

Sonderdruck aus/Offprint from

CENTRAL ASIATIC JOURNAL

EDITED BY
LARS PETER LAAMANN

MOVEMENT • TRANSFORMATION •
DISAPPEARANCE – THE FLEETING
WORLD OF CENTRAL ASIA

64 (2021) 1+2

HARRASSOWITZ VERLAG · WIESBADEN

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Publisher

Harrassowitz Verlag, 65174 Wiesbaden, Germany

Subscriptions and access to electronic format

Please contact verlag@harrassowitz.de for queries concerning subscription rates and modalities. The *Central Asiatic Journal* can also be accessed electronically via JSTOR (www.jstor.org).

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek
Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <https://www.dnb.de/> abrufbar.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the internet at <https://www.dnb.de/>.

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

<https://www.harrassowitz-verlag.de/>

ISSN 0008-9192

eISSN 2747-4305

Movement • Transformation • Disappearance The Fleeting World of Central Asia

Moments can seem eternal – in particular if instances of historical change have a traumatic impact on what people perceive as their own normality which they identify with. In human history, such change has arrived in manifold form, more often than not by means of natural disasters. The fragility of human civilisation has perhaps to a greater extent than otherwise entered our common awareness in these times of climate change caused by industrial pollution, but to the communities whose livelihoods faced annihilation due to sudden movements of the earth, little ice ages or, not to forget, epidemic disease, the consequences could well nigh become existential. Much the same goes for warfare. The vicissitudes of power struggle between neighbouring nations, be these tribes akin in culture or rival empires, are usually felt most intensely by those human communities situated on the margins. This is what the present volume of the *Central Asiatic Journal* is about, namely the impact of imperial movements, man-made disasters but also gradual integration on Central Asian societies, their cultures and languages.

All twelve articles of this volume, as well as the shorter contributions selected as reviews and obituary, reflect the sense of this *fleeting world* of contact and conflict, as well as dynamism, assimilation and apparent disappearance. **Pavel Rykin**'s article deals with the historical and comparative studies for the Mongolic languages over the past decades. Rykin's chief conclusion is that we have been witnessing a "Great Move East", namely the linguistic reappropriation of Mongolic linguistics by native speakers. This poses in itself a variety of challenges, exacerbating the shortfalls in the existing analysis of Mongolic syntax and etymological vocabulary, although the relocation of Mongolic linguistics to Central Asia signifies a reaffirmation of language-based identity. **Erhan Aydın**'s contribution retraces the earliest Turkic languages preserved in written format, namely in "runic" texts carved into stone stelae. Members of the social or state elite during the second Türk Khanate had eulogies incised into stone by masons from China. But what do we know about the very people who sponsored these texts? Aydın investigates the colophon texts of Küli Çor and Tariat in order to find clues towards the identity of the creators and narrators of these inscriptions. **Erdem Uçar** follows up with his interpretation of the Tuñuquq inscription in its two separate components. Erected by Tuñuquq, a senior politician of the Türk Khanate, Uçar's article presents a novel interpretation of a line which our author entwines with the historical context. **Gao Jingyi** reminds us of the transitional nature of language groups emanating from Central Asia, in this case analysing shared etymologies of Hungarian and Yeniseian. Gao's article interprets thirty examples which point towards a common Hunnic origin, a term which is

meant to encompass both Huns and Xiongnu and which thus validates the etymological connection between Hungarian and Yeniseian into a Hunnic language continuum. Languages tied to migrating ethnic communities also preoccupy **Maksim Vyzhlakov** in his study of Tocharian A, in an article focused on verbs indicating destruction and disappearance – for certain ethnic groups in Central Asia almost a somber prophecy.

Kicentai in his article on the crystallisation of the Sibe people in the sixteenth century as an identifiable ethnic group, occupies amphibious territory when it comes to the characterisation of ethnicity identified by linguistic pertinence. From their migration westwards to the Ili fluvial basin until their recognition as a separate nationality in the Republican era after 1911, the close relationship between Sibe and written Manchu retained both groups in a close embrace, which only the energetic textual pursuits of Sibe scholars could bring into a more realistic balance. **Wang Yingzi** takes us to the other side of the Qing empire's northern border territory in her examination of the challenges which the Late Qing Reforms of 1907 brought along. The Mongolian Jerim League found itself being subdivided into three different provincial units within Manchuria, whilst retaining close links with the Mongolian leagues and banners to the west, where the administrative reforms were never fully implemented. The government measures and population movements connected to the Late Qing Reforms in the early twentieth century further underline the fleeting nature of Central Asian civilisations. The Manchus – or rather their ethnonymic predecessors the Jurchen – also feature in the following paper by **Christopher Atwood**. In his analysis of a passage of the *Secret History of the Mongols*, three generals from the Jin dynasty are referred to (Ile, Qada and Hübögetür), whose existence is also confirmed in references located in Chinese sources as well as in Persian texts on the Mongol empire. Following a thorough analysis of all the relevant sources in Mongolian and in Persian, this paper scrutinises the linguistic variants of these names against the background of Kitan and Jurchen morphology. “Qu Bögetür” is thus identified as “Qu the Hunchback”, a moniker which followed the old soldier ever since his battles against the Song. **Alexander Kim** takes us further to the East, actually riding with us on horseback into the border territory between the Russian Far East, Manchuria and Korea. In his analysis of the archaeological evidence, from equestrian culture (use of horses in transport, warfare, hunting) to equine osteology (bone fragments indicating use as food and for ritual purposes), Kim concludes that the horse played a vital role in Bohai and Jurchen societies. Relying on these small-sized animals introduced by the Mohe, the Bohai and Jurchen expanded – literally on horseback – into the territory of the today's Russian Far East. In the next article, by **Liu Haiwei**, we are again introduced to the fleeting nature of the central Asian cultural corridor. Contrasting evidence of Prince Ananda, grandson of Qubilai Khan, who pursuant to the Persian *Jami al-Tawarikh* converted to Islam and persecuted believers of other religions, with evidence from Chinese, Korean and Tibetan sources, we realise to our wonderment that Ananda actually adhered to Buddhism and Daoism. The same sources do not question his conversion to Islam, but certainly

cast doubt on the claimed persecutions against non-Muslims and that he, on the contrary, extended protection to other religious groups in his territory. **Shioya Akifumi** pursues the Muslim route, by studying the life and influence of Sayyid Ata, Sufi saint of great acclaim in the post-Mongol Eurasian steppes. In his analysis of the chronicles of the Qongrat court, the *Firdaws al-iqbāl*, as well as field surveys conducted in the Khanate of Khiva in 1873, Shioya argues that the Qongrat rulers combined religious ideals with their political aspirations, ultimately enabling the Qongrat military conquest of the Aral region. In a final article, **Nurken Kuzembayev** allows us to dwell in the same region, in his scrutiny of the Azkish lands referred to in Muslim sources. Hitherto, the geographical localisation of the Azkish remains incomplete but is important for our knowledge of the historical geography of Kazakhstan and Central Asia during the Middle Ages. By analysing the writings of authors such as Ibn Khordadbeh, Ibn al-Faqih and Al-Idrissi, Kuzembayev allows for a localisation within Northern Balkhash and Central Kazakhstan. Once sources in Arabic are taken into account, their territory could feasibly have reached Central Syrdarya in the south-west. In terms of its territory, economy, advanced administration the use of the “khakhan” title for Azkish rulers, the state of the Azkish becomes a historical certainty.

