

IDEAS BEHIND SYMBOLS – LANGUAGES BEHIND SCRIPTS

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Ideas behind symbols – languages behind scripts

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Preface

It was in 1958 when the founding fathers established the Permanent International Altaistic Conference in Mainz, Germany, among them scholars the names of whom the members of my generation have only learned in school. For us Aalto, Bawden, Doerfer, von Gabain, Heissig, Menges, Pritsak, Sagaster, Sinor, to make an incomplete list of the participants of the first Meeting, were idols symbolizing the golden age of Altaic studies. The idea of the PIAC itself was Walther Heissig's who served as the first Secretary-General for the first few years.

By the time of the founding of the PIAC as well as in the subsequent decades the debate on the existence of a genealogic linguistic relation of the region was at its height. From the very beginning, however, other related topics (i.e. other than linguistics and philology) also infiltrated into the Meetings, thanks to the ever growing number of participants. Behind the coulisses of the cold war participation of scholars from the Eastern bloc was a difficult issue and with that stance PIAC has seen ups and downs in terms of attendance, but – as Denis Sinor put it – it was the propitious start that helped PIAC survive, to which the genuine PIAC spirit should be added that kept the Meetings running until the present day.

In that spirit the 60th PIAC was held in the historical city of Székesfehérvár, Hungary. The opening speeches were delivered by Barbara Kellner-Heinkele the Secretary-General of PIAC, Ramazan Korkmaz, the president of the 2016 PIAC Meeting in Ardahan (Turkey) followed by the introductory lecture of Ákos Bertalan Apatóczy.*

PIAC guests enjoyed two guided tours during their stay, one to the most important historical sites of Székesfehérvár, once the coronation site and capital of the Hungarian Kingdom and a full day tour to Budapest.

The Meeting attracted nearly sixty participants from fourteen countries, and forty-three papers were presented in twelve sections.

Ákos Bertalan Apatóczy
President of the 60th Meeting of the PIAC

* Detailed reports about the conference and the summaries of the papers have already been published: Ákos Bertalan Apatóczy: Report on the 60th Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference. In: *Turkic Languages* 22: (1) pp. 138–142. (2018) and Permanent International Altaistic Conference 60. In: *Távol-Keleti Tanulmányok* 9: (2) pp. 211–214. (2018) as well as at the official PIAC website edited by Oliver Corff: <http://www.altaist.org/annual-meetings/60th-meeting-szekesfehervar-2017/>

Turkic Manuscripts and Old-Printed Books of the Lazarev Institute of Oriental Languages: Exploring the History of Oriental Studies in Russia

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Introduction

The I. G. Tyulin Scientific Library of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO) was founded in 1944, when the MGIMO was established on the basis of the Faculty of International Relations of Moscow State University. The basis of the book collection of the new institution was the faculty library that consisted of about 100 thousand units of storage. In 1954, the Moscow Institute of Oriental Studies was included in the structure of the MGIMO, and their libraries were merged together. This event significantly enriched the book collection of the MGIMO, as the Institute of Oriental Studies was the successor of the *Lazarev Institute of Oriental Languages*, which was established in 1815 and had an excellent library. That library consisted of about 40 thousand volumes, and more than 3000 of them were inherited by the MGIMO. The Scientific Library of the MGIMO prides itself on having 176 manuscripts which date from 13th to the beginning of 20th century (in Persian, Arabic and Turkic languages) and more than 21 thousand rare books (see: Torkunov 2015: 254).

The Fund of Rare Books of Scientific Library of the MGIMO University contains about two hundred manuscripts and over 500 printed and lithographed books in Turkish (Ottoman), Persian and Arabic languages. Among them are literary and folklore pieces and a large variety of dictionaries, textbooks, theological works and historical treatises. Most of these books and some manuscripts came from the library of the Moscow Institute of Oriental Studies (originally the Lazarev Institute of Oriental languages) (see more: Torkunov 2015; Kratkiy katalog 2015). These publications have not heretofore been systematically described and studied except for a number of Turkic manuscripts studied by Ilya V. Zaytsev, see for example: (Kratkiy katalog 2015: 6–16; Zaytsev 2008).

Old-printed books and lithographs in Arabic, Persian and Turkish languages from that library, which have already drawn the attention of researchers (see, e.g., Zaytsev 2008: 63–68; Anikeeva, Zaytsev 2016), are invaluable material for the history of the oriental studies in Russia and particularly in Moscow. Many manuscripts and lithographs have later annotations of different content, tagging,

printing, and owners' inscriptions, bookmarks, notes, marginal additions, which often allow us to track their way to the library of the Lazarev Institute.

Manuscripts

One of peculiarities of the library of the MGIMO University is that some Arab and Turkic manuscripts of this collection, apparently, once belonged to a family of Moscow imams – the Ageyevs (especially Rafik b. Bekbulat Ageyev and his son Khayr al-Din).¹ *Akhuns* from the Ageyev family held prayer meetings in the Moscow Cathedral Mosque from the 1830s up to 1913. Rafik b. Bekbulat Ageyev led the Historic Mosque from 1833 right up to 1867–1868. He and his son Khayr al-Din (Khayretdin Rafikov, who was also a senior *akhun*) in the late 19th-early 20th centuries lived in the *Tatarskaya Sloboda* (the Tatar quarter) in Moscow (on the Bolshaya Tatarskaya street). The position of Rafik Ageyev was officially called “Mullah Rafik Ageyev, *Imam muhtasip* and *mudares* of the Tatar quarter”; he also signed as “the *Akhun* and Mullah-*mukhtasip, mudarris*”. Rafik Bekbulatovich occupied that position for nearly 60 years, and he also taught at the madrasah at the Mosque and made the Hajj. The next imam (at the late 1860s) was his son, shaykh Ageyev Khayr al-Din Hajji Rafikov, “the Moscow civil and military imam”, honorary citizen of Moscow, who died in 1913 at the age of 86 (he was born about 1827).

Manuscripts of the Ageyev family of the Scientific Library of the MGIMO include a commentary to the Quran, rules of prayers, theological and grammatical treatises (all in Arabic) and also a dream dictionary “Ta’bir-name” and the famous poem by Tatar poet Kul Gali (14th c.) “Qyssa-i Yusuf” – both in Tatar language (here is the description). It is also possible to find in these manuscripts different bookmarks, notes, marginal additions or accounts that give us an insight into the life of a Moscow family of the mid-19th century.

تعبير نامه Ta’bir-name [kitabi]. (Inv.no. 269).

“The book of interpretation”. A dream dictionary.

Language – Turkic (Tatar). Red leather binding, 180 x 220 mm. Covers with embossing on the borders and on the middle sides. Binding is decorated with center-medallion in the shape of a mandorla (*turunj*) and rosettes.

¹ The manuscript library of the Ageyevs family, which is kept in the collection of the Scientific library of the MGIMO University, was identified by I.V. Zaytsev and T.A. Anikeeva in particular during the work on description of manuscripts and early printed collection of books in Persian, Arabic and Turkic languages of the Scientific Library of the MGIMO in 2015–2016.

Russian paper, fols. 1–4 are empty. Brief description in Russian (in the old pre-revolutionary orthography) and the old inventory no. 9736² occur in fol. 1. Beginning follows after traditional *basmalah*. Sprawling *naskh* with *ta'lik* elements and tilt to the right. Black ink, headings in red ink. Catchwords. 15 lines. The text is enclosed in the red frame, 130 x160 mm.

According to the colophon in fol. 79, the name of the copyist is Muhammad Hasan b. Murtaza. Copied in 1839.

The mark of Khayr al-Din Ageyev that was made in 1891 occurs at the same fol. 79. Fols. 80–82 are empty. Inscription in 4 lines in black ink in the left upper corner appears in fol. 5, the stamp of the Scientific library of the MGIMO and blurred Oriental seal are near it. The stamp of the Institute of Oriental studies of People's Commissariat for education of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic with inventory no. 09/107663 appear in fol. 79b.

According to *incipit*, this work is completely identical to the manuscript of Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences (B2832) which is the anonymous and nameless book of interpretation of dreams copied in the Volga region not later than 1871 and owned firstly by 'Abd al-Khakim b. Khalid and later H.H. Bakirov (Dmitriyeva 2002: 524, no. 2293).

Kul Gali, Qyssa-i Yusuf (“The story of Yusuf”). (Inv.no. 271).

Famous poem about Yusuf and Zuleykha by Tatar poet Kul Gali (1183–1236), which has many versions in Turkic and Persian poetry and folklore.³

Language – Turkic (Tatar).

Late leather binding, 160 x 200 mm. Original binding was from the “marble” (*ebru*) paper. 3 folios are glued to the binding both at the beginning and at the end. *Naskh*. 15 lines. Catchwords. Text in two columns. Many pages were restored with strips of paper.

Copied in 1824, Kazan (on the folio with autographs the date and place of the copying).

Inventory no. 9751x. on the glued flyleaf. The stamp of the Scientific library of the MGIMO. At the beginning of the manuscript “Qyssa-i Yusuf” among a lot of entries in Russian and Tatar languages we can find a list of children of Rafik Ageyev and also a record made by Rafik b. Bekbulat about his son Zeynetdin: “At the end of the fourth year of his life my son Zeynetdin knew the alphabet, at five years old, having arrived to Kazan, he read *suras* of *Haftiyak* and was able to read “Qyssa-i Yusuf”. In 1833 [when] he was six we arrived to Moscow, in 1834 he was seven years old and he knew ‘the rules of prayers’, ‘the *fiqh* of Kaydani’ and ‘the Will of the Supreme Imam’ by heart. In 1835 when he was eight our *imamat* in Moscow have been already two years...”.

² Probably from the Library of the Lazarevskiy Institute.

³ See, for example: (Khisamov, 2001).

As about other Turkic and Turkish manuscripts in this collection, they are various anthologies of poetry, mantic guides (*falname*), dogmatic treatises, folklore pieces (for example, very popular in Turkish folklore “Kırk vezir hikayeleri”, two MSS). Among them are:

Dogmatic treatise in Turkic (Inv. no. 266).

The binding is lost. Text in the frame, 115 x 210 mm. Black and red ink, 17 lines. *Rika*. Catchwords. Traces of restoration (some folios were glued).

No indicated date and place of copying.

Inscription on fol.1 in ink: «Библи. Жабы (?) № 56», «Рукопись о нормах поведения мусульма[ни]на» (“Library of Jaba, no.56”, “The Manuscript on the rules of conduct of Muslim”). The stamp of the Scientific library of the MGIMO.

We can suppose that this manuscript may have belonged to August Dementievich Jaba (1801–1894) – diplomat, Russian consul in Erzurum (appointed in 1848 and in 1866 he retired and settled in Smyrna, famous for his studies in Kurdish language. He, being although engaged in the collection of materials on the Kurdish language, literature and folklore, could buy the manuscript on Turkic language and keep it in his personal archive.⁴

It should be noted that there are not as many Turkic manuscripts in this collection as Persian or Arabic ones (that fact is probably connected with the peculiarities of the collections of the library of the Lazarev Institute).

Old-printed books

As about old-printed books in Turkic and Turkish language in that Fund, their collection has much more diversity by time and subject: among them are some first printed Turkish books from the typography of Ibrahim Müteferrika, the lithograph and typograph publications of translations of European writers (like Eugene Sue “the Eternal Jew” or Leo Tolstoy’s stories in Tatar), or monuments of Turkic literatures (“Muhamadiyya” by Yazıcıoğlu or “Subat al-ajizin” by Sufi Allayar printed in Kazan in its first so-called “Asiatic” typography) and some folklore works (which are traditionally the essential part of many manuscripts and old-printed and lithograph collections). Among them are:

“Gazavat-name sultan Seyyid Battal-gazi mükemmel hikayesi”. Jild al-awwal – jild al-sadis (Inv. no. 351).

Lithograph edition. Beautiful bright blue cardboard cover with embossed and gold rosette. Thin yellowed paper. Istanbul, 1298 h./1881. 358 pages. Language –

⁴ In 1913 V.F. Minorsky, being in Constantinople, knew that the papers of A.D. Jaba left his family in Smyrna. He addressed to the Russian Consul in this city asking to find the remaining library or archive of A. Jaba (see: Musaelyan 2004).

Turkish. The stamp of the library of the Institute of Oriental studies in Moscow and one oriental stamp with the data “1305” (1887). Inscriptions on flyleaf by black ink and pencil.

This lithograph edition is also remarkable by inscription on Arabic (autograph) on its flyleaf:

صاحب هذا الكتاب و مینورسکی واخترته في القسطنطينية في ١٣١٧

“The owner of this book is V. Minorski and it was bought in Istanbul in 1317 [h.]” (1899/1900). This edition most probably derives from the private book collection of Vladimir Fyodorovich Minorsky (1877–1966), famous Iranist, who bought it in Istanbul probably during one of his first travels to Turkey almost before graduating from the Lazarev Institute for oriental languages in 1902.

Turkic divan by Fizuli (Inv. no. 142).

Lithograph edition. Without place of publication, n.d. There are several stamps and seals on the fol.1: oval stamp «Фундамен. библиотека Лазаревского института восточных языков» (another stamp on the last page); «Библиотека института востоковедения в Москве» (“Library of the Institute of Oriental studies in Moscow”, the same also on the back); the rectangular stamp with the legend; stamp with the dates 1948, 1954.

Inscription in brown ink on the last page: «Приношение Лазаревскому Институту восточных языков от бывшего воспитанника его Николая Бежанбек» (“Donation to the Lazarev Institute of Oriental languages from its former pupil Nikolay Bejanbeg”).

Apparently, this is an autograph of one of the representatives of the old, famous and noble Armenian family of the Bejanbek from Tiflis (Georgia). At least its known that one of them – Pavel Bejanbek – studied at the Lazarev Institute earlier, in 1820s⁵.

Mirza Alexander Kazem-bek. The textbook for the course of the Turkish language in the Imperial Military Academy (Inv.no. 398–400, 435–437).

Каземъ-Бекъ Мирза Александръ. Учебныя пособія для временнаго курса Турецкаго языка, съ Высочайшаго разрешения открытаго въ Императорской Военной Академии Профессором Императорскаго С. Петербургскаго Университета, Действительнымъ Статскимъ Советникомъ Мирзою Александромъ Каземъ-Беккомъ.

Sankt-Petersburg, 1854. A few copies of textbook on the Turkish language by A.K. Kazem-Bek (1802–1870), with a dedicatory inscription: «От Ихъ превосходительствъ Иоана Екимовича и Христофора Екимовича поступаетъ приношениемъ въ Библиотеку Лазаревскаго Института 1855 г.» (“From Their Excellencies Ioann Yekimovich and Khristophor Yekimovich comes as a donation to the Library of the Lazarev Institute, 1855”).

⁵ See, for example: Smirnov, Bejanbekov 1826.

Most probably, it is an autograph or the director of the Lazarev Institute of Oriental languages – Khristophor Yekimovich (Ioakimovich) Lazarev (1789–1871) himself, or his elder brother, the trustee of the Institute, Ioann Yekimovich Lazarev (1786–1858).

Conclusion

Throughout the entire existence of the Library of the Lazarev Institute, it was enriched with books donated by the founders and trustees of the school (Khristophor and Ioann Yekimovich Lazarevs), its students and teachers (such as V. F. Minorsky), Russian orientalists and diplomats (for example, A.D. Jaba) and merchants (the Armenian merchants of Iran). Some manuscripts are from the private library of a family of Moscow imams, the Ageyevs.

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*Bark: A Study on the Spiritual World of the Early Türks**

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The German Turkologist, Wolfgang-Ekkehard Scharlipp, is the pioneering scholar in exploring the spiritual world of the Early Türks. His conclusion is that the religion of the Early Türks was polytheism, totemism and naturism.¹ It is noteworthy that Scharlipp exerted lots of efforts to argue that the Early Türks were not monotheists. In the eyes of the Early Türks, the soil and water could also be sacred, just like *tenri*, and this type of belief can be summarized as Shamanism. In this short article, we are not going to review the bulk of articles and books by historians in Turkey who tried to demonstrate that the Early Türks, by the time of the Old Turkic inscriptions had already become Monotheists.

From *Suishu* 隋書 we know that during the First Türk Empire the Türk Tabo Kağan believed in Buddhism and even built a Buddhist temple. He sent envoys to North China asking for the Buddhist canon.² But the belief in Buddhism seemed very limited among the Early Türks. In the Second Türk Empire, the belief of Buddhism had already fallen into decay. When Bilge Kağan intended to build a Buddhist temple, he was immediately dissuaded by his consultant, Tonyukuk. The argument of Tonyukuk was that Buddhism and Daoism require their adherents to be compassionate and sympathetic, which are fatal characteristics for fighting soldiers.³

We can find some evidence from the Chinese sources to prove that the Early Türks also believed in Zoroastrianism, as Wang Xiaofu and Chen Ling have demonstrated it.⁴ Professor Wang and his colleagues from Beijing have found a piece of granite in the exhibition room of the artifacts unearthed from the Kül

* A slightly different version of this paper has been accepted by the journal *Eurasian Studies*, vol. VII, ed. Yu Taishan and Li Jinxiu. This work was supported by The National Social Science Fund of China 国家社科基金项目—突厥的概念史研究(18CSS001).

1 W.-E. Scharlipp, Die alttürkische Religion und ihre Darstellung bei einigen türkischen Historiker, *Die Welt des Islams* 31(2): 168–192.

2 *Suishu*, chapter 84, “Biography of the Turks”, Zhonghua Publishing House, 1973: 1865. A. von Gabain: Buddhistische Türkenmission, *Asiatica. Festschrift Friedrich Weller, zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet von seinen Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern*, Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1954: 161–173.

3 *Xin Tangshu*, chapter 215, “Biography of the Türks”: 6052; *Jiu Tangshu*, chapter 194a, “Biography of the Türks”: 5174.

4 *Youyang zazu* says: “The Türks practised Zoroastrianism. There were no temples.” Cf. *Youyang zazu*, chapter 4, Zhonghua Publishing House, 1981: 45.

Tegin tomb, in which they managed to recognize a bird-shaped image. According to Wang's research, the bird-shaped image is supposed to be Verethraghna (Warahrān/Bahrām), the god of war in Zoroastrianism. In his earlier article, through textual evidence, he has already pointed out that the practice of worshipping fire in the Zoroastrianist way must have existed among the Early Türks.⁵ The other Chinese scholar Chen Ling has demonstrated that the bird-shaped motif on Bilge Kağan's crown and on Kül Tegin's marble head had been directly and indirectly influenced by the Sassanid-Persian culture. The two wings belong to the Varaghna bird, or the shape of the god of war/Verethraghna.⁶

According to the Chinese sources, the Early Türks also had the custom of "revering ghosts and spirits, believing in wizards and sorcerers" (敬鬼神、信巫覡). Scholars usually take the record of "believing wizards and sorcerers" as evidence for Early Türk Shamanism. However, almost nothing has been discussed about the record of "revering ghosts and spirits". This article is going to demonstrate that Early Türks not only worshiped Buddha, fire, *teŋri* and nature, but also worshiped human beings whom they revered.

In Chinese sources there are two examples supporting this view. At the beginning phase of the second Türk Empire's rising, the Türk troops met a big trouble set by the Tang general Cheng Wuting 程務挺, who was a very skillful general and could always defeat the Türks, and the Türks were very scared of him. When he passed away, the Türks were relieved and delighted. They built a shrine for him and whenever the Türk army was about to be deployed in a campaign, they would pray in the shrine and wish for good luck.⁷

The other example comes from the biography of another Tang general, Zhang Renyuan 張仁愿. According to the record, at the beginning the border between the Türks and the Tang was the Yellow River; and on the river bank on the Türk side there was a shrine called Biyun 拂云祠. Whenever the Türk army was going to plunder Tang territories, they would first go to the shrine praying and wishing for good luck.⁸ We don't know exactly who was worshiped in the Biyun shrine. The possibility that it was a Buddhist temple is low, because Buddhism had already fallen into decay in the Second Türk Empire. It could not be a Zoroastrianist temple either, because the Turkic Zoroastrianists never built temples, according to the Chinese sources.⁹ It could be a similar shrine to that of Cheng Wuting, but as

5 Wang Xiaofu 王小甫: On the Etymology of Gongyue 弓月名義考, in *Festschrift for Professor Ji Xianlin's 80th Birthday*, Nanchang: Jiangxi People's Publishing House, 1991: 351-363; The Cult of Fire and the Rise and Decline of the Türks: A Case Study of the Ancient Turkic God of War 拜火教與突厥興衰——以古代突厥斗戰神研究為中心, in *Historical Research 歷史研究* 2007 (1): 24-40.

6 Chen Ling 陳凌: A Study of Turkic Royal Crowns: With A Discussion of Turkic Xian-Zoroastrian Beliefs, in *Eurasian Studies* V, 2017: 139-198.

7 *Jiu Tangshu*, chapter 83, Biography of Cheng Wuting: 2785.

8 *Jiu Tangshu* 93: Biography of Zhang Renyuan: 2982.

9 Cf. *Youyang zazu*.

of now, there is no way for us to identify the person whom was revered in this shrine.

Actually, not only in Chinese sources, but also in Old Turkic inscriptions there is evidence for Early Türks building shrines for the people whom they revered.

In the Old Turkic inscriptions, the word *bark* appears several times. In almost half of the cases, it is used together with *ev*, while in the other half it is used alone. Later, the usage of *bark* seemed to have become narrower. In the age of Mahmūd al-Kāshgharī, for example, *bark* was never used alone, but only paired as *äv barq*. The phrase *ev bark* exists in many different Turkic dialects, and scholars don't have a disagreement about the meaning of *ev bark* as “‘house, home, household, property’, etc.” But, as far as the meaning of *bark* itself is concerned, especially as to its usage before al-Kāshgharī, i.e. in the Old Turkic inscriptions, it seems that scholars have not exerted much efforts to discuss it.

Firstly, we discuss the cases where *bark* is used alone in the Old Turkic inscriptions.¹⁰

K. N. 12–13: *tabğaç kağanta işiyi liken kelti. bir tümen ağı altun kümüş kergeksiz kelürti ... bark étgüçi, bediz yaratıgma, bitig taş étgüçi, tabğaç kağan çıkanı çañ señün kelti.*

“From the Chinese emperor came the secretary Likeñ (呂向 in Chinese). He brought countless (lit. ten thousand) silk, gold, silver and superfluous things. ... The *bark*-builders, the fresco-painters, the memorial-builders and the maternal cousin of Chinese emperor, General Zhang, came.”

The Chinese delegation dispatched to the Türk and their assignment is also recorded in the Chinese sources. According to the *Jiu Tangshu* 194a: “When Kül Tegin passed away, the emperor sent Imperial Insignia General Zhang Quyi 張去逸 and Criminal Administration Bureau Director Lü Xiang 呂向 to visit the Türk expressing condolence, and establish a memorial. The emperor composed the text of the inscription by himself. In addition, a shrine was also built. The stone was sculptured into figures. The four sides of the shrine were painted with pictures of his fighting.”¹¹

If we make a comparison between the Chinese record and the Old Turkic inscription, it is not difficult for us to figure out that the Old Turkic *bark* must have been an equivalent to the 祠廟 “shrine” in the Chinese context.

A similar paragraph is K. S. 11–12/B. N. 14:

¹⁰ The arabic numbers are used to mark the lines. The transcribing system of the Old Turkic runiform alphabet follows Sir G. Clauson, in *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*, Oxford University Press, 1972. The text of the Old Turkic Inscriptions are translated into English by myself.

¹¹ *Jiu Tangshu* 194a, “Biography of the Türk”: 5177.

men beᅡgü taş tokitduk üçün tabğaç kağanta bedizçi kelürtüm, bedizet[d]im. meniñ sabımın sımadı. tabğaç kağanın içreki bedizçiğ it[d]ı. añar adınçığ bark yaraturtum. için taşın adınçığ bediz urturtum.

“For establishing a memorial, I sent for painters from the Chinese emperor. I let them decorate [the stone]. [The emperor] did not refuse my request. The Chinese emperor dispatched his imperial painters. I let them build a gorgeous **bark**. I let them paint gorgeous frescos both interior and exterior of the **bark**.”

There are some other similar examples of *bark* that we will not discuss in details, i.e. K. NE *taş bark étgüçig, bunça bedizçiğ toyğut élitber kelürti*. “It was Toyğut Élitber who brought those memorial- and shrine-builders and fresco-painters.” B. N. 15 *taş barkın* ... “memorial and shrine.” B. SW *bunça barkığ bedizig uzuğ* “such a shrine, frescos and skilled work.”

Let’s take an overview of the interpretations of the word *bark* by previous scholars.

(a) Mahmūd al-Kāshgharī: **āw barq** “house and home (*bayt wa-dār*)”; one never uses *barq* alone, but only paired.¹²

(b) G. Clauson: **bark**: perhaps Den. N. fr. **ba:r**; ‘movable property, household goods’; hardly ever used by itself, nearly always in the phr. **ev bark** ‘dwelling and household goods’. This phr. survives in SW Osm. And Jarring records it in SE Türki as **öybarka/öyvaka** ‘household’, and also in the phr. **balabarka/balavaka** ‘family’, but otherwise **bark** seems to be extinct. **Türkü VIII** in the accounts of the erection of Kül Tégin’s and Bilge Xağan’s tombs **bark** ‘grave goods’ is mentioned several times in association with **bediz** ‘(painted) ornamentation’ (of the walls, etc.), e.g. **añar adınçığ bark yaraturtım** ‘I had various kinds of grave goods made for it’ *I S 12*; o.o. *I N 13 (é:t-); I NE; II N 14; II NE sıña:r süsi: evig barkığ yulğalı: bardı*: ‘one wing of his army went to pillage (our) tents and household goods’ *II E 32*; o.o. *do. 34 and 37: VIII ff. Man.* (if we have found the light of the five gods) **evke barkka** ‘to our dwellings and household goods’ *Chuas. 235*; o.o. *do. 249; TT II 8, 41–2; Uyğ. VIII evin barkın Şu. E 2, 12 (?)*: VIII ff. Man.-A **katlı yañı yemişlik ev bark yaratırça** ‘as one makes a new orchard or house and household goods’ *M I 14, 8–10*: Man. (mediating on the transitoriness of the body) **evtin barktın üntiler** ‘they left house and home’ *TT III 137–138*; o.o. **Wind. 32, 34; TT IX 62**: Bud. **evde barkta ada kılguçı** (devils) ‘who cause danger in the house and home’ *TT V 10, 84*; o.o. *VI 61, 63 etc.*: Civ. (various kinds of property) **evümdeki barkımdakı**, *USp. 98, 14*: **Xak. XI** one says **ev bark bayt wa dār** ‘house and home’; **bark** cannot be used separately (*yufrad*), but only in (this) combination

¹² Mahmūd al-Kāshgharī: *Diwan lugat At-Turk*, Dankoff R. & Kelly J. eds. & translators, 1982: *Compedium of the Turkic Dialects*, by Mahmūd al-Kāshgharī, vol. I. Duxburz, Mass.: Harvard University: 273.

(*muzdawica(n)*) *Kaş. I* 348; (the enemy wished to sell) **evin barkın dūrahu wa ‘aqārahu** ‘his houses and property’ *III* 333, 9; *KB ev bark* 4536, 4545, 4727: XIII (?) *Tef. ev bark* ‘home’ 91: *Çağ. xv ff. bark* is used coupled (*ba-ṭarīq-i muzāwaca*) with *öy* in the phr. **öy bark xānumān wa xāna wa atāt albayt** ‘house and furniture’ *Sam.* 121r. 21.¹³

(c) W. Radloff: Барк: 1) das Bauerwerk, das Werk; 2) (Krm. Osm.) das Haus und aller Zubehör (die Geräthe und Leute).¹⁴

(d) Talat Tekin: “house, building, residence; tomb, mausoleum”.¹⁵

(e) A. von Gabain, “Habe, bauliche Anlage”.¹⁶

The explanation of *bark* by Clauson as “grave goods” is not supported by any evidence. The explanations by Radloff (i.e. “Bauerwerk”), von Gabain (i.e. “bauliche Anlage”) and Tekin (i.e. “mausoleum”) are closer, but not accurate. Through a comparison with the relevant Chinese sources, we have come to the conclusion that *bark* should denote “shrine”. The Russian historian S. G. Kljaštornyj has also pointed out that the terminus *bark* should be translated as “temple”, but he did not provide any supporting evidence.¹⁷ Strictly speaking, “temple” refers to a religious building where a God or gods are worshiped, while *bark* is a place where human beings are worshiped. Therefore, “shrine” is the more accurate translation. If our explanation of *bark* as “shrine” has not gone astray from the right path, we suggest the phrase *ev bark* to be understood as “house/home”, both in a material and spiritual sense.

Unlike the later usage, in the earliest context, *ev bark* could still be translated literally as “house and shrine”. The following are examples where *bark* and *ev* are being used together as a phrase in the Old Turkic inscriptions. B. E. 32: *siṅar süsi evig barkıḡ yul[i]ḡalı bardı* “Part of their troops went pillaging houses and shrines.” B. E. 34: *evin barkın buzdum* “I destroyed their houses and shrines.” B. E. 37 *evin barkın anta buzdum* “I destroyed their houses and shrines there.”

When the Turkic people were at war, it was a common practice to destroy the religious or spiritual constructions of the enemy. Here I give an example of the Kirgiz in the year of 840. When the Kirgiz army defeated the Uyghurs, they

13 G. Clauson: *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*, Oxford University Press, 1972: 359–360.

14 W. Radloff: *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, vierte Band, S. Petersburg, 1918: 1483.

15 Talat Tekin: *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, Indiana University Press, 1968: 308.

16 A. von Gabain: *Altürkische Grammatik*. Wiesbaden, 1974/1941: 327.

17 С. Г. Кляшторный Храм, изваяния и стела в древнетюркских текстах (к интерпретации Ихе Ханьин-норской надписи), *Туркологический сборник С 1974*: 238–255. S. G. Kljaštornyj, „Tempel, Standbild und Stele in altturkischen Texten (zur Interpretation der Iche-Chanyn-Nor-Inschrift)“, *Die Geschichte Zentralasiens und die Denkmaler in Runenschrift*, Schletzer, Berlin, 2007: 245–326.

destroyed many memorial constructions on the steppe, i.e. *balbals* “stone figures”. According to the Czech archaeologist, Lumír Jisl, *balbals* are erected by the Early Türks as a depiction of the defeated enemy.¹⁸ We can find evidence in the Chinese sources to support his view. “When someone passed away, people would erect stones for him. The number of the erected stones depends on how many enemies he had killed in his lifetime.”¹⁹ Similar to *balbal*, *bark*, which should be interpreted as “shrine”, is also connected with the spiritual world of the Old Turkic people. To conclude, the case study of *bark* helps us to realize the richness of the manifold spiritual world of the Old Turkic people.

Abbreviations:

K.: Kül Tegin Inscription
 B.: Bilge Kağan Inscription
 N.: North side
 S.: South side

Primary sources

Kül Tegin Inscription.

Bilge Kağan Inscription.

Liu Xu et al., *Jiu Tangshu*, Zhonghua Publishing House, 1975.

Ouyang Xiu and Song Qi, *Xin Tangshu*, Zhonghua Publishing House, 1975.

¹⁸ Lumír Jisl, *The Orkhon Türk and Problems of the Archaeology of the Second Eastern Türk Kaghanate*, Praha, 1997: 66.

¹⁹ *Zhoushu*, chapter 50, “Biography of the Türks”: 910.

Nations and Rivers:
Their Status and Name in the *Qingshi Gao*
Reflections on the *Draft History of Qing* as a Source

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Unlike its predecessors within the *Twenty-Four Histories* 二十四史, the series of China's official historical books beginning with the *Records of the Grand Historian* 史記 and ending with the *History of Ming* 明史, the *Draft History of Qing* (清史稿, *Qingshi gao*, hereinafter: QSG) is comparatively rarely quoted, and the number of treatises dealing with the QSG as a subject is also relatively small. Anecdotal evidence¹ and qualified opinion² are in agreement on this observation.

Several factors may contribute to this situation. The compilation of the QSG began after the demise of the Qing Dynasty and the collapse of China as an Empire, yet despite initial discussions on how to write a standard history of the Qing, the editors under Zhao Erxun (趙爾巽 1844–1927) finally followed, with minor but notable exceptions, the tradition and the spirit of the *Twenty-Four Histories*. The original compilation process was never formally brought to an end; the draft, labelled as such partially in acknowledgement of the unfinished state of the work, partially in order to pre-empt any criticism, was hastily printed in 1928, and was banned by the Nationalist government in 1930. Later, various attempts were made to amend or delete portions from the text in line with political preferences. This process resulted in a number of different versions, the so-called *guanwei ben* (those 700 of the 1,100 copies initially kept in Beijing) and *guanwai ben*, the latter being revised again, yielding the *guanwai yici ben* and the *guanwai erci ben* versions. The latter serves as the basis for the annotated critical edition (清史稿校註, hereinafter: QSGjzh³) published in Taiwan between 1986 and 1991.⁴

1 While the four volumes on the history of the Qing Dynasty in the *Cambridge History of China* (*The Ch'ing Empire to 1800*, I and II as well as *Late Ch'ing 1800–1911*, I and II) mention the QSG in their comprehensive bibliographies, only one single contributor systematically refers to the QSG as a source (R. Kent Guy: "Governing Provinces", in *The Ch'ing Empire to 1800* part II: 16–76.).

2 "Das Qingshigao wird ja recht selten zitiert." Pilz, Erich: p. 222, "Das *Qingshigao Jiaozhu*: Eine kritische Ausgabe der letzten Dynastiegeschichte im editions-geschichtlichen Kontext." *Monumenta Serica* 41 (1993).

3 The fascicles of the QSG are enumerated differently between its various versions. The enumeration and pagination used in this article is based on the critical edition *Qingshi gao jiaozhu* published in Taiwan between 1986 and 1991.

Efforts to either correct or complete the manuscript with the objective of compiling the truly official history of the Qing have been undertaken both by the People's Republic of China and National China, but the QSG seems to be the epitome of a work which cannot be completed as it has fallen so much out of every historiographical reference frame that any attempt to mend this situation is doomed.

With all these issues in mind, it is understandable that the QSG has been avoided by historians. Another factor cannot be neglected: for over half a century, accessing the QSG was difficult. This situation began to change with the publication of the QSG by the Zhonghua shuju in 1976, yet only the publication of the annotated critical edition (QSGjzh) of the QSG by the Guoshiguan in 1986–1991 opened a new avenue to the research of the QSG.

From Dynasty to Nation: The QSG – A Testimony of Statehood in Transition

In light of and against all objections one might raise against the QSG as a historical source, this opus is a treasure trove of China's political thought in a period of historical transition. The work was compiled only after the end of the Qing reign, during which China's position in its perceived universe was thoroughly uprooted. Once assumed to be the centre of civilization, the Huaxia world order was successfully challenged by emerging powers of continental reach, like Czarist Russia, or even global ambition, like the United Kingdom. With Russia, China entered into its first international treaty based on an understanding of political powers on equal footing along the ideas of Westphalian sovereignty.⁵ The contact with the United Kingdom was equally humiliating, and the second half of the Qing dynasty was marked by a series of costly wars with a number of foreign nations as well as the loss of vassal states formerly believed to be firmly controlled by the Empire. The advent of Western, modern science, technology, administration undermined China's self-confidence even further, prompting officials and scholars

4 A detailed history of the meandering compilation and publication process, together with reflections on the historical and political background of the making of the QSG, can be found in Pilz, Erich, "Das *Qingshigao jiaozhu*: ..." and Chen, Hsi-yuan. "Last Chapter Unfinished: The Making of the Official Qing History and the Crisis of Traditional Historiography." *Historiography East and West* 2, no. 2 (2004): 173–204.

5 The Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689) was not only the very first international treaty which China signed; it is remarkable that the authoritative version of this treaty was in Latin, a neutral language to both treaty parties, with translations into Manju and Russian. Yet, in the QSG, no word is lost on the language and circumstances under which this treaty was drafted and written; notably the critical contribution by Thomas Pereira (徐日升 1645–1708) remains unmentioned. Pereira is only mentioned once as a musician at the Imperial court for his contribution to music theory and harmony (*Treatise on Music*, 1 樂志一, QSGjzh 4:2886).

alike to mistrust their own traditions and thoughts. This is the broad context in which Liang Qichao (梁啟超 1873–1929), the influential scholar, writer and politician wrote a comment on how an official history of the Qing Empire should be conceived. He upheld the idea that former official histories of China were records of genealogies rather than of nations, and strongly emphasized a focus on the nation as a subject of historiography. Despite Liang’s pointed criticism of the old form, the structure of the QSG very much mimicked its predecessors in the *Twenty-Four Histories* but it is certainly due to Liang’s suggestion⁶ that for the very first time in the history of Chinese official historiography, there is a section on International Relations: 邦交 (邦交志, 卷 160 – 167, 志 135 – 142).⁷ Foreign nations made their way into the QSG in approximate order of importance to and first significant contact with the Chinese Empire. In sections 1 to 6 of the *Treatise on Foreign Relations*, we find Russia (俄羅斯), Great Britain (英吉利), France (法蘭西), the U.S.A. (美利堅), Germany⁸ (德意志) and Japan (日本); section 7 contains short accounts of several states: Sweden/Norway (瑞典那威), Denmark (丹墨), the Netherlands (和蘭), Spain (日斯巴尼亞), Belgium (比利時) and Italy (義大利); section 8 contain short accounts on Austria-Hungary (奧斯馬加), Peru (秘魯), Brazil (巴西), Portugal (葡萄牙), Mexico (墨西哥) and Congo (剛果).

