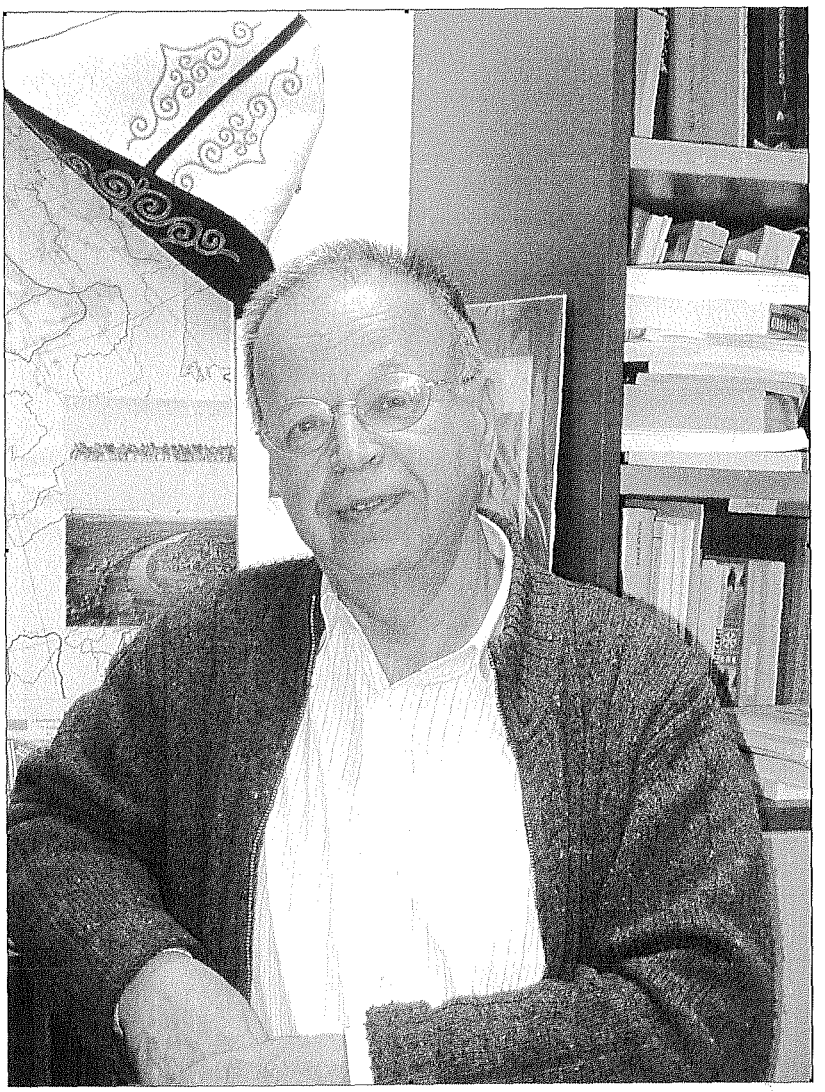
TÜRK DİLLERİ ARAŞTIRMALARI DİZİSİ: 49

Yayımlayan: Mehmet Ölmez

Trans-Turkic Studies

Festschrift in Honour of Marcel Erdal

İstanbul 2010



Prof. Dr. Marcel Erdal

X128330

Trans-Turkic Studies

Festschrift in Honour of Marcel Erdal

edited by

Matthias Kappler,
Mark Kirchner and Peter Zieme

with the editorial assistance of

Raihan Muhamedowa

Trans-Turkic Studies

Festschrift in Honour of Marcel Erdal

edited by Matthias Kappler, Mark Kirchner and Peter Zieme
with the editorial assistance of Raihan Muhamedowa

SZTE Egyetemi Könyvtár
J000851781

Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları Dizisi: 49
Yayımlayan: Mehmet Ölmez

© Mehmet Ölmez

SZTE Egyetemi Könyvtár
SZEGED
18.

1. baskı

İstanbul, Temmuz 2010

ISBN 978-9944-761-35-2

Ürün Yayınları'nın katkısıyla
folkloredebiyat@superonline.com

TDAD İletişim adresi:
Mehmet Ölmez
Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi
Fen-Ed Fak. T.D.E. Bölümü
Davutpaşa Yerleşim Birimi
34210 Esenler-İSTANBUL

Tel.& faks: (90.212) 383 44 40

http://www.mehmetolmez.org/
molmez@yildiz.edu.tr
tda_dizisi@yahoo.com

Genel Dağıtım
Pandora Kitabevi
Perihan Sok. 68, Kat 2
Şişli-İSTANBUL

http://www.pandora.com.tr
Tel. (0212) 230 09 62
Faks: (0212)219 42 92

X 128330

Contents

Introduction 7

A List of Marcel Erdal's Publications from 1973 till 2010
(Elisabetta Ragagnin) 9

Old Turkic Studies

Klaus Röhrborn
Zur Phonotaktik des Alttürkischen 17

Peter Zieme
Gab es Entnasalisierung im Altuigurischen? 25

Abdurishid Yakup
Notes to Dislocation in Early Old Turkic 35

Jens Peter Laut
Woraus besteht der alttürkische *är*? 51

Masahiro Shōgaito
A Chinese Āgama Text Written in Uighur Script
and the Use of Chinese 67

Volker Rybatzki
The Old Turkic *ïrq bitig* and Divination in Central Asia 79

Simone-Christiane Raschmann
Herbst-Baumwolle (*küzki käpäz*) 103

Larry Clark
'Mongrels': Mankind and the Manichaean Mixture 117

Jens Wilkens
Zur Herkunft des gemeintürkischen Distributivsuffixes 133

Irina Nevskaya
The Old Turkic Form *-gAll* 155

Mehmet Ölmez
Dil Verileri Işığında *soyurgal* ve Kökeni 167

Turkish and Turkic Studies

György Hazai
Zur Chronologie des Wandels in der osmanisch-türkischen
Konjugation 177

Jaklin Kornfilt
Remarks on Some Word Order Facts and Turkish
Coordination with Identical Verb Ellipsis 187

Astrid Menz
Türkeitürkische kontrafaktische Konditionalkonstruktionen 223

Lars Johanson
Turkic Focal Present Tense Markers and Their Absence in Cypriot Turkish 231

Maria Petrou
Einige phonetische und morphologische Besonderheiten in einem türkischen Text aus Komotini (Westthrakien) 237

Julian Rentzsch
Why Turkic *DI* is not [+PAST] 267

Claus Schönig
Einfach nützlich: *yaraġ* 281

Elisabetta Ragagnin
Traces of Old Turkic *ančïp* and *ïnčïp* in Altaic Languages 299

Ingeborg Hauenschild
Bei den Türkvölkern gebräuchliche Benennungen für das Mauswiesel 315

Barbara Kellner-Heinkele
Prophets, Kings and Beasts. Some Glimpses of the Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā' in Arabic and Middle Turkish Versions 329

Turkic languages and beyond

Jost Gippert
Echos aus dem Kaukasus. Zur Typologie von „Echofragen" 353

Matthias Kappler
Die griechischen Verse aus dem *İbtidâ-nâme* von Sultân Veled 379

Mark Kirchner
Türkisch als europäische Sprache, Türkisch als orientalische Sprache. 399

Iala Ianbay
Affixes and Analytical Forms in the Krimchak Text of "The Book of Ruth" 417

Werner Arnold
Der Lulav. Ein Text im arabischen Dialekt der Juden von Iskenderun (Südosttürkei) 431

Victor A.Friedman
When is a Present not Present? – Turkish *İmiş*, Kazakh *Eken*, and the Albanian Admirative 435

Raihan Muhamedowa
Remarks on the Kazakh Discourse Marker *žaŋayï* 441

Hans Nugteren & Marti Roos
Ayaq Yasagey! Calques Based on Chinese Homophones 455

Michael Knüppel
Jakutische Elemente in tungusischen Sprachen IV: Jakutisches im Birare 463

Trans-Turkic Studies
Festschrift in Honour of Marcel Erdal
Istanbul 2010: 79–102

The Old Turkic *ïrq bitig* and Divination in Central Asia

Volker Rybatzki
(Helsinki)

