

ACTA
ORIENTALIA
ACADEMIAE SCIENTIARUM
HUNGARICAE

ADIUVANTIBUS

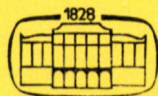
K. CZEGLÉDY, B. CSONGOR, G. KARA, A. RÓNA-TAS, G. URAY, I. VÁSÁRY

REDIGIT

F. TÓKEI

TOMUS XXXVII

FASCICULI 1-3



AKADÉMIAI KIADÓ, BUDAPEST

1983

ACTA ORIENT. HUNG.

ACTA ORIENTALIA

A JOURNAL OF THE HUNGARIAN ACADEMY
OF SCIENCES

Acta Orientalia publishes papers on oriental philology and culture in English, German, French and Russian.

Acta Orientalia is published in yearly volumes of three issues by

AKADÉMIAI KIADÓ

Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences
H-1054 Budapest, Alkotmány u. 21.

Manuscripts should be addressed to:

Acta Orientalia

H-1363 Budapest, P.O. Box 24

Correspondence with the editors should be sent to the same address.

Subscription information

Orders should be addressed to

KULTURA Foreign Trading Company
H-1389 Budapest, P.O. Box 149

or to its representatives abroad.

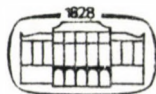
ACTA ORIENTALIA

ADIUVANTIBUS

K. CZEGLÉDY, B. CSONGOR, G. KARA, A. RÓNA-TAS, G. URAY, I. VÁSÁRY

REDIGIT
F. TÓKEI

TOMUS XXXVII



AKADÉMIAI KIADÓ, BUDAPEST

1983

ACTA ORIENT. HUNG.

INDEX

K. RÉDEI—A. RÓNA-TAS, Early Bulgarian Loanwords in the Permian Languages ..	3
T. TEKIN, The Terkhin Inscription	43
S. L. WEST, The <i>Qiṣṣa-i Yūsuf</i> of Alī: The First Story of Joseph in Turkic Islamic Literature	69
G. SCARCIA, Heracles-Verethragna and the <i>mī'rāj</i> of Rustam	85
K. SCHWARZ, Die Sammlung türkischer Handschriften in der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Berlin/West)	111
A. SCHEIBER, From the Yozerot of Samuel b. Hoshana. From the Leningrad Geniza	121

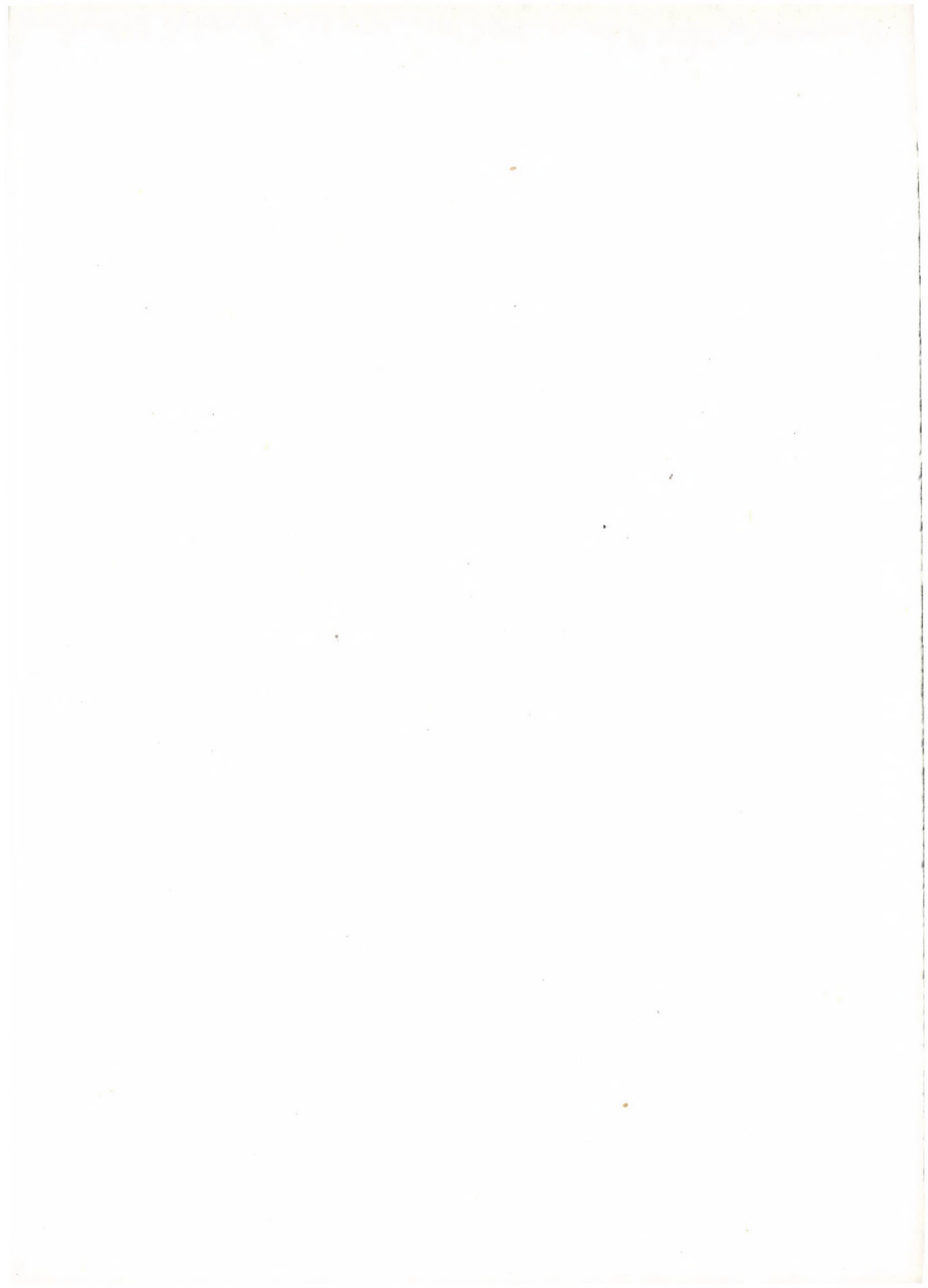
In memoriam:

Paul Demiéville (1894—1979) (B. Csongor)	135
--	-----

Critica:

<i>D. G. Tumaševa</i> , Dialekty sibirskich tatar (Á. Berta) — <i>A. M. Pozdneyev</i> , Lamaist Buddhism in Late 19th Century Mongolia (A. Sárközi) — Studies on Mongolia, ed. by <i>H. G. Schwarz</i> (A. Sárközi) — <i>F. Klein-Franke</i> , Die klassische Antike in der <i>Tradition des Islam</i> (M. Maróth) — <i>D. Shennum</i> , English-Egyptian Index of Faulkner's Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian (L. Kákosy) — Immortal Egypt, ed. by <i>D. Schmandt-Besserat</i> (L. Kákosy) — First International Congress of Egyptology, ed. by <i>W. F. Reineke</i> (L. Kákosy) — An Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Sanskrit (on Historical Principles, ed. by <i>A. M. Ghatage</i> (Gy. Wojtilla) — <i>L. Sternbach</i> , Verses Attributed to Murāi (Gy. Wojtilla) — <i>H. Schwarzbaum</i> , The Mislé Shu'alim (Fox Fables) of Rabbi Berechiah Ha-Nakdan (A. Scheiber) — Te'uda I. Cairo Geniza Studies, ed. by <i>M. A. Friedman</i> , <i>R. Dán</i> , Accumulated Index of Jewish Bibliographical Periodicals (A. Fodor)	137
---	-----

<i>Bibliographia</i>	149
----------------------------	-----



ACTA ORIENTALIA

ADIUVANTIBUS

K. CZEGLÉDY, B. CSONGOR, G. KARA, A. RÓNA-TAS, G. URAY, I. VÁSÁRY

REDIGIT

F. TÓKEI

TOMUS XXXVII



AKADÉMIAI KIADÓ, BUDAPEST

1983

ACTA ORIENT. HUNG.



EARLY BULGARIAN LOANWORDS IN THE PERMIAN LANGUAGES¹

BY

K. RÉDEI — A. RÓNA-TAS

In this paper, the Bulgar-Turkic (Late Old Bulgarian = LOB) loanwords of the Proto-Permian period of the Permian languages are discussed. Contrary to Wichmann (*Tschuw. Lehnw.*) and others (e.g. Fedotov, *Ist. svjazi I-II*) only those loans are regarded to be from the Proto-Permian period which occur, besides Votyak, not only in the P (= Permyak) dialect of the Zyryan language, but also in its northern dialects (Lu., Le., S, V, Pech., I, Vm., Ud., etc.). Besides the given geographic criterion, quite a number of these words can be classified among the oldest borrowings because of certain phonetic features as well. Votyak and the P dialect of Zyryan had also adopted such words belonging to the later layer (adopted after the tenth century) (Cf. Lakó, *Permi ny. szöv.*, p. 63). Of these, some reached Permyak definitely through Votyak mediation. According to Lytkin (*Drev. tjurk. élem.*, pp. 131-42) these also belong to the layer adopted in the Proto-Permian period. As it will be seen, Poppe's view (*Čuvaši*, pp. 26-8), according to which there was no Proto-Permian-Bulgarian contact, cannot be accepted. The opinion that all the Chuvash loanwords of Zyryan are of Votyak or of (Votyak →) P mediation (Raun, *Chuv. Borr.*) is also unjustified. Not only because a number of the common (Zyryan-Votyak) loanwords have phonetic features which definitely point to their being old borrowings (from around the 9th or 10th century), but also because after the northern group of the Zyryans migrated to the north under the pressure of the Bulgar Turks (the 9th to 10th centuries), linguistic contacts between the Zyryans and the Permyaks practically ceased. Therefore, there was but rare opportunity to mediate Chuvash words.

The correspondences and the conclusions proposed so far have become uncertain or controversial for several reasons. There has been no separation of the words which definitely came from LOB during the Common Permian

¹ See our earlier papers in Hungarian: *A permi nyelvek ősspermi kori bolgár-török jövevényszavai* [The Bulgar-Turkic Loanwords in the Permian Languages from the Proto-Permian Period]; *NyK* 74 (1972), pp. 281-298, and *A bolgár-török-permi érintkezések néhány kérdése* [On some Problems of the Bulgar-Turkic-Permian Contacts]; *NyK* 77 (1975), pp. 31-44.

period from those that are later loans. In the material hitherto studied, there are many Chuvash words which either do not belong to the group of words which are of Turkic origin, or are Modern Chuvash forms which are loans borrowed by Modern Chuvash perhaps from other Turkic languages. The only possible starting point is the inner reconstruction of the lending LOB phonetic structure. Naturally, the PP forms can assist such a reconstruction. Therefore, only the following types of PP-LOB correspondences have been included in the subsequent list: 1. those which occur in the northern Zyryan material, 2. those for which the lending LOB form could be reconstructed with the help of Turkic phonology, so that the reconstructed item was not in contradiction with the PP item that could be extrapolated on the basis of the Permian data.

The Bulgar-Turkic loanwords of the Proto-Permian period relate to agriculture, animal husbandry, domestic industries, tools, the political and social life.

I. Late Old Bulgarian Loanwords in Proto-Permian

1. Z y r. (WUo.) V, S *adas* 'der Teil des Ackerbeetes, den eine Person (von einem Ende zum anderen) zu schneiden hat; (V auch) Ackerbeet, Strich des Ackerlandes (einige Faden breit) zwischen zwei Furchen (die teils die Gräben ersetzen, teils auch die verschiedenen Saaten voneinander trennen)', (Rog.) P *adas* 'urok, paj zemli'. V o t y. (Wichm., p. 120) G, Uf. *udîs* S, M *udîs* 'der Teil des Ackerbeetes, den eine Person zu schneiden hat' — PP **adas*.

← LOB **adas* > Chuv. *utas* 'step, land measure: 1/24 desjatina' (Sirotkin), *utâm* 'id.', Shor *adîs* '1/18 desjatina' (Verbickij). Cf. Chuv. *ut-* 'to step' < LOB **ât-* < PT **ât-* 'id.' (Cf. Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 81).

The PT long *ā* in Chuvash was shortened at an early date; otherwise, one would expect an LOB **iadas* > Chuv. **yutas* form. The *t* > *d* development in the derived forms of the verb *ât-* is very old. In the word *adaq* 'foot', in effect the 'one which takes a step' which belongs here, the *-d-* behaves like the original *-d-*; thus e.g. in Chuvash, it became *ura* 'foot' (cf. Osm. etc. *ayaq*, Tu. → Mo. *aday* 'the end of something'). In another derived form, the *-d* was retained in all dialects where the original *-d-* had turned into *-y-*, *-z-*, *-r-*, etc.: Tkm. *ādim*, Tat. *adim*, Bashk. *adim*, Chuv. *utâm* 'step'. In Modern Chuvash, every plosive in intervocalic position is either an unvoiced media or a long unvoiced fortis. Räsänen (*Etym. Wb.*, p. 31) and following him, E. Itkonen (*Bemerkungen*, p. 267) wrongly links the Turki and Lobnor word *atiz* 'irrigated plot of land' also found on a runic monument in the Talas Valley and in Kāšyarī to the Chuvash and Shor data. The final *-s* cannot go back to an earlier *z* because in Chuvash one would expect an *-r* correspondence (Cf. Mo. *atar*). If the word is originally Chuvash, the final *-s* is a participle from the word *at-* 'to take a step'.

Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 120; Uotila, *Gesch. Kons.*, p. 174; Raun, *Chuw. Borr.*, p. 44; Lytkin, *Ist. vok.*, p. 170, *Drev. turk. элем.*, p. 132; Fedotov, *Ist. svjazi* II, p. 148; *ESK*.

2. Zyry. (WUo) V, LV, S, Lu., I, Ud., P *ban* 'rechte Seite, Vorderseite (V, S, LU., P), rechte Seite des Zeuges (S, Ud.); Wange (VU, I), Gesicht (V, I); Birkenrinde zu Bastschuhen (P)', (Gen.) EP *ban* 'Birkenrinde (zu Schuhen), (Lytk.) ščeka, licevaja storona'. V o t y. (Wichm., publ. by Uotila, *Gesch. Kons.*, p. 237) Uf., MU, Y, M *ban*, G *bam*, B *ban* 'Wange, Gesicht, Seite, Fläche' (Munk.) S. *bam*, K *baŋ* 'id.' — PP. **baŋ*.

← LOB **bāŋ* ~ *beŋ* > Chuv. *min* 'red faced' (Sirotkin, Ašmarin) ~ PT **bāŋ* 'face, facial colour, birthmark on the face' (Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, pp. 70, 334; Clauson, p. 346).

The Modern Chuvash form goes back directly to a word with a closed *e* vocal. The Permian words originate from an LOB **bāŋ* form.

Räsänen, *Türk. Lehnw.*, p. 103; Lytkin, *Ist. vok.*, p. 163, *Drev. tjurk. элем.*, p. 132; *ESK*.

3. Zyry. (WUo) V, S, Pech., Lu., Le., I, Ud. *čarla*, P *čarva* 'Sichel', (Gen.) EP *čarla*, *čarla* 'id.' V o t y. (Wichm. p. 102) G, M, Y, MU, Uf. *šurlo*, (Munk.) S., K *šurlo* 'id.' — PP **čarla* ~ **šarla*.

← LOB *čarla* ~ **šarla* (< OB **čarlay* ~ *šarlay* → Hung. *sarló*) > Chuv. *šurla* 'sickle'.

The Zyryyan word is the adoption of the LOB **čarla*, whereas the Votyak is the adoption of the LOB **šarla* form.

The word is unknown in the other Turkish languages. Räsänen's etymology (*Etym. Wb.*, pp. 99–100) which originates our item from a *čar* 'whetstone' can hardly be accepted from the semantic point of view.

Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 102; Uotila, *Gesch. Kons.*, p. 30; Lakó, *Perm. ny. szöv.*, p. 26; Raun, *Chuw. Borr.*, p. 44; Lytkin, *Ist. vok.*, p. 171; *Drev. tjurk. элем.*, p. 133; Fedotov, *Ist. svjazi* II, p. 134; *ESK*.

4. Zyry. (WUo.) Le., (SSKD), (Wied.) P, Lu. *enir*, (Uotila, *Gesch. Kons.*, p. 240) PK *enir* 'Sattel'. V o t y. (Wichm. p. 55) Uf., Y, M, S, G *ener*, MU, (Munk.) K *eŋer* 'id.' — PP **iŋer* > **eŋer*.

← LOB **iŋär* > Chuv. *ëner*, *yëner* 'saddle' (Sirotkin) ~ PT **iŋär*.

The LOB **i* had changed in Proto-Permian into **ε* under the assimilatory influence of the **ε* in the second syllable (E. Itkonen, *Bemerkungen*, p. 271). The word is only known in southern Zyryyan, therefore it is not quite impossible that it belongs to a somewhat later layer of loanwords; or we might even say that the Zyryyan (Lu., Le) word originates from Votyak with Permyak mediation.

According to Joki (*Lehnw.*, p. 142) and Räsänen (*Etym. Wb.*, p. 166) the word is a Mongolian loan in Turkic. The word in fact exists in Mongolian in the form *yanggirčay* (< *inggirčay*), i.e. with a diminutive suffix. But the Mon-

golian *-čay* is of Turkish origin and the basic word also exists only in Turkish (Cf. Yakut *in̄ir*, *iḡir* 'saddle'). Naturally, the Mongols may have had some role in spreading the word, but the LOB word cannot be of Mongolian origin for chronological reasons.² As was rightly noted by Räsänen (*loc. cit.*) the word is not (directly) related to the PT word *ädär* 'saddle' (Cf. Tat. *eyär* etc.).

Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehn.*, p. 55; Uotila, *Gesch. Kons.*, p. 240; Raun, *Chuv. Borr.*, p. 43; Lytkin, *Ist. vok.*, p. 156, *Drev. tjurk. élem*, p. 133; Fedotov., *Ist. svjazi* II, p. 104; *ESK*.

5. Z yr. (WUo.) V, S, Pech., Ud. *eš-ke*, V *eš-ken*, V, S, Lu., Le., Ud. *veš-ke*, LV, I *veš-ke*, V, Lu. *veš-ken*: Partikel zur Bildung des Konditionals 'id.', (Rog.) *veške* 'by'. V o t y. (*Wichm.*, p. 59), Y *iske*, MU *ške*, *ške* (< **iske*) 'in diesem Falle, wenn es so ist', G *šike* (< **iske*) 'es scheint, wohl' (Munk.), S *iske* 'nu dann, nun also' — PP **iske*.

← LOB **ič* ~ **iš*, **ičke* ~ *iske* > Chuv. *ěš*, *ěške*, *-ške* (Ašmarin, *Materialy*, pp. 239, 325; *RČSl*, pp. 72, 189, under *ved*, *že*) ~ OT *heč* ← Persian *hiš* (Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 160).

The word spread throughout the Turkic languages at an early date, but we have no data prior to the 11th century. It can be found with an initial *h-* in the Qutadγu Bilig, in Jügnäki and also in the Codex Cumanicus, which makes its Persian origin probable. In the old linguistic sources and in some of the modern languages it has a negative meaning and stands before the related word. But in the Kipchak languages and in Chuvash, it has become a particle with a stressing function, and stands after the word. This occurs in Chuvash (see above) and in Tatar (*ič*) still without metathesis, but in the other Kipchak languages it is already found with metathesis and with partial (Kklp. *-ši/še*, Nog. *-šī/šī*), or with total assimilation (Kum. *čī/či/ču/čü*, Bashk. *sī/se/so/sö*). In the meantime, the Persian word was also retained in its original form and meaning in the literary language e.g. in Tatar (*hič*, dial. *is*). The Chuv. *-ke* may also be of Persian origin.

In Zyryan an *i* initial would be regular; the *e-*, *ve-*, may be explained by the influence of *veš* 'vergeblich, umsonst'. It is possible that only the Zyr. *eš-*, *veš-* (< **iš-*) and the Voty. *iš-* elements originate from LOB (**ič* ~ **iš*), and the Zyr. and Voty. *-ke* suffixes are identical with the original particle with the meaning 'if'. But even if we derive it from the LOB **ičke* ~ **iske* form, the effect of the *ke/ke* 'if' particle cannot be excluded.

The Votyak word is definitely of Chuvash origin. If the Zyryan word also belongs here, then it has chronological significance. In fact, the word

²The Mongols reached the Volga-region by the 30s of the 13th century. The Kipchak *in̄irčaq* (CC, Kirg., Kazk., Bashk., Tat. → Alt., Tel., Khak., Chuv; → Voty., Kammassian) cannot be of Mongolian origin, because to a Mo. *-čay* final a Turkic *-čay* would correspond. A Tu. *-čaq* is regularly reflected as *-čay* in Mongolian.

could hardly have spread in the language of the Volga Bulgars prior to their adopting Islam; thus, it was definitely later than the 10th century.

Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehn.*, p. 59 (Zyr. with ?); Uotila, *Gesch. Kons.*, p. 62; Raun, *Chuv. Borr.*, p. 43; *ESK*.

6. Z y r. (WUo.), V, Lv, S, Pech, Lu., Le., Ud. *gob* 'Pilz (AV, eßbar), (V auch), krasnyj grib, (?) Espenschwamm (Boletus auranticus)', (SSKD) US *gob* 'obabok, grib'. V o t y. (*Wichm.*, p. 57) G, M, Y *gubi*, MU *gibi*, Uf. *gibi*, (Munk.) S, *gubi* K *gibe* 'Schwamm, Pilz'. — PP **gombi*.

← LOB *gũmbä* ← Slavic *goba* (MB → Tat., Bashk. **gũmbä* > *gömbä*) > Chuv. *kãmpa*, *kõmpa*, *kãmpo* 'mushroom' (Sirotkin, Ašmarin).

The LOB *ũ* became a back vocalic under the influence of the initial *g*- in the Permian language, and had become somewhat more open (**ɔ*) under the influence of the final *ä*. (E. Itkonen, *Bemerkungen*, p. 269). The *i* of the first syllable in Voty. MU *gibi*, Uf. *gibi* K *gibe* (< **gibi*) is the result of assimilation to the stressed *i/i̇* of the second syllable. (Cf. → Tat. Nokrat *gebi*).

The Slavic word was borrowed by LOB prior to the 10th-century denasalization, and its initial remained voiced.

Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehn.*, p. 57; Räsänen, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 246; Raun, *Chuv. Borr.*, p. 42; Lytkin, *Ist. vok.*, p. 35, *Drev. tjurk. элем.*, p. 132; Fedotov, *Ist. svjazi II*, p. 109; *ESK*.

7. Z y r. (Litk., *Drevn.*, p. 132) OZyr. *kan* 'car', *kanalan* 'carstvovanie' (Wied.) *kan* 'Kaiser, König', *kanalni*, *kanavni* 'regieren'. V o t y. (*Wichm.* p. 80), G, Y, MU *kun* (Munk.) S, K *kun* 'Fürst, Regent, König' — PP **kan*.

← LOB *χãn* > Chuv. *χun* 'khan, prince' (Sirotkin) ~ PT **qan*.

The Turkic word has a variant with a long vowel (*qãn*), and also one with two syllables (*qayan*). Their relationship is uncertain. What is sure is that the form with the short vowel appeared early. The Chuv. *χun* cannot be directly traced to a *qãn* form because the *qã*- syllable had regularly become *yu*- in Chuvash: PT *qãl*- 'to remain' > Chuv. **χãl* > *yul*-, PT *qãn* 'blood' > Chuv. **χãn* > *yun*; PT *qār* 'snow' > Chuv. **χār* > *yur*. In some words, we find *χu*- in Modern Chuvash as the continuation of the PT *qã* syllable: PT *qãzyan* 'cauldron' > Chuv. *χuran*, PT *qãz* 'goose' > Chuv. *χur*. But in these words the long *ã* had become short at an early stage before the *q* > *χ* development. Thus we have to presume a *χãn* form in LOB even if ultimately it goes back to a *qãn* form with a long vowel.

Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 80; Raun, *Chuv. Borr.*, p. 43; Uotila, *Syrj. Chrest.*, p. 90; Lytkin, *Ist. vok.*, p. 171, *Drev. tjurk. элем.*, p. 132; Fedotov, *Ist. svjazi II*, p. 155; *ESK*.

8. Z y r. (WUo.), VS, Pech., Lu., Le., Ud. *karta*, P *karta* 'Pferde- und Kuhstall im Erdgeschoß des Gebäudes (V), Kuhstall (S), Viehstall (Pech.), Viehstall nebst dem Haus (Lu.), Kuhhof (Le.), Viehstall, Viehhof (mit Dach und Wänden) (Ud.), Hof (P)'. (Gen.) EP *kerta* 'Hof'. — PP **karta*.

← LOB *kärtä* (→ Tat. *kärtä* > *kirtä*, Bashk. *kärtä*) > Chuv. *karta* 'hedge, garden, courtyard' (Sirotkin).

The OldZyr. and I, Lu., LV 'dom, hozjajstvo' meaning of the Zyrian word may have evolved under common Finnish (Karelian-Vepse, cf. Finnish *kartano* 'Hof, Gutshof' (ESK)) influence.

The Chuvash word may be derived from a Chuv. *kar-* (< **kär-*) 'fence off, stretch, pitch a tent, etc.' verb, of which it is a development through a deverbal nominal suffix (cf. *řarta* 'candle').³ Derivatives of the same verbal stem are the Tu. *kärmän*, Chuv. *karman* 'fort' words. The word is known in several Caucasian languages (Cf. Georgian *karta*, Megrel *karta*, Osset *kaert*, Chechen *kert*, Ingrel *kärt*, Arm. *k'ert*, (Cf. *Abaev* I, p. 587) and also in several Finno-Ugrian languages (MordE *kardo*, MordM *karda*, ← LOB, Ost. *karta*, *kartaŋ* *kärtän*, Vog. *kārta* → Zyr). A word of similar phonetic form and meaning exists in Hungarian (*kert*) and in the Indo-European languages (Gothic *garda*, Old Frisian *garde*, Old Slav *ograd* 'garden', *gorod* 'town', Greek *χορτος*, Lat. *hortus*, and even Hittite *gurtas*. Cf. Pokorny, pp. 442—44). Though the Hungarian word has a perfect Finno-Ugrian, the Chuvash a Turkic, the IE words IE etymologies, it is possible that we have here an ancient international cultural word, which was subsequently fitted into the system of the individual languages. The common economic historical background may have been the nomadic yard settlements. The Mordvin, Zyryan and Volga Kipchak data are definitely of Chuvash origin.

Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 69; Uotila, *Syrj. Chrest.*, p. 91; Raun, *Chuw. Borr.*, p. 43; Lytkin, *Drev. tjurk. élem.*, p. 132; Fedotov, *Ist. svjazi II*, p. 107, ESK.

9. Z y r. (WUo.) V, S., Pech., Lu., Le., I, Ud., P *keč* 'Hase'. V o t y. (Wichm., p. 73), Uf. *keč*, M, Y *keč* 'Ziege', Uf. *lud-keč*, M, Y *lud-keč*, G *keč*, *lud-keč* 'Hase', (Munk.) S, K *keč* 'Ziege (S.), Hase (K)'. — PP **keč*.

← LOB **käči* (→ Tat. *käjä*, Tat. dial. *küzä* 'saw-horse', *käšäkä* 'crook for a ball game'). (The Chuv. *kača*, *kačaka*, *kačak* 'goat; crook, crooked stick for games', (Ašmarin, Sirotkin), is a loanword) ~ PT *keči* (Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 246.).

The LOB **ä* was substituted in Proto-Permian by an **ε* under the influence of the following palatalized affricate (E. Itkonen, *Bemerkungen*, p. 270).

The Tat. *käjä* is a relatively late loanword because of the *ä*; in the first syllable in an original word, an *-i-* is expected. The *-š-* of the Tat. *käšäkä* reflects a MB *-š-*. Thus the word existed also in the original vocabulary of the

³The *-ta* suffix is rare in Turkic, and more frequent in Chuvash; here, however, it is neither productive nor is its function clear; Cf. *këveŋte* 'barrel, pole, bucking stick' < *kiv-* 'to buck', *urata* 'propping pole' < *ura* 'foot', *ürata* < 'extreme beam of bench' < *ürä* 'notch' and *šurta* 'candle' (Cf. *Materialy čw.*, p. 54 and No. 10).

Chuvash language. We know that the Chuvash word is a loan because in Chuvash, the *č* would regularly have become *-š-*. The PT *keči*, *kečike* can hardly be separated from the PT *ečki* of identical meaning, and presumably both are onomatopoeic in nature.

The parallel of the Voty. *lud-keč* 'hare', more precisely 'field goat', and of the Chuv. *mulkač*, *mukač* 'hare' is remarkable. See Egorov's improbable view (*Ét. Sl.*, p. 135).

Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 73; Räsänen, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 38; *Tat. Lehnw.*, p. 93; Uotila, *Gesch. Kons.*, p. 152, *Syrj. Chrest.*, p. 94; Lakó, *Perm. ny. szóv.*, p. 55; Raun, *Chuv. Borr.*, p. 42; Lytkin, *Ist. vok.*, p. 155, *Drev. tjurk. élem.*, p. 133; *ESK*; Róna-Tas, *Volga Bulg. words*, p. 172.

10. Z y r. (WUo.) V, LV, S, Pech., Lu., Le., P *kiš* 'Weberkamm', (Gen.) EP *kiš* 'id.' V o t y. (Wichm. p. 74) Uf., MU, Y, M, G, *kiš*, (Munk.) S, K *kiš* [: *kiš*], *kiš* 'Weberkamm, Weberblatt'. — PP **kiš*.

← *LOB *χiš* (< **qilč*) > Chuv. *χěš* 'slay, hackle' (Sirotkin) ~ PT *qilč* (Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 263).

Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 74; Uotila, *Syrj. Chrest.*, p. 94; Raun, *Chuv. Borr.*, p. 43; Lytkin, *Ist. vok.*, p. 180, *Drev. tjurk. élem.*, p. 133; Fedotov, *Ist. svjazi II*, p. 153; *ESK*.

11. Z y r. (WUo.) V, S, Pech., Ud. *kolta*, I *kolta*, P *kolta* 'Garbe' (SSKD), US *kolta* 'snop' V o t y. (Wichm. p. 79), G, Y, MU, Uf. *kuolto*, M *kuolto*, (Munk.) S *kuolto*, K *kuolto* 'id.' — PP **kolta*.

← LOB **kül'tä* > Chuv. *költe*, *kělte* 'sheaf' (Ašmarin, Sirotkin) ~ PT *külte* < **kül-* 'to link' (Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 308).

The Chuv. **ü* became back vocalic in the Permian languages under the effect of the initial *k*, and became somewhat more open under the influence of the final **ä* : **ǫ* (E. Itkonen, *Bemerkungen*, p. 269).

Though the vowel of the Turkic verbal stem was long (Cf. e.g. Tkm. *güil-*), the vowel of the substantive derived from it became short (Cf. Tkm. *külte*).

Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 79; Lakó, *Perm. ny. szóv.*, p. 26; Raun, *Chuv. Borr.*, p. 43; Lytkin, *Ist. vok.*, p. 47; *Drev. tjurk. élem.*, p. 133; Fedotov, *Ist. svjazi II*, p. 110; *ESK*.

12. Z y r. (WUo.) V, LV, S, Pech., Lu., Le., Ud., P *kud*, I *kud* 'runde Schachtel aus dünnen Espenscheiben (in größeren hält man z. B. Wäsche, in kleineren z. B. Mehl) (V, S, Lu.), runder Korb aus dünner Espenscheibe (es gibt größere und kleinere) (LV), Korb (für Reisekost) aus Birkenrinde od. Wurzeln (Pech), Korb überhaupt (aus Spänen) (Le.), Korb, Schachtel, Kasten (Ud.), Korb aus Rinde (P, I)', (Gen.) EP *kud* 'Korb'. V o t y. (Wichm. p. 76), G *kudî* '(Saat) Korb', *kudî* 'Korb von Rinde', M, MU *kudî* 'id.' Schachtel', Uf. *kedî* 'kleine Schachtel von Rinde', (Munk.), S *kudî*, K *kudę* 'eine Art kleiner Korb' — PP **kudî*.

← LOB **χundī* ~ PT **qomdī* (Cf. also Mo. *qobdu*) (Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 279).

The *komtä*, *kunta*, *komät*, *kontäk*, *kuntäk* 'bark basket' forms in Chuvash are loans, since an original *q* would have become *χ*. The Turkic word is known only in the northern Turkic languages (Tat. dial. *qumta*, *qunta*, Bashk. *qumta*. TatTob. *kunta*, Shor., Khak. *komdi*, *xomdi*, Alt. *komda*, Kyz. *xomdi* (Cf. pp. 5—6 above).

The *j* (*kudjĭs* 'aus dem Korb') appearing in the Zyryan forms with a suffix is secondary.

Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 76; Uotila, *Gesch. Kons.*, p. 275, *Syrj. Chrest.*, p. 104; Lakó, *Perm. ny. szöv.*, p. 13; Raun, *Chuv. Borr.*, p. 42; Lytkin, *Ist. vok.*, p. 206, *Drev. tjurk. elem.*, p. 133; Fedotov, *Ist. svjazi II*, p. 111; *ESK*.

13. V o t y. (Isl.) Y *kudĭri*, *izĭi k.* 'Gebräme, Rand, Besatz (an Mützen)', (Munk.) M *kudĭro*: *mĭjĭ k. ŝuba* 'mit Biber gebrämter Pelz'. — PP **kundĭr(i)*.

← LOB *χündĭr-i* (< **gumdur*) > Chuv. *χöntör*, *χántär*, 'beaver, beaver skin, beaver-skin trimming' (Sirotkin, Ašmarin) ~ PT *qumduz* (Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 301; Clauson, p. 635).

The *-i* of the Voty. *kudĭri* is identical with the LOB possessive suffix (otherwise Wichmann, *loc. cit.*, p. 34), and became independent from compounds such as the Modern Chuvash *kĕrĕk χántarĕ* 'the trimming of the fur coat'. The Voty. *kudĭro* (the *-o* is an adjectival suffix) represents the **kudĭr* form coming from LOB without a possessive suffix.

Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 77; Fedotov, *Ist. svjazi II*, p. 152.

14. Z y r. (WUo.) V, S, Pech., Lu., Le. *kušman*, P *kušma'n* 'Rettich'. V o t y. (*Wichm.* p. 85), G, M, Y, MU, Uf. *kušman*, (Munk.), S, K *kušman* 'id.' — PP **kušman*.

← LOB *χušman*; Cf. Chuv. *košman*, *kášman* 'radish' (Ašmarin, Sirotkin) ← Tat.

