[5]最晚的为右帐 Abilpeyiz sultan 的后人 Altïnsarï 写于 1828 年清皇帝的信函。哈萨克在通使前对清朝的了解，主要通过准噶尔获得。与精通蒙古语的乾隆帝类似，阿布赉本人掌握卫拉特蒙古语，[6]对蒙古语言的熟悉，使清哈双方往来拥有通用语言。哈萨克在归附后仍使用托忒文字向清朝行文，更说明准噶尔因素在双方沟通中的重要作用。151 件文书中早期的信函使用托忒蒙古文书写，计左帐 7 件，右帐 9 件，西帐 1 件，共计 17 件。时间自 1757 至 1780 年前后，其他文书均以察哈台—阿拉伯文写成.[7]

　　本文以左、右、西三帐察哈台—阿拉伯文书为例，对不同时期、不同地区写成的五件已刊布文书重新进行对勘、转写、翻译，并归纳其主要语言特点，以期学术界关注。

[5] Dona Jin, Onuma Takahiro: A Collection of Documents from the Kazakh Sultans to the Qing Dynasty, Japan, Tokyo, 2010, 11–30 b.

[6] 克拉拉·哈菲佐娃：《十四—十九世纪中国在中央亚细亚的外交》，杨恕，王尚达译，兰州大学出版社，2002, 245 页.

[7] Düysenäli Äbdilǎšim ulï: Junggo birinši tariyhiy muraγatïnda saqtalγan qazaqša qujattar (Research on Kazakh documents in the first historical archives of china), Beijing, Ulttar baspasï, 2016, 35–51 b.

4 清代哈萨克文书
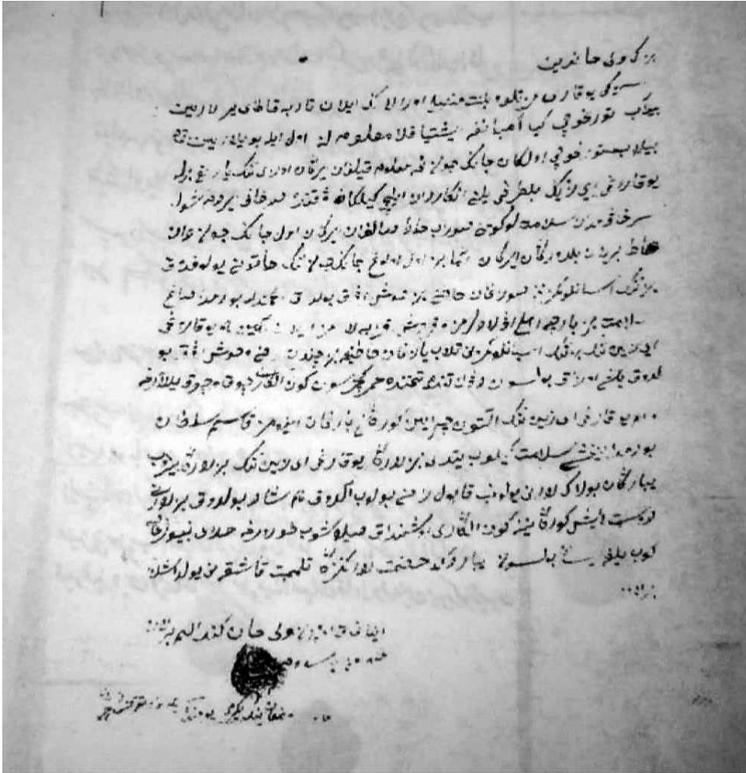
Picture 1: 哈萨克左帐 Wali han 的信。乾隆 (Qianlong) 54 年 10 月(1789 年 11 月 17 日‒12 月 16 日),由伊犁将军保宁转揆清朝皇帝;现藏北京中国第一历史档案馆,microfilm 146:1252–1254;未录入 catalog, 同上书 95 页.

转写:

(1) biz ki walī ḫāndïn (2) siz ki[8] yoqarï ʻizzatlu wa boland manṣablï oralaŋ[9] ilän tarbaqaṭay[10] yerlärin (3) biyläp turɣučï[11] kebä ambanɣa[12] ešitaqla maʻlūmnāma. awwalilä[13] boylarïn tamām (4)biyläp turɣučï ülkän jaŋjunɣa maʻlūm qïlɣan erkän öziniŋ yarlïɣï birlä (5) yoqaruɣï ezünniŋ, bïlṭïrɣï yïlnï aŋardan elči kelgän waqtda ṣïrḫaw[14] erdim, šol (6) ṣïrḫawïmdan salāmatlükümni ṣurap ḫaṭ salɣan erkän, awwal

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[8] ki 源自波斯语的关系词.

[9] oral: 现代哈萨克语有"力量;机会"等意义.

[10] tarbaqaṭay: 现中国新疆西部一山名,同时也为地区名,即塔城.

[11] turɣučï: -ɣučï 表示从事该行为的人形动词附加成分.

[12] kebä amban: 科布办大臣,官号. 意为帮办大臣,帮办大臣是清代蒙古和新疆地区主官的副职. 来自满语 ḫebey amban.

[13] awwalilä: - ilä 多见于南部文献语言的工具格.

[14] ṣïrḫaw: 现代哈萨克语 sïrqaw: 疾病 .

jaŋjundan (7) ḫaṭ birlän bildürgän erkän, ammā biz ol uluq jaŋjunnïŋ ḫaṭunï yoluqduq. (8) bizniŋ esänlükimizni ṣuraɣan ḫaṭnï biz ḫōšawïq bolduq, al- ḥamdu lillāh bu damda sāɣ-(9) salāmatbïz, barča ahlï awladlarïmïz[15] wa qardaš-aqrabā'larïmïz ilän esän ham yoqaruɣï (10) ezenniŋ bizniŋ esänlükimizni tiläp yazɣan ḫaṭïɣa biz čïndan rāẓī wa ḫōšawïq bo-(11)lduq, yašï uzaq bolsun, dawlatïnda, taḫtïnda, 'umr kečirsün, kün ilgärin[16] čoq wa čoq yïllarɣa. (12) wa ham yoqaruɣï ezenniŋ altun čïrayïn körgäli barɣan inümiz qāsïm sulṭān (13) bu damda yaḫšï, salāmat kelüp yetdi bizlärgä, yoqarɣï ezenniŋ bizlärgä berüp (14) yibärgän böläklärni yoluɣïp, qabul rāẓī bolup alduq, ham šād bolduq. bizlärini (15) dōst, eš körgäninä, kün ilgäri ošundaq ṣï(y)lašup ṭururɣa ḫudāy buy(u)rɣay, (16) köp yïlɣa esän bolsun. yibärdük ḫïẓmatlarïŋïzɣa tilämbet qašqanï yoldašlarï (17) birlän. (18) ïnanmaq üčün walī ḫān kandalïm birlän (19) muhrïmnï basdum. (20) seksän toquzïnča yïlïnï (21) mahī ramażānnïŋ yikirmi yumïnda.[17]

汉译文：
尊贵的、至高无上的以威势执掌塔尔巴哈台地区的科毕大臣，吾方瓦里汗向贵方揍呈。

　　原先，至尊皇上下旨统伊犁沿岸（地区）大将军揍明情况。去年他们遣使前来时正逢我患病，后致函问候我治愈情况，又先命将军致函询问。然我们收到大将军的信函，看到问安的信我们很高兴。拖真主的福！至此所有宗室和亲人安康。至尊皇上问安的谕旨使我很是满意和高兴，愿他长命百岁！在其国中任上寿比南山！特前往谨拜至尊皇上金容的我弟—哈斯木·苏勒坦近况亦很好，他已经平安返回。至尊皇上之礼品已收到，十分称心如意，并以视我们为朋友和伙伴而感到由衷地高兴。愿真主保佑我们往后和睦共处，久久平安。特遣使差特勒木别特·哈斯卡及其同伴前往觐见。以示其可信特加我瓦里汗之印。89 年 9 月 20 日（伊斯兰教历），公历 6 月 18 日。

　　阿布莱·本·巴哈图·瓦里·苏勒坦（印）

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[15] äwläd: 子女，后代.

[16] kün ilgärin: 刊布作 küm ilgärni "以后"。

[17] 此信函文书出现阿拉伯—波斯语借词较为丰富，这些借词在现代哈萨克语有的保留，有的已经消失，只见于古代文献。例如保留的有：ma'lūm "已知的"，nāma "信，传"，awwal "首先"，waqt "时间"，salāmat "健康"，ḫaṭ "信"，rāẓī "满意"，ḫōš "高兴"，dawlat "国家"，taḫt "宝座，王位"，'umr "寿命"，šād "高兴"，dōst "朋友"，ḫudāy "真主"，ḫïẓmat "工作"，muhr "印章"，walī "专员"，sulṭān "君主"。不使用或已经消失的有：'izzät "尊贵"，wa "和，与，并"，boland，manṣab "职位"，tamām "全都"，ammā "但是，然而"，al- ḥamdu lillāh，dam "时间"，aqrabā' "亲戚"，ham "并，又"，čoq "多"，böläk "礼品"，mahī ramażān 伊斯兰历九月，yumïnda "日"。其他语言的有汉语 čïn "真"，janjun' "将军"，蒙古语地名 tarbaqaṭay "獭"；满语 kebä amban "科布帮办大臣"，ezen: 王君，皇帝。
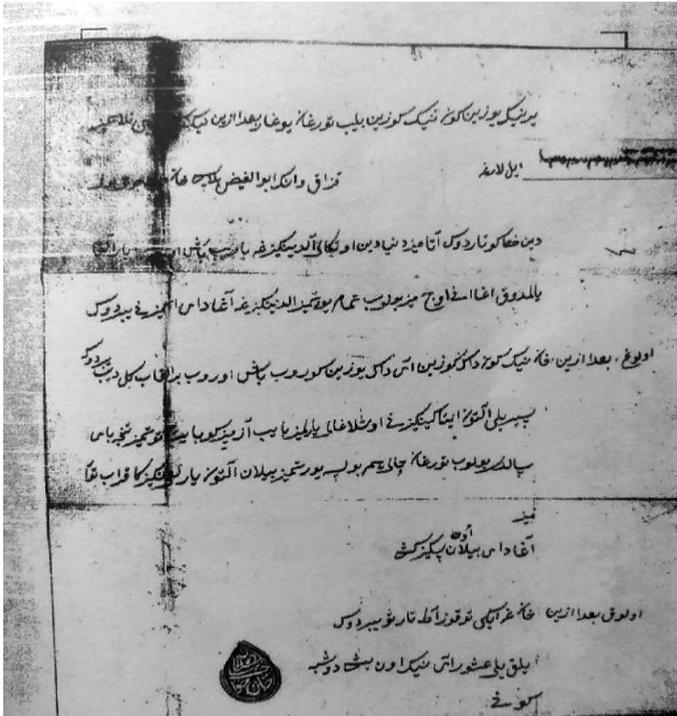
Picture 2: 哈萨克右帐 Hanhoja Wang 给大清皇帝的信。乾隆 (Qianlong) 51 年 10 月 19 日（1786 年 12 月 9 日），由伊犁将军奎林转揍清朝皇帝；现藏北京中国第－历史档案馆，microfilm 138: 1849–1851；catalog IX, 1790 页．见 Düysenäli Äbdiläšim ulï: Junggo birinši tariyhiy muraɣatïnda saqtalɣan qazaqša qujattar (Research on Kazakh documents in the first historical archives of China), Beijing, Ulttar baspasï, 2016, 113–114 b.

转写：

(1) yerniŋ yüzin, künniŋ közin hamesini bilip turɣan yoɣar(i) boɣda ezenniŋ[18] esän-likin tiläymiz[19] (2) köp yïllarɣa. qazaq waŋ abū al-fayiż[20] balasï ḫān ḫwāja, jočĭ, bofi-(3) dïn[21] ḫaṭ kötärdük.[22] atamïz[23] dunyādïn ötkäli aldïŋïzɣa barïp baš urup,[24] baralqa

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[18] yoɣar(i) boɣda ezen：yoɣarï：现代哈萨克语意为"高的"，"上面的"，本句中作"无上的"，"崇高的"解。boɣda ezen：boɣda 源自蒙古语，意为"神圣的"。ezen 应为满语词 ejen，"王君"、"天子"、"主"等意。boɣda ezen 意即"神圣的天主"，指清代文书中常见的"大清皇帝"。yoɣarï boɣda ezen 即"至高无上的博格多额真"或"至高无上的大清国皇帝"。此乃敬语，多用于告示，谕旨等，也可以 uluɣ boɣda ezen ḫān 形式出现.

[19] esen-likin tiläymiz: esen 为古今突厥语"平安"意。tilä-"祈求"，"祝愿"意。esenlikin tiläymiz 意为：我们祝其安康.

[20] abū al-fayiż: 哈萨克大玉兹即右帐苏勒坦，清廷封为"王"爵.

[21] ḫān ḫwāja, jočĭ, bofi: 按序为 abū al-fayiż 王之三子.

[22] ḫaṭ kötärdük: 疑似来自汉语"上呈，揍呈"等的仿译语.

[23] ata: 现代哈萨克语为"爷爷"，古代指"父亲"，这里沿用古代的意思.

[24] baš ur-: 汉语"扣头"敬语的哈萨克语仿译.

(4)y almaduq, aɣa-ini üčimiz bolup tamām yurtïmïz aldïŋïzɣa aɣaday i(n)imizni yi-bärdük. (5) uluɣ boɣda ezen ḫānnïŋ kündäk közin, aydäk yüzin körüp baš urup, baralqap kel dep yibärdük. (6) sïyïr yïlï altun etäkiŋizni[25] ušlaɣalï yarlïmïz bayïp, azïmïz köbäyip, yurtumïz tïnča bay-(7) saldï bolup turɣan, ḫālī ham bolsa yurtïmïz bilän altun yarlïɣïŋïzgä[26] qarap tura- (8) mïz. (9) aɣaday bilän on sekiz kiši, (10) uluɣ boɣda ezen ḫānɣa eki toɣïz aṭ tartuw yibärdük. (11) yïlq(ï) yïlï ʿašür aynïŋ on beši dušanbe (12) küni.[27]

[muhr] ḫān ḫwāja bahādur sulṭān

汉译文：
谨祝明察大地与日光的至尊大清皇帝安康万岁！

哈萨克阿布勒·艾里·费依兹王之子汗霍卓、卓奇、博福谨此奏函。父逝以来，吾辈未能赴至尊前扣头问安，故吾兄弟三人及所有部众特遣阿哈岱弟前往问安，并代为看望大清皇帝和蔼慈祥之容貌。在牛年，自我们抓牢您的金襟以来，穷者致富，寡人变众，百姓平静安逸。今吾辈又在期盼您的金（圣）旨。此次阿哈岱随行 18 人。谨献大清皇帝马一十八匹。马年九月一十五日，星期一。

汗霍卓·巴哈图·苏勒坦（印）

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[25] altun etäk: etäk "衣襟"，皇帝的衣襟是 altun "金色"的。形容追随皇帝的意思.

[26] Yarlïɣïŋïzgä: 按照语音和谐规则方向格-gä 应为-ɣa.

[27] yïlq(ï) yïlï: "马年"等于 1786 年。ʿašür aynïŋ on beši 公历 11 月 7 日。此右帐信函中的阿拉伯—波斯语借词要少，只出现 hame "全部"，dunyā "世界"，tamām "全都"，ham "并，又"，ʿašür "十一月"，dušanbe "星期一"等词.
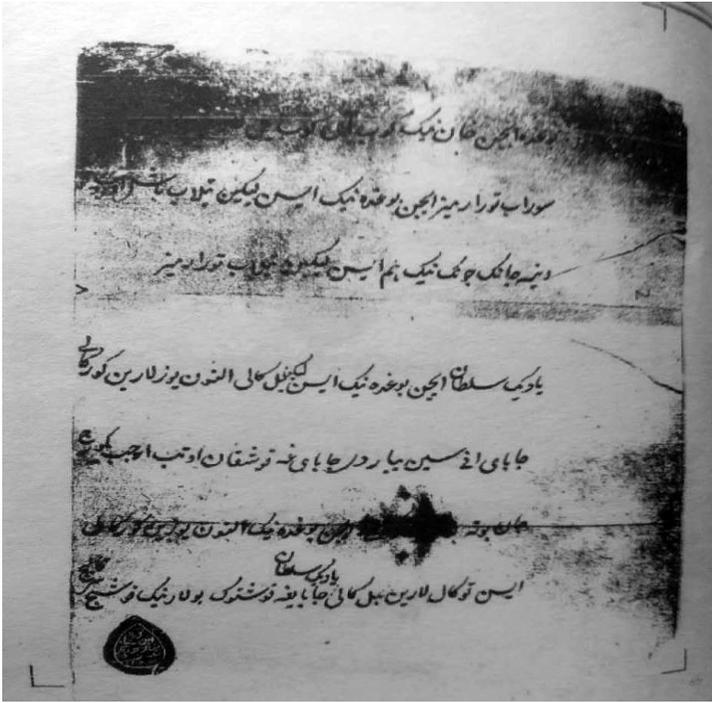
Picture 3: 哈萨克西帐 Jädik töre 给大清皇帝的信。乾隆 (Qianlong) 51 年 10 月 29 日 (1786 年 12 月 19 日)，由伊犁将军奎林等转揍清朝皇帝；现藏北京中国第一历史档案馆，microfilm 138: 2149–2156；catalog IX, 1792 页。见 Düysenäli Äbdiläšim ulï: Junggo birinši tariyhiy muraɣatïnda saqtalɣan qazaqša qujattar (Research on Kazakh documents in the first historical archives of China), Beijing, Ulttar baspasï, 2016, 217–218 b.

转写:

(1) boɣda ejen ḫānnïŋ köp yïllardïn esänlikin (2) surap turarmïz.[28] ejen boɣdanïŋ[29] esänlikin tiläp baš urup turamïz. (3) wa yenä[30] jaŋjuŋ ham esänlikin tiläp turarmïz.[31] (4) yädik[32] sulṭān ejen boɣdanïŋ esänlikin bilgäli, altun yüzlärin körgäli (5) jabay inisin yibärdi. jabayɣa qošqan ötep, öjep, körč, (6) jānbota bu tört kišini ejen boɣdanïŋ altun

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[28] turarmïz: 古代突厥语现在-将来时可以出现。这里疑似 turamïz 的误讹字.

[29] ejen boɣda: 正确的说法是 boɣda ejen: 神圣的天子.

[30] baš urup turamïzï: tur-在这里为助动词，表示: 一直以来一贯地扣头祈福安康.

[31] wa yenä: wa 是波斯语连词, yenä 是突厥语连词，联合起来也表示 "和，并，以及" 等意义.

[32] yädik:人名，哈萨克语应为 Jädik，如其他人名正确写作 Janbota, Jabay 等，yädik 是察哈台文学语言的写法.

yüzin körgäli, (7) esän tügällärin bilgäli yädik sulṭān jabayγa qoštuk,[33] bularnïŋ qosčïsi[34] qabïč.

[muhr]töre niyāz jädik ibn šāh töre

汉译文：

多年来，吾辈向予大清皇帝问安。叩首祝福皇帝圣安，并同祝将军（诸将军、大臣）安康。亚蒂克·苏勒坦欲问候圣上并为面见金容特遣其弟加拜觐见。与加拜随行者有欧铁普、欧杰普、库热希、坚波塔。亚蒂克·苏勒坦将此四人一同加入加拜随行是为面见圣上金容并问安。他们的带队者是哈布施。

沙·图烈之子·图烈·尼亚孜·加蒂克（印）

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[33] qoštuk: 误讹字，应为 qoštuq，我们加入了。

[34] qosčï: "侍从"意义。 西帐信函中的阿拉伯—波斯语借词相对也较少，这里只有 boγda ejen "神圣的天子"，ejen boγda "天神"，同一名的不同说法；wa yenä "以及"，ham "和"，sulṭān "君王"；汉语的jaŋjuŋ "将军"等借词.

Ethnonyms along the Silk Road as Recorded in the Sino-Mongol Bilingual Sources[1]

Apatóczky Ákos Bertalan

1   Introduction

Next to the ultimate source of the Secret History of the Mongols (SH) Sino-barbarian bilingual glossaries also constitute important sources for the history of Inner-Asian languages as well as for the Chinese language itself. Furthermore, they may deepen our overall knowledge about the history of the ethnic groups the language of which they refer to. An interesting layer of the lexicon recorded in such compilations is the vocabulary denoting ethnonyms. Belonging to a special division of the linguistic data these names give invaluable information on the history of the ever-changing political situation of the steppe area from the Yuan to the Qing era.

Some ethnonyms seem to have evolved long before the emergence of a similarly named people known from historical records, some have survived long after the time when the underlying peoples had disappeared as political entities, yet other shifted from one ethnic group to another. In this paper, I attempt to give an overview on the ethnonyms appearing in the most important bilingual Sino-Mongol glossaries: the *Hua-Yi yiyu* (Hy; 華夷譯語 1389; 1407)[2], the *Zhiyuan yiyu* (Zyyy; aka. *Menggu yiyu* 至元譯語/蒙古譯語, 1282)[3], the Yiyu (BLYY; aka. *Beilu Yiyu* 譯語/北虜譯語

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[1] I owe special thanks to Béla Kempf for his suggestions during the writing of this paper.
[2] Cf. Lewicki 1949, 1959, Mostaert 1977 and Kuribayashi 2003.
[3] On the Tokyo cabinet library xylograph (Naikaku Bunko 內閣文庫 no. 9866.4(3).366.4(2) cf. Ligeti-Kara 1990, and Kara 1990.

its versions BLYY-By; PUL; HAS)[4] of the *Dengtan bijiu* 登壇必究 1599,[5] the late Ming *Beilu kao* (WBZh/2; aka. *Dada yu* 韃靼語)[6], the *Yibu* (LLSL; 譯部上 and 譯部下 chapters of the *Lulongsai lüe* 盧龍塞略 1610)[7] on both the Chinese and the Mongolian side. With the analysis of their change over roughly half a millennium, we may get a better understanding of how ethnonyms had their own different lives from that of the actual peoples denoted by these names. Below I review the ethnonyms appearing in the above sources arranging them in an alphabetic order. Some of them show up in multiple sources, others only once and personal names deriving from ethnonyms are also included in this paper.

2 *Čaġān Malaġa[i]* 'White Hat (i.e. Muslim)'

This ethnonym is rarely found in the Sino-Mongol bilingual works, the WBZh/2 entry is the only known original occurrence, which was copied to the LLSL, too:

WBZh/2 huí zi chā-hàn mǎ-lǎ-yǎ 回子 乂汗 馬喇啞 Ch. 'Muslim', Mong. *Čaġān Malaġa[i]* 'Muslim (lit. white hat)'
LLSL 1.7b5 yī yuē **ài/yì-hàn mǎ-lǎ-yǎ** 一曰乂汗馬喇啞[8] (expansion of the previous entry - 回回 '*Sartawul*'; read *chā* 乂 instead of *ài/yì* 乂)[9]

Ordos *tśagāā malagaĭų* 'Muslim' (Mostaert 1968 p. 451).

The fact that this term is very rare and not present in other Old and Middle Mongolian sources might reflect its specificity to the dialect(s)[10] of the glossary preserved in the WBZh/2 text.

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[4] Cf. Apatóczky 2009 pp. 1–4

[5] Also copied to the Wu bei zhi 武備志 (WBZh) as its first Sino-Mongolian glossary. See Mao Yuanyi 茅元儀 (ed.), *Wu bei zhi* 武備志 [Remarks on Military Preparations], (1621). Reprinted by Huashi chu-banshe 華世出版社, 22 vol., 10224 pp., Taipei 1984. Its partially censored Qing edition: National Central Library, Taipei, call no. 302.1.22268.

[6] Its only extant versions are left in the WBZh (as its second Sino-Mongolian glossary=WBZh/2 marking its source as a no longer extant work called *Jimen fang yu kao* JFYK 薊門防御考 of which not much more is known) and in Pozdneev 1908. Cf. also Rykin 2016 pp. 149–151, 2018 pp. 318–319 and Shimunek 2013–2014 pp. 100–104.

[7] Cf. Apatóczky 2016.

[8] For the LLSL headwords characters taken into account in the reconstruction are set bold face (along with their respective transcription), whereas explanatory parts are left regular typeface. When no explanatory part is found, all characters are in regular type face.

[9] Cf. Apatóczky 2009 p. 20.

[10] On the multiple layers of the WBZh/1 text cf. Apatóczky 2009a and that of WBZh/2 text cf. Shimunek 2013–2014 and Rykin 2016 and 2018.

3 *J̌aqudai* 'Northern Chinese (personal name)'

This personal name is composed of an ethnonym + a masculine suffix *–Dai* (the feminine counterpart being *–ǰin*). Its sole source in the Sino-Mongol glossaries is Zyyy.

Zyyy 65 hàn er xiāng-hū-dǎi 漢兒 相忽歹 Ch. *hàn er* 'Chinese (male person)' (in the Naikaku/Japanese xylograph, read *zhā* 扎 instead of *xiāng* 相), Mong. *ǰaqudai* 'Northern Chinese'

SH *ǰaqud(un) irgen* (金人) 'all subject peoples of the Chinese Empire' cf. de Rachewiltz 2004 p. 1033.; Rybatzki 2006 p. 285.

4 *J̌ürčet* etc. 'Jürchen'

The name of the famous ethnic group, members of which were the founders of the Jin (金) Dynasty (1115–1234) is widely recorded in the Sino-Mongol glossaries.

4.1 *J̌ürčet*

In the Hy a very precise transcription is found supplemented with a diacritic «惕» character denoting a final *-t*.

> Hy 3:20b1 zhǔ-ér-chè-t 主兒徹惕 glossed in Chinese as rǔzhí měi 女直 每 'Jürchen – all', indicating clearly that the function of the plural marker was clear for the compiler.

4.2 *J̌ürči*

The different versions of BLYY list this name in two places, once as an ethnonym and once as an equivalent of a Chinese toponym. The first one is only occurring in the By text, and as it is also copied, although corrupted, to the BLYY, it gives a direct proof of the source of the LLSL.

BLYY/By 183 rǔzhí zhǔ-ér-chì 女直 主兒赤 Ch. 'Jürchen', Mong. *ǰürči* 'id.'
BLYY 77 hǎixī zhǔ-ér-chì 海西 主兒赤 Ch. 'Haixi (lit. West of the Sea; toponym), Mong. *ǰürči* 'Jürchen'
LLSL 1.7b8 **rǔ zhi** yuē **zhǔ-yi-chi 女直曰主夷赤** (read *ér* 兒 instead of *yí* 夷) Ch. 'Jürchen', Mong. *ǰürči* 'id.'

The Chinese coinage is to be understood in a matrix of names used for Jürchens during the Ming. In this setup *Haixi* was used for the Jürchen territories belonging to Manchuria,[11] as opposed to *Haidong* 海東 'the East of the Sea' where *Wild Jürchen* 野 人女真 or 海東女真 lived, and to the *Jianzhou Jürchens* 建州女真)'. In a proclamation in 1635 Abahai outlawed the use of the term and ordered to be substituted with "Manchu" (cf. Gernet 1996 p. 466.; Elliott 2001 p. 71 and notes 111-115 p. 401).

4.3 *Jüšidei* (also a personal name)

Another variant of Jürchen is preserved in this personal name with the front har-monic variant of the masculine suffix *–DAi*.

Zyyy I, O 64 rǔzhēn zhǔ-shí-dǎi 女真 主十歹 Ch. 'Jürchen', Mong. *jüšidei* (also a personal name)

SH *Jürčet*, SH *Jürčedei*, AT *Jürčid*, Oir. *Zürči(d)*, WMong. *jürči(d)*; cf. Rybatzki 2006 p. 317.

5   *Kitat* etc. '(Northern) Chinese people'

Although the ethnonym goes back to the Khitans of the Liao dynasty, in the sources discussed here the name always refers to the Chinese.

5.1 *Kitat*

In the Hy we find two different renderings of the name:

Hy 451 *Kita[t]* hàn rén qǐ-tǎ 漢人乞塔 Ch. 'Chinese', Mong. *Kita[t]*
Hy 2:03a1 *Kitat* qǐ-tǎ-t 乞塔惕 glossed as Hàn rén 漢人 'Chinese'.

The BLYY data repeats the first Hy occurrence:

BLYY 185 hàn rén qǐ-tǎ 漢人 乞塔 Ch. 'Chinese people'

The Yibu chapter of the Lulongsai lüe copies the assumed original version of Hy 451 in which the diacritic character is present, although losing its distinctive visual fea-tures and written in normal size along with a few explanatory words:

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[11] To be distinguished from the territory what is now called Haixi Mongol and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. For an overview map cf. Atwood 2004 p. 409.

LLSL 1.7b10 **hàn rén** dōng yi yuē **qǐ-tǎ-tì** 漢人東夷曰乞塔惕 Ch. 'Han people are called *Kitat* by the Eastern Barbarians', hence Mong. *Kitat* 'Han people'.

Although an open syllable ending for the word is not entirely impossible, however, the form in BLYY 185 and Hy 451 is simply the result of the omission of the diacritic «惕» character still present in Hy 2:03a1, the 1407 "B" version of Hy (cf. Kuribayashi 2003 p. i), and the form copied into LLSL 1.7b10, all these providing evidence for the assumed textual corruption in Hy 451. Even if the origin of the name goes back to a plural marked ethnonym, by the time of the compilation of the Hy the name *Kitat* solely referred to the sedentary northern Chinese population (i.e. non-Mongol or other steppe-dwellers) and while the term also covered the originally Khitan and Jürchen population of the Jin (with Jürchens also being treated Chinese in accordance with the four-caste system)[12], it did not mean Khitans *per se*. In the SH the word *Kitat* means 'Jürchen', clearly showing that in Middle Mongol the separation of the name from the Khitan ethnic group has already taken place. This corresponds to the well-known phenomenon when the name of the former rulers of a certain area is being transferred to the newer ones. Róna-Tas also speculates that 乞塔 in BLYY 185 might reflect a singular *Qita* form of the Khitan ethnonym,[13] however, this is undoubtedly not the case as the data here means 'Chinese' and because it is a result of textual corruption from *Kitat*. It does not, however, weaken Róna-Tas's general arguments that the original ethnonym might have had a tripartite system of singulars and plurals *Qi(i)ta*: *Qi(i)tan(+Qi(i)tai): Qi(i)tas* (singular: collective unit: plural).

5.2 *Kitan*

In the LLSL this other form is also listed from an unknown source:

LLSL 1.7b11 **běi lǔ** yuē **qǐ-tàn** 北虜曰起炭 (expansion of the previous entry) Ch. 'the Northern caitiffs call them Khitan', Mong. *Kitan* 'Chinese'

SH *Kitat/Kitad* 'Jürchen'; Hy *Kitat/Kitad*, AT *Kitad*, UighM *qïtat*, WMong. *Kitad* '(Northern) Chinese'

6   *Maǰartai* 'Hungarian (Personal Name)'

This personal name follows the above-mentioned pattern and consist of an ethnonym + masculine suffix *–Dai*. What gives it yet additional importance is that it was also born by a key historical figure of the Yuan dynasty and the Chief compiler of the *Liaoshi*:[14]

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[12] Cf. Atwood 2004 p. 94 (semuren).
[13] Cf. Róna-Tas 2016 pp. 165–166.
[14] Cf. also Ligeti 1979 p. 80 and Rybatzki 2006 p. 584.

Maǰardai (1285–1347) father of Toqto'a (Toghto, Tuotuo 脱脱) (1314–1356) "*Minister in the late Yuan dynasty who attempted ambitious plans of financial and economic renovation*" (Atwood 2004 p. 543).

The traditional analysing of the ethnonym *Magyar* sees it a compound of *Magy* (ethnonym < **MancA*; cf. the ethnonym *Mansi*; and eventually <Indo-European **manu-s* 'human being') + Finno-Ugric **er* 'man' (cf. EWUng pp. 923–924). Róna-Tas on onomastic grounds argued that the second syllable **Er* is the ethnonym of a (not attested) Finno-Ugric group' (Róna-Tas 1993 pp. 20–21) rather than 'man'. The front vocalic counterpart *Megyer*[15], a tribal name of one of the Hungarian pre-conquest clans, is no exception in that regard. This theory has been seriously challenged by Janhunen who argued that *Magyar* is probably a Bulghar Turkic plural of *magy-* < **manca* with the *–r* being a Turkic suffix coming from a hypothetic Pre-Proto-Turkic plural marker **–s* (2018 pp. 143–144). Even if the idea of a possible plural suffixation is accepted, Janhunen, however, makes no account how an epenthetic vowel in the *–r* suffixed form could have been exempted from vowel harmony, as all attested forms of the early sources feature a non-harmonic *Magyer* /maɟer~madʒer/ form (Janhunen examines only the later *Magyar* and *Megyer* forms), typical in compounds and abnormal in suffixed forms. A detailed analysis of the history of the scholarly etymologies along with a work hypothesis of a possible Turkic origin (<*Bandǯer* 'main/central place') was presented by Berta (2001 pp. 21–25).

7   *Mongqol* etc. 'Mongol'

Just like the previous one this ethnonym has a literature of the size of a library itself, therefore a detailed analysis will not be presented here, and only the attested occurrences will be listed. For a relatively recent and concise overview on this ethnonym cf. Rykin 2014 (especially pp. 252–257).

7.1 *Mongqol*

The Hy contains a "normal" Middle Mongol variant, with the already mentioned accurate transcription containing a diacritic «丁» character for the final *-l.*

Hy 452 dádá máng-huō-l 達達 忙豁丁 Ch. 'Tartar', Mong. *Mongqol* 'Mongol'

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[15] The front vocalic form was the result of the Turkic environment where, according to Róna-Tas the last-syllable-stressed pronunciation facilitated the *maǰer>meǰer* assimilation, analogous to the development of the Khazar ethnonym (*Caesar>kesar>Qasar*) (Róna-Tas 1993 p. 22).

7.2 *Monggol*

This variant is found at three different places in the BLYY and it had also been copied into the LLSL:

BLYY 182 dádá măng-guān-ér 韃靼 莽官兒 Ch. 'Tartar', Mong. *Monggol* 'Mongol'
BLYY 70 yí dì măng-guān-ér gá-zhā-lá 夷地 莽官兒噶扎剌 Ch. 'land of the barbarians', Mong. *Monggol ǧaǰar(a)* 'Mongol territories' (-*a* maybe locative cf. BLYY 43. *ǧaǰar*)
LLSL 1.6a24 fan **yi di** yuē **măng-guān-er ge-zhā-la** 凡夷地曰莽官兒葛札剌 (read *gá* 噶 instead of *gé* 葛) Ch. 'whereas the land of the barbarians is called', Mong. *see above*
BLYY 76 (only in the *By* version) běilŭ yě-kè măng-guān-ér 北虜 野克莽官兒 Ch. 'Toponym (lit. '[the territory of the] northern slaves')', Mong. *yeke Monggol* 'Great Mongol'
LLSL 1.6a25 **lŭ di** yuē **yě-ke măng-guān-er** 虜地曰野克官兒 Ch. '(toponym) lit.: northern slaves', Mong. *see above*

7.3 *Mongγu[l]dai* (Also a Personal Name)

The usual ethnonym + masculine suffix –*Dai* pattern is found in Zyyy:

Zyyy   I, O 62 dádá méng-gŭ-dǎi 達達 蒙古歹 Ch. 'Tatar', Mong.   Mongγu[l]dai 'Mongol' (also a personal name)

SH *Moŋqol*; *Moŋqolǰin* (fem.); cf. Rybatzki 2006 p. 605.

8   *Nanggias* etc. 'The Southern Chinese'

8.1 *Nanggias*

The generic term for the Southern Chinese *Nanngias* (<Chin. *nan jia* 南家 'Southern family, southern people'; Cf. Rybatzki 2006 p. 638: "Chin. *nan-chia* 'Süd-Chinesen (~ Sung-Dynastie; zuerst von den Jurchen gebrauchte Bezeichnung)'") is present in Hy without Chinese glossing:

Hy 3:19b năng-jiā-sī 曩加思 Mong. *Nanggias* 'The Southern Chinese'

8.2 *Nanggiyadai* (also a personal name)

The form which became a surname is a regular formation with –*Dai* and although the characters are misplaced and difficult to read their reading[16] by Ligeti–Kara (1990 p. 263) is probable:

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[16] Also supported by the analogy of *Mongγu[l]dai*.

Zyyy 66 (mánzi jiā-nangʔ-dǎi) 蛮子 家…歹 Ch. 'The Southern Chinese', Mong. *Nanggiyadai* 'id. (also a personal name)'

Precl. Mong. (Arγun's letter 1289, cf. Mostaert-Cleaves 1969 and Ligeti 1972 cited by Kara 1990 p. 311) *Nanggiyas*; Pelliot, Notes on Marco Polo, vol. II, no. 288 (pp. 781-783), *Mongatai*; UighM *Nangkiya* (Ligeti 1966 p. 184); WMong. *Nanggiyad*, *Nanggiyas*; cf. Rybatzki 2006 p. 638.

9   *Ongliu[t]* 'The Ongniγud/Ongni'ud Tribe'

The *Taining*-guard was one of the three "Uriyangkhan" guards during the Ming. "*The Ming put two surrendered princes (Mongolian* ong *from Chinese* wang*) from the line of Chinggis Khan's brothers over the Taining Guard; its people were called the Ongni'ud ("the ones with ongs/princes").*" Atwood 2004: 535

Their name was included in the BLYY and then copied into the LLSL vocabulary.

BLYY 71 tàiníng wèi wǎng-liú 泰寧衛 往流 Ch. 'Taining wei (toponym, one of the Uriyangkhan territories at Šira müren)' Mong. *Ongliu[t]*
LLSL 1.6a18 **tai ning wei** yuē **wǎng-liu** 泰寧衛曰往流 Ch., Mong. *see above*
AT Ongliγud, Khal. Ognuud, WMong. Ongniγud/Ongliγud

10   **Oyirat** etc. 'Oirats'

The variants of the Oirat ethnonym are relatively underrepresented in the Sino-Mongol glossaries. In the Hy it is glossed in Chinese only as "一種人名" 'a kind of personal name', showing that by the time of their mention the political significance of Oirats was not at its climax, it does not mean, of course, that the Mongolian name would have meant a personal name only.

10.1 *Oyirat*

Hy 3:11b wò-yì-rat 斡亦舌剌惕 Ch. 'Oirat (personal name)', Mong. *Oyirat*

10.2 *Oyr[d]*

By the time of the compilation of the LLSL this situation has changed as it is shown by one of the very few original headwords (only 9 out of the 1400+ headwords) of the LLSL (cf. Apatóczky 2016b p. 30f15 and 33):

LLSL 1.7b3 běi chēng **shǔ yí** yuē **wǒ-yún-ér** 北稱屬夷曰我勻兒 Ch. 'in the North barbarians are called *Oyr[d]* 'subordinate barbarians' Mong. *Oyr[d]* 'the Oirats'

About the stormy history of the etymology attempts of this famous ethnonym cf. Kempf 2010. He gives a by and large plausible etymology claiming that the origin of the name is Turkic *ōy 'a word for a colour of a horse's coat' with the suffixes -gir (for colours) and -(A)n (for collective, non-productive in Old Turkic) and the reconstructed original form is *oygiran (Kempf 2010 p. 192).

SH *Oyirat*, AT Oyirad

11   *Ȫǰō[d]* 'The Öǰiyed/Üǰiyed Tribe'

In Atwood's definition the *Öǰiyed* was the Mongolized Tungusic group on which the *Fuyu guard* was based in the Ming dynasty (cf. Atwood 2004 p. 535), while Miyawaki describes a broader meaning *"Öǰiyed was the generic name in Mongolian for the so-called Three Uriyangkhan Garrisons east of the Khingan Mountains"* (Miyawaki 1997; cf. also Atwood 2004 p. 308).

     The only Sino-Mongol glossary that mentions this ethnonym is the BLYY and its whole entry was also copied to the LLSL.

BLYY 72 Ch. fú-yú-wèi wǒ-zhe 福餘衛 我着 Ch. 'toponym, name of a territory in today's Heilongjiang province (after the sixteenth century became a part of Khorchin land. The *Fuyu*-guard (one of the three "Uriyangkhan" guards during the Ming). Modern Qiqihar.' Mong. *Öǰō[d]* 'The Öǰiyed tribe'
LLSL 1.6a19 **fúyú wèi** yuē **wǒ-zhe** 福餘衛曰我着 Ch., Mong. *see above*.

12   *Sarta'ul* etc. 'Muslim; Uighur; Collective Ethnonym and Toponym for Khwarezm; Merchant (City-Dweller)'

12.1 *Sarta'ul*

The *Sarta'ul* etc. ethnonym has a long record in Inner-Asian sources, and it made its way to the major Sino-Mongol glossaries, too. A "standard" form is found in the Hy:
Hy 454 huíhuí sā-er-tǎ-wēn 囬囬 撒兒塔溫 Chin. 'Muslim (land) etc.', Mong. *Sarta'ul* 'id.'

12.2 *Sartawul*

Unlike in the Hy the BLYY variant shows the presence of the intervocalic -*w*-:

BLYY 181 huíhuí sā-ér-tǎo-wù-ér 囬囬撒兒討兀兒 Ch. 'Muslim (land) etc.', Mong. *Sartawul* 'id.'

The BLYY entry was copied to the LLSL, but it is difficult to establish if the different rendering in the LLSL is a result of textual corruption or contrariwise it is an emended form, or else it represents an original form that the extant BLYY versions ceased to have.

LLSL 1.7b4 tōng chēng **hui-hui** yuē **sā-er-tă-wu-le** 通稱回回曰撒兒塔兀勒 Ch. 'Muslims are generally called *Sartawul*', Mong. *Sartawul* 'Muslim (land) etc.'

12.3 *Sartaqčin*

Another occurrence in the Hy features the ethnonym with a *nomen actoris* suffix (used also to form ethnonyms and called also agentive participle, cf. Janhunen 2003 p. 77) –*Qčin* added, glossed in Chinese as 囬囬每 'Muslims'.

Hy 2:24b2 sā-er-tă-q-chén 撒兒塔黑臣 Mong. *Sartaqčin* 'id.'

12.4 *Sarda[q]dai* (also a personal name)

The form in the Zyyy is a personal name consisting of the ethnonym and the masculine suffix –*Dai*.

Zyyy I, O 63 huíhui sā-lǐ-dā-dǎi 回回 撒里荅歹 Ch. 'Muslim' Mong. *Sarda[q]dai* 'id. (also a personal name)'.

SH Sarta'ul, MA Sarta'ūl, AT Sartaɣul, RH Sartaul, Khal. Sartuul 'Khalkha Mongols living in Buryatia', WMong. Sartaɣul. Turkic Yugur Sart 'Muslim Hui; (Modern) Uighur', Mongolic Yugur Salt^huur (metathesized from Sartuul), cf. Nugteren–Roos 2003 p. 135.
Sanskrit *sārthaḥ* 'Caravan' and *sārthavāha-* 'Caravan leader, merchant' (cf. Mayrhofer 1964 pp. 461-462), Old Turkic, Uighur *sart* 'id.'. (cf. Clauson: "Sanskrit *sarṭha* 'merchant', prob. via Sogdian; it retained this meaning until XI but in the medieval period came to mean 'town dweller' as opposed to 'nomad', and more specifically 'an Iranian', as opposed to 'a Turk'"; Clauson 1972 p. 846); cf. also Rybatzki 2006 pp. 716–717.