The prediction of future events has always played an important part in the life of mankind. Among Turkic people we find several different methods, trying to give a glance into the future. The small Turkic tribes of the Altai, for example, know the following groups of soothsayers: *jaryučï* 'Wahrsager aus dem Schulterblatt eines gebratenen Hammels', *tölgöči* 'Wahrsager mit Hilfe eines kleinen Bogens', *qol-köröči* 'Wahrsager aus den Handlinien', *arbïščï* 'Wahrsager, die flüsternd sprechen', *jadačï* 'Wahrsager, die das Wetter beeinflussen' (ALEKSEEV 1987: 278–279), among Tuvinians the most popular forms of divination are the *chuvaanak*-oracle, using 41 stones, and the *čarïnnaar*-oracle, i.e. the shoulderblade-oracle (OELSCHLÄGEL 2005). Also in the life of the Old Turkic people fortune-telling has played a significant role, as ROUX pointed out in his article *Alttürkische Mythologie* in the *Wörterbuch der Mythologie* (1999: 232):

> "Wahrsagen hat bei den Türken immer eine große Rolle gespielt. Es ist zwar Staatsangelegenheit, betrifft aber auch jeden einzelnen, den Fürsten wie den *bäg*, den Menschen aus dem Volk, wie die sozialen Gemeinschaften. Alle Mächte werden befragt, der Himmelsgott, die niedrigen Gottheiten, die Geister, die Pflanzen, die Tiere, alles, was möglicherweise eine Macht enthält. Sie ist gleichzeitig induktiv und intuitiv, erfordert manchmal eine psychische Anstrengung, manchmal komplizierte Riten und wichtige Geräte, sie ist aber auch darauf bedacht, jedes Zeichen zu nutzen, und alles, was geschieht ist ein solches Zeichen."

Although we have no, or to be more optimistic, only scarce direct evidence for the use of fortune-telling among the Türks and Uigurs of the Steppe from the 6th to 9th century, the existing texts dealing with fortune-telling belonging to the later Uigur empire of the oasis in Gansu and Eastern Turkestan, we can be sure on the basis of later Mongolian practices that all kinds of divination were used among them.

BAWDEN, in an article published over 50 years ago (1958), divided different types of divination in use among the Mongols into two main groups, one being dependent from astrology, the other one being only little or not at all influenced by it. According to BAWDEN (1958: 321), the second group can be divided further into practices styled by him involuntary divination (unwillkürliche Divination), this means the examination of signs that originate from themselves, and intentional divination (absichtliche Divination). In this last group certain actions are taken, for example the throwing of dices, or coins, or scapularmancy to predetermine the future.

The first group, depending on astrology (BAWDEN 1958: 323–329, MOSTAERT 1969), is fairly common among Mongolian manuscripts found in European collections. This group is already attested among Old Uigur manuscripts published by RACHMATI (1936) as *Türkische Turfantexte* VII, in RADLOFF's *Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler* (1928, Nr. 32–33, 38–39), HALÉN (1991: 161–163, Nr. 1) and ZIEME (2005), as well as in Middle Mongolian manuscripts of about the same time (CERENSODNOM & TAUBE 1993, LIGETI 1972, KARA 1979, TUMURTOGOO 2006). The aim of this kind of divination is to sort out lucky and unlucky days, hours and events, for example for cutting nails or wood, building houses, digging ditches etc., this means for every kind of event connected with daily life. However, it has to be remarked that these months, days, and hours are arranged in such a complex way and in so many categories that one has the feeling to "swim, if not even to sink in a sea of inconsistencies" (BAWDEN 1958: 323). This system goes even so far to define days that are not good for divination, as it is stated in one Uigur text that *küskü küntä körüm körsär yaramaz* 'If one asks the lot on a day of the mouse, it is not fortunate' (RACHMATI 1937: 47, Nr. 39/1). For the importance of this kind of divination among common people speaks also the fact that Buddhist sutras, although criticising this kind of "pagan" divination, give similar prescription for the directions to build a house as well as cosmological speculations as for example in the *Säkiz Yükmäk Yaruq* (ZIEME 1985: 174, Nr. 49/10–12; 1992: 38–39, 55; GABAIN 1964,226; ELVERSKOG 1996: 95–100). Another, tantric text, the *Yitikän sudur ärdini*, a very popular text of the Mongol period, contains fortune-telling and magic directed towards the deities of the constellations (ZIEME 1985: 161, Nr. 43/2–3; 1992: 59–60; 2005; GABAIN 1964: 226; ELVERSKOG 1996: 93–95).

This form of divination is also well attested in Indic, and depending from the later, in the Khotanese culture. An example belonging to the Christian Sogdian cultural sphere was published by SIMS-WILLIAMS (1995: 292–297), together with references to Syriac omen texts (id. 294–297). In a more general article the same author has treated astrological formulae from Babylon to China, pointing out the striking similarities between them. These similarities are most probably not due to chance, because the Mesopotamian notion of the planetary week together with the names of the seven days were introduced in the 8th century by Sogdian Manicheans into China (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1996). An extract from the Khotanese example, first published by BAILEY (1935–37), and republished with several corrections by SKJÆRVØ (2002: 82–85) may illustrate this kind of divination. The corresponding Sanskrit text, published by LÜDERS (1933), contains very different predictions as pointed out by SKJÆRVØ (2002: 82).

> OR 11252 (16) *pa auysa mula mulä salya hve ysaiyi muysga-jsīnī hime u rrau i u* (17) [*///*] *barīji ni śiri hi himāre u hve yaulajsi hime u sahautti* (18) [*ni himi*] *kh*[*u*] *jvīdi ba-jsīnya himāre u ñāvi pharāka himāre* ...
>
> 'First the rat. A man born in the Year of the Rat. He will be short-lived and ... and ... the harvests will not be good. And he will be a quarrelsome man. And [he will not be] blessed (with health). If they life, they will be short-lived. And he will have many rivers (to cross?). ...' (SKJÆRVØ 2002: 83).

Involuntary divination (BAWDEN 1958: 329–331) is commonly attested in (Middle) Mongolian and Old Uigur sources. Old Uigur examples were published by RADLOFF (1928: 59–61, Nr. 42), RACHMATI (1936: 44–46, 96–97, Nr. 34–38) and ZIEME (2002). For the Middle Mongolian period, the first example stems from the *Secret History of the Mongols* (§189) and occurs in an episod where the Naiman Kökse·ü Sabraq is rebuking Tayang Qan of whom his father had said, interestingly, (6527) *ene tayang-i elbesü·er töre·ülüle·e* 'This (son of mine) Tayang, I begot (only) through magic (*elbesü·er*)' (DE RACHEWILTZ 1972: 97; 2004: 111, 629, 681). The relevant passage of the *Secret History* reads:

> (6529–6530) *edö·e noqan-u dawun idürekü qucal qucamui* 'Now the dogs are barking and this barking sounds as if (a calamity) is approaching'.

In the Altan tobci nova this part is missing, because the example belongs to a long section of the Secret History (§§176–208), which was not included into it (DE RACHEWILTZ 1972: 97–98; 2004: 111, 681–682).

Another example, a prediction based on the place of the birthmark, Mo. *mengge* < Uig. *meng*, which is some centuries later than our first example, has been discovered among the manuscript remains from Olon süme:

> (6) *tolayai orcin mengge bolbas*[*u*///] (7) *sayin bui · nidün-dür mengge* (8) *barimidadu sayin bolqu · ta*[///] (9) *mengge bolbasu ebe*[*ci*]*n-dür* [///] (10) [*j*]*irüken-dür mengge bolbasu*
>
> 'Wenn ein Muttermal nahe des Kopfes ist ... ist es gut. Ein Muttermal auf dem Auge ist für die Weisheit gut. (Wenn es fünf) Muttermale sind im Fall von Krankheit ... Wenn ein Muttermal auf dem Herzen ist ...' (HEISSIG 1976.508–509:6–10).

A prediction based on the behaviour of horses is found in the *Altan tobci anonymus* (BAWDEN 1955), and in the *Altan tobci nova* (VIETZE & GENDENG LUBSANG 1992).