The word is a late Tatar loan in Modern Chuvash (Cf. Tat. dial. *kušman* 'radish'), and it means all sorts of edible roots (Cf. *yüš k.* 'radish', *sar*, *šurã k.* 'Swedish turnip', *tullã k.* 'id.', *χura k.* 'radish', *χĕrlĕ k.* 'red beet' (Ašmarin VII, p. 221). The word *kášmi* 'Swedish turnip' is also a loan in Chuvash (*loc. cit.*). But the origin of the Tatar word is not Turkic, as it has no relatives there, but is the adoption of an LOB **χušman*. This is indicated also by the Cher. *ušmen*, *ušman* (Räsänen, *Tschuw. Lehnw.* p. 237) and the Mord. Erzã *kšumanĭ*, Moksha *kušma'n*, *kušma* (*Wichm.*, p. 86), which all derive from the Bulgarian form. The LOB words **χušman* and **χušmi* are also without relatives in the Turkic languages, and for reasons of linguistic history, we have to believe that the Bulgar-Turks, migrating to the central course of the Volga, adopted the name of a local plant from the local inhabitants. The origin of the word could be a Proto Vogul **kočmæn* ~ **kočmæ*, cf. Vog. (Kannisto, *Tat. Lehnw.*,

p. 232), P *koššam* NVag., SVag. LL, ML *košmən*, UL *χōšman* 'eine zwiebelartige wild wachsende Pflanze, deren Stengel und Wurzel als Suppenwürze gebraucht werden; Zwiebel'; Hung. *hagyma*; Zyr. (Wied.) P *komiž* 'Lauch (allium)'; (Lytkin) Ja. *ku-miē* 'pero luka, zelenyj luk', Voty. (Wied.) *kumuž*, *kumjž* 'Knoblauch'; (Munk.) S *kumjz* 'garlic'; (see URS) *kumjž* 'dikij česnok' (*MSzFE*, see under *hagyma*). The LOB *χšmi* may derive from a PH **χožmэ* (< Ugrian *kočmэ* or *kačmэ*) or from a Proto-Permian **kožmэ*- form as well.

The -a- of the Voty. *kušman* indicates a late borrowing and this makes the common, Proto-Permian origin of the Permian words controversial. The Voty. *kušman* form instead of the expected *kušmon* may be a reshaping under the influence of the Chuvash or Tatar word.

Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 85; Gombocz, *BtLW*, pp. 33–34, Raun, *Chuv. Borr.*, p. 44, Lytkin, *Ist. vok.*, p. 207, *Drev. tjurk. êlem.*, p. 133, *ESK*.

15. Z y r. (Wied.) *kuže* 'Waldgeist' (WUo.) Pech. *kuže* 'id.' (SSKD, KRSl.) *kuž* 'lešij, čert'. V o t y. (Wichm. p. 86), G, Uf. *kužo*, M, Y, MU *kužo* 'Wirt, Hausherr, (Uf. auch) Besitzer, (G auch) Kaufmann', (Munk.) S *kužo*, M *kužo*, K *kužo* 'Herr, Eigentümer, Herrschaft, (K) Geist, Schutzgeist, Gottheit' — PP **kuža*.

← LOB *χuša* ~ *χuša* (← Persian *χ^waša*) > Chuv. *χuša* 'master, lord' (Sirotkin, Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, pp. 161, 274). On the double correspondence, see below.

The Zyr. *kuž* evolved by abstraction from the Zyr. **kuža* that can be expected on the basis of the PP **kuža*; the final *a* was regarded as a suffix. The -e/-e element of the Zyr. *kuže* (> *kuže*) is a vocative suffix derived from PxSgl. The original *š, ž* affricate was retained in the S and M dialects of Votyak; in the other dialects and in Zyryan, there was a *ž* > *ž* sound change (Cf. Uotila, *Gesch. Kons.*, p. 168). The derivation of the Zyr. *kuž, kuže* 'Waldgeist' from the word *kuž* 'lang' (Beke; *NyK LIX*, p. 197) cannot be accepted semantically.

Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 86; Lakó, *Perm. ny. szöv.*, p. 27; Raun, *Chuv. Borr.*, p. 42; Lytkin, *Ist. vok.*, p. 207; *Drev. tjurk. êlem.*, p. 133; Fedotov, *Ist. svjazi II*, p. 157.

16. Z y r. (WUo.), V, LV, S, Pech., Lu., Le., I, Ud. *šekid*, P *šekit* 'schwer, schwierig; schwanger'. V o t y. (Wichm.), G, Uf. *šekit*, M, Y *šekit*, (Munk.), S, M *sókít*, Y, G *šekit*, K *šeket* 'id.' — PP **šekit*.

← ? LOB **sūk* > Chuv. *šek* 'burden' (Ašmarin), *šák* 'id.' (Sirotkin), *šėkle-*, *šėkle-* 'to lift, to carry (burden)' (Ašmarin, Sirotkin, Paasonen, *Csuv. szój.*) ~ PT *yūk* (Clason, p. 910, Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 212).

The Chuv. *šek* is no longer used, and probably, in Ašmarin's dictionary, it is a deduction from the still living form *šėkle-*. The back vocalism of *šák* is secondary.

This derivation is ambiguous as the supposed PP illabial *ε may have irregularly corresponded to the LOB labial *ǫ̃. For the PP representations of the LOB *ǫ̃, see page 16. The Zyr. *-id* and Voty. *-it* are adjectival suffixes that may be attached among other to loanwords as well, e.g. Zyr. *krepid* 'fest, stark' ← R. *krepkij*).

Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehn.*, p. 97 (with a question mark) — Erroneously ; *ESK*.

17. Z y r. (Lytck., *Drevn.* p. 153) *široe* (: *šir-is* or *šir-is*) 'svinec' — PP **šir* or *šir*.

← LOB **šir* (< *šer*) → Mord. Erzä *šerä*, Moksha *šerä*, 'Kupfer, Messing' ~ PT *yez* (Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 199, Clauson, pp. 282—3). The Chuv. *yēs*, *yās* 'copper' (Sirotkin, Ašmarin) is a late loanword.

The posterior component (*-is*) is identical with the *-is* element of metal names ; *eziš* 'Silber', *oziš* 'Zinn' (see under *ežüst* in *MSzFE*).

Lytkin, *Drev. tjurk. элем.*, p. 134 ; Fedotov, *Ist. svjazi II*, p. 133.

18. Z y r. (Lytck. *Drevn.* p. 144) OZyr. *šil* 'burnyj, burja' (SSKD), Vm., I *šī*, LV *šiv* 'burja, sil'nyj veter', (WUo.) VL *šila* 'morscher Baum', (Fokos-Fuchs) V, Le. *šila* 'vom Alter umgestürzter Baum (V), Windbruch (Le).' V o t y. (Wichm., p. 99) *šil* : G, M *šil-tel*, Y *šil-tov*, MU *šil-dau* 'Sturm, heftiger Sturmwind', Uf. *šil-pari* 'Windteufel, Wirbelwind', (Munk.), S *šil* (G vr. *šel*) : *šil-tol*, *šel-tol*, K M *šil-dau* 'starker Wind, Sturmwind' — PP **šil* (and perhaps **šil*).

← LOB **šel*, **šil*, ? *šil* (< *šel*) > Chuv. *šil* 'wind' (Sirotkin) ~ PT *yel* (Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 195, Clauson, pp. 916—7).

The Voty. *šil* can also be explained from the PP *šil* form : **šil* > **šil* > *šil*. The Voty. *šel* alludes to a LOB **šel* mediating form. Because of the PP *šil*, we have to take into account the LOB *šil* form as well. Incidentally, the velarization of palatals is not an infrequent phenomenon in Chuvash.⁴

Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 99 ; Uotila, *Lehnw. Perm.*, p. 1 ; Raun, *Chuv. Borr.*, p. 44 ; Lytkin, *Ist. vok.*, p. 196 ; *Drev. tjurk. элем.*, p. 133 ; Fedotov, *Ist. svjazi II*, p. 133 ; *ESK*.

19. Z y r (WUo.) V *šuri*, P *šurī* 'Weberspule, Spulrolle', (SSKD) UV, Skr., MS *šuri* 'cevka, spul'ka (dlja namatyvanija prjaži', (Gen.) EP *šurī* 'Spule'. V o t y. (Wichm., p. 98) G, Uf. *šerī*, M, MU *šerī*, (Munk.) S *šērī* [: *šerī*], K *šire* 'Weberspule, Spulrolle'. — PP **šuri* (Zyr.), **šūrī* (Voty.).

← LOB **šūrū* ~ **šūre* → Tat., Bashk. *šure* → Chuv. *šērē*, *šōrō* 'bobbin, spool', (Ašmarin ; Sirotkin ; Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 214).

⁴The old BT *ä* became a regular *a* in Chuvash (see note 18) and the diphthongs with *ä* (as *ǫ̃ä* < *ö̃ä* < *ö̃*) also became back voiced (*kävak* < *kök* 'blue'). In some cases, this development was followed by the short *ö* as well (*vākār* < *öküz* 'ox'). The back vocalic *ī* had developed into *ē* through a front vocalic *i*, or was reduced to *ä*. Some words containing a front *i* also followed this development (e.g. *šāna* 'mosquito' < **šīnek*).

If the word is etymologically identical with the Chuv. *šerě, šörö* 'ring', then it goes back to an earlier *šürük* ~ PT *yüzük* form. The Ostj. KoP *tür*, Vog. TJ, T C *tšür*, Ku, P, VN *šer*, LU *šera* (Steinitz, *Tat. Lehnw.*, pp. 89–91) and the Siberian Tat. *cür* are ultimately also of Bulgar-Turkish origin.

The *š* in the LOB first syllable was partly substituted by *u*, partly by **ǰ* in Proto-Permian. In Votyak under the influence of *š* an (**ǰ* >) — **ǰ* > *e* sound change took place. The continuity of the Zyr. -*i* is unusual as one would expect a **šur* form in Zyryan (see later).

Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 98; Lakó, *Perm. ny. szöv.*, p. 63; Raun, *Chuv. Borr.*, p. 44; Lytkin, *Ist. vok.*, p. 225, *Drev. tjurk. élem.*, p. 133; Fedotov, *Ist. svjazi* II, p. 132; ESK; Róna-Tas, *Volga Bulg. Words*, p. 172.

20. Z y r. (SSKD) Vm., I, Skr., Ud. *tilyim* Uf. *tilyim* 'prjad; iz pen'ki (privitje dratvy)' — PP **tilyim*.

← LOB **tilyim* (→ Tat. dial. *tilyim* 'ornament for female hair plaits' ~ PT *tulij* (Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 498, Clauson, p. 501).

Some of the Modern Chuvash *tölm, täläm* 'wool heap' forms go back to a *tulij* form (Cf. Käs̄yari *tulun, tulun*). The Tat. *tolim*, Bashk. *tolom*, Kazk. *tulum*, Kirg. *tulum* 'hair plait' forms may be old Bulgarian loanwords, in contrast to the Ottoman *tulun*, Alt. *tulun* forms retaining the original final. The -*i*- of the first syllable is the result of regressive assimilation *tulij* > *tilyim* > *täläm*.

Lytkin, *Drev. tjurk. élem.*, p. 135; Fedotov, *Ist. svjazi* II, p. 138.

21. Z y r. (WUo.) V, S, Pech., I, Ud., P *tus* 'Korn, Samen (V, S, Pech., I, Ud, P); Erbse (Pech.); Zedernuß (Pech.); Beere (S, Ud, P); Kern (V); männliches Glied (V)', (Gen.) EP *tus* 'Korn, Kern, Graupen'. V o t y. (Wichm. p. 108), G *tis* 'Samen, Saatkorn', M *tis* Uf. *tis* 'Korn', Y *tis* 'Samen, Korn, Kern', (Munk.), S *tis* K *tis* 'Korn, Saatkorn'. — PP **tus*.

← LOB *tšs* (< **tšlč*) ~ PT *tüş* (Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 507; Clauson, p. 538).

In Votyak a sporadic **u* > *i*, before *š* (Uf., K) *i* > *i* occurred.

The Chuv. *töš, tšš* is a Tatar loanword because of the final -*š*. On the correspondence of the ST *š* ~ Chuv. *š*, see pp. 15–17.

Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 108; Raun, *Chuv. Borr.*, p. 42; Lytkin, *Ist. vok.*, p. 222; ESK.

22. Z y r. (WUo.) V, S, Pech., Lu., Le. *voštj-*, I *vǰštj-*, Ud *veštj-*, P *oš-*, *oštj-*, 'öffnen, aufmachen', (SSKD), US *ǰštj-* 'id.' (Gen.) EP *ušt-* 'id.' (WUo.) V, S, Pech., Lu. *voššj-*, LV *vošš-*, I *vǰššj-*, Ud. *veššj-*, P *oššj-* 'sich öffnen, aufgehen'. V o t y. (Wichm. p. 126) G *uštj-*, S, M, Y, MU *uštj-*, Uf. *uštj-* 'öffnen, aufmachen', G *usjal-* 'öfter öffnen', — PP **ǰč-*.

← LOB *áč-* > Chuv. *uš-* 'to open' ~ PT *ač-* (Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 3; Clauson, p. 18).

The Zyr.-Voty. *-ti-* is a causative, the Zyr. *-ši-* is a reflexive, the Voty. *-jal-* is a frequentative suffix. In the Permian languages, the process of disaffrication (**-ć-* > *-ś-*) took place before a *t*. The PP **q* is a substitution for the labial LOB *â*.

Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 126; Uotila, *Gesch. Kons.*, p. 58, *Syrj. Chrest.*, p. 183; Lytkin, *Ist. vok.*, p. 34; Fedotov, *Ist. svjazi II*, p. 148; *ESK*.

Phonetic Conclusions

Consonants

1. Plosives

PT *k̄-* > LOB *χ-* (> Chuv. *χ-*) → PP *k-* (7, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15). In PP there was no *χ*; therefore *k* was substituted. This is clear in the case of the word *χoʃa* of Persian origin, where there was also originally a *χ*, and where PP also substituted a *k* (Cf. also Ar. *ħarʃ* → Chuv. → Voty. *kōrs̄, kers̄* 'tax'). The *k* > *χ* development probably did not take place at the same time in the various Bulgar-Turkic dialects. In the Kazar language, at any rate, *χ* is found already in the 10th century: *χaganos* (Constantine Porphyrogenetos), *χazaroi* (Ištakhri, Ibn Faḍlān), *χapubaliq* (Ibn Rusta).⁵ Such pre-Conquest loanwords in Hungarian like *homok* 'sand' (~ Tu. *qumag*) are not necessarily from a time prior to the Hungarian *k* ≧ *h* development, but could be adoptions of a Tu. *χ*- from a dialect in which and at a time when the PT *q-* had already become *χ-*. Already in the 13th or 14th century, in the VB inscriptions we find everywhere: *χirχ* 'forty', *hir* 'girl', *χirχum* 'servant' etc.

PT ? *-k̄*, ? *-q* > LOB *-θ* (< *u* < *-γ* > Chuv. *θ*) → PP *θ* (3)

PT *k̄-* > LOB *k-* (> Chuv. *k-*) → PP *k* (8, 9, 11)

PT *-k̄* > LOB *-θ* (< *u* < *γ* > Chuv. *θ*) → PP *θ* (19)

PT *t-* > LOB *t-* (> Chuv. *t-*) → PP *t-* (20, 21)

PP *-rt-* > LOB *-rt-* (> Chuv. *-rd-*) → PP *-rt-* (8)

PT *-lt-* > LOB *-lt-* (> Chuv. *-ld-*) → PP *-lt-* (11)

PT *-t-* > LOB *-d-* (> Chuv. *-d-*) → PP *-d-* (1).

The *-t-* becoming voiced is secondary in this word.

PT *b-* > LOB *b-* (> Chuv. *p-*) → PP *b-* (2).

⁵ On these data see Z. Gombocz, *Honfoglalás előtti bolgár-török jövevényszavaink* [The Bulgar-Turkic Loanwords of the Hungarian Language before the Conquest], *Nyelvtudományi Értekezések* 24, Budapest 1960, p. 23, and Ligeti's editorial remarks.

The PT *b-* became *p-* in Modern Chuvash partly because of a systematic assimilation to *k-* and *t-*, and partly under the impact of the surrounding Finno-Ugrian languages. In the meantime, the *b > m* development which had already begun in PT in certain positions, continued in BT phonology and in some words (e.g. in the word *bāŋ* before a nasal), had become *m*. Thus the PP *b-* correspondence shows that the *b > p* development in the LOB period had not yet got as far as *p-*.

The existence of voiced initial gutturals and the dental (*g-*, *g̃-*, *d-*) in PT is a controversial question. At least the fact that in some BT dialects there existed voiced initials seems to be definite. It is indicated by parallels like the Mo. *dūli* and the Hung. *dél* that can be identified with the Tu. *tüš*, and are all BT loanwords. But these may have been sporadic and dialectal forms shown by the following types: PT *kūzen* ~ Hung. *gőrény*, but Mo. *kürene*, or PT *kőšek* ~ Hung. *kőlyök*, but Mo. *gölige*. The very fact that the PP and the Volga Kipchak languages had adopted the LOB word **gümbä* with a voiced initial indicates that in certain cases there were voiced initials in LOB as well.

The LOB *-mb-*, *-nd-* had denasalized in the Permian languages to *b*, *d* (see below). The LOB loanwords belonging to this group are an important criterion of dating the Permian denasalization (PU, PFU *mp*, *nt*, *ŋk* > P *b*, *d*, *g*). It is known that the separation of the Permian peoples took place at around the turn of the 9th and 10th centuries with the gradual northward migration of the predecessors of the Zyryans. On this basis of the upper time limit of the Bulgar-Turkic and Permian contacts, the Permian denasalization can be dated at around the 9th or 10th century. (Cf. Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, pp. 25, 58, 76—7, 129, 139).⁶ The Chuvash words adopted by the already independent Votyak language retained the nasal-plosive cluster (Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, pp. 25, 57, 107, 128).

2. Nasals

In PT only the *ń-* existed in an initial position among the nasals, but this developed into *ǰ-* in the PB age. As we have seen, a secondary *m-* developed out of the original *b-* (*bāŋ* > Chuv. *min*).

PT *-md-* > LOB *-nd-* (> Chuv. *-nd-*) → PP *nd* (> Zyr.—Voty. *d*) (12, 13)

PT *-mb-* → (LOB *-mb-*) (> Chuv. *-mb-*) → PP *mb* (> Zyr.—Voty. *b*) (6)

PT *-n* > LOB *-n* (> Chuv. *-n*) → PP *-n* (7, 14)

PT *-ŋ -ŋ-* > LOB *ŋ* (> Chuv. *n*) → PP *ŋ* (2, 4)

PT *-ŋ* > LOB *-m* (> Chuv. *m*) → PP *-m* (20)

⁶ See further K. Rédei, *Gibt es sprachliche Spuren der vorungarisch-permischen Beziehungen?*: *ALH* 19 (1969), pp. 329—30.

In BT there is a very ancient $n_1 \sim m$ alteration, to which the original nasal velar might also be added. This is indicated by the Mo. *simayul* ~ Tu. *siŋek* 'mosquito', Mo. *kö müldürge* 'breast-strap' ~ Tu. *köŋül* 'heart', Mo. *tomuyun* 'cold, head-cold' ~ Tu. *toŋ* 'frozen, very cold', the Hung. *szám* 'number' Tu. *san*, Hung. *gyom* 'weed' ~ Tu. *yoŋ* and *χirχum* 'woman slave' in the Volga inscriptions ~ Tu. *qırqın* forms, and cases of Modern Chuvash dialectal change such as : *iltän, iltäm* 'gold' ~ Tu. *altun, pürsän, pürsä m* 'velvet' ~ Tu. *barčun*, etc. This phenomenon may be observed even in the very recent Tatar loanwords : Tat. *yakın* 'approximately, near' → Chuv. *yaχän, yaχäm*, Tu. *yaŋış* 'fault' → Chuv. *yanäš, yomaš-*, Tu. *özen* 'ravine' → Chuv. *vasan, vasam*, etc.⁷ The final η of the PT *tulñ* ~ LOB *tülim* also belongs to this group.

The PP $*\eta > \text{Zyr. } n, \acute{n}, m, \text{ Voty. } \eta, n, \acute{n}, m$ sound change (1, 2, 4) may have taken place during the independent life of the Permian language after the adoption of the Bulgar-Turkic loanwords. For the relatively late and possibly only dialectal survival of the PP $*\eta$ in Zyryan cf. W. Steinitz *Etymologische Beiträge (II). Zu den syrjänischen Lehnwörtern des Obugrischen* : ALH 12 (1962), p. 249.

The Chuvash loanwords in Votyak also underwent the $*\eta > n$ sound change though the latter one was already independent. (Cf. Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, pp. 20—1).

3. Liquids, rolled sounds

In PT, the liquids and rolled sounds did not occur in inityrl position. In other positions :

PT $-l > \text{LOB } -l (> \text{Chuv. } -l) \rightarrow \text{PP } l$ (18)

PT $-l > \text{LOB } -l (> \text{Chuv. } -l) \rightarrow \text{PP } -l-$ (20)

PT $-lt- > \text{LOB } -lt- (> \text{Chuv. } -ld-) \rightarrow \text{PP } -lt-$ (11)

PT $-rl- > \text{LOB } -rl- (> \text{Chuv. } -rl-) \rightarrow \text{PP } -rl-$ (3)

PT $-lč (< lVč) > \text{LOB } -ś (> \text{Chuv. } -š) \rightarrow \text{PP } ś$ (10)

The disappearance of the PT $-l$ in the $-lč-$ cluster took place by the spirantization of l , cf. PT *ölč-* 'to measure' $>$ Chuv. *viš-*, PT *belčen* 'thistle' $>$ Chuv. *pišen*, PT *qilč* 'sword' $>$ Chuv. *χěš (< qilč)*. Traces of the spirantization of

⁷ We cannot here go into details concerning the debated question of the origin of the final $-m$ in Chuvash. See L. S. Levitskaja, *Zametki o fonetiki čuvašskich govorov*, In: *Voprosy dialektologii tjurkskich jazykov IV*, Baku 1966, pp. 182—185; G. Doerfer, *Türkisch -n tschuwaschisch -m?* : UAJb 39 (1967), pp. 53—70; E. Hovdhaugen, *Some Remarks on the Development of Nasal Phonemes in Chuvash* : UAJb 44 (1972), pp. 174—212; G. Doerfer, *Tschuwaschisch -m < urtürkisch *-m (> gemeintürkisch -n)* : UAJb 45 (1973), pp. 174—212.

-l- can be shown in Modern Chuvash dialects : PT *külčen* 'loan' > Chuv. *kivšen, küšen*, PT *altun* 'gold' > Chuv. *ivtan, iltan*, PT *alqan-* 'to curse' > Chuv. *ivčan-, ilčan-*, PT *yulči* 'hair' (Cf. Kāsγarī *yulič* 'goat's hair') > Chuv. **ševši* > *sūs* 'hair', etc. The PP *ś* already shows the disappearance of *-l-* in the case of LOB *χis*.

4. Spirants

PT *-s* > LOB *-s* (> Chuv. *-s*) → PP *-s* (1)

As has been already referred to, we have no reason to suppose the existence of an original *-z* final in this word, one which should regularly have become an *-r* in Chuvash. But naturally it cannot be completely excluded that the word existed in LOB for a long time as a loan, though the existence of a possible **z* is in any case indifferent from the point of view of the LOB-PP relation. In contrast to the PT *z*, an *-r* is found in the words *χundiri, śir* and possibly in *śūrŭ*. This is the well-known Chuvash Rhotacism.

PT *-š* > *-lč* > LOB *-ś* (> Chuv. *-ś*) → PP *ś* (21)

PT *-š* has two correspondences in Chuvash : *-l* and *-ś*. The first correspondence is well known, but the *-ś* correspondence is so frequent and occurs in so many old words that these cases can hardly be regarded as loanwords ; e.g. PT *bāš* 'head' ~ Chuv. *puś*, PT *yemiš* 'fruit' ~ Chuv. *šimesś*, PT *iš* 'thing' ~ Chuv. *ěś*, PT *yašim* 'lightning' ~ Chuv. *šišēm*, PT *qarši* 'to the opposite' ~ Chuv. *χirěś*, PT *uruš* 'fight' ~ Chuv. *vārsā*, PT *ašla-* 'to churn' ~ Chuv. *uśla-* etc. The phenomenon was already noticed by Poppe ;⁸ in some cases, Ramstedt also referred to the *-lč-* origin of the Chuvash *ś* correspondences.⁹ Ščerbak¹⁰ explains the Chuvash correspondences partly by the original *š* standing here after a short vowel, and partly by considering these as loanwords. Doerfer¹¹ rightly refuses to accept this argumentation because *-l* in Chuvash occurs also before short vowels (e.g. PT *qiš* 'winter' ~ Chuv. *χěl*), and we may add that *-š* occurs after long vowels as well (Cf. PT *iš* as above). Several other unsuccessful attempts have been made to find a morphological solution.

⁸ N. N. Poppe, *K konsonantizmu altajskich jazykov ; Doklady Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk* 1924, pp. 43–44.

⁹ G. J. Ramstedt, *Einführung in die altaische Sprachwissenschaft I. Laullehre*, bearbeitet und herausgegeben von P. Aalto, *MSFOu* 104/1, Helsinki 1957, p. 109.

¹⁰ A. M. Ščerbak, *Sravnitel'naja fonetika tjurkskich jazykov*, Leningrad 1970, pp. 86, 163.

¹¹ G. Doerfer, *Bemerkungen zur Methodik der türkischen Laullehre : Orientalische Literaturzeitung* 66 (1971), cc. 337–339.

According to Pritsak,¹² an original *-ti* individual suffix was added to the original *-l* final and this cluster became *š* in Turkish and *-š* in Chuvash through an *-lči* progression. The Chuvash cases where there is an *-l* are forms without a *-ti* suffix. The greatest difficulty of Pritsak's theory is that the Chuvash *-l* ~ ST *-š*- correspondence does not occur only in the final position but inside words as well (Cf. e.g. PT *ešge* 'donkey' ~ Mo. *elʒigen*, PT *köšek* 'kid' ~ Hung. *kölyök* ~ Mo. *gölüge*); furthermore, the *-ti* suffix in question does not occur in any other phonetic situation. We must consider also that in ST there is an *-lči* final (cf. e.g. *elči* 'envoy'), but this did not change into *-š*. There is no good reason for the *-ti* to have disappeared from the end of Chuvash words and remained in others. Finally, Pritsak's theory does not explain the Chuvash-Mongolian *-l*- correspondences. Tekin¹³ starts from PT *-l*- and he explains the Chuvash *š* correspondences from an *-lč*. According to him, the ST *-š* that can be found in such cases has also evolved from an *-lč*. The main difficulty in this view is that in ST the *-lč*- is a common cluster (Cf. *elči* 'envoy'; *alči* 'misleading, cunning', *balčiq* 'mud', *yalčiq* 'moon', etc.), and only in Chuvash does it become *š*. Most recently, Doerfer¹⁴ has expounded a view that in the case of the ST *-š* ~ Chuv. *-š* correspondence one should start from an original *-l* stem in Chuvash, to which the possessive suffix *-si* was added (PT *bāš* 'head' ~ Chuv. **bāl-si*), with a *-t* (**baltsi*) being 'inorganically' included, to evolve into *pušē* through a **balči* form, of which, subsequently, the *-č*, felt to be a possessive suffix, was dropped. The possessive suffix *-si* has in some cases been retained as *-šē*. In categories like the parts of the body, in terms for relationship, the form of the strong adherence of possessive suffixes is wellknown; in several languages, this has led to adding a second possessive suffix to stems which already had one. But, as has already been pointed out, the phenomenon occurs in Chuvash in the interior of words as well (PT *yašim* ~ Chuv. *šišēm*), and can be observed in the case of verbal stems (PT *ašla-* ~ Chuv. *ušla-*), and of substantives of verbal origin (PT *yemiš* ~ Chuv. *šimes*); therefore, Doerfer's theory cannot be accepted either.

The ST *š* ~ Chuv. *l*, *š* correspondences can be explained only if in both cases we start from an *-lč*-. In the one case, an *-lč*- > *l* development took place; in the other case, the *-l*- disappeared by spirantization and an *š* evolved of *-č*- through regular Chuvash development. In fact, we have here an earlier ST *š* > Chuv. *lč* correspondence. This is indicated by ancient loanwords of Bulgar-Turkic origin in Mongolian like Mo. *elʒigen* 'donkey' ~ Tu. *ešgek*, Mo. *qalči-* 'to level off, to scrape off' ~ Tu. *qaš(i)-*, Mo. *tarbalʒi* 'a kind of hawk' ~

¹² O. Pritsak, *Der 'Rhotazismus' und 'Lambdazismus'*: *UJb* 35 (1964), pp. 337—349.

¹³ T. Tekin, *Zetacism and Sigmatism in Proto-Turkic*: *AOH* 22 (1969), pp. 51—80.

¹⁴ G. Doerfer, *Bemerkungen . . .*, pp. 337—339.

Tu. *taz baši* 'bald headed', and the Russian *alčiki* 'dice' of Bulgar-Turkic origin ~ Tu. *ašug*. Though in Hungarian antiquity an inorganic *l* frequently occurs (e.g. OH *álcs*, *ács* ~ PT *ayačči*, *bölcs* ~ PT *bügüči* etc., there is absolutely no proof that the *-l-* of the Hung. *bölcső* (~ PT *bešik*), *gyümölcs* (~ PT *yemiš*), OH *bulcsassa*, *bocsát*, *búcsú*, etc., (~ PT *bošat-*, *bošan-*) is also of such origin. In fact, in these cases there is an *š* in ST and not a *č*; therefore, this category is to be isolated from the others and may be linked to those items where there is an *-lč-* for the ST *š*, or its Modern Chuvash variant, the *-š.*¹⁵

Thus the final consonant of the LOB *tüş*, in contrast to the ST *tüş*, can be explained in the same manner as the final consonant of *kis*: both have evolved directly from an *-lč*.

5. Affricates

PT *č-* > LOB *č-* ~ *š-* (> Chuv. *š-*) → PP *č-*, *š-* (3)

PT *-č-* > LOB *-č-* (> Chuv. *-ž-*) → PP *-č* (9)

PT *-č* > LOB *-č* (> Chuv. *-š*) → PP *-š* (22)

PT *-lč* > LOB *-š* (> Chuv. *-š*) → PP *-š* (10)

PT *-š* > *lč* > LOB *š* (> Chuv. *-š*) → PP *-š* (21)

PT *y-* > *ž-* > LOB *š-* (> Chuv. *š-*) → PP *š-* (16, 17, 18, 19)

Persian *-ž-* > LOB *ž* ~ *ž* (> Chuv. *-ž-*) → PP *-ž-* (15)

As it can be seen, the PT affricates have a double form in LOB and in PP, which reflects it: affricates and spirants. The spirant correspondence of the voiced initial affricate is particularly remarkable. It deserves special attention, because in the VB inscriptions, there are expressly only affricate correspondences: *jal* 'year' (~ PT *yāš*), *žerim* 'twenty' (PT *yigirmi*), *žiyeti* 'seven' (PT *yeti*) *žur* 'hundred' (PT *yüz*), *köčrüwi* 'migrated away' (PT *köč-duq-i*), *wečim* 'third' (PT *üč* 'three'), etc. From this Poppe (*Čuvaši*, pp. 26—28) and recently Raun (*Chuv. Borr.*, p. 44) have drawn the conclusion that the Bulgar-Turkic loanwords of PP originate from a time later than the inscriptions, i.e. later than the 14th century. But this view neglects the fact that here one has to take into account several dialects. This is clearly indicated by the loanwords in the Hungarian language that are of the Chuvash type where besides the affricate correspondences (*gyom* 'weed', *gyümölcs* 'fruit', *disznó* 'pig', *csepű* 'tow', *csalán* 'thistle', etc.) there are also words containing spirants (*szél* 'wind', *szűcs* 'furrier'; *sarló* 'sickle', *sátor* 'tent', *kos* 'ram', *késő* 'late', *kőrís* 'ash-tree', etc.). Doerfer¹⁶ who considers the Chuvash *š-* correspondences rather late, regards

¹⁵ Recently Ligeti expressed the view that Hung. *č* in place of ST *š* is due to a Hungarian *č* < *š* development, see L. Ligeti, *Régi török eredetű neveink* [Old Hungarian Names of Turkish Origin]: *MNy* 74 (1978), pp. 257—274.

¹⁶ G. Doerfer, *Bemerkungen* . . . , p. 332.

the Hungarian *sz-* correspondences as erroneous without taking into account the PP parallels. To explain the PT affricate \sim Hungarian spirant, several theories have been advanced;¹⁷ one sure thing is that this correspondence is older than the inscriptions and reflects the same duality as we see in PP. We should note that in some LOB dialects the difference was just in the chronology of the sound changes.

Vowels in the first syllable

PT *a* > LOB *â* (> Chuv. V. *o*, Chuv. A. *u*) → PP *a* (1, 3, 7), *ɔ* (22)

PT *o* > LOB *u* (> Chuv. V. *õ*, Chuv. A. *ã*) → PP *u* (12, 14, 15)

PT *u* > LOB *ũ* (> Chuv. V. *õ*, Chuv. A. *ã*) → PP *u* (13)

PT *ï/i* > LOB *ĩ* (> Chuv. *ě*) → PP *i* (4 : PP *i* > *ε*, 5, 10)

PT *ä* > LOB *ä* (> Chuv. *a*) → PP *a* (2), *ε* (9)

PT *e* > LOB *e, i* (> Chuv. *i*) → PP *i, ĩ, e* (17, 18)

Pt *ü* > LOB *ű* (> Chuv. V. *õ*, Chuv. A. *ě*) → PP *u* (19, 21), *ɔ* (19), *ɔ* (11)

The *ű* of the first syllable of LOB **gűmbä* of Russian origin (otherwise LOB *ü* < PT *ö*) became *ɔ* in PP. The PT *u* became *ĩ* under the influence of the *ĩ* of the second syllable in the word *tīlīm*, and its PP correspondence is also *ĩ*.

Though the scarcity of the data does not permit extensive conclusions, yet certain trends are evident for the whole system. The most important of these is that the entire Chuvash phonetic system had become more closed.¹⁸ The open labials had become more closed. The *o* > *ɔ* > *u* development together with the *õ* > *ö* > *ü* change was in its third phase at the time of the PP adoptions. In the meantime, the closed labials had been reduced: *u* > *ũ*, *ü* > *ű*. But this reduction was naturally accompanied by a process of opening; therefore, the open and the close labials coincided at later stages of development, and today, are found in the Viryal dialect of Chuvash as an *õ*, and an *ö*. Subsequently, both sounds became delabialized in Anatri and in the literary languages based on it. Presumably, this is also the consequence of reduction, as in the forming of reduced vowels the lips are also more relaxed. The development of the PT *a* > LOB *â* was also part of the process of closing. The labial *â* thus evolved was more closed than its earlier illabial predecessor. The correspondence of this sound in Zyr. *a* ~ Voty. *u* can be explained according to E. Itkonen (*Bemerkungen*, p. 267) in etymologies 1 and 3 by the PP *o* or *ɔ*

¹⁷ On these theories see G. Bárczi, *Le traitement de š et de č turcs dans les mots d'emprunt turcs du protohongrois*. In: *Studia Turcica*, Ed. by L. Ligeti, BOH XVII, Budapest 1971, pp. 39–46.