While the authors of the QSG had a clear notion of national power and influence with regard to the Western powers, they still continued to think in terms of the system of vassal states, yet clearly perceived the clash with the new world order that approached China from across the ocean:

“At the heyday of the Qing, all countries sent their tributes and were treated according to protocol. Once the ocean corridors were open, the situation changed.”⁹

Thus the tone is set in the opening of the treatise on foreign relations.

The acknowledgement of the new and foreign international order did not imply that the long-held idea of vassal states was abandoned. Rather, the authors of the QSG complain that the Empire lost some of its traditional vassals to emerging foreign powers:

“Beginning with Kangxi and Qianlong, [...] in the west the loss of the Khanate of Kokand and Badakhshan to Russia, in the south the loss of Vietnam and Burma to England and France, in the east the loss of Ryukyu

6 Liang Qichao 梁啟超. “Qingshi shang li 清史商例.” [Suggestions for a Qing History]. In Xu Shishen 許師慎, *Youguan Qingshi gao banyin jingguo ji gefang yijian huibian 有關清史稿編印經過及各方意見彙編*, 34–52.

7 QSGjzh 6:4267–4410.

8 The treatise on Germany has been translated to German by Jessica Wang: “Das Kapitel über die Deutschen (‘Deyizhi’) im Qingshi gao.” *Orientierungen: Zeitschrift für Kultur Asiens* 29 (2017): 181–226.

9 有清盛時，諸國朝聘，皆與以禮。自海道大通而後，局勢乃一變。QSGzhj 6:4267.

and Korea to Japan, at the northern border the loss of vast stretches of territory [...] caused grievance among the people and made the leaders sick.”¹⁰

In this world order, the old notion of vassal states still persisted, and the QSG reflects this by locating the treatise on the vassal states in a totally different place. This treatise is found not even near the series of traditional treatises (志), but is an appendix to the series of biographies and epitaphs (傳), right after the biographies of “Local Chieftains” (土司, 卷 519 – 524¹¹, in six sections covering Huguang 湖廣, Sichuan 四川, Yunnan 雲南, Guizhou 貴州, Guangxi 廣西 and Gansu 甘肅) and articles on the “Western Tribes” (藩部, 卷 525 – 532¹²), in eight sections beginning with the Khorchin Mongols 科爾沁, the Jalaid Banner 紮賚特, the Dörbet 杜爾伯特, et al., and finally ending in one dedicated article on Tibet (西藏, 卷 532). After the “Local Chieftains” and the “Western Tribes” we finally find those entities which were considered vassal states (屬國, 卷 533 – 536¹³) by the Chinese Empire, some of which had either been “lost” to foreign nations, dared to receive foreign ambassadors or gained sovereignty and independence. Laid out over four sections, we find Korea (rather: Choson) 朝鮮 and Ryukyu 琉球 in the first section, Vietnam 越南 (formerly known as Annam 安南, renamed in Vietnam during the Jiaqing reign) in the second section, Burma 緬甸, Siam 暹羅, Lan Xang 南掌 and the Sulu 蘇祿 Archipelago in the third section, and finally Gurkha 廓爾喀, the Khanate of Kokand 浩罕, Burut 布魯特 (i.e. Kirgiz), Kazakh 哈薩克, Andijan 安集延, Margilan 瑪爾噶朗, Namangan 那木幹, Tashkent 塔什幹, Badakhshan 巴達克山, Bolor 博羅爾, Afghanistan 阿富汗 and Hunza 坎巨提 in the fourth section.

The Tumen River

From the point of view of the Empire, the division into geographic entities along the traditional parts of the Empire (covered in the *Geography* treatise 地理志 of

10 乃康、乾以來所力征而經營者，任人蠶食，置之不顧，西則浩罕、巴達克山諸部失之於俄，南則越南、緬甸失之英、法，東則琉球、朝鮮失之日本，而朔邊分界，喪地幾近萬里，守夷守境之謂何，此則尤令人痛心而疾首者也。QSGjzh 6:4267.

11 QSGjzh 15:11761–11865.

12 QSGjzh 15:11866–12056.

13 QSGjzh 15:12057–12167.

the QSG¹⁴), foreign nations (covered in *Treatise on Foreign Relations* 邦交志) and *Vassal States* (屬國), seemed plausible, but was not without its own contradictions. As soon as matters involved more than one nation, things became complicated and it was not always clear which section was an appropriate choice for a given subject. The Tumen river,¹⁵ for example, played a role not only in the border demarcation with Russia in the context of the Convention of Peking (1860), but is also the decisive landmark mentioned in the Gando Convention between China and Japan, signed in 1909. The official Chinese name of the convention is 圖們江中韓界務條款 *Border Service Agreement on the Tumen River between China and Korea*.¹⁶ The QSG summarizes the text of the convention in such a format and to such a degree that the unaware reader may be tempted to see quotes from the original text of the convention; yet here, as in many other places, the compilers of the QSG wrote their own summaries of these documents, with deliberate oscillation between stretches of verbatim quotes and substantially condensed summaries.

The summary of the discussion of the exact demarcation of the border agreed between China and Russia in the Convention of Peking follows a similar pattern: The phrase indicating the positions of the border tablets on an official map, marking these positions with Cyrillic characters, is nearly a verbatim quote of the treaty text, yet no credit is given in the QSG:

大激等以咸豐十年北京條約中俄東界順黑龍江至烏蘇裏河及圖們江口所立界牌，有俄國「阿」「巴」「瓦」「噶」「達」「耶」「熱」「皆」「伊」「亦」「喀」「拉」「瑪」「那」「倭」「怕」「啦」「薩」「土」「烏」十二字頭，十一年成琦勘界圖內尚有「伊」「亦」「喀」「

14 [Homeland] Geography comprises the traditional Chinese provinces. The *Treatise on Geography* (地理志, 3:2204–2562, 4:2563–2705) covers, in 28 sections: Zhili 直隸, Fengtian 奉天, Jilin 吉林, Heilongjiang 黑龍江, Jiangsu 江蘇, Anhui 安徽, Shanxi 山西, Shandong 山東, Henan 河南, Shaanxi 陝西, Gansu 甘肅, Zhejiang 浙江, Jiangxi 江西, Hubei 湖北, Hunan 湖南, Sichuan 四川, Fujian 福建, Taiwan 台灣, Guangdong 廣東, Guangxi 廣西, Yunnan 雲南, Guizhou 貴州, Xinjiang 新疆, Inner Mongolia 內蒙古, Outer Mongolia 外蒙古, Qinghai 青海, Tibet 西藏 and Chahar 察哈爾. This view of geography offers basically an administrative perspective on China's traditional territory, together with the areas which became administratively part of China proper at the end of the 19th century, like Xinjiang, hence my *impromptu* addition [homeland].

15 For a detailed analysis of the historical, regional and political importance of the Tumen river see Song, Nianshen. *Making Borders in Modern East Asia: The Tumen River Demarcation, 1881 – 1919*. Cambridge University Press, 2018. In the bibliography of his book, Song mentions the QSG as a primary source but he does not seem to use it.

16 Here, Korea is assumed to be a sovereign nation and rendered by the name Han 韓; the vassal state – in Chinese terminology – is called 朝鮮, and the same area is also referred to as Gaoli/Goryeo 高麗. In an exchange with Li Hongzhang 李鴻章, the Japanese ambassador Mori Arinori (森有禮 1847–1889) tries to make his point that Korea is not a vassal state as, among other reasons, it receives a Japanese ambassador, to which Li Hongzhang replies: “Goryeo is a vassal state of China 高麗系中國屬國”(autumn 1875; QSGjzh 6:4394).

拉」「瑪」「那」「倭」「怕」「啦」「薩」「土」「烏」十二字頭，何以官界記文內僅止「耶」「亦」「喀」「拉」「那」「倭」「怕」「土」八字頭？圖約不符。¹⁷

The next uncertainty arises from the fact that there was, despite its importance for political geography, different naming conventions in Chinese and Korean of the Tumen river caused the misconception that there might be two different rivers. Both the treatise on Japan (as part of the *International Relations*) and the treatise on Korea¹⁸ (as part of the *Vassal States*) refer to the Tumen river by its name in Korean: 豆滿. The treatise on Japan points out that “the Koreans call the Hailan (海蘭) River *Domun* (土門) whereas the Tumen River 圖們江 is the Dumangang 豆滿江”¹⁹.

China in International Comparison

A final example which demonstrates the inherent shortcomings of the classical layout of the QSG in light of a “modern” (read: Western) understanding of foreign relations can be seen from the discussion of how international powers can be compared, and which conclusions can be drawn from that comparison for the survival of China. At the end of the 19th century, in the course of numerous disastrous wars and disadvantageous international treaties, it had become abundantly clear to China’s government officials that the foreign powers with their advanced military, economy and technology posed a formidable challenge to the very existence of the Chinese Empire. While a naive reader would assume a reflection on these matters to be found in the treatise on International Relations, the introduction to this treatise exhausts itself in the lamentation mentioned above. Nonetheless, a rudimentary discussion of the matter can be found in the biography of Dai Hongci (戴鴻慈 1853–1910²⁰), a minister who, together with four eminent colleagues, was commissioned to conduct a comprehensive survey of Western nations. The QSG does not fail to mention his book “A Ranking of the Politics and Key Facts of Nations”²¹ which was compiled as the result of a study tour to Italy, France, Germany, the United States of America, and others, in 1905, following the role model of the Japanese Iwakura Mission quarter a century earlier.

17 QSGjzh 6:4289. The bracketed character equivalents stand for A. B. B. Г. Д. E. Ж. 3. И. I. K. Л. M. H. O. П. P. C. T. Y as stated in Article 1 of the Convention.

18 QSGjzh 15:12058–12084.

19 QSGjzh 6:4408.

20 QSGjzh 13:10442–10446.

21 See QSGjzh 13:10443. Dai Hongci et al.: *Lie guo zhengyao* 列国政要. Reprint Guilin 桂林: Guangxi Shifan daxue chubanshe 广西师范大学出版社, 2014.11.

Conclusion

The QSG stands, in many dimensions, for the era of a sunken Empire. Not only does its contents reflect a struggle between old and new, a clash between homeland and alien, which had hitherto been unheard of in the Celestial Kingdom, it also stands for the structural failure of traditional official historiography to adequately give testimony to the events which mark the encounters of China with the foreigners. Traditional official historiography as seen in the *Twenty-Four Histories* had been compiled with the understanding of an empire with the dynastic succession at its centre; the *Draft History of Qing* is conceived after the collapse of the imperial world order; their contributors try in vain to perpetuate the old concepts of how history is perceived and recorded; the few half-hearted innovations, notably the introduction of a treatise on International Relations, which make the *Draft History of Qing* stand out from its predecessors, are not thoroughly defined with regard to their scope. The concept of nations is acknowledged, but the time-honoured understanding of vassal states persists; hence the apparent contradiction of finding Korea both as a vassal and a treaty party, albeit under different names. In summary, the *Draft History of Qing* offers a fascinating insight into a world occupied with its past, and struggling to come to terms with the challenges of the present.

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A language behind the script A case study on the Pagan Oꝣuz-nāmā

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The Pagan Oꝣuz-nāmā¹ (MS, Radloff 1890, 1891, Nour 1928, Pelliot 1930 [1995], Bang–Arat 1932 [1936], Ščerbak 1959, Danka 2016; hereinafter PON) is written in a simplified version of the Uyghur-Mongolian alphabet. The present paper will deal with the problems of reconstruction of the sound system in the language variety PON is written in.

Alphabetic scripts are designed to render sounds. Adaptation of an alphabet to a new language is almost never perfect, because the sound system of the target language the script is adapted to is different from that of the language to which the script had been developed or applied to.

An alphabet encodes the important sound types of a language. The letters used to render sounds are partly based on orthographical conventions on the one hand, and on the intuition of the scribe on the other. Consequently, we know only those characteristics of the sounds which are encoded by the letters. The aim of the present paper is to highlight this problem by a case study on PON.

Sounds consist of one or more distinctive features. The important question to ask here is: What are the important distinctive features of the sounds which are mirrored by the letters?

Vowels in Turkic may consist of the following features: \pm front, \pm open, \pm round.

Only the positive features are marked and thus are relevant, negative features are disregarded, and considered irrelevant. If a vowel consists of none of the relevant features, it is considered neutral. Vowels may consist of more than one positive feature. Therefore, *a* is +open (–front, –round), *i* is +front (–open, –round), *u* is +round (–open, –front), *ā* is +open, +front (–round), *ū* is +front, +round (–open), etc. The most complex vowel in this regard is *ō* with all the three distinctive features being positive +front, +round, +open, and *ī* can be considered as the least complex or the neutral member of the Turkic vowel system, all of its features being negative. I would not go into the details of the question of the so-called closed *e* here. For our present analysis suffice it to say that it consists of the

¹ The digital photos of the manuscript are accessible on the webpage of the Bibliothèque Nationale: <http://expositions.bnf.fr/islam/gallica/turc2.htm>

same distinctive features as *ä*, but it seems that the hierarchy between its features is different, +front being more relevant than +open.

Turkic consonants may be orals and nasals. Both categories may be further differentiated by the non-binary features ‘place’, such as ‘labial’ for *p* or *m*, ‘dental’ for *t*, or *n*, etc. Orals sounds can be further differentiated by the non-binary feature ‘manner’, and the binary feature ±fortis. By manner, they may be stops, affricates, fricatives, liquids and glides. Note that place features partly overlap with those observed in vowels.

East Old Turkic is the earliest known variety of Turkic languages. It is well-documented; therefore, it can be used as a basis of reconstruction of historical developments in Turkic languages.

According to the above analysis, the East Old Turkic vowel system can be described as below.

Chart 1.

	+front		-front	
	-round	+round	-round	+round
-open	i	ü	ĩ	u
+open	(e)	ö	a	o
	ä			

The most complex element of the system is *ö* which all marked distinctive features ‘+open, +front and +round’. The most underspecified element is back *ĩ* with all of its features being unmarked. The ‘neutrality’ of *ĩ* is supported by numerous phonological and morphological phenomena in Old, Middle- and modern Turkic languages.

The consonant set of East Old Turkic can be summarized as it is in the chart, based on Lars Johanson’s forthcoming work ‘Turkic’.

Chart 2.

		Labial	Dental	Palatal	Velar
Plosive/Affricate	Fortis	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>k</i> (<i>q</i>)
	Lenis	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>(j)</i>	<i>(g)</i> <i>(ğ)</i> <i>(G)</i>
Fricative	Fortis	<i>(φ)</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>(χ)</i>
	Lenis	<i>(β)</i>	<i>z</i> (<i>δ</i>)		<i>(γ)</i>
Liquid/Glide		<i>(w)</i>	<i>l</i> <i>r</i>	<i>y</i>	
Nasal		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n´</i>	<i>ŋ</i>

The sounds in parentheses are variants of Proto-Turkic consonants represented in East Old Turkic in different phonological environments. I would like to call

positional variants) to describe 36 sounds (27 consonants and 9 vowels, including their allophones). Due to this asymmetry, there are certain graphemes which render several sounds. On the other hand, certain sounds can be rendered by more than one grapheme. The picture is further complicated by orthographic conventions of the Uyghur script, such as a word-initial vowel marked by an <ʻ>, but the letter itself not necessarily renders an actual sound.

Three graphemes, <ʻ>, <y> and <w> are used to render vowels in this script version. There are only a few instances in the whole text, when vowels are rendered by grapheme combinations other than word-initial <ʻ> and either <y> or <w>. However, even these few instances are inconsistent. The attested data of the reflexes of East Old Turkic (EOT) vowels rendered by the letters of the script version of PON, is presented in Chart 3. ordered by the complexity of the vowels, i.e. from the ones having less positive features to the ones having more. The data in bold face show the typical usage of marking a vowel with a letter within PON.

Chart 3.

	<ʻ>	<y>	<w>
no marked features	ī	ī	ī
one marked feature	a, i, u	i	u
two marked features	ä, e, u, ü	ä, e	o, ü
three marked features	–	–	ö

Based on this chart the followings can be determined: The grapheme <ʻ> is used to render almost any vowels except open round vowels *o* and *ö*. To illustrate the phenomenon, the different instances of the EOT word *bäδük* ‘great’ are spelled as <bʻdwk>, <bydwk>, <bydʻk> and <bʻdʻk>. The first syllable *e* is marked either by <ʻ> or <y>, while the second syllable *ü* is rendered by <w> or <ʻ>.

If we approach from the direction of sounds, the reflex of the EOT *ī*, for example, can be rendered by any vowel-letters: <qʻlʻč> *qilič* ‘sword’, <ʻyqyr> *aygür* ‘stallion’, <qwdwq> *qiδiy* ‘edge, rim’.

To sum up, we can ascertain that the script fails to render either of the features +open, +front and +round perfectly. The most consistent tendencies are marking round vowels with <w> and the most underspecified vowel *ī* with <ʻ>. This means that the scribe had serious difficulties to render what he heard, most probably due to the reason that what he heard was a different Turkic variety from the one he knew, with quite a different vowel system.

The way of rendering consonants is no less problematic. The letters used to render liquids, glides, nasals, and the fricative *š*, are used in 1:1 correspondence. The combination <nk> is also consequently used to render *ŋ* and, on morpheme-boundaries, *n+g*.

The graphemes used to render stops and affricates are underspecified about the exact quality of the rendered consonants, hiding important developments which are already known from EOT. Thus, may render *p*, *b* and β . <d> may render *t*, *d* and δ . Therefore, nothing can be told about the consonant assimilation processes of the suffix-initial *D*. Similarly, <q> and <ḡ> may render *q*, \dot{g} , and γ , in suffixes, \dot{G} ; <k> may render *k*, *g*, and *G* in suffixes. The graphemes <s> and <-z> are in complementary distribution. In word-initial and word-internal positions only <s> occurs while <-z> occurs only in word-final position. They both may render *s* and *z*.

Let us see for example which sounds can be rendered by the grapheme <q> (freely alternating with <ḡ>).

- /k/ *q* plosive, velar, fortis <ḡʳʳḡ> *qir^oq* ‘forty’
 /k/ χ fricative, velar, fortis <ʳq> *aχ* ‘Oh!’
 /k/ \dot{G} plosive? velar, lenis <ʳḡy> *adaḡi* ‘his foot’
 /g/ \dot{g} plosive, velar, lenis <yʳlqwz> *yalḡuz* ‘alone’
 /g/ γ fricative, velar, lenis <ʳḡʳz> *ayḡz* ‘mouth’
 vowel length <ḡʳḡʳ> *qār* ‘snow’

The examples show that practically any variants of the EOT *k* and *g* sounds can be represented by this single grapheme. The grapheme tells us only that the sound is velar in non-front syllables. Other than that the letter neither tells us anything about the sound being a stop vs. fricative or fortis vs. lenis oppositions. Interestingly enough, in the case of *qār* ‘snow’, the grapheme itself does not mark a sound, but vowel length. This form clearly shows an influence of the Written Mongolian orthographical practice.

Ultimately, the actual quality of the velar consonants can be presumed only based on East Old Turkic. The same holds true for the graphemes <d>, <k>, <č>, . In the case of the grapheme pair <s>: <-z> we know that the sounds in question are fricatives. The sound types represented by the graphemes are summarized in Chart 4. (cf. Chart 2.)

Chart 4.

	Labial	Dental	Palatal	Velar
Plosive/Affricate		<d>	<č>	<k, K> <q>, <ḡ>
Fricative		<s, S>, <-z>	<š, Š>	
Liquid/Glide	<w>	<l> <r>	<y>	–
Nasal	<m>	<n>, <ñ>	–	<nk>

Yet the situation is not entirely hopeless. If a consonant is spelled with a different grapheme than expected based on EOT, a phonological development or phenomenon can be attested. A word-initial *y~j* fluctuation can be observed in a set of words: EOT *yaruq* vs. PON *yaruq* <y'rwq> ~ *jaruq* <č'rwq> 'light'. A few word-initial *b-* sounds show nasalization, not only if the syllable-coda contains a nasal: EOT *buz* vs. PON *muz* <mwz> 'ice'. Strong aspiration of word-initial *t-* can be observed in a few words. As the *t-* is marked with the grapheme <č> we cannot exclude the possibility of palatalization: EOT *taŋ* vs. PON *taŋ* <d'nk> ~ *t^haŋ* <č'nk>. A few words which had presumably word-initial *h-* in Proto-Turkic, are spelled with a word-initial <y>: EOT *är* vs. PON *yer* <yyr> 'man'. The East Old Turkic word-internal *-δ-* is preserved in intervocalic position: EOT *aδiy* vs. PON *aδuy* <'dwq> 'bear'. Word-internal *_δ-* is changed to *_y-* before consonants: EOT *qaδyu* vs. PON *qayyu* 'sorrow'.

The complete research material and a new facsimile edition of the text will be soon published under the title 'The Pagan Oyuz-nāmā', along with a philological and linguistic analysis' in the series 'Turcologica'.

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The Ogur Turks in Chinese records

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In an earlier work of us¹ we quoted a detailed list of these tribes preserved in the *Suishu* (隋書).² On the other hand, data were also preserved in the *Beishi* (北史).³ Ligeti supposed that this list had to be composed *cca.* 600 AD.⁴ This can support the idea that the Chinese list of the *Tiele* tribes should be contemporary of our Byzantine sources from Priscus to Theophylactus.

According to our Chinese list the *Tiele* tribes living to the east of Fulin (拂菻, Roma, EMC *p^hut-lim*) were the *Enqu* (恩屈, EMC *?ən-k^hut*; Hamilton: *ən-kjūət*),⁵ the *Alan* (阿蘭, EMC *?a-lan*),⁶ *Beiru* (北褥, EMC *pək-juawk*; Hamilton: *pək-ńźiwok*), *Jiuli* (九離, EMC *kuw'-liǝ^h/li^h* or 'Nine Li'), the *Fu-wa*⁷ 伏嗚, EMC *buw'-?wət*) and the *Hun* (昏, EMC *xwən*). The tribe living along the coasts of the Volga (*Ātil*, 阿得 *Ade* EMC *?a-tək*) was the *Suba* (蘇拔, EMC *sɔ-bəit/bɛ:t*).⁸

According to Hamilton, *Fu-wa*⁹ 伏嗚, EMC *buw'-?wət*), *Hun* (昏, EMC *xwən*) should be read as *Jiuliwu* (九離伏) and *Wahun*. *Wahun* (嗚昏, EMC *?wət-xwən*: Hamilton: *wət-xwən*). It is a well-known fact, that in Old and Middle Chinese a

1 The Altaic World Through Byzantine Eyes: Some Remarks to Zemarichus' Journey to the Turks (AD 569–570), *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungarica* LXIV (2011), 375–378.

2 *Suishu* 84, *liechuan* 49, (Shanghai, Commercial Press ed., 18a-18b); Zhongguo Shudian ed. 1879–1880; LMT (pp. 127–128); Hamilton (1962, pp. 26–27), his reconstructions are shown as Hamilton); the list of the *Tiele* tribes in this work and one of its later variants consisting of 15 tribal names preserved in the 14th century work *Wenxian dongkao* (文獻通考 'Comprehensive Examination of Literature') was analyzed also by Ligeti (1986, pp. 333–336), his readings and reconstructions are shown as Ligeti), and later by Golden (1992, pp. 155–156); for a partial analysis in English see Mori (1985); in Turkish, see: Ögel (1945, pp. 80–83); later (based on the *Tangshu*) Taşağul (2004, pp. 45–46); in Mongolian (the Eastern tribes only), Batsüren (2009, pp. 32–33).

3 *Beishi* quan 99, *liechuan* 87, Zhongguo Shudian ed. 3303. Beijing 1974.

4 Ligeti, L.: *A magyar nyelv török jövevényiszavai a honfoglalás előtt és az Árpád-korban*, Budapest, 1985, 333.

5 In whom some scholars see the Onogurs, Golden (1992, p. 95); Ögel (1945, p. 80).

6 The only tribal name that can be certainly identified with that of the Alans, Ligeti (1986, p. 334); cf. also Alemany (2000, pp. 1, 401–403).

7 CP, f. 8^b.

8 *Suǝar* (?), Hamilton (1962, p. 27).

9 CP, f. 8^b.

foreign *-r* was usually represented by *-t*.¹⁰ Thus this name can be accepted as a Chinese rendering of the name of *Varhonitai* (Ὀβάρχονίται) of our Byzantine sources.

Beiru (北褥, EMC *pək-juawk*; Hamilton: *pək-ńźiwok*) may be understood either as Northern *Ru* a still unidentifiable Chinese type tribal name, or, based on its phonetic form, a hypothetical Turkic tribal name **Buŋay/q* ‘disturbed ones?’, not attested by any other sources.¹¹ As to *Jiuli* (九離 *kuw²-liǎ^h/li^h*) it may be held for a Chinese version of the name *Kutrigur* (< **Toqur Oγur*). We can add that the numeral *jiu* (九) itself means ‘nine’ in Chinese. We can also assume that the change **Toqur Oγur* > *Kutrigur* should appear also in the original name and not only in the Byzantine sources. *Fu* (伏 EMC *buw²* Baxter OCh 338: *bjuwH*) hypothetically can be held for a somehow corrupted form of the name *Utigur*. This could fit into the historical environment, but, of course, it still remains uncertain. As to the *Suba* (蘇拔, EMC *sə-bəit/bɛ:t*), with great probability they can be identical with the Sabirs.

We can reconstruct the list the following way:

Enqu (恩屈, EMC *?ən-k^hut*; Hamilton: *ən-kjuət*), *Alan* (阿蘭, EMC *?a-lan*), *Beiru* (北褥, EMC *pək-juawk*; Hamilton: *pək-ńźiwok*), *Jiuli* (九離, EMC *kuw²-liǎ^h/li^h* veyā ‘Dokuz Li’), *Fu* (伏 *buw²*), *Wahun* (嗚昏, EMC *?wət-xwən*; Hamilton: *wət-xuən*), *Suba* (蘇拔, EMC *sə-bəit/bɛ:t*).

Comparing our Byzantine and Chinese data we can see the following picture:

Certain identifications:

<i>Wahun</i> , 嗚昏, EMC <i>?wət-xwən</i> Warhun	<i>Enqu</i> 恩屈, EMC <i>?ən-k^hut</i> Onogur	<i>Alan</i> (阿蘭), EMC <i>?a-lan</i> Alan	EMC <i>sə-bəit/bɛ:t</i> Suba (蘇拔) Sabir
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Tentative identifications:

<i>Jiuli</i> (九離 <i>kuw²-liǎ^h/li^h</i>) <i>Kutrigur</i>	<i>Beiru</i> (北褥 EMC <i>pək-juawk</i>) <i>*Buŋaq</i>
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Remaining uncertain:

<i>Fu</i> (伏 <i>buw²</i>) <i>*Utigur?</i>

¹⁰ As it happened in the first syllable of *Burxan*, the Inner Asian form of the name of Buddha, which is *fo* (佛, ‘Buddha’) in Modern Chinese, cf.: Laufer (1916, p. 391); and Bailey (1931, p. 280); Doerfer: TMEN (II, pp. 261–262 [*but*], 283 [*burxan*]); according to Pulleyblank (1991, p. 96) the Early Middle Chinese form of this first syllable was still *but*.

¹¹ Cf. *buŋay* ~ *buŋ* DTS, 124; ‘die Benegung’; Radloff IV/2, 1809; *buŋ* ‘grief, sorrow, melancholy’, Clauson *ED* 347, печаль, скорб, страдание, тягость, забота DTA 124 *bunqal* ‘дряхлый, лишенный сил, непригодный (?)’, DTS 124.

From the point of view of the historian, the most sensitive question is that of *Wahun* (嗚昏), *Warhun*. Albeit the identification is being philologically clear, the historical whereabouts of this ethnonym still have some uncertain points.

The Turks, negotiating with the Byzantine authorities, argued that the Avars reaching the Carpathian Basin at 568 were Warhuns, falsely using the name of the Avars. In this preliminary report we have not the space to discuss this case in detail.¹² On the other hand we may constate that the data preserved in our Chinese sources differ from those of the Byzantine authors. Even at a first glance one can realize that some of the *Warhun* tribes could have been present in the Eastern European region before the Avar conquest of the Carpathian Basin.

The most enigmatic tribal name is that of the **Buṇaq*. This word is a *hapax legomenon* not attested in any other sources. As we have seen above, Old Turkic *buṇ* usually means ‘pain, sorrow’. In this meaning it was also passed into Hungarian (*bú* ‘sorrow, grief; trouble’ < Old Turkic *buy/buṇ* ‘id’).¹³

Reading the Orkhon Inscriptions, one can assume that in these texts the stem *buṇ* is used in the meaning ‘trouble’ rather than ‘sorrow’. Let us now see some examples:¹⁴

I. *altun kümüş isigti qutay buṇsüz anča bérür* (S5)

They (i. e. the Chinese people) give (us) gold, silver and silk in abundance.

II. *ötükän yér olurup arqış térkiş isar näṇ buṇuṇ yoq* (S8)

If you stay in the land of Ötükän and send caravans from there, you will have no trouble.

T II E 7 *ne buṇi bar ärtäçi ärmis*

(...) what kind of trouble would I have?

According to these data *buṇ* means ‘trouble’, therefore we can assume that our reconstruction **Buṇaq* should mean ‘troublesome or rebellious people’.

To sum up, we can constate that the data of our Chinese records can be analyzed and some of the tribal names can be identified on the basis of our earlier historical knowledge. Of course, these data need more detailed analysis that we are planning to prepare in the close future.

12 Dobrovits, M.: "They called themselves Avar" - Considering the pseudo-Avar question in the work of Theophylaktos, in: Compareti, M. — Raffetta, P. — Scarcia, G. (eds.): *Ērān ud Anērān. Studies Presented to Boris Il'ič Maršak on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, Venezia 2006, 176–183.

13 Benkő L. (Ed.-in chief): *A magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára* (Budapest 1984), I, 373.

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The field research on the Manchu inscriptions in Beijing

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Introduction

The Manchu historical linguistics is an important, but still a relatively minor sub-branch of the Manchu studies. While the spoken Manchu language and the Classical Manchu language of the manuscripts and the xylographs are comparatively well researched, the Classical Manchu language of the inscriptions remains completely neglected, even in China, where the inscriptions were mainly used by the historians.

My initial interest in the Manchu inscriptions was triggered by “On the Tracks of Manchu Culture” (Stary et al., 1995). On page 37 of this book, we read “Today the greatest wealth of Manchu inscriptions is to be found in the ‘Peking Museum of Stone Carving Art’ (Beijing shike yishu bowuguan 北京石刻藝術博物館) which has been set up in the garden of the Wutasi 五塔寺 Temple, north to the Peking Zoo.” I also searched for other possible locations of the Manchu inscriptions in Beijing besides this museum, and then I located some in the Beihai Park (北海公園), the Beijing Confucian Temple (北京孔廟), and the Beijing Imperial College (北京國子監).

During my sixteen days’ fieldwork in summer 2016 in Beijing, I found and photographed twenty-five stelae from the Beijing Stone Carving Art Museum, two from the Beihai Park, nine from the Beijing Confucian Temple, and two from the Beijing Imperial College. There are no monolingual Manchu inscriptions, most of them being Manchu-Chinese bilinguals, but also including four trilingual Manchu-Mongolian-Chinese inscriptions, and two quadrilingual in Manchu-Chinese-Mongolian-Tibetan.

Fields

Beijing Stone Carving Art Museum

The Beijing Stone Carving Art Museum is located on the premises of the Zhenjue Temple (Zhenjuesi, 真覺寺), the Temple of the Righteous Awakening, also known as the Wuta Temple (Wutasi), the Temple of Five Pagodas, named by the style. The Temple was built in 1473.

The entry of the Museum is by the south. There are five main sections of stelae on the grounds of the Museum, three in the east wing, two in the west wing. From the east wing, to the right of the entry is the Area of Representative Engraved Stelae (綜合碑刻區), then counter-clockwise to the north is the Area of Tomb Stones of the Jesuit Missionaries (耶穌會士碑區), and behind that is the Area of Engraved Stelae of Ancestral Temples and Tombs (祠墓碑刻區). To the north of the west wing, is the Area of Engraved Temple Stelae (寺觀碑刻區), and behind is the Area of Tomb Stone Carvings (陵墓石刻區).

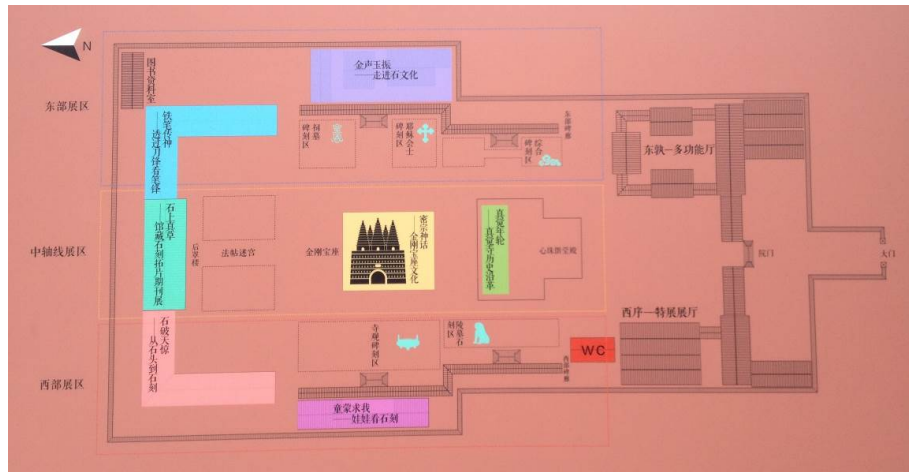


Figure 1: Layout of the Museum (source: KAO, 2016, Beijing, photo)

In the first section, there are twenty-six stelae, including six with Manchu script, five from the south part, one from the north part. Among these six stelae, there are three in Manchu-Chinese, two in Manchu-Mongolian-Chinese, and one in Manchu-Chinese-Mongolian-Tibetan. In the second section, there are thirty-five stelae, including one in Manchu-Chinese, although that one was not for the missionaries but for the temple, and the Manchu part is already illegible. The reason that this stela was put in this section, in my opinion, was for keeping the equilibrium with a Mongolian-Tibetan version of this stela in the fourth section, which is kept in the west wing. In the third section there are twenty stelae, including sixteen with Manchu script. Among these sixteen stelae, there are fifteen in Manchu-Chinese, and one in Manchu-Mongolian-Chinese.

In the fourth section, there are thirty-three stelae, including one in Manchu-Chinese. In the fifth section, there are no inscriptions at all. I also found some stelae aside the wall by the first section, two in Manchu-Chinese, including one undated.

Beihai Park

As for the Beihai Park (the “Park of the North Lake”), I had heard that there were some stelae in the Hall of Heavenly Kings (天王殿), but unfortunately it was under renovation during my visit. In the Temple of Bliss Interpretation (闡福寺), however, I found two stelae, but both were totally unreadable, I was not even sure in what language it was written.

There is one more stela in the west side of the Park in Manchu–Chinese–Mongolian–Tibetan, i.e. the Stela of the Tower of Ten-Thousand Buddhas (萬佛樓石碑). There is another stela in the White Pagoda of the Jade Flowery Islet (瓊華島), in Manchu–Mongolian–Chinese.

Beijing Confucian Temple and Beijing Imperial College

In the Beijing Confucian Temple, there are fourteen pavilions of stelae, one stela per pavilion. There are nine stelae with Manchu inscriptions, and they are all in Manchu–Chinese. In the Beijing Imperial College there are two pavilions of stelae, and these two stelae are also both in Manchu–Chinese. These two sites are just side by side.

Summary and example

In total, there are thirty-eight stelae with Manchu script, thirty-two in Manchu–Chinese bilingual, four in Manchu–Mongolian–Chinese trilingual, and two in Manchu–Chinese–Mongolian–Tibetan quadrilingual. Among these thirty-eight stelae, there are seven from Ijishūn Dasan (Shunzhi, 順治) era, eight from Elhe Taifin (Kangxi, 康熙) era, three from Hūwaliyasun Tob (Yongzheng, 雍正) era, fifteen from Abkai Wehiyehe (Qianlong, 乾隆) era, three from Saicungga Fengšen (Jiaqing, 嘉慶) era, and one with no date.

