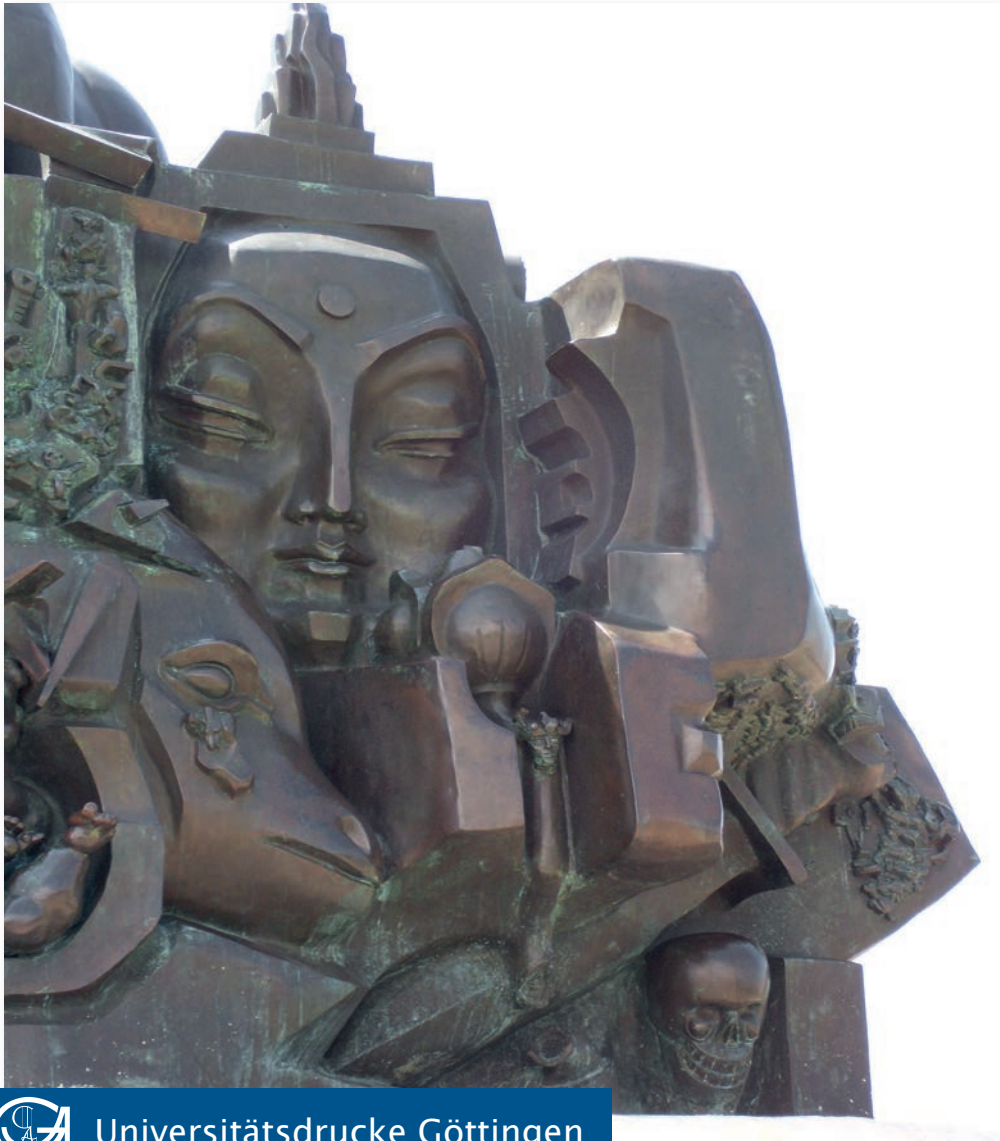


Johannes Reckel and Merle Schatz (Eds.)

Oirat and Kalmyk Identity in the 20th and 21st Century



Universitätsdrucke Göttingen

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Titelabbildung: Johannes Reckel: Detail from the monument “Exodus and Return” in Elista, Kalmykia, Russia.

The monument “Exodus and Return” was opened on December 29th, 1996 in Elista in memory of the deportation of the Kalmyk people in 1943, and the victims of Stalinist repression. The architect of the monument is Sergey Kurneeov, sculptor Ernst Neizvestny. The monument was cast in bronze in New York, USA. The monument stands on a hilltop overlooking Elista and the Kalmyk steppe. The deportation is remembered at this monument each year on December 28th as the day in 1943 when nearly all Kalmyks were arrested in Kalmykia and consequently deported.

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Introduction

Johannes Reckel and Merle Schatz

The international conference on Oirat-Kalmyk identity took place from 21st to 23rd February in 2018 at the State and University Library Göttingen (SUB). It stood in the tradition of to date four conferences with reference to Central Asia, which have been held at the SUB Göttingen since 2014. Scholars from China, Kalmykia (Russia) and Mongolia discussed with colleagues from Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic, France, Japan and Germany the future of the language and culture of the West Mongolian Oirat people. Oirats are widely scattered between the Caspian Sea and Western China. They are called Kalmyks in Russia and dominated the Central Asian steppes for more than three centuries until in 1758 the Dzungar Empire was destroyed by the Manchu-Chinese Qing Dynasty. After 1758, the name Dzungar was banned and the ethnonym Eleut (Ölöt) had to be used. Since around 1600 the Kalmyks, as part of the Oirats, have lived in the steppes north of the Caspian Sea.

Unlike the Eastern Mongols, who live in the Republic of Mongolia and also inhabit large areas of Inner Mongolia (China) and as Buryat in Russia, the Western Mongols live in the diaspora in smaller communities together with other ethnic groups such as Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Uighurs. They are exposed to assimilation pressure from Russians and Chinese, but also from the Eastern Mongolian Khalka of Mongolia. At the same time, they are embedded in multi-ethnic social structures in which they have developed a great deal of adaptability to the environment as much as a conception of the own identity as one result from the coexistence of many smaller ethnic groups sharing life and space with peoples or other and larger ethnic groups. In consequence, this often means to negotiate in different political power

structures against the background of different socio-cultural convictions, in which the actors involved defend their particular ideas of cultural identity and nationality.

The battle of Stalingrad ended in February 1943. One year before, German troops had invaded the Kalmyk Autonomous Socialist Republic south of Stalingrad, today's Volgograd, and had occupied the Kalmyk capital Elista. However, many districts of Kalmykia remained in Soviet hands. A few months after their withdrawal, all Kalmyks were deported to Siberia in December 1943 and were not allowed to return home until 1956/57. The Republic of Kalmykia was dissolved in 1943 and re-established in 1958. This has left its traces until today: Kalmyk parents did not dare anymore to speak to their children in Kalmyk language after 1943 and the Kalmyk language disappeared from the public sphere. Today it is one of the endangered languages. For various reasons and different historical developments, the Oirat and Kalmyk language also is endangered in China, Mongolia and Kyrgyzstan.

The linguistic community of the Oirat-Kalmyk, who had been using their own script since 1648, remained intact across national borders until the 1930s. These national borders were originally of little importance to nomadic people. Due to the introduction of different non-Oirat scripts – the Cyrillic script in the Soviet Union and in Mongolia, but the traditional Uighur-Mongolian script in China – and because of political strife and wars between China and the Soviet Union, the Oirats became a match ball of international politics. In the diaspora, Oirat groups struggled to maintain a common cultural identity and language. Often, however, this is seen as a typical characteristic of identity, regardless of whether the group members still master it. Beginning in the 1990s the search for common roots restarted again, a search that has been made more difficult by different historical experiences in the 20th century, which have left deep traces up to today.

Since the conference also included the themes of language loss and language preservation, language development, language usage and the relevance of language and identity, both, these topics and new possible concepts for the future of the Oirat-Kalmyk language, were part of comprehensive critical discussions. Just like the Mongolians living in China, Oirats and Kalmyks have different experiences and practices with regard to their own language use. Throughout the generations of all these groups, Mongolian became increasingly the language of the so-called low variety, i.e. spoken in families and among friends, and Russian or Chinese as a language of the higher variety in this environment is used and required in areas of public life. Participating in social life, means to do so in Russian, Chinese or Khalkha-Mongolian. This means that the language, to which one's own identity is tied, is increasingly receding into the background and therefor losing its relevance. This makes it even more important to draw attention to print media and school education to preserve the languages of these groups, who are recognized as a part of the multi-ethnic societies they live in. Identity is then also closely related to presence and memory (Schatz 2014; 2019).

For many years this has been the largest conference in Germany of researchers of Mongolian studies, and since 1966 the largest international conference explicitly dealing with the Oirates and Kalmyks. The “Oirat-Kalmyk Symposium” of 1966 mainly focused on Kalmyks who had emigrated to the USA after the Second World War, they are a group which is largely assimilated today. The conference in Göttingen was significant because for the first time it was possible to bring together scientists from the different Oirat and Kalmyk groups, who today live in four different states, with Western scientists for a common exchange. Memoranda between the SUB Göttingen and the Universities in Elista (Kalmykia), Karakol (Kyrgyzstan) and Hovd (Mongolia) were signed and a closer scientific cooperation among these four universities is the aim.

The conference provided a common scientific platform to discuss different approaches to the phenomenon of Oirat-Kalmyk cultural identity in the 20th and 21st centuries. The more than 50 high-ranking presentations showed the cultural and linguistic heritage from different perspectives such as youth culture, internet language, dances and songs up to pop music, as well as history, literature, linguistics and religion. The strong revival of Buddhism in almost all groups of the Oirats and Kalmyks makes the old religious texts relevant again today. Only the Kalmyks in Kyrgyzstan have converted to Islam, which connects this group more strongly with the neighboring Turkic peoples. The ethnonym “Kalmyk/kalmak” was probably originally coined by Turkic peoples, who called the Buddhist Oirates the “retards” who had not converted to Islam.

“Jangar”, the traditional national epic of the Oirats, tells the story of the hero Jangar, who rises to become Khan in the land of Bumba, continues to inspire young audiences up until now and was also the focus of several presentations at this conference. The mythical hero of prehistoric times, brought to life in the song of the Jangarchi accompanied by the sound of the Dombra, is a role model beyond religious boundaries for the Kalmyk-Oirat youth. A return to historical and mythical figures and a joint reappraisal of recent historical traumata make it easier to see how to shape one’s own future. The capital of Kalmykia, Elista, is today a city of many monuments that bring awareness to historical figures and events, as well as to Kalmyk culture.

The SUB Göttingen holds numerous old Oirat and Mongolian manuscripts and prints, which came to Göttingen mainly in the 18th century via an alumnus, Baron v. Asch, as well as the largest collection of modern Mongolian-language literature in Germany. The participants were given an insight into these treasures of the library in the manuscript reading room of the historical library building and in the modern open access library in the Cultural Studies Centre. A visit to the Ethnological Collection of the University, which has numerous important exhibits from Asia and especially Siberia, was another part of the conference. It ended on a Friday afternoon with a visit to the exhibition “Kalmyks – A Mongolian People in Europe” in the Cultural Science Centre, designed by Johannes Reckel. This exhibi-

tion was developed together with Lidija Wartmann-Burataeva, who also presented photos and documents describing the fate of her family, who together with most Kalmyks were exiled to Siberia in 1943.

Despite some online archives, where videos, audio recordings and photos are collected, a discussion with those concerned is necessary for an active approach to the preservation and development of the Oirat-Kalmyk culture, language and identity. Schoolbooks and the educational systems have a great influence on the preservation of a language and its usage and should be further improved in the home countries of the Oirats. In addition, a corpus-based dictionary of the modern Oirat written language and a textbook of Kalmyk with accompanying audio material are to be developed in joint projects. An online language course for modern Kalmyk was also called for as a desideratum. The participants want to stay in contact with each other and intend to work together for the future of the threatened culture and language of Oirats and Kalmyks.

This volume contains several contributions in the different languages of the participants and deals with various topics presented and discussed at the international conference on Oirat and Kalmyk Identity in the 20th and 21st Century.

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Databases and Archives

- Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR)*, School of Oriental and African Studies, London: <http://elar.soas.ac.uk/deposit/0310>
- Kalmyk Cultural Heritage Documentation Project* (Datenbank – Videos and Photos, Mongolia and Inner Asia Studies Unit, University of Cambridge.) <http://www.kalmykheritage.socanth.cam.ac.uk/en/about.php?language=en>
- Open Language Archives Community - OLAC resources in and about the Kalmyk language*: <http://www.language-archives.org/language/xal>
- Vanishing Languages and Cultural Heritage (VLACH: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften)*. Teilprojekt: Chingis Azydov: Kalmückisch in Kalmückien: <https://www.oeaw.ac.at/vlach/>

Key Note Speech

Jens Peter Laut

Dear honoured guests, dear colleagues!

My name is Jens Peter Laut, I am the Director of the *Department of Turkology and Central Asian Studies*, and it's a great honour to be able to welcome you here in Göttingen!

The horrible long title for this conference “The Oirat and Kalmyk in Mongolia, Russia, Kyrgyzstan and China – Looking for an Oirat-Kalmyk identity in the 20th and 21st century” reflects the unique situation of the Oirat-Kalmyk people.

Once one of the most powerful confederations of the Central Asian steppes, they are today dispersed over four countries, namely Russia, Mongolia, China and Kyrgyzstan and yet united through a common past, a common language.

The focus of this conference does not lie on division, though the different branches of the Oirat experienced different fates in the middle of the 20th century: revolutions, political campaigns and deportation that left scars until today.

But this conference shows vividly that old divisions are healing. Kalmyk and Oirat scholars from four countries have come together in Göttingen to discuss the development of Oirat culture and language starting from the time of the Oirat priest and scholar Zaya Pandita.

In the same year when in Germany one of the most devastating wars of thirty years had just come to an end (1648), he created a new script in the far away steppes of Central Asia that was to bring the development of written Mongolian a great step forward.

The written Oirat language was a uniting element between the different groups of Oirat that for the past 400 years have lived between the river Volga, the Kazakh steppes, the western borderland of China and the western fringes of what is now the Republic of Mongolia, between the Altai Mountains and the Caspian Sea. They led a nomadic life and moved over large distances. Today most of you have taken up the nomadic tradition and moved over hundreds or thousands of miles to Göttingen for this conference. Welcome to Göttingen, the city of science!

Which leaves me with talking about Mongolian Studies in Germany. One of the few remaining institutes for Mongolian Studies in Germany is at the university in Bonn. Thus, I am happy to announce that Prof. INES STOLPE from Bonn will attend this conference. She will arrive later though. German scholars first in Russia then in Germany started studying the Oirat and Mongol language, history and culture from the early 18th century onward. Names like JOHANN PHILIPP VON STRAHLENBERG or ISAAK JAKOB SCHMIDT are well known. They had direct contact with the Kalmyk and Oirat in Russia. BERNHARD JÜLG (1825-1886), who had studied in Berlin and Heidelberg, later became professor in Lwów, Krakau and Innsbruck and was the first who put his focus on Mongolian Studies as such. Towards the end of the 19th century Prof. WILHELM GRUBE started teaching Mongolian in Berlin. The universities in Leipzig and Bonn followed soon. WALTHER HEISSIG is probably the best known Mongolist from Germany.

The University of Goettingen also has a long-standing tradition on Central Asian Studies. In the 1920s and 1930s it was especially Prof. ERNST WALDSCHMIDT whose research in Turfan Studies in general and in Tocharian studies in particular was outstanding. His student JI XIANLIN later became a famous scholar in China.

The focus on Central Asia was taken up by the Department of Turkology and Central Asian Studies in Göttingen by Prof. GERHARD DOERFER from 1966 and continued until today. Today the focus of the Department of Turkology and Central Asian Studies not only lies on research in Old Uyghur texts but also on modern Mongolian language as taught by Dr. DULAMSUREN, who will (is) also be present today. Besides Modern Mongolian we are also engaged in researching Turko-Mongol relations throughout history, represented by Dr. HANS NUGTEREN and Dr. GÜLSCHEN SAKHATOVA.

Today most of you have come over great distances here to Göttingen. I am very glad to greet representatives from the Kalmyk State University named after B.B. GORODOVIKOV and the Academy of Sciences of Kalmykia, both in Elista, especially Prof. Dr. SODMON NAMZHAVIN, Dr. SVETLANA BATYREVA, Dr. ELZA DALDINOVA and so many more representatives from Elista, the capital of the Kalmyk Republic in Russia, also Prof. BAATR KITINOV, himself an expert of Kalmyk education and culture from Moscow.

From the University in Karakol, where the famous Russian explorer PRŽEWALSKI is buried and where Kyrgyz culture mixes with Dungan, Uigur and last not least also Kalmyk culture, two of our honoured guests have made the long

journey to Göttingen, Dr. ZUHRA ZAYNISHEVNA ABDUMANAPOVA and Dr. NAZGUL ABDYRAKMATOVA.

Prof. NYAMDORJ, Prof. BATSUURI and Dr. YANJINDULAM represent Khovd University in western Mongolia. Prof. Dr. TSEZEN JIGDENGOMBO from the Mongolian State University of Art and Culture and BATJAR BATKHUYAK KHURANDAA have come from the capital of Mongolia, Ulaanbaatar.

I am also pleased to greet an impressive number of Mongolian scholars from different universities and the Academy of Social Sciences from all over China. Let me just name a very few: Prof. ERDEMTU and Prof. SARANGEREL both from the Minzu University in Beijing, a university with close ties to our department of Turkology and Central Asian Studies here in Goettingen. Professors TSENGEL, ALTANOCHIR and DAMRINJAV represent the Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing, Prof. OYUN the Normal University of Inner Mongolia, and Prof. TAYA the University of Inner Mongolia. Other scholars come from the provinces of Gansu and Qinghai. And Dr. ARAI YUKIYASU represents Mongolian Studies in Japan.

Prof. AGNES BIRTALAN from Budapest, Prof. AGATA BAREJA-STARZYNSKA and Dr. ONDŘEJ SRBA represent the strong tradition of Mongolian studies in Eastern Europe. France is well represented by RAPHAEL BLANCHIER.

This conference also opens great opportunities for future mutual cooperation. This week three Agreements for Cooperation will be signed between the Universities in Elista, Khovd and Karakol and our State and University Library as part of Göttingen University. We all hope that many research projects and exchange of scholars between these universities will come to fruit in the future. May be even other universities will join to form a strong research network of Central Asian Studies, especially Oirat-Kalmyk Studies.

Dear colleagues, although it is very impressive to see all of you here, we must keep in mind the somewhat dangerous situation of the so-called “Small disciplines” all over Europe and also in some of your countries. In many cases we have to show more confidence towards certain modern developments. It is always a pleasure for me to cite the words of my dear colleague HANS VAN ESS, an expert for Chinese Studies:

We should not harp on about the neglected humanities – only perceived by the public as ‘whinging’. We must fight the inferiority complex which has seduced some people in our field to make trite offers to the outside world, thereby neglecting their true issues! Let us turn the tables. We were the ones who recognised the significance of globalisation long before those who nowadays continuously talk about it even knew how to spell the word. In fact, the majority still do not know what globalisation truly means as they shirk from being involved in what it really is: the understanding of other cultures and traditions from within and not just on the basis of Western theory. We should defend our scientific tradition against cheap but false attempts at modernisation!

I wish us all a fruitful discussion, new insights into Kalmyk and Oirat culture and a new vision for the future. May the Oirat-Kalmyk nation prosper!

The *Bii* of Western Mongolian Oirat-Groups and its Recent Changes: Originality, Ethnic Identity and the Problem of Transmission of Knowledge

Munkhtsatsal Altai

1 Introduction

This paper focuses on the surviving *bii* dance heritage of Oirats in Western Mongolia. It includes both folklore and professional tradition. Mongols generally call it *biyelgee* in Khalkha cyrillic. Under Oirats, it is rather known as *bii* and *biich* (performer) or *biigeeen biilnee* (to perform the *bii*). All individuals have their own gestural systems and rules in order to distinguish themselves. *Biich* use mainly the upper torso, arms and hands with stylized movements and often accompanied by *ikil* (two stringed fiddle without horse head), *torshuur*, *shudraga* (plucked lutes) during an official ceremony and *duut-bii* (*bii* with song accompaniment), which is only performed after the *nair-kebantgairakh* (end of the ceremony). Oirat groups reflect their daily life within social and religious contexts and the interrelationship between nature and animal movements such as horse gaits while presenting the *bii*.

In the 1940s and 1950s, the *bii* was organized with forms of folk dance in the frame of amateur associations. Furthermore, the ballet and modern dance have influenced this new genre, under the name of folklore. Later during the 1980s these national events have been intensified through the first performative festival of “Authentic Folk Arts Festival” where the performers appeared in arranged groups of *bii* with modernized *Morin Khuur* (horsehead-fiddle). Due to the political

change and the rise of democracy and market economy since 1990, another change has occurred in the cultural discourse of reviving the “old tradition”. In the recent decade, several projects have been organized through the Mongolian Government for the *bii* dance to protect, pass and popularize it in favour of Mongolian cultural heritage. However, I argue that the above-mentioned organizations have continuously responded to the global trends in the context of new nation building as revival procedure, instead of maintaining relations to the “social context” of folklore (Bascom 1954: 333–344) and the real transmission of local apprenticeship of each of the ethnic groups. Moreover, growing numbers of tourists have increased the demand for folk cultural performances and supported commercialization.

This paper is based on ethnographic fieldwork carried out several times between 2013–2018 and in 2019, as well as on theoretical studies of ethnomusicology and social anthropology.

2 How did Oirat Origin Arise?

According to some written sources, Oirat people settled on the southern side of lake Baikal in the taiga from *Khövngöl* (nowadays Northern Mongolia) in around the 12–13th century (de Rachewiltz, 2006, I: 527). There are also number of different etymological ideas about the name of Oirat (*oyirad*, *oirad*, *oirad*): *oi* ‘forest’ and *arad* ‘Forest people’ (Banzarov 1997: 103); Mong. *oyira* ‘near’ (Bichurin 1834: 3); Mong.* *ogizan* < Turkic. *oguz* (Ramstedt 1909: 547-558); *oyirad* (Pl.) < * *oyiran* (sg.) Old Turkic. *ōy*, a word for a colour of a horse’s coat; [...]’ (Kempf 2011: 192).

Since 2013, I have been doing research among Oirat people mainly living in peripheral areas of different administrative districts (*sum*) in the Western part of Mongolia. I included also a number of interview partners from the capital city Ulaanbaatar, who had moved there from their original western Mongolian localities since the beginning of the 1990s. During my field work, I did numerous interviews, which provided me with a good insight into lifestyles and living conditions of Oirat people of Western Mongolia in general and about the music and dance of these people in particular.

3 Historical Development of the *Bii*

Oirat people have been practicing their music and dance traditions for centuries and developed over time a certain kind of similar or even identical elements with each other. We have very few sources about the origin of the *bii*. However, from the view of the Mongolian scholars and experts, the historical origin of *bii* reaches back to the Jangar epic (15th century) or even earlier time. Historian Ishjamts noted in his work “The History of Mongols between 13-14th Century” as follows:

“The tribe Naiman had a dance that was different from that of the Eastern Mongols.” He suggested that this dance among the Naiman could be the *bii* and it derived from the word *berileju* in sense of bride’s ritual. This *bii* has only been practiced by women. (Ishjamts 2002: 109). Furthermore, one can find dancing motives on rock carvings in Western *Uvs* province and on the *Del* mountain in the south part of Mongolia, which is believed, to go back to the bronze age¹. Through the archeological findings we can assume on the one hand that *bii* is probably not a recently created culture. But there is no evidence to suggest that either only women danced the *bii* or the “dancing people” of the petroglyphs would have a direct connection to the recent tradition. Beyond even the time when the Jangar Epic was first sung, it is not easy to fix an exact date, because the oral tradition has always been active.

There are some versions of *bii* which were invented in the late 20th century or even later. The former social context of *bii* was politically changed by the establishment of the cultural program called: *Soyol urlaгийн арван кһоног* (Ten days of culture and arts. Rus: Dekada) which was introduced during the socialist era in the 1940s and 1950s. It has been said, that several old elements of *bii* were lost out during this time. But the renewed and highly arranged one like *Savkhat bii* (with chopsticks) by the *Zakhchin* or the *Agsal* among the *Torguud* and the *Khödölmör* (labour) by the *Altai-Urinakhais*² are easily thought as authentic and unchanged. Especially the *labour* dance was performed for communist-ideological purposes.

4 How does the *Bii* Style of the Oirat Groups in Western Mongolia Change?

It is essential to study first how the styles of different Oirat groups change and even continue to survive, and how new forms take shape on the basis of the earlier styles and how do these effects show their social environment.

One can study these phenomena among Oirats, who are living in the western part of Mongolia as neighbours of the *Khalkha* majority. As already mentioned, the *bii* heritage of Oirat people includes both folklore and professional traditions. From there, folklore *bii* falls into two categories: performed at a specific time and linked to specific occasions, and the *duut bii*, which is not performed during the official ceremony. The *bii* is practiced predominantly by *Bayad*, *Dörvöd*, *Khoton*, *Zakhchin*, *Altai-Uriankhai*, *Torguud*, *Ööld* and *Myangad* groups in *Khovd* and *Uvs* provinces. Each of them distinguishes themselves within their movements which are characterized by arm, hand, shoulder, kneeling on the floor and other expressions. Footwork is usually not included in the old versions of *bii* except in the staged

¹ Interview with musician Ganpürev. He works recently actively on music and dance connected to archeological findings.

² Interview with *biich* Ichinkhorloo from *Mönккһairkhan-Sum*, *Khovd*.

variant. The primary dancing is done by males, women, boys and girls today. The performance of *bii* takes place mostly in small and narrow place in a *ger* (yurt). For Oirat groups, it is meaningful to wear their own traditional dress during the performance which demonstrates their ethnic diversity.

Musical accompaniment *tatlaga* (bowing technique) on the two stringed *ikil* takes an important role also in order to show the different horse gaits such as *joroo morin* (ambler horse). Originally it was primarily accompanied with *ikil* and not the modern horsehead fiddle. For each individual group the beauty of the horse gaits takes an essential role. For instance, *Bayads* have their own strict *deg jayag* (rules) for not touching the ground with the dress or splash the liquid from the bowl out, while they mimic the *uudai darakh* (neighing horse) movement. According to *Bayad*, there are three ambling styles which qualify the ability of *biich* in *usan telmen joroo* (ambling like a horse as the best *biich*), *temeen joroo* (ambling like a camel as an accepted *biich*) and lastly *khonin joroo* (ambling like a sheep as a bad *biich*). Meanwhile *Dörröids* refer to cross the head right and left while they perform the ritualized context of *Tsatsal bii*. Other groups among *Zakhchin* and *Torguud* make relatively bigger moves in the yurt. But sometimes variants of the same *bii* do exist in two or more groups, for instance the *duut-bii* called *Yelkendeg*³ (Vagabond) which is performed by *Bayads*. There is also a *bii* called *Elkendeg* and it is not to be confused with *Yelkendeg*. *Elkendeg* is well known under *Bayads*, but *Zakhchin* also say, they have it too. *Yelkendeg* by *Bayads* will be done after the *nair* (ceremony) mostly for the purpose of entertainment. But this version has also its own social context and meaning to educate and ridicule person's bad behaviour. *Khotons* have their particular styles that differ through their speedy sharp motion and gesture. *Öölds* present the so called *dankbar tsokhilt* (double shaking). According to them, each shoulder must be shaken three times in two directions. This might be a new and recently created version of the *Ööld* living in *Khovd-Aimag*⁴ which requires further research. The *Ööld* group of Western Mongolia is now trying to revive some of the lost traditions and arranges to teach many pupils and invite the *bii* masters from *Khoton*, *Bayad* and *Dörröid* groups for a training program. Beside the rich variety of *ut duun* (long song), bard and other musical genres, Oirats did not forget completely the *bii* too. Usually the knowledge of the grandmothers and grandfathers will be transmitted to the youngest, who show the *bii* while working without any written tradition. Depending on locality, landscape and situation of each group, *bii* has different social functions — ceremonial events where a heroic action such as archery, flaying animal skin, milking, praying and herding will be presented.

Ethnomusicologist Chuluunbaatar (2016) made an interesting observation on the *Torguud bii Agsal*. She suggests that *Agsal* could be either an epic or a heroic *bii*

³ In contrary to *Yelkendeg*, *Elkendeg* demonstrates the majestic and respectful character which is performed by *biich* only during the organized ceremony)

⁴ Interview with *biich* and teacher Surakhbayar in *Erdeneburen-Sum*. She has been recently active with her 100 pupils.

and this heroic character has been lost but the epic version has remained (Chuluunbaatar 2016: 2). *Biich* Tsendayush said that, *Agsal* is one of the leading *bii* among *Torguuds*. During our interviews, he explained, that *Agsal* has two main categories: *Ikb Agsal* (great *Agsal*) and *Agsal* for showing the beauty of a man and horse. But one may wonder, whether these two versions have not been lost, but rather changed its way drastically and were standardized during the socialist time. The *taizni* (staged) version does not fit in the living environment for instance in the yurt. *Agsal* was mostly performed on the stage with huge wagging movement and is hybridized with some other styles in order to show the heroic and masculine character, which was obviously choreographed, added and recently revived again through the cultural-political events such as the construction of a big monument.⁵

In the study view of anthropology and ethnomusicology, theorists argue that music tradition is change that is really continuing (Nettl 2005: 272, see also Shils 1981) or traditions are not revived, but constructed anew. Tradition is only “reconstructed by revivalists” (Olson 2004: 6). These arguments are true in many aspects. Yet here comes a question. Can all types of music and dance tradition arise as new? It is permanently changing but not always with the same dynamics. For example, in about 300 years ago, „revivalists“ have been rarely existing, because tradition was not consistently *revival* somewhat, at least until the age of industrial revolution entered Europe. This revolution has influenced the music culture and tradition in Mongolia later indirectly through Russia.

During the time of socialist and post-socialist Mongolia the *bii* practice has still been carried out and orders and medals continued to be awarded. For some reason the *biich* interviewed said, that they find less change in their performance in the younger generation or among the members of other groups who try to learn from them.

In the present paper I focus on this learning process in the context of identity issue, how the group individuals build the sense of cohesion. Furthermore, some significant role of the instrumental accompaniment will be elucidated. I try to integrate the members of Oirat groups into this topic with emic data as much as possible.

5 Identity issue of the *bii* styles

According to the identity of each ethnic group relating to *bii*, ethnomusicologist Pegg emphasized as follows: “Each ethnic group performs a “national” *bij* (*ündesnii bij*) that describes the activities associated with their own identities and histories. Since lifestyle and economic circumstances of all ethnic groups in West Mongolia

⁵ In 2014, the Mongolian government has built the huge monument of *Agsal*, The men with the horse in the center of *Khovd* province.

are similar (in that all are predominantly poor, nomadic pastoralists, subsisting on the meat, milk, and wool of their animals).” (Pegg 2001: 91)

Her book offers countless new insights in Mongolian music, dance and oral narrative, that previously have not been analyzed in comparative approach to my knowledge. She had a great chance to travel to far Western Mongolia right before and during the social transformation (1990) to collect her data as a first western scholar. Under these very difficult circumstances, she accomplished valuable records and photos of the significant artists of traditional music and dance, which are now unfortunately declining in many ways. However, her “colonial thinking” on that “poor” nomadic people who exist only on the basis of their livestock, does not match with the identity of *bii* performance from Oirat people in different perspectives. Her view of nomadic pastoralists being “poor”, in the dance part is itself even not developed. During the 1990s, all parts of Mongolia became economically weak, many problems arose and the majority of the population lost their jobs due to the collapse of the State controlled economy. These circumstances influenced also the cultural situation of the Oirat people who in the meantime tried to strengthen the revival of Oirat identity and their music.

I would like to mention that to my understanding Pegg’s use of the term “poor” for pastoral nomads in the context of Western Mongolia during the transformation period is not appropriate and shows a western centered, economic view. In the case of Mongolia in the 1990s pastoral nomads were often much better off than the majority of the urban population. This was due to the privatization of the formerly collectively kept animals, which ensured a living by the production of enough meat to feed the rural nomadic population as well as often their urban relatives. Apart from the economic aspect, a large spectrum of cultural values still enriched the nomadic life. Thus, the term “poor” might give an unclear, misleading impression of the situation in the rural-nomadic living space of western Mongolia.

What I do not support in her description is that, she considers the real nomadic way of life poor as whole. I would like to offer some further suggestion as follows:

1. “...Oirat group of western Mongolia, present their ‘national *bij*’ dance.” This meaning is unrelated to the poorness or the economic circumstances in many ways. “Nomadic pastoralists” who change their position constantly, had their traditional music and dance and epic culture for over hundreds of years. Therefore, it may be better for her to describe, how or what kind of relation really constructs this genre in the nomadic dominated life style, instead of just being poor.
2. “...poor... subsisting on the meat, milk and wool of their animals...”. These terms again cannot match the content of *bii*. That poor nomadic family can have at least two milking cows, ten work horses, two transport

camels, no less than 20 or 30 sheep and goats. This is even qualifies by nomadic standard as less wealthy. All efficiency and animal products will be used from milk, meat and wool. Such a family prefers mostly to follow a wealthy family for example with 1000 animals for the purpose of helping each other. This tradition has persisted in the past and still present today. A family like this, will never go on the street and beg. So one should not consider the term “poor” superficially and generally.

When I was doing my field research in the *Sum* areas of *Dörgön* (*Dörvöd*), *Bulgan* (*Torguud*), *Mönkkhairkhan* and *Duut* (*Altai-Uriankhais*), *Erdenebüren* (*Ööld*), and *Myangad* (*Myangad*), there I came across economically unstable but not poor families. The socio-economic situation of the culture-bearers especially in *Khovd* province was in many aspects relatively more *zakb zeejsen* (commercialized) than in other peripheral areas of Western Mongolia.

The population of *Khovd* is known for its ethnic diversity, which includes most of the different groups living in Western Mongolia. The ethnic groups are still deeply connected within their lineage system and their common origin. The following part will focus further on some identity conflict on the *bii*.

6 The Problem of the Transmission of *Bii* within its Identity and Originality: The Case of *Khoton*, *Bayad* and *Dörvöd*

One of the main issues which plays a major role is lineage when it comes to express the music toward each other. Since these three groups live as nearest neighbors in *Uvs* province, the ethnicity issues according to the originality of *bii* tradition should be mentioned here. Before I go further on to the topic, some historical background of *Khotons* will be demonstrated below, why they have been and still are viewed and called by their neighbors as *shal öör* (dissimilar).

The *Khotons* were originally a turkic speaking ethnic group and they were brought through the Oirat Khan Galdanboshigt (Ochir 1993: 78–79) to nowadays Western Mongolia for the agricultural purpose of developing suitable land for irrigated farming. They came from Turkestan (Birtalan 2012: 22) but likely from Eastern Turkestan, since not the whole Turkestan was agriculturally populated. Historically, *Khotons* were deported by the Zünghars from Osh and Bukhara and from the Kazakh and Kyrgyz (Atwood 2004: 310) and it is assumed that they came around the middle of 18th century to Mongolia (Tserel 1997: 204). *Khotons* were Muslim and they do not go to any specific temple. When they pray, they turn the palm of the hand over (Tatár 2015: 189). Religiously *Khotons* have involved this hand motion into the *bii* too. The *Khotons* living in *Tarialan-Sum* in *Uvs* province today identify themselves usually as Uighur or Persian descentance also according to my interview partners. There are some ethnical differences between *Bayads*,

Dörvöds and *Kbotons* in relation to the music and dance practice which are still present today.

According to ethnical characteristics, sometimes there exist the ideal of endogamy⁶ (Beer 2012: 64) and this is the case with the *Kbotons*. *Kbotons* practice endogamy in fact but preferring to keep their system within the blood relation like inside of the relatives. Throughout the fieldwork, one of my interviewed partner and scholar expressed herself on *Khoton bii* style, why they do not have the origin of *bii* practice as follows:

“*Kbotons* never had the *yazguuryu bii* (authentic/original *bii*). They are “different” in the way they dance. Very quick. Their movements are not *nambalag* (majestic) and elegant like *Bayad* or other groups do. Turkic people like them, never had the origin of *bii* culture. They just copy elements directly from their nearest neighbours the *Dörvöds*. Historically we rarely, almost never married with *Kbotons*. But today time is changing and they are more mixed. *Dörvöds* and *Bayads* marry but we do not get close to our own blood relationship. Their religion is even different and it does not fit into ours.”⁷ (Interview with E. 2017, see Appendix 1).

This kind of notion is not the first case. One can see many similarities not only on the example of *bii* but the dresses they wear are more likely those of the *Dörvöds* and *Kbotons* who are indeed strongly influenced by them. The *Kbotons* see themselves sometimes in contrast to the other groups in contrary as one Oirat group even when it is needed, they hide their ethnicity and say, they are also *Dörvöd*. This shows probably, that they unite themselves into a stronger ethnic group by choice. From the anthropological point of view, there are *Kbotons* who live in *Uvs* province who look relatively distinctive with green and blue eyes. This character is already shown during the fieldwork and through the local people. It is also written in the work of ethnologist Tserel (1997).

Anyhow, in relation to *bii*, they say for instance, that they have “*khotongiin joroo morin*” (see volume 2) as well (Brothers Zoloo and Ganzorig) although they never have had gait or break a horse. Similar is the example shown by *Zakhchin* in volume 2, even though they rarely have the word *Elkendeg* but demonstrate, that they have the original *Elkendeg bii*. *Bayads* in contrary, have a vaster tradition of horse than the other groups by comparison and so they say of themselves, that they own the real *Elkendeg*. But *Kbotons* believe, that the originality of *bii* lies in their marriage system. The informant Zoloo accentuated that, the cousin marriage keeps the tradition of *bii* transmission authentic, unchangeable and rich:

⁶ Hirschberg, Walter. *Neues Wörterbuch der Völkerkunde*. 1988: 117.

⁷ According to her privacy, the name remains anonym.

“I am the 13th generation in my family who practice the *bii*. The marriage will be inside of the family so that our transmission will be passed on without any mixture.” (Interview 2017, see Appendix 2).

As we see, the ethnic members try boundaries towards each other but at the end they build the sense of belonging together. With regard to the transmission problem on styles and forms, the *Khalkha* plays also a role. *Khoton*, *Bayad*, *Dörvöd* and *Ööld* groups make similar statement, how the styles of *bii* intermingled without knowing them. According to the transmission of knowledge, except *Khalkha* all groups demonstrate, that each individual style of *bii* has been now highly hybridized especially during the festivals. 60 years old *Dörvöd biich* Burmaa illustrates that, nowadays the specifics of *bii* are mixed, which needs particular study. She says:

“Today, *Khoton*, *Bayad*, *Dörvöd*, *Ööld*, *Torgund* *bii* versions are mixed because the younger generation learn it wrongly. But sometimes I have the feeling, that *Khalkhas* cannot really understand what “Oirat *bii*” means. The teachers at the university make them too *urlagjuulaad baina* (make it artificial) and formal. For example, I was invited during the exam of some students to show how to tan a leather through *bii* in the *Dörvöd* variant. Nobody would know it and does know it. They did not do it the same natural as I do. This can break the chain of this tradition.” (2017, see Appendix 3)



Figure 1: *Biich* Burmaa demonstrates the ritualized *Tsatsal* with Zooloo on the fiddle. (M. Altai 2017).

Later on, a relatively similar statement was made by Ganzorig (older brother of Zoloo) and I will not explain this here further. The criticism was not always the *Khalkha* identity itself from the view of Oirats – they would even perform together or let them accompany on the *Morin Khuur* – but the interpretation and the style were problematic. Especially on the level of the Culture and Art University of Mongolia, many of young people learn the *tawilttai* (choreographed) *bii* through the same “standardized” teaching method. Professional itself means tricks and techniques from nature which is however still the part of the cultural elements but with different functions than the amateur one. On the contrary, there is rarely a separation between audience and the performer like on the stage under the amateur performance. The bearer of this *bii* is not professional but within their community, they are highly respected because of their knowledge, memory and experience which they passed on from generation to generation in a differently functioning social environment than the theatrical stage. To put it in another way, non-professional dancers have passed on their tradition over generations outside of the formal institutions. That is why it exists in numerous variants and is performed for functional purposes such as rites and customs and ceremonies or for the social cohesion (Ronström 2011: 355). The function of being professional on *bii* serves on the other hand UNESCO, tourism, money and prestige. But local people are socialized and learned everything through their customs. That is now changing dynamically due to the influence of market economy and globalisation.

Another issue must be mentioned here: the instrumental accompaniment. Today, the *tatlaga* bowing technique will be accompanied by *bii* mostly on *Morin Khuur* which is suitable for the bigger stage with stronger sound. *Morin Khuur* has preserved its importance still these days: instead of the old *ikil*, the modern *Morin Khuur* which has different tuning system and is mostly played by professional musicians- is gaining ground. On the other hand, only few old people can know how to use in the real way of the bowing technique and style on *ikil*. But this generation is getting smaller in the meantime.



Figure 2. A young *Bayad biich* performs during the folklore festival in *Uvs* province with *Morin Khuur*. On the right side, epic singer with his self-made *ikil* fiddle (M. Altai 2017).

Ikil (or *ikel*) is a two stringed fiddle and practiced predominantly by Oirats. This instrument was still practiced among Oirats but has been viewed as *kbhuuchirsan* (backward and old fashioned). Since 1992 the modern *Morin Khuur* took its role as State national symbol (Marsh 2009:2). After the breakdown of socialism in 1990, the topic of nationalism has increased, for which the concept of common descent from Chingis Khan portrayed as the basic idol for Mongolian Nationality (Sneath 2007: 172). By separating the specific cultural elements as truly authentic into one dominant identity and “national heritage”, it can probably proliferate the tension between false and authentic “heritage bearers” in both urban and rural areas.

7 Conclusion

Except the issue of professionalized and formalized dance studies of the Culture and Arts University, Music Conservatorium, and several music and dance ensembles, touristic attraction takes its place which was already mentioned above. Mongolia declared its democracy in 1990 and annually celebrates the event with festivities in which dance plays also an important role. Since *bii* has been inscribed on the list of Intangible Cultural Heritage in need of urgent safeguarding of the UNESCO in 2009 titled as “Mongolian traditional folk dance”, festivals and competitions have risen. Participants from all provincial corners and the capital city Ulaanbaatar participate in a mass group which created elements of the basis of *bii*. Some dance groups are entertaining tourists. Traditional *bii* has become more commercial in

nature, adopting many of the older forms in favour of cultural “brand”. Access to colourful textiles also has resulted in the traditional costuming style which is replaced by artificial pearls, jewelries, boots and hats. *Bii* remains now central to the cultural development of the whole Mongolian national dance cultural development. Even hip-hop and pop scenes arrange the *bii* element to popularize them. Contact and cultural exchange with the outside world has been particularly intensified in recent time. On the other hand, in the rural areas, we can for example also come across a bearer who teaches more than 100 pupils of different age from a community or members of a family from a nomadic pastoral background.

In the peripheral areas, such activities among the bearers mostly function with no or only a little remuneration being often not connected to political action. In fact, the work of most bearers does not focus on prestige or money, although they could really earn a living by performing *bii* in order to financially survive rather than striving to pass their knowledge and ethnic identity into the next generation as much as possible.

Appendix

1. *Khotonchuudad yag yazguurn bii bol bakhgüi. Ted nar yer ni yaj bülj baigaa ni ikh öör. Ted nar tiim bayad shig nambalag bish neg tiim sonin shav dan gesen turgen hödölgööntei. Türegüüded yazguurn bii hezeeneesee baigaagüi. Khotonguud bol zugeer l zergeldeekh kbörsh dörvödüüdees huuldag. Bid nar tüüikbendee khotonguudtai kburim-laj baigaagüi. Önöödör tsus kholildood yum öörchlögöj. Dörvöd bayaduud l kboorondoo suudag bolkhoos, tegj dotroosoo suuj tsus oirtuuldaggüi. Ted naryn shashin ch öör bid nartai taarakhgüi.*
2. *Bi geereesee bol 13 dakhi üyedei büig övlöj sursan. Manaikhny bii ulamjlalaa aldadgüi ni bid dotroosoo kburimladagt orshino. Tiim bolkboor ulamjlal taldaa yamar ch kholitsgüi teegdeer irsen gesen üg.*
3. *Önöödör, Khoton, bayad, dörvöd, ööld, torguud geed l bii bugd kboorondoo kholildson baina uchir ni zaluuuuchnuud buruu suraad baina. Gekbdee bi zarimdaa khalkhchhuud yag jinkbene “oirdyn bii” gej oilgokhgüi l baikh shig. Surguuli soyolyn khüreend bol baakhan urlagjuulaad baina. Jishee ni, bi neg oyutnuudiin tögsökh shalgaltand urigdaj ochij bülsen yum. Ariszig yaj dörvöd mayagaar eldegeüj kharuulakh gej. Khen ch chadaagüi. Ted nar neg tiim neg kheviin bülj baisan. Nad shig yag naturaar ni kbii-khgüi baina lee. Ene chini l ulamjalyyn kholboog tasalduulna.*

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G. J. Ramstedt and the Old Torgut Prince Bayar

Altanochir

1 Introduction

G. J. Ramstedt, the most famous Altaist and Mongolian linguist of Finland, who conducted language field studies in Tarbaghatai, Kara-Usun and Urumchi in Xinjiang in 1905. During his visit in Kara-Usun, he was in close contact with the Prince Bayar and his son Palta, the future prince of the eastern part of the Ünen Säjüktü Old Torghut. The author of this article has studied the historical evidence of the little-known facts of the association between Ramstedt and Prince Bayar in accordance with the letters between Ramstedt and Prince Bayar in Finland, as well as other sources.

In the fall of 2016, I had the privilege of visiting Finland with the invitation of the University of Helsinki for academic visits and exchanges. During the visit to the University of Helsinki, I met with Professor Harry Halen, a renowned scholar of the University of Helsinki, and surprisingly received several letters in Todo script from old Torghut prince Bayar to G. J. Ramstedt and a Ramstedt's reply. This was a treasure for me. The question then was: when and why did Prince Bayar have to write to Ramstedt, who was so far away on the horizon?

2 Gustaf John Ramstedt

Gustaf John Ramstedt (1873–1950) was a Finnish diplomat and linguist. He was the founder of the Mongolian historical comparative linguistics and contemporary Altaic linguistic theory, and published *Über die Zahlwörter der altaischen Sprachen*,¹ *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch*,² *Studies in Korean Etymology*,³ *A Korean Grammar*,⁴ *Einführung in die altaische Sprachwissenschaft*, *Introduction to Altaic Linguistics* etc.⁵

From 1898 to 1912, G. J. Ramstedt was appointed by the Finnish-Ugric Society of Finland and went to Russia (1898, 1904), Afghanistan (1903), Xinjiang (1905), and Mongolia, which was at that time part of the Qing-Dynasty (1898–1900, 1909, 1912), and other places for linguistic investigation. These investigations undoubtedly played an important role for his academic research in the future. For example, his Ph. D. dissertation *Über die Konjugation des Khalkha-Mongolischen*, completed and published in 1902, was an important achievement of his language investigation in Mongolia from 1898 to 1900. It is said that G. J. Ramstedt mastered the Mongolian Khalkha dialect successfully in a short period of time. In his Ph. D. dissertation, while comparing the forms of Khalkha dialect with the forms of written Mongolian, he tried to construct the form of common Mongolian, and compared it with the etymologically related languages: Turkic and Tungusic. This was the first attempt made by G. J. Ramstedt in the study of Altaic linguistics. Since then, studying Mongolian had become his lifelong career. The *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch* was also a significant achievement of his linguistic investigations in the Volga River and the Don River in southern Russia in 1904, and in the Oirat-Mongol region of China in 1905. As an important contribution to Mongolian linguistics and Altaic linguistics, G. J. Ramstedt became a professor of Altaic languages at the University of Helsinki, and he served at the Finnish-Ugric Society as the first vice president from 1943.

3 Prince Bayar

In May 1905, Ramstedt traveled through Russia, crossed the Qing border through Tarbaghatai and investigated Oirat-Mongol dialects in Tarbaghatai, Khara-Usun, and Urumqi. The final result of this visit was the academic confirmation of the relationship between Oirat dialect and Russian Kalmyk language. In addition, during this visit to Xinjiang, G. J. Ramstedt visited Prince Bayar twice and even stayed in his palace for several days, which was back then located in the bank of Jirgalantu

¹ G. J. Ramstedt. *Über die Zahlwörter der altaischen Sprachen*. JSFOu 24: 1–24, 1905.

² G. J. Ramstedt. *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch*, Helsinki, 1935.

³ G. J. Ramstedt. *Studies in Korean Etymology*. MSFOu 95, Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, 1949.

⁴ G. J. Ramstedt. *A Korean Grammar*. Helsinki: Suomalais-ugrilainen Seura, 1939.

⁵ G. J. Ramstedt. *Einführung in die altaische Sprachwissenschaft*, *Introduction to Altaic Linguistics*, 2 volumes. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, 1952–1957.

River, the west neighbor of the Shi-ho (now Wusu City). There he had a lot of contact and communication with Prince Bayar's family.

Bayar (1853–?) was the son of Batu (?–1873), the Jasag of the Right Banner of the Eastern Tribes among Ünen Sūjügtü Old Torghuts and holder of the rank of Jun Wang with a laudatory title Törö-yin Bisireltü, and succeeded the official rank and title of his father in 1875. After the Ili General's memorial to Qing Emperor in the early days of 1890, Bayar went to Beijing to have an audience with the Emperor in summer that year. When in official position, Bayar did a lot to for the social administration and thus gained great honor among the local people.

G. J. Ramstedt was very impressed by Prince Bayar and thought highly of him. He said that Prince Bayar was a courteous person. When G. J. Ramstedt arrived at the palace, he had already waited outside the palace. According to G. J. Ramstedt's description, Prince Bayar was a man of around fifty years of age with a pleasant courtyard. He was also no stranger to what was happening in the outside world.⁶ According to B. Onon (Bi Aonan), Prince Bayar "had been to the capital and had known about the outside world of Xinjiang, and his mind was relatively open". He was able to answer his son Palta's request, who was working in Peking, not only allowing his daughter-in-law to go to Beijing to study, but also sending a letter to the governor of Xinjiang to get the convenience of use of postal system for her.⁷ Prince Bayar not only "had some understandings of the outside world of Xinjiang", but also expressed great desire to understand what was happening in the world. For example, he wrote in a letter to G. J. Ramstedt:

Odō yuixu ni, erkemiyin yazarāsu zaka bičiq kezēi dūi taslal ügei xairilaǰi, erkem ulusiyin yazar-tu yarči baixu sonin kereq yuun bainei bas delkei dereki olon ulus-tu sonin kereq yuun bainei, ene bügüdeiyigi nāra(n) sonsoxıǰi zaka dakin dakin xarilaqtan.

(Now I have one thing to ask, I hope to receive letters from your country frequently. What is happening in your country, and what is happening in other countries? Please inform me in letters.)

Prince Bayar was also a person who was enthusiastic about his own national cultural undertakings, and his residence had a considerable library. During Ramstedt's visit to the prince's palace, Prince Bayar had passionately showed him books in Todo script, and also gave G. J. Ramstedt the opportunity to read the famous heroic epic Jangar. According to Harry Halen's statement, G. J. Ramstedt stayed at the Prince's residence from August 11th to 21st and became close friends with him. In these days, Prince Bayar and G. J. Ramstedt focused on the issues of build-

⁶ G. J. Ramsted. *Seven Journeys Eastward* (1898–1912). The Mongolia Society, Bloomington, 1978.

⁷ Bi Aonan. „Guan yu Paleta shengqian shenhou ji jian shi“, in *Xi bu menggu luntan*. No. 3, 2014, 15.

ing a printing house, printing books in the Kalmuk alphabet and reviving the Kalmuk literature.⁸

According to Ramstedt's own record, Prince Bayar was disappointed that it was not possible to print books in Todo script at local printing houses. He had heard that printing houses in St. Petersburg and Berlin had Kalmuk alphabet types, so he asked G. J. Ramstedt where to buy these types⁹. Prince Bayar presented G. J. Ramstedt with several Kalmuk works, including a "grand religious work", hoping that G. J. Ramstedt would be able to publish or print it in the West and send 1,000 copies back to him. In a letter he wrote to G. J. Ramstedt, he expressed his concerns about the fate of those books. He urged G. J. Ramstedt to print it and, if the books were printed, send them back to him as soon as possible. In his letter he wrote:

urduu manai yazarasu abči odoqsan keden tuuji-yigi odō barlaġi keb yarqsan bolbala tus büü-resü kedüün kedüün ni xairilaqtun.

(Please send me several copies of each of the historical books took from me early, if they were published.)

4 Prince Palta

During his stay at Prince Bayar's residence, there was an unexpected encounter for G. J. Ramstedt: there he met the little prince Palta, who had just returned from Peking. According to Halen Harry, "The prince's son Balta, approximately twenty years of age and recently back from court service in Peking, was leaving for San Francisco."¹⁰

Palta (1882–1920), son of Prince Bayar, succeeded the prince rank in 1898, and visited Peking in 1903. Harry Halen's mention saying Palta Wang was about to leave for San Francisco, may not be groundless. At that time, Qing Court was talking about the New Deal from top to bottom, hoping to save the situation through reforms. Many of Mongol princes in Peking responded to it, Günsannorov, prince of Kharachin, Gonchogsürüng, prince of Khorchin holding a laudatory title Bingtū, Amurlingui, another prince of Khorchin holding the laudatory title Bodol-gatai, etc, all put forward reform suggestions. Affected by this, in 1904, Prince Palta also presented a memorial to Qing court to "ask for leave for traveling abroad due to reform movement", and proposed that "ask for one year off holiday, and went to Europe and the United States to study the politics carefully, and write Mongolian book. After the traveling, I'd like to be appointed as the ambassa-

⁸ Halen, Harry. *Biliktu Bakshi: the Knowledgeable Teacher—G. J. Ramstedt's Career as a Scholar*. Helsinki, 1998, 126.

⁹ G. J. Ramsted. *Seven Journeys Eastward* (1898-1912). The Mongolia Society, Bloomington, 1978, 151.

¹⁰ Halen, Harry. *Biliktu Bakshi: the Knowledgeable Teacher – G. J. Ramstedt's Career as a Scholar*. Helsinki, 1998, 126.

dor to lobby at the tribes, repentant tyranny, strenuously self-reliance, reform, and serve the country.”¹¹ The so-called “ready to go to San Francisco” should be Prince Palta’s plan leaving for study. However, when Prince Palta returned to Peking, the Qing court canceled his original arrangement to “travel to the United States” and “reassigned (him) to travel to the East”.¹²

In the past, related studies usually considered that Palta had entered Peking in 1903, and visited Japan to attend a Japanese sergeancy school in 1905 or 1906. It was never mentioned that in 1905 Palta returned to his hometown in Khara-Usun, Xinjiang. In August 11–21, that year, G. J. Ramstedt lived in the palace of Bayar. According to the statement of Harry Halen,¹³ the prince’s son Palta just came back from court service in Peking at the time. Palta returned home shortly before G. J. Ramstedt’s visit and soon followed with G. J. Ramstedt as far as Urumqi and return to the inland. The reason for the quick return of Palta to Xinjiang is still unknown and needs further exploration. However, G. J. Ramstedt provided us with an important message. He said that in order to return to his hometown, Palta was the first to go to North-East China and bypass Siberia in Russia. He went from Omsk to the south by Ertis River, and then returned to the hometown of Khara-Usun from the Tarbaghatai border.¹⁴ It looks like a big distance to bypass Siberian Russia to return home, but it actually would have saved a lot of time for Palta because of the train service on the Russian Siberian Railway.

According to G. J. Ramstedt, Palta was very interested in photography. He had many cameras and a darkroom to develop his own photos. Palta also had a typewriter. He had once discussed with G. J. Ramstedt how to use a typewriter to type the Kalmuk alphabet.¹⁵ The young Palta also expressed the idea of “traveling around the world” to G. J. Ramstedt, and also consulted G. J. Ramstedt to discuss the details of traveling abroad. He also told G. J. Ramstedt that he did not want to stay in Peking, but wanted to study at a Japanese officer academy or university, and wanted to visit Finland after completing his studies, and travel to Berlin or London with Ramstedt.¹⁶

G. J. Ramstedt received a letter from Prince Bayar in 1906, in which he expressed his wish that the books written in Todo script taken from Khara-Usun would be printed and published. Prince Bayar also mentioned the news that his son Palta was studying in Japan. This letter was written by Prince Bayar on the fourth day of the fourth month of the Horse Year, which was on April 27, 1906 in

¹¹ 《东方杂志》“第1卷第4期(1904年6月8日)。转引自马大正《清末土尔扈特蒙古郡王帕拉塔述论》,《马大正文集》,上海辞书出版社2005年版,第185页;另参见毕奥南《关于帕勒塔生前身后几件事》,《西部蒙古论坛》014年第3期,第15页。

¹² Bi Aonan. *Guan yu Paleta shengqian shenhou ji jian shi.* // Xi bu menggu luntan. No. 3, 2014, 15.

¹³ Halen, Harry. *Biliktu Bakshi: the Knowledgeable Teacher – G. J. Ramstedt’s Career as a Scholar.* Helsinki, 1998, 26.

¹⁴ G. J. Ramstedt. *Seven Journeys Eastward* (1898-1912). The Mongolia Society, Bloomington, 1978, 149.

¹⁵ G. J. Ramstedt. *Seven Journeys Eastward* (1898-1912). The Mongolia Society, Bloomington, 1978, 149.

¹⁶ G. J. Ramstedt. *Seven Journeys Eastward* (1898-1912). The Mongolia Society, Bloomington, 1978, 152.

the Gregorian calendar. In the letter, he said that Palta left from Tianjin for Japan on the fourteenth day of the third month. This date was confirmed by the archives of the Foreign Ministry's Foreign History Museum in Japan: In April 7 1906 Palita traveled from Tianjin Dagukou to Japan via Yokohama Maruouchi.¹⁷ The letter of King Bayar is now recorded as follows:

öçüüken düü bayar-yin zaka.

mergen baqşı Ramsted-yin amur erji bairibai.

ene şider mergen tani biye amur sain biiza. urdu endēsü nutuqtu xarixui-du zam zuruu züderel ügei küreşsen biyiza. ende mini biye çiq urduu mete mende saixan bainei. tanai yazarāsu zaka biçiq kezei irinei geji külēqser su[u]nei bi. urdu tanai abçi odoqsan tu[u]ji sudur dotorāsu sarang kökei-yin tu[u]ji-yigi keseq olon niyigi yarıyaji türgün nāran iligeji bolxubuu. basa emeyin mengkeb(mangxaq) nige ögüüleküü boluqsan niyigi bitigei martaqtun. basçigi sonsoxon ilegeküü ni mini kübüün Paltai mani yurban sara-yin arban dörbün-dü Tayin jing dēresü yarçi Ri bin-dü yabuba. tende Ri bin-dü tabun jil surjali-du su[u]yad yarçi irinei.

bi dörbön sara-yin şinen nigen-dü tarbayatai iribai. bi odo arban-du gederge nutuqtan xarinai bi. eyimin tula mergen baqşı-yin amur erji bairibai.

morin jil-iyin dörbün sara-yin şinen dörbün sayixan ödör.

basçigi ta odo xama su[u]ji bainei. ta yamar alba keji bainei. ta tere yazartan yamar sonin yabudal baina dakin dakin zaka biçiq iligeji baixuyigi yuimui.

Letter from Bayar, the foolish brotherly,

send respected greetings to Ramstedt, the wise brotherly.

Are you in good shape recently? After you arrived back home from our place beforehand, it must be a tiresome long journey on horseback and in wagons, and I believe now undoubtedly that you made you a safe arrival. Peacefully and at rest as usual here, I just wait for the day of arrival of the letter from your country. Of the several books you, wise brotherly, taken that time, including histories and canons, I hope you print many copies of the one titled Sarang Kökei-yin tuuji (Cackoon Story), and send me as soon as possible. In addition, as you promised before, don't forget to send me a medicine bag. Moreover, I heard that my son Palta left from Tianjin for Japan on the fourteenth day of the third month. He would return home after five years of studies there. I arrived at Tarbaghatai in the first day of the third month, and will be back home on the tenth day of this month. For this, I send my greetings to wise scholar. The fourth day of the fourth month of the Horse Year.

One more thing, please tell me where you are located and what affairs you do now. If there are some new happenings where you are, please inform me with letters.

¹⁷ Ma Dazheng. *Qinmo tu er bu te junwang palata sbulun.* //Ma Dazheng wenji. Shanghai, 2005, 187; 196.

In April, 1906, the 24-years-old Palta went to Japan for studies. He spent three years, living and studying, until March, 1909, when he returned home. During the stay in Japan, Palta wrote several times to G. J. Ramstedt to tell him about his situation, including his studying, living and test for officers.¹⁸ To my great regret, I didn't find the Palta's letters in the Todo script materials I received during my stay in Finland. I just found one letter from G. J. Ramstedt to Palta written in 1912.

We know that Palta was appointed Amban of Khovdo by the Qing government in 1911, after his return from Japan. After the Revolution of 1911, because he was in favor of the revolution and supported the republic, Palta was crowned as the first rank prince by the new government for his great contribution to the overall situation. In May, 1912, Palta was transferred to Altai from Khovdo, and appointed to supervise the defense of the Northwest. In January, 1913, he was awarded the rank of General of the Army of the Republic of China. In 1920, Palta died of disease in Beijing. The Beijing Government sent officials to offer sacrifices and ordered the Historical House to write his solitary biography for him. His remains were transported back to the Four Trees in Xinjiang and buried in the Eighth Village of Hatubuhu Town, Wusu City. The tomb still exists today.

5 Xinjiang 1905

The trip to Xinjiang in 1905 was of great significance to Ramstedt himself. It was not only an important experience in his academic career, but also an important page in the history of Altaism in the world. Through this trip, G. J. Ramstedt collected a large number of language materials of Oirat dialect, especially the most precious data for the Kalmyk Language Dictionary which was under compilation by that time, which is of great significance to the later Mongolian linguistics study of G. J. Ramstedt.

According to G. J. Ramstedt's travel notes, during his trip to Xinjiang, besides the linguistic investigation of Oirat dialect, he had been recording the materials of Arsha wholeheartedly. It's a time-consuming job to record the Kalmyk traditions and heroic stories that Arsha tells us, he said. Arsha was an Oirat soldier from Ili whom G. J. Ramstedt met in Tarbagatai. He had been accompanying G. J. Ramstedt in Xinjiang all the time, helping him to live. He played an important role in the successful completion of his mission in Xinjiang. Are these Kalmyk traditions and heroic stories that Arsha told G. J. Ramstedt published or are they still kept somewhere in Helsinki? Or has been lost? We do not know now, which requires us to continue to explore.

G. J. Ramstedt's trip to Xinjiang in 1905 was an important historical event worthy of memorializing in the modern history of Xinjiang. In this trip, he not only met two important figures in the history of modern Xin-

¹⁸ G. J. Ramstedt. *Seven Journeys Eastward* (1898-1912). The Mongolia Society, Bloomington, 1978, 152.

jiang, especially in the history of Mongols, but also left us many vivid records, which are of great historical value and of practical significance for us to study the history of Mongols, Mongolian historical figures and even the local history of Xinjiang in the early 20th century.

The Headwear of the Ejine Torgud

Bai Xiaomei

Abstract

The Torgud are one important branch of the Oirats, one of the four main Oirat tribes. The Oirat are western Mongols. The Ejine Mongols are the descendants of Arabjur. Arabjur had led a part of the Torgut that settled along the river Volga on a pilgrimage to Lhasa. They later could not return to the river Volga because of the war that had broken out between the Manchu of China and the Dzungar (Oirat). Arabjur went to Peking and submitted himself and his people to the Qing Dynasty and in 1732 they were resettled along the Ejine River (Etsin Gol, chin. Ruo Shui) in western Inner Mongolia in the Alashan League and henceforth became known as the Ejine Torgud. This paper focuses on the headwear such as the round hat hair box of the women of the Torgud as well as their customs of wearing this headwear.

سازگار و متنوع، بیرونی‌گرایان هم از این امر بهره‌مند

هستند، ولی بهنگامی که (مصدق) از این امر بی‌خبر می‌گردد، بی‌گفتاری از این امر می‌گذرد و بهنگامی که از این امر بی‌خبر می‌گردد، بی‌گفتاری از این امر می‌گذرد و بهنگامی که از این امر بی‌خبر می‌گردد، بی‌گفتاری از این امر می‌گذرد.

این امر در واقع به معنی این است که هر چه از این امر بی‌خبر می‌گردد، بی‌گفتاری از این امر می‌گذرد و بهنگامی که از این امر بی‌خبر می‌گردد، بی‌گفتاری از این امر می‌گذرد.

این امر در واقع به معنی این است که هر چه از این امر بی‌خبر می‌گردد، بی‌گفتاری از این امر می‌گذرد و بهنگامی که از این امر بی‌خبر می‌گردد، بی‌گفتاری از این امر می‌گذرد.

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3 董仲舒《春秋繁露·爵禄》：“爵禄者，君之所尊，民之所望也。赏以劝善，罚以沮恶，赏不当则善不劝，罚不当则恶不止。”

董仲舒在《春秋繁露·爵禄》中提出“爵禄”是君主用来赏罚臣民的重要手段，也是君主用来规范臣民行为的重要手段。他认为，君主应该根据臣民的功劳来给予相应的爵禄，而不应该根据臣民的身份来给予爵禄。这种观点体现了董仲舒“德主刑辅”的思想，即认为道德教化是治理国家的首要任务，而刑罚则是辅助手段。董仲舒的这一思想对后世产生了深远的影响，成为中国封建社会治国理政的重要理论依据。

董仲舒在《春秋繁露·爵禄》中还提出“爵禄”是君主用来规范臣民行为的重要手段。他认为，君主应该根据臣民的功劳来给予相应的爵禄，而不应该根据臣民的身份来给予爵禄。这种观点体现了董仲舒“德主刑辅”的思想，即认为道德教化是治理国家的首要任务，而刑罚则是辅助手段。董仲舒的这一思想对后世产生了深远的影响，成为中国封建社会治国理政的重要理论依据。

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Changes of Alphabets, Teaching Methods and Language Skills: Kalmyk Textbooks During the 20th Century

Vlada Vyacheslavovna Baranova

1 Introduction: Scope, Aims, and Data

The goal of this paper is to analyze Kalmyk textbooks of the Soviet and Post-soviet times. Besides this, the research tries to shed light on the efficiency of Kalmyk language education in the context of language shift. This article focuses on the textology of schoolbooks rather than on the teaching process itself. Meanwhile, the language policy as a whole will also be mentioned. This article analyzes 15 Kalmyk language schoolbooks and 4 other textbooks (books for college students or self-training books). Without claiming to be an exhaustive list of Kalmyk textbooks, my sample, nevertheless, represents the main types of textbooks with different orthographies used during the last century. The largest part of the sample is drawn from the collection of the Russian National Library in Saint Petersburg. The sample is not balanced with respect to the chronological periods or educational levels. Only a few schoolbooks were offered in the early decades of the Soviet period (typically, there are primers or 1 and 2 grade textbooks). Besides, it should be taken into account that textbooks that have been published in the 1920–1930s are often unavailable today due to small print runs. More recent textbooks are readily accessible. For the analysis I chose those ones which were approved by the Ministry of Education and those which represent original teaching methods.

The textbook of Russian language for Kalmyk primary school (Ilishkin 1940)¹, teacher's instructions and training materials, curricula², syllabuses and other school-related materials are used as an additional source of data. In 2007, I also conducted interviews with the teachers, the parents and the former pupils and observed lessons in two rural schools (Ketchenerovsky region) and in one gymnasium in Elista (see: Baranova 2013). This material mainly illuminates the context for the teaching of the native language education takes place.

The rest of this paper is structured as follows. Section one briefly describes a theoretical framework as well as an investigation of Soviet language policy. Section two outlines the history of the Kalmyk alphabet and orthography and the history of the Kalmyk schooling. Section three examines textbooks and provides a brief comparison of the different teaching methods given the fact that textbooks may have significant influence on children's attitudes to the language. Section four discusses the opinion of teachers, former pupils and parents about the school. Section five treats the representation of the endangered *language* in the classroom and Section six presents the conclusions.

2 Theory of Language Planning and Minority Education in USSR and Russia

Baker's work dividing the assimilating and the pluralistic types of a multilingual school education (1993) started a debate about the aims of bilingual education because the same term covers the various types of school programs including either the assimilation of a minority or transitional schooling (see summary in Baker 2011: 207–208). A closer examination of different schools reveals such points as using a minority/dominant language as a language of instruction, a rate of switching to the other language, administrative decisions to enroll children in specialized classes and so on.

In applied linguistics, there is a fruitful discussion about incorporating teaching methods for second language learning into the framework of minority education among pupils who do not know the inheritance language (Cummins 2000). Effective language education requires schooling with attention to **translanguaging** which describes the fluid usage of two and more languages in class to prepare students for the communication in a diverse bilingual society (Cortier and Cenoz 2017;

¹ This paper was written with the support of the grant "Typology of the Mechanisms of Interaction between Russian and the Languages of Small-numbered peoples of Russia" (RFBR 17-2909097). I wish to thank Kirill Maslinsky for his comments on the draft of this article and all the colleagues who participated at the conference "The Oirat and Kalmyk in Mongolia, Russia, Kyrgyzstan and China—Looking for an Oirat identity in the 20th and 21st century" (February 2018, Göttingen) for their helpful comments on my presentation.

² Curriculum means all types of activities in which children engage in school, including supporting materials, methods of assessment and so on.

Creese and Blackledge 2010). Nevertheless, these findings are still not taken for granted in minority education in Russia.

Another important circumstance is that the organization of lessons is linked to pupils' experience of becoming fluent in the language and that it influences the linguistic competence of the second generation. At this point, I would like to trace the influence of schooling to the community's attitude toward the Kalmyk.

To understand the issue of language education it often requires to take into account not only the goals and ideology of the minority schooling (system?) but also rules which are not articulated in the discourse and practices that reproduce from one class to the other. The modern Kalmyk school has a root in the Soviet minority education that had its own dynamics.

Early Soviet language policy was focused on the promotion of the minority language use in education, publishing, and local administration. During the 1920–1930s, language planning suggested that the minority languages should be counted and documented, alphabets should be created for the languages that did not have literacy yet, and that languages with a newly acquired literacy should have undergone the standardization process (Grenoble 2003; Smith M. 1998).

The main concern of the new policy was primary schooling in minority languages. The development of higher education was supported for the title languages of the ethnic autonomies and of the Soviet republics. Despite the short time of support, it was a very fruitful period. Starting from the almost illiterate Kalmyk community, the 20 year-long language planning support led to a situation in which most of the children were educated in their mother tongue. It presupposed also developing *textbooks*, supplying them to schools, training teachers and so on.

However, support was provided to minority languages, including Kalmyk, but not for the script that was strongly linked to religion. Associated with Buddhism, the traditional Oirat script *Todo Bichig* was rejected in favor of the Cyrillic script. During the 20th century, the alphabet for the Kalmyk language has been changed several times: first, in 1924, a new alphabet based on Cyrillic script was introduced, then in 1930 it was replaced by a Latin script and finally in 1939, the Latin script was abandoned in favor of the Cyrillic script. These sharp turns in policy should be understood in context of the internationalization of the alphabets of the languages of the USSR on the verge of the 1920–1930s (see, for example, Smith M. 1998 about the Latin Tatar Alphabet) and the nation-building and the restoration of imperial ideology in the end of 1930s. The Kalmyk literacy reflected the Soviet language policy promoted by the Latin script in the early Soviet period and then, after 1938, by Cyrillization (see section two for more details).

The Second World War and the deportation of Kalmyks to Siberia discontinued the teaching of Kalmyk in schools. Simultaneously, on the verge of the 1930–1940s, the whole program of support for vernacular culture and minority schooling in USSR was cut. The teaching of the Kalmyk language was restored after the Rehabilitation in 1956 when the Kalmyk people were allowed to return to Kalmykia. From 1958 to 1962, there were elementary schools with Kalmyk as a language of

instruction but later Kalmyk was only one of many subjects and not even taught in all schools³. Thus, it looked more like an assimilation program rather than a support for minorities. This is also typical for Soviet schools of that time.

Since the last decade of the 20th century, the revitalization of the Kalmyk language has continued. As in preceding period, Kalmyk has been taught as a subject in all schools of the Republic of Kalmykia. However, there are particular schools that provide an in-depth study of native language; there Kalmyk is the language of instruction for a part of the subjects in primary schoolings.

3 A Brief Overview of the History of Kalmyk Orthography

This part shortly outlines the history of Kalmyk schooling and explores the development of Kalmyk orthography. It is based on my own analysis of published textbooks as well as on Nömin Khanov's (1976) research on the history of Kalmyk script.

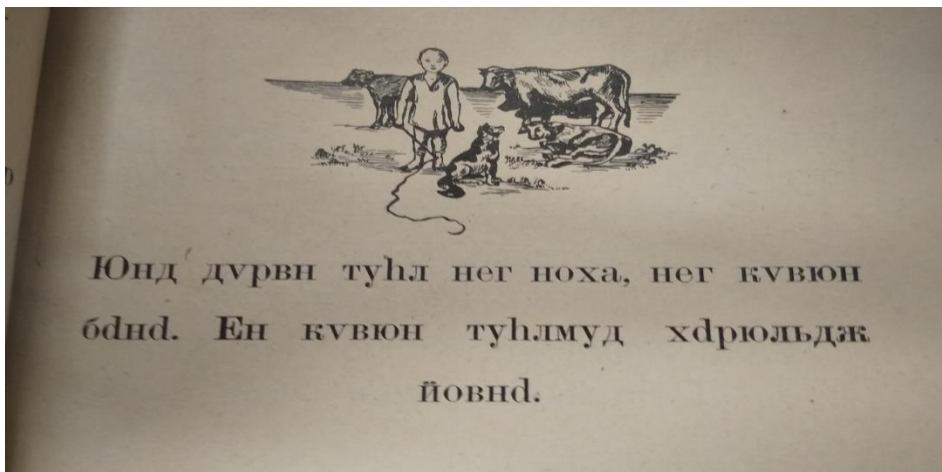
Kalmyks have a long-lasting literary tradition which started with the Buddhist teaching adopted by the Kalmyks in the 17th century. In 1648, Zaya Pandita created the vertical Oirat (Kalmyk) script *Todo Bichig* (*Clear Script*) based on the traditional Mongolian alphabet. During the Russian Empire, religious educational centers existed at temples alongside some other types of secular Kalmyk primary schools. No stable system for the production and supply of textbooks existed. One of the most interesting examples of a *Todo Bichig* primer was a text published in 1915 (Нармаев, Очиров, Котвич 1915/1994).

It should be noted that there is at least one early attempt to use Cyrillic script for Kalmyk in the Russian Empire, for instance by Bukvar (1892), with an additional diacritical mark. Nevertheless, the first step of Cyrillization in the 1920s exhibited a large variety of a printing and writing styles, e.g. characters without diacritics and one variant with umlauts (Нармаев 1925, see reprint in Kara 1997: 8–77) which looks like following Bukvar (1892).

There are conventional ways to represent Kalmyk sounds in Cyrillic script without using special symbols. The attempts to find new letters for Kalmyk sounds were motivated only by the limitations of a printing press which was set up in As-trakhan (later, there was a printing house in Elista). In the first edition of a Cyrillic primer by Kosin (1927), there are the Latin symbols *d*, *v* and *h* for *ä*, *ö* and *ʁ* respectively. In the second edition of the primer (Kosin 1928), these Latin letters were replaced by Cyrillic symbols only to facilitate printing. It should be mentioned that *d* as *ä* and *v* as *ö* were misleading because vowels were replaced by consonants (see picture 1).

³ For example, Ilishkin (1972: 13) notes that there were no Kalmyk lessons in 56 schools in 1969–70.

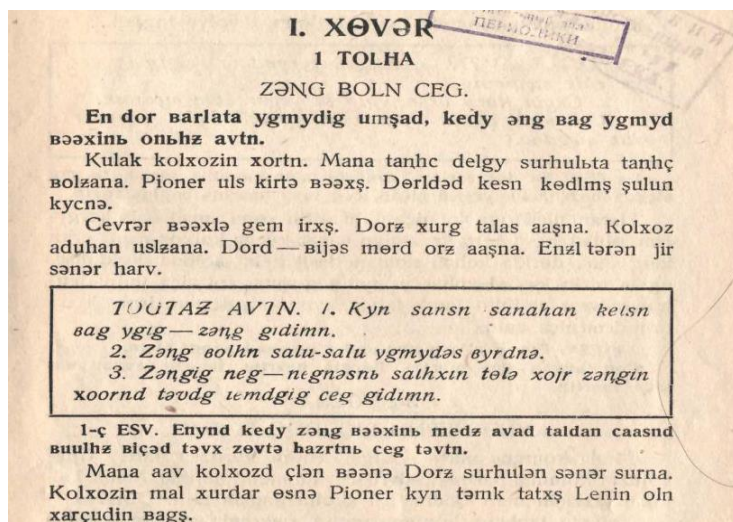
„Юнд дурвн туһа нег ноха, нег кувюн бднд. Ен кувюн туһамуд хдрюльдж йовнд.“ (Косин 1927: 21); „Юнд дэрвн юкр, нег ноха, нег кэвюн бяня. Ен кэвюн туһамуд хярюльдж йовна.“ (Косин 1928: 21)



Picture 1: Text example.

There are also some differences in marking double vowels in monosyllabic words (e.g., in the 1927 edition double letters occur in words like *миис* “cat”, spelled *мис* in 1928).

The next stage is related to the Latinization of some alphabets in the USSR. By the end of the 1920s, the process of latinization started in several regions of the USSR as it was mentioned before. In this context, the ninth Kalmyk regional meeting in 1930 (IX Калмыцкий областной съезд Советов) adopted the new Kalmyk alphabet based on Latin script. It is interesting to note that the number of varieties of printing was reduced here according to comparisons of textbooks (Badmin 1932 and Kosin 1937). There was (see Nominkhanov 1976) a standard of Latin alphabets for different languages with some variation. For Kalmyk, there were the special characters *z* *ş* *ç*, *z* and *ə* (see picture 2).



Picture 2: For Kalmyk, there were special characters.

Nevertheless, it was not the last change and in 1939 the Latin script was abandoned in favor of the Cyrillic script⁴. The Cyrillic script for Kalmyk has been in use since then and is still in use until today. In 2000–2001, it was planned to introduce an orthographic reform in Kalmykia but the project was rejected due to discontent among the speakers and school teachers. Meanwhile, there are some textbooks as an orthographic version in which double letters are used for long vowels, and the letter *ь* is used for the educed vowel (*schwa*) that is missing in standard orthography (picture 3).



Picture 3: Кичиков А.Ш., Асирова Н.Д. Оюон түгүр. Элиста, 2000.

⁴ It was tied both with the transfer of most native languages of USSR to Cyrillic and to the change of script to Cyrillic in the Mongolian Republic at the same time (on language planning in Mongolia, see Marzluf 2017).

To sum up, in the 1920–1930s, there was a quick and radical transformation of both the alphabet and the number of literate people. For the analysis of statistics and data from censuses on the increasing number of literate people, see (Lijieva 2014). For the first period, in the 1920s, the central authorities delegated the matter of alphabet reform to the local government or even to the authors of the textbooks themselves. Authors, in their turn, sometimes made their orthographic decisions while trying to negotiate the price and efforts of printing with a printing press. For this reason, orthography in textbooks from this period differs not only between books by different authors but even in different editions of the same primer. A more unified standard both for Latin alphabet and for new Cyrillic script for Kalmyk was to arrive later.

4 Beyond the Alphabets: What was Changing in Kalmyk Textbooks and Curricula?

A full account of the history of Kalmyk schooling is presented in the book by Tashninov (1969). Unfortunately, his analysis was influenced by Soviet indoctrination. Here I focus not on the reconstruction of the sequence of events but on the aims of Kalmyk education manifested through the curricula, syllabuses and the types of exercises found in textbooks.

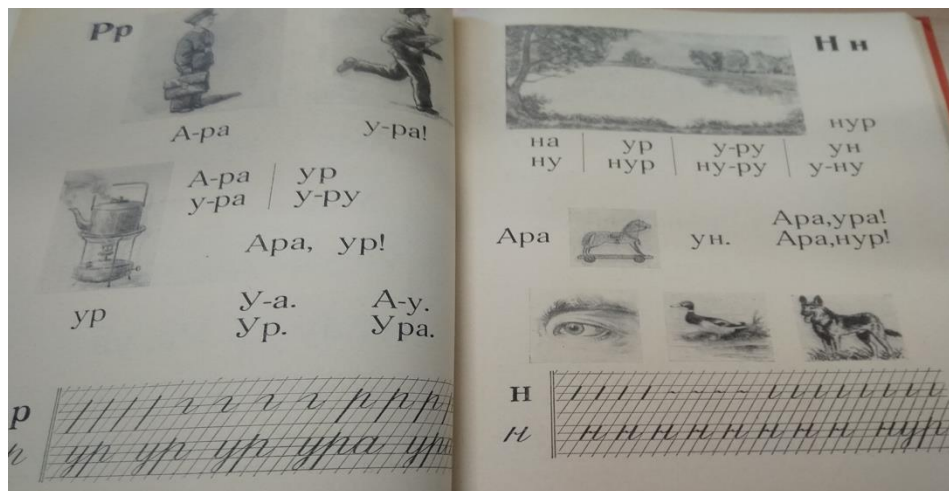
The language of instruction was a matter of contention. In the 1920–1930s Kalmyk was used as a language of instruction in primary schools. During the same period, a group of experts was preparing Kalmyk textbooks for the secondary school for different disciplines, although these were never implemented (see the Grammar of Kalmyk for secondary school (Pavlov, Ochirov 1941). During the period of deportation, there was no political possibility to support the Kalmyk language as a language of education. As was mentioned above, in 1958–1960, primary school in rural areas used Kalmyk as a medium of instruction and had Russian as a discipline. It is interesting to notice that all disciplines were taught in the minority language only until the fourth grade. Thus, such models presumed the transitional character of minority schooling. This system was suddenly abandoned in 1961–1962 (Baranova 2013) under the framework of the implementation of an educational reform at the end of 1958 which left parents the choice to send their children to a school with education in their native language or to a Russian school (see about the different reactions of elites from ethnic republics for this low in Blitsten 2001; Smith J. 2017). In the late Soviet period, Russian became the only language of education. The only position retained by the Kalmyk at school was that of a lesson in native language and literature.

According to oral history, pupils in the Elista city disliked these lessons – mainly because of the curricula and teachers’ attitudes. As was mentioned in one interview, the extra class of Kalmyk before or after all other classes disgusted children.

We had a one hour of Kalmyk in a week and it was an additional class (6 or 0, i.e. before other lessons or just after the last one). How can children like such a lesson? Everyone (Russian pupils – VB) went away, but you should stay for an hour or come earlier than others. We tried to skip this class (m, 1947, born in Elista).

We had a good Kalmyk teacher. She was very kind. Those who were going to the university got a good grade. Those who went to work got a satisfactory grade. (m, 1963, born in Elista) (Baranova 2013: 90).

Another significant topic is the way to construct language exercises in a Kalmyk textbook. There was a tendency for the unification of the textbook and training materials since the early Soviet period. The first primers (Khonin 1927, 1928, and others) departed from the ABC principle and instead opened with a small text (about 2–3 sentences) about cats, dogs, etc. The textbooks of the 1930s (Khonin 1937) were structured as typical primers from *A* to the last letter of the alphabet but they can also contain a small text on the next pages after the introduction of the letters. All the coherent texts disappeared completely from the Cyrillic primers published after the return from Siberia. In these primers, before learning the whole alphabet, a student was expected to write an element and to make some effort training the drawing of curves which was aimed at the proper cursive handwriting ('written style of a character') (picture 4). This approach was copied from the unified primer used across the *Soviet Union* regardless of the *local* conditions.



Picture 4: Павла Д., УЗГАЛ. М.: Учпедгиз, 1959: 14–15.

A similar tendency of unifying the format of exercises and tests, as well as the explanation of grammatical structure was in place in the secondary education of the period. A textbook of Russian for Russian secondary school served as a model. For Kalmyk, two difficulties stemmed from this tendency. On the one hand, the morpho-syntactic structure of Kalmyk differs significantly from Russian, especially in the complex predicate. On the other hand, children in late Soviet Kalmykia, at least in Elista and in the regional centers of the republic, were not so fluent in Kalmyk while the textbook presupposed a *native* language.

Предметин чинт, темаг медүүлч зэңгин нөкцд мөчиг цээлхат гиж нерэднэ.
(...) Мана совхоз цаһан хөөһөр байн. (Ямаран хөөһөр?) цаһан, (кене совхоз?) мана.

During the last decades, Ochra and Kharchevnikova (2000, 2003 and other editions) became one of the most widely used textbooks for secondary school. It should be noted, however, that its content is designed for a person with an excellent knowledge of Kalmyk who is also fond of analyzing the syntactic structure of a sentence, both of which is not very typical for a pupil. While I don't want to belittle the achievements of the authors or downplay the complexity of their task, this method of presenting the grammatical material, let alone the simple reprinting of the uninspiring texts about *совхоз* etc. from earlier Soviet textbooks, does not help the reader with the inevitable difficulties stemming from the discussion of Kalmyk in terms of attribute, object and adverbial according to the Russian 'school' norms.

5 Community's Aspirations about the Kalmyk Minority Education and the Process of Identity Formation

Nowadays, there is a lack of support for the Kalmyk language from the government and there is a conservative tendency in the schools, including the textbooks. According to the syllabus', Russian is the medium of instruction in school while Kalmyk language is taught only as a subject and is used in extracurricular activities such as playing, singing, folk festivals, and some others. Unfortunately, this is in line with the expectations of the community. As one teacher mentioned, pupils try to escape learning the language, and prefer studying the ethnic history and culture, along with other activities that may be linked to the identity formation:

The language for them (children - VB) is boring. They prefer listening to how our ancestors were nomads, and how they looked. It's better than to learn grammar (B., f, 1975, born in Ergeninskiy). (Baranova 2013: 92)

The unprivileged status of Kalmyk also influences on the parent's attitudes to native language at school. One father told me that the school does not teach language at all and it could not possibly do that because the curriculum is designed for the native Kalmyk speaker (m, born in 1955, Elista).

Many of our respondents display a negative attitude to Kalmyk lessons. Some of them mentioned that it looks like memorizing a list of new words and rules while parents want children to learn their native language.

For example, they chose a topic, animals, and there are a billion of <words – V.B.> for these animals, no one could remember all of them, even in Russian. Also, there are fruits and vegetables. (f, born in 1957, Ergeninskiy).

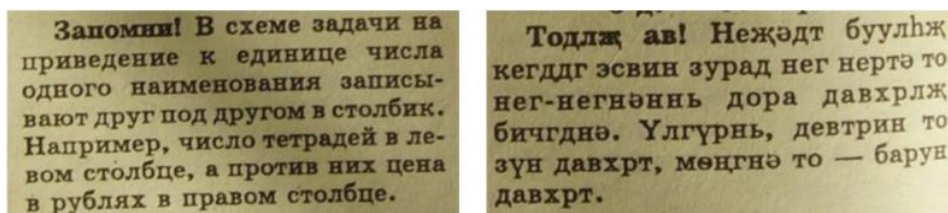
It should be noted that the negative attitude to the language lessons at school may influence the attitudes and beliefs held by the community members about their own language.

Another important thing is a change in the attitude of the community towards this kind of teaching. Often the community that undergoes a language shift often delegates the issue of language transmission to bilingual education (Baker 2003). However, most of the actors were unreflective about the usual mechanisms of presenting the language in school. Even a perfect educational intervention not always could solve the problem. However, Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1998: 63) pointed out that many people in different community settings feel, in principle, that it is a good idea to revive traditional languages but they often assume that other people will take responsibility for making it happen.

6 Representation of an Endangered *Language* in the Classroom: Discussion

Some attempts were made across the curriculum to move beyond the pattern of language presentation used by the old Soviet textbooks and to take the endangered status of the Kalmyk into account. Hereafter I briefly describe the two ways that these attempts took.

On the one hand, I want to mention the bilingual teaching programs, an experiment from the early 1990s. The page in the textbook was divided into two columns, Russian and Kalmyk. Every pupil read the instruction to a math exercise in both languages and could choose the language appropriate for them as some children were more fluent in Russian and fewer had Kalmyk as their first language (picture 5).



Picture 5: Эрдниев П., Очурова М. Бичкүдин математик. Математика для малышей. Эласт, 1991.

As can be estimated *postfactum*, such a system was close to the trans-language model in minority education where two languages were used for teaching and learning during the same lesson. While doing the exercise, the pupils learned new words, both Russian and Kalmyk. Regrettably, these excellent textbooks were abandoned by the modern schools along with other experimental methods, which were not compatible with the Russian Federal curriculum standard.

On the other hand, there are some interesting textbooks where second language learning methods were implemented, for instance, Үйнр (Бакланова, Корнусова 2015) or Кирүлэ (Аристаева, Богаева 2012). These books are partly accepted at the primary level in some schools but it is necessary to adopt a similar program with second language learning methods in secondary school too and to supply textbooks for it.

The language transmission in the context of language shift is a real puzzle. Of course, there are fundamental problems with the language of instruction because children need to be taught in a language they understand and the language of instruction has to be able to offer a benefit for the pupils' education. On the other side, the support for a minority language assumes that learning a language is more effective when it becomes a language of education, an instrument of learning other disciplines and for communicating with other people more than the traditional 'class for earning the language'. The discussions about immersion programs and translanguaging are trying to find a solution.

7 Conclusion

Viewed from a historical perspective, what it means to have lessons in Kalmyk is dependent on the period. The role of a textbook changed according to the place of the Kalmyk in the curricula and the syllabuses. Nevertheless, textbooks were quite stable during all the periods after the end of the post-Revolution educational experiments of the 1920s. The Soviet primers for minority languages are trapped by the usage of the pattern of Russian grammar books across the *Soviet Union* regardless of *grammatical features* of idiom.

Regrettably, now the authors of new textbooks often just reproduce the existing system so that it cannot always be effective in the new environment. The prob-

lem with reprinting the texts from the former period lies not only in the content of the texts that were used as a tool for Soviet indoctrination but also in the changed level of language proficiency. Most of today's children cannot understand these texts. This leads to the conclusion that the second language acquisition is a more appropriate method than the analysis of grammar, similar to a Russian schoolbook.

It should be mentioned that a textbook is not the only resource for learning Kalmyk. Moreover, when Kalmyk is not spoken at home, classroom Kalmyk is not reinforced outside the schools. Now there are many kinds of resources like forums and mobile applications.

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About Kalmyk Songs Found in the Notebook of J. F. Malsch

Arbug Basang

Abstract

Justus Friedrich Malsch was one of German Christian missionaries in Sarepta among Kalmyks in the 1760s. Malsch in his manuscript records (Asch 143, SUB Göttingen) recorded two Kalmyk love songs, which later attracted several times the attention of European Mongolists (P. S. Pallas, B. Laufer, Birtalan A., poetic adaptation by F. Majer). This paper focuses on the time of recording these texts, on commentaries to the palaeography of the manuscript, its rendering by Todo Mongolian and Classical Mongolian scripts, its transcription and a comparison of poetic expressions with modern Oirat oral tradition as an attempt to find modern parallels of these earliest Kalmyk Oirat songs recorded in Europe.

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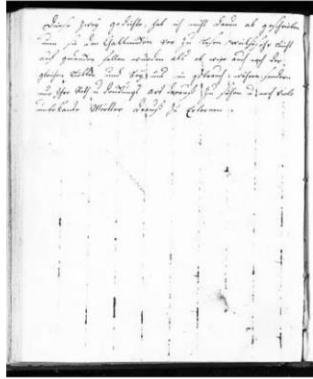
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« 1-й номер » — « 1-й номер »

[« 1-й номер »]



« 2-й номер » — « 2-й номер »



« 3-й номер » — « 3-й номер »

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Non-Fairytale Kalmyk Prose – Collection History and Terminology¹

Tamara Goryaevna Basangova

Abstract

In modern folkloristic science, scientists pay great attention to the questions of studying non-fairytale prose, which include myths, legends, traditions, their interest in this area is growing. Despite the “local confinement” and the national specificity of such genres of fairy-tale prose as legends and traditions, they are international in nature. The identification of the regional specifics of legends and traditions without a doubt, very significant for Russian folklore. Studying the local folklore traditions of the ethnos makes it possible to trace the history of the genre, its development and change

В современной фольклористической науке ученые уделяют огромное внимание к вопросам изучения несказочной прозы, к которым относятся мифы, легенды, предания, их интерес к данной области все возрастает. Несмотря на «местную приуроченность» и национальную специфичность таких жанров несказочной прозы, как легенды и предания, они интернациональны по своему характеру. Выявление региональной специфики легенд и преданий, без сомнения, очень значимо для отечественной фольклористики. Изучение локальных фольклорных

¹ Original title: НЕСКАЗОЧНАЯ ПРОЗА КАЛМЫКОВ (история собрания, терминология).

традиций этноса дает возможность проследить историю жанра, его развитие и изменение.

В калмыцкой фольклористике была предпринята попытка изучения обозначения жанров калмыцкого фольклора [2,с.15 - 17], [3,с.19- 20].

Существуют народные термины, обозначающие жанровую принадлежность для обозначений произведений несказочной прозы калмыков: *дамг*, *Үлгр дамг* и *тууж*. Термину «дамг» соответствуют «миф», «дамг Үлгр» – «легенда», а термину «тууж» (буквально: «история», «повествование», «сказание») – «предание». Часто сказители и рассказчики калмыцких легенд и преданий смешивают понятия «дамг» и «тууж».

Еще одним синонимичным термином, обозначающим жанры несказочной прозы калмыков, является хуучан келх – «говорить, повествовать о старине. В системе калмыцкого фольклора произведения несказочной прозы сохраняются до наших дней в живом устном бытовании. В фольклористике монгольских народов есть собирательный термин – *дамог*, имеющий значение «повествование, сказание».

Мифы, легенды и предания во всех монгольских языках объединяются под термином «домог», который упоминается в «Сокровенном сказании монголов» (120 «domog», 201 «domogsi» – сказитель легенд). Слово «domog» является производным от «dom», которое обозначает «магия, магическое средство, знахарство, колдовство». Парное сочетание «эм-дом» являлось закрепкой в магических ритуальных текстах. Обозначение этим термином прозаических жанров фольклора свидетельствует о том, что некогда речевое воспроизведение этих произведений выполняло магическую функцию, имело влияние на слушателей, носило лечебный характер [5,с. 38]. В процессе восстановления жанровой системы фольклора исследователи не раз прибегали к народной терминологии. В обозначении ритуала произнесения жанров несказочной прозы применено обозначение «хуучан келх» - говорить о старине. В калмыцком языке слово *хуучи* имеет следующие значения: 1) *старый*, 2) *изношенный, ветхий*, 3) *давний, старейший, старинный, древний*, 4) *устаревший, недействительный, отживший*, 5) *старый, бывший, прежний* [КРС 1977: 616]. В алтайской фольклористике народное обозначение жанров несказочной прозы также именуется как *кел* – *куучиндар*, которые классифицированы по одиннадцати тематическим группам [13,с.30-31]. Одной из форм произнесения жанров калмыцкого устного народного творчества называется «*келлһн*» – говорение, рассказывание, отсюда название жанра рассказа как «келвр». Эти термины образовались от слова «келн» – язык. Одним из древних названий сказителя является *келмрчи*, впервые этот титул упомянут в «Сокровенном сказании монголов», в «Джангаре» это звание носит сказитель Ке Джилган. С течением времени имя сказителя Ке Джилгана упомянуто в похвальбе начинающему и талантливому сказителю: признав его талант, люди произносят: *йосн келмрч Ке Жилһн* – настоящий

сказитель Ке Джилган. «Ке» как часть имени сказителя исходит от общемонгольского «кев», одно из значений которого – «шаблон, трафарет» [289], еще одно значение «ке» – красивый, нарядный, в сочетании со словом «аахн» обозначает: 1) красивый, нарядный, 2) красноречивый человек [10, с. 286]. Легенды и предания по сравнению с другими прозаическими жанрами, например со сказками, наиболее подвижны и подвержены импровизациям их рассказчиков. Поэтому их форма часто меняется в зависимости от конкретной обстановки, творческих возможностей сказителя и настроения слушателей. Исторические предания обозначаются термином «тууҗ» (буквально: «история», «повествование», «сказание»), которые соответствуют термину «предание». Между тем мифы, легенды, предания остаются малоизученной областью калмыцкой фольклористики, несмотря на то, что предпринималась попытка их жанровой характеристики. Исследователями была выработана научная терминология в обозначении этих жанров. Сюжетный состав имеющихся текстов несказочной прозы калмыков – мифов, легенд, преданий позволяет сделать их классификацию. Тексты мифов, легенд, преданий в данном сборнике отражают фольклорную традицию калмыков вплоть до наших дней. Главным критерием отбора текстов в данный том послужило бытование текстов мифов, легенд, преданий в народной среде, их художественность, законченность. Приняв за основу теоретические положения исследователей русского, бурятского и монгольского фольклора, учитывая при этом специфику оригинального калмыцкого материала мифов, легенд и преданий публикуемые тексты обозначены как мифы (*дамг*), легенды (*дамг үлгүр*) и предания (*тууҗ*). Сюжетный состав имеющихся текстов несказочной прозы калмыков – мифов, легенд, преданий позволяет сделать их тематическую классификацию:

- космогонические мифы о сотворении мира, происхождении земли, неба, звезд, солнца, луны;
- этиологические мифы о происхождении и особенностях животных, птиц, насекомых, растений, о явлениях природы;
- мифы о животных;
- демонологические предания о сверхъестественных существах;
- исторические предания – об известных лицах;
- топонимические предания о происхождении географических объектов или их названий;
- этнонимические - о происхождении калмыцких родов;
- о происхождении обычаев, обрядов, ритуалов;
- предания о сакральных лицах - знающих, задычи, гелюнгах, сказителях;
- религиозные предания – о духовных лицах (сказителях, гелюнгах, задчи, косо Будде, Майдары);

- предания о материальных предметах;
- предания о происхождении жанров калмыцкого фольклора.

Тексты мифов, легенд, преданий в данном сборнике отражают фольклорную традицию калмыков вплоть до наших дней. Главным критерием отбора текстов в данный том послужила их художественность, законченность. Приняв за основу теоретические положения исследователей русского, бурятского и монгольского фольклора, учитывая при этом специфику оригинального калмыцкого материала мифов, легенд и преданий данные тексты разделены на три части – 1) мифы (*дамг*) и 2) легенды (*дамг үлгүр*) и предания (*тууж*).

Мифология калмыков имеет много общих сюжетов и мотивов с мифологиями бурят и монголов. Н. А. Жуковская считает, что «калмыцкая мифология наименее самостоятельна, поскольку отрыв основной массы ойратов, предков калмыков, от монгольского этноса произошел довольно поздно: в первой половине 17 века. Сложение мифологических циклов, сюжетов и образов к этому времени можно в основном считать законченным. Жизнь калмыков в России и контакты с новым этническим окружением вели лишь к постепенной утрате общемонгольского субстрата в мифологии» [8, 93].

Отголоски мифов сохранились в героическом эпосе калмыков «Джангар» и сказках разных жанров. Летом 1909 года калмыцкие степи с целью их научного обследования посетил Номто Очиров. Об этой поездке он оставил научное обозрение, известное под названием «Отчет о поездке Номто Очирова к астраханским калмыкам летом 1909 года» [Отчет о поездке... 1910: 61–75].

В 1911 году Номто Очиров совершил научную поездку в Александровский (Хошеутовский) улус Калмыцкой степи. Об этой поездке он также опубликовал отчет [Поездка 1913: 78–93]. В его научных отчетах представлен фольклорно-этнографический материал – топонимические и этнонимические предания, история родов калмыков [4, 46–48]. Фольклорный материал, собранный Номто Очировым, сосредоточен в двух частях рукописного сборника "Материалы по устной народной литературе астраханских калмыков". Фольклорные записи Номто Очирова хранятся в Архиве востоковедов Института Восточных рукописей РАН г. Санкт-Петербурга. В рукописный сборник вошли 26 сказок разных жанров – волшебные, богатырские; несколько образцов преданий, мифологические рассказы, 115 пословиц, 144 образца загадки, 59 песен, образец "*яс кемялген - сказывание по кости*", жанр 72-х небылиц. Материалы двух рукописных сборников вошли в сборник «Номто Очиров. Живая старина: из литературного наследия». Издание имеет обширное предисловие, в котором в некоторой степени дана жанровая характеристика публикуемых сюжетов – сказок, мифов, исторических преданий.

Фольклорная традиция донских калмыков была зафиксирована И. И. Поповым. Сборник калмыцкого фольклора его записи хранится в Ростовском областном архиве. Это девять рукописных книг, содержание которых еще не опубликовано в полном виде. Есть некоторые сведения о самом собирателе: он получил образование в Лейпцигском университете, много лет жил среди калмыков, его семья владела несколькими конными заводами, на которых работали в основном калмыки, превосходно разбиравшиеся в коневодстве. Коллекция фольклорных произведений И.И. Попова, которая находится в Ростовском областном архиве, описана Ц.Д. Номинхановым [14, с.149–151].

В тридцатые годы прошлого столетия проводилась работа по сбору фольклорного материала. В 1936 г. научной экспедицией в составе профессора Б.К. Пашкова, доцента Б.Б. Бадмаева и аспиранта И.К. Илишкина были записаны образцы фольклора калмыков, в том числе легенды и предания. Тексты устного народного творчества калмыков, записанные студентами Астраханского пединститута, писателями, поэтами и учителями калмыцкого языка, были опубликованы на калмыцком языке в книге «Хальмг фольклор» («Калмыцкий фольклор»). Этот сборник включает в себя 136 фольклорных образцов, в том числе и преданий [10, 1941].

В данной книге отражены материалы фольклорной экспедиции 1936 года, составителями книги сделана классификация собранных материалов, один раздел посвящён образцам трех легенд – «Собсида», «Лучший из мужей Эде», «Богатыри». Тексты перечисленных легенд содержат древний мотив оживления героя. Тело великана Алангасара, разбросанного по частям в разных местах - на шестидесяти отрогах Маныча и на озере Башлук, оживляет его жена и на двухстах телегах вывезла его [19, 260с.]. Изданный к юбилею героического эпоса "Джангар" сборник "Народное творчество Калмыкии" И. Кравченко содержит немало ценных сведений о сказителях тридцатых годов. В предисловии к сборнику И. Кравченко говорит о привилегированном положении сказочников. В сборнике "Народное творчество Калмыкии" опубликованы сказочные сюжеты, записанные врачом по профессии и знатоком этнографии калмыков У. Душаном от своей матери Д. Душан в 1910 г. Это сюжеты, распространенные в фольклоре монгольских народов, такие как: "Семь безволосых и один коротышка", "Кеедя", мифы и легенды. Этнографические заметки У. Душана также содержат тексты сказок, легенд, преданий, мифов, которые он записал у калмыков Эркетеневского улуса [11]. За годы ссылки в Сибирь (1943-56 гг.) калмыки не утратили свою культуру, язык, фольклор, ибо единственной формой сохранения культуры была устная память. Сразу после восстановления Калмыцкого НИИ языка, литературы и истории (1960) началась публикационная, издательская, собирательская работа калмыцкого фольклора [12, с. 124–128; 7, с 214–216].

Как известно, в период ссылки калмыков с 1943 по 1956 годы в районы Сибири и Дальнего Востока был наложен запрет на калмыцкий язык и культуру. Но, как показывают материалы фольклорных экспедиций по районам Калмыкии, Астраханской области, калмыки, несмотря на репрессии, сохранили язык, фольклор, обычаи и традиции. Начиная с шестидесятых годов, после создания сектора фольклора в Калмыцком НИИЯЛИ, началось планомерное собирание образцов устного народного творчества. Были записаны репертуары сказителей Э. Кутуктаевой, С. Бутаева, Ч. Комаева, С. Манджикова, Ц. Джаргаевой, М. Буринова. Материалы фольклорных экспедиций легли в основу четырех томов сказок под названием "Хальмг туульс" [19, 20, 21, 22].

В целом они характеризуют фольклорную традицию этих лет. Во втором томе «Хальмг туульс» опубликован репертуар сказителя Санджи Манджикова. В течение 1964–1965 гг. сотрудником Калмыцкого НИИЯЛИ А. Ц. Бембеевой под руководством проф. Ц.-Д. Номинханова было записано более семидесяти образцов устного народного творчества калмыков. Санджи Манджиков родился в 1891 г. в уезде Мечетин Донской области, участвовал в гражданской войне, был депортирован в Сибирь, после реабилитации калмыцкого народа вернулся на родину. В предисловии ко второму тому не дана классификация публикуемых сюжетов, в которых сохранены диалектные особенности донского говора калмыков, но они представляют огромный интерес для исследователя-фольклориста, поскольку в репертуаре сказителя были представлены уникальные образцы калмыцкого фольклора мифов, легенд, преданий, часть которых вошла в данный сборник. Часть репертуара С. Манджикова переведена на русский язык [16].

В 1962 г. была организована первая научная экспедиция по районам Калмыцкой АССР. Записи образцов устного народного творчества были произведены в Каспийском (ныне Лаганском) районе Калмыцкой АССР и Лиманском районе Астраханской области. В 1965 и 1966 гг. две экспедиции, возглавляемые А. И. Сусеевым, собирали образцы фольклора в Сарпинском, Каспийском и Черноземельском районах республики. В 1967 и 1968 гг. под руководством М. Э. Джимгирова был проведен сбор фольклорного материала в Юстинском и Яшкульском районах. В 1970 г. состоялся очередной выезд сотрудников института в Городовиковский, Целинный, Приозерный (ныне Кетченеровский), Ики-Бурульский и Юстинский районы. Часть сказок из собранного фольклорного материала опубликована в третьем и четвертом томах «Хальмг туульс» («Калмыцкие сказки») с указанием имен сказителей и места записи. Третий том «Хальмг туульс» представлен тридцатью восемью произведениями устного народного творчества. Жанровое разнообразие сказок этого тома составляют богатырские, волшебные и бытовые сказки, а также предания и легенды: о происхождении календарных праздников «Зул» и «Цаган Сар»,

этиологическая легенда «Петух и павлин», исторические предания «Нойтна тууж» и «Как калмыки откочевали на Алтай» [21, с. 7–39].

В конце тома составители Н.Н. Мусова, Б.Б. Оконов и Е.Д. Мучкинова сообщают имена сказителей и краткие сведения о них. Структура четвертого тома «Хальмг туульс» («Калмыцкие сказки») 1974 года издания аналогична предыдущему. Составителями Б.Б. Оконовым и Е.Д. Мучкиновой были включены в него также исторические предания – *тууж* о Миитр-нойоне, Убуш хане и Цебек Дорджи. В репертуаре Санджи Бутаева, записи которого производились в 1970-х годах прошлого столетия учеными Калмыцкого НИИЯЛИ (ныне КНЦ РАН) Е.Д. Мучкиновой, Э.Ч. Бардаевым, сохранилось немало старинных преданий. Также в фонограммоархиве имеются записи, произведенные фольклористом Н.Ц. Биткеевым (1974 год), повторная запись репертуара сказителя С. Бутаева была совершена Б. Э. Мутляевой (1978 год), расшифровка и публикация сорока пяти сюжетов сказок и преданий сделана Б. Х. Борльковой [6]. Репертуар современного сказителя Ш. В. Боктаева отличен от других тем, что в нем сохранился цикл преданий о Мазан-баатаре, есть предания о сакральных лицах, которые вошли в данный сборник [1]. Этот же народный герой присутствует в репертуаре сказительницы и певицы Т. С. Тягиновой, и это неслучайно, она отмечает, что именно от своего отца С. Тягинова, прямого потомка народного героя Мазан-баатра, она унаследовала сказительский и певческий талант [18].

Таким образом, публикации текстов несказочной прозы можно найти в изданиях калмыцких сказок и в изданиях последних лет как отдельный раздел. Только с изданием сборника под названием «Семь звезд» началась публикация этих жанров устного народного творчества калмыков. Во введении к «Семи звёздам» Д.Э. Басаев отмечает: «Настоящий сборник – первая широкая публикация калмыцких легенд и преданий. Это собрание текстов устной несказочной прозы отражает историческую память, основные понятия, воззрения народа, определяющие историческое своеобразие его характера, его отношение к прошлому и морально-этическим категориям» [17, с. 8].