Having taken our readers through the *fleeting world* of Central Asian linguistics, historical sources, archaeological evidence and, not least, cultural continuity with the present, it remains for me to thank our patient technical editor Dr Petra Himstedt-Vaid, who with typical perseverance and attention to minute detail allowed us to take this volume to the printing press.

Lars P. Laamann
December 2021

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Abstracts 摘要

Christopher P. ATWOOD

Ila, Qada, and Qu the Hunchback: Three Jin Generals in Mongol Historiography

In the *Secret History of the Mongols*, §251, three Jin-dynasty generals are mentioned. Scholarship has traditionally read their names as Ile, Qada, and Höbögetür. Previous commentators have associated Ile and Qada with the generals known in Chinese as Ila Pu'a and Wanyan Heda, but have not been able to identify the so-called Höbögetür. Similar versions of these names occur in the Persian histories of the Mongol empire. This paper considers all the sources and produces improved readings for both the Mongolian originals and for the Persian versions of these names. The correct Mongolian readings of the names are Ila, Qada, and Qu Bögetür; the correct original for Qada's corrupt name in Persian should be Qadāy Wangšay. The paper then explores the many variants of these names showing how the variants document Kitan and Jurchen morphological processes. The name Qu Bögetür is explained as meaning "Qu the Hunchback"; this in turn may be identified reliably as the Jin general known in Chinese as He-Shilie Yawuta. The surname He-Shilie is shown through consideration of the Kitan and Jurchen versions to be equivalent to Mongolian Qu, while the "hunchback" (Mo. *bögetür*) is shown to be derived from the nickname which he acquired during his battles with the Song dynasty in 1206.

Keywords: Yuan dynasty, Secret History of the Mongols, Jin, Kitan, Central Asia

亦列、合荅以及豁孛格秃兒駝背曲：蒙古史學中的三位金將

《蒙古秘史》第251條提到金朝三將，傳統歷史學家名為亦列、合荅以及豁孛格秃兒。以中文文獻為例三位將軍叫移剌蒲阿及完顏合達，但無法確定所謂的「Höbögetür」。同類名字蒙古帝國的波斯歷史中見得到。本文參考了所有來源的文獻，抱括蒙語和波斯語的文獻。這些名字的正确蒙古文讀法是「Ila」、「Qada」和「Qu Bögetür」。「Qada」波斯語中的扭曲名稱正确讀法應該是「Qadāy Wangšay」。其後，本文探討名稱的許多變體，以契丹語以及女真語的語言形態過程。「Qu Bögetür」名稱的意思就是“駝背曲”，很可能表示金朝將軍紇石烈牙吾塔。紇石烈之姓等於契丹語及女真語蒙文「Qu」姓；而綽號“駝背曲”（蒙語「bögetür」）則是源於他在與宋軍打戰時獲得的綽號。

關鍵詞： 元朝, 元朝秘史, 金朝, 契丹, 中亞

Erhan AYDIN

Who were the Narrators of the Old Turkic Inscriptions? A Study of the Küli Čor and Tariat (Terh) Inscriptions

It is known that some of the Old Turkic inscriptions written in runic texts were erected by the owner of the inscriptions themselves, while others were erected by their relatives or the dignitaries of the government. The engravings of the texts in the inscriptions of the second Türk Khanate were carried out by the stonemasons sent by China. As a result, these lines are relatively more even and the height of the letters is almost the same. It is not possible to observe this order in other inscriptions. Aside from the engravings of the texts, who were the people who narrated the events that would create the texts? In this article, relevant information will be given about the people who were mentioned in the colophon texts of Küli Čor and Tariat inscriptions. We will thus be able to understand the identity of the people who created the inscriptions, who remembered and narrated the events.

Keywords: Old Turkish, Old Turkic Inscriptions, the inscription of Küli Čor, Tariat inscription, narrators

古突厥銘文的敘述者到底是誰？ Küli Čor和Tariat (Terh) 銘文最近研究結果

眾所周知，古突厥語銘文中，有的由銘文所有者親自立刻，有的則由其親屬或政要立下。第二次突厥汗國銘文的刻製，是由中國派來的石匠進行的。結果，這些線條相對更均勻，字母的高度幾乎相同。在其他銘文中不可能觀察到這種順序。除了文字的版畫外，誰是講述及創造文字的人？在本文中，將提供有關 Küli Čor和Tariat銘文的版權文本中提到人員的相關信息。因此，我們將能夠了解創建銘文、記住和敘述者的身份。

關鍵詞： 古突厥語，古突厥語銘文，Küli Čor銘文，Tariat (Terh) 銘文，敘述者

GAO Jingyi 高晶一

Huns and Xiongnu identified by Hungarian and Yeniseian shared etymologies II

The present paper is a continued and enlarged version of the same title by the same author published in *Central Asiatic Journal* 56 (2012/2013). This approach identifies Hungarian and Yeniseian shared etymologies (etyma) and discusses their common Hunnic origin (including Huns and Xiongnu). Using etymological methods, the present study has demonstrated 30 Hungarian and Yeniseian shared etymologies. Some of them form six (6) consonant correspondences and two (2) vowel correspondences, altogether eight (8) regular sound correspondences with sound changes. These regular sound correspondences validate the etymological connection between

Hungarian and Yeniseian. This Hungarian-Yeniseian etymological connection supports the Hunnic language continuum.

Keywords: etymology, historical linguistics, comparative linguistics, regular sound correspondences, Hunnic

以匈牙利語葉尼塞語共有語源單位鑒定匈人與匈奴同源(二)

此文是本刊第56卷(2012/2013年)所發表的同作者同主題論文的接續擴容版本。此主題研究識別匈牙利語與葉尼塞語共有的語源單位(語正),探討其共同的匈系來源(包括匈人與匈奴)。運用語源學方法,此研究共展示30則匈牙利語葉尼塞語共有語源單位。其中部分語源單位構成6項輔音(子音)對應規律以及2項元音(母音)對應規律,共計8項帶有音變的語音對應規律。這些語音對應規律驗證了匈牙利語與葉尼塞語之間的語源關係。匈牙利—葉尼塞語源關係支持了古代匈系語言傳續時空的存在。

關鍵字: 語源學、歷史語言學、比較語言學、語言對應規律、匈系

KICENTAI 莊 聲

The Development of Sibe Ethnic Awareness: With Special Consideration of the Sibe People of the Ili River Basin

In the sixteenth century, the Sibe people emerged as a unique ethnic group, and they remained a unique ethnic group after their migration to the Ili River basin. When after 1911 the Republic of China created many ethnic systems, the Sibe gained official recognition as an independent ethnic group. Although the creation of a writing system is an act of ethnic construction, the Sibe written language could never break free of its close relation with Manchu. The construction of ethnic groups and the creation of scripts stimulated the development of ethnic histories compiled by the Sibe scholars. It is due to their textual research on the origins of the Sibe that this people can now regard themselves as an ethnic group in its own right.