	Bilingua 1	Trilingual	Quadrilingual	
Ijishūn Dasan (順治) 1644–1661	5	2		7
Elhe Taifin (康熙) 1662–1722	8	1		9
Hūwaliyasun Tob (雍正) 1723–1735	3			3
Abkai Wehiyehe (乾隆) 1736–1795	12	1	2	15
Saicungga Fengšen (嘉慶) 1796–1820	3			3
undated	1			
	32	4	2	38

From the purposes of these stelae, there are eleven stelae for temple use, from all the four sites; one stela for the construction of Route, from the Museum; six stelae for the Victory of Conquest, all from the Confucian Temple; twenty stelae for Tomb or Ancestral Hall, all from the Museum.

An example of inscription from Fig. 2, named the Stela of the Restoration of the Pusheng Temple (普勝寺重修碑), carved in 1744 is shown below. The Manchu text is written in the middle, the Mongolian in the right, the Chinese in the left.



Figure 2: Manchu inscription (source: KAO, 2016, Beijing, photo)



Figure 3: Mongolian inscription (source: KAO, 2016, Beijing, photo)

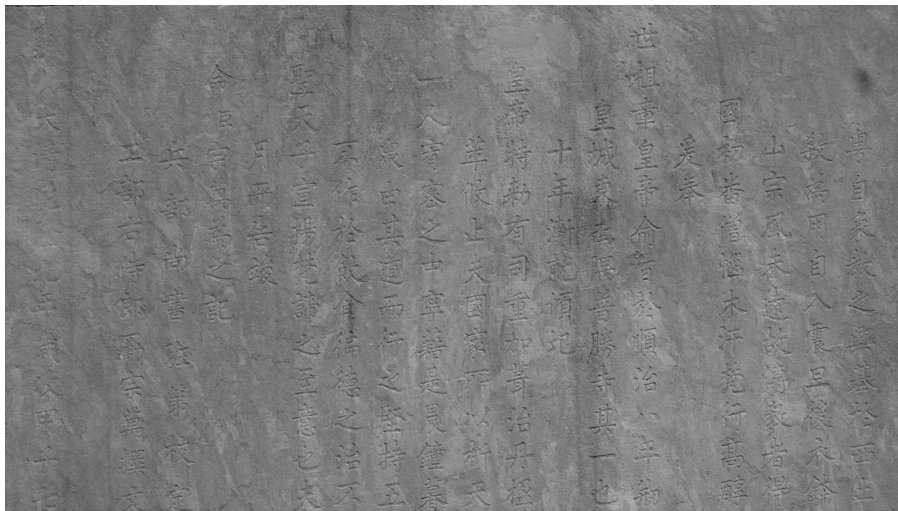


Figure 4: Chinese inscription (source: KAO, 2016, Beijing, photo)

Conclusion

The Classical Manchu language of the inscriptions is different from the language used in the narrative texts of the manuscripts and in the xylographs, like the Veritable Records. The most obvious differences are the lexicons, and also the format and the formula in syntax. It is more similar to the language of the official edicts, but it still should or could have its own peculiarities. The grammar features of the Classical Manchu of the inscriptions need a scholarly account and commentary as well.

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Some notes on kinship terminology in Yeniseian

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In Yeniseian languages certain criteria distinguish male and female classes. The present paper has a two-fold goal. First, it discusses the characteristics of derivation involved in the kinship terms in Kott, Arin and Pumpokol – the Yeniseian languages where some kinship terms of Turkic origin are presented, – and, second, it analyzes these Turkic loanwords. The base of the paper is the monograph of Khabtagaeva (2019) on the Altaic elements of Yeniseian languages which was published recently.

The Yeniseian languages

The Yeniseian languages belong in the Palaeo-Asiatic (or Palaeo-Siberian) language group, which also includes the Yukaghiric, the Kamchukotic, the Amuric and the Ainuic languages¹.

The earliest documented sources of Yeniseian languages are relatively recent. The first short lists of Yeniseian words and phrases were compiled at the end of the 17th and in the 18th centuries by European travelers such as Witsen (1692), Messerschmidt (1720–1727), and Strahlenberg (1730). The paucity of early written sources on Yeniseian is the reason why such an important role is played by the various loanwords in the reconstruction of the earlier stages of the history of the Yeniseian languages.

The most recent works on historical linguistics by Starostin (1982), Georg (2007: 16–20; 2018: 141), and Vajda (2014, personal communication) divide the Yeniseian languages into at least three sub-branches: Ket-Yugh, Pumpokol and Assan-Kott. Arin is either connected with Pumpokol or Ket-Yugh or represents a fourth sub-branch. Today the Yeniseian language family is represented by only the three surviving dialects of Ket. The Yugh language lost its last fluent speaker in the 1970s, Kott disappeared before 1850, while Assan, Arin and Pumpokol vanished in the 1700s.

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¹ This term is conventionally used in linguistics to classify a group of languages spoken in different parts of northeastern Siberia and some parts of the Russian Far East. The languages of this group are not known to have any genetic linguistic relationship to each other. There have been attempts to include the Yeniseian languages in the Sino-Tibetan, Karasuk and Caucasian language families. In 2010 Vajda presented a hypothesis that the Yeniseian languages are genetically related to the Na-Dené languages of North America, but his results are still debated by several linguists; the question remains open.

The main source of data for my monograph (Khabtagaeva 2019) was the *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Jenissej-Sprachen* by Werner (2002/1–3), which contains all of the lexical material published on the Yeniseian languages to date. Some data were collected from the monograph of the Yeniseian lexical material of the 18th century, published by Werner three years later (Werner 2005). Another very important source of my work was the *Etymological dictionary of the Yeniseian languages* by Vajda and Werner, which is still at a preparatory stage (Vajda & Werner: in preparation).

According to the data, only Arin, Kott and Pumpokol borrowed from the Altaic languages words related to kinship. The material indicates that the terminology of kinship by blood is of Yeniseian origin; no loanwords are found there. There are some Turkic words among the Yeniseian terms concerning kinship by marriage, however, which is indicative of the practice of intermarriage between Yeniseian and Turkic people. There are no Mongolic loanwords and only one questionable term of Tungusic origin in Ket, which belongs in the category of uncertain etymology.

Despite the fact that the Yeniseian languages have clear rules with which to distinguish male and female noun classes as far as genitive or possessive suffixes, I faced certain problems during the research, since there are no grammatical descriptions of Arin or Pumpokol. Only brief word-lists are available from Werner's publications (2002; 2005). There is more information on Kott: a detailed grammar and a small Kott dictionary (Castrén 1858; Werner 1990; 2005).

Kinship terminology in Yeniseian

The analysis of the Kott (Werner 2002; 1990: 55), Arin (Werner 2002; 2005: 154–168) and Pumpokol (Werner 2005: 179–187) nouns demonstrates their strict distinction between masculine, feminine, and neuter noun classes of words. Grammatical gender in Yeniseian is covert in the nominative and manifests itself in the genitive case. Some characteristics of the Yeniseian class system were briefly described by Werner and Živova (1981).

Table below demonstrates the distinction between classes in Kott:

Class	Nominative	Genitive	Meaning
masculine	haj	haja	'uncle'
	boru	borua	'wolf'
	fēčera	fēčerā	'male wood grouse'
feminine	āma	āmi	'mother'
	fēčera	fēčerāi	'female wood grouse'
neuter	huš	huči	'house'
	t ^h ox	t ^h ogi	'finger'

A good example of this distinction is also demonstrated by the kinship terminology.

1. There are some phonetic criteria that characterize the differences between the male and female classes:

a) The existence of the feminine suffix *-A* in the words of the female class:

Arin *akel* ‘son’ ↔ *akel’a* ‘daughter’ (Werner 2005: 154);

Arin *čen* ‘grandson’ ↔ *čene* ‘granddaughter’ (Werner 2002/1: 165);

Kott *pebeš* ‘brother’ ↔ *pobeča* ‘sister’ (Werner 2002/2: 55);

Kott *p^hu* ‘nephew’ ↔ *p^hua* ‘niece’ (Werner 2005: 116);

Kott *pateg* ‘wife’s brother’ ↔ *patega* ‘sister-in-law’ (Werner 2002/2: 52);

Kott *učit* ‘son-in-law’ ↔ *učita* ‘sister-in-law’ (Werner 2002/2: 320);

Kott *hai* ‘uncle’ ↔ *hâja* ‘aunt’ (Werner 2002/1: 293);

Kott *hatkît* ‘husband’ ↔ *hatkîta* ‘wife’ (Werner 2002/1: 308)

This suffix probably originates from parallel borrowing of the Russian feminine-gender inflection *-a* (Vajda 2014: 510).

b) The existence of the final vowel *-i*, which may characterize the female class:

Arin *mamagil* ‘brother’s son’ ↔ *mamagili* ‘sister’s son’ (Werner 2002/2: 17);

Kott *an’ë* ‘son-in-law’ ↔ *an’ei* ‘daughter-in-law’ (Vajda & Werner: in preparation);

It is questionable, but this suffix is probably related to the Yeniseian genitive for the female class (Vajda 2013, personal communication).

c) The change *-p /-b > -m* and the addition of the feminine suffix in the words of the female class:

Arin *ajap* ‘father’ ↔ *ajame* ‘mother’ (Werner 2005: 154);

Arin *bekib* ‘grandfather’ ↔ *bekime* ‘grandmother’ (Werner 2005: 155);

Kott *op* ‘father’ ↔ *áma* ‘mother’ (Werner 2002/2: 50, 95; Werner 2005: 107);

Kott *ob* ‘father-in-law’ ↔ *ama* ‘mother-in-law; mother’ (Werner 2002/2: 50, 95);

Kott *xip* ‘grandfather’ ↔ *xima* ‘grandmother’ (Werner 2005: 120);

Pumpokol *ab* ‘father’ ↔ *am* ‘mother’ (Werner 2005: 179)

2. Compounding is a productive technique of word-formation in Yeniseian languages (for details, see Vajda 2014: 510–511).

a) Accordingly, there are some compound words in Yeniseian which are examples of kinship terminology:

Kott *hatkît* ‘husband’ (Werner 2002/1: 305) < **kaʔt* ‘old’ + *kît* ‘man’ (Vajda & Werner: in preparation);

Arin *amagel* ‘brother’ (Werner 2002/1: 32) < **amə* ‘mother’ + **qal* ‘junior relative’ (Vajda & Werner: in preparation);

Arin *bamagalʼa* ‘sister’ (Werner 2002/1: 101) < *b-* ‘my’ + **amə* ‘mother’ + **qal* ‘junior relative’ + *a* {FEMIN. SUFFIX} (Vajda & Werner: in preparation);

Kott *pategapun* ‘husband’s sister’ (Werner 2002/2: 52) < *pateg* ‘wife’s brother’ + *a* {FEMIN. SUFFIX} + *pun* ‘daughter’ (Vajda & Werner: in preparation);

b) In the compound words, one element of the compound refers to the male or female class. Among the compound words reflecting kinship, one of the words indicates the female or male class:

Kott *alitpuga* ‘granddaughter’ (Werner 2002/1: 25) < *alit* ‘female, woman’ + *puga* ‘grandson’ (Vajda & Werner: in preparation);

Kott *pategapun* ‘husband’s sister’ (Werner 2002/2: 52) < *pateg* ‘wife’s brother’ + *a* {FEMIN. SUFFIX} + *pun* ‘daughter’ (Vajda & Werner: in preparation);

Kott *pašupalitjali* ‘stepdaughter’ (Werner 2002/2: 52) < *pašup* ‘like, similar to’ + *alit* ‘female’ + *jali* ‘child’, cf. *pašupjali* ‘stepson’ (Vajda & Werner: in preparation);

Arin *biqʼarʼat* ‘husband’ (Werner 2002/1: 131) < *bi* ‘my’ {1SG.POSS.PREFIX} + *qʼarʼat* ‘adult man’ (Vajda & Werner: in preparation);

The words above which have the *p* ~ *m* alternation are likely to have originated from compounds too, since the second elements of these compounds are suffixes probably derived from *ob* ‘father’ ~ *am* ‘mother’.

3. There are some terms without any division of class, the words indicating either female or male persons:

Arin *apati* ‘brother-in-law, sister-in-law’ < *a-* {3SG.POSS.PREFIX} + **pateg* ‘wife’s brother’ (Werner 2002/1: 48);

Kott *pašúpše* ‘widow, widower’ (Werner 2002/1: 52) < *pašúp* ‘like, similar to’ + *še* {NOMINALIZER} (Vajda & Werner: in preparation);

Pumpokol *akil* ‘brother, sister’ (Werner 2005: 179);

Pumpokol *bič* ‘brother, sister’ (Werner 2005: 179);

Pumpokol *xej-kit* ‘brother, sister’ (Werner 2005: 187)

Turkic loanwords in Yeniseian kinship terminology

It seems that kinship terms of Turkic origin designate relatives through marriage. There are two groups of loanwords. One contains those loanwords which have a clear etymology, while the second group consists of words of unclear etymology.

1. The Turkic² loanwords of clear etymology are as follows:

Arin *kis* ‘sister-in-law’ (Werner 2002/1: 479) ← Turkic **qīs* ‘girl; unmarried woman; daughter’: cf. Old Turkic *qīz*; YeniseiT: Khakas *xīs*; Koibal *qīs* (R); Kyzyl *xīs*; Shor *qīs*; AltaiT: Altai, Teleut *qīs*; Tuba, Qumanda, Quu *kīs*; SayanT: Tuvan *kīs*; Tofan *qīs*; ChulymT *qīs*; Yakut, Dolgan *qīs*; Siberian Tatar *qīs*.³

Pumpokol *p^hala* ~ *falla* ~ *fala* ‘son’ (Werner 2002/2: 56) ← Turkic **pala* ‘a human child, son’: cf. Old Turkic *bala* ‘child’; YeniseiT: Khakas, Shor, Sagai, Koibal, Kachin *pala* (R); Kyzyl *pāla*; AltaiT: Altai *bala*; Tuba *pala*; Qumanda *pala* ~ *bala*; Quu, Teleut *pala*; SayanT - ; Yakut - ; ChulymT *pala*.⁴

Kott *bača* ‘brother-in-law (*sister’s husband*)’ (Werner 2002/1: 97) ← Turkic **baja* ‘brother-in-law’: YeniseiT: Khakas, Kyzyl *paĵa*; AltaiT: Altai *bad’a*; SayanT: Tuvan *baža*; Tofan *baja*; ChulymT *pača*; Yakut *bad’a* ‘sister-in-law’; Siberian Tatar *pača* ~ *paca* ← Mongolic: cf. Middle Mongol: HY *baja*; LM *baja* ‘husbands of sisters; term used by husbands of sisters in referring to

² Of the Turkic languages, only Siberian Turkic had direct linguistic contacts with Yeniseian. It seems that two layers may be distinguished: Yenisey Turkic and Altay Turkic. Rare similarities may be observed with Sayan Turkic, Chulym and Yakut languages.

³ The Common Turkic word is widespread in almost all Siberian Turkic languages, thus the source may be any one of them. The Turkic initial uvular consonant *q-* is preserved in the Arin word, as in native Yeniseian words. From a semantic point of view, narrowing occurred ‘girl, daughter’ → ‘sister-in-law’.

⁴ The Pumpokol forms relate to Turkic **bala* ‘child’ (Stachowski 1997: 232). The source of borrowing was the Turkic form with the unvoiced initial consonant *p-*, which is peculiar of some Siberian Turkic languages. Another reason for the source of the word to be the Turkic form *pala* is that Pumpokol has the initial consonants *p^h-* and *f-*, and these go back to the Proto-Yeniseian initial **p-* (Starostin 1982: 149).

each other'; Modern Mongol: Buryat *baza* 'brother-in-law'; Khalkha *badz* 'brothers-in-law, husbands of sisters'; Kalmuck *baza* 'brother-in-law'; Dagur *badz*; Khamnigan *badza*.⁵

Arin *bi-b'ača* 'brother-in-law' (Werner 2002/1: 97), with the Yeniseian possessive prefix *bi-* 'my'.

The point remains open regarding another Arin word, *bib'a* 'sister-in-law'. This is probably connected with the examined Arin word *bi-b'ača* 'brother-in-law', where the final syllable *-ča* was dropped. Unfortunately, there is no similar example to strengthen this hypothesis.

2. There are some compound loanwords of Turkic origin:

The Arin form *oj* 'step-' was clearly borrowed from Turkic, with secondary long vowel *ōy*, which indicates a later period of borrowing. This form is characteristic of almost all Siberian Turkic varieties. Some researchers (for details, see ESTJa 1974: 495–496) connect the Turkic word with the Mongolic negation word *ügei* (for its function, see Poppe GWM §632). I consider it as a half-affix of Turkic origin (Khabtagaeva 2019: 345–346).

It is important to remark that the half-affixes of Turkic origin follow the Turkic word order, the half-affix in the first syllable, while in Yeniseian the half-affix is in the second syllable: compare some Ket words such as *ammas* 'stepmother', *hunnas* 'stepdaughter' and *oppas* 'stepfather' with Yeniseian half-affix **pas*, which denotes a non-consanguineous relationship.

Arin *ojče* 'stepmother' (Werner 2002/2: 32) ← Yenisei Turkic *ōy* 'step-' + *iče* 'mother': Khakas *ōy iče*; Sagai, Koibal, Kachin *ūy ijā*:

< Turkic: Old Turkic *ōgey* 'related through one parent only' + *eče* 'one's mother's younger sister'; cf. Altai *ōy ene* 'stepmother';

+ *iče* < *eče* 'mother': cf. Old Turkic *eče* 'one's mother's younger sister; one's own elder sister'; YeniseiT: Khakas *iče* 'mother'; Sagai *ijā*; Koibal, Kachin *ijā*; Shor *ūjā* 'grandmother from father's side'; AltaiT: Altai *ed'e* 'aunt; elder sister', cf. *ači* 'father's younger brother'; Tuba *ed'e* 'aunt; elder sister; mother'; Qumanda *ed'e* 'aunt, elder sister'; Quu *edže* ~ *eže* 'elder sister, sister'; Teleut *eye* 'aunt, elder sister'; SayanT: Tuvan *ača* 'father'; Tofan *aja*

⁵ The etymology of the Turkic word is unknown: it is present in almost all Turkic languages, but it is absent in Old Turkic. We find the word also in Mongolic languages, but it is not clear whether it is borrowed from Turkic, or if it is a native Mongolic word which was borrowed by the Turkic languages. Doerfer poses a question concerning the Mongolic data, and classifies the Turkic word as a "child word" (TMEN 2: 232–233). From Mongolic, the word was borrowed into the Barguzin Ewenki dialect of Tungusic *baja* 'brother-in-law' (SSTMJa 1: 63).

‘father’, cf. *i'he* ‘mother’; ChulymT *ēcā* ‘mother’; Yakut *iye* ‘mother’, cf. *ehe* ‘grandfather; bear’; Siberian Tatar -.⁶

This Turkic compound word was borrowed by Samoyedic Kamas, cf. *ugejja* ‘stepmother’ (Joki LS 136–137; 250). As compared with the Yeniseian form, the Kamas form preserved the Turkic pattern *-öge-*, which points to an earlier time of borrowing.

The following two compound words in Yeniseian are hybrid words, where one element is Turkic, the other Yeniseian:

Arin *ojakelbala* ‘stepson’ (Werner 2002/2: 32) < *oj* + Yeniseian *akel* ‘son’ + *bala*

← Turkic *ōy* ‘step-’ + *bala* ‘child’: cf. Yenisei Turkic: Khakas *ōy pala*; Shor, Sagai, Koibal, Kachin *ūy pala* ~ *ōy pala*; Altai Turkic: Altai, Teleut *ōy pala*;

Arin *ojakel'a* ‘stepdaughter’ (Werner 2002/2: 33) < *oj* + Yeniseian *akel'a* ‘daughter’ < *akel* + *a* {FEMIN. SUFFIX}

← Turkic *ōy* ‘step-’: cf. Old Turkic *ögey* ‘related through one parent only’;

3. The last group consists of Yeniseian words which do not have a reliable or clear etymology:

Arin *čerč'učagan* ‘wife’s brother’ (Werner 2002/1: 165) ← ? Turkic **jeste* ‘brother-in-law’ + **jagan* ‘older, estimable, venerable’: cf. AltaiT: Altai *d'ān d'este* ‘aunt’s husband from father’s side’; cf. Quu *d'este* ‘brother-in-law’; Tuba *d'este*; YeniseiT: Khakas *čiste* ‘elder sister’s husband’;

The Turkic etymology of the Arin word is problematic in two respects. One of them is the incorrect order of the words, following the pattern noun + adjective, while the correct sequence would be adjective + noun. Another counterargument against a Turkic etymology is the presumable assimilation of **čerč'u* < **čest'u* < **jestü* < **jeste*.

The last two Kott words are likewise problematic:

Kott *monmonigaiob* ‘stepfather’ (Werner 2002/2: 21) < *mon* ‘not, no’ + **monigai* + *ob* ‘father’ (Vajda & Werner: in preparation);

Kott *monamanig[ajama]* ‘stepmother’ (Werner 2002/2: 21) < *mon* ‘not, no’ + *a* {FEMIN. SUFFIX} + **manig[a]* + *ama* ‘mother’ (Vajda & Werner: in preparation);

The unclear parts of the words **monigai* and **manig[a]* can be related to Yenisei Turkic (cf. Khakas *maŋat* ‘very good’, cf. *mağat* ‘kind, honest, fair, justified’; Sagai,

⁶ The Turkic word *eče* ‘mother’ belongs to ‘child language’, which is difficult to etymologize. The Turkic word *eče* ‘mother’ was probably borrowed by Mongolic. Cf. Turkic → Mongolic ‘mama (familiar term)’: Middle Mongol: - ; LM *ejī*; Modern Mongol: Buryat *ežī*; Khalkha *ēj*; Oirat dial. *edži* ~ *ēž* ~ *edž*; Dagur - ; Khamnigan *idže*.

Shor *maġat* ‘good, efficient, honest’) according to the reconstruction **maġat* < **maġat* < **maġad*, which is of Mongolic origin, cf. Literary Mongolian *mayad* ‘sure, certain, true, probable, real’.⁷

Conclusion

The Altaic loanwords expressing kinship in Yeniseian indicate that the Yeniseian and Turkic people intermarried. The blood kin terminology is of Yeniseian origin.

From a phonetic and morphological respect, the loanwords belong to a later period of borrowing; they do not behave according to the phonetic rules of Yeniseian, and they do not take any of the suffixes that play an important role in the distinction between the Yeniseian male and female classes.

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⁷ Cf. Middle Mongol: Precl.Mo. *mayad*; MNT; HY *maqa(t)*; Muq. *maqat*; LM *mayad* ‘surely, certainly, truly; probable, probably, really, indeed, undoubtedly; most likely; certainly, determination, reality’; Modern Mongol: Khalkha; Buryat; Khamnigan *magad*; Kalmuck *mayad*.

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Japanese and Mongolian Usages of the Chinese Writing System

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Introduction

In the 8th century, the Japanese used Chinese characters in order to write chronicles and poetry in the Japanese language. The earliest known works are 古事記 *Kojiki* “Records of Ancient Matters” (712 A.D.) and 万葉集 *Man'yōshū* “Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves” (759 A.D.). In comparison, the oldest known version of the Mongolian chronicle *Manghol-un Niuča Tobča'an* 元朝秘史 “Secret History of the Mongols” (hereinafter abbreviated as MNT) (13th–14th c.) was also written in Chinese characters.

The Chinese characters which were used to write Japanese and Mongolian have two features: sound and meaning, thus comprising phonetic and also semantic or symbolic aspects. In this paper I try to compare the usages of the Chinese characters between the Japanese and the Mongolian with their earliest language documents focusing on their symbolic aspects.

Four Categories of Chinese Characters

While Chinese characters are traditionally being grouped into six categories, the following four categories are sufficient to classify those Chinese characters employed for Japanese and Mongolian.¹

1. Some Chinese characters are pictographs 象形文字, simplified images of concrete objects in nature.
日 ‘sun’, 月 ‘moon’, 山 ‘mountain’, 川 ‘river’, 木 ‘tree’
2. Some Chinese characters are ideographs 指事文字 which show abstract ideas; looking at a character we see the meaning immediately.
一 ‘one’, 二 ‘two’, 三 ‘three’, 上 ‘up’, 下 ‘down’
3. Some Chinese characters are compound ideographs 会意文字, or combinations of meaningful parts.
口 ‘mouth’ + 鳥 ‘bird’ = 鳴 ‘to sing (of a bird)’

¹ As 六書 (liùshū “Six Writings”) there are two more categories referring to usages of Chinese characters: 轉注文字 “derivative cognates” and 假借文字 “phonetic loan characters”.

山 ‘mountain’ + 石 ‘stone’ = 岩 ‘rock’

4. Many Chinese Characters are combination of semantic and phonetic components 形声文字; one part has the basic or symbolic meaning and another part the pronunciation. Over 90% of the Chinese characters belong to this category. They are namely radical-phonetic characters.

a) One part for the same basic meaning shown by the radical:

日 ‘sun’

日 ‘sun’ + 王 ‘king, rule, magnate’ = 旺 ‘flourishing’

日 ‘sun’ + 青 ‘blue, green; green light’ = 晴 ‘nice weather’

b) One part for the same pronunciation:

己 /ki/²

言 + 己 /ki/ = 記 /ki/

糸 + 己 /ki/ = 紀 /ki/

Chinese Characters indicating meaning and pronunciation in the Japanese text 古事記 *Kojiki* “Records of Ancient Matters”

The Five Grains “五穀”

In the oldest chronicle in Japan 古事記 *Kojiki* “Records of Ancient Matters” (712 A.D.) we often see the meaning of the Chinese character clearly. In this chronicle it is explained how the most important five grains “五穀” came to existence according to the legend.

故 所殺神於身生物者 於頭生蠶 於二目生(1)稻種 於二耳生(2)粟 於鼻生(3)小豆 於陰生(4)麥 於尻生(5)大豆 (上 54:6-7)³

*So the things that were born in the body of the deity who had been killed were as follows: in her head were born silkworms, in her two eyes were born (1) rice-seeds, in her two ears was born (2) millet, in her nose were born (3) small beans, in her private parts was born (4) barley, in her fundament were born (5) large beans.*⁴

Reading aloud the 古事記 *Kojiki* “Records of Ancient Matters” we pronounce the words as follows after Chinese characters. The words (1) to (4) in Chinese

² The pronunciation is Chinese-Japanese.

³ Cf. 青木和夫 Aoki, Kazuo et al. (ed.) (1982): 日本思想大系 *Nihon shisô taikai* “Japanese Thought System” 〈1〉 古事記 *Kojiki*, 岩波書店 Iwanami Shoten、東京 Tokyo.

⁴ Cf. Chamberlain, Basil Hall (1882 translated): *Kojiki* <http://www.sacred-texts.com/shi/kj/index.htm> (last access 2018-09-15)

characters are pronounced as Japanese words with Japanese pronunciation and the word (5) as a Chinese loan word with Sinojapanese pronunciation.

1. 稻 /ine/ 'rice'
2. 粟 /awa/ /aha/ 'millet, foxtail millet'
3. 小豆 /adzuki/ 'small beans, adzuki bean (Vigna angularis)'
4. 麦 /mugi/ 'barley, wheat'
5. 大豆 /daidzu/ 'large beans, soya bean (Glycine max)'

The 古事記 *Kojiki* "Records of Ancient Matters" was completely written in Chinese characters; some with Chinese grammar and Chinese meaning, some with Chinese meaning with Japanese grammar and pronunciation, and some with Chinese pronunciation without original Chinese meaning, producing a mixture of Japanese and Chinese.

Chinese characters for the meaning and pronunciation in the Japanese text 万葉集 *Man'yōshū* "Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves"

- a) 稻 and 伊祢 /ine/ 'rice'

The Japanese word /ine/ 'rice (plant)' which is written in 古事記 *Kojiki* "Records of Ancient Matters" by its original Chinese character 稻 (稻) can be found in 万葉集 *Man'yōshū* "Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves" as original Chinese character as well as 伊祢 indicating its pronunciation without reference to any meaning of the Chinese characters.

If written as 稻, the meaning 'rice' is evident.

住吉之 岸乎田尔墾 蒔稻 乃而及苺 不相公鴨 (author unknown) (Vol. 10-2244) Suminoe no, kishi wo ta ni hari, makishi ine, kakute karu made, ahanu kimi kamo

Until we have harvested the rice which we planted in the field having cultivated the bank of Suminoe I haven't seen you.

In the next poem we see the same word /ine/ 'rice' written with Chinese characters 伊祢 which mark only the pronunciation without any meaning inherent to the characters.

伊祢都氣波 可加流安我手乎 許余比毛可 等能乃和久胡我 等里弓奈氣可武 (author unknown) (Vol. 14-3459) I-ne tsukeba, kakaru aga te wo, koyoi mo ka, tonon wakugo ga, torite nagekamu

Taking my hands which became so (rough) after hulling rice grains my lord will lament this evening, too.

- b) 梅花 and 宇米能波奈 /ume no hana/ 'plum blossoms'

In the 万葉集 *Man'yōshū* “Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves” there are more poems with ‘plum blossoms’ than ‘cherry blossoms’. The choice of Chinese characters varies and can represent meaning or pronunciation.

In the poem /ume no hana/ ‘plum blossoms’ we see the characters 梅花 for its meaning ‘plum blossoms’.

春之雨者 弥布落尔 梅花 未咲久 伊等若美可聞 (大伴家持 Ōtomo no Yakamochi) (Vol. 4-786) Haru no ame wa, iyashiki furu ni, ume no hana, imada sakanaku, ito wakami kamo

Spring rain is falling incessantly, plum blossoms are not yet blooming. Maybe (they are) still too young.

In the next poem we see the same word only for its pronunciation without any meaning of the Chinese characters as 宇米能波奈 /u-me no ha-na/ ‘plum blossoms’.

和何則能尔 宇米能波奈知流 比佐可多能 阿米欲里由吉能 那何列久流加母 (大伴旅人 Ōtomo no Tabito) (Vol. 5-822) Waga sono ni, u-me no ha-na chiru, hisakatano, ame yori yuki no, nagare kurukamo

Plum blossoms fall and scatter in my garden; is this snow come streaming from the distant heavens?⁵

c) 櫻花 and 佐久良波奈 /sakura bana/ ‘cherry blossoms’

In the 万葉集 *Man'yōshū* “Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves” we happen to find the same word represented by different Chinese characters, for example the word (Jap) *sakura-bana* ‘cherry blossoms’: in many cases we find 櫻花 for its meaning but also as 佐久良波奈 for its Japanese pronunciation without Chinese meaning.

櫻花 時者雖不過 見人之 戀盛常 今之將落 (author unknown) (Vol. 10-1855) Sakura-bana, toki wa suginedo, miru hito no, kofuru sakari to, imashi chiruramu

Cherry blossoms are falling even though it's not yet time, knowing that it were its best time admired by observers.

In the next poem, the Chinese characters for the same meaning (Jap) /sa-ku-ra ba-na/ ‘cherry blossoms’ are written for their pronunciation without any underlying Chinese meaning.

⁵ Cf. Levy, Ian Hideo, 中西 進 Nakanishi, Susumu et al. (2014): *Man'yō Luster* <万葉集 新装版> *Man'yōshū Shinsōban*, パイ インターナショナル PIE International, 東京 Tokyo: 266.

多都多夜麻 見都々古要許之 佐久良波奈 知利加須疑奈牟 和我可敝流刀
 尔 (大伴家持 Ôtomo no Yakamochi) (Vol. 20-4395) Tatsutayama,
 mitsutsu koekishi, sa-ku-ra ba-na, chirika suginamu, wa ga kaeru toni

Cherry blossoms which I saw crossing over the mount Tatsutayama will be probably falling when I'll come back.

d) 得 and 衣 /e/ 'to get'

In the next poem we see that the same verb (Jap) *e*- 'to get', twice with the Chinese character for the meaning as 得 and once for the pronunciation as 衣.

吾者毛也 安見兒得有 皆人乃 得難尔為云 安見兒衣多利 (藤原鎌足
 Fujiwara no Kamatari) (Vol. 2-95) Ware wa moya, Yasumiko etari, minahito
 no ekate ni suto ifu, Yasumiko etari.

I have got Yasumiko (name of a court lady) who should be difficult to get for anyone at all. Such (a lady) Yasumiko I have got.

It is a typical case that for the same word Chinese characters were sometimes used for the meaning and sometimes for the pronunciation.

Chinese characters for the pronunciation in MNT

In §74 and §75 of the MNT, we find Mongolian edible plant names written in Chinese characters. They all reflect the Mongolian pronunciation without any reference to the meaning of the Chinese characters.

Mongolian	Source	Chinese	English
斡里 ^𑖅 兒孫 株亦 ^𑖅 𑖅 ^𑖅 mo-i-l-qo o-li-r-sun	§74: 5b-4	杜梨, 果名	'crab apples', 'bird cherries'
速敦 赤赤吉納 su-dun čiči-gi-na	§74: 6a-1	草根名, 草根名	'roots of the great burnet', 'roots of the silverweed'

6 I want to thank Oliver Corff for using his computer fonts for Chinese-Mongolian script in "Secret History of the Mongols". Cf. Corff, Oliver (2004): MnTTeX: Tools for Typesetting the Secret History of the Mongols. Version 0.3, December 26, 2004. www.ctan.org/pkg/mnttex (last access 2019-03-29)

Cf. also Sumiyabaatar (1990): The Secret History of the Mongols -transcription, Ulaanbaatar, and 白鳥庫吉 Shiratori, Kurakichi (1943): 『音訳蒙文元朝秘史』 Onyaku Mōbun Genchō Hishi "The Secret History of the Mongols -transcription", 東洋文庫 Tōyō Bunko, 東京 Tokyo.

中合里牙 ^𠄎 兒孫 忙吉 ^𠄎 兒速(你) qa- li-ya-r-sun mong-gi-r-sun	§74: 6a-2	山薤, 薤	'wild garlic', 'wild onion'
札兀 ^𠄎 合速 ja-yu-ya-su	§74: 6a-3	山丹根	'wild lily bulbs'
中豁 ^𠄎 豁孫 忙吉 ^𠄎 兒速 yo-yo-sun mong-gi-r-su	§75: 6b-1	韮菜, 薤	'wild leek' 'wild onion'

Chinese characters used for pronunciation in the Japanese text 万葉集 *Man'yōshū* "Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves"

In Japanese there were five vowels distinguished with Chinese characters if they were not combined with consonants: e.g. 安 = a, 伊 = i, 宇 = u, 衣 = e and 於 = o.⁷

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| a | 安 | 安加胡麻乎 a-ka-go-ma-wo (Vol. 14–3536)
東歌 Azuma-uta '(riding) a chestnut stallion' ⁸ |
| i | 伊 | 伊由伎米具礼流 i-yu-ki me-gu-re-ru (Vol. 17–3985)
大伴家持 Ōtomo no Yakamochi '(the river) goes through' |
| u | 宇 | 宇梅能波奈 u-me no ha-na (Vol. 20–4500)
市原王 Ichihara no Ōkimi 'plum blossoms' |
| e | 衣 | 伊麻波衣天之可 i-ma ha e-te-shi-ka (Vol.18–4133)
大伴家持 Ōtomo no Yakamochi 'Now [I] want to get.' ⁹ |
| o | 於 | 於吉都思良奈美 o-ki-tsu shi-ra-na-mi (Vol. 15–3673)
遣新羅使 Ken Shiragi-shi (668–779) 'white- crested waves in the open sea' |

(Mo) Vowels in Chinese characters in MNT

Five vowels were distinguished in the Chinese characters in MNT even though in the 'Phags-pa script (1269–1368) of the same period distinguished eight vowels.¹⁰

7 There are different theories concerning the number of the vowels in the Japanese of this period written in Chinese characters. Yet in the syllables without following a consonant only five vowels were distinguished.

8 Cf. Vovin, Alexander (2012): *Man'yōshū* (Book 14): a new English translation containing the original text, Kana transliteration, Romanization, glossing and commentary, Global Oriental, Leiden: 223.

9 Cf. Vovin, Alexander (2016): *Man'yōshū* (Book 18): a new English translation containing the original text, Kana transliteration, Romanization, glossing and commentary, Brill, Leiden: 152.

a) Five vowels without vowel harmony: a, e, i, o/ö and u/ü:

- a 阿 阿主兀 ajuyu ‘there was’ (§1: 1a-2)
 阿^中合 aqa ‘elder brother’ (§11: 7b-1)
- e 額 額客 eke ‘mother’ (§18: 10b-3)
 額^舌魯格 erüge ‘smoke-hole top of the tent’ (§21: 13a-1)
- i 亦 亦^舌列罷 irebe ‘came’ (§1: 1a-3)
 亦刺阿^舌里 ilayari ‘better, recovering’ (§131: 9b-2)

There was no difference between /o/ and /ö/ or between /u/ and /ü/. They were written with the same Chinese characters:

- o/ö 幹 幹^舌羅周 oröju ‘coming in’ (§5: 3b-3)
 幹^舌列-邊 öre-ben ‘his heart’ (§69: 1a)
- u/ü 兀 兀^舌理答 urida ‘in former times’ (§18: 10b-2)
 兀者周 üjeju ‘seeing’ (§5: 3b-4)

b) No difference between /do/ and /dö/

No difference is to be seen in the Chinese characters between /do/ and /dö/.