13   **Solongġa** 'Korea'

The name of Korea in Mongolian, according to Vovin, goes back to the Old Korean name of the Silla Kingdom, and especially a variant written as 斯蘆 *Selo* (the Early Middle Chinese form cited by Vovin: *sje luo*, cf. Baxter-Sagart 2014 *sje lu*, Pulleyblank 1991 *siə/si lə̌* and Schuessler 2009 Middle Chinese *sje ljwo*) (Vovin 2013 p. 203), from which the Mongolian form would have formed by an assimilation of the first syllable

vowel to that of the second syllable. The Middle Mongol data of the BLYY (also copied to the LLSL) shows an already assimilated form. What makes it still rare among Middle Mongol occurrences is that here we read a singular form, just like in the *Altan Tobči* and in the Sino-Jürchen vocabulary:

BLYY 184 gāolì suǒ-lóng-gé 高麗 瑣瓏革 Ch. 'Korea' Mong. *Solongġa* 'id.'
LLSL 1.7b9 **gāo li** yuē **suǒ-long-ge** 高麗曰瑣瓏革 Ch., Mong. *see above*

SH *Solongqas*, AT *Solongyas, Solongyaud, Solongyud, Solongya* RY *sulo'o* (but cf. Kara 1991 p. 156 "read *soloyo*"), Dag. *solgui*, Bur. *Solongos* (!), WMong. *Solongyos*

14 *Qara Töböt* 'The Territory of Tibet Bordering China'

The only occurrence of this ethnonym in the Sino-Mongol glossaries is in the Hy, and even that is lacking a Chinese glossing.

Hy 3:01a4 hā-ra tuō-bó-t 哈舌剌脫伯惕 Mong. *Qara Töböt* 'toponym'

Probably the first Western author who wrote about this ethnonym was Klaproth in his Asia polyglotta (1823 p. 345): "Die Chinesen nennen Tübet gewöhnlich Ši-zaṇ, und den zunächst an China gränzenden Theil U-Ši-Zaṇ oder das schwarze Ši-zaṇ, es stimmt diese Benennung mit der Mongolischen Chara-Tübet, Schwarz Tübet, überein."

Pelliot adds that "*The Mongolian author of Jigs-med nam-mkha (1819) says that Chinggis subdued the nations of five colours (…) the black [were the] Tibetans*" (Pelliot 1963: no 230.; cf. also Bano 2001 p. 263 Kara-Tibet 'Ladakh').

Nugteren and Roos mention that Mannerheim during his visit to the Yugurs in 1907 noticed that Chinese call Tangutans (i.e. Tibetans) *Hei fanzi* 黑番子 'Black barbarians' in opposition to *Huang fanzi* 黃番子 'Yellow barbarians; the Yellow Yugurs', and it seems that other travellers' accounts are agreeing in the sense that black colour in the exonym refers to Tibetans when it serves as a means of distinguishing of two similarly named ethnic groups (Nugteren – Roos 2003 p. 134).

15 *Uriangqan* etc. 'The Uriyangkhan People'

15.1 *Uriangqan*

The earliest mention of this ethnonym is in the meticulous transcription of the Hy and glossed in Chinese as "一種人名" 'a kind of personal name'.

Hy 3:05a wù-riang-qan 兀舌良中罕 Mong. *Uriangqan* (also a personal name)

15.2 *Uriang[γ]an*

By the time of the compilation of BLYY the name gained more prominence and was attached a specific administrative meaning.

BLYY 73 du**ð**yán wèi wǔ-liǎng-àn 朵顏衛 五兩案 Ch. 'the territory of the *Döyin*-guard (the real Uriyangkhan, one of the three "Uriyangkhan" guards during the Ming); toponym' Mong. *Uriang[γ]an* 'id.'

The entry was copied to the LLSL in its entirety:

LLSL 1.6a20 **duǒ yan wei** yuē **wǔ-liǎng-an** 朵顏衛曰五兩案 Ch., Mong. *see above*

SH *Uriangqadai* (masc.) / *Uriangqaǰin* (fem.), AT *Uriyangqai*, WMong. *Uriyangqai*

16   *Yeke Min[gγ]an* 'the Great Mingans; i.e. the Manchurian Öölöts or Mannai Öölöt (Ööld)'

The only Sino-Mongol glossary that contains this ethnonym is the BLYY.

BLYY 74 dà yī qiān yě-kè mín-àn (大壹千 野克民案) Ch. 'toponym (verbatim from Mong.)'. Cf. Janhunen 2003 p. 182; Todaeva 1985 pp. 87–91

16.1 *Üčüken Min[gγ]an* 'the Little Mingans'

Just like in the case of the previous name, this one is also only found in the BLYY.

BLYY 75 xiǎo yī qiān wǔ-chū-zhǐ mín-àn 小壹千 五出指民案 Ch. 'toponym (verbatim from Mong.)' (read *kèn* 揩 instead of *zhǐ* 指).

17   Closing Remarks

Overwhelming majority of the presence of various ethnonyms in the glossaries are determined by geographical closeness (exceptions due to historical reasons do exist, however).

When there were no corresponding ethnonyms present in Chinese the compilers used either the Chinese toponyms or verbatim translations and sometimes transcriptions.

Variants of the latter type are rarely used (e.g. no *Menggu* 'Mongol' or the like) and are limited to smaller groups without established Chinese names or are older loans.

This does not mean that less known but in the cited works frequently mentioned ethnonyms would not have made their way into the Chinese nomenclature (like *Oyirat*, *Uriangqan* etc.).

Most of the *–Dai* suffixed names in Hy and Zyyy could also be used for both personal names and ethnonyms.

There seem to exist no traces of the old Mongolian caste system of 1. Mongols; 2. *Semu*s (i.e., roughly put, non-Mongol and non-Chinese Central Asians); 3. Han people; 4. Southern Chinese; a rather arbitrary administrative categorizing of ethnic groups used by the Yuan to provide grounds to the social isolation of the subject nations and secure an artificial system of advantage for the Mongols. Although forms like *Nanggias* do correspond to this scheme, the system of social and political differentiation and segregation had long been left behind (and replaced by others) and the terms evolved to "normal" ethnonyms, even if used, occasionally, in derogatory contexts.

Table 1: Chart of the features of the discussed ethnonyms and personal names

	Endonym or containing endonym element	Exonym	Semantic shift (historically and in the Sino-Mongol glossaries)	Type of Chinese equivalent (if any)			
				Ethnon.	Topon.	Verbatim	Transcription
Čaqān Malaġa[i]		+		+			+
Łaqudai		+					
Łürčet etc. (also for Chinese)	+	+	+	+	+		+
Kita[t] (for Chinese) etc.	+	+	+	+			
Maǰartai	+						
Mongqol etc.	+			+	+		
Nanggias etc.	+	+		+			
Ongliu[t]	+				+		
Oyirat etc.	+			+			
Öjö[d]	+				+		
Sarta'ul etc.		+	+	+			
Solongġa	+	+			+		
Qara Töböt		+					
Uriangqan etc.	+		+				+
Yeke Min[gγ]an	+					+	
Üčüken Min[gγ]an	+					+	

Sigla

AT   Altan Tobči (according to Vietze – Lubsang 1992)
BLYY The Yiyu/Beilu yiyu 譯語 / 北虜譯語 / of the Dengtan bijiu 登壇必究 (BLYY-By; PUL; HAS) 1599 (according to Apatóczky 2009)
Zyyy   Zhiyuan yiyu/Menggu yiyu 至元譯語/蒙古譯語 (Zyyy) 1282 (Naikaku Bunko kanseki bunrui mokuroku 内閣文庫漢籍分類目錄 no. 9866.4(3).366.42 [Tokyo cabinet library catalogue], Tokyo, 1956; according to Ligeti–Kara 1990 and Kara 1990)
Ch.   the Chinese headword; Chinese
Hy   Hua-Yi yiyu 華夷譯語 1389; 1407 (According to Kuribayashi 2003)
Khal.   Khalkha (Kara 1998; Lessing 1960 etc.)
LLSL The Yi bu 譯部 (上 and 下 chapters) of the Lulongsai lüe 盧龍塞略 1610 (according to Apatóczky 2016)
EWUng Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Ungarischen
MA   MA Muqaddimat al-ādāb (Bao 2002, Poppe 1938)
RH   The Rasûlid Hexaglot (according to Golden 2000)
Mong. the reconstructed Mongolian word; Mongolian
RY   Ruzhen yiyu (according to Kane 1989)
SH   The Secret history of the Mongols (according to de Rachewiltz 2004)
UighM Uighur of Ming (according to Ligeti 1966)
WBZh/ 2Beilu kao 北虜考 and Beilu yiyu 北虜譯語 (aka. Dada yu 韃靼語) of the Wu Bei Zhi 武備志 (WBZh1/ WBZh2) 1621 Mao Yuanyi 茅元儀 (ed.), *Wu bei zhi* 武備志 [Remarks on Military Preparations], (1621). Reprinted by Huashi chubanshe 華世出版社, 22 vol., 10224 pp., Taipei 1984. Its partially censored Qing edition: National Central Library, Taipei, call no. 302.1.22268.
WMong. Written Mongolian (according to Lessing 1960 etc.)

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Two Manju Dictionaries in Diachronic Comparison

Oliver Corff

1 Introduction

During the Qing dynasty (1644–1911), the Manju emperors from Kangqi to Qianlong engaged in massive efforts to record and formally codify their language. Under the auspices of the Imperial Court, a series of comprehensive dictionaries was produced which began with a monolingual Manju dictionary (see below). Later, the organisational structure and the lexicon of this dictionary was refined and in several iterations Chinese, Mongolian, Tibetan and Turki were added, culminating in the Pentaglot (see Corff et al. 2013) which happened to be the last major dictionary of this series. While several Manju dictionaries have been the subject of scholarly research and editions, only a thorough comparison of earlier and later dictionaries can demonstrate how the process of dictionary compilation has evolved.

2 *Manju gisun i buleku bithe* of 1708

The first Manju dictionary, *Manju gisun i buleku bithe* (hereinafter: Buleku Bithe or "1708"), was published in 1708 under the auspices of the Kangxi emperor. Rather than presenting the entries in alphabetical order, the contents was arranged along the lines of a highly structured classification scheme separated into the three major realms of heaven, earth and man, or 三才 *sancai*. This systematic order had been developed over several centuries and found broad usage in reference literature, as can be studied from classical Chinese encyclopediae (*leishu*) or earlier multilingual glossaries, e.g. the Hua-Yi yiyu. The dictionary is organized in 36 *šošohon* or chapters

(literally, "collection", "summary", chin. 部 "part") divided into sections (*hacin*) and subsections (*meyen*). See figure 1 for the first page of the first section. An important feature of this dictionary is the plethora of references to Classical Chinese literature. Later editions omit these references altogether.

3   References to Classical Chinese Literature

A first survey of the material (the first seven fascicles of the dictionary of 1708, representing one third of the whole text) reveals at least fifteen sources of Classical Chinese literature to which references are made, comprising a large array of canonical, philosophical, political and strategical writings. Both the Classic of Poetry (Shijing) and the Book of Documents (Shujing) are referred to in hundreds of entries, while other books like the Doctrine of the Mean (Zhongyong) are only quoted occasionally. A list of the Classical texts identified in the first seven *debtelin* or fascicles of the Buleku Bithe follows here:

  – *Ši ging* 詩經 *Shijing* Classic of Poetry
  – *Šu ging* 書經 *Shujing* Book of Documents
  – *Luwen ioi bithe* 論語 *Lunyu* Analects
  – *I ging* 易經 *Yijing*, I Ching or Book of Changes
  – *Mengdz bithe* 孟子 *Mengzi*, Mencius
  – *Li gi* 禮記 *Liji*, Book of Rites
  – *Dz jyi tung giyan g'ang mu* 資治通鑑綱目 Zizhi Tongjian Gangmu
  – *Cûn cio-i dzo juwan* 春秋左傳 *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan*, Commentary of Zuo
  – *Jung yung bithe* 中庸 *Zhongyong*, Doctrine of the Mean
  – *Dai hiyo bithe* 大學 *Da Xue*, Great Learning
  – *Sun dz* 孫子兵法 *Sunzi bingfa*, Sun Tzu's The Art of War
  – *Hafu buleku bithe* 通鑑 *Tongjian*, Comprehensive Mirror [in the Aid of Governance]
  – *Jeo li bithe* 周禮 *Zhou li*, Rites of Zhou
  – *Tang gurun-i bithe* 唐書 *Tang shu*, Book of Tang
  – *Lu too bithe* 六韜 *Liu Tao*, Six Secret Teachings

4   *Manju gisun i nonggime toktobuha buleku bithe* of 1772

In the years between 1708 and 1772, a major language reform was conducted with the objective to "purify" the Manju lexicon, notably, replacing Chinese loan words by suitable Manju equivalents. Simultaneously, the structure of the lexicon was reworked, with entries from the first dictionary being removed, existing definitions refined and new entries added, the result published under the name *Manju gisun i nonggime toktobuha buleku bithe*. This "enhanced and revised" (*nonggime toktobuha*)

dictionary of 1772 added Chinese translations to all lemmata, *qieyin*-style Chinese pronounciation indications to Manju words and Manju reading aids to the Chinese translations. It has approx. 18670 entries and serves as template for all later multi-lingual dictionaries. See figure 2 for the first page of the first section.

5   Objectives of the Comparison

This paper attempts a comprehensive (but not possibly exhaustive, as only one third of each of the two corpora has been prepared for comparison at the time of this writing) description of all lexicographical and lexicological differences between the two above-mentioned dictionaries. The focus of this comparison predominantly lies on structure of the two corpora, semantics of the lemmata and the wording of their definitions. All bilingual aspects, namely Chinese translations, Chinese reading aids to Manju and Manju reading aids to Chinese of the 1772 text are outside the scope of this paper. A systematic overview of the structural differences between the two dictionaries is given by example.

6   Differences in Numbers

The dictionary of 1772 adds several thousand words to the Buleku Bithe of 1708. The newly introduced supplement (fasc. 33–36) contains only around 1610 lemmata which does not explain the big difference in lemma counts (18,670 vs. 12,000). Thousands of new lemmata were introduced throughout the whole text. Some sections were simply enlarged, new sections and subsections were introduced, and chapters (*šošohon*) were split into chapter divisions in order to accommodate for the increase in lexicon. It became thus necessary to rearrange the physical order; the dictionary grew from 20 fascicles in 1708 to 36 fascicles. The first 32 fascicles contain the material of the 1708 dictionary, the last four fascicles are, among others, dedicated to "old and rare words", as the preface of the 1772 edition explains.[1]

7   A Case Study: erin forgon i šošohon

In a nutshell, the *erin forgon* (Time and Calendar) chapter[2] is representative for every conceivable type of editorial intervention yielding the 1772 edition. This chapter contains only one section, *erin forgon i hacin*, which was divided into seven subsections

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[1] Thousands of new lemmata … – the preface states: *uheri bodoci, nonggime dosimbuha ici toktobuha manju gisun sunja minggan funcembi.* "[…] more than 5,000 […]" *Manju gisun i nonggime toktobuha buleku bithe*, *šutucin*, f. 9v. Old and rare words: ibidem.

[2] In the Buleku Bithe, this chapter begins on folio 15v, 1st fascicle, and ends on folio 29v of the same fascicle. In the 1772 edition, this chapter opens the 2nd fascicle on f. 2r, ending on f. 25r.

in the first edition, being enlarged to nine subsections in 1772. In 1708, there were 223 lemmata, in 1772 this number grew to 295.

The first lemma of this section is *in, yang* in the Buleku Bithe. Being of Chinese origin (陰陽 *yin-yang*) this terminology is replaced by newly coined Manju terms, *a* (for *yang*) and *e* (for *in*). Table 1 shows this rearrangement. The dashed line indicates that new names were chosen, the two forking arrows indicate that the contents of the former single lemma is now split between two lemmata. Thus, the 1708 entry

- *in-i sukdun selgiyebume samsici, yang ombi. yang ni sukdun bargiyabume bakjaci, in ombi. I ging ni šo guwa juwaṅ de, abkai doro be ilibure de, «in, yang» sehebi.*
becomes
- *amba ten aššafi banjinahangge be, «a» sembi.*
- *amba ten ekisaka ofi banjinahangge be, «e» sembi.*

Not only was the terminology redefined, also the definitions were completely rephrased. The quotation from the 說卦 *shuo gua* chapter of the I Ching, *I ging ni šo guwa juwaṅ de, abkai doro be ilibure de, «in, yang» sehebi*, can no longer be found in the 1772 text. The second entry in this section is *sunja feten*, "Five Elements". In 1708, the text reads

- *aisin, moo, muke, tuwa, boihon be, «sunja feten» sembi.* [followed by Classical reference omitted here for sake of brevity].

In 1772, the order in which the five elements are listed is changed:

- *muke, tuwa, moo, aisin, boihon be, «sunja feten» sembi.* [No Classical reference]

Now, forking out from *sunja feten*, all the five elements merit their own lemma, as can be seen in Table 1. The definition includes attributes of taste (salty) and colour (black):

- *sunja feten-i ujui de bi, muke serengge, fusihûn simerengge, amtan hatuhûn, boco sahaliyan.*

The definitions of the remaining four lemmata observe the same structure. Likewise, the ten Heavenly Stems and the twelve Earthy Branches all receive their own entry in the 1772 edition. As the lemma count grows from four (*in, yang*; *sunja feten*; *cikten*; *gargan*) to 32, it becomes reasonable to divide this subsection into two.

In 1708, the fifth lemma of the first subsection is *erin*, but in 1772 this word starts a new subsection, as can be seen from Table 2. However, no simple equivalence is present here, as the definitions are completely different:

- (1708) (1)[3] *niyengniyeri juwari, bolori, tuweri be, duin «erin» sembi.* (2) *geli emu inenggi emu dobori be, juwan juwe «erin» sembi.* (3) *geli tere fon, ere ucuri be, inu tere erin, ere «erin» sembi.*
- (1772) *tere fon, ere ucuri be, tere erin, ere «erin» sembi.*

We can see that the 1772 definition of *erin* is in fact the third alternative definition of the 1708 term. Hence there is no immediate equivalence between the lemmata. However, the 1772 edition introduces a new lemma, *duin erin*, which is in fact the first alternative of the 1708 definition of *erin*:

- (1772) *niyengniyeri, juwari, bolori, tuweri be «duin erin» sembi.*

Equally, the term *forgon* of 1708 forks into two entries in 1772:

- (1708) (1) *erin ucuri be, «forgon» sembi.* (2) *geli duin erin be, inu «duin forgon» seme gisurembi.*
- (1772) *erin ucuri be, «forgon» sembi.*
- (1772) *duin erin be inu «duin forgon» seme gisurembi.*

Table 2 shows that the order of these words is rearranged, as is the order of (1708) lemmata *bonggo* (16) to *dade* (20) as well as *nende* (26) and *nendembi* (27). Two lemmata without any equivalent in the Buleku Bithe are newly introduced: *nene* and *jabdugan*. Thus ends the first subsection in 1708 and the second subsection in 1772.

Table 3 demonstrates a thorough reworking process of subsection 5. The lemmata *sain inenggi* and *ehe inenggi* (positions 2 and 3 in 1708) are reshuffled to positions 23 and 24 in 1772. A range of new lemmata is introduced in 1772, all without equivalent in 1708 (positions 8 to 13 and 15 to 20 as well as *cimaridari*, position 30). As with all terminology newly introduced in subsection 1, these modifications reflect the enormous importance of all things related to time and calenders for rule and state-craft. Another lemma of 1708 with two alternative definitions, *cimari*, forks into *cimari* and *cimaha*:

- (1708) (1) *inenggi-i sirame inenggi be, «cimari» sembi.* (2) *inu «cimaha» sembi.*
- (1772) *inenggi-i sirame inenggi be, «cimari» sembi.*
- (1772) *cimari be, inu «cimaha» sembi.*

As the lemma count of this subsection increased significantly, in 1772 this subsection is split, too, and now corresponds to subsections 6 (36 lemmata) and 7 (23 lemmata, containing 7 lemmata absent in 1708 – see Table 4). For the remaining

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[3] Numbers and guillemots inserted for sake of clarity; not present in original. The original text structures alternative definitions by starting them with *jai* or *geli*.

entries, the relationship between old and new entries is straight forward, the original word sequence is not modified here. There is one interesting exception, though. In 1708, the definition of lemma *erdeken* contains two alternatives, one of which in 1772 is moved far, far away to *hacihiyara šorgire hacin* in the 12th fascicle (*debtelin*).

Table 5 shows the relationship between subsection 6 of *erin forgon i hacin* in 1708 and its matching subsection 8 in 1772. Here we have another instance of a Chinese word (see above *in, yang*) replaced by a more Manju-style word: *ke* becomes *kemu* (hence the dashed line in Table 5). Only four new words are added in 1772: *fuwen* (5), *miyori* (6), *tanggû ging* (10) and *seruken* (26). *halukan* (position 11 in 1708) and *fancame halhûn* (position 19 in 1708) are swapped, assuming positions 14 and 22 in 1772. The remaining subsection (7 in 1708, 9 in 1772) is a more or less linear and complete match without any peculiarities and is not further discussed here.

8   Basic Definition Patterns

The high degree of uniformity and formalisation governing the definitions is impressive. The phrase pattern "A *b*, B *sembi*" dominates the overwhelming majority of cases; instead of *sembi*, other verbs (e.g. *seme tukiyembi*, *seme fungnembi*) form the predicate along the same pattern:

- *abka umesi den tumen jaka be elbehengge be, «abka» sembi.* (*sembi,* "is called")
- *han gurun be uherilehe ejen be, manju monggo «han» seme tukiyembi.* (*seme tukiyembi,* "to praise as")
- *doro de aisilaha amban bithei hafan-i jingkini uju jergingge be, «doro de aisilaha amban» seme fungnembi.* (*seme fungnembi,* "to promote to")

Similarly, noun phrases follow the same rigid structure:

- *hoo seme amba muke eyere arbun.* (*arbun*, "meaning")
- *ge ga seme temšeme jamarara jilgan.* (*jilgan*, "sound of")

Cascaded Definitions are common in various lists. Here each definition builds on its immediate predecessor:

- *ere aniya ne teisulehe aniya be, «ere aniya» sembi.* ("the year matching now is called this year")
- *ishun aniya* **ere aniya***-i sirame aniya be, «ishun aniya» sembi.* ("next year is the year following this year")
- *cargi aniya* **ishun aniya***-i sirame aniya be, «cargi aniya» sembi.* ("the year after next year")

Definitions *not* following a rigid pattern are extremely rare and absolute exceptions. There are only a handful of extensive elaborations like the following:

- *ice dahame jihe hoise ili be nencihiyeme toktobuha amala, abkai wehiyehe-i orin duici aniya hojis hošike-i jergi hoise baime dahame jihe manggi, wang, beile, gung, jasak, taiji-i gergen fungnefi, gemun hecen de gajifi tebuhe, erebe «ice dahame jihe hoise» sembi, tulergi golo be dasara jurgan de kadalabuhabi.*

The observed dominant degree of formalisms in the structure of lemmata and their definitions makes the analysis of the whole text with the instruments of formal language theory appear feasible and appropriate.

9 A Formalized Approach to the Description of the Structure of a Dictionary

Before a formalized description of the structure of our Manju dictionaries is presented, a few words on formal languages as understood in computer science are necessary.[4] While formal languages and natural languages share many common principles, a formal language is characterized by a finite set of symbols out of which the elements of the language are constructed, and an equally finite and complete set of rules which governs the combination of elements into valid words and structures.[5] In the case of our dictionaries, there are exactly three languages to be studied, two formal and one natural. The first language is a formal language which has as input alphabet the Manju character set[6] and contains all rules which are necessary to produce well-formed and valid words: while *tron* can be combined from Manju letters, yet is neither a well-formed nor a valid output of this language[7] and thus not a Manju word; *tin* is well-formed but not valid; *tan*, *ten*, *ton* and *tun* are both well-formed and valid members of the Manju lexicon. The word formation rules of Manju (and thus the formal language describing these rules) are not subject of this paper. The second language is a natural language, namely Manju, and this is the language of the text which comprises the proper Manju definitions. Its input symbols are generated by the first formal language. Finally, the third language is a formal language, again; its set of input symbols (or alphabet, in formal terminology) consists of Manju words like *sembi*, *gisurembi* etc., and its rules describe the construction of

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[4] See Hopcroft/Ullman: *Introduction to Automata Theory, Languages and Computation* for a formal introduction to the topic.

[5] In mathematical terms: Let Σ be a finite set (an "alphabet") and let A be the set of all regular expressions over Σ. A terse definition of the terminology can be found in Rechenberg/Pomberger: *Informatik-Handbuch*, 3.1.1. Zeichenketten und Sprachen, und 3.1.2 Grammatiken, pp. 90–91.

[6] Here, let Σ be the set of Manju letters, or alphabet.

[7] "Language" here strictly refers to the set of rules which produce valid Manju words out of the Manju alphabet.

dictionary entries on the basis of these words.[8] Strictly speaking, this formal language is a limited subset of the second language, natural Manju, but since its expressive power produces the structured lexicographical output, it is reasonable to treat it as a separate entity. The focus of this section lies on this third language.

We will introduce a simple notation similar to BNF, or Backus-Naur Form,[9] a method of representing formal grammars, in order to describe the formal language which generates the dictionary. The following conventions apply here:

- In contrast to typical usage, uppercase letters like ENTRY → HEAD TAIL denote abstract symbols which can be substituted by other tokens, expressions or terminal symbols. Expressions are combinations of tokens and/or terminal symbols.

- lowercase letters like seme gisurembi denote terminal symbols which stand for themselves and for which no further substitution is possible. Since tokens like *sembi*, *gisurembi* etc. can neither be substituted nor be decomposed, they behave like atoms and are called "terminal symbols". All other elements are, by definition, non-terminal symbols. The terminal symbols can be considered the "reserved words" of this language.

- Italic typeface in curly brackets like PHRASE → { *Manju text* } indicates material for which the grammar definition is absent, incomplete or otherwise deficient.

- Character sets ("classes" in POSIX terminology) are stated in POSIX notation, like [:Manju_Alphabet:] , even though there is currently no official POSIX definition of the Manju alphabet.

- Punctuation (notably the dot ending the final substitution rule) is missing as the grammar presented below is incomplete. All punctuation appearing in the BNF notation below is to be understood as literal.

We start now with the description of a dictionary in terms of a formal language. A dictionary is a list of entries:

DICTIONARY → ENTRY ENTRY ENTRY …

A shorthand for indicating that a dictionary contains at least one, in reality many entries is the Kleene plus sign: DICTIONARY → ENTRY+

Each entry can be split in a head and a tail:

ENTRY → HEAD TAIL

---

[8] These words (*sembi*, *gisurembi*, *gûnin*, *jilgan*, *seme* etc.) are not decomposed into letters, hence the set of these words forms the alphabet over which the dictionary structure is constructed.

[9] See Rechenberg/Pomberger, p. 92 and p. 480.

The HEAD typically represents the keyword. A keyword is composed of one or more letters of the Manju alphabet, optionally separated by white space implying that the keyword consists of several natural language words.

HEAD → KEYWORD

KEYWORD → [[:Manju_Alphabet:]]+

Thus, *a* and *e* are valid Manju keywords, as are *abka*, *dergi abka* and *kunggur seme sireneme akjambi*. Constraints apply to forming well-formed and valid words out of the elements of the Manju alphabet, but these constraints do not affect the analysis of the structure and lexicon of the corpus, and hence no further description of Manju word formation rules is covered here. While the shorthand HEAD → [[:Manju_Alphabet:]]+ is logically possible, we will need the distinction between HEAD and KEYWORD later.

The TAIL contains the description of the keyword, being either a definition or a reference to another entry, optionally being followed by one or more further definitions and/or examples, at least in the dictionary of 1708. In formal notation:

TAIL → (DEFINITION | REFERENCE) DEFINITION* EXAMPLE*

Here, the first structural element of the description is mandatory, it is either a definition or a reference as indicated by the vertical bar. Further definitions can be absent (zero definitions), or can be a chain of two or more alternative definitions, as indicated by the Kleene star * which reads: the preceding element appears zero or more times. The same holds true for examples, which may be absent or present in arbitrary numbers.

   With extremely few exceptions, all definitions in the Manju dictionaries follow one of several rigid formation rules. Typically, there is an explanation which is terminated by the head and a predicate, as demonstrated by the entry *abka* (heaven): *umesi den tumen jaka be elbehengge be, «abka» sembi*, "The supreme height covering a myriad of things is called *abka*." We can see that the HEAD of the entry is repeated as part of the definition (for sake of clarity, here marked by guillemots absent in the original text). Alternative definitions (marked again by vertical bars in our grammar) do not repeat the HEAD but include a phrase followed by one of a limited set of terminal symbols.

DEFINITION → PHRASE be, HEAD PREDICATE.
        | PHRASE i uheri gebu.
        | PHRASE arbun.
        | PHRASE gûnin.
        | PHRASE jilgan.
        | PHRASE mudan.

In the vast majority of lemmata (approx. 84% of all entries), PREDICATE is *sembi*, but *seme gisurembi*, *seme holbofi gisurembi* and other forms occur, too:

PREDICATE → sembi
        | seme gisurembi
        | seme holbofi gisurembi
        | seme fungnembi
        | seme tukiyembi
        | { … }

PHRASE can be either Manju text explaining the entry, or, in the case of derivative verbs, indicates the type of verb:

PHRASE → { *Manju text* }
        | { *Manju text* } hendumbihede,
        | jifi { *verb stem* + rV }
        | teisu teisu { *verb stem* + rV }
        | niyalma de hendufi { *verb stem* + rV }

It is also possible that an entry is not explained further, and is only referred to as being equal to a different KEYWORD. In these cases, the Chinese gloss of the 1772 dictionary usually says 漢語同上 "for Chinese, same as previous [entry]."

REFERENCE → uthai KEYWORD sere gisun.
        | uthai KEYWORD sere gisun de adali.

Only in the first dictionary of 1708, the text features references to Chinese Classics in Manju translation. The typical structure is:

> EXAMPLE → SOURCE TEXTREFERENCE
>
> SOURCE → šu ging ni SECTION fiyelen de,
> | ši ging ni SECTION fiyelen de,
> | luwen ioi bithede,
> | mengdz bithede,
> | { … }
>
> SECTION → { *Chinese name of text section* }

A representative example of a full source reference is: *ši ging ni siyoo ya-i sin nan šan fiyelen de*, after the Chinese original name 詩經小雅信南山, or Xin Nanshan of the Lesser Court Hymns of the Classic of Poetry.

If we combine all of the above-mentioned elements of a formal grammar, we arrive, in principle, at a formal language describing Manju dictionaries. While the definitions given here are critically deficient (see the definition of PHRASE above which omits, on purpose, all details and serves simply as a placeholder), this formal language is sufficient to identify and tag all dictionary elements by computer, thus greatly alleviating the potential human task of translating any of the two dictionaries into a modern language.

> DICTIONARY → {ENTRY ENTRY ENTRY …}
> ENTRY → HEAD TAIL
> HEAD → KEYWORD
> KEYWORD → [[:Manju_Alphabet:]]+
> TAIL → (DEFINITION | REFERENCE) DEFINITION* EXAMPLE*
> DEFINITION → PHRASE be, HEAD PREDICATE.
> | PHRASE i uheri gebu.
> | PHRASE arbun.
> | PHRASE gûnin.
> | PHRASE jilgan.
> | PHRASE mudan.
>
> PREDICATE → sembi
> | seme gisurembi
> | seme holbofi gisurembi
> | seme fungnembi
> | seme tukiyembi
> | { ... }

PHRASE → { *Manju text* }
       | { *Manju text* } hendumbihede,
       | jifi { *verb stem* + rV }
       | teisu teisu { *verb stem* + rV }
       | niyalma de hendufi { *verb stem* + rV }

REFERENCE → uthai KEYWORD sere gisun.
       | uthai KEYWORD sere gisun de adali.

EXAMPLE → SOURCE TEXTREFERENCE

SOURCE → šu ging ni SECTION fiyelen de,
       | ši ging ni SECTION fiyelen de,
       | luwen ioi bithede,
       | mengdz bithede,
       | { ... }

SECTION → {*Chinese name of text section* }

On the basis of this description it becomes possible to write a computer program which analyzes the textual input tokens and parses their structure. Typically, this work is done with two complementary programs, lex and yacc,[10] which together produce the final program used for processing these dictionaries.

10 Summary

The detailed, "atomic" comparison between the Manju dictionaries of 1708 and 1772 is the necessary basis for a critical edition of both texts with the main focus on development of lexicography and evolution of lexicon. A formal grammar is a *conditio sine qua non* for a computer-aided approach to this endeavour. At the time of this writing (late 2019), the author has entered about one third of each dictionary into computer using a notation suitable for lexical analysis and grammatical parsing. The objective of the ongoing work is a comparative study of the complete dictionaries at the lemma level.

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[10] "Lex and yacc help you write programs that transform structured input." (p. 1, Levin/Mason/Brown, *lex & yacc*). Breaking down input text into Manju words and punctuation (together, in computer science parlance, called "tokens") is known as lexical analysis. Identifying the relationships among the tokens is the task of the parser, the rules of these relationships define the grammar (see pp. 1–2, Levin/Mason/Brown, *lex & yacc*).

11   Appendix: Figures and Tables
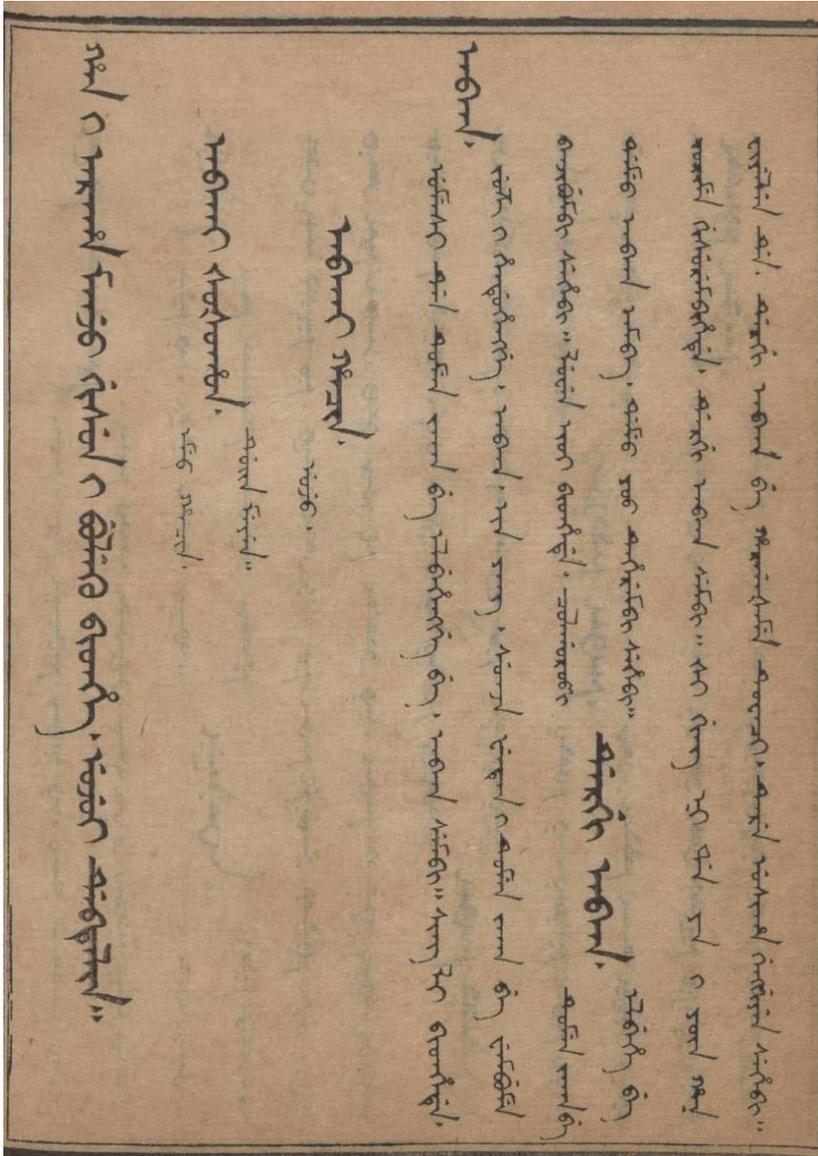
Figure 1: The first text page of the *Manju gisun i buleku bithe* of 1708. The definition and explanation of the lemmata is extensive. Image source: Staatsbibliothek Berlin. See bibliography for data source.
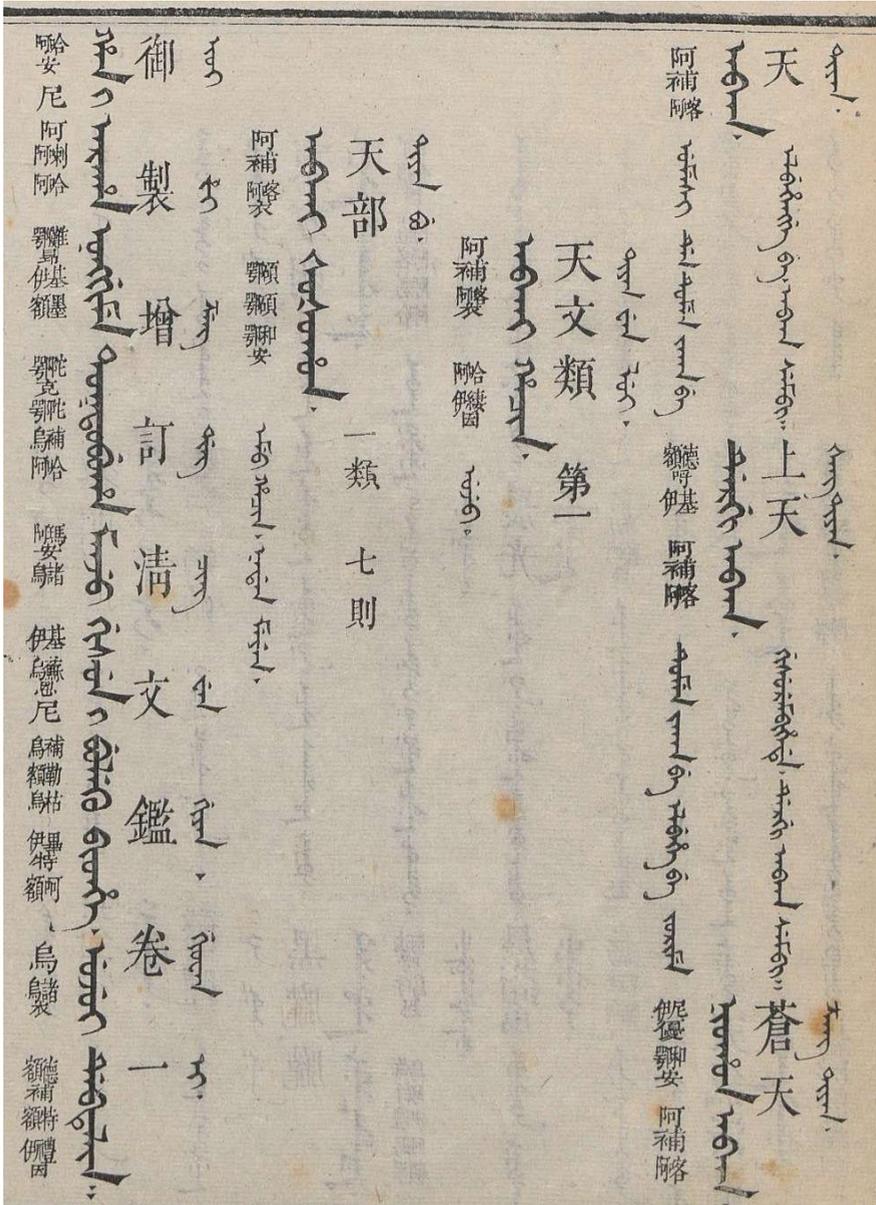
Figure 2: The first text page of the *Manju gisun i nonggime toktobuha buleku bithe* of 1772. In comparison to 1708, two different approaches are evident: much more information is offered for reading the entry keyword in Manju and Chinese, but the definition is cropped to the bare minimum. Image source: Staatsbibliothek Berlin. See bibliography for data source.

Table 1: The first four lemmata of *erin forgon i hacin*, 1 of 1708 spawn a total of 32 entries in the 1772 dictionary. Dashed lines stand for renamed entries, solid lines denote direct correspondences, and dotted lines stand for derived or forked entries.

1708 erin forgon i hacin, uju	1772 erin forgon i hacin, uju
1 in, yang	1 a
	2 e
2 sunja feten	3 sunja feten
	4 muke
	5 tuwa
	6 moo
	7 aisin
	8 boihon
3 cikten	9 cikten
	10 niowanggiyan
	11 niohon
	12 fulgiyan
	13 fulahûn
	14 suwayan
	15 sohon
	16 šanyan
	17 šahûn
	18 sahaliyan
	19 sahahûn
4 gargan	20 gargan
	21 singgeri
	22 ihan
	23 tasha
	24 gûlmahûn
	25 muduri
	26 meihe
	27 morin
	28 honin
	29 bonio
	30 coko
	31 indahûn
	32 ulgiyan

Table 2: Given the insertion of so many terms, subsection 1 of *erin forgon i hacin* is split into two subsections. This table shows the second part of 1708 *erin forgon i hacin*, 1 which matches *erin forgon i hacin*, 2 in 1772. Substantial rearrangements can be observed.

1708 *erin forgon i hacin, uju, cont'd*	1772 **erin forgon i hacin, jai**
5 erin	1 erin
6 forgon	2 fon
7 fon	3 forgon
	4 duin erin
	5 duin forgon
8 jalan	6 jalan
9 julge	7 julge
10 nenehe	8 nenehe
11 neneme	9 neneme
12 aifini	10 aifini
13 seibeni	11 seibeni
14 tuktan	12 tuktan
15 sucungga	13 sucungga
16 bonggo	14 dade
17 bonggo de genehe	15 jokson
18 fukjin	16 fukjin
19 jokson	17 bonggo
20 dade	18 bonggo de genehe
21 onggolo	19 onggolo
22 onggolokon	20 onggolokon
23 doigonde	21 doigonde
24 doigomšombi	22 doigomšombi
25 nenden	23 nenden
26 nende	24 nendembi
27 nendembi	25 nende
	26 nene
28 jabdumbi	27 jabdumbi
29 jabdubumbi	28 jabdubumbi
	29 jabdugan
30 šolo	30 šolo

Table 3: The fifth subsection of *erin forgon i hacin* **shows 17 new entries and substantial relocations in the 1772 version.**

1708	1772
erin forgon i hacin, sunjaci	**erin forgon i hacin, ningguci**

1708	1772
1 inenggi	1 inenggi
2 sain inenggi	
3 ehe inenggi	
	2 hacin inenggi
4 aniya inenggi	3 aniya inenggi
5 hacin	4 hacin
6 niolhun	5 niolhun
	6 jempin inenggi
7 fe yamji	7 hangsi
8 hangsi	8 sunjangga inenggi
	9 šanyan
	10 nadangga inenggi
	11 biyangga inenggi
	12 uyungge inenggi
	13 jorgon inenggi
	14 fe yamji
	15 abkai kesingge inenggi
	16 abkai guwebuhen inenggi
	17 abkai buyecukengge inenggi
	18 ujire calungga inenggi
	19 biyai kesingge inenggi
	20 duin aisilangga inenggi
	21 dergi šongge inenggi
9 nenehe inenggi	22 nenehe inenggi
	23 sain inenggi
	24 ehe inenggi
10 cananggi	25 cananggi
11 sikse	26 sikse
12 enenggi	27 enenggi
13 ineku inenggi	28 ineku inenggi
14 ere cimari	29 ere cimari
	30 cimaridari
15 cimari	31 cimari
	32 cimaha
16 jai inenggi	33 jai inenggi
17 coro	34 coro
18 amaga inenggi	35 amaga inenggi
19 inenggidari	36 inenggidari

Table 4: Like the first subsection, the fifth subsection of *erin forgon i hacin* of 1708 is split into two subsections, the lower half becoming the seventh subsection in 1772. Forked entries are not necessarily confined to the same *hacin*; the forked lemma *erdeken oso* is found in the section *hacihiyara šorgire hacin*, far away in the twelfth fascicle.