¹⁸ Cf. G. Doerfer, *Ein Kompendium der Turkologie*; *UAJb* 40 (1968), p. 244; E. Itkonen, *Bemerkungen*, p. 272.

that substitutes for the LOB labial \dot{a} , which becomes a in Zyryan under the influence of the a in the second syllable (and of the main stress in PP), whereas in Votyak, the u regularly evolved from o or φ . The word $\chi\dot{a}n$ contradicts this view, in which E. Itkonen indicates a long \ddot{a} . As has been seen above, in this word we have definitely to presume a short \dot{a} on the LOB level, either as a continuation of the original short a , or as a result of the shortening of the original long \ddot{a} . It is therefore, more probable that in PP it was the OB \dot{a} that was replaced by a in a period when no such sound existed in the system of PP phonemes. The PP $a > \text{Voty. } u$ sound correspondence cannot be traced back to one single cause. The PP a was retained in Zyryan, whereas in Votyak there was a process of closing: $*a (> *\dot{a}) > *o > u$ under the influence of the vowel of the second syllable (bearing the main stress) in the words $udis$ and $\acute{s}urlo$. In the Voty. kun the $*a (> \dot{a}) > o > u$ change can be explained by the influence of the initial k . (Lytkin, *Ist. vok.*, p. 170). Lytkin (*loc. cit.*) has demonstrated the Zyr. $a \sim \text{Voty. } u$ correspondence in 24 Permian words besides the Chuvash ones; among them, there are several of Iranian origin, where there was an a as well.

The PT \ddot{i} was mainly fronted and became reduced on the process of becoming closed ($> \ddot{i}$), whereas in other cases the velar set was retained ($> \ddot{i}$) and it is present either as an \check{e} , or an \check{a} in the Modern Chuvash dialects. The \check{e} and \check{a} in the Modern Chuvash orthography and in the more up-to-date transliterations, and the sounds indicated by the ε , $\hat{\varepsilon}$ symbols used by Paasonen are equivalent to phonetically central, reduced sounds of medial tongue position.

The PT \acute{e} had become i again by the closing process, presumably through an ε stage (Cf. E. Itkonen, *op. cit.*, p. 261). The Voty. $\acute{s}el$ besides the $\acute{s}il$ indicates that the former was adopted by PP prior to the LOB $\varepsilon > i$ (see Uotila, *Lehnw. Perm.*, p. 2; E. Itkonen, *Bemerkungen*, p. 261). The PT \ddot{a} could not yet have been an a in the period of the LOB-PP contacts, for otherwise this development would have coincided with that of the original a sound. The PP a can be explained by sound substitution. On the LOB $\ddot{a} \sim \text{PP } a$ sound substitution, see E. Itkonen, *Thesen*, p. 245; *Bemerkungen*, p. 270. Here it should be noted that we have no reason to doubt the existence of the PT $\ddot{a} : e$ opposition; but Chuvash deviates in many cases from the picture that can be reconstructed on the basis of the Turkic languages and their linguistic relics.¹⁹ This diffe-

¹⁹ Following Poppe (*Türkisch-tschuwassische vergleichende Studien: Islamica* 1, 1925, pp. 410–414) it is generally accepted that the PT open \ddot{a} had become a in Chuvash, and the closed PT \acute{e} had become i . This has, in fact, taken place in a considerable number of words, but the divergent data call for caution: PT $\acute{e}\acute{s}ik$ (Az. $\acute{e}\acute{s}ik$, Tkm. $\acute{i}\acute{s}ik$) \sim Chuv. $al\acute{a}k$ 'door' ($< *a\acute{s}ik$), PT $\acute{e}\acute{s}$ - (Az. $\acute{e}\acute{s}$ -, Tkm. $\acute{i}\acute{s}$ -) \sim Chuv. al - 'to plough virgin soil' ($< *a\acute{s}$ - 'to dig up'), PT $k\acute{e}\acute{c}$ - (Az. $k\acute{e}\acute{c}$ -, Tkm. $ge\acute{c}$ -) \sim Chuv. $ka\acute{s}$ - 'to pass over', ($*k\acute{a}\acute{c}$ -), or PT $\acute{a}z$ - (Az. $\acute{a}z$ - Tkm. ez -) \sim Chuv. ir - 'to squash, to soften' ($< *e\acute{z}$ -), PT $\acute{a}ri\acute{s}$ - (Az. $\acute{a}ri$ -, Tkm. $ere\acute{s}$ -) \sim Chuv. $irel$ - 'to melt' ($\sim *e\acute{r}i\acute{s}$ -), etc. These facts reflect LAT dialectal phenomena.

rence may have been particularly characteristic of some Bulgar-Turkic dialects. Thus it is that in Modern Chuvash such a form corresponds to the word *bän*, in which the vowel goes back to a closed *e*.

The vocalism of the Volga Bulgarian inscriptions can be interpreted only with great difficulty due to the limitations of Arabic script. But the *ä*, *e* sounds are definitely written in each case along with the *keph* that is used in words of the front vocalic set: *säkir* 'eight'. The sound *e* has not yet become *i*, e.g. *eki* 'two'. The PT *a* is written in each case with *aleph*, or *fatha*: *altï* 'six', *ayxi* 'month of', *batuwi* 'to take leave, to die', which naturally does not mean that this *a* sound could not have been a labial *ä*, but it definitely means that it was not *o* or *u*.

The PP representation of the LOB *ü* is rather heterogeneous: *u*, *ρ*, *ó*. This may be explained by the fact that in PP there was no *ü*, therefore it was replaced by sounds nearest to it.

The Kipchak Turkic languages, such as Modern Tatar and Bashkir which had come into close contact with the Volga-Bulgarian language changed their vocalism under the impact of Volga Bulgarian.

PT	Tat. Bashk.	PT	Tat. Bashk.
<i>a</i>	<i>ä</i>	<i>ï</i>	<i>ï̇</i>
<i>e, ä</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ë</i>
<i>o</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ö</i>
<i>ö</i>	<i>ü</i>	<i>ü</i>	<i>ö̇</i>

Here the reduced labials are more closed than the open labials of the Turkic languages. As it can be seen, the coincidence of *e* and *ä* in the Volga-Kipchak languages had already taken place by the beginning of the LOB influence (later on, a secondary *ä* evolved in the first syllable mainly from *a* after *y*-, and in loanwords). In respect of its other features, this system faithfully reflects the LOB vocalism compared to which Modern Chuvash was a further development.

The time of the development of the Volga-Kipchak vocalism is controversial.²⁰ At any rate, the Mongolian loanwords of the Volga-Kipchak languages show that this phenomenon took place after the 13th or the 14th centuries, e.g. Mo. *bosaya* 'threshold' → Tat. *busaga*, Mo. *bödüne* 'quail' → Tat. *büdänä*, Bashk. *büdänä*, Mo. *delbege* 'halter' → Bashk. *dilbegä*, etc.

In our material, there is no example of the PP representation of the PT *a* > Chuv. *ï* development recently dealt with by E. Itkonen (*Bemerkungen*) in detail. According to Ramstedt²¹ we have to presume the *a* > *e* > *ε* > *ï*

²⁰ Cf. G. Doerfer, *Bemerkungen* . . . , pp. 329–330.

²¹ G. J. Ramstedt, *Zur Frage nach der Stellung des Tschuwassischen*: JSFOu 38 (1922), p. 7.

according to Doerfer²² the $a > e > i$ development and E. Itkonen (*loc. cit.*) also supposes the $a > e > i$ development on the basis of the Zyryan and Votyak correspondences. Before deciding on the question, we should note that though in Yakut one frequently finds an i correspondence for the PT a , and finds it occasionally in other Turkic languages, and we also find an i correspondence in some Bulgar-Turkic loanwords in Mongolian and Hungarian, these i correspondences agree only in the rarest cases. Such an exception is e.g. PT *yaz-* 'to write', Chuv *šir*, Mo. *širu-* and Hung. *ír-*. This phenomenon is very frequent in the Arabic-Persian loanwords in Chuvash: Ar. *mašhara* → Chuv. *mšskara* 'ridicule', Ar. *ħarġ* → Chuv. *ħiršă* 'tax' (→ Voty. Y *kōrs*, S *kerš*), Ar. *ħazna* → Chuv. *ħisna* 'treasury'. This development can be observed also in quite fresh loans such as Tu. *balčiq* → Chuv. *pilčăk* 'mud'. In some Chuvash dialects, an $a > u \sim i$ alteration can also be observed: Chuv. V and A *pīr-* 'to go' ~ Morgauš (recorded by Róna-Tas), *pur-*, Chuv. V and A *pīl* 'honey' ~ Rika (recorded by Róna-Tas) *pul*, etc. All this again clearly indicates that we are faced with a dialectal phenomenon which is presumably related to the labialization of a , and, in contrast to the more general labial $â$ variant, is the residue of an illabial, sporadic and dialectal a . The Arabic illabial a was part of this development and subsequently the illabial a became i in Chuvash along with the process of closing. This process definitely went through an e phase and perhaps later on, through an $ę$ stage. It is not totally unlikely that the $-e$ of the Hung. *gyertya* 'candle' can also be explained in this way, rather than in terms of the dissimilating effect of the a occurring in the second syllable of inflected forms (*TESZ*, cf. *alma*, *almát*).

The beginning of the closing process of the Chuvash vowel system would be difficult to specify. Certainly, the phenomenon already existed in some of the ancient Bulgar-Turkic loanwords in Mongolian: PT *bodu-* ~ Mo. *budu-* 'to paint', PT *koč* ~ Mo. *quča* 'ram', PT *höküz* ~ Mo. *hükör* 'ox', PT *tönke* ~ Mo. *tüngke* 'overgrowth of feather grass', etc. In order to explain such correspondences, we have no reason to propose a triple labial opposition ($o : ɔ ; u$) as is done by Doerfer (*TMEN* I, p. 99): we should rather see it as the earliest signs of the process of closing in Bulgar-Turkic. It is highly probable that by the time of the Hungarian—Bulgar-Turkic coexistence, this process has yet further advanced; consequently, our earlier views on the vocalism of the Bulgar-Turkic loanwords in Hungarian are to be revised.

For an evaluation of the process of closing, a more minute study of the LOB adoption of the Slavic *goba* would be important. This word was definitely adopted by LOB prior to the Eastern Slavic denasalization in the 10th century. The \bar{o} and perhaps \bar{u} that may be supposed on the basis of Permian and the possible \bar{u} based on Tatar definitely show the process of closing. But

²² G. Doerfer, *Ein Kompendium . . .*, p. 244.

it would be difficult to say if the Slavic *q* was adopted by the borrowing language as *ō* or *ǫ̇*. The latter appears the more probable.

By the period of the LOB-PP contacts, the LOB set of vowels was already definitely an entire stage more closed, and the process had become more systematic.

Our material does not offer direct information on the question of the long vowels of LOB.

Vowels not in the first syllable

The PT vowels show significant differences in LOB depending upon whether they occur in the first or the following syllables. Stress relations definitely play a role in this phenomenon. The main characteristic of present Chuvash stress relations is that the stress of the word can fall on a reduced vowel only if there are only reduced vowels in the word. If a word consists of only fully formed vowels then the stress is on the last syllable. If this is a reduced one, then the full vowel preceding it carries the stress. This system is obviously secondary and is related to the development of the reduced vowels. The history of the development of Modern Chuvash stress relations is totally unknown.

In Modern Chuvash the open vowels in non-first syllables have retained their original quality; the closed ones have become reduced.

The regular continuity of the LOB *a* in non-first syllables is the PP *a* > Zyr. *a*, Voty. *o* (< **a*) (3, 15). On the Zyryan sound hiatus occurring in the latter word, and on the *e/e* vowel see p. 9. The PP *i* corresponds to the LOB *i* in the Zyr. word *tīlim* (20). In one example (12) there is Zyr. *∅* ~ Voty. *i* in the place of the LOB *i* in absolute final position. The LOB **ā* was usually replaced by *a* in PP > Zyr. *a*, Voty. *o* < **a* (8, 11). In one case (6) there is Zyr. *∅* ~ Voty. *i/i* < PP *i* in the place of the final LOB **ā* sound. The LOB **ε* or **ū* → PP **ε* may be supposed for the second syllable of etymology No. 4. In word No. 9 the PP *∅* corresponds to the LOB *i* sound (see also below about this word). There is an example (19) also for the correspondence of the LOB *ū* and **e* > PP *i/i* > Zyr. *i*, Voty. *i*. In Zyryan, the regular form would be not *šuri* but **šur* reflecting the disappearance of the final vowel (see also below). — The *i* of the third person possessive suffix is represented by *i* in PP (13).

From the point of view of phonology, and primarily of the relative chronology of certain sound changes in the Permian languages, the behaviour of the absolute final vowels of LOB in the Permian languages is very conclusive. Contrary to Lakó (*Perm. ny. szóv.*, pp. 55—6), the Zyryan word *keč* ~ Voty. *keč* 'Ziege', does not go back to the LOB **küčä*, as it was earlier supposed (Wichmann, *op. cit.*, p. 73; Lakó, *loc. cit.*) but to the form **käči*. It has no significance from the point of view of dating the disappearance of the PP *ä* in

the Proto-Permian period. But this word may be decisive in defining the upper chronological limit (the end of the Proto-Permian period — 9th century?) of the PP **i* (and perhaps **ĭ*) > Zyr.—Voty. \emptyset . (On the disappearance of the PP **ĭ*/**i* in both languages, see Lakó, *Perm. ny. szöv.*, p. 52). On the basis of the Zyr. *gob* ~ Voty. *gubi* 'Pils' ← LOB *gǔmbä* (6) one may suppose that the sound change of the final PP *ä* > *i* was completed at the time of the LOB-PP contacts, though it is even more possible that the LOB *ä* was replaced by an *i* after the PP *ä* > *i* sound change. The PP *ĭ*/*i* ← LOB **i*, and **ä* were retained in Votyak as indicated by two words (6, 12), but in Zyryan they disappeared (cf. Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, pp. 35, 129; Lakó, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 20). In these words the disappearance occurred after the termination of the LOB-PP contacts (10th century) in an already independent Zyryan language. There is one word in which there is a final vowel in Zyryan as well: *šuri* (19). This word may have reached Zyryan after the disappearance of the PP *ĭ*/*i*, perhaps with P mediation (Cf. Lakó, *op. cit.*, p. 63). This is indicated by the fact that in the Permian languages a double sound representation (Zyr. *u*, Voty. *e* < **e* < **ĭ*) corresponds to the LOB **ü*. According to Lakó's conclusion (*op. cit.*, p. 56) Proto-Permian *a* was retained both in Zyryan (*a*) and in Votyak (*a*, *o* < **a*). Today, naturally, this statement can be accepted only with reservations: the Proto-Permian *a* could be retained only in words of the Permian period; its survival in Finno-Ugrian or Finno-Permian words can be supposed only on the basis of a few highly doubtful etymologies.²³ The LOB **a*/**ä* → PP **a* (> Zyr. *a*, Voty. *o* < *a*) has been retained in both Permian languages (3, 8, 11, 15). It is true, however, that in three examples (3, 8, 11) the *a* (> *o*) stands behind a consonant cluster, i.e. in phonetic situations where the disappearance of *a* could not have been possible.

The historical background of the contacts

We have to conclude on the basis of the above facts that the LOB loanwords of PP reflect several LOB dialects. The loanwords permit us to reconstruct what is in some respects a slightly more advanced stage of phonetic development than we find suggested by the Bulgar-Turkic loanwords in the Hungarian language. And this brings us to the question of when it was that LOB came into contact with PP.

The arrival of the Volga Bulgars in the central Volga region is still a controversial question. The long-standing orthodoxy goes back to Kunik's²⁴

²³ Cf. É. Korenchy, *A zürjén abszolút ígétő problémájáról* [Zum Problem des absoluten Verbalstammes im Syrjänischen]: *NyK* 73 (1971), pp. 157–158.

²⁴ *Izvestija Al-Bekri i drugih avtorov o Rusi i slavjanach. Čast' 1. Stati i razyskanija A. Kunika i barona V. Rozena. Priloženie k XXXII-mu tomu Zapisok AN No. 2.* SPbg. 1878, pp. 155–156.

view which has spread on Wichmann's authority (*Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 142). Kunik refers to Jordanes (at about A. D. 551), who enumerates the peoples of the Orient subjugated in the 4th century by the Goth King Ermanarich, and lists among them the Merens, Mordens and Imniscaris, but not the Bulgars. From this Kunik draws the inference that the Bulgars were not yet in the Volga region in the mid-6th century, but migrated here only later. Paasonen (*loc. cit.*) has justly found this argument insufficient. According to the historical sources,²⁵ the Khazars had terminated the Onogur-Bulgarian Empire of the Kuban in around 650. The separation of the Onogur Bulgars began only subsequently. One of the groups migrated upwards along the Volga, and though remaining under Khazar supremacy, yet escaped the direct pressure of the Khazars. Another group remained in the Caucasus. A third migrated to the neighbourhood of Byzantium and founded the Bulgarian Empire of the Danube where they settled down in around 680.

According to the archaeological finds, the Bulgarian tribes moving northward in the second part of the 7th century reached the central Volga, the territory between Kazan and Kuybyshev, late in the second half of the 8th century; the development of the Volga Bulgarian Empire can thus be dated around the end of the 8th, and the beginning of the 9th century. At the time of Ibn Fadlān (922) this Empire was flourishing.

Thus the beginnings of the PP-MB contacts can be put at the second part of the 8th century; intensive contacts should probably be counted with from the early 9th century. This chronology completely agrees with Wichmann's, (*Tschuw. Lehnw.*, pp. 29, 145—147) who dates the oldest layer of Chuvash loanwords in the Permian languages to the 8th or 9th century. This view is shared by Lytkin (*Drev. tjurk. ělem.*, pp. 131—142) and Rédei as well.²⁶

²⁵ Cf. K. Czeglédy, *Nomád népek vándorlása Napkeletől Napnyugatig* [The Wanderings of Nomadic Peoples from East to West]: *Kőrösi Csoma Kiskönyvtár* 8, Budapest 1969, p. 108.

²⁶ K. Rédei, *Gibt es sprachliche Spuren der vorungarisch-permischen Beziehungen?*: *ALH* 19 (1969), pp. 321—334, id., *Die syrjänischen Lehnwörter im Vogulischen*. Budapest 1970, p. 64. The general consensus among scholars studying the ethnic history of the middle Volga-region (A. P. Smirnov, Vorobev, Dmitriev, Kachovskij, Denisov etc.) is that we have no cause to seek a significant Turkic element here prior to the 8th century Bulgarian immigration. On the contrary, maintains A. Ch. Chalikov (see e.g. *K voprosu o načale tjurkizacii naselenija Povolž'ja i Priural'ja: Sovetskaja Ėtnografija* 1972/1, pp. 100—109) Turkic groups had migrated to the region in the 3rd or 4th, and the 5th or 6th centuries as well. We do not regard ourselves competent to judge Chalikov's archaeological arguments, but we are of the opinion that the fact that certain changes are reflected by the archaeological finds of the region under survey, with parallel changes indicated by the Hunnic finds of South Siberia and subsequently of South Russia, does not in itself prove the immigration of a Turkic people. These contacts could have been inter-ethnic ones as well, to say nothing of the fact that the Turkic ethnic identity of

The phonological conclusions to be drawn from the LOB loanwords in PP are in complete harmony with this view. Moreover, the LOB loanwords in PP reflect a phase of LOB development for which we have no other source. The Volga Kipchak languages and the Chuvash-type loanwords in Cheremiss reflect two later stages of development. The late Chuvash loanwords in Votyak and Permyak are also from a later stage of development.

II. The Bulgarian Loanwords in the Permyak Dialect of Zyryan

In the following we are going to deal with the problems of the Bulgarian-Turkic loanwords adopted by the southern dialect (Permyak) of Zyryan and by Votyak after the dissolution of the Proto-Permian linguistic unity. The restriction of the subject is justified by the fact that the words belonging to this group constitute an independent complex different from the Proto-Permian loans or those of the already separated Votyak language. The Chuvash elements of the P dialect of Zyryan and of Votyak belong to a later layer adopted after the 10th century (Lakó, *Perm. ny. szóv.*, p. 63). Since Proto-Permian unity came to an end in the 10th century, we cannot speak of common adoptions, Lytkin's view notwithstanding (*Drev. tjurk. élem.*, p. 138). Starting out from this postulate, we want to study the problem of whether the words in question can be regarded as Chuvash → Permyak and Chuvash → Votyak (Proto-Votyak) loans borrowed at the same time but independently, or whether they are indeed borrowings from a Bulgarian (Chuvash) → Votyak → Permyak direction.

1. Z y r. (Batalova, publ. by Lytkin, *Drev. tjurk. élem.*, p. 136) P *ćeber* : *ć. mort* 'chvastun, krasivyj, gordyj', *ćeber-ćeber munis* 'pošel gordo, vysoko podrjav golova, chvastajas', *ćeber* 'razborčivyj, brezglivyj'. V o t y. (*Wichm.* p. 113) G., Uf. *ćeber*, S, MY *ćeber* 'schön, anmutig, hübsch, gut, (G auch) schnell (Adv.), (MU auch) Schönheit, (Y auch) gut (Adv.)', (Munk.) S *ćeber*, Uf. *teber*, 'schön, hübsch'. — PV **ćeber*.

← ? LOB *čebär* ; Cf. Chuv. *čiper* 'beautiful, good' (Sirotkin).

the Huns, taken for granted by Chalikov, cannot at all be verified. Chalikov refers to Lytkin as well, who says, according to Chalikov, that the Chuvash loan words in the Permian languages originate from the 4th or 5th century. Lytkin, in the place quoted by Chalikov (*Jazyki narodov SSSR. 3, Finno-ugorskije i samodijskije jazyki*. Moskva 1966, p. 258) as elsewhere, clearly puts the beginnings of the linguistic influence of the Volga Bulgarians after the 7th century and regards the separation of PP into the Zyryan and Votyak branches to be the consequence of the impact of the Volga Bulgarian Empire, dating the process to the 9th or 10th century. Chalikov's attempt to separate the Chuvash people from the Volga Bulgarians and his effort to date their immigration to the 4th or 5th century cannot be accepted.

The Chuvash word is a Tatar loan because of the initial *č-* (Cf. Tat. *čiber*, Bashk. *siber*). The earliest occurrence of the word is in the Codex Cumanicus; Grønbech²⁷ and Poppe²⁸ regard it to be of Mongolian origin. But this is contradicted by the widespread use of the word in Turkic (Cf. Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 101) and further, by the fact that it has no etymology in Mongolian either, and finally, by the Tkm. *čeper*, the *-p-* of which cannot be explained on a Mongolian basis. Besides the late loan *čäbär*, there is also a *säbär* form in Yakut, which is regarded by Kałużyński²⁹ as an early loanword. The question of Mongolian origin is important in this case because it could give us an idea of the time of its adoption. Naturally, the possibility cannot be excluded that the word reached the Volga region through Mongolian mediation, but we cannot take it for granted.

According to Wichmann (*loc. cit.*), the Votyak word may come from Tatar. Either it reached Votyak and, through Votyak, Zyr. P directly; or it did so through Chuvash mediation prior to the *e > i* change of the Volga-region.

Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 113 (Voty.); Lytkin, *Drev. tjurk. элем.*, p. 136 (Zyr.).

2. Zyr. (Wuo.) P *kab* 'Leisten für Bastschuhe'. Voty. (Wichmann, *Etym. Perm.*, p. 130) *kab* 'id.' (Munk.) S, K *kab* 'Leisten' — PV **kab*.

← LOB **käp* or **käb* > Chuv. *kap* 'exterior, form; shape, whole' (Sirotkin) ~ PT **käp*, **kīp* (Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 233, Clauson, p. 686) Cf. also Chuv. *pek*, dial. *kap* 'similar'.

The Turkic data (Tkm. *gāp*, Yak. *kiäp*, Kazk. *keyip*, etc.) the early Slavic *kap* and the Hung. *kép* refer to a PT *kāp* form, and the Chuv. *kap* can also be explained by it. Some early Turkic linguistic sources (e.g. Hsüen-tsang letter 2111: *kīp*, Kāšyarī *kīp*) allow a variant with a closed *ē* and perhaps even an *ī*. But the *-b* final proposed by several scholars is not unambiguously supported by the data, and its regular *-v*, *-y* consequences are also missing. Theoretically, the Voty. *-b* (→ Zyr. P. *-b*) could be the result of sporadic voicing that had taken place in Votyak, but in such cases *-p* would be expected at least in some dialects. To the Zyr. P, and Voty. meaning of the word cf. Kāšyarī's 'mould'.

Wichmann, *Etym. perm.*, p. 130; WUO; Lytkin *Ist. vok.*, p. 153, *Drev. tjurk. элем.*, p. 132. — Erroneously: Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 81, (Voty. ← Tat.)

²⁷ K. Grønbech, *Komanisches Wörterbuch*, København 1942, p. 74.

²⁸ N. Poppe, *Die mongolischen Lehnwörter im Komanischen*. In: *Németh Armájan*, Ed. by J. Eckmann, A. S. Levend, M. Mansuroğlu. Ankara 1962, p. 335.

²⁹ St. Kałużyński, *Mongolische Elemente in der jakutischen Sprache*, Warszawa 1961, p. 110.

3. Z y r. (WUo.) P *kena·k* 'Brudersfrau', (Wied.) 'Schwägerin'. V o t y. (Wichm. p. 71) Uf., MU, Y, M, G *ken* 'Schwiegertochter, Schnur, Schwieger-tochter (wird so von den älteren Familienmitgliedern genannt) (Y), junges Weibchen überhaupt (welches jünger als der Anredende ist) (MU, Y, M)', (Wied.) *kenak* 'ältere Schwieger-tochter, Brudersfrau', (Munk.) S *kenak* 'Frau des älteren Bruders'. — PV **ken* and **kenak*.

← LOB **ken* > Chuv. *kin* 'daughter-in-law, bride' (Sirotkin) ~ PT *kelin* (Clauson, p. 719, Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 250).

The Chuv. *kilen* quoted by Egorov (*Ėt. sl.*, p. 113) if it exists at all, is a recent Tatar loanword but presumably lives only among bilingual people. The Chuvash word can be explained from a form with a possessive suffix, after the disappearance of *-l-*: **kelini* > **kelni* > **keni* > **kině* ~ *kin* (Cf. *qilic* > *qilč* > *qič* > *χěs* 'sword').

The Voty. *kenak* is a compound already obscured. Its posterior constituent is: (Wichm.) G *akž*, *ak*, Y *ak*, *ako* 'ältere Schwester', (Munk.) S *ak* 'id.'. This is also of Chuvash origin (Cf. Uotila, *FUF* 23 (1935), p. 98, Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 38) ← LOB **äkä* > Chuv. *akka*, *aki*, *akam* 'elder sister, aunt, step sister' (Ašmarin, Sirotkin 1961) ~ PT **eke* (Clauson, p. 100; Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 38).

Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 71; Lytkin, *Drev. tjurk. élem.*, p. 133.

4. Z y r. (Lytkin, *Drev. tjurk. élem.*, p. 133) P *koba*, (Lytk.) Ya. *ko·ba* 'prjalka'. V o t y. (Wichm. p. 75) G, M, Y, Uf. *kubo* 'Spindel' (Munk.) K *kubo* 'Flachshechel'. — PV **koba*.

← LOB **χāba* or MB **χoba* ~ PT *qaba* ~ *qāba* 'thick, protruding (mainly hair, beard, feather, etc.)' (Clauson, pp. 580—81, Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 215). The word is missing in Modern Chuvash. Presumably, the Chuv. *yupa* 'pillar, memorial pillar of the dead, post' (Ašmarin) can be linked with it, which would be the regular phonetic correspondence of the PT **qāba* reconstructed on the basis of the Tkm. *gāba*. If so, its semantic development is 'sign standing out of tomb' > 'tomb pillar', but this is less certain. A word identical in meaning to that of the Zyr. P and the Voty. exists only in Tatar and Bashkir (*kaba* 'spinning wheel') and in Kazakh (*kaba* 'hackle'); in the other Turkic languages, it means a protruding, bushy thing. This meaning also exists in Tatar where today the two words are felt to be homophonic. Therefore, from the point of linguistic geography, we can surely speak of a word of the Volga region and possibly of Volga Bulgarian origin. Since the first *-a* of the Tatar word is also labial, a Tatar origin cannot be excluded.

The Zyr. P *o* which appears in PP loans instead of *a* indicates borrowing from Votyak.

Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 75 (Voty.); Lytkin, *Ist. vok.*, p. 82 (Zyr.—Voty.); *Drev. tjurk. élem.*, p. 133; Fedotov, *Ist. svjazi II*, p. 155; Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 215.

5. Zyr. (Wied.) P *sugon* 'Zwiebel'. V o t y. (Wichm. p. 93) M, Uf., Y *sugon*, G *sugon*: *kurît s.*, (Munk.) S, K *sugon* 'id.' — PV **sogan* or (in the case of borrowing from Tatar) **sugan*.

← ? LOB or MB *sōyan* > Chuv. *suḡan* 'onions' (Sirotkin, 1961) ~ PT *sōyan* (Clauson, p. 812; Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 425).

In Kāšyari, the word is with a long *ō*, but the Turkmen is short (*sogan*). On the basis of the Karachay-Balkar *soḡan* we may presume that the PB form may have been **sogan*, but the -*ḡ*- in LOB and in Chuvash had definitely become voiced. In view of the fact that the Tatar form of the word is *sugan*, a Tatar origin cannot be excluded either.

The phonetic form of the Zyr. P indicates borrowing from Votyak. One would expect a **sogan* in Permyak, and a *sugan* phonetic form if it was a case of borrowing from Tatar. The adoption along a Voty. → Permyak direction may have taken place relatively late, after the Votyak **o* > *u* change in initial syllables. The final *ń* of the Zyr. P *sugon* is unusual (Cf. Wichmann, *loc. cit.*). If the Zyr. P word comes from Tatar then the borrowing took place after the Voty. *a* > *o* change, too.

Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 93; Raun, *Chuw. Borr.*, p. 20, 42; Lytkin, *Drev. tjurk. êlem.*, p. 133.

6. Zyr. (WUo.) P *susa* 'Weberschiffchen'. V o t y. (Munk.) S, K *suso* 'id'.

← LOB **susa* < PT *susaq* ~ *susyag* 'scoop' < *sus-* 'to scoop up' (Clauson, p. 856, Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 434).

The similarity of form gave rise to the naming of the shuttle (see German *Weberschiffchen*, R *čelnok*). The modern Chuvash data are: *asa, osa, aso* (Ašmarin, Sirotkin), *sasa, sosa* (Ašmarin). The disappearance of *s-* is a regular and recent phenomenon. Cf. *ās-* 'to scoop up' < PT *sus-*, *āsla* 'mash' ← R *suslo* etc. The LOB word had spread in the Volga-region as a technical term of weaving, cf. Cher. *šuša* (Räsänen, *Tat. Lehnw.*, p. 65; Cher. ← Tat.), Tat. *sosa*, Bashk. *hosa*, and reached Vogul (*sisā*, Kannisto, *Tat. Lehnw.*, p. 177) and Ostyak (*susaj*, Paasonen, *FUF* 2 (1902), p. 129) with Tatar mediation, and perhaps Votyak. As the word exists only in the Zyr. P dialect, it is either of Votyak, or of Tatar mediation. So far, the word has not been traced in Russian dialects.

7. Zyr. (Wied.) P *šor* 'Stief-': *šor-aj* 'Stiefvater', *šor-mam* 'Stiefmutter', *šor-zon* 'Stiefsohn', *šor-nıl* 'Stieftochter'. V o t y. (Wichm., p. 101) *šur* 'Stief-'; Uf. *šur-ajî*, M *šur-ajî*, MU *šur-ataj*, 'Stiefvater', Uf. *šur-mumî*, MU *šur-anaaj* 'Stiefmutter'. — PV **šor*.

← LOB *šâr* or MB *šor* > Chuv. *šur*, *šurã* 'half, half of something' (Sirotkin), Cf. *ama šuri* 'stepmother', *ama šuri ivãl*, *ivãl šuri* 'step-son' (Sirotkin) ~ PT *yarū* 'half', *yarim* 'id.' < *yar-* 'to split (into two)' (Clauson, pp. 954, 955, 968; Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 189).

Besides the more original *šurā* form there exists the *šur* form in Modern Chuvash as well, as is indicated by the doublet *ivāl šurri* (Paasonen, *Csuv. szój.*) and *ivāl šuri* (Sirotkin). The Zyr. P *o* instead of the *a* in loans of the PP period indicates a borrowing from Votyak.

Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 101; Raun, *Chuw. Borr.*, p. 41; Lytkin, *Ist. vok.*, p. 95; *Drev. tjurk. élem.*, p. 133.

8. Z y r. (WUo.) P *torta* 'Brett mit Schaft zum Zusammenscharren des gedroschenen Getreides', (Lytk.) Ya. *to·rta* 'pechlo, upotrebljaemoe dlja sgruženija vymoločennogo zerna na gumne'. V o t y. (*Wichm.*, p. 111) MU *turto* 'Femerstange, Deichsel, Gabeldeichsel' Uf. *turto: gerî-t.* 'Deichsel am Pflug', (Munk.) K *turto* 'Gabeldeichsel, Doppeldeichsel'. — PV **torta*.

← LOB **tārta* or MB **torta* > Chuv. *turta* 'carriage pole' (Sirotkin) ~ PT *tarta* ~ *tartag* < *tart-* 'to pull' (Clauson, p. 535; Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 465).

According to Räsänen (*loc. cit.*) the Chuvash word goes back to a *tartag* form; phonetically, this is feasible, but the Tkm. *darti* 'detal' tkackogo i prjadil'nogo stankov' indicates that the word also had a form without *-g*. The Tat., Tob., *tarta* (Radlov) and Tat., Bashk. *tärtä* are definitely Volga Bulgarian loanwords, but the Turki *tärtä* (Rachmeti, see Räsänen *loc. cit.*) if it is authentic, can hardly be one.

The Zyr. P *o* instead of the expected *a* of the loanwords of the PP period indicates a borrowing from Votyak.

Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 111; Raun, *Chuw. Borr.*, pp. 41, 44; Lytkin, *Ist. vok.*, p. 98; *Drev. tjurk. élem.*, p. 133; Fedotov, *Ist. svjazi* II, p. 144, Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 465.

9. Z y r. (Wied., Zus.) P *ulme*, *ulmes* 'Apfel'. V o t y. (*Wichm.*, p. 123) MU *uymo*, (Munk.), K *ulmo*, (Uotila, *Wortgeschichtliches: MSFOU* 67, 1933, p. 400) *umo* 'Apfel', *umo-pu* 'Apfelbaum'. — PV **olma*.

← LOB **älma* or MB **olma* > Chuv. *ulma* 'apple, potatoes' (Sirotkin), *uma* 'potatoes' (Ašmarin) ~ PT *alma* (Clauson, pp. 146–7; Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 18).

The Zyr. P word cannot originate directly from Bulgarian because on the basis of the LOB **älma* or *olma* we would expect **alma* or *olma* in Permyak. The Zyr. P *ulme* (< **ulmo*) got into Permyak after the **o* > *u* sound-change in the Votyak first syllables and the **a* > *o* change in the non-first ones. The Votyak *o* of non-first syllables was replaced in Zyryän by *e*, as *o* cannot occur in absolute final position in original Zyryän words. The *e-* was regarded as a vocative of nominative value which developed from a first person possessive suffix, cf. *peče* 'Großmutter' (~ *peč* 'id.'), *bębę* 'Einfältiger' (*bęb* 'dumm'.³⁰ The more frequent *-es* denominative nominal suffix has taken the

³⁰ Cf. M. A. Kövesi, *A permi nyelvek ősi képzői* [The Ancient Suffixes of the Permian Languages], Budapest 1965, p. 130.

place of *-e* in the *ulmes* form. The Voty. *umo* 'Apfel', *umo-pu* 'Apfelbaum' quoted by Uotila³¹ are hardly related etymologically to the Finnish *omena*, Estonian *õun*, etc. 'Apfel' words (the *SKES* does not mention the Votyak word as equivalent to the Finnish, etc. words). The Voty. *umo* is the adoption of a Chuvash dialectal *uma*.

Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 123; Uotila, *Gesch. Kons.*, p. 388; Lakó *Perm. ny. szóv.*, p. 27; Raun, *Chuv. Borr.*, pp. 31, 33; Lytkin, *Drev. tjurk. ėlem.*, p. 133; Fedotov, *Ist. svjazi* II, p. 146.

Phonetical and Historical Conclusions

There are too few common loanwords in Zyr. P and Votyak to allow far-reaching conclusions, particularly if we remember that in some cases, the possibility of a Tatar origin or mediation cannot be excluded.

In the system of consonants, no important changes are found to have taken place since the PP stage. If item No. 5 goes back to a PB **sogan* form, then the voicing of the *-χ-* had already taken place (Cf. item No. 1 of part one: *-t- > -d-*). The *ś-* initial of item No. 7 refers to a dialect of the Chuvash type in contrast to the *ǰ-* of the VB inscriptions. The possible Turkic origin of the final *-b* of item No. 2 requires further investigation.

The vowel system raises a special problem. The PT *a > LOB ā* later on became an *o* (V), and an *u* (A) respectively. During this process, the original **o* became *ǒ* through a **u*. The long *ō* stopped at the *u* stage, as it could not be reduced because of the original length. In the meantime, the *u* also developed into *ǒ*:

$$\begin{array}{l} *ā > o \\ *o > *u > ǒ \\ *ō > u \\ *u > ǒ \end{array}$$

Thus if PV already had **u* as in the case of item No. 7, then indirectly it also means that the *ā > o* development had by then, taken place. This presents no difficulty whatsoever from the point of PV as the labial *ā* was replaced by an *o* in PV, and the *o*, naturally, adopted as an *o*. In respect of PV, one can also imagine for the etymology of word No. 2 that it was not an *ā → a* sound substitution that took place, but that PV adopted an *a* after the **ā > a* development, this however, is less probable. The **e > i* change had not yet taken place according to the testimony of items Nos 1 and 3. Here, item No. 3 is particularly important because it is the case of a Bulgar-Turkic word beyond doubt.

³¹ T. E. Uotila, *Wortgeschichtliches*: MSFOu 67, Helsinki 1933, p. 400.

According to the Volga Bulgarian inscriptions, the *a* and *e* sounds had not yet become an *o* and *i*; in respect of the labials, the inscriptions are indifferent. The Mongolian loanwords in the Volga Turkic languages³² show that the Mongolian words participated in the closing process; therefore, this change has to be dated to a time after the 14th century.

As the process of closing does not necessarily take place at the same time for all vowels, and there might have been differences among the Bulgar-Turkic dialects of the Volga region in respect of the vowels as well as the consonants (*ʃ:sʹ*), the question of the chronology of the *â* > *o* and *o* > *u* change in the LOB elements of PV ~ Zyr. P should be left open.

The beginnings of the PP-LOB contacts started in the 8th century but became really intensive only from the early 9th century on. The oldest LOB loanwords of the Permian languages originate from this period (Proto-Permian). A newer layer of Bulgar-Turkic loanwords was common to the P dialect of Zyryan, the so-called Permyak and to Votyak. The words belonging to this layer may have reached Votyak and Permyak when the northern group of the Zyryans (the Komi-Zyryans) had already migrated to the north, i.e. from the 10th century onwards. By that time, the separation of the Zyryan (Komi-Zyryan and Komi-Permyak) and of the Votyak language had been completed; one cannot, therefore speak of common Permyak-Votyak borrowings (otherwise in Lytkin, *Drevn. tjurk. élem.*, p. 136). At the most, we may presume that some of the words belonging to this layer, and obviously the oldest ones, i.e. those borrowed in the 10th or the 11th centuries, were adopted from LOB by Permyaks and Votyaks at approximately the same time. But, as we shall see, the case was entirely different. Words Nos 4, 5, 7, 8 and 9 bear phonetic and morphological features characteristic of Votyak which overrule any thought of direct LOB → Permyak borrowing.

In borrowings of the Proto-Permian period, the LOB **â* was replaced by PP **a*. In Modern Zyryan it corresponds to *a*, and in Votyak, to *u* (Cf. pp. 18–19). If what we had in etymologies Nos 4, 7 and 8 were a PP adoption, there would be an *a* in the first syllable in the P dialect of Zyryan and not an *o*. But the *o* representation suggests a PV → Permyak mediation beyond doubt. Theoretically, a double sound substitution could also have occurred (*a* ← *â* → *o*), but this has to be excluded on the grounds that words with an *o* (< PP **o* ← LOB *â*) in the first syllable exist only in the P dialect. The LOB *â* was replaced by *o* but the possibility cannot be excluded that the words of this group were borrowed by Votyak after the *â* > *o* process of closing in MB was

³² See A. Róna-Tas, *Loan words of Ultimate Middle Mongolian Origin in Chuvash: Studies in Chuvash Etymology I*, *Studia Uralo-Altaica* 17, Szeged 1982, pp. 66–134, *id.*, *The Altaic Theory and the History of a Middle Mongolian Loanword in Chuvash*. In: *Researches in Altaic Languages*, BOH XX, Ed. by L. Ligeti, Budapest 1975, pp. 201–211.

completed. In fact, the Votyak language could have borrowed the LOB *o* only with an *o*. These words naturally got into Permyak prior to the Voty. *o* > *u* sound-change (earlier than the 15th or 16th century).

It is commonly known that the **o* > *u* sound-change in the first syllable in Votyak probably took place quite late, in the 15th or 16th century³³ as is indicated by the oldest Russian loanwords (e.g. *kuso* 'scythe' < R *kosa*, *ukno* 'window' < R *okno*). In addition, there is another process of sound development in Votyak, i.e. the change of the final *a* to *o* in cases where there was an *o* or *u* in the first syllable. This change was a rather late one, as not only the Chuvash loanwords borrowed by the independent Votyak, but even Tatar loanwords participated in it (Cf. Lakó, *Perm. ny. szöv.*, p. 27). The two words No. 5, 9) reflecting the *o* > *u* change were borrowed from Votyak by Permyak after the 15th or 16th century. Because of the *-ak* element, the P *kena·k* 'Brudersfrau' (No. 3) is in all probability also a borrowing from Votyak. Since phonetic and morphological criteria show the six Permyak words to be Votyak words, and not Chuvash loans, we may justly question the Chuvash origin of the remaining two Permyak words (Nos 1, 2) for which we have no such phonetic and morphological evidence. It is highly probable that these also reached Permyak through Votyak mediation. All this naturally means that after the dissolution of the Proto-Permian linguistic unity we may no longer presume the existence of LOB or MB (Chuvash) → Zyryan (Permyak) contacts, but only of LOB or MB (Chuvash) → Votyak connections.

The Chuvash elements of Votyak mediation in the P dialect of Zyryan are important as they focus attention in general to the possibility of Votyak → Permyak (and perhaps Permyak → Votyak) borrowings. We know that the study of this question demands extremely great circumspection, as in the case of two rather closely related languages the detection of loanwords is most difficult when marked phonetic and other criteria are not available. But the possibility of Votyak-Permyak borrowings is a problem already beyond the scope of the present paper.

* * *

In the first and second parts of our paper, we discussed those PP and PV words that can definitely, or with a high degree of probability be regarded as Bulgarian loanwords. Since Wichmann (*Tschuw. Lehnw.*), several other correspondences have been proposed. But the majority of these proposals have neglected the background of Finno-Ugrian and Turkic linguistic history.

³³ Cf. E. Itkonen, *Zur Geschichte des Vokalismus der ersten Silbe im Tschermisischen und in den permischen Sprachen*: FUF 31 (1954), p. 271 and Lytkin, *Ist. vok.* p. 19; S. Csúcs, *A votják nyelv orosz jövevényszavai* [Russian Loanwords in Votyak]: NyK 74 (1972), p. 35.

These correspondences have been proposed without due consideration of the mediating role of the Russian dialects, or of possibilities such as the Chuvash correspondence of the given word being a late Tatar loanword, or a word not of Turkic origin (but of Iranian, or onomatopoeic, etc.), or of words being international loans spread by commerce, or of Finno-Ugrian origin in the Volga Turkic languages. The refutation of all erroneous „correspondences” is impossible. Below, we have selected only a few of the erroneous correspondences that tenaciously survive in the literature; the conclusions derived may, perhaps, be generalized.

1. Z y r. (WUo.) V, LV, S, Pech., Lu., Le., I, Ud. *bīd* 'jeder, all, ganz', P *biden* 'alle', P *bīde:s* 'alles, alle'. V o t y. (Munk.) S *bīt*, *bīd*, K *bet*, *beđ* 'ganz, vollständig', (Wichm.) G, Uf. *bīd*, *bīt*, M, Y, UM *bīd*, *bīt* 'id.'.

Chuv. (Ašmarin) *pōvōm*, *pēvēm* 'ganz, vollständig' (Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 45; Uotila, *Gesch. kons.*, p. 12, *Syrj. Chrest.*, p. 66, with a question mark). WUo. does not mention the Chuvash origin of the Permian words.

Besides the Chuv. *pōtōm*, *pētēm* 'complete, whole' (Ašmarin, Sirotkin) there is a *pēt*, *pētē*, *pōtō* 'pregnant' word as well (Ašmarin, Sirotkin, Paasonen). Its original meaning, as it is indicated by the Tat., Bashk., *bōte* 'all, complete', Tat. Tob. *pōte* 'all'³⁴ was 'complete'. These words can be traced back to a PT **bütük* form (Cf. Tat. dial. *bötük* 'all'). The Chuvash -t- was soon voiced in an intervocalic position (Cf. pp. 2, 12) but the voicing of the final -t of **büt* inferred from Permian data cannot be explained (cf. still *kap* ~ *kāb*!).

2. Z y r. (WUo.) V, Lu. *čip* 'Lockruf, für Hühner', V, S, Pech., Lu., Le., I, Ud. *čipan*, P *čipa:n* 'Huhn, Henne (V, S, Pech., Lu., Le.), Kūchlein (I); männliches Glied (Ud., P)', (Lytk.) Ya. *čip* 'Kūchlein', (Gen.) EP *čipān* 'männl. Geschlechtsteile'. V o t y. (Wich. é. 115) G *čip̄*, *čip̄* S, M, Mu *čip̄*, Uf. *čipu* (Munk.) K *čipe* 'Kūchlein'.

Chuv. (Ašmarin) *tšebe*, *tšebe* 'Kūchlein' (Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 115; Lakó, *Perm. ny. szöv.*, p. 13; Uotila, *Syrj. Chrest.*, p. 167; WUo.; Lytkin, *Ist. vok.*, p. 83, *Drev. tjurk. élem.*, p. 133; ESK; Fedotov, *Ist. svjazi*, II, p. 162).

The *i* sound in the first syllable of the Voty. G *čip̄* variant evolved by assimilation to the *ī* of the second syllable. The Zyr. -an is a diminutive suffix. Its Chuvash origin cannot be accepted; both the Chuvash and the Permian words are of onomatopoeic origin. Words of similar phonetic form and meaning are to be found in other languages as well, e.g. Hung. *csirke*, *csibe*, R *cypka*, *cyplenok*.

3. Z y r. (WUo.) S, Lu., Le. *čokmar* 'Holzkeule (mit großem Kopf)', (SSKD), UV, Lu., Le., Skr., MS. *čokmar* 'cekmar', V o t y. (Wich., p. 116)

³⁴ Cf. D. G. Tumaševa, *Könbatış Seber tatarları tele*, Kazan' 1961, p. 183.

MU *čokmor*, Uf. *čokmor*, M *čukmer*, (Munk.) S, K *čokmor*, M *čokmar* 'Prügel, Keule'.

Chuv. *čukmar* 'id.' (Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 116; Lytkin, *Drev. tjurk. elem.*, p. 134; Fedotov, *Ist. svjazi* II, p. 164). The Chuvash word is a late Tatar loan (← Tat. *čukmar* < *čoqmar*), cf. Räsänen, *Tat. Lehnw.*, p. 80. It is remarkable that the word is missing from the P dialect of Zyryan. The Zyryan word is the adoption of the R *čėkmar* of Tatar origin (WUo.), and the Votyak originates either from Chuvash or from Tatar (*čukmar* 'id.'). The Zyr. (SSKD) LV *čok* 'čekmar' is a deduction of the *čokmar* form under the impact of the V *čok:č. kernj* 'anstoßen (mit den Gläsern)' (< R *čokatjsja, čoknut'sja*) (Fokos-Fuchs). The Zyr. (SSKD) UV *tukmar* 'čėkmar'' form may have evolved by contamination from *čokmar* and the (SSKD) Skr. *tukman* 'tyček v golovu, udar kulakom po golove'. The *o* in the first syllable of the Voty. *čokmor, čokmor* is irregular instead of the expected *u*; — it might be explained by the assimilating effect of the *o* in the second syllable.

4. Z y r. (WUo.) V, S, Pech., Lu., Le., I, Ud. *čuman*, P *čuma'n* 'kleines Gefäß aus Birkenrinde (ugf. 1, 1/2—2 Viertelellen hoch) (Pech); webliches Glied (IT)', (Lytk.) Ya. *čuman'n* 'berestjanaja korobka četyrech-ugol'noj formy'. V o t y. (Wichm., p. 118), M (Munk.) S *čumon* 'ein Gefäß aus Birkenrinde'.

Chuv. (Paasonen, *Csuv. szój.*) *tšyman* 'längliches, niedriges Gefäß aus Lindenrinde (zum Malzen)' (Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 118; Lytkin, *Ist. vok.*, p. 212; *Drev. tjurk. elem.*, p. 134; *ESK*; Fedotov, *Ist. svjazi* II, p. 164). The source of the Zyryan word is the R *čuman* of Turkic (Chuvash and/or Tatar) origin; the Voty. *čumon* goes back either to Chuvash or Tatar (Cf. Uotila, *Syrj. Chres.*, p. 168; WUo.). The Chuvash word is a late Tatar (*čuman*) loan.

5. Z y r. (WUo.) V, LV, S, Pech., Lu., Le., Ud., P, I *don* 'Preis, Wert (V, LV, S, Pech., Lu., Le., Ud., I), Bezahlung (V, S, Lu., Le., Ud., I); Perle (P)'. V o t y. (Wichm., p. 53), Uf., MU, Y, M, G *dun*, (Munk.), S, K *dun* 'Wert, Preis, Zahlung', *don* (in Zusammensetzungen): *koñdon* (< **koñj-don, koñj* 'Eichhörnchen') 'Viertel Kopeke, kleines Geld im allg.'

Chuv. *tan* 'gleich' (Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 53, with a question mark, *Gesch. finn.-ugr.*, p. 234; Fedotov, *Ist. svjazi* II, p. 137 with a question mark). The Permian words are of Finno-Ugrian origin (Uotila, *Syrj. Chres.*, p. 69; *ESK*).

6. Z y r. (WUo.) V, S, Pech., T *juver*, Pech., Ud. *juer*, LV *juer*, Lu., Le. *juvor*, I *juor*, P *juer* 'Nachricht, Kunde, Botschaft, (Pech. auch) Gerücht'. V o t y. (Wichm., p. 61), S *jivor*, Uf., MU *divor*, Y, M, G *ivor*, (Munk.), K *iber*, *divor*, *devor*, S *ivor*, G, Y *jivor* 'Nachricht, Botschaft'.

Chuv. (Ašmarin) *čjibar* 'id.' (Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 61, with two question marks; Fedotov, *Ist. svjazi* II, p. 168). This correspondence is

not possible because of serious phonetic difficulties. See the (partly) correct explanation of the Permian words in Uotila, *Gesch. kons.*, p. 258, *Etym. Beitr.*, p. 151, *Syrj. Chrest.*, p. 89; *ESK*.

7. Z y r. (WUo.) V, S, Lu., Le., Ud. *majeg*, P *maje-g* 'Stange, Pfahl, Zaunpfahl'. V o t y. (Wichm., p. 86) G, Uf. *majeg*, YM *majig*, MU *majik* 'Pfahl, Stange, Spieß', (Munk.) K *majäk*, *majik*, S, M *majig* 'Stange, Pfahl, Zaunpfahl'.

Chuv. (Ašmarin) *majak* 'eine Stange im allg., als Zeichen' (Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 86). According to Wichmann (*loc. cit.*) and Uotila (*Gesch. kons.*, p. 140), the Permian words are either Iranian loans or were taken over from Iranian through Chuvash mediation. Later Uotila (*Syrj. Chrest.*, p. 114), later still the *ESK*, and most recently Joki (*Uralier*, p. 279) accept only an Iranian origin.

8. Z y r. (WUo.) *parga* 'in der Flachshechel zurückgebliebener flockenförmiger, reiner Abfall vom gehechelten Flachs.'

Chuv. (Zolotnickij, *Čuv.-russk. sl.*) *parga* 'Büschel' (Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 91 with a question mark). In the literature, two words that are not related are dealt with jointly. The Chuv. *parga* (Zolotnickij, *Čuv.-russk. sl.*; Paasonen, *Csuv. szój.*) 'heap, bundle' is a dialectal form; more exactly, the word is *paŕga* (Ašmarin IX, p. 117) and is the equivalent of the *payārka* of the literary language. This word exists in Cheremiss (*pajārka*, *pājārka*, Räsänen, *Tat. Lehnw.*, p. 88. Cher. ← Chuv., *Etym. Wb.*, p. 378 Cher. → Chuv.), and also in Tatar (dial. *payarka*). These words are adoptions of the R *pojarok* 'šerst' jagnjat (pervoj strižki)' (Vasmer III, p. 351) and the semantic development is 'small heap of wool' → 'small heap, bundle' (Cf. Cher. *miž-pajārka* 'ein wenig Wolle', *Tat. payarka* 'pojarok'.) This word has to be separated from the other on the basis of phonetic and semantic considerations, the opinion of Vasmer (III, p. 205) and Räsänen notwithstanding (*loc. cit.*). It exists in Modern Chuvash in the *parka* 'fragile' (Ašmarin VII, p. 110) and *parkän* 'broken into small pieces' (*loc. cit.*) forms. It has become a rare dialectal word because of its homophony with the *parka* 'firm, strong' of MMo. origin.³⁵ But the word exists in Cheremiss (*parŕa* 'obdiriki ot močala', Räsänen *loc. cit.*) and also in the Russian dialects of the region (*parga* 'očeski l'na, malen'kie volokna', Vasmer III, p. 205). The latter words correspond to an LOB **bärgä*, which is related to a PT *ber-* 'to strike' (to be distinguished from the word *ber-* 'to give'!) (Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 70). The Zyryan word is of Russian mediation if for no other reason than because of the initial *p-*. WUo. has rightly regarded it as a Russian loanword.

9. Z y r. (WUo.) V, LV, S, Pech., Lu., Le. *peljš*, I *peljž* 'Vogelbeere'. V o t y. (Wichm. p. 90) Uf. *paleš*, *palez* G, Y *palez*, Y, M *päwež* 'id.'.

³⁵ See A. Róna-Tas, *Loan-words . . .* pp. 77—79.

Cf. Chuv. (Ašmarin) *piles* 'id.' (Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 90). The Permian words are of Finno-Ugric origin (*ESK*).

10. Z y r. (WUo.) V, LV, Pecj. *pīriž*, S, Ud. *pīriž* 'lange Brechstange, Eishaue (die Spitze aus Eisen, der Schaft aus Holz)', (Rog.). P *pīrić* 'id.' V o t y. (Wichm. p. 91) Y *pīrić* 'Brecheisen, Brechstange', (Munk.) S *pīriča*, M *pīriča* 'Hohleisen (zum Aushöhlen eines Troges od. Bienenstockes gebrauchtes Werkzeug)'.

Chuv. (Zolotnickij, *Čuv.-russk. sl.*) *pürüş* 'Kratzeisen, Haue, Karst' (Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 91; Fedotov, *Ist. svjazi* II, p. 123). The Chuvash word (correctly: *pöröš*, *përěš*, Ašmarin) and the Tat. dial. *böröš*, Bashk. *böröz* are loanwords from a Finno-Ugric language. The Permian words are of Uralian origin (Collinder, *ESK*).

11. Z y r. (WUo.) V, LV, Pech. *sukman* 'Überrock aus hellgrauem hausgewebtem Wollstoff (V), Überrock aus schwarzem, blauem od. weißem hausgewebtem Stoff (LV), Überrock aus dickem hausgewebtem Stoff (Pech.)'. V o t y. (Wichm., p. 95) G *sukman* 'grober, wollener Kaftan, Bauernkittel' (Munk.) S, M *sukman* 'hinten gefaltetes Winterröckel'.

Chuv. (Ahlquist) *suxman*, *sukman*, (Zolotnickij, *Čuv.-russk. sl.*) *suxman* 'Kaftan, Rock' (Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 95; Lytkin, *Ist. vok.*, p. 210, *Drev. tjurk. elem.*, p. 133; *ESK*; Fedotov, *Ist. svjazi* II, p. 125). The Chuvash data: *säkman*, *säxman*, *söxman* (Ašmarin; Paasonen, *Csuv. szój.*; Sirotkin) exclude the alternative that the word may be the regular equivalent of the Tu. *čäkmän* (cf. on this Doerfer *TMEN* III, pp. 82—84; Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 103) as in this case one would expect a **šakman*, or perhaps a **šikmen* form. The present Chuvash forms are borrowings of the R *sukman*, and the Chuvash form *säkman* regularly corresponds to it; the forms with *-x-* are analogous formations under the influence of the *-x-* general in the back vocalic words. Vasmer (III, p. 799) doubts the Slavic origin of the Russian word because he finds it impossible to explain the Turkic variants with *s-* initial given the Turkic data with *č*. But as we have seen the Chuvash data are of Turkic origin. The Tat. Tob. *sükmän*, *sügmän* 'čekmen' (Tumaševa, *op. cit.*, p. 193) really cannot be explained from Russian, nor from *čäkmän*, neither its *s-* initial, nor its labial vowel. Here, Chuvash mediation or a Tu. **sökmen* form has to be presumed. The latter occurs in Kāšyari: *sökmen* 'a military title'. Kāšyari's item is rather enlightening: *er sökmenlendi* 'the man has put on the soldier's dress and regarded himself as one of them (i.e. he has been *sökmenized*)' (Cf. Clauson, p. 821). Thus, here, the word refers to a soldier's garment associated with rank. A Tu. *sökmen* → → R *sukman* borrowing can be accepted from the phonetic point of view, though the lending Turkic form cannot be reconstructed for the time being. But we cannot exclude the possibility that the Turkic word had a *soqman* variant as well. The name of a kind of Turkic boot is e.g. *soqman*, and it has a *sökmen* form as well in the old texts (Cf. *Tarama*

Sözluğü V, p. 3501). The boots were made of felt! The Zyryan word is of Russian origin, and so, perhaps, is the Votyak, though Turkic mediation is not impossible. The Voty. *a* refers to a late borrowing.

12. Z y r. (WUo.) V, Ud. *šorkni*, V, Pech., Le., I *šortni*, S, Lu., P *šort'ni*, (Gen.) EP *šortni* 'Rübe'. V o t y. (Wichm. p. 97) G, Uf. *šarēi*, M, MU *šarēi*, *šartēi* (Munk.) S *šartēi*, K *čarēe* 'id.'

Chuv. (Ašmarin) *šaržk* 'id.' (Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 97; Uotila, *Gesch. kons.*, pp. 41, 358; Lytkin, *Ist. vok.*, p. 96; *Drev. tjurk. элем.*, p. 133; *ESK*; Fedotov, *Ist. svjazi II*, p. 130). The Chuvash word is entirely without relatives in Turkic; its possible reconstructed PT form is **yārik* or **čārik*. From this, an LOB *šārik* could have developed. But the correspondence has phonetic difficulties as well: the LOB *ä* → PP *o* (> Zyr. *o*, Voty. *a*) correspondence is unusual. The Zyr. *-ni*, and the Voty. *-či*, *-či* are denominative substantive suffixes. In Zyryan, we have the **šoržkni* > **šorkni šortni* > *šortni* development to consider, whereas in Votyak, there is the **šoržkēi* > **šaržkēi* > **šarkēi* > *šartēi* > *šarēi* sound development. Neither can be explained from an LOB **šārik* form.

13. Z y r. (WUo.) V, S, Lu., Le. *šabala* 'an der rechten Seite der Pflugkrümme (oberhalb der Pflugschar) angenageltes dreieckiges Brettchens zum Abwälzen der Erde' (SSKD) Pech. *šabala* 'otval (u sohi)'. V o t y. (Wichm., p. 103) G, M, Uf. *šabala* 'ein an der Pflugkrümme (oberhalb der Pflugscharen) befestigtes Brettchen (Schaufel) zum Abwälzen der Erde', (Munk.) S, K *šabala* 'Deichsel, Handhabe am Pflug'.

Chuv. (Zolotnickij, *Čuv.-russk. sl.*) *šabala*, *šybala*, *šubala* 'Löffel, großer Löffel, Schaumlöffel', *soga-šybaly* 'Brettchen am Pflug zum Abwälzen der Erde' (Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 103; Lytkin, *Ist. vok.*, p. 167, *Drev. tjurk. элем.*, p. 134; *ESK*; Fedotov, *Ist. svjazi II*, p. 131).

In Chuvash, the *šāpala* and *šōpala*, *šāpala* forms have to be separated. The meaning of the latter two is 'ladle' (Ašmarin); the meaning of the *suza šāpali* compound is 'otval, derevjannaja ili železnaja došečka pridelannaja vyše sošnika dlja otvala zemli' (Sirotkin, see under *suža*); in all probability, the term developed in Volga Bulgarian agriculture. The LOB form can be reconstructed in **šobala*, which was adopted by the R *šabalá* 'breast-board of plough, ladle' and by Cheremiss (*šowāla*, *sowla*, *sawa-la*, Räsänen, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 193). The word has spread in the Turkic languages through Russian mediation (cf. Tat. dial. *šabala*, *čabala*, Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 94) and the Chuv. *šāpala* is also a re-borrowing from Russian. Consequently, the Permian words can only be Russian loanwords, both for phonetic (*š-*, Zyr., Voty. *a-*) reasons, and for those of linguistic geography. The Votyak word may have been borrowed through Tatar mediation.

The origin of the supposed LOB **šobala* is not clear. The word, which has spread in the Siberian Turkic languages and penetrated into the southern

Samoyed languages as well (cf. Joki, *Lehnw.*, p. 282; Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 94), is directly of Russian origin as is indicated by the numerous phonetic irregularities. This was noticed already by Rásonyi³⁶ and Lakó.³⁷ The LOB **šobala* (< **čobala*) can be traced back to the PH **čubalz* or *čobalz* predecessors of the Hung. dial. *csobolyó* 'Handlägel, Holzfäßchen' (for the Hungarian word, see *MSZFE*). As a mediating language, only Proto-Hungarian can be considered, i.e. a word of a phonetic form wherein the *-mp-* of the Ugric **čumpalz* has already become *-b-*. An Ob-Ugric or Permian origin should be excluded for phonetic reasons.

14. Z y r. (WUo.) V, S, Pech., Lu., Le., I, Ud. *tasma* 'Riemen, Leder-gürtel'. V o t y. (Wied.) *tasma* 'Gurt'.

Chuv. cf. Tat. *tasma* 'Band, Wollenband' (Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 105 with two question marks). The word does not occur in Chuvash.

The history and origin of the word are controversial. Recently Doerfer (*TMEN* I, pp. 245—247) and Joki, (*Uralier*, pp. 214, 326) have rejected the proposed Iranian origin. According to Joki, the word got into Zyryan from Tatar through commerce; whereas according to WUo., the Zyryan word is the adoption of the R. dial. *tasma* — which is of direct Tatar origin — along with the Votyak word. It is a cultural word which spread during the Mongolian epoch from Europe (Russian, Polish, Roumanian, Bulgarian) through the Caucasus, Afghanistan, Iran, Siberia and Central Asia to Manchuria (see also Joki, *Lehnw.*, p. 317). There is no earlier trace of it anywhere; it is, thus, doubtlessly of Mongolian origin, though we cannot be sure that the word genuinely belongs to the vocabulary of the Mongolian language. Because it is a late international loanword and for phonetic reasons, (Zyr. *a* ~ Voty. *a*), we have to exclude it from the LOB loanwords of PP, irrespective of its direct source.

15. Z y r. (WUo.) V, LV, S, Pech., I., Ud. *žep*, Lu., Le. *žep* 'Tasche'. V o t y. (Wichm., p. 53) G *žep*, (Wied.) *žep* 'id.'.

Chuv. cf. Ottoman *žeb* 'Tasche, Sack, Beutel' (Wichmann, *Tschuw. Lehnw.*, p. 52, with two question marks). The Zyr. *žep* originates from the R *žep'*, *žep* forms. The source of the Zyr. *žep* can be the R *džeb* (Cf. Kalima, *Russ. Lehnw.*, p. 172; Uotila, *Gesch. kons.*, p. 36, *Syrj. Chrest.*, p. 188; *ESK*). The substitution of a Zyr. *ž* for the R *ž* is problematic (see *ESK*). But since the R *š*, *ž* (< Old Russian *s*, *z*) sounds were replaced by *š*, *ž* in the oldest Russian loanwords of Zyryan,³⁸ we presume that the rather rare *ž* of Russian (in loanwords)

³⁶ L. Rásonyi, *Török adatok a Magyar Etymologiai Szótárhoz* [Turkic Data for the Hungarian Etymological Dictionary]: *NyK* 51 (1941—43), pp. 114—115.

³⁷ Gy. Lakó, *Finnugor szómagyarázatok* [Finno-Ugrian Etymologies]. In: *Melich Emlékkönyv* [Memorial Volume in Honour of J. Melich], Budapest 1942, p. 210.

³⁸ V. I. Lytkin, *Drevnerusskie š, ž — zyrjanskije š, ž: Doklady AN SSSR* 1928, pp. 298—301.

may have earlier been in the form of a palatalized (ǰ) sound. As the adoption of an Old R ǰ a Zyryan ǰ is completely regular.

The source of the Russian word is the Turkic *ǰeb* which goes back to Arabic through Persian (Cf. Räsänen, *Etym. Wb.*, p. 124; Kakuk, *Recherches*, pp. 89—90; Vasmer II, p. 95); it is a word which has spread relatively recently through trade; hence its several variants even within Russian itself.

THE TARIAT (TERKHIN) INSCRIPTION

BY

TALAT TEKIN (Ankara)

The Tariat or Terkhin inscription was found in four pieces in the Tariat region (*somon*) of the Arkhangay (North Khangay) *aymak* of the Mongolian People's Republic in 1957, 1969 and 1970. The first piece of the monument was found by the archaeologist Ts. Dorjsuren at a place called Doloon-mod in the valley of the river Terkhin-gol, 12 km to the west of the lake Terkhin-Tsagan-nur and 2 km to the south of the steep slopes of Tarbagatay (North-West Khangay) mountains. The Soviet-Mongolian epigraphical team (S. G. Klyashtorniy, Kh. Lubsanbaldan, M. Shinekhüü and B. Bazilkhan) made excavations in the location in 1969 and unearthed a stone tortoise which served as the base of the monument. Finally, in 1970, the archaeologist N. Ser-Odjav and V. V. Volkov who continued excavations in the same location were able to find the other two parts of the monument. The three pieces of the inscription and the stone tortoise were then transferred to Ulan-Bator and placed in the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Mongolian People's Republic.


The Tariat (Terkhin) inscription has been studied and published by M. Shinekhüü¹ and S. G. Klyashtorniy.² According to the information given by these authors the lengths of the three pieces of the monument are 70 cm, 90 cm and 75 cm respectively. Thus, the total height of the monument is 2.35 m (according to Klyashtorniy, however, it is 2.85 m). The monument is 27 cm wide on the top and 37 cm at the bottom. The thickness of the monument is 20 cm. Thus, the monument is in the shape of a rectangular prism the upper part of which is narrower than its lower part.

The stone tortoise which obviously served as the base of the monument is 1.17 m long, 85 cm wide and 38 cm high. The socket of the monument on it is 21 cm long, 30 cm wide and 20 cm deep.

Both the monument and the tortoise are made of light ash-colored stone. The statue of the tortoise is chipped skillfully. On the right (according

¹ M. Shinekhüü, *Tariatın Orkhon bičgijn šine dursgal*, Ulaan-Baatar 1975.

² S. G. Klyashtorniy, *Terkhinskaya nadpis'*: *ST* 1980, No. 3, pp. 82-95.

to Klyashtorniy, back) side of the statue the sentence *bunī y(a)r(a)t(i)γma bōkā tut(a)m* («He who created this is Böke Tutam») is inscribed and a tamga in the shape of  is engraved.



All sides of the monument are covered with inscriptions. There are 7 lines on the front (east) and back (west) sides of the upper piece of the monument. The middle piece contains 8 lines on the same sides and the lower one 9. On the narrower right (south) and left (north) sides, however, there are only 6 lines. Thus, the total number of lines on the monument amounts to 30. The engraved runic letters are about 2—2.5 mm deep and 3 cm high. The distance between the lines is about 40 mm.

Shinekhüü's publication contains the photographs of only one side (west) of the monument and they are poorly taken or printed. Fortunately, the author gives the reproduction of the text in the runic script three times in his book: first, as the texts of three pieces, secondly as the text of the whole monument, and finally as independent lines. Although there are some inconsistencies, Shinekhüü's reproduction is, on the whole, reliable and makes sense. Nevertheless, there are quite a few puzzling places which, for the time being at least, cannot be corrected.

Klyashtorniy's text is generally identical with Shinekhüü's reproduction, although it differs from the latter in some places.

Shinekhüü gives the text of the monument in the following order: west (a), north (b), east (v) and south (g). Klyashtorniy has the same order. This sequence, however, does not seem to be correct, because the east side does not follow the north. The inscription on the north side of the monument is probably the last part of the text, because the fifth line on this side reads as follows: . . . *bit(i)gmä bunī y(a)r(a)t(i)γma bilgä qull(u)γ t(a)rg(a)n s(ä)ñün*. . . («He who inscribed and created this is General Bilge Kutlug Tarkan . . .»). Therefore, the right sequence of the text should be as follows: east, south, west and north.

The Tariat (Terkhin) monument dates from 752 and 753. The Uygur khan by whose orders the monument was erected is undoubtedly Moyun Çor (747—759). This is evident from the first line on the west side which reads as follows: *t(ä)ñridä bolm(i)š (e)l (e)tm(i)š b(i)lgä q(a)γ(a)n* . . . As is known, this was Moyun Çor's title which occurs also in the Shine-Usu inscription (N 1).

