Sonderdruck / Offprint

Central Asiatic Journal

edited by
Lars Peter Laamann

Glimpses of historical Central Asia Part I

62 (2019) 1

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

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Publisher
Harrassowitz Verlag, 65174 Wiesbaden, Germany

Subscriptions and access to electronic format
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Layout and typesetting: Dr. Petra Himstedt-Vaid
Printing and binding by ⊕ Hubert & Co., Göttingen
Printed on permanent / durable paper
Printed in Germany

www.harrassowitz-verlag.de

ISSN 0008-9192

Foreword: Glimpses of historical Central Asia

The present issue of the Central Asiatic Journal escapes a clear ethno-geographical definition. However, all contributions have one thing in common, namely that they refer to small and ephemeral phenomena in the history of a Central Asian belt defined by the Sea of Okhotsk to the East, the Amu Darya to the West and Khotan as well as Nangqên in Tibetan Gansu to the South. Michael Knüppel begins this issue with a double-article setting out the current state of the theories concerning "trans-Siberian" language groups first and then applying this insight with a case study on the Uralo-Yukaghirian concepts of the term for 'blood'. This is followed by the analysis of a specific aspect of Tuvan grammar, executed with surgical precision by Henryk Jankowski. To the experienced reader of linguistic contributions to the CAJ, parallels with related languages in the Yenisei region will become apparent. As a transitional piece between linguistics and history, the contribution by Li Yong-Sŏng introduces the Šine-Usu stele inscription, the largest extant text in old Uighur. Erected in honour of Moyun Čor, the second Uighur Khan, in 759 the text provides a glimpse of useful insight into a part of Central Asia undergoing significant change during this period.

Brian Baumann continues by taking linguistic research into the realm of Eurasian cultural comparison, with a piece on the White Old Man in Mongolian Central Asia. To the author, the popular deity represents an allegory of Canopus – the Antarctic star, or Shouxing 壽星 in Chinese. For the western margins of the Mongolian Eurasian empire, Stefan Kamola provides us with an analysis of the various genealogies of the Chaghadaid lineage, as presented in Rashīd al-Dīn's *Tārīkh-i Mubārak-i Ghāzānī*. Kamola's study is an intriguing example of how genealogical research can lead to new interpretations of the history of entire empires, such as the Chagatai *ulus*. Lucia Galli follows in the genealogical vein, by placing the 19th-century phenomenon of non-sectarianism (*ris med*) in Nangqên / Nangqian 囊謙, the ethnically Tibetan part of Gansu, into a royal tradition of religious tolerance which began in the 14th century. Yee Ki Yip deals with the migration of Han Chinese into Inner Mongolia during the last decade of the Qing era. However ephemeral this period of mass migration may have been, the author argues that the presence of Han settlers led to major, and long-lasting, historical transformations in this part of Central Asia and also of China. Lars Laamann then summarises Hartmut Walraven's edited diary of Johan Redowsky's (final) journey to eastern Siberia, commenting on the historical, anthropological and scientific observation of the German-Russian explorer. In conclusion, Michael Knüppel lauds the life-time's work of the renowned Altaist John Charles Street in his obituary.

December 2019 Lars P. Laamann

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Abstracts 摘要

Brian BAUMANN

The Mongolian-Gelug White Old Man: Canopus Allegory and the Meaning of God

This article has the legendary Mongolian Gelug White Old Man at its centre, a phenomenon which also existed in all Asian regions which Tibetan Buddhism had penetrated, including Amdo and Kham in Tibet and the Ölöt, Buryat and Khalkha of Inner Mongolia, where the tradition of the White Old Man had become very common. Having been branded a vestige of the feudal past in the twentieth century, the tradition could only be taken up again in public from the late 1980s. Its dance routines were derived from Gelugpa ritual, combining solemn rite with joyful entertainment. Donning large masks and brilliant costumes, the White Old Man holds guard over the retribution being meted out over a sinful world, chasing all wrong and evil out of the minds of the common people. This article stipulates that the White Old Man represents an allegory of Canopus, the Antarctic star (known as Shouxing 壽星 – Star of Longevity – in Chinese). Fables related to Canopus can be encountered in divergent civilisations across Eurasia. The various roles played by the White Old Man in the premodern period were characterised by their abstraction. Following the era of socialist reformation and scientific mass education, however, the White Old Man has become a personalised as a "shaman", differing starkly from all ancient perceptions.