В основном она составлена на основе текстов калмыцких легенд и преданий на русском языке, перевод которых сделан разными исследователями, переводчиками, писателями, поэтами, этнографами, из них шестнадцать текстов легенд и преданий были переведены составителем сборника. Кроме того, если говорить о текстах легенд и преданий на калмыцком языке, то несколько текстов переводов выполнено Т.Г. Борджановой [16, 2002]. Издание «Калмыцкий фольклор» представляет собой сборник статей ученых-фольклористов по вопросам научного издания произведений народного творчества и их классификации в «Своде калмыцкого фольклора» — калмыцких народных сказок, обрядовой поэзии, танцевального фольклора и благопожеланий [9]. Характерно, что в данном сборнике не описан принцип издания легенд и преданий калмыков. В

дальнейшем исследователями будут предложены состав и структура этого тома – «Свода калмыцкого фольклора. Между тем мифы, легенды, предания остаются малоизученной областью калмыцкой фольклористики, несмотря на то, что предпринималась попытка их жанровой характеристики

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The Characteristics of Scripture of Oirat Oral Dialect in Tibetan Script¹

Amgalan Batsuuri

Summary

Until the thirties of the 20th century, many temples were founded in Mongolia in order to provide Buddhist education and there was a Tibetan language training program, which expanded the use of Tibetan written language.

Certainly, for the people studying in monasteries there was a necessary need to contact each other in written form and take notes in Mongolian in order to learn Tibetan language and understand the doctrine of Buddhism comprehensively.

Due to this requirement, the materials where Mongolian language was recorded in Tibetan script have become abundant and manuscripts and some other works have been blocked print and distributed.

In this paper, we highlighted how Mongolians recorded Mongolian language and dialects in Tibetan script, especially the methods for writing the words and phrases and the system of letter or script, which Oirat Mongols used to express Oirat dialects in Tibetan letter written in the scriptures that have been kept by Oirat Mongols.

In order to record or mark the concrete situation of Oirat spoken language and the peculiarities of Oirat language and dialects, a special font system and appropriate methodology were developed.

¹ Original title: Ойрад аман аялгууг төвөд үсгээр үгчилсэн ном судрын онцлоог.

1 Ойрад аман аялгууг төвөд үсгээр үгчилсэн ном судрын онцлог

ХIII зууны үеэс хүчирхэгжин мандаж эхэлсэн монголын эзэнт гүрний үед их хаадын нөмөр нөөлөг, тэдний хүчин чармайлгаар төвөдийн сажава ёсны багш нарыг урин залж, ном сургаалыг монгол газар дэлгэрүүлж, буддын шашныг төрийн шашны хэмжээнд өргөмжлөн, “төрийн багш” хэмээх цол хэргэмийг тэргүүлэгч лам нарт олгож байжээ. Харин хожим XVI-XVII зууны үед буддын шашин соёл монгол орноо төвөдөд Богд Зонховын үндэслэсэн гэлүгвагийн ёс, монголчуудын нэрлэснээр шар малгайтны урсгал чиглэл хүчтэй дэлгэрч, тухайн үеийн сургалт боловсролын хүрээнд төвөд хэл зонхилон хэрэглэгдэх болж, улмаар монголын утга соёлын олон чиглэлд хүрээ хязгаараа тэлсээр ирсэн байна.

Чухамхүү үеүдэд төвөд бичгийн хэл монгол оронд хүчтэй дэлгэрэхийн сацуу монгол бичгийн хэлийг эртний энэтхэг, төвөд хэл шинжлэлийн онол үндэслэлийн дагуу судлан, монгол хэлний зүй зохиож, бичиг үсгийн бүтэц тогтолцоог сайжруулж, улам боловсронгуй болгосоор ирсний гэрч нь “Зүрхэн толг” түүний тайлбар зохиолууд өөр өөр цаг үед удаа дараа зохиогдсон бөгөөд монгол бичгийн хэлийг улам нарийвчлалтай тэмдэглэх зорилгын дор дөрвөлжин бичиг, тод үсэг, соёмбо бичиг, вагиндрагийн бичиг гэх мэт арав гаруй бичиг үсгийг зохион хэрэглэж, харь гадаад үгсийг үнэн зөв бичиж тэмдэглэх галиг үсгийн тогтолцоог ч боловсруулсан явдал юм. Монгол бичиг энэ цаг үедэд албан хэрэг, хувийн захидал харилцаа, уран зохиолыг бичиж тэмдэглэхэд хэрэглэгдсээр ирсэн нь монголын түүхэн сурвалж, эртний уран зохиолын өдий төдий бичгийн дурсгалаас харж болно. Үүний нэгэн баримт болгож XIV зууны үеэс монголчууд буддын утга зохиолын их цоморлог болох “Ганжуур” [зарлигийн орчуулга], “Данжуур” [шастирын орчуулга]-ыг монгол хэлнээ орчуулах ажил эхэлж, XVII зуун гэхэд бүрэн эхээр нь модон бараар хэвлэснийг дурдаж болох юм.

Хүн төрөлхтний өнөө хүртэл хөгжин мандсаны нэгэн үндэс язгуур нь өөр хоорондоо эвсэн найрсаж, эелдэн амьдарсаар ирсний ач хэмээмүй. Амьдрал ахуй, оюун сэтгэлгээний адил биш оршихуйд амьдарч асан хүрээ хязгаарын улмаас өөр хоорондоо нэвтэрлэх, ойлголцохуйн саадтай тулгарч байсан хэдий ч харилцан ойлголцож, нэгдэн нягтарсаар ирсэн нь гайхамшигтай. Чухам энэ гайхамшигт үйлийг гүйцэлдүүлэгч нь хэл соёлыг бусад лугаа нэвтрүүлэгч лозавай буюу олон хэлийг мэдэгчид хэмээн хүндлэгдэх эрдэм төгс оюунт хүмүүс юм.

Өнөө цагт элдэв олон хэлийг мэддэг хэмээн мэдэмхийрэгчид олонд тустай мэдлэг мэдээллийг түгээн дэлгэрүүлсэн олигтой зүйлс хийсэн нь үгүй. Чухам үүнийг «Үсгийн номлол мэргэдийн амны чимэг» хэмээх зохиолодоо: “Эрдмийг олонтоо сонсовч, номлохуйд эс мэргэжвээс Эмээр хоосрон гуцуудсан мэргэн сайн эмч мэт,

Эгнэгт тэмцэхүйд мэргэн ч, туурвих ёсыг эс мэдвээс
Элдэв зуун хэлтэн болж өгүүлэвч, хэлгий балай мөн”

хэмээн Алшаа лхарамба Агваандандар бээр ёгтлон өгүүлжээ. Бидний олон түмнээ бэлтгэн хүргэж буй энэхүү бүтээл нь Алшаа Дандар лхарамба оюун нэн төгөлдөржсөн ухаанаар нэрж гарган, насан хэвийх үедээ туурвисан “Нэр утыг тодотгогч сарны гэгээн гэрэл хэмээх дохионы бичиг оршвой” хэмээх төвөд монгол толь бичгийн нэгэн өвөрмөц эх юм.

2 Зохиогчийн тухайд

Алшаа лхарамба Агваандандар 1759 оны шарагчин туулай жил Алшаа хошоод хошуу зүүн сумын Баяннуруу багийн нутагт их Хойд овогт зайсан гэгчийн гэр бүлд мэндэлжээ. Тэрээр бага наснаасаа Алшаа хошууны яаман сүмд /Буян арвитгагч сүм/ шавилан сууж бурхны шашин, гүн ухааны анхан шатны боловсролыг эзэмшиж, улмаар Төвдийн Лхас хотноо буддын чойрын таван ботид гүнзгийрэн мэргэжснээр “лхарамба” хэмээх эрдмийн өндөр зэрэг цолыг хүртсэн ажээ. Дараа нь эх нутагтаа буцаж ирээд бурхны шашин, гүн ухааны ном заах, бичих зэрэг ажлыг хийж, хожим нь хошууныхаа баруун хийдийг байгуулахад оролцож явжээ. Тэрбээр “Дандар лхарамба» гэдэг нэрээр алдаршжээ.

Алшаа лхарамба Агваандандар нь гүн ухааны ахуйн тухай хийгээд танин мэдэхүй, мөн учир шалтгааны ухааны баталгаа, няцаалтын онолыг системтэйгээр авч үзэн монголд бие даасан буддын гүн ухааны үзэл санаа бүрэлдэн тогтох, монголын гүн ухааны сэтгэлгээний түүхийг боловсруулахад жинтэй хувь нэмэр оруулсан сэтгэгч. Тэрээр буддын учир шалтгааны ухаанд онцлон шалгарч, учир шалтгааны ухаанаар 14, хэл шинжлэлээр 6, шашны зан үйлийн чиглэлээр 7, элдэв тэмдэглэлээр 3 нийт 37 зохиол бичиж туурвижээ.

Дандар лхарамба “Лхасын гүн ухааны сургуульд суралцаж лхарамба гэдэг эрдмийн цол хүртсэн байна. Хожим нь Домад Гүмбүмжамбаалин хийдэд өнө удаан сууж, номлох, маргах/хэлэлцэх/, зохих бээр амьтны тус эрдмийг зохиочухуй.”²

² Тэрбиш Л., Мягмарсүрэн В., “Төвд монгол толь бичиг” УБ., 2000, 1а-тал.

3 Эх бичгийн тодорхойлолт

Уг эх нь Ховд аймгийн Манхан сумын Рашигонзэглин хийдийн сан хөмрөгт

ᠡᠭᠣᠨᠡᠷᠦᠳᠤᠬᠡᠮᠤᠯᠠᠭᠡᠨᠲᠣᠳᠣᠳᠬᠣᠭᠠᠨᠰᠢᠷᠦᠶᠢᠶ᠋ᠠᠨᠬᠡᠬᠡᠭᠡᠨᠠᠶᠢᠪᠢᠴᠢᠭᠡᠳᠡ

| Nere Fudxfhi` tododxoqCI Sfrfyia hehe;a here^ keme;K Do {;nI biciQ Foro-
zi+I.

гэсэн төвөд, тод үсгээр бичсэн нэртэйгээр хадгалагдаж буй бөгөөд гарчиг болон эхний хуудсанд монгол үгсийг ойрад аялгуунаа тод үсгээр бичиж, бусад хуудсуудад төвөд үсгээр ойрад аялгууг үгчлэн бичсэн нийт 93 хуудсаар жигдлэн бүтээсэн гар бичмэл судар болой. Энэхүү эхийн ихэнх тал нь төвөд үгс хийгээд орчуулга монгол үгийг төвөд үсгээр үгчилсэн гурав гурван мөр бичээс бүхий болгомол цаасан дээр хар бэхээр гаргацтай бичигдсэн судар юм.

«Нэр утгыг тодотгогч сарны гэгээн гэрэл хэмээх дохионы бичиг»-ээ зохиох болсон учир хэргийн тухайд зохиогч төгсгөлийн үгэндээ “дохионд хэдий чинээ судалбаас эл утгад төдий чинээ их мэдэгч болох хэмээн ухаж, сургуулийн шинэ хүүхэд туслах санаагаар аван хэрэглэлтэй зүйлийг бүдүүн баргийн төдий хураасан бөгөөд тэр ч Гомбожавтаны зохиол «Мэдэхүйеэ хялбар болгосон» хэмээгдэх зохионы бичиг энэ нь үнэхээр хэрэглэгдэж байх боловч өчүүхэн хураангуйдсны тулд түүнд нэмэлт хэмээн сэтгэж, «Нэр утгыг тодотгогч сарны гэгээн гэрэл» хэмээгдэх дохионы бичиг үүнийг Халхын их хүрэнээс «Эрэхүйеэ хялбар» хэмээгдэх нэгэн дэлгэрэнгүй дохионы бичиг шинэ хурааснаас зохистойг нь ихэвчлэн аваад, бус судруудаас ч чухал хэрэглэлтэй бүхнийг цөөн бусын төдий нэмж, Алшаа лхарамба Агваандандар хэмээгдэх бээр өөрийн наян насны насны дээр бидний их Чин улсын хаан Төр гэрэлтийн арван наймдугаар он, арван дөрөвдүгээр равжүнгийн шар нохой жилд сайтар жигдлүүлвэй” хэмээн тов тодорхой өгүүлсэн байна.

Төвөд хэлний үгсийн сангийн нэгжийн цөм утгыг монгол хэлнээ чадамгай буулган дохиолсон хамгийн шилдэг толь бичгийн нэг болж чадсан нь хожим хойшид, өнөө ч суралцагч оюутны эрэл хэрэгцээг хангасаар буй нь зохиогчийн хэрэг зориг бүрэн биелснийг илтгэнэ. 1838 онд зохиогдсон цагаасаа хойш монгол³ хийгээд хятад⁴ оронд модон барын хэвлэлээр тархсан төдийгүй хичээнгүй мэргэн бичээчдийн бийр бэхэсийн ураар үйлдэгдэн

³ Буриадын Агийн дацанд 9x43см хэмжээтэй нийт 107 тал бүхийгээр барлагдсан модон барын хэвлэл.

⁴ 10.8 x51.8 см хэмжээтэй нийт 139 тал бүхийгээр барлагдсан Бээжин барын хэвлэл.

4 Эх бичгийн зарим онцлог

Энэхүү дохионы бичгийн хамгийн гол онцлог нь монгол нэрийг төвөд үсгээр үгчлэн буулгахдаа тод үсгийн зөв бичих ёс, ойрад аман аялгууны үгсийн дуудлагыг баримталсанд оршино.

Чухамхүү үүний нэгэн жишээ баримт “Нэр утгыг тодотгогч сарны гэгээн гэрэл” хэмээгдэх дохионы бичгийн энэхүү хувилбар эх юм. Монгол үгийг төвөд үсгээр үгчлэн буулгасан, ойрад аялгууны онцлогийг тэмдэглэсэн үсэг зүйн тогтолцоог тодруулан үзье.

Table 1: Монгол үгсийг үгчилсэн төвөд үсгийн махбодыг үзүүлбэл.

Төвөд үсэг	Тод үсэг	Латин галиг	Жишээ	
			Үгчлэн бичсэн	кирилээр
ᠶ᠋ᠠ	ᠶ᠋ᠠ	a	ᠶ᠋ᠠᠨᠪᠠᠭᠤ ᠶ᠋ᠠᠭᠤ	албат, аав
ᠶ᠋ᠡ	ᠶ᠋ᠡ	e	ᠶ᠋ᠡᠨᠲᠡᠭᠡ ᠶ᠋ᠡᠨᠲᠡᠭᠡ	эдлэл, эзэрхэн
ᠶ᠋ᠢ	ᠶ᠋ᠢ	i	ᠶ᠋ᠢᠨᠵᠢᠰᠢ	ир, жишиж
ᠶ᠋ᠣ	ᠶ᠋ᠣ	o	ᠶ᠋ᠣᠨᠭᠣᠭᠣ ᠶ᠋ᠣᠨᠭᠣᠭᠣ	онгоц, орших
ᠶ᠋ᠤ	ᠶ᠋ᠤ	u	ᠶ᠋ᠤᠨᠰᠤᠨᠰᠤ	улс, урт

མོད། མོད།	FO	ö	མོད་ཏུ་མོད།	өндөр, мөр
ལྷ། ལྷ།	FV	ü	ལྷ་ཏུ་ལྷ། ལྷ་ཚུ་ལྷ།	үндсэн, нүцгэн,
ན།	Na	na	ན་མར། མོ་ནི་ན།	намар, сонин
ང།	—	ng	ངང་། མིང་གུ།	сан, мянган
ཁ། ལ།	ka ke la	xa, ke, ka	ཁུ། ལིར་ལེན། མ་ལ། དོ་ལ།	хаан, хэрхэн, тахиа, дохио
ག། ཀ།	he Ga	ya, ge	གྲོང་གྲོང་དེ། གྲོང་།	гургалдай, гэмт
ད།	da	da	དབ་ཏུ་དུ་མེ།	давхар, дүрэм
ཐ།	ta	ta	ཐ་ཐ་ཏུ་ཐ་ཏུ།	татах, бат

ᠪᠠ	ba	ᠪᠠ	ᠪᠠᠨᠪᠠᠷ	бамбар, хав
ᠮᠠ	ma	ᠮᠠ	ᠮᠠᠨᠬᠤ	мөнх, самбар
ᠵᠠ	ža, za	ᠵᠠ	ᠵᠠᠷᠭᠠᠯ	жаргал, зовлон
ᠴᠠ	ča, ca	ᠴᠠ	ᠴᠠᠨᠠᠷ	чанар, цаас
ᠶᠠ	Ya	ᠶᠠ	ᠶᠠᠮᠠᠷ	ямар, юун
ᠷᠠ	Ra	ᠷᠠ	ᠷᠠᠫᠢᠠᠨ	рапаан, рид
ᠯᠠ	la	ᠯᠠ	ᠯᠠᠮ	лам, лавтай
ᠬᠤᠪᠠᠷᠭᠠ	va	ᠬᠤᠪᠠᠷᠭᠠ	ᠬᠤᠪᠠᠷᠭᠠ	хувраг

ᠤᠨᠳᠠᠷ	ündär	öndör	öndür
ᠤᠰᠠᠭ	üsäk	üzüq	üsüg

Урт, хос эгшигтэй үгсийг төвөд үсгээр үгчлэн буулгахдаа тод үсгийн урт, хос эгшигийн тогтолцоог баримталжээ.

Table 2: а эгшигийн дараа /ᠠ/бичнэ.

ТӨВӨД ҮСЭГ	ТОД ҮСЭГ	МОНГОЛ БИЧИГ
ᠠᠨᠠᠭ	qaān	qayan
ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠷᠤ	yamaāru	yambar

Table 3: о эгшигийн дараа /ᠠ/бичнэ.

ТӨВӨД ҮСЭГ	ТОД ҮСЭГ	МОНГОЛ БИЧИГ
ᠠᠶᠢᠰᠤᠨ	toāsun	toyasun
ᠠᠶᠢᠲᠤᠯ	toqtoāl	toyᠲayal
ᠠᠶᠢᠮ	boāl	boᠶul

Table 4: i эгшигийн дараа /ᠠ/бичнэ.

ТӨВӨД ҮСЭГ	ТОД ҮСЭГ	МОНГОЛ БИЧИГ
ᠠᠷᠢᠶᠠᠳ	bariād	bariyad
ᠠᠶᠢᠨᠠᠳ	taniād	taniyad

Table 5: е эгшигийн дараа /ᠠ/бичнэ.

ТӨВӨД ҮСЭГ	ТОД ҮСЭГ	МОНГОЛ БИЧИГ
ᠠᠶᠢᠵᠢᠶᠡᠯ	kiceāl	kiciyel
ᠠᠶᠢᠳᠡᠭ	ideā	idege
ᠠᠶᠢᠰᠦᠨ	deāsün	degēsün

Table 6: ö эгшгийн дараа/ᠠ/ᠢ/ᠦ/ᠦ᠋ᠨᠦ бичнэ.

ТӨВӨД үсэг	Тод үсэг	Монгол бичиг
ᠭᠣᠷᠦ᠋᠋ᠰᠦ	görüāsü	görügesün
ᠬᠥᠭᠦᠰᠦᠨ	köāsün	kögesün

Ойрад аялгууны авианы онцлог шинжийг тусган үгчилсэн зүйл ч энд ажиглагдана. Залгавар бүтээврийг ихэнхдээ тод үсгийн ёсийг баримтлан бичсэн байна. Жишээ: ᠮᠶᠬᠢᠨ MxfnI махны, ᠵᠢᠷᠯᠢᠬᠢᠶᠢᠶ᠋ᠠ Jfrlihiyia зарлигийн, ᠲᠦᠭᠴᠢᠶ᠋ᠠᠳᠦ Ffqzia dv агшина, ᠮᠦᠴᠢᠷᠲᠦ FuciR Tv учирт, ᠵᠢᠷᠯᠢᠬᠢᠶᠢᠶ᠋ᠠ ᠤᠡ JfrliQ ye; R зарлигаар, ᠳᠡᠷᠡᠳᠡᠰᠡ de;re E;ce дээрээс,

Монгол бичгийн барын сударт тулгуурлан уг эхийг бүтээсэн нь тодорхой бөгөөд зарим төвөд нэрийн монгол үгийн оноолтыг ойрад аялгууны дүйх үгсээр сольж бичсэн нь олон байна. Жишээ нь: тогоо-хайс, нойтон-чийг, аргал-аргас, хумх-бумба гэх мэт.

Энэхүү эх хувилбар нь төвөд үгсээр монгол үгсийг үгчлэн бичиж ирсэн тэр дундаа ойрад аялгууны үгсийг үгчлэн бичсэн эх хэрэглэгдэхүүний хувьд “монгол хэлний судлалд XVII зууны монгол хэлний байдал төлөвийг бусад үеийнхтэй харьцуулж үзэхэд хамгийн бүдэг бүрхэг үе”-ийн онцлог шинжийг тодруулахад бага боловч хэрэг болох нь дамжиггүй.

Kalmyk Folk Art

Svetlana Batyreva

Kalmyks are an original ethnic community and their culture developed in the steppes of the Caspian lowland. It became a new territory of inhabitation for the Oirats, who in the beginning of the XVII century had left Dzungaria, the north-west region of Mongolia. Ethnocultural contacts in different periods of Kalmyk's history conditioned a complicated ethnic group consisting of Mongolian-speaking Oirats and a certain number of other multilingual ethnic groups. Owing to the force of historical circumstances, the Kalmyk's culture should be considered the result of the further development of Oirat cultural substratum. It was conditioned by the cultural influence of the Eurasian people, who lived within the changing territory of the nation's inhabitation. The unique originality of the nation's historical fortune determined the ethnic peculiarities of its culture.

The ethnic history of Kalmyks includes three periods: the Mongolian (II–I BC – AD XII), the Oirat (XIII–XVI) and the Kalmykian period (XVII–XX). In this complicated conglomerate of cultures, each period was characterized by certain ethnocultural relations of Oirat-Kalmyks with other tribes and nationalities of the South Siberia Sajano-Altai and the Far East, of the Middle and Central Asia, the North Caucasus and other regions. Many contacts were caused by the frontier inhabitation of the Oirats living at the west end of the Mongolian world, which they furthered deep into the Eurasia. The conglomerate of Kalmyk Fine Arts was conditioned by many cultural layers of the complicated ethnic history. Thus, as scientists noted, the Mongolian and Oirat periods could be seen in the Kalmyk Folk art. For example, in the ornament of wooden vessels there was much in common with Altai, in clothes and head-dress – with Teleuts, in metal pendants

of belts – with Tuvinians, in the ornaments of both women's and men's leather belts and in the wood carving there was much in common with Tunguses.

The Kalmyk culture is very original. It's distinctive nature, in contrast to other cultures of other Mongolian nationalities, was caused by the isolation of Oirats from the rest Mongolian ethnos. Therefore, it was unusual for Kalmyk metal carving the Central-Asian style of such nationalities as Tuvinian, Mongolian and Buryat, which had many common features in the result of long interaction.

The Oirat-Kalmyk culture gained its originality in a long process of development, which took place far away from the rest of the Mongolian world. Almost nothing of the elements of Scythian-Siberian animal style, so typical for early nomads and genetically preceding the Central-Asian style of metal carving, can be explained by the environmental influences. Stylistically completed, sensitive forms of woodcarving in the field of religious art and in the zoomorphic ornament of sacrificial altars (“*tahiliin shirya*”) are considered by us as an unusual recollection of a disappeared tradition, which hasn't become typical for Kalmyk Fine Arts.

Secondary, but deep in its nature, ethnocultural interaction between Oirats and Turkic-speaking tribes (XVII–XIX cent.) determined the originality of Kalmyk Fine Arts. The community of ancient Turkic-Mongolian roots conditioned one social and economic basis of nomadic life for a number of nationalities such as Buryats, Kalmyks, Bashkirs, Kazakhs, Kirgizes, Karacalpac, Altais, Tuvinians, Yakuts. That is why there's so much in common in their dwellings, harness, arms and jewelry.

The Turkic-speaking population of the North-Caucasian steppes took a special place in the ethnocultural relations of Oirats-Kalmuks with the neighbors. That is why it's not mere chance that there are such ethnonyms as *uulun mangad* (“tatars who live in the mountains” Karachais, Balkars); *kbhara mangad* (“black tatars” – *Kara-nogaittsy*), *sherkesh* (Circassians, Cabardinians) in the Kalmyk language. Therefore, in this case, conclusions about the complicated character of the relations between Kalmyks and these nations seems to be quite well grounded. Nogaittsy and the North-Caucasian Turkmen brought in some elements of Caucasian aboriginal culture into Kalmyk's because the newcomers (Kalmyks) mostly associated themselves with them. Common nomadic life and so called “strip holding” of land typical for Kalmyks and Turkic nations of the North Caucasus promoted it to a not small degree.

At the same time household, dwelling, kitchen – those parts of culture that were closely connected to the conditions of nomadic life practically avoided Caucasian influence. We can say the same about the religion, the folklore, i.e. about the spiritual life as a whole. Doubtless, Caucasian culture influenced the Kalmyk national dress, first of all man's and girl's one; the way of making arms, silver belts and jewelry. It also can be observed in fields of Kalmyk culture like national choreography and vocabulary. Ethnic groups like *terskeije* and *kumskeije* Kalmyks were under the strongest Caucasian influence because of the very close relations between them.

The most important factors of the ethnocultural interaction were the frontier inhabitation of nations and frequent military campaigns of Kalmyks against the Caucasus, especially during the valiant military period of their Russian history.

Contacts with Russians were many-sided. They had been becoming more intensive during the period of a wide settlement of a Kalmyk population in the 2nd half of the XIX century. The historically conditioned process of the Kalmyk's settling should be observed as an expression of the ethnocultural interaction between cattle-breeders and farmers (Russian and Ukrainian settlers and nations within Povolzhje). Kalmyks borrowed traditions of their stationary architecture. During the process of settlement, the already settled nations had a great influence on different fields of Kalmyk culture like architecture, woodcarving, embroidery, dress, representing spheres of nation's arts and crafts. This contact in contrast to more organic by its character "Caucasian" influence led to the leveling of traditional nomadic handicrafts in the process of its final settlement. Cultural interaction was especially intensive in those places where Kalmyks lived together with the settled population of the south Russian steppes. A great influence of different cultures was traced in ethnic groups like Donskie, Orenburgskie and Stavropolskie Kalmyks, members of the Russian Cossacks. At first the Oirat-Kalmyk traditions of stationary architecture, which led to beautiful pieces of religious buildings, prevailed in ethnocultural synthesis. Then in due course, they yielded to the architectural traditions of farmers. New conditions of inhabitation furthered the destruction of nomadic culture, which originated from Dzungaria. Then radical changes in the way of life (e.g. the substitution of the nomadic cattle breeding by settled farming) caused a natural process of adaptation, transformation and assimilation by the Kalmyk culture under the new conditions of inhabitation.

The original expressiveness determines the Kalmyk Fine arts of the XVIII–XIX centuries. Kalmyk art culture had a number of peculiarities, which let us consider the Kalmyk art, is a phenomenon not only in the art of related Mongolians, Buryats but also in the nomadic art as whole. First of all, its originality was conditioned by the ornament which synthesized in itself all the historical peripeteia of the nation's fortune. The ornamental culture of Kalmyks was characterized by the laconism of composition, polychrome of coloring, accentuated by the graphical impressiveness of the tracery. These peculiarities can be observed in such spheres of the Kalmyk folk art as the fabric processing and in particular the original embroidery-applique "zeg". So, in this case we should agree with N. Kocheskov who made a comparative analysis of Mongolian's art and marked out the Kalmyk embroidery in the sphere of arts and crafts as an original achievement in the Kalmyk's art culture.

The complicated process of ethnocultural interaction caused the originality of the Kalmyk's art. Art acquired those forms and elements of culture which corresponded to the technological possibilities of the house-made and handicraft nomad's production, to their mobile way of life and to the traditions of the house décor, costume and objects of life sphere – to the value system of traditional cul-

ture. In other words, the possibility of borrowing was corrected by settled domestic traditions and handicraft production of the ethnos, which was open to the ethnocultural interaction.

Kalmyk folk art concentrated historical art experience of nomads. The functional main point of works was expressed in the advisability of form and object's décor, which made up the material sphere of the nation's life. The people's aspiration for perfection and decoration in life was known since the earliest times. Woodcarving and wood painting, metal treatment, leather stamping and appliqué, ornamentation of felt goods, embroidery in colored silver, hold threads and laces of clothes and headdresses had an applied character.

To our mind, the phrase "artistic production" exactly expresses the specific character of the folk art in the aggregate of traditional arts and crafts. Since early times, nomadic housekeeping had been divided into feminine needle-work making and ornamentation of thick felt, sewing and embroidery of clothes and footwear, leather treatment and décor of leather works) and men's crafts which, as a rule, were connected with making objects of hard materials (metal, horn, bone, wood and leather) and their artistic treatment.

Thus, masters making furniture, utensils and wooden parts of dwellings and religious buildings were occupied with woodcarving. Coppersmiths and silversmiths used techniques of casting, coining and putting niello in making the details of harness and jewelry. Heather-dressers made vessels for kumis, water and milk vodka, saddlebags, and kit bags covering these objects with stamped and appliquéd ornament.

One generation passed traditional methods of national production to another generation starting with felt prefabricated houses and finishing with its various decoration. The mobile architecture of nomads is a specific phenomenon in the world's history of architecture. It left its work on the formation of the "nomadic style" in the art of Turkic-Mongolian nations. Peculiarities of this style could be seen in Kalmyk folk art, which had formed by the end of XVIII– the beginning of the XIX centuries as an original synthesis of various kinds of crafts.

The Buddhist Dualistic Consciousness and Kantian Epistemology: A Synthesis

Mingyan Bitkeev

Both Kant and Buddhism share the notion of a transcendental unconscious *noesis*, which precedes the empirical and divides the world into I-in-general and not-I-in-general. Kant focuses on the transcendental unity of apperception, whereas Buddhist thinkers emphasize transcendental duality (according to the Cittamatra school, this process is governed by *kliṣṭamānas*). By examining consciousness through the Kantian syntheses of perception and conception, we will attempt to give an answer to the following question: why do we remain within the limits of the dualistic phenomenological circle in both of these cases? This situation may be labeled “formal metamorphosis”¹, since forms change, whereas the foundation behind them actualizes itself through them and returns to itself, thus renewing the whole process. Due to this, consciousness remains something of a “matrix” (that is the notion Dr. Robert Thurman uses to label one of the aspects of duality).

However, the following question arises: how can consciousness remain captive to the a priori forms when it constantly receives new empirical content from the outside world? That is why it is necessary to start the discussion from sensory perception. Earlier Buddhist schools, such as Vaibhāṣika and Sautrāntika, accept – just as Kant did – real external things-in-itself that have impact on our sensory organs. But the problem is, that our empirical consciousness, as both philosophical traditions point out, cannot directly perceive a thing-in-itself. Modern science also con-

¹ Hegelian term that pertains to the stage of forming the basis, see G. W. F. Hegel, *The science of logic*. Treatise in three volumes.

curs that human organs of sensory perception do not have access to atoms, not to mention subatomic particles. Buddhists see thing-in-itself as a stream of *dharmas* that cannot be perceived by sensory organs. Here it is instructive to recall that O. Rosenberg divided *dharmas* into noumenal and phenomenal².

The shortest moments of spatial being and time (consciousness) are beyond the reach of sensory perception but as they coagulate into large conglomerates, they form chains of perception with intensities of different modalities that correspond to the five sensory organs. This initial, elementary and temporally unprehen- sible (Un-Ergreifbar) moment of perception when a thing-in-itself affects our sensory organs, is called “absolutely-singular” by the early Buddhist schools. As it is pure being, it is devoid of all predicates. What is perceivable is the sequence of such moments, which then appears as a thing-for-us.

The forms of space and time that “contain” empirical content and intensities of different modalities, and which are the result of the interaction between external things and the sensory organs, belong to the field of the five consciousnesses of the sensory organs. This is still at the physical (i.e., non-mental) level of constitution, where the object is not yet identified and where spatial lines are projected that brings order to the empirical sensations. Sautrāntikas consider colours to be real (since they contain externally induced affections), while the borders between them are pure mental constructs. Tactile and other sensations are also the result of interaction between the atoms of the subject and the object. The consciousness of the sensory organs only presents the object in the form *that is temporally and spatially localized*, having isolated it from the stream of empirical content. The favorite example of the Sautrāntika school can be used for illustrative purposes here. Rings of fire created in the air by a spinning burning firebrand are perceptual illusion, and the uninterrupted spatio-temporal line is the construction of an unconscious mind that provides a false ontologization of this illusion. In reality, there are separate flares that are fused into the single spatial image of a circle in the process of pre- hension. A similar example is also used in *The Critique of Pure Reason*. According to Kant, the a priori sensory forms are subordinated to the synthesizing activity of imagination. In Buddhist theory, we are dealing here with the activity of the consciousnesses of the sense organs. But the next moment this something is delivered to the mental consciousness, which singles out its main aspect during the identifi- cation process. In other words, to see an object is one thing, but to distinguish it as such is another. This merits a more detailed analysis.

Initially something appears in actual being as an undetermined phenomenon. This is the starting point of Kant’s theorizing. In Buddhist epistemology, this is labeled *nirvikalpa-jñāna*, i.e. “undifferentiated sensation”. Here, we only can have certain knowledge about the thing through its sensual predicates. That is why the object

² In the work O. Rozenberg. *Problemy buddijskoj filosofii* (Problems of the Buddhist Philosophy// Rozenberg O.O. Trudy po buddizmu. Moskva, 1991.

begins to appear to us with such predicates. Rudoj, Ostrovskaia and Jermakova gave a very fitting name to phenomenal predicates in their translation and reconstruction of classical Buddhist texts – “partial characters”³. These are then grasped by the mental consciousness. Mental consciousness, however, on this stage (which Kant would have labeled “subjective synthesis of reproductive imagination”) equates *the predicative appearance with the very object of perception, with the subject of mentation*. What is observed is presented temporally. Temporal perception is described in the first Critique. If its aspectual sequence is accidental, then it is not a scheme of productive imagination, but associations of reproductive imagination. Here the non-essential may seem essential, because the consecution and the mode of grasping occur by chance and are arbitrary. B. Zejgarnik⁴ provides examples of impaired perception, when a person sees geometric forms, while not being able to recognize the object due to the fact that one side after another keeps moving to the foreground. For example, a vase looks like a cup at the top and like a ball at the bottom. Impaired capability to recognize objects is called agnosia, and it is one of the examples of cognitive pathologies. Agnosia, however, helps us to isolate perceptual and cognitive mechanisms that are active in the unimpaired subjects as well.

When one aspect of the object is isolated, a connection is established to some similar thing (general representative). At this stage, the process is associative. In Buddhist epistemology, it is described in terms of false and valid cognition.

But there is another side to it as well. If we look at the situation not purely through the lens of logic, but rather from the point of view of the Buddhist theory of interdependency, *karma*, then the identification of a certain aspect at any given moment in time appears not to be that arbitrary after all. For example, someone caused harm to another person in a previous life, made him or her experience something negative. Due to the law of *karma*, they will experience an archetypal change of roles in one of their future rebirths. Moreover, the triggering mechanism of this role-change is directly relevant to our analysis on the phenomenological level. The moment when causes and conditions interact in the mental consciousness (on a pre-conscious level), an aspect of subjective synthesis arises, which creates a corresponding unpleasant perceptual Gestalt of the karmic heir of the offender in the previous life, which in turn evokes unconscious irritation and gives an impulse to cause him or her harm similar to the experienced one. However, on an unconscious causal level the *dharmas* of the victim will also be coordinated in such a way that the archetype that embodies this particular role will serve as the synthesis of his or her perception. And this kind of role-changing process will not cease from one life to another as long as there is reliance on phenomenal I and not-I, as long as dualistic perception keeps functioning.

³ T. Jermakova, E. Ostrovskaia, V. Rudoj. *Klassičeskoj buddizm* (Classical Buddhism). Sankt-Peterburg, 1999.

⁴ Zejgarnik B. *Osnovy patopsixologii* (Introduction into Pathopsychology). Moskva, 1973.

On the empirical level, the function of reproductive imagination is to form associations between images and unconscious constructs. The process of association that connects the current object with superimposes previously experienced one transfers cathectic emotions onto the current experiences. For example, if someone somehow, due similarity or adjacency, reminds a person of an offender, then negative emotions will be spontaneously transferred onto him or her. And behind this situation lies the mechanism that induces affective delusions at the pre-conscious level.

Synthesizing Buddhist and Kantian approaches lead me to the idea that when strong and turbulent affections arise, there occurs a combination of at least two crucial factors. On the one hand, there is the aspect of subjective synthesis⁵. Fundamentally, it belongs to the sphere of transcendental unconscious and, as I see it, creates the Gestalt at the level of pre-conscious. Still a person cannot understand that it is the creation of his or her own unconscious, and fails to realize that the perceived real person, reminding him or her of the offender, and the *noema* as a product of pre-conscious synthesis are not identical. One aspect becomes representative for the whole existence, the subject is here identical to the predicate, $S = P$. On the other hand, since dualistic perceptions are subordinate to the division of the world into I-in-general and not-I-in-general, every generalization including uncritical ones, creates an illusion of objectivity of this Gestalt. As a result, an arbitrary (though not arbitrary from a karmic point of view) aspect of reproductive imagination combines with substantializing “form-in-general” (not-I-in-general, I-in-general) in the process of two dualistic contemplation. Then someone will see pleasant or unpleasant here and now (situationally and interdependently) as pleasant or unpleasant everywhere and always, as a friend or an enemy in general (having an inherent self). When the individual applies empirical predicates to a certain I-in-general (not-I-in-general), self-perception (perception) and cognizing become extremely vulnerable. In one case attachment develops, in another – morbidity progressing into melancholy or anger. Actually, both are the result of causality that needs to be dealt with by consciously activating deep potential and clearing away ignorance and mistakes.

Subjective synthesis is not limited only to perceptual synthesis, it aims to make the impression of objectivity and of rational categorially in order to become the synthesis of mentation. With reference to Buddhist logic, Scherbatskoy asserts that initial mentation begins when images flowing in the mind-stream connect with words. That is how we view the process in which primary judgements arises, i.e. judgements of perception that constitute the stream of phenomenological causality.

By being clad in language, the unconscious stream of perception, memories, and imagination spontaneously forms thoughts in pre-consciousness. These thoughts are described by W. James in approximately the following way: “There is thinking in me” or “there is a feeling in me now”, etc. It seems to me that they are connected to the momentary manifold of phenomenal I-identifications, and mental

⁵ Subconscious associative synthesis.

complexes, that aim to subjugate consciousness. From a Buddhist point of view, this could be remaining positive or negative tendencies from personalities in former life-times. And this is where I suggest one should search for the watershed between subpersonal and personal. Pre-consciousness, with its attitudes and concepts, can accept or reject such I-identifications and mental complexes. Deploying Fichte's terminology, one could say that what is created by the productive imagination is constituted by the dualistic perception and thus the process of objectification is concluded. The moment of acceptance itself is connected to the substantializing form of grasping. A temporary mental complex becomes part of the image of I-in-general. Thoughts that have been induced by duality are accepted as one's own, i.e. as though belonging to this I-in-general (the imagined I, as Buddhist logicians would say). The multitude is reduced to singularity. But is this singularity an adequate representation of the multitude?

Understanding this mechanism, sorting out subpersonal mental complexes, subpersonalities, acceptance or rejection that can lead to either the ego or the shadow prevailing, is of utmost importance to the Buddhist practice of consciousness. But it is also important to our everyday life and to psychological theorizing. At the stage of dualistic mentation, a person accepts or struggles with positive or negative mental complexes. As a result, the person is subjugated to the subpersonality as to an inauthentic "I", or expels it from consciousness to the unconscious and becomes neurotic. Correct understanding makes it possible to liberate oneself from negativities without painful effects. There is the method of Dzogchen as a practice of essential contemplation that makes it possible to transform such negativities without identification or exclusion.

The pre-conscious I is connected to the subjective synthesis and perceptual judgement. As I see it, when these are presented as judgements of experience, the unconscious mental complexes receive access to consciousness and an "authorization" of sorts. The task for the objective synthesis is to recognize these distortions of consciousness. But it cannot totally abort the functioning of this mechanism at the perceptual stage, it can only limit the domain of its conceptualizing activity on the level of consciousness. Through inference, Buddhist logic draws a distinction between judgement of experience and judgement of perception.

Then a yet another question arises: can a rational mind overcome subjectivism? Before we answer this question, we need to examine the difference between productive and reproductive imagination. Reproductive imagination more often than not reflects arbitrary connections, and trivial attributes may serve as the basis for the synthesis. F. Scherbatskoy⁶ emphasizes this while examining the forerunners of Kantian schematics in the Buddhist theory of knowledge and logic. He presents one of the classical Indian examples, the obscure tree Dalbergia. A person that looks at the height of a Dalbergia concludes that it has to be a tree and not a bush.

⁶ Scherbatskoy F. I. *Teorija poznanija i logika pozdnejšix buddistskix škol*. (Epistemology and Logic of Later Schools of Buddhist Thought) B 2-x T.T. M. 1995

But the inference itself, being based on an incorrect basis, on a non-existing attribute, is wrong, because if the person had happened to see it at an earlier stage of growth, he or she could have concluded that it was a bush. It is just as incorrect as saying that this individual is unpleasant to me, and, consequently, he or she is a bad person. Besides my subjective synthesis it should be examined from different angles, in different relations with different people. *This is being-for-itself, objective synthesis.* I may like it or not, but the conclusion should not be logically contradictory. Kant's main focus was not on the primary perceptual processes, but on the categorical synthesis. That is why Paul Ricœur called the first Critique "a phenomenology of judgement", and the Husserlian phenomenology "a phenomenology of perception".

Applying Kantian methodology of rigid distinctions between the sensory and the rational, F. Scherbatskoy distinguishes perception and deduction in Buddhist logic⁷. And this does not contradict the truth, since these are treated as the two main sources of knowledge. On the one hand, they are different, but on the other, interconnected.

According to the Kantian understanding the two syntheses must have two corresponding mental faculties. Scherbatskoy did not specifically distinguish different faculties in the mental consciousness itself. Nevertheless, V. Rudoj, E. Ostrovskaja and T. Jermakova in their reconstruction of the Abhidharma texts distinguish a kind of mental organ, manendriya, corresponding to sensory synthesis, or to imagination. Lama Anagarika Govinda (Ernst Lothar Hoffmann) labeled the first synthesis, resembling the Kantian subjective, *dīṭṭhi*, and the intellectual one *nyana*. V. Lysenko has discovered in the treatises on Buddhist logic that Dignāga (one of the founders of Buddhist logic) introduced the term *mana pratyakṣa*⁸ to designate the sensory synthesis. This is a mediating link between sensory perception and rational conceptualization.

Besides the phenomenal, temporary manifestations about it is important to extend theorizing to **supratemporal** unity. That is why Kant talks about self-identity along with difference. However, he does not ascribe an ontological status to it, he only indicates the necessity of an integrational principle in consciousness, which is labeled "cogito". In Buddhist thinking it is called *kalpana*, and F. Scherbatskoy translates one of its meanings as "imaginary form" (as opposed to "ontological form"). If a person does not adhere to integral principles of cognizing and only relies on actual being, then every phenomenal expression will be treated as an integral personality. When, at one instance, something good is manifested in some other person, there will occur an uncontrollable attachment. And when negative

⁷ It should be mentioned that no statement in Buddhist logic appears without inference because it always needs a basis.

⁸ Lysenko V.G. Neposredstvennoje i oposredovannoje v čuvstvennom poznanii: Dignaga and Praśastapada (Unmediated and Mediated in Sensory Perception: Dignāga and Praśastapāda// kog-ni.ru/text/perception.pdf.

sides of another person become evident, it can lead to disgust and hatred devoid of any essential analysis of causes and conditions. Every time there will be a new *noema* disjointed from the basis that produced it. This kind of situation in a pathological form reminds somewhat of a psychological disintegration of a personality into subpersonalities. A different question is how true the unity that is constructed rationally is. Will it not be artificial due to its abstract generality? Buddhists and Kant's views are similar in this aspect: both the phenomenal integrity of the image and the categorical unity are constructions of our mind (unconscious and conscious).

Buddhist logic examines the validity and applicability of logical forms to phenomenal perceptions. This may be judgements about the causal connection between fire and smoke, the mutually exclusive relation between heat and cold, between a thing and its predicates, etc. Consciousness acquires a logical, notional unity due to categories. Consciousness can transcend the limits of phenomenal images and move to the causes. *Vaibhāṣikas* and *Sautrāntikas* examine those parts that are real in contrast to the imaginary nominal unifications projected by the mind. It is indeed these unifications produced by imagination and ontologized by dualistic form that are the first object of cathexis. What is active on the level of factors is the subpersonal level of causality. *Abhidharma* focuses on examining the general, typical relations among the factors of the mind-stream, of the psycho-physical "heaps". For example, if certain factors have arisen in the mind-stream among the psycho-physical "heaps", then at that moment contradictory factors cannot act simultaneously. Categories also show the necessary relations between mental phenomena. There exist ancillary factors and causal relations between them. They provide an integrated and interdependent understanding of different moments. Due to them, awareness becomes possible at the moment of perception. As is known, the productive imagination schematizes under the supervision of a rational mind. Kant does not want to call productive imagination "intellectual intuition", which is unacceptable to him, and nevertheless his schemata are disguised categories of rational mind⁹.

The rational mind discovers essential relations between the phenomena of consciousness, but is it able to reproduce the essential basis of consciousness from which they originate? If not, then it cannot help us reach unity in our consciousness.

When the essence of one person, relatively speaking, is construed as goodness, of another person - malignity, of yet another - pragmatism etc., then we are dealing with more or less stable expressions of those constructs and tendencies, etc. of the mind that dominate in certain conditions. But the question is what these essences are, what kind of subjects of reasoning lie behind the predicates, drawing the line between the two schools of *Madhyamika*: *Prāsaṅgika* and *Śvātantrika*. The former insists that all predicates are products of interaction, while the latter sees them as

⁹ Vassiliev V.V. *Audiolekcii po Kantu* (Audio Lectures on Kant). Moscow State University.

“qualities from the side of the object” (subject of reasoning). Prāsaṅgika deprives the Self even of *dharmas*, let alone factors, but it is dialectical, since it sees unity between the highest transcendental identity and the differences, Emptiness and interdependency.

A factor is something causal in relation to the predicates of phenomenal being. There are *dharmas* on the unconscious level, where the subpersonal determination is active that takes the form of personality. The totality that the European classical tradition calls personality is nonexistent according to the view of Buddhist ontology. But this is not the postmodernist negation of all unity. It is the dialectical concrete-general that is called interdependent personality, dualistic consciousness (but along with that there is also non-dualistic consciousness). Thus, in order to understand what a personality is we have to examine the factors that form it and that are formed by it. One factor is non-phenomenal being, though at some moment it may predetermine the dependent being and its quality. But in the personality at different periods in time there are different dominating factors, groups of factors and inclinations (*samskāras*). And then the question arises: which one of these factors is the essence? What is the status of such an essence? For example, relatively speaking, in one person, under certain external and internal conditions, positive and negative qualities – ego and shadow – surface alternately. Usually, a person is judged by most typical, most representative, most dominant quantitatively, and by most significant mental complexes. But nevertheless, in reality there is no ontological correlate to any categorical abstract-general “essence-in-general”, that is independent of any conditions. However paradoxical, the urge of the metaphysical mind to find such an essence brings it into a contradiction, to the Kantian antinomies, to the postulates of Nāgārjuna. The latter’s thinking boils down to the following: whoever denies duality is actually confirming it; whoever admits it, begins to overcome it. To overcome duality itself we need a dialectical synthesis. Rational logic is applicable to phenomena, but not to the noumenal essence. The abstract-in-general is merely the form following the cathectation of the mental, of the assertion of transcendental duality. The concrete-in-general form allows us to discover the noumenal basis from which the empirical I and not-I emerge. First, there are *klišṭa* and *alayavijñāna*, then there is the non-dualistic primordial mind.

Methodology and Methods for Solving the Problems of the Language Situation in the Current Conditions of Polylinguality

Petr T. Bitkeev

Language is, as you know, the most important sign of all people. It is language that is the basis for and means of realizing the highest form of human activity – mental activity. Language is the bearer of the traditions of the people, its history, culture and all the values that have been worked out by all the previous generations of its bearers. The role of language in the emergence and formation of man is great. And only thanks to language, the development of culture, the achievements of modern scientific and technological progress as well as the universal civilization, in the formation of which all languages participate, as a part of the whole, have become possible. Therefore, languages are of sacred value for the society, of its bearers and of all mankind. Therefore, each language is of unique value for all mankind and all loss of language is a tragedy not only for its speakers but also an irreparable loss for the culture of the people of the world. And yet, today languages die and disappear, the intensity of this process is constantly increasing.

Naturally, specialists of the sphere of science, education, culture, public and state figures as well as international organizations that are taking reasonable measures to save languages are well aware of this. A convincing example is UNESCO's announcement on the 20th of February that they proclaim this day to be the "Day of the Mother Tongue".

And yet the outlook on the future of many languages of the world is not encouraging. According to UNESCO, the general picture of the extinction and dis-

appearance of languages presents itself as follows: One language disappears from the face of the earth every week.

- We lose about 60 languages per year.
- Around 600 languages will disappear in 10 years.
- Around 3000 languages will disappear in 50 years.

And this is the minimum figure because the process of languages going extinct is accelerating every year.

The situation in Russia is similar. According to the 2010 population census, languages of the people of Russia represent the following picture: There are 277 languages and dialects in Russia.

- In the state system of general education are 97 languages.
- Training is provided in 24 languages.
- 73 languages are the subject of instruction.
- Media is published in 66 languages.

In addition, the need to preserve languages is constitutionally enshrined and newspapers, magazines, books, teaching aids are published in the many languages of our country's people, language studies are conducted, radio and television broadcast in their native languages, theaters and art collectives work in this direction. And yet, the languages continue to fade and lose their stability. The rapid process of languages becoming extinct simultaneously takes away tradition and culture accumulated by mankind for many centuries and millennia. And, of course, this represents a serious threat to the world civilization. And with regard to this, following questions arise:

1. Why do languages die? What are the main causes of this negative process?
2. Why can the process of languages disappearing not stop?
3. What has to be done in this situation?

The causes are known. There are many of them.

The first one is the influence of globalization, which permeates all spheres of life in a modern society and exerts powerful pressure on languages, national cultures and traditions.

Secondly, according to UNESCO data, demographic factors are important. For example, if the number of speakers is reduced to less than 50 thousand people it becomes impossible to revive a language. Today, languages that have a much larger number of active speakers also are subject to extinction.

Thirdly, the weakness of a language is its tenderness and fragility. Physically speaking, the language is just "a shaking of the air". At the same time, it is completely dependent on its carrier (user) because language does not exist beyond persons.

Fourthly, the very process of languages disappearing and going extinct is insinuating, often almost imperceptible for their carriers. One begins to notice only when it is already too late.

Fifthly, an effective factor in the process of languages disappearing and becoming extinct is their weak demand in the business life of society. What prevents people from successfully solving the problems of the language situation? At first, people were not prepared to face such a threat. And today they continue to be so. This circumstance is often aggravated by the naive notion that the problem can be solved very easily. In fact, this is a complex multifaceted problem. And this fact does not require any proof. If it were so easy to solve the problems of the language situation, then there would not be such a threatening situation in the world. Secondly, morals and the moral state of human societies has undergone many transformations. It is aligned more towards material values today and the national languages that are not in demand in this respect cause indifference to the problems of language situations among many earthlings while others have the conviction that this is the way it should be.

Sixthly, the lack of a clear picture on the problem's complexity itself has a multidimensional character. Therefore, all measures taken to improve the languages are inferior to the powerful negative onslaught on him. Consequently, the actions taken are ineffective and practically inconclusive and in the meantime, languages continue to fade and disappear.

Seventh, in this situation, the most important cause is the lack of a methodologically sound, universal and effective approach to solving the problems of the language situation.

It is quite obvious that it is necessary to create a scientifically based program covering the language system, that includes all the main aspects of its functioning, structural features, the language situation and ways and methods of teaching languages that meet modern requirements of linguistic-didactics.

This concept was created by the author of this report on the basis of the study of the languages of the peoples of Siberia, the Far East and the Far North and the Republic of Kalmykia – the concept of the **“Three-step theory of the preservation and development of languages in modern conditions of polylingualism”** or the concept of **“Live Language”**.

It is unique. Guided by this concept, you can stop the negative process of the extinction and the disappearance of languages – a process that destroys national cultures, traditions and threatens the world civilization. The concept is aimed at resolving not only the actual problems of the language situation but also other socio-cultural and political problems of society. It is also aimed at solving urgent problems of the language situation in the national regions and in their localities.

The concept is universal, it can be used both to preserve fading languages and to develop and improve fully functioning languages. The concept is based on eight fundamental scientifically grounded principles who are namely polylingual, two-

subject, multidimensional, complex, systematic, consistent, universal and effective. These are the most important principles reflecting different aspects of the language problem without which it is impossible to break the negative course of events and save languages and cultures. The most relevant of them is the following: The principle of polylingual.

When considering the necessity of preserving and developing a fading language one usually focuses on separate fading languages, most often on one specific language. It is natural. However, one characteristic of the current language situation throughout the world, as well as in our country, is multilingualism, an active process of interaction between languages. With regard to this, it becomes necessary to carry out works to save fading languages, considering other languages. Moreover, the concept considers the current conditions of the socio-cultural life of the society and requires the mastering of at least two languages – the mother tongue and necessarily the state language of the country. The rapid processes of the integration of peoples, countries and continents in the modern world require the mastering of at least three or more languages. In this case it is necessary to adhere to the principle of “and-and”, and not the principle of “or-or”, which was guiding before.

Another extremely important principle of the concept is the principle of two-subjects. When solving language problems, in particular, when saving fading languages, it is necessary to consider the fact that we are dealing with two very complicated objects. One of them is the object which is not simple in its content, structure and functional role. It is the language itself with its system, subsystems, pronunciation norms, lexical and grammatical content, syntactic constructions who are all subject to mastering. Another object of the principle of duality is the real and potential native speaker himself who must make the decision to master the mother language or any other language.

This principle is drawn up, proceeding from the fact that language does not exist outside a person belonging to a particular society. The desire and willingness to actively participate in measures that preserve and develop the language – the sacred value created by its far and near ancestors – is important for the effectiveness of the measures taken in relation to the language and culture of the people. The concept provides for the need to reflect on the ways and conditions of the contagion of languages and cultures occurring in the world. The concept consists of three thematically different but internally interconnected objectives parts that are unified by purpose:

The first part is aimed at the scientific definition of the language situation in the national regions and in their settlements by applying sociolinguistic methods. Through the use of computer technology, the results of the studies can be presented in the form of diagrams and generalizations.

The second part is the study of the language system, its different levels, the frequency of use and the nature of the functioning of lexical and morphological units,

syntactic constructions, features of ethnolinguistic, linguistic and cultural phenomena of the language, directly related to the problems of the language situation.

The third part are studies that support the development of programs and methods for teaching the language, meeting the modern requirements of linguo-didactics, compiling educational literature, considering all the components involved in the revitalization and development of languages.

Thus, the concept of the **“Three-step theory of the preservation and development of languages in modern conditions of polylingualism”** or **“Live Language”** is a universal, comprehensive research and educational program aimed at solving urgent problems of the language situation in the modern world that have regional and international significance – to preserve and develop fading languages. It is aimed at improving the level of proficiency in the country's national language and on approving real polylingualism, harmonious interaction of languages, solving urgent socio-cultural and political problems of modern society, preserving national cultures and achievements of world civilization.

Report: Socio-Cultural Foundations of the Euphemism “The Language of Kalmyk Women”

Grenada S. Bitkeeva

In Kalmyk, as in no other language, there is a rare phenomenon that represents a kind of euphemism based on the taboo of personal names. It entered the scientific literature as “the language of Kalmyk women”. This is a special kind of euphemism phenomenon that is fundamentally different from the traditionally peculiar to all peoples, including Kalmyks: euphemisms, taboo names of natural phenomena, animal names, for example, names of wolves, bear, plant names, certain diseases, impure forces and other phenomena nature and society that arose on the basis of various attitudes of people to them - fear, discomfort, observance of the rules of decency.

The emergence of the euphemism, to which this report is devoted, is conditioned, in contrast to traditional euphemisms, by the need to address the sociocultural problems of the early period of the Kalmyk society, when the life of the nomads was not stable.

The core of the formation and functioning of this variety of euphemisms was the most important unit of society – the family. The decisive figure in the family was a woman – the wife of the owner, the mistress of the family. Therefore, naturally, it was her main responsibility to solve the socio-cultural problems of the nomad Kalmyks of that time. And this is understandable since the whole family life of the Kalmyks and especially the upbringing of children was managed by the wife. The responsibility of the wife for the preservation of the family, the upbringing of the children was especially strong in cases in which the head of the family,

the husband, did not return, for example from the battlefield, which was at that time a frequent occurrence.

The sociolinguistic basis of this phenomenon is, that the Kalmyk woman from the moment bowing to her husband's house (yurt) before entering the house during the wedding, and bowing to the Burkhans, bowing respectfully to all present, usually respected relatives of her husband, having passed the initiation ritual her as a wife, she became a full member of the family and clan. And she had to comply, according to the ethical norms of the society of that time, to certain rules of conduct. One of such strict rules of behavior of the Kalmyk woman was the law according to which she had to respect the ancestors of her husband, to know their merits to the family and society and on their examples to educate their children. The law of respectful attitude to all the living and already departed ancestors of her husband provided for a whole complex of rules determining the behavior of the Kalmyk woman. One of them is the "language of Kalmyk women" according to which it was her not allowed to pronounce the names of her husband's older, living or deceased, relatives to the tenth tribe. It follows that the names of her husband's older relatives were not pronounced by Kalmyk women under any circumstances, that is in the presence of a relative, if he is alive, or in his absence at any time of the day. The names of her husband's ancestors were a taboo for her whole life. Therefore, it is not difficult to imagine that there were many personal names taboo because families were very large at that time. In real life this law had a very wide format of functioning.

The principle of the taboo of personal names extended to the names of their own children. For example, if the son was named after the great-grandfather then the mother could not pronounce the child's personal name under any circumstances.

In addition, the Kalmyk woman were not allowed to pronounce the name of a completely foreign person if his name coincided with the name of some ancestor of the husband or was only similar in tune. In this case, it was enough for a taboo if there was only a partial mismatch of the first syllable of the name, for example, the type of Kortan and Kornus, Borlgh and Botchn – male names. Consequently, the number of personal names subject to taboo increased immensely.

However, "the language of Kalmyk women" has greatly expanded as a result of the fact that not only personal names were subject to taboo but all the words that formed the basis for the formation of personal names as well as other lexical units that sounded like these words. Since the original Kalmyk names were in many respects derived formations from the simplest words, for example, from the names of plants, animals, natural phenomena, color names, names of numbers, and words denoting different qualities, signs, activities, the Kalmyk woman were not allowed to pronounce these words and therefore replaced them with euphemisms invented by themselves. Kalmyk women were not allowed to pronounce the most ordinary words-the names of the objects they repeatedly used on a daily basis, for example, *shanh* "ladle", *aah* "cup", *usn* "water".

Consequently, as there were a lot of linguistic taboos for Kalmyk women, they had to come up with substitutions in form of euphemisms. It is amazing that they coped with it very successfully. Some women, according to legend, have become famous for their ability to find and create successful and beautiful euphemisms including among the taboo names sometimes the nicknames of individual pets.

On the basis of tabooing the personal names of the elder relatives of the husband or words that coincided or were only consonant with them, the Kalmyk woman created euphemisms mainly in lexical and phonetic ways.

The lexical methods include the replacement of a tabooed name or a word:

1. A synonymous word, sometimes borrowed from other languages.
2. By transferring the name of the whole, or by the name of its part and vice versa.
3. By transferring the name of the common name of the individual and vice versa.
4. By transferring the name of the generic name to the species and vice versa.
5. By replacing a tabulated name or word with a word denoting various, often external signs.
6. By replacing the tabulated word or name with a word that has the same or similar characteristics.
7. The formation of a euphemism is used by metaphorical transfer of the meaning of a word.
8. A descriptive way of transferring the taboo word is used.

The phonetic methods of forming euphemisms based on the tabooing of personal names and words include the following ways:

1. It is universal to replace the initial consonant with a consonant.
2. In cases where the initial consonant of a word is x, it can be replaced by a consonant.
3. In cases where the initial consonant of a word, or the name is a consonant n, then it is often replaced by m.
4. By omitting the initial consonant b, l, t, s.
5. Rarely the euphemism is formed by a sinharmonic transformation of words from one series to another.

There are cases of using both lexical and phonetic methods for the formation of euphemisms in tabooing personal names, for example, in the taboos of Tsagan's personal name (from the word "white") they formed a euphemism for Gilen "light". In turn, when using tabooing, the phonetic method is used - consonant with the consonant m - Milan, from which a new euphemistic name is formed by reducing the first consonant - Ilan.

It should be added that in many cases the Kalmyks resorted to the creation of new words or the revitalization of long-forgotten archaic words, for example, under the taboo named *Khudg* - the meaning of “well”, she could not utter this word in relation to the word *budg*. She created the new word *tatal* “well”, lit. “The place from which to draw (water)” *zelkach* was used by women instead of the word *bulbach* “thief”. *Zelkach* is archaism, the exact meaning of it is not entirely clear. In connection with the active use of this word, a pair combination of *bulba-zelke* “theft” arose. The socio-cultural basis for the formation of euphemisms “the language of Kalmyk women” are the traditional universal moral principles of a respectful attitude toward people by their related, sex-age characteristics. Studies show that this type of euphemism was aimed at strengthening the most important unit of society in the conditions of the nomadic way of life of the Kalmyks – the family. Such euphemisms are of exceptional interest in the study of traditions, cultures, and languages of different peoples.

The ideological basis for taboos and euphemisms was the best family traditions, the high moral values of family and society, which were passed on from generation to generation until the tenth tribe of ancestors. The most important material basis for preserving and multiplying the ancestors’ values was their personal names whose pronunciation became taboo for the wives of their descendants.

Euphemisms, based on the taboo names, were built on the principles of respect for the elder relatives of the husband and a caring attitude towards the younger ones. This means that this kind of euphemism was aimed at harmonizing the relationships of family members and society as a whole according to the principles of subordination of people by their related and sex-age principles. Naturally, the use of euphemisms for carriers of taboo names required compliance with ethical norms of behavior from both sides of the dialogue. Among the accompanying measures is the age requirement adopted in society for the issuance of girls from 13 to 18 years of age for marriage.

Thus, by bringing the “language of Kalmyk women” into circulation, a new impetus and a new social status were given to the principles of the mutual relations of people based on the related and sex-age principles that existed in Kalmyk society as evidenced by the lexical differences existing in the modern Kalmyk language. For example, the paternal line is called *avh* “uncle by father”, *baba* “aunt on the paternal line”, *nach* “maternal uncle”, the elder brother is called *ab*, elder sister, and the younger, regardless of gender, and binding row.

The conclusion, that the foundations of the formation of the euphemism “the language of Kalmyk women” is based on universal cultural traditions for the expression of respectful relations in the relative and sex-age principles is confirmed by similar phenomena occurring in other languages, for example, father, uncle, aunt, German and Euphemism “the language of Kalmyk women” was aimed at solving sociocultural problems of nomadic society on the basis of moral strengthening of the family.

In today's Kalmyk society, a euphemism based on the taboo of personal names is mostly formal, often only for expressing decency. The study of such ethnic and social phenomena of society like euphemisms based on the taboo of personal names is important not only for determining the cultural values of society at different stages of its development, but also for researching language problems as it was once written by an outstanding orientalist and one of the founders of the theory of generality Altai languages: Ramstedt. It is noticeable that the Kalmyks, observing decency in connection with the need to transfer personal names in a descriptive way, substituting synonyms, and replacing the initial consonant name with the consonant, made a generalization. "These social mores", he wrote, "are of no little importance for studying the history of the formation of language, for only through familiarity with them can some phonetic phenomena in the language be explained". (Ramstedt, 1957: 221)

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Dialect Vocabulary in “Kalmyk Fairytales” by G. J. Ramstedt¹

Tatyana V. Buraeva

Abstract

The article deals with the dialect vocabulary in "Kalmyk fairy tales", recorded by the Finnish scholar G. J. Ramstedt in the early 20th century. The language of Kalmyk folk tales uses all the basic layers of vocabulary of the Kalmyk language: national, socially and dialectically limited vocabulary. Many researchers consider the language of folklore, including fairy tales, as a supradialectedness, based on the national language with the inclusion of dialect vocabulary. The superdialectedness of the Kalmyk folklore language, however, does not mean that it does not contain signs of dialects that are subject to special consideration. Tales are dominated by nationwide vocabulary, understandable to representatives of all ethnic groups of the Kalmyk people. But along with it, dialect vocabulary is widely found, which differentiates into lexical, lexico-phonetic, lexico-morphological and lexico-grammatical dialectisms. In Kalmyk fairytales, the main lexical features of the Derbet dialect were reflected, since G. J. Ramstedt recorded tales exclusively in the Derbet ethnic range of the Kalmyk steppe.

¹ Original title: Диалектная лексика в «Калмыцких сказках» Г.И. Рамстеда.

Словарный состав калмыцких народных сказок богат и разнообразен. Он включает всю совокупность языковых средств, в том числе диалектных и заимствованных. Большой пласт лексики сказок составляют, безусловно, общеупотребительные слова в своем прямом значении, которые одинаково употребляются как в разговорной, так и в письменной речи. Это такие слова, как *гэр* «дом, жилище», *сазр* «земля», *цасан* «белый», негн «один», *йовх* «идти», *би* «я», *чини* «твой» и т. д. Нейтральные слова и выражения способствуют тому, чтобы сказочный текст стал общепонятным и подлинно народным.

В языке калмыцких народных сказок употреблены все основные пласты лексики калмыцкого языка: общенародная, социально и диалектно ограниченная лексика. Вне сомнений, в сказках доминирует общенародная лексика, понятная представителям всех этнических групп калмыцкого народа. Доля диалектной и социально ограниченной лексики в текстах в каждом отдельном случае разная. Если количество диалектной лексики зависит от таких факторов, как точность и место записи сказок собирателями, степень литературной обработки, редакторская правка при издании, то распространенность социально ограниченной лексики в сказках зависит, прежде всего, от содержания сказки, рода занятий сказителя. Важную роль при этом играет индивидуальная манера сказителя, его темперамент и исполнительское мастерство.

Секрет популярности и долголетия фольклорных произведений заключается в немалой степени в том, что они изложены простым и доступным языком, понятным всем категориям слушателей и читателей, независимо от их диалектной принадлежности. Многие исследователи рассматривают язык фольклора, в том числе и сказок, как наддиалектный, основанный на общенародном языке с включением диалектной лексики. В своей статье, посвященной данной теме, А. А. Дарбеева пишет, что суть наддиалектности заключается в двойственной природе языка фольклора. С одной стороны, в нем имеются диалектные признаки, ибо сказитель исполняет произведения устного народного творчества на своем родном диалекте, а с другой – основой для него служит общенародный язык, понятный представителям разных диалектов и говоров, но отличный от языка бытового общения [3, с. 24].

Наддиалектность языка калмыцкого фольклора, однако, не означает, что в нем не содержатся признаки диалектов, которые подлежат специальному рассмотрению. В этом аспекте понимания диалектизмов как лексем, включаемых в общенародную речь, представляется вполне оправданным.

Если с этих позиций рассматривать язык калмыцких народных сказок, то в нем доминирует общенародная лексика, но наряду с ней широко встречается диалектная лексика, которая дифференцируется на лексические, лексико-фонетические, лексико-морфологические и лексико-грамматические диалектизмы.

Наблюдения показывают, что в языке анализируемых нами сказок, извлеченных из сборника Г.И. Рамстедта «*Kalmückische märchen*» (1909), отразились основные лексические особенности дербетского говора. Это не удивительно, если иметь в виду, что Рамстедт записывал сказки исключительно в дербетском этническом ареале, а именно в Малодербетовском улусе Калмыцкой степи.

Из лексических диалектизмов, встречающихся в рассматриваемых нами сказках, можно отметить следующие: *аадмг* «творог, творожная накипь на дне котла», *арва* «овес», *боршмг* «лапти из сыромятной кожи крупного рогатого скота», *бүвнх* «чересчур заботиться о себе, проявлять эгоизм», *сорльх* «откармливать», *довньг* «палица», *доньг* «кувшин», *ьянььал* «скандал», *баав* «отец, папа», *осл* «сын», *хусар*, *хугтан* «все», *хірү* «обратно», *бозг* «суслик-самец», *паангьлх* «разноситься (о вони)», *тантхлзх* «шпаться без дела», *тагт* «мост», *саахнда*, *саахнаса* «недавно», *иргиди* «в будущем году», *наалььш* «плоский», *огзм* «плетенная солома для выкуривания из норы лисы», *шармг* «свежее молоко, налитое в *бозо* (молочное блюдо)», *чигчи* «мизинец», *сйвг* «постное мясо, дохлятина», *марх* «недоношенный ягненок», *кимрдылх* «семенить», *кишх* «падать», *бгъв* «подколенные суставы», *земг* «послед животных», *дасм* «нагрудный карман», *согту бор* «белена», *ардаран* «назад», *илди* «лишай», *эрнь* «будущее, предстоящее», *уламд* «корь», *шалс* «коса», *хамаран* «куда», *хама* «где» и т. д.

Лексико-фонетические диалектизмы: *тик* «козел», *ардаур* «позади», *эврин/эрвин* «сам», *јлд/йилд* «меч», *хушлх* «ковырять», *гмси* «зола», *сорви* «три», *гвл* «зима», *ховци* «одежда», *хамси* «ноготь», *ірвь* (вместо калм.-лит. *ірмг*) «жир в брюшной полости», *йомна* «ходит», *темшь* «устремляясь», *дйкд* «еще раз», *бүдүн* «толстый», *харелад* (вм. калм.-лит. *харенад*) «умирая с голоду», *авна/амна* «берет», *сл* «совет», *гвдид* «избивая», *келв* «сказал». Относительно глагольных форм типа *келв* «сказал», проф. Пюрбеев Г. Ц. особо подчеркивает их диалектный характер: «При описании изъывительной формы прошедшего времени калмыцкого языка обычно ограничиваются указанием одного суффикса -в, тогда как в языке калмыков имеют место и такие показатели прошедшего времени как **-ва**, **-ві**, **-ба**, **-бі**. Правда, – подчеркивает Г. Ц. Пюрбеев, – употребление изъывительной формы прошедшего времени с указанными суффиксами наблюдается чаще в живой разговорной речи и, кроме того, носит в известной мере диалектный характер. Так, например, в торгутском говоре гораздо употребительнее формы на **-ва**, **-ві**, чем в дербетском» [8, с. 91].

Диалектный характер имеет и частица сань, которая часто встречается в инициальных формулах (зачинах) калмыцких народных сказок («*Кезіні сань*, *эмн гвн хойр сань*»). В сказках из сборника Г. И. Рамстедта встречается только дербетская форма сань (в отличие от торгутской сінь). «Частица сань (его сингармонический вариант – сінь), как отмечает Г. Ц. Пюрбеев, является сложной: она состоит из причастной формы омертвело-го глагола бытия *а-* и

формы соединительного деепричастия от того же глагола (*агсан аль - сань*)» [8, с. 97]. Из других лексико-фонетических диалектизмов можно отметить: *дальх* «производить обмен», *күрклх* (вм. калм.-лит *күркрх*) «рычать (о собаке)», *зан* (вм. *торг. заан*) «слон», *кирү* (вм. *торг. кору*) «иней», *лошх* (вм. *торг. ношх*) «репей», *мадн* (вм. *торг. мане*) «мь», *хгв* (вм. *торг. хүв*) «часть» и т. д.

Лексико-морфологические диалектизмы: *льоолг* (вм. *торг. льоодмг*) «пучок волос на макушке», *зам* (вм. *торг. заман*) «кухня», *заньн* (вм. *торг. заана*) «слоновый», *зврн* (вм. *торг. зврн*) «сами», *кгшег* (вм. *торг. кгшке*), «полог», *миред* (вм. *торг. мирде*), «галисман», *тайг* (вм. *торг. тайг*) «трость», *зрег* (вм. *торг. зрег*) «круча, обрыв». В рассматриваемых сказках встречаются следующие падежные варианты: *үкрин/үкрн* «коровий», *тигсир/тегсир* «поэтому», *күүкин/күүкисн* «дочку», *түүгн/түүгн* «его», *түлиннн/түлиннн* «его топлива», *хаасас/хаанас* «от хана», *дельгн/дельгисн* «свой груди».

Лексико-грамматические диалектизмы отражают особенности синтаксического строя калмыцких сказок на уровне говоров. Между тем синтаксис калмыцких говоров – наиболее слабое место в калмыцкой диалектологии. Отсутствие интереса ученых к этой проблеме вполне объяснимо: говоры калмыцкого языка на уровне синтаксиса мало чем отличаются друг от друга. Поэтому не случайно калмыцкие диалектологи (А. Ш. Кичиков, Н. Н. Убушаев) рассматривают дербетский и торгутский говоры только с позиций фонетики и морфологии. Именно в звуковом строе и морфологической структуре содержатся основные различия говоров калмыцкого языка. Что же касается синтаксиса, то этот уровень языка, как известно, наиболее консервативен и в меньшей степени подвержен разного рода инновациям.

Наблюдения над синтаксической структурой калмыцкого языка показывают, что на уровне говоров есть небольшие различия, и эти различия касаются синтаксиса словосочетаний. В калмыцких сказках встречаются словосочетания, которые характерны только конкретному говору. Так, например, словосочетание *үрси угалм* «ведь не пришел» свойственно только дербетскому говору, а для торгутского эта же мысль реализуется иначе: *э үрси бийнм*. То же самое можно сказать в отношении дербетского *келде билн* «сказывает» и его торгутского варианта *келде бийнм* с тем же значением. Как установлено монголистами, сказуемое выраженное формой настоящего времени изъявительного наклонения на **-нм**, ведет свое происхождение от древнего суффикса **-нам**. Относительно его Г. Д. Санжеев замечает, что суффикс **-нам** зарегистрирован в памятниках монгольского языка ранних периодов [XIII–XIV вв.] [10, с. 123]. Показатель настоящего времени **-нм**, как правильно указывает Г. Ц. Пюрбеев, особенно характерен для торгутского говора и чаще всего выступает при глаголе бытия *би* – «быть, находиться»: *Би энд бийнм*. «Я же здесь нахожусь». *Чамд кельнм*. «Тебе ведь говорят». У известного калмыцкого писателя Баатра Басангова (торгута по этнической принадлежности) в его пьесе «Күмн гврль ханшго йовдл» (Случай достойный

удивления), как выявил Г. Ц. Пюрбеев, встречается даже форма настоящего времени с суффиксом **-нiм** и лично-предикативной частицей 2-го лица: *Бийин наад бирси улст күүкин гч болдв. Эс гиль iмтид наадн болн гильниiмт.* «Разве можно отдавать дочь за людей, которые надсмехаются над нами. Иначе вы станете посмешищем для людей» [8, с. 90-91].

К фразеологическим диалектизмам можно отнести дербетские: *авдр савь* «хозяйственное мыло» (букв. сундук-мыло), *дiр хар* «белена» (ср. торг. *согту бор* «белена»), *ктрл арси* «резаный кизяк», *мань авс* «гарантул», *терин сiйi* «то не так важно», *наван тiрiшк* «чепуха, запросто», *тiрiь савь* «туалетное мыло» (ср. буз. *боодл савь* «туалетное мыло») и др.

В целом калмыцкие сказки из сборника Г. И. Рамстеда «Kalmückische märchen» (1909) с языковой точки зрения вполне укладываются в рамки общих закономерностей дербетского говора, суть которых в следующем:

1. В фонетическом отношении в нем наиболее последовательно допускается ослабление губного напряжения и подъема языка, а это приводит к образованию гласных [o] и [ɪ] на месте исторически обусловленного узкого огубленного гласного верхнего подъема [y] или [y̆]. Поэтому его иногда называют «о»-говором, например, *сoрвьн* вместо *сурвн* «три», *гвeл*, вместо *jвeл* «зима» и т. д.
2. В нем обнаруживается более последовательный переход заднерядных гласных в переднерядные под воздействием гласного и, чем в других говорах, например, *манай* здесь дает *манi* или *минi*, что значит «наш».
3. Если же по каким-то причинам гласная [и] не меняет рядность гласных слов, то происходит палатализация четырех согласных [л], [н], [д], [т], предшествующих ей в слове, например, *алиман* дает *альмьн* «яблоко», *алихан* дает *альхьн* «ладонь», *салкин* дает *салькьн* «ветер», *угатай* дает *угатя* «неимущий» и т. д.
4. В нем проявляется не только качественная, но и количественная редукция гласных. То есть укорачивается или даже полностью исчезает гласная в конце слова: например *йовый* вместо *йовиа* «пойдем-ка», *келев* вместо *келви* «сказал» и т. д.
5. По мнению калмыковеда П. А. Дарваева, данное качество дербетского говора повторяет не только особенности халха-монгольского языка, где буквально съедаются окончания слов, но и отражает склонность к закрытым слогам тюркских языков, возникшую еще в хунно-сяньбийскую эпоху. Одной из причин названной редукции, как полагает П. А. Дарваев, надо считать силовое ударение, падающее как в тюркских, так и в калмыцком языке на последний слог слова. Именно силовое ударение, где сила выдоха компенсируется ее длительностью, то есть сила удара обратна пропорциональна длительности звука, на наш взгляд, стала основой склонности к закрытому слогу как у тюркских языков, так и

- халха-монгольского языка и дербетского говора. Следовательно, это отражение действия закона экономии речевых усилий, например, дерб. *хулсньг*, *хулсын* «мышь», халх.-монг. *хулгана* «мышь», торг.*хулснь* «мышь», п.-монг. *хулагана* «мышь» [4, с. 34].
6. В дербетском говоре склонность к редукции дополняется сращением и стяжением словосочетаний в одно слово, где часто исчезают даже согласные звуки, например, говорится *кельмьіні* вместо *кен медь бьіні?* «кто знает?», *юньгад?* вместо *юн гисід?* «что говоря, почему?» и т. д.
 7. В результате вышеуказанных просодических процессов именно в дербетском говоре начался процесс разрушения гармонии гласных и согласных, например, торг. *гигід* «говоря» – в дерб. *гисід*, торг. *кегід* «делая» – в дерб. *кесід*, словосочетание *йовад бьіні* в дербетском говоре получило форму *йовадїні* «похаживает». Образование новых суффиксов типа *-чїні*, *льїні*, *-чкь*, *-чке*, возникшие в результате сращения окончания соединительного деепричастия *-ль*, *-ч* с глаголами: в одном случае *бьіні*, в другом – *оркы*, тоже, видимо, впервые произошло в дербетском говоре в результате действия закона экономии речевых усилий или «языковой лени».
 8. В некоторых подговорах дербетского говора наблюдается замена свистящей аффрикаты [ц] на заднеязычный спирант [х]. Например, вместо *цуг* употребляется *хуг* «все», *цугтан* заменяется на *хугтан* «совместно; все вместе», вместо *цугар* – хугар «все скопом» и др.
 9. В морфологическом плане дербетский говор характеризуется неразличением форм направительного падежа **-ур**, **-ўр** и орудного падежа **-ар**, **-ір**: *дундасур* вместо *дундасар* «посередине», *дегэўр* вместо *дегесір* «поверху», *дорасур* вместо *дорасар* «по низу» и т. д.
 10. Кроме того, в нем обнаруживается ряд особых глагольных форм, являющихся результатом стяжения и сращения словосочетаний, например, *кельмьхен*, образованное из *кельні гині* «сказывают, что говорит», *келдегь*, образованное из *келдег чиген* «оказывается, говорит» и т. д.
 11. В плане интонационной характеристики известно замечание Номто Очирова, который считал, что «дербеты говорят вяло и медленно» [6, с. 83].
 12. В лексическом плане данный говор, по свидетельству В. И. Рассадина, содержит больше заимствований из тюркских языков, чем другие говоры калмыцкого языка [9, с. 86]. Кроме того, в нем сохранились такие слова, которые сохранили свои архаичные черты, утраченные другими говорами. Например, *асурсьн*, образованное из *адесурсьн*, и превратившееся в других говорах в *адусьн* «скотина».

Наблюдения над звуковым строем калмыцких народных сказок показывает целый ряд отличительных черт, суть которых сводится к следующему: в

тексте сказок имеет место параллельное употребление слов с чередованием согласных **с//ш** в основе, например, *софтжмч/шортжмч* «ты поплатишься», *савилелн/шавилелн* «горизонт», чередование **й//й̆**: *јлд/йшлд* «меч», чередование согласных **п//в**: *хиптхф/хавтхф* «плоский», чередование гласных **е//і**: *сеф/сіф* «позвоночная часть спины». Так, например, в тексте сказки «Хуц ундг, хулен саадг кгвүн» (Мальчик, едущий верхом на баране и доящий мышь) вместо ожидаемой формы сер «позвоночная часть спины» употреблено сір с тем же значением: *сірірнь цокад, сірін махинь шалхлзулад...* «ударив по позвоночной части спины, отделил мясо с позвоночной части спины...». Из других чередований можно отметить **д//т**: *йовль йовтль цаад (цаат) кгвүн царинь хулхаль авч*. «Пока шел, тот парень украл его вола».

В сказках Г. И. Рамстедта часто употребляется словосочетание толсан сууд, вместо ожидаемого толсан сүүд «у подножья кургана» (букв. в подмышке кургана). В тех же сказках вместо привычного ірм «жир в брюшной полости лошади (лакомое блюдо у калмыков, употреблявшееся в древности в сыром виде)» фигурирует его фонетический вариант ірвь с тем же значением: *Ірвьгинь утль авад, амн деернь тівид оркна*. «Отрезав жир в брюшной полости лошади, положил на его рот».

Иногда встречаются случаи параллельного употребления фонетических диалектизмов: дерб. *гвдид*, торг. *гүвдид* «избив», калм.-лит. *хавтха*, буз. *хиптха* «плоский». Параллельное употребление фонетических диалектизмов свидетельствует о наличии интерферентных явлений в сфере фонетики калмыцких народных сказок. Указанные выше примеры свидетельствуют о взаимопроникновении диалектных элементов в сказочный текст. Вкрапление бузавизмов в структуру дербетского сказочного текста не должно вызывать удивления или недоумения, если помнить, что одной из составляющей бузавского этноса являются дербеты.

Особенно показательны в этом отношении сказки, записанные от сказителя Санджи Манжикова в 1964-1965 годах и опубликованные отдельным томом в 1968 году.

В целом «Калмыцкие сказки» С. Манжикова с языковой точки зрения вполне укладываются в рамки общих закономерностей бузавского говора, суть которых в следующем:

1. В бузавском говоре, как и в дербетском, обнаруживается процесс ослабления губного напряжения и снижение подъема узких огубленных гласных верхнего подъема «у» и «ү», что приводит к образованию на их месте гласных «о» и «г», например: буз. Овш вместо торг. Увш, восходящего к тиб. *убаши* «мирянин, принявший духовный обет», буз. *гм* вместо торг. *сјм*, восходящего к тиб. *суми* «храм».

2. Если в дербетском и торгутском говорах дифтонг **аи** первого слога, восходящий к комплексу **а+й+и**, развился в долгий гласный **і** переднего ряда: *тійлх* «снимать», *хійлх* «гаять», *міілх* «блеять, мяукать», то в бузавском говоре этот же дифтонг трансформировался в долгий гласный **а**: *таалъх* «снимать», *хаалъх* «гаять», *маалъх* «блеять, мяукать» [7, с. 221].
3. В бузавском говоре произошла замена сонанта **й** на увулярный целевой **є**, который сохраняется при любой модификации: *биеън* «сам», *бисин* «самого», *биседнь* «самому». Ср. дерб., торг. *бийднь* «ему самому», *бийдін* «себе», *бийсн* «сами».
4. В бузавском говоре, как и в торгутском, обнаруживается большая устойчивость заднерядных гласных в непервых слогах, например: буз. *дакад*, торг. *дакад*, дерб. *дікід* «опять, снова», буз. *мана*, торг. *мана*, дерб. *міні* «наш».
5. В бузавском говоре заднерядность гласных первых слогов сохраняется даже там, где в других говорах они превратились уже в переднерядные, например: письм. – монг. *морин*, буз. *морн*, торг. *мірн*, дерб. *мірн* «конь»; письм.-монг. *Хонин*, торг. *хгн*, дерб. *хгн* «овца»; буз. *тамк*, торг., дерб. *тімк* «табак».
6. В бузавском говоре (особенно в «Сказках» С. Манжикова) встречается частое употребление губно-губного глухого **[п]**. Чаще всего он употребителен в конечной позиции слова и в середине перед глухими согласными: *хопцн* «одежда», *кепт* «лежи», *апч ир* «принеси». В этом отношении бузавский говор сближается с уральским и оренбургским подговорами, в которых также часто употребляется согласный **[п]** в тех же позициях: *хортч* «наперсток», *апчкад* «взяв» [11, с. 114].
Вместе с тем в бузавском говоре на месте губно-губного глухого **[п]** нередко употребляется губно-губной звонкий **[б]**. В тех же «Сказках» С. Манжикова даже в контексте одной сказки «Сохр хан» (Слепой хан) имеет место чередование звуков **[п]** ~ **[б]**: *апч ирід* «принеся», *аб* «бери», *аббъ* «взял», *аббуци* «взял ты». Ср. калм.-лит. *ав* «бери», *авв* «взял», *аввч* «взял ты».
7. В бузавском говоре обнаруживаются процессы спонантизации взрывных согласных там, где в других говорах этого не произошло, например: буз. *толха*, торг., дерб. *толса* «голова», буз. *солха*, торг., дерб. *солса* «левша», буз. *гвсн*, торг., дерб. *гвгн* «старик», буз. *зосс*, торг., дерб. *зосг* «стой», буз. *эрс*, торг., дерб. *эрг* «берег».
8. В бузавском говоре наблюдаются своеобразные глагольные формы, например: *сарсах*, торг., дерб. *сарсх* «вытаскивать», буз. *келсіх*, торг., дерб. *келсх* «заставить сделать» [2, с. 105]. Своеобразна форма родительного падежа личного местоимения первого лица

единственного числа «*минін*» вместо торг., дерб. *мини* «мой», буз. *чинін*, торг., дерб. *чини* «твой».

9. Кроме того, в нем сохранился архаичный вид условного деепричастия на **-хла** в виде **-хласа**, образованного из стяжения **-ху**, **-кӱ**, **-луса**, **-лӱге**: *келхлісі*, торг., дерб. *келхлі* «если сказать», буз. *ирхлісі* «если придти» и т. д.
10. В лексике донских калмыков (бузава) отразилась их историческая и территориальная обособленность от остальных калмыков, русское и украинское окружение, казачий быт, земледельческий образ жизни. Наиболее показательны в этом отношении лексемы: *арвд* < русск. работа, *одми* < русск. атаман, *серньг* < укр. серник (спички), *гас* < укр. гас (керосин), *картуль* < русск. картофель, *цїбїрк* < укр. цибарка (ведро), *кочет* < укр. кочет (петух), *чуушк* < укр. чушка (свинья), *доошк* «верхняя одежда из шкуры жеребенка» < русск. уменьш. дошка < доха, *хунут* < русск. кнут, *зелит* < русск. жилет, *бууф* «плуг» < русск. букеровский плуг (по названию фирмы «Буккер», производившей плуги).

В калмыцких сказках С. Манжикова обращают на себя внимание такие заимствованные слова как *барш* < русск. барыш, *кусг* < русск. кусок, *кууц* < русск. куцый, *куушк* < русск. кошка, *яршг* < русск. ящик, *мӱшӱк* < русск. мешок, *пӱяжк* < русск. пряжка. В этом же сборнике, в тексте сказки «Алта тїїлин ктвӱн» (с. 110). Показателен пример: «...*бичід дуусад, экид конвертд дурчкід, пичатл уга хайчкад сарад одв*» (закончив писать, свернув в конверт, не запечатывая бросил и вышел). Последний пример еще раз свидетельствует о том, что тексте народных сказок не имеют строгих канонов и в них легко вплетаются реалии нового времени.

Изолированный характер бузавского говора обусловил и появление в нем своеобразных слов, словосочетаний и фразеологизмов, которых нет в других говорах калмыцкого языка. «Живой творческий коллектив, изолированный в своем развитии от других коллективов – пишет Т. А. Бертагаев, – создавал слова независимо от последних... Но так как разные языковые коллективы могут по-разному воспринять предмет, то соответственно этому они дают ему разные наименования» [1, с. 45]. В качестве иллюстрации этого положения можно привести следующие окказионализмы бузавского говора: *цег* «вилы», *чанац* «тыква», *сактя* «хром», *хулвдг* «шкура», *ктері* «зря», *кшкхлх* «крошить мясо», *хууцин* «халат гелюнга», *дуудх* «читать», *мааслх* (*мааклх*) «пшнать», *армль* «веревка», *икл* «гармонь», *бууль* «петля», *итг* «подстилка», *отг* «рысь», *беевн* «медный купорос», *иш эк* «прабабушка», *оьсин дел* «грива лошади перед седлом», *сохада имтн* «родные братья», *би мондсн бїнїв* «я живу хорошо», *хагшад инїх* «хохотать», *їдїн їй* «родничок на голове у детей», *баслх* «оградить базом, изгородью», *сардал* «горчица», *сргї* «дыры для прикрепления спутниц седла», *халтучи* «подкрылки седла», *жуульжсн* «щыпленок», *сарнушк* «печка

наружная», *слтг нойн* «помощник, наместник нойона», *тгмр удрул* «плуг» и другие.

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The Use of the Kalmyk Tales at German Lessons

Elsa O-G. Daldinova

It is known that learning foreign languages provides students with socio-cultural competence and educational growth. The process of acquiring communicative competence in a foreign language is considered in close interaction with the historical experience, the current level of the ethno-development, taking into account its culture, traditions, mentality.

Nowadays, the tendency towards the ethno-cultural component in teaching foreign languages is growing increasingly and evidently. According to N.V. Baryshnikov, it can only be realized on the conscious national and cultural basis of the native language. As the starting point for the implementation of the ethno-cultural approach to teaching a foreign language, the author considers the inclusion of students into the “native ethno-cultural tradition” [Baryshnikov, 2003]. In order to be an interesting partner in the intercultural communication, it is necessary to know and understand the national (ethnic) culture. There is no question that language and culture are inextricable interrelated. Numerous publications emphasize the importance of cultural understanding in the development of intercultural competence in foreign language learning. (Renate A. Schulz, 2007). In interpersonal dialogue, the exchange of information about culture, traditions, customs of the birthplace are of major importance. However, it should be recognized that theoretical postulates of ethnolinguistic didactics have a number of peculiarities for the implementation in practice and vary according to ethno-cultural situations. Nowadays the region’s educational system is facing particular challenges. The national

school is expected to attach young citizens to universal human values while preserving their national identity.

In the Republic of Kalmykia, this problem becomes particularly relevant as the indigenous nationality has, to some extent, lost its ethno-cultural values. This is due to the fact that the Kalmyk people suffered severe repression and for 13 years they were in exile in hard-to-reach regions of Siberia and the Far East. In particular, in Kalmykia, as a result of the Stalinist genocide, certain generations have emerged who have little knowledge of their native language, customs, history and culture of their people, the tendency of young people to abandon the traditional way of life is strengthened, moral and ethnic concepts, spiritual values of the people, formed by centuries, are being lost which leads to the deformation of the national consciousness (Daldinova, 2004). As a means of introducing the ethnic component in the process of teaching the German language in the national school, we chose Kalmyk fairy tales translated into German. The folklore and the fairy tale as its genre, are special forms of expressing social and cultural features of the ethnos who contribute to the formation of a worldview, moral and cultural values.

A fairy tale, being part of a person's life for a long time, is a treasure of the folk wisdom, the universal means of the transfer of those ideas about the world around and the man himself that formed in people in every historical epoch. They stress humans experience, history and values. Fairy tales provide entertainment and further topics for discussion. They are fun and short, rich in terms of language yet less grammatically complex, syntactically speaking, than many other forms of literature. There is a great opportunity to make fairy tales as complex and simplistic as possible depending on the class in which it is introduced. Fairy tales are also a great source of vocabulary, grammar structures and syntax.

And in addition to that, fairy tales are short enough to keep students interested long enough (Bagg, 1991). Folktales are usually passed down from generation to generation and because of its oral nature, folktales are said to be the best reflection of the target culture.

Therefore, folktales can engage students' interest and naturally reduce their resistance to study and thus helps them to learn about the life, emotions, and culture of the target culture (Kim, 2008). One of the advantages of folktales is that their storylines are universally similar (An, 2010). Accordingly, it is possible that learners can predict and imagine more easily based on their own folktales, even though they are reading a folktale in the target language for the first time. They teach morals and values, highlighting the most universal norms and standards of the respective culture.

In addition to that, fairy tales are a particular type of text which can be adapted to suit the child's age, whereas their composition of sentences and plot is simple and understandable (Lepin, 2012). Story-based teaching helps students to develop an appreciation as well as an enjoyment for literature and supports the development of literacy, oral and social skills at the same time (Pham Thi Hong Nhung, 2016).

The multi-genre Kalmyk folklore belongs to the spiritual heritage of the Kalmyks. Being a part of it, Kalmyk tales are notable. Kalmyk tales are the brightest artistic expression of the spiritual culture of the people – created for many centuries by talented representatives of the people. They reflect the best features of the people: diligence, talent, fidelity in battle and labor, boundless devotion to the Motherland, family, friendship, relatives. By representing all those positive features of the people in tales, they have become effective means of transferring those features and qualities from generation to generation. In Kalmyk oral tradition, there are small tales, the heroes of which are people, household items, animals and birds (Basangova and Mandzhieva, 2015).

The ethnic values, represented in folk tales, acquire a special significance in the process of foreign language learning as a means of intercultural communication, which makes it possible to qualify a fairy tale as an effective way of teaching a foreign language with an ethnic orientation. We used Kalmyk fairy tales in teaching reading skills to learners.

We used a collection of Kalmyk tales translated into German by our compatriot Elena Jambinova, who has lived in Germany for a long time (Dzhambinova, 1993). It should be noted that German scientists made a significant contribution to the study of Kalmyk folklore. They arrived at Kalmyk settlements from Gerngut. It is noteworthy that Kalmyk tales were published in German for the first time. A special merit in studying Kalmyk folklore belongs to B. Bergman. He lived among the Kalmyks for a long time and studied their language (Buraeva, 2006).

The text analysis of Kalmyk tales has shown that for the genre one of the fairy-tale a certain type of narrative is characteristic: For example, the story is delivered from a third person and is conducted by an “outside observer”, who is not participating in the events depicted. The fairy tale consists of a typical beginning, in which the reader gets introduced into the atmosphere of the fairy tale, as well as a typical ending.

Using Kalmyk tales as a means of teaching, reading is associated with a number of difficulties in linguistic and content-semantic terms. Such difficulties include words that reflect some national realities of Kalmykia. The fabulousness, the fantasy of the fairy tale is reflected in the fairy tale’s vocabulary. Under the difficulties of the content-semantic aspect we mean everything that prevents students from understanding the specifics of the fairy tale as well as its metaphorically, the moral and social generalization hidden in it.

The texts of fairy tales, thanks to the availability of lexical and grammatical material, offer an opportunity to move from understanding the facts and events described in the text to understanding its main idea – in this case, the morals of the fairy tale. The linguo-didactical model of lesson planning on the basis of the Kalmyk tales consists of four stages:

Stage I – (preparing activities for introducing the text of the fairy tale) – is aimed at actualizing the background knowledge the students have on the topic and sparking an interest in reading the fairy tale. At this stage, proposals are formed, hypotheses are put forward and information that is known to the students is collected.

The second stage consists of two sub-stages: a) the process of facilitating the perception of the text of the fairy tale, overcoming language difficulties; b) the stage of reflecting and controlling the understanding of the fairy tale text.

Stage III is the language activation material for the classroom. We consider to add the fourth stage – the stage of analyzing the Kalmyk fairy tale. At this stage, learners learn to carry the moral message of the fairy tale and interpret the subtextual information. This stage also includes some activities on developing speaking, writing and listening skills based on what has been read.

The text of the Kalmyk tale requires a special methodical processing, in particular, an adaptation. However, it should be emphasized that the text should be adapted in a special way, taking into account the fact that it was translated from Kalmyk to German, including some necessary socio-cultural commentaries for the Germans.

The aim of the methodical adaptation of the translated folk tales is to explain all sorts of socio-cultural factors well known to students.

The adaptation mainly touches upon the lexical side of the tale text. In general, we consider that the adaptation of the fairy tale text is understood as a literary and linguistic processing of the artistic epic work in order to make it accessible to learners at a certain stage of learning the foreign language.

Students were offered to deal with all kinds of fairy tales that exist in traditional classifications – Kalmyk folk tales, in particular. Kalmyk folk tales are divided into fairy tales about animals, everyday fairy tales, magical and heroic fairy tales. The criterion of parallelism and originality was reflected in the selection of the Kalmyk tales, which have similar motifs as the tales of other people. The next criterion, which was used for the selection of Kalmyk tales, is the criterion of entertainment. The analysis of Kalmyk tales shows that the verb tense used to describe events in the fairy tale is the past tense of the general form (Imperfect). All fairy tales analyzed by us are written in this tense.

If there are some facts that proceed the basic course of events, we use the corresponding forms of the German system of tenses. The direct speech of the characters does not belong to the construction of the artistic time of the tale, it imitates the facts of living speech. “Meine Tochter sitzt nicht arbeitend zu Hause, ihr Essen ist gut und reichlich”. In addition to the temporal forms of the verb, the lexical units are used to create artistic time in Kalmyk tales, which clearly indicate that the action takes place in the past: “Einmal, in einer Woche, es war vor vielen Jahren.” The originality of Kalmyk tales and their strong national flavor are clearly manifested in the specifics of expressive language usage. The fairy tale consists of the

typical beginning, which introduces the reader into the atmosphere of the fairy tale, and the typical ending which is created through special lexical units, for example: “Der Alte und seine Frau lebten lange und glücklich.” The fairy tale serves as a basis for developing oral and written communication skills. The student acts on his own behalf (substantiation of the heroes’ position, discussion of the problems touched upon in the text, writing a book review, the review on the text, compiling the continuation of the history of the story, etc.). Students answer questions about the text, comment on its content, express their point of view on the information received, and make up a written version of their own text.

The ethnic-oriented process of teaching the German language in the form of folk Kalmyk tales translated into German results in a significant increase in motivation to learn the German language, strengthening the role of emotionality in mastering the language; it helps to develop the ability to communicate interculturally, it fosters the upbringing of the multilingual and multicultural personality of Kalmyk school students. As text material we used the fairy tale “Der blinde Khan”. (A Blind Khan).

The attention of the students was drawn to the title of the fairy tale. The fairy tale contains a number of language difficulties that impede the understanding of the content of the fairy tale. Such difficulties include words reflecting Kalmyk national realities and without their understanding it is impossible to understand Kalmyk tales. Here, we can give some examples of words denoting social and cultural realities of Kalmykia: der Khan - khan, Badma – a man’s name, which is common among the Kalmyks, die Steppe – steppes, die Lotosblume – a lotus flower, which is especially esteemed by the Kalmyks. It is believed that this flower brings healing from various diseases and creates a special aura, das Choton – a small settlement where the Kalmyks lived.

We paid special attention on developing the ability to understand the metaphorical nature of the fairy tale. The task was to teach students to extract moral lessons from the fairy tale to understand its metaphorical nature and to be able to interpret its content.

Of great importance is the process of developing anticipation skills. The essence of this process lies in the ability to anticipate the content of a tale text through a thoughtful reading of its title and the ability to predict the content of the tale by judging its title.

The subtextual information occurs due to the ability of words, phrases and sentences to conceal a hidden meaning in separate small segments. One of the main features of this tale is its metaphorical and allegorical character, when human values such as justice or honesty are revealed not directly but indirectly through a special form of narrative. The ability to understand the metaphorical nature of the fairy tale cannot be considered apart the ability to interpret, when a meaningful interpretation of the tale takes place. The ability to understand the metaphorical nature of the fairy tale can be verified by asking the question “what is said in this tale?”. It is important to teach students to understand what is behind the specifics

of the tale. Students answer that in this tale the image of the poor man, endowed with the best of qualities: mind, wit, courage, justice, is opposed to the evil khan, the greedy rich man, the greedy master. One should note that the main goal of learning to read fairy tales is to develop the ability to read and extract meaning between the lines. An Understanding process is reached not on the semantic but on the language level. This is a common phenomenon for students who have an imperfect knowledge of the foreign language: all words are clear but the meaning of the text (fairy tale) is difficult to understand (Baryshnikov, 2003). A series of teacher questions allows students to come to the conclusion that the tale tells a story about the cruel khan who was about to burn the young man despite the fact that the poor young man had delivered him lotus flowers, since they were able to heal him from blindness.

So, we can say that the works of verbal folklore have an impact on the degree of cognitive independence on the side of the students. The fairy tale gives relief from the routine and stimulates the mind. They are a great motivator for teachers as well as for students (Mauro Dujmovic, 2006). According to Ada (2004), stories can also lead to harmony, understanding and the peaceful resolution of conflicts. It is advisable to further improve the creative use of pedagogical folklore potential as a means of forming the foreign language communicative competence of students. The practical methodological recommendations on the use of the national fairy tale in teaching foreign languages, having been successfully tested in the teaching-learning process, will improve the process of teaching a foreign language in national schools.

It should be emphasized that Kalmyk tales have a significant linguistic didactic potential. Students get acquainted with the cultural values of their people through the foreign language, in this case: through German. They learn to understand the metaphoricity, the subtext of the fairy tale, since these concepts are key points in understanding Kalmyk tales. We concluded that Kalmyk tales, translated into German, should be used as an effective tool for teaching the German language. The use of folktales in foreign language classrooms can be a very practical and effective approach to teach language skills, study skills and cultural values (Ajibola Akin Fabusuyi, 2014).

Therefore, it is highly suggested that language teachers use folktales as a valuable resource of authentic material to teach not only language but also culture at the same time.

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A Review of the Collection, Compilation and Publication of Oirad-Kalmyk Folk Songs in Europe

Baljān Damrinjab

Abstract

Oirad-Kalmyks mainly live in Xinjiang, Huhnuur, Gansu, Inner Mongolia, Har-muren of China, Uvs, Khovd, Bayan-Ölgi, Zavkhan, Khovsgol of Mongolia, Kalmykia of Russia, and also in some parts of America, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan. Oirad-Kalmyk people have a very rich heritage of oral traditions, and the folk songs are an important part of it. Oirad-Kalmyk folk songs consist of long songs and short songs: the former is performed on formal occasions such as rituals and festivals and celebrations, while the latter is performed only on informal occasions, mostly by young people. Collection of Oirad-Kalmyk folk songs in Europe started 260 years ago. The present paper gives a detailed elaboration on the Oirad-Kalmyk folk songs, and introduces in great detail the collection, recording, compilation and publication of Oirad-Kalmyk folk songs in Europe during 19th to 20th century, displaying a full picture of the Oirad-Kalmyk folk song collection and publication history in Europe.

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Current Trends of the Study of Oirat Dialect and Western Mongolian Folklore¹

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Abstract

This paper deals with a detailed study of Oirat dialect and folkloric materials by the department of Mongolian language and literature at the Khovd State University. The research team, which consisted of both teachers and students of the department, have interviewed over 980 people in total and collected intellectual creations, dialect materials and folklore of following ethnic groups: Zakhchin, Uriankhai, Torguud, Durvud, Ulet, Myangad, Khoton, Tuva and Eljigen Khalkha. Since 1994 the group is collecting folklores and the database is being enriched until now. Within the framework of this complex research work, they have compiled master's theses on distinctive features of Zakhchin and Uriankhai dialects and comparative studies on dialects, rituals of ethnic groups, traditional long songs, traditional games and toys and their benefits in life, imagery figures used in epic poems. In addition, they have written scientific papers and doctoral dissertations on the content, structure and philosophical grounds of the scriptures on ceremony of incense and offerings, research on original scriptures, long and short vowel sounds in Oirat dialect, tradition of the Oirat dialect and its evolution, the Oirat wedding ceremony, opening and closing songs of the wedding, philosophical grounds of traditional songs, oral folklore from Eljigen Khalkha and folklore of the Khoton people.

¹ Original Title: “Ойрад аман билэг, нутгийн аялгууны судалгаа”.

In current society confronted with globalization, in which information and communicational technology is developing rapidly, it is essential to study the dialects of ethnic groups like the Oirat people and preserve them for future generations. And at this time, when the dialect-bearers and the vocabulary of the Oirat people are gradually disappearing, it is favorable that the advancement of the technology brings some positive chances and changes including blogs, websites and cyber circumstances which allow us to distribute information in Oirat dialects and keep them active and alive for young generations.

Our scholars are planning to categorize all the tape recordings of ethnic groups such as Durdud, Zakhchin, Urianhai, Torguud, Myangad, Ulet that are being kept in the fund of Oirat dialects of the department and render them into recordings on compact discs. The audio recordings will be used for training courses, and some parts of the audio recordings will be simplified into audio stories for children.

1 танилцуулга

Монгол улс дахь ойрад монголчууд болох дөрвөд, захчин, өөлд, торгууд, хошууд, мянгад, урианхай, баядууд нь Ховд, Увс, Баян-Өлгий, Хөвсгөл аймгийн нутгаар тархан сууна. Мөн Монголын төв хэсгээр Улаанбаатар Дархан, Орхон аймагт нилээд ойрадууд шилжин суурьшсан байна. Монгол улсын хүн амын 2010 оны тооллогоор нийт 240307 ойрадууд амьдарч байна гэж бүртгэгдсэн нь монгол улсын хүн амын 9,1% -ийг эзэлж байна.

Ховд их сургууль нь судалгааны тэргүүлэх чиглэлээ ойрад судлал хэмээн үздэгийн хувьд ойрад монголчуудын хэл аялгуу², аман зохиол³, угсаатны зүй⁴, ан авын соёл⁵, цоор товшуур зэрэг хөгжим, бий биелгээ, ардын урт, богино магтаар дуу⁶, уламжлалт тоглоом наадам⁷ им тамга⁸, хурим найрын зан үйлийн судалгаа⁹ уламжлалт тоглоом наадмын шинжилгээг нарийвчлан хийж ирлээ.

² Даваадорж Б., Хэл аялгуу судлалын асуудлууд, УБ., 2016.

³ Катуу Б., Торгууд ардын аман зохиол, УБ., 2002; Катуу Б., Монгол урианхайн аман зохиол, УБ., 2011; Ганболд М., Ойрад монголын угсаатны зүйн хэрийн судалгааны эх хэрэглэгдэхүүн, УБ., 2017.

⁴ Ганболд М., Ойрад монголчуудын байгаль хамгаалах уламжлал. УБ., 2012.

Батмөнх Б., Баасанхүү А., Ойрад монголчуудын мал аж ахуйн соёл. УБ., 2011.

⁵ Батмөнх Б., Монголчуудын уламжлалт ан ав (XIX-XX зууны заагдээрх ойрад монголчуудын жишээн дээр) УБ., 2005.

⁶ Катуу Б., Пүрэвжав Э., Захчин ардын дуу УБ., 2006.

⁷ Нямдорж Б.Өөлдийн уламжлалт баяр цэнгэл, тоглоом Ховд., 1999.

⁸ Пүрэвдорж Г. Ойрад Монголчуудын малын им тамга. –УБ., 2008.

⁹ Баасандорж Ц. Ойрад хуримын ёс (XIX зууны сүүлч, XX зууны эх). УБ., 2005.

ХИС-ийн НХУС-ийн хэл зохиолын тэнхим нь 1979 оноос хэл аялгуу аман билгийн судалгааг хийж эхэлсэн бөгөөд профессор Ж.Төмөрцэрэн, доктор Д. Отгонсүрэн, Х. Нямбуу нарын эрдэмтдийн эхлүүлсэн судалгаа шинжилгээний үйл хэргийг Б.Батаахүү, Б.Катуу, Г. Жамьян, Лх. Туяабаатар, Б. Даваадорж, Х. Оюун, Б. Мөнгөнхөлөг, А. Батсуурь, Д. Ганболд, Д. Бадамноров, Д. Өрнөхдэлгэр нар үргэлжлүүлэн баруун монголчуудын үг хэллэг, бичиг үсэг, судар шастир хэл аялгуу, Үлгэр тууль, аман зохиолыг судлан шинжилж ирлээ.

