Le terrain de jeu

zachyn šagaj	*covchi šagaj*	*chušga*	*covchi šagaj*	*zachyn šagaj*
x	x	o	x	x

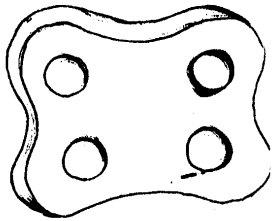
1 toise (*ald*)

80—100 pas

o

öšigtüür

zach



On retrouve donc jusqu'à ce jour parmi les Mongols un jeu joué sur la glace avec des astragales en cuivre ou en os, qui ressemble sans doute à celui que *Temüǰin* et *J̌amuqa* jouèrent sur la glace de fleuve Onon. Ce jeu n'est pas une forme isolée des jeux à l'astragale, puisqu'il existe tout un groupe de jeux dans lesquels les joueurs doivent lancer des projectiles dans un but et où le projectile et le but sont également constitués d'astragales en métal ou en os et en métal. Ces jeux qui primitivement servaient d'exercice d'entrainement militaire aux hommes de la société tribale n'ont rien perdu de leur popularité au sein de la société mongole actuelle.

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DREAM, MAGIC POWER AND DIVINATION IN THE ALTAIC WORLD

BY

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In the Old Uigur texts we find an interesting word, the reading and meaning of which seemed to cause some problems for those scholars who have dealt with it.

Radlov quotes a word *tülük* with the meaning «die Macht, das Vermögen, die günstige Gelegenheit».[1] This word is cited from the dictionary of Redhouse where[2] it figures among the meanings of Osmanli *tülük* «a hen-coop; a bird's perch; a bird's moulting season and condition; a young bird that has reached his first moult», from which it has to be separated. The word is written in Arabic as *tülk* and the second vowel is uncertain. In her *Alttürkische Grammatik*[3] A. von Gabain lists the word as *tölüg* ?*ö*, ?*k* «Kraft». In the *Türkische Turfan Texte* X[4] she quotes the word as *tölük* (-*ü*-, -*g*?) «Kraft». Malov gives in his book *Pamjatniki*[5] *tölük* with a question mark and renders the meaning as «mečta, ekstaz, sozercanie». As we shall see below F. W. K. Müller read always *tölük* «Stärke, Kraft». The recently published *Drevnetjurkskij slovarj*[6] has on p. 579 *tölük* with the meaning «sila, mošč, iz-za, po pričine», but p. 413, last line reads *tölüg*. In his *Eski Uygur Türkçesi Sözlüğü*[7] Caferoğlu gives *tölük* «dalma, heyecan, süzme, bakma, seyretme huşû: Suv 615, 6. kuvvet, güç: Uig I 43,12».

The problem will be more clear if we consult the texts in which the word occurs. We find our word in a passage of an Old Uigur text published by F. W. K. Müller in *Uigurica* I and republished in *Uigurica* IV (p. 10: 45—49):[8]

[1] *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialekte*, 1905, III, 1568.

[2] *A Turkish and English Lexicon*, 1890, p. 613 «Power, reach, opportunity».

[3] 1950, p. 343.

[4] 1959, p. 51, on p. 26 she reads *tölük*.

[5] *Pamjatniki drevnetjurkskoj pisjmennosti*, 1951, p. 433: *tölük* (*tülük*). Malov gives two possible etymologies: Kirgiz *tilek* from *tile-* «to ask, to wish» (?) which is phonetically impossible and Chuvash *telek* (read *tĕlĕk*) «dream» *tüš*, *tül* «id.». As we shall see below this turned out to be the good solution.

[6] The *Drevnetjurkskij slovarj* quotes UigII27: 24 with «strength: power» and UigII 25: 25 with «therefore, because of». The texts see below.

[7] 1968, p. 249.

[8] *APAW* 1908, p. 43, *SPAW* 1931, p. 10.

anta ötrü Č(a)stani-i ilig bäg bar kučin öntürüp[9] *tülükin*[10] *sikriyü barïp Urumuki atl(ï)γ yäk-niη töpüsintäki sačin tutup* «Immediately afterwards Chaştana the king making his strength to grow, springing by (the force of) his *tülük*, went and the demon with the name Urumukha, he grasped the hair on its head». F. W. K. Müller translated *tülükin sikriyü* as «machtvoller Sprung».

