Migration and nation-building in central and western Asia: Turkic peoples and their neighbours (II)
Foreword

Political turmoil. Social unrest. Economic challenges. Mass migration. The secular versus the religious. Search for identity. The politics of language. Global unity versus ethnic separatism. Warfare. Refugees. – Testimony of a restless age. But these flashlights of political instability are not terms taken out of today’s newspaper. They are terms which feature prominently in the articles which make up this volume of the Central Asiatic Journal, devoted to the nation-building efforts of Central Asian populations. The present volume therefore forms the sequel to volume 59, and a brief look at the contents will reveal the degree of continuity. The contributions span historical developments from Graeco-Han antiquity to the Russian and Kemalite revolutions, and from Bohai to the Bosporus. Once again I would like to thank our readers and contributors for their patience and assistance. Importantly, our gratitude also goes out to Dr Petra Himstedt-Vaid, who kept the publication on track in the most difficult terrain.

The first part is devoted to historical linguistics, with Erdem Uçar and Erhan Aydın, in their respective contributions, setting the tone for the present volume, which is focused on the western parts of Central Asia. Orçun Ünal ventures into the past by exploring comments left by Herodotus on the ‘Argippaei’, as potential ancestors to the Mongolians. More radical theory is on offer in Gao Jingyi’s exploration of the shared etymological origins of the Xia and Ket languages, whereas Joo-Yup Lee examines the transformation of the term qazaqlïq from a marker of aristocratic leadership to a modern ethnonym. The following two articles, by Li Yong-Sŏng, as well as by Marcel Erdal & Chen Hao, deal with the Rosetta-esque Tuñuquq/Toñukuk inscription, which allowed us to decipher, and increasingly understand, old Turkic and its runiform script. Serife Özer takes our understanding of Turkish into the twentieth century by investigating the ideologically enforced substitution of vocabulary in post-Ottoman Turkish. Choi Hyong-won and Kam Tak-sing complete the linguistic bloc by analysing the formation of Mongolian as a discrete language, firstly by investigating early Buddhist translation efforts (Pañcatantra) and then by examining the ethnonym ‘Mongol’ itself.

Wu Pei-Lin leads the way from language to history in presenting the first recorded evidence of Aesop’s fables in China, a story which takes us from the Hellenic world via Manichaean Iran and Mongolia into Tang China. The diplomatic efforts of the Bohai state during the same period are in the centre of Alexander Kim’s attention, shedding light on the internal divisions of Bohai society and its leadership in the early eighth century. Michael Knüppel subsequently attempts to reconstruct the genealogy of the Kerait, a pre-Borjigin aristocratic clan from Ulaanbaatar, while Kürşat Yıldırım amplifies the significance of genealogical research for the purpose of investigating the history of the early Turkic-Mongolian peoples.
Pursuing the genealogical route, Michael Hope investigates the usage of the term ‘īlkhān’, in order to illustrate how a term denoting aristocratic descent gave its name to a historic empire. The last two contributions, namely the article by Gulchekhra Sultanova on Bukharan relations with the Zunghars prior to their absorption into the Russian and Chinese empires and Guzel Normurodova’s exposé on social change in Bukhara during the late Tsarist empire, chronologically complete our survey of central and western Asian history.

In the subsequent reviews section, the emphasis is also on the history of western Central Asia, which is particularly visible in the reviews by Kiril Solonin (I. Galambos on Tangut Texts from Khara-Khoto), Dilnoza Duturaeva (Kh. Nazirova’s edition of the Zubdat al-Tawārīkh), as well as George Lane (A. Akasoy on Rashīd al-Dīn). “Central Asia” in Chinese empires feature in two reviews, namely those by Timothy Barrett (C. Wenzel’s & Sun Hua’s photographic tour de force of the “stone sutras” of Wofoyuan) and Hartmut Walravens, in his note on the digitisation of Manchu documents. Linguistics is the theme of the reviews by Wolfgang Scharlipp (Ankara Papers in Turkish and Turkic Linguistics) and Michael Knüppel (on Hegedűs’s comprehensive list of Nostratic Studies – to remind ourselves that the world is larger than Central Asia).