明星與佛神之間的蒙古格魯【白老爺】

本文探討的主體為蒙古格魯派傳說中的【白老爺】－一個出現於亞洲藏傳佛教所有地區的現象。【白老爺】這個傳統原本在現今的西藏安多、康區以及內蒙古瓦剌（厄魯特）、布里亞特及喀爾喀區都甚為普遍。由於從二十世紀起長期被視為一種封建的歷史痕跡，【白老爺】在一九八十年代末開始才再能公開地進行。此種藏傳佛教中的舞蹈動作把莊嚴的禮儀和充滿喜悅的娛樂互相結合。配戴著大型面具和輝煌的服裝，白老爺在罪惡滿盈的世界裡執行相關的懲罰，掃除老百姓的過犯。本篇文章認為【白老爺】實際上是南極老人星，即所謂的【壽星】。與壽星有關的寓言在歐亞大陸不同的文明中經常被提及。【白老爺】自古以來的角色是比較抽象。經過社會主義和科學教育思潮的洗禮後，【白老爺】古代的形象被重新塑造，演變成個人化的“薩滿”。

Lucia GALLI

From 'Ba' rom to Ris med: A Genealogy of the Kingdom of Nang chen

The aim of this paper is to reconstruct the genealogy of the royal lines who ruled the kingdom of Nang chen (present-day Nangqên County, Qinghai province) from the early fourteenth century up to the Chinese Communist takeover in the 1950s. The chronological reconstruction of these lineages – being of historical value in itself, due to the understudied status of Nang chen in Western scholarship – corroborates our understanding of the nineteenth-century phenomenon of non-sectarianism (*ris med*), presenting it as the re-emergence of earlier tendencies and concepts. From the fourteenth century onwards, the eclectic and inclusive approach adopted by local royal courts gradually turned Nang chen from a 'Ba' rom bKa' brgyud stronghold into a lodestone capable of attracting some of the most important spiritual figures of the time, thus successfully integrating the kingdom into a wider geopolitical network and setting the basis for the activities of later *ris med* masters.

從霸榮噶舉派到非宗派主義：囊謙王國的世系

本文的目的是重建自十四世紀初至一九五零年代中共統治下的囊謙王國（現為青海省囊謙縣）之王室世系。長期被西方學界所忽略、具有重大學術價值的囊謙王室世系不但進一步證實了我們對於十九世紀非宗派主義（*ris med*）的認知，並且把這主義解讀為早期趨勢和理論的重構。此『非宗派』現象在當地貴族家庭已經有幾百年的歷程。自十四世紀以來，囊謙王室採取一種折衷、包容的宗教政策。因此，當地王室把囊謙王國從一個霸榮噶舉派（'Ba'rom bKa'-brgyud）的據點，漸漸成為一處能夠吸引當時最重要的精神思想家的地方，並且成功把王國融合在更寬廣的地緣政治網絡裡，為非宗派主義思想家的宗教活動奠定了基礎。

Henryk JANKOWSKI

Unmarked accusative and genitive after possessive suffixes in Tuvan

The aim of this paper is to examine the lack of accusative and genitive suffixes after possessive suffixes in Tuvan. In the studies these cases are called unmarked. The omission of the accusative and genitive suffixes is untypical of Turkic, since a possessive suffix makes the word definite and definite object and possessor normally require the appropriate case suffix. The analysis shows that the unmarked accusative is often found after the first person singular and plural as well as the second person singular suffix. It is also encountered after the second person plural suffix which in relation to a single addressee is in fact polite singular. However, after the third person possessive suffixes the unmarked accusative is required if the object is definite. The unmarked genitive occurs after the first person singular and plural, and the second person singular possessive suffixes, while after the second person plural

suffix it is less frequent. It may be argued that the accusative and genitive suffixes are dropped for economy, except for the third persons in the case of the accusative. There are also some restrictions on the unmarked genitive related to possessive suffixes, attributes and other cases discussed.