- do/dö 朵 朵羅安 doloyan ‘seven’ (§48: 30a-2)
 朵^舌兒邊 dörben ‘four’ (§50: 31a-3)

c) No difference between /du/ and /dü/

/du/ and /dü/ were written with the same Chinese characters.

- du/dü 都 都^舌刺 dura ‘wish’ (§185: 52b-3)
 都^舌兒別周 dürbeju ‘hurrying’ (§110: 15a-1)

d) No difference between /to/ and /tö/

/to/ and /tö/ were written with the same Chinese characters, too.

- to/tö 脫 脫孫 tosun ‘butter’ (§254: 24b-4)
 脫^舌列^克先 töregsen ‘born’ (§1: 1a-2)

10 Cf. Poppe, Nicholas (1954/1974), Introduction to Altaic Linguistics, Wiesbaden: 22–23. Cf. also 栗林均 Kuribayashi, Hitoshi and 松川 節 Matsukawa, Takashi (ed.) (2016): 『西藏歴史檔案薈粹』所収ノパソパ文字文書 (“Seizō Rekishi Tôan Waisui” shoshū Pasupa moji bunsho)、東北大学東北アジア研究センター、仙台 Tôhoku Daigaku Tôhoku Ajia Kenkyû-sentâ “Tohoku University, Center for Northeast Asian Studies”. Phags-pa Mongolian Documents in A Collection of Historical Archives of Tibet, Sendai: 107–110.

脱阿 toya ‘number’ (§229: 48b-3)

脱^舌里^榻格主爲 töridgejügüi ‘detained’ (§197: 46a-4)

e) No difference between /tu/ and /tü/

/tu/ and /tü/ were also written with the same Chinese characters.

tu/tü 土 土撒 tusa ‘help’ (§92: 33b-3)

土綿 tümen ‘ten thousand’ (§106: 9a-2)

Diacritical characters as pronunciation hints in MNT

In Japanese the Chinese characters were always used in the same size while in the MNT small characters were used as diacritical markers for those syllables without suitable match in Chinese, ending in e.g. -l (勒), -g (克), -b (卜), etc., ^舌 ‘tongue’ to distinguish /r/ from /l/, ^甲 ‘in’ as velar fricative for /q/ and /ɣ/ etc.

馬^舌關勒 maral ‘doe, female deer’ (§1: 1a-3)

脱^舌列^先 töregsen ‘born’ (§74: 5b-5)

阿^卜抽 abču ‘taking’ (§13: 8b-2)

阿^甲合 ‘elder brother’ aqa (§11: 7b-1) ^甲合^舌命 yar-un ‘hand’s’ (§280: 52a-1)

Proper nouns in Chinese characters in MNT

Some place and personal names or name of one’s position were written as they were written originally in Chinese characters, e.g.

撫州 /Füjü/ ‘Fuzhou’ (§247: 2) (§248: 6b-5) ‘(Prefecture of) Füjü’,

潼關 /Tungyuan/ ‘Tongguan (Pass)’ (§251: 12a-1),

王京-丞相 /Wangging-Čingsang/ ‘Wangjing Chengxiang’ (§248: 4a-3) (§248: 6b-2) (§248: 6b-5) ‘Minister of State (called) Wangging’.

Symbolic meaning of Chinese characters in MNT

(Mo) Chinese characters as indicators of symbolic meanings

Chinese characters were used to transcribe Mongolian phonetically in MNT. Yet every Chinese character contains in its nature concrete or abstract semantic features.

As follows, we find some usages of Chinese characters not limited to the concrete meaning as in Chinese but including some kind of indication of a symbolic meaning of the word.

- a) The Chinese character 米 ‘rice’ was used for the word ‘meat’ in MNT. It conveys perhaps the intention that the word ‘meat’ has a semantic feature ‘something to eat’:

米(中合) miqa ‘meat’ (§13: 8b-3)

- b) The Chinese character 厄 ‘misfortune; bad luck; evil; disaster’ was used for the word which has the meaning ‘sick’:

厄別臣 ebečün ‘sick’ (§227: 42a-4)

厄別_楊臣 ebedčün ‘sick’ (§272: 21a-3) (§278: 44a-4)

Radicals for the symbolic meaning in MNT

There are also systematic usages of the radicals of the Chinese characters to show the symbolic meaning of words as follows. The radicals have basic meanings of each character.

- a) The radical 水, 彳 ‘water’ is used in the word ‘river’ or river names.

斡難 沐_舌漣 Onan müren ‘Onan River’ (§1: 1a-4)

騰汲思 Tengis ‘Tengis(-River)’ (§1: 1a-3)

- b) The radical 山 ‘mountain’ is used in the word ‘mountain’ or in the name of a mountain.

阿峿刺 ayula ‘mountain’ (§118: 30a-1)

不_舌峿_{中罕}-中合_韜敦 Burqan-Qaldun ‘(Mount) Burqan Qaldun’ (§1: 1a-4)

- c) The character itself and the radical 木 ‘tree, wood’ are used in the words ‘tree’ and ‘forest’.

木都納 mudun-a ‘at the tree’ (§117: 28b-2)

槐 hoi ‘forest’ (§12: 8a-2)

- d) The radical 馬 ‘horse’ can be found in the names of horses or in the words which have something to do with horses.

荅驛_舌兒 孛_舌驛_中豁牙_舌兒 曲驛兀_楊 阿_黑驛思禿 不列額

Dair boro qoyar külügü aytastu¹¹ bülege.

¹¹ (Mo) külüg ‘A strong and swift horse’ and (Mo) ayta ‘gelding’.

‘(He) had two fine geldings, Dair and Boro’¹² (§3: 2b-3,4)

勺莎秃-騾^𠬞騾^𠬞 Josotu-Boro ‘Josotu-Boro (name of a horse)’ (§265: 1b-2,3)

秣^𠬞騾刺罷 morilaba ‘set out on their horses/ set forth horse riding’ (§37: 22a-4) (§265: 1a-3)

秣^𠬞騾納察 morin-aca ‘(fell) off the horse’ (§265: 1b-4)

- e) The radical 羊 ‘sheep’ was combined with a phonetic component /ne/ in the next word. It is obviously a new created character which is not found in 『康熙字典』¹³ (1716). The radical 羊 ‘sheep’ gives the symbolic meaning to the word /nekei/ ‘sheep skin with its wool’.

[羊+呈]克 經額^勒台 nekei degeltei ‘in a sheep skin coat’ (§112: 20b-3)

- f) The radical 鳥 ‘bird’ can be seen in several combinations. In the next example, a new character [克+鳥]¹⁴ in the word (1) [克+鳥]^𠬞列額 /kerege/ ‘crow’ was created to show the basic meaning 鳥 ‘bird’ with the pronunciation 克 /ke/. In the word (2) 中合鵞温 /yalayun/ ‘goose’ we also see the radical 鳥 ‘bird’ with the pronunciation /la/. The character [中窟+鳥]¹⁵ was created in the word (3) 脱[中窟+鳥]^𠬞刺兀-泥 /toyurayū-n-i (= toyurayūn + acc.)/ ‘crane’ for the symbolic meaning 鳥 ‘bird’ with the pronunciation 中窟 /yu/.

中合^𠬞刺 (1) [克+鳥]^𠬞列額 中合里速-可^𠬞里速 亦啞古 札牙阿秃 孛額帖列

Qara kerege qalisu-körisü idekü jayayatu bögetele

(2) 中合鵞温 (3) 脱[中窟+鳥]^𠬞刺兀-泥 亦啞速 客延 者甲 阿主兀 (§111: 18a-2-4)

yalayun toyurayū-n-i idesü kegen ješin ajuyu.

To feed on scraps of skin Is the black (1) crow’s lot – yet

It was (2) goose and (3) crane It aspired to eat.

The radicals 鳥 ‘bird’ and 鼠 ‘mouse; rat’ can be found in the same passage; four times with the radical 鳥 ‘bird’ (1) (2) (5) (6) and twice with 鼠 ‘mouse; rat’ (3)

12 The translation is from: de Rachewiltz, Igor (2015): “The Secret History of the Mongols: A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century” <http://cedar.wvu.edu/cedarbooks/4/> (last access 2018-09-16)

13 The Kangxi Dictionary 『康熙字典』 (1716) includes 49,030 Chinese characters.

14 not in Kangxi Dictionary 『康熙字典』

15 not in Kangxi Dictionary 『康熙字典』

(4). In the words (1) (4) (6) there are specially created combinations of radicals and phonetic indicators.

The radical 鳥 'bird' shows that the words with this radical are either 'bird' or the names of birds:

(1) [中窟+鳥]刺都 /quladu/ name of a bird 'buzzard' (2) 失鴟温 /šibayun/ 'bird' (5) 中鷗 /qun/ 'swan' and (6) 脱 [中窟+鳥]𠄎刺兀泥 /toyurayun-i/ (= toyurayun + acc.) 'crane'.

The radical 鼠 'mouse; rat' is used that the words mean 'mouse' or 'rat':

(3) 中忽鼯中合納 /quluyana/ 'rats' and (4) 窟出[鼠+屈]捏 /küçügen-e/ 'mice'.

(1) [中窟+鳥]刺都 卯兀 (2) 失鴟温 (3) 中忽鼯中合納 (4) 窟出[鼠+屈]捏 亦啞古

Quladu mayu šibayun quluyana küçügen-e idekü

札牙(阿)禿 孛額帖列 (5) 中鷗 (6) 脱 [中窟+鳥]𠄎刺兀泥 亦啞速 客延 者申

jayayatu bögetele qun toyurayun-i idesü kegen ješin

阿主兀 (§111: 18b-3-5)

aǰuyu.

To feed on (3) rats and (4) mice Is the (1) buzzard's, that vile (2) bird's lot – yet It was (5) swan and (6) crane It aspired to eat.

g) The radical 辵 'road; way; course' was used in various grammatical forms of the verb (Mo) /yabu-/ 'to go'.

釋鴟兀闌 迓步中灰-突𠄎兒 šibayulan yabuqui-dur 'going hunting with falcons' (§54: 34a-2)

迓步兀勑罷 yabuylba 'set; let go' (§142: 33a-3,4)

h) The radical 目 'eye' was used for the symbolic meaning of the verb (Mo) /qara-/ 'to look'.

中合𠄎瞿周 qaraǰu 'looked out and ...' (§5: 3b-2)

i) The radical (口) 'mouth' was used for words with activities with mouth (Mo) /ügüle-/ 'to say' and (Mo) /ide-/ 'to eat'.

鳴詰列𠄎論 ügülerün '(He) said' (§6: 4a-1)

亦啞古 idege 'eating' (§78: 11a-5) 亦啞額 idekü 'livestock' (§39: 23a-1) (§162: 32b-3)

j) The radical 手, 扌 ‘hand’ we find in various words with the verb stem (Mo) /bari-/ ‘to hold, grasp, take, seize’.

把^扌里周 (§172: 11b-1) bariju ‘having brought in’

把^扌里^黑撒^揚 (§278: 38a-2) bariysad ‘seize (people) and ...’

Conclusion

In the Japanese chronicle 古事記 *Kojiki* “Records of Ancient Matters” (712 A.D.) and in the poetry 万葉集 *Man’yōshū* “Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves” (759 A.D.) 973 Chinese characters were chosen to write down Japanese and used as follows:

1. The semantic-phonetic aspect of the Chinese script was used, namely meaning and pronunciation for Chinese loan words, e.g. 大豆 /dai-dzu/ ‘soya bean’.
2. The purely semantic aspect of the Chinese characters was used for meaning for originally Japanese words with Japanese pronunciation, e.g. 稻 (稻) /ine/ ‘rice’.
3. The purely phonetic aspect was used for pronunciation without any meaning of the Chinese characters, e.g. 伊祢 /i-ne/ ‘rice’.

In the Mongolian chronicle MNT (13th–14th c.) 563/ 571¹⁶ Chinese characters were chosen to write down Mongolian and used as follows.

1. The phonetic aspect was employed without any regard to the meaning of the Chinese characters, e.g. 阿^甲合 /a-qa/ ‘elder brother’. Small characters used as diacritics like 勒^克卜 were applied for those syllables without suitable match in Chinese, i.e. syllables ending in the consonants -l, -g, -b, etc. Small characters, again used as diacritical markers, like 舌^中 were combined with characters e.g. 甲^合 to transcribe Mongolian pronunciation better if it had no equivalent in the Chinese pronunciation system.
2. Some proper nouns were written as they were written originally in Chinese characters, e.g. 撫州 /Füjü/ ‘(Prefecture of) Fūjū’ (Fuzhou).
3. In addition to pronunciation, the character meaning was used for a symbolic meaning for the word, e.g. 厄^別楊^臣 /ebedčün/ ‘sick’. The Chinese character 厄 has the meaning ‘misfortune; bad luck; evil; disaster’ for the pronunciation /e/.

¹⁶ Hattori (1946) has 563 characters who counted small characters separately. Sumiyabaatar (1990) has 571 who counted small characters combined.

4. A part of the character, usually the radical, was used for a symbolic meaning. In the Chinese character 𠵽 we see the radical 馬 for the symbolic meaning ‘horse’ in the word 秣𠵽刺罷 /mo-ri-la-ba/ ‘set out on their horses’ etc. Some new characters were even created for this usage, e.g. 羊+𠵽 for the symbolic meaning 羊 ‘sheep’ with the pronunciation 𠵽 /ne/.

In the earliest Japanese chronicles and poetry of the 8th century the Chinese characters were used sometimes to show the meaning and sometimes the pronunciation. In the first Mongolian chronicle of the 13th–14th centuries the Chinese characters were used mainly to transcribe the Mongolian pronunciation. Yet here and there we see the intention to show the symbolic meaning of a word, sometimes a whole character but more often a part, radical, which has a certain symbolic meaning. It shows that Chinese characters which were used to transcribe Mongolian phonetically had the original nature as logograms and the purpose was to add some additional meaning.

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The Khüis Tolgoi inscription¹

Dieter Maue and Mehmet Ölmez

with the cooperation of Étienne de la Vaissière and Alexander Vovin

The stelae

The Khüis Tolgoi site (48°08'14.8''N 103°09'49.4''E) was discovered by the Mongolian archaeologist D. Navaan in 1975. In 1979, Nejat Diyarbekirli announced this find. Without providing information about the content and language of the inscription, he published two photographs, one being a general view (Fig.1) and the other a fragment, commenting on the Khüis Tolgoi (I) inscription.² A description of the Khüis tolgoi (I) inscription was prepared in 1984 by Qarjaubay Sartqojauli who published it in 2003 (Sartqojauli 2005: 35).³ In 2005, N. Bazylkhan also gave information on the inscription.⁴ Another note on this inscription was published in a Mongolian-Japanese work published in 2009 by Ōsawa Takashi, Suzuki Kōsetsu and R. Munkhtulga (see Ōsawa, 93: 1629 m.).⁵ Khüis Tolgoi (I) today being preserved in the storage of Institute of Archaeology in Mongolia.

1 The following text, written by Dieter Maue and Mehmet Ölmez, is based on the contributions to the panel “Earliest inscriptions from the Mongolian steppe” on the occasion of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference 2017: M. Ölmez: On the discovery, whereabouts, condition of the stones, and our expedition; D. Maue: The steppe Brāhmī – decipherment and peculiarities. A. Vovin: The language of the Khüis Tolgoi inscription; É. de la Vaissière: Niri Kagan and the historical background of the Khüis Tolgoi inscription. The revised full versions are published in *Journal asiatique* 306, 2018.

2 Nejat Diyarbekirli, “Orhun’dan Geliyorum”, *Türk Kültürü*, 198–199, vol. XVII, April-May 1979: 383.

3 Жолдасбеков, Мырзатай and Қаржаубай Сартқожаұлы, *Орхон ескерткіштерінің толық атласы*, Астана, 2005: 34–38.

4 Базылхан, Н., Қазақстан тарихы туралы түркі деректемелері, II том, көне түрік бітіктастары мен ескерткіштері (Орхон, Енисей, Талас), Алматы, 2005: 51.

5 Ōsawa Takashi, Suzuki Kōsetsu, R. Munhutoruga, Bicheesu II - Mongorukoku genson iseki Tokketsu hibun chōsa hōkoku ピチエースII :モンゴル国現存遺跡・突厥碑文調査報告, [BICHEES II: report of researches on historical sites and Turkic inscriptions in Mongolia from 2006 to 2008], Ulaanbaatar 2009; see also É. de La Vaissière, “The historical context to the Khüis Tolgoi inscription”, in *Journal Asiatique* 306.2 (2018) (in print).



Fig.1: KhT I (Photo by N. Diyarbekirli)

Joint fieldwork on the Khüis Tolgoi (I) and Bugut inscriptions was carried out between August 18th and 28th 2014 by Dieter Maue, Alexander Vovin, Étienne de la Vaissière and Mehmet Ölmez.⁶ The technical team consisted of the specialists Tobias Reich and Jens Bingenheimer from the University of Applied Sciences, Mainz. By kind permission of the Institute of Archaeology in Mongolia, which was obtained through the Ulaanbaatar office of the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA), Reich and Bingenheimer could take 3D pictures.

The Khüis Tolgoi (I) inscription, which is obviously significant for the history of Turkic and Mongolian languages, will perhaps be understood better after the decipherment of the Khüis Tolgoi (II) inscription.

The second target was the Bugut inscription, which is kept at the Arkhangai Province Museum, Tsetserleg (for details see Yoshida 1999: 122–125, Moriyasu – Ochir). The photographs of the Sogdian and Brāhmī inscriptions were taken using 3D technology. The Brāhmī side of the inscription is in very bad condition, so that almost no letters/akṣaras are visible to the naked eye in daylight.

The script

Two stelae which were saved from the Khüis Tolgoi site bear inscriptions on one side each. The script on the stone which was 3D scanned 2014 [KhT I] is relatively well preserved while the writing area of the second stone [KhT II] is much defaced and documented only through 2D photos so far. But all features indicate that both inscriptions form part of one text which ends on KhT I.

The script is written vertically in eleven columns, which run from right to left. The text is interspersed with horizontal strokes which were principally taken for word-dividers. It turned out that they were also used to isolate morphemes (regularly -ñar) and to divide the members of a compound (bodi-satva). These dividers, invaluable for the segmentation of the text, are unknown in the other Brāhmī tradition.

Likewise unusual is the presentation in syllables instead of akṣaras whose finals are vowels, optionally: + uvular fricative (visarga) or nasal element (anusvāra).

⁶ The fieldwork in Mongolia was supported by the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA). We are indebted to Associated Professor Ekrem Kalan, the former director of Yunus Emre Foundation TIKA at Ulaanbaatar and Professor Hayati Develi, the former president of Yunus Emre Foundation (YEE), and to the Yunus Emre Foundation for their support for the 3D photograph shooting; and to the Institute of Archaeology in Mongolia and the Museum of Tsetserleg for their help during our research.

The signs

The script is one of the varieties of the Turkestan Brāhmī. The sign inventory consists of a number of signs selected from the Indian Brāhmī alphabet which was imported to Central Asia together with Buddhism. For representing non-Indian languages, it was felt necessary to add some new special signs for sounds which could otherwise not be expressed adequately. In case of KhT it was four consonant signs and two vowel diacritics (Fig.2).

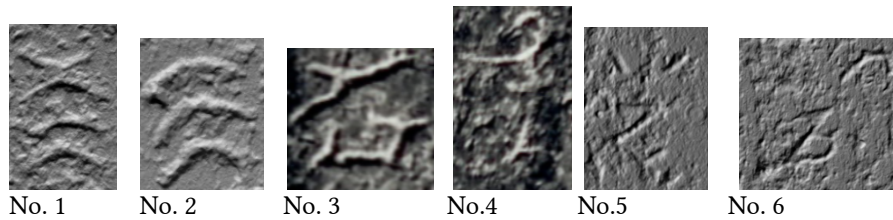


Fig.2: The special signs nos.1–6

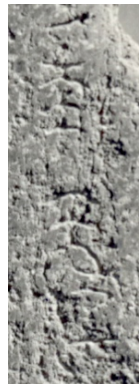


Fig.3: ka g₁a-n

The special signs nos. 1 and 2 form a sign group (Fig. 3) which occurs 12 or 13 times in the inscription. The determination of their sound value was crucial for the decipherment. It succeeded only through Brāhmī stone inscriptions which were discovered by the Kazakh scholar Eskander Bajtenov. The stones most probably served as balbals; thus the inscriptions should represent the name of a killed enemy followed by his title which was certainly “Kagan”. In consequence, the upper sign, transliterated through k, stands for the unvoiced back velar q and the lower one, transliterated through g₁, contains its voiced partner γ.

No. 3 has some similarity with the ligature kṣ of the basic alphabet or Tumshukese χš. Therefore, χš was chosen as transliteration symbol. However, its

value is still debated. The transcription through q/ks is a conditional concession to Vovin's interpretation.

It is tempting to compare special sign no. 4 with a sign which is known from Tumshukese, Sogdian and Uigur Brāhmī. There, it represents the bilabial fricative w, transliterated through v₁.

The vowel diacritic no. 5 appears to be related to the two dot diacritic of the other vernacular Turkestan Brāhmī varieties. It is usually transliterated ä. As elsewhere it may stand for the unrounded central vowel i or ə. The transcription symbol is i.

A cognate unrounded vowel is probably represented through no. 6 which is obviously modified from no. 5. It is transliterated through ä₁ and transcribed through i₁.

The conspectus of the signs and transliteration symbols is given in Appendix I, the transliteration of the KhT text in Appendix II.

The sounds

The language of KhT was unknown. Morphological features, however, pointed to Mongolic, triggering the "(Para-)Mongolian hypothesis" which can be considered proven now (see below). Consequently, vowel harmony should apply which manifests, however, only by the usage of front and back velars and perhaps in the vocalic word beginning, if it is correct that plain vowel signs stand for back vowels while front vowels are preceded by h. Elsewhere, the vowel signs a, ä, ä₁, ũ, o represent front or back vowels. Apart from the unclear difference between ä and ä₁, the vowel system matches with that of Proto-Mongolic.

There is a dichotomy of consonants p vs. b, č vs. j, t vs. d, *k (not attested) vs. g, q vs. γ, which again is in good accord with Proto-Mongolic, with two exceptions. In KhT, p- was preserved and ti not yet palatalised into či.

The sibilant š seems to be palatalised from s before i₁; the status of ñ and v₁ is not clear.

In general, the KhT consonants match the reconstructed Mongolic phoneme system quite well, cf. Appendix III. The same applies to the syllable structure with minor anomalies the most conspicuous of which is final -j and perhaps -č.

The transcription of the KhT text with preliminary notes is given in Appendix IV.

The text

Columns 1–2 are the linguistic key of the inscription. On the basis of Mongolic morphology and lexis, we get a meaningful phrase even though details are debated.

1	šīni-n	new-GENITIVE
2	bodi-satva	Bodhisattva
3	törö-ks(e)	be born- PAST PARTICIPLE
4	qayan	Kagan
5	buda	Buddha
6	qayan-u	Kagan-GENITIVE
7	uqa-qs(a)	realize-PAST PARTICIPLE
8	uqa-ju	realize-CONVERBUM CONTEMPORALE

‘when (-ju) the Kagan (qayan), who was [re]born (törö-ks(e)) as a new (šīni-n) Bodhisattva (bodi-satva), knows (uqa-) Lord Buddha’s (buda qayan-u) knowledge (uqa-qs(a))’

Comments

1. *šīni-n* ‘new’ is the word that is highly diagnostic, clearly pointing to the Mongolic direction. The form is to be read *šini*, cf. EMM *šini* 失你 ‘new’ (MNT §265), although the majority of attestations indicate *šine*, thus phonetically KhT form is closer to mainstream Mongolic. The final *-n* is likely to be a genitive though there are no clear-cut cases of the adnominal usage of genitive in MM.
2. Bodhisattva is either a given name of the Turkic *qayan* from the First Khanate, or rather Bodhisattva could be meant here as a honorific title.
3. <to ro-χš> is likely to be Mongolic *törö-ks[e]* ‘to be born’, past participle of the verb *törö-* ‘to be born’. The alternatively proposed identification (see next §) with *Tièlè* 鐵勒 < EMC *t^hiet lək* < LHC *t^het lək* meets difficulties the most serious of which is that the vocalism of the Chinese transcript is illabial.
4. The simplest solution is to take *buda* as ‘Buddha’ together with the following title. *Buda qayan* is reminiscent of OT *bur-qan* ‘lord Buddha’; or even closer archaic OT *pū rkā kām*, *bur qayan*.
5. *Qayan-u* with genitive morpheme *-u* after stems in *-n* as in MM.
6. The converb on *-ju* points to the verb *uka-* ‘to realize’ which is also the basis of the past participle *uqa-qs(a)*, both forming a *figura etymologica*.

To sum up:

1. Mongolic lexis is seen in 1, 3, 7–8.

2. Typically Mongolic morphological markers are: past participle *-Ks* < *KsA (3;7), genitive *-n* after vowel stems (MM *-yin*, *-in*, *-n*) in 1 and *-u* after *n* in 6, converbum contemporale *-jU* in 8.
3. It can be stated that the language of the KhT inscription is much closer to mainstream Mongolic than to Khitan: a) there is no Khitan genitive *-u*, as the Khitan words with final *-n* take *-en* instead, b) the Khitan word *qa* ~ *qa.ya* 'qayan' takes the genitive in *-an*: *qa.ya-an*, c) Khitan has converbum contemporale *-j* corresponding to MM *-jU*.

These three aspects were basically not contradicted by the rest of the text. As for the morphology and closeness to the mainstream Mongolic s. Appendix V. The complete text with translation is presented in Appendix VI.

The historical context

To establish the historical context of the KhT inscription, it is necessary to collect and evaluate the data connected with the object itself and combine them with information from other sources. We have both external data, like the place of the discovery, the nature of the site, the choice of the script and of the language, and internal data, from the content of the text, that is mainly titles, proper names and some parts of phrases and isolated words.





















1. The stone was discovered in the Tuul river system. The political group at the origin of the inscription should have been located there.
2. The poor archaeological details on the site may speak for a memorial.
3. The usage of the Brāhmī script on the Mongolian steppe is elsewhere attested only for the First Turk Kaganate. Main witness is the Bugut inscription in memory of Tadpar Kagan († 581). Three inscribed ballbals belong to the same era.
4. The language of the inscription, a member of the Mongolic language family, poses the question: imperial language (Rouran or Tuoba?) or language of the political group controlling the Tuul valley at that time?
5. From the chronological point of view, the key point is the mention of Niri Kagan Tūrüg Kagan, without any doubts the Niri 泥利 of the Chinese sources, who reigned from 595, fought against his enemies, the Eastern Turks, was defeated by the Tiele and died subsequently together with his heir and wife. However, his memorial is far away in the Tekes valley, in the centre of his territory. Therefore. KhT mentions Niri, but is not from or for him.

6. The other protagonist named in the inscription is *śiṅṅin bodi-satva t̡r̡X qayan*. It is tempting to connect *bodi-satva* with the first important Uigur ruler Pusa 菩薩, the regular Chinese transcription of Bodhisattva, although there is no Pusa Kehan in the Chinese sources of this period. On the other hand there are plenty of examples of rulers self-entitled Kagan not recognized as such in the official annals. The Turkish-speaking Uigur were emerging at that time as a leading tribe within the Tiele confederation. This could be reflected by *t̡r̡X qayan* for the case that *t̡r̡X* could be identified with the Chinese transcript 鐵勒 which is heavily contested by A. Vovin (see above).




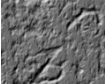



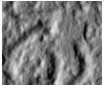
With the defeat of Niri by the Tiele as a historical reference point, it seems that the Khüis Tolgoi inscription marks the beginning of the ascendancy of the Uigurs among the Tiele tribes in the north. The Brāhmī script and Mongolic language may be chosen in imitation of the imperial inscriptions of the First Türk Kaganate (Bugut).

Appendix 1: Sign inventory

(A) Consonants

	Occlusive		Fricative	Semi vowel	Nasa l	Liquid	Vibrant
	Voiceless	Voiced	Voiceless				
Labial	 pu	 ba		 va  v1a / v1a-r	-----		
Dental	 ta	 da	 sa		 na		
Palatal	 ca	 ja	 s-	 ya	 ña	 la	 ra
Fr. velar		 Ga	 <χš> = x?? (transcr. ks)				
B. velar	 ka (transcr. qa)	 g1a (transcr. γa)					
Glottal							

(B) Vowels

	a	<ä>, i	<ä ₁ >, i ₁	u	ū	o
Independent	 a			 u		
Dependent	(inherent in all consonant signs without diacritic)	 dä	 cä ₁	 pu	 rū	 bo
				 tu		

Appendix 2: Transliteration**Explananda**

<i>kā</i>	(italics:) uncertain reading
[]	loss; a by restoration
[?]	uncertain loss
	interpunction marks (without regard to the actual form)
-r	unvocalised r, usually attached to the precedent sign by a small stroke, the so-called virāma stroke
+	equivalent of one syllable
×	equivalent of a part of a syllable
□?	something (□)questionable

N.b.: The transliteration symbols follow the accepted transliteration/transcription of the Indian signs; divergent symbols are explained above.

- (01) *bä* *tä*₁ | *ñä*-r | *ka* *g*_{1a}-n | *dä* *gä*₁⁷-n | *šä*₁⁸ *ñä*-n | *bo* *dä* | *sa*-t *va* | *to*
ro-*čš*
- (02) *ka* *g*_{1a}-n | *bu* *da* | *ka* *g*_{1a} *nu*⁹ | *u* *ka*-*čš* | *u* *ka* *ju* | *čšä*₁ *rä* | *a* *ña*
ka-y
- (03) +¹⁰ *xä*₁¹¹ *tä*₁-n | *ja*-*čš* *bo* *dä* | *bä* *gä*-y | *ña*-r / *ba* *yä* | *do* *lu* *ja* *ju* |
hu-g *bu*¹² [?]
- (04) +² *b*[] *tä*₁ | *jä*₁ *lo* *na*-r | *kra* *nya* *g*_{1u}-*ñ* | *tu* *v*_{1a}¹³ | *pu* *ro*-r | *cä* *cä*₁ *ra*
| *pu*-g *tä*₁->*g*¹⁴ | *ña* *la*-n
- (05) *x* | *k*[]¹⁵ *g*_{1a} + + *ka* *to*¹⁶ | *ña*[^{-?}]*r*¹⁷ | *du* *gä*₁-d | *nä*₁ *rä* | *ka* *g*_{1a}-n | *tu*
rū-g¹⁸ | *ka* *g*_{1a}-n
- (06) *u*-n¹⁹ | *dro* | *ta* *ya* *ju*²⁰ | *čšä*₁ *rä* | *ha*²¹-r *gä*-n | *ba*-r *g*_{1o}-*x*²² | *pa*->²³
*čšä*₁²⁴-r | + *čša*²⁵ *cä* | *hä*₁-g *bä*₁-j
- (07) *tu*-g *ju* | *u* *ka* *ba*²⁶-r | *ña*-r²⁷ *ka* *g*_{1a}-n | *čša* *nä* | *ju* *la* *ba* | *tu* *nu* |
tu-g *nya*²⁸ | *tu* *v*_{1a}²⁹

7 Or: *gä*? Though the distinctive loop of the diacritic is destroyed the visible part seems to belong rather to <*ä*₁> than to <*ä*>.

8 <*š*> is clear enough here, but better discernible in col. 8.

9 Unusual form. The sign looks like a variant of <*ka*> (Sander alphabet u); but only the reading nu makes sense and <*ka*>, which would stand for the front k, is excluded from a back vocalic word.

10 Complex sign, the lower part seems to be (-)h; however, syllable closing h would be strange.

11 Or: *xo*(?); *xä*₁-l (not excluded).

12 <pu> corrected into <bu>?

13 Or: *v*_{1a}-r.

14 The virāma stroke is not discernible, but cf. *pu*-g *tä*-g *cä* in col. 8.

15 Or: *g*₁[]?

16 Or: do?

17 Or: *ña* r[].

18 Spelling with short u in col. 10.

19 Or: -c? Faint or even lacking virāma stroke, but clearly visible in col. 9.

20 S. KT details. If read correctly, the shape of ya is less rounded than in col. 2 and 3.

21 Or: *hä*? There may be traces of the -*ä* diacritic.

22 Perhaps *g*_{1o}-*l*; or, much less probable, instead of *g*_{1o}-*x*; *g*_{1o}.

23 Or: *pla*?

24 Or: *xä*₁. The vowel diacritic could also be -o. The consonantal part is palaeographically extremely unclear.

25 Or: -*čš*.

26 Rather than *g*_{1a}.

27 Less probable: *v*_{1a}.

28 Or: *na*, without subscript -y?

29 Or: *v*_{1a}-r.

- (08) $+^{30}$ $\chi\check{s}a-\times$ $tu-\times$ $to \times$ g_1u-n 31 | $pu-g$ $t\check{a}-g$ $c\check{a}$ | $\acute{s}a_1$ $\check{n}\check{a}$ $-n$ | bo $d\check{a}$ $sa-t$
 va | to $ro-\chi\check{s}$ | $\bar{k}a$ g_1a-n
- (09) $[+]$ $l[]^{32+}$ | $\times\check{a}$ yu^{33} | $u-c^{34}$ $b\check{a}$ $t\check{a}_1$ $h\check{a}_1-\check{n}$ | $+$ $+$ $g_1u-\chi\check{s}$ | tu v_1a^{35} | $\check{n}a-r^{36}$
| $\bar{k}a$ g_1a-n | to $ro-\chi\check{s}$ | $\bar{k}a$ g_1a $nu-n$ |
- (10) $+^{37}$ pa^{38} da | na $r\check{a}$ | $\bar{k}a$ g_1a-n | $tu-$ 39 ru 40 - g | $+$ g_1a- $[]$ $\times\check{a}^{41}$ $j\check{a}[-]n$ 42
 u $b\check{a}_1-j$ | ja lo^{43} $ba-j$ | $da-r$ $\bar{k}a-d$ | ja ya^{44} $b\check{a}$
- (11) $[?^{45}]$ $ru-n^{46}$ $b\check{a}^{47}$ $t\check{a}^{48,49}$ g^{50} | $+$ sa^{51} - g | $pa-g$ 52 $[+ +]$ $j[] [?]^{53}$ $da-r$
 $\bar{k}a-n$ ba^{54} | $t\check{a}^{55}$ ba $\bar{k}a^{56}$

30 Space for a complex sign; no intelligible traces.

31 This is what one would guess from ZS. Though the three curved lines of g_1 are uncertain as well as $-u$ and $-n$ has an inappropriate stroke at the lower end, no better proposal can be made.

32 Or: lo ?

33 The trace above is unclear, perhaps a $da\check{d}a$.

34 Or: $u-n$?

35 Or: v_1a-r .

36 Or: $pa-r$, $ba-r$?

37 Perhaps: hu or $h[]-r$?

38 Or: ba ?

39 The $vir\check{a}ma$ stroke is erroneous.

40 Spelled with $-u$ in col. 5.

41 $\times\check{a}$: $g\check{a}$ ZS.

42 $j\check{a}[-]n$ | : $j\check{a}-x$ appears from D instead.

43 The form slightly differs from $\langle lo \rangle$ in col. 4 and is therefore marked as uncertain.

44 Or: $ja[-]y$?

45 Probably no loss of script. The upper left rim of the stone is seemingly quite well preserved (mostly smooth-edged, minimal sharp-edged fractures). The stonemason followed the natural form of the stone which provided not enough space for writing something above $ru-n$. Probably no lacuna between col. 10 and 11.

46 Or: $-c$. If initial: $u-n$, $u-c$.

47 Or: ba . - Closed form of $\langle b \rangle$.

48 $-a_1$ is not excluded.

49 $Vir\check{a}ma$ stroke is uncertain.

50 $\langle g \rangle$, still clearly readable on D, is now partly destroyed.

