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Front cover:

"Picnic beside a stream", miniature from the *Jung* (Album) by Mīr 'Alī al-Husaynī al-Katib al-Harawī, autograph in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Dhū'l Qa'da 935 / July — August 1529, Herat school of painting (possibly Bukhārā), painter — Maḥmūd Muzahhib or 'Abdallāh, fol. 9a, 6.5×14.0 cm.

Back cover:

"Two lovers in an orchard in full bloom", miniature from the same manuscript, painter — Maḥmūd Muzahhib or 'Abdallāh, fol. 41b, 7.4×13.5 cm.

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TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

György Kara

MEDIAEVAL MONGOL DOCUMENTS FROM KHARA KHOTO AND EAST TURKESTAN IN THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES*

As is well known, Qaraqota or Khara Khoto 'the Black City' (Heichengzi in modern Chinese) is the presumably late Mongol name of the "dead city" on the Etsin-gol in the Gobi, the ruins of a mediaeval Tangut/Xi Xia fortified city, first explored by P. K. Kozlov, who discovered there a large amount of Xi Xia and other monuments, including some Mongolian prints and manuscripts [1].

F. W. Cleaves was the first to publish a whole-scale survey of (1) a Khara Khoto manuscript. In his splendid study "An early Mongolian loan contract from Qara Qoto" in the Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, 18, 1955, pp. 1—53, he quotes its preliminary description, borrowed by him from L. S. Puchkovsky's "Sobranie mongol'skikh rukopise i ksilografov Instituta vostokovedeniia Akademii nauk SSSR", Uchenye zapiski Instituta vostokovedeniia, IX (1954), pp. 90—127, and the full text of W. Kotwicz's Russian description of these documents (from P. K. Kozlov's Mongoliia i Amdo i mertvyĭ gorod Khara-Khoto (Moscow—Petrograd, 1923), pp. 561—5) with English translation. Also published are: (2) the Yuu-gon fragment; (3) fragment of an illustrated print of a Buddhist text,

both by N. Ts. Munkuyev in his "Two Mongolian printed fragments from Khara-khoto" in *Mongolian Studies*, ed. L. Ligeti, Budapest, 1970, pp. 341—57; (4) a printed title tag/label of a lost book, Malov Collection, Mong. I 122, edited by myself, and (5) a preliminary reading of an edict from the Krotkov collection of written monuments from East Turkestan (in note 28 in my book on the Mongolian nomads' books, Knigi mongol'skikh kochevnikov, Moscow, 1972, pp. 170—1; the title label also in a paper "On a lost Mongol book and its Uighur version" in Sprache und Kultur der altaischen Völker, ed. G. Hazai and P. Zieme, Berlin, 1974, pp. 287—9; in the same volume see also Munkuyev's Mongol'skie dokumenty iz Khara-khoto, pp. 447—50). Their transcription is also given in L. Ligeti's Monuments préclassiques 1, Monumenta linguae mongolicae collecta I, Budapest, 1972, pp. 108-9 (1), 105-6 (2),107 (3), 165 (4) and 222—3 (5). The date of the edict and the name of the ruler are discussed in L. V. Clark, "On a Mongol decree of Yishn Temhr (1339)" in CAJ, XIX (1975), pp. 194—8.

Document G 111

8.0×8.5 cm. Xylograph. Black print on paper of light grey colour. A small fragment of the left hand upper corner of a large leaf with illustration of which only the lower part of a kneeling figure is preserved. Presumably the pustaka/poṭhī format was similar to what is seen in the University of St. Petersburg manuscript of Shes-rab Sengge/Širab Singgi's Mongolian Lalitavistāra (see facsimile in N. Poppe, "The Twelve Deeds of Buddha. A Mongolian version of the Lalitavistāra", Asiatische Forschungen, 23,

Wiesbaden, 1967) and in some Yuan-time Uighur prints (see, for instance, A. v. Gabain, *Die Drucke der Turfansammlung*. Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin, 1967, p. 26, and my review in *Narody Azii i Afriki*, 5, 1968, pp. 205—7; see also more in P. Zieme, *Buddhistische Stabreimdichtungen der Uiguren*, Berliner Turfantexte, XIII, Berlin, 1985, p. 39, n. 10, text No. 2, *Visantara-jātaka*, fragments a—i, etc.). The lefthand side double-line of the text-frame and a part of the

^{*} I am grateful to Yuri A. Petrosyan, now chairman of Advisory Board of the Manuscripta Orientalia, and to Aleksei G. Sazykin, keeper of the Western world's largest collection of Mongol manuscripts and blockprints, who made possible to tempt the first reading, and, in three cases, the attempt at a re-reading of some Middle Mongolian monuments kept in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. I received the photocopies of 18 fragments from P. K. Kozlov's Khara Khoto collection (G 106—119, 121—122) and of one (G 120, Krotkov No. 1) from the East Turkestan collection of N. N. Krotkov, former Russian consul in the western part of the Manchu empire. Dr. Sazykin also kindly provided information about the colour of the paper of the documents.

single line dividing the picture from the text are seen. No pagination is preserved. Bold calligraphy with long, hanging A/N, large, open and pointed D, round-head initial T, double-pointed initial / medial K, independent A and final A after K, double-toothed M with a sharp turn in the string of graphemes; final R and Y with straight vertical end (cf., for instance, the "cross" medial M and the "flat" final R and Y in Berlin Turfan fragments T II T662 = Haenisch A 14, TM 8 = A 9) versus final W with short tail askew (TM 40 =

A 8 has "cross" medial M but "round" final R and Y; the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*-print of 1312 has "round" final R and Y and two-teethed medial M with no "cross-line"). Orthography with diacritics (even final N may have the left-hand diacritic: a thin stroke). No text on the verso. Butterflyformat? Buddhist narrative (*jātaka*). First published by Munkuyev in 1970 (see above), the transcription is quoted in Ligeti's *Monuments préclassiques*, 1 (see above).

TRANSLITERATION

[1]	tegü <u>n</u> ü qoyin-a öki[n-iyen ?] []	
[2]	-a ögbe ❖ []	
[3]	a qan kümü KWR (/Y?)W(')KWL[]	
	(read güdkül°?)	
[4]	öki <u>n</u> ü kelen oğar BW[]	
[5]	[ö]ter iretügei keme <u>n</u> []	
[6]	[]WKW[] ügü[le?]	
[7]	[]R W/B[]	for adv. praeparatr-un?

TRANSLATION

"After that [he?/name?/title?] gave [his] daughter to [...]. [... dat.-loc. suffix or vocative particle?] [the] royal person (i.e. the king/sovereign) [...]. The daughter's tongue/message being short [...] Saying: 'Come quickly!' [...]"

Commentary

The meaning of the words kelen $o\bar{q}ar$ 'the tongue/message (being) short' is not clear. Their syntactic interpretation depends on the next word of which it is only known that its initial is b and its following vowel is rounded (o, u, ö, or ü). Munkuyev's translation '[making] the tongue of the virgin short [...]' implies $bol\gamma a$ - 'to make, to cause to become', but bol- 'to become' is also possible (e.g. bolu, bolu, bolqu, etc.) and so are $b\ddot{u}$ - and $b\ddot{o}$ - 'to be' (e.g. $b\ddot{u}k\ddot{u}$, $b\ddot{u}i/b\ddot{u}y\ddot{u}$ written bui/buyu, $b\ddot{o}ged$, $b\ddot{o}ges\ddot{u}$, etc.).

The fourth and at present the last word in line 3 may be a verb (Munkuyev read it $g\ddot{u}dk\ddot{u}l\ddot{j}\ddot{u}$) or a noun, a name. The very end of the word remains obscure: the last grapheme seems to be a \check{c} , but normally its ligature with a preceeding l has a shape very different from what we see here. The verb $g\ddot{u}dke$ -, known in the classical and the modern languages, as well should have here a suffix with l, for instance, $-l\check{c}e$ -, or, if the vowel before this l was long, it could be contracted from the disyllable $-\ddot{u}g\ddot{u}$ -, the secondary longer stem with the causative l passive l passive l munkuyev translates it as passive: '(the khan-man) was slandered'. Another meaning can be found in Kalmyk that has $g\ddot{u}tke$ - 'energisch seine Absichten ausfihren, energisch sein, thehtig und wachsam sein, erfolg haben (in seinen Bemhhungen)', hence causative $g\ddot{u}tk\ddot{u}\ddot{u}l$ - 'energisch machen, aufmuntern, Mut verleihen, einflössen' (Ramstedt, l kalml b., 140a). Thus the phrase in line 3 can also be interpreted as 'the ruler encouraged' someone, or he 'was encouraged'.

Instead of $\ddot{u}\ddot{g}\ddot{u}[le...]$ 'to speak' (line 6), as, for instance, in $\ddot{u}\ddot{g}\ddot{u}ler-\ddot{u}n$, adv. praeparativum, etc., the fragmentary sequence 'wykw may be read in various ways, (n) $\ddot{o}k\ddot{o}$ as in $n\ddot{o}k\ddot{o}ge$ 'the following', $\ddot{u}k\ddot{u}$ as in $\ddot{u}k\ddot{u}$ - 'to die', $\ddot{o}g\ddot{u}$ - 'to give', etc.

Document G 110 recto

17.0×31.5 cm. Black print on paper of light grey colour. Xylograph fragment of fol. 15a of the second volume of the Mongol translation of a Chinese juridical work. Short title (subtitle?) Yuu gon with volume-number and pagination in small characters read along the inner side of right hand vertical double line of the text-frame. Butterflyformat? Orthography without diacritics. Clear print, lines with large space, bold face characters, with long, hanging A/N, large, open and pointed D, pointed head initial T, final Y, R and W with the crescent (or bow) that become the dominant form in later styles, with interlinear Chinese characters on the left-hand side of their Uighur and Mongol

transcription. Originally no text on the verso. Later, after the book had been disintegrated, it was used for a manuscript, see below. See also the first edition of this printed fragment and the story of its adventurous fate in Munkuyev's paper in Mongolian Studies, ed. L. Ligeti. The last four lines out of five or more. YWW for VWW: yod for beth? Possible modern North Chinese equivalents are yu, fu, wu. As Ligeti states in his Monuments préclassiques, 1 (1972), p. 105: "Le titre en est Yuu gon (la première lettre peut se lire aussi bien j que v), ce qui correspond B la transcription du chin. Yu-kouan, Fou-kouan, éventuellement à Jou-kouan". (Modern you corresponds to yiu in Yuan-

time Uighur and Mongolian transcriptions, and a reading with initial would contradict the contemporary Uighur and Mongolian system where only \check{c} was allowed for both the strong and the weak affricates.) Munkuyev reads it for modern ru 'to enter' attested in ruguan, good for the context (being, for example, a section title in the Da Yuan tongzhi, General System of Laws of the Great Yuan Em-

pire) but phonetically difficult, for fourteenth-century Mandarin had $\check{z}u$, and this initial was then normally transcribed in Uighur script Mongolian with \check{s} (cf. $\check{s}un$ for modern run, as mentioned above), not with y or \check{J} . Some north-eastern dialects have y for this Chinese initial (cf. also in Sino-Korean). It seems that this recto page had five lines, the first now missing.

TRANSLITERATION

- [2] sin jîlen a juyu . (zhou) čiu qotod [...]
- [3] bolyayan asayqu noyad (?) düled TWR[....]
- [4] kürgegdekü bui . ede üiles bügüde (chui) čui
- [5] (guan) gon-a yadaya<u>t</u>u üile bui . ker be
- [0] Yuu gon nököge debter arban tabun

TRANSLATION

- [1] [...]
- [2] "[They] have examined [it]. [In] the cities [of the status of] zhou [...],
- [3] the officials (?) who[se task is to] observe and query should rather
- [4] send [it to ...?]. All these deeds
- [5] are external deed[s] for the [official] chuiguan. If [...]"
- [0] "Yuu gon, volume two, fifteen".

Commentary

Line 1: \check{ciu} = with \ddot{i} in Square Script and $y = \ddot{i}$ in Uighur transcription, Chin. zhou 'district' an administrative unit smaller than a fu and bigger than a xian, it is also found in the Kitan composite script insciptions; qotod 'cities', an eastern form and a -d plural of qota, implying an n-stem.

Lines 4—5: čui gon 'investigating officer', Chin. chui guan, see Munkuyev, pp. 349, 355.

These printed fragments G 111 and G 110 recto differ from each other in details of style (ductus) and each style is different from that of the script attested in Čosgi odsir's Bodhicaryāvatāra-print of 1312.

Document G 110 verso

Fragment of a manuscript written in black ink with a thin calamus on the reverse of fol. 15a of the Yuu gon print. 14 lines traceable. Cursive script with thin strokes, large final K, independent A, and A after K, loop-like D, flat-head initial K and T, slanting final A/N on the right, final W, Y and R with bow, single-toothed M, with no sharp turn in the string. No diacritics. Fragment of a didactic or moralistic writing, an early monument of Chinggis Khan's wisdom in the form of a dialogue with stave rhyme verses, as already stated by Kotwicz (see in Cleaves' quotation and translation). Rashīd ad-Dīn recorded many such sayings (bilig) in his "Compendium of Histories" (see Rashīd ad-Dīn, Sbornik letopiseĭ, ed. L. I. Smirnova, vol. I, pt. 2, Moscow—Leningrad, 1952, pp. 259—65; cf. also an English edition of Rashīd ad-Dīn's "Compendium of Histories" by W. M. Thackston, pt. 2, Harvard University press, 1999, pp. 293-301). Seventeenth century Mongolian chroniclers quoted several of those from earlier written sources and the oral tradition of the day (see J. R. Krueger, Poetical Passages in the Erdeni-vin Tobči, St. Gravenhage 1961; N. P. Shastina, "Obraz Chingiskhana v srednevekovoĭ literature mongolov" in Tataro-mongoly v Azii i Evrope, ed. S. L. Tikhvinsky, Moscow, 1970, pp. 435-54; L. V. Clark, "From the legendary cycle of Činggis-qayan: the story of an encounter with 300 Tayičiyud from the Altan Tobči (1655)" in Mongolian Studies, V, 1978—1979, pp. 5-39, esp. p. 29, notes 7-8; Igor de Rachewiltz, "On a recently discovered MS. of Činggis-qayan's precepts to his younger brothers and sons" in Indological and Buddhist Studies. Volume in Honour of Professor J. W. de Jong on His Sixtieth Birthday, Canberra, 1982, pp. 427—38, bibliography on pp. 432-3, n. 4; Hidehiro Okada, "The Mongolian literary tradition in early Manchu culture" in Proceedings of the 35th Permanent International Altaistic Conference, September 12-17, 1992, Taipei, China, ed. Ch'en Chieh-hsien, pp. 377—88; also "The bilig literature in Činggis qayan-u čadig" in Mongolica, 6, 1995, pp. 456-71, and his paper read in 1994 in Chantilly, at the 37th meeting of the P.I.A.C., "Činggis Khan's wise sayings: how old are they?", published in Qingzhu Zhaqi Siqin jiaoshou bashi shou chen xueshu lunwenji, Taipei, Taiwan: Center for Chinese Studies Materials / United Daily News Cultural Foundation, 1995).

The late sixteenth-century revival of Mongolian culture, along the struggle for unity and statehood in alliance with Tibetan Buddhism, renewed the cult of Chinggis Khan and perpetuated those mostly rhythmic sayings in various forms (see, for instance, the specimens in C. Damdinsürüng's Jayun bilig, No. 5, debate of the Nine Knights with the orphan boy, No. 6, Chinggis Khan's wisdom, No. 7, Maytan suryaysan šastir-a, Chinggis Khan's Appraisal of his companions and their Eulogy for the Khan, No. 8, Oyun tülkigür, The Jade Key, a didactic work with Buddhist elements, No. 11. See also the text in transcription and translation by N. S. Yakhontova in Mongolian Studies, XXIII, Bloomington, IN, 2000, pp. 69—137. Yeke öčig, The Great Oration, see also E. Chiodo, "History and leg-

end: the nine paladins of Činggis (Yisün Örlüg) according to the Great Prayer (Yeke öčig)" in Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher, N. F. 13, 1994, pp. 175—225. In the Appraisal, No. 7, the Khan calls Boyorči to speak: külüg Boyorči-du boyda eyin jarliy bolurun: beyen-eče minu uyidqar ügei dayayi üde-yin següder minu: ... či nigen üge ügüle ('you, my shadow of midday, you who follow me never being tired of my person, speak up'), but none of these earlier or later talks of, or about, the Khan is identical with what reads in this fragment, as already stated by Kotwicz). This text too has some Buddhist elements, for example, buyan '(Buddhist) virtue' and öglige 'alms, donation', the words used mostly in Buddhist writings, and similar is the phrase arya bilig 'means and knowledge'.

