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SOME DATA ON OLD UIGUR TRAPS

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Abstract

In this paper some Old Uigur words for traps are discussed. Among the words Maḥmūd al-Kāšgarī listed in his dictionary only *tuzak* is attested in Old Uigur. On the other hand, some other words such as *kapgan*, *körp*, *sürgü*, *yipäk* are known from Old Uigur texts, mainly from religious scriptures. An interesting feature is that different verbs are used together with the different trap terms: *tuzak ur-*, *körp kaz-*, *kapgan ur-*, *sürgü tik-*, *yipäk tart-*. These data give us some insight into the activities of hunters.

Introductory remarks

In his dissertation Serkan Şen investigated the words of professions in the Old Uigur period, among others those pertaining to hunting (Şen 2007). It is remarkable that the first volume of *Acta Turcica* (2009) was devoted to “Av ve Avcılık”.

Hunters and their methods of hunting are mentioned in some texts. Several types of traps are known from these texts. The traps were very important, although we cannot be sure how much these translated texts reflect the original setting or not. But in any case, the types of hunting in India or somewhere else were at least similar to practices in Turkic lands. From a report on hunting in Antalya region we learn that even today traps are used because in the case of some clever animals it is difficult to catch them by fire arms (Kaştan, Kaştan 2009: 417–418).

I would like to discuss in the following some Old Uigur words for traps used by hunters. Maḥmūd al-Kāšgarī (MK) records at least four different words for ‘trap’: *tuzak*, *čanka* (ED: 425b), *sačratgu* (ED: 798b), *yapgak* (ED: 874b) and a verb *añdı-* (ED: 186a ‘to lurk, lie in wait’).

Of these words only *tuzak* is attested in Old Uigur. On the other hand, there are several other words in Old Uigur that are not recorded in the DLT: *kapgan*, *körp*, *sürgü*, *yipäk* and others like *tor* ‘net’, *ag* id. This does not mean that there was such a great difference in the lexicon of both corpora, but rather it shows how limited our knowledge is.

An Old Uigur Buddhist text mentioning several trap words

A considerable number of trap words appear in a hitherto not published Buddhist Old Uigur text fragment, not only *tuzak*, but as well as some others. It is a fragment of a *pustaka* most probably of the earlier period of Old Uigur Buddhist literature (10th to 12th centuries). So far the fragment Mainz 50 of the Turfan Collection in Berlin¹ seems to be a single sheet of that book which makes the identification of the contents difficult. As far as I can see, it most probably belongs to the vast *Abhidharma* literature. Here, we jump into a discussion of what is *saṃvara* ‘restraint’ and *asaṃvara* ‘non-restraint’. The text of the first or probably recto side:

(01) k..... kiz...l.....k (02) [kör]k[i]tü y(a)rhkadı : anı üçün kenki (03) tözün-lär kutluglar ymä sudur-ka tayak (04) -lıgın šastr yaratmış-ta ymä iki (05) asanvar üzä tutdılar yana yonak-çı (06) -[i] časut-çı-lı bolar ikigü taišij (07) abidr[m]-ta dirpataki-ta ikigü-dä barča (08) bir yañlıg bar ärip : inčip yana kor (09) k[i]lgalı sävgüči atl(i)g asanvar yalğuz (10) [a]bidrm-ta ok bar dirpataki-ta yok (11) bo iki asanvar-larig mišrak abidрма (12) ha[rđ]ay-ta asanvar sakišinta sözlämäyüki (13) ärsär : yenikin tutup sözlämämiş ol : (14) munta yana takıgu igitgüči temäk.

(http://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/mainz/dta_mainz_index.htm)

can be translated² as follows:

At the time when some Noble Ones or Arhats were writing *śāstras* on Buddhist *sūtras*, they were kept by two *asaṃvaras*. Accusers and spies both were considered in the *Abhidharma* and in the *Tripiṭaka* of the same kind. But the *asaṃvara* called ‘loving to cause damage’ is mentioned only in the *Abhidharma*, not in the *Tripiṭaka*. If these two *asaṃvaras* are not mentioned among the number of *asaṃvaras* in the *Miśraka Abhidharmahṛdaya*, it is because they were held as light (*asaṃvaras*). Here, what concerns breeding of chicken (...).