Apart from this, the tamga  on the right side of the stone tortoise resembles the one found at the end of the last line of the Shine-Usu inscription and the tamga  engraved on the right upper corner of the east side of the monument is identical with the first of the three tamgas engraved on the north side of the Shine-Usu memorial. Furthermore, some passages of the Tariat (Terkhin)

inscription are almost identical with certain passages of the Shine-Usu inscription. Observe the following:

irt(i)m q(a)ra qum (a)šm(i)š küg(ü)rdä köm(ü)r t(a)γda y(a)r üg(ü)zdä üč tuyl(u)γ türük bod(u)n . . . (Shine-Usu, N 8) = . . . *irt(i)m q(a)ra qum (a)šm(i)š küg(ü)rdä köm(ü)r t(a)γda y(a)r üg(ü)zdä üč tuyl(u)γ türük bod(u)nqa (a)nta y(e)t(i)nč (a)y tört y(e)g(i)rmikä* (Tariat, E 7)

ozm(i)š tig(i)n q(a)n bolm(i)š qoñ yilqa yorid(i)m . . . (Shine-Usu, N 9) = . . . *ozm(i)š t(i)g(i)n q(a)n bolti qoñ yilqa yorid(i)m* (Tariat, E 9)

üč q(a)rluq y(a)bl(a)q s(a)q(i)n(i)p t(ä)zä b(a)rdi qur(i)ya on oq(q)a kirti l(a)γzin yilqa t[oqid(i)m?] . . . (Shine-Usu, N 11) = . . . *(a)nta k(e)srä it yilqa üč q(a)rluq y(a)bl(a)q s(a)q(i)n(i)p t(ä)zä b(a)rdi qur(i)ya on oq(q)a / kirti* (Tariat, S 3—4), etc.

As is seen, the same military activities are related-with the same words in the two inscriptions from the mouth of the same person, i.e., Moyun Čor.

As we know from the Shine-Usu inscription, Moyun Čor had a monument erected probably in the year of the Dragon, i.e., in 752, when he spent the summer of that year at Ötüken: . . . *qa ötük(ä)n yış b(a)ši (a)nta . . . -iη(i)z b(a)ši (a)nta iduq b(a)š kid(i)ntä y(a)b(a)š tuq(u)š b(ä)lt(i)rintä [(a)nta] y(a)yl(a)-d(i)m örg(i)n (a)nta y(a)r(a)t(i)td(i)m čit (a)nta toqitd(i)m biη yill(i)q tüm(ä)n künl(i)k bit(i)g(i)m(i)n b(ä)lgüm(i)n (a)nta y(a)si t(a)šqa / y(a)r(a)t(i)td(i)m* (Shine-Usu, E 9—10). The passage parallel to this in the Tariat inscription reads as follows: *ulu yilqa ötük(ä)n ortusinta (a)s oη(ü)z b(a)š q(a)n iduq b(a)š k(e)d(i)nintä y(a)yl(a)d(i)m örgin bunta y(a)r(a)t(i)d(d)i)m čit bunta toq(i)t-d(i)m biη yil(l)iq tüm(ä)n künl(i)k b(i)t(i)g(i)m(i)n b(ä)lgüm(i)n bunta / y(a)si t(a)šqa y(a)r(a)t(i)d(i)m tulquu t(a)šqa toqitd(i)m* (Tariat, W 2—3). It is clear from these identical passages that the monument mentioned in the Shine-Usu inscription is the Tariat (Terkhin) inscription itself.³ However, there is a puzzling point with regard to the exact date of the Tariat inscription. In Tariat W 1—2, Moyun Čor says that he spent the summers of the Tiger (750) and Serpent (753) years at the head of the Tez (River). Now, if the monument was erected in the Year of Dragon (752), how could he speak of an event which took place in the following year, i.e., in 753? The only solution seems to be as follows: The construction of the monument did start in 752, but it was not actually completed until the summer of the following year because of the military campaigns. Thus, at least the west and the north sides of the monument must have been inscribed in 753.

³ The word which was read . . . *iη(i)z* by Ramstedt in the passage taken from Shine-Usu inscription can now be repaired as [(a)s ö]η(ü)z or [as ö]η(ü)z.

There are many misreadings in Shinekhüü's transcription of the runic text. Klyashtorniy's reading too is not free from mistakes. In my rendering of the text I have tried to correct most of these misreadings on the basis of the two reproductions produced by the two authors. Many puzzling places, however, remain as such. It goes without saying that in order to reproduce a more reliable and coherent text, one must either have excellent photographs of the inscription or be given the opportunity of studying the monument on the spot and closely.

The textual differences between Shinekhüü's and Klyashtorniy's reproductions, will be discussed in the explanations section.

Transcription of the Text

East Side

- E 1: . . . (ca. 75 letters are missing) *yol(lu)γ q(a)γ(a)n . . . bum̄in q(a)γ(a)n üč q(a)γ(a)n ol(u)rm̄(i)š (e)ki yüz yil ol(u)rm̄(i)š*
- E 2: . . . (ca. 75 letters are missing) *bod̄(u)n̄i q(a)za b(a)rm̄(i)š uč[m̄(i)š? bir?] (e)ki (atl̄(i)γ(i)n tük̄(ä)p b(a)rm̄(i)š q(a)d̄(i)r q(a)s(a)r (ä)bdi b(ä)rs(i)l y(a)t̄(i)z oγ(u)z*
- E 3: . . . (ca. 80 letters are missing) *(ä)čüm̄ (a)pam̄ s(ä)k(i)z on̄ yil ol(u)rm̄(i)š ötǖk̄(ä)n (e)li t(ä)gr̄(ä)s (e)li (e)k(i)n (a)ra orq̄un̄ üḡ(ü)zdä*
- E 4: . . . (ca. 82 letters are missing) *yil ol(u)r <m̄(i)š> (a)n̄ta . . . yil b(a)rm̄(i)š (a)t̄(i)m̄(i)n̄ üzä köök̄ t(ä)ηri (a)sra y(a)γ(i)z y(e)r y(a)na*
- E 5: . . . (ca. 80 letters are missing) . . . *n̄t(a)r (a)t̄(a)n̄t(i)m̄ s(ä)k(i)z ol(u)z y(a)š(i)ma yil(a)n̄ yilqa türük̄ (e)l(i)n̄ (a)n̄ta bulγ(a)d̄(i)m̄ (a)n̄ta (a)rt̄(a)t-d̄(i)m̄*
- E 6: . . . (ca. 75 letters are missing) *(a)tl̄(i)γ(i)n̄ y(a)m̄(a)šdī b̄iηa yorid̄i ozm̄(i)š t(e)ḡ(i)n̄ ud(a)rγ(a)n̄ta yor̄iyur̄ t(e)di (a)n̄i (a)lγ(i)l t(e)di*
- E 7: . . . (ca. 50 letters are missing) *irt̄(i)m̄ q(a)ra qum̄ (a)šm̄(i)š küḡ(ü)rdä köm̄(ü)r t(a)γda y(a)r üḡ(ü)zdä üč̄ t̄uyl̄(u)γ türük̄ bod̄(u)n̄ga (a)n̄ta y(e)-t̄(i)n̄č̄ (a)y tört̄ y(e)ḡ(i)rm̄ikü*
- E 8: . . . (ca. 75 letters are missing) *(a)n̄ta toqt̄(a)rt̄(i)m̄ q(a)n̄[in̄ (a)lt̄(i)m̄] (a)n̄ta yōq̄ bolt̄i türük̄ bod̄(u)n̄(u)γ (a)n̄ta (i)čḡ(ä)rt̄(i)m̄ (a)n̄ta y(a)na*
- E 9: . . . *t(a)q̄(i) ozm̄(i)š tiḡ(i)n̄ q(a)n̄ bolt̄i qōoñ̄ yil̄iqa yorid̄(i)m̄*

South Side

- S 1: *(e)k(i)n̄ti . . .* (ca. 68 letters are missing) *b(i)č̄(i)n̄ yil̄iqa yorid̄(i)m̄ . . .*
(ca. 25 letters are missing) *sūη̄(ü)šd̄üm̄ (a)n̄ta s(a)n̄č̄d̄(i)m̄ q(a)n̄in̄ (a)n̄ta*
- S 2: *tutd̄(u)m̄ [q(a)tun̄in̄ (a)n̄ta (a)lt̄(i)m̄] . . .* (ca. 35 letters are missing)

- (a)nta kisrā b(a)šī k(ā)lti . . . t(a)qīyu yīlīqa yorid(i)m yīll(a)d(i)m b(e)-
š(i)nč (a)y üč y(e)g(i)rmikā q(a)l(i)šdī
- S 3: sūn(ü)šd(ü)m (a)nta s(a)nčd(i)m . . . b(ā)g . . . (ca. 25 letters are missing)
-t(i)m ičg(ā)r(i)p igd(i)r bül[ük] . . . b(ā)n (a)nta k(e)srā it yīlīqa üč
q(a)rlūq y(a)bl(a)g s(a)g(i)n(i)p t(ā)zā b(a)rdī qur(i)ya on oq(q)a
- S 4: kirti (a)nta [ič(i)k]dī . . . (ca. 20 letters are missing) [ö]lt[i] . . . üč
q(a)rlūq t(a)γz(i)n yīlqa toq(u)z t(a)t(a)r . . . toq(u)z buyrūq [b]i[η]s(ā)ηūt
q(a)ra bod(u)n tur(u)y(i)n q(a)η(i)m q(a)nqa öt(ü)nti (ā)čü (a)pa (a)tī
- S 5: b(a)r t(e)dī ötük(ā)n (e)li s(i)zdā (ā)b(i)r ti[di? öz(ü)m(i)n] (a)nta y(a)byu
(a)t(a)dī (a)nta k(e)srā küsgü yīlīqa sinl(ā)gdā küč q(a)ra bod(u)n t(e)m(i)š
sin s(i)zdā küč q(a)ra sub (ā)rm(i)š q(a)ra bod(u)n tur(u)y(i)n q(a)γ(a)n
- S 6: (a)t(a)dī t(ā)ηridā bolm(i)š (e)l (e)tm(i)š b(i)lgā q(a)γ(a)n (a)t(a)dī (e)l
b(i)lgā q(a)tun (a)t(a)dī q(a)γ(a)n (a)t(a)n(i)p q(a)tun (a)t(a)n(i)p ötük(ā)n
ortusīnta (a)s öη(ü)z b(a)š q(a)n idūq b(a)š k(e)d(i)nin örgin bunta
(e)ti(t)d(i)m

West Side

- W 1: t(ā)ηridā bolm(i)š (e)l (e)tm(i)š b(i)lgā q(a)γ(a)n (e)l b(i)lgā q(a)tun
q(a)γ(a)n (a)t(i)γ q(a)tun (a)t(i)γ (a)t(a)n(i)p ötük(ā)n k(e)d(i)n učīnta
t(ā)z b(a)šīnta örg(i)n [(a)nta (e)t(i)td(i)m čit] (a)nta y(a)r(a)t(i)td(i)m
b(a)rs yīlqa yīl(a)n yīlqa (e)ki yīl
- W 2: y(a)yl(a)d(i)m ulu yīlīqa ötük(ā)n ortusīnta (a)s öη(ü)z b(a)š q(a)n idūq
b(a)š k(e)d(i)nintā y(a)yl(a)d(i)m örgin bunta y(a)r(a)t(i)td(i)m čit bunta to-
q(i)td(i)m bīn yīl(l)īq tüm(ā)n künl(i)k b(i)t(i)g(i)m(i)n b(ā)lgüm(i)n bunta
- W 3: y(a)sī t(a)šqa y(a)r(a)t(i)td(i)m tulquu t(a)šqa toqītd(i)m üzā kök t(ā)ηri
y(a)rl(i)q(a)dūq üč(ü)n (a)sra y(a)γ(i)z y(e)r ig(i)t(t)ük üč(ü)n (e)l(i)m(i)n
törüm(i)n (e)t(i)nt [(i)m] öηrā kün tuys(u)qd(a)qī bod(u)n k(e)srā (a)y
tuys(u)qd(a)qī bod(u)n
- W 4: tört bul(u)ηd(a)qī bod(u)n (i)š küč b(e)rür y(a)γ(i)m bülük yōq bot[tī
ötük(ā)n (e)lit(ā)gr(ā)s (e)li] (e)k(i)n (a)ra ilγ(a)m t(a)r(i)γl(a)γ(i)m
s(ā)k(i)z s(ā)l(ā)ηā orqun tuyla s(ā)b(i)n t(ā)l(?ā)dū q(a)r(a)ya buryu
ol y(e)r(i)m(i)n sub(u)m(i)n qon(a)r köč(ā)r b(ā)n
- W 5: y(a)yl(a)γ(i)m ötük(ā)n quzī k(e)d(i)n uči t(ā)z b(a)šī öηd(ü)ni q(a)nuy
küün(ü)y b²z . . . ič(i)lγ(a)m ötük(ā)n y(i)ri onyi t(a)r(q)a)n süy y(a)γ(i)
bod(u)nqī q(a)γ(a)nyī b(i)rig(ā)rū uči (a)ltun yiš k(e)d(i)n uči kögm(ā)n
(i)lig(ā)rū uči költ[i]
- W 6: t(ā)ηridā bolm(i)š (e)l (e)tm(i)š b(i)lgā q(a)n(i)m ičr(ā)ki bod(u)ni
(a)ltm(i)š ič buyrūq b(a)šī in(a)nču b(a)ya t(a)r(q)a)n ul(u)γ buyrūq
toquz bolm(i)š b(i)lgā t(a)y s(ā)ηün oηī b(e)š yüz b(a)šī kül(ü)g oηī öz
in(a)nču b(e)š yüz b(a)šī ul(u)γ öz in(a)nču
- W 7: ur(u)ηu yüz b(a)šī ul(u)γ ur(u)ηu töl(i)s b(ā)gl(ā)r oylī bīn b(a)šī töl(i)s
kül(ü)g (ā)r(ā)n t(a)rduš b(ā)gl(ā)r oylī bīn b(a)šī t(a)rduš kül(ü)g (ā)r(ā)n

W 8: *t(a)rduš išb(a)ras b(e)š bīη (ä)r b(a)šī išb(a)ra s(ä)ηün y(a)γl(a)q(a)r*
 . . . (ca. 50 letters are missing) *toq(u)z yüz (ä)r b(a)šī tuyq(u)n ul(u)γ*
t(a)rq(a)n būquγ bīηa

W 9: . . . (ca. 30 letters are missing) *bod(u)nī bīηa q(a)γ(a)s (a)t(a)čūq bod(u)nī*
bīηa

North Side

N 1: *t(ä)ηr(i)m q(a)n(i)m t(i)k(i)m t(ä)g (e)l(i)g tutdī b²s² . . .* (ca. 25 letters
 are missing) *qutl(u)γ čigšī (a)q(i)nčū (a)lp b(i)lgä čigšī q(a)n*
(a)rūq oγ(u)z bod(u)n (a)ltī yüz s(ä)ηüt bir tüm(ä)n bod(u)n q(a)zγ(a)ntī

N 2: *t(ä)ηri q(a)n(i)m (a)tl(i)γi tōq(u)z t(a)t(a)r y(e)ti y(e)g(i)rmi (a)z buyrūq*
toηra (ä)dä s(ä)ηüt bīηa uyγ(u)r bod(u)nī t(i)g(i)t(i)m(i)n bu bit(i)dükdä
q(a)n(i)ma turγ(a)q b(a)šī q(a)γ(a)s (a)t(a)čūq b(ä)gz(ä)k(ä)r čigšī bīla
b(a)γa t(a)rq(a)n üč yüz turγ(a)q tur(ut)dī

N 3: *t(ä)ηr(i)m q(a)n(i)m oγli b(i)lgä t(a)rduš ul(u)γ b(i)lgä y(a)bγu qutl(u)γi*
(i)s(i)g y[ir?] qutl(u)γi . . . buyrūqi (a)z s(i)pa t(a)y s(ä)ηün bod(u)nī
toηra (ä)dä . . . -iq baš q(a)y (a)b(a) baš üč q(a)rlūq bunča bod(u)n y(a)bγu
bod(u)nī

N 4: *t(ä)ηr(i)m q(a)n(i)m oγli b(i)lgä töl(i)s ul(u)γ b(i)lgä č(a)d qutl(u)γi*
 *qutl(u)γi ud(u)rγ(a)n buyrūqi č(a)b(i)š s(ä)ηün bod(u)nī tōq(u)z*
b(a)y(ir)qūu (a)q baš q(a)y (a)b(a) b(a)sm(i)l tōq(u)z t(a)t(a)r bunča bod(u)n
č(a)d bod(u)nī

N 5: . . . (ca. 15 letters are missing) *bit(i)gmä bunī y(a)r(a)t(i)γma bilgä*
qutl(u)γ t(a)rq(a)n s(ä)ηün bunča bod(u)n(u)γ (a)tīn yolīn y(a)γma (a)lum-
čisi (e)ki yur t(e)dī qutl(u)γ b(i)lgä s(ä)ηün ur(u)šu qutl(u)γ t(a)rq(a)n
s(ä)ηün ol (e)ki yur

N 6: *y(a)rlūq(a)dī b(a)y(i)rqūu t(a)rduš b(i)ligä t(a)rq(a)n qutl(u)γ y(a)γma*
t(a)bγ(a)č soγd(a)q b(a)šī b(i)ligä s(ä)ηün uz(a)l oη (ä)rk(i)n

Translation of the Text

East Side

E 1: Yollug Kagan
 Bumīn Kagan, (all together?) three kagans reigned. They reigned for
 (about) two hundred years.

E 2:
 people wandered about
 together with (one or?) two horsemen, they were about to be perished (?).
 Kadīr, Kasar, Ebdī, Bersil, Yatīz (and) Oguz

- E 3 : My ancestors reigned
 (about) eighty years. (They reigned) in the land of Ötüken (and)
 Tegres, between the two, on the Orkhon river
- E 4 : They reigned (about)
 ... years. Then ... years passed by. The blue heaven above and the
 brown earth below ... my title, again
- E 5 : I was appointed... At my
 age of twenty eight, in the Year of the Serpent, I disturbed and de-
 stroyed the realm of the Turks.
- E 6 : They came and joined (us?)
 together with ... horsemen. The battalion marched forward. (The
 kagan) said: «Prince Ozmiş is marching off (together with his forces)
 from Udargan. Capture him!» he said.
- E 7 : I pursued him, (then) I heard that he passed over the Kara-Kum.
 On Kügür and Kômür-Tag, and by the Yar river, (I attacked?) the
 three-bannered Turkish people there, on the fourteenth (day) of the
 seventh month
- E 8 : there I had (them) beaten.
 (I captured) their khan. There they perished, there I subjugated the
 Turkish people. Then, again
- E 9 : Prince Ozmiş became khan again. In the Year
 of Sheep, I (again) marched off.

South Side

- S 1 : ... secondly
 in the Year of Monkey, I marched off.
 I engaged in battle and stabbed (their men) there. Their kan
- S 2 : I captured. After that, they
 came (over us) again. In the Year of
 Hen, I marched off and spent the year (there). On the thirteenth (day)
 of the fifth month, they uprose (again).
- S 3 : I fought (against them) and stabbed (their men) there.....
 I (subjugated them). After subjugating
 Bü(lük) of the Iğdir (tribe) Afterwards, in
 the Year of Hound, the Three-Karluks indulged in hostile thoughts

- (against us), they ran away and took refuge in the On-Ok («Ten-Arrows»);
- S 4: there they became (subject to them) and died ... The Three-Karluks, in the Year of Swine, the Nine-Tatars ... the nine *buyruks* ... one thousand generals and the common people, having stood up (in front of him), presented a petition to my father, the khan: «You bear the name of (our) ancestors»
- S 5: they said, «the land of Ötüken is in your hands, rule (it)!» There, my father appointed (me) yabgu. After that, in the Year of Rat, in the graveyard (of our ancestors), the powerful common people spoke (as follows): «The grave(s) of (our ancestors) are in your possession. The power (you need?) is surely in the Kara-Sub (river).» (Thus), the common people, having stood up (in front of me),
- S 6: appointed (me) kagan, appointed (me) *Tängridä-bolmış*, *El-etmiş Bilgä Kagan* (= the Heaven-born and the State-Founder Wise Kagan) and (my wife) *El-Bilgä Katun* (= the Wise Queen of the people). After having been appointed *kagan* and *katun*, I had my headquarters established here, on the western (slopes) of the As-Öngüz summit and the Kan-Iduk (= Royal-Sacred) summit amidst Ötüken.

West Side

- W 1: I, the Heaven-born and the State-Founder Bilgä Kagan, and (my wife) El-Bilgä Katun, having assumed the title of kagan and the title of katun, I had (my) headquarters (established there) and I had (the fences of my headquarters) built there, at the western end of Ötüken, at the head of the Tez (River). There I spent the summers for two years, (first) in the Year of Tiger, (then) in the Year of Serpent.
- W 2: In the Year of Dragon, I spent the summer on the western part of the As-Öngüz summit and the Kan-Iduk summit, amidst Ötüken. I had (my) headquarters established here and I had the fences (of my headquarters) constructed here. Here I had my scripts and (royal) signs which would last one thousand years and ten thousand days inscribed and engraved on (this)
- W 3: flat stone and single-piece stone. Since the Blue Heaven above granted mercifully and the Brown Earth below provided (generously), I have got for myself my state and my institutions. Peoples living at the sunrise in the east and the peoples living at the moonrise in the west,
- W 4: all the peoples living in the four quarters (of the world) are giving (their) services (to me). Bülük, my (chief) enemy, has been annihilated ... between (these) two (boundaries), my arable lowlands and cultivations (are located by and around the rivers of) Eight-Selenga,

- Orkhon, Tugla, Sebin, Teledu, Karaga and Burgu (Burugu?). I keep nomadizing on these lands of mine and along these rivers of mine.
- W 5: My summer pastures are the northern (slopes) of the Ötüken (mountains). Its western end is the head of the Tez (river), and its eastern (end) is Kanyuy and Künüy . . . My private lowlands (meadows) are (in) Ötüken. Its northern (end) is Ongı Tarkan Süy (?), belonging to the hostile tribes and (hostile) kagan; its southern end is *Altun yış* (i.e., Altay mountains) its western end is Kögmen (i.e., Tannu-Tuva mountains) and its eastern end is Költi (?).
- W 6: (The number of) the court people of my Khan, the Heaven-born and the State-Founder, is sixty. The head of the court *buyruks* is Inanču Baga Tarkan. The Grand Buyruk is Tokuz-bolmiš Bilge Tay-Sengün. The Ongı is Külüg Ongı, head of five hundred (soldiers). The Öz Inanču is Ulug Öz Inanču, head of five hundred (soldiers).
- W 7: The Urungu is Captain Ulug Urungu. (Then come) sons of Tölis *begs*, majors, famous soldiers, and sons of Tarduš *begs*, majors, famous soldiers. The *İšbaras* of the Tarduš are: *İšbara Sengün Yaglakar*, head of five thousand soldiers,
- W 8:
 Tuykun Ulug Tarkan Bukug Bınga, head of nine hundred soldiers,
- W 9:
 his people (equals to) a *bınga* (about one thousand soldiers?); Kagas Atačuk: his people (equals to) a *bınga*.

North Side

- N 1: My heavenly Khan ruled the land and hold the tribes as tight as the firmly sewn seams (?) Kutlug Čigsi, Akinču Alp Bilge Čigsi The Khan (?) conquered and captured the tired Oguz tribes. He won (from them) one hundred generals and ten thousand men (i.e., warriors).
- N 2: The cavalry of my heavenly Khan are the Nine-Tatars, the Seventeen-Az; (his) *buyruks* are (from) the Tongra, Ede and (his) generals and *bıngas* are (from) the Uygur people. When I inscribed this (monument) together with my princes, Kagas Atačuk and Begzeker Buyla Baga Tarkan, the heads of the watching posts, had three hundred watching posts constructed for my Kan.
- N 3: The son of my heavenly Khan is Bilge Tardus Ulug Bilge Yabgu. His *kutlug* is Isig (?) . . ., his *kutlug* is . . ., his *buyruk* is Az Sipa Tay Sengün, and his tribes are Tongra, Ede, . . .-baš, Kay, Aba-baš (?) and the Three-Karluks. This many tribes are the tribes of the Yabgu.

- N 4 : The son of my heavenly Khan is Bilge Tölis Ulug Bilge Šad. His *kutlug* is . . . , his *kutlug* is Udurgan, his *buyruk* is Čabiš Sengün, and his tribes are the Nine-Bayırku, Ak-baš (?), Kay, Aba (?), Basmil (?) and the Nine-Tatars. This many tribes are the tribes of the Sad.
- N 5 : He who inscribed (this) and he who created this is Bilge Kutlug Tarkan Sengün. Those who spelled out (the names of) this many tribes, their names and reputations, are the two brothers-in-law (?), the tax collectors (?) of the Yagma (tribe). Kutlug Bilge Sengün and Kutlug Tarken Sengün are those two brothers-in-law.
- N 6 : (Those who) gave the orders are Bayırku Tarduš Bilge Tarkan Kutlug and Bilge Sengün Uzal Öng Erkin, the heads of (the affairs) of the Yagma, Tabgač and Sogdak.

Explanations

E a s t S i d e

1) E 1. *yol(lu)γ*: Sh(inekhüü) and K(lyashtorniy) read this *yoliγ*. This name occurs in Orkhon I and II as the name of the inscriber. In I, SW it is probably spelt with double *l*¹ (the vertical line of the first *l*¹ is very clear in the copy published by the Finnish Archaeological Society). Furthermore, in the newly found Avdarant inscription the word is clearly written with double *l*¹: *yoll(u)γ iya b(a)s(i)p . . .* (*Arheologijn Sudlal*, Ulaan-Baatar 1980, p. 38, line 6). The word *yolluγ* «lucky, fortunate» occurs in Uigur texts in the hend. *atliγ yolluγ* id. It also survives in the modern languages: Tuv. *čolduy* «lucky, happy», Nog. *yollı* id., Kklp. *ǰollı* id. *Yolluγ* is morphologically and semantically identical with *qutluγ* which is widely used as a personal name.

2) E 1. *bumän*: The name *bumän* is fully vocalized. It is also spelt as such in the Bugut inscription.

3) E 1. *üč q(a)γ(a)n*: This phrase suggests that the lacuna before *bumän q(a)γ(a)n* could be filled with the name of another early Turkish kagan, most probably with the name of *išt(ä)mi q(a)γ(a)n*.

4) E 1. *(e)ki yüz yıl ol(u)rm(i)š*: The phrase *eki yüz yıl* «two hundred years» probably refers to the life of the Köktürk Empire which lasted roughly two hundred years from the middle of the 6th to the middle of the 8th centuries.

5) E 2. *bod(u)nä q(a)za b(a)rm(i)š*: Sh. has *bod(u)n* (p. 80). K reads the second word *qäza* and translates it as «getting angry». Sh. translates the whole sentence as «the people perished». If the text is correct, *q(a)za* could be a gerund of a verb from which *qazaq* is derived; cf. Chag., Krm., Tat. *qazaq* «a free, independent man, adventurer, vagabond», Chag. «robber, high-

wayman», Hou. *qazaq* «independent, free», etc. But such a verb has not been attested elsewhere.

6) E 2. *tük(ä)p b(a)rm(i)š*: The first word is *tükä* in both Sh.'s and K's texts. But such an adverbial form is very puzzling, because the verbal stem itself is *tükä-*. Could this be a misreading for *tük(ä)p*? The gerund *tük(ä)p* occurs in Shine-Usu: . . . *in b(a)rča tük(ä)p t(ä)zä* . . . (South, a).

7) E 2. Of the tribal names occurring in this line only *q(a)s(a)r* could be identified with *Ko-sa* of the Chinese sources. As is known, *Qasar* was one of the nine tribes belonging to the Uigur federation (cf. J. Hamilton, *Toquz-oguz et On-Uygur*: *JA* 1962, p. 43).

8) E 4. *ol(u)r <m(i)š*: The word is spelt *Ul^rntA*. Sh. reads *oluranta* and K *olurinta*. Both readings cannot be accepted, because a verb form in {-AntA-} (like in modern Azerbaijani) is impossible in Old Turkic. K's *olurinta*, if it is not a printing mistake for *oluranta*, cannot be explained morphologically. It is obvious that the scribe simply forgot the suffix *-m(i)š* and inscribed the immediately following word *(a)nta*.

9) E 5. *-nt(a)r*: This must be the rest of an Old Turkic title; but such a title is unknown to me.

10) E 5. *yil(a)n yilqa* «in the Year of Serpent», i.e., in 741. From this sentence we learn that Moyun Čor was born in 713.

11) E 6. *y(a)m(a)šdi*: K reads this *yumšadi* and translates it together with the preceding *(a)tl(i)γ(i)n* as «svoju konnicu poslal» (p. 93). The word cannot be read *yumšadi*. This verb is the reciprocal-cooperative stem of *yama-* and is used here with the meaning «to join, be added» (cf. NUig. *yamaš-* «to join, be added, be attached», Uzb. *yamaš-* id., etc.). The preceding word must be the instrumental case of *atliγ* «cavalry».

12) E 6. *bīṇa yorīdi*: This sentence is parallel to *sü yorīdi, öz(ü)m(i)n öṅrā bīṇa b(a)šī üt(t)i* of the Shine-Usu inscription, North 6 (Ramstedt 1913, p. 15).

13) E 7. This passage is identical with the one occurring in Shine-Usu, North 8.

14) E 8. *toqt(a)rt(i)m*: Sh. reads *toqītartīm* and K *toqītirtīm*. Both readings are incorrect. The verb should be understood as *toqī-t-ar-*, but it was probably pronounced *toqtar-*.

15) E 8. *(i)čg(ä)rt(i)m*: Sh. reads *ičgirtim*, which is of course wrong.

16) E 9. The identical passage in Shine-Usu, North 9, reads as follows: *ozm(i)š tig(i)n q(a)n bolm(i)š qoñ yilqa yorīd(i)m*.

17) E 9. *qooñ yilīqa* «in the Year of Sheep», i.e., in 743.

South Side

18) S 1. *b(i)č(i)n yilīqa* «in the Year of Monkey», i.e., in 744.

19) S 2. *tutd(u)m* [*q(a)tunin (a)nta (a)lt(i)m*]: The passage between square brackets is taken from the corresponding identical passage in Shine-Usu, North 10.

20) S 2. *t(a)qiyu yilīqa* «in the Year of Fowl», i.e., in 745.

21) S 2. *q(a)l(i)šdi*: Sh. reads correctly, but mistranslates as «uskakal»; K reads *aqlašdi* (p. 92) and translates as «sobralis» (p. 93). This verb is the coop. stem of *qali-* «to rise, jump, spring» and it is used here with the meaning «to uprising, riot».

22) S 3. *igd(i)r*: This is the first occurrence of the name of this famous Oguz tribe. Both Sh. and K read the word *igdär*. For the vocalization of the second syllable see MK I, 57.

23) S 3. *igd(i)r bül[ük]*: Both Sh. and K take the second word as the verb *böl-* «to divide». This is wrong. The word must be a personal name. It must be identical with the name occurring in W 4: . . . *y(a)γ(i)m bül(ü)k yōq bol[tü . . .* «My enemy Bülük perished».

24) S 3. *it yilīqa* «in the Year of Hound», i.e., in 746.

25) S 3—4. For the passage beginning with *üč q(a)rluq* and ending in *kirti* see Shine-Usu, North 11.

26) S 4. *l(a)γz(i)n yilqa* «in the Year of Swine», i.e., in 747.

27) S 4. *tur(u)y(i)n*: Sh. reads *toryan*, and K *turyan*. They both regard this as the name of a kagan, i.e., the personal name of El-etmiş Bilge Kagan (cf. K, p. 95). This seems very unlikely. Medial consonant cluster /ry/ may occur only in morpheme-boundary position in Turkic. It is very probable that what we have here is the verbal stem *tur-* with the gerundial suffix {- (I)yIn}, i.e., *tur(u)y(i)n*; cf. *bol(u)y(i)n* «having become» in Tunyukuk I, W 6—7 and *bulm(a)y(i)n* «having not found» in Tunyukuk I, W 2.

28) S 5. *ötük(ä)n (e)li*: K has $t^2gr^2s^2 = tögiräs$ for the first word. Sh. spells it twice as *ötük(ä)n* (pp. 54, 65) and once as *öt(ü)g(ä)n* (p. 91).

29) S 5. *s(i)zdä*: K could not read. Together with the preceding two words it makes a sentence: *ötük(ä)n (e)li s(i)zdä*.

30) S 5. *(ä)b(i)r ti[di]*: Sh. reads *bärti* «gave»; K *bärt(t)i* «routed». K's reading would hardly be correct. If the word is to be read *b(e)rti* «gave», the preceding word then should be *s(i)zkä* «to you» which is very probable, because the runic *k* could easily be mistaken for d^2 especially if the spot is heavily damaged.

31) S 5. *öz(ü)m(i)n*: Sh. *örg(i)n* «palace» (pp. 91, 92). This seems to be impossible, however. What the inscription originally has is probably *öz(ü)m(i)n*, because the following words are *(a)nta y(a)byu (a)t(a)di*. It is very probable that Kül Bilge, Moyun Čor's father, appointed him *yabgu* before his death, i.e., in 747, because he fought for the throne against Tay Bilge Tutuk.

32) S 5. *küsgü yilīqa* «in the Year of the Rat», i.e., in 748.

33) S 5. *sinl(ä)gdä*: Sh. reads *sin äligdä* and translates «you, in your

realm» which is completely wrong. K reads the word *äsinliqdä* which does not make sense at all. What we have here is the locative case of *sinläg* «cemetery, graveyard», Old Turkic form of Old Anatolian Turkish *sinlä*. The root of the word is *sin* «tomb, grave», a loanword borrowed from Chinese (*ts'in* «tomb, mausoleum»). Both DTS and Clauson read this word *sün* which is incorrect. This word is always spelt with *sin* in Old Anatolian texts (see *Tarama Sözlüğü*).

34) S 5. *küč q(a)ra bod(u)n*: The noun *küč* is apparently used here attributively.

35) S 5. *t(e)m(i)š*: Sh. and K read *ätmiš*.

36) S 5. *q(a)ra sub* «the Black Water», i.e., «River»: This must be a river or lake in Ötüken. Could it be *Xar us nür* «the Black-Water Lake» in the Altay region in North-West Mongolia?

37) S 6. *(a)s-öη(ü)z*: The words are spelt as one word between colons. Sh. reads it *šöηüz*, and K *süηüz*. Both readings cannot be correct, for the first letter is not *s*², but *s*¹. In my opinion, what we have here are two words written together, i.e., *(a)s* or *(a)š* and *öη(ü)z* or *üη(ü)z*. These must be the names of certain summits or peaks. I prefer *as* because of *as*, *ās* «ermine with a white coat» in MK, and *öηüz* because of *öη* «colour». The word *öηüz* could be a derivative of this *öη* (cf. Uig. *māη* «mole», *māηiz* «complexion»).

38) S 6. *q(a)n idüq b(a)š*: K regards the first word as the second syllable of the preceding word. Thus, he has *süηüz bašqan iduq baš* (p. 92). This seems impossible, however. In my opinion, the phrase should be understood as follows: *(a)s öη(ü)z b(a)š, q(a)n idüq b(a)š k(e)d(i)nin . . .* The phrase *q(a)n idüq b(a)š* could mean «the Royal Sacred Summit» or «the Sacred Summit of the Khan».

39) S 6. *(e)ti(t)d(i)m*: Sh. reads *itidim*, which is of course wrong.