TRANSLITERATION

[1] [...] Υ(?) qojid sayin kemegsen ajuγu . ügülegsen üge-yi anu ügeči (?) sonosču 'WD'R [= öter?] [2] [.....] öčibesü soyurqaju ai üčüken Boyorču minu kemeged manay[ar]si üdür inu (?) [3] [Boy]orču (?) noyan-i (?) uribasu uridu öglige-teče qoyar qubi nemen öglige öggüged [the rest of the line is blank] [5] [...] ünen üge-tü . ügületele čing sedkil-tü Boyorču minu bi čimayar ači [6] [...WY?] edüge taqi buyan-tur (?) qatayuji kemen [the rest of the line is blank] [7] [...] аўиуи 💠 : [8] [Mang]yudai Quyildar sečen öčigsen (?) a juyu . aburi-ta ulus-iyan bögetele ary-a [9] bilig (?) urida jabdu . ayui (?) ulus-iyan bögetele ary-a bilig urida es-e [10] jabdubasu ary-a bilig urida jabduysan kümün-e aljayuldan barabasu aba-yin [11] 'W[Y'..N?] metü bolu . bükü ulus-iyan bögetele bütün tübsin aquiban (?) [12] **bo**lki ulus-iyan bögetele **bü**tün tübsin aquiban jas[an?] es-e j[abdubasu] [13] kümün-e burčiydabasu **Bo**ralgi Arqai (?) me<u>t</u>ü bolu ary-a bi[lig] [14] atala üčüken (?) bay-a (?) atala Y'D'QW [= yadaqu or yadayu?] ary-a bilig [...] [15] [... ////]

TRANSLATION

- [1] "[He/They] said [it] would be good later. (Or later he/they said it was good?) Heard his/their word said, the ügeči [quickly? ...]
- [2] When [he/Boγorču] spoke humbly, [the Khan] deigned to say: 'O, my little Boγorču', and then, on the next day,
- [3] when he called for Lord Boyorču, he gave him twice as much donation as he did before.
- [4] [...]"
- [5] "[Then the Khan said ...]: '[Oh] my Boγorču whose word is truth and whose mind is honest while speaking! By thee I [...] grace/gratitude (?),
- [6—7] [...] practise (*imperat*.) virtue even now'".
- [8—11] "(Now) Quyildar the Sage of the Mangyud said humbly: 'Always, while your nation exists, / you should get forward (your) means and knowledge ready. / If you does not keep forward (your) means and knowledge ready, / then you will be got rid off / by someone who kept means and knowledge ready, / and you will suffer detriment / (and you) will become like the (*ünegen* 'fox'? oono 'gazella buck'?) in (lit. of) the battue (?)".
- [11—13] "While your empire is disorderly, / you should get forward your integrity and sobriety ready. / If you do not keep forward your integrity and sobriety ready, / while your empire is intact (?), / then you will suffer destruction, / you will become like Boralgi and Arqai (?)".
- [13—15] "While means and knowledge (are great?), little is (the danger?). While (they?) are small, the poor/incapable (?) means and knowledge [...?]"

Commentary

Line 1: ügeči: if this is the right reading of the word, it may be derived of üge 'word' and analogous with Turkic sabči 'herald; soothsayer, foreteller, prophet'; savči 'prophet, envoy; match-maker' (*Drevnetiurkskii slovar'*, Leningrad, 1969, henceforth *DTS*, pp. 478, 492), and 'messenger, envoy, prophet (in Islam); go-between' (G. Clauson, An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-thirteenth Century Turkish, London, 1972, p. 785, henceforth *ED*).

Line 2: end of Boyorču's oration and beginning of Chinggis Khan's speech. MNT has Bo'orču; later sources write this name of the Khan's earliest and most faithful companion Boyorči (LuAT), Boyorči (BT) [2]. In LuAT, fol. 49a,

the Khan addresses Naqu bayan-u köbegün sayin külüg Boyorči minu; fol. 81a: Naqu bayan-u köbegün Boyorči-tur jarliy bolur-un & bey-e-eče minu uyidqar ügei dayayči üde-yin següder minu: bayilduqu čay-tu ülü ködölügči qas qada minu: "(Thus he deigned to) speak to Boyorči, the son of Naqu the Rich: 'My noon-time shadow who without boredom follows my body! My jade rock, immovable in the time of battle!'", fol. 174a: Arlad-un Boyorči-yin üre 'the descendant of Boyorči of the Arlad', fol. 119a: Boyorči noyan-i soyü '(let) Lord Boyorči admonish (Joči)'.

Line 7: at the top of the line there may be [ejen ügülegsen or idqaysan] etc., but the space is not enough for such a long phrase.

Line 8: beginning of Chinggis Khan's famous companion Quyildar's oration; cf. MNT 171° Mangqudun Quyildar sečen ügülerün 'Quyildar the Sage of the Mangqud spoke ...', LuAT, fol. 63a: Mangqud Quyildar-un deger-e eger[e] jigüi '(his companions) encircled Quyildar the Mangqud (who fell wounded)'. Mangqudai is the normal masculin epithet of the clan name Mangqud (cf. Asudai, Borjigidai, Majartai, Qorilartai, Uriyangqadai, etc. with -dai/-tai, plural -d with genitive -ai, not to be confused with the originally feminine, later neutral attributive suffix -tai, which also became a syntactic marker of sociative, fully or partly replacing the old comitative -luya/-lüge, cognate of the Turkic attributive suffix -li\(\frac{1}{2}\)/-lig).

Lines 8—11 and 11—14: two parallel units in stave rhyme verses:

aburida ulus-iyan bögetele / arya bilig urida jabdu ayui ulus-iyan bögetele / arya bilig urida ese jabdubasu arya bilig jabduysan kümün-e / alayuldan barabasu / aba-yin 'W[Y'..N] metü bolu bükü ulus-iyan bögetele / bütün tübsin aqui-ban urida jabdu bolki ulus-iyan bögetele / bütün tübsin aqui-ban jasan ese jabdubasu Boralgi Arqai (?) metü bolu / arya bil[ig]

Lines 8, 9, 10, 13, 14: $ar\gamma$ -a bilig 'means/ruse and knowledge/wit', practice and theory, cf. Buddhist Sanskrit $up\bar{a}ya$ 'method' and $praj\bar{n}\bar{a}$ 'wisdom', Tibetan thabs and shes-rab, Uighur al altag or al čeviš and bilgä bilig as well as al altag bilgä bilig for Skt. $up\bar{a}yaj\bar{n}\bar{a}na$ in Guruyoga and al eviš bilgä bilig in Guruyoga and Guruyoga an

Line 12: bolki: in early pre-classical orthography ki is unexpected in a back-vowel word, and so is it in Boralgi in line 14. (The Mongol text in the 1592 print of the tetraglot Nāmasamgīti is an exemplary case where a fourteenth-century translation appears in a new orthography with ki instead of qi in back-vowel words.) For the meaning of this word, see Norjin et al., Mongyol kelen-ü toli, p. 996b: kümün-ü jang surtal . üge yariyan-u büdügülig '(an attribute expressing the) primitiveness of a person's manners and learning and talk', bey-e-ben könggemsüglekü üge 'a word of self-humiliating', and yayuman-u kiče bütüče-yin eb qabu ügei, ur-a-bar mayu, nariliy bisi '(an attribute expressing the) rude / rough makeup, the lack of craftmanship, or unpolished character of something', also in tolki bolki, where tolki = ebüdüg egerčeg-i qangkiysan metü bayidal = tolki bolki 'the state like having a knee or the hip dislocated', qayiči kituyan-u tegeli suladaysan moqoyu 'the bluntness of the scissors when the pivotal pin is loosen' and eligdegsen dayayaqu ügei boluysan mese-yin mayusiyal 'pejorative term used for a worn out blade that cannot cut' (ibid., p. 2376a, also tolki-), but tolki bolki is also used in abstract sense, meaning dull, ignorant.

Line 14: Boralgi/Boralki, etc., and Arqai/Aryai: none of these names/persons occurs in the known versions of Chinggis Khan's discourse with his 'knights'. The first name frequently occurs in Persian and Chinese sources. Rashīd ad-Dīn mentions several persons with the name Boralqi / Boralqi: a son of Aq-Küyük, descendant of Joči (Sbornik letopiseĭ, II, p. 70), a son of Mubārak-šāh, Čayadai's great-grandson (ibid., p. 93), a son of Qutluy Temür, Joči's great-grandson (ibid., I, p. 75), a son of Toquz, Joči's grandson (ibid., p. 75), a son of Töbšin, Tolui's grandson (ibid., II, p. 106), a son of Yisü-Buqa, Joči's descendant (ibid., I, p. 76). Pelliot in his Notes on Marco Polo, I, p. 113, quotes the name Buralqi / Buralqi in connection with Polo's Bularguci (pp. 112-4), and, in vol. III, p. 30, he states that *buralki or *buralgi "as a noun has not been met with as yet in any Mongol document. Its probable linguistic connection with bularyu is not clear". His reading with u is based on a Chinese transcription bu instead of bo (see L. Hambis and P. Pelliot, Le chapitre CVII du Yuan che. Les généalogies impériales mongoles dans l'histoire chinoise officielle de la dynastie mongole, Leiden, 1945, p. 59). But in some cases the Chinese transcription varies, having, for instance, bo instead of bu in the name Buyan Temür (see ibid., index, Boyan), and the stem of the name may be bora / boro 'grey; brown' as in the case of Boroldai. But if this is so, borolqi and not boralqi would be expected in Eastern Middle Mongolian, though there are exceptions, for intance, boyal aran in the very eastern inscription of Aruy (1340). And as stated above, our form with -gi instead of -yi is unusual, though not unprecedented for Middle Mongolian orthography; see, for instance, kiyurmay in the Bodhicaryāvatāra-print of 1312. The name Boralgi also occurs in the Mongolian text of Zhang Yingrui's epitaph, line 38 (see F. W. Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1335 in memory of Chang Ying-jui" in HJAS, 19, 1950, pp. 12, 38, 56 ff.), where he reads Buralki, Boralki and Boralgi. He quotes two variant Chinese transcriptions of the name: bu-lan-xi and bo-lan-xi. The Yuan Annals, ch. 133, contains the biography of Boralgi of the Ünggires (Chin. yong-ji-lie). His ancestor was Möngke, who served in Emperor Ögödei's bodyguard, his father Lübao, a great warrior and chiliarch (qianhu), died during Tolui's Jurchin campaign. Boralgi inherited his father's character. In the daytime he practiced archery and riding, and studied the books in the night. He became Qi wang sima and was awarded for his bravery in Kubilai's battle against Naya'a. Thus he cannot be the person mentioned in our fragment. As to the last syllable, at least for its orthography, cf. also the Uigh. name Burangi in Nobuo Yamada's Sammlung [3].

For Arqai or Arqai as proper name, see LuAT, fol. 31b: Arqai Qasar, fol. 74a: Arqay-yin (74b) bayatud-i ötegüs bayatud kemedkün 'Arqai's warriors should be called senior warriors'; MNT 234: Arqayyin ba'atut ordoyin urida yabutuqai 'Arqai's warriors should go in front of the Court', 252: Činggis qahan tende Önggür Arqai qoyari maši dongqotba 'There Chinggis Khan severely blamed Önggür and Arqai'.

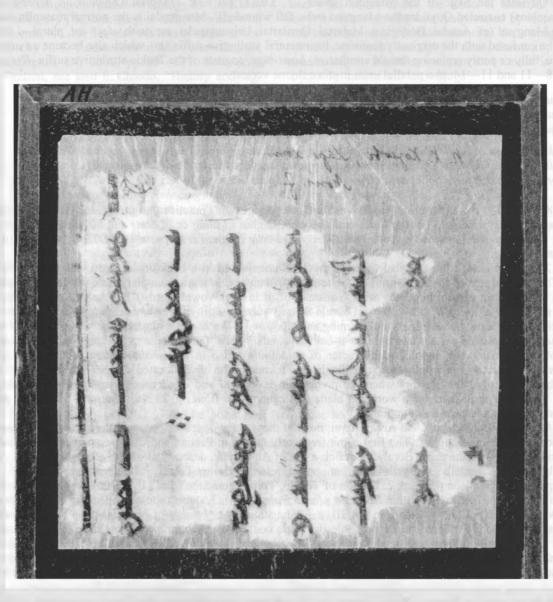


Fig. 1



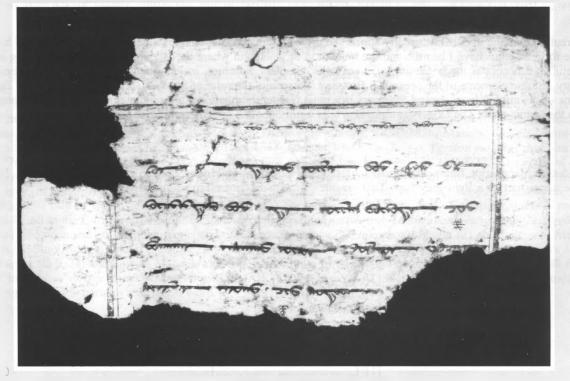


Fig. 2

Document G 122 recto

 16.0×11.5 cm. Manuscript fragment. The left-hand middle part of a greyish yellow sheet. Remains of six bold-face lines written with a thick calamus in black ink. Large calligraphy, lines with wide space; interlinear words in small script with thin calamus. M with one tooth, no hanging final A/N; double-pointed final K; no diacritics. Beginning of a Buddhist canonical text. Line 1a is added in smaller script interlinearly. The verbal stem form sonosu to be continued at the top of the next line with γad , γsan , etc. suggests the lower edge of the leaf is only slightly

damaged. This is the reverse of a piece of paper what was the lower part of a horizontal scroll with a Chinese Buddhist manuscript of the Tang period, a text listing the ten pāramitās: it is from the Suvarṇaprabhāsa, Hebu Jinguangming jing, a Sui dynasty translation of Baogui and Sanzang Tan Wuchen of Northern Liang (see Taishō Tripiṭaka, vol. XVI, No. 664, ch. 3, pp. 374 c23—375 a3). Brush or wooden pen calligraphy; 8—10 characters are missing from the top of each line.

TRANSLITERATION

[1]	[namo budday-a namo <u>d</u>]armay-a nama sanggay[-a]
	(amurliqui anu ülü BW[= bui/buyu/bolqu/boluyu/bolai, etc.?])
[2]	[] 'YNW / CYNW (?) bilig
[3]	[]buyu [= abuyu? yabuyu?] ilaju tegüs
[4]	[nögčigsen burqan (?) eyin kemen no]mlar-un Birasanji
[5]	[u]lus-un qad sonosu=
[6]	[] tanu tula

TRANSLATION

[1] "namo buddhaya, namo dharmaya, namaḥ saṅghaya.
[1a] There will be no tranquility/serenity [for them?].
[2] [... his?/your?] wisdom [...]
[3] [it receives?/goes?] The Bhagavan* [... ...]
[4] [taught:] [Oh,] Prasenajit [...]
[5] [... ...] the sovereigns of the countries listen[ed, adv. perfecti or nomen perfecti with dative-locative?]
[6] [... ...] for your (plur.; another, less probable, interpretation: genitive of -tan, plur. of -tu/-tai) sake [...]"

Commentary

The threefold homage in Sanskrit usually appears at the beginning of Buddhist texts before the title (followed by the title, then the formula "thus have I heard", and the indication of when and where the Buddha preached the teaching in question); sometimes it occurs at the beginning of inner units, chapters, volumes, incantations. Here it seems that there is no space for any of these elements of the preamble. Birasanji/Prasenajit, the ruler of Śiravasd/Śrāvasti in Śākyamuni Buddha's time and one of his mighty listeners and followers is a most frequently mentioned personage in the Buddhist scriptures, for instance, in the āgama-texts. The Üliger-ün dalai also tells a story about King Birasanji's daughter Včir (Vajra).

Document G 113

 8.0×8.5 cm. Manuscript fragment, remains of five lines on the upper part of a light grey leaf. Text on one

side only. Bold face, uneven style. Hanging final K, N and Q with diacritics. From a narrative text?

TRANSLITERATION

[1] [..]L[...?z/q]
[2] amuỹulang [...]
[3] YY aμτρυ '[.]L[... ...]
[4] 'LB'Y Uyiγur T'[Y?... ...]
[5] törökü ükükü [... ...]

TRANSLATION

[1]	[
[2]	prosperity/peace []
[3]	[] was []
[4]	killed (?). Uighur []
[5]	to be born [and] to die []

Commentary

Line 3: YY — read jai 'interval'? Read ayugu 'to be afraid'?

Line 4: 'LB'Y — defective orthography for alabai 'killed' or proper name (for instance, Mong. el/il 'ally; harmony' and bai < bayi 'stand!' or Turk. el 'realm' and bay 'rich' or alp 'valiant' and ay 'moon', cf. El(-tay) and Alp-ay in Imre Baski, A Preliminary Index to Rásonyi's Onomasticon Turcicum, Budapest, 1986)?

Document G 121

18.0×27.0 cm. Manuscript fragment, remains of eight coarse cursive lines written in black ink with a thin calamus on a piece of yellowish paper that seems to be torn off from a "vertical" notebook. The middle part and lower side are missing. Uneven hand. No diacritics, no interpunction. No

pre-classical features in the text (if not 'Esen); it may be written even in the seventeenth century or later. Record of the number of sheep taken by persons whose names/titles are given.

TRANSLITERATION

- [1] [...]L[... ...]N T[?...]N [... ...]M[...]N
- [2] [..]Y'NKKY [= janggi?] nige qoni Način [= ajin?] qoyar qoni Oroi (?) yurban qoni Jalan yur[ban qoni ...]
- [3] [...] güši (?) nige qoni Ubasi nige qoni Sabdan (?) yurban qoni 'Esen nige [qoni ...]
- [4] [...]DW yurban qoni SWWS' [= Seüse?] /// [... ...] yurbayula qorin qoni
- [5] 'YNC'MW [= Injamu?] arban qoni BW[... ..] jalan nige QWY[?... ...]
- [6] nige qoni Boroi (?) dorben [qoni RB]'N qoni Jalan nige [qoni ...]
- [7] [...]N nige qoni Arslan (?) [... K']WR küriyen-tür [...]
- [8] qoni abačiba [the rest is blank]

TRANSLATION

- [2] [...] janggi (?): one sheep. Način: two sheep. Oroi: three sheep. Jalan: thre[e sheep]
- [3] [...] güši (?): one sheep. Ubasi: one sheep. Sebden (?): three sheep. Esen: one [sheep].
- [4] [...] three sheep. Seuse (?) [with ...] and [...]: twenty sheep.
- [5] Injamu (?): ten sheep. B[...]: one sheep. Jalan: one sheep. Q[...]
- [6] one sheep. Boroi (?): four sheep. [...]: [t]en sheep. Jalan: one [sheep. ...]
- [7-8] [elev]en [or twenty, thirty, etc. one or NAME; one] sheep. Arslan [? and ...] took [NUMBER] sheep to the monastery/enclosure (?)