Here, I shortly refer to the Old Uigur *Kšanti kılmak nom* (TT IV), an original Uigur Buddhist confession text, which has a section of twelve sins called *asanvar*. Klaus Röhrborn explains the term as “Bezeichnung für eine Kategorie von 12 Sünden, die das berufsmäßige Töten und Quälen von Lebewesen zum Inhalt haben” (UW 2015: 293). But this is only a specified meaning of the general term *asaṃvara*: “Distorted discipline. Practices not in accord with the rule” (DDB s.v.). In other

¹ Berlin Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Digital Turfan Archive.

² Translated by the present writer.

contexts, mainly in the translations of *Abhidharma* texts, the term *asaṃvara* was also used in a general sense.³ The source of the *asaṃvara* section of the *Kṣānti kīlmaḥ nom* is probably the *Samyuktābhidharma-hṛdaya-śāstra* (T XXVIII [1552]; cf. Dessein 1999). On the Question: what is the *asaṃvara*? (T XXVIII [1552]: 890b18) the Answer is given: there are 12 *asaṃvara*. Namely: (1) to slaughter sheep, (2) to nourish fowls (chicken), (3) to nourish hogs, (4) to catch birds, (5) to catch fishes, (6) to hunt lions, (7) to make robbery, (8) executioner, (9) to make prisons, (10) to bewitch with *nāgas*, (11) to kill dogs, (12) to order hunters. In the following passage these twelve categories are explained in greater detail.

Here I quote from Dessein's translation:

Question: What is abiding in non-restraint? *Answer:* Twelve kinds abide in non-restraint: (1) the so-called slaughterer of sheep, (2) raiser of chickens, (3) raiser of pigs or (4) catcher of birds, (5) the fisher, (6) hunter, (7) thief, (8) executioner, (9) jailer and (10) charmer of dragons, (11) the one who slaughters dogs and (12) the game warden.⁴ The one who slaughters sheep is the one who kills sheep. Because of awarenesses of death when raising, selling or killing [them], he is always called "slaughterer of sheep". The same applies to the one who raises chickens and to the one who raises pigs. When the one who catches birds kills a bird, it is for his own life. The same applies to the fisher and to the hunter. Thieves often do harmful things. The executioner is the one who mainly kills people for his own life. The jailer guards the prison for his own life. The charmer of dragons controls happiness of the game of dragons and snakes for his own life. The one who slaughters dogs is a *caṇḍāla*. The game warden is the head of the hunters of the royal house. (Dessein 1999 I: 167–168)

As obvious from the following table the order in the *Kṣānti kīlmaḥ nom* (Doğan 2011: 308) is slightly different, but in principle the same.

T [1552]	Old Uigur <i>Kṣānti kīlmaḥ nom</i>
1 slaughterer of sheep	1 slaughterer of sheep
2 raiser of chickens	2 raiser of chicken
3 raiser of pigs	3 pig keeper
4 catcher of birds	4 (= 5) fisher
5 fisher	5 (= 6) hunter, netter, trapper
6 hunter	6 (? = 7) ?
7 thief	7 (= 4) fowler, falconer; those who kill creatures that fly and crawl on their bellies

³ The general data are given in Shōgaito (2008: 489). They all refer to the Hedin texts edited in Shōgaito (2014, cf. index: 225).

⁴ The numbers in () are inserted by the present writer.

T [1552]		Old Uigur <i>Kšanti kılmak nom</i>	
8	executioner	8 (= 11)	seller of dog meat
9	jailer	9 (? = 8)	killer of the <i>ajagara</i> snake
10	charmer of dragons	10	snake charmer, rain stone magician
11	the one who slaughters dogs	11 (= 9)	jailer who tortures living beings
12	game warden	12	Caṇḍāla who kills people

Let us have a detailed look at the terms of this list. Although often studied or referred to, some of these terms are still problematic (OTWF: 111). One possible path to reach a better understanding is a thorough comparison to their Chinese counterparts which is here followed for the first time.