West Side

40) W 1. *t(ä)ηridä bolm(i)š (e)l-(e)tm(i)š b(i)lgä q(a)γ(a)n*: This is the title of Moyun Čor, Kül Bilge Kagan's son and the second kagan of the Uigur kingdom in Mongolia, which also occurs in the Shine-Usu inscription (see Ramstedt 1913, p. 13). The expression *t(ä)ηridä bolm(i)š* is obviously taken from the title of the Kök Türk kagans. The expression *(e)l-(e)tm(i)š* «State-Founder) occurs twice in the Ongin inscription: *(e)l-(e)tm(i)š y(a)bγu oγli, (e)l-(e)tm(i)š (a)t(a)m* (see Clauson 1957, p. 177).

41) W 1. *(e)l-b(i)lgä q(a)tun*: This title, too, is taken from Kök Türks. As is known, it was the title of Bilge Kagan's mother: *ög(ü)m il bilgä q(a)tun. . .* (KT, north 11, BK, east 10).

42) W 1. *t(ä)z b(a)šinta*: This must be the original Turkic name of the present-day Tes River in North-West Mongolia (Tuv. *Tes Xem*, Mo. *Tesiñ*).

43) W 1. *örg(i)n*: A deverbal noun in *-n*. The verbal stem occurs

in Shine-Usu, S 10: (*e*)*l* *ö*rgin*n* (*a*)*n*ta *ö*rg(*i*)*p*(*ä*)*n* . . . (see Ramstedt 1913, p. 31, and also Ramstedt's note on this word on p. 53).

44) W 1. [(*a*)*n*ta (*e*)*t*(*i*)*t*d(*i*)*m* *č*it] (*a*)*n*ta: The lacuna between *ö*rg(*i*)*n* and (*a*)*n*ta could be filled like this on the basis of the corresponding passage *ö*rg(*i*)*n* (*a*)*n*ta *y*(*a*)*r*(*a*)*t*(*i*)*t*d(*i*)*m* *č*it (*a*)*n*ta *t*öq*ü*t*d*(*i*)*m* in Shine-Usu, East 9. For the expression *ö*rgin *et*it- cf. also *ö*rg(*i*)*n* (*a*)*n*ta *i*t(*i*)*t*d(*i*)*m* in Shine-Usu, East 8.

45) W 1. *b*(*a*)*r*s *y*ilqa «in the Year of Tiger», i.e., in 750; *y*il(*a*)*n* *y*ilqa «in the Year of Serpent», i.e., in 753.

46) W 2. *ulu* *y*ilq*ä* «in the Year of Dragon», i.e., in 752. The Chinese loan-word *lu* or *luu* (< Chin. *lung* «dragon») occurs here for the first time with a prothetic *u*. This word survives as such in some Turkic languages: Kirg. *ulü* *žil* «Dragon Year», Tuv. *ulu* «dragon», Kzk., Kklp. *uluw* id., YUig. *ulu*, *olu*, *lu* id.

47) W 2. *ulu* *y*ilq*ä* . . . *y*(*a*)*s*i *t*(*a*)*š*qa *y*(*a*)*r*(*a*)*t*(*i*)*t*d(*i*)*m*: The passage corresponding to this is found in Shine-Usu, East 9–10.

48) W 3. *tulquu*: Sh. and K read this *tolqu*. Sh. translates the phrase *tulquu* *t*(*a*)*š*qa as «na pedestal kamennyj» (p. 68) and K as «na gruznom kamne» (p. 92). Obviously they both regard this word as a derivative of *tol*- «to become full». In my opinion, this word could be identical with Kirg. *tulqu* «whole, entire, complete» (i.e., *tulqu* *boy* «the whole body»), Tuv. *dulgu* «whole, complete, single-piece», etc.

49) W 3. *ig*(*i*)*t*(*t*)*ük*: Sh. reads this *igitik*, which is wrong.

50) W 3. (*e*)*l*(*i*)*m*(*i*)*n* *t*örüm(*i*)*n*: Sh. reads *älmän törümän*, which is incorrect.

51) W 3. (*e*)*t*(*i*)*n*t[(*i*)*m*]: The word is spelt $t^2n^2t^2I$ in the reproduced texts. This must be an error, for the context requires here *etintim* «I organized».

52) W 4. *tört bul*(*u*)*rd*(*a*)*q*i *bod*(*u*)*n*: In Shinekhüü's runic text the last word is spelt $b^1Ud^1n^1I$, i.e., *bod*(*u*)*n*i. This is impossible, however. It is very probable that the letter which is taken to be *i* by Shinekhüü is the letter s^2 , i.e., the word (*i*)*š*, because the following words are *küč* *b*(*e*)*rür*. See below.

53) W 4. (*i*)*š* *küč* *b*(*e*)*rür*: For the first word see above. In Klyashtor-niy's text there is only a colon between the words *bod*(*u*)*n* and *küč* which could be a misreading for the letter s^2 . The expression *iš* *küč* *bir*- «to give one's services» is very common in the Old Turkic inscriptions. Sh. reads the last word *äbirür* (p. 69), which is of course wrong.

54) W 4. *y*(*a*)*γ*(*i*)*m* *bül*(*ü*)*k*: This phrase is misunderstood both by Sh. and K. *Bülük* of the Iğdir tribe was obviously the chief enemy of Moyun Čor (see note 23).

55) W 4. *y*öq *bol*[*t*ä] (*e*)*k*(*i*)*n* (*a*)*ra*: The lacuna could be filled with *ötük*(*ä*)*n* (*e*)*li* *t*(*ä*)*gr*(*ä*)*s* (*e*)*li*. Cf. E 3 which reads *ötük*(*ä*)*n* (*e*)*li* *t*(*ä*)*gr*(*ä*)*s* (*e*)*li* (*e*)*kin* (*a*)*ra* . . .

56) W 4. *ily(a)m t(a)r(i)yl(a)γ(i)m*: Sh. reads *ilyim. Tariy alyim* and mistranslates (p. 69). K reads *ilyim tariylyayim* (p. 90). K translates the first word as «moy skot» (p. 92) which cannot be correct, because the word for «herd of horses, cattle» always occurs as *yilqi* in Old Turkic. What we have here is a hendiadyoin, i.e., two more or less synonomous words both having the 1st p. poss. suff. $\{-\text{(I)m}\}$. Since the second word is *tariylyayim* «my cultivated lands», the first word is probably *ilyam* «my lowlands». The latter is probably the archaic form of modern Turkic *yilya* (cf. Tat., Bšk. *yilya* «river», Nog. *yilya* «river, stream, valley, lowland», Kirg. *řilya* «river bed», etc.). This word also occurs in Mongolian: *řilya* «ravine, dell, hollow, basin, ditch», Kh. *řalya* id. The initial /y/ in Turkic *yilya* could be a prothetic consonant. If this is correct, *ilya* «lowland» can be explained as a deverbal noun in $-\gamma a$ derived from MK *il-* «to go down, descend» (I, 169, 175, etc.). Kirg. *ildiy* «down, downward(s)», Kklp. *ildiy* «depressed, low-lying place, lowland» too seem to be related to this verbal root. Cf. also Chuv. *yäläm* «the lower and meadowy bank of a river» < **ilim*, Trk. (SDD) *yilim* «precipice, slope, falling ground», *yilma* «slope, downward slope», *yilmala-* «to go down, to descend», etc.

57) W 4. *s(ä)k(i)z s(ä)l(ä)ñä*: «the Eight-Selenga», i.e., «the Selenga river with its eight tributaries».

58) W 4. *t(ä)l(ä)dü*: K has, together with the preceding $s^2b^2n^2$ (*säbän* or *säbin*), *säbäntürdü* (p. 90). Sh. reads the first word *ögüz*!

59) W 4. *q(a)r(a)γa*: Sh. and K read this word *qarya*. This could be the original form of the name of the present-day river *Xarā*, i.e., *Xarā gol*.

60) W 4. *ol y(e)r(i)m(i)n sub(u)m(i)n qon(a)r köč(ä)r b(ä)n*: Sh. misreads and mistranslates the sentence: *ol yärmän, subman (min) qonur küç är bän* (p. 69). K reads the passage as *ol yär äkin subimän qonar köčürbän* (p. 90). The letter K takes to be *k* must be *m* in his *äkin*, i.e., the word must be *y(e)r(i)-m(i)n*.

61) W 5. *y(a)yl(a)γ(i)m*: Sh. reads *yaylyim*, which is wrong.

62) W 5. *q(a)ñuy küün(ü)y b²z . . .*: Sh. reads *qunčuy künäy . . .* (p. 70). K has *qonar köčär bän* (p. 90) which is impossible after *öñd(ü)ni* «its eastern (border)». In my opinion, Shinekhüü's *qñUy* is a misreading for *qñUy*, i.e., *q(a)ñuy*. This name must be identical with the name of the river *Xanuy* in northern Mongolia. The runic *ñ* could easily be mistaken for *ñč*. *Küün(ü)y* is modern Xünüy.

63) W 5. *ič-(i)ly(a)m*: The two words are written together; for this reason the initial *i* of the second word is not written. Sh. reads *ič alyim* and translates wrongly. K reads *čalyim* and translates incorrectly.

64) W 5. *süy*: Sh. translates *onyi tarqan süy* as «Ongi Tarkan's army» (p. 70). K reads *onyi atla[ndi] sü iy* and translates wrongly. The kagan speaks of the boundaries of his private valley (*ič ilya*) here: *y(i)ri . . ., birigärü uç . . .*,

kedin uči . . . , iligärü uči . . . Consequently, the word *süy* must be the part of a geographical name. It cannot be the Old Turkic word for «army», i.e., *sü*. The word *süy* here could be identical with. Mo. *süy* «gifts given to the bride's family».

65) W 5. *y(a)γ(i) bod(u)nq̄i*: K reads *ȳγ bodun* (p. 90) and takes this to be an order, for he translates this as «sobiraj narod!» (p. 92).

66) W 6. *(a)ltm(i)š*: K misreads and mistranslates this word: *alitm̄iš*.

67) W 7. *ışb(a)ra s(ä)ñün y(a)yl(a)q(a)r*: This is probably the same *Yaylaqar* in whose memory the Sudži inscription was erected. In 753 he was *İšbara Sāñün* commanding an army of five thousand men. Later he became *Buyla Qutluγ Yaryan* (see Ramstedt 1913, pp. 4—9). W 8. *tuyq(u)n*: Sh. reads *tuyuqun* (?), and K reads *toyqan*. Being a personal name it is probably identical with Kirg. *tuyγun* «a kind of white falcon; hence used attributively for heroes and youths» < **tuyqun*.

68) W 9. *(a)t(a)čūq̄*: Sh. reads *atačiq*, which is wrong.

N o r t S i d e

69) N 1. *t(i)k(i)m t(ä)g (e)l(i)g tutd̄i*: Sh. has *t²mr²*, i.e., *täm̄ir* for the first word. According to K, the first word is *t²km*, i.e., *täk̄im* which he translates as «množestvo» (p. 93). But the Turkic word for «many» is *tälim*! If his reading is correct, what we have here could be *tikim* «seam» from *tik*- «to sew».

The last word is spelt *t¹Ut¹n¹* according to Shinekhüü. He reads this *tutun* and to following word *birti* (p. 74). A phrase like *tutun birti* is unusual for Turkic. Could it be a misreading for *tuta birti*? The phrase *täm̄ir t̄äg elig tutd̄i* (or *tuta birti*) could also be acceptable. But K's *täñrim qan̄im t̄äk̄im t̄äglig tutd̄i* «Moj Nebesnyj xan zaxvatil množestvo zabludšix (*buk.*: slepyx)» cannot be regarded as correct.

70) N 1. *b²s²*: Sh. *b²Ir²t²I*, i.e., *birti* (see above).

71) N 1. *b²s²* . . . : Sh. has *uyγur t(a)rduš* after *birti*.

72) N 1. *(a)q(i)nčū*: Sh. reads *qunčū* and translates this together with the following *(a)lp* as «kunčū bogatyr'» (p. 74—75). K reads the word *qančū* and takes it to be a personal name (p. 91 and 93).

73) N 1. *q(a)n (a)rūq̄*: Sh.'s text has *q(a)n (a)rd̄i* «The Khan got tired» (p. 75).

74) N 1. *oγ(u)z bod(u)n*: Sh. has *oγ(u)z [čig]š̄i* (p. 75).

75) N 1. *yüz s(ä)ñüt*: K has *(a)lt̄i* before *yüz*.

76) N 1. *s(ä)ñüt*: Sh. reads this word *sōñüt* and takes it to be an ethnic name.

77) N 2. *toñra (ä)dä*: Both Sh. and K read this *toñrada*. But it is spelt with *d²*!

78) N 2. *t(i)g(i)t(i)m(i)n*: Sh. reads this *tägit män*, which is incorrect.

79) N 2. *tury(a)q*: This word occurs in QB 608 and 2536 with the meaning «watchman, sentry». Here it obviously means «watching post».

80) N 2. *tur(ut)dī*: Sh. and K read this *turdi*. What we need here is a causative verb like *turut-* «to have constructed». The consonant cluster /td/ is sometimes spelt with a single *t* or *d*: cf. *(e)ti(t)d(i)m* (S 6), *y(a)r(a)t(i)t(d(i)m* (W 2), etc. The expression used here is obviously *turyaq turut-* «to have watching posts built or constructed».

81) N 3. *b(i)lgā t(a)rduš ul(u)γ b(i)lgā y(a)bγu*: This must be the title of Moyun Čor's son who was appointed *yabgu* over the Tarduš. K's text has *t¹r¹qn¹*, i.e., *tarqan* for *t(a)rduš*, and *qUt¹l¹γ*, i.e., *qulluy* for *ul(u)γ*.

82) N 3. *qull(u)γi*: K's text has *t¹l¹γ* which he reads *atliγ* and translates as «imenitye, voždi» (pp. 91, 93).

83) N 3. *(i)s(i)g y (e)r?*: Shinekhüü's text has only *s²gy²* after colon. In K's text the letter *r²* after *y²* is visible. K reads this, together with the preceding *i* which in my opinion belongs to the preceding word, *isig yer* «desert». This is possible, but the phrase must go like *atliγi isig yer atliγi*, not like *atliγ isig yer atliγi* as K reads.

84) N 3. *qull(u)γi*: K's text has *t¹l¹γI*, i.e., *atliγi*: *isig yer atliγi* (p. 91). K translates this passage as «dignitaries from desert» or «dignitaries from Isig Yer» (p. 93).

85) N 3. *buyrūqi*: K's text has *b¹γ¹r¹⁰qU*, i.e., *b(a)y(i)rquu*, but he reads this *bayarqu*. In my opinion, Shinekhüü's *buyrūqi* is correct here, because in this line as well as in the following line, dignitaries holding high titles are enumerated in the manner of *qulluy-i*, *buyruq-i*, etc.

86) N 3. *(a)z s(i)pa t(a)y s(ä)ñün*: Sh. reads this *az aš apa tay sänün* (p. 76). K's text has *bod(u)nī* before *(a)z*. He reads the phrase *az ašpa tay sänün* and translates it as «Aspa Tay-Sengün from the Az» (p. 93). A name like *Ašpa* does not sound Turkic, however, because of its unusual medial consonant cluster /šp/.

87) N 3. *toŋra (ä)dä*: See note 77.

88) N 3. . . -iγ *baš q(a)y (a)b(a) baš*: Sh. reads this *aq gaš aqi ay babaš* which is probably wrong. K reads the same passage *baš qaybaš* and translates it, together with the preceding *toŋrada*, as «Baš Kaybaš from the Toŋra (tribe)» (p. 93). In my opinion, what we have here are tribal names, because the word *bod(u)nī* occurs at the beginning. Of these tribal names I know of only *Toŋra* and *Qay*.

89) N 4. *b(i)lgā töl(i)s ul(u)γ b(i)lgā č(a)d*: The title of Moyun Čor's other son who was appointed *čad*, i.e., *šad*, over the Tölis. Not found in K's text. The spelling *č(a)d* indicates that the initial /š/ in lowan-words is substituted by /č/ in the Uygur dialect.

90) N 4. *qull(u)γi . . . qull(u)γi ud(a)rγ(a)n*: In K's text the word

qutl(u)γi is not found. Before the space for the second *qutl(u)γi* his text has *bod(u)nqa*. He reads the last word *Oduryan*.

91) N 4. *buyrūqī č(a)b(i)š s(ä)ñün*: The first word is not found in K's text. Sh. reads it *buyuruqī*, and the last two words *ič baš säñün* which is of course wrong.

92) N 4. *(a)q baš q(a)y (a)b(a) b(a)sm(i)l*: Sh. reads the passage *aq baš aqī ay babaš maš* which is undoubtedly wrong. K's text has *qy^r1Ab¹s¹ms¹* which he reads *qayra basmīš* (p. 91) and translates, together with the preceding *toquz bayarqu* (his transcription), as «Tokuz-Bayarku subjugated again» (p. 93). This cannot be correct, because what we have here are tribal names, not the story of military activities. For this reason I incline to read the last word *b(a)sm(i)l*, although it is spelt *b¹s¹ms¹* in both texts. The runic letter *l²* could easily be mistaken for *s¹* if the spot is damaged.

93) N 5. *b(i)t(i)gmä*: K's text has *ntAt²gd²I*. He reads this *(a)nta tägdi* which is out of place here, because the following phrase is *bunī y(a)r(a)-t(i)γma*. We may think that the word *bunī* also occurs before *bitigmä*.

94) N 5. *y(a)γma (a)lum-čisi*: Sh. thinks the *čisi* is a misspelling for *cigši* (p. 78). K reads *yayma lum čisi* (p. 91) and translates the passage as «against the Yagma and Alum-čisi», but he also hesitates between two other possibilities, i.e., «Lum and Čisi» or «Alumči from the Yagma people» (p. 93). The last word which is spelt as two separate words could be *alumči* with the 3rd p. poss. suffix *-si*. The word *alimči* is well-attested in Uigur texts with the meaning «creditor» (see Clauson 1972, p. 146). It survives in Teleut with the meaning «debt collector» which may fit here perfectly: *yayma alumčisi* «the debt collector(s) of the Yagma». The early labialization of *i* is puzzling, but not impossible.

95) N 5. *(e)ki yur t(e)di*: Sh. reads *äki yor tidi* and K *eki yorüdi*. These readings and their translations are undoubtedly wrong. (Sh. takes his *yor* to be the verb *yorī*). I regard the second word as the simplex of *yurč* «brother-in-law» which occurs in KT east 32: *oñ tutuq yurčın . . .* «Oñ Tutuk's brother-in-law . . .». The phoneme /č/ in *yurč* could be a diminutive suffix (cf. *atač* from *ata*). For the occurrence of Old Turkic *yurč* in modern Turkic languages see Clauson 1972, 958.

96) N 5. *ur(u)šū* or *uršū*: Both Sh. and K take this word to be a part of a personal name: Sh. attaches it to the preceding and K to the following name. In my opinion, what we have here is nothing but a conjunction derived from *uruš*- «to hit one another»: *uruš-u*. The fact that this word occurs between two names beginning with *qutl(u)γ* testifies to this assumption. Such a conjunction, however, has not yet been attested elsewhere.

97) N 6. *y(a)rlūq(a)dī*: The labial /u/ in this word is puzzling. Could it be a misreading for *y(a)rlīq(a)dī*? K reads *yarliqadi*, but the runic sign *oq/uq* is very clear in his text.

98) N 6. *b(i)ligä*: The word *bilgä* is spelt as such twice in this line. In the inscription there is another example which occurs with an inserted vowel: *(i)lig(ä)rü* in W 5 for an expected *ilg(ä)rü*. Obviously, at least in the dialect of those who inscribed this monument there was a tendency of inserting vowels between the consonant cluster /lg/ and perhaps also between /lq/: cf. *yilīqa* (E 9, S 1, 2, 3, 5, W 2) alternating with *yilqa* (E 5, S 4, W 1, 1).

99) N 6. *uz(a)l*: Sh. reads this *uzul* and K *ozil*. I prefer *uzal* i.e., the imperative of *uzal-* «to long last» which is suitable for a personal name.

100) N 6. *(e)rk(i)n*: This title is usually spelt *irk(i)n* in the Kül Tigin and Bilge Kagan inscriptions. It also occurs as such in the Küli Cor inscription: *sir irk(i)n* (E 9). MK derives this title from *irk-* «to accumulate» (I, 108); but it seems like a folk etymology.

Glossary

- aba* ethnic n. (N 4)
aba-baš ethnic n. (N 3)
al- to capture, conquer
a.-γil (E 6)
a.-tī (N 1)
alp pers. n.
aqinču a. bilgä čigši (N 1)
altmīš sixty (W 6)
altun gold (in geog. n.) (W 5)
altun yiš Altay mountains (W 5)
alumči? tax collector?
a.-si (N 5)
anī acc. of *ol* (E 6)
anta there; then; from that (E 4, 5, 7, 8; S 1, 3, 4, 5)
a. kisrā (S 2, 3, 5)
apa ancestor, forefather (S 4)
a.-m (E 3)
äčü a. (E 3, S 4)
aqinču raider (title)
a. alp bilgä čigši (N 1)
ara between
ekin a. (E 3, W 4)
artat- to destroy, ruin
a.-dīm (E 5)
aruq tired, fatigued (N 1)
as-örüz geog. n. (S 6, W 2)
asra below (E 4, W 3)
aš- to pass over
a.-mīš (E 7)
at name, title
a.-i (S 4)
- a.-iy* (W 1, 1)
a.-in (N 5)
a.-imīn (E 4)
ata- to give a title, to appoint
a.-dī (S 5, 6, 6, 6)
atačuq nickname (lit. 'dear old man')
qayās a. (W 9, N 2)
atan- to be given a title
a.-ip (S 6, 6, W 1)
a.-tīm (E 5)
atliγ cavalry, horsemen
a.-i (N 2)
a.-in (E 2, 6)
ay moon; month (E 7, S 2, W 3)
az ethnic n.
a. sipa tay-sāqin (N 3)
yeti yegirmi a. (N 2)
- baya* a title
bīla b. tarqan (N 2)
īnanču b. tarqan (W 6)
bar exists (S 5)
bar- to go away; to pass by
b.-mīš (E 2, 2, 4)
qaza b.- (E 2)
tükä (tükäp?) b.- (E 2)
bars Tiger (year's name)
b. yilqa (W 1)
basmil ethnic n. (N 4)
baš summit, peak; head
as-örüz b. (W 2, S 6)
qan iduq b. (W 2, S 6)

- b.-i* (G 2, W 6, 6, 6, 7, 7, 7, 7, 8, N 2, 6)
b.-inta (W 1)
beş yüz b.-i (W 6, 6)
bîñ b.-i (W 7, 7)
iç buyruq b.-i (W 6)
turpaq b.-i (N 2)
yüz b.-i (W 7)
bayırqu ethnic n.
b. tarduş (N 6)
toquz b. (N 4)
bäg (?) bey, lord (S 3)
b.-lär (W 7, 7)
bägzäkär pers. n.
b. çigši bila baya tarqan (N 2)
bälgü sign, mark, *tamqa*
b.-ümin (W 2)
bitig b. (W 2)
bän I (used copulatively)
qonar köçär b. (W 4)
ber- to give
b.-ür (W 4)
iş küç b.- (W 4)
bärsil ethnic n. (E 2)
beş five
b. bîñ (W 7)
b. yüz (W 6, 6)
beşinç fifth
b. ay (S 2)
bila Buyla (a high title)
b. baya tarqan (N 2)
bîñ thousand
b. başi (W 7, 7)
beş b. är başi (W 7)
[b]i[η] säñüt (S 4)
bîña a military unit; head of such a unit, commander (E 6, W 9, 9, N 2)
säñüt b. (N 2)
tuyqun uluy tarqan buquy b. (W 8)
biçin Monkey (year's name)
b. yiliqa (S 1)
bilgä a title (wise, able)
b. qayan (S 6, W 1)
b. qanım (W 6)
b. qulluy tarqan (N 5)
b. tarduş uluy b. yabyu (N 3)
b. tölis uluy b. çad (N 4)
b. tay-säñün (W 6)
aqinçu alp b. çigši (N 1)
qulluy b. säñün (N 5)
biligä variant of *bilgä*
b. tarqan qulluy (N 6)
b. säñün uzal öñ erkin (N 6)
biti- to inscribe, write
b.-dükdä (N 2)
b.-gmä (N 5)
bitig inscription, writing
b.-imin (W 2)
b. bälgü (W 2)
bir one
b. tümän (N 1)
birigärü south, southern
b. uçı (W 5)
bodun tribes, people
bir tümän b. (N 1)
bunça b. (N 3, 4)
oyuz b. (N 1)
qara b. (S 4, 5, 5)
-daqı b. (W 3, 3, 4)
b.-i (E 2, W 6, 8, 9, N 2, 3, 3, 4, 4)
b.-qa (E 7)
b.-qi (W 5)
b.-uy (E 8, N 5)
bol- to become, be created
b.-miş (W 1, 6, 6, S 6)
b.-ti (E 8, 9), *b.-[ti]* (W 4)
qan b.- (E 9)
täñridä b.- (W 1, 6, S 6)
yog b.- (E 8, W 4)
bu this (acc.)
b. bitidükdä (N 2)
bulya- to disturb order
b.-dim (E 5)
b.- artat- (E 5)
buluñ corner, quarter
b.-daqı (W 4)
bumin pers. n.
b. qayan (E 1)
bunça this many
b. bodun (N 3, 4, 5)
bunı this (acc.)
b. bitigmä (N 5)
bunta here (S 6, W 2, 2, 2)
buquy a title
tuyqun uluy tarqan b. bîña (W 8)
buryu geog. n. (river) (W 4)
buyruq a title (commander) (N 2)
iç b. başi (W 6)
toquz b. (S 4)

- uluy b.* (W 6)
b.-i (N 3, 4)
bülük pers. n.
yayım b. (W 4)
igdir bül[ük] (S 3)
- čabiš* pers. n.
č. sänün (N 4)
čad a title, *šad*
bilgä tölis uluy bilgä č. (N 4)
č. bodunı (N 4)
čit fence, stockade (W 2)
č. toqıt- (W 2)
čigši a title (< Chin. *ts'yek syi*)
aqınču alp bilgä č. (N 1)
bägzakär č. bila baya tarqan (N
qutluy č. (N 1)
- äbdi* (?), *ebdi* (?) ethnic n. (E 2)
äbir- (?) to govern (?), rule (?)
ä. ti[di?] (S 5)
äčü ancestor, forefather (S 4)
ä.-m (E 3)
ä. apa (E 3, S 4)
ädä ethnic n. (N 2, 3)
eki two (E 2)
e. yıl (W 1)
e. yur (K 5, 5)
e. yüz (E 1)
e.-n ara (E 3, W 4)
el people, land, state
e.-i (S 5, E 3, 3)
e.-ig (K 1)
e.-imin (W 3)
e.-in (E 5)
ötükän e.-i (E 3, S 5)
tägräs e.-i (E 3)
türük e.-in (E 5)
e. törü (W 3)
el-bilgä Katun's title
e. qatun (S 6, W 1)
el-etmiş Kagan's title
e. bilgä qayan (S 6, W 1)
e. bilgä qanım (W 6)
är man, men, soldier(s)
beš biñ ä. baši (W 7)
toquz yüz ä. baši (W 8)
är- to be
ä.-miş (S 5)
- ärän* men, soldiers
külüg ä. (W 7, 7)
erkin a title
uzal öñ e. (N 6)
et- to organize
e.-miş (S 6, W 1, 6)
el e.- (S 6, W 1, 6)
etin- to organize for oneself
e.-tim (W 3)
el törü e.- (W 3)
etit- to have built, established
e.-dim (S 6)
- üduq* holy, sacred (in geog. n.)
ü. baš (S 6, W 2)
ülya valley, river side
ü.-m (W 4, 5)
ü. tariylay (W 4)
üč ü. (W 5)
ünanču a title
ü. baya tarqan (W 6)
öz ü. (W 6, 6)
ışbara a title (< Skr. *išvara* «lord»)
ü. sänün yaylaqar (W 7)
ışbaras pl. of *ışbara*
tarduš ü. (W 7)
it Dog (year's name)
ü. yılıqa (S 3)
üč interior, private, belonging to the
 court
ü. buyruq baši (W 6)
ü. ülyam (W 5)
üçgär- to subjugate
ü.-ip (S 3)
ü.-tim (E 8)
üçräki belonging to the court
ü. bodunı (W 6)
igdir ethnic n.
ü. bül[ük] (S 3)
igit- to feed, nourish
ü.-tük üčün (W 3)
iligärü forward, east, eastern
ü. üči (W 5)
ir- to follow, pursue
ü.-tim (E 7)
ış work, service
ü. küč ber- (W 4)
isig (?) pers. n. (N 3)
- kedin* back, west, western

- k. uči* (W 5, 5)
k. učinta (W 1)
k.-in (S 6)
k.-intă (W 2)
käl- to come
k.-ti (S 2)
kir- to enter, submit
k.-ti (S 4)
kisrä backward, in west; after
k. ay tuysuqdaqı (W 3)
anta k. (S 2, 3, 5)
köç- to nomadize
k.-är bän (W 4)
qon- k.- (W 4)
kögmän Tannu-Tuva mountains
kidin uči k. (W 5)
kök blue
k. täñri (E 4, W 3)
költ[i?] geog. n. (W 5)
kömür geog. n. (mountain)
k. tayda (E 7)
küč power, strength; powerful (S 5)
k. qara bodun (S 5)
iš k. ber- (W 4)
kügür geog. n.
k.-dä (E 7)
külüg famous
k. ärän (W 7, 7)
külüg pers. n.
k. oñi (W 6)
kün sun
k. tuysuqdaqı (W 3)
künlük a period of a day
tümän k. (W 2)
künüy geog. n. (river) (W 5)
küsgü Rat (year's name)
k. yiliqa (S 5)
layzın Swine (year's name)
l. yilqa (S 4)
oγul, oγıl son
o.-i (W 7, 7, N 3, 3)
oγuz ethnic n.
o. bodun (N 1)
ol that
o. eki yur (N 5)
o. yerimin subumın (W 4)
olur- to succeed to the throne, to reign, rule
o.-miş (E 1, 1, 3)
o.- <miş> (E 4)
on ten
säkiz o. yıl (E 3)
on-oq The On-Oks, Western Turks
o.-qa (S 3)
oñi pers. n. (?)
o. tarqan süy (?) (W 5)
oñi a title (W 6, 6)
külüg o. (W 6)
orqun Orkhon river
o. ügüzdä (E 3)
ortu middle, center
o. sinta (S 6, W 2)
otuz thirty
säkiz o. (E 5)
ozmiş pers. n.
o. tigin (E 6, 9)
öl- to die, perish
[ö]lt[i] (S 4)
ön fore, front- (in title)
ö. erkin (N 6)
öñdün front, east
ö.-i (W 5)
öñrä in front, in east
ö. kün tuysuqdaqı (W 3)
öñüz (cf. *as-öñüz*)
örgin throne, tent of a kagan
ö. etit- (S 6)
ö. yaratıt- (W 2)
ötükän geog. n. (Ötüken) (S 6, W 1, 2, 5, 5)
ö. eli (E 3, S 5)
ötün- to ask for, request, pray
ö.-ti (S 4)
öz private (in title)
ö. inanču (W 6)
ulu ö. inanču (W 6)
qadır (qadar?) ethnic n. (E 2)
qayan kagan (S 5, 6, W 1)
bumın q. (E 1)
el-etmiş q. (S 6, W 1)
yolluy q. (E 1)
qayanyı belonging to the kagan
yayı bodunqı q. (W 5)
qayas pers. n.
q. atačuq (W 9, N 2)
qalıš- to rebel, rise in revolt
q.-dä (S 2)

- qan* khan, ruler (E 9, N 1)
q. iduq baš (S 6, W 2)
q.-im (S 4, W 6, N 1, 2, 3, 4)
q.-ima (N 2)
q.-in (E 8, S 1)
q.-qa (S 4)
qaŋ father
q.-im (S 4)
qañuy geog. n. (Hanuy river) (W 5)
qara black; common, ordinary
q. bodun (S 4, 5, 5)
q. qum (E 7)
q. sub (S 5)
qara qum geog. n. (E 7)
qara sub geog. n. (S 5)
qaraya geog. n. (river) (W 4)
qarluq ethnic n.
üč q. (S 3, 4, N 3)
qasar ethnic n. (E 2)
qatun katun, kaga's wife *el-bilgä q.*
(S 6, W 1)
qay ethnic n. (N 3, 4)
qaz- to leave the tribe, to free one-
self (?)
q.-a bar- (E 2)
qazyan- to win, gain
q.-ti (N 1)
qon- to settle down, to camp
q.-ar (W 4)
q.- köč- (W 4)
qoñ Sheep (year's name)
q. yiliqa (E 9)
qum sand (in geog. n.)
qara q. (E 7)
qurıya in back, in west (S 3)
qutluq pers. n.
q. bilgä sänün (N 5)
q. čigši (N 1)
q. tarqan sänün (N 5)
qutluq a title
bilgä tarqan q. (N 6)
q.-i (N 3, 3, 4, 4)
quz northern part of a mountain
q.-i (W 5)
- sanč-* to stab, thrust
s.-dim (S 1, 3)
saqin- to think
s.-ip (S 3)
yablaq s.- (S 3)
- säbin* (*säbän?*) geog. n. (W 4)
säkiz eight
s. on (E 3)
s. otuz (E 5)
s. säläŋä (W 4)
sänün general (< Chin. *tsiang-kün*)
cabis s. (N 4)
isbara s. ya laqar (W 7)
bilgä qutluq tarqan s. (N 5)
biligä s. uzal öŋ erkin (N 6)
qutluq bilgä s. (N 5)
qutluq tarqan s. (N 5)
tay s. (W 6, N 3)
sänüt pl. of *sänün*
s. bñqa (N 2)
[b]i[ŋ] s. (S 4)
sipa pers. n.
az s. tay sänün (N 3)
sin tomb, grave (< Chin. *ts'in*) (S 5)
singläg cemetery
s.-dä (S 5)
siz you
s.-dä (S 5, 5)
soydaq Sogdian, Sogdiana
s. baši (N 6)
sub water, river (S 5, W 4)
s.-umın (W 4)
qara s. (S 5)
yer s. (W 4)
sünüş- to fight
s.-düm (S 1, 3)
süy geog. n.
onyi tarqan s. (W 5)
- tabyač* China, Northern China
t. soydaq baši (N 6)
tay mountain
t.-da (E 7)
kömür t. (E 7)
taqıyu Hen, Fowl (year's name)
t. yiliqa (S 2)
tarduš Western part of the Uygur
Empire
t. bäglär oylı (W 7)
t. biligä tarqan qutluq (N 6)
t. išbaras (W 7)
t. külüg ärän (W 7)
bilgä t. uluy bilgä yabıyu (N 3)
tarıylay cultivation
t.-im (W 4)