In *Uigurica* II[11] (p. 25: 24—25) we can read the following passage: *bu savïγ äšidip Kilimbi yäk öpkäsi tülükintä ögsüz teg boltï*. In the translation of F. W. K. Müller: «Als er dieses Wort vernahm, wurde Hidimbas des Dämons Zorn in seiner Stärke einem Sinnlosen gleich». The authors of the *Drevnetjurkskij slovarj*, who have cited the same passage, gave a somewhat deviating translation: «uslyšav éti slova, demon Hidimba ot jarosti stal slovno bezumnyj» (p. 580). Here our word is rendered with «ot» in the meaning «because of».

A few lines later[12] (p. 27: 24) the word occurs once more in the Uigur text: *vzïrlïy lurzi-si üzä Kilimbi yäkig tülükin urup anta oq yirdä qamtï* «with his Vajra-sceptre he hit Hiḍimba, the demon, by (the force of) his *tülük* and at the same time he layed him low to the earth». Here F. W. K. Müller translated: «mit Kraft schlug er».

It can be no doubt that in these cases we have to do with a special kind of strength. The context of another Uigur text corroborates our opinion. In *Türkische Turfan Texte* X[13] (:354—356) we find the following passage: *tumluγ yuzlüg Atavaki yäk bälintäg tülükin tïri burxanqa yaqïn sikriyü barïp* . . . «The dark-faced demon Āṭavaka by his fearful *tülük* sprung at the god Buddha». A. von Gabain translated: «Mit schrecklicher Kraft».

Our word also occurs in the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*. In the edition of Radlov and Malov[14] (p. 558, VIII, 33b: 23) we read: *il uluš-nuη ičinti neče teηlig bar erser kiši yalaηuq-lar quvaraγ-a yitim-siz ikinčsiz tül-üksüz (küč-)süz küsünz-üz bolur-lar ne iš ködük qïlduq-ta idi(-yin) bütürü ermez-ler*.[15] «As many may be in his country, all the people and the crowd will loose for ever[16] their *tülük* and strength so that they will not be able to remain the lords of their affairs». In the Tibetan text which has been translated from the same Chinese text of I-Ching[17] the expression *tülüksüz küčsüz küsünsüz bolurlar* is: *stobs-čhuń dpa'-bšor*[18] *med-pas-na*.[19] In an other passage of the same work (p. 359, Va8: 18) *tülük* is an attribute of Buddha Mahasatva (*tülüklüg bodistv mqastv*). Finally in X9a: 5—9 (p. 615) we find the following passage: *adïra ödüre saqïnïp ötrü M(a)qastvi tigin y(ä)ti qïnïy tülük-tü turup uluγ bädük küsüš-kü inip uluγ y(a)rlïqančučï köηül turγurup küηül-in köküz-in yaqčirdïp*. I would translate this text tentatively as follows: «After having distinctively learned (all these) the prince M. being in a very great *tülük*, submerging in a very great wish and reaching a great graceful thought, roused in his heart». The parallel Tibetan text III has: (ed. Nobel, II, p. 301: 26—27): *de'i che rgyal-bu de šin-tu brtul-ba'i dpa'-sran-dań/ smon-lam čhen-po btab-nas sñiń-rje čhen-po bsam-pas sems rtas-šiń 'phel-bar gyur kyań*. Here *šin-tu brtul-ba'i dpa'-sran* has to correspond to the same Chinese original as *yäti qïnïy tülük*. The expression is uncommon. The word *brtul-ba* can not be here «deportment, behaviour».[21] The expression *dpa'-sran* is known from an Old Tibetan text with the meaning «heroic, enduring».[22] The Chinese original has been translated by Nobel as «grosser Heldenmut»(*yung mêng*).[23] In an other Tibetan translation of the Suvarṇaprabhāsa we have a shorter version:[24] *sñiń-rje čhen-po mčhog-dań-ldan-pa'i sñiń-du gyur-pas de-ltar*

[9] A. v. Gabain in *Türkische Turfantexte* X, 1959, p. 27 reads *üntürüp*. The word can be found in some modern dialects. Türkmen has *ön-* «to be born», Kirgiz *ön-* «to grow», Kazakh *ön-* «to increase, to gain wight, to rise, to succeed». New Uigur has both *ön-* and *-ün* «to rise, to grow» while in Yakut we find *ün-*. The *Drevnetjurkskij slovarj* reads *öntürüp*.