1. *koyn ölürgüçi tuži* = (1) 屠羊 *tuyang*⁵ ‘slaughterer of sheep’. The Old Uigur term ‘slaughterer (killer) of sheep’ is followed by the Chinese term *tuži* ‘butche’ derived in TT IV (447) and DTS (594b) from Chinese 屠子 *tuzi*, but Shōgaito (2003: 365a) explains it correctly from Chin. 屠兕 *tuer*.
2. *takıgu igidgüçi* ‘raiser of chicken’ = (2) 養雞 *yangji* id.
3. *tonuzçı* ‘pig keeper’ = (3) 養豬 *yangzhu* ‘raiser of pigs’.⁶
4. *balıkçı* ‘fisher’ = (5) 捕魚 *buyu* id.
5. *käyikçi aňçı tuzakçı torçı*⁷ ‘hunter, game hunter, trapper, netter’ = (6) 獵師 *lieshi* ‘hunter’.
6. *čivgači* ‘?’⁸ =? (7) 作賊 *zuozei* ‘thief’.

⁵ These Chinese terms are taken from T (XXVIII, 552.89ob: 19–20). Translation by Dessein (1999: 167–168).

⁶ Here it has to be noted that Erdal (OTWF: 112, fn. 154) did not completely agree with Clauson’s translation ‘pig keeper’, but the Chinese parallel shows that Clauson was correct.

⁷ OTWF (112): ‘wild game hunters, trappers’ for *käyikçi aňçı tuzakçı* following the listing in TT (IV: A 56–57) where this word group ends in *boltumuz ärsär*. In U 4827, however, the word order is different: *käyikçi aňçı torçı tuzakçı*. Semantically, *tor* and *tuzak* belong together.

⁸ Following TT IV (A 57) *torçı čivgači* was taken as one group. As no fac-simile of U II (8) (T II: Y 42, l. 10) exists, one cannot examine whether *t[]qači* is identical with the mentioned word group. Differently, in U 4827



čivgači is preceded by a short word that can probably be emended to *[ogr]ı* ‘thief’. It cannot be read *[torč]ı* because *torçı* is part of the preceding word group. Erdal translated it as ‘bird-snarers’ (OTWF: 112). Uçar (2012: 84; follows ED: 396a) regards it as homonymous with *kušči*, but the latter one belongs semantically rather to *itärči*. Now, *čivgači* should correspond to Chinese *zei* ‘thief’. Semantically, one has to give up the idea that *čivgači* is someone like *torçı* ‘netter’. If in Turkish a ‘thief’ (Steuerwald 1972: 56b; Sezgin 2013: 44a ‘yankesici, cepten, çantadan para çalan hırsız’) can be called *arpacı* ‘seller of barley’ (Redhouse 2011: 74b); but Tietze (2002: 200) has *arpa* II ‘para’ and mentions that Wagner (1943: 8) regarded *arpacı* as a loan-word from Greek *αρπαζω* which is rather improbable), *čivgači* in Old Uigur could have a similar connotation. In his comment, Clauson (ED: 396a) refers to several Turkish words like *čivka*, *čivgar*, *čivkar*, but not to MK *čufga* ‘a horse which a fast post-rider takes on the road and rides until he finds

7. *kušči itärči*⁹ *učugma bagrın yorigma tınlıglarıg ölürgüçi* ‘fowler, falconer; those who kill creatures that fly and crawl on their bellies’ = (4) 捕鳥 *buniao* ‘catcher of birds’.
8. *it ätin satguçi* ‘seller of dog meat’ = (11) 屠犬 *tuquan* ‘one who slaughters dogs’.
9. *açakram yılan ölürgüçi* ‘killer of the *ajagara*¹⁰ snake’=? (8) 魁膾 *kuikuai* ‘executioner’.
10. *luu üntürgüçi yadçı* ‘snake charmer, rain stone magician’ = (10) 呪龍 *zhoulong* ‘charmer of dragons’.
11. *tınlıglarıg kınaguçi bukaçuçi* ‘jailer who tortures living beings’ = (9) 守獄 *shouyu* ‘jailer’.
12. *kişi ölürgüçi çantal* ‘Caṅḍāla who kills people’ =? (12) 司獵 *silie* ‘game warden’.