- ilya t.* (W 4)
tarqan a title
bila baya t. (N 2)
bilgä qutluy t. (N 5)
biligä t. qutluy (N 6)
inanču baya t. (W 6)
onyi t. süy (W 5)
qutluy t. säñün (N 5)
tuyqun uluy t. (W 8)
taş stone
t.-qa (W 3, 3)
tatar ethnic n.
toquz t. (S 4, N 2, 4)
tay-säñün great general (< Chin. *ta-tsiang-kün*)
az sipa t. (N 3)
toquz bolmiş bilgä t. (W 6)
te- to say
t.-di (E 6, 6, S 5)
t.-mis (S 5)
täg like
tikim t. (N 1)
tägräs geog. n.
t. eli (E 3)
tälädü (täldü?) geog. n. (river) (W 4)
täñri sky, heaven, God; heavenly
t. qanım (N 2)
kök t. (E 4, W 3)
t.-dä (S 6, W 1, 6)
t.-m (N 1, 3, 4)
töz geog. n. (Tes river)
t. baši (W 5)
t. bašinta (W 1)
töz- to run away, flee
t.-ä (S 3)
t.-ä bar- (S 3)
ti- to say (cf. *te-*)
ti[di?] (N 5)
tigin prince
ozmiş t. (E 6, 9)
tigit pl. of *tigin*
t.-imin (N 2)
tikim (?) seam
t. täg (N 1)
toñra ethnic n. (Tongra)
t. ädä (N 2, 3)
toqit- to have inscribed; to have constructed, built
t.-dim (W 2, 3)
bitig bälgä t.- (W 3)
- čät t.-* (W 2)
toqtar- to have beaten
t.-tim (E 8)
toquz nine
t. bayırqu (N 4)
t. buyruq (S 4)
t. tatar (S 4, N 2, 4)
t. yüz (W 8)
toquz-bolmiş pers. n.
t. bilgä tay-säñün (W 6)
tölis Eastern part of the Uygur Empire
t. bäglär (W 7)
t. külüg ärän (W 7)
tört four
t. bulundaqı (W 4)
t. yegirmi (E 7)
törü state law, traditional law
t.-min (W 3)
el t. (W 3)
tuyla (tuyula?) Tola (*Tuul*) river
orqun t. (W 4)
tuyluy having banners, bannered
üç t. türük bodunqa (E 7)
tuyşuq rising (direction), east
t.-daqı (W 3, 3)
ay t. (W 3)
kün t. (W 3)
tulqu single-piece
t. taşqa (W 3)
tur- to stand up
t.-uyın (S 4, 5)
turyaq watching post (N 2)
t. baši (N 2)
üç yüz t. (N 2)
t. turut- (N 2)
turut- to have constructed
t.-di (N 2)
tut- to capture; to hold
t.-di (N 1)
t.-dum (S 2)
tuyqun pers. n.
t. uluy tarqan buquy bına (W 8)
tükä- to finish, to come to an end
t.-p (?) (E 2)
t.-p bar- (E 2)
tümän ten thousand
t. күнлик (W 2)
bir t. bodun (N 1)
türük ethnic n. (Turk)

- t. bodunuy* (E 8)
t. bodunqa (E 7)
t. elin (E 5)
üč tuyluy t. bodun (E 7)
- uč* end
u.-i (W 5, 5, 5, 5)
u.-inta (W 1)
uč- to fly, disappear
u.-[mīšʔ] (E 2)
udaryan geog. n.
u.-ta (E 6)
uduryan (*udaryan?*) pers. n.
qutluyi u. (N 4)
ulu Dragon (year's name) (< Chin.
lung)
u. yiliqa (W 2)
uluy big, great, grand
u. bilgä cad (N 4)
u. bilgä yabyu (N 3)
u. buyruq (W 6)
u. öz inanču (W 6)
u. tarqan (W 8)
uluy pers. n. (?)
yüz baši u. uruḡu (W 7)
ur(u)ḡu a title (W 7)
uluy u. (W 7)
urušu (*uršu?*) and (?) (N 5)
uygur ethnic n. (Uygur)
u. bodunī (N 2)
uzal pers. n.
u. öḡ erkin (N 6)
üč three
ü. qayan (E 1)
ü. qarluq (S 3, 4)
ü. tuyluy türük bodunqa (E 7)
ü. yegirmikā (S 2)
üčün for
igittük ü. (W 3)
yarliqaduq ü. (W 3)
ügüz river
ü.-dä (E 3, 7)
orqun ü. (E 3)
yar ü. (E 7)
üzä above
ü. kök täḡri (E 4, W 3)
- yabyu* a title (N 3, 3)
y. ata- (S 5)
yablaq bad
y. saqin- (S 3)
yayī enemy, foe (W 5)
y.-m (W 4)
y. bodunqi (W 5)
yayiz brown, reddish brown
y. yer (E 4, W 3)
yaylaqar pers. n.
išbara sāḡün y. (W 7)
yayma ethnic n. (N 5, 6)
y. alum-čisi (N 5)
y. tabyač soydaq baši (N 6)
yamaš- to join
y.-dī (E 6)
yana again (E 4, 8)
yar geog. n. (river)
y. ügüzdä (E 7)
yarat- to make, create
y.-yima (N 5)
yaratit- to have made, constructed,
 built
y.-dīm (W 1, 2, 3)
bitig bālgü y.- (W 2—3)
čit y.- (W 1)
örḡin y.- (W 2)
yarliqa- to mercy, be graceful
y.-duq (W 3)
yarluqa- to give orders
y.-dī (N 6)
yasi flat
y. tašqa (W 3)
yaš age
y.-ima (E 5)
yatiz ethnic n. (E 2)
yayla- to spend the summer
y.-dīn (W 2, 2)
yaylay summer camping-ground
y.-im (W 5)
yegirmi twenty
y.-kā (E 7, S 2)
tört y. (E 7)
üč y. (S 2)
yeti y. az (N 2)
yer earth, land (E 4)
y.-imin (W 4)
yayiz y. (E 4)
y. sub (W 4)
yeti seven
y. yegirmi (N 2)
yetinč seventh
y. ay (E 7)

- yil* year (E 1, 3, 4, 4, W 1)
y. iqa (E 9, S 1, 2, 3, 5, W 2)
y.-qa (E 5, S 4, W 1, 1)
bars y. (W 1)
bič'in y. (S 1)
it y. (S 3)
küsgü y. (S 5)
layz'in y. (S 4)
qoñ y. (E 9)
taqıyü y. (S 2)
ulu y. (W 2)
yılan y. (E 5, W 1)
yılan Serpent (year's name)
y. yılqa (E 5, W 1)
yilla- to spend the year
y.-dım (S 2)
yilliq a period of a year
bıñ y. (W 2)
yir northern part, north
y.-i (W 5)
yış wooded mountain, mountain
altun y. (W 5)
yol fame, reputation
y.-in (N 5)
at y. (N 5)
yolluy pers. n.
- y. qayan* (E 1)
yoq non-existent
y. bol- (E 8, W 4)
yorı- to march, start a campaign
y.-di (E 6)
y.-dım (E 9, S 1, 2)
y.-yur (E 6)
yur brother-in-law (?)
eki y. (N 5)
ol eki y. (N 5)
yüz hundred
y. başı (N 2)
y. sänüt (N 1)
beş y. (W 6, 6)
eki y. (E 1)
toquz y. (W 8)
üç y. (N 2)
- Inscription on the stone
 tortoise
bökä pers. n. (or nickname?)
bunı this (acc.)
tutam (*tutum?*) pers. n.
yarat- to make, create
y.-iyma

THE *QIṢṢA-I YŪSUF* OF 'ALĪ:
THE FIRST STORY OF JOSEPH IN TURKIC ISLAMIC
LITERATURE

BY

STEVEN L. WEST (Los Angeles)

One of the ancient legends of the Near East which has grasped the imagination of poets throughout the history of Islamic literature is the story of Joseph. Soon after it became an epic poem in Persian literature, it found a place in the developing stages of Turkic Islamic literature where it remained the favorite theme. It was in the disruptive period between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries A. D. that the Turkic peoples coming into the Near East accepted and began to promote Islam as the basis of their future civilization. It is, therefore, appropriate that the first full-length poem to appear in Turkic Islamic literature is 'Alī's *Qīṣṣa-i Yūsuf* (The Story of Joseph) written in A. D. 1233 in Central Asia.

The *Qīṣṣa-i Yūsuf* (abbreviated QY) is an important monument in the history of Turkic literature. Its content ties it to the heart of Islam, but its form ties it to the Turkic people. In this way the poem stands out as one of the best representatives of the meeting of those two worlds. Other long poems on the Joseph story are in *mesnevi* form and lack the Turkic spontaneity that the form of the QY reflects. Other specifically Turkic literature with an Islamic message at this early period, such as the *Dīwān-i Hikmet* of Aḥmad Yasavī, lack the penetrating impact of a single theme in a long form. The QY represents as well as any other Turkic literary work the bringing of the world of Islam to the world of the rapidly converting Turks of Central Asia in the formative period of their Islamic cultural history.

The Qīṣṣa-i Yūsuf and the Koran

While most of the Koran is made up of unconnected stories and episodes, the twelfth sura is noteworthy because of its unity of theme and purpose. «This is the only Sūra of the Qur'ān of any length which deals with the same subject from beginning to end.»¹ This coherence relates to the direct and powerful message it conveys to the Muslim. Yohannan characterizes the Joseph story as «perhaps the only complete and coherent narrative in that inspired but often disjointed scripture.»² He points out its importance for

¹ Arthur Jeffery, *Reader on Islam*, The Hague 1962, p. 53.

² Yohannan, p. 158.

Muslims as a story in which the didactic tone is never lost calling it a «preachment from which the pious hearer may learn the path of righteousness, truth, and obedience.»³ It is even more revealing to view the importance of this Koranic story from the point of view of a Muslim ; Ali characterizes it as «less a narrative than a highly spiritual sermon or allegory explaining the seeming contradictions in life, the enduring nature of virtue in a world full of flux and change, and the marvellous working of God's eternal purpose in His Plan as unfolded to us on the wide canvas of history.»⁴ No other story in the Koran can claim to have such a wide application for the dissemination of values.

There are many direct quotes from the Koran in 'Ali's poem that parallel the chronology of events presented in the Koran. For example, at the appropriate time in the story this Koranic quote of how the brothers explain Joseph's supposed death is inserted: «And the wolf devoured him.»⁵ When Zuleika tells her husband of Joseph's alleged advances toward her she adds: «What is the (fitting) punishment For one who formed An evil design against Thy wife, but prison or a grievous chastisement?»⁶ The amazement of the ladies of Egypt at seeing Joseph is expressed in the Koranic way: «This is none other Than a noble angel!»⁷ When Joseph is faced with the choice of following Zuleika or accepting prison he says: «The prison is more To my liking than that To which they invite me.»⁸ After Joseph's interpretations of the dreams of the baker and the cupbearer he says: «(So) hath been decreed That matter whereof Ye twain do enquire.»⁹ When the cupbearer is released Joseph tells him: «Mention me to thy Lord.»¹⁰ The brothers discover, upon their return to Canaan, that the things they had taken to Egypt to pay for their provisions were returned to them: «This our Stock-in-trade has been returned To us.»¹¹ On another trip to Egypt the brothers reveal Jacob's wish: «O my sons ! go ye And enquire about Joseph.»¹² On this same journey Joseph begins to press the brothers about what they did to him : «Know ye How ye dealt with Joseph.»¹³ When Joseph reveals himself to the brothers they exclaim: «Art thou indeed Joseph?»¹⁴ Joseph's answer is also given from the Koran: «I am Joseph, and this is my brother.»¹⁵

³ Yohannan, p. 159.

⁴ Abdullah Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Qur-an*, New York 1946, p. 548.

⁵ Ali, p. 554 ; and 'Ali, *Qiṣṣa-i Yūsuf* (Dresden manuscript, 1233), p. 12b-1.

⁶ Ali, p. 559 ; and 'Ali, p. 40a-14.

⁷ Ali, p. 561 ; and 'Ali, p. 41b-14.

⁸ Ali, p. 562 ; and 'Ali, p. 42a-8.

⁹ Ali, p. 565 ; and 'Ali, p. 43a-17.

¹⁰ Ali, p. 565 ; and 'Ali, p. 43b-8.

¹¹ Ali, p. 574 ; and 'Ali, p. 58b-6.

¹² Ali, p. 582 ; and 'Ali, p. 68a-11.

¹³ Ali, p. 583 ; and 'Ali, p. 69a-3.

¹⁴ Ali, p. 583 ; and 'Ali, p. 69a-12.

¹⁵ Ali, p. 583 ; and 'Ali, p. 69a-14.

The following quotes used in the QY are directly from the Koran, but the chronological sequence of the Koran is altered in the poem. In the Koran the following passage is directed to the brothers: «Go with this my shirt.»¹⁶ However, in the QY this statement is made to the slave Beşir. The shirt is sent, but in both the Koran and the QY Jacob exclaims: «I do indeed Scent the presence of Joseph»¹⁷ before the shirt actually arrives, and the people around Jacob say: «Truly thou art in Thine old wandering mind.»¹⁸ However, because Beşir conveys the shirt to Jacob and not the brothers, in the QY 'Alī alters the Koranic chronology and presents the following statement of Joseph to his brothers after the two preceding Koranic passages; in the Koran it appears beforehand: «Then come Ye (here) to me together With all your family.»¹⁹ Jacob's death is not present in the Koranic version, but when it occurs in the QY the poet adds these words of Joseph from a non-related Koranic passage: «O my lord! Thou hast Indeed bestowed on me Some power, and taught me Something of the interpretation of dreams and events.»²⁰ A little later in the QY Joseph gives the last part of this verse: «Take Thou my soul (at death) As one submitting to Thy Will (As a Muslim), and unite me With the righteous.»²¹ Finally, in an interesting switch it is Moses, not Muḥammad, at the end of the poem, who gives the famous quote about the nature of the Joseph story: «We do relate unto thee The most beautiful of stories.»²²

These direct quotes from the Koran, placed in the poem at crucial turning points, serve to give a kind of outline to the QY that brings the poem close to the Koranic version. This proximity also reflects the poem's similarity of style with the Koran; the QY is a simple presentation of the Joseph story that is oriented toward content²³ and not to a preoccupation with an elevated style. This closeness to the Koran is a further reflection of the poet's seriousness in presenting to his Turkic listeners an accurate (from the point of view of the Koran) and pious version of the Joseph story for their instruction.

Other Sources

Apart from the outline provided by the Koran, 'Alī relied primarily on Koranic commentaries for the remainder of his poem. As can be seen by a few of the passages above, there are some deviations from the Koran within the

¹⁶ Ali, p. 584; and 'Alī, p. 69b-7.

¹⁷ Ali, p. 585; and 'Alī, p. 70a-13.

¹⁸ Ali, p. 585; and 'Alī, p. 70a-15.

¹⁹ Ali, p. 584; and 'Alī, p. 71a-1.

²⁰ Ali, p. 587; and 'Alī, p. 73b-3&4.

²¹ Ali, p. 587; and 'Alī, p. 73b-6.

²² Ali, p. 550; and 'Alī, p. 75a-12.

²³ Fuad Köprülü, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, Istanbul 1926, p. 277.

poem, and in this 'Alī was guided by the commentaries. Dolu (in agreement with Ertaylan) feels that he drew mainly from the commentaries, histories, and stories of the Koran, adding his own invetions and thoughts.²⁴ 'Alī himself informs us in an unspecified way of his debt to the commentators saying in relation to God prohibiting the free reign of the carnal spirit: «Some commentators on the Koran have said so, it is proof.»²⁵

Other stories from which 'Alī may have borrowed are the popular versions of the Joseph story of that time. One of the most important of these is found in the *Qiṣaṣu'l-Anbiyā*, written in A. D. 1310 by Rabghūzī. This Khwarezmian work is «a rich repertory of the fanciful legends which in Muslim tradition have overgrown the scanty narratives of the Coran, and the quaint and naive language in which they are told must have made it a highly entertaining, as well as edifying, book for Turkish readers.»²⁶ Although it was written almost a century after the QY, it undoubtedly reflects much of the development of the Joseph story that accumulated through folk tradition. The work has remained popular even to the present day.²⁷

The Language of the Qiṣṣa-i Yūsuf

The language of the poem has not been classified definitively. There is no doubt that a mixture of language groups is involved. Most recently Ligeti has shown it to be a Khwarezmian Turkish monument.²⁸ This also fits Bodrogligeti's conclusions about the prosody of the poem. However, it should be pointed out that it may be too early to make any conclusive statements about the nature of the language in question. Being a popular version of the Joseph story, the language is quite close to the vernacular and approaches a spoken dialect of Turkic. In addition, no ancient manuscripts of the poem are available. All of the known manuscripts, the earliest of which date from the seventeenth century, originate from the Kazan-Volga region.²⁹ As Hofman has pointed out, being a popular version, the poem is likely to show significant erosion through the process of modernization as it was copied, since the copyists were not highly educated.³⁰ The orthography is faulty, and words are often introduced

²⁴ Unpublished dissertation (Istanbul 1953) by Halide Dolu, «*Menşe'inden beri Yusuf hikâyesi ve Türk edebiyatındaki versyonları*», p. 186.

²⁵ 'Alī, p. 39b-10.

²⁶ H. F. Hofman, *Turkish Literature. A Bio-bibliographical Survey*, Utrecht 1969, Sec. 3, Pt. 1, V, p. 87.

²⁷ Hofman, p. 87.

²⁸ A. Bodrogligeti, «*On the Prosody of 'Alī's Qiṣṣa-i Yūsuf*»: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XIX (1966), p. 97.

²⁹ Džavad Almaz, «*Kissa-i Yusuf Ali — A Bulgar-Tatar Monument*»: *Trudy XXV Meždunarodnogo Kongressa Vostokovedov* III (1963), p. 385.

³⁰ Hofman, II, p. 66.

or omitted with apparent disregard for any ideal metric form. Thus, it may be some time before a definitive linguistic classification can be made.

Form of the Qıssa-i Yūsuf

The poetic form of the QY reveals a spontaneous and uniquely Turkic expression of one of the fundamental themes in Islamic literature. Unlike the later Joseph poems which borrow heavily from Persian models, it is tied to the first pre-Islamic Turkic poetic forms.³¹ Displaying similarities with the Orkhon inscriptions as well as with Uighur literature, the QY links up with the pre-Islamic heritage in two major respects: syllabic meter and the use of quatrains. Syllabic meter, which in the case of the QY and the Yasavī tradition should be called more precisely accentual meter,³² is the «most tenacious element of the pre-Islamic heritage.»³³ The *aaab* rhyme pattern found in the quatrains of 'Alī's poem were common in pre-Islamic poetry.³⁴

The QY specifically ties in with the Yasavī literary tradition and in every respect conforms to the form found in Yasavī's *Dīwān-i Hikmet*. This is the powerful tradition to which belong 'Alī, Yūnus Emre, to a degree, and even Maḥdūm Qulī.³⁵ It is genuinely Islamic, but decisively Turkic in that it makes use primarily of pre-Islamic forms, and the Persian influence is minimal. So convinced is Köprülü of the purely Turkic orientation of the QY that he states that the Yasavī influence is the only literary influence in the poem.³⁶ In every way it conforms: syllabic meter, the use of twelve syllables per line divided into three equal sections with four syllables each, the use of half rhyme, the use of quatrains throughout the work, and the use of the *redif* rhyme pattern at the end of every fourth line.³⁷

Although the style of the QY cannot be considered a high artistic style, its very simplicity and even crudeness reflect the totally unpretentious and spontaneous tone of the poem. High style is certainly not an important goal of the poet, but naturalness and simplicity of expression are. When the idiosyncrasies of a certain thought require deviation from an ideal of twelve syllables per line, the poet does not hesitate to let them range from nine to fifteen. This is specifically a folk style of poetry in which erudition gives way to a free, musical expression of simple thought. The *redif* rhyme pattern at the end

³¹ Fahir İz, *Eski Türk Edebiyatında Nazım*, Istanbul 1966—67, p. 536.

³² Bodroglıgeti, p. 88.

³³ Alessio Bombaci, «*The Turkic Literatures. Introductory Notes on the History and Style: Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta II* (1965), p. XXVI.

³⁴ Bombaci, p. XXII.

³⁵ P. N. Boratav, «*L'Épopée et la 'hikâye'*»: *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta II* (1965), p. 12.

³⁶ Fuad Köprülü, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, Istanbul 1926, p. 277.

³⁷ Köprülü, p. 277.

of each fourth line is inconsistent, and even the rhyme of the three first lines of each quatrain is often weak. Such irregularities are a peculiarity of the old Turkic poetry, and by using such a style 'Alī has created a folk version of the Joseph story in which the orientation is more toward the message of the poem rather than toward its style.

In terms of genre the QY belongs to the mystic folk literature which originates with Aḥmad Yasavī. 'Alī's poem is a *destan*³⁸ or epic poem, and this gives a new dimension to this genre. It is an important layer of Turkic literature which continues to develop in the following centuries alongside secular folk literature and classical literature.³⁹ The inclusion of the romantic theme of Joseph and Zuleika (just as with the themes of Leilā and Majnūn, and Farhād and Shīrīn) into mystic folk literature has given the genre a vitality which has lasted up to the present day.⁴⁰

From beginning to end the poem makes use of quatrains. However, this is not the Persian form of quatrain though 'Alī does use the term *rubai* at the end of his poem to describe his form of poetry.⁴¹ There is nothing in common with the classical Persian and Turkish *rubais*; 'Alī's designation of *rubai* simply means four lined stanzas⁴² or *dörtlüks* as they are properly called in Turkish. Throughout the poem at the end of every fourth line appears the word *emdi* (meaning «now»). Each line of the quatrain is a complete thought, in effect a grammatically completed sentence. Often one line may repeat the meaning of another, or sometimes all four lines say essentially the same thing. In this respect the quatrains of the QY make use of a «rhythmico-syntactic parallelism,»⁴³ the net effect of which is to make each quatrain a complete unit of aesthetic impact. Just as each line of the quatrain is a complete thought, on a larger scale each quatrain is a self-contained area of thought. The recitation of a few quatrains with this pattern in mind gives a powerful effect in supporting the message.

The ideal structure for each line of a quatrain is the *onikili* pattern (a line of twelve syllables) with each line divided into three sections having four syllables each. This is one of the most common patterns used in early Turkic poetry.⁴⁴ It is found not only in Aḥmad Yasavī's poetry but also in the *Diwān*

³⁸ Fuad Köprülü, *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar*, Istanbul 1966, [first published in 1919], p. 143.

³⁹ Fahir İz, «Aḥmad Yasavī»: *Encyclopaedia of Islam* II, Leiden 1960 p. 299.

⁴⁰ Victor Zhirmunsky (with Nora K. Chadwick), *Oral Epics of Central Asia*, Cambridge, England 1969, p. 316.

⁴¹ 'Alī, *Qiṣṣa-i Yūsuf* (Dresden manuscript, 1233), p. 76a—3.

⁴² Bodrogligeti, p. 80.

⁴³ Zhirmunsky, p. 337.

⁴⁴ Fuad Köprülü, *Edebiyat Araştırmaları*, Ankara 1966 [first published after 1915], p. 127.

Luġāt at-Turk written by Mahmūd of Kāşġar.⁴⁵ This is a purely Turkic form, and as such it reflects 'Alī's conscious desire to bring the Joseph story to his people in a form that they knew and loved.⁴⁶

However, there are many deviations from this ideal pattern. The number of syllables per line can be as few as nine or as many as fifteen. Brockelmann's attempt to make such deviations conform to the ideal of twelve per line by a series of rules for reading specific words⁴⁷ simply cannot account for the many exceptions. The answer for the deviations is to be found in Bodrogligeti's analysis. Since the accentual system at work in the QY does not require an exact number of syllables per line, the deviations are a poetic device to alter the mood of the poem. Most deviations have fewer than twelve syllables, and these cases are used to produce a slower recitation for invocations, for the introduction of direct discourse, and for deliberate speeches. The rarer deviations involving more syllables per line result in a speeding up of the narration.⁴⁸

The QY makes use of an accentual system of prosody. While this system is syllabic and has no relationship at all to quantitative meter, the deviations in the lines mentioned above make it conform to a line of four beats, each with a fixed amount of time. The words of a line make up the first three of these four beats while the fourth is a full pause.⁴⁹ Each of the first three beats receives an accent which organizes the time structure of each group of syllables regardless of how many syllables are involved (the ideal would be four syllables per accent). By this system there is no need to conform to an exact number of syllables per line, and yet a definite rhythm can be maintained. This pattern enhances the simplicity and openness of style of the QY.

The accentual meter of the QY is another reason to include it in the purely Turkic pre-Islamic tradition of writing poetry. The accentual system of prosody can be seen as early as the Orkhon inscriptions and also appears in some songs of Uighur literature. However, «the most convincing examples of accentual prosody» are to be found in the *Dīwān-i Hikmet* of Aḥmad Yasavī.⁵⁰ Further examples are seen in Kāşġarī's work and even in a folk song which appears in the margin of Sayf-i Sarāyī's *Gūlistān bi'ttūrki*.⁵¹

⁴⁵ Alessio Bombaci, *Histoire de la littérature turque*, Paris 1968, p. 71.

⁴⁶ Nihad S. Banarlı, *Resimli Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi: Destanlar Devrinden Zamanımıza Kadar*, İstanbul 1971, p. 280.

⁴⁷ Carl Brockelmann, «'Alī's Qışşā-i Jūsuf, der Älteste Vorläufer der Osmanischen Literatur»: *Abhandlungen der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, No. 5 (1917), pp. 6–8.

⁴⁸ Bodrogligeti, pp. 90–91.

⁴⁹ Bodrogligeti, p. 89.

⁵⁰ Bodrogligeti, p. 88.

⁵¹ Bodrogligeti, p. 96.

The rhyme scheme of the QY (*aaab, cccb, dddb*, etc. with a *redif* pattern at the end of every fourth line) was also popular in pre-Islamic Turkic poetry. It appears in the folkloric fragments found in the *Dīwān Luġāt at-Turk* written by Maḥmūd of Kāšgar,⁵² and it is the norm in Yasavī's quatrains,⁵³ further evidence that identification of 'Alī's work with the pre-Islamic Turkic forms is unmistakable. It displays internal subrhyme as well, appearing, at times, at the caesuras which occur twice in a given line (at the end of the fourth syllable and at the end of the eighth syllable).⁵⁴

The QY also displays alliteration and assonance. Alliteration occurs frequently, appearing within a line or extending to more than one line. It usually appears on a strong beat. Assonance is not often seen in the poem.⁵⁵

Poetry was an important means of imparting the tenets of Islam. This form helped to teach the message of the Joseph story for uneducated Turks much more effectively than prose could have. As Rice has suggested, even illiterate peasants were active reciters of verse, and «if the Šūfi made such abundant use of poetry, it was because he knew how sensitive were the peoples of eastern Islamic countries to the influence of a poetical medium.»⁵⁶ 'Alī created a powerful formula: he was the first to put a beloved theme — the Joseph story — into a popular poetic form, pre-Islamic *dörtlüks*.

Primary Sources

Thirty-five manuscripts of the *Qiṣṣa-i Yūsuf* are known to exist. Only three are known in Western Europe (those of Dresden, Berlin, and Edinburgh). The other thirty-two are all in the Soviet Union; our information concerning them is based on Almaz's article. He speaks of thirteen manuscripts in Kazan state libraries, nine in libraries of Leningrad, five in private possession in Kazan, and five more gathered by himself from Tatar villages in Tataria and Bashkiria. All thirtyfive manuscripts were copied by Tatar scribes; Almaz speaks for all but the Edinburgh, but that also was prepared by a Tatar copyist.⁵⁷ Almaz states that most of the thirty-four manuscripts he knows of (including the Berlin and the Dresden which are discussed below) are from the nineteenth century while the earliest stems from the seventeenth century. He has examined eleven of the manuscripts.⁵⁸

⁵² Thomas G. Winner, *The Oral Art and Literature of the Kazakhs of Russian Central Asia*, Durham, N. C., p. 58.

⁵³ E. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry* I, London 1900, p. 72.

⁵⁴ Bodrogligeti, pp. 92—93.

⁵⁵ Bodrogligeti, p. 93.

⁵⁶ Cyprian Rice, *The Persian Sūfis*, London 1964, p. 29.

⁵⁷ John R. Walsh, «*The Turkish Manuscripts in New College, Edinburgh*»: *Oriens* XII (1959), p. 173.

⁵⁸ Almaz, pp. 382—385.

The Dresden Manuscript

Only three of the manuscripts of the QY (Dresden, Berlin, and Edinburgh) can be described with certainty. Of these the Dresden (abbreviated as : D) is the oldest, and for this reason I have chosen it as the basis for a critical edition. Fleischer says that the Dresden manuscript seemed old to him, except for the first several pages.⁵⁹ I presume that he would have been surprised to discover how recent it actually is (it was copied only seventy-four years before his manuscript catalog was written). Houtsma is correct in assessing the Dresden manuscript as older than the Berlin, and he recognizes the possible recent dating of both manuscripts when he states that perhaps both are considerably younger than they appear.⁶⁰

In the summer of 1973 I was able to examine both the Dresden and the Berlin manuscripts in Berlin. The librarians of the Orientalische Abteilung of the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek of East Berlin very kindly had the Dresden manuscript sent to East Berlin for my examination. I found watermarks on the oldest part of the manuscript (all of it after the first eleven leaves) consisting of three letters in Russian together with a design of a bear shouldering a halberd, as shown on p. 76. This is a photocopy of the same watermark as it appears in Uchastkina.⁶¹ The three letters are the initials of the manufacturer of the paper: *Yaroslavskaja Manufaktura Zatrapeznova*.⁶² The use date of paper having this watermark is A. D. 1757.⁶³ The paper of most of the Dresden manuscript was manufactured in the Yaroslavl' Large Mill which was in use from 1727 to 1845 and was located in the province of Yaroslavl' northeast of Moscow.⁶⁴

The first eleven leaves of the Dresden manuscript are of newer paper, and their watermark is a date: «1779». Since page 12b of the Dresden manuscript has the word «on» written in the right margin and Dresden 13b has «on bir» in the right margin, it appears that these first eleven leaves of paper are a replacement for the first nine leaves of the original manuscript. The original leaves were apparently used so much by 1779 that they had to be replaced with new paper. The leaves after the newer ones are themselves badly worn. The first eleven leaves have sixteen lines of text each while the remainder of the manuscript has seventeen lines per page. Despite the replacement of paper,

⁵⁹ Henricus Orthobius Fleischer, *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Orientalium Bibliothecae Regiae Dresdensis*, Leipzig 1831, p. 72.

⁶⁰ M. Th. Houtsma, «Ein alttürkisches Gedicht»: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* XLIII (1889), p. 71.

⁶¹ Zoya V. Uchastkina, *A History of Russian Hand Paper-Mills and their Watermarks*, ed. J. S. G. Simmons, Hilversum, Holland 1962, Plate 9, No. 24.

⁶² Uchastkina, p. 272.

⁶³ Uchastkina, p. 199.

⁶⁴ Uchastkina, p. 149.



the handwriting appears to be the same before and after the replacement. All the paper has a glaze, but it is more noticeable on the first eleven leaves. Naturally the first leaves are in much better condition than the rest of the manuscript, and they also exhibit a lighter colour.

The Dresden manuscript has a wooden binding that seems to be original. It is made of rough hewn wood about a quarter of an inch thick ; the front and back pieces are connected with leather. The binding has completely separated from the paper of the manuscript, but some of the connecting leather still clings to the heavy cloth inner binding.⁶⁵ Further description of this manuscript can be found in Fleischer and Houtsma.⁶⁶

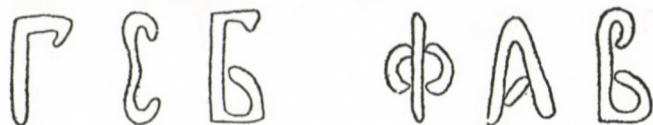
Thus, it is clear from my examination of the Dresden manuscript that it was copied in A. D. 1757, or very shortly thereafter, since the first part of the manuscript was so badly worn that by 1779 replacement was necessary.

The Berlin Manuscript

The Berlin manuscript (abbreviated as : B) was copied in A. D. 1779 or shortly thereafter. I found a watermark in this manuscript consisting of six

⁶⁵ Fleischer, p. 72.

⁶⁶ Houtsma, pp. 69–77.



letters in two groups of three. It appears as shown above. This is a photocopy of the same watermark as it appears in Uchastkina.⁶⁷ The six letters stand for : *Gubernija Simbirskaja Bumažnaya Fabrika Andreja Voroncova*. The use date of paper having this watermark is A. D. 1779.⁶⁸ This paper was manufactured at «The River Tal' Mill» which was in use between 1728 and 1855,⁶⁹ and was located in Karsun near Simbirsk, southwest of Kazan.⁷⁰

As with the Dresden manuscript, this one was very well used, but it was not quite as badly worn as the Dresden since the first pages still remain. However, the first eight leaves of the Berlin are badly torn and have smudgy corners ; the rest is also worn but not as badly. The Berlin manuscript has a good leather binding that is more recent than the original. The paper is quite thick and tough, has a glaze and is a dirty cream colour. Several pages have patches to repair tears ; writing is evident under a few of them. Further description of this manuscript can be found in Pertsch⁷¹ and Houtsma.⁷²

The Edinburgh Manuscript

Although I have not seen the Edinburgh manuscript (abbreviated as : E), I do have a microfilm of it, and it has been described by Walsh⁷³. It was copied in Astrakhan in 1823.

The Leningrad Manuscripts

There are four manuscripts of the QY located in the Institute of Oriental Studies in Leningrad ; they are abbreviated here as : L1, L2, L3, and L4. They are listed in a review of the Turkic manuscripts in this institute.⁷⁴ All of them were copied in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries.⁷⁵ L1 and L2 are complete though they are very poorly copied. They give us no indication of who the

⁶⁷ Uchastkina, Plate 156, No. 311.

⁶⁸ Uchastkina, p. 247.

⁶⁹ Uchastkina, p. 138.

⁷⁰ Uchastkina, p. 44.

⁷¹ Wilhelm Pertsch, *Verzeichnis der türkischen Handschriften*, Berlin 1889, pp. 359—360.

⁷² Houtsma, pp. 69—77.

⁷³ Walsh, pp. 171—173.

⁷⁴ L. V. Dmitrieva, «*Tjurkskie rukopisi instituta vostokovedenija AN SSSR*» : *Problemy vostokovedenija IV* (1959), pp. 136—146.

⁷⁵ Hofman, II, p. 67.

copyist was or of when they were copied. L3 contains many lacunae, one of which is the end of the poem. All together only about two thirds of the poem appears in this manuscript. L4 is in such bad shape that it is almost unreadable. It contains only a short excerpt from the first half of the poem.

The Kazan Edition

Starting in 1839 the *Qiṣṣa-i Yūsuf* was published in Kazan (this edition is abbreviated as : K) from a copy made in 1824 by the poet «Utyz Imáni» who shortened some ancient copy of the poem by 980 lines «in order to avoid wordiness». Between 1839 and 1917 the poem was republished seventy-nine times from the Imáni copy.⁷⁶ From among these seventy-nine publications, Dorn has a record of seventeen publications that occurred between 1839 and 1864 with their dates of publication.⁷⁷

Brockelmann is convinced that the Berlin and Dresden manuscripts were copied from the Kazan edition and that they exhibit later additions that do not belong to the original poem. As a result, he presents the Kazan edition as a more authentic version of the poem.⁷⁸ However, he was not aware of how the Kazan edition came about. As can be seen from the dating of the Berlin and Dresden manuscripts, these last two are much older than the Kazan and very likely were close to the «ancient copy» from which Imáni prepared the basis of the Kazan edition.

Microfilms of these seven manuscripts and the Kazan edition are in my possession, and they serve as the basis for the preparation of a critical edition of the QY. They are ranked in the following order of importance and usefulness : D B E L1 L2 L3 K L4.