[10] F. W. K. Müller always transcribed *tölük*, but for reasons discussed below I transcribed always *tülük*.

[11] *APAW* 1910, p. 25.

[12] *Ibid*, p. 27.

[13] 1959, p. 26.

[14] *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* (*Sutra zolotogo bleska*) I—II, 1913.

[15] It seems to me that we have here — as in many other places in the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* — to do with a verse with alliteration: *il. . . ./yitim. . . ./iš. . . ./idi. . . . .* The Tibetan parallel texts is also in verse.

[16] The expression *yitimsiz ikinčsiz* is not quite clear to me. I have supposed that *yitimsiz* is written instead of *yitinčsiz* «endless» and *ikinčsiz* is «without a second time, once», *yitim* «flax-seed» does not make sense here.

[17] J. Nobel, *Suvar aprabhāsottamasūtra. Das Goldglanz-sūtra. Ein Sanskrittext des Mahāyāna-Buddhismus. Die Tibetische Übersetzungen mit einem Wörterbuch* I—II, 1944, *I-Tsing's Chinesische Version und ihre tibetische Übersetzung* I—II, 1958, p. 251 (443).

[18] Nar-thań: *šor*.

[19] It seems that *dpa'-bšor med-pa* is here the parallel expression to *tülüksüz* and *stobs-čhuń* corresponds to *küčsüz küsünsüz*. As we shall see below in an other place *dpa'-sran* corresponds to *tülük*.

[20] Nobel has translated the Chinese text as follows (vol I, p. 338, 451C): «Dann liess der Prinz grossen Heldenmut erstehen, äusserte mächtiges Gelübde und mehrte mit dem Gedanken grossen Erbarmens sein Herz».

[21] Cf. H. A. Jäschke, *A Tibetan—English Dictionary*, 1949: «deportment, behaviour (according to Csoma) diligence, painstaking (acc. to Schmidt)?»

[22] Cf. F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan* II, 1961, p. 96, A3: *Bod 'baṅs dpa'-sran-la stend-pa'i chul bžin-du*. Thomas translated this as «. . . taking side with the stubborn heroic people of Tibet» (p. 102) and on III, p. 41 stubborn heroic: *Dpa'-sran* «heroic, enduring».

[23] Nobel, p. 451, Cf. E. W. Soothill—L. Houds, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, 1937, p. 297. I am grateful for the help of Mr. G. Schmitt (Berlin) in identifying the Chinese original.

[24] See Nobel, p. 159: 9—12, This is the version I.

b(r)tul-nas. Where the more detailed Tibetan text has: «strength» (*stobs*) and «heroic behaviour» (*dpa' sran*), in this shorter text, it is said that his heart became provided with the best (virtue, *mčhog*) of the great compassion (*sñiṅ-rje*).

The Mongolian translation of Yon-tan bzaṅ-po[27] has been made from the shorter text: *degeṭü yeke nigülesküi sedkil-i törögülügsen-iyen teyin sedkil-iyen nomoqadqaǰu bür-ün*. From the Mongolian text it is clear that Tibetan *brtul-ba* (in the shorter text) has been understood as the past tense of *'dul-ba*,[28] (in later texts *btul-*) and translated by *nomoqadqa-* «to conquer».[29] Thus the expression *brtul-ba'i dpa'-sran* of text Tibetan III has to be translated as «the heroic ability of conquering (himself)» and this is the correct interpretation of the virtue of heroism in Buddhistic thought. In the first text cited above from the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa tülük* is the term for the power of the soul and the hendiadys *kük kösün* denotes the physical strength.

I think that the occurrence of our word in the texts quoted above gives sufficient justification to my supposition that the meaning of the word *tülük* in the Old Uigur texts has not been simply «physical strength» but a kind of spiritual strength, a magic power which could be used against enemies and for conquering the wishes of one's own soul.

The fact that the word could not yet be traced in sources other than Old Uigur deprived us from such help in ascertaining the proper reading of the word and in finding its etymology. Perhaps the situation is not so hopeless.