The verso side of Mainz 50 which is more relevant to the topic of this paper reads as follows:

(01) [] (02) *yunlap azu ymä ölürip öz [elti]n* (03) *-güçi : yänä içi kişi-lär ärür : mantır* (04) *bap luu oynatguçi arviş-çi-lar ärsär* (05) *k(a)ltı arviş küçi üzä luug yılan-ıg* (06) *bap b(ä)kläp oynatmak üzä äd tav[ar]* (07) *kazganıp öz eltindäçi-lär ärür : it* (08) *ölürgüçi-lär ärsär : k(a)ltı kedin änätkäk* (09) *elintä bar antag çantal-lar it ölürip* (10) *yedäçi-lär ärür : azu ymä ätin satıp asıg* (11) *tilädäçi-lär ärür : añçı-lar ärsär : k(a)ltı* (12) *yol kızıp tuzak urdaçı-lar : körp kaz* (13) *-daçı-lar kapgan urguçi-lar : sürgü* (14) *tıkgüçi-lär yipäk tartdaçı-lar ärür :*

In the subsequent translation I divide this short text which mentions groups of evil doing human beings into semantic sections:

- I. (Those who ...) are human beings such as sister-in-laws and elder brothers who use (...) or kill for their own living.
- II. The charmers who cause snakes to dance by binding mantras are those who by power of charms bind and tie dragons and snakes, thus gaining income for their own living.
- III. Those who kill dogs are such ones who like in the country of West India those caṅḍālas who kill dogs for eating, or for selling their flesh thus looking for profit.
- IV. Hunters are those who follow the way and dispose traps, those who trench pitfalls, those who put up *sürgüs*, and those who tauten lashes.

another’ (ED: 396a) which could be a further candidate (in that case Old Uigur would be an illabial form of it). I cannot offer a definite solution here, but I am convinced that the meaning ‘thief’ lies behind.

⁹ The word *itärçi* was read by Erdal as *edärçi* (< **edärtçi*) (OTWF: 112, fn. 155; following Clauson in ED: 69b) ‘tracker’, but there is no example writing *-t-* for a medial *-d-* in these confession mss. that belong to the early period of Uigur Buddhist literature thus making this derivation doubtful. Şen (2007: 46) translates *itärçi* as ‘doğancı’, but refers to Ata (2004: 171) *ütärçi* meaning ‘Av için kullanılan hayvan, köpek vs.’ Rather, one expects a profession, not an animal’s name. Thus, convincing is the etymology proposed by Jaquesson for the Middle Asian names of the falcon from *it-* ‘to push’ (‘pousser’), i.e. *it-är* ‘one who pushes’, and she concludes that this is “à l’origine de l’un des plus anciens noms pour « fauconnier » en türk, *itärçi* que nous traduisons comme « celui qui pousse [le faucon] »” (Jaquesson 2000: 220).

¹⁰ UW (2015: 8).

It is obvious that each of the four trap words is connected with a special verb thus at least giving the possibility to get some idea of their uses: *tuzak ur-*, *körp kaz-*, *kapgan ur-*, *sürgü tik-*, *yipäk tart-*.¹¹

Discussion of Old Uigur trap words

1. *tuzak*

The word *tuzak* is well attested in many Turkic languages, old and new, but less is known about the method how *tuzaks* were built. For Modern Turkish at least we note some data. A detailed description of fyke nets¹² for fishing is given by Ayaz (Ayaz, Altınağaç, Cengiz 2006) who investigated their use in Çanakkale. But this does not mean that a *tuzak* is a special tool of fishermen. The word *tuzak* is so general that it is used for many spheres. In biotechnology all kinds of traps are so used as to mention only a few of them. Birişik (2013), e.g., mentions many kinds of *tuzak*.

MK translates *tuzak* as ‘a trap or noose used in hunting’ (ED: 573b). Doerfer (TMEN II: 962) came to the conclusion that its original meaning might have been snare (‘Schlinge’). Clauson admits that there is no obvious Turkish etymology wherefore he comments on the rhyme of *tuzak* with Persian *duzax* ‘hell’: “as there is no Turkish etymology for *tuzak* the possibility of some such foreign origin might be explored, but obviously ‘trap’ cannot be derived directly fr[om] ‘hell’.” (ED: 573b) The once maintained connection to uig. **tuz* ‘net’ by Räsänen (EWT: 502b; cf. Severtjan 1980: 290) is no longer valid as such word does not exist, it is *tor* ‘net’.