51 A vowel diacritic, possibly $-a$, cannot be excluded.

52 Or: $pu \times$.

53 Probably no loss of script between the two visible $ak\check{s}aras$; there was not enough space for writing.

54 Or: $b[\check{a}]$.

55 Or: $d\check{a}$?

56 The rest of the column is blank.

Appendix 3: Consonant inventory

		Occlusive		Fricative		Semi-vowel	Nasal	Li- quid	Vibrant
		un-voiced	voiced	un-voiced	voiced				
Labial		p ¹	b			w* ²	(m)		
Dental		t ³	d	s, si > ši			n	l	r
Palatal		č	ǰ			j	ñ ⁴		
Velar	front	(k)	g				(ŋ)		
	back	k			ɣ				
Glottal		h* ⁵							

Symbols: x* = not contained in Janhunen; (m) = accidentally not attested in KhT

KhT in comparison with the Pre-Proto-Mongolic consonant system (after Janhunen)⁵⁷

Notes

- 1 **p > *x “took place in Late Pre-Proto-Mongolic not much prior to the emergence of the historical Mongols.” (Janhunen 2003:396)
- 2 The status of w is unclear.
- 3 Janhunen (2003:397) states “the preservation of a distinctive dental *t ... before the high unrounded vowels *i *ɪ” for the Pre-Proto-Mongolic which is also true for KhT.
- 4 The value and/or status of these sounds is not certain. – As to the palatal nasal ñ, the interpretation as palatalized phonetic variant of n is barred by the back vocalism of 2 añakay and 4 kranyaguñ. According to Janhunen, however, the Pre-Proto-Mongolic and perhaps the Para-Mongolic had *ny (= our ñ), e. g. in *nyoka ‘dog’ “as opposed to Proto-Mongolic *noka.i ‘dog’,, where *ny was depalatalized to n.⁵⁸ There are no cases where KhT ñ directly corresponds with Para-Mongolic *ny.
- 5 The KhT h- was tentatively determined as on-glide of front vowels and intervocally as hiatus bridge, as such without phonemic value.

⁵⁷ J. Janhunen’s table (2003: 397) does not comprise glottals and his velar subsystem counts less elements (*k, *g, *x, *ng): back and front velars are not distinguished; however, “a primary velar spirant *x” is postulated. It is successor of **p and as such not comparable with any velar of KhT where p is still preserved unchanged.

⁵⁸ Janhunen 2003: 397.

Appendix 4: Open transcription

Preliminary notes

The transcription is made and to be understood before the background of the (Para-) Mongolian hypothesis which includes vowel harmony and absence of word initial r.

Velars and glottals are indicators of backness and frontness:

q←<k̄>, γ←<g₁> are certainly, (initial) u and a are probably signals for backness; g=<g> and probably h=<h> signal frontness; <χš> is probably neutral, its value is unclear, but Vovin's transcripts q/ks are adopted.

The vowel signs represent either front or back vowels. Frontness or backness is either determined by the described indicators or undecided. Accordingly they are transcribed

ä, ö, ü, i, i₁ in words with front indicators;

a, o, u, ɪ, ɪ₁ in words with back indicators;

ɑ, ɔ, ʊ, ɪ, ɪ₁ in words without indicators.

bodı-satva: the hyphen is applied between parts which belong together, but are separated by interpunction mark.

- (01) bɪtɪ₁-n̄ār qayan digi₁n⁵⁹ šɪ₁n̄ɪn bodı-satva tɔrɔq/ks
- (02) qayan buɖɑ qayanu uqaqs uqajɯ q/ksɪ₁rɪ añaqay
- (03) ...ɪ₁ tɪ₁n jaq/ks bɔɖɪ bigiy-n̄ār bəɣɪ dɔlɯjajɯ⁶⁰ hügbü[?]
- (04) +² b[ɪ]tɪ₁ jɪ₁lɔn̄ār q(a)ranyayũ tɯwɑ⁶¹ purɔr čičɪrɑ pügti₁g n̄alɑn
- (05) × q[a]ya[nu?] + qato-n̄ār dügi₁d nɪ₁rɪ qayan türüg qayan
- (06) un⁶² d(ɔ)rɔ tɑɣajɯ q/ksɪ₁rɪ härgin⁶³ baryo[l] pəlq/ksɪ₁r [+q/ksɑçɪ hi₁gbi₁j
- (07) tügjü uqabar-n̄ār qayan q/ksɑnɪ jɯlɑbɑ tɯnɯ tügnɯä tɯwɑ⁶⁴
- (08) + q/ksɑ[] tɯ[] to[ɣo[?]]ɣun pügti₁gči šɪ₁n̄ɪn bodısatva tɔrɔq/ks qayan
- (09) [+ɪ]l[] + []ɪɣɯ ɯč⁶⁵ bitɪ₁hi₁n̄ + + ɣuqs tɯwɑ-n̄ār qayan tɔrɔq/ks qayanun

59 Or: digɪn.

60 Or: dɔlɯ jajɯ.

61 Or: tɯwɑr.

62 Or: ɯč?

63 Or: hɪ?

64 Or: tɯwɑr.

65 Or: ɯn?

(10) + paḍa n<1>r1 qayan türüg [qa]ya[n] []t1m ub1j ja1o1aj darqad jayabi⁶⁶

(11) [?]ruⁿ⁶⁷ bitig + säg pay [+ +] j[] [?] darqan ba⁶⁸ | t1⁶⁹ ba qa

[blanco]

Appendix 5: KhT morphology

marker	Khüis Tolgoi	MM	Pre-Classical WM	Khitan
genitive after -n stems	-U ~ -Un	-U ~ -nU	-U	-en
genitive after consonantal stems	-Un ~ -iñ	-Un	-Un	-un, -en,
genitive after vowel stems	-n	-yin, WMM -in, -n ⁷⁰	-yin	-n, -on, -un
locative	-dA	-dA	--	-de, -do, -du
accusative	-i ~ -i	-i ~ -yi	-i ~ -yi	-Ø
plural suffix	-ñAr	-nAr	-nAr	-ñer ~ -ñeñ
plural suffix	-d	-d	-d	-d
singular suffix	-n	-n	-n	--
nomen actoris	-či	-či	-či	--
nomen praesentis (with converbial function)	-yi > -Ø (after -yi)	-(U)yi	-(U)yi	-Vi
converbum modale	-n	-n	-n	--
converbum contemporale	-jU	-jU	-jU	-j ~ -č
converbum finale	-rA	-rA	-rA	--
converbum praeparativum	-rUn	-rUn	-rUn	--
adnominal	-n[]	--	--	-n
past	-bA	-bA(i)	-bA(i)	-beñ
distant past	-j	*-ji	-juqui ~ -jüki	--
deductive present	-yU	-yU	-yU	--
nominalizer	-yui ~ -yun	-'Un	-yun ~ -gün	--
nominalizer	-r	-r	-r	--
nominalizer	-yol	-'Ul	-yul ~ -gül	--
functionally unclear verbal suffix	-n[V]yA-	--	--	--

66 Or: jaybi?

67 Or: ruč? If word initial: un, uč.

68 Or: b[i].

69 Or: d1?

70 After stems ending in -ai.

Appendix 6: Transcription and translation

Both, transcription and translation, are tentative; the translation

- 1 biti-ńer qaƷan digi-n řini-n bodi-satva törö-ks(e)
- 2 qaƷan buda qaƷan-u uqa-qs(a) uqa-ju ksıı Ańaqay
- 3 [?.]-ite-n ja-qs(a) bod-ı beg-ey-ńar bayyı-Ø dolu-ja-ju hügbü +?
- 4 b[i]ti jilo-nar q(a)ra-n(V)ya-yuń tuwa puıı-r čeči-re pügtig ńele-n
- 5 [+] q[a]Ʒa[n-u?] qato-ńar düge-d ńıı qaƷan türüg qaƷan-
- 6 -un d(ö)rö taya-ju ksııı hergin bar-ıo[l] palksıı-r [+]ksa-či hiıgbiı-ı
- 7 tüg-ju uqa-ba-r-ńar qaƷan ksan-ı jula-ba tün-ü tüş(i)-n[] tuwa
- 8 ? tu[] to[ıo]-yun pügtig-či řini-n bodi-satva törö-ks(e) qaƷan
- 9 [+]/[] [+] ki-yü un bitig-ın puıan tuıa-ńar qaƷan törö-ks(e) qaƷan-un
- 10 [sina]pa-da Niri qaƷan türüg qaya[n] [k/g]ııi-n ubi-ı jalo-ba-ı darqa-d ıay bi-
- 11 -rün bitig [+]sA[] pay [+ +] j[] [?] darqa-n b[i]ti-be qa

1–3. QaƷan [of] the inscriptions died and when the qaƷan, who was [re]born as a new Bodhisattva, knows lord Buddha knowledge, and promises ... the country’s Ańaqay [title], begs and tribes, stand, and listen together... 4. Looking at the inscription stones, Tupa [people] exterminated [their] sins and joined the saved 5. ... qaƷan’s wives [and] younger brothers, [and] Niri qaƷan, qaƷan [of] Türks 6. worshiped the Law, and country’s erkins and collectors ... 7. are enough and those who realized that qaƷan’s regnal years were shining, and Tupa whom he supported/entrusted 8. counting ... those who attained salvation ... qaƷan who was [re]born as a new Bodhisattva 9–11. do... of the inscription ...the qaƷan of Tupa was [re]born. In the qaƷan’s domain, [they] followed Niri qaƷan, qaƷan of Türks and ... [He] directed [them]. As the free men were happy, inscription ... official wrote ...

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The “five eyes pattern” *tavan nüden hee*

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There are many patterns with symbolic value in the old and current traditions, which are inseparable features from Mongolian society. Originally, the models consisted of basic figures that evolved through various combining possibilities and formed meaningful symbols in everyday life, in nature and space. Thousands of varieties of circular, square or triangular shapes allowed unlimited possibilities to indicate the concrete and abstract phenomena of the universe.

For example, a downward triangular pattern called *choinjün* or *dormon* stamp, acquired various symbolic meanings, such as “the sixty feet *Jandmana* hell” (*jaran ald jandmana tam*) in folktales; “the triangular black hole beyond the eighty one steps” (*nayan negen alhmyn tsaadai gurvaljin har nü*) in rituals; “the origin of the black skies” and “the arrow to destroy enemies” in shamanic contexts.¹ These various patterns along with their symbols can be seen on clothes, jewellery, wallets, bakery articles, cups, pots, furniture, doors, Buddhist temples, buildings, etc. In the nomad world that works through its symbols, they have very different representations, from animals and shamanic accessories, to important and symbolic parts of the Mongolian yurt. For example, snake decorations on the shamans’ costumes have the symbolic meaning of invoking spirits. In fact the shaman’s whole costume as well as his accessories (drums, sticks, bronze mirrors, etc.) symbolizes the support of spirits, musical instruments, and means of transport or protective armour for the shaman. Two lions on the “wooden chest” (*avdar*) are to scare evil spirits and misfortunes. Tigers on the Mongolian wrestlers’ costumes have the symbolic meaning of protection and gathering strength. The respect given to the “yurt posts” (*bagana*) because of their good omen, was perpetuated by the concern to decorate them and by the richness in symbols of the ornaments. The carved patterns generally include the “four strong ones”: the lion, the tiger, the mystic Garuda bird and the dragon.² Moreover, the posts were always to be cut in birch wood, because the nomads believed that the lightning did not fall on a birch tree (Tangad 1981: 211). The birch wood’s white colour, considered auspicious, symbolises the old bloodlines that are the nobility of the steppe in opposition to the commoners, called “black” (*harts*).

1 Dulam, *Mongol belegdel züi. Dürsiin belegdel züi. Dohio zangaany belegdel züi*. [Mongolian symbolism. Symbolism of images. Symbolism of gestures], 2007 : 166.

2 Tangad, ‘Coutumes mongoles liées au poteau de yourte,’ *Études mongoles...et sibériennes* 21, 1990: 49–50.

The starting point for this paper is a particular symbol found on a 21 by 21 cm square silk cloth (Figure 1.), dating back to the early twentieth century. Embroidered on each of the four corners of the silk cloth is the *chandmani erdene* pattern, the “wishing jewel”, and in the middle there is a much larger embroidery representing the *tavan nüden hee*, i.e. the “five eyes pattern”. Concerning the origin of this symbol, according to the available Mongolian sources, the “five eyes pattern” belongs to the ancient Mongolian tradition. Its existence is historically proven from the oldest times as meaning nobleness, respectfulness, protection, strength and sacredness.

However, the “five eyes pattern” was not widely used – it was painted or inlaid only on certain objects – unlike other Mongolian symbols such as “the endless knot”,³ “the golden swastika” (*altan has*)⁴ or the linear pattern of linked swastikas that are very visible. Particular patterns are not used exclusively to decorate different belongings, but are symbols and signs loaded with meaningful values transferred onto the object.



Figure 1.

The question that arises is related to the significance of this very meaningful symbol, which determines its use on a limited scale and only in relation with

3 “The endless knot” (*ölzii utas*), known also as “the golden endless knot” (*altan ölzii utas*), symbolizes the infinite love, fortune, good luck and interdependence of all things, associated with happiness and wealth.

4 **Swastika (*has*):** (Sanskrit *svastikā*), symbol of good luck, meaning “well-being”, “good existence” and “good luck”. *Has hee* is a “linear pattern of linked swastikas.”

certain objects of particular importance for the Mongols. Hence the necessity of making an inventory of the objects on which this symbol is painted, embroidered or carved, in order to decipher it. There is little evidence concerning the existence of “five eyes pattern” symbol. Mongolian sources mention its presence on warriors’ armour, on various parts of the horse saddle, on the livestock branding iron instruments, on gold and silver bowls, on the soldiers’ weapons, especially on swords and knives.

One of the first manifestations of this symbol in Mongolia refers to warriors who wore armour made up of “five eyes” shaped connected iron rings. Such armour was supposed to protect them and make them vigilant and wary of the whistling arrows coming from the high sky.

The “five eyes pattern” on objects belonging to nomadic households

Few objects decorated with the “five eyes pattern” are displayed at the National History Museum in Ulaanbaatar. These are items used in everyday life such as a silver bowl,⁵ a door ring, a stirrup handle, an iron seal for branding livestock and a part of the traditional headdress of a bride or married woman.

During the excavations made by the Institute of Archaeology of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences in Töv *aimag*, Erdene *sum* at the *Sharil* cliff, three handles of a drawer in perfect shape, decorated with the “five eyes pattern”, were discovered in a tomb dating back to the 13th-14th centuries (Nyamaa and Ganbold, 2007: 84). Archaeological excavations also have revealed three pieces of end tiles (Figure 2.) from the roof of a building from the former capital Harhorin,⁶ dating back to the 13th century, currently exhibited at the National History Museum in Ulaanbaatar. (Nyamaa and Ganbold, 2007: 84).



⁵ In 1959, in a grave of Mongol nobles in the *Onon* river basin was found a silver bowl with the “five eyes pattern” symbol, carved on the outside bottom. (Nyamaa and Ganbold, 2007: 84).

⁶ Karakorum.

Figure 2

The common feature of the objects mentioned above is their essential role in the life of nomadic Mongols. Indeed, the silver bowl, the door ring, the handles of a drawer, as all the belongings forming the economy of a nomad household, are treated with the greatest care, thus decorated with the “five eyes pattern” symbolizing respect, honour, protection and a sacred status. The stirrup is a sacred element of the saddle, being associated with the horse to which the nomad is indissolubly bound. As for the iron for livestock branding (Figure 3), it is indispensable for breeders’ housekeeping. Its ornamentation with the “five eyes pattern” symbolizes the concern for livestock’s protection and breeders’ prosperity.



Figure 3

The headdress of a bride decorated with the “five eyes pattern” symbol is linked to the wedding ritual, which is the most important social event, and, therefore, Mongols have appended a meaningful ornament. The “five eyes pattern” decoration on the end tiles of a roof indicates that we have to deal with vestiges of an important building from Harhorin, the house of a noble or a Buddhist temple.

The “five eyes pattern” symbol in the Buddhist tradition

In the Mongolian Buddhist church, the “five eyes pattern” is the expression of the five elements of astrological calculations: fire, earth, metal, water and wood. This symbol was used generously for decorating Buddhist temples. One example is the decoration of the upper part of the main door of the Gandantegchinlen Buddhist temple in Ulaanbaatar.

Moreover, the small cups for candles, hand-drums, incense-burners, and various objects used in the Buddhist ritual, and sutras are decorated with the “five

eyes pattern". It glorifies the eternal blue sky and in Buddhism, symbolizes concord, harmony, indestructible force, multiplies the friendship of men, and establishes the Five Celestial Victors⁷ or Jina (*yazguurin tavan burhan*) and the five colours: blue, red, yellow, white and black.

Another interesting proof supporting the idea that the "five-eye pattern" is used as an ornament only on objects of particular importance is its presence on one side of the silver knife's sheath⁸ belonging to Bogd Haan, used for the *dallaga* ritual.⁹

The "five eyes pattern" as State symbol

The Bogd Haan's throne displayed on the first floor of the Bogdo Haan's Palace Museum is covered with sable fur and its back is decorated with golden dragon embroidery. On the dragon, there are 40 cm yellow silky ribbons hanging on both sides, embroidered with the "five eyes pattern". The presence of this decoration on the throne of a chief of state raises it to state symbol status symbolizing its flourishing and Bogd Haan's infinite peace and happiness (Figure 4).



Figure 4

7 The Five Celestial Victors or Jina, consisting of Vairocana, Akshobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi. (Bawden, 1997: 580–581).

8 The ritual knife was discovered in 1924 when Bogd Haan's belongings were sold and the 64 cm silver knife was bought by a collector and preserved until nowadays.

9 *Dallaga avah*, the ritual of appeal of happiness. The lama invited to come to say the prayers, hunts for harmful things in the house and calls for prosperity. "Making circular movements in a clockwise direction" (*dallah*) is the specific movement of the *dallaga* ritual to invoke good fortune and prosperity.

Besides Buddhist monks' gown the Bogd Haan wore state ceremonial clothes.¹⁰ In the detailed survey made in his volume on the Mongolian clothes¹¹ the scholar Nyambuu draws attention to the emblem fixed on Bogd Haan's flap of his ceremonial gown. It has a circular shape and around its central part are embroidered precious ornaments-symbols: the four "wishing jewels", the "khan's bracelet" (*haan buguivch*),¹² the "queen's earrings" (*hatan süih*),¹³ the "five eyes pattern", an "elephant tusk" (*zaan soyo*), a fish (*zagas*),¹⁴ etc. and images of mountains and waters. All of these precious patterns were raised to state symbol rank. The presence of the "five eyes" pattern symbol on the throne as well as on the ceremony clothes of Bogd Haan, shows that the rank of this pattern as state symbol was not interrupted over the centuries.

The old history of the "five eyes" symbol reveals that during the Yuan Dynasty, this pattern symbolized the precious tutelary genius. It was, according to a decree, represented only on the clothes of the golden line of Chinggis Khan and on the weapons of the high rank officers and nobility. Chinggis, his younger brothers, his sons, the noble relatives and aristocrats had clothes decorated with the "five eyes" pattern which became a "state symbol" (*tör yos*). Indeed, During Qubilai's reign, Mongolian nobles' dress or *Züsem*,¹⁵ emerged as a primary style for dignitaries. According to the Yuan Empire sutras "any honoured noble and leading ministers wore" the established *Züsem* (Nyambuu 2002:17). The rules that have an impact on the Mongolian national dress have changed over time. In his book on the history of the Mongolian clothes Nyambuu (2002: 114–115) classifies the nobles according to the symbols embroidered on their clothes, assigning the "five eyes pattern" a first rank symbol (Figure 5).

The custom was preserved from the 17th, until the beginning of 20th century.

¹⁰ This clothing as well as the throne are exhibited at Bogdo Haan's Palace Museum.

¹¹ Nyambuu, 2002: *Mongol huvtsasnii tüüh*. [History of Mongolian Clothes]. *Tüüh, ugsaatnii züin шинжилгээ* [History, Ethnographic Survey], Ulaanbaatar.

¹² *Haan buguivch*, "king's bracelet", is the name of a pattern consisting of two linked rings, each with four smaller rings around its circumference, which is a symbol of honesty, peace and love, and complementary of *hatan süih* symbol.

¹³ *Hatan-süih*, "queen's earrings", is the name of a pattern consisting of two linked double parallelograms each with a small double ring at the corners, which is a symbol comparable to a wedding ring. The ear ornament, symbol of love and honesty, is complementary of the *haan buguivch* symbol.

¹⁴ In the Mongolian tradition the elephant symbolizes force and the fish means longevity and posterity.

¹⁵ *Züsem*, coat color (animal), cf. Bawden 1997: 186.



Figure 5

The first rank *taiji*¹⁶ nobility had the “five eyes pattern” embroidered on the flap of their ceremonial gown.

The second rank nobility had the *altan ölzii utas* “golden endless knot” pattern embroidered on the flap of their ceremonial gown.

The third rank nobility had the golden “swastika” *altan has* pattern embroidered on the flap of their ceremonial gown.

The fourth rank nobility wore ceremonial clothes embroidered with the *Chandmani*, “wishing jewel” pattern.

The fifth rank nobility had the *möngön lavai* “silver conch”¹⁷ embroidered on the flap of the ceremonial gown.

“Garment is an object of respect and custom, intimately associated with the person, but also with the Mongols and their history” (Even 2012: 111).

The “five eyes pattern” on 14th century coins¹⁸

In the central part of the silver coins of the time of Darmashir Khan who reigned between 1327–1333 in Tsagaadai¹⁹ Khanate there is the “five-eyed pattern” symbol printed in relief in the middle of a ritual thunderbolt.

16 *Taiji, taij*, title of nobility held by the descendants of Chinggis Khan and his brothers on the *Borjigin* line.

17 The “white conch” is one of the eight auspicious symbols blessed by Shakyamuni Buddha. It symbolizes the spread of the sacred teachings and the awakening from ignorance as well as the virtue and merit that result in peace and happiness.

18 These coins are displayed at the National History Museum in Ulaanbaatar.

The “five eyes pattern” printed on the Mongolian currency of Bogd Haan

Centuries later the “five eyes pattern” symbol was printed on the beautiful and rare Mongolian banknotes issued in 1921 during the short theocratic monarchy of Bogd Haan which was followed by the first government installed after the victory of the People’s revolution.²⁰ The so called *Baga Bolzoot*²¹ was issued as a short-term government obligation, from April 20 to October 20, 1921 with the purpose of accumulating funds for the government.²² The Mongolian dollar was the currency of Mongolia between 1921 and 1925 when together with other circulating currencies, was replaced by the *tögrök*.

Treasury notes were issued with the denominations of 10, 20, 50 and 100 dollars. The first wooden printing block of the *Baga Bolzoot* was made by Luvsangombo known as “Black Hands”, a monk from the Vangai province of Hüree, a famous craftsman,²³ and chief of Hüree’s wooden block making activities.

Below are the descriptions of each note of *baga bolzoot* according to its nominal value, limited to the symbols that have been chosen as an ornament for governmental obligations.

1. The 10 Dollar Note²⁴

The obverse is edged with one centimetre width blue ornament border. The “lotus flower” (*badamlyanhua*) is placed in the middle of the top of the border and a swastika pattern is placed on the upper right and left corners. Both sides are decorated with two pairs of five “Queen’s earrings”. The bottom right and left corners are decorated with the “endless knot”. The middle of the bottom border is decorated with the “fish” and the “endless knot” patterns on both sides. In the

19 *Tsagaadai*, (Ca’adai, Caghadai, Tchagatai), the “Whitish”, was Chinggis Khan’s second son. (Cf. *Histoire secrète des Mongols*. Trad. Even et Pop, 1994 [1997]: see the genealogical tree p. 38 and paragraphs 242–245, 258, 260, 269–271, 276, 277, 279, 280.

20 The political and historical situation in Mongolia at the outset of the 20th century was the following: the Russian general Baron Ungern-Sternbeg escaped Bolsheviks and fought Chinese troops who occupied *Niisel Hüree*, the “capital city” in 1921. After driving away the Chinese *Guomins*, he freed Bogd Haan who was under house arrest at that time and enthroned him as *Haan* of Mongolia. In these circumstances Mongolia which declared its independence from China in April 1921 released its first national currency, meant to develop the country.

21 There are no significant publications on where, how and by whom the *Baga Bolzoot* government obligations were issued except the survey of Z. Lonjid who carefully studied the historical documents of the Ministry of Finance preserved at the Mongolian National Archives.

22 At that time Mongolia lacked an efficient financial system and the currency of Russia and China, gold and silver coins issued in England, US, or Mexico, Chinese or Manchu silver ingots called *Yumbu*, yaks, camels, horses, other livestock, tea and fur were functioning as media of exchange.

23 He carved Bogd Haan’s precious jade stamp when Bogd Haan Mongolia became independent from the Manchus in 1911.

24 The size of the paper is 185 x 116 mm.

centre of the obverse there is the “five eyes pattern” with a diameter of 32mm: four of its eyes are painted yellow, white, blue and red, and the central eye is yellow. The reverse is edged by a similar blue border as the obverse. The top and the corners are decorated with the “endless knot” pattern. Both sides are decorated with two pairs of five patterns known as the “King’s bracelet” and the bottom corners are decorated with the “fish” pattern. In the upper centre there is a 3 x 3 cm blue colour stamp and a *soyombo*²⁵ symbol. Under the Mongolian script there is a picture of a white sheep (Figure 6).



Figure 6

2. The 25 Dollar Note

Both sides of the note are edged with a one-centimetre width red ornament border; ornaments and patterns are blue and red in colour. Except for their colour, the symbols printed on the 25 dollar note’s face and reverse sides are identical to the 10-dollar note. A red spotted cow is seen on the reverse side under the semicircle in blue background colour (Figure 7).

²⁵ Undoubtedly, *Soyombo* is the most popular symbol in Mongolia. The *Soyombo symbol* became a national symbol of Mongolia, and has appeared on the national flag since 1921 and on the Emblem of Mongolia since 1960 as well as on money, stamps etc. Various meanings are proposed for its components; some directly related to the Mongolian people, others oriented more towards Buddhism. *Soyombo* also inspired a Mongolian script also known as “*Soyombo alphabet*” developed by the monk and scholar Zanabazar in 1686.



Figure 7

3. The 50 Dollar Note²⁶

The border on the face side is greenish yellow, and the symbols and ornaments printed with red on both sides of the note, are identical to the 10 and 25 dollars notes. The border's colour on the reverse side is dark blue and there is a picture of a white horse facing left, with its mane, tail, and feet in red (Figure 8).



Figure 8

²⁶ According to the 2007 data of an auction firm and transactions of world's rare paper currencies in Europe it was stated that only three samples of the 50 dollar notes are preserved today and are among the world's rarest notes.

4. The 100 Dollar Note

The general characteristics of this note with the highest nominal value are similar to those of the 10, 25 and 50 dollar notes. One difference is that the outer border of the “five eye pattern” symbol on the face side is printed with a double line. The yellow-brown camel facing right is pictured in a semicircle with a light yellow base on the reverse side of the note (Figure 9).



Figure 9

The “five-eye” symbol placed in the centre of the *baga bolzoot* notes has a relatively large size. Writing about the “five eyes pattern” present on the face of all notes of the *baga bolzoot* Bogd Haan’s currency, L. M. Iolson remarked that this symbol was a “National Emblem of Mongolia” at that time (Nyamaa and Bat-Erdene 2010: 111). Although not an emblem, it has been, since ancient times, a Mongolian symbol of respectfulness and honour.

The “five eyes pattern” printed on the Danzan²⁷ dollars in 1921.²⁸

With the victory of the People’s revolution, the new government was established in July 1921. The *baga bolzoot* notes issued by the government of Bogd Haan were withdrawn from circulation for several reasons including the perception that it

27 Soli Danzan (1885–1924) of Sainjin clan was a nationalist and was considered to be a special and odd person. According to his view, “it is right to get a support from Soviet Russia, but we should not develop the country according to the Soviet model” (cf. Nyamaa, B. and Bat-Erdene, D. 2010: 60, 120). This belief led him to his tragic ending. Thus, by direct orders of Elbegdorj Richino, the Bolshevik Party’s Representative of the Soviet Russia who came to Mongolia as government advisor, Soli Danzan was unexpectedly arrested on the night of August 26, 1924 and executed few days later.

28 Today, this paper money known as *Danzan’s Dollar* is included with the *Baga bolzoot* in the Standard Catalogue of World Paper Money and considered one of the rarest paper money in the world.

was unsuitable for the revolutionary government to use the currency of the former government. Further, a new set of banknotes were printed by the end of 1921, in denominations of 50 cents, 1, 3, 5, 10 and 25 dollars. An Agreement on Printing a National Currency of Mongolia was established and signed by Soli Danzan, the Chairman of the People's Party of Mongolia and Minister of Finance, and Alsky, the Deputy to the Commissioner of the People's Finance of the Soviet Russia on the 24th of November 1921. It was agreed to print a new national currency with six values: 50 cents, 1, 3, 5, 10, and 25 dollars.²⁹ The design was drawn by the famous Mongolian painter Balduu Sharav (also named Marzan³⁰ Sharav). The notes are decorated with bright colours and traditional Mongolian patterns. A common symbol on all notes is the "five eye pattern" symbol in different sizes and colours. On the one, five, ten and twenty-five dollar banknotes, the "five eyes pattern" is drawn in combination with the swastika, a double meaning sign considered to be a state symbol³¹ (Figure 10).



Figure 10

The use of the "five-eye" pattern and its position as a central symbol on both series of banknotes printed in Mongolia at the beginning of the 20th century represents the return of this ancient symbol "in force" six centuries after it had been used embossed on the 14th century silver coins.

Analyzing its graphic representation within the system of values of Mongolian philosophy, we come across the following meanings:

²⁹ The money was printed, according to the agreement with the second Factory of Printing State Securities, in Moscow based on a loan of one million roubles.

³⁰ Marzan, "comic, funny," (Tseveel 1966: 332).

³¹ Nyamaa, B. and Bat-Erdene, D., 2010: 123.

– its round shape represents world existence, creation, cosmos, and symbolizes the nomads' camp; it means as well, the law and the rule.³²

– number “five” *tav* is a figure with good omen. Mongols have in their culture “the five categories of treatment in traditional medicine” (*tavan zasal*); “the five elements” (*tavan mahbod*) – wood, fire, earth, iron, water – ; “the five colours” (*tavan öngö*) – blue, red, yellow, white, black – , “the five elixirs” (*tavan Rashaan*) – medicinal decoction of juniper, wormwood, joint pine, labrador tea and pine needles; “the five delights” (*tavan tansag*) – beauty, euphoria, fragrance, savouriness, softness – ; “the five Sensuous Offerings” (*tavan tahlil*) – mirror, music, perfume, tasty food, soft materials – ; “the five major sciences” (*tavan uhaan*) – i.e. the five major branches of learning – in Buddhism, and “the five sorts of livestock” (*tavan hoshuu mal*) – horse, camel, ox, sheep, goat. This number symbolizes strength, force, power and capacity.³³

With regard to the colours with which this symbol is represented on the Bogd Haan's Mongolian banknotes issued in 1921,

– white colour symbolizes noble origin: “the good nature” (*tsagaan sanaatai*), “the shaman's costume” (*tsagaan huvtsas*), “the white residence, the yurt” (*tsagaan örgöö*), “the first month of the lunar year” (*tsagaan sar*)³⁴

– blue colour symbolizes spirituality under the protection of “the eternal blue sky” *höh mönh tenger* and politics through “the establishment of the blue Mongolian State” *höh Mongol ulsyg baiguulalt*.³⁵

– yellow colour symbolizes earth, astrology and astrologists, as well as their sage writings.³⁶

– red colour symbolizes heroes; it means straight, absolutely, right.³⁷

The revival of the “five eyes” pattern is due to the fact that in the collective memory this model has continued to symbolize Mongolian customs, rule, and historical tradition. This pattern symbolises the first hero originated from the ring of the armour and defence from dangers, glorifies the eternal blue sky and, in Buddhism, symbolizes concord, harmony, unbreakable strength, and spreads human friendship. The “five eyes” became in time a widespread symbol; however it

32 Dulam 2007: *Mongol belegdel züi. Dürsiin belegdel züi*. [Mongolian symbolism. Symbolism of images] 2007: 82.

33 Dulam, *Mongol belegdel. Tooni belegdel züi*. [Mongolian symbolism. Symbolism of numbers], 2007: 93.

34 Dulam, *Mongol belegdel züi. Öngiin belegdel züi*. [Mongolian symbolism. Symbolism of colours] 2007: 16–20.

35 *Ibid.* : 23–26.

36 *Ibid.* : 32–33.

37 *Ibid.* : 41.

is limited to a range of objects that are very important for the Mongols, and therefore recognized as having a complex and powerful meaning. This development shows the importance of these patterns in the frame of Mongolian popular knowledge and symbolic representations, offering us a rare insight into the inner workings of Mongolian culture and ancient Mongolian heritage. Nowadays, this particular pattern can be seen as page-decoration on books published after 2000, as well as a symbol of strength used by some modern institutions. It is used, for example as the logo for a Mongolian bank (Figure 11).



Figure 11

These symbols of high economic, cultural, and scientific achievements of the Mongols, which were left in oblivion under the centuries of long oppression of the Qing Dynasty,³⁸ were rediscovered and were used in new shapes and strengthened meaning with independence in the 20th century.

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³⁸ The Qing dynasty, established by the Manchu in 1636, was the last imperial state in China (Yuan Shikai's attempt to establish himself as the "Great Emperor of the Chinese Empire" at the end of 1915 was an utter failure). The Manchu emperors ruled China proper – the territory of the Ming dynasty – for nearly three centuries (1644–1912) and extended their suzerainty over Mongolian, Tibetan and Züünghar (Oirat) territories. The Qing multi-cultural empire was then claimed as its own by the modern Chinese state.

- Dulam, S., 2007. *Mongol belegdel züi. Öngiin belegdel züi. Züg chigiin belegdel züi.* [Mongolian symbolism. Symbolism of colors. Symbolism of direction] Ded devter. IX bot', Mongol soyoliin chuulgan, Ulaanbaatar.
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Bortz and Membrok, etymology of two Cuman names from the 13th century

Maria Magdolna Tatár

In this paper I intend to offer an explanation of the above names, well-known from the sources connected to the Christianization of the Cumans in the 13th century. The first Christian missions, which were carried out by Hungarian Dominicans, are well documented by diplomatic letters between the Holy See and the Hungarian king, chronicles and historical scriptures of the Dominican order.¹ According to the Dominican sources, Paulus Hungarus, an excellent scholar of ecclesiastical law at the university of Bologna, became one of the early followers of St. Dominic, the founder of the preachers' order and adapted the goal of the founder, namely to convert the pagan Cumans to Christianity.² According to the papal letters, it was Robert, archbishop of Esztergom who administered the process by baptizing the Cuman prince, visiting the province, and leading the organization of the new bishopric, using royal support as well. As far as we know, there were several attempts to Christianize these pagans, "who had no idea of God".³

In 1222, the first monks went to Moldova, but the Cumans sent them back into Hungary.⁴

In 1227, the second group of Dominicans went further eastwards, to the Dnieper. Two of them were killed, before finally, chieftain *Bortz* sent his son to Hungary where he and his entourage were converted and further arrangements were made to the conversion of the whole tribe. They established close (although not totally vassal) connections with the Hungarian Kingdom.

Robert, archbishop of Esztergom and the crown prince, Béla (later king Béla IV) followed up this success, travelled to Transylvania in 1228 and participated in the baptism of the chieftain and thousands of their people there.

1 Historians have elaborated the history of the Cumans, e.g. Gyárfás 1870–1885/1992, Györffy 1951/1990, Golden 2013, Kliashorny 2013, Stoianov 2010 and especially that of the mission, e.g. Ferent 1981, Berend 2001, Spinei 2008, etc.

2 *Commentariolum de provinciae Hungariae originibus*: Pfeiffer, 1913: 142–146. Paulus Hungarus, killed by the Mongols in 1241, is venerated as a Beatus and commemorated November 13, cf. Diós II., 2009.

3 *Qui nullam Dei omnino notitiam habuerunt* in *Vita s. Dominici fundatoris ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum* by Theodoricus de Apolda., a. 1292, ed. AA. SS. Boll. I: 558–628; Gombos III: 2333.

4 Cf. *Annales ordinis praedicatorum*, Ferent 1981: 121–122.

In 1228, a Cuman bishopric was founded and a church (titulus BVM) built in Milkó/Milkovo, between the Eastern slopes of the Carpathian Mountains. Bortz, the chieftain got a royal donation in the vicinity, close to the south-eastern border of Hungary (Transylvania/Moldova) where the Teutonic Knight Order tried to establish their own realm (as they later did in Balticum), before they were expelled by king Andreas II.⁵

The mission made quite an impact on history. The mission lasted 19–20 years before the Mongolian invasion destroyed it by killing approximately 90 Dominicans. It means that there must have been quite many educated people involved. The 12 Dominican travelers (Otto, Julianus and their companions) were probably selected from those monks who worked among the Cumans and spoke their language. They delivered important information about Eastern Europe to the King and the Pope, including information about Hungarian groups still living as far as by the Ural Mountains at that time and about the threatening Mongolian invasion. As we know, well-organized Cuman units tried to escape from the Mongols and migrated into Hungary. It was probably these Christian Cumans, connected both politically and military to the Kingdom, who settled in Hungary.