In Yakut we find a word: *tülük* the second meaning of which is according to Pekarskij:[30] «očenj, vesjma, siljno, črezmerno, pre-». It figures in such expressions as: *t. timnî* «očenj siljnyj cholod, siljnaja stuža», *t. kuǰās* «znoj», *t. ü* «krepkij son». Thus it is a word denoting something very strong, heavy; it is used for expressing a kind of exaggeration. According to Pekarskij this is the same word as *tülük* «zavalj, davlenie, tjaželij son, košmar» and he connects it with Yakut *tül* «son» and Chuvash *tĕlĕk* «id.». I think Pekarskij was right. The word for «dream» in Turkic is *tüš*:

Old Turkic: *tüšä-* «to dream» (UigII24: 27), *tüš tüšä-* «to dream dreams» (Kāsγarī). Middle Turkic: *tüš* (Yugnaki Uigur, Arabic), *tüš* (Tefsir), *düš* (Oγuz-

[25] Version II adds *čhen-po*. See also the Peking version, *The Tibetan Tripitaka. Peking edition*, ed. by D. T. Suzuki, 1956, *Bka'-gyur*, Rgyud Pa 275b.

[26] Version I: *btul*, Version II *brtul* (also in Peking ed.).

[27] See Kara Gy., *Az aranyfény-szútra. Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtrendrarāja. Yon-tan bzaṅ-po szövege* I—II, 1968 (*Mongol Nyelvemléktár* XIII—XIV), Vol. II, pp. 182—183.

[28] Cf. S. Ch. Das, *A Tibetan—English Dictionary with Sanskrit Synonyms*, 1902: *brtul-ba* «to conquer», pf. and fut. of *'dul-ba, brtul-phod = dpa'-bo sñeṅ stob-čan* «a hero, champion».

[29] Both Tibetan *'dul-* and Mongolian *nomoqad-* had the primary meaning «to tame, to make peaceful».

[30] *Slovarj jakutskogo jazyka* I—III, 1927.

name), *tüš* (Husrau and Širin), *tüš* (Rabγuzi), *tüš, düš, tüš* (Ibn Muhanna), *tüš* (Chagatai). New Turkic: Kipchak: *töš* (Tatar), *töš* (Bashkir) *tüš* (Kirgiz); Oguz: *düiš* (Türkmen), *düš* (Osmanli), Turkestan: *čüš* (New Uigur), *tüš, čüš* (Turki), *tiš* (Salar); Siberian: *tüš* (Altai), *tüs* (Hakass), *düš* (Tuva) etc. In Yellow Uigur we find the verb *tüse-, tüsi-, tuse-, tusi-* «to dream», in Yakut the same verb is *tüsd-, tüsüö-, tösüö-*. The word came into Chuvash as a late loanword from Tatar: *tĕšĕ* in the expression *ăyăx tĕššipe* «so snă, sprosonku» (Ašmarin XV, p. 106).

For the noun «dream» we find the form *tül* in the following sources: UigI10: 5, UigII58: 1, UigII24: 27, USuv 593: 23, 594: 5, 633: 15, *UigSprachdenkm.* 96: 79, *Berliner Turfantexte* I D: 298, G: 8.[31] From the modern dialects the form with *-l* has been preserved by Yellow Uigur: *tel* e.g. in *tel tüse-* «to dream dreams» and by Yakut: *tül* «dream». In Chuvash the word for «dream» is in the Virjal dialect *tŏlŏk*, in Anatri and the literary language *tĕlĕk*. The first occurrence of the word known to me is in an unpublished manuscript from 1780—1790[32] in the form тюлюк (read *tŏlŏk*). The Chuvash word goes back to a former **tülük*. From the fact that Chuvash also has a verb *tĕllen-* «to dream, to conjecture, to guess, to speak strange things, talk nonsense, unimportant things» (cf. *tĕlĕk tĕllen-* «to dream» > Cheremiss *tol'ü·n-*), we can conclude that the primary stem **tül* has also existed in Chuvash, and its final *-k* is the same as in *pilek* «five» (Turkic *bēš*).

When the Uigurs converted to Buddhism they had to use a word for the Buddhistic concept of spiritual power or virtue, and they chose a stem which in the past had been used to denote another, seemingly not a physical activity, the word for dream. And this has not been a unique case in the history of our word.