In many cases the word is used in the concrete sense, mainly in stories in Jātakas and Avadānas, although in most cases hunters are mentioned generally without giving details about their instruments or their special equipment. Thus, as a whole, our information on this semantic group remains limited. In a Manichaean text the word *tuzak* appears, too, but without further context (Zieme 2011a).

Here, I quote again from Clauson’s paper on hunting:

For some forms of game, and I suspect especially the bear and other large animals, the technique was one of trapping rather than shooting. The word for trap was tuzak which Kāšgarī translates ‘a trap or snare used in hunting’, with the interesting remark that it was a word used as a compliment by a man to his beloved. The word is first noted in paragraph 61 of the *Irk Bitig* where it was hitherto been transcribed toz ‘dust’, with the result that the paragraph became nonsense. What it actually says is ‘a crane alighted on its resting place and without noticing it was caught in a tuzak’. In this context the word must mean some kind of noose, like a rabbit wire.

¹¹ But, of course, also other verbs were possible, this is the case in an example from the *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā*: *arigta barip toor tuzak yaratdi*: “He went into the forest and made nets and traps” (Shōgaito, Tuguševa, Fujishiro 1998: l. 2099; cf. Tokyürek 2013: 250).

¹² “A fyke net is a fish trap. It consists of cylindrical or cone-shaped netting bags mounted on rings or other rigid structures. It has wings or leaders which guide the fish towards the entrance of the bags. The fyke nets are fixed on the bottom by anchors, ballast or stakes.” (<http://www.fao.org/fishery/geartype/226/en>).

In other contexts, particularly for catching bigger game, it must have meant a concealed pit-fall. Kāṣṣārī records the phrase *oğri: tuzak*, translated ‘a trap buried in the ground’, which seems to imply a pit-fall rather than a noose. The word was also used metaphorically. (Clauson 1968: 15)

In this metaphoric sense it is used also in Old Uigur. In the story of *Sadāprarudita and Dharmodgata* the disciple is advised: *ayıg šmnunuy tuzakıya ilinmägil* ‘Do not be bound by the trap of the evil Māra’ (Tekin 1980: 187, l. 038, translation: 237). The same verb, i.e. *ilin-*, is known from a hunting case related by MK (Hauenschild 2003: 108) as well as in *Kutadgu Bilig: bu dünya işi bek tuzakçı turur / tuzakka ilinme sini berkitür* (KB: 4824) and in *Irk Bitig* (§ 61; as mentioned in the citation from Clauson 1968: fn. 38).

In a Manichaean confession text we read (Clark 2013; a Buddhist parallel was discussed in Zieme 2015): *tugmak ölmäkl[i]g torug tuzakıg šäštäč[i] bolalım / kılınčlıg bag bukagug üztäči bolal[i]m* ‘May we be the ones who untie the net and the snare of being (re)born and dying! / May we be the ones who pull apart the bond and the fetter of action!’ (Clark 2013: 117). This is a remarkable phrase showing a full parallel structure in all its three syntagmas, wherefore it may be regarded as a verse although it lacks alliteration.

Further examples in the *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā* were earlier discussed, the *amranmaklıg tuzak* ‘love trap’ (Zieme 2011b: 286) or the *yilinmāk yapšinmaklıg tor (...)* *tuzak (...)* ‘the net and the trap of adherence and sticking at’ (Wilkens 2012/2013: 169).

II. körp

The word *körp* ‘pit’ needs some explanation. The stem itself is not recorded in dictionaries, but MK has a verb *körplä-* which surely is derived from *körp*. The verb is referred to in two examples: *ol kozı körplädi* ‘He roasted the lamb in a pit’¹³ and ‘dug out of the ground’ (ED: 738a; DLT: 377). In both cases it refers to a pit or hole. The meaning of the noun can firmly be established as ‘pit’.