Keywords: ethnic groups, the Sibe people, the Sibe script, ethnic history, Jurchen

錫伯人族群意識的萌芽以伊犁河流域的錫伯為中心

十六世紀,錫伯在明末清初的史料上出現以來就是一個獨立的群體,遷徙伊犁河流域以後同樣也沒有變化。因此,在民國時期建立各民族體系時將錫伯識別為獨立的族群。創制文字是族群構建的意識行為,但是錫伯文始終擺脫不了與滿語文的密切關係。族群的建構與文字的創制,激發了錫伯族學者編纂民族史的熱潮,其族源的考證最能說明一個新族群的誕生歷程。如今伊犁河南岸已成為國際滿學界學習滿語文的聖地。

關鍵詞: 族群, 錫伯族, 錫伯文, 民族史, 女真

Alexander A. KIM

The Horse in Bohai and Jurchen Societies – Based on Osteological Studies from the Southern Part of the Russian Far East

The horse played an important historical role in Bohai and Jurchen societies. Both the Bohai and the Jurchen peoples were originally nomadic groups and used horses intensively for military activity, hunting, transport and for sacral aims, too. However, the horses used in both societies were small in size and did until relatively recently not exist in the Russian Far East. The goal of this work is to deliberate by means of osteological and historical analysis the origins of the medieval horse in the Russian Far East.

Keywords: horse, Bohai, Jurchen, Far East Russia, osteology

渤海和女真社會的馬——基於俄羅斯遠東南部的骨學研究

馬在渤海和女真社會中發揮了重要的歷史作用。渤海以及女真民族原來屬於游牧社會，馬集約地用於軍事活動、狩獵、運輸和祭祀。然而，兩個社會使用的馬體型都很小，直到最近才在俄羅斯遠東地區不存在。本文的目標是通過骨學和歷史分析來探討俄羅斯遠東地區中世紀馬的起源。

關鍵詞： 馬，渤海，女真，遠東俄羅斯，骨學

Nurken E. KUZEMBAYEV

Ethnopolitical History, Kinship Structure and Culture of the As (Az) Tribe in Central Eurasia

The complex of ethnopolitical history, kinship and culture of the Central Eurasian As tribe (or Az) is considered in this article. The work is based on historical, archaeological and ethnographic sources, as well as data of historical toponymy. Originating from the Great Yuezhi 大月氏 as the ethnopolitical union which created the Kushan Kingdom and which opposed the Xiongnu empire, the tribal union of the As became subsumed into the Wusun 烏孫, Türks, Türgesh, Karluk Qaghanats, the Qarakhanid and Oghuz states and the Kimek and Kipchak khaganates. The collated data identifies of the Tuxsi with the Tokharians, the As with the Asiani, as well as the Azkish as known from Muslim sources. Our research also suggests the principal As settlement to be located in a region encompassing Semirechye, the Altai, eastern and southern Kazakhstan, the eastern Aral Sea region, Tuva. Populations with ethnic ties stretch into western Kazakhstan and the Ural region. Our analysis of the historical sources and the ethnographic materials has shown that the Dürüt and the Yeta tribes, who came from the eastern Iranian Yuezhi, belonged to the As. The article attempts to retrace the stages of the ethnopolitical history of the Yuezhi in the an-

cient and medieval history of Central Eurasia and to point to their affiliation with a number of Turkic peoples.

Keywords: As, Azkish, Kazakhstan, Syrdarya, Tokharians, Great Yuezhi

歐亞大陸中部阿斯(As/Az)部落的民族政治歷史、親屬結構和文化

本文考慮了歐亞中部As部落（或Az）的民族政治歷史、親屬關係和文化的複雜性。本篇基於歷史、考古和民族志資料以及歷史地名數據。起源於大月氏作為創建貴霜王國並反對匈奴帝國的民族政治聯盟，阿斯部落聯盟被併入烏孫烏孫、突厥、卡魯克察汗、喀喇汗和烏古斯以及基梅克和欽察汗國。整理後的數據將圖西人與託卡里亞人、阿斯人與亞洲人以及穆斯林資料中已知的阿茲克人相結合。我們的研究還表明，主要的As定居點位於包括Semirechye、阿爾泰、哈薩克斯坦東部和南部、鹹海東部地區、圖瓦在內的地區。有民族關係的人口延伸到哈薩克斯坦西部和烏拉爾地區。我們對史料和民族志資料的分析表明，來自伊朗東部月氏的杜魯特和耶塔部落屬於阿斯族。文章試圖追溯月氏民族政治歷史在中歐亞古代和中世紀的歷史階段，並指出他們與一些突厥民族的聯繫。

關鍵詞： 阿斯部落聯盟, 阿茲基什, 哈薩克斯坦, 錫爾達里亞, 大月氏

LIU Haiwei 劉海威

Rulership and Representations: Reconsidering the Religious Identity of Prince Ananda

According to the Persian source *Jami al-Tawarikh*, Prince Ananda, a grandson of Qubilai Khan, converted to Islam and persecuted other religions in his domains. By analysing Chinese, Korean and Tibetan sources, this article shows that Ananda patronised Buddhism and Daoism. While these non-Persian sources do not dismiss Ananda's Muslim identity, they call into questions the narrative that he persecuted non-Islamic beliefs. This article argues that Ananda's Muslim identity did not prevent him from protecting the different religions in his domains. Furthermore, this article shows that Ananda was respectively represented as a pious Muslim, a devoted Buddhist, and a virtuous ruler in Muslim, Buddhist, and Chinese sources. It argues that the different representations of Ananda resulted from two inter-related factors, the rulership adopted by Mongol rulers to exert influence in the different cultures of their subjects and the inclination shared by the Islamic, Buddhist and Chinese historiographical traditions to identify the Mongol rulers with their respective cultures.