> (Altan tobci anonymus) *qulaqan qarqan nere-tü qoyar mori inu jönglejü sanaya aldan yajar cabcilaju bayiba · morin-iyan sanaya aldaysan-i medejü mendü örlüg ügülerün qour-tan yabuqui-dur eyimü belge gejü*
>
> 'His two horses called Qulaqan and Qaraqan, prophesying and groaning, were beating the ground with their hooves. Noticing that his horses were groaning, Mendü Örlög said: «There are such signs when evil people are on the march»' (BAWDEN 1955.76–77, 166)
>
> = (Altan tobci nova, folio 147recto, ll. 4493–4496) *qulayana-i qarayana-i neretü qoyar morin jönglejü yajar cabcilan sanayan aldan bayiba : morin-iyan sanayan aldaysan-tur mendü örlüg ügülerün : qoor-tan-i yabuqui-tur eyimü gejü* (VIETZE & GENDENG LUBSANG 1992: 102).

Involuntary divination examines the future according to natural signs, so itching, the twitching of limbs, sneezing, marks on the body, but also mouse-bites, or the shouting of magpies can be used to forecast the future. However, these are only some of the possible examples and it has to be remembered that "nearly every phenomenon might count as an omen" (BAWDEN 1958: 330). For omina based on the behaviour of birds compare also the large article of LAUFER dealing with bird divination among the Tibetans (1914). Additionally, a Khotanese fragment connected with twitching (cf. ZIEME 2002 dealing with the same matter in Turkic texts) is kept in the India Office Library (SKJÆRVØ 2002: 260–261), and lastly there exists also an illustrated Manichean Middle Persian omen-text from Turfan dealing with involuntary divination (RECK & SUNDERMANN 1997 [1998]). Similar examples are known in modern times from all over the world, thus one says in German: "Wenn die Schwalben tief fliegen wird es Regen geben, wenn die Schwalben hoch

fliegen wird es Sonnenschein geben". In the same way certain signs and occurences are considered to be omina in Gilgit:

> "If an unusually heavy rain falls at any season in Gilgit, it is supposed that the chief of Yasin will advance towards Gilgit. If innumerable kites are seen hovering over Gilgit, it is generally accepted that Gilgit will be invaded by the Nagar people. If packs of wolves make frequent night visits into Gilgit, and inflict heavy losses among the flocks, it is affirmed that the chief of Hunza is certainly going to invade and plunder Gilgit. If harvest is unusually abundant, it is believed that Gilgit will be attacked by the Punyal Chefs" (MUHAMMAD 1905: 107).

Intentional divination is the last group sorted out by BAWDEN (1958: 331–337). The means of this kind of divination among the Mongols are among others scapularmancy (*dalu-yin tölge*), the throwing of dices (*šoo-yin tölge*) or coins (*joyos-un tölge*, or: *Kitad-un tabun joyos-un üjel*), as well as counting of stones (*qumalay-un tölge*) (BIRTALAN 2001a: 1058–1059, KARA 1973: 94, SÁRKÖZI 1971). To this may be added, for example, divination with the help of cards used among Tibetans (STEIN 1939: 297–373), divination by throwing small arrows or little sticks made of willow used already among the early Turks in the West, but going back to a much older tradition, as this kind of divination is known to have been used by Scythians and Huns (ROUX 1999: 233–234), and lastly divination using the entrails of a sheep, testified in the *Secret History of the Mongols* (§272/11234, 11301, 11305). The relevant term here is *abitla-* 'to divine by expecting the entrails of an animal' < *abit* 'entrails' (DE RACHEWILTZ 2004: 995); MoL *abid* 'intestiness (obs.)', Ord. *awik* ~ *awilak* 'id.'. In connection with the Cinggis Khan cult in the Ordos region, a detailed description of this divination practice, using the liver of a sheep, was presented by SOLONGGOD (1999). A written description of the ritual from the same area can be found in a manuscript, transcribed, translated and explained by SERRUYS (1984).

An Old Uigur manuscript found in Yar Khoto and written in late cursive script belongs also to the group of intentional divination. This booklet, published by BANG & GABAIN (1929) as *Türkische Turfantexte* I, belongs, however, to the civilisation of Eastern Asia as it is a kind of adoption of the Chinese *Yijing*. The same cultural background might be attributed to the scene following the murder of Sundarī, described in the *Insadi-Sūtra* (ll. 238–244). Here the word *ïrq* occurs as a compound together with the word *sun* (< Chin. *sun* 'humble, submissive; the fifth of the eight trigrams of the Yijing; south-east'; MChinY, L *sun* (MATHEWS 5550, PULLEYBLANK 1991: 297)

> *pïrsančï χan ymä qayu-ta käl bar qïlur ärsär üdïy-sïz-in tilägü-kä bošuγ yarlïγ berü yarlïqadï bošuγ bolmïš-ta oq braman-lar köküz-lärin bögsäk-lärin bürünü körüm bitig-lärin ača ïrq-larïn sunlarïn sača ayaz-ta yulduz körü yayïz-ta yer ïdïšqayu*
>
> 'als der König Prasenajit wie immer (?) "komm-und-gehe" (*käl bar* 'Zauberbewegungen') machte, geruhte er für eine ungehinderte Nachforschung die Erlaubnis zu geben. Sobald er das erlaubt hatte, zerkratzten die Brahmanen sich Brust und Bauch, öffneten die Traumbücher (Wahrsagebücher?), streuten ihre Orakel (Wahrsagezeichen?) aus, am klaren Himmel beobachteten sie die Sterne und rochen auf dem Boden die Erde' (TEZCAN 1974: 38).

A reference to divination using sticks is found, according to some interpretations, in connection with the sickness of Ögedei Khagan and the death of his brother Tolui in the *Secret History of the Mongols* (§272/11231). After Ögedei falls ill it is stated *bö·es bö·es tölgecin-e tölgele·ülü·esü* "als man alle möglichen Schamanen und Weissager die Losstäbchen werfen ließ" (HAENISCH 1962: 150–151). According to HEISSIG (1989: 166, note 2) scapularmancy is meant in this case, DE RACHEWILTZ (2004: 203) translates "various shamans and soothsayers were ordered to divine (the cause of the illness)". As rightly remarked by DE RACHEWILTZ (2004: 994–995), *bö·e* (= MoL *böge*) is the standard designation of the Mongolian shaman, whereas *tölgeci* seems to have been a general term for diviners practicing different forms of prognostication involving 'signs', such as the flight of birds (augury), dreams (oniromancy), etc. However, scapulimancy, mentioned by DE RACHEWILTZ as belonging to the practice involving the *tölgeci* 'deviner', is, at least in modern times, performed by the shaman. For this reason it remains uncertain what sort of divination is meant here. MoL *tölge*, KhalL *tölög* has the meaning 'fortune-telling, divination; also a device used for divination; omen, portent' > MoL *tölgeci/n*, KhalL *tölögč* 'diviner, fortuneteller', Ord. *tölgö* 'art divinatoire, opération par laquelle le devin découvre quelque chose de caché; instrument qui sert à la divination' > *tölgöči* (*kün*) 'devin', Kal. *tölge* '(veraltert) Wahrsagerei, das Wahrsagen mit Knochen, Würfeln, Pfeilen, oder anderem' > *tölgᵊčı* '(selten) Zeichendeuter, Wahrsager'. As a loan-word from Mongolian the word entered the Turkic languages of South Siberia with the meaning 'kleiner Bogen zum Wahrsagen; Wahrsagerei; Schicksal, Los, Bestimmung; Vorzeichen, Omen' (VEWT 493); for Tuvinian the following meanings are attested: *tölge* 'Schicksal, Glück; Orakel, Wahrsagung', *tölgeči* 'Wahrsager', and lastly *tölgele-* 'Karten legen, wahrsagen' (ÖLMEZ 2007: 276).

A very short and unclear, fragmentary Nestorian divination text published by LE COQ (1909) differs considerable from other Old Uigur divination texts dealt with until now, but it has some parallels in Tibetan texts analysed by FRANCKE (1924) and URAY (1987: 202–203). Its closest correspondence is, however, with a Sogdian fragment, also of Nestorian provenance (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1976: 63–64). Among old divinatory texts, the Uigur Nestorian and the Sogdian Nestorian texts are among those that are, in a certain way, closest in style and structure to the Old Turkic *ïrq bitig*, the main subject of this article.