1708	1772
erin forgon i hacin, sunjaci, cont'd	**erin forgon i hacin, nadaci**
20 ice	1 ice
	2 šongge inenggi
21 tofohon	3 tofohon
	4 wangga inenggi
22 gûsin	5 gûsin
23 erde	6 erde
24 erdeken	7 erdeken
	hacihiyara šorgire hacin: erdeken oso
	8 erdelehe
25 cimarilame	9 cimarilame
26 inenggishûn	10 inenggishûn
27 šun tuhetele	11 šun dositala
	12 šuntuhuni
28 yamjishûn	13 yamjishûn
29 yamjitala	14 yamjitala
30 sikseri	15 sikseri
31 yamji	16 yamji
32 yamjidari	17 yamjidari
33 dobori	18 dobori
34 dobori dulin	19 dobori dulin
	20 dobon dulin
35 dobonio	21 dobonio
	22 gerembumbi
36 geretele	23 geretele

Table 5: In the sixth subsection of 1708 and the eighth subsection of 1772, another Chinese word is replaced by a term closer to Manju, indicated by the dashed line. The position of two lemmata is swapped.

1708	1772
erin forgon i hacin, ningguci	**erin forgon i hacin, jakûci**
1 erin ⟶	1 erin
2 erindari ⟶	2 erindari
3 erileme ⟶	3 erileme
4 ke - - - - - - - - ⟶	4 kemu
	5 fuwen
	6 miyori
5 ging ⟶	7 ging
6 ging foriha ⟶	8 ging foriha
7 gerendere ging ⟶	9 gerendere ging
	10 tanggû ging
8 halhûn ⟶	11 halhûn
9 amba halhûn ⟶	12 amba halhûn
10 ambula halhûn ⟶	13 ambula halhûn
11 halukan	14 fancame halhûn
12 luk seme halhûn ⟶	15 luk seme halhûn
13 fiyakiyame halhûn ⟶	16 fiyakiyame halhûn
14 šorime halhûn ⟶	17 šorime halhûn
15 ludur seme halhûn ⟶	18 ludur seme halhûn
16 gûngkambi ⟶	19 gûngkambi
17 hûktambi ⟶	20 hûktambi
18 teliyebumbi ⟶	21 teliyebumbi
19 fancame halhûn	22 halukan
20 šahûrun ⟶	23 šahûrun
21 niome šahûrun ⟶	24 niome šahûrun
22 serguwen ⟶	25 serguwen
	26 seruken
23 singkeyen ⟶	27 singkeyen
24 gecuhun ⟶	28 gecuhun
25 beikuwen ⟶	29 beikuwen
26 amba beikuwen ⟶	30 amba beikuwen
27 ambula beikuwen ⟶	31 ambula beikuwen
28 cak sere beikuwen ⟶	32 cak sere beikuwen

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Commercial Activities of Bederge Muslim Merchants of Yili in the Eighteenth Century and Their Silence: Exploring Manchu Archives

Songjie Gu

1   Introduction

The Manchu term *boderge* derived from the plural form of *bāzārgān* [businessman] in Persian, and generally refers to the Bukharan merchants in Central Asia. Europeans, especially the Russians, referred to today's Uyghurs and Uzbeks in this area as the "Bukharans", and today's southern Xinjiang was referred to as "Little Bukharia". During the period of Galdan Khan, the Junghar Mongols conquered today's southern Xinjiang joinly with Khwāja Āfāq. The Ismā'īl Khān was captured and taken to Yili together with the Khwāja brothers as hostages, among whose followers there were thousands of "bederge". They played an important role in the development of Junghar regime.[1] After the Qing government pacified the Junghars, their footprints went as far as Kyakhta, the northern border of the Qing China, and they participated in the official trade between the Qing and Russia.[2] Based on previous studies, this article uses Manchu archives to further explore the trade between bederge Muslim merchants of Yili and Russians on the eastern and western border of the Qing Empire and to investigate the whereabouts of them in the 18th century.

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[1] Onuma Takahiro 2011, 83–100. Li 2009, 109–113.
[2] Yanagisawa Akira 2014, 232–253.

2 The Trading Between Bederger Muslim Merchants and Russians During the Period Junghar

The trade relationship between the Junghars and Russia began to grow closer since the end of the 17th century. The bederge Muslim merchants taken to Yili by Galdan from southern Xinjiang have become the main force of trade.

The important trade towns between the Junghars and Russia include Lake Yamesh, Tobolsk, Tara, Tyumen, etc., all of which are located in the Irtysh River Basin and belong to the Junghars. Lake Yamesh is five miles away from the Irtysh River, and there is a canal connecting it in the middle. Whenever the Russians came to the lake to transport salt, a market was formed. Thousands of people gathered here, including Kalmyk, Bukharan and Tatars. They traded with the Russians, sold horses, slaves, and even Chinese goods. The market lasted two or three weeks.[3] The goods, which the Junghars brought to trade, were livestock, horses, felt, and dressed goatskin and wool in exchange for clothes, cloth, metalwork and other goods brought by Russian merchants.[4] John F. Baddeley also mentioned in "*Russia, Mongolia, China*", that "Tobolsk is a prosperous commercial city, where Tajik, Bukhara and Tatar people go to do business there", "Russians trade with Bukhara merchants in the place of Tyumen in Tatar every year, and Bukhara people come here with camels every year". He points out that these "Bukhara people" mainly come from the "little Bukharia" of China.[5] At that time, on one hand, Russia maintained normal trade relations with the Junghars, on the other, actively promoted its colonization process. They encroached on the nomadic land of the Junghars by force and built military fortresses. By 1720, they had occupied the most important trade center of the Junghars – the lake Yamesh, and then occupied the senbolot area on the south bank of the Irtysh River, and built Fort Semi-Palatinsk.

However, barter trade is very important to the nomadic people and plays a special role in their survival. In the early 18th century, in the face of Russian aggression, the Junghars still maintained close contact with Russia through trade and sought its own development. From 1727 to 1745, the specific trade situation between the Junghars and Russia was not recorded in detail in Russian historical materials. We can get a glimpse from Manchu archives. At that time, the bederge Muslim merchants, who were sent to trade with Russia, were quite large in scale. At one time, they carried nearly one thousand horses, more than one hundred cattle, two or three hundred sheep, two or three hundred taels of gold and silver, as well as lynx, monkey, fox, leopard, wolf, Muslim cloth and other goods, carried by nearly one thousand camels to the Salt Lake area of Russia to buy cattle hide, otter, green fox, grey mouse, silver rats, Japanese satin, felt, pearl, coral, gold and silver satin and other items returned.[6] The trade items recorded in the other memorial are the same

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[3] John F. Baddeley 1919, WU 1981, 1331–1332.
[4] Гуревич Б. П., Моисеев В. А. 1979, 7.
[5] John F. Baddeley, WU 1981, 962.
[6] Yanagisawa Akira 2014, 251–252.

as those recorded here, but the trade places are more specific. "According to the order, we have checked the trade matters with Russia. We have asked Aitme and the Oyirad people Bayan. They said that when they Muslim and Oyirad people used to trade with Russia, they prepared lynx, fox, silver, cloth and other things from their original places. They gathered nearly a thousand people and carried nearly a thousand camels to carry their luggage and trade in Russia's Salt Lake (Man. dabsun noor, Lake Yamesh), tungtura (Man., Tobolsk), senbolot (Man., Fort Semi-palatinsk), ismel (Man., Ishim River) and other places."[7] It can be seen that the trade places between the Junghars and Russia are always located along the Irtysh River.

With the continuous growth of the trade between Russia and the Junghars, since the 1820s, the Junghar merchants have almost dominated the market in Siberia. To safeguard the interest of the Russian merchants and the national treasury, tariff rates and prices were adjusted and the bederge Muslim caravan had to be sent to conduct trade in Hindustan (India). In the 27th year of Qianlong (1762), the Qing government asked Mirza Khwāja, a bederge Muslim, a) how they conducted trade with Hindustan during the Galdan Tsering period, b) what they carried and c) what they exchanged. Mirza Khwāja replied:

"When we were trading with them, we would carry red and white cloth, quiver, bow and ox leather from Kashgar and Yarkand to kara tubet (Man., Tibet-i-Khord), and we sold them to lamas there for gold and silver. Then we would travel past Baltistan, Kashmir and Pišabur (Man.) under Hindustan control, after which, we finally arrived at the king's city Jahanabat (Man.). There, we would trade the gold and silver for silk, teitela (Uyghur word) satin like altan basy (Uyghur word), regular kimhak (Uyghur word) satin, pearl, rug, boot and safiya[8] (Man., sheet or goat leather). The prices there were lower than those in Russia. The size of pearls is different. The bigger ones costed 30, 40 or 50 taels and we could only acquire several at one time. Smaller ones were plenty, costing 1 to 2, or 2 to 3 taels. Silk and pearls are all produced there. Besides, there are also high quality noošadir (the meaning of the word is not clear). The trip from Kashgar to Tibet-i-Khord lasts one month, and the reminder before Hindustan last four months. We have never traveled this way before and we only know this from our old bederge people, who told us so."[9]

From the above trade items, it can be seen that the goods between the Junghars and Russia exchanging mainly were luxury goods, which were provided for the nobles. Daily supplies for ordinary people were rare.

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[7] Grand Council copied Manchu archives 03-0179-1876-022.

[8] The term of *safiya* may derived from Russian СаФЬЯН.

[9] *Qingdai Xinjiang manwen dangan huibian* 2012, Vol. 56, 330–331.

3   The Whereabouts of Yili Bederge Muslim People

The bederge Muslim people, who were brought to Yili by the rulers of the Junghars, served for the Junghar regime and were loyal to Khwāja Āfāq in Yili. Therefore, in 1757, after the Junghars was completely defeated by the Qing, the Khwāja brothers Buranidun (Man., Ch. 布拉呢敦 or 波羅尼都) and Hojijan (Man., Ch. 霍集占) took actions to lead the Muslims from all over Xinjiang to revolt openly, and all the bederge Muslim people in Yili followed. In lunar September of the 24th year of Qianlong (1759), the Qing government controlled the Muslims in southern Xinjiang. Most of the subordinates of the brothers were captured and more than ten thousand Muslims were surrendered. Aqim bek of Kucha ūdui (Man.), Aqim bek of Sayram Aguwasbok'ai (Man.) said, "among these Muslims there are only more than thirty-five thousand true *taranči* and *bederge*. During the reign of Lama Dalja, the Muslims of our cities were forced to be taken to Yili. Later on, when peace prevailed in Yili, they were repatriated to their original places. Last year, when Hojijan passed through these places, they were driven to Yili again. Now they are among the *taranči* and *bederge*." Qianlong Emperor thought "there are *usak* and *bederge* among the surrendered, who followed Hojijan for several generations in Yili. They are unbelievable. They must be similar to Hojijan. We must exterminate them to make it stable." "All of *taranči, bederge* and *usak* are the old people followed the traitor Khwāja brothers to do evil. They are really hateful and cannot be compared with those of other cities."[10] The Qing army registered the surrendered Muslims one by one, with a total number of 4,489 on the list, including the *bederge, taranči* and *usak*. Those who were forced to move to Yili by Hojijan have been repatriated to their original places and given back to the Aqim bek. Except for the dead over sickness and starvation on the way, there were 1,300 men, 906 women and 617 children, with a total of 2553.[11]

At first, the measures taken by Qing government to deal with the Yili boderge Muslims were as follows: "Those from cities such as Aksu, shayar and Kucha brought by Hojijan were sent to Turpan for resettlement together with their wives and children. Males including *usak* and *bederge*, who were escorted from Yili are unbelievable. They should be brought to Suzhou (today's Jiuquan in Gansu Province) and punished. If there were *bederge* and craftsmen who were good at doing business, twenty or thirty of them shall be elected, free from death, and take them to Beijing together with their wives and children. The rest are all executed.[12] The widows and children of *usak* and *bederge*, as well as men and women of 60 or 70 years old, should be brought to Aksu for a detailed investigation. Those who should be repatriated shall be sent back to their original city for resettlement, those who should

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[10] Ibid, Vol.42, 214–215.

[11] Ibid, Vol.42, 213.

[12] *Qingdai Xinjiang manwen dangan huibian* 2012, Vol. 42, 208.

be slaved shall be allocated, and the rest shall be moved to Gansu Province.[13] In fact, their subsequent whereabouts are roughly as follows:

There were very few of them who could understand the Uyghur characters, they were accommodated in the Qing military camps as translators. According to the second rank Imperial guard Cilinjab, "there is an Uyghur called Gupa who could do the writing, and he was installed in the military camp as a translator by the deputy general Fude. His wives and family members were installed in Aksu temporarily, and left to Ūdui to take care of."[14]

Twelve people were taken in by Toktosopi, the son of Aqim bek Hojis of Khotan who surrendered to the Qing government. He reported, "when killing the sister Akbobi Agaca and Toktosopi in the Hojis family, there was a man called Ideles, a *bederge*, who was sent to rescue them. In Ideles's family, there were 12 people, including 2 old men, 3 women, 2 children, and 5 servants."[15] Here we can see that the *bederge* had servants, who said that they were men of status, and belonged to a certain social class, the so-called "upper class" (i.e. wealthy businessmen).[16]

In December of the same year, Councillor Šuhede reported and determined a set of policies on the taxes of Khotan and other six cities. One of the policies showed that the ten households of bederge merchants should pay ten taels gold, and they should pay it after merchant passing.[17] And these ten households of bederge who paid the tax were also returned from Yili. On the lunar January 28 of the 25th year of Qianlong (1760), Šuhede reported, "after investigation, in our previous submitted memorial, Coda (Man.) reported the ten households of bederge merchants pay ten taels gold, and the ten fishing gold households such as Dzaišur pay three taels gold. However, currently they cannot do business suffering distressing life, and cannot afford that tax. The beks have issued guarantee. The situation is true."[18]

In addition to the scattered personnel mentioned above, most of the others were sent to Suzhou and distributed to local officers and soldiers. On lunar December 11th of the 24th year of Qianlong (1759), the Emperor issued an order to pardon the death penalty of the *bederge*, *taranči* and *usak* of Yili and then moved to Suzhou, where Yang Yingju, Governor-General of Shaanxi and Gansu, gave rewards to the officers and soldiers in accordance with what is appropriate. The Muslims in Yarkand, Kashgar, Aksu, Shayar, Kucha and other places were also forgiven. They did not have to be resettled in Turpan, but stayed in the cities.[19]

To sum up, the whereabouts of Yili bederge Muslims who were captured after the Qing army's crusade against the rebellion of Khwāja brothers in 1759 is clear. Despite a military policy of suppression to Khwāja brothers taken by the Qing

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[13] Ibid, Vol. 42, 210.
[14] Ibid, Vol. 42, 213.
[15] Ibid, Vol. 42, 212–213.
[16] Илья Яковлевич Златкин 1964, Ma 1980, 315.
[17] *Qing gaozhong shilu* 1986, Vol. 8, 756.
[18] *Qingdai Xinjiang manwen dangan huibian* 2012, Vol. 44, 167–169.
[19] Ibid, Vol.43, 16–17.

government, the captured were not executed in the end. Among them, the twenty or thirty of *bederge* and craftsmen, who were good at trade and free from death, were taken to Beijing together with their wives and children, it were those groups whose footprints had reached Kyakhta.

4   The Bederge Muslim Merchants in Kyakhta Trade Between Qing China and Russia

In lunar March of the 5th year of Yongzheng (1728), Qing China and Russia signed a treaty, which allowed merchants from both countries to barter at Kyakhta. From the perspective of Russia, it was a civil trade, while it was an official trade for the Qing government. From the winter of the 25th year of Qianlong (1760) to the following spring, a group of bederge merchants appeared in the trade.

On June 28 of that year, 30 bederge merchants under the leadership of Assistant Department Director of Court of Colonial Affairs (Man. tulergi golo be dasara jurgan, Ch. Lifanyuan) – Liobooju, and the deputy official of the fifth and sixth rank in the Imperial Household (Man. dorgi baita be uheri kadalara yamun, Ch.Neiwufu) – Kimboo departed from Zhangjiakou and arrived at Kyakhta on August 22.[20] On November 15, Liobooju reported to the Qing court that the Russian caravans usually arrived in December or January, but this year they arrived earlier. The goods they brought have been trading two-thirds proportion, and now only left one-third items. The goods purchased by the bederge merchants were the same as the price of the previous years, and they were doing business well. Then he asked the Grand Councilor Fuheng for instruction if according to the pervious discussion, in case the Muslims do well in the trade, it would draw some money appropriately from the twenty thousand taels that Fan Qingzhu carried for the trade, and to add them to the ten thousand taels they brought.[21] Finally, Liobooju received the permission from the government, and finished the trade by exchanging all the items they carried. The items carried by Fan Qingzhu were picked up and with more than 1,500 taels of goods the trade went on. On 1st March in lunar calendar of the 26th year of Qianlong (1761), the bederge merchants, carrying all items they purchased, went back to Beijing from Kyakhta. And they received awards and reward from the Emperor Qianlong when they arrived at the capital. According to documents of the Grand Councilor and other officials who presented to the Emperor to ask for rewarding those who went for trade to Kyakhta in 1762 and 1764, the Qing government divided these merchants into three levels: 15 taels of silver for each of the first class, 10 taels for the second class, and 5 taels for each person for the third class. For example, in 1762, 6 persons such as Mirdza got 15 taels per person, 9 persons such as Ibariyem got 10 taels per person and 15 persons such as Baba got 5 taels per person.

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[20] Yanagisawa Akira 2014, 250.
[21] Grand Council copied Manchu archives 03-0179-1876–020.

In 1764, the two men of Mirdza wearing the blue feather and Mirdzabeki, each received 15 taels of silver, the three of Ibariyem, Soyoncon and Isak each received 10 taels, Noryak, Kibak, Sali, Niyedzar and Tuliyen each received five taels.[22]

Table 1: List of trade items is as follows:[23]

Items	Quantity
cikiri boro dobihi (white pearl fox fur)	226 pieces
Hailun (otter)	41 pieces
šanyan ulhu (ermine)	13900 pieces
cikiri boro dobihi fatha (whit pearl fox palm)	103 pairs
suwayan yacin fulgiyan safiya (yellow, black and red goat leather)	104 pieces
kara mejin jafu (black blanket)	5 pieces
aisin sese i ilha noho suje (gold brocade)	one piece with 32 feet length
menggun i sese ilha noho suje (silver brocade)	one piece with 10 feet length
aisin mengun sese akū ilha noho suje (no gold and silver brocade)	one piece with 40 feet length
aisin tonggo (gold thread)	70 rolls
menggun tonggo (silver thread)	14 rolls
aisin tonggo i hiyatame araha šentu (silk ribbon made by gold thread)	8 liang 5 qian

This was the first time that bederge Muslim merchants appeared in the Kyakhta trade market. During the period of the Qianlong Era, the Kyakhta trade market experienced three times closure. The first time was in 1763 that the prince of Tü-shiyetu Khan Sangjaidorji presented the Russian bandits crossing the border and looting residents. Moreover, Russia increased the duty privately, set up fences and both Khalkha and Russia lost thousands of horses, while Russia manufactured chaos by reported more loss than fact. As a result, in 1764, Qianlong Emperor

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[22] Ibid, 03-0179-1942-019, 03-0181-2085-010.

[23] Ibid, 03-0179-1876-039.

ordered to close the Kyakhta market. However, in August 1768, considering the request from Russia, Qianlong Emperor allowed to open the market again. The second time to close Kyakhta trade market was in 1778 due to a Russian crossed the border to sell horses and was caught, while the Russian officials were arrogant and deliberately insulted Chinese officials instead of refusing a joint trial, which led to the deterioration of contradictions. Then the Grand Minister of Kulun-Sorin closed the trade market without authorization. As usual, Russia requested to recover the market after punishing the criminal, which received permission in 1780. The third closure took place in 1785. The merchants from Kulun went to Wulianghai for nomadic trade and were robbed of their goods by several Buryats of Russia. China and Russia had made major differences in dealing with those robbers. Consequently, the Qing court ordered to close the market again, and released a ban about the export of rheum officinale, in particularly prohibited doing trade in a private way.[24] The trade of bedge merchants in Kyakhta appeared before the second closure, that is, from the 25th year (1760) to the 28th year (1763), and the 34th year (1769) to the 42nd year (1777) of Qianlong.

The bedge merchants went to Kyakhta trade belonging to official trade, thus a set of management system was formed: every year around August 20, the Qing government would dispatch a secretary of Imperial Household and a secretary of Court of Colonial Affairs to lead the bedge Muslims to go to the Kyakhta trade market. In general, the leading personnel would change every three years. When changing the personnel, only one person was allowed meaning that both – a new-comer and an original one – could keep company. The goods and silver they carried were picked from the silk stored in the warehouse of Imperial Household. If the amount of silks and satins was inadequate, it drew attention to Department of the Privy Purse (Guangchusi/广储司)[25]. The silky satins and taels were equivalent to 20,000 taels. Silvers for equipment preparations and the journey totaled one hundred taels per person, and money for the journeys equaled one tael per day. Regarding the bedge, each person was given 10 taels for the whole package as well as two pennies per day for the journey. They departed from Beijing and drove to Zhangjiakou to buy goods according to the Russian needs. For doing trade they were using the taels they took, also they were purchasing domestic animals used for ride and goods for re-pairing pans and sewing tents. All trade goods and silvers carried by retinues were placed where local officials lived by renting camels or renting carts according to market prices. In Kunlun it was possible to change the animals that were used for the journey if they were tired.[26] Sometimes, they would carry the silks and satins that were stored in the Chengde Mountain resort.[27] They arriveed at Kyakhta around

[24] Mi 2003, 16-17. Li , Su 1987, 81–86.

[25] It was a department under the Imperial Household, in charge of the cashier of the six treasuries: silver, leather, porcelain, satin, clothing and tea.

[26] Grand Council copied Manchu archives 03-0187-2714-008.

[27] Ibid, 03-0179-1890-020.

October 15 and stared business. When the trade market finished in next March, they returned to the capital.

The initial number of the bederge Muslims who participated in the Kyakhta trade was 30,[28] however, the number was gradually decrease to 8 in 1777.[29] In 1780, when the Kyakhta trade reopened, the Grand Councillor – Fulunggan reported that, the official trade should be conducted with bederge Muslims, due to their understanding of Russian language. "And now, those merchants have learnt the interpretation of trade, and there are some Secretaries (janggin/章京) in Kyakhta. Please stop dispatching officers with bederge Muslim merchants to the trade of Kyakhta. It is of benefit for the officer to detect the markets that deliver this assignment to the officer who is in Kyakhta. It resembled a single and simple method to save the cost of packing charge and travel expense." [30] Following that, the Emperor Qianlong agreed that solution. Since that moment, Bederge merchants were no longer part of the trade of Kyakhta.

5 Conclusion: The Policy of Qing Government and the Silence of Bederge Muslim Merchants

The bederge Muslim merchants were the essential part of the Eurasian inland trade network. Those in Yili had served in the Junghar regime and went to the Irtysh River basin to carry out large-scale trade with Russia. After the disappearance of the Junghars, they supported the rebellion of Khwāja brothers again. It was recorded in the *Veritable Records of Qianlong* that these Muslims such as *Usaq*, *Bederge* and other group have settled down in Yili for a long term, and were trusted by Hojijan.[31] Buranidun would discuss everything confidentially with *Usaq*, *Taranči*, *Bederge* and *Mahūs* (Man., Ch. 瑪呼斯).[32] *Bederge* were the businessmen, *Taranči* were the farmers, *Usaq* were the troops.[33] In these groups, it seems that merchants were more close to the core of the regime. When Hojijan fled to Bardake Hill, most of the followers were *Bederge*.[34] It made Qianlong Emperor deeply angry. He issued an order to move all of the 2,000-surrendered *Boderge* from Yili to Suzhou in Gansu province and reward them to the officers and soldiers for strict control. They should be the official Junghar caravan forces. Only twenty or thirty people were escorted to Beijing, incorporated into the Eight Banners for management, and were sent to Kyakhta by the Qing government. With the ongoing of time, the number of people doing business inevitably became scarce.

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[28] Ibid, 03-0179-1876-022.

[29] Ibid, 03-0187-2714-008.

[30] Ibid, 03-0189-2877-029.

[31] *Qing gaozhong shilu* 1986, Vol. 8, 633.

[32] Ibid, Vol.6, 572.

[33] The History of Uyghur Region 1968, Vol.1, 31.

[34] *Qing Gaozong Shilu* 1986, Vol.8, 613.

After the rebellion was suppressed, the Qing government closed the western trade with Russia. Central Asian countries such as Kazakh and Khokand were incorporated into the tributary system, and the Russians used the merchants of Andiyan and Bukhar as intermediaries to resell Russian goods in Xinjiang. The Qing government restricted both the border trade and the internal and external trade to prevent the Muslim people in Xinjiang from uniting with the Central Asian countries for rebellion. The Muslim traders were no longer the principal part of foreign trade. During the closure of the Kyakhta trade in 1789, the Qing government adopted the following policies on the trade for the Xinjiang border: "From now on, any people from Andijan, Bukhar and Kazakh who go to Russia to trade and exchange their goods to bring them to Yili and other places for sale must be informed of the im-perial edict that now Kulun has stopped business, we are not allowed to buy Russian goods. As they are foreign vassals, they will not be punished; they will only drive back their goods, and it is forbidden to trade with the Muslims in Kashgar and Aksu."[35] Moreover, when the Qing troops entered Xinjiang, many Han Chinese merchants were brought in to deal with both – the local business of Xinjiang and the trade with the inland provinces, who have replaced the status of the previous Muslim caravan.[36]

In addition, for the Qing government, opening trade at the border was a dip-lomatic means. The Qing government itself had a conservative attitude towards foreign trade, which was reflected in all kinds of historical materials. On September 14, 1757, the deputy General Zhao Hui who was guarding the whole of Xinjiang submitted a memorial reporting that Nusan met with Ablai Khan and asked about the customs of Kazakhstan, he declared Ablai (Khan) was a person of a remote tribe that has not seen good stuff and also cannot purchase it.[37] The potential implication is the products in Kazakh are poor. On November 22, 1759, the councilor in Yarkant Šuhede reported a case, that the tax situation of Muslims in Yarkant also expressed a sense of disdain about the goods carried by the Muslim merchants of Badak Hill, Tashkent, and of Yarkant from the trade of Tubet (Man., Tibet-i-Khord), it also claimed that after the inspection, goods such as hides, sugar and other debris are used by Muslims. He would ask subordinates to collect taxes as usual; he also thought that stuff was useless for him.[38] The most famous example were the words Qianlong Emperor wrote in his imperial edict to the British king when Macartney came to visit: "The products of our country were abundant and omnipresent. We did not rely on foreign goods at all".

Based on the above reasons, bederge Muslim merchants appearing in the northeast border of Qing – Kyakhta doing business with Russia is just a flash in the Qianlong Era. In other words, it is just an episode of the trade of Kyakhta between

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[35] Zhang 1987, 37.
[36] Li 1993, 7.
[37] *Qingdai Xinjiang manwen dangan huibian* 2012, Vol. 25, 368.
[38] Ibid, Vol.43, 29–31.

Qing and Russia. As a merchant class, bederge Muslim merchants served successively for the Junghars and Khwāja brothers. They lost the trust of Qianlong Emperor and finally fell silent in the long river of history.

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Three Decrees that Changed the Fate of the Kyrgyz Language

Gulnara Jamasheva

1   Introduction

The Kyrgyz language is one of the oldest languages, the first mention of which is found in Chinese sources dating back to the 1st century BC (145–86 BC). Historically, Kyrgyzstan was located on the Great Silk Road, which led to contacts between the Kyrgyz people and representatives of many nationalities, mutual influence of spiritual and material cultures. There are numerous evidences of it on the territory of Kyrgyzstan. Impact of such a great historical process as the Great Silk Road on the development of the Kyrgyz language is still waiting to be investigated. This paper is devoted to one of the important issues of the new history of Kyrgyzstan – the development of the Kyrgyz language in the Soviet era. It was during this period of its history, that the Kyrgyz language experienced something that it had never known before – directed linguistic processes.

2   General Information: Linguistic Situation and History

Kyrgyzstan is a Central Asiatic country and one of the republics of the former Soviet Union. Kyrgyzstan is a mountainous country; more than 90% of the territory is occupied by mountains. Average height is 2,750m above the sea level. Kyrgyz Republic is surrounded by Kazakhstan from the north, Uzbekistan from the west, Tajikistan from the south-west and the Peoples Republic of China from the southeast.

It is a multinational and multilingual state with a high degree of mixed marriages and ethnic tolerance. Population in 2016 showed the number of 6,019,480, the number of nationalities is 26. 72% are referring to themselves as Kyrgyz, the second largest ethnicity are Uzbeks, comprising about 14,3% mostly in the South, in the regions of Osh and Jalal-Abad, and the third are the 6,8% of Russians mostly in the North. Other ethnic groups are Dungans (1,1%), Uigurs (0,9%), Tajiks (0,9%), Turks (0,7%), Kazakhs (0,6%), Tatars (0,6%), Estonians (0,6%), Ukrainians (0,4%), Koreans (0,4%) and some others. 80 nationalities are living permanently here.

Table 1: The dynamics of ethnic groups in the Kyrgyz Republic (1989–2009).

Nationality	1989		1999		2009	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
All nationalities	4257755	100	4822938	100	5362793	100
1. Kyrgyz	2229663	52,4	3128147	64,85	3 804 788	71
2. Uzbeks	550096	12,9	664950	13,8	768 405	14,3
3. Russians	916558	21,5	603201	12,5	419 583	7,8
4. Dungans	36928	0,9	51766	1,1	58 409	1,1
5. Uigurs	36779	0,9	46944	1,0	48 543	0,9
6. Tajiks	35518	0,8	42636	0,9	46 105	0,9
7. Turks	21294	0,5	33327	0,7	39 133	0,7
8. Kazakhs	37318	0,9	42657	0,9	33 198	0,6
9. Tatars	70068	1,6	45438	0,9	31 424	0,6
10. Ukrainians	108027	2,5	50442	1,0	21 924	0,4
11. Koreans	183955	0,4	19784	0,4	17 299	0,3
12. Azerbaijani	15775	0,4	14014	0,3	17 267	0,3
13. Kurds	14262	0,3	11620	0,3	13171	0,3
14. Germans	101309	2,4	21471	0,4	9 487	0,1
15. Byelorussians	9187	0,2	3208	0,06	1394	0,02
16. Jews	5604	0,1	1564	0,03	587	0,01
17. Kalmyks	5050	0,1	5824	0,01	4188	0.07
18. Bashkirs	4026	0,09	2044	0,04	1111	0,02
19. Armenians	3975	0,09	1364	0,03	890	0,02
20. Mordvins	3818	0,09	1513	0,03	447	0,008
21. Crimean Tatars	2924	0,07	63		67	
21. Chechens	2873	0,07	2612	0,05	1875	0,03
22. Karachais	2509	0,06	2167	0,04	1731	0,03
23. Lezghins	2493	0,06	2657	0,05	2603	0,05
24. Dargins	2479	0,06	2704	0,05	2400	0,04
25. Balkars	2131	0,05	1512	0,03	1302	0,02
26. Chuvash	2079	0,05	848	0,02	291	0,005
27. Greeks	2007	0,05	703	0,02	451	0,008
28. Moldavians	1875	0,04	778	0,02	447	0,008
29. Pole	1389	0,03	786	0,02	358	0,007
30. Georgians	1143	0,03	710	0,01	598	0,01
31. Turkmans	899	0,02	430	0,008	2005	0,04
32. Others	11344	0,27	15038	0,3	11254	0,2

Kyrgyzstan gained independence in 1991. It became a full member of the UN, the World Trade Organization, and the International Monetary Foundation. Kyrgyzstan is a secular country with a parliamentary system.

In 1989, two years before the Perestroika the Law on the State Language was adopted by the parliament. The laws on national languages were adopted in almost all Union republics, and this was justified by the need to solve the problems inherited from the Soviet language policy. If at the formation of the USSR, there were 190 ethnic languages, then by the time of its collapse, 40 languages had ceased their existence. Those were the languages of small nations who could not compete with the Russian language, the language of all-Union interethnic communication. Larger national entities that have the status of republics also were experiencing problems in maintaining their national identities. The point was in official tendency of the language policy to assign all functions to one language. There were statements like "it makes no sense to develop the functions of national languages in all areas. Some of the functions should be performed only by the Russian language".[1] This inevitably led to an imbalance in the use of Russian and other national languages. Russian began to infringe on the national languages, taking their space. As an illustration, it will be enough to remind the fact that only one Kyrgyz school was functioning in the capital of the republic – Frunze, and there was not a single kindergarten with the Kyrgyz language. For 20 years from 1969 to 1989 not a single doctoral dissertation on the Kyrgyz language was defended. These facts show the prestige of the native language at that time.

In the 1980s a discussion on the fate of the national languages of the USSR unfolded in the central press. Like in other Union republics it had a long continuation in the Kyrgyz SSR too, involving a whole range of problems not only related to the language, but also to the history of the people and the strengthening of the national identity: the need to restore history, the rehabilitation of political and historical figures, the renaming of cities and streets, the opening of kindergartens and schools with the Kyrgyz language of instruction, etc.

The position and principles of the Soviet government had always been tough and uncompromising. To achieve concessions in language policy was both difficult and insecure, and demanded huge political efforts to go against the official policy, which aimed at maintaining the unity of the Soviet people. However, excesses in the Soviet national policy were so obvious and the position of languages was so vulnerable that the language question began to aggravate, the ideas about adoption of laws on languages in the national republics became indispensable. The argument of the opposing side was the illegitimacy of dividing a united people into languages, and therefore nationalities. Many considered that this question shouldn't be exaggerated, etc.

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[1] Ю. Д.Дешериев. развитие общественных функций литературных языков. М.: Наука, 1978 – 430с., сс.11–12.

One of the active strategists defending the rights of national languages was the famous writer Ch. Aitmatov, who was a person of great authority in the Soviet Union. He raised the slogan "Live your life and let others live" concerning relations between Russian and other 150 languages. In the end of this tough confrontation under convincing arguments, the Laws on the State Languages were accepted. It celebrated the historical value of national languages, condemned the diminishing of their use, offered special measures of their protection, and guaranteed the free development of all national languages. "The Law on the State Language of the Kyrgyz Republic" is a historically significant event. But the Kyrgyz language has endured other laws which biased its fate for over 70 years of the Soviet era.

Historically Kyrgyz were a nomadic ethnos living in mountain regions of Altai. Since the middle of the 9th century, they are living in Central Asia, inhabiting mountainous areas of the Tien-Shan and Pamir-Alay. Centuries-old nomadic way of life for the first time experienced deep changes in the middle of the 19th century after the transition to the Russian protectorate (January 17, 1855). It was the start of penetration of European-style civilization into the patriarchal tribal life of Kyrgyz. Really cardinal and large-scale changes began later in 1918 with the advent of the Soviet power in the region. The establishment of the socialistic system in the mountainous country of nomads was accompanied by breaking of centuries-old foundations, radical changes in all spheres of life. At its core, this process was the replacement of one type of civilization by another in a very short historical time. The main project of the Communist Party for rural areas like Kyrgyzstan, was creation of collective farms – kolkhoz. In Kyrgyzstan, collectivization was held parallel with transfer of nomadic and semi-nomadic farms to settled life. The Soviet government allocated long-term loans from the budget for realizing of this task. Nomads were provided with construction materials, agricultural and household stock. As a result within the period from 1931 to 1941 in Kyrgyzstan 98 thousand nomadic and semi-nomadic farms passed to settled life, and 300 new villages were formed. The population was provided with housing and conditions for agriculture[2]. It is worth mentioning that the sedentarization campaign was conducted by the authorities according to the general plan, without taking into account national specifics. "The standard settlements copied from the Russian villages were constructed, and several nomadic settlements were collected to one village. As a rule, new villages were located far from livestock pastures that complicated a cattle pasture, and gradually led to loss by Kyrgyz of some traditions and skills of cattle breeding. Anyhow full transition to a settled life resulted in appearing of stationary centers with social infrastructure: educational and medical centers, schools, public and household enterprises. Despite excesses and

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[2] Асанканов А. Становление кыргызской нации в годы советской власти.// Кыргызы. Серия «Народы и культуры». Москва: Наука. СС. 478–492, С. 484.

miscalculations, transition to settled life created prerequisites for modernization in the sphere of economy, culture, and public consciousness."[3]

Kyrgyzstan found itself at the crossroads of three civilizations – the native nomadic, the classical European and the newly emerging "communist" civilization, which the liberated nations built and which was to become their "bright future". The development of Kyrgyzstan as a socialist republic within the USSR determined the final transition of the Kyrgyz people to the path of modern civilization and led to the formation of a secular agrarian-industrial state with a population of general literacy in a historically short period of time. Along with social and economic transformations a cultural revolution was actively pursued. Elimination of illiteracy campaign was one of the major tasks. For the Kyrgyz writing at first a version of Arabic alphabet was adapted which was sporadically used among Kyrgyz at that time. In 1923 a broad campaign for elimination of illiteracy was launched. For this purpose all over the country "Red Yurts" were created.

Soon a new decree was issued by the Soviet government. According to it, in all republics that do not have their own written language, writing based on the Latin script was to be created. Russian alphabet was rejected because it was associated with the tsarist regime of oppression other ethnicities. No way could it be imposed on other nations. Latin corresponded to the dominant ideology of internationalism and was associated with the new culture". In Kyrgyzstan an Alphabet Committee was formed in 1924. On October 14, 1926, the executive committee of the Kyrgyz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic issued a decree to begin the gradual replacement of the Arabic letter with the Latin alphabet.

The first two decades of Soviet power are characterized as a period of rapid development of the Kyrgyz economy and cultural and social spheres. The local industry was founded, the agricultural system was organized, and cultural facilities appeared. At this period the first Kyrgyz newspaper was published, modern genres of literature and art, branches of science, etc. began to take shape.

However, ideological attitudes gradually began to change in the Soviet Union. The ideology turned from "the struggle against the great-power chauvinism" to the struggle against "bourgeois nationalism"[4]. The ideology touched upon the writings of Soviet nations too. In 1941 for all new written languages, including Kyrgyz, the Latin letter was replaced by Cyrillic. The alphabet was approved by the decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Kyrgyz SSR on September 12, 1941.

Gradually, the slogans of "blossom and rapprochement of the socialistic nations" and creating of cultures "national in form and socialist in content" became the driving force of the cultural development in the Soviet Union.

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[3] Ibid.

[4] Алпатов В.М. 150 языков и политики; 1917 – 2000. М.: КРАФТ+ИВ РАН, 2000.

In 50-s and 60-s the formation of the national foundation of the Kyrgyz language and some new linguistic styles continued. The language corps was growing rapidly due to numerous neologisms and borrowings from the Russian language. According to the researchers in the "Kyrgyz-Russian Dictionary" by K. Yudakhin, which was published in 1945, the number of Russian borrowings amounted to 10,5%, the original Kyrgyz words made 78,2%. The Russian borrowings and internationalisms in the terminological fund have amounted to more than 80%.[5] At this period the principle of phonetization according to the Kyrgyz pronunciation was so far observed in the borrowings, for example[6]:

абсолют *(rus)* **>** апсалут *(kyrg)*   папироса *(rus)* > бопорос *(kyrg)*
подряд *(rus)* **>** бадирет *(kyrg)*   завод *(rus)* > зоот *(kyrg)*
молекула *(rus)* **>** маликул*(kyrg)*   спирт *(rus)* > испирт *(kyrg)*
принцип *(rus)* **>** пиринсип *(kyrg)*   смена *(rus)* > исмен *(kyrg)*
процесс *(rus)* **>** пурасес *(kyrg)*   станок *(rus)* > ыстанок *(kyrg)*
реализм *(rus)* **>** рейализим *(kyrg)*   штат *(rus)* > ыштат *(kyrg)*
субъект *(rus)* **>** субийек *(kyrg*   форум *(rus)* > порум *(kyrg)"* etc

During this period the unified literacy, both for written and oral forms of the language was elaborated, codified, normalized, and spread among the population. Since then the profits of being educated in Russian were so evident that russification became widely spread. From this time on, deep changes began in the language life of Kyrgyzstan. National-Russian bilingualism was rapidly spreading. If in the pre-Soviet period there were only a few Kyrgyz who knew Russian, then according to the 1989 All-Union census, out of 141 thousand Kyrgyz living in the capital of the republic – Frunze, 84% knew Russian. By the beginning of the Perestroika, almost the entire population of the republic had become bilingual.

In 1953 the decree of the Supreme Council of the Kirghiz SSR "On spelling of Russian and foreign words borrowed through Russian into the Kyrgyz language according to Russian spelling rules" came out. This illiterately drafted law created a big mess in the language and reversed its development process. Its implementation brought many problems and difficulties in practice of the Kyrgyz language.
The embodiment of this law had demanded the following:
1.   Introduction of some specific Russian sounds into the sound system of the Kyrgyz language: [в], [ж], [ф], [ц], [щ], [х];
2.   The use of combinations of more than one consonant at the very beginning of the word, which is extrinsic for the Kyrgyz language. Such loans are pronounced with addition of a relevant synharmonic vowel in the beginning

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[5] Дыйканов К. Кыргыз тилим – тагдырым. Бишкек, 2002, 30.

[6] Абдувалиев И. Кыргыз терминологиясынын калыптаныш принциптери, булак-тары.// Мыйзам чыгаруудагы мамлекеттик тил маселелери. Республикалык илимий-практикалык конференциянын материалдары. Бишкек, 2015, 244–255.

of the word, e.g. *станция – ыстанса, старт – ыстарт, школа – үшкѳл, смена – исмен* etc. The new law forbade it.

3. Differentiated use of suffixes indicating gender in surnames and patronymic names: *-ov, -ov, -ev, -eva; -ovich, -ovna, -evich, -evna.*
4. Borrowing words with Russian suffixes: *министерство*, instead of *министрлик, агентство* instead of *агенттик* etc.
5. Introduction of new derivative elements from the Russian language: *-ист (специалист), -изм (коммунизм), -чик (летчик -pilot), -ер (комбайнер), -ник (ударник- record setter in work) etc.*
6. Russian consonant combinations extrinsic for the Kyrgyz language: *центр, вдрызг (blind drunk), штраф (fine, penalty), структура* etc.
7. The Decree prescribed the Russian spelling for old borrowings that had already assimilated to the Kyrgyz pronunciation.