Before going on and tracing the history of our word I have here to answer one more question. It is a well known fact that in front of the final *-š* in the Turkic languages we find *-l* in Chuvash. But in our case the form with *-l* is present also in Old Uigur, in Yellow Uigur and in Yakut. Similar cases have been collected by Németh, Pritsak and T. Tekin,[33] but there is no common opinion about their cause. As I tried to show on other places,[34] most of these cases are due to dialectal isoglosses and this is also the case here. The lexical

[31] Note that the forms with *-l* i.e. *tül* occur in the same texts as *tülük*.

[32] Leningrad, Saltikov-Ščedrin Library, Collection Ermitage, No 222, *Slovarj jazyka čuvašskogo*.

[33] See J. Németh in *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* XLIII (1914), p. 129, *Analecta Orientalia memoriae Alexandri Csoma de Kőrös dicata*, Budapest 1942—1947, p. 70, O. Pritsak: *UAJb* XXXV (1964), pp. 337—349, T. Tekin: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXII (1969), pp. 51—80.

[34] *Acta Orientalia Havniae* XXXII (1970), pp. 201—229 and in my yet unpublished dissertation: *The Basic Problems of the Relationship of the Altaic Languages*, Budapest 1970.

isogloss of the forms *tüš*: *tül* did not coincide with the phonological isogloss *š* : *l* which is a very common feature in the dialectal distribution of linguistic oppositions.

The word *tülük* has been borrowed by Mongolian from a Turkic language, most probably from an early Chuvash-Bulgarian idiom. It can be found in Mongolian in the form *tölge* which goes back to an earlier form **tölöge* as e.g. *šülge* «two years old lamb» < *silüge* ← *šišek* < *tišek* or *balyasun* «town» < *balayasun* ← *balïq*. In some MSS a modern secondary form *tölöge* can be found.[35] The phonetic correspondence is regular. In one group of the early Chuvash-Bulgarian loanwords of Mongolian, the Turkic closed labial corresponds to an open one. This reflects a phonetic development in the lending language. Let us see some examples:

Turkic	Mongolian
külčün «loan»	*kölüsün*
kürt «snow drift»	*kör* (*časun*)
üme «help»	*öme* (*čerig*)
yük- «to convey»	*ǰöge-*
bük- «to bend»	*bökö yi-* «to bend down»
müŋüz «corn»	*mögüresün* «cartilage»
kübez «proud»	*köger*[36]

The sonorization or rather the weakening of the final *-k* is also regular (see the examples above of *balïq* → *balyasun*, *tišek* → *silüge* and my paper on the history of the gutturals in final position in Chuvash).[37]

The first occurrence of our Mongolian word we find in the *Secret History*. The Chinese translation of the word is *kua* «to divine», *chan pu* «to divine by casting lots, to observe signs, to foretell»[38]. It occurs twice in the SH. In the first case the story is about Jamuqa a former *anda* or oath-friend of Chingis qan. Chingis qan is going to kill his rival and says: (§ 201) «. . . *anda minu anggida ber yabuǰu bidan-tur aman dü'üren keleleǰü amin-tur qor setkigü-yi inu ese sonosdaba ǰe surdaqu gü'ün büle'e mün ülü bolumui ükü'ülüye kē'esü tölge-tür ülü orumui šilta'an ügei amin-tur qor ki'esü ülü ǰokimui . . .*».[39] «My *anda* has deviated from me, he spoke about us with full mouth, but I didn't hear that he had evil thoughts against (my) life. He was the very man from whom one could learn and now he will not be more. To kill him does not fit the *tölge*, to do harm to his life without (any) cause is not appropriate.» Afterwards Jamuqa has been killed bloodlessly.

[35] See C. Bawden: *Asia Major* NS VIII: 2, 1959, p. 223, Note 19: *Yisün ǰoyosu-u* (sic) *tölöge orusibai*, MSS 325 and 35 of the Royal Library, Copenhagen.