1993–94 оны хичээлийн жилээс эхлэн багш оюутны хамтарсан хээрийн судалгааг жил бүр хийж баруун бүс нутгийн өмд, урианхай, торгууд, захчин, дөрвөд баяд, мянгад, хошууд, хотон, элжгэн халх, тува, казак зэрэг угсаатны хэл аялгуу, аман билиг, эд өлгийн зүйлсийг сурвалжлан, бичлэг хийж, 27 хавтаст материал, 75 хуурцагт бичлэг бүхий хэрэглэгдэхүүний сан бүрдүүлсэн байна. Үүнээс ойрад аман аялгуу, аман билгийн судалгааны талаар тодруулан авч үзье.

№	Хээрийн судалгаа шинжилгээ	Хэдэн онд	Хаана
1	Захчин аман билиг, аялгуу судлалын хээрийн судалгаа	1994	Ховд аймгийн Манхан, Зэрэг сум
		2004	Ховд аймгийн Зэрэг сум
		2006	Ховд аймгийн Мөст сум
		2015	Ховд аймгийн Манхан сум
2	Торгуудын аман билиг, аялгуу судлалын хээрийн дадлага	1997	Ховд аймгийн Булган, Баян - Өлгий аймгийн Булган
		2007	Ховд аймгийн Булган сум
		2017	Ховд аймгийн Булган сум
3	Мянгад аман билиг, аялгуу судлалын хээрийн дадлага	1998	Ховд аймгийн Мянгад сум
		2003	Ховд аймгийн Мянгад сум
4	Дөрвөд аман билиг, аялгуу судлалын хээрийн дадлага	2005	Увс аймгийн Наранбулаг
		2008	Увс аймгийн Завхан сум
		2007	Увс аймгийн Өлгий, Өмнөговь
		2010	Ховд аймгийн Дөргөн
		2011	Увс аймгийн Бөхмөрөн, Түргэн, Давст
5	Урианхай аман билиг, аялгуу судлалын хээрийн дадлага	1995	Ховд аймгийн Дуут, Мөнххайрхан, Баян-Өлгий аймгийн Булган сум
		2014	Ховд аймгийн Дуут сум
		2010	Баян-Өлгий аймгийн Буянт, Алтай сум

6	Өөлдийн аман зохиол, хэл аялгуу	1996	Ховд аймгийн Эрдэнэбүрэн сум
		2013	Ховд аймгийн Эрдэнэбүрэн сум
7	Баяд	2009	Увс аймгийн Тэс сум
8	Олон ястны аман билиг, аялгууны судалгаа	2012	Ховд аймгийн Жаргалант сум
		2000	Ховд аймгийн Цэцэг, Мөст, Алтай сум

2 Захчин аман билиг аялгуу судлалын хээрийн дадлага

Ойрад монголчуудын олон ястны хэл аялгуу, аман билигийг судлах анхны сургалтын дадлагыг 1993-1994 оны хичээлийн жилд Ховд аймгийн Манхан, Зэрэг сумдын нутагт Г.Жамъян, Б.Катуу, Б.Даваадорж нар удирдан, захчин ястны хайлдаг тууль, өгүүлэн хэлэлцдэг Үлгэр домог, хууч яриа, баяр ёслолын Үед дуулдаг дуу, хэлдэг ерөөл, магтаал, оньсого таавар, зүйр цэцэн Үг зэрэг аман билигийн төрөл зүйл болон хэл аялгуу, зан үйлийн холбогдолтой материалыг сурвалжлан тэмдэглэж, судалгаа шинжилгээний эх хэрэглэгдэхүүн цуглуулах анхан шатны ажлыг эхлэн гүйцэтгүүлж байв. Анхны дадлагаар захчин ястны тууль, Үлгэр, домог, ерөөл, магтаал, уртын дуу, магтаар дуу, хууч яриа, дом шившлэг, зан үйл, им тамга, бэлгэ дэмбэрлийн Үгс, оньсого, зүйр цэцэн Үг, ардын тоглоом, эд хэрэгсэл хийх аргачлал, хэл аялгууны Үг хэллэг зэрэг олон төрөл зүйл эх хэрэглэгдэхүүнийг сурвалжлан цаасанд тэмдэглэн, хуурцагт хураан бичиж, судалгааны эх хэрэглэгдэхүүний санг буй болгосон.

Захчин ястны дунд түүгээмэл тархсан дууны нэг бол тэдний нэрлэж байгаагаар “магтаар дуу” юм. Магтаар дууг ахмад настангууд залуу зандан насандаа сэтгэлтэй хүнээ санан дурсаж, малын бэлчээр, ажил хөдөлмөрийн талбар, эсвэл тоглоом наадмын Үед хэн нэг нь зохион дуулж, тэр нь нийтийн хүртээл болж, ардын дуу болон хувирсан байдаг. Энэ судалгааны эх хэрэглэгдэхүүнээс ардын урт богино магтаар дууг эмхэтгэн Б.Катуу, Э.Пүрэвжав нар “Захчин ардын дуу” номыг 2006 онд хэвлүүлсэн билээ.

3 Урианхай аман аялгуу, аман зохиол судлалын хээрийн судалгаа

1995, 2014 онуудад тус тэнхимээс урианхай аман зохиол, хэл аялгууг судалсан хээрийн шинжилгээг хийж, хэрэглэгдэхүүнийг цуглуулсан юм. Эхний судалгаанд багш Б.Катуу, Х.Оюун, Д.Ганболд А.Батсуурь нар, 2014 оны Дууг сумаар явсан судалгааг багш В.Янжиндулам оюутнаа удирдан хийжээ.

Ховд аймгийн Дуут, Мөнххайрхан, Баян-Өлгий аймгийн Булган сумдын нутгаар явсан 1995 оны хээрийн судалгаагаар урианхайн алдарт туульч Б.Авирмид, Б.Уртнасан, туульч Х. Сэсээр, Х. Чойрог нартай уулзан “Хан харангуй”, “Зул Алдар хаан” зэрэг туулийг бичиж тэмдэглэн авч туульчдын тухай шинэ мэдээ баримтуудыг цуглуулсан болно. Туульч Манжийн хүү Ширэндэвтэй уулзан Манж, Ширэндэвийн намтартай холбоотой мэдээ баримтыг олж тэмдэглэсэн байна. Урианхай ардын урт богинын олон дуут тэмдэглэн авсан болно. Урианхай аман зохиол аялгуу судлалын хээрийн судалгааны эх хэрэглэгдэхүүнээс эрдэмтэн Б.Катуу “Урианхай ардын аман зохиол” номдоо хэвлэсэн болно.

4 Торгууд аман аялгуу, аман зохиолын судалгаа

Торгууд ястны аман билиг, хэл аялгуу судалгааны эх хэрэглэгдэхүүний эхний судалгааг Ховд аймгийн Булган сумын Сөнхөл Ендэрт, Арцат, Шангаст, Дунд салаа, Харцагат, Бумбат, Тошилт, Баян-Өлгий аймгийн Сэрүүний нуур гэдэг газраар явж ван, бэйл, бэйсийн торгууд, хошгууд ястны аман билиг, Үлгэр, дуу, домог, дом шившлэг, бэлгэ дэмбэрлийн Үг, оньсого, зан заншлын зүйл, тоглоом, магтаал, хууч яриа, зүйр цэцэн Үг, им тамга зэргийг төрөлжүүлэн тэмдэглэж, судалгааны санг бүрдүүлсэн. Энэхүү торгуудын аялгуу, аман билгийн судалгааг А.Батсуурь, Б.Мөнгөнхүлэг, Х. Оюун, Д. Ганболд нарын багш нар удирдан 72 хүнээс аман мэдээ авсан байна. Энэ судалгаанд торгуудын хуримын ёсонд гэрийн үүдээ даран хэлэлцэх “Үүдэн дарлагын Үг”:

Эргэж урсдаг Булган Чингэлтэйн усан
Эргэж буудаг төрийн хоёр элчин

Уул даваад ирлээ
Атан тэмээ ачаад ирлээ
Агт морин эцлээ
Ширээ бөх нь суларлаа
Ширмэн таваг нь цоорлоо
Алтан бумба өргөөнийхөө

Үүд хаалгыг нээж хайрлана уу хэмээн хэлэлцэх Үгс, торгуудын сайн эрс, хүчит бөх Хошкир, Буурлаа нарын тухай хууч яриа, 30 цагаан, 30 хөх чулуугаар хольж тоглодог “Ямаа цохих” гэж нэрлэдэг тоглоом, торгууд аман аялгууны 450 гаруй үгийг галиглан тэмдэглэсэн байна. Торгуудын аман зохиол хээрийн судалгааны материалаас Б.Катуу “Торгууд ардын аман зохиол” номдоо ардын дуу, зүйр цэцэн Үгс, Үлгэр домгийг оруулан хэвлүүлсэн байна.

5 **Мянгад ардын аман билэг, аялгуу судлалын хээрийн судалгаа:**

Багш Б.Катуу, А.Батсуурь нар удирдан Мянгад сумын Гахайт, Мөрөн, Чацарганат, Баянбулаг багийн нутгаар явж 70 гаруй хүнтэй уулзан, үлгэр 7, дом шившлэг 75, ерөөл магтаал 3, дуу 9, оньсого 45, домог хууч яриа 38, тахилгат газрын тухай зүйлс 3 зэрэг зан үйлийн аман зохиолын арвин хэрэглэгдэхүүн цуглуулсан билээ. Мянгадын дунд “Улаан харгана шүтэх ёс” байна. Улаан харганыг нялх хүүхэдтэй айл шүтэх ба хүүхэд айж цочсон үед, авдар савандаа байгаа янз бүрийн даавууны өөдсийг шатаан дээр нь арц уугнулан хиншүү гаргаж, гэрийн баруун багснаас эхлэн харганаар шавхуурдан гарч зөв 3 тойрч үл үзэгдэх муу зүйлийг хөөдөг. Улаан харганатай айлд гаднаас ямар нэгэн саад тогтор өвчин эмгэг ирдэггүй гэж үздэг. Мөн хүүхдийн даллага хураах ёс гэж өвөрмөц ёс байгааг тэмдэглэжээ. Мянгад түмний хурдан морийг шинжин таних мэдлэг ухааны тухай арвин мэдээлэл бий.

6 **Цэцэг, Мөст, Алтай сумаар явсан халх, захчны аман зохиол, аялгууны хээрийн судалгаа**

Энэ судалгаагаар тод үсгийн бүрэн 20, бүрэн бус 16 нийт 36 судрыг цуглуулж бичиг үсгийн санг баяжуулсан байна. Хээрийн судалгааг багш А.Батсуурь, Л.Туяабаатар нар удирдан, оньсого 94, зүйр цэцэн үгс 12, дом шившлэг 95, бэлгэдэмбэрлийн үг 20, ерөөл магтаал 5, зан үйлийн холбогдолтой зүйл 86, домог хууч яриа 46, тоглоом 14, даалууны гүншин, им тамганы талаар 40 мэдээ баримт, уртын дуу 103, үлгэр 25 тэмдэглэн авсан байна. Нутгийн аялгууны үгс 300 орчмыг тэмдэглэсэн байна.

7 **Дөрвөдийн аман аялгуу, аман зохиол судалсан хээрийн судалгаа:**

Судалгааг багш А.Батсуурь, Б.Бямбадорж нар удирдан Ховд аймгийн Дөргөн сумын нутаг Сээр, Аргалант, Агваш, Өгөөмөр багуудын нутгаар явж, дөрвөдийн настан буурлууд нийт 90 гаруй хүнтэй уулзан ардын дуу 34, домог 22, хууч яриа 19, үлгэр 3, зүйр цэцэн үг 27, оньсого 37, даллага 3, ерөөл 6, зан үйлийн холбоотой материал 88, тоглоом наадгай 4, хурдан морины шинж 100, хуурын татлага-6, судар 41, дөрвөд аялгууны аман яриа бичлэг 6 хуурцаг, нутгийн аялгууны үг 145-ыг галиглан тэмдэглэсэн байна. Хулсан үзгээр тод монгол үсгээр бичсэн “Сайн морины шинж” сударт тулгуурлан бичсэн

“Эрдэнэт 100 хүлгийн шинжийн судар” –ыг тэмдэглэн авсан байна. Хурдан морины сан, рашаан хийгээд морио хурдуулахын тулд унших тарни, арц хүүжээр ариулах зан зан үйлийн талаар тэмдэглэн авсан байна. Далыг амаар мөлждөггүй, нагац нь хувхайрна гэж үздэг. Далны махыг хээр ганцаар идэх хэрэг гарвал ташуурынхаа сагалдарганд далныхаа махнаас хавчуулж орхидог, айргийн тос унахгүй бол “Алаг нохой долоосонгүй, алцгар авгай алхсангүй” гэж хэлээд арцаар утаж ариулах зэрэг зан үйлийн аман билгээс тэмдэглэн авсан байна.

2004 онд Увс аймгийн Өмнөговь Ховд сумын нутгаар Д.Ганболд, Л.Туяабаатар, Х.Оюун, Б.Бямбадорж нар оюутнуудын хамт судалгаа хийж 21- 85 насны 37 хүнтэй уулзан ардын дуу 23, бэлэг дэмбэрлийн үг 8, домог үлгэр 8, дом шившлэг 61, ерөөл 4, ертөнцийн гурав 3, зан үйлийн холбоотой хорио цээр ёс заншил 7, зүйр цэцэн үг 10, оньсого 10, сан далага 4, хууч яриа 8, тамга 13, нутгийн аялгууны үг 144-ийг тэмдэглэн авсан байна.

2007 онд Увс аймгийн Өлгий, Өмнөговь сумын нутгаар хээрийн судалгааг багш А.Батсуурь, И.Жавхлан нар удирдан дөрвөд ардын уртын дуу 126, бэр буулгах үг 4, хууч яриа 4, домог 64, ерөөл 8, магтаал 3, оньсого 91, үлгэр 2, тоглоом наадмын үг 3, ёс заншил 6, бэсрэг тууль 1, бугын буурь тоглоомыг хэрхэн тоглож наадахыг тэмдэглэн авсан байна. Өндөр настан Үдвээгээс зад барин хур оруулах тухай сонирхолтой мэдээ бичиж тэмдэглэн авсан. Өлгий сумын дөрвөдүүд охин аваад гарахдаа “Улаан бор морь” дууг дуулж, найраа “Өндөр Хөхийн өвөр” дуугаар жаргаадаг байна. Сөн нийлэхдээ “Ут сайхан хүрэн”, хүүхдийн даахины найранд “Сэтэртэй баахан шарга” дууг дууладаг байна. Гүү барих найрыг адууны ивээл өдөр хийж, сайн морь болно гэсэн унагаа эхлэн бариад хүүхдүүдийг уралдуулж, түрүүлсэн хүүхдийг санаандгүйгээр чигээнд булхуулж элбэг хангалуун байхыг бэлгэддэг. Гүү барих найранд “Зэлийн унаган зээр” дууг дуулна. Алдарт бөх Гүнчин Нацаг нарын тухай, Жаа лам Дамбийжанцангийн тухай, хүчтэй чадалтай эрдэмтэй лам нарын тухай хууч яриаг тэмдэглэн авчээ.

2005 онд Увс аймгийн Наранбулаг сумаар багш А.Батсуурийн удирдсан оюутнууд 65 хүнтэй уулзан аман мэдээ авч, ардын дуу 60, хууч яриа 7, домог 18, магтаал 2, оньсого таавар 43, ерөөл 4, тоглоом 2, дом шившлэг 18, им тамга 11, бэлэг дэмбэрлийн үг 23, нутгийн аялгууны үгс 184-ыг бичиж тэмдэглэсэн байна. Дөрвөд хуримын хөшиг тайлах ёсонд хүүхний тал нэг хонт гарган ирээд махыг зүүн хатавчинд өлгөж, арьсыг нь зүүн хатавчинд дэвсэн суулгана. Хадам аав нь залуугийн цахиур бууны сүмбэ төмрийг аваад мөлхөж очин, “Бэр үзвэй, бэр үзвэй” гэж хэлээд хүүхнийг гаргаж ирэхэд хоёр талын хүмүүс хонины арьсыг авч босгоны наана цаанаас таталцан арьс нь тасрахгүй гэрээ эвдэхэд хүрэхэд арьсны голд хутгаар жаахан хатган зүсэж арьс хоёр хуваагдсанаар найр эхэлнэ. Мөн алчуураар хонин чих гаргаж татдаг ёс ч

байдаг байна.¹⁰ зэргээр хурим найр, овоо тахих, цагаалах зан үйлийн талаар баримт мэдээллийг цуглуулсан байна. Гэрийн тавилгыг байрлуулахдаа 12 жилийн байрлалыг харгалзана. Үүнд: Морин жилд хаалга харгалзана. Охиндоо өгсөн морийг эмээлэн үүдээс мордуулна. Хонь-тагдах ханын толгойноос бэрээс ирсэн хонины махыг өлгөнө. Мич- тавдахь хананаас дээш хөгнө татна. Хүргэний хүүхдийг уйлбал тэнд уяна. Тахиа - мичний дээд талд бүргэдийн тавьдаг газар. Нохой - баруун ор. Гахай - орны дээд талын авдар тавих газар, Хулгана- хоймын хоёр авдар тавина. 40 хүрээд ухаан орж хулгана шиг юм хураана. Үхэр- Хоёр авдрын зүүхэн тал, зүүн орны дээд тал. Бар- зүүн (нялх хүүхэд барын дүр үзүүлнэ гэдэг) Туулай - зүүн орны доод талын зай. Луу- үхэг тавьц, Могой –аймхай учир зүүн багсанд байна. хүйтэн тул ус энэ орчимд тавина гэхчлэн монгол ахуй, соёлын холбоотой арвин сан бүрдүүлжээ.

8 Өөлд ястны аман билиг, хэл аялгуу судалгааны эх хэрэглэгдэхүүний сан.

Ховд аймгийн Эрдэнэбүрэн сумын өөлд ястны үлгэр, домог, дом шившлэг, ардын дуу, зүйр цэцэн үг, ерөөл, магтаал, бэлгэ дэмбэрэл, зан үйлийн хэрэглэгдэхүүнийг сурвалжлан санг бэлтгэв. Гал тамгатай, ганзага имтэй өөлдүүдийн дуулдаг 50 гаруй дуу нь хэнд, юунд зориулж, дуулж байдгаараа агуулгын ялгаатай. Мал хээр хоноход: залаат чөмгөнд нарийхан цагаан өвс хавчуулаад, тотгондоо өлгөдөг, аман хүзүүг нугалахад: эзэн нь мөнхөрч, сүрэг нь өсөх болтугай гэж хэлээд нугалдаг, 25 төрлийн гал тамга, 11 төрлийн им зэрэг ахуй амьдрал, зан үйл, хэл ярианы арвин мэдээллийг агуулж байна.

9 Ойрад аялгууг галиглах тухай асуудалд

Монгол хэл аялгууг гадаад дотоодын эрдэмтдээс судалж ангилан тодорхойлсныг дурваас, монголч эрдэмтэн Б.Я.Владимирцов, академич Ш.Лувсанвандан нар монгол хэлийг олон аялгуу бүхий нэгдмэл хэл гэж үзсэн байна.

Монголч эрдэмтэн Г. Д.Санжеев, Н. Поппе, Дундад улсын эрдэмтэн Чингэлтэй, академич Д. Төмөртоого нар монгол хэлийг биеэ даасан хэд хэдэн хэлнээс бүрдэнэ гэж тодорхойлсон. Монгол хэл аялгууны талаар үндсэн ийм саналууд байдаг.

¹⁰ Аман зохиол, аялгуу судлалын хээрийн дадлагын тайлан. Ховд., 2005.49-р тал.

Академич Ш.Лувсанвандан монгол хэл аялгууг ангилан судалсан туршлагыг шинжилж, монгол хэл аялгууг нэлээд нягтлан судлаад, ойрад аялгууг төв ба өмнөд аялгууны завсрын аялгуу хэмээн тодорхойлоод “сүүлийн хэдэн зуун жилийн турш төв аялгуугаар хэлэлцэх төв монголчуудтайгаа нягт холбоотой явж ирсэн тул үг хэллэгэнд нь төв аялгууны нөлөө улам улам нэвтэрч ялангуяа үгийн сангийнхаа талаар төв аялгуутай их л ойр болсон байна”¹¹ гэжээ.

Доктор Ж. Цолоо “Ойрад аялгууг бид өмнөд, умард гэсэн хоёр аман аялгуунд ангилав. Умард аман аялгуугаар баяд, дөрвөд, өөлд, өмнөд аман аялгуугаар урианхай, торгууд, захчин хэлэлцэнэ”¹² хэмээн тодорхойлоод ойрад аялгууг дотор нь аман аялгуу бас салбар аман аялгуу гэж ангилсан ангиллыг сүүлийн үеийн судалгаандаа хийжээ.

Судлаач О. Самбуудорж “Ойрад монголчуудын хэлэлцэх аялгууг орчин цагийн төв монгол хэлний нэг аялгуу гэж үзээд ойрад аялгууны фонемийн тогтолцоог тусгайлан судалсан байна.

Ж. Цолоо 1964 онд “Захчин, торгууд аялгууны онцлогоос”¹³ эрдэм шинжилгээний өгүүлэл бичиж, захчин, торгууд аялгууны үгийн сангийн зарим үгсийг харшуулан, захчин аялгууны авианзүй ба үгзүйн онцлогийг тодорхойлсон байдаг. Энэ үеэс хойш нутгийн аялгуу судлал эрчимтэй хөгжиж, шинжилгээний ангиуд ажиллан, эх хэрэглэгдэхүүнийг нэлээд цуглуулан, мэргэжлийн судлаачид өөрийн биеэр судалгаа хийж ажилласны үр дүнд ойрад аман аялгууны талаар Ж. Цолоо¹⁴, Э. Вандуй¹⁵, Х. Лувсанбалдан¹⁶, Д. Бадамдорж¹⁷, Х. Оюун¹⁸, О. Самбуудорж¹⁹, С. Баттулга²⁰, Ю. Цэндээ²¹ Б.

¹¹ Лувсанвандан Ш. Монгол хэл аялгууны учир. *Studia Mongolica*. Т1. Fasc.3.УБ.,1959., х.5/.

¹² Цолоо Ж. БНМАУ-ын нутгийн аялгуу. Хэл зохиол судлал.1982., х.74.

¹³ Цолоо Ж. Захчин торгууд аялгууны онцлогоос. Эрдэм шинжилгээний өгүүлэлүүд.2-р боть.1964., х.93–117.

¹⁴ Цолоо.Ж., Захчин аман аялгуу, УБ., 1965х.

¹⁵ Вандуй Э., Дөрвөд аман аялгуу.УБ., 1965. 175х.

Вандуй Э., Дөрвөдийн аман аялгууны зарим онцлогоос.- “Хэл зохиол” 2-р боть. 3-р дэвтэр. УБ., 1962. 37х.

¹⁶Лувсанбалдан Х., Корни местоимений *mini, inu, inü* в торгутском и урянхайском говорах “Монголын судлал”, Томб VI, Fasc. 21, УБ., 1967.

¹⁷ Бадамдорж Д., Өөлд аман аялгууны ойллого. (Хэлбичгийн ухааны дэд эрдэмтний зэрэг горилсон зохиол) УБ., 1993. 185х.

¹⁸ Оюун Х., Урианхай аман аялгуу. (Хэлбичгийн ухааны дэд докторын зэрэг горилсон зохиол) УБ., 2001.

¹⁹Самбуудорж О., Торгууд аман аялгууны тэмдэглэл. УБ., 1996. 60х.; Самбуудорж О., Ойрадын аман аялгууны богино эгшиг авианы тогтолцоо. – “Монгол хэлшинжлэл”, Том 3. (XXV), х., 96–117; Самбуудорж О., Ойрадын аман аялгуунуудын урт эгшиг авианы тогтолцоо. “Bulletin of the Japan Association for Mongolian Studies” Tokyo, № 27 (1996) pp. 15–30; Самбуудорж О., Монгол хэлний ойрад аялгууны фонемийн тогтолцоо.УБ., 2002. 175х.

²⁰ Баттулга С. Бадамдорж Д., Өөлд аман аялгууны ойллого. УБ., 2005. 238х.

Даваадорж²² зэрэг судлаачид хэдэн арван өгүүлэл, ганц сэдэвт зохиолууд бичжээ. 1925-1981 онд хэл аялгуу, аман билиг, угсаатны зүйн судалгаа хийсэн шинжилгээний ангиудын ажлын Үр дүнг илтгэсэн хэдэн зуун хуудас судалгааны ажлын тайланг бичүүлэн хадгалсан нь шинжилгээ судалгааны ач холбогдолтой үнэт хэрэглэгдэхүүн болно. Энэ хугацаанд ойрад аялгууны толь²³ ийг нэг ботиор хэвлэн гаргасан байна.

Э.Вандуй “Дөрвөд аман аялгууны зарим онцлогоос”/1962/, “Дөрвөд аман аялгуу”/1965/ бүтээлдээ, дөрвөд аман аялгуунд богино эгшиг 8 /а, е, і, о, у, ө, ү, ä/, жирийн урт эгшиг 9 /ā, ē, ī, ī, ō, ū, ō, ū, ā/, хосорхог урт эгшиг 11 бүгд 28 эгшиг авиа байна.

Дөрвөд аман аялгууны урт эгшигийг хоёр эгшигийн дундах гийгүүлэгч гээгдэх, өргөлтөт богино эгшиг урт болох замаар үүссэн гэж үзжээ. Энэ аман аялгуунд хосорхог урт эгшиг байна гэж тодорхойлсон байдаг.

Дөрвөд аман аялгуунд 30 гийгүүлэгч авиа байгаа бөгөөд уруулын хамжсан гийгүүлэгч б, ц, м хоёр уруулын шүргэх гийгүүлэгч ш, ф хэлний үзүүрийн хамжсан гийгүүлэгч д, т, ц, ч, з, ү, н хэлний хойгуурх хамжсан гийгүүлэгч г, г, к, к, х, н хэлний үзүүрийн шүргэх гийгүүлэгч с, ш, л, л, р, р хэлний дундуурх шүргэх гийгүүлэгч j хэлний хойгуурх шүргэх гийгүүлэгч х, г орос хэлнээс зээлдсэн үгэнд ордог ж, ф, ш хэмээн ялган тодорхойлсон байна.

Х.Лувсанбалдан торгууд аман аялгууг тусгайлан судлаад, үгийн тэргүүн үед 10 /а, ä, о, ө, ц, ү, е, ө, ү, і/ богино эгшиг, үгийн тэргүүн бус үед эр үгэнд в, эм үгэнд ә, ба dž, ng, к, š, w, ts гийгүүлэгчийн дараа і огцом эгшиг ордог хэмээн тодорхойлсон байна. Энэ аялгуунд 10 /ā, ā, ō, ō, ū, ū, ē, ō, ū, ī/ урт эгшгүүд үгэнд орно, харин хос эгшиг байхгүй хэмээн үзэж болно²⁴ гэжээ.

Торгууд аман аялгуунд уруулын р, в, т хэлний үзүүрийн t, d, ts, ts, dž, n, s, š, z, лг хэлний урдуурх у, хэлний хойгуурх к, г, г, х гийгүүлэгч байна гээд тус бүрийг тайлбарласан байна.

Баттулга С., Өөлдүүд, тэдний аман аялгууны тухай. “Өөлд түүх соёлын цуврал I”. Уб., 2009. 124х.

²¹ Цэндээ.Ю., Ойрад аман аялгууны хэлзүй, УБ., 2012.

²² Даваадорж.Б., Хэл аялгуу судлалын зарим асуудлууд, УБ., 2016.

Даваадорж.Б., Ойрад аялгууны богино эгшиг, авианы зохицол түүний онцлог. Баруун монголчуудын түүх зарим асуудал.УБ., 2007, 180–187.

Даваадорж, Ойрад аялгууны урт эгшиг. ХИС.НХУС-ийн эрдэм шинжилгээний бичиг. №2\14 \ УБ.2009., 23–30-р тал.

Даваадорж.Б., Ойрад аялгууны уламжлал хийгээд хувьсал. ХИС. ГХСС. Хэл, соёл, соёл хоорондын харилцаа. УБ., 2012, 38–42

²³ Цолоо Ж., БНМАУ дахь Монгол хэлний нутгийн аялгууны толь бичиг. Ойрад аялгуу. Боть II. Уб., 1988. 943х.

²⁴ Лувсанбалдан Х., Торгууд аман аялгууны онцлог. “Хэл зохиол судлал”. XI боть. 1–24 лэвтэр. Уб., 1975. х.51/.

Урт эгшгийн үүслийг “Эртний монгол хэлнээ байсан хоёр эгшгийн завсрын ү, гу, б сугаран гээгдсэний үндсэнд үүсчээ”²⁵ хэмээн үзсэн байдаг.

С.Баттулга, Д.Бадамдорж нар “Өөлд аялгууны ойллого” бүтээлдээ 7 / а, е, и, о, ө, у, ү / ерийн богино эгшиг, 4 /ā, ə, ǒ, u* / урагшилсан богино эгшиг, 4 богино бүгт эгшиг, 7 /ā, ē, ǒ, ī, ū, ǒ, ū / ерийн урт эгшиг, 4 урагшилсан урт эгшиг байна гэж энэ аман аялгууны эгшгийн бүрэлдэхүүнийг тодорхойлжээ.

Өөлд аман аялгуунд уруулын гийгүүлэгч b, w, m, p, f, хэлний гийгүүлэгч d, t, l, r, ts, ts, dz, dʒ, z, s, š, n, lh, хэлний дундуурх j гийгүүлэгч, хэлний хойгуурх гийгүүлэгч g, g, k, h, x, хэлний угийн ɟ зэрэг гийгүүлэгч авиаг өгүүлдэг гэж томъёолсон байна.

Энэ аялгуунд эр, эм үгнээ өгүүлэгддэг э урт эгшиг байна²⁶ хэмээн үзсэн байдаг. Өөлд аман аялгууны гийгүүлэгч авианы тагнайших эсэх талаар “L- ээс бусад гийгүүлэгч тагнайшаагүй”²⁷ гэж судлаач тодорхойлсон байгаа нь сонирхолтой байна.

Ж. Цолоо захчин аман аялгууг тусгайлан судлаад 17 /а, ā, ǒ, о, u, ū, ua, ǎ, ē, е, ǒ, ǒ, ū, ü, ǎ, ī, i / эгшиг авиалбар, 22 гийгүүлэгч авиалбар байна гээд эр үгэнд ā, ǎ эм үгэнд е, е хувилбар авиалбар өгүүлэгддэг хэмээн тодорхойлжээ.

Захчин аман аялгууны урт эгшгийн талаар “хоёр эгшгийн дундах гийгүүлэгч гээгдсэнээс орчин цагийн бичгийн хэлэнд зарим тохиолдолд урт эгшиг, зарим тохиолдолд хос эгшиг үүссэн бол захчины салбар аман аялгуунд дан урт эгшиг үүссэн”²⁸ гэж тэмдэглэсэн байна.

О. Самбуудорж Ойрад аман аялгууны авиалбарын тогтолцоог судлаад, ойрадын аялгуунд а, о, u, i ерийн чанга богино эгшиг фонем, ā, е, ǒ, ū, i ерийн сул богино эгшиг фонем, ǎ, ǎ огцом богино эгшиг фонем байна гэж үзээд “ойрад аялгуунуудын тэргүүн бус үеийн эгшигүүд нь хэт саармагшиж зөвхөн чанга, сулаараа эсрэгцэн үг, бүтээврийн утга ялгахад оролцох болсон тул чанга, сул хоёр фонемийг ā, ǎ гэж галиглах нь хэлний системийн үүднээс зөв гэж болох байна. Түүнчлэн тэргүүн бус үед урт ē фонем тохиолдохгүй, урт ā фонем тохиолдох учир, сул огцом фонемийг ē бус, ā фонем тохиолдоно гэж үзээд, ийн галиглаж, энэ зарчмыг баримталбал зүйтэй байна”²⁹ хэмээн тэмдэглэсэн байна.

Ойрад аялгууны урт эгшгийг ā, ǒ, ū, i ерийн чанга урт эгшиг, ā, ē, ī, ǒ, ū ерийн сул эгшиг фонем байна гэж тодорхойлжээ. О. Самбуудорж ойрад аялгуунд богино, урт эгшиг фонем байна хос эгшиг фонем байхгүй гэж

²⁵ Мөн тэнд.

²⁶ Баттулга С. Бадамдорж Д., Өөлд аман аялгууны ойллого. Уб., 2005. 238х.

²⁷ Баттулга С., Өөлдүүд, тэдний аман аялгууны тухай. “Өөлд түүх соёлын цуврал I”. Уб., 2009. х.77.

²⁸ Цолоо. Ж., Захчины аман аялгуу, УБ., 1965. х59.

²⁹ Самбуудорж. О., Ойрад аялгууны фонемын тогтолцоо, УБ., 2002, х66.

Үзсэний зэрэгцээ энэ аялгууны үгийн тэргүүн бус үед *ä, ä* огцом эгшиг фонем орно хэмээн тодорхойлсон нь ойрад аялгууны эгшигийн тогтолцоог нэлээд шинжлэн ажигласан өвөрмөц санал бөгөөд фонем учир хувилбарт байдлаар өгүүлэгддэг гэжээ.

Судлаач ойрад аялгууны гийгүүлэгч авиаг нягтлан шинжлээд энэ аялгуунд *p, b, m* уруулын гийгүүлэгч фонем, *t, d, ts, ts, dz, dž, l, n, ŋ, r, y, s, š, k, x, g* хэлний гийгүүлэгч фонем бий, тагнайшсан гийгүүлэгч фонем байхгүй хэмээн дүгнэсэн байна.

Судлаач Б.Даваадорж өөлд аман аялгууны “Чанга үгийн тэргүүн үеийн богино эгшиг нь *a, ä, o, ö, i, u, ü*, байваас тэргүүн бус үед *a* балархай богино эгшиг ямагт тохиолдоно.

Сул үгийн тэргүүн үед *e, i, ö, ü* байваас тэргүүн бус үед балархай богино эгшиг ямагт тохиолдож байна.

Үүнээс үзэхэд, Ойрад аялгууг судалсан эрдэмтэд тэргүүн бус үеийн балархай эгшигийн хэд хэдэн янзаар тэмдэглэсэн байна

Орчин үед мэдээлэл харилцааны технологи хурдацтай хөгжин, зам тээвэр, холбоо харилцаа сайжирснаар хөдөөгийн буйд малчны хотонд радио, телевиз, интернет ч саадгүй нэвтэрч байгаагаас тухайн нутгийн аялгуу нь халх аялгуундаа уусаж, нутгийн аялгуугаараа хэлэлцдэг өндөр настан хүмүүсийн тоо цөөрч байна. Хэл аялгуу, аман зохиолын хээрийн дадлагаар цуглуулсан эх хэрэглэгдэхүүн, 130 гаруй цагийн бичлэг бүхий хуурцагт материалыг угсаатан ястнаар, аман зохиолын төрөл зүйлээр нь ангилан CD болгон хэвлүүлэх, хүүхдэд зориулсан ном товхимол, нутгийн аялгуу судлал хичээлийн гарын авлага болгон гаргаснаар мэргэжлийн судлаачид, оюутан суралцгчдыг чадавхыг хөгжүүлэх төдийгүй телевизийн нэвтрүүлэг бэлтгэх, цахим блог гэх зэрэг ажлуудыг хийснээр ард түмэн олон нийтийг нутгийн аялгуу хэл соёлоороо бахархах, өвлүүлэх, хадгалах эрмэлзлийг хөхүүлэн дэмжиж Улмаар хилийн чанадад орших ойрад монголчуудын хэл аялгуу, үгийн сан, аман билэгтэй харьцуулсан судалгаа шинжилгээ хийхээр эрэлхийлж байна.

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Kalmyk *Ut Dun* Relicts Endured in XXI Century

Ghilyana Dordzhieva

The peculiarity of *ut dun* (long song) were mentioned in the earliest work on the Kalmyk ethnography. Before the era of the sound recording, musical notations could be made only by listening and memorizing the tunes. The musical scores of the 1880s – early 1900s were notated according to the aesthetics and tastes of the European musicians. In the essence, they were musical arrangements, designed to adjust steppe tunes to the norms of the European musical system. Besides, many of those notations were supposed to be a reference for the composer's creativity. For instance, famous Russian composer N. Rimsky-Korsakov in his letter to A. D. Rudnev thanked the addressee for the received samples of Kalmyk melodies and mentioned, that he was to use those melodies in his own compositions.

During the Soviet period, the music of *ut dun* remained out of researchers' sight. The long songs, connected with the traditional way of life, traditional women behavior, and family values, for a long time remained the sideline of Kalmyk studies.

In my paper, I would like to present very special forms of the long songs for the wedding ritual. They are *uul'ldg ut dun* - long songs urging a bride to cry at the time of farewell rituals. The modern approach to the structure of the ritual and the semantics of its components/ languages/codes opens up new possibilities for studying the musical content.

Two groups of traditional definitions for Kalmyk wedding reflect the dialogical structure of this ceremony. The groom's actions (*кҮН зep авчох*, i.e. the man gets a wife) can be juxtaposed with the epic plot of a hero seizing and capturing a wife. The bride's path to the unknown new family and locality (*хэрдэ базр мордүүлбн*, i.e.

sending a girl to another world), in this ritual context means the road to the other-world. In the traditional Kalmyk wedding, the long songs emphasize two main ritual lines: the group of songs accompanying the rites of mutual honoring bride and groom parties, and the special songs serving at the bride's farewell.

The main stages of bride transition include:

- the moment of marriage proposal (in Kalmyk traditional terms *һүрөн бөрмөх*, i.e. three vessels with the alcoholic milk drink), when the separation from peers begins;
- the time, approximately in a month and ten or three days before the main ceremony, when the girl visits her relatives/neighbors who perform crying songs for her;
- the night before departure of a bride, married women sing the crying long songs;
- the bride departure at dawn, bride mother lights a lamp, prays, gives her daughter a sacred white drink, then a special man from groom party touches the bride's right shoulder and the transition of a girl to a new family begins;
- bride's integration into a new family, silently sitting behind the bed curtains in the new house, worshipping to the new family's fireplace, changing her hair dress, her clothes, and name;
- in parallel, the bride's family accomplishes special rites after her departure, and those rites are the same as for deceased one.

The crying long songs accompanying the bride's farewell rite start with her last visits of relatives and culminate at dawn before her departure. Married women of bride side perform those songs while the bride is silent or crying. According to the interviews, in the old times, a bride could cry so deeply and fervently that she often lost consciousness and fainted. The typical expression about an old-day wedding was 'мордон күүкн – үккн күүн эдэл' (departing bride is as good as dead). Therefore, the greatest number of the *ut dun* is for the farewell. These 'crying' songs express the emotional state of a bride, and *ut dun* lyrics narrate what is happening: plaint on the early marriage, opposing good life with her family and hard life with a new one, kind mother and hostile mother-in-law and so forth. In addition, lyrics instruct a bride how to become prepared for her new duties, and how to behave in a new family.

In reference to the music, there were less tunes than verbal texts. It could be, that there was just one tune to sing with different texts. So, the musical component has the more generalized meaning. The tunes perform a very distinct role, highlighting the significance and weight of the ceremony, strengthening or revealing its meaning, and transpose the actions into special modus. Singing makes farewell

rites the peak of the wedding ceremony. The process of singing moves the ritual into the area of the emotional and psychological experience. In fact, this is the way to overcome and survive the grief of parting. This is the procedure, regulated by custom, for how to persist the life crisis. These tunes are a musical code of bride initiation.

In the following, I wish to present three examples of the *uul'ldg ut dun*. They were recorded from different groups – from Torgut, Khoshut, and Derbet in Kalmykia. The first two recorded songs had to be performed exactly at the moment of bride departure at dawn.

There are very special characteristics in the presented examples:

1. Short one-line composition:

The common form of Mongolian versification is a four-line stanza with alliteration. Whereas typical long songs are a musical composition correlated with four-lines or two-lines in poetical stanza, these crying songs have the very rare composition of one-line tunes. It means that musical form equals one poetical line. It is quite a rare compositional form.

2. Narrow scale or diapason of tunes.

3. Specifics of timbre:

The singers perform peculiar sort of ornamentation - short tones, auxiliary to the main tones. Those glottal/guttural overtones (marked in notation as grace notes) can be described as a short strike to the main tone. The interval between a basic tone and that additional guttural strike is unclear because of the different nature of the way to produce it.

I want to emphasize, that presented wedding songs with described aspects evince the very archaic features distinguishing Kalmyk *ut dun* and the long songs of Xinjiang and Western-Mongolian regions.

Example 1: Wedding song. Recorded from Bulghun Badleyeva, 1925, Torgud, (20/08/1997 in Yashkul', #DAT_303_40)

♩=86

1.Са-иг сээ - (э ————— ...э и-э) - х(э————— ...э и - э)н —

саа г р(ы) - л(ы) - э ————— ...э - и - э - йа - ней)

Сайг сээхн саарл
Сээр дээр өслэв,
Сээхн заңгта ээж
Өвр дээр өслэв.

I grew up on a croup
Of beautiful light-bay ambler
I grew up on the lap
Of my kindly natured mother.

Example 2: Wedding song. Recorded from Bulghn Ubushievna Daltaeva, 1925, Khoshout, Shard Arvn, (9/08/1998 in Khoshout, #307_11_14)

♩=86 - 102

4.Кү-шэд - (лө) ————— у-гад - нэ - - - - (ай)

морд - ла(й) —————

Өндр уулын белднь
Мөндр хурнь асхрна.
Өврлэд өсксн дүүнр
Күүшэд угаднь мордлав.

On the slopes of a high mountain
There is hail and rain.
My younger brothers, whom I carried
in my arms
They had not yet grown up when I was
married.

Example 3. Wedding song. Recorded from Bovush Pürbeyena Ambekova, 1930, Derbet. (Elista, 7/08/1997, #302_8_9)

♩=92 - 98

3. Уур-г(а)-р(ы)м-(ла - ой) _____ ө - ск(э)-с(э - и-э)н,
э - и-э - - - и-эй, ээж-(ла - о - у - ой) _____ мин(эй)

Утхн сүүлтэ улань
Удһн кемаж наадна.
Уургдарнь өсксн ээж минь
Улмаа холдан сангдна.

Red horse with a long tail,
Gnaws and plays with a bridle.
My mother, who nourished me with her colostrum,
The further away, the more she is in my mind.

The Importance of Folk Songs of the Western Mongolian Dsakhchins with Regard to the Preservation of Their Ethnic Identity

Duudaachi Sarina and Csaba Fabidi

1 Introduction

The purpose of this short essay is to present reasons why folk songs play an essential part in helping to maintain the identity of a nation or a smaller ethnic group such as the Dsakhchin.

In Mongolia, several ethnic groups are living together, making the culture of the country even more diverse. Similarly to the Dsakhchins, most of these groups live in the western part of the country, mainly in Bayan-Ölgiy, Uvs and Khovd *aimags*¹.

An ethnic group or a nation can be determined based on their common and identical history, material and spiritual culture such as dwelling, clothing, food, rituals, folklore, language, homeland, origin and first of all their own opinion. The opinion that claims their self-identification must be considered as one of the most important factors as this is the very foundation of the emic approach. Based on this, we will also treat the collected folk songs as Dsakhchin ones – even though they can be observed among other Mongolian ethnic groups too – because our Dsakhchin informants themselves considered these as Dsakhchin songs. In case of the Dsakhchins, they usually have not only one single identity but three as they

¹Administrative unit, Province.

belong to the Mongolians, the Oirats and the Dsakhchin ethnic group as well. The self-identification differs from the individual to the collective level. As individuals consider their language the most important common phenomenon, the same people think that their common culture can keep their community together and is thus the most important factor.²

The foundation of the material consists of several written sources and an interview with an old Dsakhchin folk song singer named Ch. Dügersüren (Č. Dügersüren, picture 1 at the end of the text) who also collected several folk songs as a result of his work and published a short collection in 1992.³ According to him, he was born in Altai *sum* in 1938 and worked as a notary after graduating from grammar school. Because of these facts we can consider him an educated person which might be a relevant information about the informant and his reliability.

As one step of the series of the field researches organised by the Inner Asian Department of the Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE) and its legal successor the Mongolian and Inner Asian Department,⁴ Csaba Fahidi conducted this interview in the Altai district (Khalkha *sum*)⁵, Khovd province to collect folklore and ethnographic data among the Dsakhchins with a special regard to their folk songs. The expedition in the summer of 2015 was possible thanks to the scholarship that was awarded by the then president of Mongolia, Tsakhiagiin Elbegdorj (Caxiagiin Elbegdorj) during his visit to Hungary in the autumn of 2014.

Sarina has done the main part of the research on the Mongolian oral and written text such as the comparative analysis of the songs performed orally and written by Ch. Dügersüren in his book. Her role was essential in order to understand the dialect and to find the relevant information in different publications, especially in case they were written in Uyghur-Mongolian script.

2 About the Dsakhchins and Their History

The Dsakhchin (Khalkha *jaxčïn*, Oir. *zaxčïn*, *ĵaxčïn*) nomadic pastoralist culture and lifestyle is similar to the way of life of other Mongolian ethnic groups, especially the material and non-material culture of the most populous Khalkha (Khalkha *xalx*) ethnic group; however, slight differences can occur. As a result of the significant Oirat (Mong. *oyırad*, Oir. *ōrd*) influence on the Dsakhchins during their history, the native tongue is also considered as an Oirat language even though the nowadays most commonly spoken Khalkha has considerably influenced it (Birtalan 2008: 27–28). An analysis of their origins needs to start with an analysis of the

² Birtalan 2012 p. 60.

³ Dügersüren 1992.

⁴ For more details about the spots of the expeditions, see: Birtalan 2012. p. 90.

⁵ Manchu time “administrative unit”, “arrow”, which replaced the otog (Mong. *otoγ*), recently a settlement surrounded with several yurts in a relatively great distance from the centre and each other. (Mong. *sumu*).

Oirats' history – in the historical sources they were referred to as Forest People (Mong. *boi-yin irgen*). According to the earliest, 13th century sources, their original homeland is situated west-southwest from the Lake Baikal, in the southern part of the forest region. Here, they probably pursued a hunting and gathering lifestyle rather than a nomadic lifestyle which makes them different from other Mongolian groups. During the same century, they left this region, moved to the south and switched over to a nomadic way of life in the steppes. Soon, in the 14th century, their political and military power reached a high level and by the second part of the century the Oirat advisors had more power than the Khalkha khans (Birtalan – Rákos 2002). Eventually, the Oirats reached the heyday around the 17th century when their Jungar Empire was established (Birtalan 2005: 210). The empire lasted until the 18th century when it was defeated by the emerging Manchu Qing dynasty (Kara 2005: 137).

It is a broadly accepted opinion that the name Dsakhchin consists of the word *jax* 'edge, border, margin' and its affix *-čîn* (*nomen actoris*) which creates a new word and refers to the occupation of the 'border guard'. In Altai *sum* another interview was conducted with the oldest person living in the settlement. Dondog owogtoi Ides was born there in 1921 and back in 2015 when she was interviewed, she had problems with hearing and recalling her memories. Eventually, her daughter interpreted her thoughts. Both she and Ch. Dügersüren – after talking about the border guarding task – mentioned another story about the origin of the name that seems to be later created folk etymology. According to this, Dsakhchins were named after the wood *jak* (Khalkha *jag*)⁶ they used to burn. Ch. Dügersüren referred to his nation as *'jaxč nutagtai Jaxčîn, jak tölötei Jaxčîn gedg nertei'*.

Probably, the Jungar Galdan Boshogtu Khan (Mong. Faldan Bošigtu, reigned 1670–1697) was the first ruler to make some of his subjects settle down with their families along the southeast border of the country, around the territory of Ereen Khawirga in the 1670s. During the first part of the 17th century, the Dsakhchins protected the border of the Jungar Empire where they lived along the northern side of the Tenger Mountain, Ereen Khawirga, Ikh Jultas, Baga Jultas, Bulingar, Bulgan, Chingel River, Orongo River, and the Chagaan Tokhoi.

At the end of the century, the Dsakhchins lived in one of the twenty independent *otogs*⁷ (Khalkha *otog*) of the empire. Because border protection was a priority task at that time, the Dsakhchin *otog* and its two thousand families were not subjects of a local *noyon* (Khalkha *noyon*)⁸ but under the direct authority of the emperor himself. Three *jaisans* (Khalkha *jaysan*, Oir. *zaisan*, Mong. *Jāyisang*)⁹, who were appointed by the khan, acted on his behalf. The *otog* was divided into fortieths with

⁶ Haloxylon ammodendron.

⁷ Old administrative unit, part of the aimag (Khalkha *ayimay*). During the Qing dynasty (1644–1911), Manchus replaced it by *sum* 'arrow' and *khosuu* 'banner'.

⁸ Lord, prince or general'.

⁹ Manchu time official rank.

forty people in each (district) where an *albaach* (Khalkha *albaāḡ*)¹⁰ took the leadership while the fortieth consisted of twentieths.

Besides the guarding task another form of taxation was paid by providing the local monasteries with livestock. Moreover, they had to serve in the army in case of war and could be sent to foreign countries as an envoy.

The collapse of the Jungar Empire was caused by the Manchu conquest in the middle of the 18th century. The Dsakhchins were the first to be affected by the conquest, especially those who lived alongside the Jungar – Khalkha border. Mamud *zaisan* was captured and had been forced to settle in the territory of Dsailing at the end of 1754. The next summer, Dondog and Manj were also caught and sent to live around the Ereen Khawirga alongside their subjects consisting of approximately 1500 families. Simultaneously, in 1755, the Dsakhchins were reorganised to a *kboshuu*¹¹ (Khalkha *xošū*) and nine *sums* were founded based on the sometime fortieths. Most of the border guards who had once served Dondog and Mamud joined the fights of the Amarsana¹² against the Manchus beginning at the 24th September in 1755 – later, they were pursued and destroyed for being part of the resistance (Baarbar 1991: 91.). After the bloodshed the few survivors were sent to the soldiers and their generals who were stationed in the Chinese Shanxi province as slaves. In 1756, about 2100 captured families from Galdan *otog* who were unable to hold on against the numerical superiority of the enemy were moved to Lake Khülen and Lake Buir where they were organised into *kboshuus* and *sums* while other families were sent to settle down in the territory of the Chakhar and Khar rivers. In the same year, Jamtsan (*Jamcan*) got the stamp as a sign of his power and rule over all the nine Dsakhchin *sums* which were recognised by this formal act.

By the end of the fights, most of the 2000 families of the Dsakhchin *otog* were massacred and the remaining ones were scattered to different places. The members of those 600 families who used to serve along the one-time Khalkha border and suffered the Manchu military strike were first relocated to the south-western part of Khowd under the rule of the Manchu governor in Uliastai from 1754. Those who were relocated to the southern part of Khowd became servants of the governor of Khowd from 1777 because of the shorter distance to their new homeland.

In the same year, Mamud's grandson Jamtsan died and was succeeded by his son Mendeshid (*Mendešid*) a year later as *gung*.¹³ Simultaneously, under his leadership the *Khondogo sum* (Khalkha *Xondogo sum*)¹⁴ consisting of thirty families of Mamud's servants was formed. After the Manchu expansion, considerable reshaping occurred in the administrative units which resulted in the formation of the new

¹⁰ Manchu time official rank.

¹¹ Manchu time administrative unit, banner, what replace the *otog*. It still exists in China.

¹² Amarsana (1722?–1757) was a general of Qing who first fought against Jungars then turned against the Qing dynasty.

¹³ Manchu time title, “duke”, “prince”.

¹⁴ Small, so called “half sum” that cannot enlist 150 soldiers.

kbondogo sum and *biigdiin dargiin kboshuu* (Khalkha *biigdin dargin xošū*). Later, in 1800, when the number of the subjects of the *gung* had reached more than 150 families an independent *sum* was created for them. It was relieved of the nationwide taxation with respect to the deeds of their one-time leaders Mamud and Jamtsan before the Manchu rule.¹⁵

In the same year, the governor of Khowd reported to the competent ministry that he had allocated a copper stamp to the Dsakhchin *biigdiin darga*¹⁶ and charged him with the leadership of the *kboshuu*. During this time, the Dsakhchin *gung* and *biigdiin darga* lived together with the other *sums*' heads who were their subject such as Dörböt, Uriankhai, Torgut and Myangat in Khowd where they studied the Manchu law, decision-making about the matters of the *kboshuu* and the completion of other state tasks. In this system, each minister stayed in Khowd for a six-month period where the Dsakhchin *gung* lived at the middle and the last months of the winter.

300 troopers, who were conscripted in 1755 to take part in the annexation of Jungaria on the Manchu side, were obliged to do additional services. These were for example the compulsory, however, unspecified number of annual horse deliveries for the military stud farm stationed in Uliastai, compulsory work on the fields of the military situated near Khowd and Öölöt, Myangat and Dsakhchin people had to serve as guards in order to protect Khowd city. In 1801, the Khalkha personnel of the eighty post riders' stations from Khowd city was replaced by eighty soldiers and their families who were also conscripted from among the above-mentioned ones. Although, officially every station had to receive eight *lan*¹⁷ silver support from Khowd annually to cover the travellers' catering, it was usually not enough. Because of this, the Dsakhchins needed to pay the additional expenses themselves and furthermore ensure the required horses and other tools.

When the Manchu Qing dynasty collapsed in 1911, Mongols took the advantage and proclaimed their independence. The two Dsakhchin *kboshuus* with their 4800 people population fell under the control of the Dörböt Ünen Dsorigt Khan's (Ünen Jorigt) country. The Mongolian government bestowed the *gung* title on the leader of the *biigdiin dargiin kboshuu* in 1912, which then became hereditary. At the same time, the head of the sometime *gungiin kboshuu* received the *bei*¹⁸ title. From this time, the northern Dsakhchin *kboshuu* was called Dsakhchin *secen güngiin kboshuu* (Khalkha *secen güngin xošū*) while the southern one was referred to as *beiliin kboshuu*. The *gungiin kboshuu* that had one single *sum* during the Manchu period is called Uiench (Khalkha *Üyenč*) *sum nowadays*, which, is found in Khowd province and the other so called *biigdiin dargiin kboshuu* once consisted four *sums* are the pre-

¹⁵ For more details about the activity of Mahmud and Jamtsan, see: Birtalan 1985: 177–203.

¹⁶ Leader of the Dsakhchin territories. Manchu time heritable rank means "leader of all". For more details, see: Birtalan 1985: 177–203.

¹⁷ Chinese measure of weight = 37,3 gram.

¹⁸ Official rank.

sent Mankhan (Khalkha *Manxan*), Zereg (Khalkha *Jereg*), Möst (Khalkha *Möst*) and Altai *sums* where the Dsakhchins live even today (Menes 1996: 334–338).

As for the recent condition of the Dsakhchin population: according to the data of the 2010 census their ethnic group makes a total of 1,2% of the entire population of Mongolia. The total number of the Dsakhchins as the 6th most numerous minority group in the country is 32,845 people. According to the official statistics, just as the entire Mongolian population this number is continuously growing¹⁹ which results in a positive age structure diagram. 51,2% of the Dsakhchins are under 24 years of age while the rate of people over 45 years is only 19,1%. Originally, this population lived only in their homeland in Khowd country, however, in 2010 no more than 60,3% was living there. Some 26,2% – in accordance with the national trend – have moved to the capital. Furthermore, significant groups live north and northwest from Ulaanbaatar in Selenge, Orkhon and Darkhan-Uul provinces close to the Russian border.²⁰ This data and the relatively high number of those who plan to go or have gone to the Republic of Korea to work – according to my own observations – clearly represents the Centre-Periphery Model which states that the population migrates from the less developed periphery towards the centres where they have better opportunities on the labour market and better living conditions due to the higher level of development.

We are aware of the existence of a relatively smaller Dsakhchin group living in Xinjiang, however, we currently have not enough information to write about them. We assume that they have a far stronger influence on their culture than others living in the territory of Mongolia. As their traditional culture might have suffered significant losses during the Chinese Cultural Revolution, it is urgent to conduct interviews with them as long as it is possible to talk with people who can still remember their life before 1966.²¹

3 The Dsakhchin Folk Songs

The Mongolian and Inner-Asian Department of the Eötvös Loránd University has an active role in the research of Mongolian, especially Dsakhchin folk songs (Khalkha *ardin dün*) for a long time now. Ágnes Birtalan dealt with a detailed analysis of parallel texts inter alia in her CSC – dissertation (Birtalan 1992). The popular and often published topic (in Mongolia) is closely connection to the Department since the visiting professor J. Tsooloo (Colō 1987) published an Oirat song collection at the end of the 1980s and an Oirat dialect dictionary (Colō 1988), which helped us a lot during the translation of the folk songs. His example was followed

¹⁹ The number of the Dsakhchin population was almost 8,000 in 1929; 10,800 in 1956; and 22,500 in 1989. For more details, see: Atwood 2004: 617.

²⁰ Xün am, oron sücni 2010 onī ulsīn tölloḡo: negdsen dün. “BCI” Xewlelin kompani, Ulānbātar xot, 2011: 51–63.

²¹ For more details, see: Hoppe 1995.

after the millennium by the one-time language lector of the ELTE B. Katuu (B. Katū) who wrote about the Dsakhchins' folk poetry (Katū and Pürewjaw 2004) and co-authored and published his own monograph about the Dörböt festive- and short folk songs a year later (Katū 2005).

As the folk song is the most popular genre in Mongolian lyric poetry it is not surprising at all that many of these songs are still performed frequently today and most of them have several, more or less different, variants. Basically, two types of folk songs are known: The most popular one is the long song (Khalkha *urtin dü*), which is presented in an elation, solemn style and whose topics usually revolve around the homeland, the parents, the lover or the Buddhist religion, which is the dominant one in Mongolia. The other, less popular type is the short song (Khalkha *bogino dü*) which has an emic or internally generated classification used by most scholars. Its diction is not as solemn as the previous one but rather happy and quick.²²

The folk songs are also classified based on their themes which was already mentioned in connection with the long songs. Apart from songs about the mother and the motherland, there are other popular topics such as farer relatives, local history and the livestock, especially the good horse. The typology can also be determined based on the point in time at which the songs can be played. Some have no limitations with regard to the point in time at which they can be played, however, others are only allowed to be played at the beginning or at the end of a certain celebration.

Most Mongolian people are very talented singers and they like to show this gift either every day or on the media. Mongolian folk songs and other ones similar to folk songs, that however have a certain author cannot be distinguished by most people. Due to the considerable popularity of both one can always hear these songs if one travels the boundless Mongolian steppes or just simply walks on the streets of a city.

A common characteristic feature of the Mongolian folk song is the traditional stanza, which usually contains four lines or rarely two lines. The rhyme is at the beginning of the line, furthermore, the affix can also rhyme. The changing external and internal image or the natural image used at the beginning of the song is paralleled with the mother or the lover in the song later. This is a good example for the parallel construction and the thought rhythm. The first line is usually the same as the title of the song, however, sometimes the first two lines can be the title.²³

Based on the topic of the stanza, songs are often divided into two or more sections. These sections can be found in several songs without any limitation. These two elements of the work could easily appear in other folk songs alongside different topics what means freely exchangeable patterns in the many variants. The pat-

²² For detailed analysis of the genre, see: Birtalan 1992.

²³ In detail of Birtalan 1992.

terns of the last one or two lines are similar and contain the refrain and can also be exchanged freely.

Reading the song in the original language it becomes clear that the rows have not same number of syllables that can be, however, exactly the same length when it is sung thanks to the singer who can lengthen the rows. The songs are often accompanied by a Mongolian horse head fiddle (Khalkha *morin xūr*) with two strings or in case of an Oirat song by *tovshuur* (Oir. *toṽšūr*) with three strings.²⁴ These string instruments are even mentioned in the songs themselves. Besides this, numerous other motifs are represented such as the continuously growing numbers of gems and gods. as hundred, thousand even until even ten thousand gems or gods. The translated works often consist not only of Khalkha and Dsakhchin phrases, affixes and dialectal words but so-called archaic elements, which are not used in the modern spoken or written languages any more.

4 Why is it Important to Analyse Folk Songs?

As folk songs and their wide range of varieties are extremely well-known among Mongols, it is also an extremely popular target for analysis among researchers. Several orientalists have collected and analysed plenty of folk songs, starting the list with Pozdnev (1880), Ramstedt and Halén (1974) and Vladimircov (1826). Although, the folk songs were analysed from several different points of view and the preservation of the cultural identity was hardly ever a topic. To our knowledge, no serious research has made its main focus on an analysis of the history, traditional culture, religion and beliefs of a certain Mongolian nation or ethnic group by looking at their songs. The songs can show a wide range of knowledge about the traditional culture, religious and secular life and the life of different social groups such as the elite and lay. With regard to this theory we have created six main groups, mainly based on the content (of the songs), to classify certain elements of the ethnic identity that can be potentially preserved in the songs. These groups are the following:

1. Genre

As we have mentioned above, the genre of the folk song is one of the most important parts of the Mongolian literature. This aspect of their culture plays a significant role in Mongols' life. It might be of greater importance than the similar folk songs of other nations where the genre is relatively unimportant. We believe that the Mongolian folk songs represent an important element of the Mongolian cultural heritage and as a result we must mention them as an independent group in this list.

²⁴ Khalkha, Buriat *dū*, Mong. *dayu*, Kalm. *dün*

2. Religion and beliefs

2.1 *Buddhism*

2.2 *Shamanism*

2.3 *Other beliefs*

3. Traditional culture

3.1 *Material culture*

- *Dwelling*
- *Tools of animal husbandry*
- *Food*
- *Clothing*
- *Other* (tools of warfare, hunting, gathering, sacred objects, etc.)

3.2 *Spiritual culture*

- 3.2.1 *Rite of passage*
- 3.2.2 *Literature* (aetiological myth²⁵, tales, riddles, folk songs, etc.)
- 3.2.3 *Celebrations and festivals* (different from the rite of passage)

4. Language

5. History

5.1 *Historical events*

5.2 *Historical persons*

We treat *history* as an independent group after long consideration whether it should be a subgroup of for instance the *Spiritual culture* similarly to the myths.

6. Other

Such as flora, fauna geography and geographic names that refer to the place and environment where a certain ethnic group lives.

In the above-mentioned groups and subgroups, we focused on the most important ones only and did not try to cover every single aspect of the content of the folk songs. Furthermore, we cannot quote examples for all of these. On the one hand, space in this book is limited and on the other hand, we would like to use the material that we have collected instead of using other sources. In some cases, we have

²⁵ Aitiological myths could be even considered as a subgroup of the beliefs.

no appropriate material to use, however, we are planning to collect more during our future field researches.

5 Religious Folk Songs

Religion – both Shamanism and Buddhism – can be observed in almost any aspect of the daily life of Mongols. Although, most of the monasteries and their sacred objects were destroyed during the long decades of Mongolian socialism and essential knowledge about the religious practice was forgotten during that time, people did not stop practising their religion and religious beliefs. In 1990, after the political changeover, religion regained its previous status and with the help of some early written sources and mainly the old lamas, who were once active in the monasteries before the purge in 1937, it was possible to revive religion again. This was possible because religion plays an important role in the daily life of the Mongol society. For the same reason religion appears in the folk songs and makes them a possible source of cultural heritage and a suitable target for scientific analysis.

Before the purge, Buddhism flourished and could traditionally coexist with Shamanism. Dsakhchins as other ethnic groups had their own monasteries²⁶ such as the Tögrögiin xüree (Tib. *Rashi jeg ling*²⁷) in Mankhan, Bodonchiin xüree (Tib. *Rashi gun jeg ling*²⁸) in Altai, and Üyenchin xüree (Tib. *Rashi gun jeg ling*²⁹) in Üyench (Birtalan 1985: 184–186). Beside those large monasteries, there were several smaller ones. However, they are not as well documented as these three ones.³⁰

The content of the religious folk songs can cover several aspects³¹ of it, however, we would like to mention only the ones related to a certain ethnic group such as their monasteries, local deities and gods, details about certain persons, local rituals and ceremonies. Right after the political changeover, Ágnes Birtalan, head of the Department of Mongolian and Inner Asian Studies at Eötvös Loránd University, took part in the Hungarian – Mongol Joint Expedition of 1991 in Mankhan *sum* and Khowd *aimag* where she collected some five Buddhist folk songs in Tögrögīn *dacan*. As we have collected similar songs in 2015, we are going to analyse the latter ones with help of an article written by Ágnes Birtalan³² based on her own materials.

²⁶ For a list and details on onetime monasteries, see: *Documentation on Mongolian Monasteries. A Survey of Mongolian monastery & Temple Sites*, conducted in 2007.

²⁷ Also referred as Tib. *Bkra-śis brcegs-glñ*.

²⁸ Also referred as Tib. *Bkra-śis dkon-brcegs-glñ*.

²⁹ Also referred as Tib. *Bkra-śis dkon-brcegs-glñ*.

³⁰ For more details about these three monasteries, see: Birtalan: *Geschichte der heiligen Götterbilder der drei Klöster unseres Jaqačın Volks*. 1985: 177–203.

³¹ For more details on the subdivisions of the genre typology, see Birtalan: “Mongol sámánszövegek műfaji kérdései”. 2002: 852–863.

³² BIRTALAN: Nyugat-mongol (dzahcsin) buddhista népdalok. 2008: 25–36.

Based on the emic Mongolian typology, these songs – due to their topic and the content – are performed solemnly, as long songs, usually at the beginning of different ceremonies or celebrations. Reliable information has not been found about any restrictions concerning the personality of the singer and to whom these songs may be sung to, however, a talented and experienced singer is required. Folk songs with Buddhist elements can also be observed with regard to the importance of religion in the Oirat statehood.

6 Expression of the Material and Spiritual Culture

After analysing the religion related folk songs we cannot skip talking about the spiritual culture and the material one as well. As they exist parallel and both represent the self-identification of a certain group of people, we discussed both aspects frequently. In case of the material culture we need to mention dwelling, clothing and the tools of animal husbandry, furthermore *naadam* festival, rite of passage and taboos in connection with the spiritual culture as the most important ones.

Several taboos and norms of behaviour are known and expressed even in the folk songs related to the most typical Mongolian phenomena such as the animals and the yurt, making a strong relation between material and spiritual culture (i.e. the yurt is a common and well-known object that is considered part of the material culture. In addition, there are several taboos related to the yurt that are considered being part of the spiritual culture). Even nowadays, when urbanization develops faster and faster and more and more traditions become abandoned, people still do not give up practising many old traditions. Among the related folk songs in our collection we can mainly find words related to the material culture such as felt parts of the yurt and other words related to animal husbandry. In connection with the spiritual culture *Naadam*, other rites are found.

If we would only analyse the folk songs without knowing anything else about the Mongols, we would still be able to get an idea of their lifestyle. Although, very often not a certain object or phenomenon is mentioned but the song just refers to them (the Mongols). The main characteristics of their way of life as it appears in the folk songs must be the following:

- Food (i.e. gathering, hunting, animal husbandry, land cultivation)
- Homeland (e.g. grassland)
- Dwelling (i.e. what kind of building they live in)
- Clothing
- World of beliefs (e.g. Shamanism, Buddhism)
- Celebrations and festivals (e.g. *naadam*, sacrifice, wedding)

This emic approach can show obvious things as listed above, however, if we think more we can easily find deeper meanings too. We could add some more points to the list (e.g. beloved parents, praising horses) which could result in the observation of a certain way of thinking. We can learn what the Mongols themselves consider important and worthy to sing about. Based on this, it is clear, for example, how much mothers, homeland, and good horses are important to them. Folk songs can also include a moral lesson such as respecting the traditional taboos which can be considered part of the spiritual culture.

Unfortunately, during our field work we have not found any specific song related to the traditional culture of the Dsakhchins solely but only the whole Mongolian nation regardless of certain ethnicities. Because of this, we are going to analyse only those folk songs we have collected; however, the depicted culture is not typical for Dsakhchins only. On this field further research is needed.

7 Distinctive Linguistic Elements in the Dsakhchin Folk Songs

Even though the Dsakhchin dialect belongs to the Oirat languages and shares most of its features with it, there is no consensus on whether Oirat is a language or a dialect. Attila Rákos quotes Vladimircov, Poppe and Birtalan in his work when he writes about this topic (Rákos 2012: 25–58). According to this article, B. J. Vladimircov (1929: 6–7) considers Dsakhchin as a – Khalkhaized – sub dialect of the Oirat dialect, while N. N. Poppe (1955: 18–19) refers to Oirat as a language and Dsakhchin as a dialect of it. This analysis has no reason to make a decision concerning this question, however, we felt it was necessary to provide brief information on these categories but we will refer to Dsakhchin as a dialect.

The Dsakhchin dialect is obviously under the Khalkha influence, however, even representatives of the dialect, who are familiar with its lexicon and pronunciation, do not use it but switched to the more widely spoken Khalkha language, regardless of their age and place of residence. Ágnes Birtalan observed this phenomenon during her field work in the Dsakhchin homeland in Khowd *aimag* and the Mongolian capital of Ulaanbaatar (Birtala 2012: 59-67).

Among several other manifestations that indicate an ethnic affiliation, language is one of the most common expressions of this. A language is not only used to exchange information but it is a unique way of thinking that even distinguishes its users from others. On the other hand, speaking is one of the most frequent conscious human activities that makes it ideal for filling different roles such as representing an ethnic identity.

Songs are perfectly suitable media to preserve and spread a language. Due to the melody, the usually relatively simple lyrics and refrain, people listen and memorise songs easily over the course of their entire life. As a result, they will be aware of the content (e.g. history, culture, etc.) and the form (e.g. language peculiarities,

lexicon, etc.) of these songs. The level of awareness might differ from individual to individual, from full awareness and understanding to the complete passive knowledge. To sum up, songs are potentially capable of preserving a language - to different extents.

Mongolia is a unique country, especially in comparison to other developing countries. In most cases, when a country starts to develop and acquires new technologies, the old technologies of the past and the traditional lifestyle vanish. Eventually, the words related to the old objects and the old phenomena will be also forgotten and new words for new things will be adopted which then results in a change in the lexicon. In Mongolia, however, people did not completely give up their traditional lifestyle and kept using plenty of words related to nomadic life regardless of recent developments. Surely, not all the (old) words are in use nowadays but the usage of a significant portion of it can still be observed. In addition, because the nomadic life is an essential part of the Mongolian national identity it is actively researched ensuring the survival of the lexicon.

In the songs not only a distinctive lexicon (i.e. words and phrases) but distinctive suffixes and different pronunciation used only in the certain dialect can be observed. Some examples for this – taken from the below analysed folk songs – are *ǰigē*, *vegē* ‘fermented mare’s milk’ (Khalkha *airag*), and *-xosʻ* ‘depriving suffix’ (Khalkha *-gui*, *-güi*).

Nevertheless, it is often very difficult to understand the lyrics of the Mongolian long songs. It could be an interesting linguistic research trying to find differences between the same songs written and sung by the same person. According to our theory, we might find words written in a rather Khalkhaized form while hear them sung in Dsakhchin dialect. Unfortunately, in case of our informant Ch. Dүgersүren, we could not hear the words well enough while he was singing and thus cannot either confirm nor confute our theory.

8 Examples for the Content Analysis

We would like to provide the content analysis of the below mentioned and translated folk song in order to show examples of our theory. We have chosen these particular songs because they consist of a wide range and relatively high number of words, phrases and topics related to the ethnic identity and cultural heritage. In most cases, the meaning is obvious, however, sometimes it is not clear how to interpret them (the songs) (e.g. *war* that is in the fifth stanza of the song ‘Narrow Gobi’s Chestnut’). We would like to mention all the elements of these songs that might be related to our research topic but we do not aim to write unquestionable statements.

In a few cases, we have observed spelling mistakes in the written source that might be either real mistakes or attributes of the dialect. Although we agree with

the first option, we have rather not corrected these in order to preserve the original written form.

8.1 Narrow Gobi's Russet³³

1st stanza: *Gobi* refers to the homeland. *Chestnut* is a color of the horse which is an interesting phenomenon of the pastoral culture. There are plenty of words in the Mongolian language to describe the exact colour, pattern, age and sex of the animals. This word obviously belongs to the above-mentioned language group and is also a part of the cultural heritage as it refers to the way of life and the values. *Xalix* 'to see, to look' (Khalkha *xarax*) is related to the local dialect. *Shunaa* is a hero whose origin is not clear. Although, it is not known if he was a real historical person, he often appears in the Oirat folk songs. *Maternal relatives* like other relatives but especially the parents are traditionally highly respected. This word can show what is considered important for the Mongolians. One of the most popular topics of the songs is the mother.

2nd stanza: *Three years old horse*, *Chestnut*, *Shunaa* see above. *Tümen* does not only mean ten thousand but also a military unit. The mathematical approach in Mongolia is based on the decimal system since the very beginning of the statehood. During the course of history all the great nations and empires needed to use mathematics. The Mongolian Empire is famous for its army and military success. Both requires good organization in the public administration and in the army, which often correlates with each other. While other languages often have no specific word for ten thousand, Mongolian has one as it also represents the biggest military unit consisting of ten thousand troops. To sum it up, *tümen* is a part of the history and the way of thinking as well.

3rd stanza: *Four years old horse*, *Chestnut*, *Shunaa*, *Tümen* see above. *Stirrup* is an important tool of animal husbandry and part of the material culture.

4th stanza: *Chestnut*, *Shunaa*, *Tümen* see above. *Scapula* is a special part of the body of the livestock, however, it is not obvious if it is really possible to interpret it as a sacred object in case of this song. If it is mentioned in the song with purpose, we must write about its role in magic, such as fortune telling (Birtalan 2006: 24). *Dacan* is a Buddhist monastery or monastery school. *Xuwilgaan* has more meaning in the Buddhist terminology, such as reincarnation or living buddha.

³³ Ch. Dүgersүren explains this song as one of the four songs belonging to dörbön öölöts. This song tells a domog: Shunaa the valiant loves his homeland, the leader-janj of the dörbön öölöts.

5th stanza: *Shunaa*, *Chestnut* see above. *War* might be a historical reference, however, in order to state that this word has a particular reason and role in this row we should know the circumstances of the creation of this section of the song. Perhaps it refers to the Manchu invasion in the Oirat territory but further research is needed.

6th stanza: *Shunaa*, *Chestnut* see above. *Knowledge* might be a Buddhist teaching, especially if we consider the Buddhist reference in the same place (i.e. third row) in the fourth stanza.

7th stanza: *Shunaa* see above. *Pipe* is a part of the material culture, even if not the most authentic (i.e. what is the snuff bottle) one. *Swan* can be an example for the local fauna and also occurs in the tales and aetiological myths (e.g. origin of the Buriats³⁴).

8th stanza: *Chestnut*, *Xumilgaan*, *Mother* see above. *Herd* refers to the animal husbandry and the way of life. *Erdene* is probably a reference to the Buddhist Three Gems or Three Jewels (Khalkha *Gurvan Erdene*, Sanskrit *Triratna*). *Homeland* is also an often mentioned topic of the folk songs and is considered an important thing in the life of Mongolian people.

8.2 Three Year Old Ambler Chestnut

1st stanza: *Three years old*, *Chestnut*, *Herd* see above. An *Ambler* horse is very valuable among the domesticated animals and represents the traditional way of life (e.g. nomadism, animal husbandry).

2nd stanza: *Milk*, and *Airag* (Oir. *čigē*, *cege*) should be analysed together as they both belong to the white foods (Khalkha *cayan idē*). Different dairy products are the most important foods during summer and many of them can be kept for a longer time. Although, people do not drink milk, the fermented mare's milk, the *airag* is very popular and sometimes the only consumed food. This row is a very good example of the traditional material culture in the daily life.

3rd stanza: *Milk*, *Airag* see above.

4th stanza: *Baitag* and the later *Bogd*, *Yargait*, and *Suhait* are geographical names. These mountains refer to the place of the homeland or other respected places. Several sacred mountains have the name *Bogd* what makes the identification of these places more difficult. To learn of the exact locations of these mountains further research is required.

³⁴TOKAREV 1988. p. 481.

5th stanza: *Bogd* see above.

6th stanza: *Yargait* see above.

7th stanza: *Subait* see above.

8th stanza: *Yurt* is only used for measurement in this case but is still important as people usually use well known things to compare its size with something else. Even if we did not know what yurt is, we were able to assume that it is something important and a wide spread phenomenon among Mongols. *Gegeen Bogd* and his *order* is a part of the history of Mongolia. In this song it does not only refer to a period of time and a political system but even shows the positive attitude towards it.

9th stanza: *Bogd* see above. *Cow* as an important domesticated animal and part of the traditional culture has a similar role like the yurt in the previous stanza (i.e. measurement).

10th stanza: *Sheep* see above (i.e. *Yurt, Cow*). *Bogd* has the modifier *Shepherd* which is a good example for the lifestyle and the way of thinking. In a deeper research it would be possible to analyse why the *Bogd* is referred to as a Shepherd but now we would like to provide a shorter analysis only.

Narrow Gobi's Chestnut

Narrow Gobi's chestnut
Looks this way, runs gracefully.
In his young age Shunaa hero
Strives to escape to his maternal relatives.

Three years old chestnut horse
Long mane hits his thigh.
Bent graceful little Shunaa
Won over three tūmens.

Four years old chestnut horse
Long mane hits his stirrup.
Curved little Shunaa
Won over four tumens.

Swaying chestnut
Long mane hits his scapula.
Shunaa has dacan's immortal deity
Won over seven tumens.

Huge hill with no passage
Shunaa's chestnut horse passed.
Great cruel war
Shunaa won alone.

Bush with no entry
Shunaa's chestnut horse entered.
Great knowledge, difficult to study
Shunaa studied alone.

His pipe's neck like swan
His smoke is blue.
Leading soldiers Shunaa
Why he got tired by his soldiers?

Fluctuating chestnut horse
Why he goes far from the herd?
Shunaa has reincarnation of Erdeni
Returned his mother's homeland.

Narīn Gowīn jērd

Narīn Gowīn jērd
Nāšā xaliagād cerwene.
Nas ni бага Šunā ni
Nagac narā temcēd urwaw.

Gunan jērd morin
Guyaan coxison šanxagtai.
Guljinxai bijgen Šunāg
Guraw tūmērē yadaw.

Dönön jērd morin
Dörögō coxison šanxagtai.
Döljinxō bijgen Šunāg
Dörwön tūmērē yadaw.

Dalbaljsan jērd ni
Dalān coxison šanxagtai.
Dacangīn xuwilgātai Šunāg
Dolon tūmērē yadaw.

Dawšgūi ix dawāgār
Šunān jērd dawlā.
Daragdašgūi ix dainīg
Šunā gancārā daraw.

Šurgašgūi ix šurguigār
Šunāg jērd šurgaw.
Suršgūi ix erdmīg
Šunā gancārā suraw.

Cenen xūjūn ganstai
Cel xōxw tamxītai.
Cergīg axalsan Šunā
Cergēsē yuund uidaw?

Erweljsen jērd mori ni
Ijlēsē yuundā xoldow.
Erdenīn xuwilgātai Šunā ni
E jīnxē nutag rū orgow.

Three Years Old Ambler Chestnut

The three years old ambler chestnut is
 Unique in the herd.
 Smallest among others is
 Unique among the crowd.
 Milk used for making *airag*
 As too fermented not possible to drink.
 Many joints
 Too shaky to sit.
 Pure milk for making *airag*
 Is not possible to drink always.
 Shaking the shoulder and sholulderblade
 It is not possible to sit.
 Sometimes watches a bit
 Baitag's plateau can not be seen.
 When asked the two who were there
 They say that they are in peace.
 Sometimes stands and watches a bit
 Bogd's plateau can not be seen.
 When asked the standing two
 They say that they are safe.
 Sometimes goes and watches a bit
 Yargait's plateau can not be seen.
 When asked the walking two
 They say that they are peace.
 Sometimes sits and watches a bit
 Suhait's plateau can not be seen.
 When asked the sitting two
 They say that they are safe.
 Stone of a yurt size
 Getting upright.
 Gegeen Bogd's order
 We wish will return.
 Cow sized rock
 Getting upright.
 Real bogd's order
 We wish will return.
 Sheep sized rock
 Getting flat.
 Shepherds' Bogd's order
 We wish will return

Ürēn saiwar jērd

Ürēn saiwar jērd
 Ijil dundā šinjtei.
 Üyeen bijgen ter ni
 Olon dundā ončtoi.
 Üsen sāmāl čigē ni
 Isēd ūj bolxoš.
 Üye gišū xoyor ni
 Čičrēd sūj bolxoš.
 Dan sāmāl čigē
 Dandād ūj bolxoš.
 Dal ēm xoyor ni
 Dagjad sūj bolxoš.
 Baigād baigād xaliaxad
 Baitagīn šil l dald.
 Baisan xoyorōs asūxad
 Baigā mend l gelcene.
 Bosōd bosōd xaliaxad
 Bogdōn šil l dald.
 Bosson xoyorōs asūxad
 Bosō mend l gelcene.
 Yawā yawā xaliaxad
 Yargaitīn šil l dald.
 Yawsan xoyorōs asūxad
 Yawād mend l gelcene.
 Sūgād sūgād xaliaxad
 Suxaitīn šil l dald.
 Sūsan xoyorōs asūxad
 Sūgā mend l gelcene.
 Gerīn činēn čulū ni
 Gedes gedeg bolō ni.
 Gegēn Bogdīn jarligīg
 Xarina gedeg bolōsoi.
 Üxrīn činēn čulū ni
 Üxes gedeg bolō ni.
 Ünen bogdīn jarligīg
 Xarina gedeg bolōsoi.
 Xonin činēn čulū ni
 Xotos gedeg bolōsoi.
 Xoničīn Bogdīn jarligīg
 Xarina gedeg bolōsoi



Picture 1: Dsakhchin folk song singer, Č. Dügersüren, in traditional clothes – Altai district, Khovd province, August 2015. (Own photo.)

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The Development of Kalmyk Language in Clear Script as Seen in Documents from the 18th Century

Darina B. Gedeeva

Abstract

The article deals with names of clothes and food products that are found in the language of the 18th century Kalmyk archival documents. The aim of the research is to analyze the vocabulary that represent the material culture of Kalmyks of the 18th century. The article gives a detailed analysis about names of clothing and food.

The material of the study was the monuments of Kalmyk business writing that are kept in National Kalmyk Archive of the Republic of Kalmykia. These are official letters, reports, judicial oaths, registers, free letters, travel letters and other documents written in a vertical Kalmyk letter named “Todo Bichig” which used by Kalmyks living on Volga from 1640 to 1924.

These groups of words provide interesting ethnographic information about the rich tradition of Eastern clothes and the aesthetic tastes of the Kalmyk nobility. The described food product names indicate the diet of Kalmyk khans and princes.

The lexicon of material culture revealed from the monuments demonstrates the richness and diversity of the lexical fund of the Kalmyk language and contributes to the reconstruction of the picture of its historical development.

1 Лексика материальной культуры в калмыцких деловых документах XVIII в

В Национальном Архиве Республики Калмыкия хранится большое количество деловых документов XVIII в., свидетельствующих о военной, политической, законодательной, культурной и хозяйственной деятельности калмыцкого народа. Документы написаны национальным вертикальным письмом, которое в настоящее время не функционирует. По это й причине эти памятники деловой письменности считаются уникальной редкостью, в которой отражен важный период истории калмыцкой письменности.

Вместе с тем сохранившиеся документы (доношения, рапорты, реестры, прошения, изъезды, письма, судебные присяги и т.д.) отражают живой язык калмыков того времени и поэтому являются важным источником для исследования, в частности лексики языка.

В этой связи нами была сделана попытка рассмотреть лексику материальной культуры в языке архивных документов.

Изучая письма калмыцких князей, адресованные астраханской администрации, мы обнаружили реестры предметов, представленные в разное время нойонами Еремпелем, Бамбаром и Шеаренгом для разрешения спорных вопросов об имуществе. В них указаны предметы домашней утвари, постельные принадлежности, одежда, украшения, военное оружие, конское снаряжение и т.д.

В данной статье мы решили рассмотреть лексику, относящуюся к женской и мужской одежде, которую носили калмыки, находясь на территории России.

Следует сказать, что для полного понимания старой лексики облегчает тот факт, что каждый документ имеет перевод на русский язык, выполненный русскими переводчиками того времени. Многие названия предметов материальной культуры калмыков в настоящее время забыты и не зафиксированы в имеющихся словарях.

В письмах-реестрах упоминаются российские и заморские ткани из которых шилась одежда калмыцкой знати: *luudang* 'китайский шелк', *bijirad* 'дороги, старинная шелковая полосатая ткань', *torgon* 'шелк', *šurkira* 'тафта, тонкая глянцевиная шелковая или хлопчатобумажная ткань полотняного переплетения', *magniq* 'штоф, тяжелая шелковая ткань', *xažalbaš* 'изабарф, персидская ткань', *sengeten* 'сукно', *xutana* 'кутня, полушелковая ткань', *bös* 'бязь, хлопчатобумажная плотная ткань полотняного переплетения, бумажный холст', *xanabad* 'коноват'.

Упоминаются виды зимней верхней одежды. Один из них – *debel* 'шуба': *caya:n xurixxa debel* 'белая мерлушковая шуба', *xara xurixxa debel* 'черная шуба', *saqsaq debel* 'длинношерстная шуба из шкуры ягненка'. *nekei debel* 'тулуп'.

Шуба, покрытая тканью называлась *üč: čino dotortoi üč: debel* 'шуба с подкладом из волчьей шкуры', *nige torjon yadartai xara keremen üč: 'шуба из черных белок, покрытая шелковой материей', kökö keremen üč: 'шуба из голубой белки'.*

Слово *debel* встречается также и в значении 'платье': *torjon debel* 'шелковое платье', *cengmen debel* 'суконное платье'. Иногда это слово встречается в реестрах в паре со словом *cegedeq: buta namčitai debel cegedeq* 'парчевое женское платье', *kleu ere:tei mangnuq debel cegedeq* 'штофное пестрое верхнее платье (букв. с изображением дракона)', *altan nabčitai xazalbaş debel cegedeq* 'изарбафное верхнее платье с золотыми травами', *londang debel cegedeq* 'луданное верхнее платье', *utasun nabčitai zandan öngtöi xazalbaş debel cegedeq* 'платье, вышитое изарбафное с травами' (букв. 'персидское платье сандалового цвета с цветами, вышитыми нитями').

Еще одно название верхней одежды встречается в описях. Это слово *cubu*, которое в документах переводится как 'шуба', но в словарях отмечено как 'парадное платье с воротником и оплечьями: епанча, шинель' [Голстунский, 1893-1895]. Эта верхняя одежда имеет меховой подклад, покрыта тканью: *kirsa dotortoi noyo:n torjon cubu* 'шуба корсачья, покрытая зеленой шелковой материей', *keremen dotortoi cengmen cuba* 'шуба беличья, покрытая сукном', *iinegen dotortoi torjon cuba* 'шуба лисья, покрытая шелковой материей'.

Название *bešimed* здесь указывается как зимний, подбитый мехом, так и летний наряд: *noyo:n buširad yadartai ula:n keremen dotortoi bešimed* 'бешмет красный беличий, покрыт дорогами', *kirsa-yin iyike dotortoi noyo:n torjon bešimed* 'хребтовый корсачий бешмет, покрытый зеленой шелковой материей', *šine šurkaira: bešimed* 'новый шелковый бешмет'.

Название *terliq*, как известно из словарей и этнографической литературы, означает платье, отрезное в талии, с лифом и широким подолом. В текстах упоминаются зимний и летний варианты: *ula:n loudang yadartai ula:n kermen dotortai maqnuq čimke:ritei terliq* 'женское платье терлик из красной белки, покрытое красным луданом, с краями обшитыми разными шелками', *ula:n luudang yadartai terliq* 'платье терлиг, покрытое красным луданом'.

В гардеробе каждой женщины имелось платье *berze* - халат прямого покроя, которое одевалось поверх платья терлика. В реестрах называются *šurkala: torjon berze* 'платье берз тафтяное' и *bäs berze* 'платье берз бурметное, бязево'.

Как мужчины, так и женщины носили *labšiq*, разновидность халата с широкими рукавами, который женщины одевали поверх терлика и цегдыка, а мужчины поверх бешмета. В документах встречается *zandan önggötöi buširad labašiq* 'лавшиг, покрытый дорогами, вишневого цвета'.

Таким образом, выявленный в деловых документах лексика одежды дает интересный этнографический материал, свидетельствующий о богатой культурной традиции и об эстетических вкусах калмыцкой знати.

Следующая тематическая группа лексики, которую мы рассматриваем в данной статье, относится к продуктам питания.

Материалом послужили письма начала XVIII столетия, периода правления Аюки хана, наиболее авторитетного и независимого правителя Калмыцкого ханства. Адресантами писем являются сам хан, его сын Чагдоржаб и калмыцкие князья. Адресатом обычно является в рассматриваемых документах астраханская администрация. Известно, что хан и калмыцкие князья по государеву указу за военную службу получали ежегодное жалование [Тепкеев, 2010]. Судя по калмыцким письмам, жалование часто задерживалось и вынуждало калмыцких князей писать письма и напоминать о нем астраханскую администрацию. В таких письмах указываются продукты питания и необходимые припасы для военных нужд: *caya:n xani xayirlaqsan yulir xoyor jil ögüqsen ügei bişuuta odo: baslıdu ögüqtün* ‘Вы два года не выдавали муки из государева жалования, не так ли? Сейчас выдайте Василию’ (Аюка хан), *jil bolyon ögüdeq dari xorqolji mönggün arki ide:n caya:n şoroı kükür tömör xabur ögüye geqci şoun şıdbür ideyite:n küce:ji öqtün* ‘пришлите все сполна выделяемое ежегодно: порох, свинец, деньги, водку, селитру, серу, железо, и обещанное еще весной сто четвертей продуктов’ (Аюка хан).

В письмах называются продукты, не производимые калмыками, которые можно купить только у земледельцев, в частности у русских. В первую очередь, это пшеничная мука хорошего качества *sayın caya:n yulir* ‘хорошая белая мука’ для изготовления мучных блюд: ... *urda ögüqsen caya:n yulirtanı dayındu oroji odbo .. odo: xoyor şıdbür şine sayın caya:n yulir ögüqtün ...* ‘...пшеничная мука, выданная Вами прежде, попала к неприятелю. Сейчас пришлите две четверти хорошей пшеничной (белой) муки...’ (Аюка хан).

В письмах также просят прислать готовые хлебо-булочные изделия из белой пшеничной муки, которые пеклись в то время, как свидетельствуют документы, в большом ассортименте в Астрахани: *ödmög* ‘хлеб’, *suxayiri* ‘сухари’, *toyoş* ‘калач’: *suxayiri caya:n ödmög ali yeke bolxo:rni ögüqtün* ‘пришлите сухари и белый хлеб побольше’ (Аюка хан), *mini idedeq ödmög sayıtur bolyoji öq .. yeke caya:n ödmög öq ..* ‘хорошо испеки хлеб, который всегда я ем, и дай большой пшеничный хлеб’ (Аюка хан), ... *caya:n ödmög toyoş elci:r mini öqci ilge* ‘через моего посыльного передай белый хлеб и калачи’ (Аюка хан).

Из круп запрашивались рис *tuturya* и пшено *sög: gertemini giyiçi irebe caya:n xani şangya:sa xoyor bud tuturya ötör öqci ilge* ‘ко мне в дом приехали гости. Из государева жалования ... срочно пришли два пуда риса’ (Чагдоржаб), *ene iyiledü mini caya:n yulir söq . şarma yeke kereqtei .. tabun şıdbur caya:n yulir . tabun şıdbur söq .. tabun şıdbur şarma . ögüyite ..* ‘на это мое дело очень нужны пшеничная мука, пшено, зерно. Пришлите пять четверти пшеничной муки, пять четверти пшена, пять четверти зерна’ (Дасанг).

К праздничному столу часто в письмах хан и его сын Чагдоржаб просили привезти фрукты и орехи, в частности *şabdäl* ‘персик’, *yangyaq* ‘орех’, *üzüm*

‘изюм’, *aliman* ‘яблоко’: *šabdäl yangyaq üzüm aliman ... ötör öqçi ilge ...* ‘... срочно пришли персики, орехи, изюм, яблоки’ (Чагдоржаб).

Из овощей часто упоминаются *yü* ‘дыня’, *tarbus* ‘арбуз’: *nada ongyoco:r yui tarbus alima ali yeke bolxo:rmî öqçi ilgeqtün* . ‘отправьте мне лодкой как можно больше дынь, арбузов, яблок ...’ (Чагдоржаб).

Капуста свежая *xabusta* и квашеная *dabusulaqsan xabusutu* ‘засоленная капуста’ и *kerçiqsen xabusta* ‘нарезанная капуста’ также заказывались калмыками: *xorin xabusta xoyor bud tömör ... ötör öqçi ilge* ‘двадцать [кочанов] капусты, два пуда железа срочно пришли’ (Чагдоржаб).

Достоинны внимания оригинальные названия сахара: кусковой сахар назывался *mösün šikir* ‘сахар-лед’, сахарный песок – *casun šikir* □□ ‘сахар-снег’: *nige bud mösün šikir* . *nige bud casun šikir ötör öqçi ilge* ‘срочно пришли пуд сахара-льда и пуд сахара-снега’ (Чагдоржаб).

В письмах часто просят передать разные виды спиртных напитков: *arki* ‘водку’, *em arki* ‘лекарственную водку (спирт?)’, *çayar* □□ ‘виноградное вино’, *nemeş çayar* ‘немецкое вино’, *bodki* ‘водку’. Судя по содержанию писем, слова *bodki* и *arki* имеют одно значение: ... *sayin bodki sayin çayar ögüyita .. xa:ni örgö: tala odunai bi ...* ‘дайте хорошую водку, хорошее виноградное вино, собираюсь идти в ставку хана’ (Джал), ... *araki çayar ali oldoxo:r ni ögüqtün ...* ‘дайте водку или вино, что найдется’ (Дорж), *gertemini geyiçi irebe çaya:n xani şangya:sa nige beder bodki tabun beder porostoi arban beder çayar . ötör öqçi ilge* ‘ко мне в дом приехали гости. Из государева жалования пришли одно ведро водки, пять ведер простой [водки], десять ведер виноградного вина ...’ (Чагдоржаб), *mandu geyiçi irenei .. geyiçiyimani ta sonosuqsan beyiçe .. mandu deme:n em araki . nemeş çayar . arban beder araki . arban beder çayar . nige bud tuturya öqçi ilgeqtün..* ‘к нам приезжают гости. Вы, наверное, слышали об этом. Пришлите свою помощь в виде лекарственной водки, немецкого вина, десяти ведер араки, десять ведер виноградного вина, один пуд риса’ (Джал).

Слово *beder* ‘ведро’ заимствовано, так же как и слова *bodki* ‘водка’ и *porostoi* ‘простой’ из русского языка. Упоминается также другой сосуд для спиртного – *köküür* ‘кожаная бутылка; бурдюк’: *tani ilgeqsan elçi youmai . tani büirin acarafi öqbö ... nige köküür araki .. nige köküür em araki çarim bud tamaki ..* ‘отправленный Вами посыльный доставил все посланное Вами полностью: один бурдюк араки, один бурдюк лекарственной араки, полпуда табака’ (Люка хан).

Приведенные выше названия продуктов питания, не охватывают весь список продуктов, закупаемые калмыками в Астрахани, поскольку нами рассмотрена лишь малая часть эпистолярных текстов.

Таким образом, в заключение можно сделать вывод о несомненной ценности калмыцких деловых документов XVIII в., как уникального лингвистического материала, так и важнейшего источника для изучения этнокультурной истории калмыков.

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Khoton Kalmaks of Ysyk-Köl

Dávid Somfai Kara

1 Introduction

This paper is the result of three short field trips to the Khoton or Sart-Kalmaks of the Ysyk-Köl Region (Kyrgyzstan). The first took place in June, 1999 during my two-month fieldwork in Kyrgyzstan collecting folklore and folk music. In 2004 and 2006, I especially visited the Khotons to learn more about their ethnic identity and acculturation.

Khotons mainly live in the village of Chelpek just 5 km from the City of Karakol.¹ It is populated mostly by Kalmaks who used to speak a Western Mongol dialect. Local Kyrgyz people call them just Kalmak but they are most likely Khotons who accepted Islam in their former homeland in East Turkestan (Xinjiang, China).² This area is mostly populated by Uighurs and Dungans (Huizu or Muslim Chinese) in villages but there are also nomadic Oirats in the mountains of Tianshan. When in the 19th century the Dungan uprisings against the Manchu rule were suppressed³, most of the Khotons (Muslim Oirats) also fled to the Russian Empire in the 1880s along with the Dungans and Uighurs. They crossed the Tianshan by the 4284-meter-high Bedel Pass via Ak-Suu and Üch-Turpan to reach

¹ Karakol, Center of the Ysyk-köl Province, formerly Przhevalsk, named after Nikolaj Przewalski (1839–1889) a Polish explorer of the Russian Empire. In 1992 it returned to its Kyrgyz name after the local river Karakol (Mong. Qara-Γool „Black River”).

² They probably lived in the northern part of the Tarim Basin, near the Bayraş Lake (Uighur Qara-şähär) and the Uighur city of Korla. See Zhukovskaia 1985: 94.

³ Wen Jiang Chu 1966.

the Ysyk-Köl area inhabited by the Kyrgyz Bugu clan. This territory became a Russian colony in the 1870s,⁴ so here they were safe from the revenge of the Manchu troops, who killed millions of Muslims during the uprisings. These refugee groups settled down around Kara-Kol River where they found suitable lands for irrigation. In 1869, the Russians founded the city of Kara-Kol here, which later became the center of the local Russian administration. The Khotons founded villages on the two sides of the town, Kara-Kol in Chelpek and Börü-Bashy, but we only visited the village of Chelpek.

Chelpek is inhabited by about 3000 people. Its population is mostly Kalmak but there are a lot of Kyrgyz wives from nearby villages married to Kalmak men.⁵ The majority of the villagers work as farmers on the irrigated lands, just as they used to do in Xinjiang. Some of them attend cattle and sheep and even yaks, which were introduced by the Russians from the Pamir Mountains during Soviet times. Yak-breeding Kalmaks live far away from the village in the Alpine pastures of Sary-Jaz, Syrt-Jailoo but most of the Kalmaks live in the villages. The cattle of the village is lead by some shepherds to the nearby pastures and returned every day to their owners for milking. Nomadic life disappeared among them.

2 About the Name Sart and Khoton

The local Kyrgyz do not call these people Sart-Kalmak but just Kalmak, so in my paper I will call them the Kalmaks of Ysyk-Köl or Khotons. The Turkic word *sart* originates from Sanskrit *sārtha* which means „merchant”. The nomads generally called *sart* all the sedentary Turkic and Iranian (Uzbek, Uighur and Tajik) groups of Turkestan who were predominantly Muslim. On the other hand, Khoton (Mong. *qotong*) simply means Muslim but in the Mongolian Republic it is a name for an Oirat-speaking group in the Altai Mountains (Uws aimag, Tarialang sum).⁶ It is most likely that the Khotons of Mongolia are related to the Khotons of Kyrgyzstan but that their ethnic identity developed in different directions since their separation after the Manchu conquest of East Turkestan (Xinjiang).

In China, Mongols use *qotong* as the name of the Huiizu (Muslim Chinese) minority. Interestingly, Yugurs⁷ of Gansu call all Muslim groups of the Yellow River

⁴ Brentjes 1974: 145.

⁵ Kalmak women sometimes marry Kyrgyz men from other villages in which case they move to their husbands' households leaving the Kalmak communities.

⁶ The number of Khotons in Mongolia (Uws, Tarialang Sum) is around 10,000. They migrated there together with the Dörbet from Jungaria after they surrendered to the Manchus in the 1750s.

⁷ Yugurs are a small ethnic group in Gansu, Northern China. They are composed of the Turkic Kara-Yugurs and the Mongolic Shira-Yugurs or Ynggars. The Kara-Yugurs are related to Old Uighur people while Shira-Yugurs are a White Mongol (Tuzu or Khor) tribe of Tibet.

Band (including Huizu, Dongxiang and Bonan/Bao'an) Sart while Sarta/Santa is a name used as an autonym by the Dongxiang (Mongolic Muslim group in Gansu).⁸

3 The Term Kalmak

In Turkestan the term Kalmak was a designation for those nomadic tribes who were not converted to Islam (Arabic *kāfir* meaning „infidel or non-Muslim”). The Oirat clans of the Zöün-Γar (Dzungaria) and the Torgūd, Dörwöd clans who migrated to the Ijil⁹ were also called Kalmaks in Central Asia. The word *kal-mak/qalmaq* comes from Turkic¹⁰ and its Mongolic form is *qalimay* adding an extra *i* after the *l*.¹¹ Its modern pronunciation is *xal'mäg* and the Kalmaks of Ysyk-köl also pronounce it that way. Oirat living in the territory of the former Soviet Union (Kalmykia, Kyrgyzstan) use *xal'mäg* as an autonym (self-designation) but the Oirat of Mongolia and Xinjiang prefer to be called Western Mongol or Oirat (*öörd*) and consider *xal'mäg* derogatory.¹² So the term Sart can be identified as being the Mongolic equivalent of Qotong, thus meaning “Muslim” while Kalmak means “Pagan”. In that case we can declare that Sart-Kalmak is a misnomer probably introduced to ethnography by scholars who studied them. The two words mean just the opposite, thus making it impossible for the members of the Khotons to identify themselves with this name.

4 About the Fieldwork

One of the male relatives of my Kyrgyz friend in Kara-Kol married from the Kalmaks so their clan became an in-law clan (*quda*)¹³ with that clan of the Kalmaks. We visited the father-in-law of that Kyrgyz boy who himself was only half Kalmak. His father married a Kazan Tatar lady on his way back from the front of World War II. Kalmaks long had been bilingual (Turkic and Mongolic) and for the Tatar wife learning Kyrgyz was very easy. Kyrgyz became the common language in their family, so their children could hardly speak Kalmak. In general, the majority of the Kalmaks in Chelpek use Kyrgyz for communication and only very old people prefer Kalmak when they talk to each other. People over 60 understand Kalmak well

⁸ See Christopher Atwood (2004): *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire*: „Khotong was originally the Mongol designation for Muslim oases dwellers and in Inner Mongolia designates the Hui or Chinese-speaking Muslims”.

⁹ Ijil is the Mongolic name for the Volga River while its Turkic name is Edil.

¹⁰ The word *kal-mak* comes from the *kal-* „to stay” root and it marks people who remained non-Muslim or infidel (*kāfir*). Shi'a Muslims (Qizil-bash) are also called *kalmak* sometimes.

¹¹ Compare Turkic *alma* with Mong. *alima*.

¹² According to my own fieldwork material collected in Boro-tala (Xinjiang, China).

¹³ The Kyrgyz *quda* is a Mongolic element which illustrates the mixing of Turkic and Mongolic clans very well. In-law clan members related to each other through the marriage of two person from two different clans. See Abramzon 1971: 56.

but use Kyrgyz with their children. People over 80 are good speakers but very few of them are still alive.

The Kalmaks of Chelpek have great respect for Russian Academician Aleksei Vasilievich Burdukov¹⁴ who visited the village and took pictures of the local Kalmaks.¹⁵ After his death some copies of his pictures were sent to Chelpek by her daughter on the request of a local historian. On one of the pictures there are movements from an Oirat dance (*bi*). On another picture the father of that man – who preserved his instrument – can be seen playing his *dombār*. The Kalmaks of Chelpek are proud of their ancestors and they feel sorry that their language is disappearing. One of them conducts research on the history of the Kalmaks and another publishes a newspaper of Chelpek in Kyrgyz language. An old Kalmak who spoke the language fluently started to compile a Kalmak-Kyrgyz dictionary in their local dialect.

5 Ethnic Identity and Linguistic Assimilation

Following our host's advice, we visited the shepherd next door Gokā who apparently was the best speaker among the younger generation (around 60). Gokā received us with hospitality and he not only spoke fluently in Kalmak but he could sing folk songs too. He told us that his father was a strict man and did not allow them to speak Kyrgyz at home. Other youth in the village started to speak Kyrgyz within their family even in childhood and they learned in Kyrgyz at school too.¹⁶

The assimilation process had probably happened during Gokā's childhood in the 1950s. It seems that the Kalmaks of Ysyk-Köl are irreversibly on the way to language extinction. The acceptance of Islam and their isolation from other Oirat groups lead to their assimilation (acculturation) losing not only their language but other ethnic peculiarities like folk dance and dresses. Older generations used to dance Oirat dances (*bi* or *bilelyen*) accompanied by a double-stringed instrument called *dombār*. A middle-aged teacher of Chelpek preserved his father's old *dombār* instrument and was able to play some simple tunes on it.

¹⁴ See Burdukov 1935: 47–78. and Burdukov 1987. Aleksei Vasilievich Burdukov (1883-1943) was a Russian philologist of Mongolic studies. He was born in the town of Borovaja (Tjumen' Region) into a peasant family. Later he worked in Biisk (Altai Region, Russia) then in Khowd Region (Mongolia) as a shop-keeper. He spent 19 years in Khowd and mastered the local Oirat dialect.

¹⁵ Russian Altaic philologist Tenishev also visited the Sart-Kalmak and wrote an article about their language, see Tenishev 1976.

¹⁶ The same kind of language assimilation can be observed among the Turkic Toha of Khöwsgöl. Children under 20 years of age cannot speak Toha due to the influence of education in Khalkha-Mongol. Their older family members accepted that and started to speak with them in the local Darkhat-Mongol dialect. The Toha is a reindeer-keeping Tuva or Uriankhai group who pronounce their *tina* ethnonym as *toba*.

In the 1980s, Kalmaks from Elst (Republic of Kalmykia)¹⁷ also visited them and examined their dialect. They even sent some teachers from Elst to teach Kalmak to the children at the local school. The problem was, that the dialect of Elst taught at school was very different from the local dialect, so when children tried to speak Kalmak, elderly people of the village did not really approve it. After the collapse of the Soviet Union the teaching of the Kalmak language had stopped. Khoton-Kalmaks did not really mind because there was a conflict between the Buddhist (Kirghiz *kaapyyr*) Kalmak teachers and the local Muslim community. This religious difference really separates them from the rest of the Oirat-Kalmak communities in the World (Russia, China and Mongolia).

Some of the local youth went to Elst to learn Kalmak and to become teachers but none of them returned to the village. People in the village believe that in Kyrgyzstan local authorities do not support the Kalmak minority due to the hostilities between the Kalmak and Kyrgyz in the 17th and 18th centuries although some of the Kalmaks believe that they are a *burut* (the Kalmak name for Kyrgyz) clan who were assimilated by the Oirats during the era of Zöün-Āar Empire. Most of the Kyrgyz epics mention the Kalmaks as their enemies although some of those epics (e.g. *Manas*) are related to the Manchu invasion of East Turkestan, the common enemy of the Kalmak and Kyrgyz tribes.¹⁸

Although linguistically related to the other Oirat-Mongol groups the Khotons do not identify with them ethnically. Their Muslim identity is considered the stronger part when defining their ethnicity. Denying the Kalmak identity is also encouraged by the Kyrgyz oral tradition considering Kalmaks as pagans and general enemy of the Kyrgyz people. Oral knowledge among the Khotons suggests that they are Kyrgyz clans captured by the Jungar-Mongols during their invasions in the 17th and 18th centuries. Later they married Kalmak (Oirat) women and were assimilated linguistically but kept their Muslim faith and thus their ethnic identity. Actually, this oral tradition is supported by the Kyrgyz epic *Manas* where several *burut* (Kyrgyz or Muslim) clans were kept in captivity before *Manas* rescued them. *Manas* himself grew up in Kalmak captivity in the Altai Mountains. Some of the Khoton clans have Turkic names (Kypčak and Kara-baatyr) which supports their Turkic origin.

¹⁷ The Russian name of the Kalmak town Elst is Elista and it originates from Mong. *elesütü* „sandy”. It is the capital of the Kalmak Republic (Xal’mg Tangyč).

¹⁸ On this topic see Somfai Kara, Dávid: Kalmak – The Enemy in the Kazak and Kyrgyz Epic Songs. *Acta Orientalia ASH* 63 2010, pp. 167–178.