Scapularmancy as a mean to forecast the future reaches far back into prehistory, and is attested over a wide area in Eurasia stretching from China to England (ANDREE 1906: 143–165). In connection with the Old Turks, scapularmancy is not mentioned in the sources, if not a bull-skull, found in a big kurgan 30 km south-east of Ėlista, and published by KLJAŠTONRYJ & VÁSÁRY (1987), was used with this intention. KLJAŠTONRYJ & VÁSÁRY deal, however, only with the Runic signs found on the skull, and don't touch upon the actual use of it. In the light of the widespread use of scapularmancy among the Mongols, it seems, even if there is only negative evidence for the moment, highly improbably that this mean of divination was not used by the early Turks.

There are several reports about scapularmancy left by early visitors to the Mongols. The oldest, based on observations made during his stay in the camp of Muqali in 1221, is the report by Zhao Hong preserved in the *Mengda beilu*; another one, by Pang Daya, in the *Heida shilüe* dates back to the year 1237.

> (1221): "beim Wahrsagen über Glück und Unglück, Vorgehen und Zurückweichen, Töten und Angreifen bedienen sie sich immer des Schulterblattes eines Schafes, das sie mit einer glühenden Eisenstange bearbeiten. Man beschaut dann die Sprünge und Risse darin und entscheidet (danach sogar) die wichtigsten Staatsangelegenheiten" (Mengda 77).
>
> (1237): "Was ihre Wahrsagerei anlangt, so brennen sie Schulterblätter von Schafen an, prüfen, ob die Linien widrig oder günstig verlaufen und schließen daraus auf Glück oder Unglück (bei ihren Vorhaben). Allein hiernach entscheiden sie, ob der Himmel (ihr Vorhaben) verwirft oder ihm zustimmt. Sie glauben ganz fest daran. Sie nennen es 'die Laute anbrennen'. Von ihren Angelegenheiten, selbst den geringfügigsten, erledigen sie keine ohne das Orakel zu befragen, und erst, wenn sie es mehrere Male befragt haben, hören sie damit auf" (Heida 140).

The practice is further described by Wilhelm von Rubruk, who also pointed out the great importance given by the Mongols to scapularmancy (RISCH 1934: 213–214):

> "Bei unserem Hineingehen kam gerade ein Diener heraus, der Schulterblätter von Schafen heraustrug, die ganz kohlschwarz gebrannt waren. (...) Mangu (= Möngke) unternahm um alles in der Welt nichts, ohne vorher jene Knochen zu befragen, weshalb er auch niemandem erlaubt in seine Jurte einzutreten, bevor er diese Knochen befragt".

Möngke Khagan seemed to have been even more superstitious than the Mongolian average, as at the end of the chapter on Möngke Khagan in the Yuanzhi, in a somewhat critical tune it is stated that, beside all the good deeds he did,

> "vertraute er aber sehr auf die Künste von Wahrsagern und Schamanen und vor jeder Handlung wandte er sich unbedingt (zuerst) an sie. Es gab kaum einen Tag, an dem er sie nicht befragte und niemals wurde er ihrer überdrüssig" (ABRAMOWSKI 1979: 33).

On special occasions scapularmancy was carried out by the ruler himself, or by one of his most confident officials, so for example by Chinggis Qan and Yelu Chuzai, as well as Ögedei and Güyük. It seems that this was done to influence the result of divination, as this seems to have been possible to a certain degree, as was shown by ERKES (1940) in connection with Chinese oracle-bones. Under the influence of Lamaism the character of scapularmancy was later refined and became more sophisticated. In the 18th century, a handbook on scapularmancy was compiled by Sumpa mkhan-po. This handbook is the foundation of all modern Mongolian copies on scapularmancy (BAWDEN 1989: 227). Early modern and modern observations concerning scapularmancy have been recorded among others by PALLAS in his *Sammlungen historischer Nachrichten über die mongolischen Völkerschaften* (St. Petersburg 1801, Bd. 2, S. 350–354), BIRTALAN (1993, 2001a: 1035–1036) and OELSCHLÄGEL (2005), BAWDEN published two manuscripts (1959) obtained by GRØNBECH, which describe how the bone has to be prepared and burnt, and explain the mystical topographical terminology.

The throwing of coins as a mean of divination (BAWDEN 1958: 334–336) is commonly attested in Mongolian manuscripts preserved in European collections. Coin divination is a rather modern form of divination, based on Chinese traditions. This sort of divination is neither attested among Old Uigur nor Middle Mongolian texts. It is used only in a restricted amount of cases and stands under the protection of Guanyin, that is Avalokiteśvara.

The counting of stones can be conditioned by complex astrological calculations on one side, on the other hand it might be used in a very simple way (BAWDEN 1958: 336–337; OELSCHLÄGEL 2005). This kind of

divination is neither attested in Old Turkic nor Middle Mongolian texts. There are, however, some references in Old Central Asian sources to the use of stones as magical tools. A Runic fragmentary manuscript from Toyoq (ORKUN 1938: 57–59) describes the astrological origin of various precious and semi-precious stones, similar texts are known from Pahlavi and Sogdian literature (WEBER 2003: 228–230, 235–237). The Sogdian text consists of two parts: In the first part (ll. 1–122) nine stones with magical effects are introduced, in the second one (ll. 123–304) rain magic is described in a very detailed way (BENVENISTE 1940: 59–73, 193–200). Weather magic was/is widely used in Central Asia to influence weather conditions, in literary form its use is examplified only by the second part of the Sogd. text just mentioned (WEBER id.229–235), and some Old Turkic texts (MOLNÁR 1994, with Old Turkic text examples by P. ZIEME). A modern Mongolian weather magic ritual, most probably of Tibetan origin, was described by BIRTALAN (2001b).

A significant difference between Sogdian and otherwise known Central Asian rain magic lies in the fact that Sogdian rain magic uses nine stones, namely those described in the first part of the manuscript mentioned, "Jene Steine mit den neun Arten sind notwendig, die hier oben beschrieben sind." (WEBER id.: 229), whereas all other descriptions of this practice in Central Asia mention only one stone, Middle Turkic, Uigur *yad*, Middle Mongol *jada* 'rain stone; rain magic' (CLAUSON 1972: 883), usually a bezoar (BIRTALAN 2001a: 998, 1065–1066). Concluding it might be assumed that the Runic text from Toyoq, resembling the first part of the Sogdian text, might stem from a text dealing with rain magic.

The last group of intentional divination to be dealt with here, is divination with the help of dices. This kind of divination, not notified among the Mongols of the Middle Mongolian period, is known from the Old Turkic culture in the form of the famous *ïrq bitig*, a small booklet, consisting of 29 folded sheets (= 58 leaves about 13.6 cm high and 8 cm wide), the folded sheets being glued together at the end one by one. The booklet was discovered by SIR AUREL STEIN in 1907 in Dunhuang. The text of the booklet consists of 65 chapters, each headed by three groups of small circles, followed by the text of each *ïrq* (omen), depicting in a lively way different scenes of common life (KLJAŠTORNYJ 1992). Every *ïrq* ends with the general statement if it is good or bad, some *ïrq*s, however, have no statement at all (see below).

The text of the *ïrq bitig* was first published by THOMSEN (1912); the publications of ORKUN (1938: 71–93) and MALOV (1951: 80–92) are mainly translations of THOMSEN into Turkish and Russian. A new transcription and translation, together with the facsimile, was published by TEKIN (1993), however, as has been pointed out by ERDAL (1997) in his review article, this new publication is not without faults, merely because it did not take into consideration the quite extensive literature on the *ïrq bitig* (cf. bibliography, and CLARK 1997: 109, 139–140, Nr. 198).

Most probably the *ïrq bitig* is the work of a Turkic author and not a translation. This last statement is important, as dicing is a way of divination not only typical for the culture of the Old Turks, but also for cultures to the south and southwest of the Turks. However, dicing is a form of divination *not* typical for the Chinese culture.

Dice divination as it occurs in the *ïrq bitig*, Tibetan texts of *mo*-divination (FRANCKE 1924, 1928; TAUBE 1980; THOMAS 1957), as well as divination texts in Sanskrit (LÜDERS 1940, FALK 1986), uses 1 or 3 oblong dices with 4 long and 2 short sides, thrown 3 or 1 time. Examples of these dices have been discovered in excavations in Khotan, Turfan and Termez, in the last one in connection with sites of the Kuṣan period from the 3rd century A.D. (RÓNA-TAS 1956: 179, CLAUSON 1961: 218).