Bortz⁶

Bortz is the name of the Cuman prince who was baptized in 1227.⁷ Variants of his name are *Barcz*, *Barc*, *Bruchi*, and *Bauch* in Dominican sources. He is obviously identical with *Brut*, *Brutus*, a chieftain by the Neper (i.e. Dnieper), who was baptized together with his family.⁸ His name was printed as *Biutus* in a historical book about the Hungarians saints, written by Gabriel Hevenesi SJ in the 17th century.⁹ In the Emonis chronicon from the 13th century, *Boricus* is to be found.¹⁰ Further on, Bortz was perhaps identical with *Begovars* (r: *Bey-Bars*) a Cuman chief, who in 1229 or 1230 participated in the war against Galich on the Hungarian side, as recorded in the Galich-Volhynian Annals.¹¹ According to Hungarian Dominican

5 These facts make the impression that these Cumans were meant to be border guards in the South-East corner of Transylvania, a function which was later taken over by the Hungarian speaking Csángós, moved here probably from the vicinity of the Aranyos river, Transylvania. All these movements and the reorganization of the Székelys were part of a royal plan to secure the border guards in the area – a task which became even more important after the Mongolian invasion. Moving and settling people in any areas of the Kingdom was a royal privilege, which in such large scale could not have been carried out as a spontaneous event.

6 About his person cf. Kovács 2005.

7 Theiner, 1859 I: 86; Hurmuzaki, 1887 I: 102.

8 *Vita s. Dominici fundatoris ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum* C. 322. 323 (AA.SS. Boll. 4. augusti: 558–628) in: Gombos, III: 2335, no. 4964, Ferrarius, 1637: 40.

9 RMSZ 1695: 100–102, Puskely 1994: 176–177.

10 MGH SS 23: 511.

11 PSRL II: 761; Hodinka 1916: 368–369.

sources, Brut died like a good Christian, after the Galich campaign but before the episcopal church was built in 1234.¹²

The forms Bruchi, Brut and Brutus are formed by metathesis, Biutus must be a misreading and/or misspelling of Brut(us). Bauch is a misreading and misspelling of Barch. Boricius is obviously the same as Russian Boris (“warrior”), added probably by an educated Western European who had some but not enough information about Eastern Europe.

Several scholars made attempts to find an etymology for this name. According to Rásonyi, both Borč and Burč is a possible reading.¹³ Györffy and other Hungarian scholars connected it to Turkic *barc*, *bars* “panther”, while Drimba tried to explain it as *borch* “debt”, or *burč* “pepper”, which is little plausible.¹⁴ Bortz is sometimes identified with the Cuman prince *Begovars* (r.: *Bey-bars*) mentioned in the Galich-Volhynian Annals, i.e. the last consonant in his name must have been –s (written according to German orthography by –tz and pronounced /ts/ in Hungarian) and not –č.¹⁵ Although I doubt the identification because *Bagubars* brothers are mentioned in The Testament of Vladimir Monomakh between 1080 and 1086 (Russian Primary Chronicle 160, 162), which makes the impression that this is the name of a kindred or a military group and their leader, I do accept the phonetic explanation. This is not a unique development in Hungarian, see the same consonant cluster in *Barsil* “name of a Tc tribe” > Hung. *Bercel* (in toponyms, FNSz I, 196). The proper name, Bars “panther” was used together with the title *bey*: *Bey-bars* “lord Panther”, a name which often occurs among different Tc groups, and also in toponyms, among others in the territory of historical Hungary.¹⁶

Membrok/Bemborch/Bibrech

In several sources, the name of a second chieftain occurs as Bernborch, Membrok, Bernborch, Bemborch, Benbroch, Bembroth, Brebroth, Benbrorch, Henborz,

¹² Vita s. Dominici fundatoris ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum in Gombos III: 2334.

¹³ Rásonyi 1967: 138.

¹⁴ Drimba 2000: 48, 88. The *Burchevichi* tribe of the Cumans, also called *Borcsól* (1266: *Borchol*, 1288: *Borchoul*) in Hungary, *Burch-oghlu* in the Mamluk state, whose name means “sons of Burch”, are not named after this person, because they are mentioned in Russian sources already in 1193 (Dimnik 2003: 202).

¹⁵ Kovács 2005: 257.

¹⁶ Cf. Rásonyi – Baski I, 2007. These proper name > toponyms are well documented in Ukraine, among the Romanians and in historical Hungary (in Székelyland 1332–7: *villa Biborch*, the present *Bibarcfalva*, Rom. *Biborțeni*, FNSz I, 1988, 211a). Even the long vowel is documented in 1567: *Bijbarkfalva* (Jakab – Szádeczky 1994: 268).

Heubory, Bribrech, Bribrch, Bribroch, Bribchu.¹⁷ Most scholars use the form Membrok, although most variants have an initial b-. Fejér obviously meant that all these forms referred to the same person, i.e. Bartz.¹⁸ According to Gyárfás, these (and Borth) was a deformation of Boriz (Boris)¹⁹. Some scholars, e.g. Pfeiffer and Ferentş argued that Bortz Membrok was one person with a double name.²⁰ According to Richard and Györffy, Bortz and Membrok were father and son.²¹ Ferentş and Theodorescu used the double name Bortz Membrok for the father, and the (incorrect) variant Burch for the son.²² Berend (2001, 217) mentioned them as just two chieftains. Kovács (2005, 256) agrees with Györffy according to whom the Dominicans wanted to emphasise their successes by mentioning not one but two names, father and son and Membrok is just a variant of Beybars, i.e. Bortz. He also suggested an etymology (269), based on the idea that the second part Membrok is Bortz, i.e. bars “tiger, panther”, combined with men “great, big” or bey “lord”.

Before working on the etymology it must be decided whether the forms with an initial *b-* or with an *m-* are the original forms or both. *B-/m-* alternation is well documented in Kipchak languages, see the name of another Cuman chieftain, called *Maniaχ* in Greek, *Monoch* in Hungarian, but *Bonjak*” in Russian sources (around 1090).²³ This change in Kipchak is well attested already by Mahmud al-Kashgari, who wrote that the Kipchak (and Oguz and Suvar) changed initial *m-* to *b-*. Still, one must remember that the Cuman tribal organization included peoples of different dialects and languages. It is noteworthy that most variants have an initial *b-*, and only very few an initial *h-* or an initial *m-*. Metathesis, misprints, misreadings and orthographic traditions stand for the rest of the variations. E.g. taking *e* or *i* for *r* and vice versa were usual misreadings, while the *e > i* development is a Kipchak feature.²⁴

In my opinion, for further explanations we have to look into the Hungarian Dominican source, the *Vita s. Dominici fundatoris ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum* „Life of St. Dominicus, the founder of the Order of Preacher Friars”, written in the 13th century by Theodoricus de Apolda, who collected it from different ancient sources (!). It is in his work where the two chieftains occur: Brut and Bernbroch. Both names show contaminated spelling. They are probably copied from two

17 *Vita s. Dominici fundatoris ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum* C. 322. 323 (AA.SS. Boll. 4. augusti: 558–628) Gombos: 2335, no. 4964, MGH 23: 920, Reichert 1897: 306; Tugwell 1998: 89, 93, 95–96; Curta 2008 II: 427, note 47, etc.

18 Fejér, 1829, III: 110 cited the different forms which are to be found in sources in parentheses after the name of Bort (r. Bortz): *Bort* (i.e. *Bribroth*, *Bibrech*, *Bemborch*, *Boriz*). By other means, he meant that they all refer to the same person.

19 Gyárfás II, 1873: 220.

20 Pfeiffer 1913: 79, Ferentş 1981: 125.

21 Richard 1941: 2, Györffy 1951/1990: 269.

22 Ferentş 1981: 126 and Theodorescu 1974: 168, 172.

23 Cf. Györffy 1948/1990: 213.

24 SIGTJA Regional'nye rekonstrukcii, 2002: 225–227.

different sources, because Brut contains metathesis while Bernbroch does not, i.e. the metathesis is not based on a common dialect. The *Vita* gives us similar information about both persons:²⁵

They are both *dux*, a kind of tribal or military chieftains;

They are both baptized together with their families;

They both died as good Christians;

They are both buried in the chapel of Our Lady, i.e. they both died before the cathedral of the episcopate was built.

How many newly baptized chiefs could have died a sacred death and buried in the same chapel between 1227 (or rather 1230) and 1234, when the episcopal church was built? It seems to me that Theodericus perhaps cited here two sources about the same person, but in any case surely not about a father and his son, a relation which he probably would not have left unmentioned.

The etymology can be elaborated by using two variants, *Bibrech* and *Bibrege*, printed as such in 1637 and in 1695, respectively. *Bibrech* is to be found in the history which Sigismundus Ferrarius OP wrote about the Hungarian Dominican province (1637, 40), which he, an Italian, reorganized after turbulent centuries. He was a devoted historian who collected all manuscripts about the order, so he used reliable information. *Bibrege* occurs in the hagiographical book (RMSz 101, Puskely 1994, 176–177) published by Gabriel Hevenesi SJ about Hungarian saints after the example of the Bollandists. He mentioned shortly in the biography of Paulus Hungarus that he baptized many Cumans, among others their two supreme commanders, *Biutus* and *Bibrege*.²⁶ These forms are corroborated by the more contaminated *Bibrech*, *Bibrch*, *Bibroch* and *Bribchu*. Hevenesi wrote more details about Paulus Hungarus than Ferrarius, still, they both mentioned that the Dominicans worked 19–20 years among the Cumans before the Mongolian invasion. It is most probable that Hevenesi read the book of Ferrarius and although to different degrees, they both preserved some traditions about the mission that was remembered in the Hungarian Dominican province. They are important contributions.

25 "... et sic primo omnium ducem, nomine Brut, cum aliquibus de familia sua baptizaverunt; qui post aliquot annos in confessione verae fidei perseverans, obdormivit in Domino, facta prius confessione et communione, ut moris Christianorum est, suscepta, per manus fratrum in capella beatae Virginis, quam in eadem gente commorantes fratres, ut se ibi quandoque colligerent, aedificaverant, honorifice est sepultus. – C.323. Post haec Bernborch nobiliorem ducem cum mille circiter de familia sua ad fidem Iesu Christi convertebant, quem de sacro fonte baptismatis non sine magno gaudio illustris rex Ungariae Andreas, pater sanctae Elisabeth levavit. Hic dux, dum in extremis ageret, in manibus fratrum in agone constitutus, dixit: Discedant a me omnes Cumani pagani, quia video circa eos daemones horribiles; remaneant soli fratres et Cumani baptizati, quia ecce video fratres martyrizatos qui exspectant me, ut secum ducent ad gaudia, quae praedicaverunt. Et his dictis, cum mirabili gaudio exspiravit, et in capella beatae Virginis supra memorata traditus est sepulturae." (Gombos III: 2335).

26 RMSz 1695/1737: 101, Puskely 1994, 175–177.

In my opinion, *Bibrech/Bibrege* can be explained as a borrowing from Persian *bābr* ‘tiger’, i.e. Tc “bars”.²⁷ In Persian the Proto-Iranian *a* became *ā* and there is the well-known development of *e > i* in Kipchak languages, which caused the change *a > e > i* in the first syllable. It is how *Babrak*, an Iranian name²⁸ became *Bibrech/Bibrege* among the Cumans.

The variants *Bernborch*, *Bernborch*, *Bemborch*, *Benbroch*, *Bembroth*, *Brebroth*, *Benbrorch* did not follow this *e > i* development. *Membrok* on the other hand, shows the not uncommon *b > m* change, although *m > b* would be more usual in a Kipchak language. A similar development happened in the case of Persian *barāt* (i.e. the name of the Muslim holiday *sab-i barāt*) which became *meret* in Kipchak.²⁹ This word for tiger does not occur in the Codex Cumanicus. The Cumans must have borrowed it before they arrived to the Pontic steppes, probably somewhere in Transoxania or from the Alans in their neighborhood, even perhaps not from the Jász/As group they arrived together with to Hungary. Modern genetic research proved the mixed, Oriental-Eastern European origin of the Cumans.³⁰ Although earlier anthropological measurements are now more or less outdated, I will quote it here in lack of a throughout research carried out in these groups. The population in Greater and Lesser Cumania are actually anthropologically different (Czeizel 1990: 162–164), so it is obvious that the groups have different history and also their contacts with the Iranian word happened through different channels, especially as one of them came from the Kazakh steppes, while the other one lived some time already further to the West, on the right bank of the Dnieper.

Although Turkic *Bars* and *Bibrech/Bibrege* have the same meaning it is not sure whether they were names of two different persons or perhaps just one person, it is clear that they were used respectively in both languages by a mixed, Kipchak-Alan population, the army of which alliance went even in battle together against the Mongols in 1222.

I intend to elaborate here another *Membrok* just to avoid any misunderstanding. Another *Membrok* occurs in an English chivalric romance, *The Kyng of Tars*, i.e. the king of Tarsus, whose beautiful daughter was forced to marry a Muslim leader, the Soudan, i.e. Sultan. Its manuscripts³¹ (one in Edinburgh, one in Bodleiana and one in the British Library) are from the 14th century. The text is translated from French or Latin. One of the Sarazzen vassals of the Sultan is *Membrok/Menbrok/Memaroc*, a cowardly pagan.³² Can *Memaroc* and thereof

27 Persian *bābr* ‘tiger’, Tajik *babr* ‘leopard’, Dari *babr* ‘lion’ < Pra-Iranian **babru-*, **babra-*, names of animals with a yellowish colour, also in the Pamir (Edel’man 2009: 51, 145).

28 Cf. the pseudonym Babrak Karmal, Afgan politician born in 1929.

29 Kovács 2017: 63–64.

30 Bogácsi-Szabó – Kalmár – Csányi – Tomory – Czibula 2005.

31 Edinburgh Nat. Lib. Of Scotland, Vernon Oxford, Bodleiana, Simeon, London British Libr. Cf. Davis 2009.

32 Warton I, 1774: 131–136; Ritson II, 1802: 198, 202; <http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/chandler-the-king-of-tars>.

Membrok stand for Mamluk? The names of the other personages in the romance are similarly misspelled, e.g. Merkel stands for Carmel and Mahoun for Mohamed. Unfortunately the Latin or French original of the English translation has not survived the centuries, so it is impossible to find out any more about these names. Still, knowing the connections between France, Italy and the Muslim world in the 13th century, (when the original of the 14th century copy was probably written), it is possible that *Membrok* meant Mamluk here. The Mamluks were actually Kipchaks from the Pontic area, exactly where our *Membrok* lived in the same period. It is possible that this name of a social group with ethnic and religious connotations was known and used by the copyist in the Vatican when referring to this pagan chieftain, who just converted to Christianity. In any case, it is not connected to the name of our Cuman chieftain.

The presence of the Kipchaks on the Balkans and in Hungary is well-known, but now *Bars* and *Bibrech/Bibrege* witness about the Alan – Kipchak past of this territory, just outside of Transylvania, a fact which was less documented by linguistic material earlier.

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Józef Kowalewski's Letters to Bernhard Jülg

Hartmut Walravens

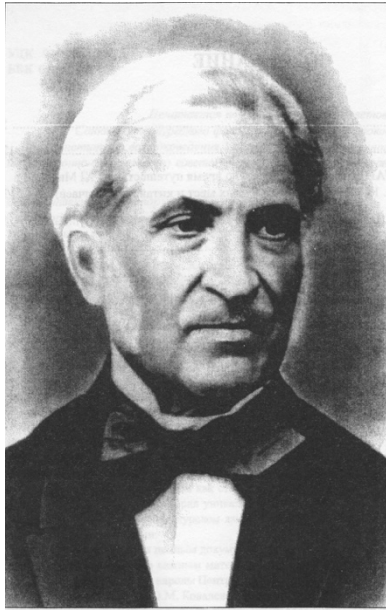
Berlin

There do not seem to be many letters extant exchanged between Orientalists in Russia and in the West. So far it is mainly correspondence between Paul Pelliot and V. M. Alekseev¹ and numerous letters to scholars abroad by the Petersburg Academician Anton Schiefner.²

In the case of Józef Kowalewski there are only four letters to be found among the Jülg papers at the Austrian National Library but they are certainly of interest.

1 Alekseev, V. M.: *Pisma k Eduarda Šavannu i Polju Pellio*. Sostavitel' I. È. Ciperovič. Sankt-Peterburg: Peterburgskoe Vostokovedenie 1998. 230 p.

2 H. Walravens: «*Freilich lag in den zu überwindenden Schwierigkeiten ein besonderer Reiz ...*» Briefwechsel der Sprachwissenschaftler Hans Conon von der Gabelentz, Wilhelm Schott und Anton Schiefner, 1834–1874. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2008. 210 p. (Sinologica Coloniensia 26.) H. Walravens: Letters of A. Schiefner about V. P. Vasil'ev. *Pismennye pamjatniki vostoka* 8. 2008, 251–264. *Anton Schiefner (1817–1879) und seine indologischen Freunde*. Seine Briefe an die Indologen Albrecht Weber (1825–1901), Rudolf Roth (1821–1895) und William Dwight Whitney (1827–1894) sowie den Indogermanisten Adalbert Kuhn (1821–1881). Mit Anmerkungen, kleineren Arbeiten Schiefners und Register bearbeitet und herausgegeben von H. Walravens und Agnes Stache-Weiske. Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften 2015. 455 S. (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte 868.) – Anton Schiefner: *Briefe und Schriftenverzeichnis*. Briefe an Bernhard Jülg (1825–1886), Karl Ernst von Baer (1792–1876), Reinhold Köhler (1830–1892), Victor Hehn (1813–1890), August Friedrich Pott (1802–1887), Ernst Kuhn (1846–1920), Lorenz Diefenbach (1806–1883), Ernst Förstemann (1822–1906) und Karl Dziatzko (1842–1903) Ediert und herausgegeben von Hartmut Walravens und Agnes Stache-Weiske. Wien: Österr. Akademie der Wissenschaften 2017. 520 p.



J. S. Kowalewski

Józef Szczepan Kowalewski was born at Brzostowica Wielka, Gvt. Grodno (today in Belarus) on Jan. 9. 1801. He studied at Wilno University (today Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania) and took the degree of candidate of ethic-philosophical sciences; after further study at a teachers seminar he became a teacher of Latin and Polish of the local gymnasium. When the authorities discovered the existence of two “secret societies” among the students, the Philaretes and the Philomates, the members were arrested; Kowalewski and two others were banished to Kazan in order to study Oriental languages. Kowalewski started learning Arabic, Tatar and Persian; in 1828 he and the student Popov were sent to Irkutsk to study Mongolian. This was a good opportunity as the young men had an experienced teacher, Aleksandr Vasil’evič Igumnov³ who worked as an interpreter, and there was the option of practicing their language command with the local Buryats. Kowalewski joined the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission to Peking as secretary; he stayed for seven months and assembled a book collection for Kazan University.⁴ After an additional stay with the Buryats he returned to Kazan and administered a newly founded chair of the Mongol language, the first such chair in Europe, in 1833. In 1837 he became corresponding member of the Petersburg Academy of Sciences and

3 Leonid Sergeevič Pučkovskij: „Aleksandr Vasil’evič Igumnov (1761–1834)“. *Očerki po istorii russkogo vostokovedenija* 3.1960, 166–195; *Rossijskie mongolovedy (XVIII – načalo XX vv.)* Ulan-Udė: BNC, 1997: 5–9 (Š. Čimitdoržiev). Igumnov made very positive statements regarding the progress of his two disciples.

4 H. Walravens: *Die Sammlung Kowalewski – der erste europäische Katalog mongolischer, tibetischer, manjurischer und tibetischer Bücher (1834)*. *Rooted in Hope - In der Hoffnung verwurzelt. Festschrift in honor of Roman Malek S.V.D. on the occasion of his 65th birthday*. Nettetal: Steyler Verlag 2017. Vol. II: 811–844.

also ordinary professor of Mongol Studies. As of 1844 he was simultaneously director of the 2nd Kazan gymnasium, and from 1855 to 1860 rector of the University. The latter responsibility was a difficult one because in 1855 the Oriental Department of the University was transferred to St. Petersburg. Kowalewski passed away at Warsaw, where he was professor of history, on Oct. 2nd 1878. Parts of Kowalewski's papers are kept today at Kazan, at St. Petersburg and at Vilnius. Another part of his papers was destroyed when his Warsaw apartment caught fire.

Kowalewski's main achievements were the establishment of Mongolian Studies as an academic discipline and his publications – a short grammar of the Mongol written language (*Kratkaja grammatika mongol'skogo knižnogo jazyka*. 1835), a comprehensive annotated Mongol chrestomathy (*Mongol'skaja chrestomatija*. 1836–1837, in two volumes) and the outstanding three volume *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français* (Kazan 1844–1849) which is still being used today and earned Kowalewski the prestigious Demidov award. Kowalewski's best known student was V. P. Vasil'ev⁵ a prominent Sinologist, Mongolist and Tibetologist. Some of the stories from the anthology were translated by Wilhelm Schott⁶ who used the work for his classes.

One of Kowalewski's early letters abroad was addressed to Stanislas Julien, the eminent French Sinologist.⁷ It is dated Kazan, June 17th, 1839 and deserves attention. It was published in the *Journal asiatique*, Dec. 1839, 508–509:

Dear Sir,

*Do not be surprised that my writings have so far been published in the Russian language which I have acquired in the same way as other European languages. The necessity to train lovers of Mongol in Russia forced me to prefer Russian for preparing elementary works. The favourable response by Orientalists as well as the rapid progress that my students have made in the Mongol language, did prove for me that I reached my goal, namely being useful in this new career. Profiting from your advice, I am going to add the explication of words and phrases in my dictionary in French. At this moment one of my friends has started translating the commentaries in my chrestomathy into that language. I take pleasure in presenting you as an attachment the first attempt of this work, and I take the liberty to ask you to kindly have it printed in the *Journal asiatique*. That would be a kind gesture for the translator who will devote his time to such a dry and also little attractive work.*

5 H. Walravens: „Vasilij Pavlovič Vasil'ev (1818–1900). Zu Leben und Werk des russischen Sinologen“. *OE* 48 (2010): 199–249.

6 H. Walravens: *Wilhelm Schott (1802–1889). Leben und Wirken des Orientalisten*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001. (Orientalistik, Bibliographien und Dokumentationen 13.)

7 H. Walravens: Stanislas Aignan Julien – Leben und Werk. 21. Sept. 1797–14. Febr. 1873. *MS* 62.2014: 261–333.

Regarding the price of the Kanjur in Manchu, I cannot tell you anything positive, because it is impossible to find it in private libraries. As a consequence of the degeneration of the Manchus in China and their neglect of their own language, the emperor was forced to order the printing blocks and the printing of the Kanjur to be distributed as a present to the wangs and ambans, at the expense of the crown. Besides, the Manchus not being willing to accept the Buddhist religion, could not feel any necessity of the Kanjur in their own language. During my stay in Peking, I had the opportunity to see one copy which was for sale in one private library; it comprised only one part of the Kanjur, known as *Dhâvadana*, bound in the Chinese way, in fascicles, and cost 1800 francs. This copy was written in Tibetan, Chinese, Manchu and Mongol and comprised 32 fascicles.

I did not have an opportunity to see the complete set of the Kanjur in Manchu, and I can assure you that it worried me little, having before my eyes a collection of Tibetan, Chinese and Mongol works. I acquired a superb edition of the *Vajracchedika* in Tibetan, Chinese, Mongol and Manchu for Kazan University. The late baron Schilling⁸ had a copy of it made. Similar works are much easier to find than a complete Kanjur, with its bulk and at an exorbitant price ...

This letter offers interesting information:

It was by Julien's advice that Kowalewski added French to his Mongol dictionary, which helped to give it worldwide distribution. There was also an attempt to translate the Mongol chrestomathy into French and Julien printed the mentioned sample which, however, was only part of the introduction. As nothing was published later on one has to assume that the further translation did not materialize.

Julien had already heard about the translation of the Kanjur into Manchu and was eager to acquire one for Paris. Kowalewski confirmed having seen part of the work, which he calls *Dhâvana*,⁹ and assured his correspondent that it would be impossible to buy a full set as it was an imperial publication for free distribution to

⁸ Baron Paul Ludwig (Pavel L'vovič) Schilling von Canstadt, Orientalist, diplomat, printer and engineer (Reval 16.4.1786–6.8.1837 St. Petersburg) entered military service and acted as interpreter at the Russian embassy at Munich, from 1803 to 1812. He invented an electromagnetic telegraph and insulation for electric wires, introduced lithography into Russia, collected Oriental books and was a pioneer in printing Oriental scripts. Cf. H. Walravens: Schilling von Canstadt, Paul. *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 22.2005: 768–769; H. Walravens: *Zur Geschichte der Ostasienwissenschaften in Europa. Abel Rémusat (1788–1832) und das Umfeld Julius Klaproths (1783–1835)*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1999. (183 p.) (Orientalistik Bibliographien und Dokumentationen 5.): 85–100; L. I. Čuguevskij: Šilling Pavel Lvovič [Obozrenie fonda No 56 Archiva vostokovedov SPbF IV RAN]. *Vstuplenie i publikacija I. F. Popovoj. Pišmennye pamjatniki vostoka* 4.2006: 249–262.

⁹ Not identified.

the nobility [actually the monasteries] only. The description details make it clear, however, that Kowalewski did not see a part of the Kanjur proper but a self-contained edition of a text also represented in the Kanjur. So far it is not known whether the individual editions are “preprints” of the Kanjur or preliminary translations which were then edited or revised for inclusion in the great work.

Bernhard Jülg, born at Ringelbach (Baden) on Aug. 20th 1825, studied classical philology at Heidelberg and Berlin universities; in Berlin he also heard Oriental languages (under Wilhelm Schott) and contacted Alexander von Humboldt and Conon von der Gabelentz. Still a student, he was entrusted with the revision of *Litteratur der Grammatiken, Lexika und Wörtersammlungen aller Sprachen der Erde* which was then published in 1847;¹⁰ in the same year Jülg earned his Ph.D. from Kiel University with a thesis on Kalmyk grammar, probably the first doctorate in Kalmyk philology. Isaak Jakob Schmidt, the Petersburg Academician tried to win him as his successor at the Academy but he passed away before any arrangements could be made. So Jülg had to make his living as a teacher but in 1851 he was invited as a professor to Lemberg (today: Lviv) University, and in 1852 to the more prestigious Cracow University. Ten years later he accepted an invitation to Innsbruck. In all these positions he was kept very busy as he took over additional responsibilities to cover his household expenses. Nevertheless he pursued his original plans to publish one or more Kalmyk and Mongol manuscripts which proved difficult because the texts were not easily available and there were no types outside of Russia. So he had to convince the Austrian State Printing Shop (K. und K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei) and later the Innsbruck bookseller Schumacher to create the necessary type which was only possible as he covered part of the cost himself. And when it came to the printing he had to work as a composer as the staff was unable to handle the type.

¹⁰ The original edition, by Johann Severin Vater, 1771–1826, Professor at Halle University, was published in 1815.



Bernhard Jülg

As to the texts to be published Jülg consulted with the Petersburg Academician Anton Schiefner (1817–1879) who recommended the Mongol adaptations of the Indian cycles of tales, Siddhi-kür and Arji Borji. The choice was a good one; the Göttingen Indologist Theodor Benfey (1809–1881) had kindled an increased interest in Indian tales by his views about India as the origin of many motifs; then Jülg was able, on advice of Hans Conon von der Gabelentz (1807–1874), an outstanding linguist, to point out a parallel to Tristan and Isold in Mongol tales. For Jülg, the major achievement was to offer critical Kalmyk and East Mongol texts and print them with movable type. That would be appreciated only by a handful of people, in Germany Gabelentz and Schott.

Jülg was a pioneer also in another area: He owned a few Christian tracts in Mongol; they turned out to be almost unique specimens, among the earliest Mongol publications from the Petersburg press.¹¹

Jülg passed away at Innsbruck on Aug. 14th 1886.

Publications of B. Jülg (works only on Mongolian Studies)

Litteratur der Grammatiken, Lexika und Wörtersammlungen aller Sprachen der Erde. Von Johann Severin Vater. Zweite, völlig umgearbeitete Ausgabe von B. Jülg.

¹¹ Charles R. Bawden: *A Tract for the Buryats*. Ed. by H. Walravens. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2009. 105 p. (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 67.) – Charles R. Bawden: *Another tract for the Buryats. With I. J. Schmidt's recently identified Kalmuck originals*. Ed. by H. Walravens. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2012 [2013]. 131 p. (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 82.)

Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung 1847. XII, 592 p.

[dedication:] Herrn Joseph Alexander Dahmen, Großherzoglich Badischem Geheimen Rathe und Regierungsdirector a.D., ordentlichem Mitgliede des Staatsrathes und Curator der Universität Heidelberg, Schiedsmann beim Deutschen Bundesgerichte, Großkomthur des Großherzoglich Badischen Löwen-, Großkomthur des Großherzoglich Hessischen Ludwigs-, und Ritter des Königlich Württembergischen Kron-Ordens etc. etc., seinem väterlichen Gönner in dankbarster Verehrung B. Jülg

Vorwort, X, signed: Berlin, am 1. December 1846. B. Jülg

Nachdruck: Graz: Akad. Dr.-u.Verl.Anst. 1970. XII, 592 p.

Die Märchen des Siddhi-Kür. Kalmükisch. X. Erzählung. (Als Probe einer Gesamtausgabe.) Festgruss aus Österreich an die Versammlung deutscher Philologen, Schulmänner und Orientalisten in Frankfurt a.M. vom 24.–27 September 1861 von B. Jülg. Wien: Kaiserlich-Königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei 1861. Unpag. 4 p. text

[Vorwort signed] Wien, 20. August 1861. B. Jülg

2 p. Calm. text.

Die Märchen des Siddhi-Kür. Kalmükischer Text mit deutscher Übersetzung und einem kalmükisch-deutschen Wörterbuch. Herausgegeben von B. Jülg. (Gedruckt mit Unterstützung der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien.)

Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus 1866: K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei in Wien. XVI, 223 p.

[Widmung:] Seiner Excellenz, dem Herrn Geheimen Rath Dr. Hanns Conon von der Gabelentz auf Poschwitz bei Altenburg und Herrn Staatsrath Dr. Anton Schiefner, Akademiker in St. Petersburg.

Vorwort, VIII, signed: Innsbruck, im September 1865. B. Jülg

IX–XVI: Einleitung

1–48: Urtext

49–115: Übersetzung

117: Alphabet für die Transcription

118–134: Kritische Bemerkungen

135–223: Glossarium

Kalmükische Märchen. Die Märchen des Siddhi-Kür oder Erzählungen eines verzauberten Todten. Ein Beitrag zur Sagenkunde auf buddhistischem Gebiete. Aus dem Kalmükischen übersetzt von B. Jülg.

Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus 1866. VI, 69 p.

Mongolische Märchen. Erzählung aus der Sammlung Ardschi Bordschi. Ein Seitenstück zum Gottesgericht in Tristan und Isolde. Mongolisch und deutsch nebst dem Bruchstück aus Tristan und Isolde. Herausgegeben von B. Jülg. Als Probe einer Gesamtausgabe von Ardschi Bordschi und den neun Nachtragserzählungen des Siddhi-Kür.

Innsbruck: Druck und Verlag der Wagnerschen Universitäts-Buchhandlung. 1867. 37 p. Schriften aus der Wagner'schen Schriftgiesserei.

[dedication:] Herrn Anton Schumacher, Chef der Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung in Innsbruck, dem verdienten Förderer typographischer Kunst.

„Erster mongolischer Druck im ausserrussischen Europa“

5–6: Vorwort, signed: Innsbruck im Oktober 1866, B. Jülg

7–10: Einleitung

11–18: [Mongol text] Arji Borji neretü qaᠮᠠᠨ-u tuᠯᠠᠭᠤᠴᠢ eᠼe naran gerel saran tūsimel güng-ün jūil anu ene boi

19–22: Kritisches

23–28: Übersetzung

29–37: Das Gottesgericht. Aus Gottfrieds von Strassburg «Tristan und Isolde», übersetzt von Hermann Kurtz (Seite 389–396).

Mongolische Märchen-Sammlung. Die neun Märchen des Siddhi-Kür nach der ausführlicheren Redaction und die Geschichte des Ardschi-Bordschi Chan. Mongolisch mit deutscher Übersetzung und kritischen Anmerkungen herausgegeben von Bernhard Jülg. (Mit Unterstützung der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien.)

Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung 1868. XVI, 256 p.

[dedication:] Dem Herrn Wirklichen Staatsrath Professor Dr. J. St. Kowalewski in Warschau.

V–VIII: Vorwort, signed: Innsbruck am 30. Juni 1868. Bernh. Jülg

IX–XVI: Einleitung

1–100: Mongolischer Text

103–136: Kritische Bemerkungen

139–253: Deutsche Übersetzung

Mongolische Märchen. Die neun Nachtrags-Erzählungen des Siddhi-Kür und die Geschichte des Ardschi-Bordschi Chan. Eine Fortsetzung zu den «Kalmükischen Märchen». Aus dem Mongolischen übersetzt mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen von Prof. Dr. Bernhard Jülg.

Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung 1868. XVI, 130 p.

[dedication:] Herrn Hofrath Professor Dr. August Schleicher in Jena zur freundlichen Erinnerung an die unfreundlichen Herbsttage in Tirol 1868.

V–VIII: Vorwort, signed: Innsbruck am 20. August 1868. Bernh. Jülg

IX–XVI: Einleitung

1–60: I. Siddhi-Kür

61–119: Ardschi-Bordschi

120–130: Anmerkungen

Prof. Jülg: Über die griechische Heldensage im Widerscheine bei den Mongolen.

Verhandlungen der 26. Versammlung Deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Würzburg vom 30. September bis 3. October 1868. Leipzig: Teubner 1869, 58–71

Sagas from the Far East, or, Kalmouk and Mongolian tradionary tales. With historical preface and explanatory notes. By the author of «Patrañas; Household Stories from the Land of Hofer». [Rachel Henriette Busk, 1831–1907].

London: Griffith & Farran 1873. XX, 420 p.

„Contains from page 1/324 a complete verbal, though now and then misunderstood, translation of the Siddhi-Kür and Ardschi-Bordschi of the present writer. The author does not mention this on the title-page, and from page V of the preface it might be naturally inferred that it was her own work.“ (Jülg in *JRAS* 14.1882, 59.)

On the present state of Mongolian researches. By Prof. B. Jülg. In a letter to Robert N. Cust, Esq. Hon. Sec. R.A.S.

JRAS NS 14.1882, 42–65

Dated: 24 July 1881

John R. Krueger: *Thirteen Kalmyk-Oirat tales from the Bewitched Corpse Cycle*. Text, glossary, translation.

Bloomington, IN: Mongolia Society 1978. 119 p.

(Publications of the Mongolia Society. Special papers 7.)

Includes text reprinted from the Siddhitü Kür edition by Bernhard Jülg, 1866.

Letters by Józef Kowalewski

(kindly transcribed and translated by Agata Bareja-Starzyńska, with the assistance of Filip Majkowski)

1. Oct. 14, 1863

2. March 13, 1866

3. Aug. 24, 1868

4. Febr. 2, 1876

342/123–1¹²

[Page 1]

Nie mam dosyć wymowy dla wyrażenia mojej najserdeczniejszej wdzięczności Szanownemu Profesorowi za jego czule wyrazy, któremiś chciał złagodzić moje cierpienia po tak wielkiej stracie, nie mogącej być już żadnym sposobem powetowaną. Owoce ciężkich podróży, obszernej korespondencji, wielkich kosztów I czterdziestoletnich prac niezmordowanych zginęły w przeciągu kilkunastu minut! Nie śmiem go obarczać wyliczeniem tych strat, zawsze dla mnie bolesnych i dotkliwych dla każdego kto tylko poważa naukę. Radbym nawet na ten raz pozbawić się pamięci, żeby weselej dożyć kresu mnie przeznaczzonego!

¹² Call number of the Austrian National Library which holds these letters as part of the Jülg papers.

Mocno żałuję, że inne listy Pańskie do rąk moich nie doszły. Z Kazania od ośmiu z górą miesięcy nie odbieram już ani jednej litery. Nawet zacny nasz przyjaciel Gottwald nic nie pisze. Nie wiem tedy co się i tam stało. W tak niebezpiecznych czasach nie odważam się na sprowadzenie ostatniej mojej części biblioteki wschodniej. Zapewne zgnije tam w sklepach bez żadnego użytku, albo powinna by tu przepaść w płomieniach. [page 2]

Właśnie z tego powodu życzylbym żeby i Szanowny Pan wstrzymał się nieco ze swojemi pytaniami do mnie, nim ja przyjdę cokolwiek do zdrowia i rozpatrzę się w tem co mogło zachować się z ręki zniszczenia i zdołałoby zaspokoić Pańską ciekawość.