6 Religious and Ethnic Identity

In the case of the Khotons of Ysyk-köl ethnic religious identity (being Muslim) is the major driving force in the development of their modern ethnic identity and ethnicity. We see the same kind of situation among other Turkic and Mongolic groups of the region. The Altay-kizhi and Telengit groups of the Altay Mountains speak a language very similar to Kyrgyz but they identified themselves with the Oirat-Mongols who were culturally closer to them. Kazaks still call this Turkic group Kalmak while they autonym was officially Oirot prior to 1948 (now it is Altay similar to the name of the Mountain). In China we also find a small Turkic group in the Dörböljin district (Tacheng/Tarbagatai Prefecture, Xinjiang) who are Kalmak (Pagan) but were officially registered as Kyrgyz, a predominantly Muslim minority. Quite a few members of the younger generation among the so-called Kalmak-Kyrgyz now accept Islam as a means to harmonize their religious identity with their ethnic identity.

The same process can be observed among the Khotons of Khovd Province whose Muslim identity is giving way to a stronger Mongol ethnic identity forced by the majority of the Khalkha-Mongols who are predominantly followers of Tibetan Buddhism. So, these ethnic boundaries and identities are dynamically changing and influenced by different political and ideological convictions. Scholars should use them with great care, adjusting them to the current situation of their research.

7 Common Memory and Ethnicity

The “common memory” of a people and their ethnic identity or ethnicity are different things but they always influence each other. In the case of the Khotons of Kyrgyzstan ethnic identity is very complex as we have seen, and is influenced by modern nationalism (Manas epic and his war with the pagan Kalmaks) as well as religious movements. In Soviet times, Khotons, being linguistically related to Oirat, were considered officially Kalmak (Russian Kalmyk) who were a registered minority of Russia living west of Volga River (Kalmykia). Religious and nationalist aspects were never taken into consideration. To some extent, Khotons of Kyrgyzstan accepted the official version of their origin being the result of migration of an Oirat clan from East Turkestan (Dzungaria). Many generations from Soviet times started to change the common memory of the Khotons towards accepting an ethnic identity closer to Kalmaks than the Turkic Kyrgyz. But as the power of influences switched back to Muslim and Kyrgyz, their common memory (being one Kyrgyz clan who became Oirat-speaking) got more and more acceptance among younger generations.

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Oral tradition of Russian Kalmyks, Oirats of Western Mongolia and China: Reality and Predictions¹

Evdokiya Khabunova

1 Устная традиция российских калмыков, ойратов Западной Монголии и Китая: реальность и прогнозы

Устная традиция базируется на передаче информации, любых «культурно и социально значимых сообщений», передаваемой от поколения к поколению по памяти и в устной форме, что способствует коллективности и вариативности фольклорных творений. Степень сохранности устной традиции можно определить в момент её реализации в её живом бытовании. При этом важно:

- чтобы в этой ситуации наблюдения велись специалистом, например фольклористом, знакомым с данной традицией, владеющим языком носителя фиксируемой устной традиции в том объеме, чтобы записать информацию в полном объеме;
- чтобы воспроизведение образцов устной традиции происходило в условиях, комфортных (привычных) для исполнителя;

¹ Original Title: “Устная традиция российских калмыков, ойратов Западной Монголии и Китая: реальность и прогнозы”.

- чтобы текстовое воплощение полевого материала при расшифровке было адекватно оригиналу (передано максимально точно);

- чтобы исполнитель показал преемственность, которая предполагает зависимость фольклорного творчества от предшествующей традиции и обеспечивает освоение опыта предшествующего поколения сказителей, знатоков фольклора в рамках сложившихся правил и запретов.

С учетом этих правил преподавателями, аспирантами и студентами Калмыцкого государственного университета для сбора фольклорно-этнографического, лингвистического материала калмыков и ойратов Зарубежья была проведена серия экспедиций во всех районах Республики Калмыкия (2012-2017), в Западной Монголии (2007, 2011, 2013), наблюдения велись также среди ойратов Китая (2004, 2010, 2014), запись у отдельных информантов из числа ойратов Китая осуществлялась также в Республике Калмыкия. Полевые исследования проводились при финансовой поддержке гранта РГНФ, внутривузовского гранта Калмыцкого государственного университета.

Собранный материал в данный момент находится на стадии систематизации и анализа, но первичные результаты дают возможность представить общую картину современного состояния устного народного творчества калмыков и их сородичей за рубежом.

Экспедиционные наблюдения и материалы свидетельствуют о наличии знатоков устного народного творчества в регионах обследования. Вне зависимости от их репертуара и исполнительской практики, они большинством современных слушателей воспринимаются как традиционные джангарчи, туульчи (сказители), дуучи (певцы), йорялчи (знаток благопожеланий и ритуалов), несмотря на то, что процесс усвоения ими фольклорного произведения отличается от традиционной формы – устной передачи знаний от учителя-сказителя, певца, йорялчи – ученику.

2 Жанровый состав

Наличие образцов фольклора («Джангар», «Жангар», «Дайни Кюрэл», Бум Эрдени» и др., сказок, легенд, преданий, песен, магталов и т.д.) в экспедиционной коллекции подтверждает, что фольклор не забыт в регионах компактного проживания калмыков и ойратов Западной Монголии и СУАР Китая, и достаточно разнообразен по своему жанровому составу.

Собранный полевой материал неоднороден по своему качеству (исполнения, вербализации) тем не менее, мы попытались, используя таблицу, обозначить некоторые важные показатели. В таблице [1] знаками

(+) и (-) указывается наличие или отсутствие в экспедиционной коллекции материала, характеризующего факт существования фольклорного жанра, а знаком (?) то, что в настоящее время у нас нет достаточной информации об этом. Курсивом выделены жанры, активно исполняемые на территории всех рассматриваемых регионов при различных обстоятельствах: на фестивалях, конкурсах, концертах, свадьбах, народных празднествах и торжественных церемониях, по просьбе специалистов и других лиц.

Таблица 1

№	Состав фольклорных жанров/ Төрл зүй	Республика Калмыкия/ Хальмг Таңһч	Западная Монголия/ Барун Монһл	СУАР Китая/ Шинжэн
1.	<i>Героический эпос Баатрралг дуулавр/тууль «Жанһр»</i>	+	+	+
2.	Миф Домг Үлгүр	?	+	?
3.	<i>Легенда Домг</i>	+	+	+
4.	<i>Предание Тууһц</i>	+	+	+
5.	Устная история Амн түүк	+	+	?
6.	<i>Сказка Тууль/Үлгүр</i>	+	+	+
7.	Небылицы Худл	+	?	+
8.	Анекдот Шог келвр	+	?	?
9.	<i>Песня Дун</i>	+	+	+
10.	<i>Благопожелания Йөрәл</i>	+	+	+

11.	Восхваление Магтал	+	+	+
12.	Рассказывание по кости Яс кемәлһн, Далын шинж	+	+	+
13.	Пословицы, поговорки Үлгүр, цецн үг?	+	+	+
14.	Детский фольклор Бичкәудин амн зокъял	?	+	+
15.	Примета, сновидения Йор, зүүдн	+	+	+
16.	Воскурения Саң,	-	?	?
17.	Заклинания Тәрнь	-	+	?
18.	Проклятья Харал	?	?	?
19.	Заговор Домнлһн	-	+	?
20.	Предсказания Әәлтхл	+	?	?
21.	Голосовое сообщение через глобальную сеть	+	?	?

Таким образом, к числу жанров, незабытых и бытующих или воспроизводимых при случае (фестивалях, конкурсах, концертах, свадьбах, народных празднествах и торжественных церемониях, по просьбе специалистов и других лиц) во всех обследованных нами регионах относятся: эпос, легенды, предания, сказки, песни, благопожелания, пословицы и

поговорки. Замечу, что эти сведения основываются только на наших экспедиционных материалах.

3 Традиция и трансформация

Понятие «традиция» предполагает, прежде всего, преемственность, которая обеспечивает зависимость фольклорных новообразований от предшествующего творческого процесса. Освоение профессионального опыта предшествующего поколения сказителей, певцов и его устная передача новому поколению исполнителей фольклорного произведения в рамках сложившихся правил и благоприятных условий (языковой, социально-экономической, культурной), гарантирует дальнейшее развитие традиции.

Согласно традиции, передача эпических знаний и навыков, манер исполнения, приемов освоения поэтических текстов и их закономерностей должна происходить непосредственно от сказителя-учителя – его преемнику через многократное воспроизведение эпического нарратива, путем посвящения в секреты творческой лаборатории, демонстрации исполнительского мастерства. Соблюдение канонов, усвоение эпических компетенций, формульно-мотивного фонда и репертуара сказителя – мастера обеспечивало ученику признание, эпосу – право на жизнь.

Жизнедеятельность эпической традиции может быть продлена, если существует и опосредствованная связь, когда исполнительское мастерство формируется под воздействием школы сказителя-предшественника уже после его смерти. При отсутствии традиционных сказителей (усвоивших эпос в устной передаче), мы попытались обеспечить опосредствованную связь с ними, используя имеющиеся записи (фонограф 1908 г, магнитофон 1980-1990, видеокамера 2007–2017). Для этого провели обучающие семинары с современными исполнителями калмыцкого героического эпоса «Джангар», поскольку процесс овладения сказительским искусством может быть успешным при условии прямого следования традиции, внимательного изучения профессионального опыта предшествующих слагателей эпоса.

Исследования А. Лорда и его учителя М. Пэрри в области теории сложения и бытования эпического текста, в которой особое внимание уделяется процессу обучения певца и разграничению трех стадий процесса становления сказителя, подтолкнули нас к попытке использования данного опыта. По Лорду суть первой стадии заключается в том, что начинающий певец просто слушает, знакомится с героями, начинает узнавать поэтические темы, впитывать ритм пения и в некоторой степени также ритм выражения мыслей в песне (Лорд: 1994, с. 24–42).

В нашем случае поэтапное «вхождение в эпос» через «слушание», «знакомство», «узнавание», «усвоение» эпической традиции вылилось в

другой формат в силу ряда обстоятельств, прежде всего, ввиду отсутствия живой устной эпической традиции, в его классической форме. Поэтому, несмотря на присутствие на семинаре 50-70 летних исполнителей, в репертуаре которых от трех и более эпических песен «Джангара», «слушание» было сосредоточено на многократное воспроизведение непродолжительных записей, осуществленных в прошлом столетии у народных *джангарчи* (ЭэлянОвла – 1908 г., ШавалинДава – 1940 г., АдучинЦерн–1990 г.).

Слушателям семинара было предложено соотнести записанные в прошлом столетии на различные аудиосредства у традиционных сказителей эпические фрагменты с его книжной версией, заученной наизусть современными исполнителями эпоса. Затем свой, механически заученный текст, слушатели семинара должны были адаптировать к сказительскому оригиналу. Такое слушание ускорило не только процесс конструирования эпической строки, но и усвоения техники традиционной исполнительской манеры. Следует отметить, что узнавание эпических героев, сюжетов и тем в процессе слушания оригинального источника (записанные на фонограф у ЭэлянОвла, ШавалинДава) происходило не сразу. Слушателям семинара пришлось по-новому «знакомиться» с богатырями эпоса, с картинами эпического мира.

Несмотря на все усилия специалистов-фольклористов и самих исполнителей в последние годы стало заметно, что фольклорные жанры не выдерживают конкуренции с современными формами массовой культуры, тиражируемых главным образом посредством средств массовых коммуникаций. Попадая в орбиту современной поп-культуры, подчиняясь ее законам и требованиям моды, фольклорные произведения, в некоторых случаях подвергаются губительной стилизации, иногда трансформируются в новые модификации. В этой ситуации истинные мастера народного искусства, носители традиционной культуры иногда бывают вынуждены снизить планку исполнительского мастерства, подчиниться диктату регламента популярных культурно-развлекательных программ и тем самым они невольно включаются в процесс превращения фольклорного произведения в коммерческий продукт. Такого рода минимизация не способствует развитию устной традиции. К примеру, сказительство уже не приравнивается к священнодействию, поэтому стало возможным нарушение и такого незыблемого правила, как недопустимость импровизации и неточное воспроизведение эпического текста сказителя-учителя. Народные протяжные песни «ут дун», благопожелания (йорялы) часто исполняются вне обрядового действия, поэтому их ритуальный подтекст остается непонятным современному слушателю.

Обратимся к материалу, который дает общее представление о состоянии эпической традиции калмыков и ойратов Западной Монголии и СУАР Китая. Наблюдения, сделанные в процессе фиксации эпического произведения на протяжении десяти лет (2007 -2017) отражены в таблице [2].

Таблица 2

	Основные параметры определения состояния эпической традиции	Республика Калмыкия	Западная Монголия	СУАР Китая
1	Язык усвоения, запоминания и воспроизведения;	+ калмыцкий	+ ойратский/ халхасский	+ ойратский
2	Язык коммуникации информанта и собирателя	+ калмыцкий/ русский	+ ойратский	+ ойратский
3	Преемственность (следование определенной сказительской школе),	+ Э. Овла; Ш. Дава	+ М. Парчин	+ Рампил, Пюрэвжав, Жууна
4	Форма и способы усвоения и передачи эпических знаний и сказительского мастерства	- Книжная/эл электронная	+ устная/кни жная	+ устная/книж ная
5	Система обучения (механизм усвоения, запоминания и воспроизведения);	самостоятель но/ в рамках программы образователь ного учреждения/ с помощью джангарчи, туульчи	с помощью туульчи	в рамках программы образователь ного учреждения/ с помощью джангарчи, туульчи

6	Репертуар (учителя-ученика)	Отдельные главы из репертуара сказителя-предшественника	Отдельные главы из репертуара сказителя-предшественника	Отдельные главы из репертуара сказителя-предшественника
7	Сохранность эпического текста сказителя предшественника (разновременные записи)	+	+	-
8	Изменения, происходящие в эпическом произведении в процессе трансформации (система персонажей, композиция, событийность, формульность и т.д.)	- Каноническая	- Продуктивная	+ модифицированная
9	Среда обитания, образ жизни, социальный статус сказителя/исполнителя	современная (дом, квартира, оседлый образ жизни, образован, работает)	традиционная (юрта, кочевой/оседлый образ жизни, образован, работает)	традиционная (юрта, кочевой/оседлый образ жизни, образован, работает)
10	Профессиональный статус сказителя	джангарчи/исполнитель	туульчи	туульчи
11	Сфера исполнения эпоса	собственное жилище, образовательные, научные и культурные	собственное жилище, образовательные, научные и культурные	собственное жилище, образовательные, научные и культурные

		учреждения, места массового скопления людей (фестивали, конкурсы, концерты), телевидение, радио, свадьбы, юбилеи	учреждения, места массового скопления людей (наадам, фестивали, конкурсы, концерты), телевидение	учреждения, места массового скопления людей (фестивали, конкурсы, концерты) телевидение
12	Подготовленная аудитория (адекватно воспринимающая эпический материал) и т.д.	+	+	+

Обобщая вышеперечисленные данные можно констатировать, эпическая традиция российских калмыков, ойратов Западной Монголии и СУАР Китая все ещё обладает определенным запасом жизненных сил, трансформируясь и приспособляясь к новым условиям, она с трудом удерживает свою нишу в современном культурном пространстве. Будучи обновленной, адаптированной к современной массовой культуре и духовным запросам нового поколения слушателей, фольклор все ещё занимает заметное место в жизни российских калмыков, ойратов Западной Монголии и Китая. Но сам «продукт» самодеятельного творчества современных исполнителей эпоса, народных песен, благопожеланий требует серьезного научного анализа, новых подходов решения проблемы сохранения фольклорного наследия.

Чтобы увидеть степень сохранности или разрушения фольклорного (эпического) текста нами проведен сравнительный анализ разновременных записей: более ранних - опубликованных и ещё неопубликованных, записанных в последнее десятилетие в у калмыцких джангарчи и туульчи – ойратов западной Монголии и СУАР Китая.

Нандышев Д., Республика Калмыкия. П.Кетченеры. Время воспроизведенного и приведенного в таблице фрагмента текста: 00:01:40-00:03:10. Таблица [3] Калмыцкий героический эпос «Джангар».

«Глава о том, как смуглолицый Санал Строгий по велению августейшего государя Джангара совершил поход, сокрушил могучую мангусовскую страну кюдэр Зарин Заан Тайджи хана и подчинил вере Джангара»

Таблица 3: «Буурл һалзн мортэ Бульнгрин ковүн Догшин Хар Санлын бөлг».

Ээлян Овла 1908 (записано Н.Очировым)	Нандышев Дорж, записано Хабуновой Е.Э. в 2015 г.
Хэре һазьртг һарад <i>одхъла</i> , Ардъм кэлдег Ахь дүүһинин оңһа уга <i>льм!</i> Хэре һазрт хатрад <i>йовхъла</i> , Халун хээсен хоть өгдөг Эгчи дүүһин оңһа уга <i>льм</i> Нандь орхъни чиген үлү Арслъң чипрег бөөнэ <i>льм</i> Эднэсе зархънтън! – гижи уулин Алтън ширәһәсни әдис авън кэлле	Хээр һазьртг һарад <i>йовхъла</i> , Ардъм кэлдег Аха дүүһинин оңһа уга <i>льм ла</i> Хээр һазрт ла хатрад <i>йовхъла</i> , Халун хээсен хоть өгдөг Эгчи дүүһин оңһа уга <i>льм ла</i> Нандэ <i>йорхъни</i> чиген үлү Арслъң чипрег бөөнэ <i>льм ла</i> Эднэсе <i>на зархитэнэ!</i> – гижи уулин Алтън ширәһәсни әдис авън кэлле
[Хальмг баатһаг дууавр «Жаңһр». 1978. II боть. 72х.]	

В приведенных фрагментах текстов почти нет разночтений. Такая картина наблюдается по всему эпическому нарративу, записанному у Нандышева Д.Б., 1957 г.р. и она свидетельствует с одной стороны – о хорошей сохранности текста, отличной памяти исполнителя, с другой - об угасании живой (устной) традиции. Исполнитель воспроизводит заученный наизусть канонизированный текст джангарчи Ээлян Овла.

Нимән Анхбайр (Западная Монголия, Нарн Булг), 2007 г. Время воспроизведенного и приведенного в таблице фрагмента текста: 00:02:23-00:03:27.

Таблица 4: Монгольский эпос «Жангар»; «Глава об Урьдын Улаанхонгор»; «Урьдын Улаанхонгорын бүлэг»

Чогсомын Баглай, дөрвд (Увс аймаг, Улаангом) 1940	Нимән Анхбайр, записано А.Алимой, Е.Хабуновой в августе 2007 г.
Уулын чинээ улаан хээр морьтой Урьдын Улаанхонгор баатар	Уулын чингэ улан кеер мөртэ Урдын Улаанхонгор <i>бэдэжл</i>

Тодорсон гэнэ билээ Гунатай гурван байр эвдсэн Гурван ноёны тугийг өмнөө хатхасан Дөнөтэй дөрвөн багана эвдээд Дорвөн ноёны тугийг өмнөө хатхасан Долоотойдоо долон байр эвдээд Долон ноёны тугийг өмнөө хатхасан Торгүй ханы хөвүн болох Догшин цолыг олсон Долдой хурэл баатар Дунд уулын чинээ Довхон толгойтой Хүрэн зээрд морьтой Тэр баатрин нутаг руу Урьдын Улаанхонгор зориод мордов Тэрээ тэсэн гүйлгээд Түүний хойтон жилийн Улаан наран тустал гүйлгээд Төрөөгүй хөвүүнийг төртөл гүйлгээд Төрсний сүүлд Төр шажнаа мандтал гүйлгээд Гараагүй хөвүүнийг гартал гүйлгээд Гарсан хөвүүнийг Газар усаа таньтал гүйлгээд Сүүд сайг улан хонгор морины Сүүлийг нь дуустал гүйлгээд Сүв (?) сайтай Урьдын Улаанхонгор [Жангарын туульс. Улаанбаатар. 1968. 110 х.]	<i>Неге сэдэхи баатр гиж Тохри гарси гидг билэ оэй оэй Гунутад гурвн бээр эвдж Гурван ноёны тугийг өмнөн хатхасан Дөнөтэд дөрвөн бээр эвдж Дөрвөн ноёны тугийг өмнөн хатхасан Долотад долон бээр эвдж Долон ноёны тутэ өмнөн хатхж Догшин ? цолыг олсон Довхон толгойтой Күрэнг зээрд мөртө Түргн хаани көвүн Долдой хурэл баатар гиж Тэр баатрин нутзуур Урдын Улаанхонгор зөрд мордов гинэ Тэрэл жшилднь тэсэн гүүгэд Түүнэ хөөти жшилднь Улаан наран гартл гүүгэд баатл Төрсн хөвүүн Төр шажнан таньтл гүүгэд баатл Көвүн гарсан Гарсн көвүн Газар усан таньтл гүүгэд Сүүл сээтэ улан хээрн мөрнөн Сүүланинь болтл (?) гүүгэд Сүв сээтэ Уртын Улаанхонгор</i>
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Сопоставительный анализ contemporaneous записей позволяет сказать, что текст современного байтского сказителя Н.Анхбаяра структурирован аналогично тексту его предшественника Чогсомын Баглай: за характеристикой богатыря следует описание приготовления и отправления в дорогу, присутствуют формулы продолжительности пути и т.д. Сказитель не отходит от сюжетной канвы, активно использует мотивно-формульный фонд и художественно-изобразительные средства предшественника,

формируя свой нарратив в соответствии с диалектными особенностями ойратского языка, хотя сам коммуницирует с собирателями, используя больше халхасский диалект.

Нарратив, воспроизведенный Анхбаяром представляет собой не заученный текст, не точное копирование первоисточника, а рекомбинацию предшествующего изложения по определенной конструкции. Сказителем Н.Анхбаяром сохранены основные конструктивные элементы, важные для сложения, сохранения в памяти, воспроизведения и передачи эпоса в устной форме. Это демонстрировалось на протяжении всего времени исполнения эпосов «Жангар» (Урьдын Улаанхонгор), «Бум Эрдэни», «Дайни Кюрюль». Данное обстоятельство дает основание прогнозировать, что эпос ойратов Западной Монголии имеет перспективы на продуктивность и дальнейшее живое бытование.

Как отмечал Путилов Б.Н., эпическая традиция может сохраняться и развиваться при наличии в народной среде «специальных знатоков эпоса», которые не ограничиваются знанием текстов и умением их пропеть, а владеют «искусством воспроизведения эпоса в его традиционных формах» [Путилов 1997: 9].

Бальжин Нимэн Бада, СУАР Китая, Хар усн. Время воспроизведенного и приведенного в таблице фрагмента текста: 00:15:06-00:16:36.

Таблица 5: Синцзян-ойратский эпос «Джангар»; «Глава о Хату Хар Сангсаре»; «Хату Хар Саңсрин бөлг»

Пюрэвжав 1978 исполнил, Буйнкишг подготовил к изданию (эмкэв)	Балжин Нимэн Бада, записано Е. Э. Хабуновой, Б. М. Ковасовой, Ц. Б. Селеевой май, 2017 г. в Элисте.
Тавдгч баатрин цолыг сурад ирхлэ <i>Таңһдын келиг</i> <i>Тачкитл келдг</i> Китдин келиг Келкарта келдг <i>Матъхр модыг</i> <i>Һоортл келдг</i> Моңһлын көвүн Моота сээхн баатр гинэ [Жаңһр. Шинжәңгин өөрд-моңһлын баатрлбг дууавр. I боть. Элст. 2005. 280 х.]	Түүнэ дарук баатрчнь келэд өгдг болхула Читиринчн келиг кемтртань келдг Кедү мужин нутгиг алң болтань келдг Орсин келиг оралдулн келдг Орсн һарсн бүкнинь алңтрулж келдг <i>Таңһдын келиг тачкнүлж келдг</i> Тавн келтнэ нутгиг алңтрулж келдг Уйһур келиг урулдулн келдг Орсн һарсн бүкниг алңтрулж келдг Моңһлын келиг мохртань келдг Моккн улан шавр дээр Өрм токтм келдг

	Япона келиг яңшглань келдг <i>Ярһа модых хоортлнь келдг</i> Кеер алг мөртә келмрч Ке Жилһн гидг баатр бәәсн санжла.
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Следует отметить, что запись данной главы («О Хату Хар Сангсаре» синцзян-ойратской версии эпоса «Джангар») осуществлялась в течение более двух часов. Объем эпического текста, воспроизведенного без перерыва свидетельствует об уникальной памяти и импровизаторской способности сказителя Бада.

Приведенные тексты показывают, что туульчи Бада, существенно модифицирует текст предшественника, снабжая его новыми моделями текстообразования. Также меняется состав персонажей, их оказалось двенадцать, у предшественника - 6. Сказитель демонстрирует, что он владеет техникой сложения эпоса, является знатоком фольклора, что формирование эпического нарратива происходит на фоне бытования других устных традиций, элементы которой проникают в художественную ткань эпического текстообразования. А.Б. Лорд отмечал, с какой легкостью сказитель может подстраивать содержание своих произведений к той или иной аудитории, ситуации [Лорд 1994: 31].

Сравнительный анализ подталкивает к заключению о бытовании живой эпической традиции и наметившейся тенденции разрушения канонической модели сложения эпического текста в СУАР Китая. Чем ближе к новому времени, тем явственней в героическом эпосе тенденция к ограничению характеризуемого периода времени и участка действительности» [Гацак 1967: 15]. Потеря устойчивых конструктивных элементов, цементирующих текст, в конечном счете, может привести к утрате идентичности предшествующих и последующих воспроизведений текста.

Анализ экспедиционного материала, позволяет заключить, что героический эпос до сих пор занимает важное место в культурной жизни калмыков и ойратов Западной Монголии и СУАР Китая. Он является одним из ключевых и эмоциональных моментов, как официальных торжеств, так и национальных празднеств. Но уже стало возможным нарушение запретов и правил, обеспечивающих сохранность текстов и эпической традиции.

Современный исполнитель эпоса, как правило, воспроизводит книжный текст, то есть то, что запомнил визуально, а не на слух, что свидетельствует о том, что традиционная форма устной передачи эпоса существенно изменилась. Этот способ запоминания как бы исключает сочинительство. Тем не менее, каждый исполнитель эпоса владеет своей техникой

запоминания и воспроизведения эпического текста. «Память певца отличается силой и быстрой восприимчивостью, но также и консервативностью, которая смыкается с консервативностью сознания» [Путилов 1997: 118–119]. Эта особенность позволяет сказителям хранить в памяти текст в неизменном виде. Лаборатория исполнительского мастерства требует отдельного изучения, и оно возможно при наличии сведений, полученных у самих носителей и знатоков эпических знаний. Ввиду различных обстоятельств этот материал на данный момент отличается скудностью.

Думается, что жизнь фольклорного произведения, в том числе и эпоса – наивысшего проявления дара устно-поэтического творчества российских калмыков и ойратов зарубежья – можно продлить, сохранив язык, естественную среду обитания, используя эффективные формы передачи традиции, пропагандируя значимость фольклорного наследия и укрепляя социальный статус хранителей устной традиции.

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The Kalmyk Identity in the 21st Century: Are the Ethnic, Religious and Language Backgrounds the Important Matters?

Baatr U. Kitinov

1 Introduction

In modern Russia, all people professing Buddhism, face identity problems. The Kalmyks (self-name – Oirats) remain in a special situation because the preservation and development of their identity is currently influenced by a number of factors: cultural, historical, geographical, socio-economic, etc.

In the study of the significance of indicators that have an impact on the Kalmyk identity at the beginning of the 21st century, such as religious, linguistic and ethnic indicators, an important role belongs to historical materials. In this article I use such hypothesis as a methodological device (universal for the Buddhist theory), as the general conditionality of the existing phenomena and processes by the previous phenomena and processes, when the result and reason are connected with each other. It should be noted that previously deterministic identification algorithms and matrices are able to reproduce themselves, that is, to continue the direction and content as a whole, taking into account changes and circumstances.

Thus, with the involvement of historical materials, it becomes possible to discuss the importance of ethnic, religious and linguistic indicators for identity. We proceed from the premise that “in fact, identity is a protective mechanism that protects the person in contacts with other people. It helps us to be and remain

what we (as we think) are or are striving to become. We will defend our identity, emphasizing some of its aspects and calling to our civilization, to the ideal picture of culture” [Frede 2012, p.18]. Therefore, identity is the emphasis and awareness of one's own characteristics, allowing oneself to be distinguished from others.

Presumably, in earlier times, the defensive systems of the ethnos acted more efficiently than now but the potential of the past is able to orient in the current problems of preserving identity.

2 Identity of the Oirats

The Identity of the modern Kalmyks was formed over the centuries, it came through various transformations over time, following the changes in the way of life and existing conditions. It included a number of characteristics (acts, behavior): lifestyle, religion, language. Ethnic self-determination also had been essential. It was this complex identity that allowed them to retain most of the identification markers they inherited from the earliest times of their famous history - from the epoch of Genghis Khan and the Mongolian campaigns.

According to scholars, “the original Mongolian identity was based on genealogical relationship. Real or fictitious kinship had modeled the boundaries of community, while the community (group), which became the head of a broader community (confederation), gave its name to the entire society. Consequently, real ethno-cultural ties were intertwined and included in the broader context of political networks” (Bazarov B.V., Kradin N.N., Skrynnikova 2004, p.14).

At the time of Genghis Khan the situation with the ethnic identification among peoples within the Mongolian empire had changed: the ethnonym “Mongol” was widely circulated and had been accepted by other peoples of non-Mongolian origin (Rashīd al-Dīn 1952, p. 103). But if this was the case in the imperial period, then later, those people began to distinguish themselves from the Mongols. Oirats also, along with others, distanced themselves from the Mongols in the post-imperial period. In the post-Genghis Khan period, the key indicators of Mongolian identity include the cult of Genghis Khan, sovereignty and the Yasa (Bazarov B.V., Kradin N.N., Skrynnikova 2004, p.15).

Oirats generally perceived these symbols of identity, although they had their own nuances: they traditionally separated themselves from the Mongols. Already at the beginning of the 15th century the cult of Genghis Khan amongst the Oirats began to recede into the background. This process probably began already under Toghon taisha, who, according the legendary sources, mocked the cult monuments dedicated to Genghis Khan but was killed by the Khan's spirit. Since the Oirats could not claim their belongingness to the Genghisids, the next step for them would be to refuse the descendants of Genghis Khan the right to rule, i.e. receiving by Oirats the symbols of power from another authority. In this case, there was a variant, sufficiently close and understandable for them – that was an appeal to

religion. This is what they used at least twice - at the end of the 13th century in Persia and in the 1630s in Tibet.

3 Religion and Religious Identity

Amongst the Oirats, religion traditionally played an important role in the development of their confederations and state entities, and also as an identification marker. A feature of the early Oirat story was that their spiritual leaders often had been the political leaders; Khuduha-beki, probably the earliest known Oirat leader, was one of them: for example, in *The Secret History of the Mongols* it was reported that in 1201, during the clash between Genghis Khan's forces and the detachments of the Naiman Khan Buiruha and the Oirat Khuduha-beki, it was found out that they both "can cause by magic the bad weather" (Kozin 1941: 117). V.V. Barthold noted that the title beki "meant the high priest, the highest religious authority (...) The word biki is found in the titles of certain princes, for example, the Mergite and Oirat" (Barthold 1963: 458–459).

An important manifestation of religious identity in Oirats in Persia in the late 13th century can be found in the acts of the Oirat emir Nauruz, the son of Argun-aka, the famous figure of the early Ilkhanid period. Nauruz, who grew up as a Buddhist, but converted to Islam in circa 1291-1292 in view of political necessity, used his religion (faith) as a counterbalance to the Chingizid right of the Chaghatais, the Ugedeis and the Buddhist Hulaguids.

Due to his political and other activities, a new system of relationships arose when religion (Islam) became a new source of political legitimacy for the Oirats in Persia, in contrast to the legitimacy of kinship and bloodline of the Genghisids. Something similar happened later in the first half of the 17th century when, after establishing the power of the Oirats (Khoshuts) in Tibet, the importance and legitimacy of Genghisids (power, influence) lost much of its value because of titles and seals that would be awarded to Oirat and Mongol leaders by the Dalai Lama (Kيتينov 2017).

In both cases, the Oirats set out to serve as assistants to the authorities that strengthened the religion, its role, and proceeded from the supremacy of the idea (doctrine, religion) over the ideology (law) of the old traditions (the principle of Genghisism).

The culture of the Oirats was permeated with a religious compound. Such conditions allowed the world religions - firstly Nestorian Christianity, then Uyghur and Tibetan Buddhism, without transforming the behavioral stereotypes and values of these nomads - to be gently incorporated into their social structure and become the basis of the cultural, political and even ethnical identity of the western Mongols - Oirats. It is necessary to highlight the role and significance of Tibet as its influence was a specific stroke for the development of the religious identity of the Oirats.

During the 14th and 15th centuries the strengthening of the Mongolian element in the ethnic composition of the Oirats led to the rejection of the Turkic element, especially when the role of religious identity increased, namely the belongingness to the culture of Buddhism. Simultaneously, Oirats became known as “Kalmyks”, which meant “those who did not accept Islam”.

It is interesting to note that Oirats who converted to Islam in Persia lost their previous Buddhist and shamanic identities and eventually had been completely dissolved in the Muslim population of this vast Islamic region (Landa 2016, p. 151). Other Oirats, who did remain nomadic in their steppes, retained their Buddhist identity along with the ethnic identity. Even those Kalmyks who accepted Orthodoxy in Russia continued to consider themselves as Kalmyks (Oirats).

Kalmyks are almost the only of all nomadic Buddhist peoples whose extremely long-range migrations have had an important impact on the preservation and development of identity indicators. Oirats and Kalmyks, being in close relations with the Muslim peoples of Central Asia and the North Caucasus, who were often part of the state formations of these nomads, used their religious difference as the specific feature of their rule. Thus, the activation of Oirats' foreign policy towards Central Asia chronologically coincided with the successes of the Tibetan Geluk school in the midst of the 17th century and the successful fight against shamanism.

In the Mongol and post-Mongol era, the language probably was not perceived as an indicator of Oirat identity - the Oirats were the most diverse people, Mongolian and Turkic-speaking. At that time, it was more important to identify oneself as Oirat more in political rather than in linguistic matters.

In our opinion, since the 15th century, Oirats became more Mongols, than Turks in the linguistic and ethnical sense. At the second half of the 17th century, they still claimed their “natural” belonging to Oirats and the special kinship to them, i.e., then the language had not become an indicator of their identity.

In our opinion, since the 15th century, in the Oirats, which became gradually Mongols in an ethnical sense, the western variant of the Mongolian language (an Oirat dialect) became a new indicator of their identity. The invention of the written language (*todo uzug*, or *todo bicig*) by Zaya pandita in 1648 had a strong support for Buddhism among Oirats when the religious and linguistic identities of this people had become closely related (connected) to each other.

The oral speech had to match the written language, and vice versa. *Todo uzug* had brought the bright language into a single written form. Thus, the formation of the united Oirat community was accelerated, or rather, the centrifugal tendencies that emerged after the formation of the Oirat states in the 1630s and 1640s had been limited. The language had been most closely associated with religion and the first large texts in *todo uzug* were the Buddhist texts.

The Oirats (Kalmyks) who left for Russia at the beginning of the 17th century had been distinguished by their ethnic and religious specifics in their new habitat. This enhanced their identification characteristics even further as language played an extremely important role among them. It was through the language that the

Kalmyks declared themselves to be special, separate people; this language was in use in letters and other non-verbal communications.

It is generally accepted that it was only under the Ayuka khan that the Kalmyks actively began to use the "clear script", primarily in official correspondence and in the spiritual sphere (before, the old Mongolian and the so-called Chaghatai script were used). Thus, following the religious identity, the language of the Kalmyks (written form) from the beginning of the 18th century began to be perceived as the ethno-defining feature.

4 Ethnos and the Ethnic Identity

The ethnic identity is a special category, which includes linguistic and religious identities. At the same time, based on the historical information, it can be noted that a memory of their genealogy was a special component in the ethnic identity of the Oirats. During the period of the early history of the Oirats, in context of mixing the most diverse ethnic groups in their composition and their allied relations with other people, it was important to remember who is who. Perhaps, therefore, for Oirats it had been crucial to remember their roots and origin (Rashīd al-Dīn 1952, p. 120).

In our opinion, the Oirats included also those people who came out of the influence of stronger and more organized clans or groups and joined people of the same kind - the akin representatives from other clans, so called "people of long will", who, living separately from their former kinsmen, did not interrupt their relations with them. Thus, the Oirats were allies both among themselves and in relation to their former associations, which they had left. And, of course, there were the representatives from both Mongolian-speaking and Turkic-speaking people among them.

In the period of the Mongol conquests the Oirats consisted of a number of ethnic groups, with several major groups among them, later they began to be identified as a confederation of four main peoples. At the end of the 14th century, the Oirats became widely known as "four tūmens" after they came under the rule of Batula-Chingsang. He was a son of Khuthai Tafu, one of the commanders of the Mongolian Elbek Khan; this Khan was the descendant of Toghhan Temür Khan, the last Yuan emperor. From thereon until the collapse of the Dzungar khanate, the Oirats had been known as "four Oirats".

As to the special indicators of the role of ethnic identity, closely intertwined with the religious one, it is necessary to refer to the red tassels on the headgear of the Oirats, known as the *ulan zāla*. It is now difficult to determine the conditions and time when the Oirats began to wear *ulan zāla*. According to historical data, in 1439, the mentioned Oirat leader Toghon taisha ordered all his subjects-Oirats to wear the red tassels on their hats as an indication of their relation to his people. So, it was, most likely, an ethno-defining sign.

Over time, the wearing of an *ulan zala* began to be perceived by the Oirats as a sign of identification for those who consider themselves to be Buddhist. This is what Russian ambassador Major Ugryumov was told by Oirats at urga of the Oirat khan Galdan Tseren in the early 1730s in relation to the significance of the *ulan zala*: “We also can put on you (i.e. followers of the Russian Orthodox church – B.K.) hats with zala and say, that you are in our law”. Ugryumov replied that “our law is not in a hat, but in God's commandments and holy baptism, and even though I put on your hat, later I can take it off, the main issue is do not bring the victims to idols according your law” (Archive, p.106).

Amongst the Kalmyks everybody wore red tassels, i.e. not only those who considered themselves as Buddhists. There were so called Tomuts among Kalmyks, who, according to V. Bakunin, “like Kalmyks, they wore hats with red tassels, but the law contained: some Mohammedan, and other idolatrous one, but both imperfectly” [Bakunin 1995: 99].

For the Central Asian Muslims to wear *ulan zala*, apparently, also meant to belong to Buddhism. There is an old Muslim legend in the Russian archival document of 1724, heard from the “Bukharians” by the Russian envoy, Captain I. Unkovsky when he was visiting Tsevang Rabdan, the ruler of Dzungaria: once there lived in those lands, the ruler called Temerkhan, who, under the influence of Muslim merchants from Bukhara, decided to accept Islam. Together with him “all his people did make circumcision and did throw zala (or tassels) from their hats into the river Bortal and they (the zala – B.K.) blocked the river” (Archive, pp. 27–27rev.).

Here as Temerkhan one should perceive the famous Tugluk Timur (1329–1363), the first ruler of Moghulistan, who played a significant role in the conversion of the people of this region to Islam. According to “Tarih-i Rashidi”, “Khan [Tugluk Timur] was taken from the Kalmaks by Amir Bulaji at the age of 16 and at the age of 18 he became khan. At the age of 24 he converted to Islam and died at the age of 34. He was born in 730 (1329–1330)” (Haydar 1996: 38).

When Tugluk Timur lived among the Oirats, they, to varying degrees, adhered to Buddhism and the future khan of Moghulistan was also familiar with the teachings of the Buddha. This is quite possible to admit because later he expressed some interest in this religion - in the sources of the Tibetan Karma Kagyu school it was noted that Rolpe Dorje (1340–1383), the fourth black-hat Karmapa lama, in 1363 received an invitation from Chagataid Mongol Toglag Temur, the ruler of Tokhor (Richardson 1958, p. 147), but he refused to visit Moghulistan since years earlier this khan had converted to Islam. It should be noted that Tugluk Timur became a Muslim around 1353.

During the discussed period the Oirats have been imbued more and more by Buddhism's ideas, which, thanks to the famous Oirat ruler Esen, Toghon's son, became very popular among these nomads in the middle of the 15th century.

In the second half of the 15th century the most powerful of the Oirat people - Elets - went to Moghulistan due to the religious zeal of their leaders - two grand-

sons of Esen, whom Makhtum-hanim, their mother, daughter of the ruler of Kashgar, did bring up as Muslims. Most likely, in Moghulistan the Elets were exterminated. The rest Oirats had to find means for survival and rebuff the powerful enemies. It was one of the most critical periods in the history of this people as it was necessary to solve the most fundamental issue: the preservation of the ethnic and religious identity.

Obviously, the first issue was resolved by the formation of a new union of Oirats (Middle Confederation). This new confederation of Oirats was established at the beginning of the 16th century, consisting of Khoshuts, Torghuts, Dzungars and Derbets. If the origin of Khoshuts and Torghuts is usually associated with military-administrative institutions of the Mongol Empire, the origin of the Dzungars and Derbets has specifics; they lead their ancestry from the other sons of Esen: according to sources, the Derbets were descendants of Boro Nahal, and the Dzungars - the descendants of Esmet-Darkhan Noyon (Sanchirov, 1990, pp. 53, 55, see also: Pelliot, 1960, p. 80, note 197). These ethnic groups are still preserved in the Kalmyks and are considered the most important identification markers of the Kalmyks.

5 Current Situation

5.1 Ethnic and Religious Identities

Buddhism plays an important, if not decisive, role in the identification processes of the Kalmyks (Kitinov 2008). The specificity of the worldview of the modern Buddhists in Russia is that, despite the considerable support and assistance from prominent Tibetan lamas, including the Dalai Lama, they all are largely influenced by local characteristics.

Soon after 1917, Buddhism was recognized by the Soviet authorities as a harmful religion. In the 20th century, the national (ethnic) identity of the Russian peoples professing Buddhism generally remained the same due to the reverse effect of the state's atheistic policy and the rise of national culture (with certain reservations).

The Kalmyks' detachment from the general Mongol culture as well as from the Tibetan Buddhist culture became impossible since otherwise the Kalmyks would cease to recognize themselves as Kalmyks. In the history of the Kalmyk people, there were cases when a group, after the breakaway from the people's main body, eventually, due to the environment, were forced to accept Christianity, Islam, or "return" to shamanism. Torn off in this way from their native spiritual foundation they did dissolve in the ethnic sea of their neighbors although they could preserve ethnic roots in their surnames, legends, self-consciousness, sometimes - the memory of ancestors.

In the 1990s, it was the ethnic (and, accordingly, religious and linguistic) identities that allowed to start certain processes that integrated the Kalmyks of Russia

with the Oirats living in China. It is significant that in Russia itself a common religion and generally unified ethnic roots do not make a serious unifying impact between the Kalmyks and the Buryats. These people, although they have spiritual and blood relations, had little in common in their history; for example, before 1917, young lamas were trained in different places: the first ones in Tibet, the second ones in Mongolia; in Tibet, even within the same monastery, they lived and were trained, as a rule, separately.

Buryats traditionally gravitated toward the Mongols while the Oirats were at enmity with the last ones. It is in view of the “ethno-religious differences” in the early 1990s the Buryat lama Tuvan Dorzh had to leave Kalmykia. In fact, he was the first lama (chief lama) of Kalmyks in the post-Soviet period who spiritually headed the Kalmyks for about two years; the same “differences” still define the strained relations between the Kalmyk and Buryat sanghas.

According to contemporary researchers of the Kalmyk identity, “the ethnic identity is associated not so much with the real use of language ethno forms as with its symbolic role in forming a sense of affinity with an ethnic group. It should be noted that this does not lead to a loss of ethnicity. In this case there is a reintegration of the ethnos on another socio-cultural basis - on the basis of observations of the customs, traditions, rites” (Namrueyeva 2015: 197) where the role of religion and religious identity is significant.

Modern processes in the Kalmyks allow us to conclude that one can find various trends with regard to the issue of determining the role and significance of religion (Buddhism) in identification processes. There are a number of points that are significant for revealing the role of religion in preserving the identity of Kalmyks: 1. religion plays the role of an integrating force, and therefore it can help to unify the people (ethnos), 2. the main sign of the unity of people is the ethno-religious identification, 3. religion is the basis of cultural identity. The religious factor is important for the ethnic identification of the Kalmyks because they live far away from the centers of their religion (Mongolia, Tibet). The ethnic factor also plays an important role for the Kalmyks since, being of Mongolian origin, they are the only ones of their kind to live in the Caspian region for the last four centuries.

The uniqueness of the Kalmyk (Oirat) identity lies in the fact that the religious identity (Buddhism) is closely intertwined with the language identity, i.e. it is impossible to preserve the spoken and written (*todo usuzug*) language without preserving the folk Buddhist culture and identity. Therefore, to preserve the ethnic Kalmyk identity it is necessary to develop and maintain both Buddhism and the *todo usuz* language generated by it.

5.2 Language Identity

Language retained its role as a source of the ethnic and religious identity until the beginning of the 20th century when after the revolution of 1917 there was a change from *todo* vertical letter to the Latin and then to the Cyrillic alphabet. Probably, the

change of writing also affected the meaning of the language as the source of ethno-religious principles but it is still too early to make any evaluations.

At present, the Kalmyk language continues to belong to the Mongolian languages. It reflects the historical and other experiences of the people and thus is of great cultural and civilizational value and is one of the main means for self-identification. According to the UNESCO Atlas of the World Languages, the Kalmyk language is threatened with extinction (Mezhdunarodnyy). Scientists pay due attention to this problem (Baranova 2009; Bitkeeva 2006).

According to the sociological research of 2012–2013 by A. Nuksunova, the everyday Kalmyk language and Buddhism (as belonging to the principal ethno-consolidating factors) are defined as the main factors for the emergence of the socio-cultural identity of modern Kalmyk youth. She notes that “the Kalmyk identity is now developing: through the restoration of the Kalmyk language, the revival of Buddhism, resuscitation of the old customs” (Nuksunova 201: 67). L. Namrueva writes that among Kalmyks, along with the growth of ethnic self-awareness and self-identification, develops the need for studying the Kalmyk language, performing Kalmyk dances and songs (Namrueva 2014).

According to the experts, the revival of the Kalmyk language began in Kalmykia after 1991 and a movement for the preservation of the everyday language was launched several years ago. Activists who popularize the Kalmyk language include both organizations and individuals: blogger Victor Mandzhiev; Vitaly Bokov, leader of the “Itkel” public organization; Basan Zakharov, head of the Center for the Preservation of the Kalmyk Culture “Tengrin Uidl” and others. There are applications for smartphones on the Android platform “Russian-Kalmyk Dictionary” and applications for iPhones and smartphones on the iOS platform “Khalmag Keln”.

Scientists conclude that about 7% of Kalmyk youth speak their language, 55% do not know their language but they show interest in studying it (Nuksunova 2014: 70). They suggest methods for more active use of the Kalmyk language: compulsory language skills by officials, a bilingual system of inscriptions, signs. It is still important to write textbooks and methodological literature of high quality. The well-known Kalmyk philologist Prof. P. Bitkeev developed the concept of “Live Language”. Kalmyk language courses had been set up in Kalmyk State University and in Central Khurul, and more than 500 have visited them from June to December 2017. At the official level, a number of documents have been adopted – for example, the Decree of the Head of the Republic of Kalmykia N 110 “On measures of the state support for preservation and development of the Kalmyk language” of September 3, 2014 (edited on 20.04.2015). Recently, the Public Council for the Preservation of the Kalmyk Language under the Head of the Republic of Kalmykia was established.

Of course, language is one of the main indicators of the ethnos. The situation with the Kalmyk language had been extremely negatively influenced by the events of the 20th century: revolutions and wars, deportations to Siberia, a lack of motivation for knowing the own language, etc.

In publications, where the significance of the Kalmyk language is studied, the importance of its preservation is underlined but, as a rule, the issue of the role of language in preserving the identity of the people is not discussed properly. In our opinion, religion (religious identity) is an important source for preservation and development of the language (linguistic identity). As L. Namrueva notes, “the less respondents knew the language of their ethnic origin, the more significant they considered traditions and customs, community of territory, common historical destiny among ethno-identifiers” (Namrueva 2015: 199), i.e. language identity is closely intertwined with religious and historical identities.

6 The Relative Civilizations: Perspectives

For the modern conditions it is necessary to point out the role of not especially of religion but of the corresponding civilization (culture). Buddhist civilization has traditionally been flexible in times of change and difficulty and now it is possible to observe the processes of consolidation and mutual influence of different Buddhist cultures. Simultaneously, in our opinion, the prospects for preserving the identity of the Kalmyks are tightly linked to maintaining appropriate links with culturally akin people and cultures. People with a common culture are also close in their outlook on the world and actions; the existence of the collective history could allow them to use the known pages from their past for a helpful future for everyone.

Presumably, in earlier times, the protective systems of the ethnos and religion acted more effectively than nowadays when the society is in difficult or crisis conditions. The loss of religious and ethnic identities could lead to the loss of a huge cultural layer that gives people and society a sense of existence. In a number of works the opinion is that religion, living by its own laws, nevertheless, must to a certain extent be developed and transformed through some kind of “modernization”, “transformation” and even “reformation” (Abaev, Feldman 2004: 124). In my opinion, this approach does not fully correspond to modern world trends in the field of identity.

Perhaps the most reliable solution is the development of relations with spiritually and ethnically close people, civilizations (cultures) and countries - from Mongolia, China, India (first of all, due to the Tibetan society and figure of the Dalai Lama). This approach could also help to increase the influence of spiritual foundations, to find new ways (methods and skills) for the preservation of identity. It should be noted that nowadays the representatives of the Theravada Buddhism from Thailand and Sri Lanka regularly visit Kalmykia (the Singhala-monks study at the Kalmyk State University).

The possibility of a deeper knowledge of religion, language, history and culture of people will help in preserving and developing their identity. There is an interdependence of culture, a social structure (ethnically colored) and the resulting behav-

ior, in a narrow sense - religion, language and ethnic identity. Cultural and religious stencil has an unconditional impact on society along with a constant rethinking of cultural ideas and symbols that directly affect the ethnos (Swidler, 1986).

7 Conclusion

Ethnic, religious and language (linguistic) identities, being interrelated, are most important for the vitality of the Kalmyk people. To the early external indicator of the Oirat and Kalmyk identity one can refer to the red tassel (*ulan zāla*) on top of the headdress - probably this indicator of ethnic, then religious identities was the primary for all Oirats. Later, with the formation of “four Oirats” (Torghuts, Khoshuts, Derbets, Dzungars), belongingness to these, as well as to other Oirat peoples, determined the stable reproduction of their (sub)ethnic identity along with the religious (Buddhist) identity which is clearly evident in the Kalmyks until now: in spoken language, customs, traditional culture; the expression “four Oirats” itself has a special meaning in modern Kalmyk identity.

In the modern ethnic and linguistic identity of the Kalmyk people the most important role belongs to religion. Oirats attached great importance to Buddhism for the preservation of their identity, in the history of this people religion traditionally played an important role, and the invention of *todo uzug* script by lama Zaya pandita promoted both the religious and linguistic development of the Kalmyk ethnic identity. Nowadays the attempts to promote Kalmyk language usually don't go beyond the idea to preserve it but modern circumstances demand the necessity to provide new means to developing language, and here one could apply to its civilizational (religious) potential.

The institutional foundations of modern society are important for the preservation and development of the identity of the ethnic groups. As the institutional foundations the author understands the cultural and civilizational identity, namely culture and spirituality in the broadest sense of the word, i.e. that goes beyond the borders of the states. In our opinion, the development of religious, cultural, ethnical and other historically based relations with civilizationally akin countries such as Mongolia, China, and India have great significance in preserving the language, religious and ethnic identities of the Kalmyks.

Thus, the conditions that affect the preservation of the religious and linguistic identity (as indicators of the ethnic identity) of the people are: the maintenance of a historical memory, a certain conservation and natural development of national (ethnically and religiously expressed) customs, rituals, and traditions in general and openness to the world. The Kalmyk people have a goal - to preserve themselves, their ethnic identity. The historical experience of this people proves that to achieve this goal is quite possible.

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Siberian Strata of the Oirat Ethnic Identity: The Qasing Qan ba tegün-ü čėčen tősimeľ and the North Asian Indigenous Ontologies

Attila Mátėffy

1 Introduction

This paper focuses on probably the earliest religious, literary and motive strata of the Oirat heroic epic (*baatarlag tuul'*) and ethnic identity: on a semantic and conceptual structure (see: Boyer 1994) that came into existence from the embodied human experience, reflected in the deer chasing narratives (ATU 401: *Prinzessin als Hirschkuh*; Pschmidt 1911; Rühle 2002: 1351–1355; Uther I: 2004: 231–234) of Central Eurasia, the related Oirat heroic epics (pre-eminently the *Qasing Qan ba tegün-ü čėčen tősimeľ*; Koppe 1993: 110–129), certain Evenki shamanic rituals (Hama-yon 1993: 16; Vitebsky 1995: 32) and Upper Neolithic rock carvings of Siberia and the Mongolian Altai region (Okladikow 1972; Okladikov and Martynov 1972; Jacobson-Tepfer, Meacham and Tepfer 2010, etc.). The renowned Russian Mongolist Boris Yakovlevich Vladimirtsov already pointed out that some epic narrative patterns existed among the North Asian hunters and herdsmen in earlier eras and developed during Chinggis Khan's time, when also a Mongol (as well as Buriat) nationality emerged (Vladimirtsov 1983–84: 8, 13–14, 55; Gejin 2001: 402). This is confirmed by the related ethnographic and archaeological data. One can find this kind of development among almost all Central and North Eurasian indigenous populations of the last four thousand years, including the hunter-gatherer Tungusic peoples and the equestrian Mongolic and Turkic peoples. This complex and time enduring cognitive symbol system (Atran 1993: 68) was based on environmental

perception, pre-linguistic image schemes and their embodiment in the cognition of early North Asian hunter-gatherer communities and their pastoral nomad descendants. Among the population of the Taiga region in the Neolithic Age, including the pre-Mongolic populations, the primary source of nutrition was the hunting of wild reindeer and moose. This is shown on the rock carvings on the riversides of Siberia and western Mongolia as well as in the oral narratives, predominantly by the heroic epics and shamanic rituals (rites of passage). The ancestral home of the Oirats and Kalmyks was in the Altai region of modern western Mongolia and the Minusinsk Hollow (or Minusinsk Basin/Depression; South Siberia, nowadays in Khakassia and Krasnoyarsk Krai, Russia), and the author makes an attempt to demonstrate the close semantic, symbolic and structural linkage between the Bronze Age *birgisüür*, the rock carvings and the Evenki shamanic rituals as well as the structure of the related motive sequence in the Oirat heroic epic by the methods of folklore study and cognitive anthropology.

2 Methodology

The following statement originates from Eduardo Viveiros de Castro:

“For some time now, the human sciences have displayed a shift in interest towards semiotic processes such as metonymy, indexicality and literality - three modes of rejecting metaphor and representation (metaphor as the essence of representation), privileging pragmatics over semantics and valorizing paratactic coordination over syntactic subordination.” (Viveiros de Castro 2010: 221)

Interdisciplinarity is one of the most important aspects of the social sciences of the last four decades. However, comparative folklore and mythology, the cognitive sciences and an ontological approach of sociocultural anthropology had been rarely combined. During my former structural and historic-comparative research on the oral narrative ATU/AaTh 401 (“The Enchanted Princess”/The Deer Chasing Legends), I observed that the Central Eurasian oral narratives in question have an obvious religious and conceptual background. Therefore, my continuous investigation focuses on this exceptionally archaic animistic, shamanistic and often totemic (see: Pedersen 2001) worldview, which is based on the embodied cognition and environmental perception of early hunter-gatherer communities of Siberia as well as Northern Eurasia. Due to this complex religious background, the methodology of its investigation must be complex too. In this article, I will use the methods of the following disciplines:

Cognitive sciences (cognitive anthropology, archaeology and psychology, as well as cognitive science of religion), the theory of embodied cognition, ontology, sociocultural anthropology, ethnography and semiotics, comparative folklore, mythology and epic studies, hunter-gatherer studies, Mongolian and Tibetan studies,

pragmatics and discourse analysis, the study of religion (research of animism, shamanism and totemism), ritual studies and rock art studies. Boris Ya. Vladimirtsov wrote the following words about the existing heroic epics among the Mongolic tribes in the 20th century:

“At the present time in the Mongolian world, as far as we know, there are three areas, three regions, where the heroic epic cycles live or still exist, where professional singers of tales are found, distinguished one from the other by many individual features. The bearers of these three types and forms of the Mongolian epic are the following Mongolian tribes: the Buriats both of the Irkutsk gouvernement and the Trans-Baikal district, the Volga Kalmuks (Oirats), together with those who in the second half of the 18th century nomadized out of Russia and now live in Dzungaria and on the T’ien-shan, and finally, the Oirats of North-West Mongolia, together with some Mongolized Turkic tribes.” (Vladimirtsov 1983-84: 11)

The Central Eurasian including the Oirat heroic epics have close connections to the ancient myths, rituals and religious beliefs, consequently with the pre-nomadic hunter as well as early pastoral nomad identity (Meletinsky 1998: 235-248; Vladimirtsov 1983-84: 13-14). There are various kinds of identity: ethnic and national identity, religious identity, historical identity, gender identity, age identity, local identity, cultural identity, etc. as well as different mixtures of them. According to one of the definitions, identity is defined as follows:

“[...] how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is structured across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future.” (Norton 2013: 45)

Regarding time, space and future I am going to briefly discuss the earliest layer of Oirat and Kalmyk narrative identity through the lens of Oirat as well as Central Eurasian heroic epic and its historical formation from myth and ritual and at the end of my paper, as a short outlook, what it does hold for the future of Oirats in the 21st century.

3 Central Eurasian Heroic Epic and Indigenous Ontologies

The discussion about oral literature and folklore of the Oirats will include an ontological approach. The first anthropologist who focused on indigenous ontology was Alfred Irving Hallowell (1960). In *Mongolian Studies*, only Morten Axel Pedersen pursues an explicit ontological approach (Pedersen 2001, 2007).

The word *ontology* means “your theory on what exists” as well as the basic categories of being and their interrelations. So, if you believe in the spirits of ancestors, then they are part of your ontology. The Central and North Eurasian indigenous

ontologies, like the North American Ojibwa or the South American Amazonian (Viveiros de Castro 1998) ontologies include that persons take human and non-human form. It also means that humans (or human animals), animals (or non-human animals), rivers, trees, rocks, etc. are merely a sub-category of the larger category of persons. One could call it animism.

4 The Oirat Historical Past through the Lens of Heroic Epic

Klaus Koppe wrote the following about the historical past of Oirats:

„So wie die Oyirad-Mongolen (Oiraten) in bewegter Vergangenheit in der Geschichte Zentralasiens ihre Spuren hinterließen, so prägten sie auch ihre Helden-Überlieferungen. Den Namen Oyirad trug vor der Wende zum 13. Jahrhundert eine ethnische Gemeinschaft, die am Oberlauf des Jenissei und Unterlauf der Selenge, in waldreicher Gegend südlich und westlich um den Baikalsee siedelte, in Nachbarschaft der Baryud, Qori, Tumad (Tümed), Telenggüd, den Uriyangqan und anderen Stämmen, die von Jagd und Fischfang lebten und zum Teil auch Viehwirtschaft betrieben. Man nannte sie gemeinhin ‚Waldleute‘ (oi-yin itged).“ (Koppe 1993: 62–63)

The Inner Mongolian folklore researcher Chao Gejin discussed the same periods in his article about the Oirat epic cycle *Jangar*:

“Before entering the Mongol steppe, the Oirat were called ‘Forest Folks’ and lived in Siberia. In the thirteenth century the Western Mongols were enemies of the Eastern Mongols of Chinggis Khan’s empire.” (Gejin 2001: 403).

At last, the Mongolist Ágnes Birtalan wrote the following:

“The ethnonym Oirat (in written Mongolian and in written Oirat Oyirad, in spoken Oirat dialects *Örd*) covers several groups of Western Mongols, originally probably belonging to the tribal confederation of the *hoi-yin irgen* ‘forest people’ who lived south and south-west of lake Baikal in South-Siberia until the 13th Century.” (Birtalan 2002: 70)

As the latter scholar also mentioned in her same paper:

“*The Secret History of the Mongols* starts with a short fragment of an ethnogenetic myth, which contains a phenomenon well known throughout Inner Asia, namely, the zoomorphic ancestorship.” (Birtalan 2002: 69)

I quote here the first [1] passage, which includes the religious concept in question.

“[1] Chinggis Qahan was born with his destiny ordained by Heaven above. He was descended from Börte Chino, whose name means ‘greyish white wolf’, and Qo’aimaral, the wolf’s spouse, whose name means beautiful doe, who crossed the lake and settled at the source of the Onon River at Burqan-qaldun, where Batachi-qan was born to them.” (Onon 2001: 39–40)

I refer to the statement of Prof. Birtalan cited above, however, my explanation differs strongly from her subsequent interpretation of the symbolic role of the cultic animals in question in the North Asian including Oirat folk beliefs, cosmologies, oral and ritual traditions and world views. The importance of this will be clear hereinafter.

5 The Qasing Qan ba tegün-ü čecen tüsimel

The epic of *Qasing Qan ba tegün-ü čecen tüsimel-in tuuži* has three editions according to the information of the translator and author of the commentaries, Klaus Koppe in the German edition (1993: 4), which I used for this essay. These are the following:

1. *Xašing xān bolun tüüni cecen tüsimel-in tuuži*, recorded by B. Bayankesig, narrated by Mo. Očir. 1982: (3): 37–76.
2. *Qasing qan ba tegün-ü čecen tüsimel*, 1987: 77–114.
3. *Qasing qar-a bolun tegün-ü sečen tüsimel-ün tuyuži*; classification: Sinjyang-Epic. (Koppe 1993: 4; 110–129)

It is important to know that this text consists of two parts and just the first part is an oral epic, the second one has been transmitted in written form, therefore, I am going to deal just with the introductory first, shorter part (verse 1–78) which originates from a heroic epic. This fragment has several essential motivic and symbolic correlations with other heroic epic traditions of Central Eurasia. The sujet (plot) of this introductory epic fragment is the following:

1. In the early times the epic hero *Qasing Qan* lived in his rich empire which was home to many wild animals. He has a magic horse (steed) that accompanies him.
2. He goes hunting for elk and deer (*qandayai buryn abalayad* [28]).
3. They walk on the banks of the rivers and cross mountain passes.
4. They encounter difficult natural circumstances, namely an impenetrable thicket (*ödü sirynsi ügei buta* [44])

5. He loses his way in this thicket, which is an unfamiliar territory or region.
6. There is a sinister yellow owl (*sir-a qurmusi-yin ĵisü-tei/ sir-a sibayun ĵar u ireged* [60-61] which frightens the steed and the hero falls down.
7. Unconsciousness.
8. [...] Later: return to home (with the wise young minister).
9. Festivity, etc.

As one can see from this shortened motive sequence, the structure is basically identical with the otherworld journey of the hero following a doe in the Ossetian (Caucasus) Nart Saga (Colarusso and Salbiev 2016: 160–181) in the Central Asian Alpamysh tradition (Reichl 2000: 24; Lewis 1974: 59–87) or in the Gesar Epic (Bawden 2002: 238). The generalized structure is the following:

1. A royal person (hunter or shaman) pursues a hind (reindeer doe); the symbolic meaning: *Hunt/Shamanic Journey*; see: Vitebsky 1995; Anisimov [1959] 1991: 19; etc.);
2. due to some unseen force he cannot drop the hind; *Celestial Order*;
3. the hind leads the chaser to the other side of a river (shallow/lake/mountain pass): *Otherworld*;
4. the deer turns into or regains the shape of a woman: *Transformation*;
5. the hunter marries this woman: *Marriage*;
6. and they establish a new home/ clan in this abundant territory shown by the hind (*the shaman returns from his Otherworld journey to his community*): *Return*.

In the Scythian and Sarmatian origin Nart Epic of the Ossetian people of North Caucasus, the hero Soslan chases the golden doe to the Land of the Dead, like Geser and Aju Mergen in the Mongolian Geser Epic to the otherworld. The Tibetologist Siegbert Hummel argued, that the wonderful doe in the latter has a chthonic character (Hummel [1993] 1998: 54) but he did not take into consideration, that all these otherworld journeys of the epic heroes did not originate from the Hindu, the Buddhist and the ancient Greek cultural sphere but from the Siberian shamanic, animistic and totemic traditions.¹

¹ There were serious ambiguities and mistakes in the paper written by Siegbert Hummel in German (Hummel 1973) and it had been republished in a mutilated version (made by Jürgen C. Aschoff and proofread by Günther Sanwald; Hummel 1993) as well as in the English translation of the latter (translated by Guido Vogliotti; Hummel 1998). Siegbert Hummel gave the misleading title to his original paper as follows: *Der wunderbare Hirsch im Gesar-Epos* (Hummel 1973). Since he used just three text variants, namely the first German translation (Schmidt 1839) of a Mongolian version of the Gesar Epic, published in 1716 in Beijing (1), a northeastern Tibetan version from the Amdo region (2) (Hermanns 1965: 435–458; Hummel wrote falsely „eastern” in spite of a clear geographical orientation made by Hermanns on the page 371) as well as a western Tibetan version (3) (Francke 1902; new edition 1968) but solely the Mongolian version includes the Wonderful Deer episode, thus, he

“Approaching the end of the several stages in his peregrinations, the hero Gesar in search of his consort, after climbing the yellow, the white, and the black mountains, finally reaches the gloomy realm of the giant. Originally at least, this must have referred to the entrance to the afterworld, one of the motifs that were incorporated into the epic.” (Hummel 1998: 53)

By no means, these motifs were not “incorporated” into the Epic of *Gesar* (and into the Mongolian *Geser*) as well as every Central Eurasian heroic epic including the fragmentary epic of *Qasing Qan* but these motifs constitute an inherent part of these North Asian origin shamanistic heroic epics, cosmologies and indigenous ontologies. Indeed, according to all native Siberian ontologies (Evenki, Even, Yukaghir, etc.) the deer is always connected to the rites of passage (van Gennepe 1960 [1909]; Turner 1967, 1969) but not exclusively to the dead or funerary rites. The deer (reindeer or elk) is the Mother of the animals (or Master of the Animals, see: Jacobson-Tepfer 2015; Vitebsky 1995: 32; *Hauptgeist*, ein *ijü-kyl*, ‘Mutter-Tier’ Harva 1938: 477; leading female animal guardian or *Tiermutter* [animal mother] Vajda 1964: 268–290; Hultkrantz 1993: 8-9; female-spirit, Hamayon 1993: 16; spirit of animals, Helskog 1999: 77; roe or deer, hind or doe, Mátéffy 2012: 955–957), the tutelary spirit of the shaman, that’s why one can find a plenty of cultic deer figurines in the Scythian and Xiongnu tombs in the late Bronze and early Iron Age. So, the deer being the tutelary spirit of the shaman is related to the death *too* but principally to the otherworld.

gave a completely false title to his paper. The correct title would be as follows: The Wonderful Deer in the Mongolian *Geser* Epic. He unfortunately used the Tibetan name of the disparate epic traditions: *Gesar*. Additionally, he begins his original paper with the following misinformation: „Die Fülle der mythologischen Motive in der Gesar-Sage, dem grossen Heldenepos der Tibeter, ist längst noch nicht erschöpft. (Hummel 1973: 37).” Just after his short but totally false introduction, he mentions the Mongolian version of the Tibetan *and Mongolic* epic tradition, which includes the Wonderful Deer alone, in contrast to all known Tibetan versions. This paper had been republished by Jürgen C. Aschoff („Gesamtgestaltung und Einbandentwurf: Jürgen C. Aschoff”) under the following book title: *Mythologisches aus Eurasien im Gesar-Heldenepos der Tibeter*. However, he gave not just an incorrect title to this volume of collected works of S. Hummel but he edited down the original version arbitrarily. It is longer with two paragraphs, in which the author refers only to the Mongolian version of the Geser epic: *Die Thaten Bogda Gesser Chan's, des Verfügers der Wurzel der zehn Übel in den zehn Gegenden: eine ostasiatische Heldensage* (Schmidt 1839). Hummel continues to misinform as follows: “Die durch Schmidt aus dem Mongolischen übersetzte Version der Gesar-Sage, die nach unserer heutigen Kenntnis zweifellos auf eine tibetische Vorlage zurückgeht, ist besonders reich an Mythenparallelen ältester Tradition. (Hummel 1973: 37; in the 2nd paragraph).” This awful misinformation is entirely unacceptable since Hermanns wrote in his *Einleitung* very clear inversely: “Die Übersetzung von Schmidt zeigt ganz deutlich, daß die mongolische Gesar-Sage von der tibetischen völlig verschieden ist” (Hermanns 1965: 373).

6 The Motives of Qasing Qan's Otherworld Journey

Hero: Qasing Qan

(Verse 24: his dogs: *Qasar* and *Basar*; comp. *Hunor* and *Magor* [ethnonymic heroes of the Hungarian origin myth; Veszprémy and Schaer 1999: 17], *Baysari* and *Baybori* (Alpamysh Epic; Reichl 2000: 24).

Hunting for elk and deer (verses 27–28; 41)

River (verse 29)

Mountain pass (verses 37–40)

Unknown/strange other region/otherworld (verse 42)

Impenetrable thicket (verse 44)

A ghostly yellow owl with strange sounds (verses 58–60)

As it has been mentioned above, certain narrative patterns of the Central Eurasian heroic epics existed among the North Asian hunters and herdsmen in the Bronze and Iron Age already. Since the ancestral home of the Oirat and Kalmyk tribes were in the Altai region of western Mongolia as well as the southern and south-western region of lake Baikal in South-Siberia, the Oirat epic motives of northern larch forests (verse 27), river, mountain pass and the impenetrable thicket with the sinister owl demonstrate the close semantic, symbolic, conceptual and structural connection with the Bronze and Iron Age *birgisiür* and tombs situated always in the river valleys and the Upper Neolithic, Bronze and Iron Age rock carvings which have always been engraved in the riverside cliffs.



Picture 1: Early Iron Age rock carving on a riverside cliff in the Altai Mountains (Ongudayskiy rayon, Altai Republic): Petroglyphs of Saldžar (Saldgar; Borodovskiy 2015). Source: *The Siberian Times*. Picture: Dr. Andrey Borodovskiy (Borodovskiy; 2014), Institut archeologii i étnografii SO RAN. I would like to express my gratitude and appreciation to Dr. Borodovskiy for his approval to republish his research photo in this paper.

7 Conclusion

Looking for an Oirat identity in the 20th and 21st century, the earliest layer of the Oirat identity has been preserved in the oral narrative *Qasing Qan ba tegün-ii čėčen tūsimeł*. These strata originate from the embodied human experience and the ontology of the early Siberian hunters: the hunting of the wild reindeer and elk herds which swim across the rivers regularly two times a year since thousands of years. Since the deer (*maral*) has a female character in all North Asian ontologies, this ancient layer of the shamanic rites of passage and oral epics, the chase of the wonderful doe into the other side of the river into the otherworld, the transformation of the doe, is a motive that disappeared from the Oirat epic in question over the course of time. We can reconstruct it from the other oral epics of Central Eurasia (Nart and Geser epics, etc.), the return of the hunter (the shaman) and the doe and at last their marriage, and connect the historical and ontological identities of every North Asian indigenous people to each other. This substratum element of the culture and motive sequence of the oral epics constitutes one of the earliest cultural heritages of humankind. This circumstance provides a shiny window into the Oirat future.

8 Appendix

The relevant passages of the Oirat heroic epic in German translation (Koppe 1993: 110–112):

QASING QAN UND SEIN WEISER MINISTER

- 1 Einst, in früher Zeit, so erzählt man,
 Viel früher noch, so erzählt man,
 Gab es einen Herrscher,
 Qasing mit Namen,
 [...]
- 15 **Das den breitgehörnten Hirsch**
 [...]
 Der Qasing, Herrscher des Reiches,
 Ließ seine Hunde **Qasar und Basar** folgen,
- 25 Nahm seinen Habicht und Adler mit,
 Brach mit Tumult und Lärmen auf,
 Ritt durch lärchenreiche Nordhangwälder,
 Auf der Jagd nach Elch und Hirsch,
 Reiste an den Ufern schwellender Flüsse,
 [...]
- 37 **Reiste er auf dem Grat** des Keriyetü (-Gebirges),
 Schnitt den Hang des Tarbayatu (-Gebirges),

- Erklomm den Sattel** des Jorqatu (-Gebirges),
 40 **Stieg vom Paß** des Jortu (-Gebirges),
Voller Eifer reisend auf der Jagd, und
Als er eine andere Gegend erreichte,
Spernte sich vor ihm sodann
Ein Dickicht, durch das eine Feder nicht drang,
 45 Scheute er, nach hinten sich wendend,
 War verwundert, so erzählt man.
 sein Gefolge, das in der Nähe gereist,
 seine Hunde, die in Gruppen gelaufen,
 waren seinem Blicke gänzlich entschwunden,
 50 Lange irrte er umher,
 Bis ihm plötzlich klar geworden,
Daß er in einer unbekanntem Gegend
Allein angekommen war,
 Schöpfte neuen Mut,
 drehte seine goldenen Zügel, und
 Derweil er auf seinem Hinweg heimkehrte,
Hub an ein absonderlicher Ton
Hinter dichtem Blätterwerk,
 60 **Eine Eule erschien,**
 [...]
- 75 **Als der unglückverheißende Vogel**
 Nun seinem Blicke entschwunden war,
 [...]

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Some Issues on the History of Altai Region at the Beginning of the 20th Century¹

Bavuu Nyamdorj

Abstract

One of the most unpredictable, blurry and conflicting issues in Mongolia's mid-term and current history studies is the historic problem of Altai region, which was an integral part of Mongolia's territory. The issue was overwhelmingly complicated and touched by both sides of the neighboring countries and Mongolians, and on the other hand, it was almost abandoned in previous surveys because the history of border areas was slightly mentioned in Mongolia's history. This study is of great importance in exploring the complexities of some of the Altai Regions history and clarifying some aspects of local historical research.

This administrative unit has been named as "Altai Shan Uuliin gazar", "Altai Uuliin gazar", "Altai Haviin gazgar", "Altgain gazar oron", "Altain hyazgaar", "Altain toirog", "Shar somiin hyazgaar" in Russian books as "Алтайский округ", "Алтайский край", "Шар Сюмейский округ" and so on.

Among the sources that belong to the history of the region, written sources including archival documents, historical writings, historical records, law enforcement and travelogue and memorabilia of tourists play a crucial role.

The work specialized on the history of the Altai region has not yet been published, and this issue has just slightly been mentioned in foreign and domestic scientific papers. The scientist who studied the history of the western border area at

¹ Original Title: „XX зууны эхэн үеийн Алтайн хязгаарын түүхийн асуудал (1907-1931 он)“.

that time and made a great contribution to the study are namely T'sveen J., Gongor D., Nyamdorj B., Sukhbaatar N. and foreign scientists Belov E.A., Moiseev B.A., Rupen P.A., Chen-Chun-juz, Li Ming Hai, and German Constantine.

The main purpose of this research is to study the Altai Region's historic establishment date, causes, territories, boundaries, administrative arrangements, and the history of Mongolia, Russia, China, and China's political policies and their conflicts on the Altai Region and to make analysis based on the sources and works. For this purpose, the following objectives have been set:

- To summarize and analyze the studies by the internal and external scientists on the Altai Regional History
- To do the first attempt to overview the history of the Altai region
- To identify the historical conditions, timelines and causes of the establishment of Altai region
- To review the status of the three countries as Mongolia, Russia and China on the Altai Region and to review and analyze the historical process of the region that it was cut off from Mongolia to China
- To consider the reasoning and process that the Altai Region land was divided into the territories of two countries after the 1921 National Democratic Revolution
- And to determine the cause why the local people involved in refugee camps, and its processes, consequences and their return to their home country.

Exploring specially the history of the Altai region at the beginning of the twentieth century conclusions that were made were considered.

1. From ancient times, the area around Altai was a place where Mongolian and Turkic ethnic groups had been resided, blended and fought.
2. During the XII-XIII century or during the period of Great Mongol and Mongol Empire, the Naiman and Khereid tribes used to live on the territory of the Altai and Erchis areas and they were belonged to the North-western West of the Liao in Black Kidan. The area was occupied by Ögödei Khaan when Mongols took The Naimans into their administration in the thirteenth century.
3. By the end of the XIII century, the Oirads lived around the forest near Lake Hövsgöl approached west to the Altai Mountains, the Ili and the Tarvagatai area. In 1370 when the Yuan dynasty set up the administration beyond the mountain pass, the territory around Altai belonged to it. By the beginning of the XV century, the Altai lands became the property of the Dzungarian kingdom, when Oirads hit the provinces of Naimans and Khereids and drove them out of the land. During the Dzungarian Period,

- the Durvuds and Bayads lived around Altai Mountains and Erchis river and Zahchins inhabited by Bulgan, Chigel and Tsagaan tohoi.
4. From mid XVIII century, the Altai area was dominated by the Manchu Dynasty and territorially it became subject to Khovd region subordinated by The Khovd Justice Minister administration under Ulaistai general and became one of the inseparable parts of the western region creating its history and culture, as well.
 5. From the beginning of XX century, the Manchu Qing Dynasty carried out the "New Government Policy" in the Khovd Region and within the framework of this policy the land around Altai was isolated from Khovd region and established as a new separate administrative unit named "Altai Region" in 1907. It is related to the forward-looking policy by Manchu that aimed at retreating devastation of Oirads not only just strengthening local administration in the north western region, but also making it a place of support for Il and Targatai. However, the local people and the nobles resisted the implementation of Manchu new policy on their own administrative unit in various forms and thus the struggle became a part of the prerequisite for the nationalist revolution of Outer Mongolia in 1911–1912.
 6. The struggle for national freedom didn't finish its activities not just freeing Khovd region from Manchu-Chinese oppression but the Mongols rebelled for freeing Altai Region and began a new phase of liberation. However, this struggle was unable to fulfill its basic goal due to internal and external causes.
 7. At the time of the Newly-founded Mongolia (1911–1915), the territorial power of the Mongols was completely transferred to the hands of Mongolians, and they themselves were able to carry out independently all of their administrative, economic and social issues. While the Chinese struggled to retake the Khovd regional area, Mongolians struggled against China's aggression and for freedom for the Altai region. But that struggle failed temporarily because of the policy of the two powers as White Russia and China who wanted to divide Mongolian territory from both sides. As a result, Altai Region which is a part of Khovd regional area has become a victim of the political policy of the great two powers and tended to fit into China irrespective of the fundamental interests of Mongolians. In December 1913, the line of war fire that was established by the Treaty of Russia and China became the source of the western border of Modern Mongolia.
 8. At autonomy period (1915–1919), Mongolia lost its independence and became an autonomous country under the Chinese Dynasty, yet it fought to consolidate the Altai border of Khovd territory in its own country and fought for Mongolia's national independence and unity. It has failed due to the interests of the neighboring countries, such as the Dynasty of China and the Kingdom of Russia.

9. In 1911–1919, within the framework of the attempt by China to establish a new administrative unit as “Western Mongolia” under its own administration, China struggled for uniting Khovd and Altai regions. But after the fail of the attempt, the previous policy on Altai was followed by and Altai region was forced to unite to Xinjiang by diplomatic and military ways due to the further goal of “Uniting Il, Tarvagatai and Altai equally and making them as an external cover for Xinjiang”. Initially Russia played a crucial role giving diplomatic and military assistance for coordinating the conflicts between Chinese and Mongolians in the region in order to implement a policy of consolidating its own political and economic influences in the region by supporting the position of uniting Khovd and Altai regions into Khalkh. But Russia gradually collapsed from its base and supported China diplomatically conspiring and colluding with Munchu to unite the Altai border to China.
10. At that time, The Altai and Khovd regions, which are an integral part of Mongolia's territory, are largely far from the central government of Mongolia, and were lack of its control and compared with Khalkh regions they were relatively independent and of different nationalities and ethnic groups. In these regions, there were many conflicts between various internal and external political forces to establish their domination and because the regions were the important junction of Russian, Mongolian and Chinese borders, the interests of the superpowers were far more intolerable.
11. The Mongols of the Altai region, who were united to Xinjiang province becoming victims of political policy of the two neighboring countries, welcomed Mongolian National Democratic Revolution of 1921 with great pleasure and followed up with the reincarnation of the Mongolian state.
12. The people of the Altai region moved from their homeland passing Altai mountain because of provocation from the Dynasty in 1913. The start of this movement was the movement of people led by Mr. Mishigdonrov, a prince of Torguud khoshuu. The action was restored again in after the people's revolution 1923-1926 and reached its peak in 1930–1931 due to the external and internal conditions of Mongolia at that time.

1 XX зууны эхэн үеийн Алтайн хязгаарын түүхийн асуудалд (1907–1931 он)

Монголын дундад болон шинэ үеийн түүхийн түүх судлалд өнөө хир төдий л тодорхой судлагдаагүй, бүрхэг бүдэг, зөрчил маргаантай асуудлын нэг бол Монгол улсын газар нутгийн салшгүй хэсэг байсан Алтайн хязгаарын түүхийн асуудал юм. Уг асуудал нь нэг талаар хөрш хоёр улс болон монголчуудын язгуур эрх ашгийг хөндсөн нэн ээдрээтэй, нарийн төвөгтэй бөгөөд бөгөөд нөгөө талаар монголын түүхийн судалгаанд хязгаар нутгийн

түүхийн асуудлыг дашпрамын төдий хөндөж байсантай холбоотойгоор өмнөх судалгаанд бараг орхигдож байв. Энэ нь Алтайн хязгаарын түүхийн зарим асуудлын нарийн ээдрээг тайлах, орон нутгийн түүх судлалын зарим асуудлыг нэхэн тодруулахад судалгаа шинжилгээний чухал ач холбогдолтой юм.

Энэхүү судалгааны ажлын гол зорилго нь Алтайн хязгаарын талаар Монгол, Орос, Хятадын улс төрийн бодлого, тэдний зөрчил тэмцлийн түүхийн асуудлыг судалгааны эх сурвалж, бүтээлүүдэд тулгуурлан авч үзэж үнэлэлт дүгнэлт өгөхийг зорив.

Эл засаг захиргааны нэгжийг түүхийн сурвалж бичиг, судалгааны бүтээлүүдэд “Алтайн хязгаар”, “Алтайн тойрог”, “Алтай шан уулын газар”, “Алтайский округ”, “Алтайский край”, “Altai bezirk” гэх мэтээр нэрлэсээр иржээ. Эрт үеэс Алтайн орчим газар нутаг нь монгол, түрэг угсаатны бүлгүүдийн хольцолдон тэмцэлдэж суусаар ирсэн газар нутаг байжээ.

ХҮШ зууны дунд үеэс Алтай хавийн газар нутаг нь Манж Чин улсын эрхшээлд орж, Улиастайн жанжины харьяан дахь Ховдын хуувийн сайдад захирагдан, нутаг дэвсгэр засаг захиргааны хувьд Ховдын хязгаарт хамрагдах болжээ. Тэр үед манж нар баруун монголыг байлдан дагуулах үед түүний эрхшээлд орсон торгууд, хошууд, урианхай нарыг Алтай хавийн нутагт суулгажээ. Үүнээс хойш хасаг, уйгур, хятад, орос зэрэг угсаатнууд ирж суурьшснаар ХХ зууны эхэн үеэс Алтай хавийн нутаг дэвсгэрт өөр өөр угсаа гарал, соёл бүхий олон үндэстэн угсаатнууд оршин суух болсон байна.

ХХ зууны эхэн үеэс Манж Чин улсаас Ховд, Алтай хавийн нутгийн талаар өмнөх бодлогоо өөрчилж, энэ бүс нутаг дахь оросын нөлөөг сулруулах, хил хамгаалалтыг сайжруулах, засаг захиргааны зарим шинэтгэл хийх, цэрэг нэмж суулгах, хятад тариачдыг олноор оруулж газар хагалан тариалан эрхлүүлэх чиглэлийг илүү анхаарч байв.

Энэ бодлогын үүднээс Манжийн хаан Ховдын хязгаар дахь өөрийн засаг захиргааг чангатган бэхжүүлэх зорилгоор 1906 онд Алтайд тусгай эрхтэй цэрэг суулгав. Улмаар 1907 оны I сарын 7-ны өдөр [Бадаргуулт төрийн 32-р оны 12 сарын 25] манжийн хааны зарлиг гарч, “...Шинэ торгуудын 2 хошуу, хошуудын нэг хошуу, Алтайн урианхайн 7 хошуу, энэхүү бүгд 10 хошуу ба Чэнгистэйгээс баруунаа бүхий 8 харуул хийгээд Бүрэн тохойн тариалангийн газар хийгээд хасгийн нэг аймаг зэргийг цөм мөн оноос эхлэн Алтайн хэрэг шийтгэгч сайд Ши Хэн дор захируулбаас зохимой...” (Чэнь-цзун-цзу 1922: 156.) гэжээ. Энэ дагуу 1907 онд Ховдын Буянтад сууж байсан 2 амбан сайдын нэгийг Алтайн цаад Шар сүмд суулгаж, амбанаар нь хятад түшмэд Ши Хэнг тохоож, захиргааг нь байгуулав. Энэ хязгаарт хасгийн 12 мянган өрх бүхий 13 отог, 600 өрх бүхий урианхайн 7 хошуу, 200 гаруй өрх бүхий торгууд хошуудын 3 хошуу хамрагдах болжээ (Моисеев 2002: 45) Энэ хязгаар нь хуучин хэвээр Хүрээний сайд, Улиастайн жанжинд захирагдах болжээ.

Ховдын хязгаараас Алтайн хязгаарыг тусгаарлах болсон явдалд байгаль газар зүй, улс төр, эдийн засгийн хүчин зүйл нөлөөлөхийн дээр түүний цаад мөн чанар, шалтгаан нь тус хязгаарыг Или, Тарвагатайд түшиг тулгуур болгох, Шинжианд мужийн гадаад хамгаалаат болгох гэсэн Манж Чин гүрний улс төрийн алсыг харсан бодлоготой шууд холбоотой.

Энэ арга хэмжээ нь Манж Чин улсын хувьд энэ хязгаар нутагт өөрийн эрх ашиг, ноёрхолыг хамгаалж улам бэхжүүлэх, гадны нөлөөг хязгаарлах, засаг захиргааг чангатган бататгахад чухал ач тустай байжээ.

Гэвч энэ шийдвэрийг Алтайн хязгаарын хошууд эсэргүүцэн нь хэрэг дээрээ төдийлөн хэрэгжиж чадаагүй байна. Алтайн цаад этгээдэд нутагтай хошуудыг Шар сүмд харьяалуулан захируулсан хэдий ч Алтайн наад биеэр сууж байсан урианхайчуудын хувьд уг зарлигийг хүлээн дагасангүй, уг арга хэмжээг цаг үргэлж эсэргүүцээр хуучин хэвээр суусаар байв. Энэ байдал үргэлжилсээр 1911 оны үндэсний эрх чөлөөний хувьсгалтай золгожээ.

Монголд гарсан үндэсний эрх чөлөөний хувьсгалыг Ховд, Алтайн хязгаарын монголчууд талархан хүлээн авч, Богд Жибзундамба хааны тулгар төрд дагаар орох болсны зэрэгцээ Ховд хотыг манж-хятадын ноёрхлоос чөлөөлсөн явдал нь хятадуудад ихээхэн хүнд цохилт болж, улмаар тэд сэхээ авангуут Ховдын хязгаарыг эргүүлж авахыг оролдох болов.

Энэ завсар ялангуяа Алтайн хязгаарын хошуу ноёдоос Монгол улсын засгийн газарт хандан язгуураас мах цус барилдаж нэгэн дор цуг хамт аж төрсөөр ирсэн Алтайн хязгаарын ард олныг аврал өршөөлдөө багтаан өмгөөлөн хамгаалж, харь хятадын дарангуйлалаас нутаг орон хүн ардыг чөлөөлөн нэгтгэж, бүрэн бүтэн болгож, асран туслахыг хүсэх болжээ.

2 Шинэ тулгар Монгол улсын бодлого, үйл ажиллагаа

Энэ үед шинэ тутам байгуулагдсан Монгол улсын засгийн газар нь эхнээсээ Алтайн хязгаарыг өөрийн газар нутгийн салшгүй хэсэг хэмээн үзэж, улс орныхоо газар нутгийн бүрэн бүтэн байдлыг хангахын төлөө тэмцэж, монгол үндэсний нэгдмэл тусгаар тогтносон улс байгуулахыг эрмэлзэж байв.

Монголын засгийн газрын тэргүүн Сайн ноён хан Намнансүрэн, чин ван Ханддорж нар монголын тусгаар тогтнолыг нилээд өргөн уудам хил хязгаарын хүрээнд монголын бараг бүх нутаг дэвсгэрийг хамруулан хүлээн зөвшөөрүүлэхийг эрмэлзэж байжээ. Тэд юуны өмнө өөрсдийн саналыг оросын талаар хүлээн зөвшөөрүүлэхийг оролдож байлаа. Гадаад явдлын яамны сайд Ханддорж тэргүүтэй төлөөлөгчид 1912 онд Орос улсад айлчлан очиж, нэгдмэл Монгол улсын хил хязгаарыг Оросын засгийн газраар хүлээн зөвшөөрүүлэх гэж олон янзаар оролджээ. Тэрээр 1913 оны 2-р сарын 14-нд Оросын “Новое время” сонины сурвалжлагчтай хийсэн ярилцлагадаа

“Монгол улсад Халх, Ховдын болон Алтайн хязгаар, Барга (Хөлөн Буйр), Өвөр Монголын Шилийн голын чуулган, Илийн хязгаар зэргийг багтаах” (Белов 1999: 89) тухайгаа өгүүлсэн байдаг. Гэтэл хэлэлцээрийн дүнд Оросын засгийн газар монголчуудын тусгаар тогтносон нэгдмэл улс байгуулах шаардлагыг хүлээн зөвшөөрөхөөс татгалзаж, Гадаад монголд зөвхөн Ховдын хязгаарыг нийлүүлэхийг дэмжжээ.

Монгол улсын ерөнхий сайд Намнансүрэн Богд Жибзундамба хааны зааврын дагуу 1913 оны 12-р сарын 16-нд Оросын ГЯЯ-ны сайд С. Д Сазановт бичсэн захидалдаа “Орос улс Монгол улсын бүрэлдэхүүнд Өвөр Монгол, Барга, Алтайн хязгаарыг нэгтгэх саналыг дэмжинэ” (Белов 1999: 112) гэдэгт итгэж байгаагаа илэрхийлжээ. Мөн тэрээр Петербурт байхдаа С.Д Сазановт удалгүй болох 3 улсын гэрээн дээр Халхад Өвөр монгол, Барга, Алтайн хязгаарыг нэгтгэх талаар ихээхэн дэмжлэг үзүүлэхийг хүсч байжээ (Белов 1999: 117).

Алтайн хязгаарын асуудлаар баруун хязгаарт сууж байсан сайдууд янз бүрийн байр суурьтай байв. Ховдыг чөлөөлсний дараа Магсаржав, Дамбийжанцан нар Шар сүм хүрч, Палтыг бут цохих, бидэнтэй тэндээс хасаг, торгууд болон бусад хошууд нийлэх ба манай хил хязгаарч тэлж өргөжиж бид аюулаас ангижрах боломжтой хэмээн үзэж байхад бусад сайдууд нь тэдэнтэй санал нийлэхгүй Ховдоос даруйхан нутаг буцах хүсэлтэй байжээ (Бурдуков 1987: 88). Мөн Ховдыг чөлөөлсний дараа ялалтандаа урам зориг нь сэргэсэн монгол цэргүүд Шар сүмийг чөлөөлөхийг хүссэн санаагаа “Бүгдээр хамт Палтын дэргэд зочилж цай ууцгаая” (Чуец “СЖ”.5.IX, 1912, № 198) хэмээн хошигнон ярилцаж байжээ.

Ийм нөхцөлд 1912 оны 10-р сарын эхээр Монголын засгийн газраас баруун хязгаарын сайд нарт Шар сүмийг хятадууд болон Палт вангийн захиргаанаас чөлөөлөхийн тулд Шар сүм рүү давшилт хийхэд бэлтгэх тухай шийдвэр иржээ (Чуец СЖ. 27 нояб, 1912, № 263).

Иймд тэд юуны өмнө Алтайн хязгаарын захирагч Палтад Шар сүмийг чөлөөлөхийг мэдэгдэж, тулган шаардах бичиг илгээсэн боловч шаардлагыг хүлээж аваагүй байна (Моисеев 2003: 275).

Түүнчлэн мөн сарын 11-нд баядын харъяат Дэжээлин дацангийн газар дөрвөдийн да, жанжин, хан, ван, гүнгүүд баруун хязгаарын олон монголчуудыг дагуулан тохинуулах цэргийг захирах сайд Дамбийжанцаны хамт чуулж, дөрвөдийн 2 аймгаас өөр өөрийн морьт цэрэг 1000-ыг дайчлан татаж, буу бариулан сургуулилахаар шийдвэрлэжээ. Дамбийжанцангаас дөрвөдийн зүүн гарын аймгийн цэргийг Талын булаг хэмээх газар, харин дөрвөдийн баруун гарын аймгийн цэргийг Үнэн Зоригт ханы газраас эрхлэн шаардаж, Улаанбулагийн газар жагсаан тус тус хуралдуулж эхэлжээ. Хэмчигийн урианхайгаас хүртэл цэрэг дайчлахаар бичиг явуулжээ.

Гэтэл хошуудаас ирэх цэрэг удааширч байсан тул сайдын газраас цэргээ яаралтай ирүүлэхийг олонтоо шаардаж байлаа.

11 сарын дундуур Дөрвөдийн 2 аймгаас дайчилсан цэргийг Ховдын зүүн өмнөд Гурван салааны газар хуралдуулахад монгол цэрэг нь 3000-д хүрчээ. Магсаржав, Дамбийжанцан зэрэг баруун хязгаарын олон сайд, жанжин болон дөрвөдийн 2 аймгийн ноёдууд Гурван салааны газар зөвлөлдөж, “одоо зүй нь даруй одож, тэдэнтэй байлдаж дуусгаваас зохивч энэ хир цаг хүйтэн, давааны пас маш үлэмж хэмээх тул нэвтэрч одоход бэрх тул” (МУҮА.ФА-135, Д-1, ХН-22, х-51) цэргийг Гурван Сэнхэрт байрлуулж өвөлжүүлэхээр болжээ. Энэ үед Засагт хан, Сайн ноён хан аймгаас цэргүүд нэмэгдэн ирсээр өвөл гэхэд 4000 цэрэгтэй болов. Нөхцөл байдлыг бодитойгоор үнэлж Монголын засгийн газар Оросын талаас тусламж хүсэх болов.

1912 оны зун Богд Жибзундамба оросын талд Ховдын хязгаарыг чөлөөлөхөд тус улсаас дипломат дэмжлэг үзүүлсэнд талархалаа илэрхийлэхийн ядамд Алтайн хязгаарыг чөлөөлөх үйлсэд мөн туслана гэдэгт итгэж байгаагаа илэрхийлжээ (Саруул 1998: 56).

1912 оны 12-р сард болон 1913 оны 1-р сард Монголын засгийн газраас Оросын засгийн газарт өөрийн цэргээ Халх болон Хова, Алтайн хязгаарт оруулах бололцоо байгаа эсэх асуудлыг удаа дараа тавьж байжээ (Белов 1999: 67).

Гэвч монголын талын хил хязгаараа хамгаалах, улмаар Алтайн хязгаарыг чөлөөлөх гэсэн оролдлого нь цаашид хөрш хоёр гүрний эрх ашиг, тэр дундаа Дундад Иргэн улсын дипломат болон цэргийн бодлого, Монголын талын цэргийн хүчин чадал сул дорой байдал, манай засгийн газрын бодлогын нөлөө зах хязгаар нутагт сул байснаас шалтгаалан төдийлөн үр дүн муутай байлаа.

Энэ үед захчин бэйсийн хошуунаас элч ирж, Цагаан Түнгэ дэх 2000 хятад цэрэг хоёр тасарч, гурван газар буудалласаны дээр 200 морьтой цэрэг ирсэн, хойд хороонд нь 1500 цэрэг нэмэн ирсэн тухай мэдээ иржээ.² Иймд монгол сайд жанжингууд зөвлөлдсөний эцэст 1913 оны цагаан сарын шинийн 8-нд /2-р сарын 14/ цэргүүдээ хоёр чиглэлээр Алтайг давуулжээ. Үүнд: гүн Хайсан, тайж Баярын цэрэг, урианхайн зэрэг олон ангийн цэргийн хамт Давстайгаар, дөрвөд баядын зэрэг олон ангийн цэргүүд Дунд Сэнхэрийг өгсөн Хужиртаар даван одов.³ Тэд Өрмөгтэйн даваанаас эхлэн гол зам боомт, Алтайн даваа, Цагаантүнгэ, Булган гол зэрэг газар 2 хороо болон хуваагдан суув.

² МУҮА.ФА135, Д-1, ХН-22, х-72-73.

³ МУҮА.ФА-135, Д-1, ХН-22, х-86-88.

3 Дундад Иргэн улсын бодлого, үйл ажиллагаа

ДИУ-ын засгийн газраас Алтайн хязгаарыг “Улс орны хамгийн баруун талын хязгаарын хувьд Оростой хиллэх хил дээр аюулгүй байдлыг хангахад чухал үүрэг гүйцэтгээд зогсохгүй Ховдын хязгаарт хятадын нөлөө нэвтрүүлэх, Ховдын хязгаарт хятадын цэрэг халдан довтлох гол үүд хаалга” (Монсеев 2003: 278) хэмээн үзэх болов. Энэ үүднээс 1912 оны намар хятадын төв засгийн газраас Шинжианы амбан Ян Цзэнсинд шинэ цэргийг Ховд Алтайн чиглэлд илгээх тушаал ирснийг амбан ёсоор болгожээ.

1912 оны 12-р сард Бээжингийн тушаалаар Илийн хязгаараас их буу бүхий зэвсэглэсэн 1200 гаруй дунгаан цэрэг Шар сүмд ирж байрлажээ. Шинжианы болон Алтайн захирагч нараас гол хүчээ дунгаан цэргүүдээр, туслах хүчээ хасаг урианхайчуудаар бүрдүүлжээ. Ховдыг эзэлж авсныхаа дараа тэдэнд янз бүрийн хөнгөлөлт, түүний дотор дунгаан цэргүүдэд бусад үндэстнүүдтэй адил бүрэн тэгш эрхтэй байлгахгаар, хасагуудад газар бэлчээрийг нь өгөхөөр амлалт өгч, өөрийн талд татжээ.

Ингэснээр 1912 оны сүүлчээр Алтайн хязгаар дахь хятадын цэргийн гол хүчин улам бүр нэмэгдэн 2000 хүний бүрэлдхүүнтэй гол хүч Ховд, Алтайн хязгаарын зааг Цагаан Түнгэ⁴ зэрэг газар байрлахаас гадна Шар сүмээс баруун тийш, Цагаан Түнгээс зүүн тийш Алтайн нурууны дагуу Ховд хүрэх бүх зам, уул, даваанд бусад туслах хүч өвөлжиж, Ховдын хязгаарын зүг гол төлөв өмнө талаас Шинжианаас, баруун талаас нь Алтайн хязгаарын зүгээс довтолж, өдөөн хатгах болов.

Алтайн хязгаарт дунгаан цэргүүд орж ирсэн явдал болон тэдний өдөөн хатгалга нь Алтайн хязгаарын олон түмэнд нь хүндээр туссаны дээр Ховд, Улиастайд байнгын аюул занал учруулах болов.

Хятадууд ийнхүү цэрэг зэр зэвсгийн хүчээр сүрдүүлэхээс гадна 1912 оны 6-р сард хятадын ерөнхийлөгч Юань-Шикайн томилолтоор Алтайн хязгаарын захирагчаар томилогдон ирсэн Палт ван⁵ тус хязгаарын ноёд язгууртнуудыг өөрийн талд татах, ятгах оролдлогыг зүйл бүрээр явуулах болов. Тэрбээр хятадын талыг тууштай баримтлан, монголыг тэр дундаа Ховд, Алтайн хязгаарыг хятадын эрхшээлд ямагт байлгахыг улайран зүтгэж байлаа.

Палт ван түүхэн эгзэгтэй үед буюу 1912-1914 онд Алтайн хязгаарын захирагчийн алба хашиж, Гадаад Монголыг Дундад Иргэн улсын эрхшээлд оруулахын төлөө үйл ажиллагаагаа явуулж байсан монголын ойрадын

⁴ Цагаан Түнгэ нь Алтайн хязгаарын харьяат хошууд хошуу, Ховдын харьяат захчин хошуу лугаа хил нийлэх уулзвар нутаг юм. Энэ нь Ховд Алтайн хязгаарын хил дээрх стратегийн чухал төв бөгөөд түүгээр Улиастай, Ховд уруу ертс зам дамжин өнгөрсөг байв.

⁵ Түүний нэр нь XX зууны эхэн үеийн монголын тэр дундаа баруун хязгаарын түүхэнд холбогдох сурвалж бичиг, судалгааны зохиолуудад Балт ван, Палт ван, Па ван, Палдай ван, Пальдир ван, Бальдир ван гэх мэтээр дашрамд олонтоо дурдагдсан нь бий.

ноёдуудаас хятадын талыг хамгийн тууштай баримталж байсан ноёдын нэг билээ. Ялангуяа Ховд, Алтайн хязгаарыг Халхад алдахгүй байх, тус хязгаар нутгийн хошуудыг хятадад нэгтгэхэд илүү онцгой анхаарч энэ талаар цэргийн болон дипломат идэвхтэй бодлогыг явуулж байв.

4 Оросын бодлого, үйл ажиллагаа

Тэр үед Ховд, Алтайн хязгаарын асуудалд хаант Орос улс өөрийн байр сууринаас хөндлөнгөөс идэвхтэй оролцох болжээ.

Тухайн үеийн Хаант Орос улсын зүгээс Монголын талаар баримтлах бодлогын үндэс нь 1912 оны 11-р сарын 3-нд Орос Монголын хооронд байгуулагдсан гэрээний үзэл санаагаар тодорхойлогдож байв. Оросын ГЯЯ-ны сайд Сазоновоос Монголын засгийн газартай хэлэлцээ хийх оросын бүрэн эрхт төлөөлөгч Коростовецид 1912 оны 8-р сарын 23-нд явуулсан зааварт Оросоос Монголд явуулах бодлогыг “Манай хязгаартай хил нийлэх энэ мужид цэргийн хүчтэй улс байгуулахгүй байхыг эрмэлзэх⁶ гэж тодорхойлоод цааш нь энэ зорилгоо хэрэгжүүлэхийг тулд Халхад үндэсний эрх олгох, тэнд хятадын цэргүүдийг оруулахгүй байх, Халхыг хятадуудаар колоничлуулахгүй байх гэсэн нөхцөлийг хангахаар” төлөвлөж байгаагаа мэдэгджээ.

Монголын баруун хилийн байдал хурцалсныг И.Коростовец овжин ашиглан “Ховд, Алтайн хязгаарт ойртож ирсэн хятад цэрэгтэй тэмцэх аргаа эртхэн бодох нь зүйтэй.Хоёр улсын найрамдлын гэрээнд гарын үсэг зурахаас нааш тусламжийн тухай ямар нэгэн яриа байж болохгүй.Хэрэв гэрээ бичгийг одоо даруй миний төлөвлөгөөгөөр зөвшөөрвөл цэрэг зэвсгийн тусламж хамгааллыг үтэр түргэн үзүүлж, тэрхүү хятад цэргийг монголын хязгаарт оруулахгүй болохыг миний бие батлан хүлээж байна” гэж боох, сүрдүүлэх арга хэрэглэж байв. Эцсийн бүлэгт 2 тал харилцан зарим буулт хийн 1912 оны 11-р сарын 3-нд гэрээг байгуулжээ. Гэрээний 1-р зүйлд Оросын тал “Монголд автономит байгуулал тогтоох, өөрийн үндэсний армитай байх, монгол нутагт хятад цэрэг нүүдлийн иргэдийг оруулахгүй байх”-ад нь туслах үүрэг хүлээсэн нь Баруун Монголын хэрэг явдалд Хаант Орос улс оролцох эрхийн үндэслэл болж байв.

Эхэн үедээ Хаант Орос улсаас Ховд, Алтайн хязгаарт өмнө нь олсон нөлөөгөө хадгалах, өөрийн улс төр, эдийн засгийн байр сууриа улам бэхжүүлэхийн тулд Ховд Алтайн хязгаарыг хятадын засаглалаас чөлөөлж, Халхад нэгтгэх явдлыг дэмжин энэ хэрэгт дипломат болон цэрэг зэр зэвсгийн тусламж үзүүлэх болов.

⁶ Сборник.....,1914.г.1

1912 оны 6-р сард Оросын Гадаад явдлын яамны сайд С.Д Сазонов засгийн газартаа Халх Монголтой гэрээ хэлэлцээ хийх асуудлыг тавьж байв. Тэрбээр Сайд нарын зөвлөлийн дарга В.Н Коковцовт бичсэн захидалдаа удахгүй байгуулах гэрээний агуулгыг тусган Халх монголын бүрэлдхүүнд орвол зохих газар нутгийг тодорхойлон түүнд Ховд, Алтайн хязгаарыг оруулжээ. С.Д Сазонов Ховд, Алтайн хязгаарыг нэгтгэх нь “бидний ашиг сонирхолтой нийцнэ” гээд “газар зүй, эдийн засаг, угсаатны зүйн харилцааны хувьд тэр нь Халхын зүй ёсны үргэлжлэл” бөгөөд “хятадаас халхлах аятайхан халхавч болж” манай улсын хилтэй хил нийлдэг (Белов 1999: 67) гэжээ. Мөн С.Д Сазоновоос Бээжин дэх хаант оросын элчин В.Н Крупенскийд илгээсэн утсандаа “Алтайн хязгаарыг Халхтай нийлүүлбэл зүгээр юмсан, гэхдээ түүнд хүрэхэд ихээхэн бэрхшээлүүд байна” (Белов 1999: 70) гэжээ.

Ер нь Оросын хаант улсаас Алтайн хязгаарыг “газар зүйн байрлал, угсаатны бүрэлдхүүний хувьд Семипалатинск мужийн үргэлжлэл, Баруун Монгол, Шинжианд Оросын худалдаа эдийн засгийн нөлөөг бэхжүүлэх үүд хаалга” хэмээн үзэж байснаар түүний байр суурь тодорхойлогдож байв.

Ийнхүү Алтайн хязгаар дахь хятадын цэргийн үйл ажиллагаа, Ховдын хязгаар лүү явуулж буй тэдний өдөөн хатгалга нь хаант Орос улсын эрх ашгийг хөндөж байлаа. 1913 оны 2-р сарын 25-нд Оросын сайд нарын зөвлөлийн онцгой зөвлөлгөөн болж, баруун Монголд болж буй байдлыг тусгайлан хэлэлцээд, цэрэг дайны шинжтэй шийдвэрүүд гаргажээ. Энэ шийдвэрийн дагуу Дээд Үд хотоос Нийслэл хүрээгээр дамжуулан Ховд хот хүртэл казак цэргийн ангийг явуулж, мөн зун нь Бийскээс 3000 хүнтэй явган цэрэг, их бууны ангийг Ховдоод ирүүлжээ (Бурдуков 1987: 98). Ховдоод оросын цэргийн анги ирсэн нь хятадын цэргийн идэвхийг сулруулж, тэд Цагаан-Түнгээс цэргээ буцааж татахад нөлөөлсөн аж. Гэвч энэ их цэргийг хятадын эсрэг шууд тулалдаанд оруулахаас оросын тал ихэд болгоомжилж байв.

Алтайн хязгаарт Оросын харьяат нар ба дунгаан цэргийн байдал хурцадсантай холбоотой 1913 оны 9-р сард хурандаа Сергеевийн захирсан 500 гаруй хүнтэй нэг хороо цэргийг Шар сүмд суулгав. 1914 оны эхээр Алтайн хязгаар дахь Оросын отряд 4 их буу, 4 пулемёт бүхий 2 батальон явган цэрэг, 200 казак цэргүүдээс бүрдэх болов.