Commentary

The reading of some personal names in the text is uncertain. Instead of Način 'falcon' one could read ajin, a kinship term, see, for instance, in the Menggu yiyu (see AOH, vol. XLIV, 1990, pp. 281-2). Oroi = oroi/orai 'peak, top' if not for [I]oroi < Tib. blo-gros. Sebden (cf. Tib. tshe-brtan, modern Southern Mongolian Seden, Khalkha Ceden; LuAT has Cebden) or with initial §? Esen 'healthy'. Boroi: derived of boro 'gray; brown'? Arslan 'lion'. Some words, formally identical with late terms such as jalan and janggi (see A. Mostaert, Dictionnaire ordos, 182a, 185b, Manchu janggin, jalan-i janggin; J. Legrand, L'administration dans la domination sino-mandchoue en Mongolie Qalq-a. Version mongole du Lifan Yuan Zeli, Paris, 1976, index), and some earlier Chinese elements such as Sino-Mongol seüse 'lad' (MNT 273° Altan qanni muqutqaju Se'üse nere ökčü, see H. Serruys [4]), güši 'national preceptor' (< gui ši, Buddhist title of Sino-Uighur origin, Chin. guo shi, see L. Ligeti, in UAJb, XXXIII, 1961, pp. 241-2, also quoting P. Pelliot's note in T'oung Pao, XII) and ubasi 'pious layman' (Buddhist title of Indo-Uighur origin, Skt. upāsaka) appear here with, or instead of, proper names. A proper name Janggi is found in the Qaraqorum inscription of 1348: Ling-bui šing-un yiu-ing Temüge lang-čung Janggi sunggon Musavir noyad-tan 'the commanders Temüge, youcheng of Lingpei province (1), langzhong Janggi (2) and zongguan Musavir, and again, on the Sino-Mongol side of the stone: soo-yiu-si-yin langčung Janggi, see my tentative reading in Ligeti's Monuments préclassiques, 1, p. 24, and now T. Matsukawa's excellent edition of "The Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1348 from Qaraqorum" in Studies on the Inner Asian languages, XII (Osaka University, Society of Central Eurasian Studies, 1997), pp. 83—98; but this is perhaps a different word.

Document G 114

(Manuscript fragment on yellowish paper. 12.0×15.0 cm.)

TRANSLITERATION

- [1] [] // K'KY Y''Q (?) B[?////]
- [2] ügeber 'ejen bidanu [blank space to honour the ruler's title]

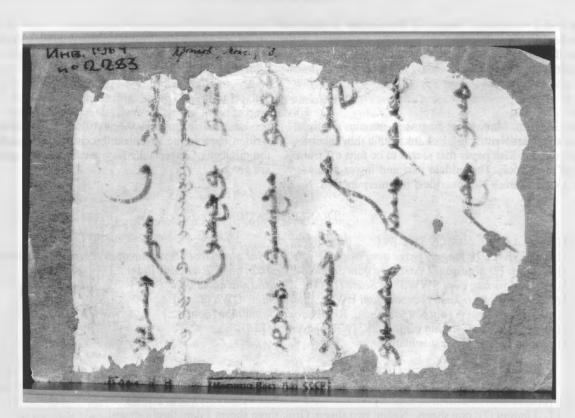
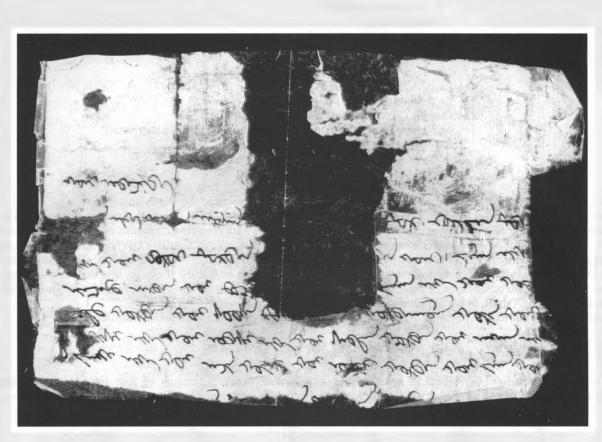


Fig. 4



Fig. 5



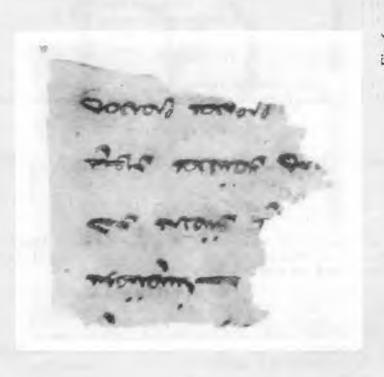


Fig. 7

[3] Činggis qayan es-e törögsen
[4] bögesü end'e baiyad (?) "R' TWR
[5] "R' törögsen kümün-tür [blank space]

TRANSLATION

- [1] [...
- [2] by the word[s of ...] if our lord
- [3] Činggis Qayan had not be born,
- [4] being here (?) for the men (?), [or for the men (?) who stay here,]
- [5] for people who were born as men, [...]

Commentary

Line 1 is too fragmentary, but it must have had the name of he who pronounced the words quoted.

Reading of the last four sequences in line 4 after bögesü is problematic. Other interpretations for the second can be enden, adverbium modale of ende- 'to err', ad'a for ada 'obstacle; danger', but the context remains obscure. The third seems to be for what is classical bayiyad, adverbium perfecti of bayi- 'to stay/stand', though B'YQWN = bai'qun for bayiqun, a nomen futuri plural, could better fit as an attribute before the next word if read it as "R' = 'ere 'man'. Is the last sequence TWR an erroneous beginning for törögsen, which is correctly written in the next line? If not so, this may be a fragment of a strophic verse with alliteration: ejen ... ese ... ende ... ere. Note the fourteenth-century form Cinggis qayan instead of the older title Cinggis qan. A draft, or copied for writing exercise?

Remarkable is the retrospective "what if not" question about the founder of the Mongolian Empire.

Document G 119

10.5×14.5 cm. Manuscript fragment of a letter, the lower right-hand corner of a sheet. Calamus, black ink on

yellowish paper. Remnants of four lines, vigorous cursive hand with large features, slanting on the left side.

TRANSLITERATION

[1] []N
[2] []sin-i [for sini = sine 'new (moon)'?]
[3] []N sögö <u>d</u> čü ilebe
[4] ['e]sen amuyulang-i medejü

TRANSLATION

- [3] [...] sent [finite verb] kneeling.
- [4] [...] knowing [= receiving news about the addressee's] health and welfare

Commentary

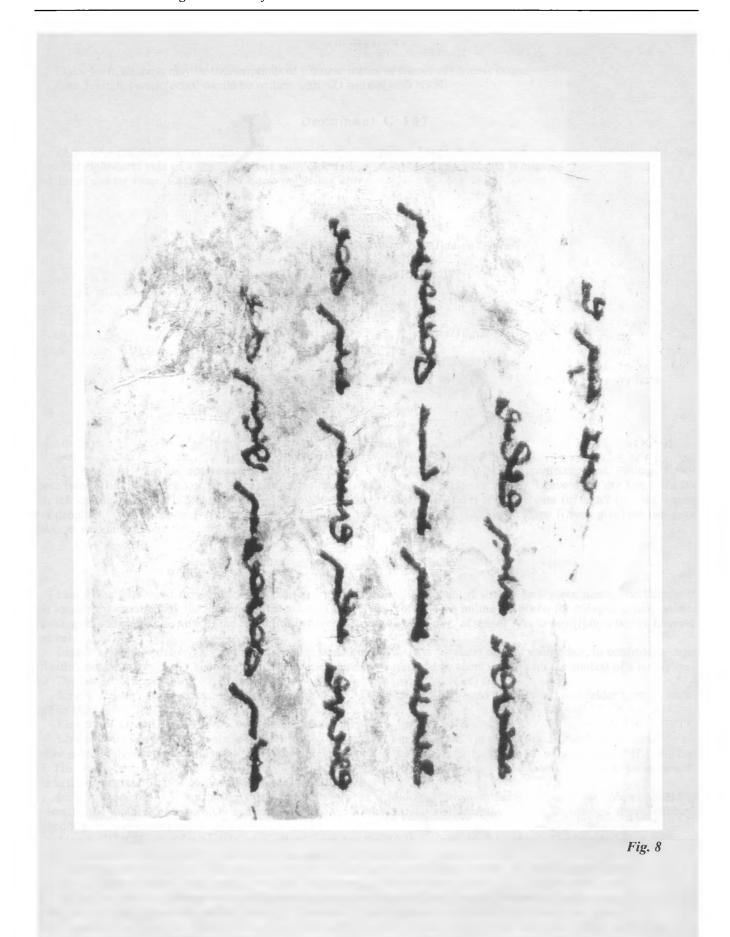
The final N in line 1 may be the end of mürgün 'bowing, prostrating', or kündüdken, kündülen, yosulan 'respectfully', adv. modale forms.

Document G 118

12.5×6.0 cm. Manuscript fragment of the upper righthand part of a sheet. Remnants of six cursive lines; calamus, black ink on yellowish paper. No writing on the reverse. Not a single Mongol word reads if not suu 'majesty'. Is this a fragment of a list of names?

TRANSLITERATION

[1]	[]///[]	
[2]	'WYNKKW[S?]	read ünggü[s?
[3]	'WYNKKWS[Y or K medial?]		ünggüsi?
[4]	SWW '['?]		suu a[] ?
[5]	Y—KQW[?]		read $y[a]ngqu$
[6]	LWNKSY [?]	read lungsi?





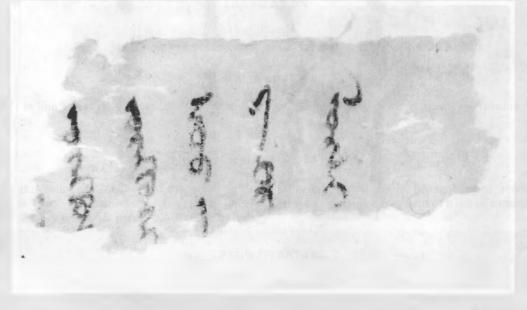


Fig. 10

Commentary

Lines 4—6: all these may be transcriptions of Chinese names or names of Chinese origin. Line 5: Uigh. yangu 'echo' would be written with NQ and not with NKK.

Document G 107

28.5 × 28.4 cm. Manuscript fragment of a letter / narrative. The right-hand side of a scroll or sheet with nine full and three shorter lines. Calamus, black ink on yellowish

paper. Large, even cursive with some diacritics (N). The right-hand upper corner is missing.

TRANSLITERATION

- [1] S[W?]YNKK[Y/W?]BW-tur bayi[I]du-ya kememü
- [2] qoyar '[]'N YYW bi irejü (?) <///>
- [3] 'ese bayilduba bi yurban TWR[Q-'(?)]
- [4] yi činu tataju abu-ba sayin
- [5] nayaču minu či uqa bi köbebü (?)-
- [6] ben ögbe T' B' bi kösere (?)
- [7] qočara-bi naya-ču asi 'r[a]n [= asaran?] ögčü
- [8] mede 'WYB'N kümüne ögbe bi
- [9] [..] nad[u]r(?)<//> sudkül-ün qoyar(?) sayin degel
- [10] [blank] [ögbes]ü aqa či mede [11] [blank] ''ČW minu [' ...Č]W ilebe/ilege (?)
- [12] [...] [blank] bičig [blank]

TRANSLATION

"[] says [...]: 'Let us confront/fight at [...]' Two [... ?] I coming (?) I did not confront/fight. Pulling, I took three [pieces of silk?] (acc.) of yours. My good maternal [uncle], (please) understand (me). I gave away my son. I, Ta Ba, am left on the ground (?). Maternal [uncle], you should know (to get my son?) and take care (of him? for me). I gave my daughter (?) to someone. (= I married out my daughter.) [Maternal] uncle you should know [if you give] me two good robes as wedding present. my property (?)... sent/send The letter".

Commentary

Line 1: the first word may be a proper name. If not a name of a person, it should be a place name, and then, with the locative, it should mark the location of the action. Or, if BW is for KW (as in line 5, köbebü for köbegü), it may be read as singgekü indicating the time of the event, for instance, naran singgekü-dür 'at sunset'. As to bayi[I]duya before kememü, see below.

Line 3: already in the MNT, the only attested meaning of bayildu- is 'to stand against each other, to confront, to fight a battle', not 'to stay together', a theoretically possible meaning that would be more suitable for the context of a family matter. The last sequence in the line may represent tory-a for torya/toryan '(a piece of) silk'.

Line 4: nayaču 'mother's kin: maternal uncle or sister'. The gender is suggested by the word aqa 'elder brother, uncle' in line 10.

Line 5: the second b in köbebü is written instead a kaph.

Line 6: T' B': as da / de, emphatic particle, or ta 'you' (plur.) and ba 'we' (exclusive) or ba 'and' or be 'also' do not make sense in the context ('you and I' would be či bida qoyar). Read Ta Ba, Ta-ba or Da-ba, personal name? (For the last, cf. Tib. zla-ba 'moon' > Mong. daba > dawaa?). The meaning of the expression kösere qočara- may mean 'to be ruined'. As to the orthography of the dative-locative, see line 8 kümüne.

Line 7: if qočara-bi is not an error for qočaraba bi, but a Middle Mongolian feminine form, the subject should be a female, the mother, who gave her son to others. However, this would contradict the fighting mentioned above, although Mongolian history knows some brave female warriors.

Line 8: "WB'N: error for $\ddot{o}be[r]e$ 'else, other', or rather for $\ddot{o}[ki]ben$ '(my) own daughter'. The imperative of mede- 'to know' means here and in line 10 'you have to manage it', or 'you should know how to do it'.

Line 9: Middle Mongolian alternations seen for instance in šidün/südün 'tooth' or sikür/sügür 'umbrella' suggest that the sequence swdkwl, read südkül or südkül, renders a variant of MNT sitkül, see C. Norjin et al., Mongyol kelen-ü toil, Kökeqota, 1999, p. 2066a: sidkül = qadam-un ger-tü abčiraysan kesig beleg 'a present of grace brought with to the home of the in-law's [= the husband's parents]', also quoting Sutan eke-vin sidkül kemen qara bulayan daqu abčiraju bülüge = MNT II 96 Čotan eke-yin šitkül ke'en qara buluqan daqu abčiraju büle'e 'Čotan had brought a black sable fur coat as a wedding present for (Temüjin's) mother' = LuAT 23a Jotan eke-vin sidkül kemen qara bulyan dagu emüskejü bülüge '(Börte's mother) Jotan had given (Temüjin's) mother a black sable fur coat to wear as a wedding present'; according to

the interlinear gloss, $sidk\ddot{u}l = em\ddot{u}skel$ 'clothes, garment'. See F. W. Cleaves, *The Secret History*, pp. 32—3, quoting A. Mostaert's definition: "gift offered to the father and to the mother of the husband when [the new daughter-in-law] presents herself before them". Cf. also I. de Rachewiltz's translation of the passage and note in PFEH, 4 (1971), E. H. Wörterbuch: 'Besuchsgeschenk für die Schwiegermutter', Mansang, *Sin-e-ber orčiyulju tayilburilaysan Mongyol-un niyuča tobčiyan*, Kökeqota, 1985, p. 70, n. 24 (quoting Vladimirtsov's definition) and D. Cerensodnom, *Mongoliin nuuc towčoo*, Ulaanbaatar, 2000, p. 226, n. 121 (quoting Bökekesig's commentary of 1941 and Sečenčoγtu's etymological dictionary). I wonder if *sidkūl*, obviously a deverbal noun of an unattested Middle Mongolian *sidkū-*, has some semantical affinity with *jasal*, also meaning 'decoration, jewelry' < *jasa-* 'to put in order, to arrange, to mend', etc., cf. *sidke-* (later better known as *sigidke-*, Khalkha *šiitge-* 'to decide; to punish', etc., mostly a legal term) also meaning 'to dress up', as in the *Pentaglot Mirror of the Manchu language*, ed. Tamura et al., entry No. 12594, corresponding to Manchu *ičixiya-* (in E. Hauer's *Handwörterbuch* also 'Toilette machen; sich in Ordnung bringen'), cf. in Folke Boberg's *Mongolian-English Dictionary*, vol. II, Stockholm—Copenhagen, 1954, p. 1464a: *sidkū-* 'to wash the face, comb the hair etc.'. Kowalewski does not know our *sidkūl*, and Lessing's *MED* only gives another *sidkūl/sidkel*, an echo-word in the compound *qadqul sidkūl* 'confusion, disturbance' (p. 904).