Several articles have pointed out various problems of the *ïrq bitig*, for example the role of the animals, the meaning of the different colours, or the importance of the identification of the gods. Thus it was for example stated by ERDAL (1997: 64–65) that "Altaic astragalomancy practices and knuckle-bone games (*ašïq oyunu*) feature animal names for sides of the dice, perhaps connected in some way with the many animals appearing in the *ïrq bitig*. .... This and colour symbolism are among the topics which might help in trying to solve its enigmas. Research into Altaic anthropological context should be deepened and detailed comparisons carried out with Tibetan divination books, of which there is quite an abundance". Although all of the specific questions mentioned before are important for the understanding and evaluation of the *ïrq bitig*, it seems to me that here problems have been brought up before answering two basic questions: What was the purpose of the book? What was its religious background? TEKIN (1993), following VON GABAIN, calls it a "handbook for interpreting the significance of the various combinations of three throws of a dice"; similarly, ERDAL (1997) thinks that it "served the divinatory interpretation of the casts".

Although these statements are more or less right, it seems that the *ïrq bitig* was *not* a handbook used in connection with the throwing of the dices as the sequences of the throws occur in a way, very difficult to be refered to. However, for an understanding of the sequences it might be important to state that in the first dice-oracle of the Bower Manuscript the sequences 4-4-4, 3-3-3, 2-2-2, 1-1-1 and the permutations of each group (this means for example 4-4-3, 4-3-4, 3-4-4) are considered as belonging together and are thus called by the same name (LÜDERS 1940: 134–139).

There are several *ïrq*s without a statement if they are good or bad (Nr. 4, 13, 14, 21, 48, 51), other occur 2 or 3 times (1-1-4: 32, 47; 2-4-2: 5, 10; 3-1-3: 24, 25; 3-4-1: 49, 61, 64), some are missing (1-1-3, 1-2-4, 3-1-1) [see: Appendix].

In the light of these facts the *ïrq bitig* has, perhaps, to be considered a "report" of a séance of throwing dices. It might be that the owner of the book threw the dices 65 times (but why not 64 times, the correct number of all possible combinations?), and the results, in the succession as the dices were thrown, were written down in the book. This interpretation is strengthened by the sentence *bu ïrq bitig ädgü ol : ančïp alqu käntü ülügi ärklig ol* "this book of divination is good. Thus, everyone is the master of his own fate" (TEKIN 1993: 26, 27). In addition the colophon is of some relevance for answering the two questions put before, and for this reason it is quoted here:

> *bars yïl ekinti ay biš yigirmikä taygüntan manistantaqï kičig dintar burua yuru ešidip ičimiz isig sayun itačuq bitidim*
>
> 'In the Year of the Tiger, on the fifteenth (day of) the second month, (I) the humble monk of the Taygüntan monastery, after listening to the omen-master, wrote (this down) for our elder brother, the affectionate General Itačuq (or: *isig* is an attribute of *sayun*; in this case the end of the colophon should be translated 'for our elder brother General Itačuq')'.

For the question of the purpose of the book, the most important words of the colophon are *burua yuru ešidip ... bitidim* 'after listening (to) the omen-master, ... I wrote down'. The first word to be analysed, *burua*, has been interpreted differently. According to THOMSEN (1912.214) these two words are of Sanskrit origin, namely *pūrva* 'former' and *guru* 'teacher' (= 'a former guru'), a similar interpretation was given by TEKIN (1993: 27), who translates '*burua guru* (i.e. the spiritual master of presage)', and HAMILTON (1975: 13, 16–17) 'le guru «Présage»'. I don't think that this interpretation is correct. The booklet, as its name *ïrq bitig*

says, has as its content the interpretation of different *ïrq* i.e. 'omina'. The colophon contains a number of Manichean words, *manistan* 'monastery' and *dintar* 'monk', and for this reason another interpretation of the word should be looked up in the Manichean environment. The word for omen in Pahlavi is *murwāg*, in Manichean Middle Persian the form is *murwā* (MACKENZIE 1971: 57). The alternation of initial *m* and *b* in Old Turkic is a well-known fact, and if the second vowel *u* is further interpreted as *w*, the resulting form of the word in the *ïrq bitig* is *burwa* ~ **murwa*, corresponding perfectly to the Manichean Middle Persian form. The second word is of no problem, it is Sanskrit *guru* 'teacher, master; etc.'. Most important for the interpretation of the *ïrq bitig* are, however, the next two verbs *ešidip ... bitidim* '*after* listening ... I wrote down'. In my opinion these verbs can only be understood as meaning that the scribe was first listening to interpretation of the dices given by the omen-master, after that he wrote down what he had heart. Here also the use of the verb *biti-* 'to write down' [vs. *yarat-* 'to compose'] (CLAUSON 1972: 299–300, 959–960) should be stressed.[1] Still it is not clear if the omen-master taught the different omina in the "correct" order to the monk, who later mixed them up (in this case the original meaning of the booklet could have been that of a handbook), or if the monk wrote down a séance of throwing dices. It is also unclear if the monk wrote down what he had heart after each interpretation of the dices or only after he had heart all of them. In consideration of the high esteem for any written (religious) text, especially among Manicheans, the first alternative does not seem very realistic to me, and I would consider the text of the booklet to be a report of a séance of throwing dices. The last two points can not be clarified.

Mainly from the Tibetan, but also from the Turkic side, similarities have been pointed out between the *ïrq bitig* and Tibetan texts dealing with *mo*-divination. Tibetan dice divination, as well as Turkic, used oblong dices. This, however, is the only similarity between them, and the statement of TAKEUCHI (1995: 4) that "Old Tibetan divination texts using a dice resemble the ... *ïrq bitig* to a degree beyond coincidence" is not

---

1 According to Zieme (2001: 378) the sequence *: Burua : yuru (ä)š(i)d[ip] :*, usually translated as 'after listening to the guru Burua', should be interpreted as the personal name of the scribe: Burua urušd ('Omen-Sunshine') and the last part of the colophone should be translated as 'I, the humble monk Burua Ḫurušd wrote (this book) for our elder brother (or: brothers), the affectionate Saŋun Ïtačuq (or: Isig Saŋun [and] Ïtačuq)'.

quite right. The differences lie not only in the results for the different throws [see: Appendix], but also in the structure of the texts itself.

Each chapter of the *ïrq bitig* begins with a general description of a scene, followed by the results of the throws. For Tibetan occurrences these kind of texts are attested only in a very small number of fragments steming from Turfan (FRANCKE 1924, TAUBE 1980: 86–90). The structure and content of these texts is very close to the Uigur and Sogdian Nestorian texts mentioned before (FRANCKE 1928, URAY 1987). Among different texts dealing with dice divinations, these three groups, the Tibetan dice-oracle texts from Turfan, the Uigur and Sogdian oracle texts and the Old Turkic *ïrq bitig* seem to form a clear group of their own.

The last group of Tibetan *mo*-texts, from Gansu and Northeastern Tibet (THOMAS 1957), differs again from the two groups mentioned before. The "chapters" of these texts start with a general introduction, resembling the introduction of each Turkic *ïrq*. After this, however, follows a section giving forecasts for different aspects of the daily life, for example trading, petitions, marriage etc., followed by a sentence giving the general result of the throw. The structure of these texts resembles the divination text published in the *Türkische Turfantexte* I (BANG & GABAIN 1929), or the Chinese oracle texts published by BANCK.

The colophon of the *ïrq bitig* points to the fact that the background of the booklet is Manichean. In the first instant this seems to be quite surprising as contrary f. ex. to Buddhism in 17th and 18th century Mongolia, incorporating a lot of popular believes in its religious framework, Manicheaism is mainly known for adapting elements from Buddhism, Early Christianity and Zoroastrism in its ideology. However, the fact that Manicheaism was not completely disinclined to popular aspects of religion is in addition to our text proven by an illustrated Middle Persian omen-text (RECK & SUNDERMANN 1997 [1998]), as well as Middle Persian spells and a Parthian amulett (HENNING 1947). Also the similarities between the *ïrq bitig*, the Nestorian texts and the Tibetan texts from Turfan mentioned before, are most probably due to Manichean influence (or the common background of Nestorianism and Manicheaism, both influencing the Old Turkic as well as early Tibetan cultures).