Ийнхүү Алтайн хязгаар нутаг нь газар зүйн байрлалын хувьд Орос, Монгол, Хятад гурван улсын хил нийлэх газар болох тул тэнд их гүрнүүдийн эрх ашиг сонирхол хамгаас илүү огтолцон зөрөлдөж байсан юм. Гийм учраас энэ бүс нутгийн асуудал ихээхэн нарийн төвөгтэй байв. Ялангуяа тус бүс нутагт хятад, монгол, орос цэргийн төвлөрөл үүсч, улмаар Алтай орчимд цэргийн томоохон мөргөлдөөн гарч болзошгүй болжээ.

5 Цагаантүнгийн тулалдаан, Гал зогсоох хэлэлцээр байгуулагдсан нь

1913 оны зуны эхэн сард Дундад Иргэн улс Алтайн хязгаарыг Шинжианд захируулсан зарлигтай гэж шалтаглан Булган, Цагаан Түнгэ, Байтаг, Хавтагийн өргөн фронтоор Шинжианы зүгээс Май дайран гэж нэрлэгдсэн хятад цэргийн дарга командалсан цэргийн отряд шууд цөмрөн орж ирж тэр хавийн газрыг эзлэн авчээ (Даваасүрэн нар 1998: 100). Мөн монгол цэргүүд Цагаан Түнгэ рүү давшилтаа эхэлж, 1913 оны 6-р сарын шинийн нэгэнд/7-р сарын 5-нд/ Цагаан-Түнгийн Улаан-Хайрхан гэдэг газар монгол, хятад цэргийн хооронд тулалдаан болж, монголын талаас 22 хүн алагдаж, 30 хүн шархтжээ. Мөн сарын 7-нд тэнд 2 удаа тулалдаан болж монголын талаас 700 гаруй цэрэг, хятадын талаас 2000 орчим цэрэг оролцож, хятадын 20 орчим цэрэг алагдаж, 50 морь олзлогджээ (Пунцагноров 1955: 62–63). 7-р сарын 17-нд мөн томоохон байлдаан болов. Энэ тулалдаануудад Нийслэл Хүрэнээс ирсэн цэргүүд, урианхай, дөрвөд, баядын цэргүүдтэй хүч хавсран тэмцсэн боловч амжилт олсонгүй. Тэдний давшилт Цагаан Түнгээр хязгаарлагджээ. Энэ нь монгол цэргүүдийн зэвсэглэл, дадлага сургууль хангалтгүй байдалтай шууд холбоотой байв. Иймд монголын талаас Оросын консулд цэрэг, зэр зэвсгийн тусламж үзүүлэхийг удаа дараа хүссэн боловч Оросын тал Ховдоод байрлаж байгаа цэргээ тулалдаанд оруулахаас эрс татгалзжээ. Энэ байлдаан нь хэдэн сараар сунжирч байсан нь Ховд, Алтайн хязгаар дахь улс төрийн байдлыг тогтворгүй болгож, ард олны аж байдалд хүндээр тусч байв.

1913 оны зунаас хаант Орос Алтайн хязгаарыг Ховдын хязгаартай нэгтгэх гэсэн монголын талыг оролдлогыг дэмжихээс улмаар татгалзаж, Бээжинд Дундад Иргэн улстай нууц хэлэлцээр хийж эхэлжээ. Ийм нөхцөлд хаант Оросын засгийн газраас Бээжин дэх Оросын элчин, Нийслэл Хүрээ, Шинжиан, Шар сүм дэх оросын консул нарт буй болсон байдлыг зогсоохыг даалгав. Түүний дагуу А.Я. Миллерээс монголын эрх баригчдыг Алтайн хязгаарын асуудлаар буулт хийлгэхийн тулд ятгах, хавчих элдэв оролдлогыг хийжээ (Белов 1999: 31).

Ийнхүү Оросын талаас байлдааны ажиллагаа цаашид даамжиран үргэлжлэхээс сэрэмжилж, түүний үйл ажиллагааг зогсоох арга хэмжээг авч эхэлжээ. Алтайн хязгаарын захирагч амбан Палт ч энэ дайны үйл ажиллагааг зогсоохын төлөө байж, монголын талтай хэлэлцээ хийх зөвшөөрлийг Бээжингээс хүсэх болов.

Энэ дагуу 1913 оны 6-р сарын 29-нд Дундад Иргэн улсын ГЯЯ-наас В.Н. Крупенскийд ирүүлсэн бичигтээ Хаант Орос, Дундад улс хоёр Монголын асуудлыг гүйцэд шийдтэл Шар сүм дэх Оросын консул М. Кузминский, амбан Палт нарын хооронд харилцан зөвшөөрөх хэлэлцээрийн төслийн болзлыг

боловсруулах санал тавьжээ. Энэ дагуу 8 сард Хятад, Орос улсын 2 талаас хамтран “Түр цагийн гэрээний төслийг нийт 6 зүйлээр тогтоон гаргажээ.

Алтайн захирагч Палт гэрээний төслийг Шинжианы захирагч Ян Цэнсинээр дамжуулан Бээжингийн засгийн газарт хүргэж, хянуулан зөвшөөрүүлэх гэсэнд засгийн газраас “Дайн зогсоох гэрээ болгосны хувьд дайн зогсоох зүйлээс гадна хилийн зааг зэрэг асуудалд холбогдуулсаны хэрэггүй” (Ойрад 2000: 367) хэмээн зарим /2, 3 зүйл/ зүйлийг нь хасахыг сануулжээ. В.Н Крупенский өөрийн засгийн газартай зөвшилцсөний дагуу үүнийг зөвшөөрсөн байна.

Монгол, Шинжианы хооронд үүссэн байлдааны гал зогсоох хэлэлцээг Шар сүмд яаралтайгаар эхлүүлж, Монголын талын оролцоогүйгээр Шинжианы талыг торгуудын ван Палт, Хаант Оросын талыг Кузьминский төлөөлж хэлэлцэж, 1913 оны 12-р сарын 8-нд “Ховд Алтайн хоорондох монгол, хятад цэргийн дайны галын шугамыг газар дээр нь тогтоох протокол”-д гарын үзэг зурав. Уг протоколыг байгуулахад монголын талын оролцоогүйгээр бүх асуудлыг шийдсэн явдал нь Орос хятадын талууд Монгол улсын язгуур эрх ашгийг үл хүндэтгэсэн хэрэг байлаа. Уг протоколоор Монгол, Шинжианы хооронд байлдааны гал зогсоох шугамыг тогтоохдоо: Монгол Алтайн нуруугаар уруудаж, Алтайн нурууны Ганц модны даваанд хүрээд, Булган голын гольдролоор уруудан өмнө зүг чиглэн Цагаан түнгэ, Туханцэг, Хараатын ам хүртэл шугамыг 8 сарын хугацаагаар тогтоожээ (Белов 1999: 79). Мөн протоколоор 2 этгээдийн цэргийн суух газрыг заан тогтоож, 3 сарын дотор хятадын цэргийг Цагаан түнгээс гаргахаар болж, Оросын хаант улс Алтайн хязгаар дахь улс төр, эдийн засгийн өмнөх давуу байдалаа хадгалах болж, Алтайн нуруунаас наашхи алтайн урианхайн нутаг, Булган голоос зүүн тийш шинэ торгуудын нутаг монголын цэрэг суух газрын зааг дотор хамрагдах болов. Энэ протоколд хятадын талын шахалтаар өмнөх төсөл дэх Ховд, Алтайн хилийн зааг, урианхай, казах иргэн зэрэг дураараа шилжин нүүх, чөлөөтэй арилжаа наймаа хийх зэрэг зүйлийг хассаны хамт протоколын 1-р зүйлд “Тус протокол бол зөвхөн хоёр этгээдийн цэрэг суух газрыг тогтоосон гэрээ болно. Ховд, Алтайн хилийн заагтай огт холбогдолгүй” (Ойрад 2000: 369) гэж тодорхой заан Ховд, Алтайн хилийн заагийг тогтоохоос зайлсхийж, бүх маргаантай асуудлыг гурван улсын хэлэлцээр хүртэл хойшлуулав. Энэ протоколоор тогтоосон гал зогсоох шугам нь хожим одоогийн Монгол улсын баруун хилийн үндэс болжээ.

Энэ протоколыг байгуулсан явдал нь Ховд Алтайн хязгаарын хил дээрх удаан сунжирсан байлдааны үйл ажиллагааг зогсоож, энэ хязгаар нутагт улс төрийн хувьд тогтвортой байдал бий болгосон хэдий ч Алтайн хязгаарыг чөлөөлж өөртөө нэгтгэх гэсэн монголчуудын эрмэлзлэлийг мухардалд оруулж, тэдний үндэсний эв нэгдлийн төлөө тэмцлийг тасалдуулжээ.

Энэ үйл явдлын дараа 1913 оны сүүлчээр Алтайн хязгаарыг өөрийн захиргаанд нэгтгэн дарангуйлан захирах санаатай байсан Шинжианы захирагч Ян Цзэнсины зүгээс Алтайн хязгаарын захирагч Палт ванг буруушаан огцоруулж, 1914 оны 2-р сард Алтайн хязгаарын захирагчаар өөрийн түшмэл Лю Чанбинг, цэргийн командлагчаар өөрийн үнэнч генерал Ян Сюнь-ийг томилж (Белов 1999: 73), Алтайн хязгаарыг хятадын цэргийн эрхтний шууд хяналтанд оруулжээ. Протоколын дагуу монгол, хятадын цэрэг 1914 оны 3-р сарын 8 гэхэд Цагаан Түнгээс гарч дуусчээ.

6 Дундад Иргэн улсаас Алтайн хязгаарт бэхжихийн төлөө хийсэн тэмцэл

Хаант Орос улс эхэн үедээ Алтайн хязгаарыг хятадын дарлалаас чөлөөлж, Ховдын хязгаартай нэгтгэх бодлогыг дэмжиж байсан боловч яваандаа уг байр сууринаасаа татгалзжээ. Учир нь Хаант Орос улс Алтайн хязгаарыг тасдан авах гэсэн Дундад Иргэн улсын бодлогод дипломат дэмжлэг үзүүлж, уг бодлогыг Монголоор хүлээн зөвшөөрүүлэх овжин оролдлогыг хийх болжээ.

1913 оны 5-р сард хаант Орос, Дундад Иргэн улсын хооронд Бээжинд нууц хэлэлцээр болж, Гадаад Монголын автономийг хүлээн зөвшөөрсөн тухай орос хятад хоёрын “Илэрхийлэн гаргах бичиг” гэж нэрлэсэн тунхаг бичиг боловсруулан гаргаж, түүнийгээ монгол ноёд феодалуудад далдуур ятгах, тулгах ажил явуулсны эцэст 1913 оны 11-р сарын 23-нд “Оросоос Гадаад Монгол нь Хятад улсын нутаг дэвсгэрийн нэгэн хэсэг болохыг зөвшөөрөн хүлээсэн тухай мэдтүгэй” хэмээн солилцсон нот хавсралт бичгийг баталжээ. Нот бичгийн 4-р зүйлд “Ар монголын өөртөө засах газрын хязгаарын зүй нь урьдах Чин улсын Хүрээнд сууж хэрэг шийтгэх сайд, Улиастайн жанжин, жич Ховдын хувийн сайдын захирсан хязгаараар хэмжээ болговоос зохимой. Гагцхүү одоо Монголын нарийн нягт газрын зураггүй бөгөөд харьяат олон газрын заагийг явуулах газрын хязгаар хэлхээг бас тодорхойлон хуваагаагүй тул Ар монголын зах хязгаарыг лавтлан тогтоох ба Ховд, Алтайн хязгаарыг хуваах явдлыг зүй нь Илэрхийлэн гаргах бичгийн 5-р зүйлд бичсэн ёсоор хойш өдөр зөвлөн тогтоовоос зохимой” (Санжмятав 1991: 101–102) гэжээ. Ингэснээр Алтайн хязгаар нь монголчуудын язгуур эрх мэдлээс үл хамаарч Ховдын хязгаарын нутгаас таслагдан алдагдаж, Дундад Иргэн улсын бүрэлдхүүнд багтах төлөвтэй болжээ.

Үүний зэрэгцээ Алтайн урианхайн зарим хошуудын газар нутаг нэгэнт хятадын нутагт харьяалагдах болсон, тэдгээр хошууны ардыг хасагууд дайран ирж, хүн ам, малыг хэлмэгдүүлэн сүйтгэх болсон тул урианхайн зарим ноёд баруун хязгаарыг сэргийлэн батлах газарт хандан биднийг сэргийлэн хамгаалах, нүүлгэн монгол газар нутагт шилжүүлэн суулгахыг хүссэний дагуу 1913 онд баруун хязгаарыг тохинуулах хэргийг хавсран туслах дэд зэрэг тайж

Баяраас 200 илүү монгол цэрэг гаргаж Өрөнгө, Чингэл, Цэнгэл зэрэг газар суусан урианхай хошууны ардуудыг арга буюу дасаж идээшсэн нутаг бэлчээрээс нь хүн малын аль алиныг нь хагацаан нөгмөсөн нүүлгэн шилжүүлж, Булган, Дэлүүн, Сэнхэр зэрэг газар суулгажээ. Чингэхдээ торгууд, хошууд 3 хошуунаас 100 илүү тэмээ дайчлан гаргуулжээ (МУҮА. ФА-3, Д-1.ХН-444.НБ-12). Өгүүлэн буй үед Ховдыг чөлөөлсний дараа ч Дундад Иргэн улсаас Ховдын хязгаарыг цэрэг зэвсгийн хүчээр эзлэн авах оролдлого бүтэлгүй болмогц хязгаарын ноёдыг дипломат аргаар татах бодлого явуулах болжээ.

Дундад Иргэн Улс бүр эртнээс монгол ноёд, дээд лам нарыг элдэв цол, хэргэм, шагнал бэлэг сэлтээр эргүүлэн татахыг оролдохдоо 1912 оны 8-р сард “Монголыг харгалзан үзэх дүрэм хэмжээ” гэгчийг баталж, монгол ван, гүн, дээд лам нарт урьд Чин улсын үед эдэлж байсан эрх мэдэл, үе залгамжлах ёсыг нь хэвээр байлгахад гадна пүнлүүг олгоно. Монгол газар нэгэнт байгуулсан хятад сяний захиргааг хэвээр байлгах, хятад хэл бичигт боловсорсон монгол хүмүүсийг албан тушаалд дэвшүүлэн ажиллуулна. Монголыг дотор газартай адил үзнэ” (Жамсран нар 1996:35–36) гэж заасан юм.

Дундад Иргэн Улс Гадаад Монголын Төрийг засах явдлын яамыг 1912 онд Монгол Төвдийн хороо (Мэн цзан юань) болгон өөрчилж, улсын ерөнхийлөгчийн шууд харьяанд байдаг төвийн байгууллага болгов. Хятадын засгийн газраас уг бодлогоо хэрэгжүүлэхийн тулд монгол ноёд, ван, гүн, дээд лам нарыг гол түшиг тулгуур болгох болжээ.

Хятадын засгийн газраас монгол ноёдыг өөртөө татахын тулд 1911 оноос хойших гурван жилийн цалин пүнлүүг тэдэнд олгохоор болжээ. Энэ бол шинэ тулгар байгуулагдсан монголын засгийн газар монгол ноёдын цалинг алдаг оног төлж байсан нөхцөлд тэдгээр ноёдын толгойг хятад руу эргүүлэх тун аятай арга байв (Бурдуков 1987: 121). Хятадууд энэ бодлогоо Алтайн хязгаарт ч хэрэгжүүлжээ. Урьд нь 1913 онд Шар сүмд байгуулсан протоколоор гурван улсын гэрээ байгуулах хүртэл 2 талаас хэрэг төвөг өдүүлэх үгүй хэмээн тохиролцсон атал Шинжианы болон Алтайн хязгаарын захирагчаас Алтайн урианхай, торгууд, хошууд, хасаг ноёдыг дотор нь хутган үймүүлэх, элдвээр өөртөө татах, айлган сүрдүүлэх бодлого явуулах болов. Мөн тэднийг Шинжиан мужийн харьяат мөн болохыг нь тушаан сануулсан буюу аргадан татахыг эрмэлзсэн, хүрэлцэн ирж, цол хэргэм, цалин пүнлүү, тамга тэмдэг хүлээн авахыг ятгах, алба үүрэг хүлээлгэхийг оролдох болов. Хятадын талаас алтайн урианхай, торгууд нарыг Алтайд нийлэхийг тушаахын хамт урьд тогтоосныг баримтлан 4 жилийн пүнлүү олгох, нэгэн хошууны ядуу цөөхөн ардад тэжээл болгож 2000 лан шагнан олгох⁷ зэргээр

⁷ МУҮА ФА3, Д-1, ХН-621, Б-19.

талдаа татахыг хичээж байв.Энэ мэтчилэн бүх хошууны засаг нарт хандан “ДИУ-ын 5 төрөл бүгдээр найртай сайны тулд нийслэл хотын дотоод гадаад аймгийн бас олон мужийн жанжин сайд ван, гүн цөм илэрхийлэх бичгийг гаргаж өргөсөн”-ий адил “...өөр өөрсдийн газар нутгийн нэр, овог тусгаал гэх зэргийг нарийн тодорхойлсон хүсэн батлах бичгийг гарган өргөж цөм тус тус хүрч ирэн манай төрд дага”⁸ хэмээн ухуулж, тодорхой хугацаа заан удаа дараа хүчлэн шаардаж байжээ. Шинжианы болон Алтайн хязгаарын захирагч, жанжин, түшмэд нараас цаг ямагт “...Шинэ торгууд ба хошууд аймаг, алтайн урианхайн 7 хошуу цөм Иргэн улсын харьяат мөн.Огт булаалдан тэмцэлдэх газар үгүй”⁹ гэсэн байр сууриа цаг үргэлжид чангалан мэдэгдээд зогсохгүй албат харьяатын ёсоор “ДИУ-ын зураг дүрмийн дагуу хоёр янзын хувцас хэрэглэлтэй байж үл болох тул яаравчлан өөрийн харьяат олон ван, гүн, залан, занги нарын зэрэг дэвийг тодорхойлон малгай, хувцас хэрэглүүлэх”¹⁰ -ийг, “Нийслэлд одож жасааны алба дагнах”¹¹ -ыг тусгаан хэрэгжүүлэхийг оролдсоор ирсэн байна.

Иймээс Алтайн наад хошуу нутгийн зарим засаг ноёд өөрийн өмнөх саналаасаа ухран ДИУ-д дагаар орох сэтгэл өвөрлөн албат ардаа дагуулан эсвэл албат ардаа орхин Алтайг даван нүүх болжээ.

Алтайн хязгаарын ноёдоос хамгийн анх торгуудын чин ван Мишигдонров 1913 оны 5-р сард Шинжианы нутаг Жимсайр луу албат ардаа авч нүүжээ.1914 оны зун Алтайн урианхайн сайд гүн Галсанжав, эцэг Эрхшонуугийн хамт өөрийн хошууны түшмэд, лам нар, ардуудыг хууран мэхэлж, хошуу албатыг орхиж Алтай уулыг давж нүүн оджээ. Алтайн урианхайн Зоригт гүн Сандуйжавын хошууны мэйрэн Намсрай нарын 4 түшмэл, 40 өрх албатыг дагуулан, зэвсэг буу, шийдэм мод барин айлгаж, Ханаас голд нүүж оджээ. Мөн Алтайн хязгаарын захирагчаас Алтайн урианхайн хошуудад элч илгээж, засаг ноёдыг /урианхайн Зоригт гүн Сандуйжав, Эетэй гүн Төрбат нарыг/ “Алтайн захирагч дуудав. Бидний хойноос цэрэг ирж яваа” хэмээн айлган сүрдүүлж мэдүүлэх болжээ.¹² Үүний улмаас 1914 оны 6 сарын 25-нд харьяат гүн Сандуйжав тэргүүлэн 17 албат өрхийг дагуулан Алтайг давж нүүжээ.

1914 оны намар Шинжианы захирагчаас Чин сэтгэлтийн торгуудын хэдэн хошууны засаг ноёдуудыг өөртөө татахын тулд тэдэнд мөнгө зоос олгож, хятад түшмэд бүхий 40-өөд бүрэн зэвсэг бүхий хятад цэрэг ирүүлэн, тэдний нутгийг харгалзан хамгаалан суулгах болсон ба засаг ноёд болох гүн

⁸ МУҮА ФА3, Д-1, ХН-708, Б.5, ФА4, Д-1, ХН-204, Б-8.

⁹ МУҮА ФА3, Д-1, ХН-410.

¹⁰ МУҮА ФА4, Д-1, ХН-689, Б-6.

¹¹ МУҮА ФА3, Д-1, ХН-621, Б-5.

¹² [МУҮА. ФА-2, Д-1, ХН-222, НБ-5].

Магсаржав, гүн Дамдинцэдэн нарыг тамгын хамт 20 пэргээр харгалзуулан тэднийг зүйл зүйлээр мэхлэн айлгаж, хавчин аваачаад Шинжианд хүчээр дагаар оруулснаас гадна засаг ноёдгүй үлдсэн хошуудын түшмэд ардууд язгуураас идээшин суусан нутаг газрыг аль этгээд эзлэн авбаас тэр хааны албат болсугай хэмээн мэдэгдэх болжээ.¹³

Иймийн учир баруун хязгаарыг сэргийлэн батлах сайдын газраас илбэн тохинуулах хэрэгт нийлүүлж шийтгүүлэхээр торгуудын хошуудад элч илгээсэн боловч хятад түшмэд цэргүүд тэднийг хүлээж аваагүй байна.

Ийнхүү 1913 онд байгуулсан протоколоор хятад, монголын 2 талаас гурван этгээдийн гэрээ байгуулах хүртэл байлдааныг зогсоож, тус тусын харьяат цэргүүдийг хойш татах тухай заасан боловч хятадын талаас удаа дараа цэрэг томилон мордуулж, Ховдын хязгаарын хошууны ноёд түшмэд ардыг элдэв зүйлээр өөртөө татахыг оролдох, айлан сүрдүүлэх, Алтайг давуулж албадан аваачих, нүүлгэх зэргээр үймүүлэх, “нутаг үндсийг хамгаалмой” хэмээн зах хязгаарын монгол хошуудад цэрэг оруулж суулгах зэргээр 2 улсын хэлэлцэн тогтсон гэрээний зүйлийг удаа дараа зөрчих болжээ.

Ийм нөхцөлд Алтай даван нүүж одсон түшмэд ардыг хураан авчирах, элдэв учрыг байцаан мэдэх үүднээс 1914 оны 7 сарын шинийн 3-нд баруун хязгаарын илбэн тохинуулахаар ирсэн сайд Сономдорж баруун хязгаарыг сэргийлэн батлах сайд, хан нартай хамтран зөвлөлдөж 150 гаруй цэргийг гүн Жамсрангаар захируулан гаргаж, гүн Төрбатын хошууны нутаг Цагаанголд очиж суулгахаар мордуулж харьяат хошуудыг харгалзуулснаас гадна хэрэг учрыг Ховдод сууж буй Оросын консул болон монголын засгийн газарт мэдүүлжээ.

Монголын засгийн газраас нүүж одсон Ховдын харьяат урианхай, торгуудын ноёд, түшмэд, ардыг түшмэл, цэрэг томилон мордуулж, хурааж авчирч, баримтлан захируулбаас зохивч юуны урьд яаравчлан цэрэг дайчлан мордуулах аваас харилцан байлдаан өдөөж, хэрэг будлиан дэгдээж болзошгүй тул түтгэлзэн Хятадын засгийн газарт бичиг явуулж байв.

Ийнхүү 1912 оны 8-р сард Ховдын хязгаарыг чөлөөлснөөр хязгаар нутгийн эрх мэдэл монголчуудын гарт бүрэн шилжиж, өөрсдөө засаг захиргаа, эдийн засаг, нийгмийн бүх хэргээ бие даан шийтгэн явуулах болсон авч хязгаар нутаг нь янз бүрийн зорилго бүхий гадаад дотоодын улс төрийн хүчнүүдийн зөрчил тэмцлийн талбар болж хувирчээ. Ялангуяа хятадын зүгээс Ховдын хязгаарыг буцааж авах, Алтайн хязгаарт бэхжихийн төлөө тэмцэж, үүний эсрэг монголын талаас хятадын түрэмгийллийг няцаах улмаар Алтайн хязгаарыг чөлөөлөхийн төлөө тэмцлээ үргэлжүүлсэн боловч Орос Хятад

¹³ [МУҮА. ФА-3, Д-1, ХН-102, НБ-5, ФА-2, Д-1, ХН-222, НБ-4].

хоёр гүрний Монголын газар нутгийг тал талаас нь хэмлэн хувааж эзэгнэх бодлогын улмаас энэ тэмцэл нь таслагдаж, Ховдын хязгаарын газар нутгийн нэг хэсэг нь монголчуудын язгуур эрх ашгаас үл хамааран их гүрнүүдийн улс төрийн бодлогын золиос болж, ДИУ-ын бүрэлдхүүнд багтах хандлагатай болов.

7 Хиэгтын гурван улсын хэлэлцээр ба Алтайн хязгаар

Орос Хятад хоёр улсаас Монголын асуудлыг бүрэн шийдвэрлэж дуусгахын тулд 1915 онд Хиэгт хотноо Монголын талыг оролцуулан хийсэн 3 улсын хоорондох хэлэлцээр нь Алтайн хязгаарын түүхэнд ч сөрөг үр дагавар тарьжээ. Уг хэлэлцээрийн явцад Ховд Алтайн хязгаарын асуудал хурцаар тавигдаж, ялангуяа Гадаад Монголын газар нутаг, түүний баруун талын хил хязгаарын асуудлыг хэлэлцэх үед 2 талаас өөр өөр санал орж ирж хоорондоо зөрчилдөх болов.

Монголын талаас “Урьд Чин улсын хуульд Алтайн хязгаар болбоос Ховдын хязгаарт багтаж, Ховдын амбан Алтайг захирч байсан хэмээвээс хятадын тал зөвшөөрсөнгүй. Харин 1913 оны Орос Хятадын тусгай солилцсон бичгийн 5-р зүйлд өөртөө эзэрхсэн Гадаад Монгол болбоос Хүрээний хятад амбан, Улиастайн жанжин, Ховдын хятад амбаны захиргаанд бүхий хязгаарууд болой хэмээн бичсэн.4-р зүйлд Ховд Алтайн хязгааруудын хил хуваах хэмээн тодорхой байх тул Монголын талын Алтайг Ховдын хязгаар дор оруулсугай хэмээсэн хэргийг бид хэлэлцэж чадахгүй” (Хятад 1999: 222) хэмээн мэдэгджээ.

Харин Оросын талаас “газрын зураг ба хэрэг дор хамаатай бичгүүд үгүйгээр хил хуваах явдлыг хэлэлцэхэд бэрхтэй тул энэ хэргийг дараа хуралд хэлэлцвээс сайн” (Хятад 1999: 222) хэмээн хойшлуулахыг санал болгосоны дагуу шийджээ.

Хиэгтын гурван улсын хэлэлцээрийн эцэст Орос, хятадын засгийн газрын хооронд “Илэрхийлэн гаргах бичиг” гэдгээ солилцон нот бичгийг Монголд албан ёсоор хүлээлгэж, Гадаад Монголыг ДИУ-ын харьяанд өөртөө эзэрхсэн “автономит” эрхтэй улс болгон үлдээжээ. Хиэгтын хэлэлцээрийн 11-р зүйлд тус улсын хил хязгаарын асуудлыг тусгахдаа “Өөртөө эзэрхсэн Гадаад Монголын газар болбоос ... Дундад, Орос хоёр улсын өмнө нь солилцсон нот бичгийн 4-р зүйлийн ёсоор урдахь Хүрээний хятад амбан, Улиастайн жанжин, Ховдын хятад амбаны захиргаанд байсан газрууд бөгөөд Дундад улс лугаа нийлсэн хил болбоос зүүн зүг Хөлөн Буйр, өмнө зүг Өвөр монгол, баруун өмнө зүг Шинэ хязгаар, баруун зүг Алтайн хязгаар лугаа хил нийлсэн Халхын дөрвөн аймаг ба Ховдын хязгаарын олон хошуудын хилээр буй амой” гэжээ. Харин “Дундад улс, Автономит Гадаад Монголын хилийг чухам хуваах явдлыг Дундад, Орос хоёр улс Автономит Гадаад Монголын

төлөөлөгчид тусгай хамт нийлэн шийтгэвээс зохих тул энэхүү гэрээг тогтоосноос хойш 2 жилийн дотор хамт нийлэн үүсгэн байцаамой” (Санжмятав 1991: 15) гэж заасан юм. Энэ гэрээгээр Орос Хятад хоёр хуйвалдаж, Монголын тусгаар тогтнолыг хязгаарлаж, Хятад, Оросын хооронд хоёр тийшээ эзэрхэгдэх автономит муж улсын шинжтэй болгосноос гадна Монголын газар нутгийг тасдан авсаны дотор Ховдын хязгаарын баруун захын Алтайн хязгаарын 10 хошууг Гадаад монголоос тэр дундаа Ховдын хязгаараас албан ёсоор тасалжээ. Харин Алтай, Ховдын хил хязгаарыг хэрхэн тогтоох асуудлыг 2 жилийн дотор дахин хэлэлцэн тогтоохоор шийджээ. Энэ үеэс эхлэн ном зохиолуудад Алтайн хязгаарыг Хятадын Алтай (Китайский Алтай) хэмээн нэрлэх болжээ.

Энэ үйл явдал монголчуудын тэр дундаа баруун хязгаарын ард түмний жигшил зэвүүцлийг төрүүлж, монголын төрд дагаар орсон алтайн урианхай, торгууд, хошуудын ард олонд хүнд цохилт болжээ.

8 Алтайн хязгаарыг Шинжиан мужид хүчээр нэгтгэсэн нь

Хиагтын хэлэлцээрийн дараа Алтайн хязгаарын монгол хошуудаас “Манай олон хошууд болбаас угаас Ховдын харьяат байгаад Гадаад Монголыг тусгаар болохын үест дуртайяа дагаар орж хэргэм зэрэг ба тамга зүйлийг хүлээн авсан” тул Ховдын монгол түшмэдэд алба залгуулж байгаагаа илэрхийлжээ. Энэ явдлыг Алтайн хязгаарын захирагчаас эсэргүүцэн “Халхын түшмэл нь Үрүмчи хязгаарыг давж алба зарлав” хэмээн Ховдод суугаа хятадын төлөөний тусгай түшмэлд зарга мэдүүлж бичиг илгээсэнд тус түшмэлээс монгол түшмэлдэд “урианхай олон хошуудад алба зарлахыг цаазлаамой” (Чэнь Чунь Цзу 1922: 130) хэмээн бичиг явуулж таслан зогсоосон явдал гарч байв.

Алтайн хязгаарын олон хошууд Хиагтын хэлэлцээрийг эсэргүүцэж, Монгол улсыг дагахаа илэрхийлэх болсон тухай “Алтайн хязгаарын монгол хошуудын дагах буцах нь тогтворгүйн дээр мунхаг бүрхэг нь нэн гүн болох үнэн хэрэгтээ илрэн гарсан нь нэгэнт энэ мэт болсон тул Ховд Алтайн хил хязгаарын явдлаас хойш өдөр тэмцэл булаалдаан гарахыг арилгахад бэрх болсон” (Чэнь Чунь Цзу 1922: 131) гээд цаашид тус хязгаарыг бататган бэхжүүлэх талаар тодорхой арга хэмжээ авахыг Ховдод суугаа хятадын тусгай түшмэлээс засгийн газартаа санал болгож байжээ.

Ийм нөхцөлд 1915 онд Алтайн хязгаарын захирагч Лю Чанбинээс “Алтай болбоос алс хязгаарын газар ангижран суух бөгөөд цэрэг цөөн, цалин бага тул Или, Тарвагатайн ёсоор захиран сахих жанжин болгон өөрчилж, Шинжиан мужаа хавсаргаму” (Чэнь Чунь Цзу 1922: 159) хэмээн засгийн газартаа мөн мэдүүлж байв.

Өмнө нь Ховд Алтайн хил хязгаарыг нарийн зааглаагүй явсаар ирсэн болон тодорхой газрын зураг үйлдэгдээгүй байснаас шалтгаалан 1917 оноос

эхлэн Ховд Алтайн хил хязгаарыг тогтоох асуудал нь Монгол, Хятадын аль алины нь эрх ашгийг хөндсөн чухал ярвигтай асуудал болжээ. 1916 оны 1-р сард Ховдын туслан шийтгэх тусгай түшмэлээс 3 улсын гэрээний 11-р зүйлд заасны дагуу Ховд, Алтайн хил хязгаарыг яаралтай тогтоох саналыг засгийн газартаа мэдүүлжээ (Чэнь Чунь Цзу 1922: 130). Гэвч Ховд Алтайн хилийн заагийг тогтоох асуудал нэг мөр бололгүй хугацаа сунжирсаар талаар өнгөрчээ.

Цаашид 1917 оноос Дундад Иргэн улсаас Алтайн хязгаарт засаг захиргааны шинэчлэл хийн, Шинжиан мужид нэгтгэх бодлого барих болжээ. 1918 онд Алтайн Шар сүмд Алтайн хязгаарын олон ноёд, хятадын төлөөний түшмэлийн хамтаар хуралдаж, урьд олгосон тамгыг хурааж, шинэ тамгыг олгожээ. Монгол Алтайн нурууг давж нутагладаг урианхайчуудын зарим нь Хятадад захирагдахгүй хэмээн тамгаа хураалгахгүй байсан боловч уг хурлаас хүчээр огцруулж байсан байна. Алтайн Улаан-усны газар хятад цэрэг сууж зах хязгаарыг цагдан суух болжээ. 1917 оны 8-р сард Хүрээний бүгдийг хамгаалах сайд Чэнь И Алтайн хязгаарыг Шинжианд нэгтгэх тухай өргөх бичгийг Бээжинд явуулжээ. Уг бичигт Алтайн тусгай газрыг өөрчилж, До-гийн газар¹⁴ болгон Шинжиан мужид хавсаргахын учир холбогдолыг олон талаас нь тодорхойлон дүгнэж өөрийн саналыг өгүүлжээ.

Энэ дагуу 1919 оны 5-р сарын 16-нд /ДИУ-ын 8-р оны 6-р сарын 1/ Да жунтанаас Чэнь И болон Алтай, Шинжианы захирагч, өөрийн олон яамдын санал хүсэлтийг үндэслэн “Эдүгээ гадаад эдийн засгийн, хуурай замын цэргийн, худалдаа, тариалангийн, монгол түвдийн зэрэг яамдуудаас Алтайн тусгай газрыг өөрчилж, нэгэн до-гийн газар болгох нэг хэргийг хамтран хянаад хавсаргах явдлыг биелүүлж, хязгаарын засалт дотор тус болгому” (Чэнь Чунь Цзу 1922: 165) хэмээн зарлиг гаргажээ. Энэ үеэс хойш Алтайн хязгаар нь албан ёсоор Дундад Иргэн улсын Шинжиан мужийн бүрэлдхүүнд орж, хятадын мужийн зах хязгаар нутаг болж, ДИУ-ын эртнээс санаалж байсан “Или, Тарвагатай, Алтайн гурван газрыг тэгш жагсааж, Шинжианы гадаад халхавч болгох” (Чэнь Чунь Цзу 1922: 125) гэсэн ноцтой бодлого бодит биелэлээ олжээ.

1915–1919 оны хооронд Гадаад Монголын засгийн газраас Ховдын хязгаарын газар нутгийн салшгүй хэсэг болсон Алтайн хязгаарыг автономит Монгол улсад нэгтгэж, монгол үндэстний тусгаар тогтнолын нэгдлийг хангахын төлөө тэмцсэн боловч Дундад Иргэн улс, хаант Орос зэрэг хоёр хөрш улсын ашиг сонирхолоос шалтгаалж бүтэлгүй болжээ.

¹⁴ До гэдэг нь Дундад Иргэн улсын мужийн доторхи засаг захиргааны нэгж юм.

9 1921–1931 оны хоорондох Алтайн хязгаар

Хөрш хоёр улсын улс төрийн бодлогын золиос болж, ДИУ-ын Шинжиан мужид хүчээр нэгтгэгдсэн Алтайн хязгаарын монголчууд 1921 оны Монголын үндэсний ардчилсан хувьсгалыг талархан хүлээн авч, сэргэн мандсан Монгол улсын төрд дагаар орцгоожээ.

Алтайн хязгаарын ард олон ДИУ-ын өдөөн хатгалгын улмаас эх нутгаасаа дүрвэн Алтайг даван нүүх хөдөлгөөний эхлэлийг 1913 онд торгуудын хошууны ноён Мишигдонров тэргүүтэй ард олны нүүдэл тавьсан бөгөөд энэ явц нь ардын хувьсгалын дараа 1923-1926 оны хооронд дахин сэргэж, улмаар 1930-1931 онд оргилдоо хүрсэн нь тухайн үеийн Монгол орны гадаад, дотоод нөхцөл байдлаас үүджээ.

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Teaching Language through the Medium of Folklore: Using a Collection of Kalmyk & Oirat Song Texts of the XIX–XX Centuries to Promote Cultural Awareness and Understanding¹

Omakayeva Ellara Ulyaevna

One of the ways of deep access into the essence of any language phenomenon is its comparative-typological analysis, which contributes to the establishment of universal and specific characteristics in each of the comparable languages – in relation to a specific language category. Even in such closely related languages such as Mongolian, Buryat and Kalmyk, there may be inconsistencies. The comparative, contrasting description of the Mongolian and Russian languages in the theoretical plan is directed, first of all, on the development of scientifically proved techniques of teaching a native language.

Vocabulary and terminology found in songs is of great importance as part of the vocabulary of the language, indicating the cultural contacts of different peoples. Apparently, all the words of the text should be included in the dictionary on “language of song texts”, but the full semantic description can be given only for key words (words that perform specific aesthetic function), regardless of their part-of-speech affiliation. Such words are described in the dictionaries, but in the folk context get a kind of lexicographical portrait of a poetic word.

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Individual words can be understood in the context of the whole work and more broadly – in the context of the era. Ignorance of the latter leads to misunderstanding of both the text as a whole and its individual fragments. A comprehensive study and description of the structure of the song texts, the text-forming elements and categories are important (Omakayeva, 2011). Today it is important to ask the most essential and debatable theoretical and practical questions with regard to practical problems of teaching languages. This is primarily the problem of translating folklore text.

In the theory and practice of translation, the problem of cultural translation is one of the most difficult. The translator faces a difficult task to ensure not only the accuracy of the translation, but also an adequate understanding of the text by a representative of a different culture. For adequate translation of the text into Russian, it is necessary not only to know the translation language perfectly, but also to know the historical and socio-cultural context well.

The term worldview (image/model of the world), which is the key term of the metalanguage of culture, is increasingly used now in linguistic studies. To understand the behavior and traditional culture of the ethnos, it is necessary to reconstruct the worldview that was formed in a concrete historical period.

The same world is comprehended in various ways by different ethnic groups, even closely related, i.e. there are different ways of understanding the world, different worldviews. In the theory and practice of translation, the problem of cultural transferability is one of the most complex. The translator faces the difficult task to ensure not only the accuracy of the translation, but also an adequate understanding of the text by a representative of a different culture. For an adequate translation of the text into Russian it is necessary not only to master the translation language perfectly, but also to know the historical and sociocultural context.

Today we have a sufficient number of song texts recorded at different times by domestic and foreign researchers. European orientalist-linguist G. Balint (1844–1913) from Sentkatolna, who today rightfully can be called the founder of Hungarian Mongolistics, is one of the first researchers recorded individual samples of Kalmyk song creativity. Thanks to the support of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the scientist was able to carry out a trip to the Kalmyk steppes, during which he recorded the best examples of the folklore of the Astrakhan Kalmyks, including 25 songs, the texts of which are currently stored in the Oriental Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books of the Library and Archive of the Academy of Sciences in Budapest.

The Hungarian researcher collected a certain number of Kalmyk texts first in Kazan, and then has collected the materials of interest to him among the Astrakhan Kalmyks for eight months (late September 1871 - May 12, 1872). The result of his expeditionary work was a text, which was prepared for publication by the Hungarian Mongolist A. Birtalan [Birtalan, 2009; 2011; 2016], who made available to researchers the collection of songs recorded by Balint among the Astrakhan Kalmyks almost one and a half century ago.

Balint pointed out, that he recorded 25 songs, and he learned 3–4 of the most beautiful songs, which caused sincere admiration of the Kalmyks. Agnesh Birtalan published in 2011 sixteen texts presented in facsimile, Latin transliteration and translation into English. There is no Russian translation, except for one song published by the Hungarian Mongolist D. Kara in the framework of his article devoted to the unpublished manuscripts of Balint (Kara, 1962).

Historical and sociocultural peculiarities of a particular ethnos are reflected in song texts in the form of so-called *word-realies*, nominating unique objects and phenomena related to various spheres of life of nature, man and society (nature facts, artifacts, social facts, mentifacts). Balint's songs contain Kalmyk realies, unknown to the Russian ethnos and have no correspondence in Russian culture, and therefore, direct lexical equivalents in Russian.

We are talking primarily about artifacts such as *ger* 'tent', 'kibitka', and social facts such as *noyon* 'owner of the ulus' and *zä:sng* 'owner of the aimak'. Interestingly, both last words in the English translation of the Kalmyk song are translated in different ways: the first as noble (approximate translation of *realii*), the second – by Latin transcription of *realii* (mechanical transfer of *realii* from the source language into the language of translation by graphic means with the maximum approximation to the original phonetic form: *zä:sng*).

The objects of material culture of a certain people (dwelling, clothes, utensils, musical instruments, etc.) are often mentioned in songs. One of the songs is called "Zakhan hurvn germedt" (In the three outer tents). The emergence of the *realii ger* is associated with the nomadic way of life of the ancestors of Kalmyks, and class terms – with the social stratification of Kalmyk society in the past.

The unconditional value of the collection of Balmint's Kalmyk songs is that individual texts are unique and practically unknown at home. Others, although known to modern Kalmyks (more often in reduced versions), are the source texts. A comparative study of the Kalmyk original of the song text and its Russian translation is quite promising in terms of teaching the language. The song text can serve as a means of increasing the motivation to study the Kalmyk language. The conducted research shows that the discursive characteristics of the corresponding song text are of great importance: the conditions for its creation, existence and functioning, intertextual relations, the cultural and historical background of the epoch and social perception.

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Collections of Kalmyk Texts in Gábor Bálint of Szentkatolna's Manuscripts (1871–1872)¹

Ellara Ulyaevna Omakayeva and Ágnes Birtalan

Annotation

The present article gives an introduction to Balint's linguistic, folklore and ethnographic materials recorded among the Kalmyks in the second half of the 19th century. It is an attempt to show the effectiveness of applying the text approach in teaching Kalmyk language on the example of Kalmyk texts in records of the Hungarian scientist. This article is a brief overview of Collections of Kalmyk texts in Gábor Bálint of Szentkatolna's manuscripts are considered and analyzed from the point of worldview. The study is important not only for research, but also for the preservation of the written heritage of the past as a national treasure for future generations. The authors formulate goals and objectives of the translation of the texts, discuss the basic techniques of the Kalmyk-Russian translation. Special attention is given to methods of transmission of realia and features of national folklore poetics in translation into Russian language.

¹ The reported study was supported by Kalmyk State University named after B.B. Gorodovikov, research project No. 1120.

The main priority of the Kalmyks in Russia and Kalmyk Diasporas abroad (America, Germany, France, etc.) is to preserve and promote national language and culture.

The modern Kalmyk language is a historically developed language of the Kalmyk people and one of the two state languages of the Republic of Kalmykia. Unfortunately, the Kalmyk language, despite its state status, is today communicatively flawed. The problem of mastering the Kalmyk language and translating original texts into Russian is becoming particularly urgent.

Theoretically, we have two ways to achieve bilingualism in society: through the Russian language to Kalmyk and parallel development of bilingualism. In practice, the change in the language situation, the appearance of a new generation of parents and children who do not speak their native language at all, actualizes only the first way.

The problem of choosing a second (third) language is related to bi- and polylingual education. The Kalmyk language is studied as a subject of choice at all faculties of the Kalmyk State University. Most students consistently choose the Kalmyk language, but what is the motivation for this choice? It cannot be excluded that one of the reasons is the hope for an easy life. This applies to those students who possess the language well enough (from their perspective). But we would like to hope that such students are in the minority.

The majority of students have a positive attitude and still have a desire and need to learn their native language. The motivation, as a rule, is the same. It is a self-identification, interest in the origins, the desire to join the culture of their people. But this motivation is probably not enough to get effective results. We need "communicative convenience", that is, the demand for the language in practical, professional activities, as well as the active functioning of the language in the socio-cultural environment of Kalmykia.

In this regard, the concept of intercultural communication acquires special relevance, when languages of different cultures enter into interaction. Even knowing the same language, people cannot always correctly understand each other, and the reason is often precisely the divergence of cultures.

The Russian poet Nikolai Zabolotsky has a poem "How Difficult It Was to Talk with the Mongols", in which the author very accurately and subtly noted the difficulties of intercultural communication – "playing on the edge of language". Therefore, we consider the problem of bilingualism, as well as multilingualism, in the context of such dyads as "language and culture", "language and communication", "language and education", within which it occupies a completely independent and, moreover, extremely important place.

The problem of bilingual education is, in our opinion, how to overcome the language and cultural barriers. Moreover, the cultural barrier today is not only the clash of cultures of different peoples, but also the traditional culture of the past and the innovative culture of our time. How to find a viable niche for the languages of traditional cultures in the context of the expanding processes of urbani-

zation and globalization? The authorities, scientists, specialists and teachers have something to think about.

The viability of a language is determined primarily by the human factor. As we have already written more than once, the desired level of bilingualism in Kalmykia is a balanced, harmonious bilingualism, which presupposes the parity of the bilingual Kalmyk's native and Russian literary languages in oral and written forms. This is an ideal. We can, of course, make young people's language learning meaningful and memorable, but how can we oblige them to know it?

The Kalmyk language belongs to the Altaic family of languages. Together with the Mongolian and Buryat, it is included in the Mongolian group, forming its western branch.

The Kalmyk language developed independently in the 17th century since the formation of the Kalmyk Khanate as part of the Russian state. In Russia, under new historical conditions, the Kalmyk language developed and functioned in a foreign ethnic and foreign language environment. It is no coincidence that in the Kalmyk language there are a lot of not only Russian, but also Turkic lexical borrowings that are absent in other Mongolian languages (*terx* 'window', *keiilg* 'shirt', *θdmg* 'bread', *sham* 'lamp', etc.).

In sociolinguistic terms, the Kalmyk language occupies a special place among the languages of the peoples of the Russian Federation. The Kalmyks are one of the few peoples that have become a part of Russia, already having their own writing and their own literary language. The rich written tradition of the Kalmyks, dating back to the old Mongolian writing, was preserved on the banks of the Volga for almost three centuries, which allowed the people to preserve monuments of their spiritual culture for future generations.

Learning the Kalmyk language today is impossible without the availability of high-quality translation dictionaries. Attempts to collect mainly lexical material on the Kalmyk language date back to the 18th century. One of the first significant experiments in bilingual Russian-Kalmyk lexicography is the anonymous Dictionary of the Kalmyk Language, kept in the Manuscript Department of the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg (Omakayeva, Burykin 1999).

Words are arranged in alphabetical order according to the capital Russian word. The Kalmyk part is given in Old Kalmyk graphics and in Russian transcription. For this, the dictionary is especially valuable, since it gives an idea of both spelling and orthoepy of the Kalmyk language of that period. The dictionary demonstrates a sharp difference between spelling and pronunciation of a word: *cingnuun* - *chognun* 'daw'.

The vocabulary covers different vocabulary groups. The terms of kinship are widely represented, for example: grandmother (paternal mother) - *emege eke*, grandmother (mother's mother) - *nagaca eke*, nephew - *jee*, *aci*. The terminology of flora and fauna is richly represented: the names of trees (birch - *xusum*, aspen - *ulaasun*, willow - *xandagai burgasun*), names of birds (falcon - *nacin*, peacock - *togas*), names of fish (crucian carp - *balag*, bream - *cuuba*, burbot - *xotuburi*, sturgeon -

bekere, sudak - *botoxoi*). It should be noted that some translations of words into the Kalmyk language are in doubt, for example, 'lemon' is translated as *anar*, although it is 'a pomegranate'.

Many Kalmyk words recorded in the dictionary have survived in the modern language in the same sense. Some words either went out of use (*nayijinar* - spouse, *nökör* - spouse), or changed their meaning (*nököd* - comrade > *nököd* - helper). There are practically no Russian borrowings in the dictionary. We have recorded only one interesting borrowing. This noun *bencilgelan* is a wedding.

In 1924, due to historical circumstances, the Kalmyks were forced to abandon their national script and switched to the Cyrillic alphabet. Acad. B.Ya. Vladimirtsov, returning from his trip to the Bolshederbetovskiy ulus of Kalmykia, wrote to A.V. Burdukov on September 12, 1917: «Their native writing they [i.e. Kalmyks of that region] completely forgot» (Burdukov 1969: 362).

In 1930, the transition to the Latin alphabet was followed, but the writing on a romanized basis was functioning in Kalmykia for about 8 years. In 1938 the Kalmyks again returned to the Cyrillic alphabet.

The 21st century has changed our understanding of the linguistic space: today it is an important educational factor, a key element in preserving the historical memory and natural landscape of the region.

Among Kalmyks-bilinguals, only a small part, mostly people of the older generation, speak Kalmyk and Russian as their own, i.e. are "pure" bilinguals. For the majority, mixed bilingualism is characteristic, the path to which lies through the conscious study of a second language.

One of the ways of deep penetration into the essence of any language phenomenon is its comparative-typological analysis, which contributes to the establishment of a universal and specific in each of the comparable languages. Even in such closely related languages as Mongolian, Buryat and Kalmyk, there may be inconsistencies. The comparative, contrasting description of the Kalmyk and Russian languages in the theoretical plan is directed, first of all, on development of scientifically proved technique of teaching native language.

Lexicon and terminology found in texts is of great interest as part of the vocabulary of the Kalmyk language, indicating the cultural contacts of different peoples. Apparently, all the words of the texts could be included in the new dictionary of the Kalmyk language, but the full semantic description can be given only for key words (words that perform specific aesthetic function), regardless of their part-of-speech affiliation. Such words are described in the dictionaries, but in the folk context get a kind of lexicographical portrait of a poetic word.

Individual words can be understood in the context of the whole work and more broadly — in the context of the era. Ignorance of the latter leads to misunderstanding of both the text as a whole and its individual fragments. A comprehensive study and description of the structure of the song texts, the text-forming elements and categories are important (Omakayeva, 2011; 2013).

Today it is important to put the most essential and debatable questions which decision is important both from the theoretical point of view, and from the point of view of practical problems of teaching language. This is primarily the problem of translation of the folklore text.

In the theory and practice of translation activity the problem of cultural translatability is one of the most difficult. The translator faces a difficult task—to ensure not only the accuracy of the translation, but also an adequate understanding of the text by a representative of a different culture. For adequate translation of the text into Russian, it is necessary not only to know the translation language perfectly, but also to know the historical and socio-cultural context well.

The term worldview (image/model of the world), which is the key term of the metalanguage of culture, is increasingly used now in linguistic studies. To understand the behavior and traditional culture of the ethnos, it is necessary to reconstruct the worldview that was formed in a concrete historical period.

The translator faces a difficult task to ensure not only the accuracy of the translation, but also an adequate understanding of the text by a representative of a different culture. For an adequate translation of the text into Russian it is necessary not only to master the translation language perfectly, but also to know the historical and sociocultural context.

Today we have a sufficient number of Kalmyk texts recorded at different times by domestic and foreign researchers.

The name of European orientalist-linguist G. Balint (1844–1913) from Szentkatolna, one of the pioneers of the study of the Kalmyks, occupies a special place in the Oriental studies. He is one of the first scholars who has great merits in the early fieldwork-based linguistic research among the Astrakhan Kalmyks. Today he can rightfully be called the founder of Hungarian Mongolistics.

Thanks to the support of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the scientist was able to carry out a trip to the Kalmyk steppes, during which he recorded the best examples of the folklore of the Astrakhan Kalmyks.

The Hungarian researcher collected a certain number of Kalmyk texts first in Kazan where he began to study the Kalmyk language, using A. A. Bobrovnikov's "Grammar of the Mongolian-Kalmyk language" (1849). The method of field research, tested among the Tatars in Kazan, was also used by him among the Kalmyks. The researcher lived together with the Kalmyk nomads in their felt tents and shared with them their everyday life.

The center of his research in Astrakhan was the Kalmyk boarding school. G. Balint spent several months among the Astrakhan Kalmyks (late September 1871 - May 1872) and worked with many informants. He mentions the name Shamba, the teacher of the Kalmyk language, who worked in a school for boys and girls. With the permission of the school director, he attended his lessons every day and talked to the students. In addition to the teacher, the school's doctor, Manjin Savgr, also assisted him in learning the language.

Among the students, he mentions the name Baldrin Muuchka, who told him a fair amount of material on the life of the Kalmyk people. Despite his previous study of the Kalmyk language in Kazan, he first used Russian in communication, but due to his excellent language skills, the researcher very soon began to communicate in Kalmyk. He also collected language material from non-literate Kalmyks who visited the market in Astrakhan.

The results of his expeditionary work are Balint's three manuscripts currently stored in the Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. They had not been released until recent years when Hungarian Mongolist Agnes Birtalan published his "Comparative Grammar" and the corpus of Kalmyk folklore and ethnographic texts with a comprehensive analysis (Birtalan, 2009; 2011; 2016a; 2016b). A. Birtalan made available to researchers the collection of folklore texts (songs, fairy tales, blessings, riddles, proverbs) recorded by Balint among the Astrakhan Kalmyks almost a century and a half ago. The texts are presented in the facsimile form and in translation into English.

The field materials contain interesting grammar forms and words characterized the colloquial Kalmyk of that time as well as useful information about economic, political, religious and social relations in the Kalmyk society in the early years of 1870. So, we are planning to fulfill a detail linguistic description of collected texts provided with translation into modern Kalmyk and Russian to make acquainted the readers with rare language samples.

Balint reported that on the basis of his field research he prepared a grammar of spoken Kalmyk and tested it with a group of schoolboys and teachers. Unfortunately, the manuscript was lost, or at least it is not found yet. On the basis of his Kalmyk and Mongol material Balint composed a comparative Kalmyk-Khalkha grammar.

He gathered a good number of folksongs, fables, proverbs and other materials for a dictionary. Among the fairy tales there are famous ones, for example *Bogshada* ('The Sparrow'), etc. (Goryaeva, 2017; Mandzhieva, 2017).

Balint pointed out that he recorded 25 songs, and he learned 3–4 of the most beautiful songs, which caused sincere admiration of the Kalmyks. Agnesh Birtalan published 16 song texts presented in facsimile, Latin transliteration and translation into English.

There is no Russian translation, except for one song published by the Hungarian mongolist D. Kara in the framework of his article devoted to the unpublished manuscripts of Balint (Kara, 1962).

Historical and sociocultural peculiarities of a particular ethnos are reflected in texts in the form of so-called realia words (non-equivalent vocabulary, or culturally connotated vocabulary), nominating unique objects and phenomena related to various spheres of life of nature, man and society (nature facts, artifacts, social facts, mentifacts). One of the most difficult problems of translating Kalmyk texts, including folklore (song), is associated with the adequate representation of these

special lexemes in translation. But the greatest difficulty is the translation into Russian of the horse suit, one of the most popular images of Kalmyk song poetry.

So, completely different coat colors (for example, *saaral* and *kebalym*) are often translated into Russian in the same way as 'dun horse'. The chestnut and gray coat colors of the horse are also found in Balint's Kalmyk song lyrics. As an example, let's give the name of a very popular Kalmyk folk song "*Saikhan zjeerd morin*" 'Beautiful chestnut horse' ('Prekrasny Ryzhko'). This is the coat color of the horse of Jangar, the ruler of Bumba. In addition, there is the problem of translation of proper names, including nicknames of horses, which are often formed from the suit nomination (for example, *Ker* 'Gnedko' - from *ker* 'bay').

Balint's songs contain Kalmyk realies, unknown to the Russian ethnos and have no correspondence in Russian culture, and therefore, direct lexical equivalents in Russian.

We are talking primarily about artifacts such as *ger* 'tent', 'kibitka', and social facts such as *noyon* 'owner of the ulus' and *zä:sng* 'owner of the aimak'. Interestingly, both last words in the English translation of the Kalmyk song are translated in different ways: the first as noble (approximate translation of *realii*), the second – by Latin transcription of *realii* (mechanical transfer of *realii* from the source language into the language of translation by graphic means with the maximum approximation to the original phonetic form: *zä:sng*).

The objects of material culture of a certain people (dwelling, clothes, utensils, musical instruments, etc.) are often mentioned in songs. One of the songs is called "Zakhan hurvn germedt" 'In the three outer tents'. The emergence of the *realii ger* is associated with the nomadic way of life of the ancestors of Kalmyks, and class terms — with the social stratification of Kalmyk society in the past.

The unconditional value of the collection of Balint's Kalmyk songs is that individual texts are unique and practically unknown at home. Others, although known to modern Kalmyks (more often in reduced versions), are the source text. A comparative study of the Kalmyk original of the song text and its Russian translation is quite promising in terms of teaching the language.

The materials of G. Balint include also the ethnographic texts concerning the customs, rituals and economic activities of the Kalmyks. Among them are official letters, interesting descriptions of weddings, funerals, grazing, hunting birds, breeding domestic animals, shearing sheep, traditional competitions (horse racing, wrestling), building a yurt (*ger*) with the valuable information about food products (sheep's milk, mare's milk, etc.).

The materials of G. Balint will be soon presented in translation from Kalmyk into Russian, which will allow a wider circle of readers to get acquainted with the samples of oral speech of Kalmyks of the mid-19th century.

Gabor Balint's materials are the basis for further work on the study of the Kalmyk ethnos, in particular, its language and culture. The study of this invaluable experience is especially important now, when the cooperation of scientists from Russia and Hungary once again became constructive, when it is necessary to com-

prehend the developments in this field and to increase the potential of joint research. But field survey is only the first necessary stage of scientific work.

Balint's texts can serve as a means of increasing the motivation to study the Kalmyk language. The conducted research shows that the discursive characteristics of the corresponding texts are of great importance: intertextual relations, the cultural and historical background of the epoch and social perception. It is the work of the future to integrate the linguistic ideas brought to us by Balint with more recent our understanding of the dynamics of changes in phonetics and grammar of Kalmyk language.

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Changing Torghut Culture. Few Examples from Torghuts in Bayangol and Hobogsair in Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region

Dorjraa Purvei

1 Branding Torghut Cultures

Today, there are about 100,000 Torghuts in Xinjiang with the bulk concentrated in three places: the Bortai Mongolian Autonomous Prefecture, the Bayangol Mongolian Autonomous Prefecture, and the Hobogsair Mongolian Autonomous County in the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture. In this paper, we deal with the latter two areas.

If one goes to Hejing county of the Bayangol Mongolian Autonomous Prefecture, one cannot fail to notice that the Chinese term “*Donggui*” (M. *Juunsh buhasan*), meaning “Returning to the East”, is everywhere, referencing the Torghuts’ return in 1771. There is a Donggui pedestrian street, a Donggui hotel, a Donggui residential compound, a Donggui Science and Technology Cultural Centre, Donggui wine, and so on.

Branding a place is part of a cultural zoning scheme introduced throughout China in recent years: not only are minority groups each branded with a highly evocative name, but different communities of a single group are also further divided. This kind of multiculturalism promoted by the government has the effect of splintering the internal cultural unity of an ethnic group.

For example, Hejing county of Bayangol is now called “Homeland of Returning to the East” (*Donggui Guli*), and since 2018, it has changed its traditional annual *naadam* festival to “*Donggui* Festival”. Hobogsair now calls itself “the Birthplace of Jangar” (*Jangge'er de Guxiang*), and the epic’s name dons the county’s annual *naadam* festival: “Jangar Cultural Tourism Festival cum Naadam Fair” (*Jiangge'er liyou wenhua jie ji nadamu dabui*).

As noted in other papers, the tragic history of the Torghut return in 1771 has long been used as a fodder to beef up Chinese nationalism. Thanks to the popularisation by the 1993 film *Donggui Yingxiong zhuan*, “*Donggui*” or “Returning to the East” has become a brand name of the Torghut culture as though the entire *raison d'être* of the Torghuts lies in returning to the fold of the motherland, which is China. A huge ‘real scene’ performance featuring *Donggui* is now routinely staged in an amphitheatre in Bayanbulag township of Hejing county, which turns the tragic history of the Torghut return into a story about the honesty of the Torghut people and their love for the Chinese motherland. Ironically, this is performed by former herders who have been ousted from their land by an ethnic tourism company during the tourist season.

There is a subtle difference between the state propaganda and the local use of historical themes. For the locals, these tangible legacies represent the Torghut identity and legitimize their Mongolian autonomous rights in China. The Torghut return theme and Ubashi Khan and Prince Tsebegdorji’ travel to Chengde for the audience with the Qianlong Emperor are elaborately displayed in the Hejing county museum. The travel represented in the exhibition is not so much a political pilgrimage as being graced with pastureland by the Qing emperor, thereby emphasising their entitlement to the land they live in today. The most prized item on display in the Hejing county museum is the genealogy book of the Torghut aristocracy. It is the only written documentary heritage linking them to the past.

The historical theme of *Donggui* thus cut both ways, and under this umbrella, the Torghuts are now renovating the Torghut Royal Palace (known as *Höb Yaman* in Mongolian) which was once the residence of the last Torghut Khan Manchugjav. In the absence of any heir to the Khanship, the Torghuts have become the collective sovereign owner of this palace, which will be turned into a museum open to the public in 2020.

While *Donggui* is a useful patriotic theme for the Torghuts, there are many “inconvenient” facts in the history of the Torghuts or the wider Oirat Mongols that face obliteration. Consider the ruins of the Jungar capital in Hobogsair, which was built by the Oirat Confederation collectively in 1628, the year when the Torghuts embarked on their westward migration. It would have been a prize of historical relic anywhere in the world but the Hobogsair government is oblivious to it, abandoning it to the force of nature. One explanation for this negligence is, that the site is politically incorrect; the Hobogsair government seems to have determined that

they will have nothing to do with the Jungar Khanate which suffered a genocide in the hands of the Manchu in 1757–58, instead preferring to promote itself as the cradle of the Jangar epic.



Picture 1: Ruins of the former Jungar Capital built in 1628.

2 Tragic Modernity for the Torghuts

Political regimes, both medieval and modern, often claim how people lead a happy life under their rules. Undoubtedly, sometimes, such claims may be backed up with good policies or measures to improve the life of the subjects. And modern regimes often claim they are better than their predecessors. The Torghuts in Xinjiang, however, seem to have forever been trapped in tragedy, and modernity dealt them an even heavier blow because it altered the political system of the Torghuts, so much so that they could no longer offer any effective resistance to the pressure from the outside.

The most important loss the Torghuts sustained in the twentieth century was their princely system. Choijav, who was appointed as the 8th prince of Hobogsair by Sheng Shicai in 1939, has retreated from the Chinese Nationalist Party to Dihua (Urumqi) in 1946 just before the Three District revolutionary army controlled the Hobogsair. With her departure, although the 9th princess Baljid, the 7th prince Or-lomjav's daughter, has restaged on the prince's position soon after she married with a person called Garsha from Tarbagatai, Torghut aristocracy seems to have silently disappeared from Hobogsair forever.

In Bayangol, Manchugjav, the last Torghut khan, faced his doom in the hands of Sheng Shicai, the dictator of Xinjiang in the 1930s and 1940s. He was imprisoned for almost ten years and became deranged as a result. For a while, his wife, Wu Jinbin, took over the administrative tasks during his absence but left soon from the hearts of the Torghut people as well.

In 1949, the new Communist government confiscated Torghut nobles' seals awarded by the Qing court while they returned from the Volga. They were subjected to persecution during the Cultural Revolution. Today, the only vestige left of the Torghut nobility is a tiny copper mascot with inscriptions kept by a descendant of a family with the *beile* title living in Bayanbulag. *Beile* was a title worn by the ruling prince of a Mongolian banner during the Qing. Locals believe that the mascot can heal people from multiple diseases and often come and pray for healing.



Picture 2: Gendendonrob, a descendant of the former banner ruler holding a copper mascot that belonged to his father.

In addition to the tragic loss of their nobility and the associated political autonomy, the Torghuts also became the target of an assortment of powers coveting their wealth: Kazakh bandits led by Osman, the Chinese Nationalist regime in Xinjiang, as well as marauding Hui Muslim rebels. They also fell victim to a plague called *sharaldag*. This was a particularly traumatic history in Hobogsair.

In 1944, attacked by Osman Kazakhs and the Chinese Nationalist Party and having lost their home and properties, the Torghuts migrated into the Soviet Union for political asylum. The tragedy is still fresh (vivid) in the memories of many elders and the scale of the devastation can be gauged from the following comment given by Ayan Jav, a former magistrate of the Hobogsair Mongolian Autonomous County (1956–1963): “A population survey conducted by the Chinese Nationalist Party in the 1940s shows that there were about 30,000 Torghuts and 800,000 domestic animals. But in 1946, after the Three Districts Revolution engulfed the Hobogsair, I was charged to find out the exact number of people and domestic animals in Hobogsair. The result appeared that there were no more than 7,000 of Torghuts and 80,000 of domestic animals. There were also 1,000 Kazakhs, about 200 Han Chinese”.



Picture 3: Ayan Jav is telling the tragic history of the Torghuts in the 1930s–40s.

3 Torghuts' Environment and Pastoral Way of Life

The Torghuts in Xinjiang are blessed with beautiful pasturelands suitable for live-stock herding. Like with all regions of Mongolia, there are legends regarding how they first settled their current locations. For example, it is said that in the summer of 1771, when the Torghuts arrived at Ili, Qing officials did not allow them to cross the border, so they had to stay at the border for some time. During this period, millions of their grey horses crossed the border and went missing. Ubashi Khan sent people to look for them everywhere for months, and eventually found them grazing on a fertile plateau densely covered with grass as if it was a wool felt (*Ꞇulsan isgi*). They came back and reported to Ubashi Khan that it was a suitable place to settle down. With Qing approval, they came to settle the place which they named Zultus. Zultus was the former name of the current-day Bayanbulag, which means rich spring water. In the past, it is said that the Torghuts in Zultus lived comfortably in the cool climate of the high plateau in summer time and moved down to a place of lower altitude called Yanqi in winter. Nowadays, however, they mostly move around on the plateau.

In contrary, there is a place called Tovach in Hobogsair, this word is derived from the Mongolian phrase *too-abch*, meaning “getting numbers”. This place is by the Hobogin Gol river. One explanation to this is, that after arriving at Hobogsair, Prince Cebegdorji carried out a demographic survey of the surviving Torghuts at a place called Tovach.

As can be seen, the oral history given by elderly Torghuts in Xinjiang about the Qing reception of the Torghut does not toe the official line. The stories they tell are often origin stories explaining how they got to settle where they live now. The Torghuts in Ejnee, in contrast, are not as lucky as their kinsmen in Xinjiang. They live in one of the most ecologically unsuitable areas in the world – the Gobi Desert with little water. They used to live in a better endowed oasis but their pastures were confiscated by the Chinese military for a satellite launching base in

1958. There are some strips of the Gobi covered by *toorai* trees (diversifolious poplar); their leaves turn beautifully colourful in autumn.

Pastoralism remains the dominant way of life in the three Torghut communities we have worked in. Like other Mongols, the Torghuts herd so-called five types of domestic animals (*tavan boshuu mal*) such as sheep, goats, horses, camels and cows/yak, although there are some variations in the proportion of these animals in different communities, depending on the ecological condition. Pastoralism is not just an economy on which the Torghuts make a living, it is also a way of life that underpins their culture, their identity, and their dignity. It is a tradition imbued with a deep history of high mobility, heroism and empire-building in an epic battle with the sedentary agriculturalist world. Today, however, it is facing challenges from modernity, introduced to the Torghuts as a Chinese modernity.

The age of cultural heritage has lent the Torghuts a language and a consciousness to protect their traditional culture. This has also provided us with an historic opportunity to record the inner working of the Torghut culture, undertaken by ordinary people in their everyday life, rather than only professional cultural specialists. While in the past, professionals occupied the commanding position, today, ordinary people have taken their culture into their own hands with confidence.

We thus witness an interesting difference between the rural Torghut Mongolian life and their new life in urbanity. Pastoralism in rural areas is indeed a total way of life, involving communal mutual help in a variety of activities, such as seasonal migration, sheep shearing, horse breaking, sheep counting, and many others. Those who have settled in urban centres, on the other hand, tend to be involved in many cultural activities, such as singing competitions or costume shows. This is a departure from the past, when urban centres were considered tombs of Mongolian culture, for the Mongols tended to lose their language in cities which are dominated by the Chinese. Today, newly urbanized Mongols, fresh from the countryside, and in the favorable environment of a nation-wide cultural heritage craze, are on the march to develop urban Mongolian culture. In the following, we will divide our documentation into two parts: pastoralism and tangible heritage in the countryside.

4 Torghut Pastoralist Heritage

Torghuts are mobile pastoralists who traditionally herd the so-called five types of animals (*tavan boshuu mal*), namely horses, cattle/yaks, camels, sheep and goats. Not all of these five types are herded by each and every family, and different regions have more of certain types than others because of the ecology. For example, sheep is preferred in Bayanbulag where people scorn goats. In Hobogsair, goats and sheep are treated equally, and there are families which herd nothing but goats. No doubt, this is because of the rocky mountains and mild temperature in Hobogsair.

Pastoralism among Torghuts shares common characteristics of pastoralism practised by other Mongols but there is also something unique to it in relation to their migration history. For example, one striking thing about Bayangol is that most sheep there have black heads and white bodies and they are called “black head sheep”. They embody the historical memory of the Torghut migration as they accompanied the Torghuts to the Volga region and came back with them in 1771. Many herding families in Bayangol have hundreds of “blackhead sheep” and they have never been crossbred. Herders think that blackhead sheep are hardy and tough, and that they can survive the extreme cold winter on the Bayanbulag highland. To them, this sheep breed represents authenticity and tradition.



Picture 4: Blackhead sheep in Bayanbulag plateau grassland.

A video shows how local herders count their sheep by driving them through the natural crevice in the rock. The crevice is narrow enough to let pass only one sheep at a time, thus making it easy for two men on the other side of the rocky hill to count them one by one as they pop out. Inevitably, pastoralism requires a complex system of knowledge, skills, organisation, and even wisdom. Cooperation among herders is essential for managing hundreds or even thousands of sheep and goats. Counting, shearing wool or combing hair is often done with the neighbors. Even today, we can see people herding each other’s sheep and use sheep as a bartering object.

The highland of Bayanbulag also provides an excellent environment for raising yaks, which can roam around freely on the plateau covered with lush grass. They can prove to be most reliable during snowy winters. Yaks are not new to the Torghuts; they have been herding yaks for hundreds of years. Nonetheless, the present-day thriving yak economy in Bayanbulag should be attributed to the reformer lama Sinchen Rinpoche during his regency in the 1930s. One of our informants, Jankechu, said that when he was a child, his father bought seven yaks. They have now reached 100 heads.



Picture 5: Yaks in Bayanbulag.

Camels are also abundant in Bayanbulag. Camels are popularly imagined to be living in the dry desert. Indeed, the Alasha League of Inner Mongolia where the Ejnee Torghuts live is home to two-hump Bactrian camels. The silhouette of a camel caravan in the desert has now become the symbol of China's global project of One Belt One Road. Nevertheless, Bayanbulag is not a Gobi region but rather a highland plateau. Camels are as good as yaks in cold winter when they are preferred over vehicles for travel in snowy conditions. During our fieldwork in Bayanbulag, we came across a place called the Gate of the Seventy Hills (*Dalan Davani Am*), and we saw herders arriving with camels to collect hays or maize. It turned out that it is a spot where the government drops off winter supplies for herders beyond the Gate in the mountains that are inaccessible by vehicles.



Picture 6: Herders collecting winter supplies with camels at the gate of the Seventy Hills.

Camels are not just used for transportation. Their hair is extremely valuable for making felts or knitting. The Torghuts in Hobogsair also have camels, which constitute an important part of their economy.

Among all the animals, horses occupy a pride of place in the heart of the Torghuts. For pastoralists, a horse is not just a beast that can carry people and goods, it is also a war mount that brings glory to its rider. Although Torghuts are no longer engaged in nomadic warfare, horses still occupy a romantic place in their life. For example, people are fond of talking of the legendary herd of “Hero Mazan's big-eared brown horses” (*Mazan Baatarin maral chihin bor*) or “millions of grey stallions” (*Bom hursen buurul ajirgin ijil*).

At an *oboo* worship among the Torghuts in Bayanbulag, a grey horse that joined a race with local horses was said to be the offspring of the Torghut Hero Mazan's grey horses.

In Hobogsair, black bay horses are usually associated with Prince Tsebegdorji who was believed to have presented such a horse to the Qianlong Emperor in 1771 as noted above. Such Torghut horses are proudly paraded in so-called real-scene performances re-enacting the Torghut Return or live performances of the Jangar epic. In Hobogsair, we encountered Torghut herders shoeing a black bay horse. They told us that it had the same colour as Tsebegdorji's gift horse to the Qianlong Emperor.

The Torghuts are also renowned for what is called the Torghut silver saddle, which has symbolic meanings. Today, according to Barnai, the traditional Torghut silver saddles can be found in a very small number of families, where they are regarded family heirlooms. Ordinary people, however, have long abandoned the traditional Torghut saddles for English or European saddles, which are considered more comfortable.



Picture 7: Torghut silver saddle, Bayanbulag, Hejing, Bayangol.

Stories related to domestic animals have now become inspirational to some Torghuts. Thükhe has decided to break a 5-year-old horse that had already been tamed when it was 2 years old. Since Thükhe has been riding motorcycle for the last three years, the tamed horse became wild again. Another local herder Jankechu lamented that he used to tame 3 yaks in a year in order to use them for transportation when he was 15 years old, but his son herds animals only for the purpose of selling them rather than for personal usage. Malu and Haraldai in Hejing, who have recently

retired, now regularly stay on the farm with their children in summer and help them repair their farm essentials, such as horse reins or renew the yurt felt.

It can be observed these days, that herders in the countryside try to get on with their life and have little to celebrate about their pastoral way of life. This can be contrasted with those who have recently moved into an urban dwelling. The urban Mongols tend to be nostalgic, often reminiscing about their pastoral life. An old lady named Bataa, for example, has made miniature models of yurt, saddled horse or camels carrying load. There is a yawning gap between the reality of hardship involved in the rural way of life and urban romanticism about pastoralism.



Picture 8: Bataa has made some models of yurt, Hejing, Bayingol.



Picture 9: A miniature camel carrying load, made by Bataa, Hejing, Bayingol.

A sheep or a goat is a total economic system, as it was for the Torghuts. Its wool or hair is used to make ropes and felts, which are central to a yurt. Its skin is processed into clothes and its meat, of course, is the staple food. Indeed, nothing is wasted. While tradition is still practiced, Torghut herders also embrace modern technology.

Sheep wool shearing or goat hair cutting is an essential part of a herder's annual task. April is the season for combing goat hair for cashmere, and July is the season for sheep wool shearing. Wool and hair are an essential source of income, so April and July are also two of the busiest months for the Torghuts. Torghut herders usually help each other, for the task is labour intensive and requires a great amount of manpower. Often herders hire outsiders to undertake the task. The

following photo (picture 10) shows two young men (two Kazakhs) cutting goat hair.



Picture 10: Goat Hair Cutting from Hobogsair.

Once the hair is cut or the wool sheared, some families use them to make ropes or felts as a cover for their yurt in Hobogsair. Rope-making is a collective work involving at least four people; they are divided into two groups, three staying outside the yurt, one inside. The three persons outdoor each rotate a line of thin rope continuously while the person indoor knits the main rope. The middle of the three lines is called “tongue of the rope”. According to the local custom, if it reaches the wall of the yurt before the other two, someone in this family will be married to a stuttering wife.

People recall that in the past, Torghut herders in Hobogsair usually used a goat’s guard hair to produce ropes and many other products. Nowadays, however, due to the rising prices of cashmere, people usually sell the guard hair and cashmere to increase their income. Moreover, few people make ropes as they can buy manufactured ropes from the supermarket if needed.

In Hobogsair a small felt-making mill was established by herders in 2008 in Narin Hovog village. Here, locals bring sheep wool that they have sheared in early spring in exchange for felts manufactured there. The emergence of the felt-making mill is indicative of the gradual disappearance of traditional felt-making by hand. The mill is very popular because there is a high demand for felts not only among Torghut herders but also local Kazakh herders. People often have to queue during peak time when they need to mend the old felts or make new felt cover for their yurts before the weather gets cold.



Picture 11: Drying newly made felts, Hobogsair.

Sheepskin clothes used to be the main clothes people wore in winter. Nowadays, however, with the availability of modern style overcoats, hardly anyone wears it during their daily life, even in Bayanbulag where the temperature frequently drops to minus 40°C during winter. Sheepskin clothes do, however, retain the nostalgic value of a cultural heritage. As shown in this photo, Lantsai suns his sheepskin clothes, including his own infant wear made by his parents and he tries them on his children.

5 Food Culture

It is widely known that the Mongols classify food into two colours: red and white. Torghuts are no exception. “Red food” (*ulaan ideen*) refers to meat, and “white food” (*chagaan ideen*) refers to dairy products. What it means is, that food comes exclusively from animals. It does not mean, however, that they do not eat vegetables, except that they are usually gathered in the wild until recently when they became available at the market. It is only since the modern period, that vegetables itself have become a classifiable food that is simply called “green” (*nogoo*). And even today, hardly any Torghut herders in Xinjiang grow vegetable and thus it is not part of their staple food. The only grain food consumed every day comes from wheat and barley, which is purchased. While barley and wheat have been an essential part of their diet since ancient times, strangely they have not been “coloured” as it were.

Amongst the five types of domestic animals (*tavan boshuu mal*) horse hardly becomes part of their diet because Torghuts regard horses as their friends, though not pets. Only sheep is consumed on a daily basis, followed by cattle/yak, goats and camel in the order of preference.

The Torghuts eat almost all parts of a sheep. Each part is given a social meaning and is used to exchange distinguishing distance between interpersonal relations. As one of our videos explains, pelvis (*suuji*) is used to greet close and venerable elders; the metacarpals bone and tarsal bone (*shaga chimeg*) and black pudding (*bottoi tsus*) are food for offering at *oboo* worship and fire worship; humerus (*guyva*) is con-

sidered as auspicious meat (*bishig mah*) only for family members; and shoulder meat (*dala*) must be shared with everyone at the dinner table and never to be eaten alone.



Picture 12: Tubden explains shoulder meat. Many elders could foresee a family's future according to the shoulder bone, Hobogsair.

During a fire worship ceremony, a white female sheep is usually used as an offering. When calling good luck with butter oil lamp, metacarpals (*shiiir*) is offered to one's close paternal line relatives calling them to share the auspiciousness of the fire. Indeed, sheep products are used to strengthen social relations within a family. As Purvei says, "sheep neck bones are most difficult to separate even with a knife. A new groom is usually asked to separate it in a sheepskin bag, which is a test for him to prove himself as qualified enough to make a family".



Picture 13: Buuwa calling auspiciousness with metacarpals (*shiiir*) during a fire worshipping ritual, Hobogsair.

The Torghuts usually milk cows, yaks and goats to make dairy products such as cream, butter, yoghurt, cheese and milk wine. In contrast, horse milk and camel milk are believed to have healing functions, so they are used for drinks only and are never further processed into koumiss (*airag, chigee*), for instance, as other Mongols do. Milk is, however, never drunk without being pasteurized.

Dairy products as well as meat are not only staple food consumed by people every day; nowadays, they are also sold at the market for income. As many Torghuts now live in the county centre or further afield, these foods have assumed a new function as gifts. Usually, when urban Torghuts visit home back in the countryside, they would bring some vegetables and fruits and herders would take dairy products such as cheese, butter or milk wine when they see their relatives in the city. New time, new reciprocity!



Picture 14: Serguleng making cheese, Ejnee, Alsha, Inner Mongolia.



Picture 15: Tupei drying cheese, Hobogsair.

The following picture 16 shows the brewing of milk wine (*nermel arikl*). The brewing process involves two different pots and a stainless-steel tea kettle: the large pot is set on the stove stuffed with cattle dung and filled with fermented milk, the smaller one is filled with cold water and the kettle is put inside. A wooden pipe connects the two pots. When the milk starts boiling, the wooden pipe transfers the steam to the tea kettle where the cold water in the small pot condenses the vapour into wine.



Picture 16: Brewing milk wine, Hobogsair.

Cattle dung is a vital component of the brewing, which differentiates the Torghuts from other pastoralists such as the Kazakhs in the area. Traditionally, elders would use dung as a sealer to protect the vapour from running out and leave it on the site of the stove when they move to other pastures in their seasonal migration. A story goes that once in a dispute with a Kazakh family over the ownership of a herding camp, a Torghut man dug out the cattle dung used as sealer, which had been buried under the site of a yurt, proving that it belonged to him and thus successfully reclaimed the land.

Torghuts also believe that the wooden pipe called *tsorgo* was used during Chinggis Khan's time and it has been kept in use only among the Torghuts up to the present.

Apart from the white food and red food, Torghut herders also eat grain food such as wheat and barley, though they do not grow them. Raw wheat or barley is bought from the market and then hand grinded with a mortar and pestle, a stone mill and so on. Flour is used to make bread (*boortsog*), usually baked or fried with oil, or noodles to eat with meat broth. According to Purvei, the most popular way of eating flour in Hobogsair is to make it into *zamba*, that is, putting roasted barley flour in a bowl and mix it with milk tea, butter and sliced sheep tail. Children like to eat it mixed with sugar and yoghurt in the shape of small balls. He added that having it for breakfast would be the best choice when you went out to do heavy work.

Traditionally, each herding family has five types of domestic animals and a yurt equipped with a wine brewing wooden pipe, a mortar and a pestle, a stone mill, and they process all the food by themselves. There are still some families keeping that tradition and they do better than Mongol herders in Inner Mongolia, for now. It is doubtful though how long they can keep up with the tradition, given the rapid commercialization in the name of the modernization of everything in Xinjiang as the rest of China. Torghuts do not fear modernization, for no one would object to things which make everyday life easier and more interesting but the rampant commercialisation is an altogether different kind of beast.

6 The Jangar Epic: Intangible Cultural Heritage

So far, we have discussed the Torghuts' pastoral life and the culture and history embedded in it. The culture presented here comprises the everyday practices and ways of life. But like elsewhere in China, there is a rapid development of what may be called "cultural heterogenization" which now institutionalizes and organizes cultural activity. As noted above, Hobogsair has been designated as the "birthplace of the Jangar" (*Jangge'er de Guxiang*). This relates to the Chinese government recognition of Jangar, the famous Oirat epic as one of Chinas' national intangible cultural heritages in 2006. Today Mingan Bulag village, within Hobogsair, has been named "Jangar village".

A more significant development has unfolded in recent years. In 2014, a Jangar international academic conference was held in Hobogsair and in 2017 the county opened the Jangar Square with a Jangar Culture and Art Hall and a Jangar Sculpture Complex to the public. However, despite these developments, since Jangar is a pan-Oirat, and for this matter a pan-Mongolian epic, Hobogsair does not have the

monopoly on it as the logic of branding would dictate. Instead, precisely because it is a piece of government recognized cultural heritage, other Torghut areas have also capitalized on it. For example, Bayanbulag in Hejing county of Bayangol prefecture has built a large Jangar Historical Village with covers of numerous books of Jangar in different scripts printed on billboards, which is a clear proclamation that Bayanbulag is the centre of world Jangar, thereby somewhat trumping Hobogsair's claim. Next to the Jangar Historical Village is a large Jangar epic open air amphitheatre made of many yurts for real scene performances of Jangar episodes. The Jangar epic is deemed a good business, contributing to local tourism.



Picture 17: Jangar Historical Village and the amphitheater for real scene performances of the Jangar epic, Bayanbulag, Bayangol.

The heritagization of the Jangar epic has also provided a strong impetus for people to learn and inherit it. During our fieldwork in Hobogsair and Bayangol, we interviewed many Jangar singers. Namjav and Nima inherited Jangar from their fathers and grandfathers when they were children. According to Taya, Namusurun and others, a Jangar singer (*Jangarch*) would suffer unexpected accidents if they did not sing the whole chapters, or follow the Jangar performance convention. Traditionally, there was a restriction regarding the audience; Jangar singers should sing for a small audience of their ethnicity but not for others such as Kazakhs. Elders also think, that singing Jangar can cure (*dom*) diseases and will bring luck to activities such as hunting. Jangar singing was never intended for public performance as it is done now.

Today, however, since Jangar has become a business attracting large investment, local Jangar singers actively learn and sing Jangar in public. There is even a “Jangar” band from Hobogsair which staged a show on the Chinese Central Television. In primary schools of Bayangol and Hobogsair, official curriculum include the Jangar, Topshuur (a fiddle) teaching sessions, designed to popularize this Oirat cultural heritage among children. Encouraged by the Hobogsair government, Torghuts in Minganbulag village are actively learning Jangar from books and DVDs and they try to pass the heritage on to children. Jangar singer Namusurng showed us his notes that he teaches in school in Minganbulag. As he said, he had instructed

dozens of pupils until he retired. His performance style is also attractive to audiences and made him quite popular.



Picture 18: Jangarch Namsurung showing his notes on Jangar which he teaches at school, Hobogsair.

It appears that learning the Jangar Epic in school and performing it on stage has the effect of boosting the egos of children. To take the youngest Jangar epic singer Dүүren-Өlji as an example, he learned from his grandmother even before he entered primary school. Having no *Jangarch* pedigree, this young singer is a product of the new cultural heritage craze. He is not alone, there are now many children like him.

We can attest that this massive investment from parents has yielded some positive results. Kids like Dүүren-Өlji and other schoolchildren as well as adults regularly participate in various competitions of traditional music across Mongol areas of Xinjiang and beyond, often representing their respective hometown, and many have won handsome monetary awards, as the following photo shows. It is not rare to find children fluently singing chapters from the Jangar epic, wowing the audience, a feat once reserved to famous traditional Jangarch.

It is observable, however, that there have been changes to the Jangar epic singing tradition over the course of this movement. Jangar is no longer an epic that caters to the cultural and spiritual need of the Mongols, or that is related to their everyday concerns, giving them joys in the feats of epical heroes, teaching them higher morals of humanity. Instead, by becoming a public show, its targeted audience has become everyone, including other ethnic groups such as Han Chinese and Kazakhs, whom traditional Jangar used to strictly avoid. The value of Jangar is no longer judged in terms of spirituality but whether it is “interesting”. It has become part of entertainment business.

Moreover, learning Jangar from books and DVDs has destroyed the oral tradition that was preserved by the transmission between teacher and disciple. Since textualization also standardizes the Jangar not only in terms of vocabulary but also in style. Thus, despite the vibrancy in the revival of the Jangar epic, the rich variety typical for oral traditions has been lost.

In addition to the Jangar epic, there are other musical heritages of the Oirats that are now being revived. These include the fiddle called topshuur, the so-called twelve melodies of the Oirats and the Savardang dance. These are staple in each and every festival in Xinjiang, and there are periodical competitions organized around them.

While there is enthusiasm in music across the Torghut population, who express their Oirat or Mongolian identity through music, we can, however, detect an emergent pattern. The musicians are now linguistically divided. Those who speak Mongolian fluently tend to sing the Jangar and other songs, and those who do not speak Mongolian, prefer to learn Topshur and the horsehead fiddle to prove they are still Mongols.



Picture 19: Ontai singing a long Torghut song.

Thus, the Torghut *Urtiin Duu* (Long songs), which require linguistic skills, are popular mainly amongst elders and certainly among people over 40 years old who have received Mongolian language education and speak fluent Mongolian at home. Tserenjav in Bayangol, for instance, has a collection of 1,500 *urtiin duu* songs, including many different genres, which embody the rich Torghut cultural heritage. Like all traditional things, *urtiin duu* songs were banned during the Cultural Revolution and it was not until the 1980s that the Torghuts began to revive them. Uranchimeg, an elderly Torghut *urtiin duu* singer, said in one of our interviews: “I am the first person who recorded *urtiin duu* songs on the Xinjiang Mongolian Radio after the Cultural Revolution, and that was the bravest thing I have ever done in my life.”



Picture 20: Uranchimeg explains her Torghut *urtiin duu* collection and singing experience.

Urtiin duu songs are not just melodies but contain rich information about social etiquette and lifestyle, and they are pedagogical about the relationship between elders and youth, males and females, paternal and maternal relatives, and so on. They even sing about how to treat relatives' animals. Thus, it could be said that those who have grown up singing Torghut *urtiin duu* songs have a special manner, following strict rules.

Today, herders on the grassland often listen to *urtiin duu* songs from the Xinjiang Mongolian Radio. Some also use the published versions but since they are written in the Hudum Mongolian script introduced from Inner Mongolia in 1982, which replaced the Tod Mongolian script, the spellings do not always capture the nuances of the sound which are best expressed in the Tod script. Thus, one of our informants told us that she still uses the Tod script to write down the song she remembers and she hopes to publish them to pass them on to her descendants. In the current climate, in which the Tod script is no longer in official use, we could only wish her the best of luck.



Picture 21: Torgon recording *urtiin duu* on the Tod Mongolian script.

7 The Dim Future of the Torghut Culture in Xinjiang

In summer 2017 WeChat, the Chinese social media app, was buzzing with news that all minority language teaching in Xinjiang, including Mongolian, was banned. The news was followed by posts of the Chinese and Mongolian versions of Alphonse Daudet's "The Last Lesson", which was clearly meant as a form of protest against the government's ban of minority language teaching in Xinjiang, which is a blatant violation of the Chinese Constitution. Against this background, a video recording of a lecture given by a high school teacher who gave arguably one of his last lessons in Mongolian, became particularly poignant.

In fact, minority education in minority languages became an issue as early as 2004 when a so-called bilingual education system was introduced to Xinjiang. This is not bilingualism at all, as all subjects except minority languages are taught in Chinese. What this means is that, unlike in Inner Mongolia where Mongolian remains a medium of teaching from kindergarten to university, a right enshrined in China's Constitution, all minorities with their writing systems in Xinjiang, including the Torghuts, have been deprived of this right as early as 2004. This was done in the name of equipping minorities with tools to meet the challenges of the market economy, and Chinese education has indeed provided opportunities for Torghut students to work in Urumchi or Xinjiang but those who don't do so no longer speak their ethnic languages, and many have lost touch with their culture. Today, it appears that almost no single Torghut who entered school after 2004 can write the classical Mongolian script properly, let alone the Tod script.

In September 2018, starting with the first semester, pure Chinese education was imposed to replace the bilingual education, banning minority language teaching altogether in Xinjiang. In the same month, the Hobogsair Mongolian Autonomous County closed its only Mongolian middle school and Kazakh middle school, merging them into a Chinese middle school. In March 2019, the Mongolian Middle School buildings were demolished to make space for realty development. The textbooks in Mongolian language were burned.

Hejing is no exception in this. In fact, the "Chinese-only language policy" is also being introduced to the grassland where adult herders have been rounded up to learn Chinese in what is called "Peasant-Herder Auditorium" (*Nong mu min da jiang-tang*). The Mongolian Television channel in Bayangol has already cut over 10 Mongolian programs, now screening only news in Mongolian and translated Chinese TV dramas.

Looking back from today's vantage point, it seems that the past two decades were the golden period of the Torghut cultural development. Their culture thrived because China, until recently, promoted a kind of multiculturalism, whereby minority cultures are celebrated as adding colour and splendour to the Chinese Nation, which is defined in terms of political unity in cultural diversity (*zhuohonghua minzu duoyuan yiti*). Today, minority cultures have been kicked out of the "Chinese Cul-

tural Heritage” as they are now deemed hotbeds nurturing separatism, secessionism and extremism and posing an existential threat to China.

It is hard to predict how long such a drastic anti-minority policy will be in place in China, and how long the Torghuts can maintain their traditional lifestyle, historical knowledge, and cultural elements before they are permanently damaged. Those who are old enough to remember the horrors of the Cultural Revolution watch the current movement with a distinct sense of *déjà vu*. It is also in this context that our project, to record the endangered culture, has proven prescient and significant! We can only hope that the little we have managed to record will prove to be useful when time gets better, whenever that may be.

Research in Modern Oirat-Kalmyk Language and Literature

Johannes Reckel

The Oirat¹ are Western Mongols living between the Altai mountains, the river Volga, the Ili River and Kyrgyzstan. In 1648, Zaya Pandita from the Hoshut (Hoshud) tribe of the Oirat created the “Clear Script” (Todo Bičig), today also known as Oirat Script², which was originally meant to be used as a reformed script by all Mongols, but which caught on with the Western Mongols, the Dzungars (Oirats, Kalmyks), only, thus establishing a dualism in the language and script standards for Mongolian, reflecting the political opposition between Western and Eastern Mongols. This dualism was broken up in the 20th century by the introduction of new writing standards for individual groups of Oirats/Kalmyks in the Soviet Union (from 1991: Russia), China and the People's Republic of Mongolia (from 1990 Republic of Mongolia). This led to a weakening of the West Mongolian identity. The connection between ethnic identity and (written) language against the background of global political upheavals is the theme of an ongoing project at Goettingen.

Since 1986 I have regularly visited Sinkiang (Xinjiang) in western China. I have built a close network of academic contacts there and collected schoolbooks, dictionaries, grammars and other printed material of the 20th and 21st centuries in the

¹ In most cases I have dropped the plural “-s” after ethnonyms like Dörbet, Torgut, Hoshut and also Oirat, retaining it for the Kalmyks as an established expression.

² The expressions Oirat Script, Todo Bičig and Clear Script are used as synonyms in this article. Likewise, the expressions Classical Mongolian Script, Uiguro-mongolian Script, Hudum Mongol(ian) are used as synonyms.

West Mongolian Oirat script. My research focuses on the change of the Oirat written language in Sinkiang in a multi-ethnic region compared to the Kalmyk written language in Russia, as well as the Oirat language in Mongolia over the past 100 years. This research is carried out under the thematic focus of language change, language education, endangered languages. This includes didactic, educational and linguistic aspects as well as aspects of contemporary history.

“Language, writing and ethnic identity” is the overarching question of my research which I will outline on the next few pages. Why have the Kalmyks on the banks of the lower Volga been trying to revive the old Oirat script, the *Todo Bičig*, since about 1990? Why do the Oirat in Sinkiang fight to keep the Oirat *Todo Bičig* against the political guidelines from the authorities? What is the connection between language and writing? Kalmyk, as a living language in Russia, is increasingly endangered. Why then is there a struggle for the revival of an old script, which was abandoned in favour of the Cyrillic script as early as 1924? Are there parallels to Mongolia, where the reintroduction of the old Uiguro-mongolian script also triggered great discussions in the context of national identity?

For Eastern Mongolian also different writing systems exist today: Cyrillic in the Republic of Mongolia, which had been for a long time under strong Soviet influence, and the Uiguro-mongolian script in Inner Mongolia, which belongs to China. And can the Oirat in Western Mongolia, who have not been using their own Oirat script for many decades and can express themselves in writing only in the Eastern Mongolian written language of the Khalka, the state-bearing people in the Republic of Mongolia, preserve their own ethnic identity only through the spoken language? Is an ethnic identity beyond the language possible in the long run due to a common history and other common cultural elements? Is there a separate Oirat and Khalka ethnic identity?

It should be noted that other Mongolian scripts like the Phagspa script and the Soyombo script existed but never had a long-lasting impact.³ A special character of the Soyombo script, the *Soyombo* symbol, became a national symbol of Mongolia, proving the connection between script and national identity.

The Oirat (mongol. *oi* = “forest”, *ard* (< **harad* = “people”) thus perhaps “the forest people”, etymology uncertain), who are also known as Dzungar (mongol. *ġegün ɣar* = left hand), *Ölöt* (Eleut) or under individual tribal names such as Torgut, *Dörbet* (mongol. *dörbed* = the four), Hoshut etc., were the most important ethnic group amongst the Mongols. As a confederation of West Mongolian tribes, the Oirat became increasingly independent after the collapse of the Mongol empire of the Chingiskhanids in the late 14th century and since then stood in political opposition to the Eastern Mongols, especially the Khalka, *Tümed* and others. In 1757, the Dzungarian Khanate of the Oirat, which had its centre between the

³ Otgonbayar, Chuluunbaatar (2008): Einführung in die mongolischen Schriften. Buske Verlag, Hamburg (Introduction to different Mongolian scripts).

Altai Mountains and the Ili region in today's Sinkiang, was destroyed by Manchurian-Chinese troops and large parts of its territory annexed by China. Shortly before, the Eastern Mongolian Khalka in Mongolia had submitted to Manchu China, which gave them military support against the Oirat who at that time were much stronger than the Khalka.

The northern part of the modern province of Sinkiang (Xinjiang) is still known today as Dzungaria.

The main parts of the Oirat tribes of Torgut and Dörbet had moved towards the steppes north of the Caspian Sea along the lower Volga around 1600. They became known as the Kalmyk.

In 1648 Zaya Pandita, an Oirat monk of the Hoshut, a tribe of the Oirat, had created the "Clear Script" (Todo bičig), which eliminated the many ambivalent spellings of the old Uiguro-mongolian script and closed the gap between spoken and written language. The new script was rejected by the Eastern Mongols and spread as Oirat script only among the Western Mongols. From 1648 onward, there are two written Mongolian languages: a Western Mongolian written language and the old written language of the Eastern Mongols, based on the Eastern Mongolian standard of the 12th/13th century, which is still used today in Inner Mongolia and more recently again in the Republic of Mongolia.

After the devastating defeat of the Oirat Khanat in 1757 a central authority for the Oirat was missing, so that the Oirat written language also changed slightly (cf. Namjavín 2003). In addition, a part of the Oirat, especially the Torgut and Dörbet, had migrated to the steppes of the lower Volga in the early 17th century, where they are known today as Kalmyks. In 1771, after problems with the Russian authorities, some of these Kalmyks, especially Torgut, migrated back from the Volga to the almost deserted Ili area in Sinkiang, where they still live today. Overall, however, the Oirat-Kalmyk written language remained quite homogeneous and conservative until the beginning of the 20th century. The different tribes between Volga and Sinkiang, between Kyrgyzstan and the Mongolian Altai used one and the same written language for communication. For this early language level there are dictionaries and grammars from the 19th and 20th century in Western European languages (Zwick, Rahmn, Krueger). The study of the Mongolian languages in Europe was mainly initiated through members of the mission station in Sarepta, which the Herrnhuter from Germany established amongst the Kalmyks on the Volga around 1765. Sarepta is now a part of greater Volgograd. The old "German style" town and the archives still exist.

In the project outlined in the following, which focuses on the modern period since the Russian Revolution in 1917 and since the end of the Qing Dynasty in China in 1911 (which was also the year of Mongolia's declaration of independence), the initial question is posed as to how a development could have taken place during the course of the 20th century, ending in the Oirat and Kalmyk languages in Kalmykia, Sinkiang and Western Mongolia being considered endangered languages? A fourth group of Oirat live in today's independent Kyrgyzstan, which was

originally part of the Soviet Union and Russia, and which borders on China (Sinkiang). There the language has been almost completely lost.

The following tentative theses, which are to be checked by analyzing the written language material, may be defined as: The language and script community of the Western Mongols of the old Oirat Federation broke up in the course of the 20th century after a short consolidation phase in the 1920s and 1930s as a result of world political upheavals, which made the Kalmyks and Oirat objects of the great world powers, the plaything in geopolitics between Hitler, Stalin and Mao Tse-tung. Unity falls apart, the remaining three (four) groups in three states experience individual fates. They remain isolated and weakened as small groups and become assimilated.

Since the 1940s, the Oirat in Sinkiang have been taking up a development in their reformed written language that originally started in Kalmykia through Kalmyk scholars from 1915 to about 1938, but was not continued there since 1943 due to the political conditions which resulted in the deportation of the Kalmyks to Siberia. After the return of the Kalmyks to Kalmykia since 1957/58 the old traditions were broken and the development of the written language focused solely on the use of a modified Cyrillic alphabet. The community based on a common script (*Schriftgemeinschaft*) of the Kalmyks and Oirat in China, Kalmykia and Western Mongolia broke up and the three or four groups went their separate ways.

But even within the Oirat writing community in Sinkiang a uniform standard is not developing, since the Oirat are not recognized as a minority in their own right in China. The orthography and grammar of the Oirat written language in reformed *Todo bičig* in Sinkiang is not standardized until today. It has been changing over the decades, and is divers even within a shorter period of time. The standard, which was taught to each young generation in the schools, never corresponded exactly to the standard of individual newspaper presses and book publishing houses. This lack of a uniform standard led to uncertainty and in certain intellectual circles to a rejection of the Oirat written language in favour of adopting the Eastern Mongolian written language of Inner Mongolia. In as so far as the Oirat written language in *Todo Bičig* has been revived during the last few years in Kalmykia and in Western, it picks up the spelling of the 17th to 19th centuries, which differs greatly from the reformed spelling commonly used in Sinkiang today.

Oirat in Sinkiang/China and Kalmyks in Russia or the Soviet Union and Mongolia had to make comparable experiences under different socialist systems in the 20th century: Deportation of the Kalmyks to Siberia under Stalin and in China severe reprisals during the Cultural Revolution and other political campaigns from 1950 to 1977, to which the Oirat were subjected, and consequently an active assimilation policy, which put them on an assimilation course with the Eastern Mongols in Chinese Inner Mongolia and which was to rob them of their linguistic and cultural independence.

Oirats and Kalmyks in the Soviet Union, China and the People's Republic of Mongolia all went through collectivisation of their herds and destruction of the

traditional tribal structure with a slight time lag. In all three groups of Western Mongols, this has left deep traces in the language, especially in the vocabulary and active command of the language. This change in language due to external political influences led to a break-up of the Oirat-Kalmyk language community in the 20th century. The Oirat in Mongolia have not had their own written language for decades and use Khalka-Mongolian, written with Cyrillic letters, in their correspondence. The latest developments in email correspondence, text messaging by SMS and in blogs and forums also show the advance of the Latin script among western and eastern Mongolians.

The Oirat in Mongolia, like the Oirat in Kyrgyzstan, no longer have their own written language in which they can express themselves in writing. Since 1941, under Soviet pressure, Khalka-Mongolian (Eastern Mongolian) in Cyrillic script has been binding in Mongolia. Here the survival of Oirat is in great danger. In cooperation with SOAS in London, Prof. Tsendee has made numerous language documents available as audio and video recordings on the SOAS Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR). Unfortunately, she passed away in 2019.

In the 20th century, the global political environment caused the break-up of the Oirat language community. Kalmyks in the Soviet Union absorbed Russian vocabulary and syntax on a large scale, Oirat in China absorbed Han Chinese and Eastern Mongolian language material of the Tümed, Chorchin, Chahar and Oirat in Mongolia Eastern Mongolian language material of the Khalka.

The Oirat have always lived in Central Asia in a multi-ethnic context. Today, Sinkiang and the Caucasus region – with the Kalmyks living immediately north of the Caucasus – can still be seen as multi-ethnic microcosms. The larger context of the nomadic peoples of the steppes of Central Asia is, however, today disturbed by fixed borders. Linguistically and culturally, the various Oirat groups are today more strongly influenced by the state-bearing peoples of the Russians and the Chinese, both of whom are not steppe peoples.

In the 1930s until the outbreak of the Second World War in 1938, the University of Tashkent in Central Asia served as an intellectual centre, where Uighur and Oirat scholars and students from Sinkiang, Kalmykia and also Mongolia came together to reconsider jointly the spiritual culture and language of their peoples and to adapt it to the social and linguistic conditions of the 20th century. The Uighur development, which is closely related to the Uzbek development, will not be discussed in detail here. However, the Uighurs in Sinkiang constitute the majority of the population of that region and most of the Oirat from Sinkiang also speak Uighur and Chinese. The multilingualism of the Oirat people in a multilingual, multi-ethnic context influences their mother tongue. The exact nature of this multilingualism is different in Kalmykia, Sinkiang, Kyrgyzstan and Western Mongolia.

Three of the most influential Kalmyk scholars, who worked on the reform of the written language and who were active as teachers and researchers in Tashkent, Sinkiang and Western Mongolia in the 1920s and 1930s, were Aksen Suseev, Ijil Čürüm (cf. Batubayar 2016) and Ceren Dorži Nominhanov (1898–1967, cf. Očiro-

va 2008, Reckel 2020). Nominhanov and Suseev went back to Elista in 1938. Ijil Čürüm stayed in Sinkiang and wrote an Oirat-Tibetan dictionary, which has survived as a manuscript. It was hidden in a cave during the difficult times and was not discovered until the 1980s. Hopefully it will be published sometime in the future.

To. Badma, who was a student of Ijil Čürüm, published numerous linguistic works since the 1950s in Urumchi in Sinkiang and a Mongolian-Oirat dictionary in 1979, which has been reprinted since and has been serving as the major reference work especially for the spelling of modern Oirat until today. In 1953 a new grammar of the Oirat written language was published in Urumchi, based on the grammar used by Nominhanov at the University of Tashkent from 1936 with handwritten hectographed copies of a shorter version (“Učebnik mongol’skogo jazyka – Ojrat-mongol’skaja pis’mennost”) made in 1935 (cf. Očirova 2008, p.16, Reckel 2020). It reforms the Oirat written language, introduces some new letters from the Galik alphabet and brings the written Oirat language closer to the spoken language of the Oirat of the 20th century. When Nominhanov circulated his grammar of reformed written Oirat in *Todo bičig* at the University of Tashkent in 1935/36, it was an effort to create a vibrant, practical written language in a script that had been replaced by the Cyrillic alphabet in his native Kalmykia for more than a decade. On more neutral ground, in Uzbekistan, it was once again possible to bring old traditions to new life.



Picture 1: Ceren Dorži Nominhanov (1898–1967).

The originally close relationship between the Kalmyks of the Soviet Union and the Oirat in Sinkiang, broke up gradually after the communist takeover in China in 1949 and relations between the Soviet Union and China deteriorated increasingly during the 1950s and 1960s, especially after the death of Stalin in 1953 and the reforms and de-stalinisation under Khrushchev since 1956. It was not until the early 1990s that a growing rapprochement between Russia and China was making a closer exchange possible once again.

In 1923, the Kalmyks on the Volga were given a new standard written language in Cyrillic letters. From 1931 to 1938 it was also written with Latin letters. From 1943 to 1957/58 deportation to Siberia followed, which prevented the free development of the language. During these years most Kalmyks no longer dared to speak Kalmyk publicly or to pass the language on to their children. The trauma of the deportation is still felt today. (cf. Wartmann-Burataeva/Cholutaeva 2011) Since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1990/91, attempts have been made to teach the old Oirat clear script in schools again. New schoolbooks bear the title on the spine in Todo Bičig, while the text between the book covers is almost exclusively printed in Kalmyk in Cyrillic script. For a short time after 1990 even a newspaper in clear script was published in Elista. Co-publisher was Sodmon Namjavın, who originally hails from Sinkiang. The script has a high symbolic value for the ethnic identity of the Kalmyks. It appears today in Elista on cars, business headlines, posters etc., but has little practical value in everyday life.

Unfortunately, the spelling rules for writing Kalmyk in Cyrillic script are very complicated with unstressed vowels not written at all. The orthography of the written Kalmyk language used today has peculiar rules. Schwas from second syllable onward will not be written. Up to 11 consonants could and can be written without a vowel in between. (eg. КӨДЛМШЧНРТВДН [to our workers]), thus creating big clusters of consonants. These rules make written Kalmyk different from other Mongolic languages written in Cyrillic script, like Buryat and Khalka. These rules for Kalmyk go back to Nomto Ochirov (Očirā) and followed by Narmaev, D. A. Pavlov and others. Attempts to change these unsatisfactory spelling rules have been made in the 1920s and 1930s and again after the period of deportation, all to no avail (cf. Arai Yukiyasu 2006).