Line 11: "CW: read $e[m]\dot{c}\ddot{u}$, MNT emč \ddot{u} (emč \ddot{u} bo'ol, emč \ddot{u} irge/irgen, emč \ddot{u} qubi, emč \ddot{u} tümen kešikten), for ömč \dot{c} 'property'? If the pe-like grapheme of the last word represents a kaph, the word is the imperative of ilege- 'to send', and the phrase means 'send (me) my property'. One could try to read "CW as $a\Breve{\mu}$ u, adverbium imperfecti of a- 'to be' or $n\gamma\dot{c}u$ for $na\gamma a\dot{c}u$, but this latter word appears in lines 5 and 7 with dotted N and with two alephs, while $a\Breve{\mu}$ u makes no sense in the context.

Line 12: the word bičig 'letter, writing' stands alone in the line, and this may mean that this is an unfinished letter, a draft without date. Its short text contains too many ambiguous words that make its interpretation tentative.

Document G 112

 12.5×18.5 cm. Manuscript fragment of a contract. The end of a scroll of yellowish paper with darker spots; rem-

nants of seven lines. Calamus, black ink, negligent cursive. No writing on the reverse.

TRANSLITERATION

[1] [sar]-a-yin
[2] []
[3] [en]e	[ni]šan bi SWYYSW	
[4] ene n	išan bi Išibuq-a	
[5] ene n	iš[a]n bi Kebeg	
[6]	gereči bi ČWNSW <u>N</u> W	
[7]	gereči bi S' <u>S</u> -'	
[8]	gereči bi Luu Buyan-taš ■	

TRANSLATION

"... of the month This seal [represents] me [lit. I], SWYSY. This seal [represents] me, Išibuqa. This seal [represents] me, Kebeg. I, witness ČWNSWNW. I, witness, S'S-'. I, witness Luu Buyan-taš".

Commentary

Line 3: SWYYSW — read suvisu, for instance, for a trisyllabic Chinese name like Su/Sui Yisu (with 5/s)?

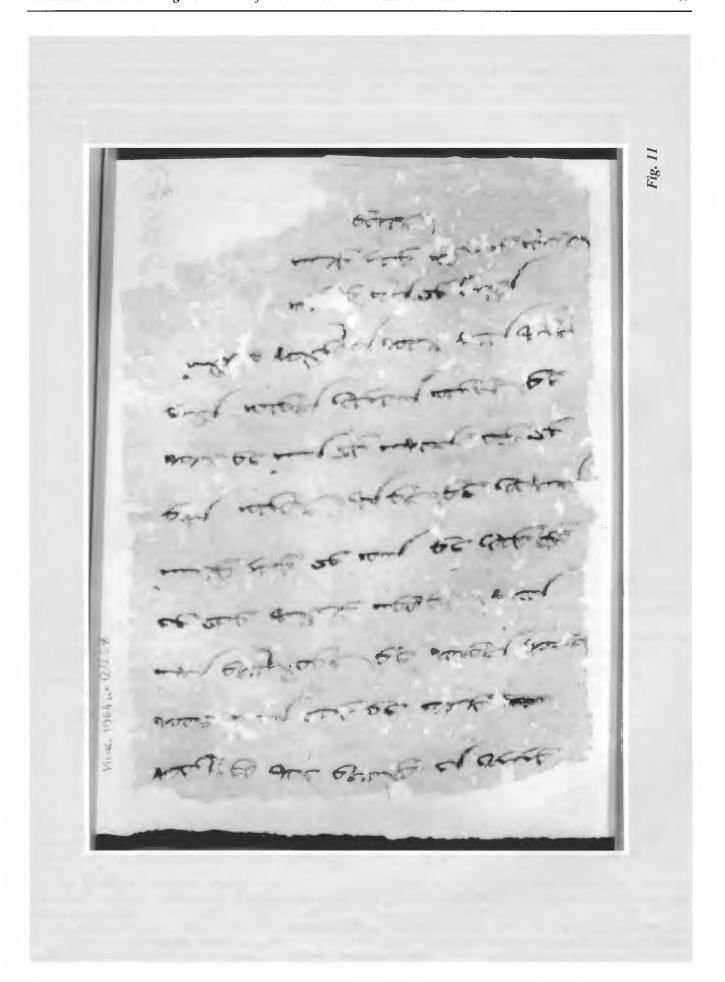
Line 4: Išibuq-a, cf. Turk. eš 'friend' or Mong. esi 'trunk, stem; basis, foundation' and Turk. or Mong. buqa 'bull'. A second and superfluous yod appears before the pe in the second syllable of the name.

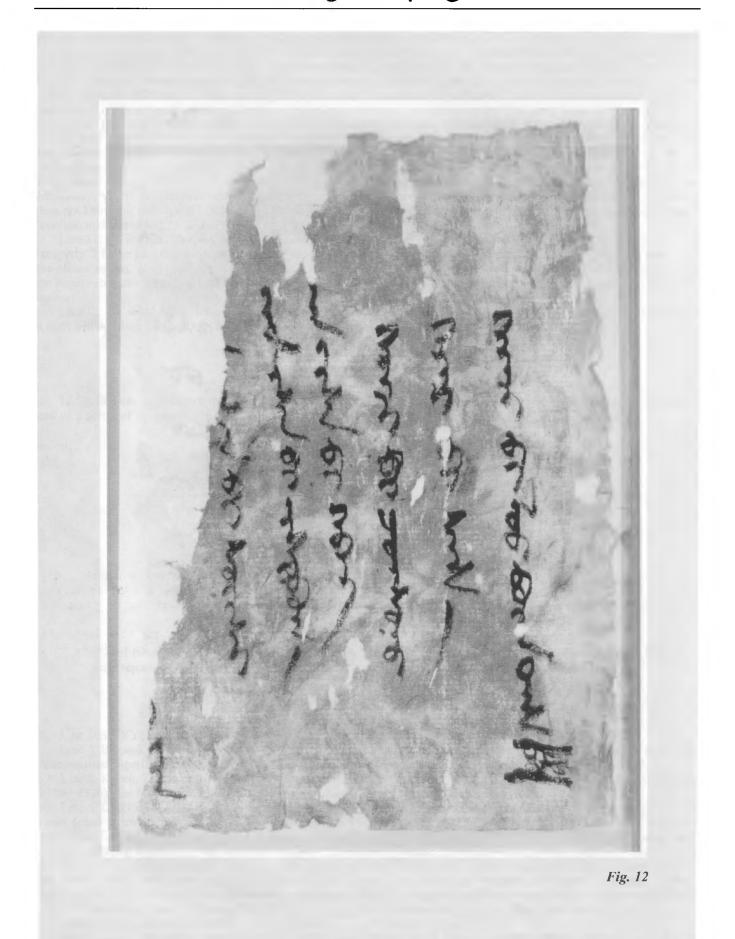
Line 5: Kebeg, Turkic or Mongolian personal name (Kebäk), also name of a fourteenth-century Chaghataid ruler (1318, 1320—1326). See Mong. kebeg 'chaff, husk, bran' and Turk. kepäk 'bran'.

Line 6: ČWNSWNW — read čunšunu < Chin. chunru 'harmony' + nu 'slave'? Or is CWN = čun a Chinese family name (chun or zhun) followed by the given name SWNW, read su or šu? (The latter may represent what is modern Mandarin shu or ru). Cf. the given names after the family names Long, Tang, You, Qing, Ma, Yang, He, and Zheng in St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies Chinese texts: Dh-1317 Long Qingnu 'Slave of Joy', Dh-1359a Tang Dingnu 'Slave of Firmness', Dh-1374 You Yinu 'Slave of Mind', Dh-1408 Qing Mannu 'Slave of Plenty', Ma Huanu 'Slave of Change', Dh-1432 Yang Fu(?)nu, Zheng Funu 'Slave of Wealth', He Shennu 'Slave of Divinity' etc. (see M. I. Vorob'ĕva-Desiatovskaia et al., Opisanie kitaĭskikh rukopiseĭ dun'khuanskogo fonda Instituta narodov Azii, ed. L. N. Menshikov, fasc. I, Moscow, 1963). The earlier Uighur rendering of Chin. nu 'slave' is tu or du.

Line 7: S'S-': read saša or šaša?

Line 8: Luu is a Chinese family name. The given name Buyan-taš is Turkic 'Merit Rock' (if taš is not for daš as in Nomdaš).





Document G 106

35.5×20.0 cm. Manuscript, horizontal scroll, black ink, calamus on grey paper, cursive hand with some diacritics (N before vowels, Š), loop-like D, slightly slanting, nearly horizontal final A/N, no double-toothed M, inital Q is similar to S. A sequence of several "teeth" is often substi-

tuted with a vertical line. Twenty two lines on recto, the verso is unwritten. Loan contract. As was mentioned, it was edited by Cleaves after a photocopy published by L. S. Puchkovsky. Upper margin and right-hand upper corner damaged.

TRANSLITERATION

[1] luu jil dörben sara-yin [2] jiryuyan sinede ba Sing Quli [3] Sing Isinambu [s, n dotted?] ba qoyayul-a [Cleaves: Sočqul-a] buyudai [4] keregtü bolju Suu Temür-'eče [Cleaves: Degür-eče] yabuqu [5] temür-tü šim-iyer yurban tayar doloyan [6] šim buyudai asiy ügei aysuju [7] abuba mun jil doloyan sara-[8] yin arban tabun-tur "NKYYN [= 'eyin = eyin? So reads Cleaves] [9] teyin (?) ülü siltan tegüs bügedejü [Cleaves: bügdejü] [10] ögkü bolba 'ene buyudai ögtele [11] abuyči qoyayul-a [Cleaves: Sočqul-a] ger tergen negüjü [n dotted?] [12] yadan-a doton-a udabasu [or od'basu? See Cleaves: odbasu] baušin [13] Nambu yayun-a ba siltayan ügei [14] mun qoyar-i tulada [Cleaves: tolede] bügedejü [15] ögkü bolba kemen [with overlong, hanging final n] [16] 'ene nišan bi Sing Quli [17] 'ene nišan Sing Isinambu [final unclear; °babu?] ■ [18] 'ene baušin bi Nambu [with dotted initial?] [19] 'ene nišan Samdau [Cleaves: Samdu] Üker Temür ■ [20] gereči Suu/Soo Sarmbau [? or Sarmbai?, Cleaves, Kotwicz: Sarambaba, also Kotwicz: Sarambat] gereči Čang QW''NK [Quang or Suang?, Cleaves: Süng] ■ [21] gereči Sod [SWT, or SWWN = Suun ?] Ši bayši ■

TRANSLATION

"On the ninth of the new moon of the fourth month, the year of the dragon, we two, Sing Quli and Sing Išinambu, being in need of wheat, have borrowed three sackfuls and seven pints of wheat from Suu Temhr [measured] with the current iron-bound pint without [paying] interest. [We] agreed to give [the loan back] completing [it] fully, not pretexting thus and so, on the fifteenth of the seventh month, the same year.

'If [we] both [or we the two] borrowers stay/sojourn [or go] outside [or] inside, moving [away with our] homes and carts and until [= before] giving [back] this wheat, then Nambu (?) the guarantor agreed to give [back the loan] completing [it] instead of [us] the same two [borrowers] without whatsoever pretexts'.

Saying [this, this is approved by the undersigned:]

This 'seal' [represents] me, Sing Quli.

This 'seal' [represents] me Sing Išinambu.

This [is] me, Nambo (?) the guarantor.

This 'seal' [represents] me, Samdau Üker Temür.

Witness Suu Sarambau (?).

Witness Čang Quang (?).

Witness Sod/Suun (?) Ši bayši".

Commentary

Lines 2, 3, 16, 17: Sing or Šing — a Tangut family name, possibly the one rendered by Chinese sheng 'holy', Yuan-time Northern Chinese sing, or, if read as sing, another rendered by Chinese qing 'pure' < ts'ing, see Cleaves, HJAS, 18, pp. 27—8, n. 5.

Lines 2, 16: Quli — reading uncertain $(q/\gamma, o/u)$, it cannot be related to Turkic qul 'servant'; in Buddhist compound names like Nom Quli = Dharmadāsa, it has the possessive suffix -i (see Cleaves, HJAS, 18, p. 28, end of n. 5); in our case there is no possessor.

Line 3: *Išinambu*, with marked š, (line 17) with unmarked šin, see Cleaves, *HJAS*, 18, pp. 28—9, n. 7. See also Nambu, name of the guarantor below. Tib. *ye-shes* 'knowledge' and *snying-po* 'heart' are read in Modern Mongolian as *iš* and *nyambuu*, but the Middle Mongolian equivalents of these Tibetan compounds would sound **išis* and **isningbu*.

Lines 3, 11: qoy[a]yula 'two together' instead of proper name *Sočqula: this reading is graphically possible, despite the missing *aleph* for the second syllable vowel or the missing tooth of the *gimel*. In this cursive style, the medial *yod* may have a form bending up. The proper name proposed by Cleaves does not occur among those of the undersigners: there we only find the names of the two borrowers / debtors, the name of the guarantor, then, before the names of the three witnesses, a name partly identical with that of the lender.

Line 4: keregtü bolba — cf. Cleaves, HJAS, 18, p. 29, n. 9; also Uighur men Adīy tarqanqa yonglaqlīq (?) kergek boltī "il m'a fallu à moi, Adīy Tarqan [...] de consommation", see J. Hamilton, "Un texte ouïghour de vente de terrain provenant de Yar-khoto" in Turcica, I, 1969, pp. 26—52 (lines 1—2). W. Radloff, Uighurische Sprachdenkmäler, ed. S. Malov, Leningrad, 1928, p. 26, No. 20: manga Suriyaširiqa künčit kärgäk bolup 'as I, Suriyaširi, needed sesame [oil] ...'; p. 41, No. 34: biz SYSY KWYRW-K' ikägü-kä böz kärgäk bolup 'as both of us, S. and K. needed cotton fabric ...', etc.

Suu Temür — as to the reading of the second element of the name of the lender, cf. temür-tü in the next line. It is not likely that this is another name of the person who is mentioned before the witnesses' names; the lender's name does not appear in the clause of documents in Radloff's Uighurische Sprachdenkmäler, or in Yamada's Sammlung.

Line 5: šim 'pint' (Chin. sheng, Uigh. šing), yabuqu temür-tü šim 'current / valid iron-bound pint' (temürtü šim: Chin. tie sheng 'iron pint'; yabuqu: Chin. xing yong 'currently used'), Cleaves, HJAS, 18, pp. 30—4, n. 14. See also here below, G 109, line 3.

tayar 'sack; measure of grain' (Chin. dan), Cleaves, HJAS, 18, pp. 34—5, n. 15; also G 109, lines 4, 5; see D. Sinor, "Tayar ~ tavar ~ tovar ~ tár ~ tara" in American Studies in Altaic Linguistics, Indiana Univercity Uralic and Altaic Series, 13, Bloomington, IN., 1962, pp. 229—35; G. Doerfer, Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen, vol. II, Wiesbaden, 1965, No. 905, pp. 512—9. The word is written here in cursive style, the four teeth of aya are represented by the rather short vertical ligature.

Line 6: asiy ügei 'with no interest', see Cleaves, HJAS, 18, p. 30, n. 12. Uighur asigsiz has not been found in similar loan contracts in financial sense, but in Buddhist texts as 'useless'. See Röhrborn, Uigurische Wörterbuch, p. 231a.

aysu- 'to borrow' — Cleaves, HJAS, 18, p. 30, n. 11, with Mostaert's remark. Excellent for the context, but not easy to identify with what is seen in the text, which is damaged here. Cf. also Buriat agsa- 'to exchange' (Cheremisov, Buriatsko-russkii slovar', Moscow, 1973, pp. 28b—29a, agsaa(n) 'exchange', agsaa naimaa 'bartering', agsagda- 'to be exchanged', agsalga 'exchange', agsa- 'to exchange', agsaa' aba-, agsaa' andalda-, agsan holi-). Buriat preserves prevocalic s if it follows a consonant, see hegsere- < segsere-.

Lines 9, 14: bügedejü, or büg'dejü? Its verbal stem *bügede- or *bügde- is not found. Cf. Cleaves, HJAS, 18, p. 36, n. 23, with Mostaert's remark [5].

Lines 10, 15: ögkü bol- 'to agree to give', cf. Cleaves, HJAS, 18, p. 35, n. 17, with Mostaert's Ordos example. Modern Khalkha parallels like bi yabax bolob 'I had got to go' may be quoted, but bol- in the compound in question in this document is rather to be compared to what we see in some Middle Mongolian texts such as Aruy's inscription of 1340: 'endekin ötegüs be irgen be bolun 'the elders and the people of this place agreed...' or in the Hua Yi yiyu document No. 5, Letter of Nekelei: Yesüderten . Oyiratluwa bolun dayijiju 'Yesüder and the others agreed with the Oirats and warred'. Cf. A. Mostaert and I. de Rachewiltz with A. Schönbaum, Le matériel mongol du Houa I I iu de Houng-ou (1389), vol. I, Bruxelles, 1977, p. 28: 'Yesüder ... et autres, se joignant aux Oirat se révoltèrent'.

Line 11: abuyči qoy[a]yul-a 'both borrowers'; abuyči is singular, but as attribute it is also used for plural, see Cleaves, HJAS, 18, p. 37, n. 25, quoting MNT 187°: čisutu tonoq abuqči Širkin ba'atudi 'the Jürkin warriors (marked direct complement), the takers (unmarked direct complement) of the blood-stained booty'. Thus there is no contradiction between attribute and attributed. See also below G 109, line 14 abuyčin.