Having thus dwelt on the interdependence of Turkic and Mongolian peoples throughout CAJ 59 and 60, the volume currently in preparation is set to focus on the material and archaeological legacy of the same macro-region. As always, we are looking forward to introducing our readers to new discoveries from the Eurasian expanses in the next volume of the Central Asiatic Journal.

L.P. Laamann, June 2017
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Abstracts 摘要

Erhan AYDIN

A Shamanistic Exclamation in the Yenisei Inscriptions: Çök!

The shamanistic exclamation read as çök, possibly transliterated as çẅk, was in all likelihood an exclamation during sacrificial rites. Inscribed into objects discovered in today’s Tuva and Khakassia regions, a significant number of these Yenisei inscriptions have been analysed to date, which provides the basis for a tentative interpretation in the present article. Here, the focus will be on a word which is mentioned in three Yenisei inscriptions and which has been interpreted in very different ways: çök. Repeated regularly during shamanistic rituals, it assumes the significance of the Abrahamic ‘Amen!’. In order to confirm this assumption, its use in the contemporary Turkic rituals in southern Siberia will also be analysed.

關於葉呢塞文獻中薩滿教吶喊「Çök！」一詞

薩滿教中吶喊讀作「çök」，有時亦被譯作「çẅk」，在犧牲祭祀意識中被廣泛使用。本文主要討論近期俄羅斯聯邦圖瓦共和國及哈斯卡共和國中發現的，將文本刻入物體內部的碑文或銘文。學界基於與本文材料類似的葉尼賽民族語碑文的分析文章已有數篇，為本文提供了分析與闡釋的基礎。本文重點討論的çök一詞，在三種不同的額葉尼賽碑文中都曾出現，但學界對其的闡釋有很大不同。此詞多次且規律的出現於薩滿教儀式之中，被假設與亞布拉罕裔宗教中的‘阿門’具有同樣的重要性。為了證明此假設，本文亦將與其同時代的南西伯利亞地區的突厥儀式進行對比研究。

Marcel ERDAL and CHEN Hao 陳浩

The Khocho Toñukuk Tradition in Runiform, Uyghur and Chinese Sources

The purpose of this article will be to analyse proto-Turkic inscriptions resembling Nordic runes in terms of their contents and linguistic matters of interest. In this context, the extant inscriptions will be compared with the first systematic studies by Friedrich Wilhelm Radloff (Васи́лий Васи́льевич Рáдлов) in 1910, while giving due significance to the fragmentary nature of the surviving inscriptions. While the lacunae in the majority of this material are too great to create sensible translations, an attempt will be made to approximate a collective interpretation. The documents demonstrate the collective memory of Toñukuk within Manichaean Uyghur society in the first half of the Chinese Tang period (7th–8th centuries); at least amongst the prominent Uyghur families. During the process of integration into Chinese society,
the need was felt to commemorate the grandeur of the past – a sentiment to which these fragments pay tribute.

Hyong-won Choi

Zu sprachlichen Eigentümlichkeiten des mongolischen Pañcatantra / Linguistic peculiarities of the Mongolian Pañcatantra

The present article aims to scrutinise the phonological evidence in the Pañcatantra, which would eventually lead to Khalkha Mongolian. Based on the edition prepared by Vladimirčov’s edition of 1921 (Б.Я. Владимирцов, Монгольский сборник рассказов из Панчатантра), parallels and divergences between this version and the Mongolian Pañcatantras in the Geserica and Altan Tobči will be endeavoured, in particular in view of finding links with popular (Khalkha) Mongolian. A certain influence of Ordosic and Kalmyck characteristics is undeniable. The Pañcatantra itself is an ancient Indian collection of fables, stories and sayings, which is composed of five books (hence the name).

Xia and Ket Identified by Sinitic and Yeniseian Shared Etymologies

The present article aims to identify shared etymologies between the Chinese language family (Sinitic) and Yeniseian languages, in analogy to the search for a Hunnic continuity, connecting the historical Xiongnu, the Huns (including the Hunnic substratum of Hungarian) and the attested Yeniseian languages. Just as Hunnic etyma entered the Uralic, Turkic and Mongolic languages, there must also be Sinitic...
and Yeniseian shared etymologies, since the Xiongnu, another Hunnic people, played a vital role in the composition of the Chinese Xia 夏 empire. Using etymological methods, the present study has identified twelve Sinitic and Yeniseian shared etymologies that belong to the basic vocabulary.