Nomto Ochirov (kal. Очра Номт, rus. Очиров, Номто Очирович) was born 10.10.1886 in Khonch in Kalmykia.⁴ He studied in the Oriental Faculty of St Petersburg University. In 1908 he spent some time with the famous Kalmyk Jangar singer Eelyan Ovla from whom he wrote down the epos Jangar. Nomto Ochirov recorded and published the first monumental edition of the Kalmyk epos "Dzhangar" (Jangar), published the first newspaper in the history of the Kalmyk people "Oirat Izvestia". In the 1920s Nomto Ochirov participated in the reform of the Kalmyk writing system. Since 1929, Nomto Ochirov was arrested four times:

⁴ Badmaev, Andrej Vasil'evič: Nomto Očirov: žizn' i sud'ba (Ministerstvo Obrazovanija, Kul'tury i Nauki Respubliki Kalmykija), Elista 2009.

in mid-1929, in the fall of 1930, June 1941 and December 1950. In all these cases, he was accused of his activities in the Kalmyk military government and he was accused of participation in the “Kalmyk nationalist counter-revolutionary insurrectionary organization Narna Girl.” Since 1950, he was in a special settlement in the Semipalatinsk region of Kazakhstan. He returned in 1956, paralyzed. He died in 1960.⁵ (cf. Autobiography Nina Ulanova – online⁶)



Picture 2: Nomto Ochirov (1886–1960).

In 1942 Kalmykia was occupied by German troops for about five months. After the Germans left, Stalin accused the Kalmyk of collaboration with the Germans. The period of deportation of the Kalmyks to Siberia in 1943–1957 as a traumatic experience is not in itself sufficient to explain the continued decline of the Kalmyk language in Kalmykia. For this purpose, language education in kindergartens, schools up to the university in Kalmykia will have to be looked into. Curricula should be analyzed, teachers should be interviewed. How many lessons are taught in Kalmyk language? How interesting are the lessons and textbooks? How are the native-speaking teachers trained, how well do they know Kalmyk? To this day, new textbooks for language teaching are developed and published in Kalmykia.

In Sinkiang, the last textbooks in Clear Script were printed around 1982. However, the clear script is still used there. Since it is no longer taught in the

⁵ Zhubanishcheva Gulmira Bizhanovna: Biographies of famous Kalmyk scientists: Nomto Ochirovich Ochirov. Online: <https://infourok.ru/prezentaciya-po-angliyskomu-yaziku-v-kachestve-nacionalnoregionalnogo-komponenta-nomto-ochirovich-ochirov-529889.html> (accessed 20.7.2020)

See also the publications by Ochirova (2002).

⁶ Nina Ulanova – Autobiography <https://www.repository.cam.ac.uk/handle/1810/296316?show=full> (accessed 17.07.2020).

schools, however, there is no clear standard that is widely communicated. Scholars like Adiyān Galcan offer online videos teaching written Oirat (reformed standard) on the Chinese platform Youku, the equivalent of YouTube.⁷

Since 2017, the use of textbooks in the indigenous languages of Sinkiang has been strictly prohibited in Sinkiang schools. Teaching is now only allowed in Chinese.

Finally, the influence of the internet, television and radio and the language or languages used in these media must be included in the investigations on language change and decline. Some Newspapers are available online now, including the Daily Newspaper of Xinjiang (Šinĵiyang-giyin ödör-yin sonin) which even in 2020 is still published in Oirat script, at least partly.⁸

Three groups of written material are particularly suitable for the investigation of the language change of modern Oirat and Kalmyk, as they reflect the current and contemporary language standard: Schoolbooks, newspapers and official documents including political literature such as pamphlets, party programs etc. Fiction on the other hand often uses vocabulary of older or artificial language levels in prose and poetry and is less suitable for our investigations. Written folk literature occupies a special position close to oral traditions and recordings. For Sinkiang, the series *Hān Tenggeri*, which has been published in over 30 volumes since 1981, should be mentioned here. The incorporation of vocabulary and quotations from fiction and folk literature is reserved for a later phase of the planned corpus-based dictionary.

Textbooks used in schools have a strong normative power in language education and also reflect the utopian ideas of an ideal society to which the older generation wants to draw children. Since textbooks reflect a strongly standardized language, they also document the break-up of the old Oirat language community into different standards.

A transcription, analysis and comparison of selected textbooks from different decades, for the Oirat in Sinkiang from the 1920s to the 1980s, for the Kalmyks from the 1920s to the present day, is intended to work out the changes in society and language at the Oirat and Kalmyks. For this purpose, textbooks not only for language teaching but also from other fields of knowledge are to be used in selection. Until the 1950s the Oirat language in Sinkiang was strongly influenced by Russian, later by the East Mongolian language of Inner Mongolia and also by Chinese. This is reflected in the respective vocabulary, orthography and sentence structure.

For the Kalmyks on the Volga, the deportation in 1943-1958 was a profound break. Linguistically and socio-scientifically, textbooks from the time before and after the deportation period can therefore provide important insights into the

⁷ https://v.youku.com/v_show/id_XMzA5NjU4Mjc2.html (accessed 17.07.2020).

⁸ <http://mongol.xjdaily.com/> (accessed 17.07.2020).

changes in society and the Kalmyks' self-image. Kara published excerpts from textbooks from the period 1925 to 1930 in 1997. They will be compared with Kalmyk textbooks published after 1958. It is possible that Kalmyk textbooks were even written in Siberia between 1943 and 1958.

Newspapers report in the up to date language of the day. They reflect the latest developments in the language very promptly. The language here is more flexible than in textbooks. Newspapers are, after schoolbooks, the most important material to follow the changes in language. Some Oirat-Kalmyk newspapers are available online.

The development of the new Oirat written language in Sinkiang can also be documented by the new school grammars and lexicons or dictionaries, which have been published since about 1950. The comparison of the orthography of Sinkiang Oirat in the grammar of 1953, that of the lexicon of 1961 (see the bibliography below), which further develops the spellings of 1953 and also in some cases introduces its own developments, and that of Badma from 1979 and from the grammar of Jamcha from 1999 will show a movement from a spelling of the 1930s to 1950s strongly influenced by the Kalmyk scholar Nominhanov, up to an orthography strongly based on the spelling of the East Mongolian of Inner Mongolia, as Badma prefers it, to the countermovement under Jamcha, an oscillating movement which continues until today.

In the first years of the Soviet Union around 1922, commissions were formed to determine the nationalities in the Soviet Union and a separate written language was established for each people.

In China this happened around 1955 to 1957. The Commission for the determination and definition of minorities in China consisted of Chinese and Soviet experts. 56 nationalities were determined and recognized in the P.R. China. There was a discussion in the commission of experts whether the Oirat should be recognized as a minority in their own right. The Soviet experts were in favour of this, as the Mongolian Kalmyks and Buryats in the Soviet Union had also been granted the status of separate nationalities. The Chinese commissioners, however, were opposed to this and classified all Eastern and Western Mongolian peoples as one minority: the Mongols. Oirat was classified as a Mongolian dialect. Only small Mongolian fringe groups, such as Dagurs, Yugurs, Dongxiang and Bonan were given independent status. The Oirat of Sinkiang were grouped together with Tümed, Tschahar, Chortschin and other East Mongolian tribes of Inner Mongolia as Mongolians, although Oirat from Sinkiang did not understand the radio program and newspapers from Inner Mongolia because of the strong differences between Western and Eastern Mongolian. Therefore, the Oirat in Sinkiang were left with their Oirat script and were given their own radio station. One of the leading news-readers was for decades the wife of Prof. To. Badma. The Oirat and Kalmyks still see themselves as an independent ethnic group. (cf. Joo-Yup Lee 2016 online resource)

The time of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) stifled intellectual activities for over ten years. In the 1980s and 1990s a series of 21 volumes under the title *Mongᠭol töröl-ün kele ayalᠭun-u sudulul-un čubural /Menggu yuzu yuyan fangyan yanjiu congshu* (“Series of research on dialects of the language family of Mongolian (Mongolic) languages”) appeared in print in Hohhot in Inner Mongolia. Volume 20 and 21 are an Oirat dictionary (Čoiᠵungᠵab/Gereltü 1998) and a collection of oral Oirat tales (Čoiᠵungᠵab 1987). These publications are the result of field work done amongst the different groups of Mongols in China in the 1950s which could not be published at the time because of numerous political campaigns that started with the “Let 100 Flowers Bloom” campaign in 1956 and ended only with the downfall of the “Gang of Four” in 1976 and their trial and conviction in 1981.

A major publication was Prof. To. Badma’s Mongolian-Oirat dictionary in 1979, also published after the Cultural Revolution. In 1983, at a time when the Oirat Clear Script officially ceased to be taught in state run schools a small dictionary for primary schools in Hudum Mongol and Todo Bičig was published. In 1999 Jamcha published his groundbreaking work on grammar and spelling of written Oirat.

It was not until 1982 that an educational campaign away from the Oirat script began in Sinkiang. Bilingual books were published in the Uiguro-mongolian script (Hudum Monggol) with an interlinear parallel version of the text in a smaller Oirat script to introduce the Oirat to the written Mongolian of Inner Mongolia (Qoyiᠵongᠵab 1986) slowly. Many monographs and text editions are still published in two versions: in Uiguro-mongol script (Hudum Monggol) and in Oirat Todo Bičig. Since about 1982 the Oirat written language is no longer taught in schools. All textbooks today (until 2017) come from Inner Mongolia. All Oirat should use the old Uiguro-mongolian script as it is used in Inner Mongolia (cf. Erdeni 1983). Various reasons were given. For example, the Chahar, which were moved from Inner Mongolia to Bortala on the Kazakh border after 1757, were originally Eastern Mongols. However, they have been using the Oirat written language without any problems for over 200 years until today. It is often said that all Mongolians in China must stick together and should be able to communicate in writing. Most of the Oirat oppose the abolition of clear writing, so that even today newspapers and books are published in Oirat writing.

The Oirat written language in Sinkiang has gone through a major reform process in the 20th century. However, it has not yet found a uniform standard in orthography. This makes it difficult for outsiders to access Oirat documents. There is no Oirat-Mongolian or Oirat-Chinese dictionary of the 20th century existing in China, though Mongol-Oirat dictionaries, that serve a different purpose of leading the Oirat towards using the Uiguro-mongolian script exist. Considering the existing corpus of modern Oirat written material available a corpus-based dictionary of modern Sinkiang Oirat is a strong desideratum.

Another desideratum is a textbook of modern Kalmyk and modern Sinkiang Oirat for Western students and scholars. The Kalmyk grammar of Johannes Benzing is partly outdated and useless as a textbook. The didactic method should follow recognized good modern textbooks, e.g. Linguaphone's language course for Korean, just as Kalmyk an Altaic language.

A textbook for modern Sinkiang-Oirat is completely missing, even in China. There are only lexicons and grammars for Old Oirat, as it was in use until the end of the 19th century (cf. Krueger, Zwick, Rahmn etc.). The modern written Oirat of the 20th and 21st century, as it is used in Sinkiang and which differs greatly from Old Oirat in vocabulary, grammar and orthography, has so far received almost no attention in science outside Asia. Rakos' (2002) introduction to written Oirat offers only a very limited approach.

For audio and video material, the much broader Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR) already exists, which is administered by the School of Oriental Studies (SOAS) in London and into which Oirat such as Prof. Tsendee from Ulan Bator contributed material. Access to this archive is password protected. Personal registration as a researcher is a prerequisite for active and passive use of the archive. Through this a certain scientific standard can be guaranteed. Comparable archives for endangered languages have been established as DoBeS (Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nimwegen) and LELA (Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Leipzig). DoBeS and LELA do not contain Kalmyk-Oirat language material. The three archives mentioned above are to be regarded as repositories. They do not evaluate the linguistic material. Access to DoBeS and LELA is strongly regulated and restricted to a small circle of research assistants. LELA is a completed project. Further projects and archives like the Vienna based VLACH are given in the bibliography below.

The State and University Library Goettingen has a good collection of Kalmyk-Oirat and Mongolian literature. It can be accessed via its homepage www.sub.uni-goettingen.de. Use the slot in the right top corner and insert spr xal to see all titles in Kalmyk language or spr mon for Mongolian titles and spr bua for Buryat. Unfortunately, the system has no language code for Oirat. You may try to insert JTH as classification for modern Oirat, JTD for old (classical) Oirat and JTF for Kalmyk. Otherwise many Oirat books from Sinkiang are under the general language code spr mon.

There is also a Specialised Information Service for Central Asia and Siberia based at Goettingen. See its homepage www.fid-cassib.de.

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Symbolism and Semantics of Numbers in the Kalmyk Heroic Epic “Dzhangar”¹

Valeriya Vasilevna Salykova and Dzhangala Badmaeva

Abstract

The one of the interesting features of the heroic epos “Dzhangar” is wide use of personal numerals. The object of counting in this article is the number of Dzhangar’s heroes, the number of palaces which they have, the number of animals in their herds, the amount of buildings and their interior, elements and ornamentation, the amount of heroes’ weapons, the count of time, of distance, characters’ age of heroes and animals, the amount of enemies and so on.

1 Хальмг баатраг дууавр «жаңһрт» тооһин темдгин чинрин тускар

То дараллһнд цуг үгмүд, нерд болн күүнә хөв-жирһлд үлмәһән хальдадг әңгүдлә ирлцнә. Күүнә заң-бәрциг шинжләд, дуту-дундынь олхин, билагинь илдкхин, хөвинь әәлдәж медхин төлә то дараллһн олзлгана. Үлгүрнь, «негн» гисн то цугтин экац, наадк йисн то энүнәс ул авч тогтна, нарла ирлцнә.

¹ Original Title: „Хальмг баатраг дууавр «жаңһрт» тооһин темдгин чинрин тускар. (Символика и семантика числа в калмыцком героическом эпосе ‘джангар’)“.

Тооһин темдг номтир Н.А. Жуковская [3], Б.Х. Тодаева [7] Г.Ц. Пюрбеев [5], А.А. Бурькин [1], Э.У. Омакаева [4], В.В. Салькова [6] номин дегтрмүдтэн, иадкэмүдтэн хэлэж, шинжлсмн.

Орчлңгин сээхниг болн ниищңгү бөөддиг, нег үлү баатрлг болн кезэңк тоотыг, энүнэ аһун, цаг болзгин, тооһин медән угаһар үзүлхд амр биш. Тер учрар чигн баатрлг дуулаврт тооһин ээшл өргнөр олзлгдана. Урн үгин эв-арһниг ум байжулж бас эркн чинр зүүнэ. Эпическ текстд цугнь тоота болна. Кедү предмет бөөхнь, ямаран чинртәһинь, ямр нег йовдлын тускар келгдхлэ негн гисн тооһас эклэд, 100 сай (дуңшур) тооһар төгснэ. Эн хойр тооһин дунд иим то харһна: «3, 4, 7, 8, 10,12, 33, 49, 70, 80, 90, 100, 1000, 6012, 7000, 10000, 11000, 14000. Түрүн арвнас хамгин олар харһдг то – 2 (хойр – 386), дарунь 10 (арвн – 238), 7 (долан– 202) болн 3 (һурвн – 197). Цааранднь невчк баһар харһдг то – 1 (негн – 187), 4 (дөрвн – 160), 8 (нөөмн – 105), 6 (зурһан – 94), 5 (тавн – 91) болн 9 (йисн – 28)» баатрлг дуулавр «Жаңһрин» келнэ тольдан Б.Х. Тодаева эн тоог диглсмн [7].

2 «Жаңһрт» харһдг тоог һурвн һоллгч багд хуваж болхмн:

1. мана өвкнрин кезэңк санан-серллэ залһддата сакральн то;
2. эпост үлмәһән хальдасн шажни сойлын дамшлтын белг темдг болсн то;өржәллһнэ художественн эв-арһ болж эпическ шүлгләнд олзлгджах то.
3. 3, 4, 7 хамгин түрүнд сакральн-мифологическ тоод орна. Хамгин түрүнд шар шажн делгрсн цагт 10 гидг то бас эднэ тоод орулж болна. Юңгад гихлэ эн тооһин чинр өсв: арвн хар нүүл, арвн цаһан буйн. Эн то эрт цагин делкән туужд даңгин харһна.

Энүнэс эклц кезэңк цагиг өңгрсн, өдгә болн ирх цаг гиж йилһдг болсмн, кезэңк туужин аһу һазр дор бөөх, теңгр деер, һазр деер бөөх делкә гиж йилһрв. Кезэңк туужин баатр йир амрар цаг, делкә соляд йовна. Тингәд «Жаңһрин» бөлгт эзн бога Жаңһр Арслңгин Арг Улан Хоңһриг хөөһэд, һазр дор бөөх делкә көдәд, һурвн әәмишгәс гетләнә: төмр нилхәс, һуйинь мерсн хулһнас болн то-томж уга шулмас. Тингәд йовж йовад Хоңһриг олад, үкләс гетләгнә. Эпост «һурвн» гидг то яһж харһна гихлэ, баатрмудг даңгин һурвн харшлг харһна. Күүк буулһхар һарад йовхларн, Хоңһр һурвн эрдани бүшмүд өмснә: *Эрднин һурвн бүшмүдән өмсв / Дәәни һурвн лувц зүүв... [2: 31].*

Муудан орад, хәрү аашсн цаглань һурвн хун Хоңһриг әмдүлнә.

Дөрвн – кезэңк туужст дөрвн үзг заана. Дөрвн үзгүр нойн **Жаңһр** дөрвн зарцан илгэнэ. Дөрвн цагиг чигн заана: «*Дөрвн өдр, дөрвн сө ухан-сегэн уга Хоңһр унтна*» [2:38].

Дөрвн гидг то юңгад ик делграт авсиг «сакральн эсв» цээлһнэ. Балр эртни цагин улс аһун болн цагин кемжэг яһж йилһдг бээсиг нег цээлһврнь медүлнэ: *Жилин дөрвн цаг (үвл, хавр, зун, намр), дөрвн үзг (ар, өмн, дорд, деед), дөрвн зүсн мал (хөч, үкр, мөрн, темән).*

Түвин дөрвн хаани күүка һолад / Дөрвн талан / Дөчн хаани нутг номдан орулгсн / Шарин дөрвн төрөн һар дээрэн авгсн... [2: 10].

Шар шажна «дөрвн» гисн то бас ик чинртэ: Бурхн багшин гегэнэ номлсн Дөрвн Үнн Йосн бээнэ.

Дөрвн һалв бээнэ: аһар, усн, һал, һазр; аһурсн, күн дөрвн мөчтэ, дөрвәжн дөрвн булцта, күүнд жирһлин дөрвн кемжән бээнэ: бичкндк цаг, баһ насни, баһ дүүвр цаг болн көгшрат. Үлгүрнь, *Дөрвн хар саврачн / Зулын цөгц кел уга бәәжн угав!* [2: 34].

Нег әәмшг, харш юм дарх, уга кех болхла, даңгин долан то олзәдгнә (долан уул һатц). Долан уул һатлад, хортан дархар баатр йовна. Хаалһнь ик хол, күцәх кергнь амр бишиг үзүлхләрн – дөчн йисн хонгтан йовад, дәәлләд йовна: *Өдриг өдр гил уга / Сөөг сө гил уга / Долан долан / Дөчн йисн хонгт гүүһәд одв* [2: 142 – 143].

Хортан дарсн баатрмуд долан хонгтан нәәрләнэ – долан хонгин арзин сүүр болна. Баатрмуд элвг долан дуңһра күцәд сууцхана, долан өдр болн долан сө чавчәднә: *Эдү мет баатрмуднь / Эңгин оln сәәдүдтәһән / Эңдән долан дуңһра күцәд суудг* [2: 14].

Баатрлг дуулврт долан наста **Жаңһр** күчтэ хортан дарна: Долатадан дордын долан ориг дорацулж / Дууга **Жаңһр** нерән дуудулгәсмн [2: 7].

Хальмг улсин баатрлг дуулврт «долан - долан дөчн йисн хонгт» гиж дөвтәднә. Тедү өдр амрлго Арнза Зеера күлг довлана, тедү өдр **Хоңһр** баатр серлго унтна.

Долан (далн) то делкән зөөрин, эргндк йиртмжн таарлтын темдг болна. Авъяс–бәрц күцәлһнә тускар келгдсн цагт долан тооһин сидтә чинр олзәдгнә. Бөк Цаһан баатр **Хоңһриг** днләд, һаринь бооһад, авад һарч йовхлаг, нәәмтгө көвүн Нарн Улан андһарлнә: *Чамаг угичн долан үндчн таслад / Удл уга эн өшәһән авх* [2: 330].

Мана эргндк йиртмжәд, делкәд оln тоот долан тоола залһдәдәтә. «Аура» гидг медән долан кемжәтә, солңһ долан өңг-зүстә, нарна диглән долан һарыгта. Шар шажнд долан эртни чолун бээнэ.

Тооһин темдгин дәкәд чигн талдан тәәлвр бәәдг: «3» болн «7» - аһуһин кемжәг дээрәс дорагшанднь хувана. «4» болн «8» болхла, утнь хувана.

Күүнә санан болн келн тооһин темдглә бат кевәр залһдәдәтә.

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The Semiotic Characteristics of Kinship in Kalmyk Language and Culture¹

Zhanna Sarangaeva

Abstract

In the humanities the problem of kinship remains one of the urgent and widely discussed topic. There are a lot of works devoted to the studies of kinship as a terminological and symbolic system. The concept “kinship” is supposed as a complex semiotic phenomenon that has specific emblematic, allegoric expression.

According to the Russian scientist V.I. Karasik the “emblem” is considered to be an identification sign that is comprehensible to representatives of one language and culture and requires an additional explanation to representative of other cultures (Kaeasik, 2012).

The emblematic characteristics are expressed in culturally and emotionally expressive marked lexemes and phraseological units. In the Kalmyk language patrilineal and matrilineal ties have its specific expression. Relatives on the father’s side are called “ТӨРЛМҮД” (from the verb “törh” – “to give birth”).

Cousins and second cousins are called “*һал-үй*”, “*аһулам-үй*” (literally, “generation on home, family hearth”). As a rule, people of these generations belonged to one khoton; they are family successors and called “*һуламт эхэч*” – the keepers of the hearth’. Fourth cousins are called “*зел-үй*” that means “generation of rope” (nomads often use a rope to catch cattle).

¹ Original Title: “Семiotические характеристики родственности в калмыцкой лингвокультуре“.

The relatives on mother's side are called «*төркн* – родители, родня замужней женщины». According to one of the versions this word is originated from the verb «*төркшлх*» meaning “to return home”, «*набцир* – родные по материнской линии», «*зе* – внук, внучка по линии дочери, племянник, племянница по материнской линии». Collateral relatives play a key role in one's life. In paremia they are compared with such images: «*күүнә эжн – набцир, усна эжн – булг* – mother's relatives are the soul of a man, spring is a source of water”, «*шовун шавтхларн – үүрән темүдг, күн муурхларн – набциран темүдг* – a wounded bird tends to its nest, a defeated / disappointed person needs mother's relatives”.

Emblematically, the concept “kinship” is expressed by phraseological somatisms. The lexeme “blood” is used in the meaning of “relationship by descent from a common ancestor, kinship”: «*нег цуста* – consanguineous relation», «*Өсрсн тусн, тасрсн махн* – distant relative».

The emblematic peculiarity is displayed in the designation of terms of relation. In past a wife couldn't address to her husband by name as it was tabooed. A number of euphemisms are used as substitutes for the term “husband”: «*одак*», «*одак күн* – that man», «*мана күн* – our man, master», «*герин эн* – homeowner».

A man's social status is higher than a woman's: «*эриг битгә бас, далаг битгә кенжәл* – do not treat a man with scorn, do not try to measure the ocean - не относитесь с пренебрежением к мужчине, не пытайтесь измерить океан», «*му болв чигн – утх, му болв чигн – залу*» (mu bolv chign – uth, mu bolv chign – zalu – though a knife is dull, it's a knife, though a man is bad, he's a man”, «*ән эр гүрдән нертә, ән эм үмснәс цааран һазрт нер уга* – a good man is known all over the world, a good wife is known no further than a pile of ashes”.

While choosing a wife the relatives pay utmost attention to the girl's family, her traits of character: «*күүкиг медий гивл экинй үз, күмниг медий гивл заңгинй үз* – if you want to learn about the girl, look at her mom, if you want to learn about a person, pay attention to his temper (character) (e.g. рус. «выбирай корову по рогам, а жену – по родам», «не бери породу, а бери по роду»).

The main components of the girl's dowry are earrings: «*күүкән өгсн күн сиикнь чигн өгдг* – отдавая дочь замуж, отдают и ее серьги», «*күүкнь авхла, сиикинь чигн авдг* – если берут девушку в жены, то берут ее серьги» - “when marry a girl take out her earrings”. Kalmyk people believe that earrings, rings have symbolic effect that influence on the wealth and maternity of newlyweds.

The allegoric interpretation of linguistic concepts is displayed in proverbs. In the Kalmyk language the concept is connected with the image of a tree and symbolizes help and support: «*садта күн – салата модн* – a man who has a lot of relatives is like a leafy tree”, «*салата модн бүрчлдг, садта күн өгтмндг* – a leafy tree is constantly blooming, a man with relatives is haughty”.

In Kalmyk this concept is compared with the notion of sand: «*elsn uluddg, elgn uluddgo* – the sand can disturb but not relatives”. In this proverb the expres-

siveness of the meaning is emphasized by the words with the same sound similarity – “elgn” and “elsn”.

The connection with relatives is expressed through the items of horse armor: «ДӨРЭН СУР ДӨРВН БОЛХЛА КӨЛД ТҮШЭН, АХ ДҮ ДӨРВН БОЛХЛА, НУТГ ТҮШЭН – a four-layer horse belt is good for legs, plenty of brothers are good for motherland» (рус. «четырёхслойный ремень – хорошая опора для ноги, много братьев – опора для родины»).

Close connection with relatives is represented in figurative comparison with metal: “*төрмин ээнь зеврдг уга, төрлин ээнь мартдн уга* (törmin syayan’ zevrdg uga, törlin syayan’ martdn uga) – хороший металл не ржавеет, хорошая родня не забывает – a good metal does not rust, good relatives do not forget”. The use of metal is embedded in Mongolian culture and has multiple meanings. Metal symbolizes holiness, purity and nobleness. Mongolian nomads believed that metal and silver goods affect one’s health and fortune. Silver goods are indispensable to the herders’ lives. Herders are given silver goods at certain times of their lives such as coming-of-age and marriage; those goods are then later passed on to their own children.

In Kalmyk culture the most respectful relatives are the representatives of the older generation. In paremia the significance of the older relatives is compared with an element of clothes – a collar: “кҮН АХТА – ДЕВА ЗАХТА – a man has got senior relatives, a fur coat has got a collar”. The Kalmyk people believe that a collar symbolizes human vital force, namely of a man, and is called “ки мөрн”. In Kalmyk culture there are some superstitions apply to the collar. One cannot step on the collar or cut it with scissors.

The theme of children takes the leading place in the Kalmyk folklore. The paremia inform that children are the meaning of a man’s life: “САЛАТА КҮН – БУРЧАЛДГ, САДА КҮН – ЖИРГАГ – a branchy tree is covered with leaves, a man with children enjoys life (salata modn – burldg, sadta kʸn – chirgdg)”.

Kalmyk proverbs and sayings underline the importance of methods of child’s upbringing. Children are not praised much. Kalmyk people believe that “a praised child is indecent”. At the same time a man cannot punish a child. The Kalmyk proverb says that “*бичкн күүкд – бурхн мет* (bizhkn kүүkd – burhn met – children are sacred)”.

Thus, most of emblematic and allegoric characteristics of the concept “kinship” have various images connected with a nomadic way of life in past, national customs and traditions that point out the uniqueness of modern Kalmyk worldview.

3 Семиотические характеристики родственности в калмыцкой лингвокультуре

В современной лингвистике и лингвокультурологии одним из возможных подходов изучения культурных концептов является описание его эмблематических, аллегорических и символических характеристик. Известный российский ученый Владимир Ильич Карасик отмечает, что эмблема представляет собой идентифицирующий знак, понятный носителям одной культуры, но требующий пояснения для представителей иной культуры [1]. Эмблематический смысл проявляется в маркированных лексико-фразеологических, сленговых и диалектных единицах и т. д.

Концепт «родственность» является универсальным концептом, имеющий национально-культурную специфику. Основным дифференцирующим признаком лексико-семантической группы данного концепта является обозначение патрилинейных и матрилинейных связей. Родственников по линии отца называют «*төрл*» и «*тохм*». В род «*төрлмүд*» входят родственники семи поколений. Первые четыре поколения составляют «*өөрх төрл* – близкие родственники, близкая родня», шестое и седьмое – «*хол төрл* – дальние родственники, дальняя родня». Каждое поколение рода «*төрл*» имеет свои наименования. Например, двоюродные братья и сестры также называют себя «*һал-үй*», буквально «поколение по огню». Троюродные братья – это «*һулмт-үй*», т.е. поколение по домашнему очагу. Эти родственники входили в родственный хотон (селение в несколько кибиток, кочевавших вместе). Именно они являются продолжателями рода, наследниками и преемниками «*һулмт акач*» (досл. «хранителями домашнего очага»).

Четвероюродные братья назывались «*зел-үй*», т.е. «поколение по привязи – зел» (длинная веревка для привязывания молодняка). Сюда относились правнуки братьев, которые жили своими кибитками-юртами, но свой скот держали с предыдущими «*һал-үй*». Весь молодняк своего скота представители поколения «*зел-үй*» и «*һал-үй*» привязывали к одной общей привязи – зел. Пятыюродные братья назывались «*әл үй*», т.е. «поколение по аилу»; они жили в хотоне (аиле) своих родственников [2].

В калмыцком языке понятия «род», «родство» также соответствуют понятию «тохм». В отличие от «*төрл*», слово «тохм» имеет более узкое значение. В «тохм – род» также входят родственники по мужской линии. В тюркских языках данная лексема имеет следующие такие значения: «тохм - ст. калм. тохом «род, происхождение», «казах. тукум - потомство; поколение; племя», «кирг. тукум - потомство, поколение; род; племя», «чув. тӑкӑм - род» [3, с. 70]. В армянском слово «тохм» (tohm) обозначает «род», «клан».

Родственники по материнской линии именуется как «*төркн* – родители, родня замужней женщины (от глагола «*төрх* – рождаться, появляться на свет», по другой версии от глагола «*төркшлх* – возвращаться в родне»), «*наһцнр* –

родные по материнской линии», «зе – внук, внучка по линии дочери, племянник, племянница по материнской линии».

Среди синонимов, обозначающих концепт «родственность / родство» также встречаются лексемы «садн», «элгн». Данные синонимы обладают наиболее общими и нейтральными признаками. Эмблематизм данных лексем заключается в том, что они не указывают на степень близости родства. К данному ряду относятся лексемы, обозначающие как кровное, так и некровное, прямое и не прямое родство, а также родство, принадлежащее и к отцу и матери: «*цусн садн* – кровное родство», «*төрхн садн* – близкий родственник», «*хол садн* – дальний родственник», «*экин элгн* – родственник по материнской линии», «*эцкин элгн* – родственник по отцовской линии» [4].

Для наименования родства, родственности в калмыцкой лингвокультуре используются слова-соматизмы. Например, слово «кровь» употребляется в значении «близкое родство, родовые связи, общее происхождение»: калм. «нег цуста – единокровный», «*погов. өсрсн махн, тасрсн махн* – дальняя кровная родня (*букв. оторвавшийся кусок мяса, брызнувшая капля крови*)» (для сравнения: рус. *Родная, своя кровь* (о близких родственниках). *Кровь от крови* (родное дитя). *Кровные родственники. Кровное родство*; англ. «*be in one's blood* – быть наследственным», «*blood is thicker than water* – кровь не вода»).

Эмблематическая специфика родственности проявляется в обозначении терминов родства. Так, в калмыцком языке эмблематическому осмыслению подвергаются наименования мужа и жены, связанные с их табуированием и эвфемизацией. Калмыцкой жене не принято было называть мужа по имени или словом «залу», вместо этого в речи применяли слова-заменители «*одак* – тот», «*одак күн* – тот человек», «*наадк күн* – другой человек», «*мана күн* – наш человек», «*герин зн* – хозяин дома». Муж жену называл «*одак* – та самая», «*мана герин күн* – наш домашний человек» (со слов информанта).

Аллегорические характеристики лингвокультурного концепта проявляются в пословицах и поговорках. Анализ калмыцких паремий позволил сделать следующие выводы.

Концепт «родственность» соотносится с образом дерева, символизирующего опору, единение, безопасность: «*садта күн жирьдг, салата модн бүрчлдг* – человек с многочисленной родней благоденствует, дерево с развилинами густо ветвится», «*садта күн – салата модн* – человек с многочисленной родней, что ветвистое дерево», «*салата модн бүрчлдг, садта күн өгтмндг* – развилитое дерево пышно ветвится, человек, у которого много родни, ведет себя заносчиво» [5].

Близкая связь с родными представлена в образном сравнении с металлом: «*төрмин саднь зеврдг уга, төрлин саднь мартдн уга* – хороший металл не ржавеет, хорошая родня не забывает», «*зес мөңгнднь зеврлтан баадв, зе набухд хольжлтан баадв* – разве медь и серебро ржавеют, разве племянник и дядя по матери расстанутся», «*зеевин сан тасрдг уга, зесин сан зеврдг уга* – хорошие племянники не

прерывают родства, хорошая медь не ржавеет». У монгольских народов серебро (калм. «мӨңгн») было самым почитаемым металлом, символизирующим чистоту, святость и благородство. О значении серебра В.П. Дарбакова пишет следующее: «...монголы прекрасно знали и использовали свойства серебра, например, мягкость серебра и возможность тянуть из него тончайшие нити. Серебро почиталось как символ счастья и чистоты у всех монгольских народов, и потому особое предпочтение отдавалось изделиям из серебра» [цит. по 6, с. 65-66]. В традиционном быту медь использовали в лечебных целях, например при переломах. Женщины носили медные браслеты для сохранения здоровья. В калмыцких хурулах (храмах) воду хранили в медных котлах в целях дезинфекции и сохранения вкуса [7].

Идея братства и родственности аллегорически выражена через упоминание конских доспехов: «дӨрэн сур дӨрвн болхла көлд түшэн, ах дү дӨрвн болхла, нутг түшэн – четырехслойный ремень – хорошая опора для ноги, много братьев – опора для родины».

Понятие родственности аллегорически противопоставляется с песком: «элин улуддг, элгн улуддг – песок бывает лишним, а родственники нет», «элин ацан болдог, элгн кезэд чигн ацан – погов. родственники никогда не в тягость, песок же – всегда ненужный груз». В данной пословице лексемы «элгн» («родственник») и «элин» («песок») имеют звуковое сходство. Для выразительности и образности мысли используется стилистический прием «паронимическая аттракция, или паронимазия» (от рага «возле» и опомазо «называю») – контекстуальное смысловое сближение неродственных, но фонетически сходных слов.

К родственникам матери испытывают особое уважение и привязанность. В калмыцких паремиях родственники по материнской линии (наһцнр) сравниваются со следующими образами: «күүндэ эки – наһцнр, усна эки – булг – начало человека – родственники по матери, начало – воды – источник», «күмни уг – наһцнр, модни уг – үндси – начало людского рода – родственники по матери, начало у дерева – корни», «шовун шавтхларн – үүрэн темүдг, күн муурхларн – наһцнран темүдг – раненная птица стремится к своему гнезду, разорившийся человек стремится к родственникам матери». В данных примерах четко прослеживается память о матриархальном укладе народа.

В калмыцком языке старших родственников (братьев, дедов) как наиболее авторитетную группу сравнивали с деталью одежды – воротником: калм. «күн ахта, девл захта – у человека – старшие родственники, у шубы – воротник (монгольский эквивалент «хун ахтай, дэгл захтай – у человека – старшие родственники, у шубы главное – воротник»). Аллегория очевидна: высокий статус старшего сравнивается с расположением воротника в верхней части одежды. По поверьям калмыков, воротник (дева) считался символом жизненных сил человека («ки мөрн»), в особенности мужчин [8, с. 38].

Существовали определенные правила и запреты относительно воротника. Например, у калмыков запрещено было наступать на воротник, разрезать его ножницами, вешать одежду воротником вниз. Это считалось опасным для хозяина одежды [там же, с. 18].

Значительное количество паремий (с прямым и переносным значением) посвящено теме брака. Важность брака представлена в следующих примерах: калм. *«геген уга күн йовач нохабас дор – холостяк хуже бродячей собаки»*.

В калмыцкой культуре отношения мужа и жены определяются порядком долженствования, предписанным патриархальным укладом быта. По статусу муж выше жены: *«ән эр гүрдән нертә, сән эм үмсәс цааран һазрт нер уга – хороший мужчина известен на всю страну, хорошая жена известна не далее кучи зола, «эр күмни меҗл күзү күртлән алтн, эм күмни меҗл күзү күртлән шор – знание мужчины до самой шеи – золото, знание женщины до самой шеи – пыль»*. Для сравнения в русских и английских пословицах и поговорках муж и жена выступают как равноправные союзники и партнеры: *«куда иголка, туда и нитка»* (о неразрывной связи мужа и жены), *«моя лучшая половина / my best half»*, *«May and December»*, *«Darby and Joan»* и т.д. В русских и английских семьях жена доминирует над мужем: рус. *«смирен топор, да веретено бодливо»*, *«куда захочу, туда головушку верчу»*, англ. *«the grey mare is the better horse – серая кобыла лучше коня»* (отсюда произошёл фразеологизм *«the grey mare – жена, держащая мужа под каблуком»*).

Тема детей занимает ведущее место в народном творчестве. В паремиях подчеркивается, что смысл жизни человека заключается в детях: калм. *«салата модн – бурчлде, садта күн – жциргде – развесистое дерево покрывается листьями, имеющий детей человек наслаждается счастьем»*, *«үрн уга эк-эцк, махн уга ясн мет – родители без потомства, что кость без мяса»* (сравни: в русском *«у кого детки, у того и ягодки»*, англ. *«the best smell is bread, the best savour salt, the best love that of children»*, *«the black crow thinks her own birds white – черная ворона принимает своих птенцов за белых»* (ср. рус. *«всякой матери свое дитя мило; свое дитя и горбато, да мило»*).

Большое значение имеют методы воспитания детей. У калмыков не принято хвалить свои детей: *«магтси кәвүн (күүкнә) маңнадан баста – у хваленного сына (дочери) лоб нечист (т.е. он непорядочный)*. Не принято физически наказывать детей. Калмыки говорят, что *«бичкн күүкд – бурхн мет – маленькие дети подобно Богу»*.

Символические характеристики лингвокультурных концептов проявляются в художественном дискурсе.

В художественной литературе тема родственности, семьи является одной из ведущих. Семейно-родственные отношения во многом определяют характер и мировоззрение героев, формируют их жизнь и судьбу.

Семья рассматривается как одна из важнейших ценностей в жизни человека. Семья является центром притяжения и единения людей: калм. *«То*

ль праздник, то ль свадьба в селе. / Калмыка на пир приглашают. / То вновь на родимой земле / Родственники встречаются [9, т.1., с. 62]».

В рассматриваемых лингвокультурах понятия дома, семьи и родства ассоциируются с жизнью родового селения. В калмыцких художественных произведениях мир хотона (селение в несколько кибиток, кочевавших вместе) составляют звуки домбры, народных песен, горьковатый запах полыни, символизирующий запах малой родины, запах свежесваренной баранины, излюбленного напитка – джомбы (калмыцкого чая): «*Улан зуух болын өмнөк зообин девсэд бас нег хэти бүүрлэн бээнэ. Хотна зүн ар захд шитмд ээрчкен хөд, һазань – кег улс зогжана. Эндр ик байр: хуц тэвлэн, хурд чимкх, агт сурух* [10].

Главными символами семьи и родства являются ключевые понятия «дом», «очаг». В монголоязычных культурах «*һульмт – очаг*» является символом обжитого дома (юрты), места обитания хозяина огня, а также преемственности поколений [11, с. 18]. С почитанием огня, уважительным отношением к нему связаны определенные правила поведения с обращением с очагом в юрте. Например, запрещено осквернять очаг, гасить огонь в очаге. Страшным проклятием считалось выражение «Пусть твой очаг зальет водой» [12, с.122]. Несоблюдение этих запретов могло привести к гибели семьи и угасанию рода.

Понятие «родство», «родственность» является своего рода концептом-кодом калмыцкой лингвокультуры. Мотив кровного родства, отражающий ценностные основания народа, звучит в медитативной лирике писателей и поэтов. Ощущение родства по крови помогало выжить в тяжелых жизненных испытаниях, противостоять всем бедам, выпавшим на долю калмыков на протяжении всей их истории, в частности, в сибирской ссылке: «*Цуг амтн баар-баарндан күрад, э-баадан орхла, авь ахчн эрк биш маниг хааһад олж ирх. Зуг ода цуһарн элгн-садарн хамцад, дэжж салхмн биш. Бааван нааран дууд, келх үг бээнэ.*

Инжэ Альмн хойрт баав нежэһэд хурс һартнь атхулад, хот сурад уульжасн уульһинь зогсачкад, Ик Баажан өрк-бүл бээсн сүүр тал одад, кесгән Ик Аакла болн наадк хойр бергнлэ күүндэд, хэрү мантал ирв.

Ик Аак – күнд толһата күн. Хот-хоолан эрвалтн, хамгин түрүнд тадна хадһлх юмн – үрн-саднтн, теднэн эн киитнд хувцинь дулалад, дээнд одад, эмән өгсн эцкириннь хувц-хунриг урад, күүка-көвүдэтән зөв күлт, шалвр, киилг, өөмс уйж өгтн гиж, һурвн бердөн сүв-сөлвг өгч. Ах бердән келж: «Э ник аюл, экэршго гүрм учрж одсн цагла манна эркт төр – тохман цааранднь утдулх бичкдүдән эмд-менд авч үлдх» [13, с. 80].

Таким образом, исследование показало, что эмблематические, аллегорические, символические характеристики концепта «родственность» в калмыцкой лингвокультуре имеют различные метафорические образы, отражающие в основном кочевой образ жизни калмыков в прошлом. Реалии

предметного мира находят отражения и в лингвокультуре современных калмыков, составляя ее уникальность и самобытность.

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A Study on the Culture Changes in Torgut Mongols of Ejine Banner¹

Sarangerile

Abstract

In recent years, Ejine Banner government of Inner Mongolia established several polices such as return grazing land to grassland, ecological migration and protection of populus euphratica, in order to develop the tourism actively. Also, the traditional local folk culture is changing rapidly, experiencing unprecedented challenges and impact.

Along with the execution of grazing ban and settlement polices of nomadic herders, and the development of tourism, the phenomenon of the transformation of the local traditional mode of production is intensifying. This paper will focus on the impact of transformation on the will of local herders to maintain and develop their traditional culture, and contradictions between sustainable heritage of traditional folk culture and development of tourism, or coordinate mutually reinforcing relationship.

¹ Original Title: “额济纳土尔扈特蒙古人传统文化的变迁研究—以“生态移民”为背景“.

1 额济纳土尔扈特蒙古人传统文化的变迁研究 - 以“生态移民”为背景

生态环境问题，是当前世界各国关注的焦点。近年来，世界能源消费剧增，生态环境不断恶化，人类社会的可持续性发展受到严重威胁，保护环境主题逐步成为国际社会的共识。我国作为能源消费大而环境容量小，生态破坏严重之国，保护生态环境是推进生态文明建设的必然选择，是急需的国策。当今国内国际保护环境已成为比较活跃的举动之一。生态话题也已成为现代社会一种特色话语，也是一种唤醒人们保护和发展双重自觉的举措。因生态保护的种种举措给当地社会发展带来巨大的影响的同时也带来传统文化的变迁和更新。生态问题引发的文化变迁现象，是文化人类学和社会学关注的焦点。特别是少数民族地区的文化变迁更为突出而倍受关注，成为近几年的研究热点。少数民族地区民族传统文化是一个民族得以生存和发展的重要基础，也是民族地区生态保护和发展的最重要依托。我记得有人讲，一个民族如果没有自己的科技文化，可能会亡国，一个民族如果丧失了自己的文化，就要亡种，而亡种比亡国更可怕。可见生态环境和民族文化的重要性。

内蒙古额济纳旗近几年也以禁牧还林，生态移民，保护胡杨等政策为引导，牧民逐渐移出牧场，定居在“移民村”，²积极开展生态保护的举措。同时其背后的民族民间传统文化也在飞速变迁。当地民族民间文化正在经历着前所未有的考验和冲击。随着禁牧定居，保护生态事业的发展，民族传统文化变迁现象也正在加剧。这对当地牧民保持和发展本民族传统文化有何影响呢？民族民间传统文化的可持续性传承和保护生态环境之间有着矛盾还是相互促进呢？保护生态环境的措施符不符合当地民众的生活习俗和文化发展呢？本文将以下几个方面力求探索以上问题，以此抛砖引玉，让更多的人去关注这个话题。

2 额济纳旗基本情况及其生态环境问题

额济纳旗地处中国北疆，位于内蒙古自治区最西端，位于东经 97° 10' ~ 103° 7'，北纬 39° 52' ~ 42° 47'。东与阿拉善右旗毗邻，西南与甘肃省酒泉市交界，北与蒙古国接壤，国境线全长 507.147 公里。相对中心城镇是达来呼布镇和东风镇。旗政府所在地达来呼布镇，距自治区首府呼和浩特市 1398 公里，距阿拉善盟府所在地巴彦浩特 640 公里。³是一

² 额济纳旗把生态移民移住的“移民村”集中筑建在旗政府所在地郊外，苏木政府所在地等地方。移住地设定为上述“移民村”，“饲料基地周边地区”（筑建在农耕开发区），“远离河流地方”（放骆驼的牧民迁移区）等三类。

³ 李生昌等，《额济纳旗志》，呼和浩特：方志出版社，2006，47。

个以蒙古族为主体，汉族居多数的多民族聚居的边境旗。根据第六次人口普查数据，总人口 32410 人。其中，有蒙古，汉，回，满，藏，土家等 10 个民族。少数民族人口 5188 人，其中蒙古族 4891 人。总面积 11.46 万平方公里，人口密度为每平方公里 0.147 人。⁴

额济纳的蒙古旧旗名为“额济纳土尔扈特旗”，是西套蒙古二旗之一。清康熙四十二年（1703 年）土尔扈特部内属，定牧于额济纳河，遂称额济纳土尔扈特。“额济纳”与元朝时期马可波罗所记录的“亦集乃”同义，意思是弱水河的蒙古语称法，当地额济纳土尔扈特蒙古语称为“额金之地”。“额金”为蒙古语，是“主人”、“汗”、“皇帝”等意思。乾隆十八年（1753 年）设旗，占地为现在内蒙古额济纳旗和阿拉善右旗西北小部分，直属理藩院。1952 年改置额济纳自治区。

据《额济纳旗志》等文献资料记载，额济纳夏、商、周时属乌孙。秦朝为大月氏领地。西汉初年为匈奴牧地。西汉元狩二年（公元前 121 年），骠骑将军霍去病入居延收河西，史籍始见“居延”（匈奴语，意为天）。汉太初三年（公元前 102 年），置居延都尉府，后又置“张掖居延属国”。汉献帝建安末，改立西海郡。唐代设安北都护府和宁寇军。西夏设黑水镇燕军司。

成吉思汗二十一年（1226 年）春，归属蒙古帝国。元世祖至元二十三年（1286 年），设亦集乃路总管府。明洪武五年（1372 年）后，为漠北鞑靼领主牧地。清乾隆十八年（1753 年），设置额济纳旧土尔扈特特别旗。民国初年，直属国民政府蒙藏委员会，由宁夏护军兼辖。1928 年 11 月，隶属宁夏省政府管辖。1949 年 9 月 27 日，额济纳旗和平解放，初由甘肃省酒泉专署代管。1951 年 2 月，复归宁夏省直辖。1954 年 11 月，初由张掖专署代管，同年 11 月 30 日，改隶酒泉专署。1956 年 6 月 1 日，划归内蒙古自治区巴彦淖尔盟。1969 年 9 月 9 日，划归甘肃省酒泉地区。1979 年 7 月 1 日归属内蒙古自治区。1980 年 5 月 1 日，隶属内蒙古阿拉善盟。⁵

额济纳是个自然景观和人文景观俱全的原生态游牧草原文化圣地。生态保护的主要对象是著名的“额济纳胡杨林”。胡杨⁶树是抗风沙，是生长在沙漠的唯一乔木树种，可以和有“植物活化石”之称的银杏树相媲美。胡杨有很强的生命力。“胡杨生而不容易死，死而不容易倒，倒而不容易烂”的沙漠铁墙。⁷

⁴ 2010 年的统计数字，参看额济纳旗政府网。中国·额济纳。额济纳概况。正文。

⁵ 李生昌等，《额济纳旗志》，呼和浩特：方志出版社，2006，48。

⁶ 学名为 *Populus euphratica*，又称胡桐《汉书》英雄树，异叶胡杨，异叶杨，水桐，三叶树等，是杨柳科杨属胡杨亚属的一种植物，常生长在沙漠中，它耐寒，耐旱，耐盐碱。

⁷ 当地百姓的顺口溜，他们以此为荣。2009 年 3 月 17 日对额济纳旗牧民贡嘎老人的采访记录。

额济纳旗因境内额济纳河而得名，拥有胡杨林和航天城而名扬海内外。额济纳是胡杨的故乡之一，每年九月底到十月中旬的金色秋天，是胡杨树魅力尽展的最美季节。这里的三十多万亩胡杨林是当今世界仅存的三处天然河道胡杨林之一、是阻止巴丹吉林沙漠向北扩散的重要屏障，是西部生态的天然宝库。但是黑河水断流、居延海干涸，原 70 多万亩胡杨林现仅残存三十多万亩，说明保护胡杨是刻不容缓的艰巨任务。拯救胡杨林便是拯救人类自己的家园。建立额济纳生态保护区也已刻不容缓！所以“退牧还林”“禁牧护林”“生态移民”等政策也是符合额济纳旗实际的关键性举措。

近几年在额济纳保护胡杨林、退牧还林、生态移民等政策指引下，牧民定居化迅速发展。在这种背景下，额济纳土尔扈特蒙古人传统生产方式和生活习俗也发生了巨大的变化。在这一切飞速发生变革的时期，研究传统生活方式及其变革状态，具有十分重要的意义。一方面，它可以帮助我们正确认识生态移民与民族传统文化变迁之间的必然联系，在此基础上积极寻找应对民族传统文化变迁的策略；另一方面，它有利于我们探索生态移民背景下民族传统文化变迁的规律，以此更好地指导当地社会文化的变迁，最终实现保护传统的同时更好的发展的目标。

3 额济纳土尔扈特蒙古人传统文化及其变迁现状

额济纳土尔扈特蒙古人长期以来居住在交通不便的边境地区，这使他们的传统文化得以较好保存，可以成为西部边境地区独特的民族传统文化“化石”。这对民族文化多样性及其变迁研究有着重要意义。由于额济纳土尔扈特蒙古人具有独特的民族文化特征，并且拥有丰富而珍贵的胡杨文化资源，逐渐被世人所关注。

内蒙古额济纳旗曾经是中国蒙古族游牧文化相对保持比较完好的地区之一。至今部分牧民仍住在蒙古包，过着游牧生活。由于经济转型和胡杨林保护发展的需要，在 20 世纪末或 21 世纪初开始，额济纳旗就实行了“禁牧还林”，“生态移民”等政策，全旗禁牧定居保护胡杨并实施生态移民，至今已经历了近 10 年的发展历程。⁸ 禁牧保护胡杨和生态移民关系到当地牧民从传统的游牧生活方式转型为定居圈羊生活。牧民正处于经济转型关键时期，传统文化将面临更大的考验。近年来禁牧、圈羊、护林、移民、旅游开发等一系列举措，对额济纳土尔扈特蒙古人传统文化变迁带来的影响，是巨大而重要的。研究和探讨这些举措的意义在于一方面

⁸ 小长谷有纪，黑河流域“生态移民”的开始——以内蒙古自治区阿拉善盟额济纳旗有关事例，新吉乐图主编《中国环境政策报告》，呼和浩特：内蒙古大学出版社，2005，27。

了解当前额济纳土尔扈特蒙古人传统文化变迁的现状，另一方面今后民间传统文化的保护和合理安排该旗生态移民提供相应的决策依据。

我们的目的，首先调查了解当前额济纳土尔扈特蒙古人及其传统文化的保持、传承现状并分析研究生态移民至今对额济纳土尔扈特蒙古人民族文化变迁所产生的影响及原因。其次在讨论移民背景下如何才能更好地保护、传承额济纳土尔扈特蒙古人传统文化，并进一步探索胡杨林保护与当地牧民“移民”后的民族文化可持续性发展问题。

我们应用社会学、文化人类学、族群社会学等相关学科理论知识，使用座谈、深度访谈等研究方法，进行历史性的整体比较。围绕额济纳土尔扈特蒙古人传统文化的变迁，重点进行“生态移民”⁹前后的比较研究，试图对生态移民与额济纳土尔扈特蒙古人传统文化变迁进行多层面的分析和探讨。我个人先后多次到额济纳旗进行实地调研，并与日本国立民族学博物馆小长谷有纪教授、千叶大学儿玉香菜子准教授合作编写了对该地区多位老人进行访谈调查的口述史，于2007年出版。¹⁰老人们的口述中主要了解到对生态移民之前额济纳土尔扈特人的社会、经济、民族文化、风土人情等基本信息。为本课题研究奠定了基础。

分析额济纳旗胡杨保护和生态移民兴起的背景，阐述该地区生态移民的历程及特点，并对移民给当地民众带来的社会经济效应进行具体分析时发现，当前额济纳土尔扈特蒙古人传统文化保持、传承现状可谓喜忧参半。之所以这么说是因为，从民族传统文化的保持和传承总体方面看，首先当前额济纳土尔扈特蒙古人表现出对自身族群及民俗文化的整体认同是比较突出的。其民族文化保持和恢复传承现状总体情况也比较好。他们保持着自己的不少传统文化和习俗，并且以自己文化的独特性而自豪。同时还争取恢复在文化大革命时期被破坏的一些传统。

比较完整的保留宗教信仰和祖先崇拜习俗的额济纳土尔扈特人，当前表现出对成吉思汗的崇拜现象也比较突出，即使是在已经城镇化的达来呼布生活的年轻人，仍然表现出对祖先的崇拜以及对“敖包祭祀”等传统民俗活动的群体性认同。结合他们平时的烧香点灯祭佛祖、拜喇嘛等现象，也表明目前仍然存在比较明显的宗教信仰和祖先崇拜现象。此外，当前他们的民族语言保持得比较完整之外，对传统服饰文化恢复和保持情况尚好。在文化大革命期间因破“四旧”而民族服饰基本被遗弃。额济纳土尔扈特蒙古人普遍表现出群体性对本民族服饰的喜爱和弘扬热情。我们在

⁹ 生态移民，在当地包含两层意思。一是包括“禁牧”来保护胡杨林，禁牧的结果牧民成为“移民”，从游牧的草原上移到“居民点”（移民村），适应“转型”（包括经济转型、文化转型、意识形态转型等等）；二是包括保护胡杨林来供开发旅游，以往的牧羊地（草场）变成“旅游景点”。

¹⁰ 该口述史（请写书名与出版社等）2007年用蒙日两种文字合璧出版后，根据读者的要求于2009年蒙日汉三种文字出版；2010年在蒙古国首都乌兰巴托用蒙古国文字出版；2011年用蒙日英三种文字出版。

调查中发现有好几家传统蒙古服装加工店，采访中都流露出传统服饰加工生意很兴隆。除了古老传统式的土尔扈特服饰样式，还新设计了特受年轻人喜爱的现代式·新潮款式蒙古袍。民族传统服饰的热爱和认同很盛行，每人订做一两套，以备节假日着用。即使是在生活中早已基本不着用的城镇蒙古人，也都表现出对土尔扈特传统服饰的普遍喜爱。节假日或者敖包祭祀、那达慕等盛会上，仍然保持穿着民族服饰的习惯。调查中他们表现出对传统文化的明显认同和恢复补修的热情。此外，额济纳土尔扈特蒙古人有很多具有浓郁民族特色的食品，目前他们还保持了对不少传统食品的喜欢，且有不少传统食品制作工艺尚在流行和较好地传承。如骆驼奶酪、骆驼“才戈”、奶茶、温达、内脏料理等；同时，他们的民族歌舞也得到一定程度的保留和发展，更重要的是他们有了恢复传统文化的自觉。比如，对土尔扈特蒙古人传统乐器“陶卜硕尔”、传统舞蹈“沙沃尔登”的恢复学习和弘扬等。据老人们讲，这些传统失传已经多年。可以说解放后基本就没人弹“陶卜硕尔”和跳“沙沃尔登”舞，¹¹再加上文化大革命而完全失传了。但现在开始从新疆土尔扈特专门邀请著名“陶卜硕尔”齐和民间舞蹈家，在当地办培训班，以健身活动的形式恢复和普及“陶卜硕尔”和沙沃尔登舞，全旗老少土尔扈特蒙古人对此予以特别的热情。沙沃尔登舞类似于东蒙古科尔沁人的“安代舞”。是卫拉特蒙古人古老传统的艺术形式。作为生态移民，牧民集中定居在旗政府所在地附近的“移民村”，有利于恢复和推广以上传统文化。

但是他们不仅仅是简单地从“牧民”变成“村民”，而是从文化角度考虑，可以说拆了西墙补东墙了。虽然他们住进了“移民村”带有院子的两居室、三居室的房子或者二层阁楼，但失去了祖祖辈辈生活的传统民居蒙古包。这不仅仅丢失一顶蒙古包，而是丢失相关蒙古包的一整套文化遗产。虽然大部分额济纳土尔扈特蒙古人对传统的蒙古包仍然有着明显的认同，但当前他们的居住情况与传统相比，发生了巨大变化。如传统民居蒙古包现已成为旅游景点的一道风景。居住环境的变迁，屋内空间的变化，原圆形思维屋内布局的变化，整体呈现出没有民族特色的现代化和标准化现象突出，已开始表现出蒙古包传统建筑工艺在演变和失传的现象；蒙古包内中心炉灶的制作工艺和传承已呈现危机，甚至消失。从而相关蒙古包构造及构成各部件的名称、设计技巧和制作工艺、包内空间格局、其名称、相关习俗、禁忌和一些注意事项等习俗逐渐消失，从而包括语言词汇在内的一大笔文化遗产在陆续失传。就拿蒙古包天窗而言，以近十几种部

¹¹ 2012年3月22日上午10时30分采访了额济纳旗退休干部巴勒玛老人。她生于1935年，调查当时78岁，思路清晰，身体健壮。她前两年开始先自己学会了弹“陶布硕尔”和跳“沙沃尔登”舞，并开始以各种方式宣传和推广。她每天早晨8时到10时在指定的地点作为“中老年健身舞”的形式来教大家“沙沃尔登”舞。她现在在额济纳旗稍有名气的“沙沃尔登”舞教练。

件组成，有十几个部件名称。但现在基本上就是表示蒙古包天窗的只有“Tooou”一个名称，其它各部件的名称连部件本身将一同消失。

随着蒙古包中心炉灶的消失，相关火神有关的大小祭火习俗和一些献祭饮食“德吉”风俗也悄然无影无踪了。采访中老人们表示没有明火，祭奠不了火神而发愁。无论是事实还是额济纳土尔扈特蒙古人自己的感知，他们说目前他们的一些日常信仰习俗无法进行而得不到神的恩赐和包容，因而出现许多不如意的事情。¹² 笔者问有哪些不如意的事情时，他们说：“禁牧圈羊后许多年轻人没事儿干就酗酒、打麻将、甚至赌钱，最后导致年轻人离婚率猛增，造成社会不良影响等”。¹³

这十年对额济纳土尔扈特蒙古人来说，是个“转型”时期。经济转型、生活方式转型、文化习俗转型、价值观念的转型、还有更深层的思维方式的转型等等。在转型时期，难免出现各种问题，以逐渐适应新的一切。民族文化传统的演变现象，受到周边其它民族文化影响而产生的一些新民俗等，都引起“转型”标志的矛盾。在调查中发现年轻人对自己民族的历史、文化传统等方面了解甚少，对一些祭祀仪式及其深层含义的了解相对有限。年轻人在民族意识、宗教信仰、对本民族文化认同等方面明显在变革。语言传统当今还很丰富，大部分土尔扈特蒙古人都保持本民族语言传统。但语言习俗逐渐在变迁，词汇量也逐渐在减少。虽然会说本民族语言，但在大部分场合下习惯用汉语交流或者混合语交流。在采访中发现，即使以蒙古语授课的学生也在课堂外多半用汉语交流。笔者采访了额济纳旗蒙古族中学的几位学生，并问道“你们平时交流时用汉语和蒙古语哪个更方便？”时，他们毫不犹豫地回答说“一样，有时候还混合使用更方便”。可见以蒙语授课的学生都如此般地“变迁”，何况其它情况。

分析禁牧、圈羊、移民、旅游背景下额济纳土尔扈特蒙古人传统文化保护的必要性和紧迫性，并对文化保护与移民定居的合理协调和可持续发展问题，尚待我们进一步思考和研究。从当前额济纳土尔扈特蒙古人民族文化保持和传承现状、生态移民对他们传统文化变迁的影响、对他们移民定居与民族传统文化的保护等方面看，需要更进一步分析和探讨。同时对额济纳土尔扈特蒙古人这具有多重边缘性特征的民族传统文化的留存、保护、弘扬和发展问题，采取更积极可靠的举措。

总的来说，对额济纳土尔扈特蒙古人保持和传承民族传统文化方面的调查表明，他们对有些传统文化的保持和恢复传承情况比较好。虽然推行禁牧，但在原牧地圈羊生活的牧民虽不多，但还有几家。他们保持传统较

¹² 2009年5月3日在达来呼布采访苏纳木老人的记录。她说从前她们一日三餐时间一定把“德吉”献火神，以表示祭奠以求平安、健康、一切好运。但现在一天到晚见不到火，“德吉”无处可献而发愁。

¹³ 2010年3月9日采访了额济纳旗达来呼布镇“移民村”牧民苏米娅老人。她出生于1941年。

好。已住进“移民村”的牧民，虽然没有开发旅游，但因相比之下更靠近城镇区，而受外界影响也比较大。而目前在城镇居住的年轻人的民族文化特征已经趋向消失。仅在民族心理和意识等内在文化方面，对本民族文化尚有所保留和传承。

当然，禁牧、移民和旅游开发对额济纳土尔扈特蒙古人民族传统文化变迁，有着几个方面的意义。一方面，唤起他们恢复、传承和弘扬本民族文化的自觉性。通过对移民定居与他们在民族传统服饰、民居、语言、婚姻、宗教信仰、族群意识等多个类目变迁情况进行调查、分析和比较后发现，额济纳土尔扈特蒙古人不管从物质文化还是从精神文化看，生态移民对他们的传统文化变迁带来的总体影响是积极的。定居对强化他们民族意识、文化认同、增强民族文化危机感、树立民族自信心方面表现比较突出；移民定居使他们意识到本民族及其文化的价值，增强了他们对本民族传统文化的热爱；通过移民定居使他们强烈感觉到本民族文化的复兴需要，并得到一定的保持和发展；移民定居也增强了他们对自身传统文化的保护意识，使他们开始注意发掘本民族文化深层、并且也日益重视定居背景下本民族传统文化的保留和保持等等。但消极影响也不能否认。

生态移民和禁牧定居的特殊性，引发本民族传统文化变迁的负面效应也存在。首先，生态移民的理念应该是以保护生态环境、保护胡杨林的同时也保护民族传统这个当地特有资源为前提，强调对移民定居效应的监测和监控机制，关注生态移民和定居所带来的各种影响，特别是负面影响。但的确在这方面尚未得到规范和机制化。在很多移民村，出现民族传统文化异化、变味儿和急剧衰退现象（旅游景点蒙古包内部设施的摆设法、火神祭祀、乌塞节礼仪等）。移民定居对民族宗教信仰、传统仪式带来一定的负面影响，它体现在他们传统文化的宗教仪式和祭祀等活动现场，开始弥漫着商业气息；移民定居导致他们传统民居、乳制品、小工艺等正在丧失其民族特征；还引发了“移民村”新村民之间的一些矛盾，经济利益的驱使导致传统纯朴民风发生改变，目前移民定居并未能在复兴民族传统文化方面表现出更大、更为显著的表现等，这一切都应当引起各方的高度重视。还有，额济纳土尔扈特蒙古人的移民定居化仍处于起步阶段，虽然经历了近 10 年历程，但一直以来均以季节性为主，他们没有完全放弃务牧。自助性、自然性和小规模圈羊为主。干草和养羊基础设施缺乏，定居经验不足，从而事情繁琐而经济效益不大。另一方面，移民定居带来外界干扰多而对民族传统文化冲击大，民族文化自身的生存能力和生存环境比较薄弱而导致流失传统较快等。

4 应对移民定居与额济纳土尔扈特蒙古人传统文化保护的思考

随着生态移民政策的实施以及民族经济和生产生活方式转型，树立正确的民族传统文化保护观念是关键。文化的保护，包括当地民众原生态生活的保护、自然环境和人文环境的保护。同时也与时俱进，应合时代，正确对待文化的变迁、衰落、更新、发展规律。要建立健全切实有效的民族传统文化保护机制；鼓励民众先择文化扬弃，积极参与生态移民活动，并保障民族自身的利益。同时要抓紧抢救保护现存的民族文化遗产、尤其是濒危遗产。比如，马文化相关口称遗产、传统民居相关文化遗产，的确濒临失传。还有一个关键问题就是加强对文化遗产的数字化管理，要建立民族文化数据库等。

应进一步增强额济纳土尔扈特蒙古人地方文化认同意识，要提高民族内部的凝聚力和文化传承能力，特别是年轻人，要树立民族自信心。这是当前他们抵御外来文化侵蚀，减少移民定居带来的负面效应，民族实现“文化自觉”，民族内部形成自身文化保护动力，使民族得以延续、民族文化得到更好传承的最重要条件。这也是传统文化得以进一步发展的关键。文化认同和民族认同，能够增强民族凝聚力。这有利于民族文化的弘扬和发展，也有利于民族地区特色文化的发展。额济纳胡杨林和航天城已有了很高的知名度，旅游业也取得较明显的良好效应，将来应得到持续发展。作为胡杨林自然保护区额济纳有丰富、有价值的自然资源，有珍贵的民族文化遗产，航天城是中国文化旅游吸引力最好的景点，该地区将来旅游开发将更加兴隆。这样对定居后的土尔扈特蒙古人传统文化冲击更大。将必须要坚持保留传统的道路，尽最大的可能地避免移民定居和旅游冲击对额济纳土尔扈特蒙古人民族文化、生态环境造成无法弥补的遗憾。

5 结语

本研究中生态移民定居与额济纳土尔扈特蒙古人传统文化变迁的案例说明，针对地域性民族及其传统文化的保护问题，如果坚持走生态的道路（包括生态环境和生态文化），重视前期规划和实施过程中的监控，重视对相关群体的教育，重视各利益相关主体的积极参与等，那么移民定居对该地区民族传统文化变迁带来的负面影响将会得到有效控制。该案例在我国生态环境的保护、移民定居、保护民族传统文化等方面应具有一定的借鉴意义。

A Cyrillic Manuscript of a Mongolian Prophetic Text from Western Mongolia as an Evidence of the Literary Pronunciation of the Clear Script

Ondřej Srba

1 Introduction

In 1929, B. I. Vladimirtsov described a special literary pronunciation or the “oral written language” (*устнописменный язык*) of the classical Mongolian script.¹ Later it was described by G. Kara as a “literary dialect” (*литературное наречие*).² Our teacher J. Lubsangdorji (Charles University, Prague) taught us a form of a Khalkha “oral pronunciation” of the Mongolian script slightly differing both from the scholarly transcription and the modern colloquial pronunciation and manifested mainly in pronunciation of case and verbal suffixes.³ As the first scholarly work, which attested a difference between the colloquial and literary pronunciation of the Mongolian script, can be mentioned the *Mongolian-Kalmyk Grammar* by Aleksei Bobrovnikov (1849).⁴

¹ Владимирцов 1929: 40-42, examples on pp. 85, 103–106.

² Kara 1972: 71-72, Kara 2005: 126–128.

³ J. Lubsangdorji a J. Vacek described some of the characteristics of this “recitative pronunciation” of the written texts in the Mongolian script in Lubsangdorji – Vacek 1997: 11–12, 19. J. Lubsangdorji used to hear such recitations of texts in his childhood.

⁴ Бобровников 1849: see transcriptions on pages 38-39, 41–42 (*Чтение по произношению книжному/ по произношению разговорному*).

The literary pronunciation was used for example when reading official regulations in public or sometimes in various genres of the oral literature. It is supposed that the literary pronunciation was generally well understandable and even actively used by otherwise illiterate Mongols. Today, the literary pronunciation of the classical Mongolian script has gone out of use except of isolated residues: the famous Mongolian liturgy of the Mergen monastery in Inner Mongolia (Hürelbaatar – Humphrey 2013) and some grammatical forms in traditional popular Buddhist songs (*маань хөгжөөх*).

The Oirat Clear script composed by Zaya Pandita allegedly in 1648 is considered as a script exactly recording the Oirat version of the contemporary literary pronunciation of the Mongolian language (not the contemporary colloquial pronunciation). Following the ongoing development of Oirat colloquial dialects, the written Oirat also stayed considerably far from the colloquial pronunciation. The written Oirat texts, particularly the religious texts, where the exact rendering of the original was carefully observed, are supposed to have been read aloud also with a special literary pronunciation comparable to the literary pronunciation of the Mongolian script. A sort of an old literary pronunciation of the Oirat Clear script is currently maintained by the *hara bagši* (“black/laic teachers”) in Mongyolküriy-e County in Xinjiang.

In 2015 during my fieldwork in Bulgan sum, Bayan-Ölgii aimag, in the family of Mr. Ravjaagiin Čadraabal (1945–2020) I was shown a small booklet written in Cyrillic handwriting. Mr. Čadraabal informed me, that the handwritten copy was written down by his wife (already deceased by the time of my visit), who was known for her neat handwriting, and this was the reason why many people in the neighbourhood were asking her to copy this text for them. Unfortunately, Mr. Čadraabal did not know from where his wife had originally copied the text.

The text bears a title *Их тэнгэрийн зарилгаг оршив* (“Here is a Decree of the Great Heaven”) and a subtitle *Мээлэн бурхан хурмаст Бурхны зарлиг ...* (“A Decree of Maitreya Buddha and Hurmast/Qormusta Buddha ...”). Mr. Čadraabal knew that the text dealt with a revelation of future but could not understand it properly, because this Cyrillic text preserved the literary pronunciation of the Clear script. Particularly several grammatical forms (nominal suffixes, some verbal suffixes) of the literary Oirat rendered in the manuscript were unintelligible for him.

2 Context of the Manuscript and its Versions

The mentioned Cyrillic manuscript is a copy of a text belonging to the large genre of Mongolian prophetic literature, which reached its peak at the end of the 19th and in the first decades of the 20th centuries. Mongolian prophecies were distributed and spread in countless copies, because their copying was believed to bring religious merit and ensure happiness.

These prophecies have been called *jarliy* (“decree, command”), *bošuy* (“decree of heaven; prediction”), *lündüing* (tib. *lung bstan*, “prophecy, revelation”) or *iregedüii-yin esi ijegüülgösen* (“prediction of the future”). The terms were often interchangeable. In the Western scholarship they became known as “political prophecies” or “pastoral letters” (Sárközi 1992). Most of the main texts of Mongolian prophecies were presented by Alice Sárközi (1992) and the wider context of the use of prophetic texts was investigated by Rebecca Empson (2006). Although the diffusion of prophetic texts in Mongolia was prohibited in around 1930,⁵ these texts remained in unofficial circulation as proved by countless manuscript copies, which can be found elsewhere in Mongolia even today in private collections of Mongolian manuscripts. Also, the Cyrillic manuscript found in Bulgan sum represents a testimony about the incessant unofficial transmission of prophetic texts. Extracted information from the prophetic texts were also circulating orally and were enriching the prophetic dimension of the local oral tradition.⁶

One of the most widely diffused Mongolian prophetic texts was a text based on a Chinese prophecy which was believed to had descended from the heaven near Peking as an inscription written on or as a text inserted into a piece of stone. The Chinese source text has not yet been reliably identified.⁷ One of manuscript versions of the text was published in transcription and translation upon the title *Teaching of Esrua and Qormusta* and accompanied by a list of supposedly related manuscript versions of the text in library collections of Saint Petersburg and Marburg (Sárközi 1992: 43-59). Another manuscript close to the manuscript examined by

⁵ An official regulation distributed probably to all administrative units in Mongolia and referring to a case of a criminal prosecution of lamas in the Qan Tayisiri Ayimay, who actively distributed copies of the *Naimaduyar boyda-yin qubilyan-u jarliy* (*The Decree of the Eight Bogd*), probably one of famous prophetic or “pastoral” letters by the Eight Jebtsundamba Khutuktu (1870–1924), cf. Sárközi 1992: 83-133. Cited according to a transcript in the National Archives of Mongolia, fond X-172, A-1, signature XH-61, document No. 1, dated 8th January 1930.

⁶ I dealt with this issue in my Ph.D. thesis *History and Oral tradition of Altain Uriankhais* (in Czech: *Historie a orální tradice Altajských Urianchajců*) defended in September 2019 at the Charles University (accessible in Czech language on <https://dspace.cuni.cz/handle/20.500.11956/111221>) and in the article “Interpreting Future Histories: Prophetic Thinking in Oral Tradition of the Bulgan River Basin in Western Mongolia” submitted for publication to *Mongolica Pragensia*.

⁷ I tried to identify the Chinese source in my paper Srba 2013. The Mongolian prophecies of this type roughly correspond to a Chinese prophecy entitled *Fo yu zhen yan dujiejing* 佛語真言度劫經 (*A Mantra pronounced by the Buddha for overcoming misfortune*, <http://www.newrank.org/?p=31739> 2020.06.15., translated into Czech in Srba 2013: 87-88). I found this text only as an anonymous popular post on the internet, but I suppose that the text might be included under a different title in the 6th volume of the edition of Chinese folk religious texts *Ming Qing minjian zongjiao jingjuan wenxian xubian* 2006, where according to the contents texts like *Mile zhan fo jiuji zhenjing* 彌勒尊佛救劫真經 (*The authentic sutra of the venerable buddha Maitreya about the salvation from misfortunes of the end of kalpa*), *Mile jiuji juan* 彌勒救劫卷 (*A chapter about the salvation from misfortunes of the end of kalpa by help of Maitreya*), *Haosheng jiuji bian* 好生救劫編 (*A composition about the salvation from misfortunes of the end of kalpa by the One who Loves the Life*), *San qi dujiejing song ben* 三期度劫經誦本 (*A volume for reciting the Sutra about the salvation from misfortunes of the end of kalpa of the Three periods*) and others are to be found. Unfortunately, I could not access this edition. The text of this Chinese prophecy also approximately corresponds to the French translation by Henri Doré of a prophecy entitled *Dujiejing* 度劫經 (*A Sutra for overcoming misfortune*) published (without the Chinese source text) by Doré 1912: 354–357.

Sárközi was translated by J. Lubsangdorji and J. Vacek (Vacek – Lubsangdorji 1997).⁸ Within the ongoing project about Mongolian manuscript in Czech collections I have identified three representative versions⁹ of the text in the Mongolian script, two of them xylographic and one of them manuscript. All the versions have strictly synoptic content, but the wording varies to the extent that it must be independent translations.

In the following comparison I compare the following texts and I quote them according to the individual contentual sequences (for sample of these text see appendix):

Text A: the Cyrillic manuscript kept by the family of R. Čadraabal, 1960s-1970s (photographed during my fieldwork in 2015).

Text B: Buryat xylograph in the style of the Aginsky datsan, undated and without editorial information in the colophon, printed on the Russian machine-made paper of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, size of paper 43.5 x 9 cm, size of the frame on fol. 1v 37.7 x 6.4 cm. Buryat diacritics (two dots above *q/k*, no dots above *q/γ*). The colophon on fol. 15v states only: *kemeḡsen eḡüni angq-a kitad-ača töbed-tür tegünče mongyol-dur¹ orčiyuluydaysan amui*: “This [text] was first translated from Chinese into Tibetan and then [from Tibetan] to Mongolian”. Also, several toponyms and personal names originally in Chinese are given in the Mongolian transliteration of Tibetan and supplemented by parallel interlinear equivalents in the Tibetan script (in the transcription I mark them by the letter T: and transliterate according to the Tibetan forms in Wylie transliteration system).¹⁰

Text C: A xylograph printed on the Russian machine-made paper with the stamp ДАЛЬСКОЙ А С ФАБРИКИ (dated to 1850–1861 by Клешиков 1959: 102).¹¹ Size of paper 22.3 x 8.9 cm, size of the frame on fol. 1r 18 x 6.6 cm. The text includes frequent spelling forms reflecting the Buryat pronunciation of *č* and *ɣ*: *söm, jebčeg, salčy-a, isigüri, jigčigürekeü¹*. The text seems to have been translated directly from the Chinese origin which is supported by the close-to-Chinese forms of the toponyms and personal names (for example the names of Maitreya and Amitābha given as *mii lii uvang wang burqan* (fol. 3v) from the Chinese 彌勒 and probably Wuliang guang fo 無量光佛). This version is quite close, although not identical with the versions published and translated by Sárközi (1992: 46-52) and Vacek – Lubsangdorji 1997.¹²

⁸ Further notes on this type of prophecy in Empson 2006: 24–26.

⁹ Further related manuscripts also appeared (for example C 11 close to the version D, cf. Srba 2015: 89). Due to the size of these papers, other manuscripts are left for later consideration.

¹⁰ Masaryk University, number within the MRM project: B 48/2.

¹¹ Other known dated manuscripts with this paper-stamp B-5482 from 1858, B-5888 from 1860, B-5491 of 1862, of the Scientific Library of the Tomsk State University (Научная библиотека Томского государственного университета), Esirova 2015: 9.

¹² Masaryk University, number within the MRM project: D 265.

D: A brush-written manuscript on a Chinese paper sewed in the format of a Chinese book, paper size 25.5 x 26 cm. Written by an experienced office scribe of the late 19th or early 20th centuries. The wording of the text is close to B, but it is definitely not a direct copy of the xylograph B. According to my opinion, the version D is the one most comprehensible to a lay Mongolian reader. I have also chosen this version for my English translation included in this article.¹³

E: A calamus-written manuscript in the Clear script on a Russian machine-made paper of the late 19th or early 20th centuries. The manuscript is kept by the family of the late Mr. Ogtloo, a herder in the Uliastai bag of Üyenč sum, Hovd aimag (the manuscript was photographed during my field research in 2015). The text is shorter than the other versions and corresponds only to the first part of the text. I add this version here as a representant of Oirat versions of the prophecy. Oirat and specifically Kalmyk versions of this prophecy are likely to exist also in many variant wordings regarding the large number of Clear script manuscripts of this prophecy mentioned by Sárközi (1992: 44). Also, the Cyrillic version A, which arose upon a Clear script source, does not correspond by its wording to the version E. The orthography of E in many cases differs from the classical Clear script texts of Zaya Pandita's redaction, perhaps under the influence of the Mongolian script or as an impact of the colloquial Zahčín pronunciation.

3 Textual Comparison of the Versions¹⁴

A: [1r] Их тэнгэрийн зарилг оршив. | Мээлэн бурхан хурмаст |

B: [1r] abqu | оуру- | yi eši | üjegü= | lügsen | bičig: | kitad | orun-dur | оутар= | yüi-ača | baγuγsan-i | orčiyu= | luγsan | amui::

C: 1r | qormusta tngri-yin | bosiy jarliy begejin | qota-yin qariyatu | γajar-a üjüm-tü | ayulan-dur baγuγsan | čilayun бүкүй bičig- | eče salyan abču | tarqayayγsan | suryal-un bičig | ene bui:: :: |

D: [1r] kitad-un orun-dur baγuγsa)n abqu gegekü-yin ilγal-i | todurqai üjegü-lügsen tngri-yin esi jarliy orusibai. |

¹³ Masaryk University, number within the MRM project: D 51.

¹⁴ Note about transcriptions: For Classical Mongolian I use N. Poppe's transcription (only using *j* instead of *ǰ*), majuscule D is used for *kebege d* in non-standard cases such as the initial position in a word, T is used for the *bosuy-a t* in non-standard cases such as in the middle of a word. For the Clear script I use the commonly used transcription system introduced by H. Luvsanvandan and A. Luvsandandev. “|” indicates the end of a column, “=” indicates a single word divided by the end of a column or other reasons, “<>” indicates insertion in the original text. “᠒” indicates that the following word or group of words represents the Mongolian transliteration of a Tibetan term (special case of the version B, these words are transliterated using the Wylie transliteration system). The correct readings of Chinese names and toponyms occurring in all the versions were difficult to identify even for Mongolian scribes and readers themselves. Therefore, I do not try to resolve ambivalent cases, where the Mongolian recording of the Chinese name offers more possible readings, and mention the reading which seems to me the most probable from the point of view of a reader familiar with the Mongolian or the Clear scripts.

E: [1r] burxan kigēd yeke boqdonariyin ayiladun soyirxoqson olon amitan-| ni nüül zobolonggi arilyaqçı ünen bišireltü xubilyān nom orošibui:|

A: [1v] Бурхны зарлиг ба их Богданын| аюуштай айлдан сө ө рхө ж,| амьтны нүү ү л зовлонгий| Арилагч ү нэн бишрэлтэй| хувилгааны ном болов.|

B: [1v] ilaju tegüs nögčigsen| ber jarliy bolurun:| burqan kiged yeke| bodisatv-a nar ber| irege edüi galab-un| čay-un segül-dür ayul| qariyulqu arɣ-a| soyur-qaysan jarliy nom:|

C: [1v] esrün qormusta tngri edügi čay-un| bayidal-i sinjilen ünen nomlaysan anu| eyin kü buyu:

D: [2r] ilaju tegüs nögčigsen burqan jarliy bolurun. burqan bodisatv-a ber iregedüi| yalba-un čay-un ečüs-tür ayul-i ničuyaqqu-yin arɣ-a-yi ayiladuysan jarliy anu.|

E: [1v] burxan kigēd yeke boqdonari-| yin ayildun soyirxuqson olon ami=| tani nüül zobolonggi arilyaqçı ünen| bišireltü xubilyān nom mün bui:|

A: Тү гээмэл элбэгтэн араудаар| он энэ цагт Бээжин суудамху| нах битү ү уул гэнэт| огторгуй дуу гараад тэр| уул хө длө ө д нэг их хавтгай| [2r] чулуун сизанги болон| шагацон кэмээк хө тө ө д унагаав|

B: tere čay oyiratuqui-| dur bejejing-ün qariy-a-| tu dotur yajar-a-| T: hrun than phug kemeküi-yin| emün-e jüg dalai-yin| ayula T: po ta'a la-ača| genedte luu-yin dayun| yekede dayurisajqu| ayula teden-eče nigen| gürü čilayun bayuysan| anu T: ši'i bin phug-un| qariyatu ulus-tur| T: lo gyang zhan gyis| wang bca' skrod| kemegdekü yajar deger-e|

C: neyislel qota-yin| tngri-yi süsülkü ügei yamun-i| jakiryān-u nutuy-daki fuuTāsin| ayulan-a genedte ayungɣ-a-yin Dayun| yaruɣad degere-eče nigen yeke kečeg¹⁵| qabtaɣai čilayun bayujuqui:| sii basang wau lang jang giyan jang| giyan uwang kemekü ayil-du bayıysan-i| üjebesü

D: kitad-un orun bejejing-ün qarayatu jakiryān-u šün tiyan wu-yin emün-e jüg-deki dalai-yin| botala ayula-dur genedte luu-yin dayun yekede dayurisaysan-ača mön kü ayulan-ača| nigen kösiy-e čilayun ši bang wu kemekü yajar-tur bayuysan bolbaču

E: tere caq-tu bējin xarāyatu: angxani puu| tušan kemēkü ouladu genetekin| ayungɣayin doun yeke yarji cakil=| yan cakilaxuyidu tere ouladu doq=| dulun ködölji nigen keseq xaba=| tayain čiloun nuruji hi phang| long yā šan-ni xariyātu wang| kyin zowang kemēkü nertü yazar-| tu buuqšan bui:

A: тэр чулуун дээр| Тэнгэрийн зарлаг бичиг| тодорч гараад дэлхийн| амьтанд сү жиг тө рүү ү лэхийн| тулд тархаав.|

B: ömkürjü bayıysan| čilayun deger-e urida| ögüleksen jarliy nom| niyta todurqai bayıy=| san-i tegüncilen kümün-ü| orun бүкүн-дүр| [2r] түгеген үiledbei:|

¹⁵ Standard *keseq*.

C: sakiyulsun-u ünen nomlaysan | jarliy mön böged: čilayun degereki | bičig-ün uçir siltayan anu asuru | tob todurqai kiged ulam ulam | Damjiysayar bui:

D: tere yajarun qarayatu | arad-un buyan doruyituysan-iyar toytaysan ügei. öngküren oduysayar

E: ene čilouni | nomiyn üzüq todorxoi zalarji | kümün-du ulamjilan kürgēbei – | kemēqsen bui:

A: Тэр чулуут шогү цо цоогү й эрлэг | хааны сү мд хадгалав. |

B: jarliy nom-i čilayun | keb-tür seyilegsen | tere T: si phron-u dotur | qariyatu T: gu'i spre'u | phug erlig qayan-u | süm-e-dür qadayalaju | bayiysan-iyar

C: jeu wau giyan erlig | qayan-u süm-e-dür bui:

D: wang | gyan juwang kemekü yajar-a toytabai. deger-e inü ülemji todurqai jarliy bayiysan | tegüni kümün-ü orun бүкүн-dür tarqayaysan-u uçar anu. terkü jarliy nom-tu čilayu | siburun-yin dotur-a baytaysan öčüg-ün doturaki kuei jeu wu-yin erlig-ün qarsi-dur | qadayalaydan bayiysan-i

E: ödügē tere | [2r] xabтайai čiloun bolbāsu tō | ju poyin xarāyatu cang xuwang | giyin sümedü bui bayinai:

A: Хэн сү жигтэй хү мэн ө вө р | [2v] ө враань цаас бэхь аваад тэр | зарилар бичү ү лэж авсан хө лс | зоос цэн тун хэрэглэхү й |

B: čayan | jüg-ün buyan-u üile- | dür bayasuyči kümün | nügüd ber čayasu-ban | abču oduyad | keb-ün ergül kereg | ügei-ber keblejü | öggüdeg bui:

C: ünen | süsüg bisirel-tü kümün öber | öber-ün čayasan-i abču irejü | barlan bičin bayulyaju abqu-du | [2r] čing pung-u kölüsü asiy | yorilaqu ügei

D: buyan-a tursilatai kümün nuγud ber keb-i seyilgegsen čay-dur ün-e | örtüg ügei olan-a tarqayaysan

E: ker= | be sayin yabudaltu süzüqtei | kümün bui bögüsü casun beke | abči keblen daruji abxuyidu: | oqto ünen abxui ügei bölüge |

A: Мин тэр ө дө р зонцон зонлун | зоншан хоёр хатан | сү жиглэж мү ргээд энэ | номыг бичү ү лэж дэлэгтхээд | хү мэн амьтанд сү жэг тө рү ү лэж | тархаав. Бө д сад бурхан | биеээр ү зэгдэж ирсэнд | [3r] тү мэн амьтан зул кү ж барьж | заливарч мү ргэсэн билээ. |

B: tegünü | edür čerig-ün noyan | T: skran mtshan sbyang kiged: | amurlingyui noyan T: rlis | brin zhan qoyar-un: ger-ün | kümün бүкүн nigen | üjügür-tü süsüg | biširel-tü sedkil | egüskejü mörgükü-lüge | selte: jarliy nom edeger-i: | oγtarγui-yin dour-a: | yajar-un deger-e-ki | amitan бүгүде-dür | arbidqauqi-yin čingγ-a | süsüg: nigen üjügürtü | [2v] sedkil-iyer dayan | barilduyčid-tur burqan-u | bey-e boda-tai luγ-a | ayuljaysan metü: tegün- | dür šitügči olan | kümün-dür: jarliy nom-un | udq-a medegülen ögüle= | küi-dür: čöm-iyer | süsüg biširel-iyer | takil ergükü kereg-tei | uy šiltayan-dur | odumui:

C: nigen edür čerig-ün | noyan jang sal gewang bičig-ün noyan | lii čig tan gewang qoyayula-yin er-e | em-e niiteber ünen süsüg-tei tula | namančilan jalbariju

mörgüged | čilayun-u bičig barlan bayulyaju | abuyad delekei dakin-u olan | amitan bügüdeger-dür tungqaylaju | todur[a]yulun serigüljü tarqayan | jarlaju kelegesen anu: olan bügüdeger | buyan-tu sedkil-i barju siduryu | keb-iyer yabutuyai: qubilyan | sakiyulsun nar-a ile bodutay-a | ayulun idqaju amui: jula küji | ergüjü namančila kemegesen-eče

D: tere edür-e. čerig-ün noyan jang ša gyang, liy čang siyang | čöm uruy sadun bügüdeger nigen üjjür-tü sedkil-i egüsken bisireküi-ber mörgün | üiledčü enekü jarli-yi olan bükün-dür tarqayacu-yin süsüg-iyer dayan bayasulčaju | burqan-u gegen-e ayuljabai. tegün-i sitügsen olan kümün-dür uy jarli-yi uqayulun nomlaju | silyaday süsüg biširel-iyer takil ergül-i ergügüljü

E: tere ödor yang omoqtu: li | omoqtu jang šayāng xoyoula | ere emeyin sanān čing ünen- | yēr süzeqler yosučilen – | mürgüji: ene nom ulamjilan | delekeji dakini olon irgen- | dü sayin kemēqsan bui: angxan bodi- | yi sadwa burxan ilete beye- – | bēr ilerkeyilen ayiladun kesē | ji xoriyi soyirxoqson-du | [2v] tümen irgen küji jula šitān | takiji mürgüqsan bölügē

A: Мин тэр өдөр нэг хүн мэдэн | уншиж энэ ном салгаж аваад | жинчү у яаманд залж хүргэсэнд | тэр яамны ноён эс сүжиглэж | итгэгсэн ер түүүний гэр бүлдээр | гуч гаруй амьтан халуун | өвчинээр цөмү хэгсэнд

B: tere edür | jarim nigen kümün: | nom-un üsüg egün-i | qayulju: orun-u darayu [l] | noyan T: skre phug ya mon- | dur ergügsen-i: T: skre | phug-eče üsüg tegüni: | čikin-dür ese sonusuy= | san tula: süsüg buruyu | egüskegsen-ü nöküčel- | iyer: ger kümün yučin | ayimay kijig ebedčin- | iyer ükübei:

C: edür | büri amitan jalbarin barlaqu ba | bičikü kiged bayulyaju abču | baiyisan-i jang wau giyan yamun-u | [2v] noyan ber sonusču üjeged ene | jüil-ün kereg-yi dayan itegejü | ünemsikü ügei: tegünü nigen | ger-ün yučı yarun kümün tomuYu | ebečin-dür sōm¹⁶ üküjüki: |

D: tere edür-e. nigen kümün-ber üsüg | egüni qayulju abuysan-iyān terigülegči noyan-u zhi wu yamun-a ergügsen-dür terkü yamun-u | doturaki kümün nar bičig-i ese biširegsen-iyer bügüde yučiyad kümün kijig ebedčin-iyer | [2v] ükügsen bolai.

E: töüni | tula nigen kümün burxan-du | namančilan zalbirji ene nom buul= | yan bičieđ xarāyatu puyin – | yamundu: ulamjilan kūrgeqsan- | dü: tere puyin tüšimel ene | nomiyyin oqto ülü itegemji= | leqsan tula nigen geriyin yučin | ilöü amin kijiq ebečin kür= | teji üküqsan bui:

A: тэр | олуун амьтан хайрхан, хайрхан | [3v] далан кэмань заливарбаа муу | цагийн амьтны адаг хүрч | ирэгсэн энэ амьтан арван | хувь ээц 9 хувь нь ү хэхүү |

B: blam-a | ayilad: blam-a ayilad: | edüge čay-tu irege | edüi ayul-tu jil | čay kūr-ügsen-ü tula: | arban kümün nügüd-ün | dotur-ača yisün inü | [3r] üküki bayinam: tere | yaγun-u tula kemebesü: |

¹⁶ Standard čom.

C: jalbaril-tai. jalbaril-tai: nidün-ü! emüne mayu öber öber-ün kigsen! üile-yin ür-e bolbasuraju:! čöb-ün čay irejü tümen! amitan ülü tuyilun yašiyun! jobalang amsaqu bolba: jisur! yabudal-tu arad jayuridu! ükükü anu üneker yisün! qubi boljuqui::

D: blam-a minü ayilad. blam-a minü ayilad. ay-a iregedüi! ayultai čay-tur kürbesü arban kümün-ü doturča yisün kümün ükükü büi.

E: ayā: <ödügē> nidün-! dü ülü üzeqdekü eldeb zo=! bolong bolxu caq kürči ireq=! seni tula aliba amitani arban! xubi-ēce yesün xubi xoroq=! damui:

А: энэ амьтан нү ү л хилэнц! тэгсэн ээр тэнгэрт эс! сү жиглэсэн ээр салхин бороон! болсон цагт хараасан эцэг! эх бэн эс асрагсан, ах ихань! заяан сахиусанд эх шү тэгсэнд! [4r] ам бээр бузар газар олуун шораа! ширү ү н ү г хэлэгсэн авгаа ах, бэргэн! эх хү ндэлсэн хараал андгаарт! дуртай бологсон олуун зү ү лийн! тараа будаа бузарлаж асгагсан хү ний! сайн хэснийг муугээр харнулагсан! тул хэсэнийг мартсан хов хатгал! кэж эвдрэлдү ү лсэн элдэв арга бээр! хү н хү мний мэхлэгсэн авгаа! хү ү хэдийг элэг ээр доромжлон! [4v] ичээн зовоосон бага хү н ах! ихээн сургаалд эс орсон чигнү ү рийн! нү л бээр хү н хуурах ба бага! саваар юм ө гө ө л, их саваар! авах ноёд сайд хэрэгтэй! хү нийг орхиж, санаа муутай! дорд хү ний дахуулах ү хэр! нохой алсан олон зү ү л килэнц! хийсэн нү ү лтэй цаг хү рч ирвээ!.

B: 1 amitan nuγud buyan! ese üiledükü kiged! 2 čuqay degedü-dür! süsüg biširel-iyer! ese jalbiriq: 3 qur-a! salkin-dur mayu am-a! talbiq: 4 ečige eke-! dür biširen örgün! kündülekü ügei: 5 kögšid-i! jalayus ber asaran! enerikü ügei: 6 γajar-un! ejen luus küjir nügüd-! tür qour-a tusqan! kürgekü: 7 ečige ebüge! jergečilen iregsen-dür! dayan oruyčid takil! ergükü ügei: 8 abay-a! aq-a nayaču egeči! berigen-dür mayu! širügün üges-iyer! kereglel ügei üiledkü: 9 tariy-a tömüsün-ü jüil-! dür öčügüdken! qomsadqau: ači! kigsen-i sanaqu ügei: 10 ači-yi buruyu-bar! qariyulqu: 11 kümün-ü! [3v] jabsar-tur qudquyu=! lun jarčim-i kimurayulun! üiledügčün ba: 12 meke! bači-dur mergen tula! tösür-i qayuraju! olan-i ögülekü: 13 tačiyangyui-tu kümün! mayu ijijur-tu! nuγud-tai nöküčeju! yosu jokilduγsan olan! ükid-i γutayaqu: 14 teneg kesegčid dörbeljin! nayadun-i dur-a-bar! kičiyekü: 15 mayu nar! egürge egürkü-yin küču-! ber öčüken sedkilten-i! erke-dür bolγaju! amaraylaqu: 16 olan! kümün ömüg dayuris=! qaysan-iyar činege! bay-a-tan-u amur! bayidal-i tasulqu: 17 yeke-ber bay-a-dur! yabuča öšiyelen tataqu! 18 aday ber eki-dür! keregsekü ügei qarsılan! ebderekü: 19 šim (T: bre) ba! činglegür-iyer meke! qayurmay üiledkü: 20 yosu tegülder kümün! [4r] nügüd-i arγ-a jali-bar! γutayaqu: nigülesküi! ügei-ber amitan-u! ami tasulqu terigü=! ten ene metün mayu! üile-yin kilinče! quriyaysan-u teyin! bolbasural ergükü: keme-gsen ede nügüd-i!

C: üjetele! olan бүкүн-iyer süsüg ügei: tngri γajar-i ču bisirejü! namančilaqu ügei-ber ülü baram! jemlekü ügelekü: salkin-i jandačün! qariyaqu aγasilaqu: boruyun-i! [3r] qariyaqu: ečige eke-yi ču kereglen! örgüjü asaraq ügei: aq-a! jiq-a geju kündülekü ügei: ilingčeg! ebüge-yin qayučün sitügen-i ču! keregčekü takiqu

ügei: kerčgei| qarigis üge kelekü: jaliqai| salčiy-a-bar¹⁷ doysıraqu kiged:| degedü ündüsün suryulı-yin| üge-yi oyisiyan dayaqu ügei:| törügsen eke-yin idqaju| suryaqu-yi ču küliyekü ügei:| qariyaqu ali teres buruğu-bar| ayasilaqu kelekü: tabun tariyan-u| üres-i asqaqu čidququ:| kümün-ü sayın kigsen tusa-yi| umartayad qarın könügekü: jaliqai| jisur-iyar güidkeju¹⁸ könügekü::| arɣ-a meke jıyaju jaraqı| jıyaldaqu: kereg degdegekü: mayu| [3v] arɣ-a meke egüskeju kümün-i| qongjıju qulduluıyad bürilken| üiledčü asıy jabsil erikü:| köbegün ükin öber öber-ün| joriy durabar naıyadum toylum| kekü: samayu sadar egüskekü:| ayurlan kilinglekü: keregül temecel| boluyad aman aldaqu: tangyariy| kikü: yeke erketen sür-iyer bay-a-yi| darulaqu: olan-iyar türjü| öčüken-i eleg bariqu: ali bay-a anu| yekes-iyen darulaqu: dorumjılaqu| yeke-yi bay-a-du kereglekü: jarım-da| sayid tüsımed-i darulan dorumjılaqu| qour-a könügel kürgekü ba: üker| noqai kituqu terigüten jülü| bürı-dür nigül kilinče üiledügsen| ači ür-e anu güičeldejü iregsen| tula

D: tere yayun-u| tula kemebesü amıtan nuıyud buyan-i ülü üiledkü ba. ɣurban erdenı-dür süsüg| bisirel ügei. salkın boruyan-i qariyaqu. ečge eke-i ülü kündülekü. köğšin jalayus-tur| enerel asural ügei. ɣajar luus-i bujarlaqu. ečge eke-i nasun-ača nöğčibesü buyan| üiledkü ügei. aq-a degüü-dür boduly-a ügei širügün mayu ügis-i ögülkü. busud-un| tariy-a tömsü-yi bürillikü. jarlıy-un ači-yi ülü sanan buruğu-bar qariyulqu. kümün-i| öber jayur-a üimegülün çayaza-yi qaldaqu. arɣ-a meke egüskeju kümün-i boduly-a-yi ülü| yabuıyulqu. tačiyangyui-bar yosu büküi emes ükid-yi bujarlaqu. demei tenüjü mörüyičen| naıyaduqu terigüten-dür simdan kičiyekü ba. mayu sedkil-iyer douradus-i erkisigülün| čökügekü. olan-iyar čögen-i darulqu. yekeber bay-a-yi darulqu. egüskel tegüskel-i| boduqu ügei. qarsılan ebdekü. deu. šing činglegür-i jalılan üiledkü. yosu büküi| kümün-i jalılan ıyutuyaqu. enerel ügei-ber amıtan-i alaqu terigüten ene metü| mayu üilen-yin kilinčen-i üiledügsen-i bolbsural ergeju irebei.

E: ene caq-tu: olon bükün| sayın yabudal-yēr ülü yabuxu| tenggeri ıyazartu ülü süzeqlen| [3r] salkın kiged xura boroni| xarāxu ečige ekei-gi ülü taki=| xu axan yekeyigi ülü kündülekü ba:| uridaki ečige öbögöyin küür| ülü takıxu xarın kerčgei kelelcěji:| abaya kiged abaya bergeni ülü kündü=| lekü: moučılan xarāxu tabun taranı| üre caculan xarāxu suryuuı martaji| jurumi ebdekü: šaxaji ürüqdüü=| lün: zaldaxu: eldeb jolıyın| uran arɣa kiji mekelen šourekü:| ekener inu usuni buzaralan: ezer=| keji öyimökü: möröcüya nādaxu:| samouran sandarxu čireq iditeyigi| tüšüji buuraqšan dorodušiyigi| daruyalxu: belbesüni šamdaji ezer=| ken icėkü yekes bēr baya mougi daru=| ɣalxu: dorodu bükün dēdü lüge| xaldıxu: xatou čingnour baya duu| soulyui kereqlekü šuduryu sayın| ālitani xoblon buouroulxu ükēr| noxoi terigüüteni alaxu: ene zer=| geyin mou üile ulam ulam-yēr xal=| dan güiceqdeji ireqsen bayınam|

¹⁷ Standard *čalčiy-a-bar*.

¹⁸ Standard *güidkekü*.

A: МЭЭЛЭН бурхан бӨ А САД хоёр | [5r] ЭНЭ ДЭЛХИЙДЭХЬ амьтны арван нҮҮ Л |
КИЛЭНИЦТЭЙ НИГҮҮ Ү РЭЭЦ айлааад ТЭНГЭР | ЛҮҮ ЖИН одны илгээж ертэмчҮҮ Л |
буулгав.

B: burqan mayidari ba: | abida kiged qutuγ- | tu degedü yeke | nigülesügči nid-
über | üjegči nügüd nomlabai. | basa nomlaysan anu: | usun-u cöbürigün metü |
jirγuyan jüil amitan | nuγud arban qara | nigül üiledügsen kilinče | gem-iyer T: lo ho
shin | kemekü ulayan nidün | γ'ray tngri-eče jayay-a- | tai kümün-ü orun-du |
jalarayad ergigsen niγta- | da šinjilen:

C: mü lii uwang wang | [4r] burqan-u emüne dalai-yin qongsim | bodisatv-a
bolbasuruγul kemen | ayiladqaju sonusuyad: olan | amitan üneker ču nigül kilinče- |
eče busu-yi kikü ügei anu mayad | boljuqui kememüi: teyimü-yin tula | tngri kiling-
len γal-un sakiγulsun-i | amalan jaruju bayulγan bayičayan | üjegtün:

D: kemekü edeger-i | mayidar. abida. qongsimbodisatv-a ber ayiladuγsan bolai.
basa jarliγ bolurun. | usun-u cöbüregüü metü jirγuyan jüil amitan nuγud-ača arban
qara-yi üiledügsen-ü | bolbsural ergejü nigül kilinčes-iyer angγaray γaray tngri-eče
jīγaydaju kümün-ü orun-dur | [3r] bayuyad ergen toyuraju. narin niγta-bar šinjilejü

E: eyimiγin tula: mila burxan nidübēr | üzeqči bodhi sadwa burxan xōsoni |
ayār-ēce biligiγin nidübēr ayiladun | olon amitani sayin üile buuruxui- | bēr ülü dou-
sun arban mou yabudal- | yēr xargislaju eldeb čilen | [3v] yabuxuyigi ayiladun:
surγuuli bol= | ji tenggeri-ēce lubyang ergiqči | oduni zaruji bayizā üzetegei | kemēn
buulyaqsan bui

A: ЭНЭ НОМЫГ СҮ ЖИГЛЭЖ | ИТГЭГСЭН ХҮ МЭН байваас хамаг | аюулаас ээц
гэтлэвҮҮ , эс итгэгсэн | хҮ Н мэчэн, тахиа, нохой, гахай | жила мэдмҮҮ

B: deger-e | ögülegsen jarliγ nom- | dur takil ergükü: | sūsüglekü biširekü öči-
kü | kümün bui bögesü | [4v] jedker-i arilayad ger | dotur-un kümün-ü ami |
nasun-a itegel abural | terigüten-i jokiyaqu | böged: kerbey-e kümün | nügüd ünēn-
dür | bariqu ügei bögesü | bičīn takiy-a noqai | γaqai jil-dür niγtalan | üjen üile-
dügsen-iyer: |

C: kerbe ene bičig-yi | sūsülün bisirejü takiju bayiday | kümün bui bögesü: te-
güni nigen | ger-ün ayul dayisun-i jayilayuluyad | amur tungγalay bolγay-a: kerbe |
qarigis maγu kümün ünemsin ese | itegebesü: ene irejü bayiqu | biči takiy-a noqai
γaqai kedün | jil-i üjekü ču bayituyai: |

D: degedü-yin todurqai jarliγ-tur | sūsüg bisirel бүкүи kümün nuγud büi bol-
basu jedker-i arilajaju. ami nasu-yi aburan | jokiyaqu bolai. kerbe kümün nuγud
egüni ese itegemjilebesü biči. takiy-a. noqai. | γaqai jil-tür üjemüi.

E: ene nomi | ünēn süzüq-yēr takiji ungsixu | kümün bayixu bolbāsu: töüni te-
re | odun ču nigüüsülen: γasalang zobo= | longgi ügei bolγaxu ču bayitu= | γai
töüni šidar бүкүни amini abur= | ji öröšöökü bolumui: kerbei | xargis mou kümün
ene nomi ese | itegebēsü mečīn takā noxoi | γaxai jildü γasalang zobolong |
güiceqdemüi:

A: идэх юм байвч | идэх хү нгү й хувцсан байвч | ү мсэх хү нгү й, зам байвч явах | [5v] хү н гү й. Гэр байв ч суух хү нгү й | газар байвч тарна тарих | хү нгү й.

B: tere čay-tu idegen | bayibaču idekü kümün | ügei: qubčad bayibaču | emüskü kümün ügei: | jam bayibaču yabuqu | kümün ügei: ger bayičing | bayibaču saγuqu kümün | ügei: tariyan-u γajar | bayibaču taričün ügei: |

C: buduγ-a bayibaču idikü kümün | ügei: qubčasu bayibaču emüskü | [4v] kümün ügei: jam bayibaču yabuqu | kümün ügei: ger bayibaču saγuqu | kümün ügei: tariy-a bayibaču | tariqu kümün ügei:

D: tere čay-tur idegen büi bolbaču idekü kümün ügei. qubčisu | büi bolbaču emüskü kümün ügei. γajar bayibaču tariqu kümün ügei. ger bayisang | bayibaču saγuqu kümün ügei. γajar bayibaču tariqu kümün ügei.

E: budān bayibaču | idekü kümün ügei: debel bayibaču | ümüskü kümün ügei: zam bayibaču | yabuxu kümün ügei: gēr bayibaču | souxu kümün ügei: taran bayibaču | tarixu kümün ügei:

A: Зуны гурван сард хортон | могой газар дэлхий дүүрэх | намрын гурван сард хилэнцтэй | амьтан нө гцө ж дуусах хү мний | ясан дэлхий дүүрэх, ном | буянд сү жиглэж залбирагсан | хү мэн хамаг аюул ээц гэтлэмү ү |

B: tabu jiryuduyar sarayin | dotur qour-a-tu moyai | bar γajar delekei | dügürkü: naim-a yisü= | düger sara-yin dotur | mayu kümün nöğüd | ükügsen-ü kegür γajar | deger-e dügürkü: | kilinče tebčiged buyan-i | бүтүгегчи kümün | nügüd arban mayu | [5r] ayul-i amsaqu kereg- | ügei bolai:

C: jici tabu | jiryuyan sarayin kiri-dü qour-a- | tu moyai γajir degüremüi: | naima yisün sarayin kiri-dü qarigis | mayu kümün üküjü baraydaqu | bui: ükül-ün yasu γajar | degüremüi: mayu qara qour-a- | tu nigül-tü yabudal-i orkiyad | buyan-tu sedkil-i egüskejü sayiqan | yabudal-iyar yabubasu ene irekü | arban ekitü jobalang-un ayul-i | amsaqu ügei-ber kitaraju¹⁹ | bolumui:

D: tabu. | jiryuyan saradu qouratu moyai γajar delekii dügürimüi. naiman yisün saradu | mayu kümün-ü ükügsen-ü kigür-iyer γajar delekii-yi бүрикүмүи. kilinčes-i | tebečeju buyan-i üiledügsen kümün nuγud ber ene arban jüil-ün ayul-i | amsaqu ügei bolai.