Line 12: ger tergen 'home/house/tent and cart; a household', cf. Cleaves, HJAS, 18, pp. 37—8, n. 26; BcaT IV 160a: ger-tergen-iyen [13] talbiju. yarču toyin boluysad bügüdeger. 'all those who left their household [i.e. house], went out and became monks'. See also its Turkic parallel pointed out by Poppe: Uighur äv barq 'household', DTS, p. 189a, ED, p. 4: 'dwelling and movable property'.

udabasu/od'basu from uda- 'to spend time, to be slow' or od- 'to go (somewhere)'.

baušin, Yuan-time Uigh. baušin or paušin, Yuan Northern Chinese pau žen, modern baoren, see Cleaves, HJAS, 18, p. 39, n. 28.

Line 13: silt[aya]n ügei 'with no pretexting' with "toothless" aya. Cleaves reads siltan ügei and quotes the peculiar Buryat construction (HJAS, 18, pp. 39—40, n. 30) adv. modale + ügei. He rightly states that this would be a rare instance in Middle Mongolian. As hitherto no other old examples have been found, at present it is safer to read the negated noun instead a negated verbal adverb.

Nambu: Kotwicz: Nambu or Ambo.

Line 14: mun qoyar-i tulada 'for the same two', tula with the dative, or the last word may be read with Cleaves as tolede = tölêde for tölögede 'for the sake of; instead'.

Document G 108

 18.5×32.5 cm. Manuscript fragment of a letter. The right lower end of a "vertical" sheet of paper with the remnants of fifteen long lines, none of them complete. The little piece of paper over line 10 seems to be turned upside down

and to belong elsewhere. Calamus, black ink. Small cursive hand with almost horizontal final A/N, initial Q similar to S, final W with wide crescent, final Y with small scope, large L; medial M with two teeth, the first slightly bent.

TRANSLITERATION

```
... a]saybas[u?] jayurayan (?) ken (?) 'eng[ke?
 [1]
                                                                                             1
 [2]
                                                 ] sedkibesü ečige eke ken önečin
 [3]
                                                  Ba tuqan ene ba ya jar-a 'eyin
 [4] [
                                               min]u ötögü eke-yi minu jobaqu [or jobayu=l...?]
 [5] [
                                       a]m[u]yulgu kemen üdür ba söni ''B?Č[YR'?]N KWYSW[]
 [6] [
                                       Q/[]B' ene ba udqas-i minu . bürkügči (?) tüidügči (?)
 [7]
                      ]'n-i giigülüg[se]n [blank]
 [8] [Čangsu aq-a
                              ya]buyulju ögbesü basa ulam
 [9] [
                                      []K-t'n kümün-iyer kelejü buliyaju abuysan morin
[10] [
                           ] degü [...]B/K (?) kiged-i minu ög 'ggülbesü üčüken Batuqan (?)
[11]
                              l yadaju aysan-iyan Daidu jug oyilayamu
[12] [
                              ] kemen (?) yesün degü bülege kemen yam'bar
                              ][...RYN [?=enerin] sedkikü-yi [blank]
[13] [
[14] Čangsu aq-a-yin gegegen qutuy medetügei Batuqan (?) unuqu morin (ügei tula)
[15] Čangsu aq-a(-yin) gegegen čirai-tur kürün yadaba
```

TRANSLATION

```
[2] [... ... ... ... ... ...] if [I?] think [...], father and mother who [...] orphan
    [3] [... ... ... ... I, Ba]tuqan (?), also in this place, thus
    [4] [... ... ... not to] let my aged mother suffer
    [5] [... ...] intending to bring peace [to her], day and night [... ... ...]
    [6] [......] also [as to] these reasons [?, acc.] of mine, that what covers and that what hinders (?)
    [7] [... ...] enlightened [... acc.]
    [8] [elder brother Čangsu ... ...] if [you] send [...] for [me], then again more [and more ...]
    [9] telling [something] through people [such as ...] and [others]
[9—10] if [they?] let give me [back] my horse taken away by force, [...] and [my other things], then [I] the little
         Batuqan (?)
   [11] [1] report (?) to the Great Capital on how I was unable to [... ...]
   [12] [... ... ...] there were nine younger brothers. Saying [this,] what kind
   [13] of mercy is to think (of),
   [14] let [your], the elder brother Cangsu's bright bliss know. As [1], Batuqan (?) have no horse,
   [15] [1] was unable to appear before the bright face of elder brother Čangsu.
```

Commentary

Line 1: ayura 'meanwhile'?; -qan diminutive (as restrictive or intensifier), or -yan for subject possessive -ban?

Line 6: udqas (plur.), so in the BcaT Col: Čary-a Avatar-un talurai (?) udqas-i; SrnCol 6 — burqan-u sayin jarliγ-un udq-ay-i (the "anomalous" usage of the lamedh instead of the tau ("belly"+"tooth") — makes the reading easier when it follows a waw ("belly").

Line 7: giigül- or kiigül-? For geyigül- 'to make shine; to enlighten' or kigül- 'to cause to do'? (see Lessing; Kotwicz). The usual later causative form of ki- is kilge- and hence kilgegül-. In the story of the Qongqotan's fall quoted from the MNT, LuAT 67b, it reads: degü-ner-iyen tedene teyin kigüljü ker üjejü amu či kemeged Börte üjin nilbusun aldaba 'How can you look [= endure] that they treat your younger brothers like that? — said Börte Üjin and she burst into tears'.

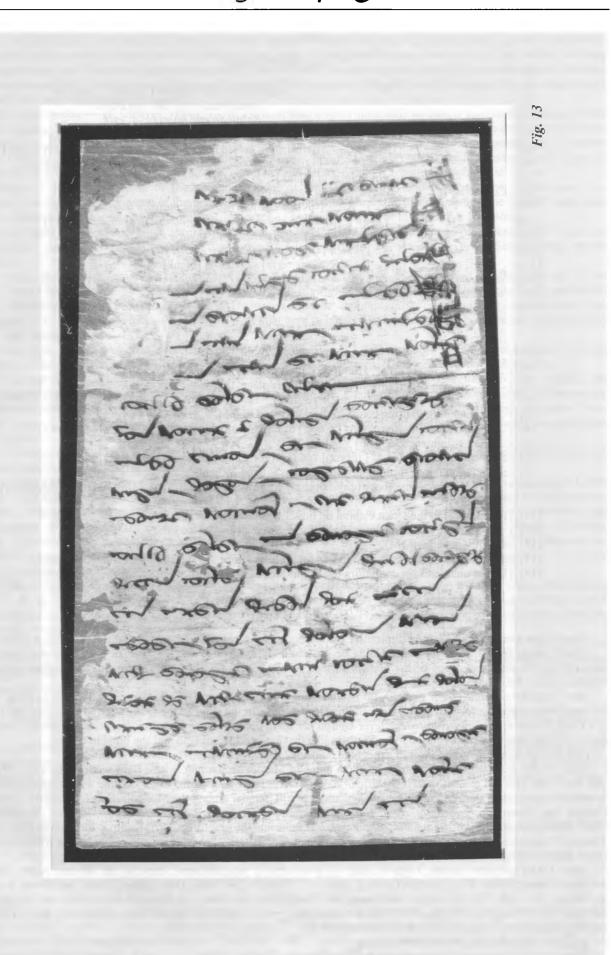
Line 9: kümün-iyer kele-: one would expect the causative kelegül-, cf. Khalkha xüneer xelüül-.

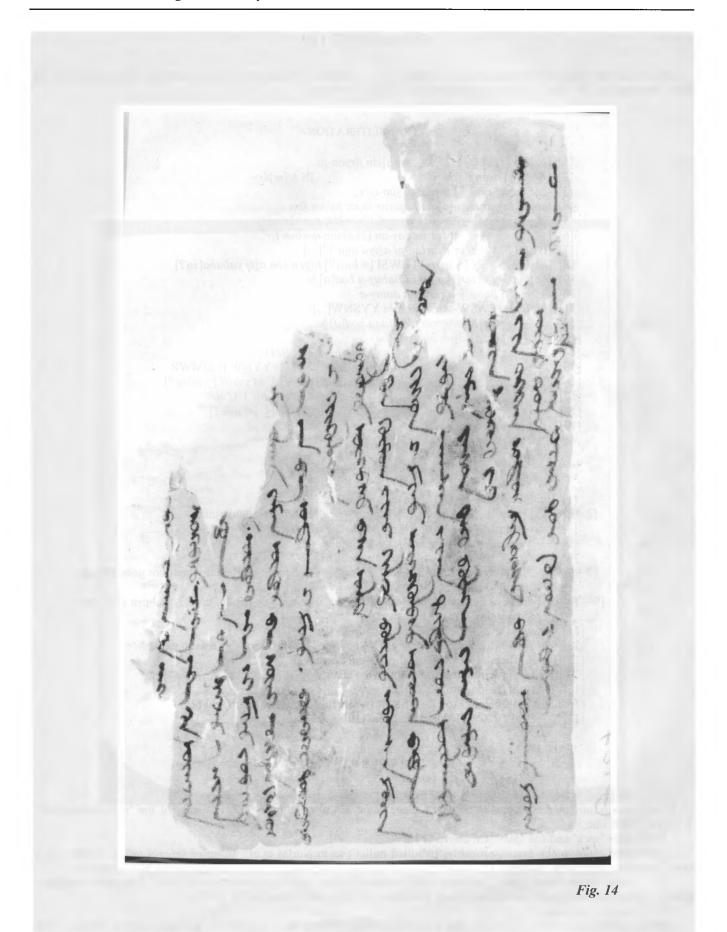
Lines 10, 14: Batuqan: not a common personal name in Middle Mongolian, where Batu seems to be used only for Batu Qan, Joči's son. It is not clear if -qan is the title or a diminutive. Later batu 'firm; solid' became a frequently used name and element of names, as in Batu Möngke Dayan Qan, and it is still popular among the Mongols. See, for instance, contemporary Khalkha Bat, Bataa, Batbayar, Batjargal, Batmönx, Bat-Očir, Batsaixan, Batsüx, Battulga, Mönxbat, Nasanbat, Orbat; Ordos Batubayar, Batujirgal, Batumanja, Batunamjal, Batunasun (Mostaert, op. cit.), Kalmyk Bat, Buriat Bata, etc., Očir Batoxan, Russianized surname Batoev). However, the sequence B'DW''' has at least two graphemes with more than one values, and the interpretation of the long end of the sequence is ambiguous.

Line 11: Dayidu, BcaT Daidu, Uigh. Taydu, Old Mandarin tai tu, in Square Script tay du. Modern North Chin. Dadu, the Great/Main Capital City, Marco Polo's Canbaluc = Turkic Qan baliq (see Pelliot, Notes on Marco Polo, vol. I, pp. 140—3, No. 108. Tib. Rgyal-po'i pho-brang in 'Phags-pa's colophons, for instance, in his Rdo-rje gur-gyi le-'grel, Sa-'bum, vol. 6:1, No. 38. Cf. Rgyal-po'i khab = Skt. Rājagṛha > Uigh. Račagriq > Mong. Rajagriγ, Ranjagriγ; Qaγan-u balγasun; Rgyal-po'i grong-khyer under the Manchus).

Line 11: oyilayamu should be a rhetorical question.

Lines 14—15: Čangsu or Čangšu? Sounds Chinese.





Document G 109

25.5×22.0 cm, Manuscript fragment of a loan contract, remnants of 19 lines, calamus, black ink on light

brown Chinese paper. Badly damaged. Beginning and end missing.

TRANSLITERATION

```
[1] [be]čin (?) /// [
                               sara yin jiryon-tu
 [2] [ ]A? [ ] aran K[?
                                                 ]N te[m]ür-
                     ] temür-tü šim-iyer
[3] -eče basar-a [
 [4] tab[un ta]yar buyu[d]ai // qoyar tayar tabun šim
 [5] '?[
                      ] qoyar tayar t[a]bun <u>š</u>im qara'amun
                      N tayar čay-an (?) amun dorben tyr
 [6] [
 [7] [B?/// /// M?// //]n-e tarian-ni ašiy-i anu T'[...]
 [8] [///]QW S'[]N [= sayin?] BWSI [= busi?] nigen šim ašiy yabuba[su?]
 [9] b[0]lba 'en-e tar[i]an-ni bi Babuy-a bod[a] ju
[10] ög'tele bi Babu'¬-a yaday-a dotay-a
[11] [b]olbasu TWSW-tan baušin bi YYSNW[...]
[12] Y'CW qoyay[u]la yayun ülü<u>š</u>ilitan bod[a]ju
[13] [
             ] alba qayan bičig ög'be
[14]
                               'en-e nišan abuyčin bi Babuy-a
                               'en-e nišan K'B'''YN (?) YYNW B'DMWR
[15]
[16]
                               [en]-e nišan TWSW SYM' bi yys/// [= ništu?]
[17]
                                                         b]i T'CW
[18]
                                                  ]W SYN' [= sine?]
[19]
                                                    JD'
```

TRANSLATION

- [1] [In the monkey-year (?),] on the sixth of [the ... month]
- [2—3] [...] people [...] from [...]-Temür to [...] with iron-bound pint
 - [4] [borrowing] five sacks of wheat, two sacks and five pints of
 - [5] [...], two sacks and five pints of black millet,
 - [6] [...] sack[s] of white (?) millet, four sacks of
- [7—9] [... ...] As to the profit of this (?) crop [... ...], it could go, [even when] not good (?) [up to] one pint.
- [9—10] If I, Babuγa happen to be [somewhere else] outside or inside, until I, Babuγa give [my debt,] counting [the interest, then]
 - [11] twsw and the other guarantors: I, YYSNW[...] and
 - [12] YNCW [will] count [and pay all] without any pretext. [For this reason we] made
 - [13] [this] official deal and gave the present document.
 - [14] This seal [belongs to] me, Babuya the taker.
 - [15] This seal [belongs to] K.Y. B.
 - [16] This seal [belongs to] T. I, SYM' [wrote this document] with seal (?).
 - [17] [...]Y T'CW [18] [...] new [19] [...]

Commentary

Line 1: jîryon, with long o, for jîryuyan 'six', MNT jîrqowan, Ekhirit Buriat yorgoon.

Line 3: here basar 'market' seems to be here a place name. Cf. also below G 117. For temürtü šim 'iron -bound pint', cf. above G 106, line 5.

Line 4: tayar 'sack' and šim 'pint'. Cf. above G 106.

Line 5: qara amun 'black grain', probably 'unhulled millet', as in Norjin et al., Mongyol kelen-ü toli, p. 1238b: qar-a amu = čayilyay-a ügei čulyui buday-a. Cf. the later form amu, amu budaya, amu tariya 'grain, cereals', Khalkha amuu.

Line 6: čayan amun 'white grain', probably not the same as later čayan budaya = tuturya 'rice', but čayan budaya = ingdejū čayilyaysan amu 'millet hulled by rolling' (Norjin et al., Mongyol kelen-ü toli, p. 2697a).

Line 7: tarian = tariyan.

Line 12: ülüšilitan — the word looks like a derivation from Turkic ülüš 'part, share, portion, section, division', but morphologically more than problematic. In fact, it represents two words written in one sequence: instead of ülü siltan, adv. mod. of silta-, see above G 106.



Line 13: alba qaya- 'to do service; to fulfil official duties', cf. Khalkha alban xaa- 'to be an employee', cergiin alba xaa- 'to serve in the army'.

Line 14: *Babuya* or *Babuqa*, the only personal name with a more or less clear reading. The rest in the next lines 16—17: K'B'''YN (?) YYNW B'DMWR (B'DWMWR?), TWSW SYM' and those before, remain unsolved.

Document G 120 recto

Krotkov's collection (No. 1)

17.0×18.5 cm. The left-hand upper and the right-hand lower corners are torn. Manuscript fragment of the unauthorized text of a fourteenth-century edict. Seventeen lines written with thin calamus, in ink on yellowish Chinese paper. Neat cursive hand with large or very large, loop-like D,

[1] (This is) our word, (the word of) [Yisün]temür.

mostly slanting, long or very long final A/N, small "teeth". Often long, in line 17, very long vertical ligature between the graphemes. No diacritics, no interpunction. No seals. A draft or copy? Uighur Buddhist notes on the reverse. Preliminary reading in Knigi, datation by Larry V. Clark.