[36] G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente* I, p. 99, supposed three Pre-turkic labials: *o*, *ǫ* and *u* resp. *ö*, *ǫ̈* and *ü* where *ǫ* and *ǫ̈* gave *o* and *ö* in Turkic but *u* and *ü* in Mongolian. I think that we have to interpret the fact that to Turkic *o*, *ö* corresponds Mongolian *o*, *ö* and *u*, *ü* and to Turkic *u*, *ü* Mongolian *u*, *ü* and *o*, *ö* with chronological and dialectal differences.

[37] *On the Chuvash Guttural Stops in Final Position*: *Studia Turcica*, Budapest 1971, pp. 389–399.

[38] E. Haenish, *Wörterbuch zu Manghol un niuca tobca'an* (*Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi*) *Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*, Leipzig 1939, p. 150.

[39] See Ligeti L., *A mongolok titkos története*: *Mongol Nyelvemléktár* III, Budapest 1964, p. 143.

[40] *Op. cit.*, p. 208.

[41] This word cannot be separated from *abid* «intestines».

[42] N. N. Poppe, *Mongolskij slovarj Mukaddimat al-Adab* I–II, Moscow–Leningrad 1938, p. 353.

«(veraltet) Wahrsagerei, das Wahrsagen mit Knochen, Würfeln, Pfeilen»,? Pao-an *tera-* «spatj».

From these we can group the following meanings: 1. omen, sign; 2. the action of finding something which is hidden; 3. divination; 4. the instrument of these activities.

The instrument of the divination can be e.g. a coin (*ǰoγos-un tölge*),[43] a red thread (*tölgen-ü uluγan utasun*),[44] shoulder-blade,[45] dice,[46] bow[47] etc. The dream divination is also very old with the Mongols. It would deserve a special study to investigate the function of dreams in the SH. Its term is there *ǰewüdün ǰewüdüle-* (see *e.g.* § 63 where Dei sečen speaks about his dream of Temüǰin) or *ǰa'arin üǰe-* (see *e.g.* in § 121 where Qorči, the brother of Jamuqa speaks about the divine signs -- *ǰa'arin* -- which he saw and foretells the victory of Chingis qan above Jamuqa). In a text quoted by C. Bawden the diagram-*tölge* reveals among other things the dreams.[48]

The Mongolian word entered the Turkic languages of Siberia: Altai *tölgö* «rogatka dlja opredelenija vlažnosti vozducha, rogatka ili luk, lučok (dlja vorožby)», *tölgöči* «vorožeja», Shor *tölgeči*, AltaiK *tölgiči*, Hakass *tölkiči* «gadatelj, vorožeja» (Verbickij), Yakut *tölkö*, *törkö* «rok, sudjba (buduščaja, opredelenie)» (Pekarskij). We come across the word also in Kirghiz *tölgö* «vorožba gadanie na kameškach ili na aljčike kosuli», *tölgöčü* «gadaljščik» (Judachin). In this connection it is especially important that in Yakut we find four forms of the same basic word: *tüse-* «to dream» (<*tüše-*), *tül* «dream», *tülük* «heavy dream, nightmare, very strong, heavy» and *tölkö* «fate, fortune». The first is the original Yakut word; the second is an early isoglossical feature; the third is seemingly a very old Chuvash – Bulgarian loanword, and the fourth has been borrowed from Mongolian. This shows how complicated the fate of a lexical item can be.

I have proposed above that we have to see in Mongolian *tölge* an old Chuvash -- Bulgarian loanword. Phonetically the correspondence is regular, but semantically I would like to offer one more argument. The word *tülük* has the meaning «dream» in Chuvash and Yakut and it can be translated in the quoted Uigur texts by «spiritual force, magic power». Now I would add to this that the

[43] See C. Bawden: *ZDMG* 108 (1958), p. 335, *CAJ* IV (1958), p. 27.

[44] C. Bawden: *AM* VIII/2 (1961), p. 228, Note 43.

[45] C. Bawden, *On the Practice of Scapulimancy among the Mongols*: *CAJ* IV, 1958, pp. 1—31.

[46] C. Bawden: *AM* VIII/2 (1961), p. 221.

[47] See the Altai Turkic data below. Besides the works of C. Bawden which contain a rich material for the study of the divination and fortune-telling of the Mongols, see also recently A. Sárközi, *A Pre-classical Mongolian Prophetic Book*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXIV, 1971, pp. 41—49.