Keywords: Ananda, Jami al-Tawarikh, Islam, Mongol rule

統治和代表：重新思考阿難答太子的宗教身份

波斯史料《史集》記載，忽必烈之孫安西王阿難答皈依伊斯蘭教，並在其封地內迫害其他信仰。本文分析漢文、藏文以及高麗史料，顯示阿難答支持佛教，保護道教。雖然這些記載並不否定阿難答的穆斯林身份，但質疑了阿難答迫害其他信仰的說法。本文認為，《史集》作者拉施圖丁為了突顯合贊汗的影響，誇大了阿難答對其他宗教信仰的敵視態度。本文顯示，阿難答在不同史料中被塑造成不同形象，如虔誠的穆斯林、佛教的支持者以及儒家傳統的信徒。本文認為，出現不同描述的原因有兩點。第一，蒙古統治者試圖在不同的文化中扮演不同的角色，以構建其政治合法性。第二，儒家、佛教以及伊斯蘭教的歷史編撰者均試圖將蒙古統治者構建為他們各自文化的信仰者。

關鍵詞：阿難答, 波斯史料《史集》，伊斯蘭教, 蒙古統治

Pavel RYKIN

**Mongolic Historical and Comparative Linguistics:
State-of-the-Art and Recent Advances**

The paper provides a bibliographical survey of monographic publications in the field of Mongolic historical and comparative studies that appeared in the last four decades. It covers scholarly literature on general historical and comparative linguistics, historical phonology and writing systems, historical and comparative grammar, etymological studies, Middle Mongol philology, and modern Mongolic language varieties. A conclusion is made that the recent development of Mongolic historical comparative linguistics has seen what can be termed the Great Move East, i.e. the gradual shift of Mongolic linguistic studies from Europe and the western part of Russia directly to the areas inhabited by speakers of the Mongolic languages. There is a considerable progress in the study of various aspects of the Mongolic languages, but serious gaps are also observed, e.g. the lack of a historical comparative analysis of Mongolic syntax and an etymological or comparative dictionary based on modern linguistic methodology.

Keywords: Mongolic languages, historical and comparative linguistics, historical phonology, writing systems, historical and comparative grammar, etymological studies, history of research

蒙古歷史和比較語言學：最新技術和最新進展

該論文提供對過去四十年中出現的蒙古歷史和比較研究領域的專著出版物的書目調查。它涵蓋了關於一般歷史和比較語言學、歷史音韻學和書寫系統、歷史和比較語法、詞源研究、中古蒙古語文學和現代蒙古語變種的學術文獻。得出

結論，蒙古語歷史比較語言學的近期發展見證了可稱為大東移的現象，即蒙古語語言研究從歐洲和俄羅斯西部地區直接轉移到說蒙古語使用者居住的地區。語言。對蒙古語各個方面的研究取得了相當大的進展，但也觀察到了嚴重的差距，例如缺乏對蒙古語句法的歷史比較分析和基於現代語言學方法的詞源或比較詞典。

關鍵詞：蒙古語言，歷史和比較語言學，歷史音系，書寫系統，歷史和比較語法，詞源研究，研究歷史

SHIOYA Akifumi 塩谷 哲史

The Association between the Descendants of Sufi Saint Sayyid Ata and the Khans of Khiva at the Beginning of the 19th Century

Sayyid Ata was one of the most active Sufi saints in the Eurasian Steppe regions during the post-Mongol period. The early Qongrat khans were eager to secure the support of Sayyid Ata's descendants for their campaign to conquer the Aral region by establishing marital ties with them and making religious donations for the tombs of Sayyid Ata and his tutor, Hakim Ata. The early Qongrat khans formed ties with the Ishans of Khojaeli, who were supposedly descendants of Sayyid Ata. The Ishans of Khojaeli served as administrators for the tomb of Sufi saints near Khojaeli, received respect from local inhabitants, and became mediators between the Khivan and Aral armies when the latter continued to wage fierce battles for the rule of Khojaeli, a strategic point on the border between the southern sedentary and northern semi-sedentary and semi-nomadic zones. By analyzing descriptions from the Qongrat court chronicles, *Firdaws al-iqbāl*, and information from field surveys conducted in the Khanate of Khiva in 1873, the author argues that the relationship between the Qongrat dynasty and the Ishans of Khojaeli was ideologically based on the early Qongrat rulers' piety toward the latter, who claimed to be the descendants of Sayyid Ata. Additionally, this connection favored the early Qongrat leaders' political and military conquest of the Aral region and aided in the establishment of a united royal authority over the Khorezm oasis. Consequently, the author argues that the Qongrat rulers tried to combine ideals and religious piety with their political and military motives.

Keywords: Khanate of Khiva, Khorezm, Aral region, Atā'īya order, Sufi saint, Sayyid Ata.

19世紀初蘇菲派聖賽義德·阿塔後裔與希瓦可汗的聯繫

賽義德·阿塔是後蒙古時期歐亞草原地區最活躍的蘇菲派聖人之一。早期的Qongrat可汗渴望通過與賽義德·阿塔(Sayyid Ata)的後代建立婚姻關係並為賽義德·阿塔(Sayyid Ata)及其導師哈基姆·阿塔(Hakim Ata)的陵墓進行宗教捐

贈，來獲得賽義德·阿塔 (Sayyid Ata) 後裔的支持，以支持他們征服鹹海地區。早期的Qongrat可汗與Khojaeli的Ishans建立了聯繫，他們被認為是Sayyid Ata的後裔。Khojaeli的Ishans擔任Khojaeli附近蘇菲聖徒墓的管理員，受到當地居民的尊重，並成為Khiva和Aral軍隊之間的冥想者，當後者繼續為Khojaeli的統治進行激烈的戰鬥時南部定居區與北部半定居半游牧區之間的邊界。作者通過分析瓊格拉特朝廷編年史《Firdaws al-iqbāl》的描述，以及1873年在希瓦汗國進行的實地調查的信息，認為瓊格拉特王朝與霍賈埃里的伊山人之間的關係在意識形態上是基於早期的瓊格拉特統治者對後者的虔誠，後者自稱是賽義德·阿塔的后代。此外，這種聯繫有利於早期的Qongrat領導人對鹹海地區的政治和軍事征服，並有助於在Khorezm綠洲上建立統一的皇家權威。因此，作者認為，Qongrat統治者試圖將理想和宗教虔誠與他們的政治和軍事動機結合起來。

關鍵詞： 希瓦汗國，花刺子模，鹹海地區，Atā'rya 教團，蘇菲聖人，賽義德·阿塔

Erdem UÇAR

<t̄w̄gzlgTG>t̄üg(ü)zl(ü)g (a)t(i)γ - eine neue Lesart zu <t̄w̄gnlgTG> t̄ög(ü)nl(ü)g (a)t(i)γ in den Tuñuquq-Inschriften (II, Ostseite 4 [= Kolumne 54])

The Tuñuquq inscription consists of two separate stones. The first stone is preserved in better condition than the other stone. The inscriptions were erected by Tuñuquq, advisor and statesman of the Türk Khanate. This article focuses on the phrase <t̄w̄gnlgTG> in line 54 of the inscriptions. This contribution proposes a new reading and interpretation of the phrase based on historical evidence. Unlike previous interpretations, I arrive at the conclusion that the phrase <t̄w̄gzlgTG> can be read as *t̄üg(ü)zl(ü)g (a)t(i)γ* and that the phrase here means ‘horse with blaze (on the forehead)’.