Actually, that forcibly introduced decree demanded to change the norms of the Kyrgyz language and led to systematic violation of synharmonic, orthoepic and spelling norms. Until now Russian-like pronunciation of the borrowed words in Kyrgyz speech causes discomfort for Kyrgyz who speak Russian and difficulties for those who don't speak it. Almost everyone, whose first language is Kyrgyz, pronounces *пункут* for *пункт*, *абзас* for *абзац*, *шотка* for *щётка*, *гырам* for *грамм*, *текист* for *текст*, etc.

The office work that had just started to develop was fully switched to Russian. I did not find a single document in the Kyrgyz language for the period from 1946 to 1990 even in the archives of the NAS of the Kyrgyz Republic where I work.

The most demanded sphere of public life - office and business paperwork had become a real test for many Kyrgyz who have a poor command of Russian. To write without mistakes a simple statement to a state body takes a lot of effort and stress, not to mention more complex issues.

3   Language Situation in the Period of Independence

After the collapse of the USSR in 1990, the Kyrgyz Republic stated the fullness of the Kyrgyz language public functions under the Law on the State Language. The status of Russian in KR is secured through the 2000 Law "About the official language of the Kyrgyz Republic": it has a role of a tool of interethnic communication. It also provides an access to the Russian and CIS education, culture, information, and high technologies. Therefore, in all of the minority schools that teach in Kyrgyz, Uzbek, Russian, Tajik, Turkish, Dungan and other languages, the Kyrgyz and Russian languages are taught as compulsory subjects.

A special Commission on the State Language under the auspices of the President of the Kyrgyz Republic was established in 1998. One of the top priorities of the commission is to consider and streamline the terminological system of the Kyrgyz

language. For this purpose, a Terminology Committee was formed, which includes scholars, linguists, writers and other experts in the Kyrgyz language and literature. Its task is to make the terminology system more Kyrgyz, to simplify it, adapt it to the needs of the people. For the updating of the terms it was decided to replace them with the native words or with words of Persian or Arabic origin, which in large numbers occur in the related Uzbek language and are assimilated to its system. Some borrowings from Russian and foreign languages were replaced by Kyrgyz words. They may be divided into the following groups:

1. Kyrgyz words from passive stock: совет – *кеңеш*, председатель – *төрага*, съезд – *курултай*, адрес – *дарек*, транспорт – *унаа*, ярмарка – *жарманке*, наркомания – *баңгилик*, дозор - *кайгуул* etc.
2. Words from related languages: реклама – *жарнама*, казначейство -*теңге сарай*, самолет - учак, вертолет – тик учак, пианино – *күү сандык*, портрет – бейне, телевидение – *сыналгы*, радио – *үналгы*, конституция - *башмыйзам* etc.
3. Words of Iranian or Arabic origin: закон – *мыйзам*, гражданин - *жаран*, аудитория –*дарскана*, клиент – *кардар*, кредит – *насыя*, лицензия – *уруксаттама* etc.
4. Calque translation of Russian words and terms into Kyrgyz: реанимация – *жандандыруу*, двигатель – *кыймылдаткыч*, малообеспеченный – *начар камсыздалган*, микроволновая печь – *толкундуу меш*, первая леди – *биринчи канайым* etc.
5. Newly created words: мороженое – *балмуздак*, гражданство – *атуулдук,* презентация – *бет ачар*, инструкция – *нускама*, календарь – *күн барак*, демагог – *кур чечен*, кнопка – *басмак* etc.

Nowdays, the Kyrgyz language is experiencing a period of intensive word creation. Along with new words that have quite found their place in the lexical vocabulary, a large number of occasional words appear and disappear, which is most characteristic of oral speech and the language of the media: вождизм – *көсөмчүлүк*, меню – *ашкат*, новатор – *жаңычыл*, кругозор – *ойөргү*, прогноз – *болжол*, расписка – *тилкат* etc.

Many words of Russian origin receive more than one equivalents, for example: остановка – *аялдама, токтотмо*; круглый стол – *тегерек стол, кереге кеңеш*; статья – *статья, берене*; реклама – *жарнама, жарнак, реклама*, etc.

So far the Commission has published two collections of updated terms. It should be noted, that Russian spelling is preserved for many words and terms, e.g.: *параграф, аноним, вариант, заказ, инвестор* etc. Translations of other borrowed words were proposed by the committee members, and after discussions included in the collections. Many of them are unsuccessful and are not perceived by the people, for example: *вождизм* (leaderism) – *көсөмчүлүк; резерв* (reserve) – *такоол; смена* (change, shift) – *кезмет, нөөмөт; физическая работа* (physical work) – *кара жумуш; шампунь*

(shampoo) – *суусамын; подданный* (citizen) – букара; люстра (chandelier) – *асма шам; светофор* (traffic light) – *белги шам*, etc.

However, the proposed neologisms and re-interpreted words arouse skeptical attitudes among specialists, people remain unaware of them, and innovations have not received practical use. People keep using the lexicon, which they have been evolved and taking shape for over 70 years. However, this does not mean that there is no problem and there is no need to disturb the status quo. Apparently, such problems are solved in a different way. A group of even the most distinguished persons from the terminological commission cannot create and impose new words to the whole nation. It seems to be no less voluntaristic than the Communist party's decree to spell and pronounce Russian loans in other languages as they do it in Russian.

The Influence of the Great Silk Road on the Kyrgyz Vocabulary

Upel K. Kadyrkulova

1 Introduction

The Kyrgyz people are one of the ancient folks who inhabited Eurasia. The ethnic group lived in the expanses of Asia, which according to different sources was called differently: Kara-Kirgiz, Kara-Kidyan, Khergiz, etc. In the X–XI centuries, this state occupied the leading positions in military power and economic. Kyrgyz people, so called in the modern world, had borders of the territory of their state that differed from the current time. They occupied a vast territory from the Ural to Siberia and developed statehood, language, writing, culture and economics. The territory of Kyrgyzstan was one of the main routes for the caravans of the Great Silk Road for many centuries. The Great Silk Road played a major role in the historical destiny of the Kyrgyz people, influencing the economy, politics and culture.

Language, as the main indicator of comprehensive events and the culture, reflects the changes that are taking place in people's lives. Combining the cultures of East and West, Kyrgyz people absorbed the culture and achievements of these two civilizations. A huge number of words and phrases are borrowed in the Kyrgyz language, and are still actively used nowadays. The purpose of the study is the analysis of the Great Silk Road influence on the Kyrgyz vocabulary. The object of the research is the Kyrgyz vocabulary in its historical development. The research methods are historical, chronological descriptions, qualitative and quantitative analysis.

2   The Great Silk Road and Kyrgyz Writing

The nations who inhabited the modern territory of Kyrgyzstan were active partici-
pants in the formation and development of the unique economic phenomenon of
the past – the Great Silk Road. The Great Silk Road is one of the greatest
achievements of the world human civilization. It has become a tool for sharing the
spiritual values of the peoples of the West and the East, and a mediator of the culture
dialogue between different nations. Our republic was a kind of "guardian of the
mountain gates" and was a point of reference of the Great Silk Road in the direction
of China. Three branches of the ancient caravan routes passed through Kyrgyz
territory: 1. Pamir-Alai, which ran through Pamir; 2. South; 3. North, which passed
through the high mountains of Tien Shan. These roads had been linking the West
and the East for fifteen centuries. During this time the cities of Djul, Suyab, No-
vokent, Balasagun, Barskoon, Tash-Rabat, Osh, Uzgen were built along these
routes.

In the historical destiny of the Kyrgyz people, the Great Silk Road played a
significant role in economic development and in the process of sharing spiritual
values. It became the bridge of communication, mutual enrichment and influence of
cultures and languages. Language, as the main indicator of comprehensive events
and culture, reflects the changes that are taking place in people's lives. Combining
the culture of the East and the West the Kyrgyz people absorbed the culture and
achievements of these civilizations. Over a huge period of time, the Great Silk Road
influenced the enrichment of many languages. A huge number of words had been
borrowed to the Kyrgyz language, which are still actively used. Moreover, estab-
lished collocations appeared the etymology of which is undoubtedly connected with
the phenomena of the Great Silk Road. For many years, it was believed that the
Kyrgyz people did not have writing. However, the Kyrgyz writing has a very ancient
history.

Kyrgyz people are one of the most ancient folks, and in the past, they used
writing in the form of drawings – pictography. Kyrgyz people made notches, carved
certain symbols and drawings on wood, leather, stones and other materials in order
to save and transfer information. In ancient writings and petroglyphs, symbols and
signs of worship provoke interest. For instance, solar signs associated with the sun
were considered sacred. Kyrgyz people also used letter signs of different tribes –
ideograms. According to T. Chorotegin petroglyphs appeared in the Mesolithic era;
and according to O. Osmonov, petroglyphs appeared in the late Paleolithic era, and
were found on the territory of Kyrgyzstan [2012: 34]. According to A. Amanzholov,
the majority of petroglyphs belong to the early era of nomadic civilizations, namely,
to the 1st century b. c. Petroglyphs, which are carved on rocks, differ in their tech-
nique and method of drawing [2003: 366].

The ancient alphabetical characters of the Kyrgyz language were the basis of the
Orkhon-Yenisei written language and blazed a trail for the Yenisei written language.
Other neighboring tribes, that had close contact with the Kyrgyz, used that writing

as well. Information about Kyrgyz alphabetical characters is reflected in the works of such scholars as: N. F. Petrovsky, N. I. Grodelov, N. F. Mallitsky, B. Soltonoev, A. N. Bernstam, S. M. Abramzon, N. A. Vinnikov, S. Attokurov, O. Karataev and others.

In his research, O. Karataev defines the ethnogenetic commonality of alphabetic characters in the Chinese chronicle with the Khakkas tribes "Khyrgys", Tuvan "Kyrgys" and "Kyrgyz" tribes of other folks. [2003: 285].

3 Alphabetical characters

3.1 Alphabetical Characters that were Mentioned in the Chronicle of Tang Dynasty in the VII–X Centuries:

3.2 Alphabetical Characters of Kyrgyz Tribes "azyk (bai kuchuk), kushchu":
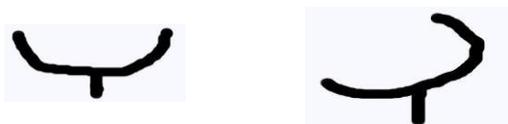
3.3 Alphabetical Characters of Khakkas Tribe "Khyrgys":

3.4 Alphabetical Characters of the Tribe "Kyrgyz" as a Part of Tuvan:

3.5 Alphabetical Characters of the Tribe "Kyrgyz" as a Part of Bashkir:

3.6 Common Alphabetical Character of the Kyrgyz Folk:

3.7 Alphabetical Character, that was Pictured on the Dish and was Found in the Valley of Min-Suu (Khakasiya):

Orkhon-Yenisei written language was used until the X–XI centuries. The ancient Kyrgyz language also went through all stages of writing from ancient times to the X–XI centuries.

In the Xiongnu era, the Kyrgyz history is closely interconnected with their history. According to many sources, the Xiongnu language might have been a part of the Turkic language group. Xiongnu, Hun, Turkic languages are closely interrelated. Some scholars note similarities between the Orkhon-Yenisei inscriptions and the Hun language.

In the I–V centuries, tribes; Xiongnu, Toba, Sikhnbi, Zhuan-Zhuan and others, that were living in Central Asia, used the identical writing. That also refers to the Kyrgyz people of that time.

In the IX–X centuries in Central Asia, the Great Kyrgyz Power or so called Kyrgyz Kaganate existed for hundred years (840–945 years) (according to acade-mician V. V. Barthold). During this period, the Kyrgyz nation and Kyrgyz language were evolved. Kyrgyz literary language based on the Orkhon-Yenisei graphic. The formation of the nation and literary language is a very long and difficult process. The development and formation of the Kyrgyz language is connected with the economic

and political power of the state. The Great Kyrgyz Power period was the peak of trade and economic relations, military power. These factors influenced the formation of the Kyrgyz language. Of course, the basis of the Kyrgyz language was composed of common Turkic words. However, trade, economic and cultural ties led to loanword from other languages as well. Communication and relationship have developed with neighboring states and with states where caravans passed from one part of the mainland to the other.

The vocabulary of the language is the most sensitive and changeable part. The language vocabulary, reacting to all social processes of people's life, is subjected to systematic updates. Changes in the vocabulary lead to phonetic and morphological changes. Studying the vocabulary of the Kyrgyz language, the linguist I. A. Batmanov [1947: 60] identified five layers of the Kyrgyz vocabulary:

1. layer – common Turkic words, that are borrowed before the VII century;
2. layer – words, that are close and common to Turkic and Mongolian languages;
3. layer – words, that are borrowed from Arabic and Iranian languages;
4. layer – words, that are borrowed from the Russian language before the beginning of the XIX century;
5. layer – words that are borrowed from the Russian language after the revolution.

In modern Kyrgyz language, there are both Kyrgyz words, and words that are borrowed from other languages. In the distribution of the vocabulary of borrowed and own, based on the main borrowing languages, the following can be observed:

1. Words that are closely related to the Altai vocabulary;
2. Words that are closely related to Turkic languages;
3. Words that are borrowed from the Iranian language;
4. Words that are borrowed from the Arabic language;
5. Words that are borrowed from the Russian language;
6. Words that are borrowed from other foreign languages.

Words that are closely related to the Altai vocabulary were included into the Kyrgyz vocabulary during Xiongnu period. Vocabulary parallels can be observed in the Mongolian, Turkic, Tungus languages. Words that are closely related to Turkic languages were used in Orkhon-Yenisei texts. The words that are borrowed from the Iranian and Arabic languages were included into the Kyrgyz language over many centuries. Kyrgyz language was enriched from Iranian and Arabic languages in the period of the Great Silk Road existence since the Great Silk Road passed precisely through these countries.

Any language in the world cannot exist in its pure form without loanwords. To explore that, we can refer to the most popular dictionary of the Kyrgyz-Russian

languages of K. K. Yudahin. According to quantitative estimates, 5,75% are borrowed from the Arabic language, 6,56% of the words are borrowed from the Iranian language, 10,52% are borrowed from the Russian language. According to historical development, Kyrgyzstan has been developing for many years in close contact with Russia, which left a mark. As a result, there are more than 10% of loanwords from the Russian language. The total number of borrowed words is 22,8%. According to statement of the professor K. Zulpukarov, there are about 3,000 words in Kyrgyz that show similar roots and affixes with the Chinese language.

It is considered that most of religious and economic vocabulary are borrowed from Arabian language. It can be argued that loanwords from the Iranian and Arabic languages are mainly related to the trade and economic topics.

According to the specialists in Turkic philology, there are methods for recognizing borrowed and own words. Consider some samples:

1. The presence of other isolated sounds in the language: e.g.: (в, ф, ч,) - *вагон, афиша, халат;*
2. The presence of disharmony in consonance sounds: *бечара, адеп, совет;*
3. Different arrangement of consonants and vowels, unlike their own words: *юбка, автор, аппарат;*
4. The presence of consonants combination in the beginning or middle, end of the word: *грамм, оркестр, тонна, металл, справка;*
5. Atypical sound combinations on the structure of syllables: *нефть, взвод, текст* и др.

Considering borrowed vocabulary, we are inclined to believe that most of the words associated with trade, nominal words–the names of fruits and vegetables, etc., came under the influence of the Great Silk Road.

As it is known, the Kyrgyz people were nomadic; they were not engaged in growing grain, garden, melon and other plants. Therefore, the presence in modern vocabulary of the names of many fruits is undoubtedly borrowed from the language of those countries in which these plants and concepts existed. For instance Kyrg. *дарбыз* – (Rus. арбуз), in Iranian language *харбозе*, which meant "melon". The sound **х** was adapted to the Kyrgyz language and replaced by the sound **д**. However, the meaning changed: *дарбыз* in modern Kyrgyz language does not mean a melon, but a similar melon plant grown in warm regions.

Kyrg. *алмурут* – (Russ.*груша),* garden plant, fruit. It is borrowed from the Iranian language *моруд*, which means a pear. The particle **ал**- is a particle from Arabian language, explained as the article indicating the noun*: ал+моруд = алморуд = алмурут.*

Kyrg. *алма* –(Russ. *яблоко),* is borrowed into Kyrgyz language from Indo-European languages, means "sour". The apple has a sour taste, which was the reason for this name.

A large number of vocabularies is borrowed during a long period of the Great Silk Road existence. It is almost impossible to establish exact years, they are determined about a century.

Kyrg. *кербен* – (Russ.*караван*), is borrowed from Iranian language, which means the line of camels. It was integrated into Kyrgyz language under the influence of the Great Silk Road, there was a semantic expansion of the meaning: there were many combinations with the word *кербен*. For instance *кербен башы* – head of the caravan; *кербен сарай* – inn; *кырк мин койлуу кербендей*, like a caravan of forty thousand sheep, etc.

Kyrg. *кездеме* – (Russ.*ткань*), a material, which is woven from thin threads -a fabric. It is formed from *"кез"*, which meant the unit. Every nation had its own unit of measurement. The distance from the fingertips to the mouth was called *"бир кез"*. Бир кез of a person is 1 meter 80 cm tall is equally to 90 cm, and a person is 1 m 70 cm tall, which is considered an average height *"бир кез"* is equally to 85 cm. The affix *-де (-ла)* meant "measure with eyes", the affix **-ма** meant *"item that is sold after measurement"*. Other sources claim that these meanings came under the influence of the Arabic language.

Kyrg. *банги* – (Russ. *наркотик*), came from the Indian and Iranian words *банги*, which is the stupefying plant (drugs). Many folks of Central Asia use this word, with the meaning of a person who drinks, smokes, sniffs, etc.

Kyrg. *арак* – (Russ. *водка*), is borrowed from Arabian *арак*, the literal meaning is *"тер, буу"*(Kyrg.) – *"пот, пар"* (Russ.) perspiration. But it is used in a figurative sense, since vodka is produced by removing steam. Appearing from the Arabs, vodka spread to other neighboring nations.

Kyrg. *китеп* – (Russ.*книга*), is borrowed from Arabian *китаб (к-т-б)* literally means "writing, written".

Kyrg. *бала* – (Russ. *ребенок*), is borrowed from Indian language. In ancient Turkic languages, the word бала (child) this word was found only in the name of the young animals or in the meaning "кул" (Kyrg.) – "раб" (Russ.) slave. In meaning "ребенок", the *"огул"* – *"уул, эркек бала"* (son, male child) was used. In Urdu, which is an Indian language, the word *бала* means 1. child; 2. naivety. The word *бал* means *"son, young man"*, and the word *балак* means *"baby"*. The word *бала* was borrowed into Kyrgyz language in X century.

The nomadic way of life of the Kyrgyz people determined the main activity - cattle breeding. In this regard, special attention was paid to the care, cultivation, reproduction, name of cattle and other animals.

Kyrg. *кунан* – (Russ. *жеребец 3 летнего возраста*) is borrowed from Mongolian language *гурван*, which means "3 years old male cattle". In Kyrgyz language *кунан кой* (*3 old sheep*), *кунан тайлак* (*3 old camel*) is widely used.

Let us consider the words associated with a camel: Kyrg. *төө* – (Russ. в*ерблюд*), one of the ancient domestic animals living in the desert and plains. According to archaeological data, camels were known to man already in the 5th century BC. – some

people claim that in Bronze Era and others – even in Neolithic. Camels for nomadic peoples were not only transport, but also were a source of food, milk, meat and heat. Found pictures of camels on the stones, laden with goods, prove the existence of caravans. Camels were one of the most significant animals for nomadic peoples. The name of a camel is found in many variations among the Turkic-Mongolian peoples: *төө, инген, буура, нар, атан, бото, тайлак* (for comparison: Mong. *таэлаг* - biennial camel; Kaz. *тайлак* - 1 old camel; in Kyrgyz *тайлак* - camel up to 1 year old); in Mongolian *ингэн*, in Kalmyk - *боткага ингэн*; in Kyrgyz *инген* mean "camel". The word *төө* is in all Turkic languages: in Kyrgyz - *төө*, in Altaic - *төө*, in Khakass - *тибе*, in Tuvan - *теве*, in Kara-Kalpak - *түйе,* in Uzbek - *туя,* in Uigur - *төге/туге*, in Turkmenian - *дуе*, in Tatarian - *дөйе*, in Yakut - *тэбиэн/тэмиэн* and others. In the Turkic-Mongolian languages one can find a very wide lexical field of the word *төө* - camel, associated with age, color, hump, endurance, etc.

Therefore, there are a lot of phrases and comparisons in Kyrgyz language with the word *төө*: *төө жетелеп келгенсип* – pretend bringing a camel, *төөдөй* – like a camel; likewise, this word is often used as a component of idioms: *ботодой боздоп* (literally means – cry like a camel in the meaning "to cry hard"), *төөнүн куйругу жерге тийгенде* (literally means – as the tail of a camel will reach the land in the meaning "never"), төөнүн карды жарылып жаткан кез (literally means – the time when the stomach of a camel is torn in the meaning "wealth"); *төө басты кылуу* (literally means – the camel stepped in the meaning "accept by number, multitude"), etc.

It can be assumed that the phonetic closeness of the sound of the word *төө* in the Turkic-Mongolian languages came with the influence of the Great Silk Road.

Not only individual words, but we assume that also proverbs, sayings, phrase-ological turns have appeared in the Kyrgyz language under the influence of the Great Silk Road. For example, the proverb: *Ит үрө берет, кербен жүрө берет* (literally means – the dog barks, the caravan moves on*)* is used in the meaning "do your own thing, without listening to the conversations of envious persons". If we turn to the origin of semantics of the proverb, the meaning can be explained in the following way: Caravans went from East to West and from West to East for many centuries, despite wars, civil strife, and various historical and political events.

In his opinion, the professor K. Zulpukarov states that a large number of Kyrgyz words have the same roots with Chinese, which indicates a close relationship, mutual influence and some unity in a certain period of time. He believes that when me-tathesis (permutation of sounds) appeared, epithets (appearance of a sound at the end of a word that was not in its original form), substitutions (replacing one sound with another), transpositions of sounds and syllables of a word, identical words obtained very different meanings. For instance Kyrg. *эл "народ"* - Chin. *li "black man, people, mass"*; Kyrg. *ий "согни, сгибай"* - Chin. *yi "greet, bow, be polite"*; Chin. *mua "round, in a circle"* - Kyrg. *топ "мяч" (ball);* Chin. *lio "улитка"* - Kyrg. *улул – улитка (snail)*; Kyrg. *жол "дорога" (road)* - Chin. *zhu|zhuo "track, heritage, way";* Chin. *chou "enemy, rival"* - Kyrg. *жоо "enemy".* The author believes that "many words of the Kyrgyz language, that were considered to have long origin from Iranian or Arabic languages, are

common to a number of language families in Eurasia." [Zulpukarov, 2016: 53]. K. Zulpukarov does not agree with scientists, who were analyzing the etymology of some words, and claiming their borrowing from the Arabic, Iranian, Mongolian and other languages. For example, K. Yudahin claimed that the following trade related words: Kyrg. "*баа*" – "*цена*" *(price), нарк* – "*стоимость*" *(cost), соода* –"*торговля*" (trade) were borrowed from Iranian language. However, K. Zulpukarov finds the similarity of the word *баа* – "*цена*" with Chinese word *bǎo* – "*оценивать*" *(to estimate)*, arguing that Chinese diphthong **ǎo/ǎo** often corresponds to the Kyrgyz long vowel **aa**; Kyrg. *бака "лягушка"*, "*жаба*" (frog) and Chin. *ba "лягушка"*; Kyrg. *манты/ мантуу "steamed dumplings"* – Chin. *mantou "steamed bread"* and others. He claims that there are about 3000 similar roots and other affixes of the Kyrgyz and Chinese languages.

Table 1: Count of the loanwords from the different languages (words taken from the dictionary of K. Yudahin. Kyrgyz-Russian dictionary – Frunze, 1965)

Words	Iranian	Arabian	Russian	Foreign languages	Own words
	2468	2177	3935	8580	28931
	6,56%	5,75%	10,52%	22,8 %	77,2%

If words from the Chinese language are added to this column, the digital indicators will change. But that count will require scientific evidence. Today, the number of borrowed words is increasing mainly due to the development of science and technology, and due to increase of Anglicisms. There is a tendency to update the Kyrgyz vocabulary due to the activation of common Turkic words: (*мүдүр - директор, дарскана - лекционный зал үналгы - радио, сыналгы - телевизор*), return of historical and passive vocabulary: (*айкел - памятник, учак - самолет*). Their semantics, activity of use, quantitative composition, etymology require deep and thorough research.

Thus, by analyzing the development of Kyrgyz vocabulary during the existence of the Great Silk Road, it can be claimed that the greatest linkage between the West and the East had a great influence on the development and enrichment of the Kyrgyz language. In Kyrgyz modern literary language, borrowed words from Iranian, Arabic, Mongolian, Chinese and other languages (languages of those countries that were along the road of the Silk Road) are actively used. The Kyrgyz people cherish the memory of the great past event of the folks of the East and West. As an evidence, it can be noted that one of the main streets of Bishkek (the capital of Kyrgyzstan) is Zhibek Zholu Street, which from Kyrgyz language mean "Great Silk Road".

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Translation of Buddhist Texts in Western Xia as Manifestation of Power: Case Study of Tangut Sutra Colophones

Nikita Kuzmin

1 Introduction

The Creation of the Tangut Buddhist Canon (*Tangut Tripitaka*) was a milestone event in the history of the development of Buddhism in East Asia. In a relatively short period of time the Tangut people established a unique civilization by accumulation of vigorous elements of their neighbors – the Chinese and Tibetans. Tanguts formed a peculiar amalgam of Confucian and Buddhist ideologies and solidified it through indigenous Tangut script and cosmopolitan internal policies.

As a case study, I present an analysis of the colophons in four Tangut sutras, which belong to Gest Collection (Princeton University) and the Kozlov Collection preserved in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (St. Petersburg). I believe that the role of Tanguts in the history of East Asia in the medieval period has been underestimated, and with my research I would like to provide them with a proper position that they deserve.

2   Early Tangut Buddhism and Formation of the Tangut Buddhist Canon

The first interactions between Western Xia and the Northern Song in the realm of Buddhism started during the reign of the second Tangut ruler Li Deming 李德明 (Taizong 太宗) (981–1032). In 1029 he organized an embassy to the Northern Song court requesting Buddhist sutras, and suggesting 70 horses as a "payment" for the scriptures.[1] Due to the fact that sutra production was an extremely time and labor-consuming process, the request was only completed in 1031 after Li De-ming's death.[2]

His son, Li Yuanhao, 李元昊 （Jingzong 景宗，1003–1048) proclaimed himself emperor and obtained recognition from the Northern Song in 1038. Li Yuanhao faced a great number of challenges. In order to resist political and cultural influence from Song China and Kitan Liao he had to introduce new political and cultural policies. These new policies, on the one hand, included construction and development of a 'Tangut identity', which was manifested through creation and promulgation of the Tangut script, as well as usage of Tangut traditional garments and rituals. Such activities served to the introduction and formation of the 'Tangut special way'.[3] On the other hand, Li Yuanhao decided to actively propagate Buddhism. Therefore, in 1034 he requested and obtained the Chinese version of the Buddhist canon – *Tripitaka/ Sanzang jing* 三藏經 from the Northern Song court. In the period from 1029 to 1073 Tanguts made 6 requests for Buddhist texts from the Song. A Japanese scholar, Nishida Tatsuo, supposes that all these texts were the Northern Song Shu editions/Bei Song shuban dazang jing 北宋蜀版大藏經.[4] After the Tanguts obtained each set of the Buddhist canon, the texts were duly translated into the Tangut language.

One of the most controversial issues is the identity of the people who were involved in the translation of Buddhist texts. Based on the research by the Qing Dynasty scholar, Wu Guangcheng, 吳廣成 a Chinese expert on Tangut history, Shi Jinbo suggests that the sutras were translated by the Uighur monks / *huihu seng* 回鶻 僧.[5] This idea was also accepted by a Russian Tangutologist, Evgeny Kuychanov; however, in the preface to *The Catalogue of Tangut Buddhist Monuments*, referring to the works of his Chinese colleague, Kychanov does not express strong approval or

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[4] Nishida, Tatsuo 西田龍雄. 1997, *Seika ōkoku no gengo to bunka* 西夏王国の言語と文化 (*Language and Culture of Xixia Kingdom*), Tokyo, Iwami Shoten, 451–452.

[5] Shi, Jinbo 史金波. 1979, "'Xixia yijing tu' jie"《西夏譯經図》解 (Explanation of "Image of Sutra Translation in Xixia"). In *Wenxian* 文献 (1979), No. 1, 224.

disapproval of this hypothesis.[6] The main problem with this hypothesis is that the fact that Uighurs translated Buddhist sutras is not mentioned in Chinese standard histories, such as the *Songshi* 宋史 and *the Liaoshi* 遼史. Kychanov also points out that there is no evidence of Uighur translation work among the largest collection of Tangut texts, preserved in St. Petersburg. Nevertheless, the *Liaoshi* mentions that in 1067 Tanguts sent Uighur monks, a golden Buddha [statue], and Buddhist scriptures together with their envoys to the Kitan state of Liao.[7] Kirill Solonin argues that "so-called Chinese Buddhism in Xixia (as it appears in texts from the Kozlov collection) emerged not only as a result of Xixia borrowings of certain Chinese texts and Buddhist practices which belong to the mainstream Chinese Buddhism of the Song dynasty, but also shaped as an imitation of the doctrinal system peculiar to the Liao version of the Buddhist creed".[8] This suggestions makes the formation of Tangut Buddhism more complicated, as it is reflected in Chinese historical writings.

Nishida points out that before the reign of the fifth Tangut emperor, Li Renxiao 李仁孝 (1124–1193) in the Tangut state existed two main centers for translation of sutras. One of them was in the capital Xingqing 興慶 (present day – Yinchuan, Ningxia autonomous region, PRC), where the Buddhists texts were translated from the Chinese editions. Another center was in the south part of Western Xia in the areas of Liangzhou 涼州 (present day Wuwei, Gansu province, PRC), Ganzhou 甘州 (present day Zhangye, Gansu province, PRC), and Shazhou 沙州 (present day Dunhuang, Gansu province, PRC), where sutras were translated mainly from the Tibetan language.[9] This fact indicates that the Northern Song was not an exclusive source of the Buddhist texts. Apparently, due to political strength and cultural influence of Tibet, Tibetan Buddhist texts were also spreading into the southern and western areas of the Hexi corridor, where they were translated into the Tangut language.

What are the differences between sutras translated from Sinitic and from Tibetan? First, the number of Tangutgraphs in one line in the texts translated from Tibetan was usually smaller than in the sutras that were translated from Sinitic. In addition to this, the format of the beginning of a sutra volume, translated from Tibetan was different. The last point is the translation of Buddhist terms from Tibetan, which was different from their analogs in translations from Sinitic.[10]

One of the most remarkable features of Tangut colophons, which were placed between the title and the main text, is that their colophons indicate the name of the

[6] Evgeniĭ Kychanov. 1999, *Katalog Tangutskikh Buddiĭskikh pami͡atnikov* [Catalog of Tangut Buddhist Monuments], Kyoto, 14–15.

[7] *Liaoshi* 遼史，juan 107 卷一百七, Zhonghua shuju, 1974, 1527.

[8] Kirill Solonin (2013) "Buddhist Connections between the Liao and Xixia: Preliminary Considerations" in *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies*, Vol.43, 172.

[9] Nishida, Tatsuo 西田龍雄. 1997, *Seika ōkoku no gengo to bunka* 西夏王国の言語と文化 (*Language and Culture of Xixia Kingdom*), Tokyo, Iwanami Shoten, 410.

[10] Nishida, Tatsuo 西田龍雄. 1997, *Seika ōkoku no gengo to bunka* 西夏王国の言語と文化 (*Language and Culture of Xixia Kingdom*), Tokyo, Iwanami Shoten, 455–457.

translator or editor as well as the imperial reign period, when the translation was carried out.[11] This fact allows scholars to estimate a possible translation date. Nevertheless, there is also a certain number of sutras that do not have any indication of translation or time of publication. Moreover, some sutras that are available nowadays, only exist in parts or even in pieces.[12] Nishida suggests dividing the process of translation and publishing of sutras into two main stages:

– Hexi 河西 period (1038–1227)
– Yuan 元 period (1227–?)

According to Chen Bingying's estimation by 1090 the Tanguts possessed about 362 translated sutras in 3,579 scrolls. Chen suggests that until that year the Tanguts obtained nearly the whole textual corpus of the Chinese *Tripitaka*. After that period even though some translations were made occasionally, they were not so massive as before.[13]

After the Mongols occupied Western Xia in 1227, its area was under the jurisdiction of the same commandry as Tibet. It is interesting pointing out that despite the occupation, Mongols actively participated in the second edition and publication of the *Tangut Tripitaka* in Dadu 大都 (Beijing) in 1294. The editing and text compilation work continued in Hangzhou and was finished in 1302.[14] Chen Bingying points out that during the Yuan Dynasty, the *Tangut Tripitaka* was edited and a whole new set of printing woodblocks was carved. In addition to this, during the Mongol rule, the *Tangut Tripitaka* was issued in more than 130 sets, each full set of the Buddhist Canon containing more than 3620 scrolls.[15]

3   Comparative Analysis of Colophons in Two Editions of Tangut *Lotus Sutra*

Tangut sutras from the St. Petersburg collection originate from a textual deposit, which was discovered by Piotr K. Kozlov (1863–1935) in the ruins of a stupa in Khara-Khoto (Heishui cheng 黑水城, Inner Mongolia, PRC) in 1908–1909. Except for some pieces, the majority of excavated texts originate from the Hexi period, which means that they were created during the Tangut Kingdom. The colophon to *The Lotus Sutra* from the Kozlov collection (Танг. 218, инв. № 2317) contains the following two lines:

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[11] Shi, Jinbo 史金波. 1988, *Xixia fojiao shilüe* 西夏佛教史略 (*Brief History of Buddhism in Xixia*), Yinchuan, Ningxia renmin chubanshe, 106–107.

[12] Nishida, Tatsuo 西田龍雄. 1997, *Seika ōkoku no gengo to bunka* 西夏王国の言語と文化 (*Language and Culture of Xixia Kingdom*), Tokyo, Iwanami Shoten, 452–453.

[13] Chen, Bingying 陈炳应. 1985, *Xixia wenwu yanjiu* 西夏文物研究 (*Research on Material Culture of Xixia*), Yinchuan, Ningxia renmin chubanshe, 334–335.

[14] Ibid., 327.

[15] Ibid., 336.

> Inborn complete kindness, greatly serving and following old times, legitimate Empress of the country Lady Liang virtuously translated [during her reign]. Ruler of a state, [who] completed virtue, [under his rule] the fortune is full [Who] rectifies the people, great luminous Emperor Weiming virtuously translated [during his reign].

The fact that the colophon, which contains long and elaborate reign titles for both the empress dowager Liang and her son Li Bingchang 李秉常 (Huizong 惠宗) (1061–1086) or Li Qianshun 李乾順 (Chongzong 崇宗) (1084–1139)[16] provides us with an opportunity to specify the time of the sutra's translation. I suppose that the sutra was translated during the regency of the first Liang empress dowager (1068–1076). During her regency, Tanguts requested the Chinese Buddhist canon for the sixth time (1073), but due to the shortage of time – three years before Li Bingchang obtained power in 1076, it is likely this sutra was translated from texts that were obtained during the fifth request in 1062 or earlier. This allows the translators and carvers enough time to translate and to carve the woodblocks.

The St. Petersburg collection also contains a manuscript edition of the "Introduction to the *Lotus Sutra*" in the Tangut language. Its colophon reads as[17]:

> [The one who] received Heaven's Mandate and illuminated the Way, [the one who] boasts [his] military might and proclaimed civility [the one who possesses] miraculous foresight and wisdom, [behaving] according to justice and eliminating the evil, devoted to harmony, virtuous and respectful emperor Weiming virtuously edited [during his reign].

According to Nishida Tatsuo's estimations, this manuscript was created during the reign of the first Tangut Emperor Li Yuanhao. Moreover, from the long and complicated title, which describes all main achievements of the emperor, such as success in military campaigns against Song, promulgation of the Tangut script, this is highly likely to be the title of Li Yuanhao. From the close observation of the manuscript, we see that the Tangutgraphs are written in a very clear and elaborate manner. It is highly likely that the manuscript was written during the reign of Li Yuan-hao (1038–1048) after the second request from Song China in 1037. The outlay of the manuscript of the first half of the eleventh century is quite different from the xylographic version from the second half of the eleventh century.

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[16] The problem of identification is arising from the fact that the mothers of Li Bingchang and Li Qianshun belonged to the same Liang clan. The latter was a niece of the first Liang empress. Both of them were referred to as Liang shi 梁氏 Lady Liang.

[17] *Xixia Version of the Lotus Sutra from the Collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences*, ed. By Nishida Tatsuo, IOS RAS, Soka Gakkai, 2005, 6.

The Gest library collection at Princeton University contains two volumes of sutras in the Tangut language: *Flower Garland sutra* (*Avatamsaka Sūtra*) and *Lotus sutra* (*Saddharma Pundarīka Sūtra*). The preserved edition of the first sutra is the 77th volume of the *Garland sutra / Dafang Guangfo huayanjing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, which was purchased in 1937 in Beijing and did not receive much scholarly attention till the 1990s. According to Martin Heijdra and Cao Shuwen's estimation, this version of *Garland sutra* was printed with movable script around 1302 in Hangzhou. The scholars suggest that the Gest *Garland Sutra* was excavated in Lingwu county 靈武 in Ningxia, where the second-largest deposit of Tangut texts were found in 1917. The scholars suggest that the current sutra was printed with movable type, because of the uneven thickness of printed Tangutgraphs. Moreover, they point out that some of the lexemes containing several Tangutgraphs were cut on a single small woodblock, rather than each Tangutgraph on individual blocks. Its colophon consists of the following line:

> Translated by Tripitaka Śikshānanda from the kingdom of Khotan during the Tang [Dynasty].

The line is followed by the reign title, which is identical to the title of Li Yuanhao, but it does not contain the family name of the Tangut ruler. As the reader can see from the passage above, the colophon does not contain any information regarding the time, when the current sutra was translated into the Tangut language or when it was printed.

The last example of the current case study is from the fourth volume of the *Lotus Sutra* from the Gest collection. The colophon reads as:

> Two Dharma masters, Tripitaka Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta, translated in Sinitic [during the] Sui [dynasty].

The following column contains the keywords "emperor" and "virtuously edited", but as far as I can interpret the current Tangut text it also does not mention the name of any Tangut ruler. Apparently, the colophon also does not contain any information about the time the sutra was translated in the Tangut language. It only provides the reader with background information of its Sinitic translation. In addition to this, the printing quality of *Lotus sutra* edition is rather high – all the Tangutgraphs are presented in a clear manner. This suggests that it was created with a high level of printing technique during the Mongol period.

From the background information, provided above, we may draw some final conclusions. First, both sutras from the Gest collection were created in the Mongol period of Tangut sutra-printing, or in other words they were created after 1227. Their colophons do not contain any mentioning of the Tangut rulers. It is highly unlikely that under the Mongol rule, the carvers would create colophons, glorifying the Tangut rulers. Rough textual examination of St. Petersburg and Gest editions of

the fourth volume of *Lotus Sutra* reveals the fact that the sutra texts are identical. The core differences between them are the number of graphs per column, colophons and the quality of printing. These facts justify the argument that the text was printed after the Tangut period and it was created outside the area of Western Xia. In addition to this, the Gest edition of the Lotus Sutra contains the Sinitic graphs fa 法, si 四; yi 乙 in the middle of the page. These marks were probably used by printers and book binders. Sutras from the Tangut period (at least from the materials that I examined) do not contain any Sinitic mark. It is likely that the Gest edition of the *Lotus Sutra* belongs to the special edition of Buddhist canon in the Tangut script which was created under the Mongol jurisdiction for the Tangut Buddhists. The colophon only contains the name of the translator from Sanskrit to Sinitic but does not contain the name of the Tangut ruler. The same fact is also valid for the *Avatamsaka Sutra* from the Gest Collection. The sutra was printed in Hangzhou in high quality and then transported to the Tangut area of the Mongol Empire, where it remained until it was excavated in Lingwu.

Examination of the number of graphs per column and number of columns per opening reveals the following conclusions. The data (17 graphs pro column, 6 columns per opening) is identical in the Gest *Avatamsaka Sutra* and *Chongning Canon*. I assume that the Gest *Avatamsaka Sutra* was created according to the *Chongning Canon*'s template and was printed after 1112. As mentioned in the first part of the paper, the version of the Chinese Buddhist Canon that the Tanguts obtained was the *Kaibao Canon*, however they did not follow completely its template, since the graph/column parameters are different.

4   Conclusion

In the current research paper, I have presented a brief history of Buddhism in Western Xia, as well as the main features of translation and printing of sutras in the Tangut state. Translation and publication of the *Tangut Tripitaka* was a great challenge for Western Xia, but the Tanguts not only successfully completed this enormous task during the period of their independence. The fact that the Mongols supported reediting and publication of the second edition of the *Tangut Tripitaka* speaks for the extreme importance of this national entity in the Mongol Empire. In comparison with Kitans, Koreans, or the Japanese, who accepted the original Sinitic version of the *Tripitaka*, the Tanguts created their own version of the sacred Buddhist textual corpus, which was an incredible manifestation of political and cultural independence. By translating the Buddhist Canon, the Tanguts 'recreated' a new 'Tangut Buddhist world', which continued to exist even after the Mongol occupation.

I have compared four versions of Tangut sutras and have figured out the main criteria for their dating – printing technique and content of colophons. The provided examples of four sutras clearly justify my arguments. With my research, I tried to

prove my assumption that the role of Tanguts in the history of East Asia in the 11th–14th centuries was greatly underestimated. Nevertheless, taking into account the fact that for a long time the Tangut civilization was covered by sands and dust in Inner Mongolia and in the Hexi Corridor, I believe that further research in this area could make the sinological community to look at the Tanguts with new eyes.

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D. Natsagdorj's Translation of Edgar Allan Poe

Manaohua

1   Introduction

Dashdorjiin Natsagdorj (1906–1937), the founder of modern Mongolian literature, was a writer, poet, journalist, historian, and scientist, but he was also an excellent translator. He translated Alexander Pushkin's five poems and two short stories, such as "Anchar", "The Raven to the Ravens Flies", "Earth and Sea", "Prisoner", "Awakening", "The Shot", "The Queen of Spades"… As well as Edgar Allan Poe's short story "The Gold Bug" and Anton Pavlovich Chekhov's short story "Patriot", etc.