圖瓦語所有格後綴後的無標記賓格和所有格

本文的目的是研究圖瓦語所有格後綴中缺少賓格和格後綴。在研究中，這些情況稱為未標記。賓語和賓格後綴的省略在突厥語中並不典型，因為所有格後綴使詞“確定”和“被確定”，通常需要適當的後綴。本文分析結果表明，無標記的賓語通常在第一人稱單數和復數以及第二人稱單數後綴之後很會找到。在第二人稱複數後綴（反正比較禮貌的單數）之後也會遇到該問題。但是，在第三人稱所有格後綴之後，如果對像是確定的，則需要未標記的賓格。未標記的所有格出現在第一人稱單數和復數以及第二人稱單數所有格後綴之後，而在第二人稱複數後綴之後出現的頻率較低。從經濟方面而講，我們可以辯論賓語和賓語後綴被除去，除了賓語第三人稱意外。對於與所有格後綴、屬性和其他情況相關的未標記的屬格也有限制。

Stefan KAMOLA

Untangling the Chaghadaids: Why we should and should not trust Rashīd al-Dīn

The internal dynastic politics of the Chaghadaid *ulus* between the death of Chaghadai and the rise of Qaidu has remained a poorly understood corner in the history of Mongol Central Asia. As part of this obscurity, the structure of the Chaghadaid family has resisted efforts at reconstruction, since our sources present conflicting accounts of the number and order of Chaghadai's descendants. This article discusses four versions of the Chaghadaid family tree found in different manuscript lines of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Tārīkh-i Mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, and offers some guidance in how to make sense of his changing presentation of the early history of the *ulus*. While Rashīd al-Dīn continued to add valuable information to his history as it came to light, he also elaborated or even invented certain changes for political reasons. As a result, each version of the family tree of the Chaghadaids contributes uniquely to our understanding of the period and of the composition of Rashīd al-Dīn's history.

解開有關察合台汗國的糾結，為何我們需要或者拒絕相信拉施德丁？

察合台王室內的宮廷政治至今算是鮮為人知的中亞蒙古史研究題目。正如我們的資料所顯示，關於察合台王室後裔數量及其歷代順序的文獻存在著好多不明確、甚至相互矛盾之處，並為有關察合台王室家庭結構的研究增添不少困難．本文探討在拉施德丁所著的《蒙古汗家史》(تـــاريخ مبـــارک غـــازاني) 裡所提及察合台王室的四個不同版本家譜，並會建議如何理解拉施德丁針對早期察合台王室歷史充滿著變化的陳述．當拉施德丁為這段歷史增加了詳細資料之時，他也基於政治原因對一些史實進一步闡述，甚至作出不實的修改．因此，察合台王

室的每一個家譜都各自為我們在理解有關拉施德丁在不同時段所寫之歷史的過程中作出獨特的貢獻.

Michael KNÜPPEL

E. A. Helimski und die „Bibliographia Nostratica“

Eugen Helimski’s (1950–2007) endeavour to prove the validity of the concept that at an early stage of civilisation, humans in various parts of this world spoke variants of the same original language is outlined in this brief article, complete with a list of relevant publications.

Helimski與總語系定理

本文討論E.A.Helimski教授的總語系（亦稱諾斯特拉語系）概念，即早期人類在世界上不同地方用屬於一種同樣語言系的方言為了說話。本文也保括Helimski教授所寫的書以及文章。

Michael KNÜPPEL

Uralo-jukagirische Probleme (1): zu jukagirisch *lep(p)ul* ‘Blut’

One of the earliest attempts to integrate the Uralo-Yukaghirian languages into the mainstream of comparative historical linguistics was embodied in the research by V.I. Iokhelson during the 1890s. Ever since, linguistic studies of the extant Yukaghirian languages (Samoyed, Tundra and Kolyma dialects) were preoccupied with producing general vocabularies rather than in-depth studies. The present paper should therefore be seen as a suggestion where future research could lead. The discussed topic is the etymology of the term ‘blood’ in Siberian languages, both in semantic terms (‘blood’ relationships) or used interchangeably for ‘soul’.