Keywords: Old Turkic, Tuñuquq inscriptions, the line 54, Dīvān Luyāt at-Türk, *t̄üg(ü)zl(ü)g (a)t(i)γ*

<t̄w̄gzlgTG> t̄üg (ü) zl (ü) g (a) t (i) γ - Tuñuquq 銘文中<t̄w̄gnlgTG> t̄ög (ü) nl (ü) g (a) t (i) γ 的新解讀 (II, 東側 4 [= 第 54 列])

Tuñuquq 銘文由兩塊獨立的石頭組成。第一塊石頭比另一塊石頭保存得更好。這些銘文由突厥汗國的顧問和政治家圖努庫克 (Tuñuquq) 豎立。本文重點介紹銘文第 54 行中的短語 <t̄w̄gnlgTG>。這一貢獻提出了基於歷史證據的短語的新閱讀和解釋。與之前的解釋不同，我得出的結論是，短語 <t̄w̄gzlgTG> 可以讀作 *t̄üg(ü)zl(ü)g (a)t(i)γ* 並且這裡的短語的意思是“有火焰的馬（在額頭上）”。

關鍵詞：古突厥語，Tuñuquq 銘文，第 54 行，Dīvān Luyāt at-Türk, tüg(ü)zl(ü)g (a)t(1)γ。

Maksim VYZHLAKOV

Nuances of disappearing and destroying in Tocharian A: The semantics of the verbs *näk-*, *wik-*, *mänt-*, *spärk-*, *nut-*, and *musk-*

There are at least six verbs of disappearance and destruction in Tocharian A that are often translated synonymously, *näk-*, *wik-*, *mänt-*, *spärk-*, *nut-*, and *musk-*. The analysis provided in this paper shows that *näk-* is the “main” verb in this group, having the largest number of examples and the widest semantics, ‘to destroy (including physically); to lose something precious (particularly life); to be destroyed; to perish; to disappear (mainly by dissipating or supernaturally)’. *Wik-* has a more specific meaning, ‘to disappear (of something bad); to drive away, to remove (something bad)’. *Spärk-* also tends to have a narrower meaning than *näk-*, that is ‘to vanish, to disappear (from one’s sight, not supernaturally)’. Its causative paradigm means either ‘to cause to disappear, remove; to be destroyed (not physically)’ or ‘to break a normal way/functioning of a process [e.g. fulfilment of wishes]’. The most surprising result is that the other two verbs, *mänt-* and *nut-*, probably are not synonymous to the discussed lexemes at all. *Mänt-* means ‘to violate, to defile; to be angry, to scold; to be violated, defiled’, and the semantics of *nut-* can be generally described as ‘to end, to be stopped; to cease, to stop’. *Musk-* is the only case where the evidence is so scarce and uninformative that it is hard to offer a more specific translation than ‘to disappear; to destroy’.

Keywords: Tocharian languages, Tocharian A, synonyms, verbs, semantics, ‘destroy’, ‘disappear’

Tocharian A 中消失和破壞的細微差別：動詞 *näk-*、*wik-*、*mänt-*、*spärk-*、*nut-* 和 *musk-* 的語義

在吐火羅語 A 中，至少有六個表示消失和毀滅的動詞通常被翻譯為同義詞，*näk-*、*wik-*、*mänt-*、*spärk-*、*nut-* 和 *musk-*。本文提供的分析表明，*näk-* 是該組中的“主要”動詞，示例數量最多，語義最廣，“破壞（包括物理）；失去一些珍貴的東西（尤其是生命）；被摧毀；滅亡；消失（主要是通過消散或超自然）”。*Wik-* 具有更具體的含義，“消失（壞事）；”趕走，移除（壞事）”。*Spärk-* 的含義也往往比 *näk-* 更窄，即“消失，消失（從一個人的視線中，而不是超自然地）”。它的因果範式意味著“導致消失，去除；被破壞（不是物理上的）”或“破壞過程的正常方式/功能[例如實現願望]”。最令人驚訝的結果是另外兩個動詞 *mänt-* 和 *nut-* 可能根本不是所討論的詞素的同義詞。*Mänt-* 意思是“侵犯，玷污；生氣，罵人；被侵犯，被玷污”，*nut-* 的語義一般可以描述為“結

束，被停止；停止，停止’。馬斯克-是唯一一個證據如此稀缺且信息量如此之大的案例，以至於很難提供比“消失”更具體的翻譯；摧毀’。

關鍵詞：吐火羅語，吐火羅語 A，同義詞，動詞，語義，“破壞”，“消失”

WANG Yingzi 汪穎子

Jerim League during the Late Qing Reforms (1907–1911) as a Case Study of Late Imperial China’s Frontier Policy and Inter-Ethnic Administration

When it comes to the creation of local identity, there are few factors that would outweigh the name of the surrounding country. Given the importance of the Mongol and Manchu populations during the construction of the Qing empire in the seventeenth century, it is not surprising that the Qing state took the utmost care when allocating administrative systems to these two key populations in Mongolia and Manchuria. The Mongolian Jerim League, for the most part of the Qing era, was controlled under a dual-management system, which allowed for both the League-Banner system and a civilian administrative system to coexist. As a consequence of the late Qing reforms (*xinzheng* 新政), the number of Han Chinese migrants entering the Jerim League territory increased significantly. The new demographic distribution warranted a series of administrative changes, leading to new institutions which appeared in the Jerim League. This region, bordering Manchuria, was divided in 1907 into the three jurisdictions of Shengjing 盛京, Jilin 吉林 and Heilongjiang 黑龍江 – mirroring the threefold division of Manchuria into the “Three Provinces of the North East”. While the Jerim League of Inner Mongolian region became absorbed into the new Manchurian provinces, the west part of Mongolian region maintained considerable independence – a division which continues to exist until this day.

This article argues that in order to maintain stability and to prevent the division of the Inner Mongolian region, the League-Banner system governing the Jerim League had to be adjusted, it becoming part of post-Reform Manchuria. The Jerim League reforms are therefore a case study of Qing frontier policy and of multi-ethnic administration on the cusp of the Republican era.

Keywords: Late Qing Reforms, Jerim League, Mongolian Banner System, Manchuria, border governance

清末新政時期(1907-1911年)的哲里木盟——以晚清邊疆政策和民族管理為例

考慮到蒙古和滿洲人口在17世紀建立清帝國時的重要性，清政府在蒙古和東北地區這兩個地區建立以其主要人口為導向的行政制度時，非常小心也就不足為奇了。而屬於蒙地的哲里木盟在清代的大部分時間裡，實行雙重管理體制，即盟旗制度和民治管理制度並存。到了晚清，尤其在清末改革(新政)時期，漢族移民的數量進入此地區顯著增加。新的人口組成需要一系列的行政調整，也讓

更多新的民治機構出現在哲里木盟。而這塊與東北地區相接壤的蒙地，最終在1907年被劃分為三部分，分別由盛京、吉林和黑龍江省進行管轄。當屬於內蒙地區的哲里木盟被併入新政改革後的東三省時，西部蒙古地區則保持了相當大的獨立——這種分裂一直持續到今天。

本文認為，為維護穩定，防止內蒙地區分裂，清政府選擇調整哲里木盟原有的盟旗制度，使其成為東北三省行政管轄的一部分。由此，對於哲里木盟的行政改革的探討是對清政府邊疆政策和多民族管理的一個個案研究

關鍵詞：清末新政，哲里木盟，蒙旗制度，東北三省，邊疆治理

The Horse in Bohai and Jurchen Societies – Based on Osteological Studies from the Southern Part of the Russian Far East¹