The short story "The Gold Bug" was written in 1853 by Edgar Allan Poe (1809–1849) and translated from German in 1935 by D. Natsagdorj. This is the first literary work translated by D. Natsagdorj.[1] D. Natsagdorj's translation of "The Gold Bug" was first published in August 1935 in a small booklet. The title page of the book includes "American Literature" in the upper part, "Edgar Allan Poe's work-'The Gold Bug', translated by Natsagdorj from the German Language" in the middle part, and "The Mongolian National Academy of Sciences printed 1,000 copies in August 1935 by Ulaanbaatar Press"[2] at the bottom. The book is rectangular, 22.5 centimeters long, 16.5 centimeters wide, and has 59 pages. D. Natsagdorj's translation of "The Gold Bug" introduced the famous American

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[1] Гэ Нямдава: "Д· Нацагдоржийн орчуулаагийн уран зохиол", Улаанбаатар ,2012 оны 2 сарын 16-ий өдөр.

[2] Монгол Улсын Шинжлэх Ухааны Хүрээлэнгийн дуун ухааны тасгаас эргэлэн даруулав: "Алтан Цох ", Улаанбаатар хотан даахь монгол хэвлэлийн хороо, 1935 оны 8 са, дотор нигуур.

writer Edgar Allan Poe to Mongolian readers. This translation is an integral part of D. Natsagdorj Studies.

2   Historical Background of D. Natsagdorj's Literary Translation

Translation has long been one of the most important ways for Mongolians to learn about foreign cultures. After the rise of Western civilization in Mongolia in the early 20th century and the founding of a new Mongolia in 1921, literary translation and publishing became a new direction. Mongolians used to translate mainly from Indo-Tibetan languages and later translated more from the literature of neighboring countries such as China. By the beginning of the 20th century, a large amount of Russian literature and classical literature from other European countries were translated.

During the Bogd Khanate of Mongolia, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party established a school for translating European literature and trained translators. In 1923, the Second Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party emphasized the importance of first translating Soviet literary classics for guiding the work of Mongolian intellectuals and writers. At the Ninth Party Congress in 1934, it was emphasized, "The translation of some of the best works of foreign literature should be done in the same way."[3] The Mongolian intellectuals at that time worked very hard to perform this important duty. Since that time, many intellectuals such as D. Natsagdorj, Ts. Damdinsüren, B. Rinchen, B. Gongorjav, E. Oyun, Sh. Natsagdorj, X. Perenlei, and J. Tseveen have made valuable contributions to the translation of fiction. When translating from foreign literature, they did not translate every literary work they encounter but conducted pre-selection and gave priority to time and social needs.

3   D. Natsagdorj's Translation Skills

As scholars have mentioned many times in their research, D. Natsagdorj had been trying to write literature since he was very young, and he had been actively involved in government work and did a lot of important work for the benefit of the people. He had a strong sense of quickly understanding and learning the cultural and scientific development of advanced countries in the world and serving his own country. His years in Europe enabled Natsagdorj to learn about eastern and western art and literature, which became the preparation of his later work, and undoubtedly had a great influence on his worldview and outlook on life, as well as his interest in art and writing.

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[3] "Бөхөд Найрамдах Монгол Ард Улсын Соёлын Түүх" (1921–1940), өвөр монголын соёлын хэвлэлийн хороо , 376 дугаар нигуур.

B. Sodnam described the situation of D. Natsagdorj going to Russia and Germany to study as follows, "Natsagdorj realizes that rich knowledge is essential to the development of Mongolian culture, so he has applied many times to study abroad. In the autumn of 1925, Natsagdorj attended the Military Academy in Leningrad, Soviet Union, where he has a good command of Russian there and learned all the other courses well. During school, Natsagdorj read books about politics, philosophy, and fiction with great interest, and tried to explore the complexity of everything. In particular, because he is proficient in Russian, he is not only familiar with Russian classical literature, Soviet literature, and its theories, but also introduced realism in his literary creation. Natsagdorj left Ulaanbaatar in the autumn of 1926 for Berlin, where he studied German for a while and studied at the Leipzig School of Journalism until 1929. In addition to learning German, Natsagdorj also studied world history, philosophy, European classical literature, and its history and theory."[4]

Regarding the western culture and knowledge of D. Natsagdorj, Scholar S. Lo-chin said, "During the four years of studying and living abroad from 1925 to 1929, Natsagdorj had a good command of Russian and German, a certain knowledge of English, and a deep understanding of European art and literature. He accumulated experience in academic research and journalism, experienced and familiarized himself with Western civilization, and became a knowledgeable and capable intellectual at that time. These years in Europe are the decisive years when Natsagdorj compares the West with the East and produces his unique ideas and perspectives, which is clearly shown in his later works."[5]

D. Natsagdorj realized that through translation work, he can introduce new things to the Mongolian people, especially college students and intellectuals. Therefore, after returning to Mongolia from Germany, he actively participated in translation work. While working in the History Department of the Academy of Sciences, he made great efforts to translate European books about Mongolian history and also participated in various works such as literary creation and translation. Unfortunately, this talented writer was unable to translate more works in his short life. The translation works he has left is a precious legacy for future generations and proves that he is an outstanding translator.

4 The Encounter of D. Natsagdorj and "The Gold Bug" by Allan Poe

Since the first half of the 19th century, science and technology have flourished in the United States and have aroused great interest. Allan Poe is also very interested in the various facets of science and technology, especially in researching the cryptography.

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[4] Б. Содном: "Д· Нацагдоржийн намтар зохиол", Улаанбаатар, улсын хэвлэлийн гэрэг эрхлэх хороо, 1966 он, 45 дугаар нигуур.

[5] С. Лочин: "Дашдоржийн Нацагдорж", Улаанбаатар, NEPKO хэвлэлийн газар, 2015 он, 23–24 тӨр нигуур.

"The Gold Bug" is a short story by Edgar Allan Poe published in 1843 Poe submitted "The Gold Bug" as an entry to a writing contest sponsored by the *Philadelphia Dollar Newspaper*. His story won the grand prize and was published in three installments, beginning in June 1843. The prize also included $100, probably the largest single sum that Poe received for any of his works. "The Gold Bug" was an instant success and was the most popular and most widely read of Poe's works during his lifetime. It also helped popularize cryptograms and secret writing.

Allan Poe and his work had great influence on the literature of the United States and other parts of the world. Since the middle of the 19th century, his works have been popular first in France, then Germany, and Russia. The first translations of Poe in German can be traced back to the middle of the nineteenth century when Poe was introduced to German readers mostly in newspapers and magazines, and therefore reached both broad and specific readerships. With this first step of communicating with the author in a foreign language, Poe was presented through translations primarily as a storyteller and author of narrative texts. The first "German response to Poe" appears to be a translation of "The Gold Bug" ["Der Goldkäfer"], which was published in a German-language journal published in Prague. This translation is in the German Language Journal.[6] From the 1850s until the twenty-first century, a countless number of anthologies, selections, and collections dedicated to Poe or to a topic related to Poe–eg., detective stories, science fiction, tales of horror--have been published in German.[7] Apart from these three major Poe collections of the early twentieth century, more than fifty different editions of Poe translations were released in Germany between 1904 and 1925, including many new and reworked translations such as *The Narrative of Gordon Arthur Pym*, which was translated four different times between 1921 and 1922. The frequency and density of Poe translations during the first quarter of the twentieth century demonstrates that for German translators and German readers Poe had become a staple in both Western and world literary canons.[8] D. Natsagdorj, who originally loved literature, must have heard and understood Poe during his time in Germany (1926–1929) and read Poe's works. D. Natsagdorj chose to translate "The Gold Bug". It is likely that he had known and read this work as early as when he was in Germany. Therefore, it can be said that if D. Natsagdorj had not studied in Germany, Poe could not have been known by the Mongolian people as early as 1935.

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[6] Emron Esplin, Margarida Vale de Gato, 2014, *Translated Poe*, United States of America, Lehigh University Press, 55.

[7] Emron Esplin, Margarida Vale de Gato, 2014, *Translated Poe*, United States of America, Lehigh University Press, 57.

[8] Emron Esplin, Margarida Vale de Gato, 2014, *Translated Poe*, United States of America, Lehigh University Press, 61.

5 Reasons Why D. Natsagdorj Translated the "The Gold Bug"

D. Natsagdorj explained in detail the reasons of his choice to translate Allan Poe's "The Gold Bug" in his preface. The following is an analysis of the purpose of his translation of "The Gold Bug" from five aspects by reading the preface.

Firstly, the translator is very interested in the style, genre, and writing style of Allan Poe's work. For example, when the translator introduces Poe, he says, "Poe is proficient in mathematics and writes things that are profound, delicate, and unpredictable."[9] It can be seen from the above words that the translator appreciates the unique value of Poe's works and wants to introduce him to Mongolian readers. Therefore, it is obvious that Natsagdorj chooses works that have unique characteristics. That is to say, "express deep meaning" and "give people experience, lessons, and benefits" from translation.

Secondly, in the translator's preface, he talked about the popularity of Allan's works in many countries around the world, "His works were popular in the United States and Europe, and were immediately recognized by the world literary circles, and were translated into many foreign languages."[10] Here, the translator introduced how Allan Poe's works were highly appreciated by readers and were translated into multiple foreign languages. He believed that Allan Poe's works were indeed unique and a new direction for the development of world literature. This reflects Natsagdorj's wish to introduce this famous writer to the people of his country as soon as possible. Therefore, Natsagdorj not only translated this short story out of personal interest but also translated it according to the development trend of the world literature at that time.

Thirdly, the translator believes that "The Gold Bug" is a work that shows the power and potential of the human mind. As it is said in the preface, "When reading this work 'The Gold Bug', you will find it explains that human intelligence can understand very esoteric things. This story is concocted by the author's intelligence and also solved by his intelligence. And this work contains a scientific quality and demonstrates that anything difficult to solve can be solved if people make full use of their minds."[11] Here, the translator believes that "The Gold Bug" is a typical example of how people can unlock any secret that is difficult to discover through their talents. Obviously, the goal of D. Natsagdorj is to promote the intellectual development of the Mongolian people through literary translation and to change and enrich the creation and research methods of writers and scholars.

Fourthly, as said in the translator's preface, "This short story expresses people's ideological decline, development, confusion, gaining, and different thinking trajec-

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[9] Монгол Улсын Шинжлэх Ухааны Хүрээлэнгийн дуун ухааны тасгаас эргэлэн даруулав: "Алтан Цох", Улаанбаатар хотан даахь монгол хэвлэлийн хороо, 1935 оны 8 сар, II дугаар нигүүр.

[10] Монгол Улсын Шинжлэх Ухааны Хүрээлэнгийн дуун ухааны тасгаас эргэлэн даруулав: "Алтан Цох", Улаанбаатар хотан даахь монгол хэвлэлийн хороо, 1935 оны 8 сар, II дугаар нигүүр.

[11] Монгол Улсын Шинжлэх Ухааны Хүрээлэнгийн дуун ухааны тасгаас эргэлэн даруулав: "Алтан Цох", Улаанбаатар хотан даахь монгол хэвлэлийн хороо, 1935 оны 8 сар, II дугаар нигүүр.

tories. At the same time, the ups and downs of the story can fully mobilize the reader's interest. In this way, it can be an excellent example for Mongolian writers nowadays. At the critical moment when our country's culture and education are developing, we strive to translate world-famous literature into Mongolian, hoping to inspire people and broaden their horizons. So I translated this intriguing work."[12] The translator emphasized the reason for translating this short story. The above remarks can be summarized into three reasons. One, the translator thought the plot and structure of this story are very attractive. Second, the translator wanted to show Mongolian writers new forms and genres of literary works through translation. Third, the translator tried to expand the mind of the Mongolian people and let them understand the development of world literature.

Fifthly, in the preface, the translator also mentioned his main target readers, "… If there is a mistranslation, I hope that scholars, intellectuals, and college students could understand and provide advice."[13] D. Natsagdorj's translation of this short story is for all Mongolian readers, but it is clear that his main target group is Mongolian writers, scientists, intellectuals, and college students. Which readers to translate for determines the translator's translation technique and style. The above-mentioned readers are all highly educated people. If the translator translates simply, the taste of the original work will be lost. Therefore, in this translation, the translator strictly follows the language and writing style of the original work. However, the content of this story is so complicated and the structure is so peculiar, that is difficult for Mongolian readers to understand, which will naturally affect their willingness to accept it. Therefore, the translator also explained the reading method in detail, "This story may be complicated to understand when reading the first time because there are many foreign words and obscure words in the text. However, if you carefully read it and think about it, you can appreciate the mystery. Also，this story makes people feel sad, convinced, envious, happy，and many other kinds of emotional feelings."[14] The translator shared his impression of reading this book and encouraged readers to read it carefully.

"The Gold Bug" became a part of Mongolian literature through the translation of Natsagdorj. This work brought new content, new genre, and new form to Mongolian literature to a certain extent. For Mongolian literature, this translation can be said to be a forward step towards globalization.

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[12] Монгол Улсын Шинжлэх Ухааны Хүрээлэнгийн дуун ухааны тасгаас эргэлэн даруулав: "Алтан Цох", Улаанбаатар хотан даахь монгол хэвлэлийн хороо, 1935 оны 8 сар, Ⅲ дугаар нигуур.

[13] Монгол Улсын Шинжлэх Ухааны Хүрээлэнгийн дуун ухааны тасгаас эргэлэн даруулав: "Алтан Цох", Улаанбаатар хотан даахь монгол хэвлэлийн хороо, 1935 оны 8 сар, Ⅲ дугаар нигуур.

[14] Монгол Улсын Шинжлэх Ухааны Хүрээлэнгийн дуун ухааны тасгаас эргэлэн даруулав: "Алтан Цох", Улаанбаатар хотан даахь монгол хэвлэлийн хороо, 1935 оны 8 сар, Ⅲ дугаар нигуур.

Edgar Allan Poe is one of the most dazzling stars in world literature. In his short and legendary life, he devoted himself to studying the world of fiction and made a unique contribution to the exploration of human language art.[15]

D. Natsagdorj is a monument of modern Mongolian literature. The two great writers contacted and talked through the "The Gold Bug", which is a very precious and exciting fact. However, Mongolian literary circles have done very little research on Poe, and scholars have not paid attention to the relationship between him and D. Natsagdorj's works. However, the short story "The Gold Bug" can be a breakthrough point for comparing the two authors and their works.

In world literature, we could not ignore the existence of Allan Poe and in modern Mongolian literature, D. Natsagdorj is always a monument. Allan Poe and D. Natsagdorj are both genius writers who were always not bounded by tradition and had been misunderstood. Both of them created many new genres in literature. In addition to translating Poe's "The Gold Bug", D. Natsagdorj is likely to be a devoted fan of Poe's works. Many of D. Natsagdorj's literary works were created after he returned from Germany. B. Sodnom described the impact of translation work on Mongolian translators: "Excellent translation works have had a lot of influence on Mongolian democratic literature and its writers, and undoubtedly have had an influence on Mongolian advanced college students and intellectuals like D. Natsagdorj."[16] It can be seen that literary translation work has effectively promoted the theoretical preparation and translation skills of Mongolian translators, enriched their imagination, and played an important role in increasing their knowledge. We have good reason to believe some of D. Natsagdorj's literary works may have also been influenced by Poe. This will be the next research task.

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[15] 任翔：《文化危机时代的文学抉择–爱伦坡与侦探小说研究》，北京师范大学出版社，2006 年 12 月，第 33 页。

[16] Б. Содном: "Д· Нацагдоржийн намтар зохиол", Улаанбаатар, улсын хэвлэлийн гэрэг эрхлэх хороо, 1966 он, 34 дугаар нигуур.

Tatars: Personalities and Ordinary People of Dobruja in the Earlier Twentieth Century

Taner Murat

1   Introduction

Dobruja or Dobrudja is a historical region in Eastern Europe situated between the lower Danube River and the Black Sea. In the 13th century, there is a Nogai Tatar Khanate in Dobruja. In 1420, the Ottoman Empire occupies this territory and rules it until 1877. After the Russian Empire took the Crimean Khanate in 1783, wave after wave of Crimean Tatars have fled from Crimea to Dobruja, settling near the Nogai Tatars in the Ottoman Empire. In 1878, after the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878, the Northern Dobruja enters under Romanian administration while the Southern Dobruja ends up under Bulgarian administration. In 1913 after the Balkan War Romania takes the Southern Dobruja from Bulgaria. In 1916, Romania enters WWI and immediately loses the entire Dobruja to Bulgaria. It will take it back after the war, in 1919. In 1940, Romania cedes back Southern Dobruja to Bulgaria.

Today, the territory of Dobruja is made up of Northern Dobruja, which is part of Romania, and Southern Dobruja, which belongs to Bulgaria. The territory of the Romanian region Dobrogea is organized as the counties of Constanța and Tulcea, with the main towns Constanța and Tulcea. The Bulgarian region Dobrudzha is divided among the administrative regions of Dobrich and Silistra, with the regional seats Dobrich and Silistra.

2   Selim Abdulakim

Selim Abdulakim, also transliterated in Romanian as Selim Abdulachim", is known as the first Tatar lawyer in Romania. He was a leading politician of the Tatars and an activist for the ethnic Tatar causes (Agi-Amet, 1999), (Scurtu, 2013, pp: 210, 212, 214), (Lascu, 2013, pp: 238–240), (Ciorbea, 2011, pp: 207–208), (Akmolla, 2009, pp: 54–56).

Selim was born in 1886. He studied in the primary school in Constanta and the secondary school in Iaşi, at the Boarding High School. Here, he learned very good French and he encouraged other students to learn it, as professor Constantin Tomescu, who was a prestigious intellectual of the Romanian Orthodox Church, later describes in his book "Seminar Student Life Memories: 1904-1912". Like Selim Abdulakim, professor Tomescu was also from Constanta and studied in Iaşi. Tomescu, who was later imprisoned in the communist prisons, explains the circumstances in which in 1905 he made the decision to learn French by himself: "I got a grammar and some light story books from Abdulakim Selim, who was a student at Iasi Boarding High School" (Tomescu, 2018, IV). Tomescu also tells us about Selim's artistic talents:

> In the summer I was accepted in Abdulakim's band. They asked me to learn mainly Italian and Greek serenades. The band had 20 mandolins and 8 guitars. Between 8 and 9 o'clock in the evening we were gathering at the Casino by the seaside, we were renting two boats and floating on the sea until midnight in front of the Casino performing our program of serenades and waltzes. Tourists and music lovers were listening on the shore. What an impressive picture. (Tomescu, 2018, I)

Starting with 1911 Selim attended the courses of the Faculty of Law in Bucharest. As he was deprived of material means, he benefited from a grant of monthly 30 lei from the Carol I University Foundation. (Biblioteca Centrală Universitară Carol I, 2018)

In 1916, when Romania enters the war, Selim Abdulakim is recruited in the 9th Mountain Hunters Regiment with which he will fight in the battles defending Dobruja. On September 11th, 1916 he saves the life of his battalion commander who was wounded by a shell. On September 12th, 1916 he raises the heart of the officers in his regiment singing to them the war song "Rêve". On September 16th, 1916 he is wounded in the battle of Amzaça catching the bayonet that was about to kill him. Immediately after that, he asks to be relocated to Transylvania arguing that now they are fighting against the Turkish 25th Division and in case he is taken prisoner, he will be accused of betrayal. They will relocate him to the 7th Division in Transylvania where he fights until the end of the war. (Macovei, 2018, p. 84)

In the interwar period, Selim was a lawyer at the Constanta Bar. He was the president of the Muslim community in Constanta (Lascu, 2013, pp: 245–246). He was the deputy mayor of the city. (Petrescu, 1999) He was a member of the Roma-

nian Parliament, where he defended the rights of the Muslims in Dobrogea and drew attention to the fact that ignoring all their wishes leads to emigration, and this constitutes a national danger. (Ciorbea, 2011, pp: 207-208)

Selim loved to be of help and support for young people (Scurtu, 2013, p. 214). In 1929 he founded *Selim Abdulakim Muslim Cultural Fund*, a cultural association aimed at helping Muslim students from secondary schools and higher education, which had its office located in Constanta, at the corner of Ferdinand Avenue and Mircea cel Batran Street (Lascu, 2013, pp: 238–243).

On 13 August 1939 Constantin Argeţoianu who was one of the political personalities between the wars and served as Prime Minister between 28 September and 23 November 1939, was writing in his diary:

> Yesterday I had lunch with some of my political friends in Constanta. We had a good organization here and I am pleased that Teodorescu Valahu and Selim Abdulakim have become deputies under the current regime[…] They are also satisfied…(Argeţoianu, 2003, p.60)

Selim died on 28 March 1943 in Constanta (Akmolla, 2009, pp: 54–56). He is resting in Constanta Muslim Central Cemetery at: 44.173120|28.622248. His wife, Sayide (1894–1967), rests in close proximity.

3   Kázím Abdulakim

Kázím Abdulakim was a Tatar hero of the Romanian Army who lost his life in the summer of 1917 during the Battle of Mărăşeşti in the World War I (Agi-Amet, 1999), (Scurtu, 2011). His name is also transliterated into Romanian as Kiazim Abdulachim, Kiazim Abdulakim or Chiazim Abdulachim.

Second Lieutenant Kázím Abdulakim was the brother of the lawyer Selim Abdulakim, the leading politician of the Crimean Tatars in Romania between the two wars (Agi-Amet, 1999), (România liberă, 2007).

Like his elder brother, when Romania enters the war, Kázím Abdulakim fights in the 9th Mountain Hunters Regiment. On June 16th, 1917 he is a platoon commander of the 1st Infantry Company. During the battle on July 27th, 1917 he takes over the 1st Infantry Company. During the Battle of Putna Seacă on July 28 he takes over the Artillery Regiment. By the end of this battle in whichRomania lost 500 soldiers he is seriously wounded and he dies on August 4th in a hospital in Tecuci. In 1927 the bodies of five Muslim heroes, including Kázím's, are relocated to the Central Cemetery in Constanta. On this occasion, poet Cruţiu Delasălişte dedicates to him the poem "Ode to the Muslim Hero" (Macovei, 2018, pp: 84–85).

As recognition of his extreme devotion to duty and his ultimate sacrifice, in Dobruja there was founded the *Second Lieutenant Kázím Abdulakim Cultural and Sports*

Association (Scurtu, 2013) and a street in downtown Constanța (Google Maps, 2018), (Strazi si bulevarde din Romania, 2018) was named in Kázím's honor.

4   Şefika Abdulakim

Şefika Abdulakim was Selim's and Kázím's sister. She was also known as Sapiye. She married the beloved Tatar poet Memet Niyaziy (Agi-Amet, 1999)(Scurtu, 2011).

5   Memet Niyaziy

Memet Niyaziy (January or February 1878 - November 20, 1931) was a Tatar poet born in Dobruja, a journalist, schoolteacher, academic, and activist for ethnic Tatar causes. He lived part of his life in Crimea in the Russian Empire. He is credited with having played a major part in keeping alive the connection between the Crimean Tatar diaspora and their land of origin, and is best known for his lyrical works depicting Crimea (*The Green Island* and *The Green Homeland*) (Williams, Brian Glyn, 2001).

Born into a Muslim family of Crimean refugees in the village of Aşçılar, in Northern Dobruja, he was the second son of Ismail and Azize, two literate peasants and Ottoman subjects. His birth concurs with the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878, which ended in the region's annexation by the Kingdom of Romania. During his childhood he familiarized himself with the Tatar literature and folklore, before completing his primary education in Aşçılar. He was taught Ottoman Turkish by his father. During his teenage years he first began authoring his series of literary pieces (Agi-Amet, 1999).

In 1889 his family leaves Romania for Istanbul where Memet is enrolled in normal school. In subsequent years, he becomes influenced by the creations of Namık Kemal and Abdullah Hamit, as well as achieving fluency in French, Arabic and Persian. In 1898 and 1899 he attempts to settle in Russian-ruled Crimea and to start a career as a schoolteacher, but he is expelled by the government on both occasions (Agi-Amet, 1999).

After his father's death in 1904, Niyaziy returned to Romania joining the Tatar community in Constanța. He married Şefika Abdulakim. The couple had four daughters and two sons, but two of their children died in their teens (Agi-Amet, 1999).

In 1906 Niyaziy is appointed a teacher at the local Tatar school. He lectures in Ottoman History, Ottoman Language, Poetry and Prose, Persian Literature, and Kalem. Between 1910 and 1914 he serves as the institution's headmaster. After 1916 he settles with his family in Medgidia where he is appointed headmaster of the Islamic Seminary. In 1909, he starts editing the journal *Dobruja*. The journal is printed in Istanbul by Kader Publishing House. He also starts short living journals *Teşvik,*

Mektep ve Aile, and with Ğevdet Kemal *, Íşík* (Williams, Brian Glyn, 2001) (Agi-Amet, 1999).

In early 1918, when the Kurultai proclaimed a Crimean People's Republic in the wake of the October Revolution and upon the close of World War I, Niyaziy leaves for Akmesğit (Simferopol). He joins the Tatar activists in their campaign. He edits the *Hak Ses* newspaper. For a while, he is employed by the Crimean Ministry of Education. When the Bolshevik Red Army troops enter Crimea, he takes refuge in Romania. From that moment on, Memet Niyaziy concentrates on literary activities, entering the most prolific phase of his career. He publishes his work in the Arabic alphabet version of Crimean Tatar. As a leader of his community, he influences a new wave of Tatar refugees who sought inspiration in the policy of the Second Polish Republic' (Williams, Brian Glyn, 2001).

His last years are clouded by the death of his wife Şefika. Suffering from tuberculosis, he dies and he is buried in Medgidia. The ceremony attracts a large crowd of his admirers. His grave still attracts Tatar pilgrims (Agi-Amet, 1999).

6   Neğip Haği Fazîl

Neğip Haği Fazîl was a Romanian born Tatar poet, journalist, and activist for ethnic Tatar causes. Neğip and his brother, Músteğep, played an important part in the cultural and political life of the Tatars in Dobruja. His brother Músteğep Haği Fazîl is better known as Müstecip Ülküsal, the name he took in 1940 when he emigrated to Turkey (Akmolla, 2009).

Neğip Fazîl was born in 1905 in Azaplar, today Tătaru, to a Tatar family of refugees from the Ğankóy region of Crimea, which around 1862 settled in Sarighiol village, near Mangalia, in Dobruja. In 1927, he graduated from the Medgidia Muslim Seminary. Then again he graduated from the Academy of Bank Cooperatives in Bucharest and he worked for a period as a banking inspector (Akmolla, 2009).

He engaged in an intense literary activity, writing and publishing poems and plays in Emel magazine. In 1931, he married Sultana Alimseyit from his native village of Azaplar (Tătaru), with whom he had two children, Suyum and Bora. In 1933 he founded the *Committee of Nationalist Tatar Youth*. In 1940, after his brother immigrated to Turkey, he became the leader of the *Committee for the Liberation of Crimea*. Between 1943–1944 this organization became *The Committee for the Help of Tatar Refugees*, and he became involved in the reception of the Crimean refugees and their placement in the villages of Dobruja (Akmolla, 2009).

In 1945 he was arrested for his nationalist activity, but he managed to be released. In October 1948 he was imprisoned again and tortured to death in the headquarters of the Securitate (Romanian KGB) in Ovid Square, in Constanța (Dumitru, 2017, p. 305)

7   Şewkiy Bektóre

Şewkiy Bektóre was a Dobrujan-born Tatar leading poet, academic, publisher, educator and activist for ethnic Tatar causes (Anaurt, 2018), (Bektóre, 2007), (Bektóre, 2005). He created the first Arabic script alphabet modified specifically for Crimean Tatars. He authored Tatar and Turkmen language textbooks. He served in Crimea, Caucasus, and Central Asia and spent much of his adult life in Joseph Stalin's gulags (Anaurt, 2018), (Allworth, 1998).

Şewkiy was born in 1888 in Kawlaklar, today Plopeni, a village situated in the Tatar countryside west of Mangalia, in Dobruja. At the time, the region was part of the Kingdom of Romania; from 1420 to 1878, it was part of the Ottoman Empire. His parents were prosperous farmers hailing from Crimea. As a result of the Russo-Turkish War (1768–74) followed by the loss of Crimea to the Russians in 1783, in the early 19th century consecutive waves of threatened Crimean Tatars left their properties and fled to the Ottoman Empire. Some of them settled in Dobruja. By the time Şewkiy was born the region had been annexed by the Kingdom of Romania at the end of another Russo-Turkish War (1877–78). When Şewkiy was 6 years old, his father, who was also a schoolteacher and the governor of township, convinced many of his fellow villagers to move further inland to Anatolia, Turkey. They settled 80 km west of Ankara, in Central Anatolia, near Polatlı on the road to Eskişehir, naming their village Karakaya (Anaurt, 2018), (Beköre, 1965).

Şewkiy completed his elementary school in Karakaya and his secondary education in neighboring town of Haymana. Then, at the age of 17, he went to Istanbul for his higher education entering the Divinity Faculty of the Istanbul University where he met students of Crimean descent and acted in the *Crimean Students Association* in Istanbul. In 1909 he took his first trip to Crimea, which was part of Russia, where he looked for his lost relatives and made folklore and ethnographic studies. In 1912 he participated in the First Balkan War (Anaurt, 2018).

In 1914, at the beginning of World War I, when the Ottoman Turkey was again at war with Russia, Şewkiy was teaching in Crimea. He escaped fleeing to Turkey via Azerbaijan and Iran. In early 1918 he was serving in Istanbul as General Secretary of the *Society of Active Youth* consisting of Turks of Crimean descent. In March, when the warfare ended, he sailed to Sevastopol and Feodosia with the delegation of the Red Crescent charged with the prisoner exchange. While there, he learned news unknown outside of Crimea realizing what the Bolshevik Revolution produced. He also learned that Tatars refused to recognize the legitimacy of the Bolsheviks back in December 1917, and, on 23 February 1918, a firing squad of the Black Sea Fleet executed their elected President, Numan Çelebicihan. Their Minister of Defense and Foreign Affairs, Cafer Seydahmet, escaped with his wife through the Caucasus (Anaurt, 2018).

Later that year Şewkiy, Cafer Seydahmet, and a small group of Tatar patriots living in Istanbul traveled to Crimea on a gunboat to join the struggle for independence. Şewkiy became a member of the Crimean National Board of Education.

By the end of the year he managed to recruit from Turkey more than fifty teachers. This time, when he arrived in Crimea, he also had at his side Hamide, his young and supporting wife (Anaurt, 2018).

Şewkiy and Hamide settled in the village of Kuru Özen (now Solnechnogorskoye), near Alushta, 50 kilometres northeast of Yalta. The village had no school and Şewkiy set out to open one. He wrote a good deal of patriotic poetry (Anaurt, 2018).

In Quru Özen he founded and distributed Şar-şur, a journal that was written by hand, and he got children to learn and recite his poems, which included "My Tatarland" or "For My Right".

In 1920 he published in Akmesğit (Simferopol) his first poetry collection, *Ergenekon*. To publish the book he used a printing press in an abandoned building. He found an old type setter and together they were able to retrofit the equipment. He personally distributed the books in towns and villages. Then he did the same thing with his collections that followed. In the end, his poems and writings were widely read and known throughout Crimea (Anaurt, 2018).

In November 1920 the Bolsheviks took over Crimea and on October 18th, 1921 they authorized the establishment of the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, which was annexed to the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (Bektöre, 2005).

During the 1920–1921 famine he was a teacher in Totayköy (now Fersmanovo), in Crimea (Anaurt, 2018). In 1924, due to the increased determination of the Soviet authorities to liquidate national ambitions, he left Crimea for Dagestan where he was to be a teacher of languages in the Pedagogical Institute in the city of Temir-Khan-Shura (now called Buynaksk), (Bektöre, 2007). In 1926, he participated as a delegate from Dagestan in the All-Union Turcology Congress in Baku, Azerbaijan, where the replacement of Arabic script in Turkic-Islamic lands by Latin alphabet was adopted. In addition, the adoption of a common grammar by the Turkic Soviet Republics was discussed. For a short period he was a teacher in the town of Batalpasha in Karachay-Cherkessia. In 1927 he moved to Ashgabat, the capital of Turkmenistan, where he taught at the Turkmen Teachers School (Anaurt, 2018).

On March 25th, 1932 he was arrested by the State Political Directorate, or GPU, of the NKVD (the precursor of KGB) on charge of "belonging to the secret Turkmen Nationalist Organization." He was sentenced to 10 years and imprisoned in the agricultural labor camps in Uzbekistan, first in Zarafshan and later in Zengi-Ata near Tashkent. Hoping to join them after his release in 1943, he convinced his wife Hamide, then living in Tashkent, to take their three children and move to her relatives in Istanbul. But he was released only after the war in 1948. He settled in Yangiyul, Uzbekistan and he started to write letters to the authorities claiming a passport. On 17 December 1948 he was rearrested on charge of "being a dangerous person" and exiled for life to the town of Bolshaya Murta on the Yenisey river north of Krasnoyarsk, Siberia. Here he worked as watchman in a brick coop-

erative. Later he herded horses and cows and became a basket weaver (Anaurt, 2018).

Some years after Stalin's death in 1953, he was released by Nikita Khrushchev and in October 1956 he was able to join his family in Turkey, after a confinement and exile for 24 years. In 1960 he was elected as head of the Crimean Tatar National Center in Turkey (Allworth, 1998).

Bektöre died on 18 December 1961 in Istanbul. He was buried at Adrianopole Gate, outside of the western walls of old Constantinople. His memoirs were recorded by Saadet Bektöre and published by Eroğlu Matbaası in 1965 under the title *Red Flows the Volga* ("Volga kızıl akarken"), (Allworth, 1998).

8   Teofic Feizula

Teofic Feizula was born in Agigea, near Constanta, on November 2, 1923 to the family of Talip Feizula and Razie. He was married and had two children. (Siclitaru, Ziua de Constanta, 27 October 2018)

Between December 20, 1944, and May 9, 1945, Teofic Feizula fought on WWII in Transylvania and Hungary serving in the 18th Artillery Regiment of the Romanian Army and advancing from soldier to the rank of corporal.

On May 2nd, 1945, Teofic Feizula was awarded the Medal "Manhood and Faith", with Spade, 3rd Class, "For the skill and devotion that he proved in the fighting against German-Hungarian forces."

On June 18, 1945, he was awarded the Medal "Faithful Service" with Spade, 3rd Class, "For deeds of weapons committed in the fighting against the German-Hungarian forces in 1945."

On December 3, 1949, the Grand National Assembly decorated him with the Medal "Liberation from the Fascist Yoke."

Teofic Feizula died on 28 October 1988. His wife died in 2013. Postmortem, for his exceptional merits, the Local Council declared him the honorary citizen of Agigea. (Siclitaru, Ziua de Constanta, 27 October 2018).

9   Conclusion

The Tatars in Dobruja are normal people, with normal jobs and feelings. They are honest and honorable people. They have a positive attitude towards schooling and education. They have a strong sense of family and duty. Looking at the imminent extinction of the Tatars, their language and their customs from the geographical and historical area of Dobruja, there is an arising question: Is the new resulting society in the Black Sea zone going to be richer and more credible or, on the contrary, a poorer and less credible society without the Tatars?

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Mongolian Historians in the 18th Century: Their Review of Historiography

Narisu

1   Abstract

The study of both the writing of history and of written histories is an important research field of Mongolian historiography in the 18th century. In addition, comments of historians, who reviewed written history, are of highest value because they influenced the theoretical and practical development of Mongolian historiography. Therefore, taking the comments of four historians in the 18th century as an example, this paper discusses and analyzes the forms of Mongolian historians' historiography comments. It is believed that the Mongolian historiography criticism took shape in the historical works of these historians and gradually developed into a unique style within the different approaches of historiography.

家的史学著作中形成并随着史学发展逐步形成为独具一格的体裁。

该论文从十八世纪四位史家的史学评论为例，探讨和分析了蒙古家的史学评论形式，认为蒙古史学评论在蒙古史学史理论视角研究十八世纪蒙古史学评论具有理论价值和现实意义。

十八世纪蒙古史学是蒙古史学史的一个重要组成部分，研究蒙古史家的史学评论是蒙古史学史的理论研究重点，从

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Some Notes on Old Uyghur *mayaq* and *ügi*

Mehmet Ölmez

1 Introduction

According to Sir Gerard Clauson, there are many hapax legomena in Old Uighur. After the publication of his dictionary in 1972, through new text editions of Old Uighur, it was shown that many hapax legomena are no more 'hapax' (about hapaxes, s. Ölmez 2011). There are also some words which are shown by him as rare words and compared with the words in some languages with a question mark. I will talk about *mayaq* 'dung' and *ügi* 'owl', through some new text editions of Old Uighur and dialect dictionaries from Turkic languages.

2 ügi 'owl'

Clauson gives the first data about *ügi* from Dīwān Luγāt at-Turk and Kutadgu Bilig. According to Clauson, the Old Turkic form of this word is *ügi* (*ü:gi:*). In some modern Turkic languages, we can find the word with *ö-* or *-k-* too (s. Clauson 101b). After 1972, we have some entries from Old Uighur too.

2.1 First example

The first source on *ügi* is Altun Yaruk Sūtra. Peter Zieme published some parts from Altun Yaruk Sūtra in 1976, which belongs to mainly *süü bitig* (line 693/17, p. 343). The same part was repeated in his next edition of the same text in 1996: 160):

1120 16 q(a)ltı birök bo yertinçütä
*1121 17 qaryalı **ügi**li ekägü qayu öddä*
1122 18 tüzülüp bir uyalıγ bolsar
1123 19 lar anta munta uçdoqta yayı-
1124 20 laşmadın edärişdöktä ançata temin
1125 21 tilägülük ol

In Chinese text *ügi* corresponds to 鵂鶹 *xiuliu* 'collared owlet' (SuvKaya 693.17; Taisho 406b20).

2.2 Second example

The second example occurs in an apocryphal text edited by Gy. Kara and P. Zieme: *öŋdin yıŋaq başlap törttin yıŋaqlartakı qonşı ellärdäki uçar ordolartın ügilärtin (...)* "in den Nachbar-Regionen der mit Osten beginnenden vier Himmelsrichtungen befindliche ordo, Eulen, (...)" (Kara – Zieme 1986, 176–178).

2.3 Third example

The third example is mentioned first time at the same article by Kara – Zieme, in footnote 177–178 (p. 349): *ügi qoburya quzyun [...]n quşta u[latı yavı]z tınlıylar* "[schlech]te Lebewesen mit Eule, Uhu, Rabe und [....]-Vogel [an der Spitze]" (U 1692 verso 4–5).

The same fragment was edited and added by J. Wilkens in 2016 as follows: *ügi qoburya quzyun [qar]a quşta u[latı yavı]z tınlıylar* "(nur noch) üblen Tieren wie Eulen, Käuzen, Raben und [Ge]iern" (3490–3491).

In short, through new text editions of Old Uighur, it was shown that, we have additional examples for rare attested words from Old and Middle Turkic periods.

3   mayaq 'dung'

Clauson mentioned three examples from Old Uighur texts on *mayaq* 'dung'. The first example is from *Uigurica* (I), actually from Altun Yaruk Sūtra:

bir arıγ äv etip yerin ud mayaqı üzä suvatıp "ein sauberes neues Haus errichten, dessen Boden mit Kuhmist beschmieren" (Müller, p. 29). *mayaq* corresponds to Chinese 瞿摩 *qumo*, a kind of transcription of Sanskrit *gomaya* "cow-dung" (MW p. 366a). The same text is republished by C. Kaya (in 1994) and E. Çetin (in 2017).

The other two examples are from 'Heilkunde' texts (s. Clauson, p. 350b; DTS, p. 335a):

U559 (T I D 120) IV
A039 07 qayu kişi yan aɣrɣy ärsär
A040 08 kökörçgen mayaqın qara men birle çoquraṭıp
A041 09 üç keçä yaqzun ädgü bolur

U559 (T I D 120) V
A047 06 tiş aɣrɣqa üç yaşar qara udnuŋ mayaqın
A047 06 eşiçtä çoquraṭıp yaqzun aɣrɣy keṭär

Examples from Heilkunde are according to Bakeli 2013.
For Oguz form of *mayaq* (= *baynaq*), s. Erdal 2004, pp. 72–73.

Except Clauson's data, we have following examples of *mayaq* from the Old Uighur texts: Futher three examples are from Altun Yaruk Sūtra, VIth, VIIth and VIIIth chapters, one of them corresponds to Chinese 糞 *fen* 'dung':

antada ken bir $_{22}$ arɣy ävdä ud mayaqı üzä yer$_{23}$in suvap kiçig mandal qılzun AYS VI 440ç.22

satyaqsız arɣy orunta ud mayaqın $_2$ suvap säkiz çikin turqı mandal qılzun AYS VII 477.1 (*ud mayaqı* 牛糞 *niu fen*)

bir <arɣy> yaŋı äv etip $_6$ yerin ud mayaqı üzä $_7$ suvatıp anıŋ içintä mäniŋ $_8$ körkümin adruq adruq yevig $_9$ tizig etig yaratıy üzä $_{10}$ etiglig uz bädizätzün AYS VIII 519.6

azu ar(a)ŋyadan säŋrämdä ud $_2$ mayaqın suvap mandal qılıp çından $_3$ tütsüg köyürüp tapɣy uduy qılz$_4$un AYS VIII 525.2

Except Altun Yaruk Sūtra, *mayaq* occurs also at Abhidharma text and corresponds to Chinese 牛糞 *niu fen* (p. 185): *(…) ud mayaqıŋa qıɣka (….)* Shogaito 1993: B 1056 (p. 84)
mayaq attested also in Old Uighur civil texts as a personal name:
    Käz09, line 5 and 7: *mayaq bö[kän]* (? ~ *bükän*); *ulay mayaq bökän*; last editions according to Dai Matsui and M. Vér.
     One example is also a 'tanuk's name: *tanuq mayaq* Mi13 3Kr. USp 125 SPF (SUK)
    mayaq çor Hamilton 1986, p. 84 and p. 86 (notes).

There are derived forms like *mayaq+a-* (and may be *mayaq+a-n-*? s. UW Nb *ataqımsın-* and OTWF 418, *mayaqa+a-* (Tatar, Bashkir and Chuvash has similar forms, s. OTWF, p. 418; *mayaqa-n-* s. OTWF, p. 418 and 593)*:*
maheşvare täŋri başlap munça terini quvrayı birlä$_{08}$ mayaqanzun yamu [   ]i säniŋ ayızıŋqa BT
    XIII 60.8
For the facsimile of the text, s. A. v. Le Coq, *Chotscho*, Berlin 1913, Taf. 34.
see also UW Nb "**agız** : (…) *mayaqanzun* oder lies: *mayaqaẓun*?".
bägimsinmäyük bäg bolsar bältir sayu bergä salur atıqımsınmayuq atıg bulsar art sayu mayaqayur
    TT VII, ETŞ 34/05 (for the corrected form s. UW Nb *atıkımsın-*)
    Through new texts we will learn more about *mayaq* and *mayaqa-*. For Islamic Turkic data, see new publications like Tafsir and underlinear Kor'an translations. For

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The Writing Features of the Low Unrounded Connecting Vowels in the Old Uyghur Manichean Texts

Betül Özbay

1 Introduction

The Old Turkic language is quite rich in vowels, there are nine vowels including closed *e* in the literary texts. Because of the popular usage of consonant based scripts, the vowels are not represented explicitly during this period. However, the frequent usage of various alphabets such as Sogdian, Manichean, Brahmi in Old Turkic, provides a very important opportunity to assume the sound values of the letters in the written material. Even though these opportunities are limited, and not sufficient to get a clear result, it is possible to find some significant writing features based on the texts. The vowels in both contemporary and historical Turkic languages are divided into two main sub-branches depending on their "frontness and backness" position, as back (*a*, *o*, *u*, *ı*) and front vowels (*ä*, *e*, *i*, *ö*, *ü*); and also depending of the shape of the mouth and lips as rounded – unrounded vowels, and low – high vowels. Furthermore, the sequences of the vowels has a harmony in Turkic, the vowel harmony exists in two main ways: the backness and the roundness vowel harmony.[1] Although the roundness harmony is not regular in Old Turkic, the backness har-

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[1] The vowel harmony in Turkish can be expressed in the following rules: if the first vowel of a word is a back vowel, any subsequent vowel must be also a back vowel; on the other hand, if the first one is a front vowel, any subsequent vowel is also a front vowel. Also, if the first vowel is unrounded so too are subsequent vowels or if the first vowel is rounded, subsequent vowels are either rounded and close, or unrounded and open (Lewis, 1967: 15).

mony occurs quite accurate. The vowel harmony may occur either in the bare word (which is also called internal vowel harmony) or the applied suffixes to the word (external vowel harmony). In Turkic languages, these two vowel harmony types are also important during the suffix applications of the words. Many suffixes have allomorphs with an initial consonant after stem-final consonants.[2] Before the implementation of vowel harmony in a word, the vowel variation of a suffix may appear according to either twofold harmony, which are low and unrounded vowels (e.g. the Turkish plural suffix +*lAr*); or fourfold harmony, which are high and rounded vowels (e.g. Turkish accusative case suffix: +*(y)I*), see Schroeder, 1999: 20).