[48] *Ene tölge-yi doluγan ǰüil-iyer üǰügülkü bui*: . . . *yambar ǰegüaün ǰegüdülküi* . . ., see *AM* VIII/2 (1961), p. 226, Note 31.

meaning «to find out» which could be the bridge between «dream» and «divination» can be found in Chuvash. In the modern Chuvash-Russian dictionary edited by Sirotkin we find a verb with the meaning «ugadyvatj, to find out». This word has the form *tül-*. The *-ü-* of the present-day Chuvash literary language is not the regular correspondence to an earlier *-ü-*. This would force us to exclude this word from the discussion -- if this *-ü-* is authentical. The fact that there is no example or expression quoted in Sirotkin's dictionary rises the suspicion that this word has been simply overtaken from earlier lexicography. It is indeed to be found in Ashmarin's Thesaurus (XIV, p. 205) where it is neither provided with examples but in this case the source is given, it is quoted from the *Načertanie pravil čuvašskago jazyka i slovarj sostavlennaja dlja duchovnych učiliščˇ Kazanskoj éparchii*, published in Kazan 1836. Here on page 176 we find *тюлесь* «ugadatj». In the orthography of the *Načertanie* the Cyrillic letter *ю* is used to render two Virjal phonemes, the reduced front labial *ŏ* (Anatri, literary *ĕ*) and *ü*. See: *тюлюкь* «son» (literary *tĕlĕk*), *тюллянась* «vo sno videtj» (*tĕllen-*), *тюл* «vstreča» (*tĕl*), *тюне* «otdušina dlja dymu» (*tĕnĕ*), *тюп* «dno» (*tĕp*) etc., resp. *тюлекь* «mir, mirno» (*tülek*), *тюлясь* «platitj dolg» (*tüle-*), *тюре* «pravda, prjamo» (*türe*), *тюбя* «dolja» (*tüpe*), *тюжекь* «perina» (*tüšek*), *тюзясь* «terpetj» (*tüs-*) etc. The fact that the seemingly rare or even obsolete word has not been transcribed in the system of Ashmarin by *ĕ* but by *ü* may to be traced to this ambivalence.[49]

The divination by dreams has been common among the Chuvash. Mészáros, who wrote a monograph on the old religious beliefs of the Chuvash, discusses the dream divination in a special chapter.[50] The interpreter of the dreams (*tĕlĕk šajlakan*) tells the meaning of the dreams which she had seen (*tĕlĕkre kur-*) while putting an object of the person inquiring the future under her pillow. What had been seen (*pĕr-*) in the dream can be solved (*uš-*) also by common men. During the dream the soul of the man is leaving the body and wandering freely in the world. According to the Christian Chuvash, an angel is showing the world and the future to the soul.

Mongolian preserved only a secondary and special meaning of our word while it has a special word for dream: *ǰegüdün*. In the third group of Altaic languages in the Manchu-Tunguzian the basic word for dream is connected with a root which hardly can be separated from Turkic *tüš* ~ *tül*. The Common Manchu-Tunguzian word for «to dream» can be reconstructed as **tölki-*. Our

[49] After having given this paper into print I got a letter dated of 6th July, 1971 from A. A. Alekseev, Cheboksary, who was so kind as to have checked the word *tül-* of Sirotkin's dictionary. He writes that *tül-* is a dialectal form of the literary and Anatri *tĕl-* and is still living. Its Virjal form is *tŏl-* and it has the same form as the word *tĕl* «aim, place etc.». According to him *tĕlĕk tĕllen* has also the meaning «to find out, to foretell, to solve problems by dreams».

[50] *A csuvas ősvallás emlékei*, Budapest 1909, pp. 398—400.

first data is from Juchen, where we come accross the form *tolχing*. The other Manchu-Tunguzian forms are the following: Manchu: *tolgin*, *tolxin* «Traum», Nanai *tolki*(*n*), *tolkičin* «son, snovidenie», *tolkiči-* «videtj son», NanaiU, Or *tolčiči-* «id.», NanaiU *tolčin* «son», NanaiNh, KU *toli* «id.», NanaiBk *tolki*(*n*) «id.», Ulcha *tolči*(*n*) «snovidenie», *tolčiči-* «videtj son», Oroč *tokkiči* «son» *tokki* «id.», *tokkiči-* «videt son», Orok *tolčin* «son», Ude *tosi-* «videtj son»; Solon *toliši-* «snitaja, videtj son, breditj, govoritj vo sne», Negidal *tolkit-*, *tolkič-*, «videtj son», Even *tolkat-*, *tolkač-* «videtj son». Evenki *tolkin* «son, snovidenie», *tolkit-*, *tolkič-* «videtj son», EvenkiTit *tolki-* «videtj son».[51] This wide-spread word has to be very old in the Manchu-Tunguzian languages, but not necessarily original.[52]