Alexander Alexeevich Kim / КИМ Александр Алексеевич

Владивостокский Государственный Университет Экономики и Сервиса

Vladivostok State University of Economics and Service

The role of the horse (*Equus caballus*) in the history of the Bohai and Jurchen states is well-known. It was intensively used in agriculture, hunting, warfare and transportation. Chinese annals furthermore provide copious information about horses used in the military operations waged from Bohai or Jurchen territory. The state of Bohai (Russ.: Бохай; Kor.: Parhae 발해; Chin./Jap.: Bohai/Bokkai 渤海) existed in what is now the Russian Maritime Region (Primorskij kraj/Приморский край), North Korea and Northeastern China from the late 7th to the early 10th centuries A.D. The Jurchen (Chin.: 女真; Russ.: чжурчжэни; Kor.: 여진) established several states, most notably the Jin 金 (Jur.: *amba-an antfu-un*, Great Golden) empire (1115–1234). The Manchu-led Qing 清 empire (Man.: *Daiqing gurun* 1644–1912) can in many ways be regarded as a successor state to the Jin.

The study of the Bohai and Jurchen sites in Russia began in the period 1820–1850 when Nikita Bichurin / Никита Бичурин (the Archimandrite Iakinф / архимандрит Иакинф), Viacheslav Gorskiј / Вячеслав Горский and Vasilii Vasil'ev / Василий Васильев translated several Manchu, Chinese and Korean texts on the Jin Empire and the Bohai people (Kim 2011), supplementing a great number of fragments from Chinese, Korean and Japanese annals about Mohe, Bohai and the Jurchen. However, these materials could not provide much insight concerning horses. In their stead, archaeological material can add new information, in particular osteological evidence. Since work with osteological remains is complicated and not inexpensive, Russian scholars in the Primorye region lack the resources to carry out excavations.

Early strata in Bohai sites abound with bones of young bulls, while in later layers the bones of older bulls have been found. One logical conclusion has been that the earliest Bohai settlers raised bulls for beef, but that in later periods, bulls were used as agrarian draft animals, their meat only being consumed when bulls became ill or

1 This article was prepared with support by the DAAD and the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science.

grew too old for fieldwork (Kim 2017). Such evidence therefore also reveals how Bohai agriculture developed in this region.

Despite the great number of Bohai and Jurchen sites excavated by Russian and Soviet archaeologists (more than 200) and a considerable number of archaeological publications (Han 2006), Russian experts tended to neglect osteological evidence. The first osteological studies were published by Ernestina Vital'evna Alekseeva / Эрнестина Витальевна Алексеева, Vladislav Innokent'evich Boldin / Владислав Иннокентьевич Болдин and Lyudmila Efimovna Semenichenko / Людмила Ефимовна Семениченко in the 1980s. These Soviet scholars analysed fragments of animal bones which had been found in the Shajginskoe, Nikolaevskoe-II and Novogordecvskoe sites (Alekseeva & Shavkunov 1983). Shavkunov, Boldin and Semenichenko had studied archaeology, whereas Alekseeva majored in paleozoology.

However, by the end of the 1990s, Alekseeva moved to Siberia, to complete research on osteological material, incl. fish and birds, which other scholars could not identify. In the following decades, only small collectives of scholars conducted research at medieval sites, generally of brief duration (Kim 2017). On the basis of such osteological materials, we can see that in the earliest periods (Sushen 肅慎 and Pou 挹婁) the inhabitants of the modern Primorye region did not breed horses (Okladnikov 1959; Okladnikov & Derevyanko 1973) but rather pigs, supplemented by fishery and hunting. Not even one horse bone could be discovered in excavations of ancient settlements. The Chinese, Korean and Japanese annals lack information about economic activity in the southern part of today's Russian Far East, which is why we can conclude that in the early era horses simply did not exist.

Horse bones were found by Soviet archaeologists at early medieval sites, namely Mohe settlements. During this time, Mohe tribes (Russ.: Мохэ; Chin.: 莫何 靺鞨; Kor.: Malgal 말갈) arrived in the territory of the modern Russian Far East from the Altai region (Okladnikov 1959). They were nomadic groups who used horses for many aims. The Mohe subjected the aboriginal populations of the modern Primorye region and later became assimilated with these. The Mohe also started to use the *kang* (a heating system used in East Asia, usually located under the floor and possessing two or three channels for hot air), learnt how to breed pigs while giving the local tribes new elements of their own culture and economic activity, for example horse breeding. The Mohe remained in this area from the third to the eleventh century and played a major role in managing relations between the Chinese empires, Korean kingdoms and Bohai.

Horseback riding became a hallmark of the region and the Mohe gained fame as warriors and horseback archers. The Mohe took active part in military conflicts between states on the Korean peninsula and with Chinese empires, which is well documented in the historical annals. Despite the importance of horsemanship during the Mohe period, Soviet scholars did not systematically quantify horse bones (Kim 2017). For example, Novogordecvskoe played a big role in Soviet Bohai studies in the 1980s. The ancient town of Novogordecvskoe is located near a village which bears the same name. It is a multilayer site which included two Bohai layers. Situ-

ated near the Arsenyevka River, it has two layers with Bohai remnants. During the excavations of 1972–1973, Soviet archeologists collected a number of artifacts and remains, including 5,500 animal bones or bone fragments (Alekseeva, Boldin 1989). But they did not identify such osteological evidence.

The Novogordevskoe / Новогордеевское site by the Arsenyevka / Арсеньевка, river (pre-Russified name: Daubi-He / Даубйхе) was discovered in 1887 by Fedor Fedorovich Busse / Федор Федорович Буссе, chairman of the Society for the Study of the Amur Region (Obshhestvo izucheniia Amurskogo kraia / Общество изучения Амурского края). However, it was not before E. V. Shavkunov's excavation of 1965/6 that archaeological fieldwork was carried out. Several ancient and medieval cultural layers were discovered and Shavkunov obtained a sizeable number of archaeological artifacts, securing this site for future excavations. The next Soviet archaeologist to work at Novogordevskoe was L. E. Semenichenko, who excavated medieval layers during 1970–1973. She found many archaeological artifacts, paid attention to osteological materials and collected animal bones from this site. The third scholar to arrive was V. I. Boldin, during the field seasons of 1986 and 1987. Also he discovered a great number of archaeological artifacts and osteological finds (Alekseeva & Boldin 1989). The three Soviet had all been trained in Bohai and Jurchen studies.

In the above-mentioned Bohai sites, Soviet specialists excavated bones of foxes, bears, badgers, forest pigs, otters, sables, martens, weasels, elks, spotty deers, Manchurian and white hares, beavers, squirrels, raccoons, dogs *et cetera*, as well as bones of household animals – dogs, horses, swine, cattle and fowl (Alekseeva & Boldin 1986). However, many bones had been broken by humans or damaged by rodents. Alekseeva analysed the collected materials and concluded that some bones could not be identified. Moreover, the contemporary research equipment was not advanced and computer support absent. Small bone fragments or unknown osteological materials could not be identified as belonging to certain animals. In Bohai, layers the bones of wild animals consisted of 23.2–26 percent and of household animals 74–76.8 percent of all collected osteological materials.