Michael Hope

Some Remarks about the Use of the Term ‘īlkhān’ in the Historical Sources and Modern Historiography

Over the past decade, a number of studies conducted into Mongol rule in the Middle East (1232–1335) have raised the question of why we continue to employ the term ‘īlkhān’ to refer to the Hülegüid dynasty. The question of nomenclature is integral to our understanding of this period of Middle Eastern history, as scholars debate whether the title was used to indicate the subordination of the Mongols in Iran to the qa’an in the East, or whether it was one of many honorifics applied to the dynasty to distinguish them from their cousins in other parts of the Mongol empire. This article contends that the title ‘īlkhān’ was employed to denote all Mongol princes descended from Chinggis Khan. This study will investigate the application and possible definition of the term ‘īlkhān’ in the written sources of the period to elucidate the word’s meaning and usage.

Kam Tak-sing 甘德星

The Term Mongγol Revisited

The principal aim of this article is to scrutinise the tribal name Mongγol, the analysis of which has been controversial. Although references to the ethnonym can be traced
back to the Tang period (618–907), it is only recorded in Uighur script in a thirteenth-century seal, while the *Mongγol-un ni’uča tobča’an* (*Secret History of the Mongols*) features the Chinese transliteration忙豁勒 (<Mongγol). The post-Tang variants蒙兀 (*muŋ ŋuət*), even蒙瓦 (*meng wa*) show a certain degree of linguistic fluidity, as the article will demonstrate.

再談「蒙古」一詞的來源
本文分析「蒙古」(*mongγol*)一部落名的來源這一有爭議問題。雖然同義詞在唐代時已存在，但直到十三世紀才被回鶻文印文所記載，與【蒙古秘史】提到中文譯名「忙豁勒」相呼應。而自唐代以來也有『蒙兀』以及『蒙瓦』等別名中體現的語言流變性亦將被本文探討。

**Alexander Alexeevich Kim**

**The Political Crisis in the Bohai State (720–732)**

By means of historical source materials, in particular the *Samguksagi* (History of the Three Kingdoms), the present article tries to establish a historical analysis of the situation in the Bohai state after 700 CE. It will be argued that the political crisis in early eighth-century Bohai had a profound influence on state and society in Bohai. The Bohai state prior to 732 occupied a complex position within eastern Asia. The Turkic khaganate and Tang China had antagonistic relations, each side in search of allies. While China relied on the Mohe and Shiwei for military and diplomatic support, the Turks allied themselves with Khitan tribes. Bohai entertained formal vassal relations to both states, yet maintained an independent foreign policy. This article will focus on the internal contradictions and struggles besetting the Bohai aristocracy, as they tried to influence both neighbours – a balancing act which lasted until war erupted with Tang China.

渤海國的政治危機（唐玄宗開元年間）
本文以【三國史記】等歷史文獻為主分析八世紀之後渤海國的政局。作者認為八世紀早期渤海國內的政治危機對於整個國家的政治及社會都有深遠影響。渤海國在732年身陷複雜的東亞國際格局之中，唐朝與突厥雙雄並立，都在尋找外援。中國依靠靺鞨與室韋部落的軍事及外交能力，而突厥則與契丹聯盟。渤海則同時臣屬與兩大強權，並嘗試去保持較為獨立的外交政策。本文集中討論渤海貴族階層中的內部矛盾及鬥爭，而這些內部問題都與其試圖同時影響唐朝及突厥雙方，並最終招來唐朝戰爭的平衡外交政策有關。
Michael KnüpPell

Versuch einer Genealogie des Herrscherhauses der Kerait / A Draft Genealogy for the Rulers of Kerait

The present article is an attempt at creating a genealogy for the ruling dynasty in Kerait (aka Kerāyit, Kereit), who settled down between the 11th and the 13th centuries in the vicinity of Ulaan Baator. Their rulers would eventually, through nuptial politics, attain key positions in the Chinggisid Ilkhanate. Intriguingly, the Kerait professed Christianity, at a time when the Buddhist tradition in Central Asia was developing alongside Islam.