This article is a largely revised version of a paper presented at the P.I.A.C. in Lanakan/Belgium in 2000. Due to organisatorial problems, the papers of the conference were never published. In the 2000 version of

this article also etymological remarks concerning *ïrq*, *ïrïm*, *irü* and *irük* were presented. As in the time following two important articles dealing with the verb *ïr-* 'to make a notch, or breach' and its derivates, among other *ïrq*, originally perhaps specifically 'divination in the form of scapularmancy', and only later 'divination in general, omen; luck, etc.' were published (KÁROLY 2001, RÓNA-TAS 2004), the reader is refered to these two articles for more detailed informations concerning the etymology of *ïr-* and *ïrq*.

Appendix: Dicing in Old Turkic, Old Tibetan and Sanskrit Literature
A Comparative Table

		Old Turkic (ïrq bitig) TEKIN 1993	Tibetan (mo) THOMAS 1957	(Addendum A) THOMAS 1957	(Addendum B) THOMAS 1957	Sanskrit FRANCKE 1928.115
4)	1-1-1	*anča bilinlär*				gut
22)	1-1-2	*anča munluy ol aŋïg yablaq ol*				schlimm
00)	1-1-3		good (28)			medium
32)	1-1-4	*anča bilinlär azïγï bar ädgü ol*				gut
47)	1-1-4	*anča bilinlär ädgü ol*	very bad (27)			
63)	1-2-1	*anča bilinlär ädgü ol*	good (26)			gut
6)	1-2-2	*anča biliŋ yablaq ol*	very good (24)			gut
8)	1-2-3	*anča bilinlär yablaq ol*	No clear augury (25)	no augury	4-1-4 (2) very bad	gut
00)	1-2-4					gut
54)	1-3-1	*anča biliŋ ädgü ol*	inauspicious (23)			gut
45)	1-3-2	*anča bilinlär yabïz ol*	good (22)			gut
46)	1-3-3	*anča bilinlär yablaq ol*	good (21)			schlimm
37)	1-3-4	*anča bilinlär yablaq ol*	good (20)			gut
15)	1-4-1	*anča bilinlär ädgü ol*				gut
44)	1-4-2	*anča bilinlär yabïz ol*				gut
50)	1-4-3	*anča bilinlär yab(l)aq ol*				gut
31)	1-4-4	*anča biliŋ ädgü ol*				gut
28)	2-1-1	*anča bilinlär ädgü ol*	No clear augury (31)			gut
7)	2-1-2	*anča bilinlär ädgü ol*	good (15)			gut
	2-1-2		bad (14)	bad	2-1-4 (9) medium	
62)	2-1-3	*anča bilinlär ädgü ol*		2-3-3 bad	very bad (8)	gut
16)	2-1-4	*anča biliŋ yablaq ol*	good (13)	2-1-2 (bad)	medium (9)	gut

		Old Turkic (irq bitig) TEKIN 1993	Tibetan (mo) THOMAS 1957	(Addendum A) THOMAS 1957	(Addendum B) THOMAS 1957	Sanskrit FRANCKE 1928.115
57)	2-3-1	*anča biliŋlär bu irq bačïnta az ängäki bar kïn yana ädgü ol*	good (12)	good	2-4-4 (6) no clear augury	medium
1)	2-2-2	*anča biliŋlär ädgü ol*		3-1-2 very good	very good (5)	schlimm
20)	2-2-3	*anča biliŋlär ädgü ol*				schlimm
39)	2-2-4	*anča biliŋlär yablaq ol*	bad (11)			medium
56)	2-3-1	*anča biliŋlär ädgü ol*				gut
53)	2-3-2	*anča biliŋlär ädgü ol*	gut (10)	good	2-3-3 (7) very good	
	2-3-2		bad (9)			schlimm
17)	2-3-3	*anča biliŋlär ädgü ol*	bad (8)	bad 2-3-2 good	2-1-3 (8) very bad very good (7)	schlimm
14)	2-3-4	*anča biliŋlär*				medium
18)	2-4-1	*anča biliŋlär añïg ädgü ol*				gut
5)	2-4-2	*añïg ädgü ol*				gut
10)	2-4-3	*anča biliŋlär*				gut
34)	2-4-4	*anča biliŋlär ädgü ol*		2-2-1 good	no clear augury (6)	gut
00)	3-1-1		No clear augury (30)			gut
52)	3-1-2	*anča biliŋlär ädgü ol*	good (3)	good very good	4-4-2 (1) good 2-3-2 (5) very good	gut
24)	3-1-3	*anča biliŋlär yabïz ol*				medium
25)	3-1-3	*anča biliŋ yablaq ol*				
38)	3-1-4	*anča biliŋlär ädgü ol*	This mo, being bad, is for a future day (19)			gut

		Old Turkic (irq bitig) TEKIN 1993	Tibetan (mo) THOMAS 1957	(Addendum A) THOMAS 1957	(Addendum B) THOMAS 1957	Sanskrit FRANCKE 1928.115
9)	3-2-1	*anča biliŋlär yablaq ol*				schlimm
58)	3-2-2	*anča biliŋlär ädgü ol*				medium
59)	3-2-3	*anča biliŋlär ädgü ol*				gut
41)	3-2-4	*anča biliŋ ädgü ol*				medium
21)	3-3-1	*anča biliŋ*	very good (18)			gut
65)	3-3-2	*anča biliŋlär yablaq ol*				schlimm
3)	3-3-3	*anča biliŋlär ädgü ol*				gut
43)	3-3-4	*anča biliŋlär yablaq ol*				gut
49)	3-4-1	*anča biliŋ ädgü ol*				gut
61)	3-4-1	*anča biliŋlär yab(l)ïq ol*				
64)	3-4-1	*anča biliŋlär añïg ädgü ol*				
13)	3-4-2	*anča biliŋlär*				gut
12)	3-4-3	*anča biliŋlär yabïz ol*	bad (17)	4-1-4 good	very good (4)	schlimm
48)	3-4-4	*anča biliŋlär*	bad (4)			gut
	3-4-4		not good (16)			
36)	4-1-1	*anča biliŋlär añïg yablaq ol*		4-3-4 very good	very good (3)	medium
55)	4-1-2	*anča biliŋlär añïg ädgü ol*				medium
19)	4-1-3	*anča biliŋ ädgü ol*				gut
42)	4-1-4	*anča biliŋlär ädgü ol*	good (7)	good	3-4-3 (4) very good	gut
	4-1-4			1-2-3 no augury	very bad (2)	
26)	4-2-1	*anča biliŋ ädgü ol*	good (6)			gut
27)	4-2-2	*anča biliŋlär ädgü ol*	good (5)			medium
30)	4-2-3	*anča biliŋlär ädgü ol*				gut

		Old Turkic (irq birig) TEKIN 1993	Tibetan (mo) THOMAS 1957	(Addendum A) THOMAS 1957	(Addendum B) THOMAS 1957	Sanskrit FRANCKE 1928.115
33)	4-2-4	*anča bilinlär yablaq ol*				gut
60)	4-3-1	*anča bilinlär ädgü ol*				gut
29)	4-3-2	*anča bilinlär ädgü ol*				gut
51)	4-3-3	*anča bilinlär*				medium
35)	4-3-4	*anča bilinlär ädgü ol*	extremely good (2)	very good	4-1-1 (3) very good	gut
40)	4-4-1	*anča bilinlär ädgü ol*				schlimm
23)	4-4-2	*anča bilinlär ädgü ol*		3-1-2 good	good (1)	schlimm
11)	4-4-3	*anča bilinlär aïïg ädgü ol*				medium
2)	4-4-4	*anča bilin ädgü ol*				gut

Bibliography and Abbreviations

ABRAMOWSKI, W. 1979. Die chinesischen Annalen des Möngke. Übersetzung des 3. Kapitels des Yüan-shih. *ZAS* XIII: 7–72.