烏拉爾語系尤卡吉爾語系若干問題（甲）：lep(p)ul『血』

關於烏拉爾語系之中的尤卡吉爾語系最早的語言學研究將烏拉洛-尤卡吉里安語言納入比較歷史語言學的主流。十九世紀末年從那時起，對現存的尤卡吉爾語的語言研究一直專注於編輯通用詞彙，而不是深入研究。因此，本文所討論的主題是此種西伯利亞語言中的“血液”一詞，無論是語義術語（例如“同血統”關係）或者表示人生的“靈魂”。

LI Yong-Sŏng 李容成 이용성

On *TTR : bIrlA : KTI : TWKIDm* in the 6th Line on the East Side of the Šine-Usu Inscription

The Šine-Usu Inscription is the most voluminous one with 50 lines among the Uighur inscriptions. It was erected in 759 in honour of Moyun Čor (磨延啜 *Mòyán-chuò*), the second kaghan of the Uighur Kaghanate. Most parts of the Šine-Usu Inscription are now well understood. However, 𐰞𐰃𐰠 *KTI* in the sentence *TTR : bIrlA : KTI : TWKIDm* in the 6th line on the east side has been differently interpreted by the researchers. The sentence in question can be read as *tatar birlä qatï toqïdïm* “Mixed with the Tatars, I (= we) struck (them)”.

關於磨延啜碑東面第六行“TTR : bIrlA : KTI : TWKIDm”

由50行碑文内容構成的磨延啜碑是現存篇幅最長的回紇碑銘。牠是爲紀念回紇汗國第二任可汗磨延啜於公元759年鐫刻完成的。目前，磨延啜碑的大部分内容已被釋讀完畢，但對於東面第六行“TTR : bIrlA : KTI : TWKIDm”中“𐰞𐰃𐰠 KTI”的分析一直存在爭議。問題就在於這個句子可以被釋讀爲“tatar birlä qatï toqïdïm”，即“與塔塔兒人混戰，我(=我們)攻擊了(他們)”。

Ki Yip YEE 余祺爆

Han Migrant Farmers in Qing Inner Mongolia: Reluctant Pioneers or Human Great Wall?

This article examines the migration and settlement of Han farmers in Inner Mongolia during the late Qing period (1644–1911), a topic which in this form has not yet been been dealt with in depth in the English literature on Qing or Mongolian history. However, the author argues that the presence of large numbers of Han settlers has been one of the major historical forces that have transformed modern Inner Mongolia, and its effects are still palpable today.

The presence of Han settlements in great numbers was an outcome desired by none of the concerned parties: the Qing court, the Mongolian banners and the Han settlers themselves. Rather than any imperial design or grand strategy, this was the product of the convergence of diverse factors: geography, societal transformation, human greed and an instinct to survive.

清代內蒙古的漢族移民：『勉強的先鋒』或『血肉築長城』？

清代 (1644–1911) 漢族農民遷徙至內蒙古並定居的歷史，英文史藉鮮有深入的探究。然而，本文認為，大量漢族移民的存在，實為近代內蒙古發展的重要動力之一，其影響至今猶明顯可見。本文旨在對此史事作深入考察。大量漢族移民在內蒙古定居，實非有關各方--清廷、蒙古王公乃至漢族移民本身--始料所及。此實由於各項因素--地理、社會、經濟、及掙扎求存的匯聚所致；而非任何帝國宏圖或策略所造成。

On *TTR : bIrlA : KTI : TWKIDm* in the 6th Line on the East Side of the Šine-Usu Inscription*

Li Yong-Sŏng 李容成 이용성
Seoul National University 首爾大學校 서울대학교

I. Introduction

In 744, the Uighurs seized supreme power of the eastern Türk Kaghanate – driving their erstwhile allies, the Karluks, westward into central Eurasia – and ushering in a new age of closer, less inimical ties with China.[1] The Uighurs also used Turkic runic script and left several inscriptions with this script, namely the Tes, Tariat (= Terkh), Šine-Usu (= Moyun Čor), Karabalgasun I, Karabalgasun II and Süüǰi inscriptions.[2] The Šine-Usu Inscription is the most voluminous of all Uighur inscriptions, amounting to 50 lines. This inscription was found in 1909 by G. J. Ramstedt in the vicinity of the Mount Örgõtu, the Rivulet Mogoitu and the Lake Šine-usu.[3] Like the Tes (750) and Tariat (752–753) inscriptions, the Šine-Usu Inscription also was erected in 759 in honor of Moyun Čor (磨延啜 *Mòyánchuò*[4]), the second kaghan of