LEE Joo-Yup

The Political Vagabondage of the Chinggisid and Timurid Contenders to the Throne and Others in Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Qipchaq Steppe: A Comprehensive Study of Qazaqlīq, or the Qazaq Way of Life

The topic under scrutiny for this article is the qazaqlīq phenomenon in Central Asian nomadic societies. While a number of Turkologists and historians have provided definitions of the terms qazaq and qazaqlīq, this paper will attempt to reconstruct the usage of the term by making use of diverse primary sources of post-Mongol period. Temür (Tamerlane), Muḥammad Shībānī Khan, and Ẓahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Babur, who founded the Timurid empire, Uzbek khanate, and Mughal empire, respectively, all experienced periods of political vagabondage in their careers before coming to power. For the sake of political expedience, they had to separate themselves from their own states, and wander with their followers through remote regions, not unlike wayfaring knights. As charismatic leaders, and having gathered a loyal band of warriors, they were frequently able to rise to power. These prominent political figures belonging to the Chinggisid and Timurid lineages, inter alia, are referred to as qazaqs, and their political vagabondage as qazaqlīq – the “qazaq way of life”.

成吉思汗大帝國後的哈薩克生活方式

本文以中亞遊牧社會中的『哈薩克』生活方式為題，使用蒙古大帝國以後的不同文獻探討一種突厥學以及歷史學的定義。帖木兒（察合台汗國）、穆罕默德・昔班尼汗（布哈拉汗國）以及查希爾丁・穆罕默德・巴布爾（莫臥兒帝國）成為大領導前都經過一種以發現自己的生存技能和領導潛力為目的的流浪生活。這些英雄依靠自己的魅力漸漸集合忠誠的勇士，並常常能夠崛起至權力巔峯。
Li Yong-Sŏng 李容成 이용성

On ṭuŋuquq in the 32th Line of the Tuñuquq Inscription

This article is a study based on a small aspect of the Tuñuquq inscription, written in Orkhon Turkic – the oldest Turkic dialect where any documents are extant. Usually incised into stone or metal, but at times also written on paper with a calamus, this type of Turkic script is often referred to as “runiform” since vaguely reminiscent of Nordic runes. Located in the basin of Mongolia’s Orkhon River, thus conveniently called ‘the Orkhon inscriptions’, it was the discovery of the monumental stone steles of Bain Tsokto, along the upper course of the Tola River, which caught the attention of the academic community. The first and bigger stone contains an inscription of 35 lines, dedicated to Tuñuquq, a significant official in the service of the first two kagans of the second East Turkic empire, in particular relating to the military campaigns which he contributed to.

Guzal NORMURODOVA

The Bukhara Emirate in the 19th and early 20th Centuries: Traditional Society and Incipient Transformation

The subject of the following study is the social structure of the Bukhara emirate at the beginning of the 20th century, a period of intense socio-economic and cultural change. Political unification measures aiming at the integration of the non-Russian dominions into the Tsarist empire coincided with the globalising effect of financial and industrial development, not least caused by the connection of Bukhara to the Tsarist railway system. Historical research into the social stratification of the emirate has an important significance, not only because the Bukhara emirate had a special place among the Uzbek khanates, but also since it exemplifies the development of Central Asia at this time.
Abstracts XV

世紀之交的布哈拉埃米爾酋長國：傳統社會與轉型發展

本文分析布哈拉埃米爾酋長國在十九世紀末、二十世紀初風起雲湧的社會變革。這一變革基於沙皇俄國統一非俄羅斯傳統疆域的政令的措施恰巧與全球化帶來的工業級金融發展的交互作用，而不僅僅是當地鐵路系統與沙俄政體鐵路系統的整合。對這一問題的研究有著重大的意義，不僅因為布哈拉埃米爾酋長國在烏茲別克汗國之中的特殊地位，同時也因爲這一問題能夠反映中亞地區在這一時期的發展情況。

Şerife ÖZER

Neologistische Wortbildung des Türkis-only Türkischen im Urteil der traditionellen Sprachwissenschaft / Turkish Neologisms in Kemalist Turkey through the Prism of Traditional Linguistics