Tymczasem proszę przyjąć wyrazy prawdziwego szacunku, z jakim mam zaszczyt pozostać.

J. S. Kowalewski

14 paźdz. 1863

Warszawa

Translation:

[Page 1]

I have no words to express my most cordial gratitude to you dear Professor for your kind words, which were to alleviate my sufferings after so great a loss which cannot be retrieved in any way. Fruits of arduous journeys, extensive correspondence, serious costs and forty years of tireless work have been lost in a matter of just over a dozen of minutes! I dare not burden you with listing those losses, always painful to me and overwhelming to anyone who holds knowledge in high esteem. I would even prefer this time to lose my memory so that I could live happier through the span of time allotted to me.

I deeply regret that your other letters have not reached my hands. I have not got a single letter from Kazan for over eight months now. Even our good friend Gottwald¹³ has not written anything. Hence I do not know about any events there, either. In such dangerous times I do not have the courage to bring here my last part of the Oriental library. Probably it will decay there in storehouses without being put to any use or it should perish here in the fire. [page 2]

Precisely for this reason I wish that also you, Dear Sir, could wait with your questions to me until I somewhat recover and find out what may have been spared from the hand of destruction and would satisfy your curiosity.

In the meantime please accept the words of my sincere respect with which I have the honour to remain.

¹³ Josef Gottwald (Ratibor Oct. 13, 1813–Aug. 7, 1897 Kazan) Ph.D. from Breslau University; he went to Russia in 1838, and as of 1849 he became ordinary professor of Arabic and Persian at the University of Kazan. When the Oriental Dept. moved to St. Petersburg in 1855, he became University Librarian, and from 1857 to 1884 he served as head of the university printing-shop. Cf. Zagoskin: *Biografičeskij slovař*. 1904. II, 226–228.

J. S. Kowalewski
14 October 1863
Warsaw

Envelope:
Cracovie
Monsieur
Monsieur le Professeur B. Jülg

342/123-2

[Page 1]

Warszawa 12 marca 1866

Szanowny profesorze, otrzymałem wydania Siddhikür, wybornie opracowane, chociaż pierwsze w swoim rodzaju i prawdziwie odpowiadające dzisiejszemu stanowisku nauki. Cześć drukarni, która tak piękne czcionki kałmuckie odlata, ale większa cześć należy się temu, który wśród innych prac nie żałował czasu i starania do zachowania i objaśnienia owego pomnika piśmiennictwa azyatyckiego. Natura nie stworzyła mię na pochlebę. Proszę zatem moje wyrazy przyjąć w najszczerzszemu ich znaczeniu, wraz z wyznaniem mojego serdecznego podziękowania za tak pożyteczną pracę na polu zaledwo odkrytem. Niech ona posłuży za wzór dla naszych następców!

Co się tyczy życzenia pańskiego mieć jeszcze jakikolwiek rękopis mągolski z mojej kolekcji, najchętniejbym natychmiast spełnił je, gdyby nie ogromna strata, jaką tu poniosłem przed dwoma laty. Dziś osoby rządowe obiecały mi dołożyć starania wynalezienia choć cząstki jakkolwiek. Właśnie z niecier-[page 2] pliwością oczekuję, teraz skutku owych poszukiwań. Dziś tu posiadam tylko zbiór mniejszych pism mągolskich, treści już religijnej, już historycznej, poczęści poetycko-powieściowej które zostały przepisane w stepach we 24 tomach, i stanowią teraz niejszą moją jedyną bibliotekę mągolską. Wstrzymuję się ze sprowadzeniem głównej biblioteki wschodniej z Kazania do Warszawy żeby nie narazić się na ostateczną zagładę tego com przez całe życie potrafił zbierać. Nim to jednak nastąpi, proszę, tymczasem pomyśleć i uwiadomić mię, co byś sobie życzył mieć do opracowania, mianowicie co do treści, żebyem mógł w tym razie dogodzić jego myślom.

Proszę przyjąć wyrazy najserdeczniejszego mojego szacunku

J. S. Kowalewski

Od szanownego Gottwalda już od dawna nie mam żadnych wiadomości. Uczucie jednak mojej dlań przyjaźni zgoła się nie zmniejszyło.

Translation:

[Page 1]

Warsaw, 12 March 1866

Dear Professor, I have received the editions of Siddhikür, perfectly elaborated, although first of their kind yet truly matching the present-day scholarly knowledge. Respect to the printing house, which cast such beautiful Kalmyk fonts, but even greater respect to the person, who among other works did not spare time and efforts to preserve and explain this monument of Asian writing. Nature did not make me a flatterer. Thus please accept my words in their most sincere meaning together with my expression of cordial thanks for such useful work in the field only recently discovered. Let it become a model for our successors!

Regarding your wish to receive any one more manuscript from my Mongolian collection, I would have loved to fulfil it immediately, if it hadn't been for the immense loss which I suffered here two years ago. Today the government people promised me to find whatever part of it.

Just now I am [page 2] impatiently awaiting the results of this search. I have here with me only a collection of lesser texts of religious or historical, or partly poetical and fictional contents, which have been copied in the steppes in 24 volumes and are now part of my only Mongolian library. I hesitate to bring the main Oriental library from Kazan not to risk the final destruction of what I have been able to collect throughout my whole life. Before this happens, please think and inform me what you would be interested to obtain to work on, namely concerning the contents, so that I could please your thoughts.

Please accept words of my most cordial respect.

J. S. Kowalewski

From dear Gottwald I have not received any news for a long time now. However, my feelings of friendship towards him have not diminished at all.

Envelope:

Innsbruck

Monsieur

Monsieur le Dr. B. Jülg

342/123-3

[Page 1]

Szanowny Panie,

Okolo dwóch tygodni z prawdziwą pociechą dla serca przypatruję się pięknemu i sumiennemu wydaniu powiastek Siddi-kür i Ardzi-Bordzi. Nie wątpię, że uczeni znawcy oddadzą hołd sprawiedliwy największej troskliwości i dokładności, jaką się odznaczył wydawca tej pracy, tyle pożądaney i mającej swoje stanowisko na polu literatury wschodniej. Lecz cóż ma wyrzec ten, którego imię zostało ozdobione takim

dziełem? Oto chyba z całą szczerością wyznać, że drobna jego usługa w oczach zacnej a pobłażliwej przyjaźni znalazła większy walor nad swoją prawdziwą wartość. Ściskam tedy najserdeczniej rękę szanownego Pana za tak drogą dla mnie pamiątkę, którą do ostatka dni moich chlubić się nie przestanę!

Przykro mi, że do tej pory w Warszawie nie mogę wynaleźć recenzji napisanej przez profesora Gołstuńskiego. Domyślam się tylko, że to muszą być uwagi człowieka chorobliwego poczynione w duchu czasu, który stara się błotem zarzucać cudze zasługi, niezadając sobie pracy na zgłębienie samej rzeczy. Smutna [page 2] to sprawa dla ludzi, którzy sumiennie dopełniają swojego posłannictwa na tym padole i pragną coś coraz lepszego widzieć w koło ku swoich bliźnich! Najdroższej Antosi rączki najśliczniej całuję za przyslaną fotografię, która w moim albumie zajęła miejsce między osobami nieocenionymi dla mojego serca. Niechże Opatrzność hojnie wynagrodzi moją szacowną przyjaciółkę długimi laty i prawdziwym, niezmiernym szczęściem na pociechę rodziców i jego czciela!

W nadziei, że Ardzi Bordzi nie pozostanie ostatnim przedmiotem naszej przyjacielskiej korespondencji, mam zaszczyt pisać się zawsze gotowym do usług Szanownego Pana.

J. S. Kowalewski

Warszawa
24 sierpnia 1868

Translation:

[Page 1]

Dear Sir,

For about two weeks with true satisfaction in my heart I have been looking at the beautiful and scrupulously prepared edition of tales of Siddikür and Arji-Borji. I do not doubt that scholarly experts will pay a just homage to the greatest accuracy and precision, which characterize the editor of this work, so needed and holding its established position in the field of Oriental literature. But what should say the one whose name was marked by this work? He should perhaps with all sincerity confess that his insignificant service in the eyes of the honest but forgiving friendship has found a bigger virtue than its true value. So I am shaking dear Sir your hand for such a precious gift in which till the last days of my life I shall not stop taking pride!

I am sorry that till now I have not been able to find in Warsaw the review written by Professor Golstunski.¹⁴ I am only guessing that these must have been notes made by a pathological person in the spirit of the times, attempting to sling mud at someone else's merits, without putting efforts to investigate the very thing. It is a sad [page 2] thing for people who faithfully fulfil their mission in this vale and ever wish to see better things around and for their fellows!

I am kissing the hands of dearest Antonia¹⁵ for the photograph she sent, which in my album has found a place between the people priceless to my heart! May Providence reward generously my dearest friend with long years and true immense happiness for the comfort of her parents and its worshipper!

With hope that Arji Borji will not remain the last subject of our friendly correspondence, I have the honour to declare myself always being ready at your, Dear Sir, service.

J. S. Kowalewski

Warsaw
24 August 1868

Envelope:
À Innsbruck
Herrn Dr. u. Professor B. v. Jülg

324/123-4

[Page 1]

Drogi sercu mojemu przyjacielu, Szanowny Professorze, jakże mam wyrazić uczucie wdzięczności za łaskawe wspomnienie o mnie i za nieocenione słowo o mnie zestarzałym i chorobliwym? Dusza moja przeczuwała odezwę Pańską, bo w chwilę jej pisania myślała o Panu, tak jak gdyby było pewną o otrzymaniu pożądanego listu. Wszak w moje lata żyje się przeszłością i raz powzięte mocne wrażenia pozostają niezmienionymi do ostatniego tętna życia!

Po odebraniu Pańskiej odezwy natychmiast udałem się do naszego kuratora i z największą przyjemnością wysłuchałem szczerze uwielbienie talentów, nauki i

¹⁴ Konstantin Fedorovič Golstunskij (Vasil'skursk 2/14. Juni 1831–14.6.1899 St.Petersburg); he studied at the Kazan Gymnasium and then at Kazan University; in 1855 he was transferred to St. Petersburg where he became adjunct at St. Petersburg University, 1860 professor. In 1880 he took a doctorate in Mongolian Studies. *Rossijskie mongolovedy (XVIII – načalo XX vv.)* Ulan-Ude: BNC 1997: 71–74 (Š. Čimitdoržiev) – The paper in question here is *Kritičeskija zaměčanja na izdanie prof. Jülga "Die Märchen des Siddhi-Kür"* / Golstunskij, Konstantin Fedorovič. St. Petersburg: Akademija nauk 1867. 47 p. (Zapiski Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk [Priloženie] 11,4.) Jülg felt hurt by this criticism; Schiefner who confirmed that Golstunskij was an honest and sincere scholar felt awkward as he had apparently suggested to Golstunskij to write a review.

¹⁵ Apparently Jülg's second daughter Antonie who married the director of the Cracow police, Karl Ritter von Englisch in 1878.

charakteru P. Fuka, a razem dowiedziałem się, że jego sprawa już odesłana do ministerium oświecenia, zktąd wkrótce ma nastąpić rezolucja o udaniu się na zjazd filologów w Tübingen, z określeniem trzecztygodniowego terminu. Zatem życzenie Pańskie spełni się, a Kurator ma niepłonną nadzieję, że podróż uczonego przyniesie nieuchybną korzyść zakładom naukowym.

Nie wspomniałeś Pan o swej zacnej córeczce, której rączki zdaleka całuję, z całego serca, a jej portret ciągle mi przypomina najprzyjemniejsze chwile naszej korespondencji. Niech ją Bóg błogosławi na długie, długie lata ku jej szczęściu [page 2] I ku niezachwianej pocieszce serca rodzicielskiego!

Zawsze jednostajnie szczerzy sługa
J. S. Kowalewski

Warszawa,
2 kwietnia 1876

Translation:

[Page 1]

My dearest friend, Professor, how can I express the feeling of gratitude for your gracious memory of me and for the invaluable word about myself, old and ailing? My soul sensed your response, since at the moment of you writing it, it was thinking about you as if it were certain to receive the desired letter. For at my age one lives in the past and once experienced strong impressions remain unchanged till the last heartbeat!

Having received your proclamation I immediately went to our curator and with greatest pleasure I listened to sincere adoration of the talents, knowledge and character of Mr. Fuk¹⁶ and at the same time I learnt that his case was already sent to the Ministry of Education, from where soon should come the decision concerning his traveling to Tübingen for the convention of philologists for the period of three weeks. Therefore, your wish will be fulfilled and the Curator puts his undoubted hopes that the travel of this scholar will bring inevitable benefits to scholarly institutions.

You did not mention, Sir, your noble daughter, whose hands I am kissing from afar wholeheartedly, and whose portrait constantly reminds me the nicest moments of our correspondence. May God bless her for long, long years for her happiness [page 2] and for the unshaken comfort of her parents' hearts!

Invariably sincere servant
J. S. Kowalewski

Warsaw,
2 April 1876

¹⁶ Mr. Fuk was senior teacher at the gymnasium at Kalisch (Kalisz).

Envelope:
 Innsbruck
 Monsieur le Professeur B. Jülg

These few letters provide some details which deserve attention. In the first letter Kowalewski is apparently still under the shock of his great loss – the fire in his apartment destroyed within minutes a large part of his scholarly work, the work of a lifetime. He was so traumatized that he almost preferred to have lost his memory in order to remain a happy man. The reference to Gottwald, professor of Arabic and Persian at Kazan University, indicates that Jülg had first written to Kazan, apparently to Gottwald who had not made the move to St. Petersburg but had remained in Kazan as university librarian. But the letters had either not been forwarded, or they had gone astray.

The second letter expresses Kowalewski's gratitude for the gift of the Kalmyk tales (Siddhi-kür) which he considers very well done both from the point of view of critical text editing and as a printing-job. He regrets not to be able to fulfil any wishes for further material as two years after the disaster he still does not know what is extant and what perished. He states that his remaining Mongol library at home consists of 24 volumes of copies of Mongol texts of lesser importance only.

The third letter says thanks for the gift of the Arji Borji volume which Jülg dedicated to him. He modestly claims that his share in the work is not in proportion to the valuable gift (of the book). Jülg had apparently told him about the criticism of his work by Prof. Golstunskij which he considered unfair; Kowalewski kindly agrees with him but states that he had been unable to find this brochure in Warsaw. Jülg's second daughter Antonie seems to have sent her photographic card (at that time a rather popular thing) to Kowalewski who was quite charmed by the likeness of the girl. The Jülg girls must have been uncommonly beautiful. The Schiefner family was stricken by the charms of Jülg's other daughter Wladyslawa (Disia) ... Kowalewski expressed his appreciation by addressing the letter to Mr. v. Jülg, thus nobilitating him – not a rare kind of politeness then in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

The fourth and last letter is a bit nostalgic and sentimental – the author feels old and frail but is very glad to be remembered. He is slightly disappointed not to hear news from charming Antonie. The main reason for Jülg writing to him had been the annual meeting of German philologists at Tübingen and because of certain agenda items it seemed necessary to have Poland represented. As there was no feedback regarding Mr. Fuk's attendance he tried to use his connections; he was certainly relieved to hear from Kowalewski that things were settled.

The tone and style of the letters are extremely polite – the writer was a gentleman of the old school so to speak. They are also slightly emotional, Jülg and his family were considered dear old friends. As we know from biographical sources the Warsaw years were all but easy for Kowalewski, and he had to endure

criticism. So he certainly enjoyed kind words and signs of appreciation and friendship from a colleague.

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One Language behind Two Different Scripts*

Tana Wu

The University of Auckland

Introduction

Mongolian is used both in Mongolia and in Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region in the People's Republic of China (abbreviated as China). In China, a group of Mongols in Hulunbuir district of Inner Mongolia speak a Mongolic language known as Buryat. The Buryat language is spoken in the Buryat Republic which is a federal subject of the Russian Federation. The Buryat people use the Cyrillic alphabet in their writing system, while Mongolian people in Xinjiang and Qinghai provinces of China speak another Mongolic language called Oirat¹; Mongols who live in Heilongjiang, Jilin and Liaoning provinces of China use the same Mongolian language (and the same script) as the Inner Mongolians.

The overall number of Mongolian speakers is approximately 5 million people: among them 2,7–2,8 million speakers reside in Mongolia while the rest live in China (based on 2010 census, cited in Brosig & Skribnik 2018: 555; Janhunen 2012: 11). According to IMU (2005), Mongolian people in China mostly reside in Inner Mongolia and there are more than 1,200,000 Mongols who live there; Mongols are also distributed elsewhere in China as follows: (1) Over 200, 000 people live in such northeast provinces of China as Liaoning and Heilongjiang; (2) over 100, 000 reside in the northwest of China, including Xinjiang, Gansu and Qinghai; (3) 40, 000–50, 000 live in other provinces and cities of China (IMU 2005: 5). Numbering

* This paper would not be possible without Dr. Liliya Gorelova, who encouraged me to participate in the PIAC conference and took part in long discussions of developing the proper research topic for the conference. I am grateful to her for her meticulous draft reading and encouraging comments. Additionally, I am indebted to Dr Wayne Lawrence for patiently reading through the drafts and revisions of the paper and for contributing his constructive suggestions. I am also grateful for the detailed comments made by the referee which helped improve the paper. Any remaining mistakes are, of course, my own.

1 The separate branch of Oirats who received the name of Kalmyks after their migration from Dzungaria in 1607, reside now in the Republic of Kalmykia located between the rivers Don and Volga in Russian federation (western shore of the Caspian Sea) numbering about 155, 938. During their history they used different scripts to write down their original language, viz. (a) Todo-script (the Clear Letter) created by the prominent enlightener, Buddhist monk Zaya Pandita (1599 - 1662), a national hero of Kalmyks; (b) the Cyrillic alphabet (1924); and (c) the Latin script (1930). Nowadays the Kalmyks use the Cyrillic alphabet.

approximately 500,000, Buryat people is one of the largest indigenous group in Siberia.

One way to define the Mongolian language as a whole is to understand it as “the complex of Common Mongolic dialects that morphosyntactically correspond to the principles underlying Written Mongol and/or Khalkha” (Janhunen 2012: 8). Written Mongolian can either refer to the script itself or the literary language which is used in contrast with the colloquial languages. Poppe (1954) considers Written Mongolian as a different variety of the Mongolian language which is only written. In the current study, Written Mongolian refers to the literary (written) language used by the Mongols in Inner Mongolia, China, while the literary (written) language used in Mongolia is referred to as Cyrillic Written Khalkha (abbreviated as CWK).

Written Mongolian has gone through several stages of development, but different scholars delineate these periods differently. The majority of scholars agree with Vladimirtsov’s (1929) opinion. According to Vladimirtsov (1929: 20–24), the history of the written language of the Mongols covers the following periods: the ancient (from unknown times to the beginning of the 14th century), the Middle Mongolian (from the beginning of the 14th century to the second half of the 16th century) and the classical (from the end of the 16th to the 20th century) periods.² In contrast, Hsiao (2013) divides the history of Mongolian into Old Mongolian (~12th century AD), Middle Mongolian (13th to 16th centuries), Late Mongolian³ (17th to 19th centuries) and Modern Mongolian (20th century-). Here I use the term MWM to cover the period since the 20th century.

In this paper, I will first compare different orthographies used in CWK and Modern Written Mongolian (abbreviated as MWM below), then discuss the varying linguistic features of CWK and MWM. Despite the observable linguistic differences between CWK and MWM in terms of morphosyntax and lexicon, the major discrepancies between them lie in their respective orthographies.

Differences between the orthographies of Cyrillic Written Khalkha and Modern Written Mongolian

In the history of Mongolian language development, Mongolian people have used a wide range of different scripts such as Traditional Mongolian Script (based on Uigur Script which was originated from the Aramaic script), Khitan Script, ‘Phags-pa script (or square script), Todo Script and so forth to write down the language.

² Orlovskaya (1999: 4–6) suggests that the third, classical period, made a transition into the fourth period, viz. the modern period, which starts from the beginning of the second half of the 20th century.

³ Hsiao (2013) uses the term “Late Mongolian” to cover the period lasting from 17th to 19th century in her study. In the current study, this term is used to refer to Late Middle Mongolian.

Among them, the Traditional Mongolian Script (known as Old Script or Mongolian Vertical Script), which is supposed to have been used by the Mongols since the 12th century, is the most influential and the longest used script (Poppe 1954: 1; IMU 2005: 4; 122; etc.). Even now Mongolians in regions in China (apart from Xinjiang)⁴ are still using the Traditional Mongolian Script (abbreviated as TMS). However, the script itself has undergone some slight changes, i.e. minor orthographical and morphological simplifications. Nowadays TMS is used in Mongolia only on a restricted scale.⁵ The Cyrillic Mongolian Script (also known as “New Script”, abbreviated as CMS) has been used in Mongolia since 1941. As Janhunen (2012: 10) points out, “orthographically, Khalkha is often surprisingly unsystematic, and some of its orthographic solutions derive directly from Written Mongol”. It is noteworthy that the Roman alphabet is also being used to transliterate the language by the Mongols in their daily informal communications with each other both in Mongolia and Inner Mongolia, China.

The use of different scripts leads to the following differences in CWK and MWM: (1) orthographic differences and (2) different conventions of transliteration. Firstly, different spelling rules (conventions) are complied with:

Direction of writing (horizontal vs. vertical)

TMS is written vertically (from top to bottom and left to right), which makes it harder for computer to handle its formatting, but the CMS is in line with the western writing systems, written horizontally in a left-to-right linear order, facilitating use in the print media and dissemination of information online.

Letter-case (uppercase vs. lowercase)

The CMS distinguishes between uppercase and lowercase letters. The initial letter of sentences, proper nouns (the names of persons, places or organizations) and special nouns need to be capitalized. However, no such distinction exists in the TMS.

Representation of case suffixes

Case suffixes are written connected to word stems in CMS, whereas they are written separately in TMS (except for some irregular instances where a case marker is connected to the stem of a personal pronoun, e.g. *namayi* = 1SG.ACC; *čimayi* = 2SG.ACC). For instance, *amuüz* (*amijg*) ‘the life’ (direct object in the accusative case in CMS) vs. *ami yi* ‘the life’ < *ami* ‘life’ + *-yi* = ACC (written

4 The Mongolian people in Xinjiang use the Todo Mongolian Script (also known as Oirat Clear Script), which was created on the basis of the Traditional Mongolian Script (IMU 2005: 4).

5 Traditional Mongolian Script is used on a voluntary basis in Mongolia today. Thus, the scope of usage is very limited. Some people in Mongolia are still trying hard to restore the usage of Traditional Mongolian Script; the attitude of the general public tends to be more tolerant than before towards the reintroduction of Traditional Mongolian Script into Mongolia (based on personal communication with Erdeni 2017).

separately in TMS); *гарьг* (*garyg*) ‘the hand’ (direct object in the accusative case in CMS) vs. *γar i* ‘the hand’ < *γar* ‘hand’ + *-i* = ACC (written separately in TMS) (Poppe 1970: 63).

Positional variants of letters within a word

In TMS, according to the position of the letter in the word, each letter appears in different shapes, viz. word-initial, medial and final shapes. There is no such difference in letters depending on their position in the word in CMS.

Isomorphism

Suffixes are written separately from nouns in the TMS, whereas suffixes and nouns are written together according to the rules of the CMS. Due to the connective written forms of nouns and suffixes (e.g. genitive case), isomorphism often occurs in CMS. For example, both *kündü* ‘heavy’ and *kümün dü* ‘for/to people’ < *kümün* ‘people’ + *-dü* = DAT.LOC in WMS are written by the same form *хүнд* (*хүнд*) in CMS (cf. Li & Sarina 2011: 200).

Firstly, there may be orthographical ambiguity in CMS. For instance, the letter *н* is used to represent both /n/ and /ŋ/, so *анд* (*and*) means either ‘friend’ (/andə/) or ‘to a game animal’ (/aŋdə/) (Poppe 1970: 61). In TMS, they are clearly distinguished: *anda* ‘friend’ vs. *ang du* ‘to a game animal’ < *ang* ‘game’ + *-du* = DAT.LOC.

Secondly, since there is no phonemically adequate official system of Romanization for Mongolian, different transliteration schemes are available for CMS and TMS. The National Standardisation Council adopted MNS 5217.2012 transliteration system for CMS; in comparison, the Vladimirtsov–Mostaert system (V–M) is the most widely-used transliteration system throughout Mongolian studies worldwide for the transliteration of TMS. (cf. Sanders 2013: 168–169; Svantesson et al. 2005; Mostaert 1968; Balk & Janhunen, 1999).

As for how the sounds of Mongolian are rendered in written form, the CMS is primarily phonemic in its spelling, whereas there is a marked divergence between orthography (spelling) and pronunciation with the TMS, whose spelling is based upon archaic pronunciation.⁶ Compare the following pairs:

- (1) *нар* (*nar*) ‘sun’ (CMS) vs. *nara* (TMS)
- (2) *ус* (*us*) ‘water’ (CMS) vs. *usu* (TMS)
- (3) *уул* (*үүл*) ‘mountain’ (CMS) vs. *ayula* (TMS)
- (4) *юм* (*jum*) ‘something/thing’ (CMS) vs. *γayum_a* (TMS)⁷

⁶ According to Grivelet (2001: 84), the Cyrillic Mongolian Script is mainly phonemic, while the Traditional Mongolian Script is more morphophonemic.

⁷ The underlining sign “_” is used to denote the positional variants of letters such as *A*, e.g. “_” is used in *sar_a* ‘month’ to distinguish it from *sara* ‘moon’.

Linguistic differences between Cyrillic Written Khalkha and Modern Written Mongolian

Differences between CWK used in Mongolia and MWM used in China are conditioned by the different dialects they are based on: CWK is based on the Khalkha dialect, while MWM is based on a range of dialects extending from Proto-Mongolic to the various Modern Mongolic dialects (Janhunen 2003: 34). This definition of MWM seems to combine two different dimensions, i.e. historical and socio-geographical. Nowadays, the Chakhar dialect, which is a variety of Mongolian spoken in the central region of Inner Mongolia, serves as the base of the oral norm for the MWM. Although the linguistic differences between CWK and MWM are not significant, there are still observable discrepancies in terms of morphosyntax and lexicon. In the following I will not discuss the phonetic differences between CWK and MWM, given that Written Mongolian is a non-spoken language which is transmitted via an abstract graphic code with no pronunciation involved (cf. Janhunen 2003: 34).

Morphosyntax

There are differences between CWK and MWM in terms of morphosyntax (cases, reflexive-possessive/reflexive suffixes, finite verbal forms and converbal/quasiconverbal forms).⁸ Some suffixes or suffix variants are newly appearing while others have ceased to exist in CWK.

A new case, viz. the allative case with the suffix *-rUU/-IUU* ‘towards’, has entered CWK; in contrast, no such case suffix exists in MWM, whose closest counterpart is the postposition *uruYu* ‘downwards; towards; along’, pronounced as *-urUU*. In addition, there are more suffix variants for the genitive case in CWK than its counterparts in MWM (Guntsetseg 2016: 36; Poppe 1954: 73–75). Compare the following pairs:

- (5) Genitive case (*-ijn, yn, -ij, -y*) (CWK) vs. Genitive case (*-yin; -un/-ün; -u/-ü*) (MWM);

In addition, the reflexive-possessive (reflexive) suffixes differ in Khalkha and in MWM. Note below:

- (6) *-AA* (CWK) vs. *-ban/-ben; -iyan/-iyen* (MWM).

Certain finite verbal forms are used mostly in CWK, whereas others may occur only in MWM: the potential imperative suffix *-mdz* occurs only in CWK (Svantesson 2003: 166); in comparison, the optative suffix *-tuyai/-tügei* appears only in MWM (IMU 2005: 509–511).

⁸ The reflexive-possessive suffix is also known as the reflexive suffix, and some converbs are sometimes termed quasiconverbs (cf. Svantesson 2003).

The following distinctions can be made between the converbal (quasiconverbal) suffixes in CWK and MWM (Svantesson 2003: 167; IMU 2005: 523–528):

- (7) successive converb: *-x-l-AAr* ‘as soon as’ (CWK) vs. *-qula/-küle* (MWM);
- (8) contemporal converb: *-ms-AAr* ‘when; after’ (CWK) vs. *-mayča/-megče* (MWM);
- (9) abtemporal converb: *-s-AAr* ‘when; since’ (CWK) vs. *-ysayar/-gseger* (MWM).

All the above-mentioned converbs in CWK are regarded as secondary quasiconverbs in Svantesson (2003: 167).⁹

Lastly, CWK has developed a more elaborate grammaticalised evidentiality¹⁰ system than that of MWM. In accordance with Brosig & Skribnik (2018: 559–564), there are up to seven evidential specifications in CWK, whereas in MWM the use of evidential markers is less obvious. Brosig & Skribnik (2018: 559) describes the existence of the following evidential markers in CWK:

- (10) past: direct perception (*-lAA*); inference (*-ž(ee)*); established past (*-sAn*);
- (11) present: direct perception (*-nA*); established present (*-AA*);
- (12) future: (*-x ge-ž bai-san/bai-(g)aa*); direct/indirect inference (*-x ge-ž bai-na/bai-laa/bai-žee*)

Forms presented in (12) are analytic constructions, viz. (1) *-x ge-ž bai-san* < *-x=FUT.PTCP*, *ge-ž* < *ge-* ‘say’ + *-ž=IPFV.CVB*, *bai-san* < *bai=AUX* + *-san=PRF.PTCP*; *bai-(g)aa* < *bai=AUX* + *-(g)aa=IPFV.CVB*; (2) *-x ge-ž bai-na* < *-x=FUT.PTCP*, *ge-ž* < *ge-* ‘say’ + *-ž=IPFV.CVB*, *bai-na* < *bai=AUX* + *-na=PRS/FUT*; *bai-laa* < *bai=AUX* + *-laa=PST*; *bai-žee* < *bai=AUX* + *-žee=PST*. These evidential markers should be present in MWM, but whether they denote similar meanings to those of CWK is debatable.

In comparison, evidential markers in MWM tend to be restricted to the past tense, which I suspect is still largely consistent with that of Middle Mongolian used in the thirteenth century. As Brosig & Skribnik (2018: 558) illustrate, in Middle Mongolian the suffix *-ba* is used to denote evidentially neutral factual past events, whereas *-lUGA* and *-JUGU* refer to direct and indirect past events respectively. Likewise, Wu (1995: 96) argues the suffix *-l a/-l e* (derived from *-lUGA*) typically refers to “an event that has been witnessed or is commonly known” which can be analysed as an evidential meaning; but he holds a sceptical view of its applicability

⁹ The suffixes *-x-l-AAr*, *-ms-AAr* and *-s-AAr* are respectively represented as *-x-l-Ar*, *-ms-Ar* and *-s-Ar* in Svantesson (2003: 167).

¹⁰ Evidentiality refers to the grammatical marking of information source (Aikhenvald 2018: 1).

for MWM. In his opinion, *-jai/-čai* is the most frequently used past tense suffix in both written and spoken languages; the suffix *-ba/-be* occurs mostly in the written language, but he does not discuss the evidential meanings of these suffixes. IMU (2005: 503) argues that the meaning and usage of the suffix *-ba/-be* is not differentiated from that of *-jai/-jei* in MWM.

Notably, sentence-final particles can also be used to express evidentiality both in MWM and CWK. Note the following examples in CWK:

(13) indirect evidence (*až*) (Brosig & Skribnik 2018);

(14) recollection (*bilee*) (Brosig 2012).

The particles *až* and *bilee* correspond to *ažai* and *bile* respectively in MWM. Both particles share the same evidential meanings in CWK and MWM.

Lexicon

Apart from lexical elements of a native origin, Mongolian possesses words stemming from a variety of sources, including those originating from the Mongolic, Turkic, Tungusic, Sino-Tibetan and Indo-European language families; there are loan words from Chinese, Greek, Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Tibetan, Manchu, Russian and so forth (IMU 2005: 9; 788). Chinese and Russian have become the two main sources of the more recent loanwords in Mongolian.

Modern scientific, technological and political terms based on standard international vocabulary have entered into both CWK and MWM via Russian (Janhunen 2003: 55). For instance, words such as *masin* ‘automobile’, *program* ‘programme’, *radio* ‘radio’, *kino* ‘film’, *katr* ‘cadre’ and *atom* ‘atom’ were all transmitted into Mongolian through Russian.

However, the number of Chinese borrowings varies significantly between CWK and MWM. The number of Chinese loanwords is significantly less in CWK, being restricted only to material culture. For instance, such words as *buuz* ‘steamed buns’ (Chi.: *bāo zi*), *ganz* ‘restaurant’ (Chi.: *guǎn zi*), *luus* ‘mule’ (Chi.: *luó zi*), *waar* ‘tile’ (Chi.: *wǎ*) and *tsonx* ‘window’ (Chi.: *chuāng hù*) are borrowed from Mandarin (Svantesson 2003: 174). In comparison, there are a larger number of Chinese loanwords in MWM, covering all aspects of political, economic and cultural life. For instance, *yangbir* ‘fountain pen’ (Chi.: *gāng bǐ*), *čiyiü* ‘petrol’ (Chi.: *qì yóu*), *diyanbou* ‘telegraph’ (Chi.: *diàn bào*), *nangqu* ‘thermos flask’ (Chi.: *nuǎn hú*), *liyouzi* ‘woollen fabric’ (Chi.: *liào zi*) and *pipa* ‘the Chinese lute’ (Chi.: *pí pá*) are all Chinese loanwords.

In addition, words of Tibetan origin are in relatively more active use in CWK than in MWM. Words relating to Buddhism are becoming obsolete in MWM, while some Tibetan loanwords have become an indispensable part of the vocabulary (IMU 2005: 801). For instance, CWK retains loanwords from Tibetan for the terms for the seven days of the week: they are *nyam* ‘Sunday’, *dawaa* ‘Monday’, *myagmar* ‘Tuesday’, *lxagwa* ‘Wednesday’, *pürew* ‘Thursday’, *baasan* ‘Friday’ and

byamba ‘Saturday’ (Svantesson 2003: 174). In contrast, the concept behind the days of the week follows the Chinese model in MWM, viz. *sayin edür* ‘Sunday (lit.: ‘the good day’), *yaray un nige* ‘Monday (lit.: the first day of the week), *yaray un qoyar* ‘Tuesday’, *yaray un yurban* ‘Wednesday’, *yaray un dörben* ‘Thursday’, *yaray un tabun* ‘Friday’, *yaray un jiryuyan* ‘Saturday’. The following are Tibetan loanwords which are still used in MWM: *lama* ‘lama’, *bum* ‘hundred thousand’, *say_a* ‘million’, *sil* ‘glass’ and *baybur* ‘a bowl with cover’ (see IMU 2005: 801 for more examples).

4. The symbolic value of Traditional Mongolian Script

There have been attempts to reintroduce Written Mongolian into Mongolia since the 1990s (Grivelet 1995: 49–60; Janhunen 2003: 32). Although the attempts were unsuccessful, TMS still possesses strong symbolic value:

Firstly, because of the non-phonetic nature of TMS, it can serve different Mongolian language groups in China as a communal written medium. TMS is a culturally and linguistically unifying factor for the majority of Mongols. It was during the reign of Chinggis Khan that the TMS was standardised and the language itself attained official status. Written Mongolian “was reinforced by Chinggis Khan as a general medium of administration and literature” and it “has ever since remained in use as the principal literary language of the Mongols” (Janhunen 2012: 6).

Secondly, a large number of historical and literary documents of great value are written in the TMS, and these documents shed some light on the history of mankind since the times of Chinggis Khan. As is noted by Grivelet (2001: 86), TMS is “considered the script of the ancestors and a symbol of the past”. The oldest known monument of Written Mongolian is an inscription dating back to about 1225, erected in honour of Yisüngge, known as the Stele of Yisüngge. The most ancient text of Mongolian literature, *mongyol un niyuča tobčiyān*, viz. *The Secret History of the Mongols*, was supposedly first written in the TMS in the 13th century (de Rachewiltz 2015: vii), although the original version which was written in the Old Script was lost and the current surviving text is in the form of transcriptions into Chinese characters. Ancient texts, especially those of a religious nature, are not transcribed into CMS, so the TMS has to be learned by someone who is interested in having access to historical texts (Grivelet 2001: 86). For instance, the xylographic editions of Buddhist works of the 16th and 17th centuries were created in the TMS (Poppe 1954: 1–3).