The Konstantinovskoe site has several layers, from the Neolithic period to the period of the Korean village, which existed until the 1930s (period of the Stalinist repressions). We can therefore deduce that this location provided security and material comfort. Russian archaeologists excavated part of this site (Bohai and Jurchen layers) in 1992–1993 and found close to 3,000 bones (Alekseeva & Boldin 1994). When Russian scholars analysed evidence of domestic animals in Konstantinovskoe, the bones of, for example, dogs (Canidae), horses (*Equus caballus*), pigs (Suidae) and bulls (Bovidae) were found – alongside bones of parasitic animals such as mice (*Microtus*) and rats (*Rattus*).

Alekseeva compared bones of domesticated (pig, dog) and wild (fox, deer) animals and concluded that some medieval animals differed greatly from modern animals in bone structure. The results of her excavation show the changes in agriculture in this region. Based on their analysis of osteological materials, the specialists could

state that in the earliest layer of Konstantinovskoe locality, dog meat played a big role, but in the late layer the situation had changed – medieval inhabitants became eaters of pork. Hence pig-breeding developed and Bohai people began to use dogs mainly for hunting and as sentry animals. Certainly, inhabitants of this site ate dogs, but not in large numbers like one or two centuries before.

We can see the same situation in horse breeding. In the earliest period, Russian scholars found horse bones, which consisted of 14,3 % of all osteological materials from this layer, but in the late layer horse remains merely amounted to 3.1 percent. All bones belonged to adult animals, which were small in size. This information confirmed Chinese and Korean annals about the dietary habits of Bohai, who did not consume horse meat. It was probably a tradition taken over from the equestrian Mohe, who like other nomadic tribes valued horses too much to consume them as food. The quality of horses as friendly peers on their eternal journeying is reflected in the Turkmen saying: *Irden turda atyňy gör, ataňdan soň ataňy* (Awakening in the morning, call first on your father, and then on your horse) (Kim & Nazarova 2017).

The Mohe were of crucial importance in the establishment of Bohai state, reflected in the great number of Mohe-Bohai sites in the modern Primorye region. Whatever their cultural development and size, almost all of them produced great amounts of equine bones, except for the rather exceptional Utesnoe-4 (Kim & Burdonov & Mezentsev 2020). Archaeological artifacts, such as remnants of harnesses, provide information about the use of horses in economic activity, as well as for the important aspect of transport and riding while hunting (Alekseeva & Boldin 1989).

The same goes for cultural ceremonies, such as sacrifices. However, the major role in sacrificial rites was allocated to the pig, followed by the horse. In our region, we can state that the aboriginal inhabitants were swineherds, with particularly many sacrifices of pigs having been proven for the settlements of Ilou (Okladnikov & Derevyanko 1973), which existed for long time before the arrival of the Mohe tribes. When and where horses could become sacrificial objects is unclear. We can make conjectures based on certain traditions amongst the modern descendants of the Jurchen, esp. the Nanai, Udigae or other minorities of the Russian Far East. Such sacrifices may not necessarily have involved horses, but could have involved useful household animals (Samar), in particular during times of natural disasters or serious illness.

Osteological materials at Jurchen sites suggest the important role of horses. Equine bones (324 pieces or fragments) rank second after bovine (*Bos Taurus*) bones (2,105) (Alekseeva & Shavkunov 1983). Russian archaeologists such as Alekseeva explained the absence of sheds for household animals at the Shajginskoe site with the fact that the animals generally stayed on the farmstead but in winter inside the home. In her research, Alekseeva found that 80–90 percent of bones belonged to small-size horses. This horse had a long body and was of short stature in comparison with normal-sized horses (*Equus ferus caballus*) (Alekseeva & Shavkunov 1983). Initially, Alekseeva believed that this “Mohe horse” was an indigenous, rather minute, pony-like animal (Alekseeva & Shavkunov 1983). She later changed her opin-

ion to having originated from the Korean peninsula (Alekseeva & Besednov 1996), because such horses had been verified during the Koguryo period. Research during the 1990s, however, convinced her of significant differences to Korean horses, found many differences in the bone structures between the Korean and Mohe horses. As result, Alekseeva started to imagine the Mohe-Bohai-Jurchen horse as a kind of the cave forest animal, which was relatively recent. Other animal bones found were those of the hyena (or a similar animal), gopher (extinct in Far East Russia), reindeer (ditto) and beaver. Artem'eva posits, following excavations at a number of Jurchen sites, that these horses were Przewalski horses² (*Equus przewalskii* caballus, see picture 1), since this horse could be found in the modern Primorye region until recently.

However, both positions are not unproblematic from an archaeological viewpoint. Firstly, the tribes of the modern south of the Russian Far East did not leave behind any equine bones, including any of the Mohe horse. Therefore, we can conclude that the horse used by the Mohe was not a local animal, thus not at home in forest caves. However, in our opinion, Alekseeva was right about the Mohe horse as a forest animal. We believe that this horse arrived with Mohe tribes in the territory of the modern Primorye region and Manchuria. Since the Mohe originated in the Altai region, the Mohe horse must also stem from there.

The fauna of the Altai region is only home to two types of local horses: the Mongolian horse (see picture 3) and the Yakutian horse (see picture 2). However, the Mongolian horse measures 120 cm at the withers, whereas osteological evidence from Bohai and Jurchen sites in the Primorye suggests that the Mohe horse reached nearly 135 cm and its Yakutian counterpart around 140 cm. The Mohe horse, in our opinion, was related to the Yakutian horse, for a number of reasons explained as follows.

Both the Mongolian and the Przewalski horses have developed molars, but as herbivores both horses lack strong incisors. The Mohe horse, however, has both developed molars and incisors. The Yakutian horse shares this characteristic, using its developed incisors for eating tree bark and also for defending itself against wild dogs and wolves. Its molars allow the Yakutian horse to function as an effective grass eater. All taken into account, the Yakutian horse is more adapted to life in the forest, compared to others. We can thus conclude that Alekseeva's hypothesis of the Mohe horse as a forest dweller was accurate.

We can observe that in Bohai sites on today's Russian territory nearly 90 percent of equine bones belonged to Mohe horses, and 80 percent in Jurchen sites. But although both populations entertained intensive trade contacts with China, they nevertheless preferred small horses. The Primorye region was peripheral to the Bohai state and to the Jurchen empire, largely located in Manchuria, while the situation concerning horses in northeastern and central China was different. In the provinces with developed Chinese agriculture, the population preferred to work with *Equus ferus caballus*, dictated by the material conditions and economic activity of the

2 Private discussion in 2005.

inhabitants. However, for the Bohai and Jurchen people the small horse was more important in other aspects.