E: tabu zurγān | saradu xortu moyoi γazar दौरи= | mui: nayiman yesün saradu mou sanā- | tu kilincetu kümün бүгүде: үкү= | ji yasun γazār бүркүмүи: kerbe | mou yabudal nüül kilinceyigi orki= | ji: sayini daxabāsu arban mou | zobolonggi edlekü ügei bui: |

A: нэгэн бээр усан галав, хоёр | [6r] дугаар гал галав, гурав дугаар | амьтны ухаан тө ө рхү ү | дө р[ө в] дү гээр эр эм тархахуу | тө в дугаар хү мний тархах | тав бээр хү нийг могой | хорлохуу, зургаа бээр | хү ний ясан дэлхий бүрхэн | 7 бээр мэсэд ү хэхү ү 8 бээр | ө дө р шө нө гү й хү йтэн бороон |

¹⁹ Standard *kitaraqū*.

болох, 9 бээр гэр мал хэн эдлэхү ү | [6v] магадү й 10 бээр ер хү н амрах | зам дээр ү хсэн хү нийг тө ө лж | ү л болохуу тү мэн хү н ээл | 9 мянган ү хэхү ү энэ муу | цагийн адаг хү рч ирэв. |

B: arban | ayul anu: angqan | usun ba ɣalun ayul-un | jobalang: qoyaduɣar | quraɣsan bükün ülel | ügei qoɣusurqui | jobalang: ɣutayar ülü | medekü mungqay-iyar | duradqal ügei ükü= | kü-yin jobalang: | dötüger ger-ün kümün | örügeskel bolun | qaɣaçaqu-yin jobalang: | tabdayar ariy-a-tan | moɣai-yin ayul-un | jobalang: jirɣuduɣar | ɣajar deger-e kümün-ü | üküdel-iyer dügürkü | jobalang: doluduɣar | oɣtarɣui-yin dour-a | ɣajar-un deger-e čerig | kimural-iyar ebderkü-yin | jobalang: naimaduɣar | edür söni küiten | eberšiyel-ün jobalang: | yisüdüger öberün ed-i | busu kümün edlekü-yin | jobalang: arba= | [5v] duɣar zambudwib amur | ügei-yin jobalang: | mör-tür ükügsen | kümün toɣ-a ügei: | nigen tümen-ü dotur- | aça yisün mingyan | ükükü:

C: basa nigedüger ɣal | usun-u ayul: qoyaduɣar ɣal | utay-a manang-dur soɣtuɣuraju | ükükü: ɣutayar tögürin tenüjü | [5r] ükükü: dötüger er-e em-e | buruɣudan qaɣačaldaqu: tabu= | duɣar qour-a-tu moɣai kümün-i | qadquju alaqu: jirɣuduɣar | ükügsen üküger ɣajar | degüremüi: doluduɣar jer jebseg- | iyer čabčildun alalçaqu: | naimaduɣar ɣang qaɣsayuu siɣurɣ-a | üjekü: yisüdüger ger baray-a | busu kümün-ü ger-tü kürgejü | ögkü: arbaduɣar amur tayibung | jil-i üjekü ügei: jam ɣutuyсан | ükügsen kümün-i toɣlaju ülü | baraydaq: tümen kümün-eče yisün | mingyan kümün ükükü:

D: arban ayul anu. nigedüger ɣal usun-u ayul-un jobalang. | qoyaduɣar čay učaral ügei ügegüren qoɣusurqu-yin jobalang. ɣurbaduɣar | mungqay-un qarangɣui-bar uqayan mederel-ügei ükükü-yin jobalang. dörbedüger. | inay amaray-aça qaɣčaju salaqu-yin jobalang. tabuduɣar qouratu moɣai. | doysin arayatan-u ayul-un jobalang. jirɣuduɣar kümün-ü kigür-ber ɣajar delekü | dügürekü-yin jobalang. doluduɣar delekü dekin-ü čerig kimurladaqu-yin jobalang. | naimaduɣar küitün eberesiyel-iyer nerebegdekü-yin jobalang. yisüdüger öberün ed | yuyum-a-yi busud-dur edlegülkü-yin jobalang. arbaduɣar zambutib-un amitan nuɣud | [3v] amuyulang ügei bolqu-yin jobalang. jam-dur ükükü kümün toɣalasi ügei. tümen | kümün-eče yisün mingyan inü ükümüi.

E: arban zobolong ali bui: kemēbē= | su: nigedügēr usuni zobolong | xoyortu ɣal: ɣurbadu zobonin | mungxarači ükükü: dörbödü ere | eme salji sarinixu: tabundu xortu | moɣoyidu zalgiqadaxu: zurɣādu | üküdeliyin yasun ɣazar dourkü | [4r] bolxu: dolōdu cereq dayin ködöl= | kü: nayimadu söni dunda kümün busu | doudaxu eldeb mou iröü bolxu: | yesüdü gēr bayıbaču kümündü or= | kiji ökü: arban duɣärtu engke= | jiren töbširekü sayin jildü | uulzaxu ügei bolumui: zamdu | üküqsen yasuni tölobösü bar= | ši ügei bolumui: nigen tümen- | eče yesün mingyan xoroqdaq | maši kecou caq bolxu bui:

A: дэлхийн тариа, төмс ү л | гарахуу, салхин модоор аюул | хилэнгийн аюул болох олон | зү ү л зовлон болох бас | хурмастын их тэнгэрийн | [7r] зарилга

болон кү ү ёзон хоёр! Бээжинд илгээж энэ юмд эс итгэгсэн! санаа муутгаар хурааж авмуу!

B: irege edüi! mayu čay kürügen! üy-e-dü ɣajarun sim-e! doroutan tariy-a tömüsün! öčüken bay-a bolqu:! mayu jüil-ün ɣadaɣadu! doɣšin qur-a kei=! küi kiged moyai! ariyatan ber yabuqu! möri qayaqu: amitan! bükün-ü jedker tere! ilede nidün-dür! üjegden urɣuqu:! siltayan üile ür-e! dalda-yi ilɣayči! nom-un qayan ber! jarliy-un tüsimel T: kon! sbra'o qoyar-i kümün-ü! orun-i dayalyan! talbiysan ba: busu! basa ɣajar delekei! gegen jabsar-un tngri! luus yagš-a-yin čiyulyan! nuɣud-i činayši! [6r] nemejü dayalyan talbiy=! san anu:

C: üneker mayu! čöb-ün čay irejü delekei dakin-u! tabun tariyan-u üres urɣu-qu! ügei: mayu salkin doɣsin boruɣun! doɣsin luu kiling törümüi: olan! [5v] bügüdeger-dür üneker yeke ayul-! tai: esrün qormusta tngri ber! guwang ju qoyar sakiyulsun! aɣar-tur beyeben daldalaju bayiji! douruki amitan-i niyrtalan bayičayay=! tun:

D: irigedüi mayu čay-tur kürkü-yin üyes-tür! ɣajar-un šim-e bayurqu. tariy-a tomusu²⁰ qomsudqu. mayu doɣsin salkin boruɣan üimečekü! kiged. qouratu moyai. doɣsin arayatan-ber odqu jam-i qayaju amitan bükün-dür! jedkeredekü anu nidündü urɣuju üjegdemüi. üilel-yin ür-e-yi ilyan sidkegči! nomun qayan-ača jarliy-un tüsimel guwan. juu qoyar sakiyulsun-yi kümün-i orun-dur! ilegen čaydan bayičayalyaba. busu basa ɣajar deleki gegen jabsar-un tngri luus! yakačas-un čiyulyan nuɣud-yi nemejü bayičayalyan.

E: tabun tarā=! ni üre bāxan bolbasurbaču: mou sal=! kin türgen borōn: xortu klu kür=! jigenen yabuji olon amitandu! zobolong bolumui: basa xormus=! tan. yeke tenggeri bēr k'uwān čou! kemēkü xoyor jang jung gi zaru=! ji yertüncüdü buulyād: aliba xubil=! ɣān sakousun oqtorɣuyin aɣār-! ēce bayicān üzetügei kemēqsen! bui:

A: -

B: jarliy nom! egüni toɣuqu ügei! ba: siltayan üile! ür-e dorumjilan basun! ü[i]ledügčün bui ügei-yi! niyrtalan üjekü kiged:! bui bögesü i²¹ tngri-yin! orun-ača türgen-e! amin-u ejen yagš-a-du! tayalaysan-iyar zambu=! twib-tur bayiysan! mayu ijayur-tu! kümün nüküd-i nigen! gšan-dur kesegen²²! yalalan ayiladqu bolai:!

C: kerbe qarigis mayu kümün-ü! sedkil-dür güičedken üjegültügei! jiči dürüsü ügei yabudal-tu! arad-i ilɣayad sōm-i²³ ükügüljü! abču iretügei: kemen tngri-eče! tuqai bayičayayqu sakiyulsun-i! amalan jaruju ilgesügei:

²⁰ Manuscript D uses invariably *tomusu* instead of the standard *tömüsü*.

²¹ *Tüim* + final *i* with uncertain reading here.

²² *Kesegekü*, in the standard writing *geskekü*. *Kesegekü* is attested by Ковалевский 1844: 2457, while the now standard writing *geskekü* (2458) is used there for both meanings of *зачесть* “to thaw” as well as “to punish”, now standardly written *geskügekü*.

²³ Standard *čōm-i*.

D: ene jarliγ-i boduju bisirekü! ügei üile ür-e-yi ütegerkeju üiledkü kümün büi ügei-yi niγtalan šinjeju! kerbe büi abasü tngri-yin orun-ača amin abuyči yakačas-i darui jaruju gšin! jaγur-a gesken tasulumui.

E: ene nomi xargis mou kümün! ünēr ese itegebēsü töüni! sanān mou tulada xarin ada buq! bolxuyin züq-tēn xaduqsani! tulada tenggeri-ēce wang jing! oduni buulyaji ene mou sanātan! kümün bügüdei xuraji abxu bui!

A: Тариа тө мө сны ү нэ хатуурахуу! нэг лан мө нгө нд таван шин! будаа авах Мээлэн бурхан! Гү н цон гурвуулан дор бээр! ирэхү ү нохой жилд халуун! ө вчин ирээд гахай жилд! арилахү ү.

B: tariy-a budayan-u ün-e! inü nigen lang mönggün-! dü tabun jing tariy-a! buday-a abqu čay! bolqu: tendeče itegel! mayidari abida burqan! amitan-u tusa-dur! ögede bolju: ergün! kündülegči yeke! tüsimed T: kon! sbra'o qoyar-tu! ayiladbai: usun! noqai jil-dur kejiγ! [6v] ebečin toytaju usun! yaqai jil kürtele!

C: basa! tariy-a buduy-a asuru yeke! üne-dür orumui: nige lang! nige čeng mönggün-dü tabun sing! tariy-a abqu bolumui: basa miü! lii juwang wang burqan bodutay-a! bey-e-ber jalaran ergiküdü guwang! ju sakiγulsun eblelčen qabsuraju! [6r] usun noqai jil-eče ekilen usun! yaqai jil degürekü-yin üy-e kire! boltula kümün amitan üküjü! oyirataldamui:

D: tariy-a buduy-a čayan mönggün-u nigen lang-dur tabun šeng! tengčeki-yin tula čay teyinkü bolumui. tegünče mayidar. abida burqan amitan-u tusa-dur! ögede boluγsan-u ergül kündülel-i üiledküi-dür yeke sakiγulsun guwan. juu qoyar ber! jokiyaqu bolai. qara noqai jil-eče ekilen kijig ebedčün γarču qarayčün yaqai jil! kürtel-e.

E: basa budāni ene yeke bolji: tabun! šing budān nige lang čayān mönggün-! dü kürümüi: basa mila burxan –! ilerkeyilen xarji küwang jou! kemēkü xoyor jing jung-du! mederoulun douradabai ene! [4v] daruyigi usun ere noγoi²⁴ jil-! ēce e-kileji kijiq ebečin kür=! teyu: usun emen γaxai jildu mou! sanātuyigi xuran abči zoqsoṭu=! γai:

A: Хү н амьтан 9 хувь! [7v] ү хэхү ү нэгэн хувь ү лдэхү ү! бас нэгэн бээр салхины аюул! хоёр бээр тү ймэрийн аюул хурван (=гурван)! бээр ү йэрийн аюул дө рвө н бээр! мэсийн аюул таван бээр! халуун ө вчний аюул зургаа! бээр аянга буухын аюул! долаа бээр бас хортон! могой хорлохуйн аюул! найман бээр гэнэт ү хэхийн! [8r] аюул арван бээр хү н амьтан! ү л ү лдээх, ү ү нийг Мээлэн бурхан! нэг тү мэн гурван мянган! жил сахисан билээ.! Өдгү й цаг гү йцэв.!

B: kümün-ü toy-a arban-! ača yisün üküjü nigen! amidurqu bui: basa! ayiladuγsan anu:! amitan-u maγu nöküčel! yeke jedker egünü:! angq-a kei-yin ayul:! qoyaduγar γal-un! ayul: γutayar usun-u! ayul: dötüger čerig-ün! ayul: tabdayar maγu! ebečin-ü ayul: jirγu=! duγar ayungγ-a gilbelgen-ü! ayul: doluduγar qour-a-!

²⁴ Standard *моγoi*.

tu moyai-yin ayul:| naimaduɣar ekener ükin| köbegün törüküy-e| berke-yin ayul: yisüdüger| jud-un ayul: arbaduɣar| amitan nuɣud baraydan| qoɣusurqu-yin ayul| nuɣud bolqu: itegel| mayidari: abida burqan| jarliy bolur-un:

C: basa nigen jüil| qamuɣ amitan-dur jobalang irekü| anu: nigedüger salkin-u ayul:| qoyaduɣar ɣal-un ayul: ɣutayar| usun-u ayul: dötüger iritü| mese jer jebseg-ün ayul: tabuduɣar| ebečin taɣul-un ayul: jiryuduɣar| ayungɣ-a-yin ayul: doluduɣar qour-a-tu| moyai-yin ayul: naimaduɣar ekener| kümün könggerejü yadaqu-yin ayul| yisüdüger ölüskü umdayasaqu-| yin ayul: arbaduɣar kümün| amitan üküjü baraydaq-yin| ayul: mü lii uwang wang| burqan-u jakiruɣsan

D: arban kümün-ü doturača yisün kümün üküjü nige ülemüi. basa nomlarun amitan-u| mayu nöküçil yeke jedker ene metü buyu. nigedüger salkin-u ayul. qoyaduɣar ɣal-un ayul. | ɣurbaduɣar usun-u ayul. dörbedüger çerig-ün ayul. tabuduɣar ebedčin-ü ayul. jiryuduɣar| [4r] ayungɣ-a čakilyan-u ayul. doluduɣar qouratu moyai-yin ayul. naimaduɣar emes ükid| nirayılaqu berke-yin ayul. yisüdüger ɣang jud-un ayul. arbaduɣar amitan nuɣud| qoɣusurçu baruɣdaq-yin ayul joblang nuɣud irekü bolümüi. mayidar. abida. | burqan ber jarliy bolurun.

E: olon amitanı yesün xubi| üküji: nijed xubi amiduramu=| yi: olonki kümündü yeke berke| ɣasalang bui bayınam anɣxadu salki-| ni zobolong amasxu: töüni darui| ɣal: ɣurbadu usun: dörbödü –| zere zebe: tabudu yara şarxan zur=| ɣādu ayungyan cakilyān: dolōdu| moyoi-du zalgiqdaxu: nayimadu| körönggü ülü urɣuxu: yesüdü| daraxu ölöşkü: arbadu sönöji| tasurxu: zobolonggi amasamui: mila burxani zakıraqsan nige tümen| ɣurban mingyan jiliyin xuyucān| ödügē dou-rüqseni tula:

A: Мээлэн бурхан муу амьтны| арилгаж их там шин болгов. | Тушаах цаг болов. | Мээлэн бурхан зарилаг болон | Цагаан мэчин жил ээц | [8v] хө х хулгана жил хү ртэл | тариа, төмс үл гарна. Харангалж | ү хэхү ү цэрэг мэсийн аюул ээц | зайлаж үл болох

B: temür| bičin jil-eče ekilen| modun quluɣuna jil| kürtele tariy-a tömüsün| quriyaydan körüngge| [7r] ügei-yin tula ügegüü| yadaɣu ölüskü| umdayasqu-bar ükükü| bolai: mese-yin tour-a-| ača getülküy-e berke:|

C: nigen tümen| ɣurban mingyan jil-ün quyuçay-a| [6v] kürkü-yin jabsar-tu tabun| tariyan-u üren urɣuju bolbasurqu| ügei tula ölüscü ölberidkü-| eče ɣoq-a çerig dayisun jebčeg²⁵-ün| ayul-ügei bolɣaju bolqu ügei| tula:

D: çayan bačin jil-eče ekilen köke quluɣan-a jil-dür kürtel-e. | tariy-a tomusu-yi qurayan edlejü čidaqu ügei. ügegüreçü²⁶ ölüsüjü umdayasaqu-yin| joblang-iyar üküümüi. mese-ü ir-eče geteleküi-e berke.

E: mila| burxan adādi arilyaji engke=| tuušin bolɣon tuşaxu mün bui:| tömör mečin jil-ēce ekele=| ji: modun xuluɣuna jildu| mön kü zoqsoxu bölüge: tere|

²⁵ Standard *jebseg*.

²⁶ With an interlinear note: *üggüyreü*.

čilen kü: tabun tarāni üre ülü, bolbusuroulxu bolōd: daruulun, ölöškü üküülkü-ēce yadana ce=, req dayini zoqsōxo maši ber=, ke bui:

A: ҮҮ НИЙ ДЭЛХИЙН, ХҮ Н АМЬТАН НЭГ ХҮ Н АРВАН, ХҮ МЭНД АРВАН ХҮ Н ЗУУН, ХҮ НД ЗАРЛАНА ТАРХАВААС, ХАМАГ АЮУЛ ЭЭЦ ГЭТЛЭЭД, ОДОО ЭНЭ МУУ ЦАГ ЭЭЦ Ө НГӨ РЧ

B: jarliy nom egüni ta, öber-e kümün nügüd, süsüg biširel-iyer, zambutwib бүкүн-дүр, delgeregүлкүү irügel, durašil-i ayuu yekede, üiledbesü: nigen, kümün ber arban-dur, duradq-a: arban ber, jayun-dur duradqaba=, su: amitan nuγud, mayu čay-un ayun, širbegekü-eče, getülüged:

C: ene bičig-yi üjegsen darui, delekei dakin-u olan amitan, nigen nigen-tegen ulam ulam bičijü, delgeregүl-ün tarqayabasu üneker, tusa bolumui: nigen-i bičijü, tarqayabasu nigen kümün-ü ayul, jobalang-yi arilyamui: jayun-i, bičijü tarqayabasu ene irekü, mayu čay-un ayul jobalang ba, dayin dayisun-i ketürejü γaryuγad,

D: jarliy egüni tan nuγud-ber, bisirel süsüg-iyer zambutib-un amitan бүкүн-дүр tarqayagu-yin yirügel tursil-i, simdan üiledčü nigen kümün-ber arban kümün-дүр tarqay-a arba-bar jayun-dur, tarqayabasu amitan nuγud mayu čay-un ayul könügel-eče getүлкү bögüd.

E: ene nom nomi delekei, dakindu ulamjilan: nigen-ēce, arbadu arba-ēce zoundu kür=, güülkü bögöösü: cöb cakiyin, [5r] γasalang-ēce zayilan önggü=, röyji

A: ХӨ Х ХУЛГАНА ЖИЛД МЭД, [9r] ХҮ РВЭЭС ЦАГ ИХ САЙН ТАРНА, ТӨ МС ЭЛБЭГ БОЛОХ

B: modun, quluyun-a jil-dür, күркү үy-e-dü: zambu=, twib-tu jiryalang-un, naran uryuqu: tariy-a, mal nasuta sayjiran:, qur-a čay-tur bayu=, qu bolqu bolai::

C: mön quluyuna jil-i üjegend, erten-ü jun gγay qayan sün iunai, qayan-u sayin čay metü amur, jiryalang olju üjegend tariy-a, [7r] tömüsü yeke uryuγad engke, amur-i edlemür::

D: köke quluyan-a, jil-tür kürbesü zambutib-tur jiryalang-un naran uryumui. tariy-a tomusu egüürde sayin, böged. boruyan qur-a čay-tayan bayuqu bolai.

E: modun xuluyuna jiliyin, zou/jou han tenggeri söni naran-du, zolyon tabun ürei tarani ürei-, gi yekede xurāxu mün bui:

A: ЭНЭ НОМЫГ, Ү ЗЭЭД ЗАРЛАСАН ХҮ Н ХАМАГ МУУ, АЮУЛ ЭЭЦ ГЭТЛЭЭД САНАГСАН ХЭРЭГ, ТУС САНААН БЭЭР БҮ ТЭМҮ Ү

B: jarliy, nom egü-ni medejü, bayiyad busud-tur, ese üjegülbesü, [7v] öber-ün bey-e deger-e:, ayul-tu arban jüil-ün, jobalang-i amsaqu, kereg-tei-yi ülü, baran kümün-ü bey-e-yi, ču ülü olqu, jarliy nom egün-i, bičijü busud-tur, suryan duradqan üile=, dügsen-ü tusa erdem, inü nigen balyad-un, ayun širbegekü-yi, arilyu: mingyan, burqan-u öljei qutuy-, ün egülen-ü čiyulyan arbid=, qu: dalai metü buyan, arbidtun irekü:, ayuqu könügekü-yin, jobalang arban jüil-i, kejiy-e kürtele amsaqu, kereg ügei bolai::

C: ene bičig-ün! učir-i kümün medeju bayiyad! ese bičijü olan-dur ese! tarqayabasu bey-e-dür inü olan! jüil-ün ayul boluyad üneker! amiduraju yarqu-du berketei! bolumui: bayulyan bičijü ene! nom bičig-yi tarqayabasu tere! kümün-ü nigen ger-ün ayul jobalang-yi! mingyan yajar-un oyturuyi-yin! egülen arilaysan metü ügei! bolumui: egüride arban jüil! jobalang-dur buu učirayulsuyai!

D: jarliy egüni medeged busud-dur ese! uqayulbasu öberün biy-e-dür arban jüil-ün jobalang-i amsaqu-bar ülü barum dakin! kümün-ü biy-e-yi ču olqu ügei. busud bosuy jarliy egüni bičijü busud-dur suryan! uqayuluysan-u tusa erdem anu terekü ayımay balyad-un ayul-i arilyaqu. sayin čay-un! mingyan burqan-u ölje-yi qutuy egülen metü čuyaju. buyan kišig dalai metü aribadqu. arban jüil-ün ayul könügel-i kejiy-e ču ülü amsaqu bolai.

E: kerbe! ene nomi medekü bayitala ese! taraxabāsu ene beyeni arban mou! zobolong-ēce ülü getülün dakin! amidurxuyān maši berke: salya=| ji bičiji ulamjilxu kümün bui! bögösü: töüni nigen geriyin kümü-| ni zobolonggi ügei bolyon arilyaxu! ču bayıtuyai:: mingyan sayin irou! öülen metü coqcolon: egüüri=| de arban mou üile zobolonggi! amasxu ügei boltuyai::

A: Бод сад их Богдос арван! аюул ээц гэтлэгхү ү энэ номыг! Гуу шан ша шан кэмээк газар! буулагв.

B: degedü qutuy-tu yeke! nigülesügči nidüber! üjegči mayu čay-! ača ničuyul-qu-yin! jarliy eši egüni kitad! T: kong shi'i shi! rngan zhan kemekü orun-! dur soyurqabai!

C: ariy-a balv-a burqan amitan-i! nigülesün aburiqu-yin nom ene bui! basa yal-un sakiyulsun sai an! gyan-u olan amitan-u törü! samayuraju alalčan kitulcaju! [7v] bayiqu-yi üjeged tngri-yin! ordun-a kürčü ayiladqabasu!

D: qongsimbodisatu ber mayu! čay-un ayul-i ničuyaqu-yin jarliy-un esi egüni kitad-un orun gung hi na hyan kemekü! [4v] orun-dur soyurqabai.

E: kemēn bodi=| yi sadwa yeke boqdo olon amitani! tula zobolonggi arilyaqči nomiyn! udxa bičiji k'uwangši yazariyin! činggiyin šayin-du buulyaqšan bui!

A: Энэ цаг төр үүл үл! тогтохуу амьтны ухаан мунхарахуу! [9v] хүн амьтны сахих сахигсан! сахигсан бурхан буян нүүл! хоёрыг тэмдгийн яаманд! мэдүүлэгсэнд хурмастын их! тэнгэр сонсож айлдаад

B: edüge ču qayan-u! [8r] balyasun kimurayad! qaračus nujud! tarqaysan-u nökücel-! iyer: yolumta-yin tngri! nügüd nigen šin-e-yin! edür deger-e tngri! kümün-ü siltayan! ür-e-yin dalda-yi! ilyačči nom-un qayan-u! dergede kürüged: dour-a! kümün-ü buyan kilinče! üileyin ür-e nügüd-i! öčigsen-iyer teden-i! nom-un qayan sonusuy=| san darui tayalal! yekede kimuran jarliy! bolur-un:

C: esrün qormusta ber sonusuyad! yeke kiling törübei:

D: edüge neyislel qota-dur kimural bolju albatu nujud tarqaysan-u! siltayan-iyar yal-un tngri sin-e-yin nigen-ü edür-e tngri kümün-ü üile-yin ür-e-yi ilyan! sidkegči nomun qayan-u emün-e kürčü douradu-yin kümün-ü buyan kilinčes üile-

yin ür-e | nuγud-yi ayiladqaysan-dur tedeger-i nomun qaγan-ber sonusmaγca te-gündür yekede čilejü | jarliy bolurun.

E: ödügē cagiγin ulus samourji er= | kin zobolongtoi bayixuyin učir | inu: com jou hayin euen caγān | sarayin šinedkel ödür: tenggeri- | dü baralxaxi γarči: olon irgeni | sayin mou yabudali tenggeriyin | han yāmundu ayiladxaqsan-du

A: бурхан | БҮГДЭДҮҮ ХИЛЭГНЭЖ ХҮН АМЬТНЫ | буюн нүүлийг эс илгээсэний тулд | нүүд килэнцтэй амьтан дэлхий | дүүрч сүжигтэй амьтан огт | үгүй болж энэ орчлонгийг | [10r] амьтны цөм хоосон болох кэмээн | зарлиг болгосон Бод сад тэргүүлэн | луу бурхан хэдүү дахин сөгдөж | мүүргэгсэн зарим энэ сүжигтэй | байна. Зарим энэ сүжиггүй байна. | Нүүд килэнц кэгсэн байна. | Түүнийг цөм хоосон болгож | дуусгаваас буюн нүүлний үл | илгэрмүү кэмээн айлтгагсанд |

B: čay бүкүн-е | күмүн-ү takil ergügsen-i | joγuγlayad күмүн | amitan nuγud-i suryal | ügei-yin nöküčel- | iyer edüge orun | ayimaγ бүрин-е күмүн | maγu keder boluγad | siltayan üile ür-e-yi | basumjilan üiledügčün | nügüd-tür: jarim | jil-dü širügün todqar | kijig ebedčün boluγsan- | [8v] iyar күмүн nügüd-i | šine medejü araljin | üiledkü-yi nomlaγsan | bui: tendeče tngri-yin | čüγuγan бүгүде-еče | öčikü ba: qutuy- | tu yeke nigülesügči | nidüber üjegči ber | nom-un qaγan-u ordu | qarši-dur olan-ta | öčigsen: yeke kilinče- | ten orčilang-un maγu | jayaγan-dur unaqu | kereg-tei-yi yaγun | ögülekü: buyan-tan | nuγud-i tonilqu gün | möri oγaγu-yi | ayiladun soyurq-a: kemen | ayiladqaysan-dur: |

C: qormusta či teyigejü | ülü bolumui: tung qarigis | maγu amitan-dur kürejü bolumui | [8r] sayin күмүн-i иγaju üdegekü | kereg-tei kemegsen-dür ta nar | olan бүгүде-yin jula küji-yi | quriyaju amsayad qayiqaraqu | ügei bayiγsayar qarigis maγu | күмүн ber yirtinčü-yi degürgejüki | edeger amitan sedkil-iyen ese jobaγu | bögesü tung bolqu ügei түрген-е | үкүжү törökü-yi dayaysan | sakiγulsun-i dayudaju ireged | söm-i ükügüljü abču iretügei kemeged | degegür-e emüne dalai-yin qongsim | bodisatv-a kiged γuwan burqan- | dur ayiladqabasur burqan-u | jarliy::

D: čay ürgüljide күмүн-ү ergügsen takil-i joγulaysayar күмүн бүкүн-dür sayin | surtal üiledbüri ügei-yin nöküčil-dür edüge ayimaγ orun бүкүн-ү күмүн töčinen jül üile ür-e-yi | jorimaγ-iyar basumjilan ütegerkečün nuγud-dur nigen jil-tür üimegen todqar kijig ebedčün | nerbegdekü bolai. teyimü bolbaču qamuy burqad ba. yeke nigülesküi-tü arayabalo-dur | ayiladqaytun. kemegsen-e eyin kemen ayiladqarun. ay-a yeke kilinčete orčilang-un maγu | jayaγan-dur unaqu keregetei inü ögülkü yaγun. buyantan nuγud-yi nirwan-u köl mör-i olqui-dur | jokiyar soyurq-a. kemen ayiladqaysan-dur jarliy bolurun.

E: xu[r]mus= | tan yeke tenggeri sönösji medēd | yeke kiling törön olon xubil= | γān üzedi zangdurun: küčir ki= | ling-yēr eyin kemēn ta zula – | küji küleji abād olon irgeni | kesēji xurixu ügei tulada: | [5v] ödügē mou zусur arad yertün= | cu dourji sayin sanāni aγoulxu | ügei bolji kemēn kedün jildü | γasalang zobolonggi delgeröülēd | dakiji γayixamšiqtai sayin jil- | du kürgüülji amidurouleye kemēn |

zarliq buulyxaqsan-du kedün| kedüi udā mürgüji <mougi> sönön arilya=| bāsu zokixu buyu: yaqcakü sai=| ni ilyaxu bolbou kemēn yuyiqsan| belē kemēn ayiladxaqsan-du

A: хурмаст их тэнгэр буюн буюн| [10v] нүүл илгээж килэнцтэй газар| дайн дайсны аюул буулга.| Нүүл килэнц хэгсэн амтанд| халуун өвчний аюул буулга| кэмээн өвчний аюул ээц| тэнгэрийн илгээж хурдан| хураамуу кэмээн зарилга болгов.|

B: nom-un qaγan ber| tolyai-yi yerü| bayulyan buyan kilinčeyin| mör qoyar ayimaγ| böged: yajar-un ayimaγ-| un dalda-yi ilγayči| čerig-ün kimural: kümün-ü| dalda-yi ilγayči| kijig ebedčin nügüd| irekü: darui-dur| tngri-yin čerig-ün noyan-i| [9r] dayalyan talbiysan-| iyar jarliγ bičig-i| abuyad kesegen üile=| dügdekün-ü kümün| nügüd inü:

C: qormusta| ber teyimü bolγay-a kemen čiyuluyad| dayin dayisun-i uraysi-ban yajar| delekei degürgeged: qoyina-ača-i| ebedčin taqul jud turangq-a| talbiy-a kermen tuqai tüsimel-i talbiju| minü jarliγ-iyar yabuju ilγan| salγaju abču irekü:

D: edüge erlig nomun qaγan neyite yirüngkei-yin| buyan nigül-ün mör-i qoyar jüil-iyer ilγaysan anu yajar orun-a čerig kimurqu ba. kümün-i| ilγan üiledtuyči üiledügči kejiγ ebedčin nuγud γarqu genedte tngri-yin čerig| bosuy jarliγ-i dayaju. yirin gesken tasuluyči kümün nuγud anu

E: tei=| mi bolboču: xurmstan yeke teng=| geri sayin mougi xoyor anggi bol=| γon xubāji zereq dayini yazar -| songγoji ködöleqtün: kijiq ebe=| čin kümün kürtekü bolboču: ile=| ri bolji bolumui: kemēn jowang| šiudi kemēküyigi zaruji zarliq| buulyan mou kümüni xurāmjilan abu=| mui: kemēn coxolbai:

A: Нэгэн бээр газар тэнгэр| хараасныг хураамуу 2 бээр| эцэг эх эс асрагсаныг хураамуу| [11r] 3 бээр дордуу муу санаатай| ах ихээн элэглэн доромжлогсныг| хураамуу 4 бээр хүсэл тачаалд| дуртайг хураамуу| 5 бээр олуун зүйл тариа, будаа| бузарлаж асрагсныг хураамуу| 6 бээр сум бурха эвдээж дуусгасныг| хураамуу 7 бээр үхэр нохой алагсныг| хураамуу 8 бээр чигнүүрийн нүдээр| бага саваар юм өгөөд их саваар| [11v] мэхэлж авагсаныг хураамуу| 10 бээр Биеэн зөвшөөж бодохгүй| бусдыг муушаан ховлогсныг| хураамуу.

B: angq-a| čuqaγ degedü-dür omuy-| iyar qučilal talbiqu:| qoyadyar ečige eke| qoyar-tur ülü biširekü:| yutayar qaračus nuγud| idege küsegsed-i askin| deledtün duγturaju| amuri tasulju sayin| kümün-dür yabuqui| kemjiy-e üiledügčin:| dötüger siltayan ür-e| basumjilaqu-yi küsegči| buruyu üjel-ten:| tabdayar tariy-a tömüsü| öčüken bolbaču qomsadq-a=| qu: jiryudyar gegen| dürsü terigüten-dür| süsüg buruyudju| ebdekü čučalaqu:| doludyar olan amitan-u| ami tasulan üiledkü:| naimadyar sim ba| činglegür-iyer mekelen| qayurqu: yisüdüger| [9v] ile-dür mekelekü dalda-| dur qamuran qayuran| üiledkü: arbaduyar| öber-tür tusalaysan| kümün-e qour-a sedkikü| terigüten ba:

C: nigen| jüül quriyaqu anu: tngri| ʧajar-i qariyaγsan: qoyaduγar| ečige eke-yi ese asaraju kündülüγsen:| ʧutuγar qudal-iyar ner-e jerge| jiyaju amitan-i daruluγsan:| dötüger urin tačiyangyui-bar| ebdereγsen. tabuduγar tabun| tariyan buduγan-i asqaju unayaγsan| jiryuduγar burqan sakiyulsun-i| darulaju jula küji-yi umtarayaγsan:| [8v] doluduγar üker noqai-yi alayγsan:| naimaduγar yeke-yi bayadqaqu:| yisüdüger amitan-i qongjiju| qulduluγsan: arbaduγar jisur| arɣ-a yeke küčüber amitan kümün-i| qourlayγsan:

D: angqan-dur ɣurban| erdeni-dür omuy-iyar maγusiyal-i talbiγsan. qoyaduγar-tur ečige eke-dü ese bisirigsen. | ɣurbaduγar-tur albatu nuγud-yi ölüskejü darulqu. sayin kümün-i boγulčilaqu. dörbedüger-tür| üile ür-e-yi jorimaγ-iyar ütegerkejü buruyu-bar üjegsen. tabuduγar-tur tariy-a tomusu-yi darun| [5r] süidkeγsen. jiryuduγar-tur sitügen burqan-dur süsüg buruyudaju ebdejü kemkečegsen. | doluduγar-tur olan amitan-u ami-yi tasulun üiledüγsen. naimaduγar-tur šing. činglegürtür jali| basir-i üiledüγsen. yisüdüger-tür ile bisirlen. daldayur qayurmaylan qomuγalɣaysan. arbaduγar-tur| öber-tegen tusalaysan kümün-i qourlaqu-yi sedkikü teregüten

E: terigüündü| tenggeri ɣazartu ɣasalji xaraqčii=| gi xurāmui: xoyortu ečige eke-| yigi ülü takiqčiyigi xurāmui:| ɣurbadu tusatai ezediγigi daru=| lɣalaqčiyigi xur-smui: dorbödu| zusalalan keleji šidar dakini sal=| ɣaqčiyigi xurāmui: tabudu tabun| tarāni ere ba ideyigi caculan| kiškiqčiyigi xurāmui: zuryān-| du körönggü zemiši buzarlān eze=| dini xoblon ontoγodoul xoyigi| [6r] xurāmui: dolödu ükēr noγoi| alaγčiyigi xurāmui: nayimadu| xatou čingnöür baxa dou soulyan| kereqleqčiyigi xurāmui: yesü-| dü ilerkei gem-tü bolboju nuuji| sögüdüqčiyigi xurāmui: arban-| du ēd mönggü kereqleji zarɣu| burou keqčiyigi xurāmui::

A: Ах ихээн багачуудыг| эс сургаж захирагсан ээн хойт| цаг самуун болов. Сайны мууг басагсан| багын баяны юмыг басагсан| ашигны үрэн бусдыг гэмд| оруулж, халаагсан чидэлтэй| хүмэн муу хүний юмыг| [12r] булаан хүчирхэж авагсан хүний| адал мал хулгайлж авагсан|

B: busu| basa urida üy-e-eče| surɣal ügei-yin nöküčel-| iyer: 11 qoyitu üy-e-yin| kümün nügüd-eče ečige| köbegün: 12 qayan tüšimel| 13 ger-ün kögšin jalayus:| 14 tanil nöbür terigüten| tangɣariγ bayidal-dur| qarsilaqu: 15 maγu-bar| sayin-dur maγu sedkikü| kiged: 16 bui-bar ügei-| dür erke kücün-iyer| idekü-yi ayuyulqu| 17 imayta küsel-ün erke-| ber ɣadaγadu-yi iregülün| dotur kötülüged maγu| jöblel-iyer ed-i| buyilyaqu: 18 maγu üile| tuyurbiju temečel-ün| üge-ber kümün-i| daruqu: 19 busad-un ed| tawar-i arɣ-a-bar| quluγuqu: 20 qayurmay| em qudaldaju busad-un| [10r] tolyai ergigülkü:

C: tegün-eče nasuTai| bögetele kümün sayin ese surɣaju| sayin jüg-tü ese kötülüγsen:| qoyitu üy-e-yin kümün keregül| temečel-eče ayuqu ügei: yambar| ču kereg kikü ču maγad ügei:| qargis maγu anu sidurayū| nomuqan-i dorumjilaqu: bui| бүкүй-tei bayan kümün qarın ügegüü| yadaγu kümün-i möljijü qokirayulqu| asiγ-un tula keb-i sakiju bayiqu| kümün-i ɣadaγsi qajayai jam-| dur kötülüγsen: bayatur eremgei| anu küčü-ber kümün-i buliyan| [9r] degeremdejü quluγun ed

baray-a| daldalaju bayiyad quduldan| araljin asiylaysan: qudal qayurmay| em dom qudulduysan:

D: busu basa urid-ača surtal ügei-yin| siltayan-iyar qoyitu-yin kümün nuyud-ača ecege eke köbegün qaγan tüsimel er-e em-e kögšin| jalayu amray sadun terigüten qarilcin tangyaraγ ebderen mayu anu sayin-dur mayu sanaqu. bayalay-bar| ügegüü qoyusun-dur omurqaqu imayta küsel sinul-iyar qayurmaylan dotuylaju jöbsiyemür bolun busud-un| ed tawar-i arγ-a-bar qulyuqu. em dom üiledümüi kemen busud-yi mekilekü.

E: köq=| širtölöyin kilince nuul usuni| tödüi böji orkixu ügeyin| tulada: xoyitu töröldü udān| zobomui: tabun üyedü samoun| bolumui: mou yabudaltan sayin| yabudaltani xourxu: bayan bēr| örgüqdeji ügeyitei yadöü-| gi alablaxu: γaza xonoulji| [6v] dotoro öbörön türüülkü: –| kücürken ezerkeji bulan abxu| xarin temecekü: kümüni geriyin| youmayigi bulan nuun xulγayilxu| xuuramaq em xudaladuji kümü-| ni mekelekü <ünen>:

А: худал ээр эмнэж домнож кэмээн| эм өгч өвчний юм мэхлэн| авагсан муу амьтныг басагсан ба| сайны аргадаж хонголзсон худалдаж| хүмэн муу хүмний юмыг хуурч| мэхлэгсэн ямбар бээс ном ба| бичигтэй цаас үзэхлээ галд түлэгсэн| үгэй гишгэж бузарлагсан сайд| [12v] түшмэд хууль ёсыг барьж дахахгүй| өврийн дураар явагсан олзод| шунаж муу санагсан хүний| ач тус хэснийг мартаж| хөөтхань (=хойтохоо) бодохгүй. Хөгшин,| хүүхдийг басаж доромжлогсон| хоёр заяатай хөвүүн, хөгшнийг| хов хатган салгасан нөхрийн| эцэг эхань? бэрэн ачлагсан| үгтэй хүмэн юм хүсэж| [13r] баян үл үзэж хүсэгсэн бэрэх хийгээд|

B: 21 sayin| kümün-lüge učiraqu| üy-e-dü öšiyelen| temecējü yasun eberšiyekü| metü bolγaqu: 22 mayu| kümün-e tulqu čay-tu| toyačan talbiqu masi| yeke: 23 qudalduy-a kereglen| üiledkü üy-e-dü küiten| γajar-tur tolyyai| ergigüljü qonji-γdul| talbiqu: 24 nom kiged| üsüg-ün jüil-i alququ| giskikü: 25 jarim-ud ed| aγurasun büridbečü| γurban erdeni-yi aru-| dur bolγan üiledkü: 26| jarim-ud siltayan üile| ür-e-yi basumjilaju| imayta öber-ün erkeber| busud-tur qara sanaγ-a| üiledügcin: 27 jarim-ud| ed tawar-tu küsel| yeke tula icigüri| sonijiyuri-yin tölüb| ügei: 28 jarim-ud aci-yi| sanaqu ügei: aci-yi| buruyu-bar qariγuluyčid-un| qoyinača dāyan oruqu:| [10v] 29 jarim-ud kögšin-i ülü| toγuqu jalayu-yi| dour-a bayulyaqu: 30 jarim| ger-ün kümün kimurayad| qaγačaqu:

C: teneg| mungqay kümün-i yasun čimügen-dür| kürtele qongjin möljijü qokirayu=| luγsan: qargis mayu kümün-i| üjegend demei arban qubi| ergümjilen kündülekü: qudaldayan-u| arad anu ülü medekü bituyu| mungqay kümün-i qaγuran sigürekü:| nom-un üjüg bičig-yi gečskijü²⁷| alquγsan: basa nigen jüil üjekü-| dür jisü čirai sayin emüsügsen| qubčasun sayin böged: tngri-yi| ügei bolγaju bayiyad: ayungγ-a-| ača niyuju daldalayađ öberün| joriγ-iyar eldeb kereg kikü:| [9v]

²⁷ Standard *giskikü*.

basa nigen jüil öber-ün sanay-a-yi! mön bolıyad: mayu arı-a jisur! sanay-a sedkil-i niyuju bayıyad! kümün-i qourlaqu: basa nigen! jüil ünen sanaya sedkil-ıyer! asiı qongjiy-a irekü anu üneker! isigüri²⁸ songjiyuri medekü ügei-! ber jang ayası urbaqu: kümün-ü! sayın kigsen ači tusa-yi umartayad! kereg ügei bolıyacu: jici! qoyıtu üy-e kerkijü kümün! bolun čidamui: basa nigen jüil! kögsin kümün-i daruluyad! jalayı-yi jisurdamui:: basa! nigen jüil inay amuray-yi qob! sib kelejü qayačayulamui:

D: sayın ayalı-bar qour! kürgeged. bačimdaqu čay-tur gedüregü tusalaju sayın kümün bolqu. bay-a yaıum-a-yi yeke ün-e kelejü! genedegülün qojıqu nom bičig-ün üsüg-i alquju gisigekü. jarım anu tangsuy edlel büridbečü! anggida buruyudaysan üile-yi üiledkü. jarım anu üile ür-e-yi basumjilan öberün dur-a-bar! busudun yaıum-a qomuyalju. jarım anu küsel durasil-bar içegür songjiyur ügei yabuqu. jarım anu! ači-yi sanal ügei sögergüü-ber qariyulju busud-dur mayu dürim bolıyacu. jarım anu ebüged-i ülü toıun. jalayus-i darulqu. jarım anu nayıram jırum-i ebdejü yaıyayar bolqu.

A: эв эйгүү бологсон эр, эм эс хүндлэг-! сэн хоёр эс зохиогсон хүнийг! хатгалдуулан хэлж эвдрэлдүүлэн! ах дүү нар оюун салагсан могой,! загсан, шувуу барьж алсан алав. Газарт түүмэр тавьсан үл болох!

B: 31 jarım ger-i! bariyči beri-ber nökör-ün! ečige eke-yi qariyan! jodaqu: 32 jarım-ud eke! ečige-dür ülü biširekü: 33 jarım ber-ber ayımay-un! aq-a degüü nügüd-tur! kilınglen atayarqal-i! egüskekü: 34 jarım-ud! öber-ün ger-ün nökör-! tür asaran enerikü! bayıdal ügei: 35 jarım-ud! kümün-ü jabsar-a qudqu=! yulju jarčim-i yutayacu: 36 jarım-ud aq-a degüü! köbegün kerügül temečel! üiledkü: busu basa: 37 moyai bariqu: 38 jıyasu! deledkü: 39 šıbayu alaqu: 40 ayulan-dur yal talbıqu:!

C: basa! nigen jüil qadam ečige eke ba! qoyıtu eke-yi qariyacu: basa! nigen jüil bayan kümün-dür duraTai: [10r] ügegüü kümün-eče jigčigürekü²⁹:! basa nigen jüil aq-a degüü qoyar-un! ekıner ülü kokılduqu: basa! nigen jüil jakıruysan noyan tüsimel-i! ese kündülügsen: basa nigen jüil! kümün lüge qanıłqui-dur omuy! sedkil bariju bey-e-ben degegür! abqu: basa nigen jüil degüü aq-a-! luy-a-ban qaraljan temečeldekü: basa nigen jüil moyai alaqu: jıyasun bariqu: sibayun-i qarbuju! alaqu: basa nigen jüil ayula! tala-dur tüimer talbiyad! ali jüil-ün amıtan-i dayusqaju! ükügülügsen:

D: jarım anu ger-i ejelegsın! emes nökör-ün ečege eke-i qarayan yar kürkü. jarım anu ečege eke-i ülü kündülkü. jarım anu! emes-üd ger erüke-yin doturaki sadun salburi nuıud-dur möčigergekü. jarım anu idekü uıyuuqu! tedüi-dür ču gerün dotur-a alayčılan üiledkü. jarım anu kümün-i qoyurandu qoba kelejü čayaca! [5v] jasaı-tur kürgekü. jarım anu nökör sadun-luy-a imayta kerügür barayur üiledkü

²⁸ Standard *isigüri*.

²⁹ Standard *jigšigürekü*.

kiged. | busu basa moyai bariqu. jiyasu ügesilekü sibayu alaqu ayula-dur tüyimer talbiqu.

A: тарина үзээд бумшиглаж хүний | юм хуурч мэхлэгсэн хүмний | нэр нас аваад хараал хийж | [13v] алагсан хоёр амраг хүнийг хага- | цуулаж арга хулаа бээр бичиг | хэж гаргагсан арга санаан | бээр хэрэг өсгөж гаргагсан | таринд алав. Муу юм халнаж | мэхлэж худалдсан баян эд | мал хүний эд малыг илүүд үзэж | атаархагсан аливан муу ядмаг | хүний хөөрхүү гэхгүй зовлонтой | амьтны зовлон ээц гэтлэгэхгүй | [14r] биеийн зөв бурууг мэдэхгүй | бусад хүний бурууг үзэх буян | хэснийг дагахгүй нүүд хилэнц | хийе гэснийг дахахуу бүү энэ | таван, дөрвөн зүйлийн нүүд килэнц | кэснийг илгэж хураатан.

B: 41 üküger-ün orun-dur | gem talbiqu: 42 busu | basa dergede-yin bičigeči | üleyin nöbür terigüten-ü | jarliy jarčim-dur gem | talbiju čidkür metü | [11r] meke arу-a üiledkü: | 43 qariyal niyuqu: 44 küčü- | tü qariyal-iyar amitan- | dur qour-a üiledkü: | 45 qaуurmay bičig nayırayul= | ju kümün bügüde-yi | kiling yekede törügöljü | temecel üiledkegülkü: | 46 ünen qudal-un jabsar- | tur meke bačir-tur | mergen: 47 ür-e tariyan-u | jüil-dür usu kijü | qonjin qudalduqu: 48 yeke | bayaliy kümün-i üjekü | čay-tu atayarqal omu | egüskekü: 49 yeke jobalang- | tu kümün-i üjekü | čay-tu nigüleskü | asaraq sedkil ügei: | 50 mayu üile učirayсан | kümün-i üjekü čay-tu | ayul-i getülgen tusalaqu | ügei: 51 у tegülдер | sayin kümün-i üjekü | čay-tu kilinglen | jirüken-ü kei egüskekü: | 52 öber-ün sayin mayu-yi | ülü medekü böged | busud-i olan üge-ber | [11v] qašırayqu: sayin | sedkil-iyer buyan | бүтүген üiledbe kemebe= | čü: 53 sonusqu medekü oyun- | ügei: 54 mayu sanal-iyar | kilinče бүтүген üiledbe | kemegsen-dür toyačan | talbiqu darui бүтүген | üiledügči terigüten | kilinče-yin üile tabin | dörben:

C: basa nigen jüil | eldeb jüil-ün nom bičig učir | jokiyaju kümün-ü ed-i yayıtayulju | abuyсан: basa nigen jüil kümün- | dür niyuča-bar tani ungsiju | [10v] qariyal jidq-a kigsen kilgegülügsen | öggülügsen: basa nigen jüil ner-e | ügei čayan bičig bičijü | jokiyayad kümün-i temeceldegül-ün | könügelgekü: ükügsen kümün-ü ed | mal-i buliyaldun jaryulduqu: | yambar yambar jüil-ün kereg-üd-i | dayudan ur-bayulju edüge kü | mayu üges-i jıyaju ünen arу-a | sübe-yi egüskekü: buduy-a miqan- | dur usu qoliju qudulduqu: | kümün-ü ed mönggü-tei yabuqui-yi | üjebesü atay-a sedkil törügölkü | yadaу dutuyu amitan-i üjebesü | asarču nigüleskü ügei: kümün-i | bayan erkim bolqui-dur üjen | yadaqu: adqay-tu mayu sedkil | törügölkü: öber öber-ün | jayay-a buyan-u kiri kiri-yi boduqu | [11r] ügei: keb kejiy-e böged kümün-i | siduryu ügei kemen kelekü: bey-e | beyen-i sayin sayıqan buyan-tai | sedkil-i barısuyai kemekü-yi | sonusqu ügei: tegüni mayu jüg- | tü dayayulun nigül-ün erke-dü | kötülebesü qarın duraTai bolqu | kiged: niite tabin dörben jüil-ün | ülü jokiqu qarigis mayu | yabudal-tan-i

D: bumba | bulısun bulsin-u yajar-tur qour kikü. bičigeči sıyubang üilečin jardu-sun nuуud čayaza | qauli-yi sula bolıyaju gemtei-ber yabun jedker metü jayılaqu.

daldalan niyuqu ba. kücülen tokiraqu| jergeber amitan-dur qourlaqu qudal bičin jasaju kümün-i uran kiling-i kögejigen ösiyelekü qariyu| abqu üile üiledkü. ünen-i qudal bolyaqu. arɣ-a-bar biči-dür mergejikü ür tariyan-u jüil-dür| usu širui qoliju asiɣ kikü. činegetei kümün-i üjebesü atayarqan temčildekü yašlang jobalang-du| kümün-i üjebesü örü jögelen sedkil ülü törükü. maɣu yabudal-tu kümün-i üjebesü idqan| qoriylaju ülü tusalaqu. keb-iyen sakiysan sidurɣu kümün-i üjebesü demei untuyučan ɣoul-un kü| kötelekü. öberün sayin maɣu-ban medegseger busud-i aman-i joriɣ-iyar jimlekü. kedüi sayin-iyar suryan| kelebeču oɣtu ülü sonusqu maɣu sanay-a-bar araydaju kilinče üiledüsügei kemebesü darui jöbsiyerlen| abču simdan bütügekü-yi kičiyekü terigüten čebil-tü tabin dörben jüil-ün yabudal

A: Өтөр| ариун цэвэр болго. гай нүүлт| энэ орчлонд үлдэж болохгүй. Там дор адуусны оронд төрүүлэн| [14v] хоосон болготон.

B: ede nügüd-i| nijged nijged čilen| niɣur učirayuluɣči| tede maɣu ijayur-tu| kümün nügüd-i| kümün-ü orun-dur bayıqu| ɣabiy-a ügei: üile| üiledügsen ür-e-ber| birid adayusun tamu-yin| orun-dur orkiyad:| tedeni dayan oruɣčid-un| ür-e ündüsün-i tasulan| üiledkü keregtei:

C: nijged nijged-iyer| ib ilerkei iruyul-i ayudalaju| bayıçayayad quriyaju abču| iretügei: yirtinču-dür üldegejü| tung bolqu ügei: öber| öber-ün maɣu-bar yiker-kemsig-tü| čidkür bolbasu ken-dür ɣomudumui:| tedeger buruɣu yabudal-tu gerün| qotuluɣar kümün-i söm-i ükügüljü| sönügetügei:

D: edeger-i nige nigen-iyer| todurqayılan niytalan toyalju ene metü maɣu kümün kedüi aqı-yi kümün-ü yirtinču-dür ayuyulun| ügei darui ečüdkejü tamu barad aduyusun-u orun-dur törügülün ijiɣur ündüsü-yi ču| tasulju

A: Эр, эм хүүхдийн| тархааж цусны усан мэт| урсга. Ясны модон мэт болго| газар байвч тариа тарих хүнгүй| гэр мал хэн байвч эзэн болож| эллэхгүй.

B: tegünü| ečige köbegün gergei büle| ger-iyer örüskel bolun| qaɣačaju duradqal ügei| odqu keregtei: tegünü| bey-e-eče čisün usun| metü bayuqu: tegün-| dür kegür yasun oi| [12r] šiɣui metü toytaqu:| tariqu ɣajar bui| bolbaču tariyačın ügei:| ger bayišing bui| bolbaču busud ber| erkejikü:

C: em-e köbegün üri| [11v] ači nar-i anu sarniyulju| butarayultuyai: tedeger čisün| čuburiyulju usun-iyar| bögeljigültügei: tedeger-ün yasu| miq-a-yi kečeg kečeg-iyer³⁰ bolyatuyai:| tariyan mal adayusun bayibaču| ejelekü edlekü kümün ügei bolɣ-a=| tuyai_ ger tergen bayibaču| busud kümün-dü kürgejü ögkü-| ber bolyatuyai:

D: ečege eke köbegün elgen sadun čöm sarniju önüčün ɣaɣçayar boluyad muqurdan ɣačıydaju| tenüjü odqu ba. tedeger čisün ɣoul ursun yasun šiɣui siɣčın obuyalaldaqui-yin tula ɣajar bayibaču| tariqu kümün ügei ger bayibaču saɣuqu kümün ügei.

³⁰ Standard *keseg keseg-iyer*.

A: Энэ зарилаг сонсоод! нүүд килэнц өтөр орхиж! буян номд хэцээж дахагсан! [15r] хүмэн өвдөгсөн боловч эдгэхүү энэ! бурханы зарилаг алагсалаггүй! сайтар сүжиглэн залбирч өтөр (=өдөр)! шөнгүй санаж чидэхүү чидэхчинагаран! буян номд сайтар кицагтань! гурван жилийн болзоонд хариу! мэдээлэж ир! кэмээв хурмаст! их тэнгэрийн зарилаг еэр! дэлгэ.

B: kerbey-e kilinče! tebčín buyan бүтүгекү! kümün bui bolqu чая-! tu ebečín ügei nasun-u! sidi olqu: amitan! nuγud ber urida! dayan oruju oyun-i! čayan жүг-ün buyan-u! üile-dür šimdan kičiyen! üiledbesü jarliγ jakiy-a-! yi öni inü γurban! jil-eče niytada šinjilen! ergün üiledüged nadur! jakiy-a ergükü keregtei! kemen siltaγan üile! ür-e-yin dalda-yi ilγan! ayiladuγči nom-un! qaγan-ača jarliγ bayuγ=! san yosuγar:

C: kerbe qarigis maγu! yabudal-i orkiju ali sayin-i takiju! jasan selbibesü tede-ger-i ayiladqan! delgeregүlүн debsigүley-e: ta! nar olan бүкүн-iyer sayin sanaju! bodoroι:³¹ erte-eče kičiyegerei! ene irekü γurban jil-ün dotur! tegsi bolqu ügei: jöb [?] üejü! bayituγai: γurban jil-ün quyučay-a-! tai bayičayan ilγaju degürgeged! [12r] darui түрген-e qariγu ayiladq-a! kemen qormusta ber bosiy! soyurqaysan tula:

D: kemegsen uçar tere ču bolai. kerbe kilinča-i! [6r] tebečeγü. buyan-i üiledkü kümün büi abasu tegün-e ebedčín todqar ügei. nasu buyan aribadqu terigүten! čayan жүг-ün üile бүтүжү tegүdege ügei γurban jil-ün dotur-a oyir-a orčín бүкүн-e amuγulang jirγalang! bolqu boltuγai-yi bi batulan ujegүlsүgei. tere üile ür-e-yi teyin ilγaγči erlig nomun qaγan-u jarliγ-iyar!

A: Дахин хамаг амьтанд бууж! ирээд буян нүүд илгэн явamuу! [15v] салгаж явamuу дайн цэрэг! болохуу газар дайн цэрэг! буулгав! Өвчин тахал болгох! Өдгө ээц эхэлж хэдүү сараан! дотор килэнцтэй муу санаатай! хүн амьтныг хоролж дуусгамуу!

B: douraki! kümün-ü orun-dur! ireged aγuu түгемел! бүрин ergiged niγtalan! šinjilegsen-ü segül-! iyer buyan kilinče-yin! [12v] dalda-yi ilerkei ilγ-a=! qu üy-e-dü urida-! dur čerig kimuraqu! tendeče kijig ebečín-! iyer jarim nigen! sar-a dotur-a dörben! twib-ün maγu kümün! alin bui-yi sayitur! quriγan üiledükü üy-e-! dü

C: bide бүгүдегер-e! түрген-e yirtinčü-dür bayuju! muji muji-yin tus tus-dur! bayičayaju ilγarayulay-a kemen! öber öber-ün kedün etүged! жүг-tür yabuqun dayin dayisun! urida ilgey-e: tegün-eče qoyina! ebečín taqul talbiy-a: kedүyiken! sara dotur-a muji muji-yin qarigis! kümün-i quriγaju degürgey-e:!

D: douratu yirtinčü-dür irijü түгемел olan amitan-i niγtalan ergeγü buyan nigül-ün mör-e-i todurqayilan ilγaqu-yin! üyes angqan čerig dayin. daray-a ebedčín kijig γarayaju nigen kedün sarayin dotur-a. dörben tib-ün maγu! kümün-i küčüber qurayан abqu-yin чay-tur

³¹ Standard *boduyarai*.

A: энэ муу цаг ирэгсэн хойно | нүүл килэнцтэй бурханд их | заливаравч болохгүй эм уувач | [16r] эдгэхгүй бурхан ном судар эм | байвч буйн нүүл хоёрын үл | илгэрмүү сүжигтэй хүмэн амьтан | эм ууж эдгэмүү нүүл килэнцтэй | амьтан эм уувач эдгэхгүй.

B: burqan-dur öcibečü | ülü čidaqu em jasal | üiledbečü ülü | tusalaqu: otači | burqan bodatai ögede | bolbaču: buyan kilinče | ilyan ülü üiledügči- | dür em-iyer ülü | tusalaqu: buyan | üiledügči kümün-dür | em-iyer tusalaqu: | kilinče üiledügčün-dür | ülü tusalaqu:

C: gürüm nom otači emči bolbaču | tusa bolqu ügei: yambar | sakiyulsun ubadis ču talayar | boluyad sayın mayu qoyar-i | nigen nigen-iyer ilyarayulamui | nigülesküi sedkil-iyer yabubasu | gürüm nom alin ču tusa | [12v] bolju bolumui: qarigis mayu | anu kerkibečü edigejü bolqu | ügei ükümüi:

D: burqan-dur ayiladqabasu aburan adislaqu arɣ-a ügei. | em jasal üiledbesü ülü tusalaqu böged. kedüi <otači> burqan jalaran irebečü buyan nigül-i ese ilyaqu-yin | inaru em inü ülü tusalán. buyan üiledügčid-tür tusalaqu ba. nigül üiledügčid-dür ülü tusalamui.

A: Одоо | ки хөөрхүү амьтныг үзвэч, мэдэвч | өөршөөх аргагүй та намайг | шүтэвч тусгүй болохгүй. Хамаг | аюулаас гэтэлгэж би үл чидмүү | над бүү итгэ |

B: amitan | nuɣud-tur ene metü-yin | qatayu jobalang amsaqu | keregtei-yi üjebečü: | abural itegel üiledkü | arɣ-a ügei böged: | ta nuɣud-ača takil | ergün abural-un orun- | dur sitükü terigüten-dür ču aburan | [13r] tusalaqu-yi orulan | čidaqu ügei: edüge | ayun emiyekü: mayu | jayayan-u jobalang egün- | eče amitan бүкүндүр | tusalaqu bolqu: abural | itegel ülü čidaqu | bögesü: bi amitan-dur | nigülesküi-ber amitan-u | tusa üiledügči mön | bolbaču kereg ügei: |

C: bi qarın | kögerüküi nidüber amitan-i üjegečü | üneger aburaqu gebečü olan | amitan-i aburaqu arɣ-a nadur | ügei: tan nar-un jula küji-yi | talayar küliyejü abuysan bayına: | nadur ergügsen takiysan bolbaču | edüge ene čay-un jobalang-ača | ketüregüljü ülü bolumui: ta-i | aburaqu-yin čidal küčün bayibaču: | minü joriɣ-iyar bolqu kereg | bisi tula:

D: olan | amitan ber ene metü-yin berke jobalang-i amasju bayıqu-yi üjebesü edüge getülgen aburqu arɣ-a ügei | boluyad. ta nuɣud-un takil ergülge-i abču abural-un sitügen bolyaqu jokis ügei bolai. teyimü bolbaču | masi ayumsıytu jobalang-ača edeger <amitan-i asida ese tusalaqu bolqul-a. minü erten-eče yeke nigülseküi-ber olan> amitan-a tusalay-a kemegsen čing bodi sedkil oɣtu kereg ügei | bolqu-yin tula.

A: [16v] Бурханы зарилag ээр явж | Дээд их бурхадат мүргэж | айлтamuу дор олуун сайн муу | их амьтанд сонсгож тархаагаад | одоо энэ бурханы зарьлаг | бологсон

B: tegün-dür sitüjü bi! burqan-u ordu qarši-! dur ebüdüg-iyen sögüdü=, jü mörgün öcibesü:! deger-e ögüleksen nügüd-i! zambutwib-un kümün-dür! meden medelten saçurayulun! üneker nomlabasu kilinçe! tus tus-tur namançilaju! bolqu kiged:

C: bi tngri-dü kürcü! örüsüel yuyun mörgüjü! ayiladqaysan qoyina tngri-yin! bosiy jayun jarliy baçulyaçui-yi!

D: minü qota mangdal-un olan burqad barayun ebüdüg-iyer küsür sögüdcü mörgün ayiladqarun! deger-e ayiladqaysan zambutib-un nigültü olan amitan nigül kilinçes-ben tus tus namançilaju bolqu bolbau! kemegsen-e jarliy bolurun.

А: энэ муу цагын адаг! болж есэн хувийн үхээд, нэг! хувийн Үлдэхүү дөрвөн тивт! цэрэг мэсийн аюул Найман! [17r] хизаарт өвчин тахлын аюул! ирвээ. Огторгуйн дуу аянга болох! усан уул дүүрэх шуурга. түргэн! салхин газар буруу салхилж! мэсэх бэрх болох ган халууны! зовлон ээц гэтэлж үл болмуу! Шулмас шөний дунд цохиж! дуудмуу. Чөтгөр өдөр явж хүмэнд! үзэгдэмүү. Хортон барс уул! модон ээц гарч ирэхүү! [17v] Түүн ээц зайлж үл болох могой! зам боож хүмэн явж үл болох! энэ арван аюул ээц гэтэлж! үл болох. энэ арван аюул! өнгөрөгсөн хойн бодож болмуу!

B: irege! edüi mayu çay tegün-! dür kümün inü arban-! aça yisün üküjü nigen! üldekü bolqu: dörben! jüg çerig-iyer kimuran! irekü: naiman jobkis-! aça kijig ebečin-iyer! Bürkügen irekü: luu-yin! [13v] dayun ayungy-a bayuqu:! yajar delekei ködelkü:! usun mören delgerejü! ayula youl dügürkü:! mayu kei üljegsen-! iyer yajar delekei-yi! toçusun tobray bolyaqu:! mayu yang-iyar ür-e! tariy-a tülegden qataqu:! tangyariy-un buy qan! külcin örlüge üdeşi! egüden-dür irekü:! ebečin-ü ejen qourlayçi! çidkür üdedü dürsü! kelberi üjegülkü:! ayula-aça ars bayuqu:! moyai ber kümün-ü jam-i! tasulqu: jam bügüden-! dür odqu erke ügei! bolqu: ayun jüdekü! ene arban-u dotur-aça! ecüslen getülün çidayçi! tere inü kümün-dür! toyalaydaqu: ayun! jüdekü ene arban-dur! kümün nügüd darui-! dur öber-e asuru! ariyun sedkil-iyer! jarliy nom egüni angqaran! abqu-yin yosu-luy-a! [14r] tegüsküi-yi mayadlaqu! keregtei:

C: ta nar-tur mayu çöb-ün çay-! dur amitan süüdüküi kemjiy-e! [13r] iregsen tula: arban kümün-eçe yisün! kümün anu üküjü nigen anu üldemüi! dayin dayisun jer jebçeg³² dörben! jüil-eçe bosumui: ebedçin taqul! jud turangq-a-yin ayimay jam-dur! elbegimüi: çakilyan degere-eçe! bayulyamui: ayula ködüge ilyal! ügei usun ejelemüi: doçsin! qui küi salkin yajar yajar-un! ger bayising-yi unayamui: yeke! dayun-iyar urlin ukilaqu:! yasiyun-iyar emgenimüi: amur! bolqui-dur üneker ber-ketei:! roulang (Γ: ro langs) buy çidkür irejü! söni egüden-i çokiju dayudamui:! edür-iyer çidkür buy kümün-dür! üjegdejü yabumui: doçsin! baras ayula-aça bayuju amitan-i! qourlamui: qour-a-tu moyai! [13v] jam bögelemüi: yabuju bolqu

³² Standard *jehseg*.

ügei| bolumui: yirtinčü bayibaču| amiduraqui-dur berke-tei:| ene arban jüil ayul-i getüljü| yaruysan čay-dur bey-e-ben say-a| kümün kemen serer[e]i³³ [?]:

D: ay-a iregedüi mayu čay tegün-dür arban kümün-ü doturača nige ülekü. dörben jüg-eče| čerig dayin kimurqu. naiman jobkis-ača ebedčün kejič bayuqu. tngri duuyaran ayungγ-a bayuju yajar| delekii ködlekü. dalai mören bilqaju ayula tal-i bürekükü. širügün salkin üimejü yajar orun-i uryaqu.| mayu yirb-a üjegdekü. čečeg jimes yataqu.¹⁰ tangyaraγ-un buγ qan ende güyülčen örlüge egüden-e irekü.| [6v] ebedčün-i ejen qourlal jedker üde-yin naran-du dürsü-ben üjegülekü. ayula-ača bars moyai bayuju| jam köndeldün yabuqu erke ügei bolγamui. ene metü ayumsiγtu arban jüil-ün ayul-ača getülen| čidabasu sayi kümün kemejü bolumui. yirüngkei kümün nuγud erteken-e sedkil-iyen ariγudqan bosuy| jarliy egüni angqarun abqu keregtei bolai.

A: Энэ арван аюулд зурхээн барьтан| Энэ буугсан номыг үзэгсэн| хүмэн өтөр шулуун муугаан| өрхө. Уншигсаныг сонсогсон| [18r] хүмэн хурдан сэтгэлээн| боотон, хэрвээ хамаг аюул| хүрч ирсэн цагт хэлүү бээр| сүжиглэж зальварвач өршөөх| газар гүй Өрхэн ээр ном буяны| үүлдэж үүн ээц хицээтэн| олон амьтан өтөр шулуун үнэн| сэтгэлээн барьтан тэнгэр| газар сайтар сүжиглэн тахь| эцэг эхээн сайхан асар| [18v] Ноёд ард ёс бээр яв. Ядуу| Хүмэн амьтан миний үүл үр| Хэмээн санаж сайтар зальбар| Баян хүмэн гүй ядуугаан тэтгэ| Ухаатай хүмэн тэнэг догшинаад| сургаж яв.

B: ayun jüdekü| širügün todqar irege| edüi-yin urida buyan-tu| sanal duradtun ese| üiledbesü: üy-e| jabsar kürügsen čay-| tu abural-un orun| öcükü yajar ügei:| urida buyan-dur| kičiyegsen-iyer jayilaju| tonilun üiledkü: amitan| nuγud jarliy nom egün-| dür nigen üjügür-tü| süsüg sedkil egüskejü:| čuqay degedü-dür| takil ergükü: ečige eke-| dür biširen kündülekü:| yerü ariγun sanay-a| egüske: kögšid-tür| enerin asaran: jalayus-i| asaran tedkü: kümün-ü| yosun-i yosu čilen| tegüske: bui ber ügei-| dür ed idegen-ü| öglige ög: üiledkü| učir ülü medekü| mungqay nuγud-tur| nom-un udq-a medegülen| [14v] arbidq-a:

C: yaγakibaču| arban jüil ayul-i ülü amasqu-| yin arγ-a ügei bui j-a: jiči| basa idqan suryaqui-yi dayaju| busiyuu türgen-e sedkil-iyen| jasabasu bolumui: yabudal üjel-i| jasaqui-yin jüg-tü kejiy-e| sonusču üjegend: darui sedkil-i| bučayaqui-dur kičiyetügei:| ayul jobalang irekü-yin urida| sedkil-iyen jasatuyai: ükükü-yin| čay kürübesü egüride aburaqu-| yin arγ-a bayiday ügei bisü-a:| erte-eče takiju sedkil-i jasadad| [14r] jayilaju γarqui-yin kičiyetügei:| ta olan бүгүдегер ödtür| türgen-e sedkil-iyen talbiju| tngri yajar-i erkilen takiju| ečige eke-yi asaran örgükü kereg-| tei: jiči tüsimel douratay-a| tegegči-eče-yi örgümjilen:| doruysi arad-i asar-a: kedüi| ügegü yadaγu bolbaču keb sakiju| siduryui-yi bari: bayan erkim| bögesü yadarayсан amitan-i| tusala: mergen kümün anu mungqay-i| suryaju jaki:

³³ Unclear, probably *sererei* as a variant writing of *seregerei*. According to the context *sanarai* (*sanayarai*) would be expected. On these forms see Lubsangdorji – Vacek 1997: 15.

D: yerü ayul könügel-i irekü-yin urid buyan-u üile-yi| duradun ese sanabasu čuqum bolb[a]sural tulju irikü čay-dur bičimdabaču yaγun-i tusa. eyimü-yin tula| urid buyan-u üilen-dür kičiyen simdaju enekü bosuy jarliγ-dur nigen üjegür-tü se-dkil-iyer| bisiren. γurban erdeni-dür takil ergüjü ečege eke-ben üilečilen. sanay-a-ban ariγudqaju. ebüged-iyen| asaran. jalayus-iyān qayirlan. qauli yosu-yi dayaju. bayalay anu ügegüü qoγusun-tegen öglig| ögkü. merged anu mungqay-dāyan jüi yosun-i uqayulqu bolbasu

A: Олуун бҮГДЭЭР энэ| хамаг аюул ээц гэтэлэгсэн| хойно хувь гүй муу нүүлтэй| хилэнцтэй амьтан тамд унаж| дуусмуу. Ном буянд сүжигтэй| [19r] сайн заяатай амьтан бҮГД| тэр сайн цаг үзэж их түвшин| амгуулан жаргамуу.

B: ayun jüdekü| arban ene inü üile| ese ariluγsan бүгүде| orčilang-un joba-lang-| tu dalai-dur unaqu:| üile ariluγsan нуγуд| amuyulang-tu orun-| dur baytaqu:

C: бүгүдегер qamtu| yirtinčü-yin arban jüil irekü| maγu čay-ača qalturiju üjeje-e:| yeke qar-a salkin: yeke usun-du| qokiraqu: basa irügel-ün| qubitai ni erkijü tegüskekü| bayina:

D: amitān нуγуд arban ayul ba.| joblang-un dalai-dur ülü unaqu böged. üile kiged üiledbüri бүкүн amuyulang <jirγalang> bolqu| boltuγai.

A: Одоо би| энэ номыг бичиж дэлгэн хүмэн| хүмэн амьтанд сайн болгохуун| тул буулгаж тархаав. Хэн| хүмэн бичиг ном мэдэх хүмэн| Миний энэ номыг нэг салгаж| Заралваас бие хамаг аюул| [19v] ээц гэтэлмүү. арав салгаж| заралваас тэр гэр бҮГДЭЭР амин| тоо бээр хамаг аюул ээц гэтэлмүү| Нэг зуу бичин салгаж заралваас| Насан буян хишиг цөм дэлгэрмүү| Баян хүмэн аль олон салгаж| заралваас үрэн үрэнд өрөгжин| дэлгэрмүү Ном бичиг ҮЛ мэдэх| хүмэнд учиран гаргаж сайтар| [20r] сонсготон

B: minü| jarliγ-un nom egüni:| bičig medekü nügüd| ber: nigen-te bičijü| duradqan üiledbesü| egün-ü tusa erdem| öber-ün bey-e amuyu=| lang-i olqu: arban-i| bičijü duradqan| üilebesü ger tegünü| todqar jedker arilqu:| jaγu-yi bičijü durad=| qan üiledbesü nasun| buyan degegside arbidqu| bolqu: bayaliγud| ber keb-tür egüdüged| бүкүн-dür ögčü| duradqan üiledbesü| qotu balγad tegün-dür| ner-e kiged medel-ün| orun-u erke küčün| ed ayurasun qotala| tegüs irekü: basa| [15r] bičig ülü medegči| bui bögesü: egünü udq-a| uqayulun maγad medekü-| dür oruyulqu:

C: edüge egüni üjegend| [14v] sasin-tu nar bičig üsüg| medekü kümün bögesü nüite-tür| nigen bičijü tarqayabasu nigen| bey-e-yin barčid jobalang-yi| arilyamui: kerbe arban-i bičijü| tarqayabasu nigen ger-ün kümün| buyan kisig delgereged mal| adayusun-i öskemüi: kerbe| čai kiged möngü-tei bögesü| keb бүтүген barlan tarqayabasu| tegün-i nigen ger-tü kereglel| бүгүде-yi бүридкен elbeg| болγay-a: bičig medekü ügei| kümün-dü üge-ber učir-i| kelejü sonuq-a:

D: minü ayiladuysan jarliy egüni üsüg bičig medekü kümün ber bečijü nige| ulamjil[a]basu öberün biy-e amuyulang-i olqu. arba ulamjil[a]basu gerün doturaki jedker| tüidker arilaqu. jaγu ulamjil[a]basu nasu buyan čöm delgeremüi. činegetei kümün keb-i| seyilejü qotala bükün-e tarqayabasu ner-e jerge aldarsin ür-e köbe-gün olju tusiyal nemegden| sanaγsan kereg sedkelčilen бүтүjү erke küčün tangsuy edlel qotala tegüskü bolai.| basa üsüg bečig ülü medegčid-dür učar udq-a-yi uqayulun kelejü medegültügei.

A: хэрвээ муу санаатай| хүмэн энэ Номд сүжиглэж эс| итгэхүү гүй болваас түүнд| бузар чөтгөр мин тэр дор| дахаад толгойн эргэж нүд нь| харлаж долоон сүвээрэн цусан| гарч үхэхүү бүү энэ арван| доторхи учир тодорхойлж хэлэх| гүй тэнгэр бурхадын зарьлагийн| [20v] хэмжээг тодорхойлбаас адаг гэм| бүү болмуу.

B: nom-un| üsüg egün-dür yosun| busu sedkil egüskegči| maγu ijayur-tu kümün| süsüg buruyuduqu| jüil qarbasu: amin-i| tasuluyči üilečün| genedte tegün-ü bey-e-| dür ergiged nigen gšan-| dur duradqal ügei| doluyan nüken-eče| čisun γarču maγu| jayaγan tamu-dur| odqu bolumui:

C: kerbe maγu| kümün ünemsikü itigekü ügei| bögesü doγsin čidkür čay| möče-yin doutr-a bey-e-dür| anu kürüged darui түргэн-e| bey-e anu maγujiran maγujirayad| [15r] doluyan söbe-eče čisun čuburiγulju| үкүмüi:

D: ene nom-tur| yosu busu sedkil buruyu üjel törübesü darui amin-i tasuluyči üile-yin tngri tegün-ü| [7r] biy-e-dür ergen irejü nigen gšin-dur үкүдкен unayaju doluyan süb-eče čisü čuburin| үкүгүлүгед tamu-tur törügүлкү bolai.

[The end of the synoptic text except B+D]

A: Хамаг амьтан| миний эврийн хувь хэмжээн| зальварч сайн хамаг олон| амтан сайн зальварч сүжиглэж| яв. Ямбар бэе бичигтэй цаасан| газарт хэвтэвээс бузарлахгүй| ариун газар ба галд түлж| арилга.

Энэ номыг хэвт сийлсэн| газар Бээжин ши-ман| [21r] хаалган зүйн хойт талд| Ху-бан хэмээх сүмийн өөр| Бээжинхүү хэмээх гүүзэд одож| байна. Хэн сүжигтэй хүмэн| тэр газарт одоод хэвт даруулж| аваад олуун амьтанд өтөр| зарлан тархаатан Хамаг| амьтан тонилгахуун мөр түргэн| олхуу. болтогуй.| [21v]

Сарваа мангилам ум ма ни| бад мэ хум| Сарваа мангилам ум ма ни| бад мэ хум| Сарваа мангилам ум ма ни| бад мэ хум| Их баярлав|

B: tere| ču maγu čay-un ayun| jüdekü arban-ača: busu-yi| bi todurqai niγtalan| ese ögülebei:| burqan-u (T: lha) onisun udq-a| masi keregtei-yi ögүlekү| bolbasu: jarčim-luy-a| qarсилаqu gem bui-yi| sejiglen sanaju: egün-| dür бүрин-iyer| qamtu nigen-e yosun| jokilduysan süsүg| [15v] sedkil egүskeкү masi| čiqula keregtei böged| egün-dür damjiγ sejig| qoyar sanaγ-a buu| üiledүgtүн:: ::|

D: endeče mayu čaj-un ayul-i enekin tedüi | ɣarɣaysan-ača busu narin todurqai ilerkeyilebesü bi tngri-yin narin niyuča | udq-a-yi asuru delgeregülün üjegülbesü tangyaray-tur qarsilqu aldal büi. dang | ɣaɣča egündür ču yosun-luy-a jokildaqu süsüg-tü sedkil-iyer jalbarıqu keregtei | böged. itegemji ügei qoyar sedkil bariju ülü bolumui. kemen jarlıy boluysan-a | sitüjü namančilan jalbaril üiledkü yeke keregtei bolai.

B: [followed by a prayer on fol. 15v-16r and fol. 1v-2r of *yerü-yin namančilal* “A general penitence”]

D: [followed by a prayer on fol. 7r-7v *namančilal jalbarıy-a anu* “A penitent prayer”]

C: ene čaj-tu arban jüil- | yin ayul dayisun ireküi-yi bide | öber öber-iyen medekü bolbaču | iler[e]gülün kelejü bolqu ügei: | jiči urida-bar tngri-yin arɣ-a | söbe-yi iler[e]gülbesü ilede | onuydayulan qokıramui: tede | tede ber nigen adalı dörben | bey-e kele sedkil-i qayačaqu-yin | jüg-tü jidküley-e: ali ču | nom üsüg-yi nidün-ü | čečegei metü qayırlaqu | kereg-tei bayına | kemegeged tegüsükü:: : :: | čing wang jang:: | mangg’alam:: |

E: ügetei sayın yabu= | dal-yēr yabuqsadı üzei yada= | ji yası čimegeni kemkečiye | kemēkü: ülüü üzeji zanuxu: | alıba mou sanātan neyileji: ar= | ban sayın üile sakiqsan bügü= | deyigi čireqdoulun üreyiye | kemēkü: eyimeyin tula: sayın – | mou xoyori anggılan xubābai: | öüni tula nigentei medetege- | yi kemēn tarxābai:: ene nomiyin | [7r] eken üzüq üzügiyin – | yosōr seyileqsen keb inu: | beyijing xotoyın ɣaza šii | xaman xalyān baröün zamiyin xoi= | tu taldu xoyiwang ging kemēkü | neretü üzüq seyileqsen poi | jan-du bui:: : :: | ene ariun dēdü xubilyān | nom tarxāqsan buyan-yēr ačıtı | ečiğe eke boluqsan xamuq | amitan arılıqsan dēdü orondU | bodhi-yin xutuq olxu bol= | tuyai:: : :: | sarwa maṃ gha lam:: |

4 Translation of the Version D

As stated above, I have selected the version D for my translation due to the following reasons: The Cyrillic manuscript version represents a partially corrupted text, which is not fully understandable. The version C was translated (from another manuscript) by A. Sárközi (1992: 52-59). The version D is close to the Buryat xylograph version B, but this version is more understandable to the Mongolian reader and less dependent on the Tibetan version, which was an immediate source of the version B.

[1r] [Here is] the heavenly prophecy clearly showing the difference of “acceptance and rejection”, which descended [from heaven] in the Chinese land

[2r] The victorious illuminated³⁴ Buddha declared: “[This is] a decree that talks about how to avert future dangers at the end of the kalpa age.”

In the Chinese country south of Shuntian Prefecture,³⁵ [a place] subordinate to Beijing, on a mountain *Dalai-yin botala* the heaven suddenly thundered and a big piece of a flat stone fell from heaven and came to a place called Ši bang wu. However, [the stone] did not settle in that place, because the behaviour of the people belonging to that place was corrupted. The stone rolled on and sat in a place called Wang Gyang Juwang. There was a very clear inscription on it. How did [this Decree] spread to all in the human land? This decree was contained within the described stone. When it was kept in the Temple of Erlig (the Lord of Dharma)³⁶ in Kuei jeu wu, some benefactor people let it engrave on blocks [as xylographs] and distributed free of charge to many people. In those days, military officers Yang Ša Gyang and Lii Čang Siyang and all their relatives concentrated their minds and reverently bowed and distributed this decree to many, rejoiced in their devotion [as if they had clearly] met the Buddha. Many of the people who worshiped [the decree], spread it further, offering sacrifices by this act of devotion. On that day, one man copied it and presented it to the superior of the prefecture administration,³⁷ but because the people in that office did not pay respect to this decree, all thirty persons [2v] died of an epidemy.

My Lama, teach us! My Lama, teach us!

“Oh, when that dangerous future time comes, nine of the ten people will perish. Because since the earlier times

people have not done good deeds,
they were lacking pious respect for the three jewels,
they have cursed the wind and rain,
they have not respected their parents,
they have not loved and cared for the old people and the young ones,
they have polluted the earth and the *lums*-spirits,
they have not done any good deeds after the death of their parents,
they were lacking respect towards their siblings and spoke harsh and evil

words,

they have been destroying grain and potatoes of others,
they have not remembered benefits but repaid them with evil,
they were harassing people around them and breaking the law.
they have devised deceit and spoiled the intentions of others.
out of their covetousness they have defiled honest women and girls,

³⁴ Lit. „perfectly gone; completely departed“, Mongolian translation of Skt. Tathāgata.

³⁵ Shuntian 顺天 – an administrative unite, where the city of Beijing was founded during the Yongle period.

³⁶ Erlig the Lord of Dharma, Mong. *Erlig nomun qayan*, Tib. *gshin rje rgyal po*, Skt. Yamarāja, a dharma-pāla said to preside over the hells.

³⁷ Supposedly the official function *zhibu* 知府 “prefect” (Hucker 1985: 158).

they were wandering aimlessly, gambling, having fun, and [committing] other [iniquities],

in their evil minds, they have controlled and tormented the lowly,

they have oppressed the minority by the majority,

they have pushed the small ones with the big ones.

they have caused confusion and conflicts, as they had not thought about the causes and results,

they have weighted falsely on scales *dou* and *cheng*,³⁸

they have maliciously harmed honest people, and

they were killing living beings without mercy,

the consequences of the sinful deeds have fallen on them.” Buddha Maitreya, buddha Amitābha and bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara preached these things. They further said: „All six kinds of living beings, which are like a water bubble, will meet the consequences of their ten black [sinful deeds], and the planet Mars will be sent down from heaven, [3r] will descend to the human land, and will examine it carefully. If there are people who have pious confidence in the supreme clear Decree,³⁹ the evil spirits will be eradicated, and their lives will be redeemed. If people do not trust it, [they will see revenge] in the years of monkey, hen, and dog.

At that time, even if there was food, there would be no one to eat it.

Even if there were clothes, there would be no one to wear them.

Even if there was land, there will be no one to cultivate it.

Even if there were houses, there would be no one to live in them.

Even if there was land, there will be no one to cultivate it.⁴⁰

In the fifth and sixth months, poisonous snakes will roam the world.

In the eighth and ninth months, the surface of the earth will be filled with corpses of dead evil people.

People who refused sinful doings and were doing good deeds, will not experience these ten kinds of danger:

Ten kinds of sufferings:

First, a suffering caused by fire and water.

Second, a suffering when people get impoverished and bankrupt.

Third, a suffering when people die without consciousness due to the obscuration of ignorance.

Fourth, a suffering of separation from the beloved.

Fifth, a suffering from the danger of poisonous snakes and wild animals.

Sixth, a suffering that the earth will be filled with human corpses.

Seventh, a suffering that armies will revolt in the world.

Eighth, a suffering of the frosty windstorm.

Ninth, a suffering that own things [will have to be passed on] others.

³⁸ Chin. *dou cheng* 斗秤 “weights and measures”.

³⁹ This prophetic text is meant by the word “decree” (*jarli*).

⁴⁰ Mentioned mistakenly for the second time.

Tenth, a suffering that people all over the world [3v] will have no peace.

There will be countless people who die on the road. Of the tens of thousands, nine thousand will die.

I see very vividly before my eyes, how in the future, when bad times come, the benefits of the land will decline. Grain and potatoes will be rare. The evil and wild wind and rain [will] haunt them, and poisonous snakes and wild animals will block paths and harm all the beings.

The Lord of Dharma,⁴¹ judging consequences of [human] deeds, sent two protecting deities, Guwan and Juu,⁴² to the human land as the authorized dignitaries to inspect and check them. In addition, he sent crowds of *tngrī*,⁴³ *luus*⁴⁴ and *yakṣa*⁴⁵-spirits of the earth, heaven and the celestial realms⁴⁶ to inspect them. They will carefully examine whether there are people who do not think of this Decree with respect and who disregard the law of the consequences of actions. And if there are such, then they will commission the murderous *yakṣa*-spirits from heaven, who will punish them in an instant. There will come a time that for one *lang*⁴⁷ of silver [only] five *sheng*⁴⁸ of grain will be given. Then buddhas Maitreya and Amitābha will come as to help the living beings and to cooperate with the protecting deities Guwan and Juu.⁴⁹

From the year of the black dog, an epidemic will appear, and by the year of the black pig, out of ten people, nine will die and one will remain.“ He also said: „The great evil that people will cause will be so frightening:

First, the danger of wind.

Second, the danger of fire.

Third, the dangers of water.

Fourth, the danger of armies.

Fifth, the danger of diseases.

Sixth, the danger of thunder and lightning. [4r]

Seventh, the danger of poisonous snakes.

Eighth, the danger that women will have difficulties giving birth.

Ninth, the danger of drought and severe winters.

For the tenth danger of people becoming poor and dying.”

⁴¹ A, C, E mention Qormusta *tngrī*.

⁴² The Chinese text *Fo yu zhen yan dujiejing* mentions names Guan 關 and Zhao 趙. Henri Doré mentioned Tang probably according to a graphically similar character in his source version 躺.

⁴³ *Tngri*, Tib. *lha*, *tengri*, *devas*, beings of the “gods realm”, one of the six kinds of existence in the Tibetan Buddhism.

⁴⁴ *Luus*, Tib. *klu*, *naga*, lords or spirits of waters.

⁴⁵ *Yakṣa*, Tib. *gnod sbyin*, a class of semi divine beings both benevolent and malignant.

⁴⁶ *Gegen jabsar*, Tib. *bar snang*, a metaphor of “heaven” (Яхонтова 2010: 271, №389), I use here translation by A. Sárközi in Sumatiratna 2018: 899, No. 24670 (“celestial realms”).

⁴⁷ *Lang*, Chin. *liang* 兩, a Chinese weight measure known also as *tael*.

⁴⁸ Chin. *sheng* 升, a Chinese unit of volume.

⁴⁹ The second part of the sentence interpreted according to the version C.

Buddha Maitreya and Amitābha stated: “From the year of the white monkey to the year of the blue mouse [humans] will neither be able to harvest grain nor potatoes, nor will they be able to use them. They will become poor and die of suffering from hunger and thirst. It will be difficult to avoid blades of swords. Whoever will diligently distribute this Decree with sincere faith to all the people of the world, [he can avoid these dangers]. If one person spreads it to ten persons and ten people to a hundred people, people will avoid the danger and destruction of the evil time. When the year of the blue mouse comes, the sun of happiness will rise in the world. The grain and potatoes will always be good, and the rain will come in its time. One who has learned of this Decree but would not have made it known to others will not only experience ten kinds of suffering on his own body but will not be reborn in the human body at all. Similarly, the merit of one who copies this Decree to teach others will avert the dangers threatening his region and its towns. The blessings of thousands buddhas of the good time will pile up like clouds, good deeds and happiness will multiply like the ocean. Those people will never experience the destruction caused by the Ten Dangers. The bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara sent this revelation to avert the danger of evil time to the land called Gung Hi Na Hyan. [4v]

When chaos occurs in the capital and the subjects disperse, on the first day of the month the *ṅgri* of fire will appear before the Lord of Dharma, the judge of the consequences of the deeds of the *ṅgri* and the people, and he will announce the consequences of the good and sinful deeds of earthly people. When the Lord of Dharma will hear about this, he will say with great pain [to the *ṅgri* envoys], ‘You make a living from the sacrifices offered by the people, but you do not see that they neglect the teachings. Now, within one year, in every county and every country I will afflict by suffering and epidemics people who disregard the law of the consequences of their deeds. Tell all the Buddhas and the Most Merciful Āryapāla: ‘Oh, there is no need at all to talk about the great sinners who will fall into the bad fate of the *saṃsāra*. But make sure that those who do good deeds find their way to *nirvāṇa*.’”

Now, Erlig the Lord of Dharma distinguished the paths of good and evil deeds and sent to the earth an army causing disruption and epidemic diseases distinguishing between [good and evil] people. “The people to be punished are as follows:

First, those who dishonoured the Three Jewels.

Second, those who did not respect their parents.

Third, those, who let their subjects to starve and oppressed them, and enslaved good people.

Fourth, those, who deliberately opposed the laws of karma.

Fifth, those, who destroyed grain and potatoes. [5r]

Sixth, those, who spoke derogatorily against the faith in the image of the Buddhas and destroyed them.

Seventh, those, who killed many living beings.

Eighth, those, who used fraudulently weights and measures.

Ninth, those, who pretended to be honest, but in secret they deceived and grieved.

Tenth, those, who wondered how they could harm the people who helped them.

Also, because they have not been instructed, the vows and bonds between parents and sons, the ruler and the officials, men and women, old and young, lovers and friends, will be broken. They will repay the bad for the good. They will be proud of their wealth. They will lure others in greed and rob them of property. Under the pretext of healing, they will deceive the others.

They will disguise themselves and harm others.

They will do harm under pretence of good manners.

In times of distress, they will pretence to help people, but they will outwit and rob others by requesting high prices for small things.

They will step on written texts and books.

Some, although they have collected all sorts of luxury items, they abstain from the rightful deeds.

Some do not consider the consequences of their actions and they appropriate things of others.

Some act shamelessly and brazenly according to their own desires.

Some do not remember merit and repay it with treachery and become a bad model for others.

Some disregard the old and oppress the young.

Some violate the principles of friendship and remain alone.

When women master the house, they swear at their husbands' parents and lay their hands on them.

Some do not respect their father and mother.

Some women cause rivalry in groups of relatives within the family.

Some cause unequal status within families even in food and drink.

Some spread slander among the people and pass it on to the court. [5v]

Some incessantly make quarrels and disputes with their relatives.

And they catch snakes, fish in nets, kill birds, cause fires in the mountains, destroy graves and tombs.

Scribes and clerks, servants, and commissioners circumvent the law and cause harm, then they flee like evil spirits, hide themselves secretly, force others to consent, harm people, and falsely modify records, multiply people's wrath and take actions for a hostile retaliation.

They pretend the truth to be a lie.

They excel in cunning.

They mix water and clay into the grain to make more profit.

If they see a wealthy person, they compete with him out of envy.

If they see a person afflicted with misery and suffering, no compassion will be born in them.

If they see a man doing evil, they will not help to prevent him from doing so.

When they see a honest man who follows the rules, they look almost irritated and upset.

Ever since their good and bad sides show up, they deliberately grumble against the words of others.

Even if someone teaches them well, they do not listen to them at all and come up with a malicious way of committing sin and try to commit it as soon as they have the opportunity to do so.”

When he calculated these fifty-four kinds of sinful deeds and said: “Those people will suffer in the world, they will be eradicated and will be born in hell, among *preta*-demons or as animals. Their families will be broken, fathers, mothers, sons and relatives will be scattered. Orphans will suffer hardship and wander homeless. Rivers of blood will flow, and bone scrubs will accumulate.

Then, even if there was land, there would be no one to cultivate it.

Even if there were houses, there would be no one to inhabit them. [6r]

I would like to express with certainty that people who reject sinful deeds and do good deeds will not be afflicted with disease, will experience fortune in their lives, and will do well, and for three years their surroundings will be filled with peace and joy. According to the Decree of the Erlig the Lord of Dharma, judging the consequences of human deeds, when [the messengers] come to the lower world to go around all beings and see who is on the path of sin and who is on the path of good works, first there will be an army and war, then diseases and epidemics, and in a few months all the bad people from the four continents will be collected.

At that time, even if one turns to the Buddha, it will not be possible for him to be saved and blessed. If someone treats his illnesses, it will not help. Even if he invited the Buddha Otači⁵⁰ himself, his medicine would not help, because he had not distinguished between good and bad deeds. He will help those who do good deeds, but he will not help those who commit sin.”

Therefore, the whole assembly of buddhas knelt on the ground with their right knees and bowed down, saying, “May the aforementioned sinful people in the world be able to repent for their sins!” [The Lord of Dharma] replied:

“Oh, in the future bad time,

only one out of ten people will remain,
armies and war will rise from the four corners of the world,
diseases and epidemics will descend from the eight directions⁵¹ of the world,
from the sky thunders and lightnings will descend, and the earth will shake,
the oceans and rivers will stretch to fill the mountains and plains,
a wild wind will rise and invade the landscape,
bad signs will appear,
flowers and fruits will wither,
the *damsi*-demons⁵² all come together in the morning to the entrance, [6v]

⁵⁰ Tib. *sangs rgyas sman bla*, Skt. Bhaiṣajyaguru, the Buddha of healing and medicine.

⁵¹ *Naiman jobkīs* “eight points”, four cardinal and four intercardinal directions.

masters of disease and murderous evil spirits will show their appearance in the midday sun.

Tigers and snakes will descend from the mountains, occupy roads, and make it impossible to pass through them.

Only if one can overcome the ten kinds of such dangers, then he can call himself human. All people need to clear their minds as soon as possible and pay attention to this Decree. If they do not remember to do good deeds before suffering comes, by the time when the consequences of [evil deeds] come, they will no longer help themselves, even if they want to. Therefore, if people diligently observe good deeds in the good time,

if they respect this Decree by a concentrated mind,
if they sacrifice to three jewels,
if they serve their father and mother,
if they purify their intentions,
if they take care of old people,
if they love the young,
if they keep the law,
if the rich gives alms to the poor,
if the wise teaches the fool to follow the right order,

then people will not fall into the ten dangers and the sea of sufferings. Then all their actions and all their efforts will be filled with peace and happiness.

If someone who knows to write copies this Decree once and hands over it to someone, he will find peace. If he copies it and passes on ten times, the hardship in his house will disappear. If he copies and transmits it a hundred times, his life will be filled with fortune.

If a wealthy man lets this text to be carved [and printed] and spread among all people, he will make his name famous, will receive male descendants, will be promoted in office, his intentions will be fulfilled as intended, he will gain power and be full of all luxury goods. Let the meaning of [this text] be communicated to the illiterates.

If someone begins to think inappropriately about this text, then a killing *tngr*-servant will come to him again, and in an instant will knock him down, [7r] so that blood will be spewed from the seven holes of body, and thus he will kill him, and let him reborn in hell.

If I explained the horrors of the evil time in even more detail than I have described here, I would make the mistake of breaking the promise by excessively expanding the meaning of the subtle mysteries of Heaven. It is necessary to pray to this [Decree] with a devoted mind conformed to the order. It is not possible to mistrust it and bear a double-mind.”

It is highly necessary to worship this Decree with repentant prayers.

⁵² *Tangyaray-un buy*, Tib. *dam sri*, evil demons.

5 The Cyrillic Manuscript of the Prophecy (Version A) as a Source of the Oirat Literary Pronunciation

This section analyses the language of the Cyrillic manuscript of the prophecy found in Bulgan sum. The manuscript was found among the ethnic subgroup of Altai Urianhai, who dialectically belong to the group of Western Mongolian or Oirat dialects, as well as their near neighbours Zahčín.⁵³

1.) Specific forms of case suffixes explainable both by the Clear script source and the influence of the dialect: genitive *-аан*: *сараан* (CS *sarayin*, M *sar(-)a(-)yin*, MM *сарын*), accusative *-ий*: *зовлонгий* (CS *zobolonggi*, M *jobalang-i*, MM *зовлонг*).

2.) Literary pronunciation of ablative suffix (*ээц*) disregarding the vowel harmony: *жил эц* (CS *jil-ěce*, M *jil-ecē*, MM *жилээс*), *хувь эц* (CS *xubi-ěce*, M *qubi-ača*, MM *хувиас*). Further examples: *хүн эц*, *үүн эц*, *зовлон эц*, *модон эц*. On fol. 5r occurred a mistakenly duplicated use of both modern *-аас* and Clear script-like *ээц*: *аюулаас ээц*, but again standardly *аюул эц* on the same page.

3.) Literary pronunciation of instrumental suffix with forms *ээр* and *бээр*:

арга бээр (CS *arγa-bēr*, M *arγ-a-bar*, MM *аргаар*), *нүд бээр* (CS *nidübēr*, M *nidü-ber*, MM *нүдээр*). Further examples: *захирагсан еэр* (MM *захирснаар*), *худал еэр* (MM *худлаар*), *зарилга еэр* (MM *зарлигаар*), *ёс бээр* (MM *ёсоор*), *тэгсэн еэр* (MM *тэгснээр*), in the Clear script (E) version forms of instrumental *yabudal-yēr*, *kiling-yēr*, *ulam-yēr*, *süzüq-yēr*.

The subject indicating particle *бээр* (CS *bēr*, M *ber*, MM *бээр*) used only in the classical literary language (frequently used in version B, C, D, E) and completely unknown to the colloquial Oirat. In this function *бээр* does not appear in A. *Бээр* in A is exceptionally used as an indicator of ordinary numbers in the enumerations of sufferings and sinful deeds: for example: *нэгэн бээр ... 2 бээр ... 3 бээр ... 4 бээр* etc.

4.) Reflexive possessive suffix in the form *бэн* (CS *-bēn*, *-yēn*, *-ān*, *-ēn*, *-ōn*, *-ön*, M *-ban/ben*, *-īyan/iyen*): *эцэг эх бэн* (M *ečige eke-ben*, MM *эцэг эхээ*).

5.) Literary pronunciation of verbal suffixes: a) nomen perfecti *-сан*, *-сэн*, *-сон* (CS *-qsan*, *-qsen*, *-qson*, *-qsön*, M *-γsan/γsen*, MM *-сан*, *-сэн*, *-сон*, *-сөн*). The version A uses forms relevant both to the literary pronunciation of the Clear script and the Mongolian script, e.g.: *мэхлэгсэн*, *иргэсэн*, *хэлэгсэн*, *бологсон*, *асгагсан*, *харуулагсан*, *итгэгсэн*, *авагсаныг*, *басагсан*, *айлтгагсанд*, *мэхлэгсэн*, *авагсан*, *түлэгсэн*, *бузарлагсан*, *санагсан*; b) nomen futuri *-хуу* (CS *-хи*, *-кй*, M *-qu/kü*, MM *-х*), e.g.: *олхуу*, *тархахуу*, *хорлохуу*, *үхэхүү*, *эдлэхүү*, *болохуу* etc.

6.) Oirat dialectical forms attested also in the Clear script, e.g.: *хүмэн* (CS *kütiin*, *küün*, M *kütiin*, MM *хүн*), dat.-loc. *хүмэнд* (CS *kümindü*, M *kütiin-dü*, MM *хүнд*), gen. *хүмний* (CS *küitüni*, M *kütiin-ü*, MM *хүний*), *өврийн* (CS *öbörjün*, M *öber-ün*, MM *өврийн*), *өвөр өвөөр* (CS *öbör öbörjün*, M *öber öber-ün*, MM *өвөр өврийн*),

⁵³ Abbreviations used in this section: CS (Clear script, *todo bičiq*), M (Classical Mongolian script), MM (modern Mongolian orthography).

нүүл килэнц (CS *nüül kilinč*, M *nigül kilinč*, MM нүгэл хилэнц), зариллаг (CS *jarilaq*, M *jarliq*, MM зарлиг) etc.

7.) Use of *к* (*κ*) instead of *х* (*χ*) in words with front vowels: *кэмэкүй* (CS *kemeküi*, M *кетекүй*, MM хэмээх), *күж* (CS *küji*, M *күйи*, MM хүж), *кэгсэн* (CS *kegsen*, M *kügsen*, MM хийсэн).

8.) A diphthong changed into a long vowel, e.g.: *зүүл* (CS *jüyl*, M *jüül*, MM зүйл), *тараа будаа* (CS *tarā budā*, M *tariy-a buday-a*, MM тариа будаа), *авгаа* (CS *abayai*, M *abayai*, MM авгай), *хэдүү* (CS *kedüi*, M *kedüi*, MM хэдүй, хэдий), *хөөрхүү* (CS *kõröküi*, M *kögerüküi*, MM хөөрхий), *сөөрхөж* (CS *soyırchoju*, M *soyırqaju*, MM соёрхож).

9.) Preserved “*i*” in the first syllable, irregular vowel harmony, e.g.: *чидэлтэй* (CS *čidaltai*, M *čidal(-)tai*, MM чадалтай).

10.) An alternation of *с* – *ц*, e.g.: *ертэмчүүд* (MM ертөнцүүд) – *хицэтэн* (MM хичээгтүн).

11.) Nominative endings with *-n*: *загсан* (CS *jayasun*, M *jıyasu*, MM загас), *хувцсан* (CS *xubcasu(n)*, M *qubčasu*, MM хувцас), *цусан* (CS *cusu(n)*, M *čısu*, MM цус) and the Oirat dialectal form *бурха* (without the nominative *-n* ending) (CS *burxan*, M *burqan*, MM бурхан).

12.) Other dialectal specifics: *мин* (CS, M *mön*, MM мөн) – a special pronunciation of Altai Urianhai of Bulgan and Mönhhairhan; *сүжэг* (CS *süjüg*, M *süjig/süsüg*, MM сүжиг/сүсэг), *заливарч* (CS *zalbarıju*, in E *zalbirji*, M *jalbarıju*, MM залбирч), *олуун* (CS *olon*, M *olan*, MM олон), *мэчэн* (CS *mečın*, M *mičın*, *bičın*, MM мич), *үмсэх* (CS *ümüşküi*, M *ömüşküi*, MM өмсөх).

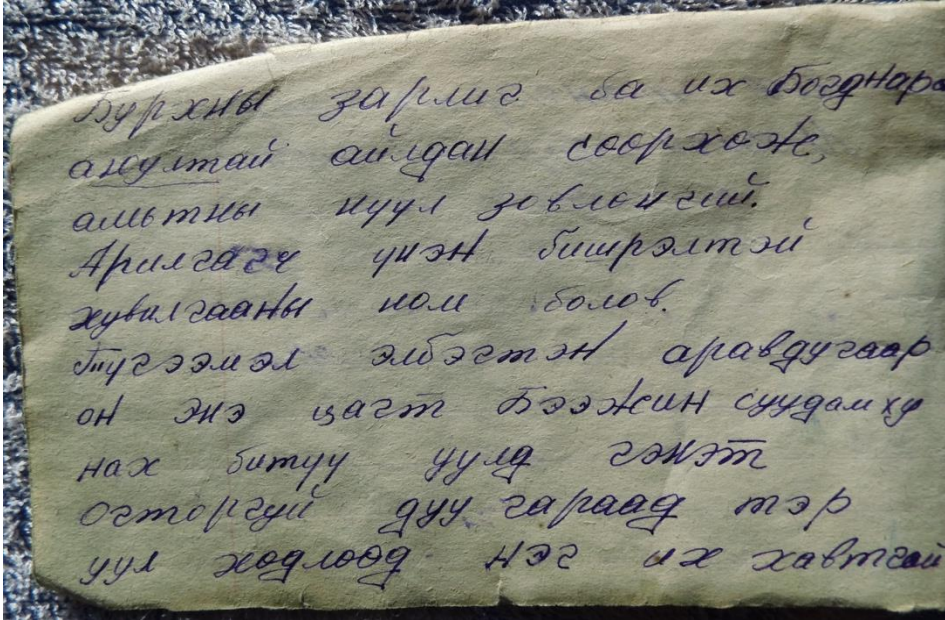
13.) Other non-standard Cyrillic spellings: *үгөрийн аюул* (MM үгөрийн аюул), *есэн* (MM есөн), *бурхадат* (MM бурхадат), *хөтөөд* (MM хөдөөд), *өтөр* (CS *ötör*, M *ötür*, *ütür*, MM үтэр), *өтөр* (CS *ödör*, M *ödür*, MM өдөр).

6 Conclusion

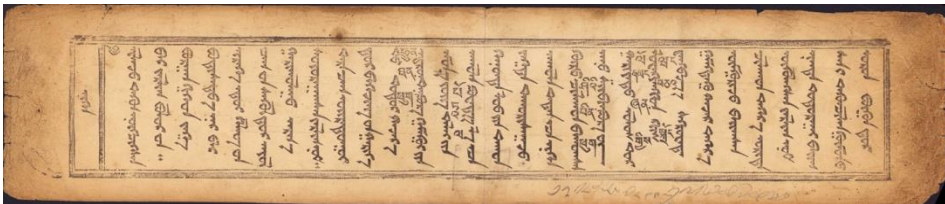
The wide range of variants of this prophecy is still awaiting a more detailed comparison, and the transcription of the several versions I present here will perhaps at least partially serve this purpose. The Cyrillic version from the Bulgan sum will serve as a comparison with other as yet unpublished copies of this prophecy in Clear script,⁵⁴ but above all it is a unique proof of the existence of a specific literary pronunciation of Clear script in the environment of Western Mongolia.

⁵⁴ Another manuscript of a related prophecy was published by Mingyad Erdemtü in the 33rd volume of *Ili-yin youl-un urusgal dayan orun-du qadaγalaydayu bayıy-a todı üsiγ-iin surbulji bičig-iin čınylyan* 2018 (vol. XXXIII): 3-14. Further manuscript copies might be found kept in households in the Western Mongolia, for example a small collection of the late S. Naadgai in Mönhhairhan sum (described by Srba 2015: 44) includes a manuscript of *Mıla burxan Xormustu yeke tenggeriyin z[a]rlıq orosišo'i*. I have not used this copy here due to its highly corrupted orthography.