* This work was supported by the Strategic Research in Korean Studies programme, financed by the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Korea and by the Korean Studies Promotion Service of the Academy of Korean Studies (AKS-2016-SRK-1230002). This article represents the corrected version of the paper read at the Symposium on "A study of transcriptional data in the scripts of northern ethnic groups and related historical documents of relevance to ancient Korean history", Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia, 2 July 2017.

1 Golden 1998: 20.

2 A few other inscriptions also may be regarded as being Uighur. See Mert 2009: 97–98 and Aydın 2011: 29.

3 Ramstedt 1913: 10–11. See also the following note by Mert (2009) in this connection: "Arhangai ilinin Haírhan ilçesi ile Bulgan ilinin Saíhan ilçesi sınırlarının kesiştiği bölgede, Örgööt Dağı'nın güney doğusunda, Şine Us Gölü'nün (48 294037D 5377386K) 2.53 km kuzeyinde (48 294296D 5380216K) bulunan Şine Us yazıtı, Ötüken Uygur Kağanlığı döneminin en kapsamlı yazıtıdır" [The Šine Us inscription which is situated in the region where Khairkhan District of Arkhangai Province and Saikhan District of Bulgan Province intersect, in the southeast of Örgööt Mountain, and 2.53 km north (48 294296E 5380216N) of Šine Us Lake (48 294037E 5377386N) is the most comprehensive inscription of the Ötüken Uyghur Kaghanate period.] (p. 197).

4 *mua`-jian-ʈʂʰyat* in Late Middle Chinese and *maʰ-jian-tɕʰwiat* in Early Middle Chinese. "… Early Middle Chinese is the language of the *Qieyun* rhyme dictionary of A.D. 601, which codified the standard literary language of both North and South China, the preceding period of division. … Late Middle Chinese is the standard language of the High Tang Dynasty, based on the dialect of the capital, Chang'an. …" (Pulleyblank 1991: i); *j* and *y* represent *y* and *ü* respectively.

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the Uighur Kaghanate (r. 747–759). It is still situated on the original site, in two pieces.

II. Interpretations of the sentence *TTR : bIrlA : KTI : TWKIDm*

Most parts of the Šine-Usu Inscription are now well understood. However, this is not the case with 𐰴𐰆𐰃 *KTI* in the sentence *TTR : bIrlA : KTI : TWKIDm* in the 6th line on the east side. This sentence has been interpreted as follows[5]:

(1) Ramstedt (1913)
𐰺𐰢𐰋𐰆𐰆:𐰋𐰆𐰃:𐰚𐰲𐰲𐰋:𐰃𐰆𐰆 (p. 20)[6]
t^{a}t^{a}r birlä q^{a}tį toqįd^{i}m "[…] stieß ich mit den Tataren zusammen und schlug sie." (p. 21)

(2) Orkun (1936)
𐰺𐰢𐰋𐰆𐰆:𐰋𐰆𐰃:𐰚𐰲𐰲𐰋:𐰃𐰆𐰆 (p. 171)
t^{a}t^{a}r birle k^{a}tı tokıd^{ı}m "Tatarlar ile kuvvetle çarpıştım." [I fought strongly with the Tatars.] (p. 170)
qatï *katı*, *sert*, *kavî* [hard, hard, strong] (Orkun 1941: 87)

(3) Malov (1959)
𐰺𐰢𐰋𐰆𐰆:𐰋𐰆𐰃:𐰚𐰲𐰲𐰋:𐰃𐰆𐰆 (p. 32)
татар біплä каты токыдым (p. 35)
"[…] столкнулся я с татарами и побил их." (p. 40)
кат- 'присоединить', 'прибавить'; каты токыдым 'столкнулся' МЧ 18 (p. 98a)

(4) Nadeljajev *et al*. (1969)
tatar birlä qatï toqïdïm 'я встретился с татарами и разбил их' (p. 576b)