Thirdly, TMS helps to keep record of diachronic (historical) changes of the language. TMS preserves some grammatical forms which existed in ancient times but are lost in MWM. Therefore, it also facilitates our understanding of the history of the language of the Mongols. For example, in Classical Mongolian the present tense suffixes are *-mui/-müi*, *-nam/nem* and *-yu/-yü*, while the past tense suffixes

are *-ba/-be* (or *-bai/-bei*), *-luya/-lüge* and *-juqui/-jüki* (*-čuqui/-čükü*) (Poppe 1954: 91–93). In MWM the newly formed suffix *-n_a/-n_e* is used to denote the present indicative mood, while the old forms (*-mui/-müi*, *-nam/nem* and *-yu/-yü*) cease to exist unless in archaic texts. Likewise, the past tense suffixes *-l_a/-l_e* (or *-lai/-lei*), *-ji/-či* and *-jai/-čai* (*-jei/-čei*) have replaced *-luya/-lüge* and *-juqui/-jüki* respectively; and the past tense suffix *-ba/-be* is still used, while *-bai/-bei* is obsolete (IMU 2005: 499). Some suffixes have changed their meanings in MWM. For example, according to Poppe (1954: 89), the suffix *-ytun/-gtün* is used to form the benedictive in Classical Mongolian, viz. a polite request to the second person. However, in MWM, it expresses a command to the second person. The benedictive is expressed by the newly-formed suffix *-yači/-geči*, which was not documented by Poppe (1954). In Classical Mongolian, the suffixes *-tuyai/-tügei* and *-suyai/-sügei* were occasionally confused in reference to person; in MWM the suffix *-tuyai/-tügei* is used only for the third person and the suffix *-suyai/-sügei* is used exclusively for the first person. The voluntative suffix *-suyai/-sügei* is rarely used in MWM and it has ceased to exist in CWK (IMU 2005: 511; Poppe 1954: 90).

Last but not least, TMS still plays a decorative (ornamental) role in important social-cultural events in the Mongolic realm. For instance, important billboards such as welcome signs at the entrance of Ulanbaatar and commemorative signs for the 750th anniversary of *The Secret History of the Mongols* are written in TMS (Grivelet 2001: 90).

Conclusion

The current study comprises of three major parts: (1) orthographic differences between CWK and MWM; (2) linguistic differences between CWK and MWM; and (3) the symbolic value of TMS.

To summarise, the major differences between CWM and MWM lie in morphosyntax and lexicon. Due to the adoption of two different scripts, viz. CMS and TMS, CWK and MWM appear as if two different languages at the orthographic level. However, after a closer look at the language structure, it is not difficult to realize that we are dealing with slightly different versions of the same language. It is worth emphasizing that the TMS plays a crucial bonding role in preserving the Mongolian language and culture, leading to cultural unification of the Mongols and boosting their mutual understanding.

Abbreviations

ACC	accusative case
AUX	auxiliary verb
Chi.	Chinese

CMS	Cyrillic Mongolian Script
CVB	converb
CWK	Cyrillic Written Khalkha
DAT. LOC	dative locative case
FUT	future
IMU	Inner Mongolia University
IPFV	imperfective
MWM	Modern Written Mongolian
PRF	perfective
PRS	present tense
PST	past tense
PTCP	participle
SG	singular
TMS	Traditional Mongolian Script

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New Reading Proposal on the Eastern Face, Nineteenth Line of the Bilgä Qayan Inscription

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Introduction

It has been more than 120 years since Vilhelm Thomsen deciphered (1893) the alphabet of runic inscriptions erected in the Orkhon and Yenisei regions. During this long period, a variety of runic inscriptions belonging to Old Turkic communities have been continuously discovered and investigated by many scholars. Today, the relatively well-understood ones among all Old Turkic runic inscriptions are the Orkhon inscriptions, primarily those of Köl Tegin, Bilgä Qayan and Tuñuquq (henceforth will be referred to as KT, BQ, T). However, even these three inscriptions preserve some of their mysteries. This is because some parts of the inscriptions are worn off and consequently the readings and the meanings of some lexemes are unclear. Therefore, the interpretation of some parts of the inscriptions is difficult and several reading proposals are put forward in the literature.

One of the most problematic parts in the history of the Old Turkic runic studies is in the 19th line of the BQ inscription. This part is inscribed exactly between <BWDN> and <kŴrgŴŕjn> sign groups in the mentioned line. The colleagues who studied on the inscription so far deciphered and interpreted this sequence in different ways. However, those researchers did not pay attention to orthography and the grammatical structure of the sentence in their reading proposals. As a result, their translations became grammatically and semantically invalid.

The present paper attempts to reconsider this group of problematic signs attested in the 19th line of the BQ inscription. Here the research history of the inscription will be evaluated, and a new reading and interpretation regarding the problematic sequence will be proposed. The paper is organized as follows: Section 1 is Introduction. In Section 2, the major studies on the BQ inscription will be dealt with respectively. In Section 3, a new reading proposal will be made regarding the problematic part of the line. Finally, Section 4 presents the conclusions. In the running text, angle brackets < > stand for graphemic writings while square brackets are used for reconstructions.

The Major Studies on the Bilgä Qayan Inscription

The BQ inscription, discovered in 1889 by Yadrintsev, was studied by many scholars so far. Among these studies Heikel et al. 1892, Radloff 1893, 1895 and Thomsen 1896 are of particular importance not only because these studies have been the first investigations on the inscription but also because they are utilized as the main references by the later colleagues.

The research history of the BQ starts with the monumental work *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon*, known also as *Finnish Atlas*, which was edited under the leadership of Axel Olai Heikel, in 1892. For the research of the BQ inscription or of the Orkhon inscriptions in general, this atlas contains important information on what was visible on the steles at that time. Additionally, the fact that Finnish scholars didn't know how to read the runic script and didn't have any vision motivated by their reading expectations, thus without bias, makes the given data even more objective and in some cases more convenient, as can be seen below. In this source, the text of the BQ in printed runic typefaces is given between 12nd-23rd pages in Arabic numerals and the unretouched copy of the eastern face of the inscription can be seen in the Table 27. When this source is attentively checked it is understood that those scholars numbered the eastern face of the BQ starting from the end. It means, the last (= 41st) line in the eastern face of the inscription is equal to 1st line in the Finnish Atlas and consequently the 19th line, which is the subject of the study at hand, is equal to the 23rd one.

Wilhelm Radloff's *Atlas der Alterthümer der Mongolei*, known also as *Radloff's Atlas*, is one of the major references for the research of Old Turkic inscriptions. This work was published in four fascicules between 1892 and 1899. The second fascicule, published in 1893, contains unretouched and retouched photographs of the rubbings of the BQ (see Plates 21-25). Plate 22 is the unretouched copy and Plate 23 is the retouched copy of the eastern face of the inscription. The Plate 22 is one of the major sources to which I will mainly refer in my paper. Because, this plate does not show the signs which were "expected" to be there but the ones which really "existed" on the stele.

Radloff's other work, *Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei* (1895), contains the text of Bilgä Qayan inscription in printed runic typefaces together with a translation to German. When Radloff's unretouched copy (Plate 22) and his printed text in runic typefaces (pp. 42-82) are attentively compared, it turns out that the retouches regarding the mentioned sign group contain some reconstructions that cannot be confirmed. However, as will be shown in this study, some later researchers relied on Radloff's retouches too trustingly and did not question the correctness of them.

Thomsen's *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon Déchiffrées*, published in 1896, is also one of the major references for the research of the Old Turkic inscriptions. There were no runic typefaces presented in this source. Thomsen himself (1893, 286) stated that

he both utilized the *Finnish Atlas* and *Radloff's Atlas* but he preferred the typographic reproductions presented in the *Finnish Atlas* in case of divergences between the same texts in those two works. The second section of Thomsen's book is dedicated to the translations of the KT and BQ inscriptions. In this reference, the parallel passages of those two inscriptions were not presented and therefore translated separately. Concerning the continuation of the end of BQ E 2 to the beginning of 24, Thomsen (1896, 122) referred to the pages 97-108, which includes the parallel passage of the KT.

When major studies and the subsequent ones mentioned above are examined, it can be seen that there was no consensus among scholars on which signs the sequence in question consisted of. One may see how that problematic sign group was transliterated or transcribed so far in a comparative table below:

References		Transliterations of the given runic typefaces	Transcriptions	Translations
Finnish Atlas (1892)		rtzT \overline{w} k \overline{w} n (p. 15)	–	–
Radloff's Atlas (1893) (retouched copy)		rtz//In (plate 23)	–	–
Radloff (1895) (printed runic typefaces)		rtn: \overline{w} \overline{w} k \overline{w} n (p. 54) ¹	ärtiŋ (p. 55)	'du warst' ² (p. 54)
			ökün (p. 55)	'bereue' (p. 54)
Thomsen	(1896)	–	ärt.z $\overline{ö}$ kün (p. 105)	ärt.z – not translated ökün 'repens-toi!' (p. 105)
	(1924)	–	–	'Zittre und geh in dich' (p. 149) ³
Orkun (1936)		– ⁴	ärt.z $\overline{ö}$ kün (p. 40)	'kendine dön!' (p. 40)

1 In Radloff's runic typefaces actually there is <rtn> but he transliterates it as *rtŋ* in page 55.

2 Radloff's *du warst* 'you were' translation was criticized by Thomsen from the vantage point of Old Turkic grammar. Thomsen (1896, 151) justly stated that 'you were' was rendered as *ärtig* not **ärtiŋ* everywhere and without any exception.

3 Later, he interpreted *ärt.z ökün* as above.

4 Orkun (p. 41) just gives the parallel passage of the KT text in runic typefaces.

Tekin	(1968)	–	ärtin ökün (p. 329)	‘(?) to regret, repent’ (p. 329, 363)
	(1988)	–	ärtin:ökün (p. 56)	‘vazgeç (ve) nadim ol’ (p. 57)
Alyılmaz (2005)		rtn:Ŵw̄kŴn (p. 129)	–	–
Berta (2007)		rtz:Ŵw̄kŴn (p. 109) ⁵	– ⁶	– ⁷
Ölmez (2012)		rtn:Ŵw̄kŴn (p. 153)	ärtin:ökün (p. 126)	‘pişman ol (ve) tövbe et!’ (p. 140)
Aydın (2012)		rtn:Ŵw̄kŴn (p. 40)	ärtin:ökün (p. 40)	‘pişman ol!’ (p. 40)

Table 1: The sign group in question in the previous researchers’ studies

As it is easily visible to the reader, there are some important differences among the scholars concerning the identification of glyphs and the interpretation of the sequence. As is seen in the table above, most of the scholars starting from Radloff 1895 displayed the first three signs as <rtn> while there was <rtz> in the Finnish Atlas, Radloff 1893 (retouched copy), Thomsen, Orkun and Berta. The fourth sign was displayed as a doubtful <T> by Finnish Atlas while Radloff 1895 and the subsequent researchers interestingly gave a separation mark instead. Despite the last four signs were recorded as <Ŵw̄kŴn> in all studies, Finnish Atlas did not give any <Ŵ> before the sign <w̄k> in the middle. Then, today’s researcher who intends to make a new proposal on the mentioned sign group should begin by clarifying from where these differences are derived above all.

- 5 Berta did not present the parallel passages of the KT and the BQ inscriptions respectively. Instead, he gave the eastern face of the KT as the main text and referred to the differences in footnotes. For the transliteration of the problematic sequence in BQ, see footnotes 354 and 355.
- 6 Since Berta gave the eastern face of the KT as the main text, we just find the reconstructed form *ärDin* (p. 153) for the word in the 22nd line of the KT. However, in the footnote 1387, Berta states that for the parallel passage in BQ, there is *ärt.z* in Thomsen, *rtz* in Tekin 1968 and *ert.z* in Orkun.
- 7 In his translation, starting from the page 190, Berta did not treat the parallel passages respectively, either (see. p. 196). Consequently, the translation of the given sequence in *Bilgä Qayan* cannot be found separately. However, it can be seen that Berta translated the reconstructed form *ärDin* in the 22nd line of the KT as ‘voltál’ despite he did not translate the word *ökün* in the same line.

The first three signs: To clarify the differences pointed above, the unretouched copies of the BQ given by Finnish scholars (1892) and Radloff (1893) should be taken as the starting point since they are the oldest records of the inscription at hand. However, the unretouched copy in the Finnish Atlas is not that convenient for this kind of review since the signs in that part of the inscription were not clearly visible in that copy:

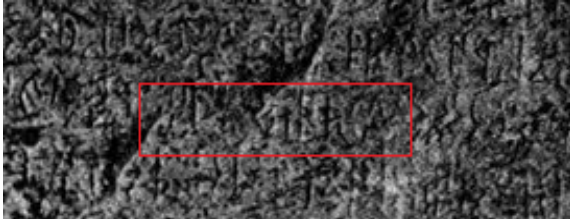


Figure 1: Heikel et al. 1892, unretouched copy (Table 27)

Then it would be better to start with the unretouched copy in Radloff's study (Plate no: 22). Here is the partial appearance of the line 19, including the sign group in question, in a slightly enlarged scale:



Figure 2: Radloff 1893, unretouched copy (Plate 22)

As can be seen above the first three signs of this problematic part were obviously and indisputably <rtz>. What was interesting at that point was that Radloff himself also recorded the third sign as <z> at first. On the retouched copy in his *Atlas der Alterthümer*, the third character was given as <z>:



Figure 3: Radloff 1893, retouched copy (Plate no: 23)

However, in his *Die alttürkischen Inschriften*, Radloff (1895, 54) arbitrarily⁸ gave the third sign as *<n> as can be seen below:

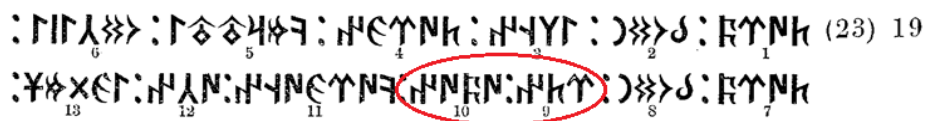


Figure 4: The line 19 in printed runic typefaces in Radloff 1895

It is difficult to know why Radloff made such a falsification because he didn't write anything on the matter in that publication. Therefore, possible explanations may just be based on assumptions. One possible explanation may be that he tended to consider the sign <z> as a scribal error instead of <n> since these two are very similar in runic script.

The fourth sign: When we refer to Radloff's unretouched copy to identify the fourth sign, we may see it was not easy to identify it due to some erosion on the stone:



Figure 5: Radloff 1893, unretouched copy (plate no: 22)

However, the remnants of a complicated sign can be identified despite the fact that the lower part is slightly visible and the upper part is completely destroyed due to a crack on the stone. The Finnish scholars approached prudently and gave a doubtful <T> at that point. However, the identification made by the Finnish scholars was erroneous since the sign <T> was the one which should be used in a sequence consisting of back velar signs. Radloff (1893) was not able to identify the sign inscribed there and gave a lacuna in his *Atlas der Alterthümer* as is seen in the *Picture 2* above. Thomsen, who benefited greatly from the Finnish Atlas, did not regard the erroneous *<T> given in the Finnish Atlas and did not include it into his study. However, he completely ignored the existence of the sign at that point and transcribed the sequence as *ärt.z ökün*. The dot here pointed out that it was unclear whether the word would be read as **ärtüz* or **ärtiz*.

In *Die alttürkischen Inschriften* (1895), Radloff made some new touches regarding the sign group in question: First he added a separation mark after the third sign and then an *<W̃> as the fourth one. However, neither that separation mark nor

⁸ As outspokenly stated by Thomsen (1896, 151).

that *<W̃> can be confirmed by the unretouched copy since there was nothing similar to a colon (which was used as a separation mark in runic alphabet) or the straight vertical line of the sign <W̃> (see *Figure 4* above). At this point, as it is before, it is difficult to know why Radloff made those retouches since he didn't write anything on the matter in his study. But it is possible to make the following assumption about it: As is known, Radloff, who had been defeated by Thomsen in the battle of deciphering the runic alphabet, was in hurry to be the first to publish the Orkhon inscriptions. For that reason, he couldn't pass without making a good or bad proposal on such kind of challenging parts. In my humble opinion, he thought that the last part of the sequence, ending with <w̃k̃W̃n>, would give the verb Old Turkic *ökün-* 'to repent, to regret' (Clauson, 1972, 111). Hence the last three signs should be preceded by an <W̃> and the supposed words **ärtin* and **ökün* should have been separated by a mark. Nevertheless, those markings did not reflect the truth.

At this point it should be noted that the Finnish scholars, who didn't know how to read the runic script and consequently didn't have any vision motivated by their reading expectation, recorded the sequence as <rtzT̃w̃k̃W̃n>, without any separation mark and an *<W̃> in the middle.

Radloff's above-mentioned falsifications caused this trouble in the literature: After Radloff 1895, even Thomsen, Orkun and Berta, who correctly identified the third sign as <z>, took the sequence with a phantom separation mark and an *<W̃> in the middle. In other words, after Radloff 1895, everyone was convinced that there existed an <W̃> and a separation mark before the sign <w̃k̃> and the second word could be read as **ökün-*. Because, they did not question the accuracy of Radloff's retouches, which led them to repeat the errors made by Radloff.

Now, we can go back to the question of what the fourth sign actually is. To tell the truth, it is hard to judge what sign was inscribed as the fourth one by checking the remnants in the unretouched copy of the inscription given by Radloff (see *Figure 4* above). Therefore, at this point, it would be better to refer to an actual photograph of the inscription taken by Mehmet Ölmez⁹ in 2011:



Figure 6: The exact place of the sign group in question on the stele

The exact place of the problematic sequence in the 19th line is shown in red rectangle and one may see the selected sequence in an enlarged scale below:

⁹ I would like to express my deepest thanks to my preceptor Professor Dr. Mehmet Ölmez, who generously shared the photograph with me and kindly allowed me to use it.

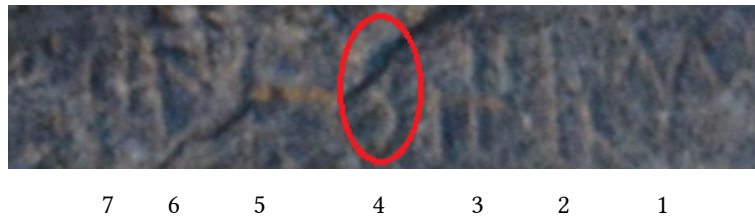


Figure 7: The state of preservation of the fourth sign today.

In this partial appearance of the actual photograph of the inscription, it can be seen clearly that the first three signs of the the sequence in question are well preserved, even in our day, as <rtz>. As for the fourth sign, it stands there as a complete surprise. The lower half and the crossing central part of the sign <ń> are still visible on the stone:

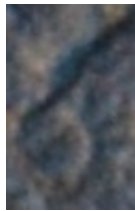


Figure 8: The fourth sign in enlarged scale

However, since only the upper half is defected it should be reconstructed as [ń].

The last three signs: The last three signs are uncontroversial among the scholars except for Radloff 1893, regarding the sixth one. The Finnish Atlas, Radloff 1895 and Thomsen identified an <w̄k> as the fifth sign, which can be confirmed by the unretouched copy (see *picture 4* above) and the findings in Finnish Atlas. However, the fifth sign is completely destroyed in our time as is seen here:

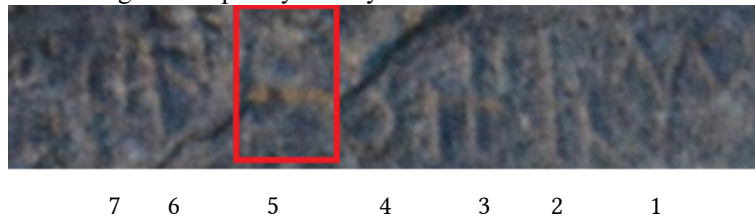


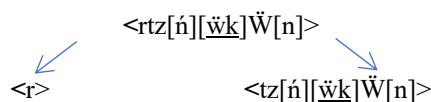
Figure 9: The state of preservation of the fifth sign today

Therefore, it should be reconstructed as [w̄k] by means of the data in Finnish Atlas and Radloff's unretouched copy. As for the sixth sign, Radloff identified an *<I> in 1893 and then, in 1895, he gave an <W̄> as done by the Finnish scholars and Thomsen. At this point, it should be noted that the sign <W̄> may be clearly

identified as the sixth one even in our day, as can be seen on the photograph above. Finally, as for the seventh and the last sign, in Radloff's unretouched copy (see *Figure 4* above) an <n>, of which the left lower part was a little defective, is visible. Its state of preservation became worse in course of time (see *Figure 7* above). However, depending on the data at hand, it may also be reconstructed as [n].

A new reading proposal on the problematic sequence

In the section above, the previous decipherments of the sequence in question were evaluated and the problematic identifications were eliminated by a thorough analysis of the data in the Finnish Atlas (1892), Radloff's (1893) unretouched copy and the actual photograph of the inscription taken by Ölmez in 2011. As a result, it was shown that the sign group in question was inscribed as <rtz[ń][w̄k]W̄[n]>. My opinion is that this sign group consisted of two components as follows:



In my opinion, the first sign here gives a very familiar word: *är* 'man'. This very short word, which was represented with only one sign in the runic script, was generally inscribed adjacently to the previous sign group when it was used in the nominative case: <brčkr> *bärčik är* 'the Persians' (KT N 12), <ytl̄yxr> *yetti y[ü]z är* 'seven hundred men' (KT E 13), <Lpr> *alp är* 'brave men' (KT E 40), <lgčAr> *älligčä är* 'about fifty men' (T 42), <W̄jrkIr> *öjräki är* 'the men being in front' (T 25). But, in our case, the sign <r> was exceptionally inscribed adjacently to the subsequent sign group. There is one more exceptional instance in Orkhon Turkic in which the sign <r> was inscribed adjacently to the previous sign group, as in our case: <rTbW̄l̄t̄I> *är at bultu* (KT E 31). However, the previous researchers took the sign <r> in the sequence <rtz[ń][w̄k]W̄[n]> together with the following two signs as a lexical unit as *<rtz> (or even more erroneously as *<rtn>!) and tried to read and interpret it accordingly.

The remaining sign group, <tz[ń][w̄k]W̄[n]>, may be proposed to be read as *täzi[ńük]ü[n]* as it is. In my opinion, the structure here includes the Old Turkic verb *täz-* 'to run away, to fly' (Clauson 1972: 572a), which was used as a hendiadys¹⁰ with the synonymous verb *kürä-* 'to run away, to desert' (Clauson, 1972, 737) in the 19th line of the inscription:

¹⁰ See also the hendiadys *täzdi kürädi* 'fled and ran away' in Man.-uig. Frag. 400, 3 (Clauson, 1972, 737).

türük bodun är tüz-i[ñük]ü[n] kürä-günin üçün igidmiş qayanıña ärmiş barmış ädgü eliñä kentü yañiltıy yablaq kigürtüg “(Oh) Turkic people(s) (and) men! Because you are runaway(s) (and) deserter(s), you yourself misbehaved against your Qayan who nourished you and against your free and independent good realm, you brought evil!”

The phrase *Türük bodun är* “(Oh) Turkish people (and) men!” in my proposal may seem ungrammatical at first sight. However, when it is compared with the expression *Türk bäglär bodun* “Turkic begs and people” (KT E 10), it turns out that it is correct.

As for the fact that some Turkic peoples ran away altogether or in groups of several men, it is a phenomenon outspokenly uttered in the Orkhon inscriptions. Here one may find numerous mentions about it in addition to the sentence cited above: *uluğ erkin azqıña ärin täzip bardı* “Ulug Erkin run away with a few men” (KT E 34); *otuz artuqı tört yaşıma oğuz täzip tavğaçqa kirti* “When I was thirty four years old the Oğuz fled and entered China” (BQ E 38); *qoriyu ekki üç kişiligü täzip bardı* “The guard fled together with two or three people” (BQ E 41); *käligmä bäglärin bodunin etip yiyip azca bodun täzmiş ärti* “A few people ran away, organizing and assembling their begs and people when they came” (T 43).

To analyse the structure of the word *täzi[ñük]ü[n]*, it would be better to begin with *tüz-i[ñük]*. I propose the word *tüz-i[ñük]* to be interpreted as ‘a deserter’¹¹ and the structure of the word to be analysed as *tüz-* (verb) **(I)n-* (reflexive voice) **-yük* (deverbal noun/adjective). Consequently, it should be noted that the *-ñ-* in this word was not an original one but a compound sound with the crasis of *-n-y-* into *-ñ-*.

The reflexive form *täzin-*, which was not attested in Orkhon or Old Uighur Turkic, was recorded in the last period of the Eastern branch of Old Turkic. Kaşğarı gave it with the nuance of ‘to pretend to run away’ (Clauson, 1972, 576). At this point, it should be noted that there are relatively many examples in Kaşğarı’s dictionary that the reflexive voice suffix *-(I)n-* acquired the meaning ‘to pretend to do something’ in the last period of Old Turkic: *açın-* ‘to pretend to open’ (Clauson, 1972, 29b), *bičin-* ‘to cut by oneself; to pretend to cut’ (Clauson, 1972, 296a), *ägrin-* ‘to spin for oneself; to pretend to spin’, etc. However, the basic and the older meaning of the verb *täzin-* should have been ‘to run away by oneself (on one’s own)’.

The deverbal noun suffix *-yUk*, actually a conjugational suffix (Clauson, 1972, xliv), was used as past or past perfect tense marker or formed some intransitive nouns or adjectives (Gabain, 2000, para. 152, 218; Erdal, 2004, 300) in Old Turkic. Since the suffix *-yUk* forms nouns or adjectives in Old Turkic, the proposed lexeme

¹¹ To analyse in detail, it is a person who ran away in the past at least once (or may be more than once), thus known as ‘a runaway’.

tāz-i[ñük] can be interpreted as ‘a deserter’¹². At this point, some colleagues may reject that the form *-yUk* was in use only in Uygur as stated by Gabain (2000) and Erdal (2004). However, it should be noted that the participle *-gll* which was very typical in Old Uygur was also attested in Orkhon Turkic only in the instance *är-kli* < **är-gli* (Erdal, 1994, 78). Therefore, if the proposed form *tāzi[ñük]* is confirmed, it may be recorded as its first instance of **-yUk* in the language of Turkic runic inscriptions.

As stated above, the word *tāzi[ñük]ü[n]* was used as a hendiadys with the following word *kürägüñin* in the postpositional phrase *tāz-i[ñük]ü[n] kürä-gü+η+in üčün* ‘Because you are deserter(s) and runaway(s) ...’.¹³ The grammatical structure of the second word *kürägüñin* may easily be analysed as < *kürä-* (verb), *-gü* (deverbal noun)¹⁴, *+η* (second person possessive), *+in* (the accusative case coming after possessives). However, it is difficult to say the same for **tāz-i[ñük]+ü[n]* structure. At this point, two possible approaches can be put forward on the matter. The reasons for the first one are as follows: (1) The suffix *+n* at the end of the structure may be the accusative case that comes after possessives because the postposition *üčün* ‘for; because’ requires the accusative case in Old Turkic. (2) The postposition *üčün*, governing the accusative forms of pronouns, also governs the accusative of nominals with second or third person possessive suffix (Erdal, 2004, 397) as in our *kürä-güñin üčün* instance. (3) The penultimate sign <Ü> cannot represent the third person possessive since its vowel was always unrounded in Old

12 For further examples that the suffix *-yUk* is not only an inflectional suffix, but may derive nouns/adjectives as well, see Gabain, 2000, para. 152 and 218; Erdal, 2004, 300. Also see Old Turkic *bulyanyuq* ‘mixed, turbid, confused’ (in *bulyanuq* Clauson, 1972, 338).

13 At this point, some colleagues may again reject that *tez-in-yük-ü[η]-in kürä-gü-η-in üčün* will not mean ‘Because you are runaways and deserters...’ since there is *no copula* in the clause. However, it should be noted that there are two different ways in the literature to translate the structure *noun stem+(X)η+In üčün*. Tekin translated that structure as ‘because of + your + noun/adjective phrase’ as in the instance *yavlaq+η+in üčün* ‘because of your mischievousness’ (1968, 267) while Erdal (2004, 484) translated the same as ‘because you are bad (= because + you are + noun/adjective)’ despite *there is no copula* in the structure. Here, I follow Erdal’s opinion and this is why I translate *tāziñükü[η]in kürägüñin üčün* as ‘Because you are runaway(s) (and) deserter(s)’.

14 The morpheme *-gU* was used in different functions in Old Turkic: 1. Necessity and obligation; 2. Deverbal noun (Gabain 2000; Erdal 2004); 3. Projection participle which is used for presenting projections of expectation, evaluations and intentions of persons (Erdal, 2004, 301-302). Furthermore, in some instances such as *küdä-gü* ‘bride-groom’ (Clauson, 1972, 703a), *ärmä-gü* ‘lazy’ (Clauson, 1972, 232a), *sāñrā-gü* ‘a boy whose nose is constantly running’ (Clauson, 1972, 841b), *qorī-γu* ‘the guard (BQ E 41)’ (Ölmez, 2012, 316) etc. it reflects personal characteristics. This is why the author translates the lexeme *kürägü* as ‘a runaway’ here while Tekin (1968, 355) and Erdal (2004, 303) translated it as ‘unruliness; obstinacy’, as an abstract noun. At this point Erdal stated that it was the only instance of *-gU* form with the abstract meaning in KT and BQ inscriptions. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the ‘unruliness’ and ‘obstinacy’ meanings of the lexeme *kürägü* are also imprecise and highly interpretative since the verb *kürä-* simply means ‘to run away’.

Turkic. (4) Furthermore, since *yañilti-γ* and *kigürtü-g* predicates of the sequential sentence *türük bodun är täz[ñük]ü[n] (?) kürägüñin üçün igidmiš qaγaniña ärmiš barmiš ädgü eliñä kentü yañilti-γ yablaq kigürtü-g* sentence have the second person suffixes, the causal *täz[ñük]ü[n] (?) kürägüñin üçün* construction of the sentence should also carry the second person possessive suffix.¹⁵ Therefore, at first sight it seems as if there is something lacking in *täz-i[ñük]+ü[n]* structure and what is lacking here might be the second person possessive suffix. Thus, one possible solution could be to complete this structure with the second person possessive as *täzi[ñük]+ü[η]+i[n]* so that it can reflect the same grammatical structure with *kürägü+η+in*.

As for the reason of the lack of the second person possessive in the original <tz[ñ][w̄k]w̄[n]> sign group, it might have occurred due to a scribal error. There were not many scribal errors in the Orkhon inscriptions, however, one may find some. According to Hovdhaugen (1974, 59) some scribal errors in the Orkhon inscriptions are as follows:

erroneous forms	lines	correct forms	lines
<TBG>	KT E 6	<TBGč>	BQ E 6
<bĪĀ>	KT E 3	<bĪlgA>	BQ E 4
<YWηšWRTIN>	BQ E 7	<YWηšWRTw̄KIN>	KT E 6
<WLRmD>	KT E 27	<WLRmDm>	BQ E 22

Table 2: Some scribal errors in BQ and KT

As is known, a large part of the BQ and the KT were identical except for a few divergences. The mentioned passage in BQ E 19 was identical to the one in KT E 22-23. Nevertheless, since that part of the KT was not preserved even when the inscription was discovered, and we do not have the opportunity to compare, it will never be possible to know if there was a scribal error in BQ E 19 or not.

As for the second approach on the *+ü[n]* particle of *täz-i[ñük]+ü[n]* structure, it is theoretically possible to take it as the instrumental case suffix since the vowel of the instrumental case is subject to the vowel harmony. A possible transcription and translation with instrumental case might be as follows: *türük bodun är täzi[ñ][ük]ü[n] kürägüñin üçün igidmiš qaγaniña ärmiš barmiš ädgü eliñä kentü yañiltiγ yablaq kigürtüg*, which means “Oh Turkish people and men! Because of your act of running away with deserter(s), you yourself misbehaved against your Qaγan who nourished you and, against your free and independent good realm, you

¹⁵ This harmony, of course, is valid if the subject of the basic sentence and the subordinate sentence with *üçün* are the same as in our instance. For further examples of this harmony, see KT S 8-9/BQ N 6; KT E 6/BQ E 6-7 etc.

brought evil!” as a whole. In this case, the proposed lexeme *täzi[n]/[ük]* can still be interpreted as ‘a deserter’ as stated above while the suffix *-gU* in *kürä-gü-η+in* structure can simply be taken as an action noun. If it would be so, there would be no need to assume a scribal mistake for a missing unwritten possessive suffix.

The solution above may seem more practical at first sight. However, the identical part of BQ E 19 which can be seen in KT E 22-23 prevents such an interpretation due to the fact that there was another *üçün*¹⁶ between the missing passage at the end of KT E 22 and the visible phrase *kürägüñin üçün* at the beginning of KT E 23. The fact that there was another *üçün* at the beginning of KT E 23 was stated by Clauson (1972, 111) before, and it can be proved by photograph no: 46 given by Alyılmaz (2005, 42)¹⁷:

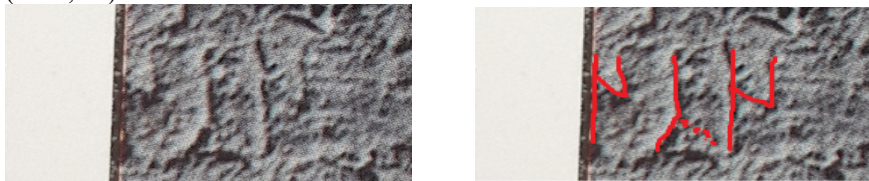


Figure 10: The sign group at the beginning of KT E 23

Therefore, it should be noted that the parallel passage in KT E was inscribed as follows: **(22)** ... *türük bodun eliñin töröñin kām artatı [...]* **(23)** *üçün kürägüñin üçün...* It is exactly this fact which makes an interpretation with instrumental case less acceptable. Because, if the missing passage in KT E 22-23 was taken as *[türük bodun är täziñükün] üçün kürägüñin üçün*, the phrase *täziñükün üçün* would again be ungrammatical because of the reasons already explained above.

As a result, in my humble opinion, it would be better to transcribe and translate the parallel passages in two inscriptions as follows:

BQ E ... (19) *türük bodun eliñin töröñin kām artatı udaçi arti türük bodun är täz[ñük]ü[η]i[n] kürägüñin üçün igidmiş qayaniña ärmiş barmiş ädgü eliñä kentü yañiltıy yablaq kigürtüg*

KT E (22) ... *türük bodun eliñin töröñin kām artatı [udaçi arti türük bodun är täziñüküñin]* **(23)** *üçün kürägüñin üçün igidmiş qayaniña ärmiş barmiş ädgü eliñä kentü yañiltıy yablaq kigürtüg*

“... (oh) Turkic people, who would be able to disrupt your realm and your customary law? (Oh) Turkic people and men! (BK) Because you are

¹⁶ Many scholars reconstructed it by comparing with the parallel passage in the BQ as follows: **KT E (22)** ... *türük bodun eliñin töröñin kām artatı [udaçi arti türük bodun *artin]* **(23)** **ökün kürägüñin üçün...* However, the missing passage in the KT E 22 could not end with the word **artin*, because of the reasons already explained above.

¹⁷ The sign group can partially be seen in the photo as above. The one on the right is coloured by the author.

deserter(s) (and) runaway(s) / (KT) Because you are deserter(s) (and) because you are runaway(s), you yourself misbehaved against your Qaγan who nourished (you) and against your free and independent good realm, you brought evil!”.

Conclusion

In this study, the problematic sequence in BQ E 19 was analysed from the vantage point of orthography and a solution was proposed for the problematic part. Here, the data in Finnish Atlas, Radloff’s unretouched copy and an actual photograph taken by Ölmez was treated in detail and it was shown that the sequence in question contained no separation mark and *-<W> before [w̄k] in the middle. More crucially, the existence of a defective but still identifiable <[n]> which had been inscribed before that [w̄k] and was not noticed by anyone until today was proved by means of a photograph of the inscription. Then the sequence was taken as <rtz[ń][w̄k]W̄[n]> and re-evaluated as two independent units as <r> and <tz[ń][w̄k]W̄[n]>. Accordingly, the former was read as *är* ‘men’ and the latter was read as *täzi[ńük]ü[n]*.

The proposed noun stem *täzi[ńük]* ‘deserter’ was analysed as < *täz-* (verb ‘to desert’), *-(I)n- (reflexive voice), *-yük (deverbal noun). Then the word *täzi[ńük]ü[n]* was compared to *kürä-gü+η+in* < *kürä-* (verb ‘to run away’), -*gü* (deverbal noun), +*η* (second person possessive), +*in* (accusative case coming after possessive) and *täzi[ńük]ü[n]* was proposed to be completed with the second person possessive as *täzi[ńük]-ü[η]+i[n]*. Finally, the whole sentence was transcribed and translated as *türük bodun är täzi[ńük]ü[η]i[n] kürägüñin üčün igidmiš qayanıya ärmiš barmiš ädgü eliñä kentü yañiltıy yablaq kigürtüg* “(Oh) Turkic people and men! Because you are deserter(s) (and) runaway(s), you yourself misbehaved against your Qaγan who nourished you and against your free and independent good realm, you brought evil!”. This new reading proposal provides a new alternative to the former readings which were not in accordance with the real orthography of the mentioned sign group.

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