TRANSLITERATION

[1]	[Yisünte]m[ü]r üge manu
[2]	Qočo-yin <u>I</u> duqud-ta Qulun-qy-a
[3]	ekiten noyad-ta Buyan-qy-a ekiten
[4]	tüsimed-te 'en-e Temür ügülejü (?)
[5]	irebe Taybudu . Tölemiš nere <u>t</u> ü
[6]	kümün küčü kijü Yogačari sum-e-tür qaryatan qoyar
[7]	bay-i yajar usun selte abču ülü ögümü nidan-i oon
[8]	qabur 'endeče nišan abču od'č[/q?]u bülüge ter-e nišan-i
[9]	Bolmiš/Bulmiš neretü kümün küčü kijü nišan-i abču yačar usun
[10]	ba'y borluy-i taqi es-e ög'be kemen
[11]	öčigdejü edüge en-e nišan küreged [= kürgêd = kürgeged] tende-kin
[12]	noyad töröger yosuyar asayču nišan-i bay-i yajar usun
[13]	selte qariyulju öggegülügtün tende ilyan yadabasu
[14]	tede aran-i qamtudqaju ende ilgtün [= ilgegtün] kemen nišatu
[15]	bičig ögbei taulai jil qabur-un dumda <u>t</u> u
[16]	sar-a-yin dörben qaučin-a Bulun/Bol[a]d/Buluyan örö-te*
[17]	büküi- <u>t</u> ür bičibei

TRANSLATION

[*]	(This is) our word, (the word of) [Tisum]ternar:
[2]	To the Iduqud of Qočo. To Qulun Qaya
[3]	and the other authorities. To Buyan Qaya and the other
[4]	officials. This Temür came reporting. (He) complained
[5]	(that) a man named Taibudu Tölemiš
[6—7]	
[6—7]	to the Yogācarya-monastery, and would not give (them back). Last year
[8]	in spring (the owners) carried (= received) a document with a seal from here. (But)
[9]	a person called Bolmiš/Bulmiš used force and took that (document with) seal and
[10]	again did not give (them back) the fields and waters (of those) orchards and vineyards.
[11]	Now (we) send this (document with) seal (that) the local authorities
[12]	lawfully interrogate (the persons involved) and let (them) give back the orchards (and
[13]	vineyards) together with the fields and waters. If unable to decide (the matter) there,
[14]	(the authorities) should gather those people and send them here. Therefore we
[15]	issued (this) document with seal. (We) wrote (it in the) year of the hare, (in the) mid-spring month,
[16]	on the twenty-fourth day of the waning moon,
[1617]	when sojourning in Bulun/Bol[a]d/Buluγan (?) örö (?).
_	

Commentary

Line 1: Ligeti (Monuments préclassiques) proposed to read Tuyluytemür (1347—1363). Clark proposed Yisüntemür because Qulun Qaya's name also occurs in a document undoubtedly issued by Yisüntemür (1338—1339).

The formula $\ddot{u}ge\ manu$ 'our word' shows that this document is not an imperial decree (jarliy) but an edict issued by the ruler of an el/il.

Line 2: Qočo, Iduqud — see Cleaves, HJAS, 12 (1946), pt. 1, pp. 49—50; cf. Iduq Tengriken in H. Franke, "Zwei mongolische Textfragmente aus Zentralasiens" in Mongolian Studies, ed. L. Ligeti, pp. 144—5; also Cerensodnom and Taube, BTT, XVI, p. 185, No. 80, line 4.

As in some other mediaeval documents in Uighur script, here too, Iduqud is written with the final/independent form of yod in medial position.

Qulun Qaya: Turk. qulun 'foal', qaya 'rock'; cf. Qulun in Imre Baski, A Preliminary Index; W. Radloff, Uighurische Sprachdenkmäler, No. 22; DTS, p. 465a: Qulun Qara, cf. Qulun Qaya (written qya) in Yamada's Sammlung; line 3: Buyan Qaya, cf. Yamada id. (written qya).

Line 3: ekiten 'and the other...' or 'and so forth', lit. 'having someone at the head', see later terigüten id. (ekin/üekin \parallel terigün 'head'). In documents of the day initial e is often written with two teeth/aleph ('ekiten). Here both occurrences of the word have only one aleph before the kaph, similar to what is seen in line 1 in $\ddot{u}ge$.

noyad 'commanders, officers, lords' or 'military authorities'; see qamuy Mongyol ulus-un noyad-i in Yisüngge's inscription or balaqadun daruqasda noyadda 'to the chiefs of the cities, to the commanders' in the Square Script documents.

Line 4: tüsimed, plur. of tüsimel 'official' = the 'civil' authorities (< tüsi- 'to rely on'). Cf. some Turkic equivalents in Radloff's *Uighurische Sprachdenkmäler*, No. 9, line 2, tüšimän-lär. DTS, p. 600, quotes tüšimäl from the late Legend of Oguz Kagan.

ene Temür 'this Temür' is perhaps the messenger or representative of the plaintiff who was given the original of this document. Instead of ene 'this', one can also read an, a Chinese surname.

Line 5: taybudu — title or name of Chinese origin, the first two syllables may correspond to Chin. ta, tai, da, dai and pu, bu, pao, bao, respectively. Cf. Taybu in Radloff, Uighurische Sprachdenkmäler, p. 112, No. 61: manga Liv Taybunung oyli Kücükä yonglaqliy kümüš kärgäk bolup 'as I, Kücü, son of Liv Taybu, need silver to spend/use ...'. Cf. also LuAT, fol. 157a: Oyirad-un oi modun-u köbegün Ögedei tayibu, Eselei tayibu, etc.; ET Ulaanbaatar MS 51v2, 58v (four times), 59v, 62v, tayibu and tayibujin. Cf. the rank t.ai-b.u in Kitan composite script (inscription Xu, line 29); taibao in Yuan shi, ch. 85 (Bai guan 1), taibao Liu Wenzheng gong in Su Tianjue's Yuanchao mingchen shilue, ch. 7. But the third syllable of the name may go back even to the Chang'an dialect form of nu 'slave', and bu may stand for Chin. dialectal bui = bei, and then taybudu may represent 'the slave of great compassion', modern Chin. tabeinu.

Tölemiš, Turk. 'he who payed', nomen perfecti of töle- 'to pay' (tüle- 'to moult' is less probable); name of the accused, who, 'using force' (Mong. küčün ki-, Turk. küč qil-), violated private property. Imre Baski's Preliminary Index has the same name.

Line 6: Yogačari süme — name of a Buddhist monastery in Qočo. Cf. Uighur yogačari-lar (Radloff, Uighurische Sprachdenkmäler, p. 178, No. 101). A distant analogy is found in Khalkha Mong. Yögööjöriin xiid, Mong. Yôgajari-yin keyid, the name of a famous Buddhist monastery built in Khalkha under the Manchus and destroyed in the 1930s.

Line 7: bay '(irrigated) garden, orchard, vineyard' seems to be used here as a measure of landed property. Usually it occurs with borluy 'vineyard', as in line 10. Cf. Turk. bay and borluq in DTS, pp. 77, 113; D. I. Tikhonov, Khoziaĭstvo i obshchestvennyĭ stroĭ uĭgurskogo gosudarstva X—XIV vv., Moscow—Leningrad, 1966, p. 123, etc., on vineyards; L. Golomb, Die Bodenkultur in Ost-Turkestan. Bauernwirtschaft und Nomadentum, Posieux, Freibourg/Schweiz, 1959, from p. 56 on about landed property, pp. 73—6 on horticulture, orchards and vineyards; Peter Zieme, "Uighurische Pachturkunden" in Altorientalische Forschungen, vol. 7, 1980, pp. 167—245; also his "Uighurische Steuerbefreiungsurkunden für buddhistische Klöster" in AoF, 9, 1982, pp. 237—63; Nobuo Yamada's Sammlung, vol. 2, index, s.v. bay, borluq, borluqċï and the relevant documents; also S.-Ch. Raschmann, Baumwolle im thrkischen Zentralasien, Wiesbaden, 1995, pp. 7—12, etc.

yajar usun — '(irrigated) land/field/soil and (resources of) water'. See qajar usun 'territory' in a Square Script document (N. Poppe and J. R. Krueger, *The Mongolian Monuments in P'ags-pa Script*, Wiesbaden, 1957, Glossary, from P. Pelliot, *Un rescrit*), selte 'together' (also in line 13) should mean that the landed property covered not only the territory of the irrigated gardens, orchards, or vineyards themselves, but also the surrounding land with the canals and wells. Also qaar usun baq tegirmed 'lands and waters, orchards and mills' in the Čaqân balaqasun/Zhendingfu inscription (ed. Cai Meipiao) quoted above.

nidan-i— a 'Western' form for the 'Eastern' nidoni, that written <u>nidoni</u> also appears in the very 'Western' letter of 1289 sent by Arγun to the King of France; oon with long vowel, cf. in the date of the 1312 print of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, cf. Cleaves, *HJAS*, XVII, 1954, p. 352.

Line 8: nišan 'seal' is here for a document with seal (nišatu bičig). Cf. M. Weiers, "Mongolische Reisebegleitschreiben aus Čayatai" in ZAS, 1, 1867, pp. 7—54, pp. 30—3 on nišatu.

Line 9: Bolmiš or Bulmiš < Turk. bolmiš 'the one who became' or bulmiš 'the one who found', cf. Bulmiš in DTS, quoting Radloff's Uighurische Sprachdenkmäler. See also Imre Baski, A Preliminary Index.

Line 12: töröger yosuyar 'according to the law and the custom', a parallel construction with two early colloquial forms certainly pronounced törö'er yosu'ar instead of törö-ber yosun-iyar of the classical nom-un kele.

Line 13: öggegül- for öggügül-, cf. ögü- in line 7, but öggü- in the inscription of Aruγ, 1340. Thus beside pre-classical ögü-, even such early texts can have the "classical" öggü-.

Line 15: the year of the hare — 1339 according to Larry Clark's count, the last but one year of Yisüntemür's reign.

Line 16: Bulun or Bol[a]d or Buluyan, örü, ürü or örö 'heart, core, pith' or, less likely, Turk. örü 'above; north' (Yamada)? Cf. the settlement Bulun-tochoi in W. Radloff, Aus Sibirien, Leipzig, 1884, vol. II, map, and Lake Buluntoxoi in Dzungaria, at the settlement Fuhai, south of the Black Irtish, east of the settlement Uru Buluk (= Mong. bulag 'spring') in the atlas Zhonghua minguo dituji, vol. II, Taipei, Minguo 49/53? See on the same map of the northwestern part of East Turkestan the settlement Hara Bulun that lies between Burguchi and Airak Bulak on the Ürüngü (or Ulungur/Uliungur =

Ülüngür) river that flows into the lake with the same name, also known as Kizilbash. About these waters and the settlement Bulun Tokhoi, see also J. F. Baddeley, Russia, Mongolia, China, vol. II, London, s.a., pp. 164-5, who quotes A. D. M. Carruthers's Unknown Mongolia, London, 1914, p. 401. Is bulun here a Chinese transcription of the Russian distortion of Turco-Mongolian bulung 'corner'? On later maps the last syllable of the name Bulun Toxoi (= Mong. toqai 'bend') was identified with the Chinese word hai 'sea, ocean', and the first three syllables perceived as one word, or, marked Fuhai (Burultokay), as on the National Geographic Atlas of the World, 7th edn., 1999, map No. 102, or Ulungur Hai, in The National Economic Atlas of China, Hong Kong, 1992, Buluntu Hai in The Time Atlas of China (1974), p. 102, etc. This latter map indicates the settlement Po-lo (= Bole) in the western corner of the Jungar Basin, between the Jungarian Ala-tau and the Borohoro range and between the lakes Sai-li-mu (= Sairim) and Ai-pi (= Aibi = Ebi Nour of the Oirat), in the Boletala (= Borotala) Mongolian autonomous district, west of the settlement Ching-ho (Jinghe). This is the place where Bretschneider tried to locate the town of Emperor Möngke's time, where German craftsmen captivated in Hungary worked mining gold and manufacturing weapons as mentioned in William of Rubruck's itinerary. See W. W. Rockhill's edition The Journey of William Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the World..., London, 1900, pp. 137—8, note: "... Bolat is the Pulad of the Persian mediaeval writers, the Po-lo or Pu-lu of Chinese travellers of the thirteenth century, the Phulat of King Heythum, who mentions it between Dinka-balekh (which Bretschneider, Med. Geogr. 320, thinks may be perhaps traced in modern Tsing-ho, a river and town east of Lake Sairam on the road between Urumtsi and Kuldja) ...;" Igor de Rachewiltz, Papal Envoys to the Great Khans, London, 1971, p. 130 (the mining town of Bulad in the Borotala valley of Jungaria), P. Pelliot, Recherches sur les Chrétiens d'Asie centrale..., Paris, 1973, pp. 141-2, also his Notes on Marco Polo, vol. I, p. 42, s.v. andanique; P. Jackson and D. Morgan, The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck..., London, 1990, pp. 135-46 (Mangu had transported the German captives "eastwards, for a distance of one month's journey from Talas, to a city called Bolat, where they are mining gold"); cf. also J. A. Boyle, The Successors of Genghis Khan, translated from the Persian of Rashīd al-Dīn, New York—London, 1971, p. 259: "near the town of Pulad in a place called Süt-Kül", in note 57, he quotes Bretschneider's suggestion, and in note 58, he identifies Süt Köl, the Milk Lake of the Turks, with Lake Sairam. According to the map E 11 of Eastern Turkistan in the Minguo 49/53 Atlas of the Republic of China, vol. 2, Polo (= Bole) is also called Dayingpan, the Great Campsite, while Xiaoyingpan, Little Campsite, is on its northwest, with mines marked in the vicinity. None of these names appears on p. 28, map of Xinjiang Weiwu's zizhiju in the atlas Zhongguo lhyou dituji, Xianggang, 1984, that has Bole between Alashankou on the north-northeast and Wutai on the south. The latter is the western neighbour of Jinghe. The map also has a Bulunkou (Turk. burun 'nose; promontory' and Chin. kou 'mouth; pass'), 12 km north of the centre of the Tashkurgan Tajik Autonomous District. The third reading, buluyan, Middle Mong, buluqan 'sable', is based on the assumption that the long vertical stroke with the tail of the written word may represent three graphemes, gimel, aleph and nun. This is plausible, if compared with *Qulun* in line 2, but less plausible, if compared with *ilyan* in line 13. The word for 'sable' is well attested as personal as well as geographical name, for the latter see, for instance, Bulgan uul (mountain), Bulgan gol (river). One Bulgan river flows through the south-eastern part of the Mongolian Altai to Jungaria, where joining the Tsagaangol/Chingil or Qinghe, a tributary of the Ürüngü or Ulungir River.

Document G 120 verso

Uighur manuscript; it contains two texts: (1) a divinatory tableau cast according to the principles of psammography or sand divination, a practice of Islamic geomancy, and (2) the colophon of a Vajrayāna Buddhists treatise on the Path and Fruit (Skt. mārgaphala) doctrine, by its Tibetan name lam-'bras (Uigh. lambiraz), translated from the Tibetan language by Bkra-*shis [and?] Rin-chen. Careless cursive hand, thin calamus, black ink. The divinatory text has 16 entries or headings, each marked with a particular sign or symbol consisting of four elements (horizontal waves and/or dots forming a four-row matrix), except the last, which is missing because the right-hand upper corner is torn off. (The waves represent two horizontally arranged dots.) The lines below and beyond these signs, on the righthand lower half of the sheet, are written in larger script. Smaller script is used in the lines between the names of the symbols and in the additional 16 lines of the left-hand lower part of the manuscript. Lines 2-5, 6-8 and 11-13 are arranged under flower-like headings put below the larger script part. These lines are connected with the flower-like heading by thin strokes or dots. The left-hand lower corner of the sheet is also missing.

Here follows the *Table* of the sixteen figures (Arab. šakl) or tetragrammes used in Islamic geomantic divination (الخط بي رمل المائة al-khaṭṭ bi-raml) that occupies the upper third of the sheet (our Roman numbers mark the place of the figures and the "houses" in the *Table*). First the tetragrammes and their names were put on the paper in larger script, then the names of the "houses" were written in smaller script on the left-hand side of the sixteen main lines. The fourth entry (iv) begins higher than the other lines, and this elevated heading indicates the end of the first four basic or "mother" figures, from which, first, the next four (the "daughters"), and then, from these eight figures, the other eight are derived.

Table

Nos.	Uighur names	Arabic equivalents	"Houses"
1	[dot, wave, wave, wave] öz äv[-i] / laxiyan	'bearded) jaws) لحيان/ الحيان	the soul's house / laḥiyān

Continuation of Table

2	[wave, dot, wave, dot] mal äv-i / qabsu taxïl	'internal possession' قبض داخلة	the property's house / qabḍu dākhila
3	[dot, wave, dot, wave] qïz oyul (?) äv-i / qabsu xarï'č	'external possession' قبض خارج	the daughters' and son's house / qabḍu khārija
4	[wave, wave, wave] ana ata ävi / čamayat /	'assemblage' جماعة	the parents' house / jamā 'a
5	[dot, dot, wave, dot] oyul / ka'vsa'č	'scanty-bearded' کوسج / جودل	son / <i>kawsaj</i> 'vigourous'/ <i>jawdala</i>
6	[dot, wave, wave, dot] yo'qaru türüš (?) / u'qla	'shackle' عقلة	winding up (?) / 'uqla
7	[wave, wave, wave, dot] 'äpči / 'aṅkiz /	'turned upside down' انكيس	wife / inkīs
8	[wave, dot, wave, wave] 'Y ₃ DYZ (?) T'D / xumur-a	'redness' حمرة	[] / ḥumra
9	[wave, wave, dot, wave] üṣlünč [= üzlünč] [6] (?) / [be]yaz	'whiteness' بياض	cessation (?) / bayāḍ
10	[dot, dot, wave, wave] az / ńusuradu xarï'č	'external help' نصرة خارج	desire / naṣra khārija
11	[wave, wave, dot, dot] nusuradu taxïl	'internal help' نصرة داخل	naṣra dākhila
12	[dot, dot, dot, wave] [LT?] / adabay xarï'č	'external threshold / lintel' عتبة خارج	ʻataba khārija
13	[dot, wave, dot, dot] naqı̈ [yal] xat	'pure of visage' نقى الحد/ اوراع	naqī al-ḥadd / awrāʻʻtimid'
14	[wave, dot, dot, dot] ad[a]bay taxïl	'internal threshold / lintel' عتبة داخلة	ʻataba dākhila
15	[wave, dot, dot, wave] išdim-a	'collection' اجتماع	ijtimā'
16	[dot, dot, dot, dot] tariq (?)	'path' طريق	ţarīq

The order of the tetragrammes in this presumably fourteenth-century writing differs from what we see in E. Savage-Smith and M. Smith's Islamic Geomancy and a Thirteenth-Century Divinatory Device (Malibu, 1980) and Th. Charmasson's Recherches sur une technique divinatoire: la géomancie dans l'occident médiéval (Genève, 1980), pp. 71—82. Cf. also the long entry on al-khaṭṭ bi-raml by Toufic Fahd in The Encyclopaedia of Islam, vol. IV (Leiden, 1978), pp. 1128b—1130b quoting, among many others, R. Jaulin's La géomancie (Paris, 1973) and his own fundamental work La divination arabe (Leiden, 1966).