Over the centuries, the Turkish language had been absorbing vocabulary of foreign origin, mostly from the Arabic and Persian. The official start of its ‘purification’ began in 1932, with the establishment of the Türk Dili Tetkik Cemiyeti (“Turkish Language Association”). While Kemalist Turkey was concerned with the purity of Anatolian Turkish, the grammatical rules and structures of Turkish were left intact. Linguistic purification had to occur at any cost, with the effect that neologisms for Ottoman words were often chosen rather arbitrarily. In order to ‘extend’ the ‘purely Turkish vocabulary’, different means were conceived. One route led to the resuscitation of obsolete Turkish words; another aimed at the introduction of neologisms. For their derivation, suffixes were introduced which were declared deverbal as well as denominal. This created a high degree of flexibility in the creation of neologisms, whereas it constituted a severe violation of traditional grammatical integrity. A genuine Turkish suffix can either attach to a nominal or a verbal base, never both. The intended rejuvenation of the Turkish language thus gave way to frequent misunderstandings, unscientific methods and radical changes of the Turkish language, which led linguists to oppose this policy.

語言學家評論二十世紀初土耳其所進行的語言改革

自古以來，土耳其語一直吸收外語的詞彙，主要來自阿拉伯語或波斯語。自 Türk Dili Tetkik Cemiyeti (土耳其語協會) 於 1932 年創立伊始，土耳其着手開展‘淨化’運動。為了不惜代價的語言淨化運動，很多新式詞彙被隨意的創造出來以取代奧斯曼時期的舊詞。為了拓展這些‘純土耳其詞彙’，設想了不同的手段。一條路線導致對過時的土耳其語的複蘇；另一個找引入新詞。關於推導，引入後綴，其被聲明為非名詞又非動詞。雖然創造新詞較強的靈活性，而也嚴重違反傳統語法完整性。真正的土耳其語後綴可以附加到名詞或語言基基礎，兩者同時進行不可。隨便變成土耳其語的語法規則造成頻繁的誤解，不尊敬科學方法進行那麼嚴格的語言改化導致語言學家的大怒。
Abstracts

Gulchekhra SULTONOVA

Bukharan Relations with the Zunghar Khanate in the Early Modern Era: New Sources and New Insights

This paper analyses letters drawn from two collections of Bukhara’s diplomatic correspondence with the Zunghar khanate, namely the Majmūaʾ-ī munshaʿāt va munshirāt and Maktūbāt, munshaʿāt, munshirāt. Both form part of so-called Inshāʾ collections and are still waiting to be fully analysed. This article posits that this early modern correspondence represents an overlooked and yet crucially relevant source for the history of diplomatic relations within Central Asia. More concretely, these letters can provide insight into the actual interrelations between Bukhara and Zungharia in the pre-colonial period, and the main factors leading to their incorporation into the Russian and Chinese empires, respectively. More concretely, the documents illustrate the diplomatic attempts by the Bukhara khanate to drastically improve its situation by engaging directly with its mightiest neighbours, the Zunghars.

Erdem UÇAR

Notizen zur Etymologie des alttürkischen özäl- ‘sich quälen’ / Etymological Notes concerning Old Turkic özäl- “being tormented”

As far as Old Turkic words are concerned, new studies shedding light on their pronunciation and interpretation appear in regular tact. Since Old Turkic made use of different scripts, some words can be read differently depending on the writing system. In order to arrive at a definitive pronunciation, a detailed analysis of the extant historical and comparative studies of the term in question is necessary. In texts belonging to Old Turkic which are written in Arabic, the verb özäl- can appear in different orthographic forms. To date, there has been no unison about the precise reading and meaning of this word, nor is there clarity concerning its word stem.

古土耳其語 özäl 『被折磨』之詞源

就古突厥語言而言，新的研究揭示了他們的發音和口譯的正常技巧。由於古土耳其語有不同的字母體系，有的詞在不同的字母體系下發音也有不同。為了得到準確的發音，一定要分析所有關於本詞的語言歷史和比較語言學的學術成果。
Orçun Ünal

On the Language of the Argippaei: An Ancient Predecessor of Mongolic?

The aim of the present study is to show that the language of the Argippaei, first mentioned by Herodotus, is related to the Mongolic and Para-Mongolic languages. This conviction is based on four words given by Herodotus, which are ἄσχυ, ποντικόν, Ἀργιππαῖοι and Ἀρισαποί / Ἀρισάσπεα. Ἄσχυ, which is the name of a drink in the Argippaean language, is a cognate of the Mongolic *esüg, which is similarly used to signify sour beverages and koumiss. Ποντικός, which is the name of the tree the fruits of which were used to produce ἄσχυ, is related to the Mongolic monasun ‘bird cherry’. This article will link the above terms with Old Uyghur, Xianbei and Pre-Proto-Mongolic, in order to reconstruct elements of the language of the Argippaei.