The Bohai army consisted close to 80 percent of cavalry, an effective weapon in the war of 732–733 between Bohai and the Tang empire. Small horses were used by the Bohai forces because they could move over rugged terrain. The Yakutian horse could accomplish the same, but this was impossible for an *Equus ferus caballus*. Moreover, these horses took part in the hunting by battue practised by Bohai and Jurchen game hunters, attacking their prey from two flanks – which was also a method of attack employed by the cavalries of nomadic armies. As a result of this type of hunting, Mohe horse had experience in big game hunting (tigers, elks or bears), undeterred by arrows or big animals (such as the Bactrian camels used in Mongolia and Manchuria). Mohe horses consume different kinds of the food, including grass and bark, and are generally highly agile forest animals. With such a wondrous weapon, the Bohai army in 732 effectively expelled the Chinese army from Manchuria, only to be halted near Madoushan Mountain (bordering today's Great Wall) after the Chinese military resorted to blocking the road with large rocks (Kim 2015). This, of course, proved to be an insurmountable obstacle even to the Mohe cavalry.

The Jurchens were highly developed horse breeders. During its formative years, the Jurchen army of the Jin state (1115–1235) consisted between 70 and 90 percent of cavalrymen. According to materials from the *Liao shi* 遼史 (History of the Liao Empire), the Khitan waged military expeditions against Jurchen tribes in 11th century. In one single expedition against Jurchen tribes, the Khitans received near 200,000 horses as their trophy (Vorob'ev 1975). Osteological research has shown that these horses were small in size. Such horses were not only important for Jurchen military and economic activity, many of them were reared for export. The states of the Korean peninsula were avid importers of horses from the Jurchen tribes.

Chinese annals referred to the Jurchen cavalry of the Jin to the effect that they used small horses in warfare, despite also having normal-sized horses. Because the Mohe horse can move in temperatures ranging from plus 40 to minus 60 degrees Celsius, it was very useful in wars in central China between autumn and spring. This property influenced the military activity of the Jin against the Song armies, mostly in the autumn and winter months. When the Jurchen cavalry became active in the Mongolian steppe in the 1130s (Goncharov 1986), they successfully battled against Mongol tribes. These two examples show that Mohe horses adapted to greatly varying circumstances – conditions that would have been impossible for the *Equus ferus caballus*. Modern Mongolian and Yakutian horses, however, are fully capable of doing so.

During the winter, household animals normally stayed indoors in the living quarters (Alekseeva & Shavkunov 1983). For horses, however, this was impossible, because Jurchen homes were small and concentrated near the kang. The kang played a very important role for family life in the Bohai and Jurchen periods, especially in the winter periods. Usually, Jurchen families were big, a fact confirmed by archaeologi-

cal and written sources. In this situation, horses would not have had a place in an ordinary Jurchen house. This would have been the case in the homes of wealthier Jurchens, but most cavalymen were ordinary commoners.

Moreover, during military expeditions many Jurchen rode two horses as minimum: one horse for transport and one for battle. We also note that each Jurchen horseman had an *ališi* (armour-bearer) (Vorob'ev 1975), each of whom also had two horses: one horse for transport, the other for baggage. Baggage would include food, armour, weapons, medication, tents and receptacles for spoils. Therefore, *ališi* sometimes had two horses for baggage. Moreover, in annals we read of "armoured *ališi*", which indicates that in some cases *ališi* took part in battles. Clearly, their baggage would include weapons and armour both for the warrior and for the *ališi*. In almost all cases, the principal warrior and the *ališi* were relatives from the same house, such as father and son.

How would a family have accommodated four horses, as a minimum number? This would have necessitated a stable, not a human accommodation as with a single horse. This challenge was accomplished by means of the *meng'an-mouke* 猛安謀克 (Jur.: *miŋgan moumukə*) formula, the fundamental socio-economic system which united the economic aspects of a household with its military duties. The heads of the *meng'an-mouke* unit belonged to the Jurchen aristocracy and military elite and the system itself played a big role in all aspects of Jurchen society (Kim 2012). Each *meng'an* consisted of 10 *mouke*. One *mouke* included 100 houses (Vorob'ev 1975). Apart from its defensive role, *mouke* looked after specific herds of horses during the night, especially in walled compounds. Moreover, in each Jurchen city we observe vast open spaces, used by the population to let herds of horses graze. Probably, these herds were under the control of a civilian *mouke* head.

For this reason we believe that in Bohai and Jurchen towns and settlements, horses stayed outside people's homes. Horses in Mohe, Bohai and Jurchen settlements thus must have had a thick layer of body hair in order to endure the severity of the winter. We assume that the Bohai had a system resembling *mouke*. Because after the destruction of the Bohai state by Khitans in 926, the Bohai people organised themselves for emigration to Koryo, moving in groups of 100, 300 and 500 households (Kim 2019). These numbers are similar to the *mouke* system and suggest that their horses were kept in the same way. During the Manchu era, the *mouke* system was transformed to one of *mukun*, each consisting of 100 houses (Vorob'ev 1975) and each *mukun* sharing a common herd of horses.

Temperatures in a winter night in the Primorye region can plunge to minus 50 degrees, but we know for certain that even 40 degrees subzero is not comfortable for a Przewalski horse. Yakutian horses, however, can withstand temperatures of minus 60 degrees, and are thus popular with the aboriginal populations in the Republic of Saha. The attached pictures illustrate that Mongolian and Yakutian horses are richly covered in hair. As we can see, the osteological evidence from Bohai and Jurchen sites can complement historical information on these medieval societies and provide a basis for analysing the economic system of the medieval Far East.

Skeletons of the Yakutian and Mohe horses are similar in many details, but Mohe horses can frequently be recognised by the saline bulges on their bones, a problem possibly related to malnutrition (Alekseeva & Besednov 1996). However, since Bohai and Jurchen warriors used this animal for hunting and warfare, they are likely to have provided good nutrition for their Mohe horses. After all, they depended on their horses in many ways.

We can thus conclude that the small horse which lived in the south part of the Russian Far East during the Mohe, Bohai and Jurchen periods, was very much akin to the Yakutian horse. As a result of Manchu military activity, in 16th–17th C. almost all inhabitants in today's Primorye moved to Manchuria with their domestic animals, including horses. Only small groups of aboriginal populations remained, who lived in deep forests and did not use horses, invisible to the Manchu army. Once Russian military contingents arrived in the modern Primorye region during the second half of the 19th century, they did not encounter any kind of horse.

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IllustrationsPicture 1: Przewalski horse³Picture 2: Yakutian horse⁴Picture 3: Mongolian horse⁵

3 <https://sun9-75.userapi.com/impf/c850420/v850420995/9f20a/d9lnpUu0ukY.jpg?size=275x224&quality=96&sign=ebf592b7b090e19d636953649718f17c&type=album> (13.12.2021).

4 <https://agrostory.com/upload/medialibrary/e6c/e6c40e3e100b5e72b9a9acb8cb94f7ac.jpg> (13.12.2021).

5 https://avatars.mds.yandex.net/get-zen_doc/3431006/pub_5ee5b0dc7cadb75a66e4b200_5ee5d9a1c2a70a25b386b387/scale_1200 (13.12.2021).