ALEKSEEV, N. A. 1987. *Schamanismus der Türken Süd-Sibiriens.* (Studia Eurasia 1.) Hamburg.

ANDREE, R. 1906. Scapulimantic. *Boas Anniversary Volume, Anthropological Papers Written in Honor of Franz Boas.* New York: 153–165.

AoF
Altorientalische Forschungen

AOH
Acta Orientalia Hungarica

APAW
Abhandlungen der Preusischen Akademie der Wissenschaften

ARLOTTO, A. T. 1970–71. Old Turkic Oracle Books. *Monumenta Serica* 29: 685–696.

BAILEY, H. W. 1935–37. Hvatanica. *BSOS* 8: 923–936.

BANCK, W. 1985. *Das chinesische Tempelorakel.* Teil 2: Übersetzung und Analyse. (Asiatische Forschungen 90.) Wiesbaden.

BANG, W. & A. VON GABAIN 1929. Türkische Turfantexte I. *SPAW*: 241–268.

BAWDEN, C. R. 1955. *The Mongol Chronicle Altan Tobči.* (Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen 5.) Wiesbaden.

— 1958. Astrologie und Divination bei den Mongolen. Die schriftlichen Quellen. *ZDMG* 108: 317–337.

— 1959. On the Practice of Scapulimancy among the Mongols. *CAJ* 4: 1–44.

— 1989. Divination. (Eds) W. Heissig & C. C. Müller, *Die Mongolen.* Innsbruck & Frankfurt/Main: 227–231.

— 2002. Some Mongolian Divinatory Practices. *CAJ* 46: 5–33.

BENVENISTE, E. 1940. *Textes sogdiens.* (Mission Pelliot III.) Paris.

BESE, L. 1972. An Old Mongolian Calender Fragment. *AOH* 25: 149–173.

BIRTALAN, Á. 1993. Scapulimancy and Purifying Ceremony. (Ed.) Ch'en Chieh-hsien, *Proceedings of the 35th Permanent International Altaistic Conference. September 12–17, 1992, Taipei, China.* Taipei: 1–10.

— 2001a. *Die Mythologie der mongolischen Volksreligion.* (Eds) E. Schmalzriedt & H. W. Haussig †. (Wörterbuch der Mythologie I:34.) Stuttgart.

— 2001b. The Tibetan Weather-Magic Ritual of a Mongolian Shaman. *Shaman* 9/2: 119–142.

BSO(A)S
Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies

BTT
Berliner Turfantexte

CAJ
Central Asiatic Journal

CERENSODNOM, D. & M. TAUBE 1993. *Die Mongolica der Berliner Turfansammlung.* (BTT 16.) Berlin.

Chin.

Chinese

CLARK, L. 1997. The Turkic Manichaean Literature. (Eds.) P. Mirecki & J. BeDuhn, *Emerging from Darkness. Studies in the Recovery of Manichaean Sources*. Leiden-New York-Köln: 89–141.

CLAUSON, SIR G. 1961. Notes on the Irq bitig. *UAJb* 33: 218–225.

— 1972. *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish*. Oxford.

DE RACHEWILTZ, I. 1972. *Index to The Secret History of the Mongols*. (Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series 121.) Bloomington.

— 2004. *The Secret History of the Mongols · A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*. (Brill's Inner Asian Library 7/1–2.) Leiden.

DOERFER, G. 1995. Review of: Tekin 1993. *CAJ* 39: 327–328.

ELVERSKOG, J. 1996. *Uygur Buddhist Literature*. (Silk Road Studies 1.) Turnhout.

ERDAL, M. 1978. Irk Bitig üzerine yeni notlar. *Türk Dili Araştıramları Yıllığı Belleten 1977*. Ankara: 87–119.

— 1997. Further Notes on the Irk Bitig. *Turkic Languages* 1: 63–100.

ERKES, E. 1940. Zum altchinesischen Orakelwesen. *T'oung Pao* 35: 346–370.

FALK, H. 1986. *Bruderschaft und Würfelspiel*. Freiburg.

FRANCKE, A. H. 1924. Tibetische Handschriftenreste aus Turfan. *SPAW*: 5–20.

— 1928. Drei weitere Blätter des tibetischen Losbuch von Turfan. *SPAW*: 113–115.

GABAIN, A. VON 1964. Die alttürkische Literatur. *PhTF* II: 211–243. Wiesbaden.

HAENISCH, E. 1962. *Wörterbuch zum Manghol un niuca tobca·an*. Wiesbaden.

HALÉN, H. 1991. Die uigurischen Mannerheim-Fragmente (2). *Studia Orientalia* 67: 161–169.

HAMILTON, J. R. 1975. Le colophon de l'Ïrq Bitig. *Turcica* 7 : 7–19.

— 1978. Sur deux présages de l'Ïrq Bitig. *Quand le Crible était dans la Paille ... Hommages à Pertev Naili Boratav*, présénte par R. Dor et M. Nicolas. Paris: 247–254.

HdO

Handbuch der Orientalistik

Heida

Meng-ta pei-lu und Hei-ta shih-lüeh. Chinesische Gesandtenberichte über die frühen Mongolen 1221 und 1237. (Asiatische Forschungen 56.) Wiesbaden 1980.

HEISSIG, W. 1976. *Die mongolischen Handschriftenreste aus Olon Süme, Innere Mongolei (16.–17. Jh.)*. (Asiatische Forschungen 46.) Wiesbaden.

— (Ed.) 1989. *Das Buch vom Ursprung der Mongolen*. (Diedrichs Gelbe Reihe 60.) München.

HENNING, W. B. 1947. Two Manichaean Magical Texts, with an Excursus on the Parthian Ending *-ēndēh*. *BSOAS* 12: 39–66.

HJAS

Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies

IKEDA, TETSURO 1984. The Irq Bitig, an Ancient Turkic Book on Divination. *The Bulletin of the International Institute for Linguistic Sciences* 6: 81–125.

JAOS
Journal of the American Oriental Society
JRAS
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
Kal.
Kalmuck (according to Ramstedt)
KARA, GY. 1973. Review of: Mostaert 1969. *JAOS* 73: 94–96.
— 1979. Weitere mittelmongolische Bruchstücke aus der Berliner Turfansammlung. *AoF* 6: 181–204.
KÁROLY, L. 2001. On the Old Turkic verb *ïr-* 'to make a notch, or breach' and its Derivates. (Eds) Károly L. & Kincses Nagy É., *Néptörténet — Nyelvtörténet · A 70 éves Róna-Tas András köszöntése*. Szeged: 71–85.
KhalL
Literary Khalkha (according to Lessing)
KLJAŠTORNYJ, S. G. 1992. Epische Sujets in den alttürkischen Runen-Denkmälern. (Ed.) W. Heissig, *Fragen der mongolischen Heldendichtung* V. (Asiatische Forschungen 120.) Wiesbaden: 15–34.
KLJAŠTORNYJ, S. G. & I. VÁSÁRY 1987. A Runic Inscription on a Bull-Skull from the Volga Region. (Ed.) Gy. Kara, *Between Danube and the Caucasus*. Budapest: 171–179.
LAUFER, B. 1914. Bird Divination among the Tibetans. *T'oung Pao* 15: 1–110.
LE COQ, A. VON 1909. Ein christliches und ein manichäisches Manuskriptfragment in türkischer Sprache. *SPAW*: 1202–1218.
LESSING, F. D. 1995. *Mongolian-English Dictionary*. Bloomington.
LIGETI L. 1972. *Monuments préclassiques* I, XIIIe et XIVe siècles. (Monumenta Linguae Mongolicae Collecta II.) Budapest.
LÜDERS, H. 1933. Zur Geschichte des ostasiatischen Tierkreises. *SPAW*: 998–1022.
— 1940. Das Würfelspiel in Alten Indien. *Philologica Indica. Ausgewählte kleine Schriften von Heinrich Lüders*. Göttingen: 106–175.
MACKENZIE, D. N. 1971. *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*. London.
MALOV, S. E. 1951. *Pamjatniki drevnetjurkskoj pis'mennosti*. Moskva/Leningrad.
MATHEWS, R. H. 1947. *Chinese-English Dictionary*. Cambridge, Mass.
MChinL
Late Middle Chinese
MChinY
Early Mandarin of the Yuan Period
Mengda
Meng-ta pei-lu und Hei-ta shih-lüeh. Chinesische Gesandtenberichte über die frühen Mongolen 1221 und 1237. (Asiatische Forschungen 56.) Wiesbaden 1980.
Mo.
Mongol(ian)
MoL
Classical Mongolian (according to Lessing)

MOLNÁR, Á. 1992. *On an Enigmatic Passage of an Old Turkic Book of Divination.* (Paper presented at the 35th P.I.A.C.).