(5) Ajdarov (1971)
𐰺𐰢𐰋𐰆𐰆:𐰋𐰆𐰃:𐰚𐰲𐰲𐰋:𐰃𐰆𐰆 (p. 341)
татар бірле қаты тоқыдым "[…] столкнулся я с татарами и победил их." (p. 347)
Қат – твердеть [МЧ, 18; Тон., 35] (p. 362a)

(6) Clauson (1972)
Tatar birle: katı: tokı:dım 'I fought fiercely with the Tatar' *Şu*. *E* 6: … (p. 365a)

5 The researchers have used different languages and transcription/transliteration systems. The author tried to give the reading of each researcher chronologically and without alterations. The interpretation of each researcher is arranged in the following order: 1) the text in the East Turkic runiform script (or the transliterated text); 2) the transcription of the text; 3) the translation of the text; 4) the comment(s) by the researcher; 5) the words in question given in the glossary by the researcher.

6 All the runiform letters are in exactly the opposite direction.

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kat- ‘to be hard, firm, tough’, and the like. S.i.s.m.l. in all groups; l.-w. in Mong. as. *kata-* (*Kow*. 773), see *Doerfer* I 283. **Uyğ.** VIII *Şu*. *E* 6 (**birle:**): … (p. 595a)

(7) Bazin (1991)
tatar birlä katï tokïdïm “je me heurtai encore aux *Tatar*” [I collided again with the Tatars.] (p. 226)

(8) Moriyasu (1999)
TTR:birla:QTi:TWQiDm (p. 179)
tatar birlä qatï toqïdïm (p. 179)
“[…] we (*lit*.: ‘I’) fought a jumbling battle with the Tatars and beat (them) […]” (pp. 183–184)
“タタール族と入り乱れて(戦い), 私が打ち負かした.” (p. 187)
“**E6, qatï:** クローソンはこの qat-を 1. “to mix; to add to” ではなく 2. “to be hard, firm, tough” で解釈するが (ED, pp. 594–595), 私は逆であろうと思う. 因みにバザンはここを “je me heurtai encore aux Tatar” (SCMT, p. 226) と訳している.” [“**E6, qatï:** Although Clauson interprets this *qat-* not as 1. “to mix; to add to” but as 2. “to be hard, firm, tough”, I would like to think it is the opposite. In this connection, Bazin translates this as “je me heurtai encore aux Tatar” (SCMT, p. 226).”] (p. 192)

(9) Berta (2004)
TTR : bIrlA : KTI : TWKIDm (p. 274)
tatar birlä qatï toqïδïm (p. 288)
“[…] a *tatár*okkal keményen verekedtem.”[7] [I fought hard with the Tatars.] (p. 305)

(10) Jeong (2005)
𐰚𐰇𐰼𐰃𐰇:𐰼𐰇𐰃:𐰴𐰸𐰼𐰇:𐰃𐰇𐰇 (p. 437)
t(a)t(a)r birle q(a)tï toqïd(ï)m “[…] 내가 타타르와 함께 연합해서 (그들을) 쳤다.” [United with the Tatars, I attacked (them).] (p. 437)

(11) Aydın (2007)
TTR : bIrlA : KTI : TWKIDm (p. 29)
tatar birlä katı tokıdım (p. 41)
“[…] Tatarlarla şiddetli bir savaşa tutuştum.” [I fought a violent war with the Tatars.] (p. 59)
katı katı, şiddetli [hard, fierce]
k. D [E] 6 (p. 105)

7 This sentence was translated into Turkish as “[…] Tatarlarla sert bir savaş yaptım.” [“I fought hard with the Tatars.”] in Berta 2010: 296.