On the other hand, in some Old Uyghur Manichean texts, the fourfold vowel variation of the suffixes can be found quite different. In some examples, it is possible to see that twofold and fourfold vowel variations are complicated. For example, the accusative suffix +*(I)g* in Old Turkic, may also be found as +*(A)g* in some Old Uyghur Manichean texts. For some Turcologists these kinds of variations in so-called "connective vowels" of Old Turkic, might show a different dialect of the language. In this paper, we are going to focus on the writing features of the connecting vowels in the Old Uyghur Manichean texts, and try to see how consistent the attestation of these variations in these Manichean texts.

2   The Connecting Vowels in the Old Uyghur Manichean Texts

The appearance and features of the connecting or connective vowels in Old Turkic have brought on long arguments since 1950s. Many Turcologists, such as A. von Gabain (1957), M. Erdal (2004 and on several other publications), L. Johanson (2001), G. Doerfer (1981) discussed on this subject. Even though all field researchers do not have a common consensus on the existence and characteristics of *connecting*, *connective*, *helping* or *binding* vowels, the fact is there is an attention getting variation in some Old Uyghur texts. In the Manichean texts for example, we can find very clear and undeniable writing differences in many suffixes. However in this paper as previously said, we can only focus the vowel variations of the following three noun case suffixes: the accusative case suffix +*(I)g*, genitive case suffix +*(I)ŋ* and +*n(I)ŋ*, and finally instrumental case suffix +*(I)n*.

As we mentioned above, this unusual attestation of the connecting vowels in the written materials is attracted the attention of many researchers. In 1951, A. von Gabain presents a paper on connecting vowels and their writings on Brahmi texts, she gives both the derivational and inflectional suffixes, and she also adds the low rounded vowels *o* and *ö* as binding vowels because different from other scripts Brahmi texts serve an opportunity to divide the rounding vowels in Old Uyghur. On the other hand, in 1969, P. Zieme gives these vowel variations in his PhD thesis on the Uyghur Manichean texts, under the section of "Das Manichäisch-Türkische

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[2] See Johanson (1998) for further information on morphophonological variation in suffixes, pp. 32–34.

Dialektische Verhältnisse" which has the variations of these three case's suffixes, too, among the other affixes (1969: 173–182). Even though the Manichean script does not divide the low and high rounded vowels from each other, yet there are some examples for the unrounded low connecting vowels; therefore we preferred to study on the Manichean Uyghur texts. The main corpus of our research consists of the texts in *Manichaica I–III*, *BT V*, *Uyghur Manichean Liturgical Texts* and the confession book *Xwastwanift*. During our study, previous publications of the texts and the manuscripts were scanned, and determined the suitable examples. The principal structure of our research is to see the attestation and the consistency of the vowel variations of these three case suffixes in above-cited Manichean texts.

As we know, the scripts both Uyghur and Manichean are consonant based writings, and they do not represent the vowels explicitly. However, there are also some examples in the texts that we can see the clear attestations of the vowels. Therefore, as much as possible texts were scanned to get a much broader perspective for this study. The publications of more than 70 texts, without considering different copies and fragments, were scanned. According to our research, the twofold vowel variations (low connecting vowels) and fourfold vowel variations (high connecting vowels) are attested together among the following texts: U 2, U 35, U 36, U 41, U 47, U 168, U 169, U 297, MIK III 198, T II 173d (*125), *Xwastwanift*'s Berlin square script copy (U 7, U 8, U 9, U 10),[3] *Xwastwanift*'s St. Petersburg book roll and U 14.

On the other hand, the twofold variations of these three suffixes were not attested in a high majority of the Uyghur Manichean texts such as U1, U 3, U 5, U 6, U 30, U 33, U 34, U 39, U 40, U 43, U 44, U 45, U 49, U 50, MIK III 201 II, T II K 2a, U 35, U 31, MIK III 201 I, U 46a, U 46b, U 22, U 16, U 24, U 1543, U 19, M 798f, U 11, U 25, U 5103, U 27, U 17, U 20, U 12, U 13, U 18, M 443, U 15, U 23, U 26, M 172, Ch/U 6368, Ch/U 6414, Mainz 350, *Xwastwanift*'s London book roll (378 lines), U 25, U 27, U 79, U 121, U 123b, U 131, U 132c, U 133c, U 138, U 139, U 150, U 159, U 184, U 185, U 189, U 190, U 196, U 197, U 198, U 206, U 216, U 220a, U 221, U 222, U 230, U 232, U 237, U 241a, U 241b, U 245, U 252, U 255, U 261, U 262, U 267, U 281, U 303, U 305, U 308, U 309, U 312c, U 316a, U 1543, U 5017, M 111 II, M 126, M 657, M 813, M 865.

As we can understand, although the twofold vowel variation is not as common as fourfold variation, still both versions are attested in the texts. In this study, the attestations of these case suffixes presented in a comparative table. A three column table is given for each case: the first column has the supporting examples for low unrounded connecting vowels (with *A*); the second column shows the contradictory examples of twofold vowel variation (with *I*), and the third one has the *plene* writings which have missing vowels (unwritten vowels). We wanted to add the *plene* writings with transliterated forms, to see the previous researchers reading suggestion's tendency. Furthermore, in this study, only the texts which at least have one example for

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[3] These fragments are the only texts written in the Manichean script.

low unrounded connecting vowels (=*A*) were presented, but the texts do not have any low unrounded connecting vowels were not given here.

2.1 The Accusative Suffix +*(A)g*

The accusative case +*(I)g* in Old Turkic usually marks the object in the sentence, as we pointed out before, in some Uyghur Manichean texts it was attested in low unrounded vowels as +*(A)g*. Among the examined texts U169, MIK III 198, U 168, U 297, *Xwastwanift* St. Petersburg book roll (= *Xwast*. SPb), U 9, U 10, U 14, U 2, U 35, U 36, U 41, U 47, U 168, U 169, U 297 have twofold connecting vowel variation (with +*(A)g*). Except U 14 and U 41, all the other texts have examples with +*(I)g* as well, but we need to note that if these fragments were long enough, perhaps we could have examples for the version +*(I)g*, too. Even in some texts, the fourfold version +*(I)g* is attested more than +*(A)g)* forms. For instance in *Xwast. SPb* only the hendiadyoin *tīnlīg turalīg* "alive one" is attested with +*(A)g*, but all the other examples were written with +*(I)g*. Similar to this text, also in MIK III 198 only two loan words: *dentar* "elect" and *nigošak* "auditor" are attested with +*(A)g*. On the other hand, as you can see in the following table the words, which have high rounded vowels ending: *ölüg, köŋül, kögüz, kuš, ud, koń* are attested with fourfold high vowels forms.

Table 1: Examples for Accusative Case Suffix +(A)g and +(I)g

pros (in transcription)	cons (in transcription)	plene (in transliteration and transcription)
anh(a)rw(a)z(a)nag (U 169 B1/R/I/17)	t(ä)ŋrilärig (U 169 B1/R/I/2-3)	sʾwq, sav(a)g (U35/R/3)
d(en)tarag (MIK III 198 R/I/2)	ölügüg (MIK III 198 R/II/27)	čqšʾptq, čakšap(a)t(a)g (Xwast. SPb, 132)
n(i)gošakag (MIK III 198 R/I/3)	köŋülüg (MIK III 198 V/I/13)	bwrqʾnq, burxan(a)g (U 4 R/10, V/4, 7=3 times)
ïgačag (U 168 1/R/I/3)	kögüzüg (MIK III 198 V/I/14)	bʾl//q̇/q, balık(a)g (U 36 1/R/II/21)
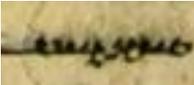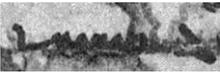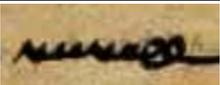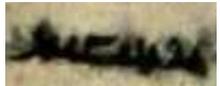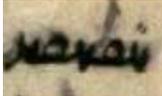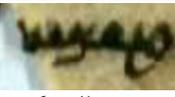
tämiräg (U 168 1/R/ I/12)	kušug (U 168 1/R/I/1)	
bar(ï)mag (U 169 B1/R/II/1)	sürüg(üg), udug, końug (U 168 1/R/I/8)	
agrïgag (U 297/V/3)	otuŋug (T II 173d/V/12)	
burxanag (U 297/V/9)	otuŋug (U 35/V/1)	
tumlïgag (U 297/V/4)	kilinčïg (U 169 B1/R/II/1)	
tïnl(ï)gag (Xwast. SPb, 47)	kišilärig (U 169 B1/II/R/4)	
tural(ï)gag (Xwast. SPb, 48)	köŋülüg (U 169 B1/II/R/9)	
tïnl(ï)gag (Xwast. SPb, 65)	agïg (U 169 B1/II/R/20)	
tural(ï)gag (Xwast. SPb, 65)	nomug (U 169 B1/II/V/12)	
tïnl(ï)gag (Xwast. SPb, 148)	isigig (U 297/V/3)	
anïgag (U10/R/4)	yäkig (U 297/R/12)	
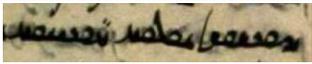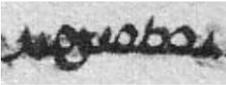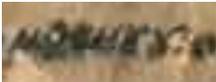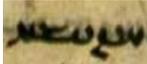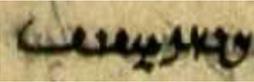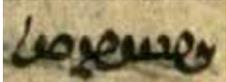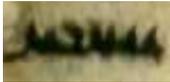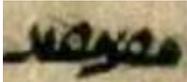
///lïgag (U14/R/10)	ičgäki(g) (U 297/R/13)	
tural(ï)gag (U14/R/11)	išig (Xwast. SPb, 50)	
tïnl(ï)gag (U14/V/13)	sïgunug (U 36/1/ R/II/6)	
tural(ï)gag (U14/V/14)	nomug (Xwast. SPb, 56)	
čaxšap(a)tag (U9/R/9)	yïltïzïg (Xwast. SPb, 70)	
savag (U2/V/2)	ïgačïg (Xwast. SPb, 149)	
čakšap(a)tag (U 41/V/1)	ädgüg (U10/R/3)	
bulgaklarag (U47/V/9)	t(ä)ngrilärig (U10/R/5)	
	bulgamakïg (U47/V/5)	
	yaykanmakïg (U47/V/6)	
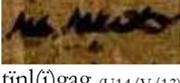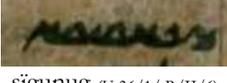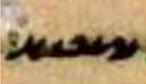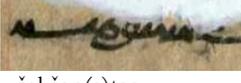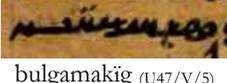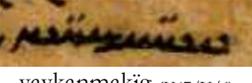
2.2 The Genitive Suffix +*nAŋ*

The genitive case usually marks the possessor of a noun as a modifier in Old Turkic, the common suffixes are +*nIŋ* and +*Iŋ*. However, in very few Old Uyghur Mani-chean texts, we can find the form +*nAŋ*, too. Among the scanned texts, the suffix +*nAŋ* is only attested explicitly in two words: *kiši*+*näŋ* "someone's ..." (two times) in

the manuscript number U 168 and in one word: *äškäk+näŋ* "donkey's..." in manuscript T II 173d (*125). Thus, we might say, the genitive case suffixes +*nIŋ* (more common) and +*Iŋ* are quite consistent in these Manichean texts. On the other hand, in the previous publications (such as A. von Le Coq, 1912-22; Z. Özertural, 2008) some words which have missing vowels, were preferred to complete with the version +*nAŋ*, however for us the ultimate reading suggestions (transcriptions) are not definite.

Table 2: Examples for Genitive Case Suffix +nIŋ, + Iŋ and +nAŋ

pros (in transcription)	cons (in transcription)	plene (in transliteration and transcription)
Kiši*näŋ* (U 168 1/R/I/14)	yer*niŋ* (U 169 B1/R/I/2)	q°mʾq*nnk,* kamag*n(a)ŋ* (U 169 B2/V/Head.)
kiši*näŋ* (U 168 1/R/I/15)	t(ä)ŋri*niŋ* (MIK III 198 R/II/33)	tnkry-lʾr*nnk* , t(ä)ŋrilär*n(i)ŋ* (MIK III 198 V/I/32-33)
äškäk*näŋ* (T II 173d/R/12)	ton*nuŋ*(U 168 1/R/I/14)	frštylʾr*nnk* , freštilär*n(i)ŋ* (MIK III 198 V/I/34)
	k(ä)ntü*niŋ* (U 169 B1/R/II/5)	ʾr*nnk* , är*n(ä)ŋ* (T II 173d/R/3)
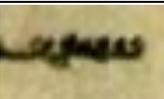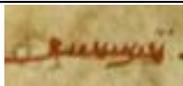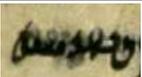
	yėr üzeki*niŋ* (Xwast. SPb, 16-17)	ʾt*nnk* , at*n(a)ŋ* (T II 173d/R/11)
	n(i)gošaklar*niŋ* (Xwast. SPb, 160)	ʾdʾq*ï**nnk* , adaq*n(a)ŋ* (T II 173d/V/20)
	üzütlär*niŋ* (U8/V/9)	ʾʾčy*nnk* , ači*n(i)ŋ* (U 169 B1/II/V/2)
	burxanlar*niŋ* (U10/V/6)	ʾʾqry*nnk* , agrï*n(i)ŋ* (U 169 B1/II/V/2)
	nom*nuŋ* (U10/V/6)	ʾkynty*nnk* , äkinti*n(i)ŋ* (U 169 B1/V/II/16)
		ʾr*nnk*, är*n(ä)ŋ* (U 169 B1/V/II/18)
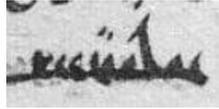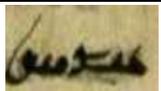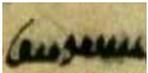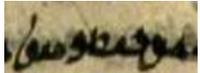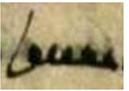
As we can see, on the third column of the table, apparently if the texts have examples for twofold connecting vowels variation and have low unrounded vowels in their final syllables (except after the plural suffix +*lАr*), the researchers have a kind of tendency to fill the missing vowels with low unrounded vowels – but it seems that this is not consistent either.

2.3 The Instrumental Suffix +*(A)n*

The usual instrumental suffix in Old Turkic is +*(I)n*, and generally marks the nouns in instrumental forms. Similar to genitive case suffix, the instrumental suffix is attested with + *(A)n* version in very few examples, we have found only two examples which are *kadïr+an* "with strength" in the manuscript number MIK III 198 and *tämir+än* "with iron" in the manuscript number U 168. All the other examples in the examined texts are written with high vowels: +*(I)n*. Furthermore, different from the accusative and genitive suffixes the vowel of the instrumental suffix is always attested, for this reason in this section we do not have examples for *plene* writing.

Table 3: Examples for Instrumental Case Suffix +(A)n and +(I)n

pros (in transcription)	cons (in transcription)	plene (in transliteration)
kad(ï)r*an* (MIK III 198 R/II/11)	bilig*in* (MIK III 198 R/I/3 and R/II/26)	*no example found*
tämir*än* (U 168 1/R/I/11)	türlüg*ün* (MIK III 198 R/II/8)	
	yumšak*ïn* (MIK III 198 R/II/9)	
	körk*ün* (MIK III 198 R/II/24)	
	ögrünč*ün* (MIK III 198 R/I/4)	
	s(ä)vinč*in* (MIK III 198 R/II/4)	
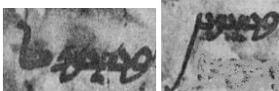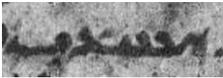
	etig*in* (MIK III 198 R/I/6)	
	amranmak*in* (MIK III 198 V/II/21)	
	küsüš*ün* (MIK III 198 V/II/22)	
	igsiz*in* (MIK III 198 V/II/27)	
	adasïz*in* (MIK III 198 V/II/27)	
	busušsuz*un* (MIK III 198 V/II/29)	
	bilig*in* (Xwast. SPb, 19)	
	adak*in* (Xwast. SPb, 147)	
	ärŋäk*in* (Xwast. SPb, 21)	
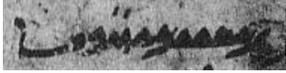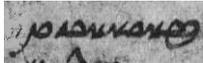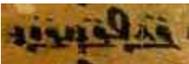
	tıš*in* (Xwast. SPb, 21)	
	köŋül*in* (U14/V/10)	
	kulkak*ın* (U7/V/5)	
	älg*in* (U7/V/6)	

3   Conclusion

According to our analysis, on the variation of the connecting vowels in three case suffixes, the accusative case +*(A)g*, the genitive case +*n(A)ŋ* and the instrumental case +*(A)n* in the Old Uyghur Manichean texts, it is possible to find some attention getting diversity for the low unrounded connecting vowels. Furthermore, the accusative form +*(A)g* is by far the most common form with low unrounded connecting vowels among these three case suffixes. The attestation of +*n(A)ŋ* (three times in two different texts) and +*(A)n* (two times in two different texts) suffixes were found very seldom; only the manuscript number U 168 has examples for these all three case suffixes in twofold variations. On the other hand, in *plene* writing there are some examples for +*(A)g* and +*n(A)ŋ*, but there is not any example for instrumental case suffix because the connecting vowel of instrumental suffix is mainly represented in the writing, regardless of it is +*(I)n* or +*(A)n*. In conclusion, based on the results of our study, it is difficult to say that there is one united Old Uyghur Manichean dialect. The attestation of different connecting vowel variations is not a systematic phenomenon for all the Uyghur Manichean texts. The further researches on the connecting vowels in different derivational and inflectional suffixes can provide better explanations for this problem.

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Methodology of the Uigur Dictionary

Klaus Röhrborn

1   Introduction

At first, I would like to express my thanks to Dr. Reckel for giving me the opportunity to write here on this topic. The *Uigurisches Wörterbuch* is not the first dictionary of Old Uigur. The pioneering step in this direction was taken by Willi Bang and Annemarie von Gabain with their Analytical Index ("Analytischer Index") which was published in 1931[1]. This index contains the vocabulary of the first five volumes of the "Türkische Turfantexte". In 1934, the "Uygur Sözlüğü" by Ahmed Caferoğlu came out[2]. While these dictionaries should rather be termed glossaries, the first work that could be considered as a dictionary in the proper sense, was the "Drevnetjurkskij slovar'" published in 1969[3]. The Drevnetjurkskij slovar' includes – besides Old Uigur – the vocabulary of the Old Turkic texts in Runic script, and even the vocabulary of the Karachanid era which was written in Arabic script.

Soon afterwards, in 1972, the "Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish" by Gerald Clauson came out[4], which still is of primary importance for Old Turkic Studies. One of the major problems of rendering

[1] Bang Willi / Annemarie v. Gabain (1931): Analytischer Index zu den fünf ersten Stücken der Türkischen Turfan-Texte. Berlin. (Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Kl. 17).

[2] Caferoğlu, Ahmet (1934): Uygur sözlüğü. Istanbul.

[3] Nadeljaev, V. M. et al. (1969): Drevnetjurkskij slovar'. Leningrad. (Akademija nauk SSSR. Institut jazykoznanija).

[4] Clauson, Sir Gerard (1972): An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Centura Turkish. Oxford.

Old Uigur words in Latin script is that, if the etymology of a word is not known, its transcription could be unsure.

2   The History of the Uigur Dictionary

In the mid-fifties of the last century, Annemarie v. Gabain made plans for a thesaurus of Old Uigur, that means, a dictionary, which contains every example of a word, no matter how often it occurs in the texts. This method, the so-called "thesaurus method", had been kept up until 1998, the year of the publication of the fascicle no. 6 of the "Uigurisches Wörterbuch"[5].

The three volumes of the revised edition of this dictionary were published between 2010 and 2017[6], with the support of the Göttingen Academy of Sciences and through the funding of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. Subsequently, on demand of the Academy, we had to give up the thesaurus principle in the following volumes. Since 2017, we are working on the subsequent volumes of the dictionary.

The current project is scheduled for a period of 24 years. If we had decided to stick to the (former) thesaurus principle, we would have had to apply for a project of fifty years at the least.

And there was another precondition set by the Academy, which proved to be much more serious: The project had to be "modular", which means the project had to be partitioned into several independent components. The Uigur Dictionary will therefore be divided into the following three separate units: The first series will only contain verbs. The second will comprise nouns, and the third is reserved to foreign elements and loanwords.

This division might lead to problems in certain instances. As an example, I would like to mention the word *alp* "hero", which is well-known and usually considered to be Turkish. But according to Alexander Vovin the word might be borrowed from the Ruan-ruan language (an unclassified language spoken in Mongolia and Northern China between the 4th and 6th century CE)[7].

This shows that it is not always easy to tell if a word is of Turkic or of foreign origin and the parameters for classification still are a matter of dispute.

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[5] Röhrborn, Klaus (1977–1998): Uigurisches Wörterbuch. Sprachmaterial der vorislamischen türkischen Texte aus Zentralasien. Lfg. 1 (a – agrıg) bis Lfg. 6 (ämgäksin- – ärŋäk). Wiesbaden.

[6] Röhrborn, Klaus (2010–2017): Uigurisches Wörterbuch. Sprachmaterial der vorislamischen türkischen Texte aus Zentralasien. Neubearbeitung. Abt. I: Verben, Bd. 1 (ab- – äzüglä-), Abt. II: Nomina - Pronomina - Partikeln, Bd. 1 (a – asvık), Bd. 2 (aš – äžük). Stuttgart.

[7] Vovin, Alexander (2011) in: Ötüken'den Istanbul'a. Türkçenin 1290 yılı (720-2010). 3-5 aralık 2010, Vol. 1, ed. Mehmet Ölmez et al., Istanbul, p. 29.

3   The Arrangement of the Uigur Dictionary

3.1   Nominal Headwords (cf. illustration 1)

Let us now have a look at a nominal headword in the Uigur Dictionary. We will take *ana* "mother" as an example. The headword is given in boldface, at first in transcription, followed by a transliteration in small capitals. Then follow the different spellings of the headword, also in small capitals. Variants with diacritics 'Ṅ', variants with defective writing of the first vowel: 'N'. At the end of the first paragraph, we usually give a list of misspellings and mistranscriptions. In the case of *ana* there are no misspellings or mistranscriptions attested.

The following paragraph is the so-called "Prolegomenon", marked by indentation. In the Prolegomenon the reader will find preliminary remarks about the meaning of the particular headword. In the Prolegomenon of the headword *ana* it is explained mainly that *ana* is more familiar than the word *ög*, the other Uigur word for "mother".

In the next paragraph (cf. illustration 2), we give the different meanings of the headword: The headword *ana* has only three meanings. The primary meaning "mother" or "mother-in-law", and two secondary metaphorical meanings (cf. the illustration on p. 7): The names of two different goddesses, namely the Prajñāpāramitā, personified, and some goddesses accompanying the god Śiva.

Examples are classified according to the syntactical position of the headword in the sentences. Sentences, in which the headword is in the position of the subject, object or any other modifier of the verb are mentioned first. Examples showing inflection are listed in the beginning: *anasıŋa azlanıp* … "he desires for his mother". This part is marked by the logogram <u>Def.</u> which stands for Definita. Then follow the examples without inflection. In the case of *ana* "mother", there are no examples without inflection. Kinship terms predominantly exhibit possessive suffixes.

We give particular attention to hendiadyoins, that means phrases, in which a synonym or a word of similar meaning precedes or follows the headword. *ög analar arasınta kamagtın yeg adrok s(ä)n* "among the mothers (Hend.) you are the most excellent one". The word *ög* has the same meaning as *ana*. These hendiadyoins are marked by the logogram: <u>in Wh.</u> ("in Worthäufung" = accumulation of similar words).

Immediately after the hendiadyoins a sentence is given in which the headword is in opposition to its antonym, marked by the logogram: <u>in Opp</u>. (= "in Opposition"): *birök kadın atası kadın anası ikigü birlä ölsär…* "if her father-in-law and her mother-in-law, both of them together, die…".

Now we come to the second section (cf. illustration 3): sentences in which the headword occurs in nominal groups. This part is marked by the abbreviation: <u>Adnom.</u> (= "Adnominals"), which presents the headword in adnominal position. Here

we have suffixed compound nouns in two well-attested variants: (1) as genitive compounds and (2) in the so-called izafet group: (1) *anasınıŋ karnı* "the womb of his mother" and (2) *ana tägiri* "the inheritance from the mother".

Furthermore, additional phrases are specified in this section: *anada yegräk* "better than the mother", which means "better than his own mother" etc. At the end of this section again phrases with the headword in hendiadyoins and in opposition to other nouns are listed.

3.2 Verbal Headwords (cf. illustration 4)

The manner of dealing with verbs is in some respects easier than the handling of the nouns. The first part of the lemma deals with the etymology and the spelling of the headword, which corresponds to the first part of the description of the nouns.

In the beginning, the headword is given in transliteration and transcription. Then follows an etymological analysis of the headword e.g.: The verb *ärgür-* is the contracted causative of *ärü-* "to melt". Then the different spellings of the headword are given. Two examples in Manichaean script are listed, which are of special interest because the Manichaean script possesses a distinct letter for the sound [g].

They are followed by an example in Uigur script in hyperplene writing. At the end of this paragraph, the two different forms of the aorist of the verb are added: *ärgürür* and *ärgürär*.

At the beginning of the following paragraph, the part of speech is mentioned, ensued by a detailed description of the syntactic use of the verb. The verb *ärgür-* is a transitive verb. The abbreviation: <u>absol.</u> refers to phrases, in which *ärgür-* has no object, as in the phrase: *ärgürmiš kızıl bakır* "melted copper". If *ärgür-* has a direct object, then the object can either take the accusative suffix or it can be unsuffixed. The indication: <u>mit Akk.</u> refers to sentences like *oot üzä buzug ärgür-* "to melt the ice by means of fire". The indication: <u>mit Cas. ind.</u> refers to sentences with unsuffixed accusative as in the sentence: /// *kurtik bir ärgürüp* … "dissolving one of the /// pills …". The verb *ärgürmäk* has only 3 meanings. The verb *almak* "to take", in contrast, for instance has 24 different meanings.

4   Concluding Remarks

With these examples I hope to have given some insight into the methodologies we apply writing the "Uigurisches Wörterbuch", although these few impressions can only show a small glimpse of the manifold challenges we still have to face.

The Uigur Dictionary will be a very comprehensive dictionary of the Old Uigur language. This corresponds to the great importance of this language for the history of the present Turkic languages. One wonders whether we could not speed up the publication of this dictionary? We took different possibilities into consideration: We considered for instance to leave out the loan words and to confine the dictionary to

the genuine Turkic vocabulary, but this would mean that it would be impossible, to translate the Uigur texts with the help of such a dictionary. That is why it is necessary to choose the long way of 24 years.

5   Appendix

ana / ''N' Var.: ''Ń' ETS 186:6; FamArch 199 (lies so? Vgl. Faks.); Hazai 72; Sitātap 162; Suv 551:23, 620:15; TT VII 41 m. 14; UigTot 117, 119, 121; USp 95 m. 26, 133 o. 8 (lies so! Vgl. HukVes 39 u. 8). 'N' BT III 131.

Die Wörter *ana* und → *ata* sind vertraulicher als → *ög* und → *kaŋ*. In BuddhUig II 316, 318, ähnlich auch U II 21:3, bezeichnen die Eltern sich selbst als *ata* und *ana*, die Tochter nennt die Eltern in der Anrede aber *ög* und *kaŋ*. Man vgl. auch HT V 1614–15, wo *ög, kaŋ* die Übersetzung des respektvollen chin. *fu fu mu* (G. 3612 3736 8067) „die Eltern des Ehemannes, die Schwiegereltern [der Frau]" ist. In HT V 1621–22 werden dieselben Schwiegereltern als *kadın ata, kadın ana* bezeichnet und in den Zeilen 1617–19 einfach als *ata, ana*. Man könnte die zitierte Stelle aus BuddhUig II so interpretieren, dass auch die Reihenfolge („Vater – Mutter" bzw. „Mutter – Vater") eine Sache der Höflichkeit war. *ana* wird übrigens auch mit Bezug auf Tiere gebraucht (vgl. PañcFrag 119, 128, 137; Suv 631:13).

Illustration 1: Nominal Headwords.

Nom.: **1)** „Mutter (selten auch von Tieren), mütterlich; Schwieger-mutter // anne (nadiren hayvanlar için), anneye ait; kayınvalide": Adv.: Def.: *a.+sıŋa azlanıp* ... „er begehrt seine Mutter ... " (u. ä.) UigTot 117, 119; BT III 131; HtPar 43:25, 44:15, 45:20, :26, 151:9, 152:10; Lieder 3, 7; Maitr 4 v. 11, v. 17, 7 v. 6, 58 v. 3 (?); Suv 431:22, 631:13; TT VII 41 m. 14; U III 53 m. 5, 84 o. 8. ... *amtı a.+m m(a)hamaya ärür* „ ... [das] ist jetzt meine Mutter Mahāmāya" (u. a. Namen) Suv 642:20; BuddhStab 200:19; ETS 186:6; HtPek 69 a 10; U III 47:27. *a.+m hatundın adrılıp* ... „[ich] wurde von meiner Frau Mutter getrennt ... " (u. ä.) HtPar 151:2; Maitr 91 r. 4, r. 14; Suv 620:15, 632:13. *ögäy a.+mız bizkä tägir* „unsere Stiefmutter gehört zu uns" USp 133 o. 8; HukVes *39 u. 8. atam(ı)z käyik a.+m(ı)z kiši* „unser Vater ist ein Tier, unsere Mutter ein Mensch" (u. ä.) HT IV 0516 (?); HT V 1618 (?). *anta basa bo buyan ädgü kılınčıg ävirär m(ä)n ... atam bay apa čaŋšıka a.+m küsätkä* „danach widme ich dieses Puṇya ... meinem Vater Bay Apa Čaŋšı und meiner Mutter Küsät" (u. ä.) U II 81:70; ETS 226:9. In Wh: *ög a.+lar arasınta kamagtın yeg adrok ka (ka lies: s(ä)n)* „unter den Müt-tern[2] bist du von allen die vorzüglichste" Suv 495:4. *kim kayu ärän äkälär siŋillär kızlar a.+lar dentar birlä ... yazınsar ...* „wenn Männer mit älteren oder jüngeren Schwestern, Töchtern, Müttern oder frommen [Nonnen] (?) ... sündigen ... " Maitr 84 r. 20. In Opp.: *birök kadın atası kadın a.+sı ikigü birlä ölsär ...* „wenn Schwiegervater und Schwiegermutter, beide zusam-men, sterben ..." (u. ä.) HT V 1622; UigOn II 82:6. Indef.: in Opp.: *y(a)rlı-kančučı köŋüllüg a. ata yarım küčüg ašarlar* „die barmherzigen Eltern ver-mehren [seine] halbe Kraft" (?) Suv 551:23.

Illustration 2: Different meanings of the headword.

Adnom.: Def.: *a.+sınıŋ karı-*
nında „im Bauch seiner Mutter" (u. ä.) UigTot 121; PañcFrag 119, 137. *a.*
t(ä)giri „das Erbteil der Mutter" (?) USp 95 m. 26; SUK II *WP04:26. m(ä)n*
taman a.+m tavarıŋa kız aldım (→ *al-* 12) FamArch 199 (lies so? Vgl.
Faks.). *a.+da yegräk* „[eine Person] besser als die [eigene] Mutter" Maitr 58
v. 7. *a.+sı täg kisisiŋä* „einem Weib wie seine Mutter" U III 83:28. In Wh:
ög a.+nıŋ kızıl tigle „der rote ‚Samen' der Mutter[2]" UigTot 957. In Opp.:
atamnıŋ a.+mnıŋ ... buyanları „das Puṇya ... meiner Eltern" Hazai 72. *ata*
a.+ta kayusı öŋrä ölsär ... „wer von den Eltern zuerst stirbt ..." HT V 1619.
atamız a.+mız ädgüsindä „durch das Glück unserer Eltern" ShōAv 25. *a.+m*
sävičük t(ä)ŋrimniŋ atam kädin ınalnıŋ ... küsüšläri „die Wünsche ... meiner
Mutter Sävičük Täŋrim und meines Vaters Kädin Inal" ETS 218:4. **2)** me-
taphor.: **„Mutter (Bezeichnung für die Prajñāpāramitā) // anne (Praj-
ñāpāramitā için bir isim)":** Adv.: Def.: *kamaglıgsız a.+sı siz y(a)rlıkar siz*
„ihr geruht, die spezielle Mutter [von allen Lebewesen] zu sein" (lies u.
übers. so!) ETS 156:29. In Wh: *adınlarka asıg kılur tözünlärniŋ ašdačı*
üklittäči ögi a.+sı adırtl(ı)g siz y(a)rlıkar siz (→ *adırtlıg* 2) ETS 156:24. **3)**
metaphor.: **„Mutter (für 8 weibliche Gottheiten in der Umgebung Śivas)
// anne (Śiva'nın etrafındaki 8 tanrıça için)":** Adnom.: Def.: *a.+lar kuv-*
ragı „die Schar der Mütter" (skr. *mātr̥gaṇa*) Sitātap 37, *37 Anm.*, 162, 247.

Illustration 3: Sentences in which the headword occurs in nominal groups.

ärgür- / 'RKWR- (I) 〈 Kaus. auf -gUr-, von → *ärü-* „schmelzen", *ärü-gür-,
mit Synkope (BT II *202 Anm.*; EtymDic *227 a*). Var.: 'RGW/– (m) Windgott
40. 'RGWYR- ~ 'RGWWR- (m) Windgott 46. ''RKWR- BT XIII 5:59. Aor.:
ä.-ür Windgott 46. *ä.-är* Windgott (?) 40. Vgl. → *ärgüz-*!

   Verb: **1**) absol. oder mit Akk. / Cas. ind. (etw.): „**schmelzen lassen,
auflösen // eritmek**": *ä.-miš kızıl bakır* „geschmolzenes rotes Kupfer" (u. ä.)
BT II 467, 202, 528; BT XIII 1:55, :59. *oot üzä buzug ä.-* „das Eis durch
Feuer schmelzen lassen" HtTug X 11:9. /// *kurtik bir ä.-üp suv birlä ičzün*
„man soll [von den] /// Pillen eine auflösen und mit Wasser trinken!" UigTot
S. 152 r. 1. In Wh: *tämir sızgurgu ä.-gü täg* „so daß [ihr Klang] Eisen
schmelzen lassen² kann" (übers. so?) BT III 966. **2**) mit Cas. ind. (etw.) und
Dat. (in Wasser): „**einweichen, weich machen // ıslatmak, suya batırmak,
yumuşatmak**": *nara urugı suvka ä.-* „Granatkerne in Wasser einweichen"
(u. ä.) Heilk II 422 o. 42, 420 u. 41. **3**) übertr.: absol. oder mit Akk. (Hitze,
Kälte): „**mildern, dämpfen, abschwächen // yumuşatmak, kısmak, azalt-
mak**": *ä.-mäklig küč* „Kraft, (die Herzen) zu mildern / zu erweichen" (übers.
so?) Lobpreis 40. In Wh: *isigäg ä.-ür tarkarur* „ ... mildert und vertreibt die
Hitze" Windgott 46. *tumlıgag sıy[ur] ä.-är* „ ... bricht und mildert die Kälte"
Windgott 40 (?); BT XIX *187 f.*

Illustration 4: Verbal Headwords.

Central Asian Fragments of Sanskrit Manuscripts on Palm Leaves and Birch Bark in the IOM Collection

Safarali H. Shomakhmadov

The history of the spreading and the adaptation of Buddhism in Central Asia is the significant part of the history of the Oriental culture. At the first millennium of CE Central Asia in whole and Tarim basin territory particularly had been influence of two major cultural centers – India and China. It is well known that the Buddhism pervasion into Central Asia dated first centuries of CE and was connected with Indian cultural invasion. However Oriental Studies have yet to understand the process of the Buddhism spreading and development in Serindia as well as nuances of Buddhist Teaching in Tarim basin oases. Basing on the preserved nowadays manuscripts we can assume that Sanskrit was a main Buddhist language in Serindia at first centuries of CE.

The expedition to Turfan organized by Dmitriy A. Klementz (1848–1914) in 1898 started the active research of cultural heritage of Central Asian oases. During the expedition the Russian scholar had collected a reach material for the research of the pre-Muslim Turfan culture: artifacts and manuscripts. The speech of Russian orientalist, ethnographer and archeologist Vasile V. Radloff (1837–1918) for the 12th International Congress of Orientalists (Rome, 1899) was based on the analysis of the Turfan archeological artifacts of the Dmitriy A. Klementz expedition. The result of this speech was the creation of the 'Central and East Asia Exploration Fund Asia' ('*Association International pour l'exploration archéologique et linguistique de l'Asie Centrale et de l'Extrême Orient*') [JRAS 1900, 185], where the leading role was assigned to the Russian Committee. The main goals of the newly organized Association were a comprehensive research of the preserved artifacts as well as the culture of the nations,

inhabiting this region. One of the key points of the Central Asian culture researching was the unhindered participation of all scholars without exceptions as well as the cooperated research of the Serindian cultural heritage.

Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts from Serindia oases were collected by Russian scholars – explorers of Central Asia: Mikhail M. Berezovsky (1848–1912) – the expedition to Kuča (1906–1907); Sergey Th. Oldenburg (1863–1934) – the expedition to East Turkestan (1909–1910); Sergey E. Malov (1880–1957) – two expeditions to Tarim basin oases (1909–1911 and 1913–1915 respectively). Russian diplomats in East Turkestan also were active manuscripts collectors: Nikolay Th. Petrovsky (1837–1908) – Russian consul general in Kašghar; Nikolay N. Krotkov (1869–1919) – Russian consul in Urumči and Qulja, and so on.

The Serindia Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences (IOM RAS) in St. Petesrburg includes, perhaps, all main genres of Buddhist canonical literature, belonging to the traditions of both Hinayāna and Mahāyāna. There we can find Prajñāpāramitā texts, Vinaya fragments, Abhidharma treatises, Jātakas, as well as numerous texts containing dhāraṇīs, which were very popular among Serindia Buddhists. Today the overwhelming majority of texts – 508 items – not identified, the work for the identification of manuscripts fragments is underway. One of the problems for the identification is that part of them do not correlate with any known Buddhist Sanskrit text. This, perhaps, indicates a widespread tradition of creating texts that took place in the Tarim oases – Serindian Buddhist centers, which, most likely, had own composition of Buddhist Canon, that determinated thereby the originality of Buddhist culture in the Tarim basin oases.

The analysis of material for Serindian Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts allows to study not only manuscripts creation in Tarim basin but also to trace the process of the formation of the Serindian Buddhist tradition directly. The change of the material for the manuscripts (from palm leaves and birch bark to paper) determined the development of local Buddhist manuscript tradition: eliminating, for example, the need to import ready-made Buddhist texts from India as a result determined the formation of its own, Serindian, Buddhist tradition. It is remarkable that the processes that affected both changes in material of manuscripts and the transformation of writing fully reflect the process of reception of Buddhism on the Serindia territory.

Thus, palm leaf is rightfully considered the earliest material for Buddhist manuscripts in Serindia. Undoubtedly, in this case we are dealing with examples of importing Buddhist manuscripts directly from India into the Tarim basin oases. This assumption is also confirmed by the fact that the script by which Serindian Buddhist Sanskrit texts are written on palm leaves is either the Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī (2–3 c.) or North-Western (Indian) Gupta (4–6 c.). Fragments of Sanskrit manuscripts on palm leaves in Brāhmī script, kept in the Berlin Turfan collection and in the Serindia Collection of the IOM RAS, are rightfully considered the most ancient surviving to nowadays.

The Serindia Collection of the IOM RAS contains 22 fragments of Sanskrit manuscripts on palm leaves. These manuscripts have a significant value: according to M.I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, the written fixation of religious texts in India started in the first centuries of CE; so, texts written on palm leaf by the Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī reflect the earliest stage of the written fixation of Indian Buddhist tradition.

Palm leaves fragments of canonical abhidharma, reflecting the philosophical level of Buddhist doctrine, of the Serindia Fund of IOM RAS have an undoubted interest. They are very similar (in script and in context) to well-known 'Spitzer Manuscript'. The peculiarity of these fragments is as follows: four of these fragments, like 'Spitzer Manuscript' are most ancient (approx. 3 c.) Sanskrit fragments preserved to nowadays. These fragments written by Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī; one fragment was written by Indian Gupta script (4-5 c.) (Fig. 1).

Birch bark manuscripts – *bhūrjapatra,* (*Betula utilis*), – as a rule, were also imported to Serindian Buddhist centers from Kashmir regions, where this material was typical for the local, North Indian, manuscript tradition. That fact that Serindia Collection of the IOM RAS includes birch bark Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts fragments written not only by Indian scripts but also Serindian local scripts – Turkestan Gupta (4–5 c.) and South branch of Early Turkestan Brāhmī (5–6 c.), – apparently, testifies that not only ready-make birch bark manuscripts were imported from Kashmir and the northern regions of India to Serindia but also birch bark itself as a material for manuscripts.

There are many facts on the use of birch bark as a manuscripts material. Perhaps, the earliest mentions are contained in the chronicles of historians who accompanied Alexander the Great on his Indian campaign (4 c. BC) [Bühler 1896, 88]. The use of birch bark as a base for manuscripts continued until the conquest of Kashmir at the end of the 16th c. by Akbar I the Great (1542–1605), the third Padishah of Mughal Empire [Vorob'ova-Desyatovskaya 1988, 27].