According to the Arabic system, under symbol No. 3, 'brother and sister' (for instance, qarindaš 'sib-

ling', ini 'younger brother' or aqa/äči 'elder brother' and singil 'younger sister' or apa/äčä 'elder sister' are expected instead of qiz oyul (?) 'daughter and son'. No. 6 should be 'the house of illness and disease', no. 8 — 'the house of movements and changes', while No. 10 should be 'the house of power and glory', here we have az 'desire', which may corresponds to the Arabic manual's No. 11, 'the house of hope and expectations'. No. 12 is 'the house of enemies and jealousy'. Nos. 13—16, here without their 'houses', concern the questioner, the object of question, and the answer or result. The last 'house' is that of the result of the result. (See Savage-Smith and Smith, op. cit., pp. 26—7.)

Continued on the left-hand two thirds of the lower part:

[Four lines under the first flower-like mark] l[a]xiyan / nusuradu (?) [?x]' / qabsu xari'č / abaday [=adabay] xari'č [explanation] $bo ik\ddot{a}g\ddot{u} sad x[a]ri'\check{c}-lar ol.sad tezä 'ädg\"{u} [ol]$ [...] $tez\ddot{a}$ $zari'\ddot{c}$ $zari'\ddot{c}$ zari

[Under the second mark]
nusuradu taxil / qabsu taxil / a'd[a]bay taxil
[explanation]
bo üčägü sad taxil-[I]ar ol
taxil tezä kirmäk bolur:
[ankiz?] taxil beyaz taxil adanur yaviz:

[Under the third mark]

t[a]riq / uqla / haqi'ulxat/kävsäč
[explanation]

bo | (üčägü 'ädgü) mumdasič-lar ol :

tört mumdasič tezä orhaysiz
[hxz] tezä hxz mumdasič atanur (yaviz)

[Under the fourth, barely visible, mark] išdim-a / ča[miyat] / b'eyaz / xumur-a [explanation] bo ikägü orun säpid adanur 'ädgüsi yaviṣi täng ärür bo törḍägü [säpid atanur] yaviz bo ikägü sad s[ä]pit ol 'ädgül tükäti

The untranslated Arabic terms are dākhila 'internal' or 'increasing', mumtazij 'mixed', naḥs 'ill luck', sa'd 'fortune, good luck', ṣafīd 'white; fair; evident', and khārija 'external' or 'outgoing; decreasing'. They are here distorted in Uighur script and late Uighur orthography, and are used, alone or in combination (for instance, sa'd dākhila 'internal/inreasing fortune'), to define the message of the tetragam figures. (Reading this text in the summer of 2001, Dr. Peter Zieme rightly identified

"These two sa'ds سعد are khārija. Joining sa'd is good. Joining [...] means change.
These two naḥses نحس are khārija. Joining naḥs is bad".

"These three sa'ds are dākhila.
Joining dākhila means entering.
[These] called [inkīs] dākhila and bayād dākhila [are] bad".

"These three are the good mumtazij stirm Joining four mumtazij is disorderly. Joining [naḥs] is called naḥs mumtazij. [It is] bad".

"These [first] two are called middle safid صفيد Their good and evil are equal.
These four [are called säpid ...]
[They are] bad.
These two sa 'ds are safid. They are good.
Finished".

mumdasič and säpid, and his tentative interpretation of the whole proved to be very helpful indeed for my "decipherment".)

The Uighur forms of the Arabic compound expressions seems to reflect a pronunciation that drops the short vowels in word final position except at the end of the first member of the compound, for instance, *qabsu taxil* for *qabdu dākhila*.

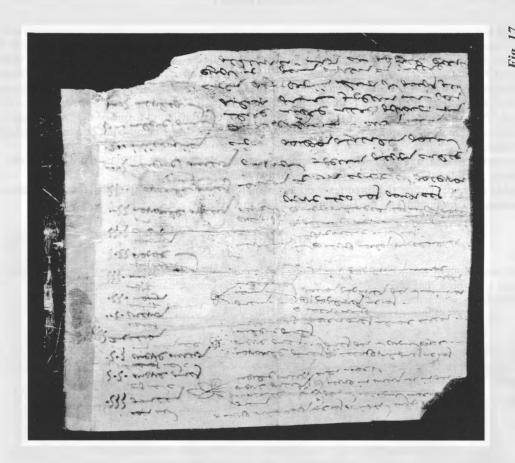
The Buddhist colophon reads on the right-hand lower part of the sheet:

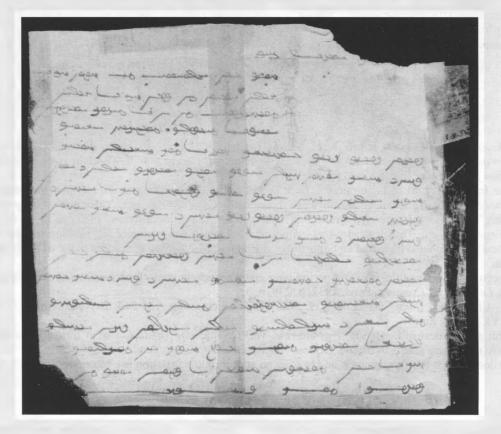
TRANSLITERATION

k[ä]ngäši iki ol tonguz yïl
üčünč ay beš y(e)grmi-kä tüpsüz
t[z] b[il]gä lambïraz tegmä yandïr
-ïhï: tüpüt tilindin türk
[tilinčä] kir-a [šiz (?)] rinčen []
edärü aqdaru (?) ävirü t(ä)gintim(i)z ärsär (?)
[tü]ḍrüm täring lambïraz-nïng tuz
yangïn tilangurma'q ädräm-kä tükäl-lig
bilgä-l(ä)r tinly asïy-in saqïnu
tïdïysïz-in []nč(a?) y[] []lïp bergil

TRANSLATION

"Its advice is twofold. On the fifteenth (day of the) third month (of the) swine-year, we, Bkra-shis (?, [and?]) Rin-chen [] succeeded in translating (edärü aqdaru ävirü) the yantra called 'The endlessly true (and) wise (teaching of) lambïras (Tib. lam 'bras = Skt. mārgaphala, the Way and the Fruit)'. As for (this translation), may the sages who have the virtue of preaching the true rite of the very deep lam 'bras keep in mind the profit of the living being(s) and give (it) thus [...]ing unhindered".





rig. 16

Commentary

This second text occupies the space that was left blank after the psammographic tableau was written on the sheet. Judging by its incomplete beginning, it is rather a copy than a draft, but its purpose remains unknown and its Tibetan original unidentified. The doctrine of the Way and the Fruit was practiced in the Sa-skya Order, see, for instance, in the Uighur translation of Sa-skya Paṇḍita's *Guruyoga* quoting a *Lam-'bras* (in Uigh. *lam biraz*) treatise after a quotation from the *Kālacakra-sūtra* and before another from Nāgārjuna: *Lambirasta yemā* 15 täring yol baxši ärür tep ärtingü kizläklig yang üzä nomlayu yarlikamiš ärür 'It is also deigned to teach through a very secret rite that the deep way is the teacher'. (Cf. Berliner Turfantexte VIII, p. 30, A 14—15 and note.) Most probably the year of the translation is one of the swine-years in the fourteenth century, the first possible year being 1311, the last 1395. The date of the Chaghataid edict and the date of this colophon are not interdependent.

The components of the translator's (or translators') personal name(s) are Tibetan words: bkra-shis 'blessing' and rin-chen 'treasure'. (Alliteration tonguz, tüpsüz, tüpüt, tütrüm, tilangur-, tid-?)

The probable order of writing the three texts on the two sides of the sheet is like this: 1 — the decree in Mongolian; 2 — the divination in Turkic; and 3 — the Buddhist colophon in Turkic.

Document G 115

 13.0×15.5 cm. Mongol manuscript fragment, the left hand lower end of a now dark grey sheet of paper with wires. Ends of 8 lines, with a larger space between lines 1

and 2, and a smaller space between lines 6 and 7. Thick-line cursive hand, calamus, black ink.

TRANSLITERATION

[1] [...........'W]YC'KW [= üjekü 'seeing'?] ''D' [= ende 'here'? / atan 'castrated camel'?] 'WSK'KWL [= öskegül 'breed'?] TM'K'T [= temeged 'camels'? / TM'K'CYT = temegečid 'camel-herders'?]

[blank space; after two short lines?]

[2] [............']N baridqun ['should hold'? Or bariyad 'having held'?] 2 kün-i ilege[...]

[3] [...........]egsed ilčin Q'D'FWN [= yadayun 'outside'? / personal name?] ''D' [= ende or atan?]

[4] [.............]'''']WN-Y [= °q/yun-i? °ad-i?] ba čerig TWQ'D'N-Y/TWRB'N-Y

[= dörben-i 'four (acc.)' with W for ö? Or read toyatan-i 'numbered (plur. acc.)'?]

[5] [.............]WN tabun jayud-ta čerig

[6] [.............]KWlgejügü edüge [blank space up to the end of line]

[blank space; after one short line?]

[7] [.............] SWI singgon darqan čingsang LW[...] [= -luy-a or personal name?]

[8] [.............]güber [= egüber 'by this' or tegüber 'by that'?] 'WQ'QSY SY[...?]

Commentary

Line 1: öskegül < öske- 'to grow, to breed' (cf. bosqul 'fugitive' < *bosqayul < bosqa- 'to cause to rise').

Line 2: 2 [= qoyar] kün-i ilege- 'to send two men', with a rare early usage of a digit and the colloquial form of kümün.

Line 5: tabun jayud-ta 'for five hundred (troops)'.

Line 6: The fragmentary word is certainly a front vowel finite verb, praeteritum imperfecti, probably causative with -lge-, for instance negülge- 'to cause to move, to transpose'. Cf. J. R. Krueger, "Mongolian epigraphical dictionary in reverse listing" in Indiana Univercity Uralic and Altaic Series, 88, Bloomington, 1967, p. 20, with kesügülge-, seyiregülge-, dügürgegülge-, etc. Thus it is sure that edüge 'now' begins a new sentence. Its missing second word was put on the top of the next line and must have had an honorific or distinguished function, the proper name of an exalted person, institution or notion.

Line 7: singgon — Chinese title, cf. Tang-period qing guan 'mandarin pur', 'fonctionnaire titulaire du quatrième degré', R. des Rotours, Le Traité de Examens, Paris, 1932, p. 239, n. 3.

Ingsang — Chin. chengxiang 'chancellor', cf. MNT Ongging čingsang, TM 214 Iduy-qud čingsng, Cerensodnom and Taube, BTT, XVI, No. 73, line 3.

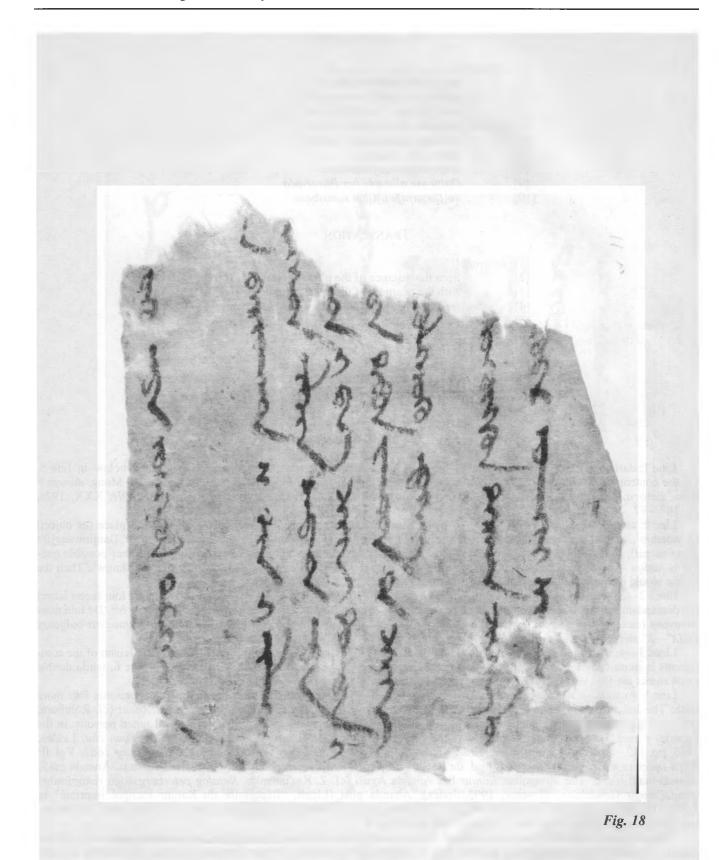
Line 8: With a good deal of hesitation, I would read WQ'QSY as uqay(a)s(a)i, a wish form for the later classical and Khalkha (-AAsAi), that here seems to mean a request: '(thus) should (you, etc.) understand (it)'.

The whole document is too fragmentary, and to offer an appropriate translation is a hazardous undertaking.

Document G 117

15.0×20.5 cm, 10 lines in vigorous cursive script (with loop-like D, narrow initial Q, no diacritics) written with

brush or with calamus imitating brush on paper, now yellowish grey. Fragment of a letter to *daruyači* Ananda.



TRANSLITERATION

[1]	daruyači [
[2]	taqiqu (?) γajar-un qola-a[č]a
[3]	oyir-a-yin sedkil-iyer ayuyad (?)
[4]	em[i]y[eg]ed (?) sögödü ilbe [=ilebe]
[5]	daruyači Ananda-yin 'erdini-tü bey-e-
[6]	-yi engke amuyulang-i ögčü
[7]	ilgsn bičig beleg-eče
[8]	medejii masi bayasun amu
[9]	Dai <u>t</u> u-yin alban bi ber Basar-ača
[10]	qo[l]a sayuju u[l]am sonosbasu

TRANSLATION

```
[1] daruyači [
                                                                      ]
              from the distance of the place to worship (?) (but)
 [2]
 [3]
              with the nearness of the heart, frightened and
 [4]
              fearing, I bent my knee and sent (this to you).
 [5] That daruyači Ananda's (i.e. your) bejewelled person
 [6]
              (lives in) good health and peace (I)
 [7]
              learned from the letter and the gift
 [8]
              sent to (me), and I am very glad (of it).
 [9]
              (In) service of the Capital City, I too live far from Basar
              and if/when I hear more (news),
[10]
                                                                      ]
```

Commentary

Line 1: daruyači 'governor', presumably the same as governor Ananda, the addressee mentioned below in line 5. Cf. the contemporary Chinese transcription daluhuachi and the Square Script daruqas plur.,Turk. basqaq, Mong. daruya > Russ. doroga, see István Vásáry, "The Golden Horde term daruġa and its survival in Russia" in AOH, XXX, 1976, pp. 187—97.

Line 2: taqiqu, n. futuri of taqi-/taki- 'to make a scrifice; to worship'? Cf. later takil-un oron 'the place (or object) of worship', abural-un oron 'the place (or means) of salvation' (for instance, in the first quatrain of Danjinwangjil's Altan suryal), sitügen-ü oron 'the place (or object) of support', even a person, in Buddhist writings? Another possible tracing is taniqu > tani- 'to recognize, to know, to be acquainted with', and so taniqu-yin oron 'a place to know'. Then the phrase would mean 'from the distance of the place to be known'.

Lines 2—3: see also in ancient Uighur letters: *iraqtin üküš köngül* [ayītu] *idur biz* 'nous envoyons de loin (cette lettre) [en demandant?] beaucoup de (vos?) nouvelles' in text No. 26, and *iraqtan isinü amranu köngül ayītu ïdur biz* 'De loin nous envoyons (cette missive) avec des sentiments chaleureux et affectueux' in text No. 17 in J. Hamilton, *Manuscrits ouïgours du IX*^e—X^e siècle de Touen-houang, Paris, 1986, vol. I, pp. 98—9, 137—8.

Lines 3—4: ayu- emiye-, in the nom-un kelen, the compound verb ayun emiye-; full grammatical parallelism of the components is more common in the pre-classical language. Initial e has a long binding line like engke in line 6, while double aleph marks the first vowel of 'erdini in line 5.

Line 5: Ananda — name of the addressee, a governor. The long vertical line after the first aleph represents four more teeth. The Indian personal name Ānanda, name of Śākyamuni's favorite disciple, in Uighur Anand/Anant (cf. Röhrborn, UW) and Mongolian Ananda and Anand, still in use among the Mongols, was also given to several noted persons: in the imperial period Manggala's son Ananda was the prince of Xining (L. Hambis, Le chapitre CVII du Yuan che, Leiden, 1945, pp. 117—8, etc.). Sayang Secen, Erdeni-yin tobci ('Precious Summary'). A Mongolian Chronicle of 1662. Vol. II: Word-Index to the Urga text prepared by I. de Rachewiltz and J. R. Krueger, Canberra, 1991, lists: Ananda, Ananda guiši, Ananda-madi lam-a. The Mongolian Kanjur has Ananda Ayuši (cf. Z. Kas'ianenko, Katalog peterburgskogo rukopisnogo mongol'skogo Gandzhura, Moscow, 1993, Index); Ananda güši (Ligeti, "Répertoire du Kanjur mongol imprimé" in AOH, XII, 1987, p. 454); see also A. Róna-Tas, "The Mongolian versions of the Thar-pa čhen-po in Budapest", in Mongolian Studies, ed. L. Ligeti, Budapest, 1970, pp. 461 and 476—9.