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(12) Moriyasu *et al.* (2009)
TTR:birla:QTi:TWQiDm (p. 13)
tatar birlä qatï toqïdïm (p. 14)
“[…] we (*lit*.: ‘I’) fought a jumbling battle with the Tatars and beat (them) […]” (p. 26)
“タタル族と入り乱れて(戦い), 私が打ち負かした.” (p. 36)
“**E6, qatï:** クローソンはこの qat-を 1. “to mix; to add to” ではなく 2. “to be hard, firm, tough” で解釈するが (ED, pp. 594–595), 逆であろうと思う. 因みにバザンはここを「私はさらにタタル族と衝突した」(SCMT, p. 226) と訳している.” [“**E6, qatï:** Although Clauson interprets this *qat*- not as (1) “to mix; to add to” but as (2) “to be hard, firm, tough”, I would like to think it is the opposite. In this connection, Bazin translates this as “I collided again with the *Tatar*s.” (SCMT, p. 226).”] (p. 60)

(13) Mert (2009)
𐰴𐰺𐰇𐰾𐰚:𐰃[8]𐰾𐰉:𐰃𐰖𐰍𐰇:𐰉𐰾𐰾 (p. 226)
ṭ(a)ṭ(a)r : birle ḳ(a)ṭı ṭoḳıḍ(ı)m (p. 231)
“[…] Tatarlarla şiddetli bir şekilde savaştım ve (onları) yendim.” [I fought the Tatars fiercely and defeated them.] (p. 235)
ḳatı: katı [hard] ḳ. ṭoḳı- ŞU D6 [E6] (p. 276a)

(14) User (2009)
t(a)t(a)r : birlä k(a)tı tokıd(ı)m (p. 164, 182, 201, 377, 476)
katı katı, sert, şiddetli [hard, hard, fierce] (p. 182, 525b)

(15) Aydın (2011)
𐰴𐰺𐰇𐰾𐰚:𐰇𐰾𐰉:𐰃𐰖𐰍𐰇:𐰉𐰾𐰾 (p. 72)
tatar birle katı tokıdım “[…] Tatarlarla şiddetli bir savaşa tutuştum.” [I fought a violent war with the Tatars.] (p. 73)
katı katı, sert, şiddetli [hard, hard, fierce]
k. ŞU D [E] 6 (p. 100a)

(16) Ölmez (2012)
𐰴𐰺𐰇𐰾𐰚:𐰃[9]𐰾𐰉:𐰃𐰖𐰍𐰇:𐰉𐰾𐰾 (p. 282)
tatar : birle : katı : tokıdım (p. 270)
“[…] Tatarlar ile çok sert şekilde çarpıştım.” [I collided very fiercely with the Tatars.] (p. 276)
katı sert, katı [hard, hard] (p. 315a)[10]

8 An editorial error for 𐰃.
9 An editorial error for 𐰃.
10 Mehmet Ölmez gave the author the latest unpublished version with the title ‘UYGUR KAĞANLIĞI YAZITLARI’ [‘Inscriptions of the Uighur Kaghanate’] of the part for the Uighur

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(17) Şirin (2016)
t(a)t(a)r : birlä k(a)tı tokıd(ı)m (p. 243, 264, 286, 499, 652)
katı katı, sert, şiddetli [hard, hard, violent] (p. 264, 732a)

III. Conclusion

As seen above, this sentence has been read as *tatar birlä qatï toqïdïm*. However, *qatï* has been differently interpreted by the researchers as follows:

1. "collided and": Ramstedt (1913), Malov (1959), Ajdarov (1971)
2. "encountered and": Nadeljajev *et al*. (1969)
3. "fought a jumbling battle and": Moriyasu (1999), Moriyasu *et al.* (2009)
4. "united and": Jeong (2005)
5. "strongly": Orkun (1936)
6. "fiercely": Clauson (1972), Mert (2009), User (2009), Ölmez (2012), Şirin (2016)
7. "fierce": Berta (2004), Aydın (2007), Aydın (2011)
8. "again": Bazin (1991)

In Old Turkic, the word for 'hard, firm, tough', etc. is *qatïγ*, not *qatï*. *Qatï* is found in some modern Turkic languages like Turkish.[11] Therefore, its translation into "strongly", "fiercely" and "fierce" is problematic. By the way, there is a sentence with *birlä qatï* in the lines of 549–550 in *Türkische Turfantexte X* as follows:

> qan yiriŋ arïγsïz birlä qatï üzüksüz aqar (Gabain 1959: 38)
> "Blut, Eiter und Unreinlichkeit werden, mit einander vermischt, unaufhörlich fließen." (Gabain 1959: 39)[12]
> **qat-** sich mischen; *q.-ï* 550 (Gabain 1959: 48)