There is a passage in Alberuni's "*India*" where the contemporary for him method of processing birch bark before using it as manuscripts material is described: "In Central and Northern India people use the bark of the *tûz* tree <…>. It is called *bhûrja.* They take a piece one yard long and as broad as the outstretched fingers of the hand, or somewhat less, and prepare it in various ways. They oil and polish it so as to make it hard and smooth, and then they write on it. The proper order of the single leaves is marked by numbers. The whole book is wrapped up in a piece of cloth and fastened between two tablets of the same size. Such a book is called *pûthî* (cf. *pusta*, *pustaka*). Their letters, and whatever else they have to write, they write on the bark of the *tûz* tree" [Alberuni 1910, 171]. Viewing birch bark manuscripts fragments of Serindia Fund of the IOM RAS, we can assume that, as a rule, the upper thin translucent layers were used for the production of a leaf for a manuscript. Then these layers were glued or pressed [Vorob'ova-Desyatovskaya 1988, 28].

The most representative example of birch bark manuscripts from the Serindia Collection of the IOM RAS is the manuscript from Bayram-Ali, discovered in 1966 in Turkmenistan (former Turkmen SSR) in the Merv oasis. That is why this manu-

script, numbering approximately 150 leaves, was called 'Merv manuscript' (Fig. 2). The text of this manuscript is written by Indian Gupta script that allows dating this artifact 4–5th c. This written monument is unique in many ways. First of all, it contains fragments of Vinaya – the code of conduct for Buddhist monks and nuns – according to Sarvāstivāda tradition, fragments of various sūtras, avadānas and jātakas, which makes it possible to reconstruct the Sanskrit Buddhist canon of Sarvāstivāda school. Secondly, the text of this manuscript, apparently, is a synopsis for a Buddhist preacher. In this case we have a data for the study of main Buddhist narratives, rules for Buddhist monastic society, which were most representative for the spread of Buddhism in non-endemic zones during 4–5 c.

Thus, the rerview of Buddhist Sanskrit fragments in palm leaves and birch bark of Serindia Collection of the IOM RAS allows ascertaining that: (1) paleographic data testifies that manuscripts fragments are dated to 2–5 c. and are originated of North India (Kashmir/Bamiyan neighborhood) mainly; (2) these manuscripts contain passages of sutras, jātakas, Sarvāstivāda Vinaya, canonical Abhidharma, Prajñāpāramitā. Moreover, fragments, containing Abhidharma and Prajñāpāramitā passages, are the earliest. This fact allows to assume that the adoption of Buddhist Sanskrit culture in the Tarim oases was started with Abhidharma and Prajñāpāramitā texts. We therefore can assume that Madhyamaka and Sarvāstivāda Buddhist schools were confronting each other actively during the earliest period of the adoption Buddhism in Serindia.

Appendix
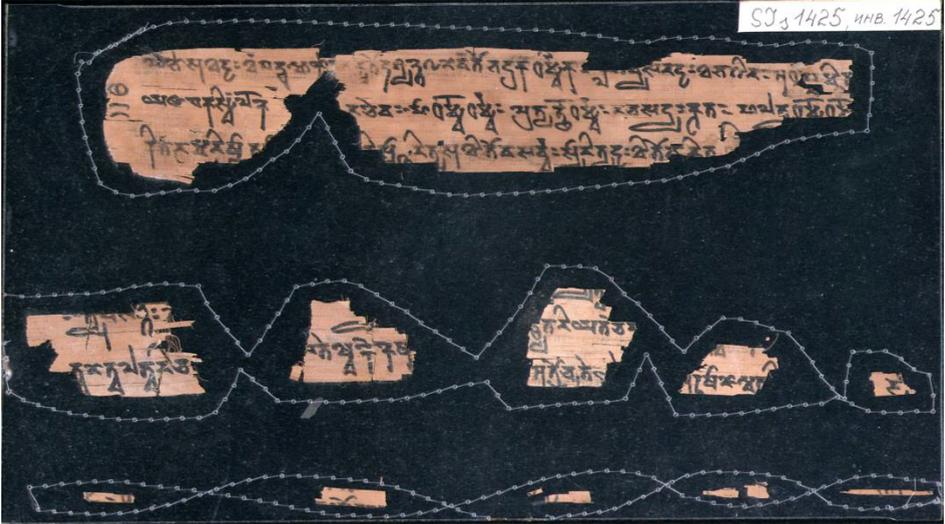
Figure 1: The fragment close to 'Spitzer Manuscript'. The fragment of Prajñāpāramitā text. Palm leaf, II – III c., Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī. Found during M. Berezovsky expedition to Kuča.
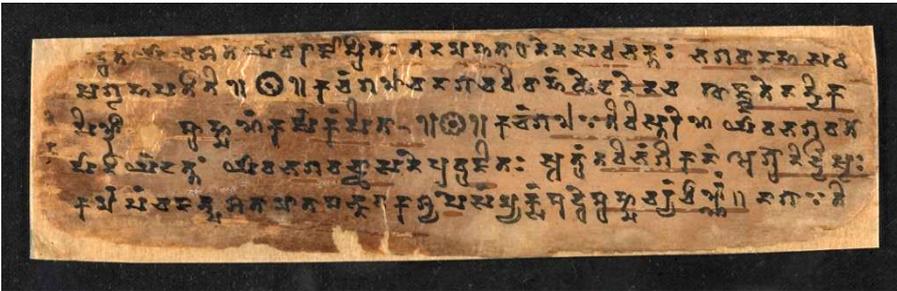
Figure 2: The fragment of 'Merv manuscript'.

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Two Fragments of an Old Uygur Ekottarika-āgama Translation at the Dunhuang Academy

Tieshan Zhang

1   Introduction

The Dunhuang Academy previously collected nearly sixty Buddhist fragments in Old Uygur script, which were collected and donated to the Dunhuang Academy by researchers of Dunhuang Academy or some persons from the Dunhuang area. The fragments we are publishing here[1] are two of them (see the figures in the appendix).

Fragment A (figure 1 and 2 in the appendix): its number is D0898, the size is 13.10 x 13.20 cm. On the recto of the fragment there are 25 lines, the verso has 27 lines. The old Uyghur script is mingled with many Chinese characters on both sides. Middle part of verso has a seal marked with the name of 'Ren Zi-yi' (任子宜). We know from this seal that this fragment was collected and donated to the Dunhuang Academy by Ren Zi-yi who, of Dunhuang Gansu origin, had been acting as Director of Dunhuang People's Education Center and Secretary for Education before liberation. He had also contacts with some famous scholars and artists like Yu You-ren, Zhang Da-qian, Xiang Da, Yan Wen-ru and Xia Nai etc. There were many Dunhuang manuscripts of rare editions in Ren's collection. Xiang Da had seen a lot of rare Chinese manuscripts when he visited Ren at Dunhuang in 1943. Ren had also collected manuscripts in old Uyghur and Tangut, as well as block-printed editions and rubbings of cultural relics etc. These documents became later the collection kept

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[1] Herewith I express my thanks to Prof. Peter Zieme for his help and advice in understanding some words.

by the Dunhuang Academy and Dunhuang Museum. This fragment equals to vol. 3 of the Ekottarika-āgama.

Fragment B (figure 3 and 4 in the appendix): its number is D0899, the size is 13.00 x 5.00 cm. On the recto of the fragment there are 8 lines, the verso has 8 lines, too. The old Uyghur script is mingled with many Chinese characters on both sides. This fragment belongs to vol. 24 of the Ekottarika-āgama. From the writing style and dimension of the old Uyghur and Chinese characters, we may conclude that the above two fragments should belong to one single manuscript.

2   Fragment A

This fragment is from the beginning of the Buddha's account of his foremost disciples.

2.1   Transcription of D0898

Recto
01. （增壹阿含经）卷第三 ． 我聲（聞中）
02. / / / / / / / tïtsï-lar-ïm-nïng arasïnta 宽
03. （仁）博識 töz-ün yavaš amramaq-lïγ keng bilig-
04. lig-i üz-ä. uz ötlägäli äriglägäli udačï. uduz-
05. up igidip töz-ün bursang quvraγ-ïγ. sï-
06. sïn iryapat-ïn ettürmädäči-lär-tä yeg-i ärsär.
07. qaltï 阿若拘隣比丘 atyadakondini toyïn
08. ärür. äng bašlayu [tägi]nip nomluγ tatïγ-ïγ tört
09. kirtü-lär-ig saqïnd[ačï] bögüntäči-lär-tä yegi
10. ärsär. ymä ök ärür atyatakondini toyïn: 善
11. 能勸導 ädgüti umaq üz-ä ötlägäli
12. uduzγalï. buyan üz-ä bodun-uγ qaraγ ozγur-
13. dačï-lar-ta yegi ärsär qaltï 優陁夷 udayi
14. toyïn ärür. 速成神通 tä(rk) tavraq bo[lup]
15. bütürüp ymä/ter ridi bögülän[mäklig yolug]
16. ökünčsüz bolmïš-lar-ta [/ / / / / / /
17. -lar-ta yeg-i ärsär qal(tï) / / l / / / / /
18. toyïn ärür. turqaru učup / / / / / / /
19. -ï üz-ä yer-ig irklämä[däči/ / / / / /
20. yeg-i ärsär. qaltï 善肘 / / / / / / /
21. 乘虛教化 yoq quruγ-qa / / / / / / /
22. ötläp ärigläp köngül-intä etig / / / / / / /
23. küsämädäči-lär-tä yegi ärsär qalt[ï / / / / / / /
24. toyïn ärür . 居樂天上 / / / / / / /
25. (t)urmaz-lar yalïnguq-lar arasïn(ta) / / / / / /

Verso

01. / / / /täči(?)-lär-tä / / / / / / / /
02. 摩羅 diraviy-a mal(aputrï) / / / / / / /
03. qïlïp len piryan tört-tin / / / / / /
04. quvraq-ïγ turγurdačï-lar-ta yegi ärsär . q(altï)
05. 小陀羅婆摩羅 kičig draviy-a malaputrï
06. toyïn ärür. 又 čaturdišiki bursang quvraq-ïγ ymä/tir .
07. 貴豪種族 yeg ayaγuluq 又 ayaγ-lïγ ymä/tir
08. töz-ün uγuš-ta äv-tin barq-tïn ünüp toyïn
10. bolmïš-lar-ta yegi ärsär. qaltï. 羅吒（婆羅）
11. raštirapali toyïn ärür. ädgüti bölüp / / / / /
12. yörügüg 敷演道教 nom šaz-ïn / / / / /
13. yaddačï-lar-ta yegi ärsär. 大迦旃延 maxa
14. katyayani toyïn ärür: bo otra ol :: 馬师
15. （舍）利弗 ašvačï šarïputrï maxa motgalïyanï šorona
16. (kotivim)ši ma(ha) (kašy)apï anuruti revati diraviya
17. / / //////////////////////////// /:: 堪任受籌 učuz
18. / / ///////////////////// / / ip tïdïγ törü-kä qarïš
19. / / / / / / (yegi ärsä)r qaltï 軍頭波漠
20. / / / / / / / / /ïγ toyïn ärür: yavalturup
21. / / / / / / / / (n)om-luγ-lar-ïγ 履行正
22. / / / / / / / / i]rklätü yorïtdačï 又 irkläp
23. / / / / / / / yegi ärsär qaltï 賓頭盧
24. / / / / / / / toyïn ärür. körüp baqïp ig
25. / / / / / / / ig. ot čurni üz-ä
26. / / / / / / / /-lar-ta yegi ärsär qaltï 識比
27. / / / / / / ymä/ter toyïn ärür. tört türlüg
28. / / / / / tapïntačï udun(dačï)

2.2 Chinese Original Text

《大正新修大藏經》《增壹阿含经》卷第三 (T02n0125，p0557a18-a25; p0557b11-b21), 划线部分与回鹘文对应.

T02n0125_p0557a18:	我	聲	聞	中	第	一	比	丘	，

T02n0125_p0557a18:　　我　　聲　　聞　　中　　第　　一　　比　　丘　　，

T02n0125_p0557a19:　　寬仁博識，善能勸化，將養聖眾，不失威儀，

T02n0125_p0557a20:　　所謂阿若拘隣比丘是。初受法味，思惟四

T02n0125_p0557a21:　　諦，亦是阿若拘隣比丘。善能勸導，福度人民，

T02n0125_p0557a22:　　所謂優陀夷比丘是。速成神通，中不有誨，

T02n0125_p0557a23: 所 謂 摩 訶 男 比 丘 是 。 恒 飛 虛 空 ， 足 不 蹈 地 ，

T02n0125_p0557a24: 善 肘 比 丘 是 。 乘 虛 教 化 ， 意 無 榮 冀 ， 所 謂 婆

T02n0125_p0557a25: 破 比 丘 是。居 樂 天 上，不 處 人 中，所 謂 牛 跡

T02n0125_p0557b11: 謂 離 曰 比 丘 是。能 廣 勸 率，施 立 齋 講，比 丘 是。安 造 房 舍，
                     興 招 提 僧，所

T02n0125_p0557b12: 婆 摩 羅 陀 羅

T02n0125_p0557b12: 婆   摩   羅

T02n0125_p0557b13: 謂 小 陀 羅 婆 摩 羅 比 丘 是 。 貴 豪 種 族 ， 出 家 學

T02n0125_p0557b14: 道 ， 所 謂 羅 吒 婆 羅 比 丘 是 。 善 分 別 義 ， 敷 演

T02n0125_p0557b15: 道 教 ， 所 謂 大 迦 旃 延 比 丘 是 .

T02n0125_p0557b16: 馬 師 、 舍 利 弗 、 拘 律 、 耳 、 迦 葉

T02n0125_p0557b17: 阿 那 律、離 曰、摩 羅、吒、旃 延

T02n0125_p0557b18: 我 聲 聞 中 第 一 比 丘 ， 堪 任 受 籌 ， 不 違 禁

T02n0125_p0557b19: 法 ， 所 謂 軍 頭 波 漢 比 丘 是 。 降 伏 外 道 ， 履 行

T02n0125_p0557b20: 正 法 ， 所 謂 賓 頭 盧 比 丘 是 。 瞻 視 疾 病 ， 供 給

T02n0125_p0557b21: 醫 藥，所 謂 識 比 丘 是。四 事 供 養 衣 被、飲 食，

2.3 Translation

Recto

(01-10) [Ājñātakauṇḍinya]

Among my disciples it is monk Ājñātakauṇḍinya who is the best because he is noble, soft and lovely, because of his broad knowledge, because he is able to give good advice, because he is able to lead and direct the noble congregation, because he is among those who do not forget the law and the etiquette. Since he received at first the dharma taste among those who think of and explain the Four Truths it is again the monk Ājñātakauṇḍinya who is the best.

(10-14) [Udāyin]

Because of the good ability to advice and to lead among those who release by good deeds (buyan) the people it is monk Udāyin who is the best.

(14-18) [Mahānāman]

Be[ing] very quick // completing – one also says -- // the ṛddhi magic [powers …] among those who are without repent (?) [the best is the monk Mahānāman.]

(18-20) [善肘]

Because of his [ability] always to fly [to heaven …] without tramp[ling] on the earth the best is [monk 善肘],

(20-24) [Vāṣpa]
Because of advising [… how to reach] the Empty, among those who do not long for […] ornament in their heart the best is monk [Vāṣpa].

(24-25) [Gavāṃpati]
[…] among those who [choose] the living […] the human beings [the best is monk Gavāṃpati].

Verso
(01-02) [Dravya Mallaputra]
Among those [who support …] the best is the monk Dravya Mall[aputra].

(02-06) [Younger Dravya Mallaputra]
Among those who make […] and who establish the monk cells (lena paryāṇa) and [the belongings of] the fourfold [congregation] the best is the monk Younger Dravya Mallaputra. // One also says: the caturdeśika Buddha congregation. //

(07-11) [Rāṣṭrapāla]
Among those of the best and venerable clan // one also says: venerated // who left their home and went out for becoming monks the best is the monk. Rāṣṭrapāla.

(11-14) [Kātyāyana]
Among those who are well [capable] to analyze [the deep] meaning [of the doctrine …] and to explain the dharma-śāsana the best is the monk Mahā Kātyāyana.
(14-17) These are the ones of middle (quality): Aśvajit, Śāriputra, Mahā Maudgalyāyana, Śroṇa[koṭīviṃśa], Aniruddha, Revata, Dravya Mallaputra…

(17-20) [軍頭波漢]
[Among those being] favorable […], [not] opposing against the law of hindrances is the monk 軍頭波漢 […].

(20-24) [Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja]
Among those who tame [the followers of wrong] dharmas and drive them [to the good law] // [one also says:] driving // the best is the monk.

(24-27)［識］
Among those who look and watch the ill [people …] and who [cure them] by medicine and pills the best is the monk 識　//　one also says […]　//

(27-28) [Vaṃgīśa]
Among those who write fourfold [gāthās in praising the Buddha …] and serve […
the best is monk Vaṃgīśa].

3　Fragment B

3.1　Transcription of No. D0899

Recto
1. / / / / / / / / / kin . 善（念）/ / / / / / /
2. / / / / / / / / / (u)luɣ elig bäg-kä qïl(ïč)/ / /
3. ärti . 無事不練 yoq ärti andaɣ sav-ta
4. söz-tä bilmädük uqmaduq-ï . 語常含笑
5. sav söz-lätükdä uzatï külčirdäči ol . 先當
6. 遣 ašnuča inčip arqïš yalavač ïdur-lar
7. kiši-lär-<lär>-ig . 而 inčip tägir tep tesär .
8. / törü

Verso
1. / / / / / / käsmäz-l/ / / / / / /
2. / / / / / /喜惠施 köngül-lär-intä / / / / / / /
3. taplayu buši bersär . buyan ädgü qïlinč-qa tüzü
4. tükäl-lig bolur-lar . quvraɣ ar-a turduq-ta
5. bolmaz sez-iki alpïrqanmaqï . ymä ök yana bolmaz
6. qorqïnč-ï ayïnč-ï . bilgä-lär inčip buši bermäk
7. üz-ä . arïtï bolmaz ökünmäk kängränmäk-lig köngül-
8. i . tur/ / / / / / / / / / / /

3.2 Chinese Original Text

《大正新修大藏经》《增壹阿含经》卷第二十四 (T02n0125_p0679a17-a24, p0681a14- a16), 划线部分与回鹘文原文对应.

T02n0125_p0679a17:   事 。 是 時 ， 左 右 有 一 人 名 曰 <u>善 念</u>， <u>恒 與 大 王</u>

T02n0125_p0679a18:   <u>執 劍</u>， 白 大 王 曰： 大 王 當 知， 此 國 界 中 有 沙

T02n0125_p0679a19:   門， 名 那 羅 陀， 得 阿 羅 漢， 有 大 神 足， 博 識 多

T02n0125_p0679a20:   知， <u>無 事 不 練</u>， 辯 才 勇 慧， <u>語 常 含 笑</u>。 願 王 當

T02n0125_p0679a21:   往 至 彼， 聽 其 說 法。 若 王 聞 法， 無 復 愁 憂 苦

T02n0125_p0679a22:   惱。 王 報 之 曰： 善 哉！ 善 哉！ 善 說 此 語。 汝 今， 善

T02n0125_p0679a23:   念！ 先 往 語 彼 沙 門。 所 以 然 者， 夫 轉 輪 聖 王

T02n0125_p0679a24:   欲 有 所 至， <u>先 當 遣 人</u>， <u>不 先 遣 信 而 至 者</u>,

 T02n0125_p0681a14:   <u>心 常 喜 惠 施， 功 德 具 足 成</u>,

T02n0125_p0681a15:   <u>在 眾 無 疑 難 ， 亦 復 無 所 畏</u> 。

T02n0125_p0681a16:   <u>智 者 當 惠 施， 初 無 變 悔 心</u>,

3.3 Translation

Recto
(01-03)
[Left and right there was a man whose name was] "Good-minded" [Always he drew] against [the great king] a sword. (…)

(03-04)
無事不練
Nothing was in such words that was not known and not understood. (…)

(04-05)
語常含笑.
While he spoke he always smiled.

(05-08)
先當遣人，不先遣信而至者
At first then the caravan messengers sent the people. And they arrive -- if one aks. […] law […]+

Verso

(01-02) Unclear to which Chinese sentence käsmäzlär belongs.

(02-08)

<u>心常喜惠施</u>

In the mind […] accepting, if one gives alms,

<u>功德具足成</u>

one is completely endowed with puṇya deeds.

<u>在眾無疑難</u>

If one is among the crowd, there is no doubt and hardship,

<u>亦復無所畏。</u>

And also no fear.

<u>智者當惠施</u>

When the wise men give alms,

<u>初無變悔心</u>

they have at first no mind of repentance.

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Appendix

Figure 1: Fragment A recto.
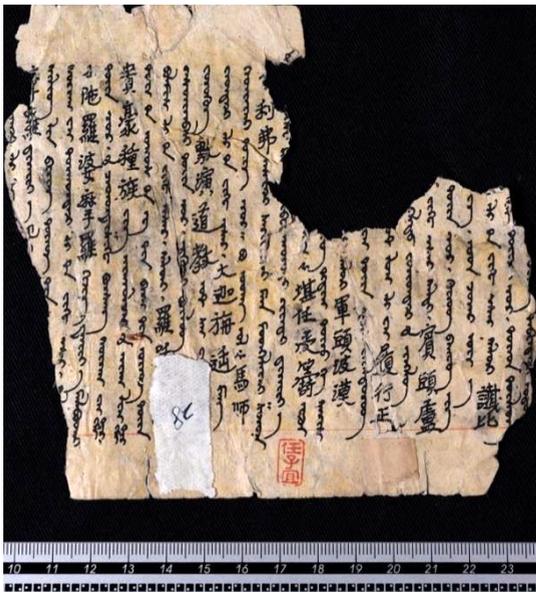
Figure 2: Fragment A verso.

Figure 3: Fragment B recto.
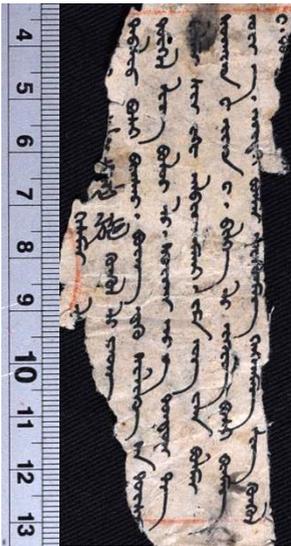
Figure 4: Fragment B verso.

A Study on Heshuo Chunjing Prince's Manchu-Chinese Inscription[1]

Yang Zheng

1 Basic Information of Heshuo Chunjing Prince Lunghi's Monument

The monument of Heshuo Chunjing prince is the tombstone of the seventh son of the ancestors. It is located in the east of Xunqin prince Yunti and his son Hongming's monument, west of the Yuxian Prince Fuquan's Monument. It is lined up with the tombstones of the surrounding prince's graveyard

The tombstone of Chunjing prince Lunghi is 435 cm high, 128 cm wide and 55 cm thick. The top part of the monument writes Chinese words "敕建", using "zhuan" style of calligraphy and Manchu words "hesei ilibuha". Manchu is on the left and Chinese is on the right. The front of monument is Manchu and Chinese words. Also, Manchu is on the left and Chinese is on the right. Manchu words have 10 lines, a total of 309 words, and Chinese words have 9 lines, a total of 285 words. There is no word in the back of monument, and there is no carving on the side of the monument. The monument is standing in Shitouying Village, Xiaying Town, Jizhou District. In addition, it is the best preserved of the surrounding prince's tombstones.

2 Manchu Chinese Inscription Translation Comparison

Table 1: The Inscription of Lunghi[2]

行数	五行对译	
1	满文碑文	(Manchu script) »
	满文转写	hošoi gulu cin wang amcame ginggunji[3] gebu buhe lunghi i bei bithe.
	满文对译	和硕 纯 亲 王　　追　　恭敬　　谥　给予 隆禧的 碑 文
	满译汉	和硕纯亲王追谥"敬"隆禧的碑文。
1	汉文碑文	和碩純親王謚靖隆禧碑文
2	满文碑文	(Manchu script) ，
	满文转写	gūnici julgeci ebsi,hanci niyaman be iletuleme fungneme[4]
	满文对译	想　自古　以来　近　　亲 （把）突出 封赏
	满译汉	想自古以来，明显封赏近亲宗室，
2	汉文碑文	惟稽[5]古懋建[6]懿親[7]
2	满文碑文	(Manchu script)
	满文转写	hūwaliyasun sain be ambarame isibuhangge
	满文对译	和睦　　好（把）扩大　使达到
	满译汉	以弘扬和睦友好（之意）
2	汉文碑文	覃敷[8]雍睦

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[2] This table need to be written by Manchu and Chinese language, so I have not translated it.

[3] Ginggunji 在词典中意为"恭敬，谨"，而"靖"为"平定"之意，虽汉语词典中也有"恭敬"这一义项，但程大鲲《清代宗室亲王之封谥》一文中记录纯靖亲王隆禧封谥为"necihiyen"，与碑文有出入。程大鲲的《清代宗室亲王之封谥》一文对清代亲王名讳和谥号进行列表总结，但该论文仅涉及与本文园寝或人物相关的个别词汇，并无碑刻分析。其中列出的纯靖亲王隆禧的满文谥号为"necihiyen"（靖）但该谥号与碑文中的隆禧的满文谥号"ginggunji"（敬）并不一致.

[4] Iletuleme fungneme 与汉文 "懋建"有出入，并非完全对译.

[5] 自从.

[6] 勉励建立.

[7] 至亲.

[8] 广布.

2	满文碑文	ᠴᠣᡥᠣᠮᡝ ᠨᠢᠣ ᡶᡠᠯᡝᡥᡝ ᠪᡝ ᠵᡳᡵᠠᠮᡳᠯᠠᠮᡝ，
	满文转写	cohome emu fulehe be jiramilame,
	满文对译	特地 一 根 （将）厚待
	满译汉	特地厚待同支亲戚，
2	汉文碑文	蓋9以敦10一本

2	满文碑文	ᡩᠠᠯᠠᡥᠠ ᡠᡴᠰᡠᠨ ᠪᡝ ᡠᠵᡝᠨ ᠣᠪᡠᡥᠠᠩᡤᡝ ᡴᠠᠢ ››
	满文转写	dalaha uksun be ujen obuhangge kai.
	满文对译	统领 宗族（将）重 使成为 也
	满译汉	以重视宗族统一
2	汉文碑文	重宗盟也

2	满文碑文	ᠪᡳ ᠠᠮᠪᠠ ᡩᠣᡵᠣ ᠪᡝ ᠰᡳᡵᠠᠮᡝ ᠠᠯᡳᡶᡳ，
	满文转写	bi amba doro be sirame alifi,
	满文对译	我 大 道（将）接续 承接
	满译汉	我继承大道，
2	汉文碑文	朕紹11嗣丕12基

2	满文碑文	ᠴᡳᡴᡨᠠᠨ ᡥᡝᡵᡤᡳᠨ ᠪᡝ ᡠᠵᡝᠯᡝᠮᡝ ᡨᡠᠸᠠᠮᡝ，
	满文转写	ciktan hergin be ujeleme tuwame
	满文对译	伦 纪 （将） 重视 看
	满译汉	看重伦纪，
2	汉文碑文	篤13敘14倫紀

2	满文碑文	ᠶᠠᠶᠠ ᠠᠪᡴᠠᠢ ᡶᡳᠰᡝᠨ ᡳ ᠰᡳᡵᠠᠨ ᠴᡳ ᡨᡠᠴᡳᡴᡝᠩᡤᡝ ᠪᡝ，
	满文转写	yaya abkai fisen i siran ci tucikengge be,
	满文对译	凡 天 系 的 后续 从 出去的（将）
	满译汉	凡是从天子之系的后代出去的，
2	汉文碑文	凡屬天潢之派

9 连词，表原因，与满文 cohome 意义不同.

10 厚道，笃厚.

11 继承.

12 大.

13 忠实，一心一意.

14 评议等级次第.

3	满文碑文	ᠮᡝᠮᡠ ᠸᠠᠩ ᠨᡳ ᠪᠣᠣᡳ ᡴᡝᠰᡳ ᠪᡝ ᡳᠰᡳᠪᡠᡥᠠ ᠪᠠᡩᡝ ›			
	满文转写	gemu wang ni booi kesi be isibuha bade,			
	满文对译	都	王 的 家 恩 （把） 使至 处		
	满译汉	都使王室的恩德到达（他们）那里，			
2	汉文碑文 咸[15]推王室之恩				

3	满文碑文	ᡶᡳᠶᠠᠨᠵᡳ ᡩᠠᠯᡳᡴᡡ ᡳ ᡠᠵᡝᠨ ᡨᡠ�šᠠᠨ ᠪᡝ ᠠᠯᡳᡶᡳ ›			
	满文转写	fiyanji dalikū i ujen tušan be alifi,			
	满文对译	屏 障 的 重 任 （将）承接			
	满译汉	承接担任卫国的重任，			
2	汉文碑文 矧[16]任重藩屏[17]				

3	满文碑文	ᡤᠠᠯᠠ ᠪᡝᡨᡥᡝᡳ ᡤᡝᠰᡝ ᠵᡠᠷᡤᠠᠨ ᡩᡝ ᠪᡳᠰᡳᡵᡝᠩᡤᡝ ᠪᡝ ›			
	满文转写	gala bethei gese jurgan de bisirengge be,			
	满文对译	手 足 一样 情谊 存在的			
	满译汉	像手足一样的情谊存在着，			
2	汉文碑文 誼殷[18]手足				

3	满文碑文	ᠪᡳᠰᡳᡵᡝ ᠠᡴᡡ ᠣᡥᠣᡩᡝ › ᡤᠣᠰᡳᠮᡝ ᡨᡠᠸᠠᡥᠠ ᠪᡳᠮᡝ ›			
	满文转写	bisire akū ohode,gosime tuwaha bime,			
	满文对译	存在 没有 了 仁爱 看待 既			
	满译汉	仁爱皆存在于生死之时，			
3	汉文碑文 眷念[19]既深於存歿				

3	满文碑文	ᡤᠣᠰᡳᡥᠣᠯᠣᡵᠣ ᠸᡝᠰᡳᡥᡠᠯᡝᡵᡝ ᡴᠣᠣᠯᡳ ᡩᠣᡵᠣᠯᠣᠨ ᠪᡝ ᡥᠠᡳᡵᠠᡴᠠ ᡩᠣᡵᠣ ᠪᡳᠣ ›			
	满文转写	gosiholoro wesihulere kooli dorolon be hairaka doro bio,			
	满文对译	哀 荣 理 礼 （将）吝惜 道 吗			
	满译汉	还有吝惜哀荣礼数的道理吗？			
3	汉文碑文 典章豈靳[20]夫哀榮				

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[15] 全都.

[16] 况且. 满文中无此词与之对应.

[17] 其他碑文"fiyanji dalikū"均译为"屏藩"，而此处或出于押韵考虑，译为"藩屏".

[18] 深厚，恳切.

[19] gosime tuwaha 与眷念意义不同.

[20] 吝惜.

4	满文碑文	ᡤᡡᠨᡳᠴᡳ ᠸᠠᠩ ᡥᠠᠨ ᠠᠮᠠ ᡧᡳᡯᡠ ᡝᠯᡩᡝᠮᠪᡠᡥᡝ ᡥᡡᠸᠠᠩᡩᡳ ᡳ ᠵᡠᡳ᠈ ᠮᡳᠨᡳ ᡩᡝᠣ᠈
	满文转写	gūnici wang han ama šidzu eldembuhe hūwangdi i jui, mini deo,
	满文对译	想 王 汗父 世祖 章 皇帝 的 子 我 的弟弟
	满译汉	想来王是汗父世祖章皇帝的儿子，朕的弟弟，
4	汉文碑文	惟王乃21皇考世祖章皇帝之子，朕之弟也
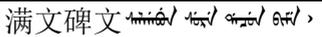
4	满文碑文	ᠰᠠᠯᡤᠠᠪᡠᠨ ᠰᡠᡵᡝ ᡩᠠᠴᡠᠨ ᠪᡳᠮᡝ᠈
	满文转写	salgabun sure dacun bime,
	满文对译	禀赋 聪明 敏锐 既
	满译汉	禀赋聪明又敏锐，
4	汉文碑文	質成聰敏
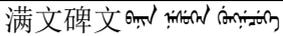
4	满文碑文	ᠪᠠᠨᡳᠨ ᠨᡝᠰᡠᡴᡝᠨ ᡤᡠᠩᠨᡝᠴᡠᡴᡝ
	满文转写	banin nesuken gungnecuke
	满文对译	性情 温良 恭敬
	满译汉	性情温良恭敬
4	汉文碑文	性秉溫恭

4	满文碑文	ᡥᡳᠶᠣᠣᡧᡠᠨ ᠰᡝᠩᡤᡳᠮᡝ ᠠᠯᡤᡳᡶᡳ᠈
	满文转写	hiyoošun senggime algifi,
	满文对译	孝顺 友爱 扬名
	满译汉	以孝顺和友爱而著名，
4	汉文碑文	孝友克彰
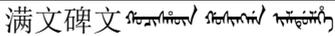
4	满文碑文	ᡤᠣᠴᡳᡧᡡᠨ ᡤᠣᠰᡳᠩᡤᠠ ᡳᠯᡝᡨᡠᠯᡝᡥᡝ
	满文转写	gocishūn gosingga iletulehe
	满文对译	谦和 仁慈 彰显
	满译汉	彰显谦和仁慈
4	汉文碑文	謙仁通22懋23

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21 "乃" 为汉语判断动词 "是"，满文句式中无判断动词与之对应.

22 助词，无实际意义.

23 古同 "茂"，盛大.

4	满文碑文	ᠰᠠᡳᠺᠠᠨ ᠪᡝ ᠪᠠᡴᡨᠠᠮᠪᡠᡥᠠ ᠂ ᡶᡠᠵᡠᡵᡠᠩᡤᠠ ᡩᡠᡵᡠᠨ ᠪᡝ ᠠᡴᡡᠮᠪᡠᡶᡳ ᠂
	满文转写	saikan be baktambuha,fujurungga durun be akūmbufi,
	满文对译	好的（将）包含　　优雅　容貌（将）使周密
	满译汉	有美好的、优雅的容貌，
4	汉文碑文	裕[24]含章之雅范
4	满文碑文	ᠰᠠᡳᠨ ᡩᡝ ᠠᠮᡠᡵᠠᠨ ᠂ ᠸᡝᠰᡳᡥᡠᠨ ᠶᠠᠪᡠᠨ ᠪᡝ ᠪᠠᡩᠠᡵᠠᠮᠪᡠᡥᠠ ᠂
	满文转写	sain de amuran,wesihun yabun be badarambuha,
	满文对译	好（对）喜好　尊贵　行（将）扩大
	满译汉	乐于弘扬尊贵的品行，
4	汉文碑文	弘樂善之休[25]風
5	满文碑文	ᠪᡳ ᡩᠠᠴᡳ ᠠᠪᡴᠠᡳ ᠴᡳᡴᡨᠠᠨ ᠪᡝ ᡠᠵᡝᠯᡝᠮᡝ ᠣᡶᡳ ᠂
	满文转写	bi daci abkai ciktan be ujeleme ofi,
	满文对译	我 向来 天 伦（将）重视 成为
	满译汉	朕向来重视天伦，
4	汉文碑文	朕夙重天倫
5	满文碑文	ᠵᡝᡵᡤᡳ ᠪᡠᠮᡝ ᡶᡠᠩᠨᡝᡵᡝ ᠪᡝ ᡥᠠᡳᡵᠠᠨᡵᠠᡴᡡ ᠂
	满文转写	jergi bume fungnere be hairanrakū,
	满文对译	级　　给　封　（将）不吝惜
	满译汉	不吝赐予封爵，
4	汉文碑文	不吝封爵
5	满文碑文	ᡩᡝᠨᡩᡝᠮᡝ ᠰᠠᠯᡳᠪᡠᠮᡝ ᡴᡝᠰᡳ ᡳᠰᡳᠪᡠᡶᡳ ᠂
	满文转写	dendeme salibume[26] kesi isibufi,
	满文对译	分配　　　承担　　恩 使至
	满译汉	给予分封之恩赐，
4	汉文碑文	錫之茅社[27]
5	满文碑文	ᠠᠯᡳᠨ ᠪᡳᡵᠠᡳ ᡤᡝᠰᡝ ᡠᠮᡝᠰᡳ ᠠᡴᡩᡠᠨ ᠣᠪᡠᡶᡳ ᠂
	满文转写	alin birai gese umesi akdun obufi,

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[24] 丰富，宽绰.

[25] 吉庆，美善，福禄.

[26] 汉文碑文中无此词与之对应.

[27] "茅社"，亦作 "茆社".古天子分封诸侯，授之茅土使归国立社，称作茅社

	满文对译 山 河的 一样 很 牢固 成为
	满译汉 像山河一样牢固，
5	汉文碑文 永[28]固河山
	满文碑文 〔满文〕，
5	满文转写 jing emu sukdun i niyaman be, gurun i fiyanji okini serede,
	满文对译 方 一 气 的 亲近 （将） 国家的 屏障 想成为 时
	满译汉 正是同宗亲近，想（让他）成为卫国重臣的时候，
5	汉文碑文 方謂[29]同氣之親，克[30]樹作邦之翰
	满文碑文 〔满文〕，
5	满文转写 gūnihakū asihan de ujen nimeku bahafi,
	满文对译 不料 年轻 时 重 病 得
	满译汉 不料年轻时得了重病，
5	汉文碑文 何期早嬰危疾
	满文碑文 〔满文〕。
5	满文转写 butu somishūn de enteheme bederehe.
	满文对译 幽密 隐匿 在 永远 回去
	满译汉 永远回到幽冥隐匿（之处）了。
5	汉文碑文 遂致[31]長逝幽冥
	满文碑文 〔满文〕，
6	满文转写 seibeni gosingga gung de sasa eršehe
	满文对译 昔日 慈爱的 宫 在同 照顾
	满译汉 追思昔日在慈宁宫共同服侍，
6	汉文碑文 眷[32]昔偕侍慈幃
	满文碑文 〔满文〕，
6	满文转写 encu diyan de uhei banjiha be amcame gūnici[33],

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[28] 满文碑文中无 enteheme 与之对应.

[29] 满文中下句 serede 与之对应.

[30] 能够.

[31] 满文中无此类连词与之对应.

[32] 满文中无动词与此对应.

[33] 汉文碑文无"追思"一类词与满文对应.

	满文对译 别的 殿 在同 生活（将） 追 思
	满译汉 在宫殿共同生活（的日子），
6	汉文碑文同歡³⁴别殿
	满文碑文 [满文]
6	满文转写 si udu ejen amban i teisu be hing seme ginggulecibe,
	满文对译 你 虽 君 臣 的本分（将） 诚挚 恭敬
	满译汉 虽然你诚挚敬守君臣的本分，
6	汉文碑文雖爾實凜³⁵君臣之分
	满文碑文 [满文]
6	满文转写 bi umai ahūn deo i gūnin be giyalahakū bihe.
	满文对译 我 全 兄 弟的 意（把）无间 来着
	满译汉 可朕全然是兄弟的无间之情。
6	汉文碑文而朕無間昆弟之情
	满文碑文 [满文]
6	满文转写 duleke baita ne bisire adali bime,
	满文对译 往 事 今 存 一样 既
	满译汉 往事像现在存在一样，
6	汉文碑文往事如存
	满文碑文 [满文]
6	满文转写 inenggi biya emdubei halbuha,
	满文对译 日 月 常常 轮换
	满译汉 时光交替轮换，
6	汉文碑文流光頻易
	满文碑文 [满文]
7	满文转写 mujilen i dolo gosime gūnire be ya inenggi onggome mutembi.
	满文对译 心 的内 仁爱 念（将）什么日子 忘记 能
	满译汉 何时能忘记内心的仁爱眷念。
6	汉文碑文中心眷戀，何日能忘

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³⁴ 满文 banjiha 为生活，汉文"欢"感情色彩更强.

³⁵ 严肃.

7	满文碑文	᠊ᠣᡨᡨᡠ ᠴᠣᡥᠣᠮᡝ ᠬᠠᡵᠠᠩᡤᠠ ᠵᡠᡵᡤᠠᠨ ᡩᡝ ᡥᡝᠰᡝ ᠸᠠᠰᡳᠮᠪᡠᡶᡳ,
	满文转写	tuttu cohome harangga jurgan de hese wasimbufi,
	满文对译	故　　特地　　领属　　部（对）旨　使下
	满译汉	因此特地给部下降旨，
6	汉文碑文	是用特命有司[36]
7	满文碑文	ᡨᠣᡴᡨᠣᡥᠣ ᡴᠣᠣᠯᡳ ᠰᠣᠩᡤᠣᡳ ᡩᠠᠪᠠᠯᡳ ᠸᡝᠰᡳᡥᡠᠯᡝᡵᡝ ᡩᠣᡵᠣᠯᠣᠨ ᠪᡝ ᡳᠰᡳᠪᡠᡶᡳ,
	满文转写	toktoho kooli songgoi dabali wesihulere dorolon be isibufi,
	满文对译	定　　理　按照　逾　贵重　　礼　（将）使至
	满译汉	按照定例施给最崇高的礼仪，
7	汉文碑文	式循彝憲[37]，務極優祟之數
7	满文碑文	ᠮᡳᠨᡳ ᡤᠣᠰᡳᠣᠩᡵᡝ ᠨᠠᠰᠠᡵᡝ ᡤᡡᠨᡳᠨ ᠪᡝ ᡨᡠᠴᡳᠪᡠᠮᠪᡳ.
	满文转写	mini gosire nasare gūnin be tucibumbi.
	满文对译	我的 仁爱 悲伤　意 （把）使出
	满译汉	以抒发朕的仁爱悲伤之意。
7	汉文碑文	庶[38]抒惋悼之懷
7	满文碑文	ᠪᠠ ᠪᡝ ᡨᡠᠸᠠᡶᡳ ᡝᡳᡶᡠ ᠠᡵᠠᠪᡠᡶᡳ
	满文转写	ba be tuwafi eifu arabufi
	满文对译	地方（将）看　坟　使建
	满译汉	察看土地使修建坟茔，
7	汉文碑文	既[39]相土而賜塋
8	满文碑文	ᡤᡝᠯᡳ ᡤᡝᠪᡠ ᠪᡝ ᡥᠠᠯᠠᠮᡝ ᠪᡠᡶᡳ ᠶᠠᠪᡠᠨ ᠪᡝ ᡨᡝᠮᡤᡝᡨᡠᠯᡝᠮᡝ
	满文转写	geli gebu be halame bufi yabun be temgetuleme
	满文对译	又　名（将）更替　给 行（将）彰显
	满译汉	又更名以彰显善行，
7	汉文碑文	仍易名而旌[40]行

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[36] 官吏.

[37] 常法.

[38] 表示希望。但愿，或许之意. 满文中无此词对应.

[39] 满文中无连词与之对应.

[40] 襃扬.