Wu Pei-lin

Aesop’s Fables in Ancient China

At the beginning of the twentieth century, many expeditions were carried out in the Tarim Basin located in the northwestern part of China (East Turkestan). The remnants of the manuscripts of Aesop’s fables were found by Albert von Le Coq in the second German expedition in Gaochang (or Chotscho) in the Turfan area during 1904 to 1905. According to archaeologists’ research, they can be dated back to the period between the eighth and twelfth centuries and can be subdivided into Iranian and Old Turkish sources. One of the Iranian fables, “The Father and His Sons” told by Mani, the founder of Manichaeism, is especially noteworthy. A similar story was recorded in the mid-sixth century Wei shu (“Book of Wei”) and was subsequently adopted by the Mongolians in the Menggu mi shi (“The Secret History of the Mongols”). By exploring the historical background of the transmission of this fable and looking into the Chinese historical records of Manichaeism, this paper aims to prove that not only this Aesopian fable entered China around the mid-sixth century in the form of history, but that other fables might have spread during the eighth century, when Manicheans were active in the Tang empire. This means that Aesop’s fables
circulated in China some one thousand years earlier than when Matteo Ricci first integrated Aesop into his sermons.

古代中國的《伊索寓言》

二十世紀初期，很多遠征隊來到位於中國西北方，塔里木盆地上的東土耳其斯坦進行探勘。於1904到1905年間，德國第二支遠征隊的勒科克在吐魯番地區的高昌發現《伊索寓言》手抄稿的殘片。根據考古學家們的研究，這些殘片約為八到十二世紀之間寫成，其內容可細分為伊朗和古土耳其來源。在伊朗來源的手抄稿中有一段摩尼教主所說的〈父親與爭吵的兒子們〉的寓言特別值得注意。類似的故事被記錄在中國六世紀中期寫成的史書《魏書》裡，後來在十三世紀時又被蒙古人引用到《蒙古秘史》中。藉由探索此寓言傳播的歷史背景，以及中國歷史上摩尼教的相關記載，這份研究報告致力於證明不單是這個伊索寓言在六世紀中期以歷史的形式傳入中國，八世紀中期以後，摩尼教在中國鼎盛時，在唐代疆域裡活躍的摩尼教徒也可能傳播了其他的寓言給大眾。如此一來，伊索寓言傳入中國的確切時間，比起耶穌會教士利瑪竇在中國傳教時首次將寓言融合到他的傳道故事裡，早了將近一千零年。

Kürşat YILDIRIM

The Twelve Families of the Töles

The Töles, as one of the originators of the Turkic peoples, are alternately referred to in early Chinese sources as Töloš, Tiele 鐵勒, ‘Red Di’ 赤狄, Dili 狄歷, Chile 敕勒, Gaoche 高車 and Dingling 丁零. All refer to the same people, the Gaoche rising to prominence during the fourth and fifth centuries CE. For a multifaceted investigation into the history of the Töles, this article proposes to examine this ethnic group in terms of family networks. Families constitute the smallest unit of social history and ethnology. By analysing the textual evidence of Töles families and their names in the extant sources, we can trace their changing roles within the ethnic and political processes of their time. Our analysis suggests that most of the Töles families have Xianbei and Ruanruan roots. Another outcome is that many Töles family members attained high positions in different states in China, eventually forming tribes, and thus shedding light on Turkic history in general.

鐵勒十二家族

鐵勒，古代突厥民族源流之一，最早文獻上有赤狄、狄歷、敕勒、高車以及丁零之別名。其中高車一名與四五世紀聲名大噪。為了多方面的瞭解研究鐵勒歷史，本文將探討這一組羣的家庭網絡。家庭是鐵勒社會中最小的單位，透過對現存有關鐵勒家族的文本材料的分析，我們可以追溯這些家族在政治和族羣地位上的變化。此研究顯示，大部分鐵勒家族具有鮮卑會柔然族源，另外很多鐵勒家族成員在不同的中原國家出任重要官吏，甚至組織新的部落，並藉此基本上離開了突厥的歷史敘事。