As Clauson (1972: 594b) mentions, *qat-* is a transitive verb meaning 'to mix (two things)', and more specifically 'to add (something *Acc*.) to (something else *Dat*.)' in the past and present Turkic languages. Moreover, the vowel of the converb of a verb

inscriptions of this work. There is a comment on *katı* (p. 211): "**MÇ D 6 kata:** Daha evvel *katı* okumuş, düşünmüş ve "sıkı, sert, şiddetli" olarak düşünmüştüm. Belirli bir coğrafî yer gösterildiği için defalarca aynı yerde savaş olma ihtimali azdı. Ayrıca konuyla ilgili tarihî belge ve bilgimiz de yoktu. Ancak Eski Türkçe dönemine ait *katı* şeklinde bir kelimenin bulunmayışından dolayı ilk okuyuşumdan ve çevirimden vazgeçiyorum. *kata* için bk. Clauson, *kata* < **kat+ta* → *kata*, s. 596 a, M. Erdal, *GrOldT* s. 224 [**MČ E 6 kata:** I had previously read as *katı* ["hard"], meaning "tight, hard, violent". Since a specific geographic location was specified, it was less likely that multiple battles would occur in the same place. In addition, we did not have any historical documents and information on the subject. However, due to the lack of a word in the form of *katı* belonging to the Old Turkic period, I give up my first reading and translation. For *kata* see Clauson, *kata* < **kat+ta* → *kata*, p. 596 a, M. Erdal, GrOldT. p. 224.]

11 See Clauson 1972: 597b–598a.

12 This sentence is given as **kat-** 'to mix (two things)', and more specifically 'to add (something *Acc*.) to (something else *Dat*.)'. … Bud. **kan yiriŋ arığsız birle katı** 'mixing blood, pus, and filth' *TT X* 549–50 … in Clauson 1972: 594b.

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is the same with the vowel of the positive aorist suffix of that verb. Then, the expected form is *qata*, not *qatï*. However, there is a sentence with *qatï qarï* in the lines of 0516-0517 in *Berliner Turfantexte 25* as follows[13]:

ädgüli ayıglı kılınč[ları]*g* katı karı kılurlar (Wilkens 2007a: 84)
"[…].tun sie abwechselnd gute und böse Taten, …" (Wilkens 2007a: 85)
karı 0517 → katı karı kıl- (Wilkens 2007b: 370a)
katı karı[14] vermischt, durcheinander 0517
katı karı kıl- abwechselnd tun 迭用 0517 (Wilkens 2007b: 370b)

The word *qarï* is from the transitive verb *qar-* meaning 'to mix', i.e. *qat-* and *qar-* are synomynous. *Qatï* and *qarï*, instead of the expected *qata* and *qara*[15], should be the petrified forms meaning 'mixed, jumbled'. Considering this, we can literally translate the sentence *tatar birlä qatï toqïdïm* as "Mixed with the Tatars, I (= we) struck (them)". Therefore, this sentence means "We (*lit.*: 'I') fought a jumbling battle with the Tatars and beat (them)" as in Moriyasu (1999), Moriyasu *et al.* (2009).

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13 The author would like to thank Mehmet Ölmez for this information.

14 The verbs *qat-* and *qar-* are mentioned together on p. 217 of *Dīwān Luγāt at-Turk* as follows: "Know that the Oγuz are refined. They use nouns and verbs in isolation that the Turks use only in paired expressions, as a branch or subordinate is joined to its root. For example, the Turks say to mean "He mixed two things": QAŤIY QAR˙DY **qatti qardi**. 0 QAŤIY **qatti** is the root in the matter of mixing two things; QARDY **qardi** is subordinate to it. The Oγuz say: QAR˙DY **qardi** for mixing two things, leaving off the root. …" (Dankoff & Kelly 1982: 326).

15 One example of the expected *qata* and *qara* is given in Clauson 1972 as follows: "**Kıp.** XIV **kar-** *xalaṭa*; and one says **kattı: kardı:** *ḍamma wa xalaṭa* 'he collected and mixed', and **kata: kara: yedi:** 'he collected and mixed (various foodstuffs) and eat [*sic*; correctly, ate] them' *İd.* 70; …" (p. 643a).

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