The long and complicated history of the word — all details of which we are not in a position to see clear — is pointing to one of the sources of the supernatural concepts of the Altaic people. Dream, magic power, divination are going back to the same basic concept, something which is out of the physical every-day life, which is another kind of reality in the consciousness of the primitive Altaic people. We are at the sources of the religious beliefs of the Altaic world.

[51] I have to offer here my sincere thanks to the Altaic Group of the Linguistic Institute, Leningrad and especially to V. I. Cincius for making it possible for me to consult the manuscript of the Comparative Etymological Dictionary of the Manchu-Tunguzian Languages compiled under her direction. This valuable work is in print and we can only but hope that it will be published in the near future.

[52] A clear example of early borrowing from Mongolian is Manchu-Tunguzian *k'orin* «twenty», the regular development of which is present in each Manchu-Tunguzian language and which is an early Mongolian loanword, see L. Ligeti: *Acta Orient. Hung.* X (1960), p. 243.

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LE TERME «ALTAÏQUE» *SAUΓA* «CADEAU»

PAR

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En 1944 le grand maître des études altaïques, Paul Pelliot, a consacré un bref article à l'expression *širolya* ~ *širalya*, qui se rencontre dans l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols*, transcrite en caractères chinois à la fin du XIV[e] siècle.

Dans le § 12 de l'*Histoire secrète*, il est raconté que Dobun Mergen, étant parti un jour à la chasse, rencontra un Uryangqan en train de faire rôtir les côtes et les entrailles d'un cerf de trois ans, qu'il venait d'abattre. Dobun Mergen (§ 13) s'adresse alors à l'Uryangqan, en des termes que l'édition de Haenisch restitue: *nökör širol qada*. En mongol, *nökör* signifie «camarade»; c'est l'épithète par laquelle Dobun Mergen s'adresse à l'Uryangqan. Reste à expliquer *širol qada*, terme à propos duquel Haenisch dit dans une note, p. 205, que *qada* était dépourvu de sens.

En rendant compte de l'édition de Haenisch dans le *T'oung Pao* de 1936, p. 357, Pelliot a fait remarquer qu'il n'y avait pas de raison de couper les mots comme l'avait fait Haenisch, que *širolya* donnait une finale mongole normale en *-lya* et que l'*Altan tobči*, ms d'Oulanbator offrait *širolya*, sans *-da*.

Pelliot a bien vu que *širolya* ou *širalya* devait être un mot mongol qui est passé dans le čagataï sous la forme *širalya*, et qui désigne «une part du gibier». Haenisch, qui a connu le compte rendu de Pelliot dans le *T'oung Pao* de 1936, a gardé, sans correction, dans son *Wörterbuch* paru en 1939, p. 142, la forme *širol*, avec cette remarque «= *širal*, de *šira-* ?».

En même temps que Pelliot, Žamcarano formulait des remarques analogues dans *Mongoljskie letopisi XVII veka*, paru en 1936. Il y fait remarquer que le terme *širolya* est un substantif dérivé de *siro* (*širo*) «broche», et désigne «un rôti à la broche».

Pelliot, après avoir constaté que les substantifs mongols en *-lya*, *-lge* sont en principe des substantifs verbaux, cite les exemples suivants: *qayalya* «porte», formé avec le verbe *qaya-* «fermer», *medelge* «connaissance», avec *mede-* «connaître». C'est pourquoi il n'hésite pas de rattacher le mot *širalya* au verbe *šira-* «rôtir», et non au substantif *šira*, «broche à rôtir».

Quant aux rapports entre *šira* «broche», et *šira-* «rôtir», Pelliot a constaté qu'il est très séduisant d'établir un rapport étymologique entre le sub-