— 1994. *Weather-Magic in Inner Asia* · With an Appendix: Alttürkische Fragmente über den Regenstein by P. Zieme. (Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series 158.) Indiana.

— 1996. Traces of Shamanism in the İrq Bitig "Book of Divination". Uluslararası Türk Dili Kongresi 1992 (26 Eylül 1992 – 1 Ekim 1992*). Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu. Türk Dil Kurumlu Yayınları* 632. Ankara: 367–371.

MOSTAERT, A. 1941–42. *Dictionnaire Ordos.* Peking.

— 1969. *Manual of Mongolian Astrology and Divination.* (Scripta Mongolica Harvard-Yenching Institute 4.) Cambridge, Mass.

MUHAMMAD, G. 1905. Festivals and Folklore of Gilgit. *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* I/7: 93–127.

OELSCHLÄGEL, A. 2005. Deutung und Wahrheit · Zwei Divinationspraktiken bei den Tyva im Süden Sibiriens. (Eds.) A. Oelschlägel, I. Nentwig & J. Taube, *„Roter Altai, gib ein Echo! " · Festschrift für Erika Taube zum 65. Geburtstag.* Leipzig: 377–400.

Ord.

Ordos (according to Mostaert)

ORKUN, N. E. 1938. *Eski Türk Yazıtları.* Istanbul.

ÖLMEZ, M. 2007. *Tuwinischer Wortschatz mit alttürkischen und mongolischen Parallelen · Tuvacanın Sözvarlığı Eski Türkçe ve Moğolca Denkleriyle.* (Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica 72.) Wiesbaden.

PALLAS, P. S. 1801. *Sam(m)lungen historischer Nachrichten über die mongolischen Völker* II. St. Petersburg.

PhTF

Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta

PULLEYBLANK, E. G. 1991. *Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin.* Vancouver.

RADLOFF, W. 1928. *Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler.* Materialen, nach dem Tode des Verfassers mit Ergänzungen von S. Malov herausgegeben. Leningrad.

RAHMATI, G. R. 1936. *Türkische Turfantexte* VII. (APAW, Jahrgang 1936, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Nr. 12.) Berlin.

RAMSTEDT, G. J. 1935. *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch.* (Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae 3.) Helsinki.

RECK, C. & W. SUNDERMANN 1997 [1998]. Ein illustrierter mittelpersischer manichäischer Omen-Text aus Turfan. *ZAS* 27: 7–23.

RISCH, F. 1934. *Wilhelm von Rubruck: Reise zu den Mongolen 1253–1255.* Übersetzung von Dr. F. Risch. Leipzig.

RÓNA-TAS A. 1956. Tally-Stick and Divination-Dice in the Iconography of Lha-mo. *AOH* 6: 163–179.

— 1972. Dream, Magic Power and Divination in the Altaic World. *AOH* 25: 227–236.

— 2004. Some Notes on Old Turkic *irq. Turkic Languages* 8: 53–61.

ROUX, J.-P. 1999. Die alttürkische Mythologie. (Eds) E. Schmalzriedt & H. W. Haussig, *Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, 1. Abteilung „Die alten Kulturvölker". Stuttgart: 175–277.

SÁRKÖZI, A. 1971. A Pre-Classical Mongolian Prophetic Book. *AOH* 24: 41–49.

SERRUYS, H. 1984. The Cult of Činggis-Qan: A Mongol Manuscript from Ordos. *ZAS* 17: 29–62.

SIMS-WILLIAMS, N. 1976. The Sogdian Fragments of the British Library. *Indo-Iranian Journal* 18: 43–82.

— 1995. Christian Sogdian Texts from the Nachlass of Olaf Hansen. II: Fragments of Polemic and Prognostics. *BSOAS* 58: 288–302.

— 1996. From Babylon to China: Astrological and Epistolary Formulae across Two Millennia. *La Persia e l'Asia Centrale · Da Alessandro al X secolo.* (Atti dei Convegni Lincei 127.) Roma: 77–84.

SKJÆRVØ, P. O. 2002. *Saka Documents Text Volume* IV: Khotanese Documents from Chinese Turkestan in the British Library. A Complete Catalogue with Texts and Translations. (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum II:V:texts IV.) London.

SOLONGGOD, L. H. 1999. Die Divination mit der Schafsleber bei den Ordos-Mongolen. (Ed.) K. Sagaster, *Antoine Mostaert (1881–1971) C.I.C.M. Missionary and Scholar.* (Louvain Chinese Studies IV.) Leuven: 135–144.

SPAW

Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften

STEIN, R. 1939. Trente-trois fiches de divination tibétaines. *HJAS* 4: 297–373.

TAKEUCHI T. 1995. *Old Tibetan Contracts from Central Asia.* Tokyo.

TAUBE, M. 1980. *Die Tibetica der Berliner Turfansammlung.* (BTT X.) Berlin.

TEKIN, T. 1993. *Irk Bitig · The Book of Omens.* (Turcologica 18.) Wiesbaden.

TEZCAN, S. 1974. Das uigurische Insadi-Sūtra. (BTT III.) Berlin.

THOMAS, F. W. 1957. *Ancient Folk-Literature from North-Eastern Tibet.* (Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 1952:3.) Berlin.

THOMSEN, V. 1912. Dr. M. A. Stein's Manuscripts in Turkish "Runic" Script from Miran and Tun-huang. *JRAS*: 181–227.

TUMURTOGOO, D. 2006. *Mongolian Documents in Uighur-Mongolian Script (XIII–XVI Centuries) · Introduction, Transcription and Bibliography.* (Language and Linguistics Monography Series A-11.) Taipei, Taiwan.

UAJb

Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher

Uig.

Uigur

URAY G. 1983. Tibet's Connections with Nestorianism and Manicheism in the 8th and 9th Centuries. (Eds) E. Steinkellner & H. Tauscher, *Contributions on Tibetan Language, History and Culture. Proceedings of the Csoma de Kőrös Symposium Held at Velm-Vienna, Austria, 13.–19. September 1981*, vol. 1. (Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde 10.) Wien: 399–429, Tafeln XVII–XVIII.

— 1987. Zu den Spuren des Nestorianismus und des Manichäismus im alten Tibet (8.–10. Jahrhundert). (Eds) W. Heissig & H.-J. Klimkeit, *Synkretismus in den Religionen Zentralasiens*. (Studies in Oriental Religions 13.) Wiesbaden: 197–206.

VEWT

RÄSÄNEN, M. 1969. *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türksprachen*. (Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae XVII: 1.) Helsinki.

VIETZE, H.-P. & GENDENG LUBSANG 1992. *Altan tobči*. Eine mongolische Chronik des XVII. Jahrhunderts von Blo bzaṅ bstan 'jin. Text und Index. (Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.) Tokio 1992.

WEBER, D. 2003. Regen und Wind: Probleme um den sogdischen Text Regenzaubertext P_3. (Eds) S. Bretfeld & J. Wilkens, *Indien und Zentralasien Sprach- und Kulturkontakt. Vorträge des Göttinger Symposiums vom 7. bis 10. Mai 2001*. (Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica 61.) Wiesbaden: 259–276.

ZAS

Zentralasiatische Studien

ZDMG

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

ZIEME, P. 1985. *Buddhistische Stabreimdichtung der Uiguren*. (BTT 13.) Berlin.

— 1992. *Religion und Gesellschaft im uigurischen Königsreich von Qočo Kolophone und Stifter des alttürkischen buddhistischen Schrifttums aus Zentralasien*. (Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 88.) Opladen.

— 2001. Runik harfli kirkaç pasaj kimi yorum önerileri. *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı – Belleten 2000*: 377–382.

— 2005. *Magische Texte des uigurischen Buddhismus*. (BTT 23.) Turnhout.