III. kapgan

The word *kapgan* ‘snare, trap’ is well documented, (OTWF: 385; detailed information also in TLH: 490–491) the verb for the action is again *ur-* ‘to array’.

IV. sürgü

A noun *sürgü*¹⁴ which should mean another kind of trap is not recorded by MK, only the derived verb *sürgülä-*: *ıt käyikni sürgülädi* ‘the dog made the antelope run and followed in its tracks to catch it.’ (ED: 851a).

¹³ 

¹⁴ Republican Turkish has the word *sürgü* ‘bar’.

V. *yipäk*

yipäk tart- ‘to strain a cord’. The word *yip* ‘cord’¹⁵ is well-known, but not *yipäk*. The word (*y*)*ipäk* ‘silk’ is attested only since around 1300 (Baytal 1934: 90a *Yipekçi* ‘İpekçi’; Grønbech 1942: 107 *ipek*, *jibek* [ypac / jibek] ‘Seide’). In Old Turkic a deminutive suffix +Ak is recorded (OTWF: 40–44; Erdal apparently did not mention this word), but is “silk” derived from “cord”? It is questionable. It is not possible to draw further conclusions from this example, but it cannot be excluded that this is the earliest attestation of the Turkic word for “silk”. One can estimate a date around the 11th and 12th centuries.

An Old Uigur text about different hunters

Some words for hunters are derived from the object of hunting as e.g. *käyikçi*, others from the tool hunters are using like *tuzakçi*. The list of hunters in the story of Kalyānamkāra and Pāpamkāra is well known: *kuščı käyikçi balıkçı avçı torçı tuzakçı* (Hamilton 1971, I: 7–8). In other texts one or the other word of this group as well as others appear. A bilingual Sogdian – Old Uigur wordlist contains several entries of hunter terms (Sundermann, Zieme 1981).

Finally, another Buddhist fragment should be mentioned here. It is a part of an Old Uigur translation of the famous *Lotus sutra*.¹⁶ The fragment U 2971 (T II S 53) reads:

- 01 [] azka yapşınmaz k(a)čan ymä taş nomlug bitig-läri ymä []
 02 []-lar kač(a)n yaguk turmaz al(i)m berim tutmaz ymä k(a)čan n(ä)ŋ tu[zakçi]
 03 [ap ymä] izçi ap ymä agçi ap ymä koy yigidgüçi ymä olar birlä []
 04 []dtaçi ap ymä käyikçi ap ymä kuş tutaçi¹⁷ ap ymä bo []
 05 []yn yegüçi ešilär birlä katılmaz ymä¹ []

[Such people] are not attached to worldly pleasures, also not to heretical scriptures [], also they do not stand near, they do not make affairs (to hold taking and giving), not with trappers, not with trackers, not with netters, not with those who keep sheep and those, who [], not with hunters, not with bird hunters, they do not join with those who earn their money with women.¹⁸

From this text we are informed of several types of hunters: *tu[zakçi]* ‘trapper’ (ED: 574a) is well documented; *izçi* ‘tracker’¹⁹ is not recorded in ED or other Old Uigur dictionaries. There is also no record in the dictionaries for *agçi* ‘netter’. It is derived

¹⁵ Or sometimes *yip*. Probably both variants existed.

¹⁶ It was identified by Jens Wilkens in 2008.

¹⁷ It seems to be a shortened form of *tut-taçi* ‘holder, catcher’, thus *kuş tutaçi* ‘bird catcher’.

¹⁸ Cf. Kubo, Yuyama (2007: 315): “They should know that they will be clad in the robe of the Buddha Śākyamuni. Such people are not attached to worldly pleasures. They dislike heretical scriptures and writings. They are not pleased to consort with heretics, wicked people, butchers, those who keep boars, sheep, chickens, or dogs, hunters, or those who make a living by pandering. They will be honest in mind, and will have correct recollection and the power of merit. They will not be troubled by the three kinds of poison.”

from *ag* ‘net’ and appears in juncture with *tuzak* (ED: 75a). As an element of a personal name a certain Ağcı is known from U 5623 recto 6 *arslan ağcı*, D. Matsui (2002: 118) read the name *arslan açarı*.

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