8	满文碑文 ᠠᠮᠴᠠᠮᠪᠢ ᡤᡳᠩᡤᡠᠨᠵᡳ ᠰᡝᡵᡝ ᠰᠠᡳᠨ ᡤᡝᠪᡠ ᠪᡠᡥᡝ ››
	满文转写 amcame ginggunji sere sain gebu buhe.
	满文对译　追　　　恭敬　这样　好　谥　给
	满译汉　追封给予恭敬这样好的谥号。
7	汉文碑文 錫之嘉諡曰靖
8	满文碑文 ᠠᡳ ᠰᠠᡳᡧᠠᡵᠠ ᡥᡝᠰᡝ ᠪᡝ ᡩᠣᠰᡥᠣᠯᠣᠮᡝ ᠸᠠᠰᡳᠮᠪᡠᡶᡳ ›
	满文转写 ai, saišara hese be dosholome wasimbufi,
	满文对译 哎 褒扬　旨（将）宠爱　　降
	满译汉　哎，宠沐地降下褒扬的旨意，
7	汉文碑文 於戲/寵沛[41]褒綸
8	满文碑文 ᠨᡳᠶᠠᠮᠠᠨ ᠮᡝᡵᡤᡝᠨ ᡳ ᠠᠯᡤᡳᠨ ᠪᡝ ᡨᡝᠮᡤᡝᡨᡠᠯᡝᠮᡝ ›
	满文转写 niyaman mergen i algin be temgetuleme,
	满文对译　亲　　賢　的 声望（将）　表明
	满译汉　表明亲贤的名望，
7	汉文碑文 聿[42]表新賢之望
8	满文碑文 ᠶᠠᡶᠠᠨ ᡴᡡᠸᠠᡵᠠᠨ ᠪᡝ ᠠᠮᠪᠠᡵᠠᠮᡝ ᠸᡝᡳᠯᡝᠪᡠᡶᡳ ›
	满文转写 yafan kūwaran be ambarame weilebufi,
	满文对译 园寝　坟圈（将）扩大　使建造
	满译汉　令扩大修建园寝，
7	汉文碑文 崇開吉兆
8	满文碑文 ᡥᠠᠵᡳ ᠰᡝᠩᡤᡳᠮᡝ ᡳ ᡠᠨᡝᠩᡤᡳ ᠪᡝ ᡳᠯᡝᡨᡠᠯᡝᠮᡝ ›
	满文转写 haji senggime i unenggi be iletuleme,
	满文对译 亲　亲近　的　真（将）彰显
	满译汉　凸显亲近友爱之真诚，
7	汉文碑文 尚[43]昭友悌之忱
9	满文碑文 ᠪᡝᡳ ᠸᡝᡥᡝ ᡩᡝ ᡶᠣᠯᠣᠪᡠᡶᡳ ›
	满文转写 bei wehe de folobufi,

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[41] 充盛之意. 满文中无此词与之对应.

[42] 用于句首，无实际意义.

[43] 用于句首，表仍，还等意义. 满文中无此词与之对应

	满文对译碑　石　在　使刻
	满译汉　令刻石碑，
8	汉文碑文俾[44]勒穹碑
9	满文碑文 ᠠᠮᠠᠭᠠ ᠵᠠᠯᠠᠨ ᡩᡝ ᡝᠨᡨᡝᡥᡝᠮᡝ ᡨᡠᡨᠠᠪᡠᡥᠠ ››
	满文转写 amaga jalan de enteheme tutabuha.
	满文对译后来 世代（在） 永远　留垂
	满译汉　使之永远留于后世。
8	汉文碑文永垂奕祀
10	满文碑文 ᡝᠯᡥᡝ ᡨᠠᡳᡶᡳᠨ ᠣᡵᡳᠨ ᡝᠮᡠᠴᡳ ᠠᠨᡳᠶᠠ › ᠵᡠ�products ᠪᡳᠶᠠᡳ ᠣᡵᡳᠨ ᡝᠮᡠ ᡩᡝ ᡳᠯᡳᠪᡠᡥᠠ ››
	满文转写 elhe taifin I orin emuci aniya,juwe biyai orin emu de ilibuha.
	满文对译　康熙 的　　二十一 年　　二　　月的二十一　在　立
	满译汉　康熙二十一年二月二十一日立。
9	汉文碑文康熙二十一年二月二十一日立

From the comparison of the Manchu and Chinese inscriptions in the table, we can find that Manchu-Chinese translation comparison has the following characteristics:

First of all, when the metonymy vocabulary is used, Manchu language usually uses the sentence pattern of "…gese". For example,"谊殷手足" uses "gala bethei gese jurgan de bisirengge be", meaning "the friendship likes hands and feet"; "永固河山" uses "alin birai gese umesi akdun obufi", meaning "sturdy like mountains and rivers".

In addition, for rhyming or antithesis, the Chinese inscription has more im-aginary words to make up the number of words, such as words expressing tran-sition, progressive, or meaningless conjunctions at the beginning of the sentence. In most cases, Manchu inscription does not need antithesis strictly, so there is no conjunction to correspond to Chinese inscription. For example, "矧任重藩屏 fiyanji dalikū i ujen tušan be alifi", Manchu inscription has no conjunction "矧"; "遂致長逝幽冥 butu somishūn de enteheme bederehe", there is no conjunction "遂致". The word "庶抒悁悼之怀", the Chinese inscription has a tone of praying. However, Manchu inscription "mini gosire nasare gūnin be tucibumbi" does not use any form of praying verbs. In addition, "既相土而賜塋 ba be tuwafi eifu arabufi". There is no "既……而……" in Manchu inscription. There are so many examples like these.

From the view of language style, the Chinese inscriptions are more formal and incomprehensible. Most sentences are from 4–8 characters. The Manchu language is not rigidly formalized. The words are more casual and easier to understand. For

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44 使.

example, "yaya abkai fisen i siran ci tucikengge be, gemu wang ni booi kesi be isibuha bade", Manchu inscription translated as "Everyone who comes from the royal family, will be given most grace". However, the Chinese inscription "凡屬天潢之派，咸推王室之恩" is neat antithesis. In addition, the emotional color of Chinese inscriptions are more prominent. For example, "同歡別殿" reveals the emotions of the brothers clearly, but Manchu inscriptions only uses "encu diyan de uhei banjiha (Living together in the hall)".

This is tone of statement. The translation of the posthumous title "靖" is also a question requires exploring. "ginggunji" means "respectful and cautious" in the dictionary, while "靖" means "make somewhere stable". Although the "靖" in the Chinese dictionary also means "respectfulness", but Cheng Dakun's article "The posthumous title of the Prince of the Qing Dynasty" records the posthumous title of Chun Jing prince Lunghi is "necihiyen", which is different from Manchu inscription. Since there is no other evidence to prove that Chunjing Prince's posthumous title is "necihiyan" in other paper documents, this inscription may be the basis for correcting the posthumous title of Chun Jing prince Lunghi in Cheng Dakun's thesis.

In general, there is little difference between the Manchu and Chinese inscriptions; the content of inscriptions is basically the same. There are only few words, and the language style, sentence style or emotional color that are slightly different.

3   Comparison and Mutual Authentication of Inscriptions and Documents

Table 2: The Inscriptions and Documents

碑文	清史稿[45]	清实录[46]	清通志[47]	清 文 献 通 考[48]	八 旗 通 志[49]
惟稽古……典章豈靳夫哀榮	—	—	—	—	—
惟王乃皇考世祖章皇帝之子，朕之弟也。	纯 靖 亲 王 隆禧，世祖第七子。	丙午。皇第七子 隆 禧 生 。[50]	—	—	—
質成聰敏，性秉溫恭，孝友克彰，謙仁逎懋。	—	—	—	—	—

[45] 《清史稿》卷二百十九列传六诸王五，第 9057 页.
[46] 即《世祖章皇帝实录》、《圣祖仁皇帝实录》.
[47] [清] 乾隆《清通志》卷五十谥畧，清文渊阁四库全书本.
[48] 张廷玉等《清文献通考》，清文渊阁四库全书本.
[49] 武英殿纂修《钦定八旗通志》卷一旗分志一，清文渊阁四库全书本.
[50] 《世祖章皇帝实录》卷之一百三十四，顺治十七年四月二十二日.

裕含章之雅范，弘樂善之休風。					
朕夙重天倫，不吝封爵，錫之茅社，永固河山。方謂同氣之親，克樹作邦之翰。	康熙十三年，封。十四年，分给佐领。	庚寅。封世祖章皇帝子隆禧为和硕纯亲王。51	—	—	康熙十四年十一月。上谕……纯亲王隆禧着在镶白旗。
何期早嬰危疾，遂致長逝幽冥。	十八年七月，隆禧疾笃，上亲临视，为召医。是日再临视，日加申，薨。	和硕纯亲王隆禧疾笃。上亲诣王第视之。立传医调治。午时。还宫。以王疾奏闻太皇太后。上复诣王第视之。以王疾笃。还奏太皇太后。	—	—	—
眷昔偕侍慈幃，同歡別殿。雖爾實凜君臣之分，而朕無間昆弟之情。往事如存，流光頻易。中心眷戀，何日能忘？	上痛悼，辍朝三日。太皇太后欲临其丧，上力谏乃止。上复欲临奠，太皇太后亦谕止之，留太皇太后宫中。	申时。王薨。上闻讣痛悼……52 上临纯亲王隆禧第，举哀。53	—	十一月辛亥，遣官奠和硕纯靖亲王墓时躬谒孝陵，回銮。54	—
是用特命有司，式循彝憲，務極優崇之數，庶抒	越日，上临奠，命发帑，派内务	遣官祭和硕纯亲王隆禧。命发帑，派内务	和硕纯亲王隆禧，谥靖。康熙十	皇七子和硕纯靖亲王隆禧，庶妃钮氏生。	—

51 《圣祖仁皇帝实录》卷之四十五，康熙十三年正月二十五日.

52 《圣祖仁皇帝实录》卷之八十二，康熙十八年七月十五日。记："申时。王薨。上闻讣痛悼，传谕辍朝三日，随以王讣奏闻。太皇太后惊恸，欲亲临其丧。上奏曰：太皇太后痛念亡孙，洵属至情。但恐圣体万一劳顿，深为未便。再三劝谏方止上欲诣王第。后奉太皇太后谕曰：尔日亲万几，若再悲哀，则尔身益瘁，可勿往。上敬遵慈谕，遂留太皇太后宫中，劝慰竟夕，未还宫。"

53 圣祖仁皇帝实录》卷之八十二，康熙十八年七月十七日.

54 张廷玉等《清文献通考》卷一百二十二羣庙考，清文渊阁四库全书本.

悁悼之懷。既相土而賜塋，仍易名而旌行。錫之碑。[55] 嘉諡曰靖。	府官監修坟莹，立碑。[55]	府官監修坟莹，立碑。加祭一次[56] 癸未。祭純亲王隆禧，上亲临，奠酒举哀。[57] 葬纯亲王隆禧……[58] 遣皇子等诣和硕纯亲王隆禧墓奠酒。[59] 遣……诣和硕纯亲王隆禧墓奠酒。[60]	八年七月谥。	[61] 和硕纯亲王隆禧，世祖皇七子。康熙十三年正月封，十八年七月薨。谥靖。[62]
於戲……永垂奕祀。	—	—	—	—

In summary, the inscriptions tell a lot about events that were not included in paper documents such as descriptions of the goodness, but also about modestness and the elegant expression of character likes "質成聰敏，性秉溫恭，孝友克彰，謙仁逷懋. 裕含章之雅范，弘樂善之休風". However, there are no evaluations of Lunghi's character and appearance in the paper documents. In addition, the past time of Lunghi and Kangxi's "偕侍慈幃，同歡別殿" has not been recorded in other paper documents while the inscription describes it. Furthermore, the inscription mentions that "極優崇之數" means to expand the construction of the garden. The size of the graveyard has not been found in the paper documents; also the building has been destroyed, so it is impossible to verify information on the garden. At the same time, reading the historical documents such as "Qing Shi Lu" we see, that there are many facts which were never mentioned in the inscriptions. For example, his position and attribution,

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[55] 赵尔巽：《清史稿》卷二百十九，北京，中华书局，1986 年，第 9057 页.

[56] 《圣祖仁皇帝实录》卷之八十二，康熙十八年七月二十日.《东华录 康熙二十四》亦有此段记载.

[57] 《圣祖仁皇帝实录》卷之九十五，康熙二十年三月三十日.

[58] 圣祖仁皇帝实录》卷之九十五，康熙二十年四月二日。记："葬纯亲王隆禧。上亲临，奠酒举哀。谕内大臣觉罗塔达等：纯亲王榇于今日酉时安窆，朕欲亲视。因恭亲王常宁等奏言，王妃榇在旁恐属不便。请于未葬前往视即回。故朕先行，尔内大臣侍卫等俟视安葬事毕乃还."

[59] 《圣祖仁皇帝实录》卷之九十八，康熙二十年十一月十六日.

[60] 《圣祖仁皇帝实录》卷之一百六，康熙二十一年十一月八日. 记："遣领侍卫内大臣噶都、福善、内大臣索额图及每旗侍卫各十人，诣和硕纯亲王隆禧墓奠酒."

[61] 张廷玉等《清文献通考》卷二百四十二帝系考，清文渊阁四库全书本.

[62] 张廷玉等《清文献通考》卷二百四十六封建考，清文渊阁四库全书本.

date of death, date of burial are mentioned in the paper document, while in the inscription it is not specifically described.

After the death of Lunghi, the Empress Dowager and the Emperor were very sad. "Qing Shi Lu" records that: "和硕纯亲王隆禧疾笃，上亲诣王第视之，立传医调治。午时还宫，以王疾奏闻太皇太后，上复诣王第视之。以王疾笃，还奏太皇太后。申时，王薨。上闻讣痛悼，传谕辍朝三日，随以王讣奏闻。太皇太后惊恸，欲亲临其丧。上奏曰：太皇太后痛念亡孙，洵属至情，但恐圣体万一劳顿，深为未便，再三劝谏方止。上欲诣王第，后奉太皇太后谕曰，尔日亲万几，若再悲哀，则尔身益瘁，可勿往。上敬遵慈谕，遂留太皇太后宫中，劝慰竟夕，未还宫."

It can be seen that when Lunghi's plague was serious, the emperor sent many times doctors to heal him. He visited him several times per day, and went back to report to the Empress Dowager in time. After the death of the Lunghi, the Empress Dowager and emperor were suffering a lot. They stayed in the palace overnight, and the emperor did not return to his own palace. In the inscription, there were few isolated words to describe the Empress Dowager's sadness and the emperor's frequent visits to him. In contrast, the inscription of Yu Xian prince Fuquan, which was also written by Emperor Kangxi, described more in detail the process of sending doctors and the emperor's attention. The inheritance of the descendants mentioned in the Fuquan's inscription was not found in the Lunghi's inscription, only in the "History of the Qing Dynasty".

4 Introduction of Lunghi's life

Lunghi, the Prince Chunjing, was the seventh son of the Emperor Shunzhi of the ancestors. He was born in the 17th year of the Emperor Shunzhi (1660) on April 22nd. In the 13th year of the Emperor Kangxi (1674), he was dubbed as Prince Chun. A year later, he was awarded Zuoling in Bordered White Banner. In July of the 18th year, he was seriously ill. The Emperor Kangxi sent doctors to cure him and visited him several times per day. He finally died on July 15 of the 18th year of the Emperor Kangxi (1679) when he was only 20 years old.

After the death of Lunghi, the Emperor Kangxi and his grandmother Xiaozhuang Empress Dowager were sad and did not go to court for three days. The Empress Dowager wanted to go to the funeral to mourn, but the Emperor Kangxi feared that she would be too sorrowful and dissuaded her. The Emperor wanted to mourned, and the Empress Dowager dissuaded him for the same reason. In the end, the grandmother and the grandson were accompanied and comforted each other in the Cining Palace all night. The Emperor did not return to the palace for the whole night.

Lunghi was dubbed as Heshuo Prince Chun when he was 15 years old. Unfortunately, he died of illness when he was young and meritorious. Soon, his wife, who was the daughter of Longfu, also died. Three years after Lunghi's death, he was buried with his wife on April 2 of the 18th year of the Emperor Kangxi. When he

was buried, the Emperor Kangxi visited his tomb, made sacrificed and offered wine. After the death of Lunghi, his son Fuerlulun succeed the throne. Unfortunately, Fuerlulun passed away in the second year, Kangxi Emperor did not go to court for three days once again.

The Emperor Shunzhi had eight princes. Because Shunzhi's eighth son died when he was 8 years old, Lunghi became the younger brother of the Emperor Kangxi. The inscription says Lunghi was gifted, gentled, elegant and noble. The Emperor Kangxi recalled that the two of them had served together in Cining Palace and they used to play together in the past. The Emperor Kangxi lamented that although Lunghi always abided by the courtesy of monarch and minister, in fact, the Emperor Kangxi thought Lunghi was only his younger brother. When Lunghi was sick, the Emperor Kangxi visited him several times. After Lunghi's death, he went to mourn for many times which showed the deep brotherhood of the two.

5   Summary

The tombstone of the Prince Chunjing was built in the 21st year of the Emperor Kangxi. It is a period of maturity of the Manchu language. The inscriptions, to-gether with the tombstone on the east side of Fuquan, who was the Prince Heshuo Yuxian were written by the Emperor Kangxi, the time difference was 30 years. Therefore, it is also a valuable information for studying the development and evolution of the inscription writing style of Kangxi dynasty. Moreover, because there are few records of Lunghi in history books, the tablet of Chunjing Prince Lunghi is also a supplement to paper based historical materials. In addition, it is exquisitely carved and well preserved, so it value both as cultural relic and as a document.

For insufficient historical data directly related to the inscription, only the edge document was used to study from the perspective of the figure. And the introduction of the characters is too brief. Also, for limited personal level, only combing the inscriptions and the historical context of the characters, the linguistics and history have not been researched deeply. However, from the perspective of inscriptions, the Manchu inscriptions provided in this thesis are complete and reliable, and can also provide the original materials for the academic community, in order to get more mature research in the future.

Swimming in the Caustic Lye Stream. Marginal Notes on the Old Uyghur Maitrisimit Nom Bitig

Peter Zieme

Among the ancient Uyghurs of Central Asia the idea of hells belonged to a certain extent to the religious everyday life. In the most extensive early Buddhist texts of the Uyghurs i.e. in the *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā* as well as the *Maitrisimit nom bitig* descriptions and depictions of the hells make up a significant part. While these scriptures were based on Tocharian models the Old Uyghur translation of the apocryphal sūtra of the Ten Judges of the Netherworld (*Shiwang jing*) is totally depending on the Chinese original work.

Even if it would be necessary to discuss the whole panorama of hells as a background, I have to confine here on one special subject introducing or reflecting some details. The starting point was this year's International Art auction in Yokohama[1], where I was allowed to participate as an onlooker[2]. Among many interesting items a set of Old Uyghur texts reappeared. I was happy to recognize that one of these pieces is a fragment that Tōru Haneda discussed in his important paper on a Manichaean text, where he writes: "Ensuite, un texte bouddhique en turk qui provient de Turfan et est en ma possession, confirme l'identification *Küsän = K'iu-sein*. Je

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[1] 夜場喬遷慶典拍賣 Evening Sale House Warming Ceremony Auction. 2018 年新樓落成紀念 春季拍賣會 2018 Inauguration Ceremony of the New Building, Yokohama 2018, LOT 001-035. No. 3 of LOT 035 is known from a photograph published by Kagawa 1915 while no. one presents a text from which T. Haneda once quoted a passage.

[2] I express here my gratitude to Mr. A. Katayama for providing this opportunity.

veux parler d'un feuillet isolé d'une sorte de Jâtaka 本生談 [*benshengtan*], feuillet qui porte encore, au recto et au verso, dix-sept lignes de texte."[3]
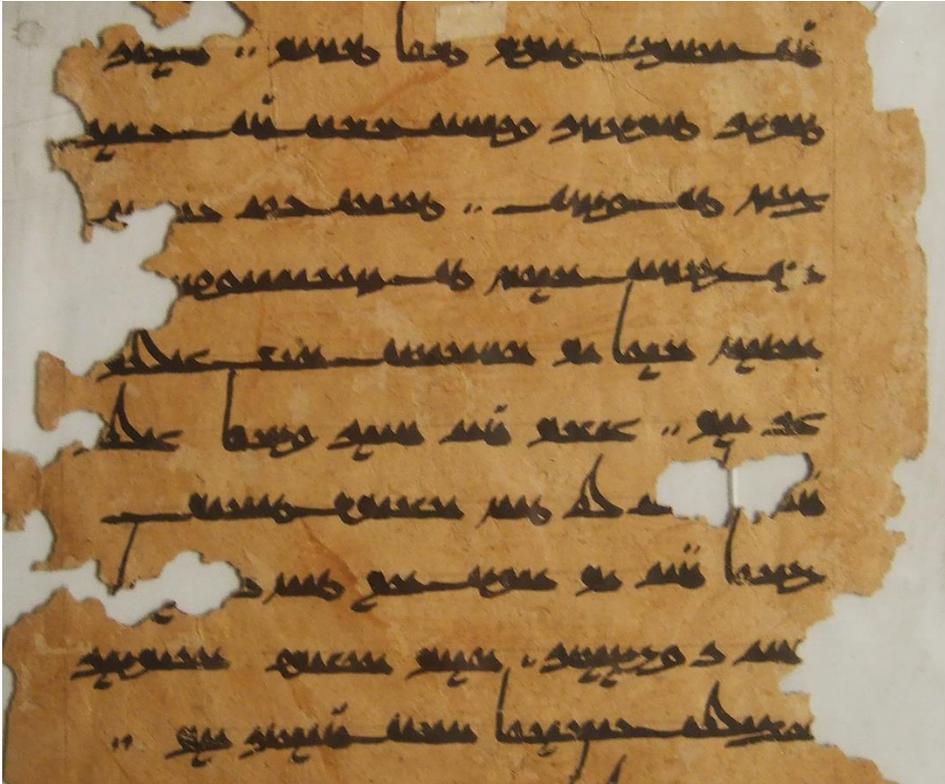
Pict. 1 (based on the photograph in LOT 035 of the auction catalogue Yokohama 2018 quoted in fn. 1).

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[3] Haneda 1931, p. 14.

There is a parallel to this text passage in a Berlin fragment edited by T. Moriyasu (Ch/U 6117 verso)[4]. The story mentions the famous Kuchean king Suvarnapuṣpa. Here I present a table of the matching parts of both texts:

Table 1: The matching parts of both texts

Kyoto (Haneda)	Berlin Ch/U 6117 (Moriyasu)
(05) k(a)ltı	
06 t(ä)ŋri t(ä)ŋrisi burhan nirvan-ka y(a)rlıka	(06) t(ä)ŋrisi burhan nirvan-ka kirü yarlık[
07 -mıš-ta basa .. tört yüz yı[l]-ta 08 ken	
küsän uluš-ta suvarnapuš[pe]	(07) küsän uluš-ta suvarna-pušpe a[tl(ı)g
09 atl(ı)g elp är ugrınta üč čadır10 -čılar .. čačır	
kazgalı barıp čadır	(08) kasgučı čatır kasgalı barıp čat[ır
11 ka[zgalı //]zdu tag ičiŋä täriŋ 12 kirip	
kazar ärkän ol tag y[imri]l[i]p	(09) kasar ärkän. ol tag yimrilip [
13 [ag]azy b(ä)klälti .. olar üčägü üngäli 14 umadın	
yarılıp anta kaltı-lar ..	(10) yarılıp anta kaldı-lar [

This passage can be translated as follows: "Four hundred years after the divine god Buddha entered Nirvana, there were three sal ammoniac workers in the Kuča kingdom at the time of King[5] Suvarṇapuṣpa. For digging the sal ammoniac, they went deep into the mountain to find salt. But when they were digging it the mountain collapsed, its en[try] was blocked. The three men could not go out. They were cut off there."

R. Multhauf begins his study on sal ammoniac with the following general statement: "Sal ammoniac (ammonium chloride) seems to have first become known as a product of the wastelands of Central Asia - the Tarim Basin - from which it was exported both to the Arabic countries and to Tang China[6]." In the middle of this territory is located Kuča which was famous for its sal ammoniac production.[7] The

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[4] Moriyasu 2004.

[5] Spelled ʾylp ʾr. One cannot read *alp är*. In any case, the term deserves special attention in relation to the debated term *elitbär*, cp. Erdal 2016.

[6] Multhauf 1965, p. 569.

[7] Liu Mau-tsai, Kutscha, I, pp. 160, 171; II, Komm.-n. 415.

word translated here as sal ammoniac is also registered in Mahmūd al Kāšgarī's Divan (MK) as *čatr*. It is well known that this word goes back to Iranian *nušadir*. In Persian the word designates the sal ammonic[8]. In the process of borrowing the first syllable was dropped. Interestingly, D. Adams includes *cātir* "sal ammoniac" into his Dictionary of Tocharian B on the premise that the Turkic word is a loan from Tocharian B[9]. Since so far, no record in Tocharian is known, this cannot be ascertained.

Whether *čatır*/*čadır* directly derives from Persian *nušadır* or from Sogdian nwš''tr[10] is unclear. In Chinese the word was adopted without the last syllable as *naosha*. Apparently, there are two different ways of shortening the Iranian word. The shortened form is more often preserved in Old Uigur than the long one[11]. Traces are also known in modern dialects[12]. On the other hand, Old Uigur as well as other sources of later periods and most modern Turkic languages have the original word as *nošadır*/*nušadır*. A receipt of the Heilkundebuch I prescribey *nušadır* for healing a sore: *kayu kišikä yavız kart ünsär nušadır togragu kurt birlä kattp üzä yaksar ädgü bolur* "If someone has a serious sore, one should put on it a slice of sal ammoniac mixed with cheese, then it becomes good."[13] It is also recorded in *U 9300 II[14]. Documents added as examples by the Office of the translators contain the word as *nošadır* for which L. Ligeti gives explanation and references.[15]

The etymology is not certain, but the most plausible one refers to a compound of *(a)nōš* "immortal" + *ādar* "fire", thus "immortal fire".[16] In her entry on Syriac ʾnʾšʾdwr or ʾnwšdwr which clearly derives from Middle Persian, Claudia Ciancaglini mentions the similar Arabic, Armenian, Russian, and Chinese derivatives, but not the Turkic words.[17] Brill's online EI gives ample evidence about the history of sal ammoniac in Central Asia.[18] In the Middle Ages variants such as *nesciador*, *mizadir* or *alemzadar* were still used in Europe.[19] In the Japanese Shōsōin in Nara the 20th box of medicines contains a sample of sal ammoniac (Jius-yen[20])[21]. Gerhard Doerfer men-

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[8] Spelled نشادر or نوشادر.

[9] Adams 2013, I, p. 271.

[10] Gharib 6155.

[11] Known also from Rachmati Heilk. II, 2/332-34 *kimniŋ tiš agrısar. šäkär. čadır. y(ı)par birlä katzun tištä urzun ädgü bolgay* "If someone has tooth pain, he should mix sugar, sal ammoniac and musc, put it on the tooth, it will become good".

[12] The variants *çatr* and *çotur* are quoted in ED 403b from the Derleme Sözlüğü.

[13] Rachmati Heilk. I, 81-82 (p. 456). The word *togragu* is probably derived from the verb *togra-* "to cut, or split into slices or small pieces" (ED 472b).

[14] Raschmann & Sertkaya, p. 249.

[15] Ligeti 1969, p. 42.

[16] W. Eilers supports Ruska's idea insofar as the final part could be *ādur* "fire". Sanskrit has *navasadara*.

[17] Ciancaglini 2008, p. 108.

[18] EI, sub voce al-Nūshādir (by J. Ruska) with references to earlier works of B. Laufer and others.

[19] EI, sub voce al-Nūshādir (by J. Ruska).

[20] I cannot explain the spelling Jius-yen for which the author does not supply the characters, in any case, it cannot be reconstructed from the generally known terms 硇砂 or 磠砂.

[21] Brachwitz 1936, p. 66.

tions the trade of sal ammoniac and other products from Turkistan to China[22] as known from the tribute articles of the Uyghurs of Ganzhou[23].

The "new" text is very important for the testimony of the two variants *čaḍır* and *čačır*. Kāšġarī has *čačır* only as a variant for the other word of the same spelling *čatır* "tent"[24]. It is also worth mentioning the professional term *čadırčı*, derived from *čadır* to denote the men who are digging in the mountains to procure the ammoniac salt. This term seems to be not recorded in other Turkic languages.

By adding water one can produce a kind if caustic lye. In this meaning it is used in the Old Uyghur descriptions of a hell, mainly in the *Maitrisimit nom bitig* and in the *Daśakarmapathāvadāna*[25].

Marc Tiefenauer who studied the Indian sources of the hells writes: "La rivière âcre (MBh 18.2.23ab: uṣṇodakaiḥ pūrṇāṃ nadīṃ): nous avions aperçu aussi un «fleuve de solution alcaline » (khārodakā nadī)^{849} dans le Devadūtasutta et nous retrouverons une «rivière corrosive» (kṣāranadī), dans le Rāmāyaṇa. Il s'agit vrai-semblablement ici de la fameuse rivière infernale, la Vaitaraṇī, évoquée à maintes reprises dans le Mahābhārata; nous en aurons la confirmation plus tard, en MBh 18.3.4c (voir notre traduction page 202)"[26]. These terms correspond to Chinese names as hell of *ashen* rivers [*huihe diyu*] 灰河地獄.

In the Old Uyghur Buddhist texts we find *čadır ügüz* or *čadırlıg ügüz*. In his paper "Höllische Fehler"[27], Jens Peter Laut discussed some passages of the hell chapters and presented new interpretations. The manuscript situation at the end of the 24th chapter is difficult because of many crashes and gaps. In their catalogue of the Berlin manuscript of the *Maitrisimit nom bitig*, the authors Jens Peter Laut and Jens Wilkens documented numerous other improvements and compositions, so that the textual work has become much easier. The hitherto neglected fragment U 1918f. now takes a small step further in a statement about the hellish dwellers who are living in the caustic lye stream.

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[22] Doerfer 1966, p. 8: "Kulturgüter aller Art dringen aus Persien über Turkestan nach China ein, so Brokat, wie in verschiedenen chinesischen Quellen erwähnt wird. Auch z. B. Salmiak wurde von den Uiguren im 10. Jahrhundert ins Reich der Mitte transportiert; dies wird von dem arabischen Weltrei-senden Mas'ūdī bestätigt; der Salmiak scheint etwa von Sogdien aus über Turkestan nach China in Karawanenzügen gebracht worden zu sein."

[23] Pinks 1968, pp. 25–26: [für das Jahr 965] "4 Sack Ammoniak" [fn. 51: Ammoniak ... 碙砂 statt 硇砂 vgl. Laufer Sino-Iranica].

[24] ED 403b.

[25] Vgl. BT 37.

[26] Tiefenauer 2018, p. 200.

[27] Laut 1996, p. 129.

The Sängim text (Taf. 175 + Mainz 1083 + U 3781d):

      08 [ädgülüg töz] yiltiz[   ]

      09 [yok kılu]r ol tıltag[   ]

      10 [   ]l[ˀ]ry artatıp [   ]

The remainders of the two last lines of the small fragment U 1918f recto:

      01 [   ]ltiz-lärin yok yo[   ]

      02 [   ]ltagın köŋül kö[]

By joining these remains:

      [ädgülüg töz] yiltizlärin yok yo[dun kılurla]r ol tıltagın köŋül kö[güz]-läri

artatıp "They eliminate their good roots. Because of this, their senses are destroyed".

One can conclude that such behaviour inevitably leads to a prolonged stay in the etching lye stream.

      In the catalogue[28] it is mentioned that Şinasi Tekin incorporated into his transliteration of Taf. 226[29] some lines of the old transcription made by A. v. Le Coq and/or F. W. K. Müller that are missing in today's state of preservation of the fragment U 3724:

      16 [   ] čad(ı)r ügüz [   ]

      17 [b]arır-lar ..

If one follows Tekin's transliterated text accordingly, one can emend the lines as follows:

      16 [ikilä] čad(ı)r ügüz [suvı birlä yerkä]

      17 [...] barırlar ..

Now, the Sängim fragment Mainz 1083 (verso empty) + U 3781d can be added into this passage:

      01 ymä [   ]

      02 bo ämg[äk]tin ozmatı[n   ]

      03 yerkä kirdi-lär .. am[arılar   ]

      04 tamuka bardı-[lar   ]

The fragment U 1918f has only a few letters of the last line on the verso of the same leaf:

      [   ]vı birlä yerkä kir[   ].

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[28] Laut & Wilkens 2017, Kat-Nr. 235.

[29] Tekin 1980, I, pp. 262–264.

Considering these data the phrase can be reconstructed as follows:

bo ämgäktin ozmatın ikilä čad(ı)r ügüz suvı birlä yerkä kirdilär.. amarıları sančip tamuka bardı-lar "Again, they could not free themselves from this pain, they came again with the water of the caustic lye stream to the land; others went to the *saṃjivaka* hell".

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Appendix

Programm International Symposium "Ancient Texts and Languages of the Ethnic Groups along the Silk Road"

Monday 05.11.2018

09:00	**Opening and Greetings**	Dr. Rupert Schaab, State- and University Library Göttingen
09:10	International Cooperation between Göttingen University and Asian Universities	Dr. Uwe Muuss, Head of 'Göttingen International'
09:20	On the importance of Cooperation between the universities of Karakol and Göttingen	Prof. Dr. Kurmanbek Abdyldaev, Rector of Issyk-Kul State University K. Tynystanov, Karakol, Kyrgyzstan
09:30	The Great Silk Road - a link of the world civilizations of the East and the West	Prof. Dr. Damir Abduldaev, Dean of the Faculty of Physics and Technology, Issyk-Kul State University, Karakol, Kyrgyzstan
09:45	Kyrgyzstan and its place on the Great Silk Road	Prof. Dr. Adylbek K. Kani-metov, Issyk-Kul State University, Karakol, Kyrgyzstan
	Section A: **Research on mediaeval texts in Old Uyghur, Tocharian, Sanskrit, Tangut, Tibetan (Panel 1)** Chair: Prof. Dr. Malzahn	
10:00	The Methodology of the Uigur Dictionary ("Uigurisches Wörterbuch")	Prof. em. Dr. Klaus Röhrborn, Göttingen
10:20	Swimming in the caustic lye stream – Marginal notes on the Old Uyghur Maitrisimit	Prof. Dr. Peter Zieme, Berlin
10:40	An Old Uighur Fragment at Dunhuang Academy	Prof. Dr. Zhang Tieshan, Beijing

11:00	The writing features of the unrounded connecting vowels in Old Uyghur Manichaean texts	Prof. Dr. Betül Özbay, İstanbul Medeniyet University
11:20	**Coffee Break**	
	Section A (Panel 2) Chair: Prof. Dr. Litip Tohti	
11:40	Some notes on old Uyghur mayaq and ügi	Prof. Dr. Mehmet Ölmez, Istanbul University
12:00	Transcribing Chinese loanwords as written by Uighurs in Uighur script	Dr. Hans Nugteren, Göttingen
12:20	A research on the historical alternation of r~z in modern Uyghur	Prof. Dr. Litip Tohti, Beijing
12:40	The comparison of the parallel versions of the Manichaean text "The Sermon of the Light-Nous"	Dr. Li Xue, Berlin
13:00 – 14:40	**Lunch Break**	
	Section A (Panel 3) Chair: Dr. Dieter Maue	
14:40	**The Chapter-Titles of Maitrisimit nom bitig in old Uighur**	Dr. Ablet Semet, Berlin
15:00	Correlation of ancient Uighur texts and modern folklore	Prof. Dr. Saifulla Abdullaev, Karakol
15:20	Translation of Buddhist Texts in Western Xia as Manifestation of Power: Case Study of Tangut Sutra Colophons	Nikita Kuzmin, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
15:40	On the Tibetan engraving in Xixia	Dr. Xu Lihua, Beijing

16:00	Tocharian manuscripts of the Saint Petersburg IOM RAS collection	Dr. Olga Lundysheva, St. Petersburg
16:20 – 16:40	**Coffee Break**	
	Section A (Panel 4) Chair: Prof. Dr. Zieme	
16:40	Linguistic Diversity of the Tocharian languages	Prof. Dr. Melanie Malzahn, Vienna
17:00	Tocharian as a Central Asian language	Prof. Dr. Michaël Peyrot, Leiden
17:20	Central Asian fragments of Sanskrit manuscripts on palm leaves and birch bark in the IOM Collection in St. Petersberg	Dr. Safarali Shomakhmadov, St. Petersburg
17:40	**Discussion on Section A**	
19:00	**Welcome Dinner** "Kleiner Ratskeller"	

Tuesday 06.11.2018

	Section B: The Mongolian Tradition (Panel 1) Chair: Dr. Pavel Rykin	
09:00	The inheritance and development of Mongolian literature and way of spreading	Prof. Dr. Narisu, Lanzhou
09:20	The Brāhmī script in the steppe – The earliest Para-Mongolic testimonies from the First Türk Kaganate	Dr. Dieter Maue
09:40	Study on the newly found Epitaph of Yelü Tianni in Khitan small script	Prof. Dr. Jiruhe, Hohhot
10:00	On the newly found Epitaph of Yelü Jiuli in Khitan small script	Prof. Dr. Wu Yingzhe, Hohhot

10:20 – 10:40	**Coffee Break**	
	Section B (Panel 2) Chair: Dr. Benjamin Brosig	
10:40	Tentative Study on the newly discovered Epitaph of Yelü Kongning Taishi in Khitan small script	Dr. Zhao Haoshen - gaowa, Hohhot
11:00	A preliminary study on the newly found Epitaph of Xiao Dilie Langjun	Dr. Peng Daruhan, Hohhot
11:20	The memory in literature of the dance art of the Khitan	Prof. Dr. Bao Wenhua, Qiqihar
11:40	Study on the titles of multi-lingual inscriptions of the Qing Dynasty	Prof. Dr. Gao Wa, Beijing
12:00	Some new readings and interpretations of the Mongol text of the Tyr trilingual inscription from 1413	Dr. Pavel Rykin, St. Petersburg
12:20	A comparison of the Mongol and Uighur version of the Gold Light Sutra: The story of the hungry tigress	Dr. Altan Khasbaatar, Hohhot
12:40 – 14:00	**Lunch Break**	
	Section B (Panel 3): **The Mongolian Tradition** Chair: Dr. Veronika Kapišovská	
14:00	The Verbal System of Hoshuud in Sources from 1645 to the Early 18th century	Dr. Benjamin Brosig, Taipeh, R.O.C.
14:20	Ethnonyms along the Silk Road as recorded in the Sino-Mongol bilingual sources	Prof. Dr. Ákos Bertalan Apatóczky, Budapest
14:40	Remarks on the spelling rules of the Chinese characters used in the Secret History of the Mongols	Dr. Kereidjin D. Bürgüd, Beijing
15:00	A Study of the "Inscription for Prince Heshuo Chunjing"	Dr. Yang Zheng, Beijing

15:20 – 15:40	**Coffee Break**	
	Section B (Panel 4) Chair: Dr. Benjamin Brosig	
15:40	Mongolian songbooks written in Tibetan script	Dr. Veronika Kapišovská, Prague
16:00	Complex predicates in the Manchu-Mongol letter writing aid	Dr. Veronika Zikmundovà, Prague
16:20	Digitization of Literature in Ancient Mongolian Script	Prof. Dr. Nashunwuritu, Hohhot
16:40	Construction of "Darhan Mongolian Dictionaries in the Past Dynamics" Online Platform	Dr. Lili, Hohhot
17:00 – 17:20	**Coffee Break**	
17:20	Study on Vagindara Literature "Uhaang hurgaj sedhel hayjyruulah hurgaal orshyba"	Dr. Suyoulema, Hulun-buir
17:40	On D. Natsagdorj's translation of the Gold Bug	Manuhuar, Prague
18:00	Discussion on Panel B	
19:00	**Dinner** (Jiang Mai Restaurant – Thai Cuisine)	

Wednesday 07.11.2018

	Section C: The Silk Road into modern times: 18th to 20th century (Panel 1) Chair: Prof. Dr. Ildikó Bellér-Hann	
09:00	Influence of the Great Silk Road on the culture and language of the Kyrgyz people	Dr. Nazgul Abdyrakmatova, Karakol
09:20	Influence of the Great Silk Road on the Kyrgyz vocabulary	Dr. Upel Kadyrkulova, Karakol

09:40	Three decrees that changed the fate of the Kyrgyz language	Dr. Gulnara Jamasheva, Bishkek
10:00	Migration of the Uigur into Kyrgyzstan in the 19th and early 20th century and the development of Uigur dialects in Kyrgyzstan	Dr. Zuhra Zaynishevna Abdumanapova, Karakol
10:20 – 10:40	**Coffee Break**	
	Section C (Panel 2) Chair: Dr. Oliver Corff	
10:40	A study on linguistic features of Kazakh documents collected in Beijing and written during the period of the Kazakh Khanat	Prof. Dr. Awuhali Aliken, Beijing
11:00	The history of Turkmen language: The decline of the use of Turkmen language by advent of Soviets into the region	Dr. Ogulgerek Nazarova, Seoul
11:20	Uyghur Manuscripts in the 20th century and their significance: an example from Eastern Xinjiang	Prof. Dr. Ildikó Bellér-Hann, Copenhagen
11:40	Child custody (*bala saqlamaq*) following divorce in Republican Xinjiang (1911–1949)	Dr. Aysima Mirsultan, Copenhagen/Berlin
12:00	The uneven blossoming of a genre: Uyghur language publications on "customs" in the 20th century	Dr. Rune Steenberg, Copenhagen
12:20	Discussion on Panel 1 and 2	
12:30 – 14:00	**Lunch Break**	
	Section C (Panel 3) Chair: Dr. Rune Steenberg	
14:00	Tatars: Personalities and ordinary people of Dobruja in the earlier 20th century	Dr. Taner Murat, Constanta

14:20	The definition of some terms in the Han-i araha nonggime toktobuha manju gisun-i buleku bithe	Dr. Oliver Corff , Berlin
14:40	A Study of Yi Literature along the Silk Road in Southwest China	Dr. Wang Haibin, Kunming
15:00	Current studies and future perspectives on the Yi manuscripts preserved in Europe – the case of of Hs.Or.13458 of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin	Prof. Dr. Kazue Iwasa, Nagoya
15:40	Mongolia's Colonialism Discourse	Prof. Dr. Ines Stolpe (Bonn)/ Prof. Dr. Enkhbayaryn Jigmeddorj (Ulaanbaatar)
16:00	**Coffee Break**	
	Discussion	
17:00 – 18:00	Visit to the Section of Old Manuscripts in the State and University Library Göttingen (Group 1: max. 20 participants)	
19:00	Dinner (Kleiner Ratskeller)	

Thursday 08.11.2018
10:00. Visit to the Section of Old Manuscripts in the State and University Library
(Group 2: max. 20 participants)
12:00: City tour on foot – Walking through the historic old town.

Central Asia has been dominated by Mongolian and Turkic speaking nations for the past 1300 years. Uyghurs and Uzbeks were the most important traders on the Central Asian Silk Roads. Earlier Sogdians and Tokharians and other ethnic groups speaking Indo–Germanic (Indo–Iranian) languages were active on these ancient trade routes. In the 18th and 19th century a Tungus language, Manchu, became important for Sinkiang, Mongolia and the whole of China. Expansion policy of different realms, comprehensive commercial activities and the spread of religious ideas facilitated the exchange of (cultural) knowledge along the Silk Road. Texts and scripts tell us not only about the different groups that were in contact, but also reflect details of diplomatic, religious, and economic ambitions and the languages that were used for these different forms of communication. Several examples of contact induced language change or specific linguistic influence as a result of contacts along the Silk Road invite us to understand more about the frequency, intensity and intention of contacts that took place in very different regions connected by the Silk Road.

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