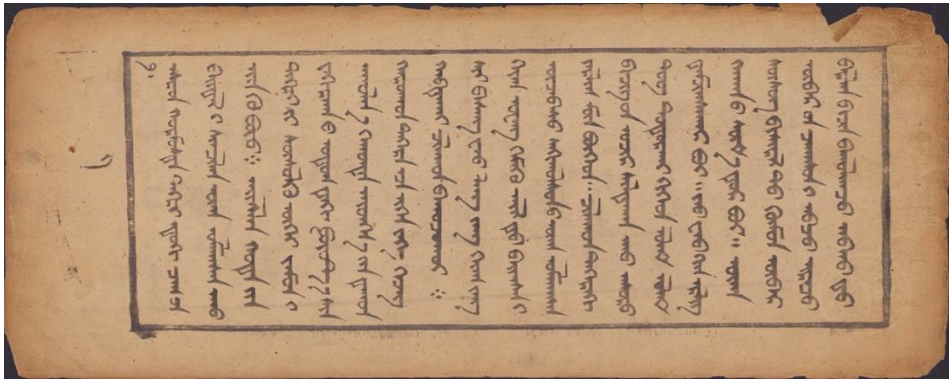
7 Appendix Textsamples A-E



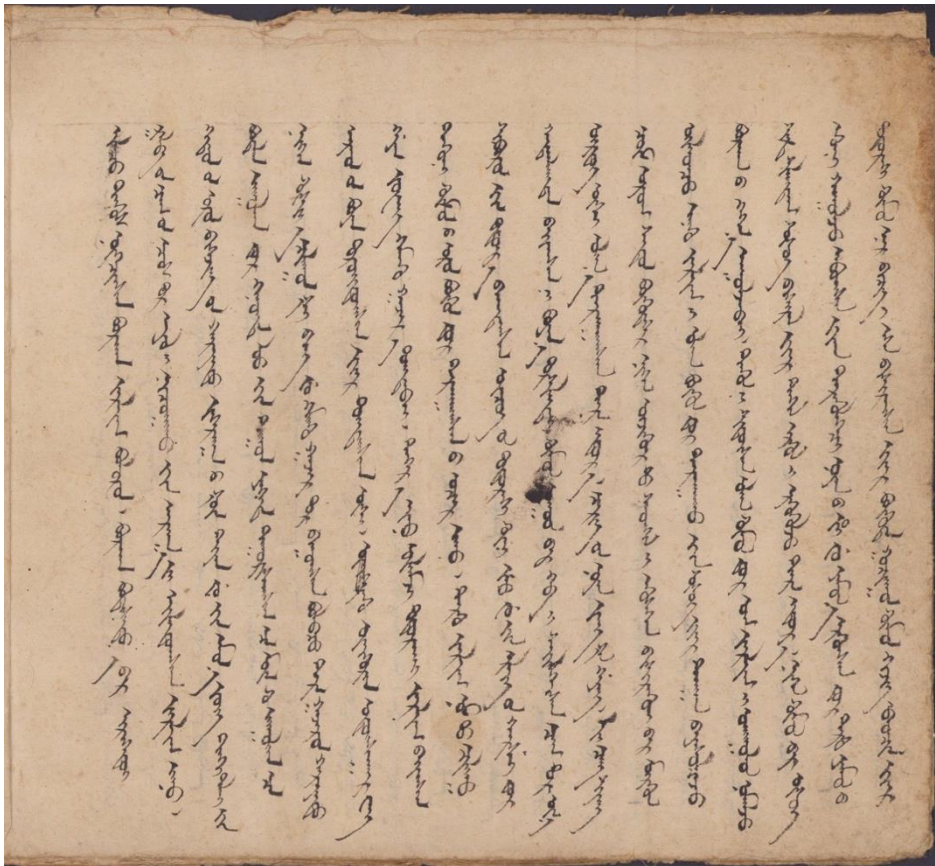
Text A: the Cyrillic manuscript kept by the family of R. Čadraabal, 1960s–1970s.



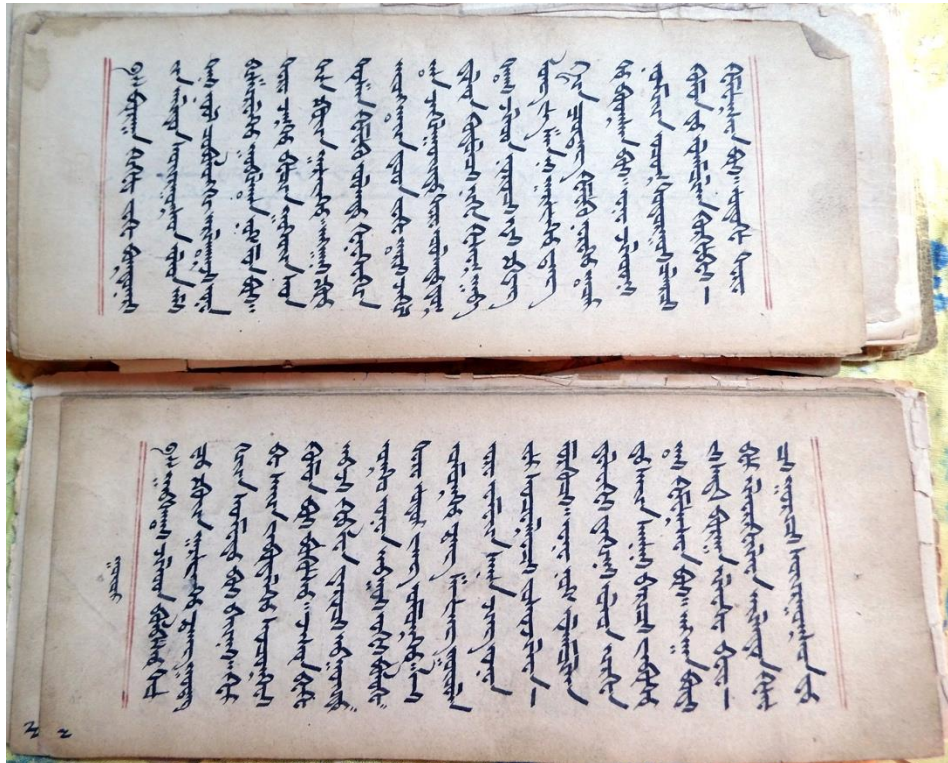
Text B: Buryat xylograph in the style of the Aginsky dastan.



Text C: A xylograph printed on the Russian machine-made paper.



D: A brush-written manuscript on a Chinese paper sewed in the format of a Chinese book.



E: A calamus-written manuscript in Clear script on a Russian machine-made paper of the late 19th or early 20th centuries.

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Abbreviations

Tib. Tibetan, Mong. Mongolian, Skt. Sanskrit, Chin. Chinese.

About Some Disputes in the Study of the Oirat “Tod Bichig”¹

Sodmon Namzhavin

Abstract

Mongol-speaking peoples have a centuries-old rich written culture. Throughout their history, they have repeatedly improved and reformed their writing. In this regard, we can mention:

1. “Zurkhniitolt” by Gungadzhaltan and Chojdzhi Odser of the XIII-XIV centuries; 2. “Square Letter” by Pagsba-Lama Lodojdzhaltsan, compiled in 1279 by order of Khubilai-Khan; 3. “Letter Ali-Gali” by Ayushi-Gushi of the Kharchin 1587; 4. “A Clear Letter Alphabet” by Rabzhamba Zaya-Pandita Namkazhamtso of the Oirat, 1648; 5. “Soyombo Alphabet” by Undur-Gegeen Zanabazar, 1686; as well as his “square letter (horizontal)”; 6. Letters by Lharamba Agvandorzhiiev of the Buryat “Vagindari”, 1905. [cf. Boosyan, 1984; Shagdarsuren, 1986].

Among the aforementioned varieties of writing, the most successful was the creation of “clear script”. Zaya Pandita, based on traditional Mongolian writing, without breaking established traditions, made two key reforms: first, he eliminated the polyphony of vowels; secondly, in a letter he introduced methods for designating the longitude of vowels. In addition, he marked with one sign the post-syllable consonant “-g”, which earlier obeyed the law of synharmonism. The Zaya-Pandita reform can be called a kind of jewelry work. The “clear letter” in parallel with the

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Old Mongolian script was the wide spread and the longest used by the Mongols to this day.

According to the prevailing opinion in science, “clear script” first became the object of a special study in the middle of the XIX century. The first in 1847, the “Grammar of the Kalmyk language” was published by the famous orientalist-Mongolist of Kazan Imperial University, Professor A. Popov [A. Popov, 1847], and two years later in 1849 the famous work of the student of professor A. Popov, a famous Mongolian scholar, linguist A. Bobrovnikov “Grammar of the Mongolian-Kalmyk language” [A. Bobrovnikov, 1849].

These two works are remarkable not only as a kind of pioneer works in the field of studying “clear script”, but what is of no small importance coincides with the 250th anniversary of the birth of Zaya Pandita and the 200th anniversary of the creation of “clear script”.

From then until now, thanks to the meticulous work of famous orientalists and Mongols, the study of “clear script” has reached a new level. Many fundamental works have been published, which have become the reference book for future generations.

Nevertheless, today there are still many controversial issues that require their study and interpretation. In this report, we consider the following issues: about the time, purpose, and reasons for creating a “clear letter”; dialectal foundations, basic principles of spelling, periodization of the history of development.

1 О некоторых спорных вопросах в изучении ойратского “ясного письма”

Монголоязычные народы обладают многовековой богатой письменной культурой. На протяжении всей своей истории они неоднократно совершенствовали и реформировали свою письменность. В этом плане можно упомянуть: 1. «Зүрхний тольт» Гунгаджалцана и Чойджи Одсэра XIII-XIV веков; 2. «Квадратное письмо» Пагба-Ламы Лодойджалцана, составленное в 1279 г. по приказу Хубилай-хана; 3. «Письмо Али-гали» харчинского Аюши-Гуши 1587 года; 4. «Ясное письмо» ойратского Рабжамба Зая-пандиты Намкажамцо 1648 г.; 5. Письмо «соёмбо» Ундур-Гэгээна Занабазара 1686 г.; а также его «квадратное письмо (горизонтальное)»; 6. Письма бурятского Лхарамбы Агвандорджиева «Вагиндарь» 1905 г. [Боосян, 1984; Шагдарсүрэн, 1986].

Среди вышеупомянутых разновидностей письменности наиболее успешным было создание «ясного письма». Известный религиозный, политической деятель, великий ученый XVII века ойратский Зая-пандита Намкайджамцо на основе традиционной монгольской письменности. Он не нарушая устоявшихся традиций сделал две ключевые реформы: во-первых, он устранил полифонности гласных букв; во-вторых, на письме ввел

способы обозначения долготы гласных. Кроме того, обозначил одним знаком постслоговое согласное «-г», который ранее подчинялся закону сингармонизма. Реформа Зая-пандиты, можно назвать, своего рода ювелирной работой. «Ясное письмо» параллельно со старомонгольской письменностью является самым широко распространенным и наиболее продолжительно используемое по сей день монголами письменностью.

По устоявшемуся в науке мнению, «ясное письмо» впервые стало объектом специального исследования в середине XIX в. Впервые в 1847 г. вышла в свет «Грамматика калмыцкого языка» известного востоковеда-монголоведа Казанского Императорского университета профессора А. Попова [А. Попов, 1847], и через два года в 1849 г. вышел знаменитый труд ученика профессора А. Попова, известного монголоведа, лингвиста А. Бобровникова «Грамматика монгольско-калмыцкого языка» [А. Бобровников, 1849]. Эти два труда замечательны не только, как своего рода, пионерские труды в области изучения «ясного письма», но и что имеет немаловажное значение совпадает с 250 летним юбилеем со дня рождения Зая-пандиты и 200 летней датой создания «ясного письма».

С тех пор и до настоящего времени благодаря скрупулезным трудам известных востоковедов и монголистов изучение «ясного письма» вышло на новый уровень. Изданы многие фундаментальные труды, ставшие настольной книгой для последующих поколений. Тем не менее, на сегодняшний день по-прежнему остаются немало спорных вопросов, требующих своего изучения и интерпретации. В данном докладе мы рассматриваем следующие вопросы: о времени, цели и причины создания «ясного письма»; диалектные основы, основные принципы орфографии, периодизация истории развития.

2 Время создания «ясного письма»

На основе сведений, содержащихся в биографическом сочинении «История Рабджам Зая-Пандиты» под названием «Лунный свет», написанном в 1691 году, автором которой является ученик и ближайший сподвижник ойратского Зая-пандиты Ратнабхадра «то лето [1647] [Зая-пандита] провел у джунгарского Батур хун-тайджи. Зимовал вместе с Аблай-тайдж на [реке] Чуй. Зимой года мыши (1648) [Зая-пандита] составил «ясное письмо» [Раднабхадра, 1999. С. 62], монголоведы пришли к единому мнению, что «ясное письмо» создано в 1648 г. – «зимой года мыши». Согласно этой дате, в Монголии и Калмыкии в 1968 и 1999 году проводились международные научные конференции, посвященные юбилейным датам создания «ясного письма».

В биографии Зая-Пандиты отмечается, что «Зая-Пандита [за время] от года барса до года барса перевел многочисленные сутры, тантры, поучения,

шастры, для хошутов, торгутов, дурбэтов, джунгаров, хойтов и других [ойратских племен]» [Раднабхадра, 1999. С. 62–63]. Сведения из биографии Зая-пандиты, а также сведения из колофонов переведенных им сочинений, дают повод некоторым ученым сомневаться в дате создания «ясного письма». По мнению большинства ученых, этот временной отрезок соответствует 1650-1662 гг. по европейскому (григорианскому) летоисчислению [Позднеев, 1907. С. 169]. Этот 12-летний период считается периодом, когда Зая-пандита осуществил все свои переводы с тибетского языка на «ясное письмо». Однако, по мнению Российского ученого А.Г. Сазыкина период «с года тигра по год тигра» соотносится не с 1650-1662 гг., а с 1638–1662 гг., таким образом он впервые выдвинул необходимость пересмотра периодизации переводческой деятельности Зая-пандиты [Сазыкин, 1977. С. 134–140].

Монгольский ученый Х. Лувсанбалдан, внесший значительный вклад в изучение «ясного письма» и его памятников, считает, что переводческая деятельность Зая-пандиты началась не с 1650 г., а с 1642 г.: например, в колофонах ряда сочинений четко указывается, что Зая-пандита перевел «Историю Панчена хутухты» в 1642 г., сочинение «Пхачой» («Книга отца») переводил в период 1642 - 1643 гг., а перевод «Манигамбум» закончил в 1644 году. Все вышесказанное позволило Х. Лувсанбалдану предположить, что Зая-пандита уже до создания «ясного письма» активно занимался переводческой деятельностью, причем изначально сочинения перевел с тибетского на монгольский, а затем уже с монгольского переложил на «ясное письмо» [Лувсанбалдан, 1975. С. 14]. Аналогичной точки зрения придерживались российский ученый Л. Пучковский [Пучковский, 1954. С. 90-127], венгерский ученый Д. Кара [Кара, 1972. С. 163–165], монгольский ученый Ц. Өнөрбаян [Өнөрбаян, 1999. С. 132–142].

Синьцзянский ученый К. Куяа, опираясь на результаты исследований Х. Лувсанбалдана и А.Г. Сазыкина, а также на биографию Зая-пандиты, в которой прямо указывается о прекращении занятий переводами в последние годы жизни, считает, что переводческая деятельность Зая-пандиты ограничивается периодом с 1638 г. по 1650 г. [Куяа, 1988. С. 47-49]. К. Куяа приводит сведения из некоторых исторических источников, обнаруженных в последнее время в Китае. В них отмечается, что известный в истории ойратов религиозный деятель Цагаан-Номин-Хан «обучал [ойратов] родному письму (эх үсэг заасан)». Исходя из этого, он делает вывод о том, что создателем «ясного письма» не является ойратский Зая-пандита, а Цагаан-Номин-Хан, тибетский монах XVII века; само создание «ясного письма» он относит к началу XVII века [Куяа, 1988. С.41]. Близкую ему точку зрения высказал и проф. Северо-Западного университета национальностей Китая М. Уни-Улаан: он отмечает, что известный памятник «Монголо-ойратские законы 1640 г.» до сих пор не найден на старомонгольском письме и существует лишь на «ясном письме», также не менее известное сочинение «История монгольского Убаши хун тайджи», отражавшее исторические

события в жизни монголов и ойратов конца XVI – начала XVII веков, существует только на «ясном письме». На основании этих данных он высказывает сомнение по поводу общепринятой даты создания «ясного письма».

Но все эти гипотезы в дальнейшем не нашли ни подтверждения, ни признания в научном мире. По-прежнему подавляющее большинство монголоведов считают, что создателем «ясного письма» является ойратский Зая-пандита Намкажамцо, а датой его создания считается 1648 год.

3 Цели и причины создания «ясного письма»

Вопрос о причинах и целях создания «ясного письма» является следующим моментом, по которому существуют различные точки зрения. Было принято считать, что создание «ясного письма» преследовало цель призвать политически независимых ойратов к борьбе за создание мощного кочевого государства. Кроме этого, считалось, что ойраты отличались от других монгольских народов и в языковом отношении, что они создавали свою письменность для собственных нужд [Владимирцов, 1931. С. 13; Ринчен, 1999. С. 7-12; Боосян, 1984. С. 166-177]. Эта версия считалась верной вплоть до 60-х гг. XX века, пока не были обнаружены новые материалы, связанные с алфавитом «ясного письма», совершившим определенный поворот в утвердившемся мнении ученых.

В 1965 г. в Монголии, у западных монголов был обнаружен памятник «Усгийн найрлага», в котором относительно причины создания «ясного письма» отмечалось, что один из влиятельных ойратских князей того периода хошеутский Очирту-Тайджи и Абалай-Баатар призвали: «Подготовьте монгольское письмо ясное для всех монгольских народов, чтобы в нем легко различалось множество полифонных одинаковых букв». В результате Рабджамба Зая-пандита создал «Ясное письмо». Исходя из этого Х. Лувсанбалдан пришел к выводу, что «ясное письмо» изначально было создано для всех монголоязычных народов [Лувсанбалдан, 1975. С. 19-25]. Это мнение нашло всеобщее одобрение у монголоведов в последние годы. Кроме того, подтверждением данной точки зрения является общественно-исторический фон указанного периода. Об этом российский монголовед, лингвист П.Ц. Биткеев пишет: «Естественно, что Зая-пандита, как представитель руководителей Тибета, как политический деятель, патриот не мог не заниматься буферной территориально ограниченной деятельностью в условиях, когда ситуация требовала мобилизации всех монголоязычных регионов. Надо полагать, поэтому Зая-пандита два года пребывал в Восточной Монголии в качестве почетного гостя, монаха, дважды бывал на берегу Волги у калмыков. Вся его деятельность должна была служить одной единой цели – консолидации всех монгольских народов за свою

независимость, суверенитет. Поэтому, естественно, и его письменность, характеризующаяся обычно как ойратская, была, судя по языковым и историческим данным, не только предназначена, но и строилась с учетом языкового материала монгольских языков. Другой вопрос, что так сложилась ситуация, и «ясное письмо» получило распространение в основном среди ойратских наречий» [Биткеев, 1995. С. 129-130].

В «Үсгийн найрлага» указывалось, что цель создания «ясного письма» была связана с распространением буддизма среди монголов. Зая-пандита сумел в очень короткий срок распространить созданную им письменность среди ойратов Джунгарии, Куку-нура и ойратов проживающих на территории Волги. Но, не ограничиваясь этим, он задумался целью распространить письмо среди монголов Внутренней Монголии, находившейся в этот период под маньчжурским влиянием. Так, в 1654 г. в течение целого месяца он пробыл в местности Шавртай на берегу Куку-нура в ожидании Далай-ламы V, который направлялся в Пекин по приглашению Маньчжурского императора. Он встретился с Далай-ламой V и попросил его передать Джурчидскому Богдо-хану пожелание распространить «ясное письмо» среди монголов, оказавшихся в маньчжурском подданстве. Но маньчжурский император, не желавший признавать мощное государство четырех-ойратов, не дал своего разрешения [Раднабадра, 1691. л. 45 б]. Вследствие этого «ясное письмо» не смогло достичь своей главной цели – стать письменностью всех монголов, а реально получило распространение лишь среди ойратов. Это было связано, прежде всего, с общественно-политическими и историческими условиями того времени.

Также исследователи отмечают и другую причину, по которой «ясное письмо» получило распространение лишь среди ойратов: оно было «слишком ясным», что облегчало восприятие письменности среди ойратов и усложняло для остальных [Дувсанбалдан, 1975. С.32; Шагдарсүрэн, 2001. С. 48].

4 О базовом диалекте и основные принципы орфографии «ясного письма»

Название «ясное письмо» и истинное предназначение букв этого письма совпадают. Ученые единодушно отмечают, что «ясное письмо» успешно устранял недостатки, характерные для старомонгольской письменности: полифоничность букв и отсутствие специального знака для обозначения долготы гласной. Однако, вопрос о том, на каком из монгольских диалектов того периода основывался Зая-пандита при создании своего письма, до сих пор полностью и окончательно не решен.

Академик Б.Я. Владимирцов об этом писал следующее: «Он – Зая-пандита - создал действительно общий литературный ойратский язык на

почве ойратских говоров» [Владимирцов, 1929. С. 25]. Однако позже он уточняет: «Напрасно, впрочем, думать, что Зая-пандита взял за основу для своего нового литературного языка какое-либо одно или несколько близких наречий, например, хошеутовское, родное ему. Нет, язык, введенный стараниями Зая-пандиты и его учеников, был совершенно искусственным с самого начала, с первых же шагов, с первой написанной на нем страницы. До известной степени это был монгольский литературный письменный язык, но представленный в том виде, в каком его произносят, т.е. читают на одном из ойратских наречий» [Владимирцов, 1931. С. 13–14].

На то, что Зая-пандита создал «ясное письмо» не только для четырех-ойратов, но и для всех монголов, обратил внимание Г.Д. Санжеев: «Во всех ойратских сочинениях преимущественно буддийского характера говорится о том, что традиционная вступительная формула приводится на санскритском, тибетском и монгольском языках. Этим самым подчеркивалось, что ойраты не думают о каком-то особом, отличающемся от общемонгольского, ойратском литературном языке» [Санжеев, 1964. С.4]. Он отмечает, что Зая-пандита изначально называл вновь созданное письмо как «монгольское письмо», что он прилагал усилия для создания близкого и понятного письма, как для ойратов, так и для всех монголов того времени. В Законах калмыцкого хана Дондук-Даши XVIII в. «ясное письмо» называется «монгольское письмо», что указывает на то, что не только сам автор называл так свое творение, но и последующие его потомки вплоть до нынешних калмыков [Позднеев, 1907].

Н.Н. Поппе обращал внимание на то, что в орфографии «ясного письма» наблюдается губная гармония. Он также высказал предположение, что в основу орфографии «ясного письма» положен восточномонгольский диалект того периода, а именно: халхаский диалект [Поппе, 1966. С. 204].

Д. Кара выдвинул гипотезу о том, что, скорее всего, Зая-пандита положил в основу «ясного письма» родной хошеутовский диалект [Кара, 1972. С.100]. Однако, ученый не конкретизировал, в чем заключаются особенности хошеутовского диалекта, и какое влияние он оказал на «ясное письмо». Исследователи монгольского и ойратского языков отмечали, что существует хошеутовский подговор ойратского диалекта монгольского языка, но хошеутовский подговор волжских калмыков практически не отличается от торгутского. Что касается языка хошеутов Куку-нура, до настоящего времени по нему нет всестороннего исследования. Ученые всегда обращают внимание на то, что этот диалект занимает промежуточное положение между диалектами внутренних монголов и ойратов [Чингэлтэй, 1957. С.11]. На сегодняшний день сложно сказать определенно, в чем особенности исконно хошеутовского диалекта, и как он повлиял на «ясное письмо».

По поводу орфографии «ясного письма» академик Б.Я. Владимирцов, основываясь на материале языка произведений, переведенных Зая-пандитой и его учениками с тибетского языка на ойратский, пришел к выводу, что «язык «ясного письма» с множеством монголизмов, архаизмов, совсем не был каким-либо ойратским говором, литературно обработанным для нужд письменности, [но был] искусственный, отличавшийся от народной живой речи, отсюда основным принципом его орфографии был *педантичный этимологический принцип*. - по мнению Б.Я. Владимирцова -, хотя «ясное письмо» в сфере делопроизводства смогло приблизиться в некоторой степени к живому разговорному языку, в остальных сферах остановилось в застывшей форме, в результате оказалось *монгольским письменным языком второго сорта*» [Владимирцов, 1989. С. 26]. Он также считает, что созданный Зая-пандитой ойратский письменный язык с самого начала отличался от разговорного языка, и так как никто на нем не разговаривал, это привело к полной неграмотности народа в конце XIX века [Владимирцов, 1931. С. 14-15].

Г. Д. Санжеев считает, что «такая оценка орфографии ойратского письменного языка, данная Б.Я. Владимирцовым, является *слишком суровой*, если его сравнить с орфографией старописьменного монгольского языка» [Санжеев, 1977. С. 74]. Возникновение и создание старомонгольской и ойратской письменностей, разработка норм их орфографии происходили в совершенно разных социально-исторических, культурно-этнических условиях. -пишет Г.Д. Санжеев, - так как создание «ясного письма» совпало с самым непростым периодом в истории ойратов, отсутствие мирных условий не позволило тщательно разработать нормы и правила, развивать технику книгопечатания, то большинство пользователей имели начальный уровень знаний. По мнению Г. Д. Санжеева Зая-пандита старался приблизить орфографию «ясного письма» и к восточномонгольскому, и к ойратскому, вследствие чего в нем можно обнаружить и халхаские, и ойратские, и классические монгольские элементы, устойчивые формы монгольского письменного языка, но тем не менее особенности ойратского языка в нем преобладают [Санжеев, 1977. С. 76].

Х. Лувсанбалдан считает орфографию «ясного письма» основанным на морфологическом принципе, при этом он понимает под ним этимологический принцип, о котором писал Б.Я. Владимирцов [Лувсанбалдан, 1975. С. 45].

Нельзя сказать, что классическое «ясное письмо» основывается только на одном этимологическом принципе или только на морфологическом, его главным принципом является морфемно-фонетический принцип в сочетании с историческим. Орфография современного «ясного письма» основывается на фонетико-морфемном принципе. Слова, которые прежде писались согласно морфемному и историческому принципам, ныне пишутся на основе фонетико-морфемного принципа.

Педантичное отношение Зая-пандиты к орфографии своего «ясного письма» объясняется, по мнению Б.Я. Владимирцова, тем, что «Зая-пандита больше думал о филологах и школьниках, чем о практических деятелях» [Владимирцов, 1931. С. 14].

5 Периодизация истории развития «ясного письма»

Первая попытка периодизации процесса развития «ясного письма» связана с именем монгольского ойратоведа Х. Лувсанбалдана. В развитии «ясного письма» он выделяет два этапа, первый из которых – с 1648 года до II-ой половины XVIII столетия, а второй – со II-ой половины XVIII века до 1924 года в Калмыкии и по настоящее время в Синьцзянь-Уйгурском автономном районе КНР [Лувсанбалдан, 1975. С. 62]. При этом он отмечает, что «ясное письмо», используемое ойратами Синьцзяна, начиная со второй половины XVIII века по настоящее время является письменностью, отражающей фонетические, лексические, графические особенности языка синьцзянских ойратов [Лувсанбалдан, 1975. С. 63]. Вместе с тем, в своем лингвистическом комментарии к одной из брошюр, изданных в 40-х годах XX века на «ясном письме» в Синьцзяне, он сделал противоположный вывод «графическая система «ясного письма» в Синьцзяне со времени его создания Зая-пандитой не претерпела изменений» [Лувсанбалдан, 1975. С. 68]. Следует отметить, что периодизация Х. Лувсанбалдана приемлема в отношении развития «ясного письма» у волжских калмыков, но не безупречна в отношении «ясного письма» ойратов Синьцзяна.

С нашей точки зрения периодизация история развития «ясного письма» должна производиться с учетом его современного состояния и следующих объективных исторических факторов:

Во-первых, это было время, когда могущественное Джунгарское ханство было завоевано маньчжурами, что явилось не только трагической страницей в исторической судьбе ойратов, но и стало поворотным моментом в истории развития «ясного письма», являющегося не просто достоянием культуры ойратов, но и символом их государственности. «Ясное письмо», широко использовавшееся как государственная письменность, с этого периода начинает терять свои функциональные позиции. Но при этом следует отметить, что основные правила графической и орфографической систем не так быстро разрушились, как предполагают ученые, они сохранялись довольно продолжительное время и после распада Джунгарского ханства, что подтверждается письменными памятниками этого периода.

Во-вторых, найденные письменные памятники на «ясном письме», датированные второй половиной XVIII века до конца XIX века, говорят о сохранении в графической и орфографической системе «ясного письма» в Синьцзяне классических форм.

На основе предпринятого сравнительно-исторического анализа графических, орфографических и лексических особенностей языка «ясного письма» ойратов Синьцзяна, а также письменных памятников, датируемых II-ой половиной XVIII века, XIX века в целом и начала XX века, мы предлагаем следующую периодизацию:

- с 1648 года до конца XIX века – первый этап (классический период);
- с начала XX века до начала 50-х годов XX века - второй этап (переходный период);
- с 50-х годов до настоящего времени – третий этап (современный);

Как отмечалось выше, периодизация процесса развития «ясного письма», предложенная Х. Лувсанбалданом, достаточно обоснована для калмыков. Попытка известного алтаиста В. Л. Котвича в 1915 году реформировать графику «ясного письма», приблизив его к устной речи калмыков, не получила широкого применения. В результате новой политики языкового строительства в СССР в 1924 году «ясное письмо» полностью вышло из употребления, в Калмыкии была принята письменность на основе русской графики. По периодизации истории развития «ясного письма» мной была опубликована отдельная статья [Намжавин, 2003. С. 68-81].

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The Janggar Epos of the Altai People¹

Dava Taya

1 “Жангар” – ын ирэл гаралд холбогдох нэгэн асуудал

Баатарлаг тууль “Жангар” бол монгол төрөл хэл ба түрэг төрлийн хэлийг сундалсан аман уламжлал мөн. Өнгөрсөнд зарим эрдэмтдээс түрэг төрөл хэлний “Жангар”-ын уламжлалыг дэмий сайн ойлгодоггүй болохоор “Жангар”-ыг зөвхөн монгол үндэстний тууль хэмээн үзэж, түүнийг монгол үндэстэн, жич түүн лүгээ холбоо бүхий умардын үндэстний түүхтэй холбон судалдаг байлаа. Үүнд олонхи эрдэмтдээс монгол хэлээр уламжлагдсан “Жангар”-ын материалд л суурилан, нэг хэсэг хүмүүс нь “Жангар”-ыг Хүннү улсын Шаньюй хаанаас Торгууд хаант улсын Аюухь хаан хүртэлх ямар нэгэн түүхэн хүнтэй холбож судалдаг байхад, нөгөө хэсэг хүмүүс нь “Тэр чигээрээ 14–17 дугаар зууны Монголын нийгэм, ялангуяа Ойрадын нийгмийн түүхийн үнэн бодтой тусгал” [1, р. 20] гэх зэргээр ямар нэгэн цаг үеийн нийгэм түүхтэй холбох буюу эсэхүл “Жангар болон түүний баатарчууд түрүүн дөрвөн Ойрад, дундад дөрвөн Ойрад, сүүлийн дөрвөн Ойрад гурван адил бус түүхийн шат үеийн эл аймгийн хаад ноёдын түүхийн дүрийн тусгал мөн. Харин ямар нэгэн ганц хүний түүхийн дүрийн тусгал биш юм. Бодтойгоор хэлбэл, Тогоон тайш болон түүний хойчис Цоросын эл үеийн хаад ноёд бол Жангарын түүхийн дүр болох, Өрөгтөмөр болон түүний хойчис Хошуудын эл үеийн хаад ноёд бол Хонгорын түүхийн дүр болох, Амгалан тайш болон

¹ Original Title: ““Жангар” –ын ирэл гаралд холбогдох нэгэн асуудал”.

түүний хойчис Торгуудын эл үеийн хаад ноёд бол Алтан цээжийн түүхийн дүр болох. Тохурагуд (Торгууд) аймгийн феодал ноёд бол Мингян болон Бор магнай зэргийн баатарчуудын түүхийн дүр болно” [2, р. 203] гэхчилэн олон түүхт хүний дүрийн нийлбэрээр үздэг. Энэ асуудалд зориулж миний бие ““Жангар”-ын тууль газарзүй судлал – эртний монголчуудын газарзүйн үзэлтийн мөрдөл” [3] гэх ном туурвиж, монгол хэлээр уламжлагдсан “Жангар”-ыг тууль газарзүйн хараанаас л үзэхэд түүний гол баатрыг түүхэн хүн мөн гэж үзэхэд бэрхтэй гэх санаагаа дэвшүүлсэн юм.

Олны мэдээжээр, монгол хэлтний туулийн олонхи нь “Уулын түүхийн дурсамжаасаа түүхийн зориг санаа өөд, түүхийн туулиасаа язгуур тууль зүг шилжсэн” [4, р. 17] байхад, түрэг хэлтний туулийн уламжлал нь харин түүхийг хүүрнэх буюу эсэхүл туулийг түүхчлэх хандаштай [5] гэж олонхи хүмүүс үзэцгээдэг. Тэгвэл түрэг төрөл хэлээр уламжлагдсан “Жангар”-т түүний гол баатар нь түүхэн хүн мөн гэдгийг батлах баримт байдаг уу? гэх асуулт аяндаа тавигдана. Ийнхүү доор түрэг хэлний “Жангар”-ын хамгийн том уламжлалын орон болох Оросын холбооны Алтай улсын баатарлаг тууль “Жангар” жич түүнтэй ижил нэр бүхий уламжлалт соёлын үзэгдлийг сахиулсны нэр, сарын нэрийдэл, дууны төрлийн нэр, бүжгийн нэр жич туулийн нэр зэрэг таван талаар шинжлэхээр дамжуулж түрэг төрөл хэлтний “Жангар”, онцгойлон алтайчуудын эртний соёлын уламжлал дахь “Жангар” нь түүх лүгээ хэр зэрэг холбоотой байх жич түүний ирэл гарлын асуудлыг сүвэгчилье.

2 Сахиулсны нэр

Алтай улсын шидэт үлгэрт усан галвын дараа үүдэгч сахиулснаас нарт ертөнцөд томилсон хамаг анхны хоёр элчийн нэгийнх нь нэрийг Жангар хэмээн домоглодог [6, р. 93, 159]. Энэ тухай эрдэмтэн Вербицкий (Василий Иванович Вербицкий) (1827–1890)-н 1854 оны үеэр Алтай нутгаас тэмдэглээд 1893 онд хэвлүүлсэн “Алтайчууд” гэх номд нийтлүүлсэн домгуудын доторх “Бөөгийн үүсэл” гэх шидэт үлгэрт тэмдэглэснээр, усан галвын дараа үүдэгч сахиусан Өлихэн хүн амьтанд туслуулахаар тэнгэрийн орноос нарт ертөнцөд томилсон хоёр элчийн нэг нь Барилкс гэдэг байж нөгөө нь Жангар хэмээгч байв. Тэр хоёр бүр Эрлэг хаанаас бөө мөргөлийн эрдэм сурсан боловч Барилкс нь зөвхөн онгод оршуулахыг л сурч Жангар нь харин ганц онгод дуудахыг л сурсан байжээ. Ийнхүү тэд хоёул хамтран бөөгийн эрдэм чадвараараа усан галавт автагдсан хүн амьтныг тусалж барсны дараа, үүдэгч сахиулсан Өлихэнөөс онгод оршуулах эрдэмтэй Барилксыг Эрлэгийн зарцаар томилоод, онгод дуудах чадвартай (эчнээ ертөнцтэй харилцах эрдэмтэй)

Жангарыг нарт ертөнцөд үлдээж хамаг анхны бөө болгосон байв [7, pp.126-128]. Энд Жангар гэдэг нь хүн төрөлхтний амь насыг аварсан сахиулсны нэг болох мөртөө хүн төрөлхтний шүтлэг бишрэлийн соёл – бөө мөргөлийг үүдэгч соёлын баатрын дүрээр илэрч буй. “Үг хэлний ялгарал” гэх нөгөө нэг шидэт үлгэрт хүн төрөлхтөн зарч (заргач – эшлэгч)-ийн ач тусаар ихэд үржиж өсөөд дараачийн усан галваас зайлахын төлөө 77 тулгууртай өндөр уул бүтээж тэр нь тэнгэрт тулах шахаад тэнгэрийн оронд сүрдүүлэл болоход, Жангараас тэнгэрсийн санааг урьдчилан мэдээд: “Та нар тэнгэр бурханы эсрэг их буруу юм хийж байна, би уул хийхэд оролцмооргүй байна” гэж хэлээд явдаг [8, pp. 126–128] [9, p. 38][10, p. 193,159]. Энд Жангар нь тэнгэрийн санааг ард иргэдэд уламжлагчийн дүрээр илэрч байх мөртөө тэнгэрсийн санааг үнэнчээр мөрдөн дагагч болж буй. Эдгээрээс харахад алтайчуудын шидэт үлгэрт Жангар гэдэг нь үүдэгч сахиулснаас нарт ертөнцийн хүн амьтныг авруулахаар буулгасан элчийн нэг байж хожим нь үүдэгч сахиулсны томилолтоор хүний ертөнцөд үлдээд хамаг анхны бөө болсноор барахгүй нарт ертөнцийн хүмүүст тэнгэрийн санааг дамжуулагчаар оршиж байв. Иймээс алтайчуудад авч хэлбэл Жангар гэдэг нь нарт ертөнцийн түүхэн хүн бус, харин шидэт үлгэрийн ертөнц дэх анхны сахиулсны нэг байв.

3 Сарын нэрийдэл

Жилийн сүүл сар (12 дугаар сар) алтайчууд “Жангар сар (Janгар ай)” гэдэг [11, p. 93]. “Жангар сар” гэдэг нэрийдэл нь эртний сарын нэрийдлээр Алтай улсын музейн эд өлөг-т илэрснээр барахгүй одоо үеийн хуанлийн үзүүлэг-т хүртэл хэрэглэгдэж буй. Нөгөө талаар алтайчууд эрт дээр үеэс сарын нэрээр хүүхдэд нэр тавих уламжлалтай байж “Жангар сар (билгийн улирлын 12 дугаар сар)”-д төрсөн хүүхдэд байнга “Жангарай (Janгарай)” гэх нэр өгөөд “Цагаан сар (Чаган ай)” (1 дүгээр сар)-д төрсөн хүүхдэд “Цагаан (Чаган)” буюу “Цагаандай (Чагандай)” гэдэг нэр өгөх уламжлалтай байв [12, p. 295]. Энд гарч бүхий “Жангарай” гэх нэр нь Оросын Холбооны Алтай улс лугаа газарзүйн хувьд ойролцоо байх Монгол улсын Хөвсгөл аймгийн Галт сумаас тэмдэглэсэн “Богд ноён Жангарай”, чинагшид Дорнод аймгийн Матад сумаас тэмдэглэсэн “Богд ноён Жангарай”, Баянхонгор аймгийн Жаргалант сумаас тэмдэглэсэн “Богд Дэчин Жангарай” жич Финляндын монголч эрдэмтэн Г.И.Рамстедт 1909 оны сүүлчээр одоогийн Улаанбаатараас тэмдэглэсэн “Богд догшин Жангарай хаан” [13] зэрэг Монгол улсын “Жангар”-ын бүлгийн гол баатрын нэрийн дуудлагатай ижилхэн байна. Нөгөө талаар алтайчуудын сахиулсны нэрээр сарын нэр болгосон явдал нь эртний ромчуудаас “Janus (Үүдний сахиулс)”, “Febris (Эрлэгийн орны

сахнулс)”, “Mars (Дайчин сахиулс)” зэрэг сахиулсны нэрээр “нэгдүгээр сар”, “хоёрдугаар сар”, “гуравдугаар сар”-ыг тус тус нэрлээд одоохны Европ дахины сарын нэрийдэл үүссэн [14]-тэй ижилхэн соёлын үзэгдэл байв. Ер нь сарын нэрийдлийг “Жангар” хэмээн нэрлэдэг уламжлалаас үзэхэд, алтай хэлний “Жангар” гэдэг үг нь баатарлаг туулиас улирч ирсэн бус, харин “Жангар” гэх сахиулсны нэр жич түүнд холбогдох шидэт үлгэрээс ирэлтэй байж мэднэ. Ийнхүү алтайчуудын Жангар гэдэг нь сүүлийн үеийн түүхэн баатарт холбогдох домог дурсамж бус, харин нэлээд эртнээс уламжлалтай соёлын үзэгдэл болохыг харуулж буй.

4 Дууны төрлийн нэр

Алтайн уламжлалт магтаал дууны нэгэн төрлийг “Жангар (ЖаҢгар)” [15], [16], [17] буюу “Жангар кожонг (ЖаҢгар кожонг)” гэж нэрлэдэг. Үүнд “кожонг” гэдэг нь “алтайчуудын ардын дууны ерөнхий нэр мөн” [18]. Иймээс “ЖаҢгар” буюу “ЖаҢгар кожонг” нь мөн ч “Жангарын дуу” гэх үг мөн. Алтайчуудын угсаатан зүйн ойлборт “Жангар” гэдэг үгийг “Жангар – зан үйлийн дуу, ямар нэгэн зан үйлийг гүйцээх үед үргэлж бүхэл дугариг буюу хагас дугариг хэлбэртэй зогсож дуулдаг” [19, р. 433] гэх буюу “Жангар кожонг – тахилга тайлгын зан үйлийн дуу” [20, р. 433] хэмээн тайлбарлаж буй. Энэ тухай Алтай улсын ардын дуу судлаач М.А.Демчинова алтайчуудын ардын дууны доторх онцгой нэгэн төрөл бол даруй “Жангарын дуу (ЖаҢгар кожонг)” мөн. Тэр нь алтайчуудын эртний тахилга тайлгын зан үйлтэй холбогддог. Учир нь тус төрлийн дууг голдуу тахилга тайлгад оролцогсдоос Алтайн уул усны эзэд сахиулсад зориулж олноороо цуурай татуулан дуулдаг. Тус төрлийн дуунд хааяа хүний ертөнцийн амьдралын сайн сайхныг магтан дуулсан агуулгыг ч багтаадаг. Алтай нутагт буддын шашин дэлгэрч байх үед бурханд ч зориулан дуулж байсан [21, pp. 59–60] гэв. Энэ нь Халимаг буюу Шинжааны монголчууд “Жангар” хайлахаасаа өмнө эцэг тэнгэр, этүгэн эх, уул усны эзэд сахиулс, жич “Жангар”-ын сахиулсанд зориулж “Жангарын магтаал” дуу дуулдаг [22, pp. 166–174]-тай ойролцоо байна. Гэтэл монголчуудын “Жангарын магтаал”-ын агуулга нь голдуу дууныхаа гарчигтайгаа адилхан Жангар баатар буюу Жангарын сахиулснаа магтан дуулахаар гол болгож байхад, Алтайн “Жангарын дуу”-ны гарчигт л “Жангар” гэх үг үлдэж, агуулгад нь харин Жангар гэх баатар (буюу сахиулс)-ын нэр нь гээгдэж эзэд сахиулсанд зориулсан магтаал дуу болсон байна. Энэ нь Монгол улсын дөрвөд, захчин жич Оросын холбооны халимаг зэрэг ястан, Дундад улсын Хөхнуур, Ганьсу гэх мэт газар орны “Жангарын магтаал” нь ч Жангар гэдэг баатар (буюу сахиулс)-ын магтаалаасаа салж морины магтаал буюу эсгий гэрийн магтаал тийш шилжсэнээрээ ижил байна [23, р. 170]. Өөрөөр хэлбэл,

тус хоёр газар орны дуу нь баатар (буюу сахнулс)-ын магтаалаас өөр юмны магтаал тийш улирч хувирсан талаараа адил байна. Үнэндээ алтайчуудад авч хэлбэл, Жангар гэдэг нь ганц түүхэн баатар буюу туулийн баатар бус, харин сахиулсны нэг (Алтайн аливаа эзэд сахиулсны дээдэс) болохоор Алтайн эзэд сахиулсанд зориулсан магтаал нь мөн ч сахиулс Жангарын магтаал болох ёстой.

5 Бүжгийн нэр

Алтайчуудын уул хайрхны тахилгын Үед олноороо гар гараа барилцан бүтэн тойрог буюу хагас тойрог болж хүрээлэн бүжиглэдэг уламжлалт бүжгийг мөн “Жангар (Жангар)” гэдэг. Тус бүжгийг бүжиглэхэд олноороо гар гараа барилцан хүрээ хэлбэртэй болдог болохоор “Күрее Жангар (Хүрээ Жангар)” ч гэдэг. Энэ тухай Алтайн үндэстний бүжиг судлаач А.И.Шинжинагаас алтайчууд “эрт дээр үеэс нэг нь нөгөөгийнхөө гарыг атгах буюу нэг нь нөгөөгийнхөө мөр дээр гараа тавиад ‘Жангарын дуу (Жангар кожон)’-г дуулаад нааш цааш найгах, эсэхүл эргэн тойрч бүжиглэдэг уламжлалтай юм... ‘Хүрээ жангар (Күрее Жангар)’ бол алтайчуудын иймэрхүү уламжлалт бүжгийн соёлын нэг төрөл мөн. Тэр нь Эвенк үндэстний ёохор (ехорье), Якутын осуухай (осуохай), Буриадын ёохор (ехор)-той адилхан” [24, р. 159] гэсэн байна. Цаашид Алтайн баатарлаг тууль “Жангар” хийгээд ардын бүжиг “Жангар”-ын ялгаа зөрөөний тухай “Алтайн баатарлаг тууль ‘Жангар’ нь дуу ба хөгжмийн нийлбэр байхад ‘Хүрээ Жангар’ нь харин хөгжим ба бүжгийн нийлбэр мөн” [25, р. 159] гэснээс үзэхэд, алтайчуудын “Жангар” гэх ардын бүжиг хийгээд “Жангар” хэмээх баатарлаг тууль нь ижил нэгэн соёлын үзэгдлийн адил бус хоёр зүйлийн жүжиглэж тоглох хэлбэр байв. Үүнтэй ойролцоо Шинжаан Ойрадын жангарч нараас уул усны эзэд сахиулсан жич Жангарын сахиулсанд зориулж өөрийн бие цогцын хөдөлгөөнөөр баатарлаг тууль “Жангар”-ын товч агуулгыг дүрслэн үзүүлдэг уламжлалтай байв. Тухайлбал, Шинжааны Хежин сияны жангарч Пунсагаас “Жангары бий (бүжиг)-н дуу”-г дуулж “Жангары бий (бүжиг)”-г бүжиглэдэг [26, р. 294]. Үүнээс үзэхэд, Алтайн ардын бүжиг “Жангар” нь Шинжааны жангарчдын бүжиглэдэг “Жангары бий (бүжиг)”-тэй үүсэл гарлын талаар холбоотой байна. Алтай “Жангар” гэх бүжиг нь хэдийгээр “Жангарын дуу (Жангар кожон)”-г дуулаад бүжиглэдэг боловч “Жангарын дуу”-ны агуулга нь “Жангар” хэмээх туулиасаа салсантай адилхан “Жангар” хэмээх бүжигт нь ч баатарлаг тууль “Жангар”-ын агуулга нь гээгдэж голдуу уул хайрхны эзэд сахиулсанд зориулсан иргэний бүжгийн нэр болсон байна. Үнэндээ тус бүжиг нь “Жангарын дуу (Жангар кожон)”-тайгаа ижилхэн, Жангарын сахиулсан жич уул усны эзэд сахиулсанд зориулсан тахилга тайлгын бүжиг

болох ёстой. Иймээс алтайчуудын “Жангар” хэмээх бүжиг нь эртний шүтлэг бишрэлийн ажиллагаатай холбоо бүхий зан үйлийн уламжлал буюу иргэний уламжлалт бүжгийн соёл байв.

6 Туулийн нэр

Алтай улсын цорын ганц мөчлөг туулийн нэр буюу түүний гол баатрын нэрийг Жангар гэдэг. Тус туулийн аман уламжлалд холбогдох домог яриа нь 17 дугаар зуунд холбогддог [27, р. 56] боловч тус туулийн тухай эрдэм шинжилгээний мэдээлэл нь эрдэмтэн Л.П.Потаповын 20-р зууны дөчөөд оны “Алтайчуудын баатарлаг тууль” хэмээх өгүүллээс эхлээд [28, pp. 125–128] тусгайлсан судлал нь эрдэмтэн С.С.Суразаковын ““Жангар” ба алтайчуудын баатарлаг тууль” гэх өгүүллээр эхлэлээ болгосон юм [29, р. 74]. Онцгойлон эрдэмтэн Т.Б.Шинжинээс 1977–1980 оны хооронд Алтайн алдарт туульч Николай Кокурович Ялатов хайллагын дуу бичлэг хийж, хожим нь “Жангар – Алтайн баатарлаг тууль” гэх гарчгаар гурван боть болгон 1997, 2002, 2004 онд тус тус Алтай улсад хэвлэгдэв [30], [31], [32]. Тус туулийн нэр нь хэдийгээр Жангар хэмээх баатрын нэрээр нэрлэсэн боловч бүхий л туулийн агуулга нь дэлхий ертөнц сая үүсч бүрэлдэх үед газар ээж (эх газрын сахиулс)-ээс төрсөн баатар Жангар, түүний үр ач нарын хоёр үеийн хойчис жич түүний бусад баатруудаас Алтай нутгаа хамгаалсан үлгэрийг ярьдаг. Даруй “Жангар” гэдэг тууль нь ертөнцийг үүдэгч баатар Жангарын үлгэр байснаасаа, сүүлд нь түүний хойчис буюу түүнд харьяалагдах бусад баатарчуудын үйл ажиллагааг хүүрнэсэн том мөчлөг туулийн нэр болсон байна. Гэхдээ Алтайн настайчууд Алтайн бүх тууль нь бүр “Жангар”-аас үүсэж хөгжсөн гэдэг [33, р. 74]. Онцгойлон эрдэмтэн Л. П. Потопова 1942 онд “Жангар”-ыг багтаасан Алтайн олон тууль хайлдаг алдарт туульч Н.Улагашев (1861–1946)-ыг сурвалжлахад тэрбээр: “Жангар бол газар тэнгэр бүрэлдэх үүссэн Алтайн хамаг анхны тууль мөн” [34, pp. 125–128] гэсэн байв. Эрдэмтэн С.С.Суразаков (1925–1980) ч 1965 онд алдарт туульч Н.Улагашевтай уулзахад тэрбээр “Алтайн олонхи туулийн баатар нь бүр Жангарын баатрын хүүхдийн үлгэр мөн” [35, р. 74] гэх үгийг нэмж ярьсан байв. Эдгээр настайчууд буюу туульчдын яриа нь баатарлаг тууль “Жангар”-ын гол баатар ертөнцийн үүслийн цаг буюу “сахиулсны цаг үе”-тэй холбох гэсэн санаа гарч байна. Цаашид Монгол үндэстний “Жангар”-т Жангараас дээрх хэдэн үеийн өвөг дээдсийн нэрийг дурдах буюу заримынх нь бодтой үлгэрийг ярьдаг байхад, Алтай “Жангар”-т харин гол баатар Жангарыг “Цагаан тайга аавтай, Цагаан далай ээжтэй” [36] хэмээн хүний ертөнц дэх өвөг дээдэс буюу удам угсааг нь тоочин ярьдаггүй явдал нь түүний ертөнцийг үүдэн бүтээгч сахиулс буюу баатрын тусгал байж мэднэ. Мөн Алтайн

баатарлаг тууль “Жангар”-ын гарчгийг “Үүдэгч баатар Жангар” [37],[38] гэдэг нь ч үүнтэй холбоотой юм. Ийнхүү Алтайн туульчдаас баатарлаг тууль “Жангар”-аа сахиулс өөд хандуулах чиглэлтэй байж харин түүхэн хүн зүг холбох бодол сэтгэлгээ дэмий харагдахгүй байна.

Багцаалбал, алтай буюу монгол хэлний “Жангар” хэмээх баатарлаг тууль нь голдуу туулийн гол баатар болох “Жангар”-ын нэрээр нэрлэгдэх төдийгүй түүний баатарлаг үйл ажиллагаа, үр хойчис буюу түүний бусад баатрынх нь баатарлаг үйл ажиллагааг хүүрнэдэг аварга том мөчлөг тууль болох мөртөө тэр нь дууны төрөл буюу бүжгийн нэртэй холбогдсоноороо ижил талтай боловч Алтайн “Жангар” нь харин сахиулсны нэр ба сарын нэртэй холбогддоггоороо өвөрмөц байна. Онцгойлон Алтайн аман уламжлалд Жангар гэдэг нэрийг шидэт үлгэрийн ертөнцтэй холбох хандаштай байдгаараа зарим эрдэмтдийн ярьдаг түрэг хэлтний туулийн уламжлалтай ялгаатайгаар барахгүй монголчуудын “Жангар”-ын уламжлалтай ч зөрөөтэй байна. Өөрөөр хэлбэл, монголчуудаас “Жангар”-ыг туулийн баатраар хүүрнэх хандлагатай байхад алтайчууд харин түүнийг шидэт үлгэр буюу аливаа соёлын үзэгдлийн эхлэл өөд чиглүүлж буй. Даруй Монголд “Жангар” гэдэг нь голдуу Жангар хэмээх баатарт холбогдох аман уламжлал байхад, Алтайд харин баатар Жангарын үлгэрээс гадна Жангар хэмээх сахиулсанд холбогдох аман уламжлал буюу түүний нэрд холбогдох соёлын үзэгдэл ч болсон байна. Ийнхүү алтайчуудын “Жангар”-ын тухай ойлголт нь юунд монголчуудаас ялгаатай болсон бэ? Жангар хэмээх баатар жич түүнд холбогдох аман уламжлал нь чухам юунаас ирэлтэй вэ? гэх асуултаг тавигдаж байна. Энэ тухай хоёр зүйлийн төсөөлөл гаргаж болно. Нэгд, Жангар бол үнэхээр уугал Алтайн соёлын сахиулсны нэрээс ирэлтэй байж, тэр нь шидэт үлгэр ба сарын нэрийдэлт үлдсэнээр барахгүй, түүний ач гавьяаны магтаал дуулал нь ардын дуу буюу баатарлаг тууль болж, түүнд зориулсан тайллага, тахилгын үйл ажиллагаа нь бүжгийн соёл болсон магадгүй. Хоёрт, Жангар хэмээх узуур эртний түүхэн баатрын магтаал дуулаас түүнд холбогдох дуу, тууль, бүжиг үүсч, түүний тухай хүмүүсийн шүтлэг бишрэлийн ажиллагааны хөгжил хувирал нь түүнийг сахиулсанчлах чиглэлийг буй болгож, цаашид Алтайн шидэт үлгэр буюу сарын нэрийдлийг нөлөөлсөн магадгүй. Өөрөөр хэлбэл, Жангар гэдэг нь нэг бол анх эхэндээ бодтой түүхээс ирэлтэй домгийн хүн байсан бололтой байж, үгүй бол эртний шүтлэг бишрэлээс гаралтай сахиулсны нэр буюу шидэт үлгэрийн баатар байсан боломж буй. Гэхдээ тус асуудлыг зөвхөн алтайчууд буюу эсэхүл монголчуудын соёлын үзэгдэлээр нэг л дор шийдвэрлэж дийлэх зүйл бус болохоор хойшид нэн өргөн хараа зогсоцоос улам нэг алхам судалж шинжлэх явдал бачим шаардагдаж байна. Юу ч гэсэн “Жангар” нь шидэт үлгэрээс хөгжиж ирсэн ч тэр, түүхээс дурсамжаас хувирч ирсэн ч тэр, одоохны байдалд түрэг төрлийн хэлтний нэг

болох Алтай улсын “Жангар”-аас ямар нэгэн түүхийн бодтой хүний үлгэр мөн гэдгийг батлах баримт байхгүй гэгчийг энд онцлон дурдъя. Цаашид монгол баатарлаг тууль “Жангар”-ын гол баатар Жангарыг шууд монгол үндэстэн жич түүн лүгээ холбоотой умардын үндэстний түүхэн хүнтэй холбож ярих нь төдий утга агуулгагүй явдал болох буюу эсэхүл тус асуудлыг шийдвэрлэх цаг хугацаа болоогүй гэдгийг чухалчилъя.

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Oirat National Clothes, Names and Symbols of Mongolia¹

Yunger Tsendee

1 Бэлгэдэл

Монгол улсын ойрадууд, улсынхаа баруун талаар Увс, Ховд, Баян-Өлгий аймагт бөөнөөр суух ба дөрвөд, баяд, урианхай, захчин, торгууд, өөлд, мянгад зэрэг яснаас бүрдэнэ. Монголын ойрадын үндэсний хувцас нь энгийн, хүндэтгэлийн, гоёлын, охидын, сэвгэрийн, эхнэрийн, эрэгтэйн гэх мэт ялгаатай байна. Түүнчлэн ястан бүрийн онцлогийг хадгалсан байдаг.

2 Дээлийн зүйл.

Ойрадууд дээлийг ерөнхийд нь “дэвэл” гэдэг. Монголын ойрадууд богино босоо захтай, ухмал энгэртэй, 4-6 товчтой, зах, энгэр, ташаа нь эмжээртэй дээл өмсөнө. Нимгэн ба хөвөнтэй дээлийг “лавшиг”, нэхий дээлийг “арьсан дэвэл”, “үч”, “заргаг” гэнэ. “Үч”-ийг сагсаг үч (сэгсүүргэн дээл), хурьсах үч (хурганы арьсан дээл) гэж нэрлэнэ. “Заргаг” нь үсийг хайчилсан нимгэн арьс, ямаа болон янгирын арьсаар хийсэн дээл юм

¹ Original Title: “МОНГОЛЫН ОЙРАДЫН ҮНДЭСНИЙ ХУВЦАС, НЭРИШИЛ, БЭЛГЭДЭЛ”.



Picture 1: Debel, Üts, Latshig.

3 Цэгдэг-тэрлэг

Энэ нь ойрад эхнэрийн өмсөх хос хувцас. Цэгдэг-тэрлэгийг нөхөрт гарсан үед өмсөх тул бас “авгай хувцас” гэж нэрлэдэг. Цэгдэг нь зах, энгэр нь өргөн эмжээртэй, ханцуйгүй, задгай энгэртэй, урт хувцас юм. Дөрвөд, баяд эхнэр голдуу хөх, урианхай эхнэр хүрэн, хотон эхнэр хар өнгийн цэгдэг өмсдөг байжээ. Дөрвөд эхнэрийн цэгдэгийн дотно талд “халт” (хармаа) оёно. Урианхай эхнэрийн цэгдэгийн ар бүсэлхий нарийн байдгаараа онцлог. Цэгдэгийн дотор “тэрлэг” өмсөнө. Тэрлэг нь цагаан захтай, урт ханцуйтай, ханцуйны үзүүрт “нударам” (нударга) – тай хувцас юм. Ойрад эхнэрийн тэрлэгийн зах нь далыг бүрхсэн далбагар, олон хуниастай, цагаан өнгөтэй байдаг. Энэ нь эхийн сүү, цагаан сэтгэлийн бэлгэдэл гэж үздэг.

Урианхай эхнэрийн тэрлэгийн суга, ханцуй нь нэлээд уужим байдаг. Үүний учир нь самуун дайны үед ээж нь хүүхдээ тэрлэгийн ханцуйдаа нууж, дээрэм халдлагаас хамгаалдаг байсан гэсэн домог бий [Хээрийн судалгааны тайлан. 2016]. Мянгад эхнэрийн тэрлэг нь халх маягийн хийцтэй, мөр нь түнтгэр босоо байна. Хотон эхнэрийн тэрлэг нь догол энгэртэй, хар өнгөтэй байна. Хотон эхнэр нь цэгдэгийн дээр богино ханцуйтай, хар өнгийн “хэмнэг” (хүрэм) өмсдөг [Угсаатны зүй. 1996].



Picture 2: Terlig, Tsegdeg.

4 Цамцны зүйл

Ойрадууд цамцыг ерөнхийд нь “кийлэн”, “кийлэг” гэнэ. Энэ нь босоо захтай, аюулахай хүртэл задгай энгэртэй, урт ханцуйтай хувцас. Урианхайчууд кийлэгний дал хэсгийг давхарлаж оёдог. Үүнийг “далтай кийлэг” гэж нэрлэдэг. Цамцны зах, энгэр, ханцуйг утсаар янз бүрийн хээ гарган гоёж чимэглэдэг.



Picture 3: Kiileg

5 Малгайн зүйл

Малгайг “малхаа”, “махлаа” гэж нэрлэх ба олон янзын загвартай. Ихэвчлэн юүдэн, тоорцог, лоовууз өмсөнө. “Юүдэн” нь гурвалжин оройтой, хүрээтэй, бүчтэй малгай юм. Зарим юүдэнгийн ар талд шил, хүзүүг хамгаалсан “гижгивч” оёно. Дөрвөд, баядууд ихэвчлэн улаан өнгөтэй “юүдэн” өмсдөг. “Тоорцог” нь эсгий ба бөс, торгоор хийсэн, дугираг малгай. Зарим тоорцгийн хүрээ хэсэгт бяцхан саравч оёдог. Ийм тоорцгийг “чихтэй тоорцог” гэнэ. Зарим тоорцог “залаа” хэмээх улаан мяндсан урт цацагтай, зарим тоорцог орой дээрээ зангилаа бүхий “сампин”-тай байдаг. Өвлийн улиралд ихэвчлэн үнэгний арьсаар хийсэн “оовууз” (лоовууз) өмсөнө. Дэрвэгэр хүрээтэй, зуны малгайг “тийрцэг”, цэргийн дуулга мэт хэлбэртэй,

ардаа шилэвчтэй малгайг “дуулха”, үнэт арьсаар хийсэн гоёлын малгайг “халбан” гэж

нэрлэнэ. Урианхай эрэгтэй, эмэгтэйчүүд нь хавтгай оройтой, өндөр хүүрээтэй “төгрөг малхаа” өмсөнө.

Баяд, дөрвөдүүд “товь”, баядууд “хэрээн живэр”, “царцаа хар” хэмээх малгай, торгуудууд “гуйв”, өөлдүүд “тунлаа”, өөлд эхнэр “хавчиг”, мянгад эхнэр “сээтэн” гэх мэт ястан бүрийн онцлогийг хадгалсан янз бүрийн хийц загвартай үндэсний малгай өмсдөг байна [Амгалан М, 2000]. Хотон молда (лам) нар дуулха оройтой, урт чихтэй, шилэвчтэй, улаан залаатай “молдаа малхаа” өмсөнө. [Бадамхатан С. 1995]. Ойрад эрэгтэйчүүд зуны улиралд толгойдоо “алчуур” ороодог заншилтай байв.



Picture 4: Yüüden, Toortsog, Jatag.

6 Цувьн зүйл

Цув нь зориулалтаараа янз бүр. Баяд, урианхай сэвгэрүүд хадамд гарах үедээ улаан өнгөтэй “хуримын цув” өмсөж, улаан алчуураар толгойгоо ороодог байсан ажээ. [Ш.Эрдэнэцэцэг. 2015, Хээрийн судалгааны тайлан. 2017/. Хотон бэр хуримын үед шулуун энгэртэй, урт ханцуйтай “хотон цув” өмсөнө. [С.Бадамхатан, 1995]. Ойрадууд хуримын цуваас гадна бороо, сэрүүн үед “давхаг” хэмээх цув хэрэглэнэ.



Picture 5: Khalkhaar tsub.

7 Гутлын зүйл

Ойрадууд гутлыг “госон” гэж нэрлэнэ. Гос нь ихэвчлэн ээтэн хоншоортой, ширэн ба ширмэл ултай байдаг. Дөрвөд гуталд “дахмаа” (өсгийн зөөлөвч) хадна. Баяд гутал ихэвчлэн улаан өнгөтэй, өөлд гутлын өлмий, өсгий дугираг байдгаараа онцлог. Мянгадууд дугуй хоншоортой зөөлөн гутлыг “дуганцаг” гэж нэрлэдэг. Урианхайчууд “маага” гутал өмсөнө. Маага нь түрий, зуузай залгаасгүй, өмсөхөд зөөлөн, хөнгөн гутал бөгөөд анд өмсөж явахад тохиромжтой. Урианхай эхнэр “сөөхий” гутал өмсөнө.

Торгууд, захчингууд “тоокуу” гутал өмсөнө. Тоокуу нь хонины ноосоор их биенийг хийсэн, үхрийн ширэн “цариг” ултай гутал юм. [Х.Нямбуу, 2002]. Түрийгүй гутал буюу шаахайг мянгадууд “шагавч” гэж нэрлэдэг.



Picture 6: Mongol goson, Tookuu, Maaga

8 Дах ба дэктіг

Хүйтний үед хувцасны гадуур “дах” өмсөнө. Дахыг ихэвчлэн нохой ба янгирын арьсаар хийдэг. Гутлын гадуур, хонь, ямааны арьсны үсийг дотогш харуулж хийсэн “дэктүү” өмсөнө.

9 Оймс

Хонины ноосыг дарж, гар аргаар хийсэн урт түрийтэй, эсгий оймсыг гутлын дотно талд өмсдөг. Ойрадуудын оймс нь гутлын түрийтэй чацуу байдгаараа онцлог. Мянгадууд хүүхдэдээ хоншоор нь дугуй “дуганаа” хэмээх оймс өмсгөнө.

10 Өмдний зүйл

Ойрадууд (Мянгад яснаас бусад) өмдийг “үмдэн” гэнэ. Мөн мянгад, дөрвөдүүд өмдийг “туявч” гэж нэрлэх нь бий. Ойрадууд зуны улиралд зах, гуя нь уужим “шарваар”, өвлийн улиралд хонь, янгирын арьсаар хийсэн “арьсан өмд” өмсөнө. Бүсэлхий ороосон “маяг”-ыг эмэгтэйчүүд, лам нар өмсөнө. Түүнээс гадна гуя, өвдгийг хамгаалсан нэгэн зүйл хувцсыг урианхайчууд “туухавч”, дөрвөдүүд “туухуу” гэж нэрлэдэг. Ойрадын “бух ноолдаан” (Бөхийн барилдаан) -д илгээр хийсэн “шалбуур” хэмээх шуудаг өмсдөг байжээ.

11 Бүс, бүслэвч, гэлээний зүйл

Дээл дээр “бүс” бүсэлнэ. Бүсийг торго ба даавуугаар хийж бүсэлнэ. Дөрвөд, баядын хуримд хүргэнд “Бүс бүслүүлэх” гэдэг зан үйл бий. Энэ нь хүргэн манай хүн боллоо гэсэн утгатай ажээ. Тэлээг “өлк” гэх ба нарийн сур ба олон давхар нарийн бөсөөр хийдэг.

12 Ханцавч

Дээл, цэгдэг-тэрлэгийн дотно талд оёсон хүйтнээс гарыг хамгаалах хувцас бөгөөд энэ нь бээлийний үүрэгтэй.

13 Хүүхдийн хувцас

Нялх хүүхдийн бариувчийг ойрадууд “баринаа”, “баринтаг” гэнэ. Баринаа нь ухлаадсан захтай, энгэр, суганд нь бүч хадсан байна. Бага хүүхдийн хувцасны зах ба манцуйд нь хөө хуяг, нум сумын дүрстэй хадлага, эсвэл оюу, ёвуу зэрэг эрдэнийн чулуу бэхэлнэ. Энэ нь хүүхдийг элдэв аюул, ослоос хамгаалах дом юм.



Picture 7: Barinaa, Boitog

Монголын ойрадын хувцсанд монголын бусад ястны хувцасны хэв маяг холилдсон тал бий. Тухайлбал, мянгад эмэгтэйн тэрлэг нь халх, хотгойд эмэгтэйн уужтай, баядын сээтэн малгай нь халхын “нохойн гуя” малгайтай, торгуудын “хэрээн живэр” малгай нь хотонгийн “молдаа малгай”-тай төстэй. Монголын ойрадын олон ястны хувцсыг, Халимагийн хувцастай харьцуулан үзвэл адил төстэй тал ба ялгавар бий. Дээлийг нийтдээ “дэвэл” гэх боловч монголын ойрадууд ухлаадсан ба ташуу энгэртэй хувцсыг дэвэл, халимагууд тууш задгай энгэртэй хувцсыг “девал” гэдэг.

Халимаг болон ховог сайрын торгуудууд “бишмүүд” гэх задгай энгэртэй хувцсыг өмсдөг. [О.Тайван. 2015]. Халимагууд бэрз, бийз, күлт гэх гадуур хувцас, хаамг, хулхвч, хажлаг, тумаш гэх мэт малгай, боршмг, чэрг, өрмг гэх мэт гутал өмсөнө. [Порбеев Г.Ц. 1996]. Монголын ойрадуудын гутал нь ээтэн хоншоортой байхад халимагуудын гутал нь ээтэн биш юм. Халимагт ламын хувцсыг “номт хувцн” хэмээн хүндэтгэн нэрлэнэ. Халимагт лам нар өмсдөг, хавчгар, улаан өнгөтэй малгайг “жатаг” гэдэг бол монголын торгуудууд дөрвөн талтай, хөх оройтой, улаан жинстэй малгайг “жатаг” гэдэг байна.

Түүнээс гадна ойрад, халимагийн хувцсанд угсаатны түүхийн ул мөр хадгалагдан шингэжээ. Тухайлбал; малгай нь улаан залаатай байдаг нь “Улаан залаат монгол”, зарим малгай дөрвөн талтай байдаг нь “Дөрвөн ойрад”, зарим ястнууд хүүхдийн хувцсанд нум сумын дүрстэй хадлага зүүдэг нь эртний цэргийн зэр зэвсгийн улбаатай гэж үздэг. Түүнчлэн дайн самууны үетэй холбогдож зарим ястнууд улаан гутал, хар өнгийн хувцас, уужим ханцуйтай тэрлэг өмсдөг, “дуулха” хэмээх малгай нь цэргийн “дуулга”-тай, “дуулха”-ын ард байгаа “гижгивч” нь дуулганы шилэвчийн ул мөр гэдэг. Хотон хувцсанд хасаг, уйгар, халимаг хувцсанд хасаг, европ маягийн хувцасны хэв маяг шингэснийг ажиглаж болно. Энэчлэн ойрадын олон ястан ба халимагуудын хувцас, хувцасны нэршил нь өөр байгаа хэдий ч ойрадын угсаа-түүх- соёлын онцлогийг хадгалсан байгааг дурдах нь зүйтэй.

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Bibliographic Studies of the Sutras in Clear Script

Jigdengombo Tsezen

Abstract

The early manuscripts and woodblock prints in clear script, that was invented by Oirat monk Zaya Bandita *Namkhaijants* in the 17th Century (1648), have being handed down to us. This historical-cultural recollection was less used, read and therefore were gradually vanishing in the course of time.

We have ca. 2000 books in clear script which have been preserved in the museum, and library of Chovd and Uvs-Aimag in Western Mongolia, as well as in the Mongolian Academy of Sciences in Ulaanbaatar.

However, there are less precise information about such books in individual collections and foreign libraries. Mentioning those books only by the title is not sufficient for our studies.

Therefore, to determine the role of the clear script in its importance of socio-cultural aspects, it is necessary to protect, preserve and define those valuable resources and literature. The description of a complete bibliography is possible if we define it by 20–30 indications.

Our scientists have currently released the first book using 28 indications according to book protection and its structure in clear letter. This allows us to identify the book storage grades in modern times. Also studying this book in different fields can offer various information simultaneously.

This paper presents those clear script manuscripts which are stored in the “Mongolian State National Library”, how they are defined and the information they contain.

The aim of this paper is, to accomplish a general catalog of books in clear script preserved in the treasure rooms of the libraries and exchange detailed information. For that purpose, research is conducted regarding the collection of “clear letter material” in Uvs and Khovd-Aimag in Mongolia, in Kalmykia in Russian Federation, the Kyrgyz Republic and the *Kök-Nuur* (Qinghai) and Xinjiang in the People’s Republic of China and other places. Furthermore, it is important to consider the private collections and to constitute a bibliographic research.

1 УДИРТГААЛ ХЭСЭГ: Тод номын дэлгэрэнгүй тодорхойлолт гэж юу вэ?

Өнгөрсөн үед олон улс оронд монгол судрын талаар энгийн, бүртгэлийн шинжтэй каталог хийгдэж ирсэн. Энэ нь бидэнд уг номын талаар товч мэдээллийг өгч, цаашдын эрэл хайгууд хөтөч болж ирсэн сайн талтай.

Гэвч орчин үед ганц хувьтай хуучны гар бичмэл, барламал номыг олж унших асуудал төвөгтэй, номын сангаас гадуур авч унших боломж хомс байдаг. Нөгөө талаар эртний, ховор номын бүрэн мэдээлэл бүхий цахим мэдээллийн нэгдсэн нөөц хараахан бүрдээгүй байна.

Иймд тэдгээрийг бүрэн хэмжээгээр хадгалж хамгаалах, уншлагад бэлтгэх, судлаачдад туслах асуудлыг шинжлэх ухааны үндэстэй зохион байгуулахад энгийн бүртгэлийн аргаар бус, илүү дэлгэрэнгүй тодорхойлолт чухал гэж үзэж байна.

Судлаач миний бие өөрийн шавь МУҮНС-ийн доктор Б.Тунгалагийн хамт эртний ховор, ганц хувь судрыг аль болох олон үзүүлэлтээр тодорхойлох шалгуур үзүүлэлтийг судалсан билээ. Ингээд МУҮНС-д хадгалагдаж буй 336 тод гар бичмэлийг 28 үзүүлэлтээр тодорхойлсон туршлага бий.

Шинжлэх ухааны эрэл хайгуул гүнзгийрч, мэдээллийн даяаршил болж буй өнөө үед нарийвчилсан, олон мэдээллийг агуулсан аргыг эрэлхийлэх шаардлагатай байгаа нь “Дэлгэрэнгүй тодорхойлолт”-ын мөн чанар болно.

2 Тод номыг судалсан тойм

Ойрадын Зая бандид Намхайжамц /1599-1662/ “Тод үсэг”-ийг зохиосноос хойш бичиж, орчуулсан олон ном бидэнд уламжлагдажээ.

Тод номын тухай тэмдэглэсэн анхны мэдээ бол Зая бандидын шавь Раднаабадраагийн бичсэн “Сарны гэрэл”¹ бүтээл юм. Уг бүтээлд “...Товчибол барс жилээс хойд барст хүртэл хошууд, торгууд, дөрвөд, зүүн гар тэргүүтэн дөрвөн ойрад бүгдэд судар, зарлиг, шастир олныг орчуулсан” хэмээн тэмдэглэсэн нь 1650-1662 он юм.

Тэнд Зая бандид өөрөө 170 гаруй ном төвдөөс орчуулсан, тод үсгээр хүмүүс ном захиалдаг байсан /40 гаруй хүний нэр бий/ тухай тэмдэглэсэн, бас тод номын олон бичээч нар ажилладаг байсан зэрэг мэдээлэл тодорхой байна². Энэ үеэс хойш 300 гаруй жил өнгөрч түүнийг судлах ажил сүүлийн 100 гаруй жил үргэлжилж байна.

1930-аад оноос МУҮНС-д тод ном цуглуулж эхэлсэн ба 1967 онд Монгол улсын ШУА-ийн Хэл зохиолын хүрээлэнгээс Тод номын хөмрөг байгуулах шийдвэр гарав. Ингэснээр тод ном цуглуулах, судлах ажил эрчимжсэн юм.

Ренчин тэргүүтэй эрдэмтэд 1965 оноос Ойрадын яс, элхэний бүртгэл хийх экспедицээр Увс, Ховдоод ажиллах явцдаа Тод номыг авдар авдраар цуглуулсан тухай тэмдэглэжээ. Үүний үр дүнд Монгол улс нийт 400 гаруй нэр төрлийн 2000 гаруй тод номын сан хөмрөгтэй болсон юм. XIX зууны дунд үеэс гадаадын монгол судлаачдын тод судлалын бүтээл гарч эхлэв.

Казанийн их сургуулийн профессор А.Поповын “Кальмыцкая грамматика” /1847/, А.Бобровниковын “Грамматика монгольско-кальмыцкого языка” /1849/ бүтээл гарч,

“Тод үсэг”-ийг “Бичгийн хэл” хэмээн дүгнэсэн явдал судалгааны чухал эх хэрэглэгдэхүүн болсоор байна.

А.Позднеев Тод үсгээр бичсэн үлгэрүүд, “Халимаг-орос толь”, Вл.Котвич Халимаг оньсого, зүйр цэцэн үг, Б.Лауфер, Б.Я.Владимирцов “Монголын утга зохиолын төлөв” /1927/³. Хайссиг. “Монгол гар бичмэл, барын ном, газрын зураг”/1961/⁴. академич Б.Ринчен “Монгол бичгийн хэлний зүй”/1964/⁵. Х.Лувсанбалдан. Тод үсэг, түүний дурсгалууд. /1975, 2015/ г.м. бусад олон эрдэмтэд судалгааны олон бүтээл туурвижээ. Тод номыг дагнан цуглуулсан, номзүйн бүртгэл анх үйлдсэн эрдэмтэн бол Монголын Халтарын Лувсанбалдан юм.

¹ Раднаабадраа. “ᠨᠠᠳᠢᠦ ᠠᠶᠢᠳᠦ” (“Rabjamba ᠰay-a bandida-yin tucuji saran-u gerel kemekü. Ene metü bolog”) 1691.-8d-10b. /Орос хэлээр анх Г.С.Лыткин, дараа нь К.Ф. Голстунский /1640 онд “Монгол-Ойрадын цаазын бичиг”/.

² Лувсанбалдан Х. Тод монгол барын номын тухай. Монгол судлал. ҮГ боть, УБ., 1969.-22–23-р тал.

³ Лауфер В, Владимирцов Б.Я. Очерк Монгольской литературы. Л.,1927.-10, 27-р тал.

⁴ Mogolische Handschriften Blockdrucke Landkarten. Wieswaiden.,1961.-19-р талд.

⁵ Ренчин Б. Монгол бичгийн хэлний зүй. УБ.,1964.-108–109-р тал; мөн Ойратские переводы с китайского. Варшав.1966.-66-р талд.

3 Тод номын тархац, хадгалалт /Зураг. №1

Тод номын тархацыг Х.Лувсанбалданы судалгаанд үндэслэн 2 үед авч үзэх боломжтой:

1. 1648 оноос-ХҮШ зууны 2-р хагас хүртэлх Монголын үе /Зая бандидын зохиосон тод үсгийн дүрмээр /ойрад аялгуу байхгүй/
2. ХҮШ зууны 2-р хагасаас 1924 он хүртэлх Халимагийн үе /халимаг аялгуутай/ ба одоог хүртэлх Шинжааны үе /Шинжаан-ойрад аялгуутай/

Ийм учраас Тод номын тархацыг газар нутгийн хувьд:

1. Монгол улсын Баруун Монголын /дөрвөд, баяд, мянгат, захчин, өөлд, урианхай, хошуут, торгууд г.м./ угсаатны дунд
2. Ижил мөрний Халимаг
3. Хятадын Шинжаан, Алашаа /торгуут, хошууд, өөлд, цахар г.м./угсаатны дунд тархсан хэмээн ерөнхийд нь авч үзэх боломжтой.

Дээрх хүрээнд номзүйн мэдээлэл хуримтлуулж, нэгдсэн каталог хийх нь Ойрад хэл соёл, түүхийг судлахад тулгуур эх хэрэглэгдэхүүн болох болно.



Picture 1: Тод номын тархац.

4 Тод ном хаана хадгалагдаж байна?

1. Монгол улсын Үндэсний номын сан, ШУА-ийн Хэл зохиолын эрдэм шинжилгээний хүрээлэн, Увс, Ховд аймгийн орон нутаг судлах музей, хувь хүний цуглуулга;
2. ОХУ-ын Ленинградын Дорно дахины хүрээлэнгийн номын сан, Ждановын нэрэмжит Улсын их сургуулийн Дорно дахины хэл судлалын номын сан, мөн Буриадын номын сан;
3. Халимаг улсын Номын сан;
4. Германы Хейссигийн “Монгол гар бичмэл, барын ном хийгээд газрын зураг” /1961/ каталогт орсон тод ном /Берлингийн Төв номын санд шилжиж ирсэн болов уу/
5. БНХАУ-ын Шинэжаан Уйгарын номын сан, хувь хүний цуглуулга ба бусад газар тархан хадгалагдаж үлджээ

Тод номыг тодорхойлох хэрэгцээ. Тод номын мэдээлэл зөрүүтэй байна.

- XXI зууны өндөрлөгөөс эргэн харахад Ойрад-монгол угсаатан нар газар нутаг, улс орноор нэг нэгнээсээ алслагдаж язгуур хэл соёл холилдон уусах, мартагдах шинжтэй болсон.
- Тод үсгээр бичих, унших хэрэгцээ багасаж, өнгөрсөн үеийн ном зохиол эртний, ховор, олдоц багатай эх хэрэглэгдэхүүн болон хувирч байна.
- Гар бичмэлийн онцлог, зохиогчийн ур чадвар, ойрад аман аялгуу, өдгөө хэрэглэгдэхээ больсон зарим нэр томъёо, хуучирч элэгдсэн хавтас, хуудас зэргээс шалтгаалан шууд ангилах боломж муу, мөн бичсэн, хэвлэсэн мэдээлэл орхигдож холилдсон шинжтэй болжээ.
- Тод судлаачдын ашигласан номын нэрс, зохиогч, он цаг, агуулгад холбогдох мэдээлэл зөрүүтэй, тухайлбал, “Сарны гэрэл”-д-1648 онд, ”Дөрвөн ойрадын түүх”-д 1636 онд Зая бандид тод үсгийг зохиосон тэмдэглэл бий. Харин 1642 онд Зая бандид “Банчин хутагтын тууж”, 1644 онд “Маань Ганбүм” зохиолыг орчуулсан мэдээлэл төгсгөлийн үгд тодорхой байна⁶ Энэ нь хутагааны хувьд “Тод үсэг” зохиохоос өмнөх үед холбогддог г.м. зөрүү мэдээлэл бий

⁶ Лувсанбалдан Х. Тод үсэг түүний дурсгалууд. УБ., 2015.-15, 21-р тал.

Бид “Тод ном”-ыг бүрэн шавхан цуглуулаагүй байна

- Хаана ямар ном хадгалагдаж буй талаарх бүрэн, цэгцтэй мэдээлэл, нэгдсэн каталог, мэдээллийн нөөц хараахан алга байна.
- Бид эхлээд улсын сан хөмрөг дэх тод номыг дэлгэрэнгүй тодорхойлолтоор нэгтгэх шаардлагатай. Энэ нь бусад жижиг цэг салбар, хувийн цуглуулгын мэдээллийг цаашид нэгтгэх боломж бүрдүүлэнэ.

Тод номын төгсгөлийн үг балархай байна

- Ихэнх судрын төгсгөлийн үг байхгүй тул хэн хэнийд зохиосон мэдээлэл тодорхой бус байсаар байна.
- Төгсгөлийн үгтэй зарим судраас үзэхэд тод номыг үнэсэн самбарт болон цаасан дээр хуулан бичдэг бичээч нар нэгэн зэрэг ажиллаж байсныг нэрээр нь гаргах боломжтой⁷.
- Иймд Тод номын төгсгөлийн үгийг тодорхойлохдоо жарны он тооллыг зөв харьцуулах хэрэгтэй.

Барын номын мэдээ бичмэлээс бага

- Тод ном ихэнхдээ бичмэл хэлбэрээр тархсан, харин барламал ном цөөн.
- Зарим судлаачид, тухайлбал, Б.Лауфер “...Халимаг буюу Ойрдад тод үсгээр ном барлаж байгаагүй бололтой”⁸ гэсэн бол Б.Я.Владимирцов уг бүтээлийн оршилд “...ЗХУ-ын Азийн музейд тод үсгээр барласан хоёр ном байна”, Германы Хейссигийн каталогт “...тод монгол барын ном нийт 7 байна”, Монголын Б.Ренчин “Нангиадаас орчуулсан ойрадын орчуулга”-д тод барын ном-7-8 байна гэж тус тус тэмдэглэсэн бий.⁹

⁷ Лувсанбалдан Х. Тод үсэг түүний дурсгалууд. УБ., 2015.-129-р тал.

⁸ Лауфер Б.Очерк Монгольской литературы.Л.,1927.-10, 27-р тал.

⁹ Ренчин Б.Ойратские переводы с китайского. Варшав.1966.-66-р тал.

- Х.Лувсанбалданы судалгаагаар Монголын хэл зохиолын хүрээлэнгийн сан хөмрөгт тод монгол барын ном 12, барласан тухай 2 номын мэдээ бий гэжээ.
- Цаашид барын номын тухай мэдээллийг судлах, хэвлэсэн мэт дармал, хичээнгүй бичгийн номыг сайтар ялган тодорхойлох шаардлагатай

Аль нь эх зохиол болох нь тодорхойгүй юм

- Нэг ном олон хувилбараар байна.
- Аль нь эх зохиол, аль нь хуулбар болох, зохиосон ба ямар хэлнээс орчуулсан, бичмэл барламалын аль нь болох зэрэг тодорхой бус олон хувилбар байдаг. Тухайлбал, Хэл зохиолын хүрээлэнд бичмэл 2 “Алтангэрэл” бий. Нэг дэхийн төгсгөлийн үгд 1741 онд Зүүн гарт, хоёр дахид Ижил мөрний Халимагт 1741–1761 онд тод үсгээр барласан мэдээ тэмдэглэгдсэн байна¹⁰.
- Энэ мэт олон шалтгааныг тодруулах үүднээс одоогийн хадгалагдаж үлдсэн байдалд судалгаа хийж дэлгэрэнгүй тодорхойлолт хийх шаардлагатай.

5 Тод номыг тодорхойлох үзүүлэлт/Аргачлал тусгай бичлэгт бий/

Ийм үзүүлэлтийг бид 28-30 гаруй байхаар тогтоож байна*. Шалгуур үзүүлэлт нь аль ч улс оронд тухайн ном хэрхэн хадгалагдаж үлдсэн байдлаас хамаарах тул үзүүлэлт тус бүр дээр нэмэлт хийх зэргээр сайтар анхаарах болов уу (Хавсралтад үзнэ үү)

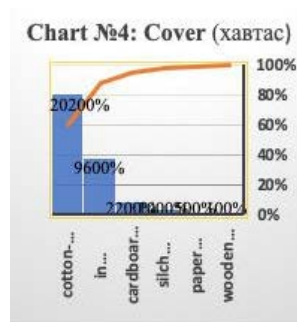
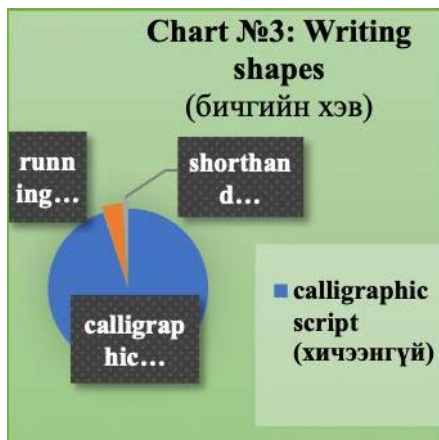
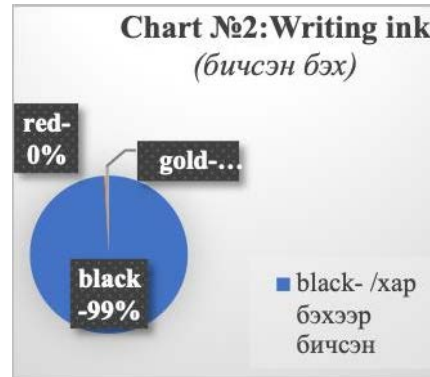
“Алтангэрэл” сударт хийсэн номзүйн тодорхойлолтын шалгуур үзүүлэлтийг хавсралтын хүснэгтээс харна уу.

Энэ мэт МУҮНС-д хадгалагдаж буй 336 тод ном тус бүрийг дээрх үзүүлэлтээр тодорхойлсны заримыг графикт /1-5/ харуулбал:

¹⁰ Лувсанбалдан Х. Тод үсэг түүний дурсгалууд. УБ., 2015.-104-р тал.

* Энд авч үзэж буй үзүүлэлт бол МУҮНС лэх “Тод ном”-ын хадгалалтаас хамаарч хийсэн болно.

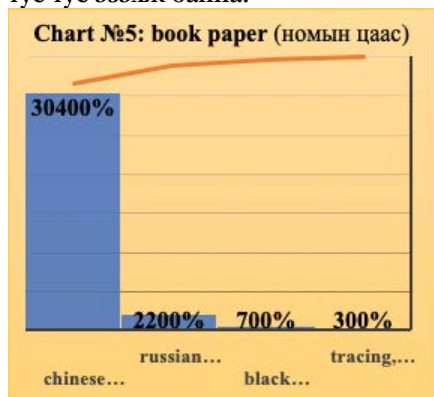
Tables 1-4: МУҮНС-д хадгалагдаж буй тод үсгийн номын тодорхойлолт



Дээрх судалгаанаас үзэхэд:

1. Тод номын хавтас: - 60 % нь даавуу, -28,5 % дугтуйнд, 6,5 кардон, 3 % торгоор;
2. Ном бичсэн цаас: 90,4 % муутуу (хятад цаас), 6,5 % орос цаас, бусад нь болгомол хар цаас;
3. Үсгийн хэлбэр: Хичээнгүй бичиг -95 %, гүймэг бичиг-1%, таталган бичиг-4%;
4. Бичсэн бэх: Хар бэх-99%, алт-1%;

Table 5: Номын хэлбэр: Сударчилсан 97%, дэвтэрчилсэн 2%, нугалбар 1%-ийг тус тус эзэлж байна.



6 Дүгнэлт

Тод номыг номзүйчлэн судлах дээрх шалгуур үзүүлэлтийг мөрдөснөөр дараах үр дүнд хүрнэ:

- Тод номын нэгдсэн мэдээллийн нөөцтэй болно
- Олон газар хадгалагдаж буй тод номын мэдээллийг цэгцлэх, системчлэх боломж бүрдэнэ
- Хувь хүний цуглуулгын мэдээллийг нэгтгэх боломжтой
- Алслагдсан орон зайнаас тод номын мэдээллийг харилцан солилцож, судалгааны эргэлтэнд оруулна
- Тод номын хадгалаалтын дархлаажилтыг тогтоох боломж бүрдэнэ.

“ТОД НОМ”-ЫН НЭГДСЭН КАТАЛОГ” -хөтөлбөрийг хамтран хэрэгжүүлэх санал дэвшүүлж байна.

7 Appendix



Гар бичмэл болон барын эртний ном тодорхойлох үзүүлэлт. Тод үсгийн “Алтангэрэл”-ийн жишээн дээр.

Table of Description indicators

№	Description indicator	Тодорхойлолтын үзүүлэлт	Харуулт / Comment
1	The code of the library of the country	Аль улсын номын санга хадгалагдаж буй код	МУҮНС-д /In the storehouse of the manuscripts and rare books of the National Library of Mongolia
2	Library inventory number	Номын сангийн дансны дутаар	8384/96
3	Index of the scientific classification	Шинжлэх ухааны ангиллын индекс	Учир шалтгааны ухаан:Билиг барамид Philosophy (ААА-100)
4	Author code	Зохиогчийн үсгийн тэмдэгт	А-486
5	Author	Зохиогч	Бурхан багийн зохиол /Siddhartha Gautama (the buddhist canon)
6	Translator	Орчуулагч	Зая бандид Намхайжамц /Zaya Vandita Namkhajamts

7	Writing script	Ямар Үсгээр бичигдсэн	<i>Тод үсгээр / Clear script</i>
8	Who request	Хэний хүсэлтээр бичсэн	<i>Агаалай алдар / Agaalai Aldar</i>
9	The name of the person who wrote on the ash-board	Үнэсэн самбарт бичсэн хүний нэр	<i>Мэргэн гүүш Чүлтэмжамц / Mergen gush Chultemjamts</i>
10	The name of the person who wrote on paper	Цаасан дээр бичсэн хүний нэр	<i>Гэндэнсамбуу / Gendensambu</i>
11	Title of the book	Номын нэр	<i>“Хутагт дэд Алтангэрэл судрын аймгийн эрхэт хаан хэмээх их хөмгөн судар оршивой” / “Kbutagt degeed Altangerel sudrin aimgiin erkhet kban khemeekh ikh kbulgun sudar orshivoi”</i>
12	Date of publication	Бичсэн он	<i>XIX зуун / цаас нь XIX зууны эхэн үеийнх/ 19th Century</i>
13	Year of translation	Орчуулсан он	<i>17-18th century/ Comparison with other Altangerel-Sutra/</i>
14	...The beginning of the book	...Номын эхлэл	<i>...Урьд баг хоосон ирээдүй хийгээд эдүгээх болсон бурхан хийгээд бодисадва хийгээд хутагт сартаг хамагт мэргөм үү. Пийн хэмээн миний сонсон нэгэн цагт газар цогц номын чанар бурханы явдлын оронд түүнчлэн ...</i>
15	Brief content of the book	Номын агуулга товч	<i>Бурхан багшаас өмнөх Дахин төрөл олсон тухай болон сургааль айлдсан- / About Buddha and the sermons of Rebirth</i>

16	Number of book chapters	Номын бүлгийн тоо	<i>10 doltumta / 10 Chapters</i>
17	Dedication/ преданность на вольность- <i>notes of worship and dedications</i>	“Тахилын үг”	<p>Энэтхэгийн хэлэнд: Арьяасау-дарана бравха сутрана дара разана махаяна сутра.</p> <p>Төвдийн хэлэнд: Пагва Сэр од дамба до дэй данбой жалбо тэгба чэнбо до.</p> <p>Монголын хэлэнд: Хутагт дээд алтангэрэл судрын аймгийн эрхэт хаан хэмээх их хөлгөн судар. Урьд баг</p>
18	Colophon	“Төгсгөлийн үг”	<p>“...Хутагт сударын эрхэт хаан дээд алтангэрэл хэмээх их хөлгөний судар дуусвай. Раши дээд Шагжамүний сэтгэлийн шим аль сэтгэсэн хувьтан эрэл сайтар ханган ашид асран авахуйл хоёр шид өгөгч ариун сайн зарлигийн охь алтангэрэл үүнийг эртний буянаар олны эзэн биеийн олон эсэрхүй сүжгээр эрдэнэ гурван дээд лам шажныг тахигч эндүүрэл үгүй өгүүлээр арга билиг бүтээн бурханыг хэрэглэгч энэрэхүй сэтгэл төгссөн Агаалай алдар дурсанд. Олон хувьтны огторгуй нисденисийг даран осолдол үгүй тонилохуй мөрийн шат байгуулан улбар дээд их амгалан олохын тул Огторгуйн далай Равжам Зая бандида орчуулбай. Ономохуй үгт нэгэн гүүш Чүлтэмжамц самардан.</p> <p>Онц дээдийг хэрэглэгч хэтэрхий бичээч Гэндэнсамбуу цаасанд бичсэн улбар буяныг үнэнээр төр шажин өргөжин дэлгэрч</p>

			олон төрөлхтөн онц номоор явж бурхан болтугай. Сарга манга лама”
19	Writing style	Бичгийн хэв	<i>Хичээнгүй бичгээр / Calligraphic script</i>
20	What language was the translation made from	Ямар хэлнээс орчуулсан	<i>Төвдөөс - /Tibetan</i>
21	Manuscript	Бичмэл	<i>Гар бичмэл- /Handwritten</i>
22	Printed /Woodblock	Барламал	0
23	The book form	Номын хэлбэр	<i>Сударчилсан- /Sutra</i>
24	The book size	Номын хэмжээ	<i>Ерөнхий хэмжээ - /Paper size 53,7 x 14,7</i> <i>Бичвэрийн хэмжээ - /Writing size: 46,1x 10,5</i>
25	Number of the page	Хуудас, тал	83
26	Number of the lines	Мөрийн тоо	37
27	Letter character	Үсгийн тэмдэгт	38
28	The paper of the publication	Ном бичсэн цаас	<i>Хөх өнгийн орос цаас, хар өнгийн дэвсгэр- /Russian paper on black pad</i>
29	Ink and other writing sets	Бэх, бичгийн хэрэгсэл	<i>Алт, мөнгөөр хольж, бийрээр бичсэн- /Written with brush (gold and silver)</i>
30	Library stamp	Тамга, тэмдэг	<i>Улсын номын сангийн тэмдэг дарсан- /Stamp from “State Library”</i>
31	Copy	Тоо ширхэг	1
32	Price	Үнэ	<i>Хосгүй үнэм- /Unique</i>

33	Information of the place where the book was found	Хаанаас олсон тухай тэмдэглэл	<i>Тодорхойгүй- /Unclear</i>
34	Storage condition	Хадгалалтын байдал	<p><i>Ихэнх хуудас чийг цохиж мөөгөнцөрдөхөн. 1-4-х хуудас илүү мөөгөнцөртэй, хуудасны гадна ирмэг баруун талдаа сэмэрсэн. Бичвэрийн хэсэг уншигдах боломжтой, сэргээн засварлах үүднээс “гайн” гэж дүгнэж болно-</i></p> <p><i>Most pages are molded and frayed. Still readable and repairable. The condition is good.</i></p>
35	Condition of repair	Засварлагдсан байдал	<i>Эхний хуудасны урагдсан хэсгийг илэг нааж бэхэлсэн- /The first page has been torn and sealed and fixed with a leather</i>
37	Others	Бусад	0

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Appendix

1 Conference Program

Tuesday, 20.02.2018

Arrival and registration

Wednesday, 21.02.2018

09:00	Opening Ceremony	Dr. Armin Müller-Dreier
09:15	Keynote Speech	Prof. Dr. Jens Peter Laut, Goettingen
	Section A: History of the Oirat and the Oirat language (Moderator: PD Dr. Johannes Reckel)	
9:40	Popular belief and tradition of Oirat documents in the old script from the Ili valley	Prof. Dr. Erdemtu Minggad, Beijing

10:00	The Oirat Zaya Pandita's Manual of Buddhism	Dr. Agata Bareja-Starzyńska, Warsaw
10:20	Oirat culture as reflected by several items in the Bogd Khaan Palace Museum of Mongolia	Batjar Batkhuyak Khurandaa/ Mend-saikhan Ogonbilig, Ulaanbaatar
10:40	The trauma of the deportation of the Kalmyk to Siberia 1943-1957 - A personal story	Lidija Wartmann-Burataeva, Jena
11:00	Coffee Break	
11:20	The language of the Kara-Kalmak in Kyrgyzstan	Dr. Dávid Somfai Kara, Budapest
11:40	Some problems about the history of the Altai region at the beginning of the XX. century	Prof. Dr. Nyamdorj, Khovd
12:00	ОЙРАД АЯЛГУУГ ТӨВӨД ҮМГЭЭР ТЭМДЭГЛЭСЭН ТУХАЙ АСУУДАЛД	Prof. Dr. A. Batsuuri, Khovd
12:20	Калмыцкие деловые документы XVIII в. как источник изучения истории калмыцкого языка	Dr. Darina Gedeeva, Elista
12:40	Устная традиция российских калмыков, ойратов Западной Монголии и Китая: реальность и прогнозы	Prof. Dr. Evdokija Khabunova, Elista
13:00–14:40	Lunch Break	
	Section B: Society and Language Moderator: Prof Dr. Agata Bareja-Starzyńska	
14:40	Current trends of linguistic developments in Kalmykia: Pros and cons of the language policy	Dzhirgal Badmaeva, Elista

15:00	Xinjiang's Oirat education dynamics in the context of Mongolian minority schooling system in the People's Republic of China	Katarzyna Golik, Warsaw
15:20	The Kalmyk identity in the 21st century: Are the ethnic, religious and language backgrounds the important matters?	Prof. Dr. Baatr Kitinov, Moscow
15:40	Language education and ethnic identity among small ethnic groups in Eastern Kyrgyzstan: Kalmyk, Uigur, Dungan	Dr. Zuhra Zaynishevna Abdumanapova
16:00	Reflections of the nomadic culture in phraseological units in the Kalmyk and Kyrgyz language	Dr. Nazgul Abdyrakhmatova
16:20– 16:40	Coffee Break	
16:40	Being Oirat – Non-Verbal and Verbal Means of Identity	Prof. Dr. Ágnes Birtalan, Budapest
17:00	Visual Anthropology – Field Work amongst the Oirat in Xinjiang, Inner Mongolia and Hebei Province	F. Dorjiraa, Hohhot
17:20	Traditional customs of the Oirat in Western Mongolia	Batjar Batkhuyak Khurandaa, Ulaanbaatar
17:40	The use of the Kalmyk tales at the German lessons in Kalmykia	Elsa Daldinova, Elista
18:00	G. J. Ramstedt and Old Torgut Prince Bayar	Dr. Altanochir, Beijing
19:00	Welcome-Dinner in the Restaurant “Kleiner Ratskeller”	

Thursday, 22.02.2018

	Section C-1 (1. Floor): Songs, Poems and Dance Moderator: Prof. Dr. Agnes Birtalan (Note: Parallel session E in Room “Großer Konferenzraum on the 3. Floor”)	
09:00	Manuscripts of the Janggar Epos collected by Prof. K.F.Golstunski	Mergen Vladomirovich Boskhomdzhev, Hohhot
09:20	The Janggar Epos of the Altai People	Prof. Dr. Taya Dava, Hohhot
09:40	The poetry of the Khoshut in Qinghai	Prof. Dr. Sarangerel Burgud, Beijing
10:00	Research on collections of Oirat folksongs by German mongolists	Dr. Damrinjab, Beijing
10:20–10:40	<i>Coffee Break</i>	
10:40	The tradition of the Long Song (Ut Dun) amongst the Kalmyk and its relicts that survived into the 21 st century	Dr. Ghilyana Dordzhieva, St. Petersburg
11:00	The Role of Büi Biyelgee Dance in the Construction of Oirad Ethnic Categories in Contemporary Mongolia: The Case of the Hoton	Raphaël Blanchier, Paris
11:20	Music of the ethnic groups in Khovd-Aimag in Western Mongolia	Altai, Munkhtsatsal, Berlin
11:40	To the question of creating an explanatory dictionary of the Kalmyk heroic epic “Djanggar”	Dr. Evgeniy Bembeev, Moscow
12:00	Importance of Folk Songs of the Western Mongolian Dsakhchins with the Regard of the Preservation of their Ethnic Identity	Csaba Fahidi and Sarina, Budapest

	Section E- 2 (Room 3. Floor) Language and Culture Moderator PD Dr. Johannes Reckel	
09:20	History of the Kalmyk Khans	Basang Badmaev, Hohhot
09:40	Why modern Kalmyk language dropped vowels	Dr. Arai Yukiya- su, Sapporo
10:00	The semiotic characteristics of kinship in the Kalmyk linguistic and cultural studies	Zhanna Nikolae- vana Sarangaeva, Elista
10:20	盧龍塞略 – 譯部之蒙古語的衛拉特方言特徵 The old Oirat dialect as it appears in the “Lülong sailüe”	Kered Bürged
10:40– 11:00	Coffee Break	
11:00	Two Oirat songs recorded by Justus Friedrich Malsch in the 18 th century in comparison to modern Oirat songs of the 20 th century	A. Basang; Lanzhou
11:20	Siberian Strata of the Oirat Ethnic Identity – The <i>Qasing Qan ba teqin-ii telen tüsimel</i> and the North Asian Indigenous Ontologies	Atilla Mateffy; Bonn
11:40	Comparison and Analysis of the Usage of All Kinds of Birga in Todo	Dr. Mönkhdelger Dorj., Xining
12:00	Differences and Their Origin in the Oirat Dialects	Dr. Attila Rákos, Budapest
12:20– 14:00	Lunch Break	
	Section D-1 (Room 1. Floor): Language and linguistics Moderator: Attila Rákos	

14:00	The Study of Oirat Dialect and Western Mongolian Folklores, Current Trends	Dr. Yanjindulam, Khovd
14:20	Bilingual education programs and schoolbooks in Kalmykia in the context of language shift	Dr. Vlada Baranova, St. Petersburg
14:40	The place of the Clear Script in the development of Mongolian scripts	Prof. Dr. Bao Wuyun, Hohhot
15:00	Cyrillic renderings of the Clear Script texts made by "unschooled" countryside inhabitants from among Western Mongolia in the second part of the 20th century	Dr. Ondřej Srba, Brno
15:20	О НЕКОТОРЫХ СПОРНЫХ ВОПРОСАХ В ИЗУЧЕНИИ «ЯСНОГО ПИСЬМА» (On some contentious issues in the study of the “Clear Script”)	Prof. Dr. Sodmon Namzhavin, Elista
15:20–15:40	Coffee Break	
	Section F-2 (Room 3. Floor): Internet Language and old traditions Moderator: Prof. Dr. Baatr Kitinov	
14:00	On the history of translation of the Kalmyk heroic epos “Jangar” into the Kazakh language	Sandi Beketaeva, Elista
14:20	«Библиографические исследования сутры на ясном письме» ("Bibliographical study of the sutras in clear letters")	Prof. Dr. Tsezen Jigdengombo, Ulaanbaatar
14:40	On the conditional verb in <i>“the Legal Code of Kokenuur League”</i>	Dr. Tsengel, Beijing
15:00	Written Mongolian Language Development and Teenage Slang Usage on Internet Social Media Communication	Saran Dugarmaa, Jena
15:20	Zaya Pandita’s Museum of Kalmyk traditional culture	Dr. Svetlana Batyreva, Elista

15:40	Coffee Break	
16:00-18:30	<p>Visit of the collection of old Mongolian manuscripts in the old library</p> <p>(Because of the large number of participants, we have to form two groups to view the manuscripts. The manuscripts are available for individual viewing during the days before or after the conference. Please ask for special arrangements.)</p>	
19:00	Get Together	

Friday, 23.02.2018

10:00–13:00	<p>Discussion panel and workshop: Making Kalmyk and Oirat fit for the 21st century: (PD Dr. Johannes Reckel, chair)</p> <p>What is the future of the Kalmyk and Oirat language in a multilingual society in Russia, China, Kirgistan and Mongolia?</p> <p>What role does the written language and the script play in the survival of small minority languages?</p> <p>Do different scripts build a barrier between different diaspora groups?</p> <p>Is the survival of the old mother tongue essential for an ethnic identity?</p> <p>How to involve the younger generation of intellectuals amongst the Oirat and Kalmyk in a common project through crowdsourcing to create a generally broader interest in the survival of their own language?</p> <p>The concept of ethnic identity in diaspora as a transnational society – does it work?</p>
13:00	Lunch
14:00	Visit of the Exhibition of Kalmyk-Oirat history and society in the 20 th and 21 st century
15:30	The End

2 Participants

- Abdumanapova Zuhra Zaynishevna, Dr. (Department of Russian Language and Literature, Issykkul State University, Karakol, Kyrgyz Republic)
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- Namzhavin, Sodmon, Prof. Dr. (Kalmyk State University, Centre for Mongolian Studies, Elista, Russia)
- Nugteren, Hans, Dr. (Georg August University Goettingen, Institute for Turkic and Central Asian Studies)
- Nyamdorj, Bavuu, Prof. Dr. (Khovd University, Department of History, Mongolia)
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- Sarengerile, Prof. Dr. (Minzu Daxue, Mongolian Studies, Beijing, China)
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- Schneider, Julia, Dr. (Georg August University Goettingen, Centre for Modern East Asian Studies, Germany)
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Oirat–Kalmyk are Western Mongols that since the late 14th century stand in opposition to the Eastern Mongols like Khalka, Tümed, Buryat etc. They dominated for hundreds of years the western Central Asian steppes often in a fighting competition with Khazaks, Nogai and other Turkic nomadic tribes. The Dzungar Khanat of the Oirat was destroyed by Manchu China in 1757, but the death throes for the Oirat and Kalmyk community came in the middle 20th century when the limitless steppes became divided between socialist states with closed or at least fixed borders. Different groups of the Oirat–Kalmyk today live in four different states in a diaspora that threatens their common ethnic identity. In recent years borders that had been closed for decades opened again for mutual contacts and the Oirat again are looking for a common identity across borders, an identity that focuses on a common language, script and religion. The Oirat–Kalmyk are embedded in multi-ethnic social structures in which they have developed a great deal of adaptability to the environment as much as a conception of the own identity. This book presents various topics discussed at the international conference on Oirat and Kalmyk Identity in the 20th and 21st century at the Göttingen State– and University Library. The authors investigate Oirat cultural and linguistic heritage from different perspectives such as youth culture, internet language, dances and songs, as well as history, literature, linguistics and religion. The book contributes to the latest research trends in Mongolian and Central Asian Studies and their related disciplines.



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