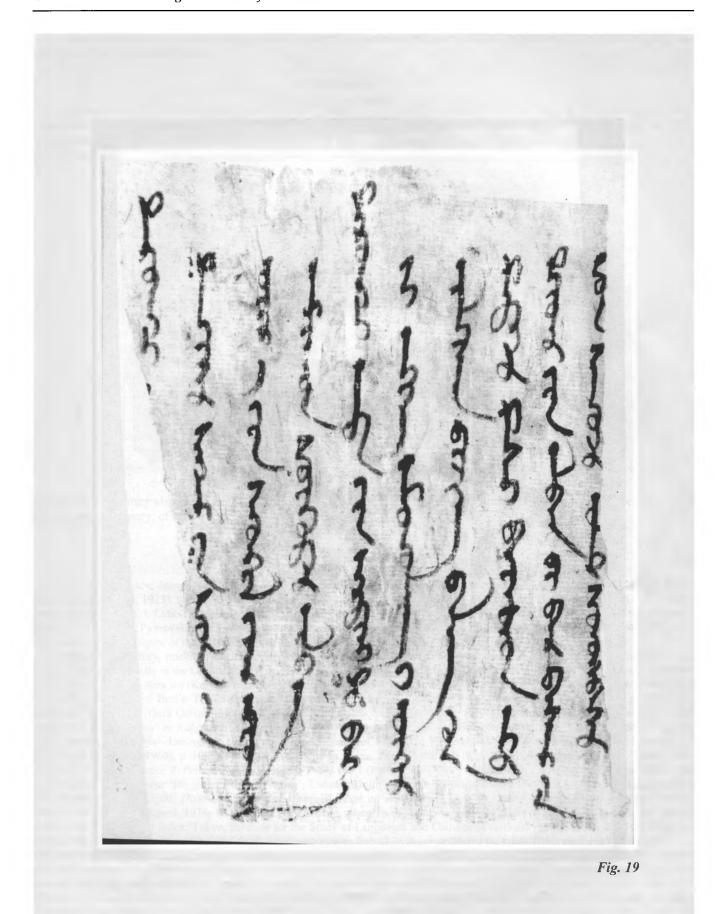
'erdinitü beye, in the later language erdenitü beye, meaning here 'the dear person/body'; in Buddhist texts in the phrase erdenitü kümün-ü beye, emphasizing the idea that the human life is the most proper form of existence for reaching enlight-enment.

Line 6: both accusatives belong to mede- in line 7; ög- refers to beleg 'gift, present', ile- to bičig 'letter'.

Line 9: Daidu, Uighur Taydu, the Great Capital of Qubilai, see above G 108.

alban 'service; tribute', here it may stay for 'someone in service', i.e. 'serviceman'.

basar 'market; market-place'; here, too, it seems to be a place name. Cf. above G 109, Lalitavistāra 15b: balyasun 'city' and 32b basar-tur 'in the market-place' (see Poppe, "The Twelve Deeds" and Ligeti, "Les douze actes"); basar is also found in the St. Petersburg MS of the pre-classical Mongolian Vimalakīrtti-sūtra.



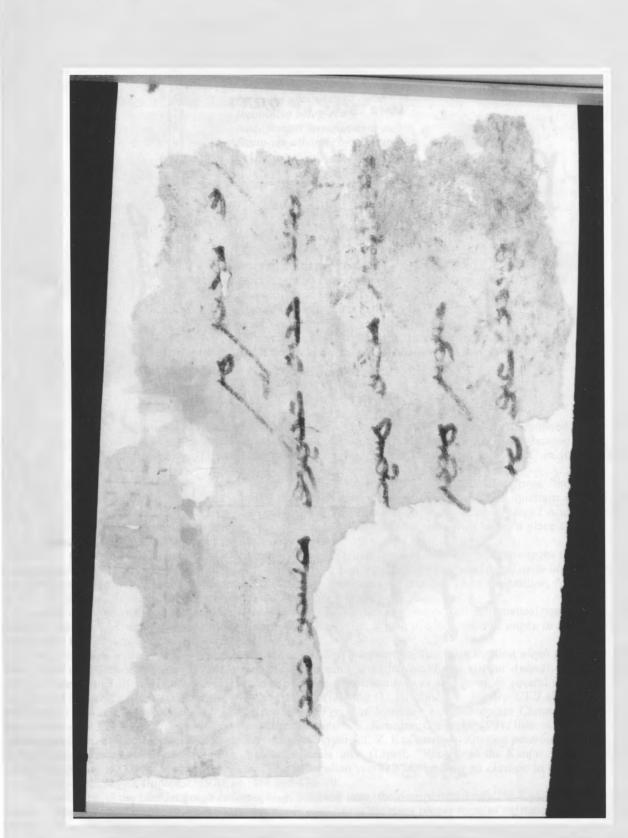


Fig. 20

ulam sonosbasu, an if-/when-clause, may be interpreted in several ways, depending on the missing context; ulam 'more (and more); subsequently; further'.

Document G 116

Fragment of an official document, five lines only, written with calamus; the lower part of a now light grey sheet with traces of the right third or half of the red imprint of an official square seal with Chinese legend in Qubilai's Square Script. The first of the five lines is shorter than the rest, only the second line has its original end. Calligraphic style with slanting final A/N, no diacritics.

TRANSLITERATION

[The last line of the seal — three syllables:] []uy [] [yin?].

[1] [[2] [[3] [[4] [[5] [] A-yi noyad-ta] baqir(?)-iyar činglemü (?) ////////]N edür dayulu[/ ////////]N arban tabun [/////////] baqir (?) čau-ač[a	ujayur VWVN [=vün?]]]]
	TRANSLATION	
[1] [[2] [[3] [[4] [[5] [] to the commanders.] we will measure [it] by/in copper/bronze coins.] day let[ting] accompa[ny?] fifteen [] from the copper/bronze coin (?) money]

Commentary

Line 6: baqir may also mean a measure of weight, see DTS, p. 82 ab, but when with čau < Chin. chao 'paper money', it means a unit of money, cf. also Mong. süke čau.

Notes

1. See P. K. Kozlov, Mongoliia i Amdo i mertvyĭ gorod Khara-Khoto (Mongolia and Amdo, and the Dead City of Khara Khoto) (Moscow—Petrograd, 1923); see A. M. Stein, Innermost Asia I (Oxford, 1928), pp. 435—560. Another Chinese name of Khara Khoto is Heirongcheng, see G. I. Lubo-Lesnichenko and T. K. Shafranovskaia, Mertvyĭ gorod Khara-khoto (The Dead City of Khara Khoto) (Moscow, 1948); M. Pjotrovskij (ed.), Die schwarze Stadt an der Seidenstrasse. Buddhistische Kunst aus Khara Khoto (10.—13. Jahrhundert) = Lost Empire of the Silk Road. Buddhist Art from Khara Khoto (X—XIII Century) (Milan, 1993).

On Khalkha territory, ruines of ancient cities are usually styled balgas as in Xar balgas (Qara balyasun) for the ruins of the old Uighur capital Ordu baliq in the Orkhon valley, or Xaruuxin (Xar) balgas on the Kharuukh river (Qara Buqa-yin yool). Less frequently, it is also xot as in Xerlen Bars xot (Kerülen bars qota). In mediaeval texts balayasun / balaqasun means a live city, see, e.g., Biš balayas[un] 'Besbaliq' (TM 102c, a Berlin Turfan fragment, first edited by Herbert Franke in Mongolian Studies, ed. L. Ligeti, p. 143), Köke balayasun 'Blue City' (Qara Qorum inscription of 1348) and Čaqân balaqasun 'White City' (in a Yuan inscription in Qubilai's Square Script ed. Cai Meipiao in Kaogu, 2, 1988, pp. 842-5; Rashīd ad-Dīn, Sbornik letopiseĭ, vol. I, pt. 2, ed. O. I. Smirnova and A. A. Semenov (Moscow-Leningrad, 1952), pp. 176, 255 and vol. II, ed. Iu. P. Verkhovskii, B. I. Pankratov and I. P. Petrushevskii (Moscow-Leningrad, 1960), p. 108: Čayan balayasun, city in China, Zhendingfu; vol. II, p. 208: Turk. Aq baliq, see also Marco Polo's Acbalec, a city in Shaanxi; P. Pelliot, Notes on Marco Polo, vol. I (Paris, 1959), No. 17, pp. 7-8); Lalitavistāra 15b: basar balyasun 'city' and qota-yin qayalya 'the gate of the city/town'; Lubsangdanjin's Altan tobči (henceforth LuAT, cf. Sh. Bira's facsimile edition, Ulaanbaatar, 1990; L. Ligeti, Histoire secrète des Mongols. Texte en écriture ouigoure incorporé dans la chronique Altan tobči de Blo-bzan bstan-'jin, Budapest, 1974; H.-P. Vietze, G. Lubsang, Altan Tobči. Eine mongolische Chronik des XVII. Jahrhunderts von Blo bzan bstan 'jin. Text und Index, Tokyo, Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asiaand Afrika, 1992), fol. 107a: basar-un terigüber-iyer 'at the head/top of the city' (with interlinear glosses balyad-un degegür 'above the cities'); this meaning survives in modern southern written Mongolian balyasu (see, for instance, Öbör Mongyol-un suryan kümüjil-ün qoriy-a, Mongyol kelen-ü barimjiy-a abiyan-u toli, Kökeqota, 1984, p. 173: balyasu (balgas) = ayil tosqon-ača yeke . qota-ača bay-a sayurisil-un yajar: 'a settlement bigger than a camp or a village, (but) smaller than a city', also the southern Mongolian place names with qota: Köke qota, Sili-yin qota, Ulayan qota, etc.). The two words appear together in the phrase Qar-a Qočo-dur negüjü ireged qotod balayad nemen bosqaju qoroyan ba yoyuras erügülün nüdügüljü in the inscription of 1362 in memory of Prince Hindu (ed. Cleaves, HJAS, 12, 1949, line 21 of the Mongolian text; MNT parallel quoted). The Yu gon-fragment, here text 2 below, has the Sino-Mongolian compound čiu qota 'district city'. Cf. also Širavasd balyasun, Ra(n)jagriy balyasun, etc. in the Buddhist birth stories and sūtras; also Denis Sinor, "The origin of Turkic baliq 'town'" in CAJ, 25 (1981), pp. 95—102.

Marco Polo mentions this place as Eçina (Pelliot, Notes on Marco Polo, vol. II, Paris, 1963, no. 214, pp. 637—8), Middle Mongolian Isin-a, the province, čölge, of (in Hindu's inscription of 1362, line 21, see Pelliot, op. cit., and F. W. Cleaves, HJAS, 12), Chinese Yijina, Old Mandarin Ijina [$j = \frac{dz}{l}$], that may represent an Uighur *Izina from the Tangut name of the city and the Black River, Chinese Heishui, and Mongolian Ejene/Ejene yool, hence Etsin-gol on Western maps and in Western travel accounts. Rashīd ad-Dīn's Persian Isina/Isinay goes back to a Middle Mongolian form (but ايشيق 'yšyq balaqasun in one of the copies of his Compendium of Histories, see Sbornik letopiseš, vol. I, pt. 2, eds. Smirnova and Semenov, p. 134, Išiq balaqasun is to be read ایسینای Isinay balaqasun). In the edition of a Tangut document of 1224 found in the ruins of the city, E. I. Kychanov reads zienia (in Acta Orient. Hung., XII, 1971, pp. 189—201; he follows M. Sofronov's system of transcription); Pelliot, op. cit., quotes Nevsky's earlier reconstruction with initial rž. Nishida also reads character 181-108 'water' with an initial cluster *bźṛĕ and character 107-073 'black' *nhĭaß in his list. (Cf. N. A. Nevskii, "O naimenovanii Tangutskogo gosudarstva" ("About the name of the Tangut state") in Zapiski Instituta vostokovedeniia, 1933, pp. 129—30. In his Tangutskaia filologiia. Issledovaniia i slovar' (Tangut Philology. Investigations and Dictionary), book 1, Moscow, 1960, p. 349, he gives the Tangut character 'water' with its Chinese transcription yi ze as indicated in the 'Pearl in the Hand' and its Tibetan transcription gzi; book 2, p. 151, niä 'black'. On synonyms meaning 'black' see also K. B. Keping, Tangutskii iazyk. Morfologiia (The Tangut Language. Morphology), Moscow, 1985, pp. 332—3; Nishida, Tatsuo, Seika go no kenkyû. A Study of the Hsi-Hsia Language, vols. I—II, Kyôto, 1964—1966; E. Grinstead, Analysis of the Tangut Script, London, 1971 / Lund, 1975, with English — Tangut index; L. Kwanten, The Timely Pearl. A 12th Century Tangut-Chinese Glossary. Vol. I: The Chinese Glosses, Bloomington, 1982, Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series, vol. 142, with facsimiles of the 'Pearl in the Hand'. See also Huang Bufan et al., Zang-mian yuzu yuyan cihui / A Tibeto-Burman Lexicon, Beijing, 1992, p. 609, no. 47, and the comparative list of 50 Tibeto-Burmese forms on p. 16, with Lisu /e³³ dze³³/, Naxi /dzi³³/, Nanhua /yi / zi³³/, etc.; Tangut 'black' No. 1005 is transcribed na in Chinese on p. 615, and the other Tibeto-Burmese forms are listed on p. 335 with Lisu /ne³³/, Naxi /no⁵⁴/, Nanhua /yi ne³³/, etc.). In the Mongolian and the possible Uighur name of the river the first syllable may be a prosthetic vowel for the foreign initial, though a foreign z or z is normally substituted with s or š respectively (as in šun for Chinese run 'intercalary' in the mediaeval Mongolian calendar. The Uighurs transcribed Chinese initial c with the digraph ts, substituted soon with s (cf. tsui/sui 'sin', also Uigh. titsi, Mong. tidsi 'disciple', modern North Chinese zui and tizi. The Kitan "small script" has a special character for this alien initial use, as, for instance, in the name D.au-j.ung (Chin. Daozong) and in the title j.iang-g.iun (Chin. jiangjun), but it is often substituted with the sign of s., see -s.ung and s.iang-). An initial cluster rž usually would have the prosthetic vowel (as in the Yuan Uighur or in the early and late Middle Mongolian transcriptions of Tibetan words, especially in titles of works, e.g., Mong. imdo for Tib. mdo). The same is true for Sanskrit jñ in jñāna whose metathetical Uighur and Middle Mongolian form is inyana. In sum, the Tangut name of the city of Black Water could also be reconstructed as /idzi/ or /idzi/ 'water' + /no/ 'black'.

- 2. Sayang Secen, Erdeni-yin Tobci ('Precious Summary'). A Mongolian Chronicle of 1662. Vol. II: Word-Index to the Urga text prepared by I. de Rachewiltz, J. R. Krueger (Canberra, 1991).
- 3. Yamada Nobuo, *Uigurubun keiyô bunsho shûsei. Sammlung Uigurischer Kontrakte*, 1—3, Hg. von Juten Oda, Peter Zieme, Hiroshi Umemura, Takao Moriyasu (Osaka University Press, 1993).
 - 4. H. Serruys, "Hsiao-ssu seüse, a Chinese loan word in Mongol", Acta Orientalia Hungaricae, XVIII (1975), pp. 319—25.
- 5. MNT, 222°bükde'ül 'Heimatlos, Landfremder = homeless, alien' (see Haenisch, Wörterbuch zu MNT, Leipzig, 1939, where it is compared to o'orčaq) and bük- 'sich verstecken = to hide oneself', obviously with no connection to our verb.
 - 6. Cf. üzlünčü in DTS, p. 630a, and in Clauson, ED, p. 288a: 'termination; ultimate'. Cf. also ögrünč alternating with ögrünčü.

Illustrations

- Fig. 1. Document G 111, 12.5×10.5 cm.
- Fig. 2. Document G 110 recto, 17.0×31.5 cm.
- Fig. 3. Document G 110 verso, 17.0×31.5 cm.
- Fig. 4. Document G 122 recto, 16.0×11.5 cm.
- Fig. 5. Document G 122 verso, 16.0×11.5 cm. It contains a Chinese text similar to that from Dunhuang, 8th—9th century.
- Fig. 6. Document G 113, 8.0×8.5 cm.
- Fig. 7. Document G 121, 18.0×27.0 cm.
- **Fig. 8.** Document G 114, 12.0×15.0 cm.
- **Fig. 9.** Document G 119, 10.5×14.5 cm.
- **Fig. 10.** Document G 118, 12.5×6.0 cm.
- **Fig. 11.** Document G 107, 28.5×20.5 cm.
- **Fig. 12.** Document G 112, 12.5×18.5 cm.
- Fig. 13. Document G 106, 35.5×20.0 cm.
- **Fig. 14.** Document G 108, 18.5×32.5 cm.
- Fig. 15. Document G 109, 25.5×22.0 cm.
- Fig. 16. Document G 120 recto, 17.0×18.5 cm.
- Fig. 17. Document G 120 verso, 17.0×18.5 cm.
- **Fig. 18.** Document G 115, 13.0×15.5 cm.
- **Fig. 19.** Document G 117, 15.0×20.5 cm.
- Fig. 20. Document G 116, 14.0×21.0 cm. It contains a red square stamp on the left.