The Epilogue of the Qiṣṣa-i Yūsuf

The following text is a corrected version of the epilogue of the *Qiṣṣa-i Yūsuf* with an English translation. This part of the poem is presented because it reveals some of the teaching goals the poet has in mind in the writing and reciting of the poem. The Dresden manuscript serves as the basis for the transcription. Wherever this manuscript has a mistake, an omission, or an obscure word in a given line, the other manuscripts are used to fill out the transcribed line of poetry.

⁷⁶ Almaz, p. 385.

⁷⁷ B. Dorn, «*Chronologisches Verzeichniss der seit dem Jahre 1801 bis 1866 in Kasan gedruckten arabischen, türkischen, tatarischen und persischen Werke, als Katalog der in dem asiatischen Museum befindlichen Schriften der Art*» : *Bulletin de l'académie impériale des sciences de St.-Petersbourg* XI (1867), pp. 314–339.

⁷⁸ Brockelmann, p. 5.

*yūsuf savçî qişşasîn qıldıq 'iyān
'arāb 'acām dil yetdikçe qıldıq bāyān
oqumağa dañlamağa oldi āsān⁷⁹
oquyanlar du'ā ilā aņsun⁸⁰ emdi*

We have made known the story of the Prophet Joseph
We have expressed it as well as in the Arabic and Persian languages
It is easy to recite and to listen to
May the reciters remember it with a prayer.

*yūsuf savçî qişşasîn⁸¹ 'āqil⁸² uqur
dañladuqça⁸³ kōngli ayırur⁸⁴ yası aqar
'a'zāsīndan yazuqları⁸⁵ saçılı⁸⁶ çiqar
rahīm aña rahmāt rōzī qıla emdi*

A wise person will understand the story of the Prophet Joseph
When one listens [to it] his heart will separate and his tears will flow
His sins will scatter and leave through his limbs
May God the All-Merciful grant him compassion.

*fażlı⁸⁷ kişi uşbu nazmî söylār bolsa
'āqil kişi qulaq dutub dīnglār⁸⁸ olsa
qārī⁸⁹ sāmī' bu müznibā du'ā qılsa
mucīb anı müstacāb qıla emdi*

If a person of learning recites this poem
Anf if a person of wisdom lends an ear and listens
And if reciter and listener pray for (me) this sinner
So may God who answers prayers accept it (the prayer).

*oquyanlar dāñglāyānlār du'ā qıla
bu za'if du'ā umar hāliq bilür*

⁷⁹ D : *bāyān* ; all other mss. : *āsān*.

⁸⁰ E and L2 : *ōgsün* (to praise).

⁸¹ D : *hikmätini*.

⁸² D : *'aqil* ; B, E, and L1 : *'aqil*.

⁸³ Only D has : *añladıysa*.

⁸⁴ B and L2 : *fāhmi artur*.

⁸⁵ L2 : *günāhlarī*.

⁸⁶ D and B : spelled without *elif*.

⁸⁷ E : *'aqillī*.

⁸⁸ D and L2 : *dūnglār* ; E : *tiñlār*.

⁸⁹ B, E, L1, and L2 : *qā'il*.

*du'ā birlä tälīm 'āsī rahmät bulur
majfärütä şäyästä olur emdi*

May the reciters and listeners pray
This weak one (I) hopes for the prayers (of others)
Many sinners will find God's mercy through prayer
They will be worthy of forgiveness of sins.

*här daş vüläkin gävhar daş olmaz
dägül kimsä gävharinġ qadrin bilmäz
uşbu nazmninġ qadrini⁹⁰ ahmaq bilmäz
'āqil⁹¹ bunī dänġlär anġlar bilür emdi*

However not every stone is a jewel
An unworthy person does not know the value of a jewel
A fool does not know the value of this poem
A wise one listens to it, understands and knows.

*āh dārīğa dägümä kişi düzämädi
fāhim äksük kimsälär yazamadı
bu za'ifniġ uşbu nazmi⁹² ozamadı
rubā'ī düzän⁹³ içrā dursa emdi*

Alas not everyone could have composed it
People of little understanding could not have written it
Nor surpassed this poem of mine, this weak one
As it now stands in the form of quatrains.

*bunī goşan⁹⁴ za'if bändä adı 'al⁹⁵
yigirmi dört⁹⁶ raqim⁹⁷ içrā saldı bildi
yarlıqaġül yā rahim ol⁹⁸ hatāqlı
rahmätinġdän mihribänliġ⁹⁹ umar emdi*

⁹⁰ D and E: *gimmätini*.

⁹¹ D, E, and L1: *'aqil*.

⁹² D: *nazim*.

⁹³ D: *derun*.

⁹⁴ B: *bän uşal*; L1: *bunī düzän*.

⁹⁵ Lacking in B and E.

⁹⁶ E: *tört*.

⁹⁷ E, L1, and L2: *raqam*.

⁹⁸ B and L2: *bän*.

⁹⁹ B and L1: *bährbändliġ*.

The name of the weak slave who composed this is 'Alī
 He knew how to arrange it into twenty four chapters
 Oh Merciful One, have mercy on this sinner
 He hopes for kindness from your grace.

*ūmid tutar bu müznibā sän mavlāyā
 sän kärīm sän rahīm sän sän mavlāyā
 rahmāt qilgīl yā rahīm¹⁰⁰ qul 'alīyā
 ṣong nāfäsdä müfärrih¹⁰¹ qilgīl emdi*

He has hope in You, Lord of this sinner
 You are generous, you are merciful, oh Lord
 Show compassion to (your) slave 'Alī, oh Merciful One
 Bring joy (to him) at his last breath.

*ḥudāvänd bu ḥācätim saṅga ma'lūm
 bu maḥzūnniḡ köngli¹⁰² yine saṅga ma'lūm
 yā arḥam ur-rāḥimīn qılma maḥrūm
 āḥir dämdä imān 'aṭā qilgīl emdi*

Oh God, this need of mine is known to you
 The heart of this sad one (me) is also known to you
 Oh Most Compassionate of merciful ones, do not deprive me
 Grant me faith at the last breath.

*mavlādan mädäd nuṣrät yetüzündän
 rācāb ay-e çälāb¹⁰³ otuzundan
 ta'rīḥniṅ alti yüz otuzundan¹⁰⁴
 bu za'if bu kitābnī düzdi emdi*

Because aid and help from the Lord were ample
 On the thirtieth of the month of Rajab, the Noble
 In the year 630
 This weak one composed this book.

¹⁰⁰ D : 'alī.

¹⁰¹ D : mi'rāc.

¹⁰² B and L2 : münācāt.

¹⁰³ A popular form for : rācāb ul-mucarrab.

¹⁰⁴ L2 : toquzunda (resulting in «in the year 609»).

*tävfîq nuşrât fâhim quvvât haqdan buldım
 ilâhım rōzî qılduğuna şâkir oldum
 bu kitâbnî düzdüm tamām qıldım
 wa nafa'ana wa iyyakum ola¹⁰⁵ emdi*

I have found divine guidance, assistance, understanding, and power from God
 My God, I am grateful for your granting (me my) portion
 I have composed and completed this book
 And may it be beneficial to us and to you.

¹⁰⁵ D : diyor ; L1 : qıla.

HERAKLES-VERETHRAGNA AND THE *MIRĀJ* OF RUSTAM

BY

GIANROBERTO SCARCIA (Venice)

In a recent survey of Shīnbār we attempted to demonstrate, in fact merely to show — indicating the evidence — that those famed (but not too often visited) reliefs of the Parthian age do not offer, in themselves, any iconographical attestation of a part taken by the Hellenistic-Roman Herakles in the Iranian *haoma* rite. Nor do they provide footholds of any sort in favour of the identification between Herakles and Verethragna — a hypothesis often brought forth in order to clarify the more plausible function assumed by Herakles himself in Iran. And, seizing the occasion, we offered an interpretation of our own of the Commagenic syncretism which lies at the basis of that hypothesis.¹

All this, however, does not imply that the said hypothesis lacks all plausibility in itself, were it not but for the fact that, at least in one occasion, and minimally in the astral sphere (in Commagene proper, and in nearby Armenia) the identification — in a direct or indirect fashion as the case may be — was effected; nor can reasons of theme and of symbology suffice to disprove it patently, and at first sight. Thus, having cleared the field of all elements that remain incurably gratuitous, we ourselves should like to indicate anew a few possible points of contact between the two divine figures under discussion.

We are referring to the possible association of Herakles (obviously in his aspect — of Dyonisiac-funerary and Orphic-Odyssean para-Christian character² — as conqueror of the force of gravity of human death through the pyre) with that instrument of apotheosis which is represented by the Wind: and possibly the same Wind — if the latest naturistic sources on the issue are

¹ G. Scarcia, *Riconnizione a Shīnbār: osservazioni sull'Eracle iranico*, in *Oriens Antiquus* 1979, 3.

² R. Pfister, *Herakles und Christus*, in *ARW* XXXIV (1937), pp. 42-60; M. Simon, *Hercule et le Christianisme*, Paris 1955 (review by V. Bucheit in *Gnomon* XXX, 1958, p. 450); J. Bayet, *Aspects mystiques de la religion romaine*, Paris 1958; J. Charles Picard, *Hercule, héros malheureux et bénéfique*, in *Hommages Bayet* (Coll. Latomus LXX), Brussels-Berchem 1964. To all the views here expressed may now be added the weight of the Roman Herakles surrounded by clouds which has recently come to light in the catacombs of the Via Latina.

required — which blows on the pyre, producing the Shamanistic smoke from it.³ In this light, the mind goes immediately back to an important discussion which has of long surrounded the famous monument of Igel:⁴ on one hand, resulting in the re-establishment of some contact between Herakles and Mithra — otherwise difficult to be recognized —,⁵ but on the other hand, tracing some connecting lines also with the late Roman conception of the imperial *mi'rāj*: Julian's oracle⁶ and its possible figurative translation (if the subject is not Romulus, or Antoninus Pius, or Constance, which should in any case amount to almost the same)⁷ in a well-known ivory of the British Museum.⁸

Now, here and elsewhere, the iconography of the genius of the «psychopomp» Wind has clear Zurvanite traits (in the antithesis or at least the duplicity,

³ One may reread esp. paragraph 10 of the fifth chapter of the *Istoričeskie korni* by Propp. The debate on the originality or not of the motif of the Oeta, and on the nature of thematic parentage with the cult of Sandos at Tarsus (cf. esp. G. Patroni, *La morte di Eracle e alcuni concetti dell'Oltretomba*, in *Rendiconti . . . Morali . . . Lincei*, Serie VI, col. III, 1927, pp. 529–570) is of course irrelevant from the point of view of the late Hellenistic developments of the symbol. It would however be very interesting to hold an accurate investigation in «Shamanic» context — and possibly in that which would seem to have been the natural «birthplace» of the latter — on the «several other details showing similarities» between Herakles and the Mongolian Geser, particularly in relation to the «final task» of both heroes, i.e. descent «into the Underworld». From a phenomenological standpoint, in other words, we might find more «direct connections» than are usually seen in a historical light, among «Oriental» and «Western» cases. This point in particular does not appear among facts taken into account by L. Lőrincz, *Heracles in Mongolia?*, in *Jubilee Volume of the Oriental Collection 1951–1976* (ed. by Éva Apor), Budapest, pp. 151–159.

⁴ F. Drexel, *Die Bilder der Igeler Säule*, in *Römische Mitteilungen* XXXV (1920), pp. 83–142, esp. p. 131 ff. And cf. also F. Cumont, taking the occasion from the Gallic mask of Soing, in *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains*, Paris 1942, p. 173 ff.

⁵ A few examples (7 cases, not all certain, on the basis of F. Kutsch, *Herakles auf Denkmäler des Mithraskultus*, 1930), in S. B. Downey, *The Heracles Sculpture. The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Final Report, III, I, 1*, New Haven-Dura Europos Publications 1969, p. 48, n. 5.

⁶ Cumont, *op. cit.* referring to M. R. Herzog, *Zwei Griechische Gedichte*, in *Treier Zeitschrift* XIII (1938), p. 117 ff.

⁷ On the Imperial apotheosis and its «Herculean» traits, after Honn, *Studien zur Geschichte der Himmelfahrt im klassischen Altertum*, Mannheim 1910, cf. L. Deubner, *Die Apotheose der Antoninus Pius*, in *Römische Mitteilungen* XXVII (1912), pp. 1–20; esp. p. 9, and fn. 11. But cf. also Drexel and Cumont, quoted works. As for our «almost» the reserve is suggested by the impression that also for other aspects, the «solar» religion of Julian may have relatively precise connections at least with the Judaeo-Iranian part of the «*zābulī*» typology of the Mihragān. Cf. G. Scarcia, *Nota al verso 2075 b del Garšāšp-nāma* (ed. Huart, p. 150), in *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, N. S. XVII, 3 (1967), pp. 267–270.

⁸ Cumont, *op. cit.*, p. 176 and Pl. XIV, 2 (reproduced also by Drexel).

one might say, between the zephyr and the storm, between the delicate lad and the violent ancient):⁹ traits which recall to mind, just by reading the *Rām Yasht*, the Iranian Vayu. And the Zurvanite theme-pattern is well attested in another great episode — this time far from hypothetical — of meeting between the cultures of adjoining worlds, which is constituted by the legend of the Kings at Bethlehem and the consequent birth (connected with the return trip of the Kings from Bethlehem)¹⁰ of the fire Gushnāsp: a fire — we might add parenthetically — which springs from the earth in the very moment in which the three Kings, or *the three ages of Mankind* — prototypes as they were of Julian in front of the temple of Ilyā-Jerusalem to be returned —¹¹ are about to transmit to the earth itself, in the shape of «amānat», the Eucharistical message of grace and salvation received in the *cave*. The *Phrygian cap* of the Kings is a third Mithraising element,¹² which in an isolated, and very doubtful, case at Dura appears to cover the head of Herakles himself;¹³ however a pseudo-Herakles Albani of Begrām appears with little doubt to be assimilated to Ganimedes,¹⁴ another famous bearer of the cap, and a well-known traveller of the Heavens at that.¹⁵ Intense contact, in brief, and in a Mithraising context, may be recorded between the two elements of the Vikanderian pair Old Man-

⁹ This double iconography may also be found, albeit diachronically, in the type of the Greek Hermes, bearded in the archaic age and of Ephebic type in later times. Useless to note that the genii of the wind under discussion «recall» Hermes, and that the «naturistic» origins of Hermes himself may be referred back to the wind proper: cf. G. Patroni, *op. cit.*, pp. 563—564.

¹⁰ U. Monneret de Villard, *Le leggende orientali sui Magi evangelici*, Citta del Vaticano 1952, pp. 101—106; J. Duchesne Guillemin, *I Magi di Betlemme nelle tradizioni occidentali* (cf. already in *Antaios* VII, 1965), Milano 1966; *ead.*, *A vanishing Problem*, in *Myths and Symbols. Studies in honour of M. Eliade*, Chicago-London 1969, pp. 275—277.

¹¹ Ammianus Marcellinus, 23, 1. 1—3.

¹² Not constant; neither, by the way, is the «complete» (three-element) Zurvanite representation in Christian iconography: it recurs e.g. in the mosaic of S. Apollinare Nuovo (Ravenna), or in the fresco of the Karanlık Kilise at Göreme. Cf. «pieces» no. 56 of the survey by H. Bayet, *Mémoire sur un ambon conservé à Salonique. La représentation des Mages en Occident durant les premiers siècles du Christianisme*, which occupies p. 249—299 of Duchesne-Bayet, *Mémoire sur une mission au Mont Athos*, Paris 1876, and Duchesne Guillemin, *A Vanishing Problem*.

¹³ Downey, *op. cit.*, p. 19, n. 2, tab. IV, 2.

¹⁴ J. Hackin, *Nouvelles Recherches Archéologiques à Begram (ancienne Kapisa)*, (1930—1940), Texte, Paris (Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan, XI), 1954, pp. 121—122, n. 128, fig. 293.

¹⁵ Even the eagle (of Zeus) is obviously involved in the problem which we have called of the apotheosis, or Imperial *mī'rāj*. We shall explicitly leave out this aspect in our treatise, including the possible connection between eagle and *senmorv* on the basis of the iconography of the «winged dog» type; on this, various views have been taken; cf. A. Bausani, G. Curatola, R. Ajello, G. Scarcia, in *Oriente moderno* LVIII (1978), pp. 275—319 and 387—391.

Wind (Zāl-Garshāsp), while the connections Herakles-Wind, and Herakles-Hermes, seem similarly promising from a phenomenological standpoint.

Further: in his migration to the East, Herakles is once forced to face obstacles (of the telluric-seismic type)¹⁶ similar to those encountered by the Sistañic hero par excellence of the Garshāsp «type» in his pathway: a hero also strongly connected with the Vayu-Zurvān pair, taken both individually and together.¹⁷ In the same way as, in other cases, the mount (the bearer) might represent the god (the borne),¹⁸ the name of Herakles might in its turn take on the function of the Aeolic mount which transports him, the function of «dompteur du vent».¹⁹

All this, of course, is far from exceeding the substance of a mere hint but if hints must have been present for an assimilation of Herakles to Verethragna, we must not forget that the *first* manifestation of Verethragna was precisely that of a strong and beautiful wind, bearer of Glory, Health, and Power.²⁰

In a short contribution to the International Seminar dedicated to the 900th anniversary of the birth of Sanā'ī of Ghazna, held in Kābul, Oct. 17—23, 1977, we indicated in fact a few possible traces of survival, in Iranian territory under Islamic influence, of an idea of the Wind as instrument of *mi'rāj* in the fashion of Late Antiquity. These traces are not immediately evident, for the Islamic *mi'rāj* has been almost totally absorbed in the rather mysterious image of Burāq — the prophetic mount, which has been and still is the object of widespread debate —²¹ sometimes accompanied by the cortege of minor steeds, of the *ablaq* type, destined for minor prophets or pseudoprophets.²²

¹⁶ Cf. G. Tucci, *Oriental Notes II. An image of a Devi in Swat and some connected problems*, in *East and West*, NS. XIV, 3—4 (Sept. Dec. 1963), pp. 171—172. (The episode has some analogy with that of Hercules and Kakos).

¹⁷ Cf. our *Sulla religione di Zābul*, in *AION*, NS. XV (1965), pp. 119—165, esp. p. 149 ff., and M. Pistoso, *L'ipotesi iranistica sul Vij gogoliano*, in *Gururājamañjarikā, studi in onore di Giuseppe Tucci I*, Napoli 1974, pp. 313—320.

¹⁸ Cumont, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

¹⁹ Cf. the fine essay by M. Mokri, *Le Kalam gourani sur le cavalier au coursier gris, le dompteur du vent*, in *Journal Asiatique* CCLXXII (1974), pp. 47—93 (particularly efficacious in the range of ideas on the basic identity of the symbological-functional type between the «monster», i.e. the mount, and the «tamer» of the latter, i.e. the load of the same mount).

²⁰ «Pour la première fois accourut a lui Verethragna, créé par Ahura, sous la forme d'un vent impétueux et beau, créé par Mazda, et la Santé et la Force» (transl. Darmesteter of *Yasht XIV*, I, 2).

²¹ Cf. most recently R. Dankoff, *Baraq and Burāq*, in *Central Asiatic Journal* XV (1971), pp. 102—117; A. M. Piemontese, *Note morfologiche ed etimologiche su al-Burāq*, in *Annali di Ca' Foscari* XIII, 3 (1974), SO 5, pp. 109—113.

²² For Mokri (*op. cit.*, pp. 82—83, with reference also to the *ablaq* horses of Badr), it is a variant of «grey», i.e. *kaw* (kabūd), as «natural» colour of the wind. Many elements

What is not evident, however, may be at times simple to unveil, and then, for example, even a replica which hides the archetype may transform itself into a further confirmation of the archetype itself: for, if it is part of the Iranian (Firdusian) tradition that the Wind, manifestation of Verethragna, manifests itself in turn in the form of a wild ass (an ass which attempts to pass *unobserved* among horses, but which is clearly not a horse), also the Islamic Burāq may find a tranquil phenomenological localization as outcome of the Wind.

We have thus indicated, in the context of a celebration of Sanā'ī in the country of Vayu,²³ the possible function of *mī'rāj* taken up by the wind. To this Wind, curiously no doubt, goes the invocation with which the poet of Ghazna (XI cent.) inaugurates his «Dantesque» heavenly journey (*Sair al-'ibād 'ilā-'l-ma'ād*). We provide here a translation²⁴ of this passage: it may be useful to clarify the discussion, if only because it forced us to make clear choices with regards to a sometimes ambiguous, and consistently amphibological, text.

Of course a habit to the strong rhetoric of Persian poetic culture may function as a screen in our reading, in the sense that a Wind-messenger may appear as an obvious, expected and almost flat poetical image. In the same way, a scholastic and rigidly theological interpretation might reduce this polymorphous and unquiet wind, which is air and fire together — as Moulānā Balkhī would put it —, which is captive and song, as Mas'ūd-i Sa'd would say, to a mere allegory of the Spirit, the Breath, which goes and comes (and here it is necessary to recall Sa'dī but also the *vayu āwarishn barishn* of Bundahishn III). And, finally, it must be admitted that in these verses there is a clear (even too clear) monotheistic intention of repeating that the presumed Creator is creature, that even before his blind omniscience there is always one whose knowledge is deeper. However, if we pay attention to the contents — but also to the objective position — of the invocation, we will be struck by two essential features, far from obvious in themselves: on one hand, the absolute dramatic (and cosmogonical) character — of the Zurvanite type — of the idea of cosmic

lead us however to think of a particular Iranian sensibility as regards the «spotted» coat of the hero's horse (on this theme, most recently, G. Curatola, *Sudore di Sangue*, pp. 213—216; B. Zekijian, «Barak» nell'armeno classico, pp. 217—221; G. Bellingeri, *Sul prototipo iranico del «Kīr-at»*, pp. 223—245; all in *Studi Iranici*, Roma 1977); if, of course, the *ablaq* (*abraq*) was not preferred simply because of the assonance with *barak*, «steed» with no further specification, perhaps by reason of the functions referred to in *Dātistān-i dīnīk*, 30—2. We must however keep in mind the *ashqar* of Bāhrām Gūr (on which cf. below) which as such (roan) reminds us both Herakles' dog and of the eagle of Zeus.

²³ The observation (Kābul—Bādābād) has been made to us by Ḥabībī, as a complement of our own: a significant coincidence, that of speaking of Vayu apropos of a poet of Ghazna of the time of Bāhrām-shāh! To the invocation of Bād in the *Sair al-'ibād* would correspond the «prince of Bādābād» in the greater sister-composition *Ḥadīqa*.

²⁴ From the *Mathnavihā-yi Ḥakīm Sanā'ī*, ed. M. T. Mudarris-i Rīzavī, Tehran 1348, pp. 181—182.

ubiquity as well as *fullness*; on the other hand, the idea of the *double traits* (knowledge and ignorance, moistness and dryness, height and depth, etc., all translations of a fundamental alternance between positive and negative) held by this true Meter of time and space which is the Wind.

Hail, o messenger akin to Sultan,
 Of water your throne, of fire your crown.
 You are not of earth, yet of earth vizier,
 Not born from water, yet for water artist.
 You, at times favourable and opposed,
 Are pilot to the cloud, brake to the ship.
 The great vital force, through you,
 Is equally partitioned among animal spirits.
 To you the fire, the coral-coloured haystack,
 To you the emerald shield of water,
 Behind the garden and facing it you are,
 Both nurse and husband to the stalk.
 Cause of dryness and bearer of dew,
 Father of Jesus and mount of Jam.
 You make, moving at your pleasure,
 A fish's back of the sea surface.
 Similar to the soul, despite your low flight,
 So that none can see, although you are.
 You reach the sky, ascending not,
 You cross the waters, not being wet.
 Beat of all breaths when you are here,
 To you breath comes when you are far.
 You make for movement and for silence,
 Primeval writing-slab of all words you are.
 Your moves are unfearing, similar to death's,
 So that the ways of all abodes are open.
 You renew — and witness your own glory,
 Yet you are creature — the passing of all is proof.
 In the muddy tomb as in the ark of fire,
 From you derives nourishment to our lives.
 At times crown, other times throne,
 Now dark-shaded green, now fire-hued blue.
 For you the flowery bodies break their coats,
 Like collars of cypress and garments of roses.
 Here you set an ass-load on the marsh,
 Here you set a hat-brim in the sky.
 Now you thread a rose-ring for the April,

Now you form a diamond in December water,
 Once you cast arrows of flowers at a target,
 Once you comb the curls of boxwood.
 At times chamberlain to the roads,
 Other times, painter of faces.
 You may make yourself alike to the unknowing,
 You may join the banquets of the elected.
 How long yet will you waste your coolness?
 How long yet will you adorn the vain?
 Although you travel through mountains and fords,
 Although you measure the fourth habitat,
 And, with great experience, you have tread
 All the hard pathways of earth,
 One way, angelical form, is yours,
 One only, for you water and fire.
 Yea, you beat a stroke on heaven and sea,
 and you veil the cluster of the Pleiades ;
 for once, from the mouth of a seer,
 hear from me the secrets of creation :
 Know that him, who is not quiet in listening
 — His name, the wind bears it away.

The last line: (تا بدای که هرچه رام نیند همه جز چون تو باد نیند) is frankly rather ambiguous, and we have followed the scholastic interpretation for it in our translation. It might be equally possible to read— in fact, in a very literal interpretation: Whoever is not *Rām* (i.e. whoever is not Yourself, or like You) may not legitimately bear the name of Wind.²⁵ Intentionally or not on the part of Sanā'ī, there is no doubt that the invocation is concluded by this impressive association between the word *Bād* and the word *Rām*, an association which inevitably recalls the case of *Yasht XV*.²⁶ And this entire introduction might, by the way, consist in a paraphrase of the latter, or — if preferable, but not too differently — in a transfiguring, i.e. monotheistical, reinterpretation.

²⁵To be kept in mind is also the assonance *Bāhrām-rām*, perhaps responsible as such of theme contiguity. The parallel case, in Sanā'ī, of *Iblīs/talbīs*, although equally justified in substance, may take part of the charm away from the verse *tīgh bīrun kun az kaf-i Bahrām/tundī-yi ū ba-tīgh-i ū kun rām*, in the final invocation of the *Ḥadīqa*, which is an exhortation to the earthly Bahrām, gracious and benign, vs. the heavenly Bahrām, i.e. the planet in which should be seen, *Persis dicentibus*, those Herakles and Mars who are Artagnes and Ares. And cf. also, by the same Sanā'ī, the *bād bī qamat-i alef-bad*.

²⁶For the relation *Rām/Vayu*, cf. also Mokri, *op. cit.*, p. 64 ff., esp. p. 71.

On the other hand, we would like to indicate, after the equation with Vayu and the parallelism with Rām, a further step in the «sliding» of the mythical imagery, and to this purpose we should fix our attention on line 7, which is absent in some manuscripts, and which in general is ignored even by the ancient commentators. A wind «father of Jesus» is obviously the Holy Spirit; but the tight association with the mount of Jamshīd, i.e. in fact with the instrument of the *mi'rāj*, brings us to ask whether the *Sair al-'ibād* does not, in fact, open with the invocation to the wind also and precisely because the wind is felt as an instrument of *mi'rāj* (heavenly journey) *par excellence*. And, on this line of thought, is Hermes psychopomp because he protects pathways and crossroads²⁷, or rather for his possible «naturistic» origins? His presence, frequent during the «Labours», but actually *constant* during the flight of Herakles to the Olympus,²⁸ cannot certainly be casual. And one may also recall the peculiar Hermes which bears in arm the infant Herakles²⁹ — almost as is the case of Christ, who, in the frescoes of the *Dormitio Virginis* above the doorposts (*barzakh*) of almost all the Christian-Orthodox churches and chapels, bears the soul of his deceased mother in the aspect of an infant, reduced in size to «daughter of her son». It is true that Hermes also bears Dyonisus, in similar iconographies with presumably similar functions, but Dyonisus (and here a further reason for the well known Dyonisiac symbol of an ass might make its appearance: the vortex of dance?), as is well known, is not too far from Herakles³⁰; and in any case what counts is the type of action — psychopomp — which the wind can effect also as regards other characters.³¹

²⁷ Cf. (although slightly axiomatic on the subject), *Enciclopedia dell'Arte classica e Orientale* IV, D. V.

²⁸ Cf. P. Mingazzini, *Le rappresentazioni vascolari del mito dell'apoteosi di Herakles*, in *Memorie . . . Morali . . . Lincee*, Serie VI, Vol. I, 1925 — 1926, (pp. 413 — 490), *passim*.

²⁹ On this function, cf. again *Enciclopedia* IV, p. 6.

³⁰ Mingazzini, *op. cit.*, p. 486: «Non ci meraviglieremo dunque se nel cratere di Monaco vedremo rappresentati, al disotto della scena del rogo e del carro trionfale volante verso l'Olimpo, Dionysos fra le Menadi».

³¹ It is significant that the iconography under discussion always accompanies funerary scenes. In our brief work quoted in n. 15 (*Osservazioni sull'iconografia e la simbologia dei soprarchi con angeli e draghi del caravanserraglio di Ganj'alī-khān a Kirmān*, II), we suggest to interpret some Safavid angels as psychopomp and the infants held by them on their laps as souls. This coincides in part with a different suggestion repeatedly brought forth by Sch. V. R. Camman (*Cosmic Symbolism on carpets from the Sanguszko group*, in *Studies in Art and Literature of Near East, in honor of Richard Ettinghausen*, editor P. Chelkowski, New York 1974, pp. 181 — 208, esp. pp. 183 — 197; *Religious Symbolism in Persian Art*, in *History of Religion* 15, 3, february 1976, pp. 193 — 208, esp. pp. 199 — 200; *The Interplay of Art, Literature and Religion in Safavid Symbolism*, in *JRAS* 1978, 2, pp. 124 — 136, esp. pp. 126 — 127), according to whom the angels of some contemporary iconographies, very similar to ours, should be viewed as psychopomp; in these cases, however, the souls would be represented by young of animals: birds and onagers.

As for the connection between the wind and Burāq, it is known that the latter, quite peculiarly «greater than a mule but smaller than a horse»³² is the last and more «manly» manifestation of an extraordinary being bearing the Prophet on its back, raising him to his heavenly *sair al-ʿibād*. But in Semitic antiquity, and before the Sasanid world launched the pair represented by the hero-warrior/*ablaq* horse, which so often is to be found later on, the prophets mounted a humbler animal, of long known and domesticated: exactly the mount of Christ, the ass on which he rides into Jerusalem. «Etant donné que le cheval est l'animal aryen par excellence»,³³ the horse will be predominant also in Islamic Iran, and then in Iranized Islam, but its predecessor reappears, aided in this by the demonizing operation, ready to «degrade», in an eschatological interpretation: the ass of Dajjāl at the end of time.³⁴

The ass, then, historically precedes the horse. The discussion on the «Satanic» vs. positive nature of the ass in the Near Eastern context, and later in the Christian one, is far from over even today, despite a fine essay such as the one by Frejdenberg.³⁵ But the former interpretation (Guenon),³⁶ although finding some support in the land of Egypt, is certainly not upheld from a phenomenological viewpoint by nether-world functions such as that of the Indian Nairrita, for in fact the role of «guardian of the reign of the dead» is not lacking in semiotic duplicity.³⁷ And, by the way, this view of the Satanic sign of the ass is forced to pivot on the shift of sexual marker, to justify the ass

In this, the most interesting element for us is provided by the parallel onager: bird (as if the wild ass, «almost a bird», were felt as particularly suited for that flight); and also by the possibility of finding ourselves here in front of the already noted (above and cf. also n. 19, 53), and plausible, transfer between bearer and borne elements.

³² It is a veritable formula; cf. Piemontese, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

³³ From here the hypothetical *arye-bār* of Nyberg, in *JA* CCXIV (1929), pp. 246–247.

³⁴ A Christian parallel might possibly be recognized in the *Beast* of the Apocalypse of John.

³⁵ O. M. Frejdenberg, *Vʹezd v Ierusalim na osle*, [1923, and 1930–1933], now in *Mif i literatura drevnosti*, Moskva 1978, pp. 491–531.

³⁶ Cf. J. Chevalier-A. Gheerbrant, *Dictionnaire des Symboles*, Paris 1969, pp. 35–36.

³⁷ Cf. Mokri, *op. cit.*, p. 65 ff. The two winds, both the raging one and the *rām*, are both psychopomp in Iran: their destination-netherworlds or heavens- is the sole variant. Camman, in the passages quoted above, considers the onagers (*gur-gaur*, by figurative transposition of a *tajnis-i nāqīs*) as a symbolization of the soul destined to the netherworld, whereas the bird should represent the soul destined to heaven. And in this he bases himself also on a colour opposition: dark in the former, light in the latter case. For us — while onager and bird seem to be the same thing, i.e. the same sign (cf. n. 31) — this opposition seems a very clear intimation of the double character of the angel as successor of the double Vayu (which equals to saying, also, of the *minimally* double Zurvān, who perhaps finds, also, some colour variants; cf. Duchesne Guillemin, *A vanishing Problem*.)

(she-ass) which bears Christ to Jerusalem, whereas the male ass of the Manger — similarly to the wild ass of Camman — would be the demon, «overcome» by the benevolent Ox which opposes him in that place. But — we may ask — is not the wicked (prodigal) wife of Pausanias' Ocnos a she-ass? And if, in the Bible, *Judges* 5 : 10 exalts specifically the white she-asses, and a she-ass is in Balaam's episode, it does not seem possible — on the other hand — to deduct any negative thought in the Bible itself concerning the male ass. To the contrary ; so as justify Carducci, «*Do you recall ardent Arabia and the pavillions/ of Job, where you grew, audacious emulator/ in span and courage of the steeds?*». Not to speak of the comparison (*Genesis* 16 : 12) between Ishmael and the onager.³⁸

Ambivalence, or rather a simple ambivalent functional potentiality may also be shown through the attribution of the ass both to the Messiah and to the Antichrist. Here, the relation of absolute contiguity — in fact, of interchange — between the mounter and the mount preserves the echo of the relation between Balaam and the she-ass also in a few peculiar but significant «New Testament» transpositions :³⁹ cf. the closed eye of a Balaam made Christian as St. Xavier of Aix, to which corresponds further the shut (blind) eye of the ass of Dajjāl.

In brief, demonizations and total overturnings of values are possible, and the Hellenistic novel can offer both the Evangelical version (novel of moral edification) and its Apuleian version (pornographic novel) of the reinterpretation of the Near Eastern myth, as efficaciously shown by Frejdenberg ; but the story of the ass cult maintains its unitary character, as betrayed by numerous recurring details. We have quoted the closed eye which migrates from Balaam to the ass of Dajjāl, but one might also, for example, follow a motif such as that of the donkey's hoof, which in Islam was believed to be object of veneration in Palestine («*māwā . . . ma'badī hast, dar ū bāshad kunūn siṣad summ-i khar muraṣṣa' jumla bā yāqut u gauhar,*» says Khuwārizmī)⁴⁰ Now, this asinine hoof undoubtedly stands here in place of the donkey's head venerated in Jerusalem according to another tradition, and the link between the two is provided by the «fertilizing» function of the jaw of the ass itself, which is tied to the motif of the hoof as a container for the drawing of water.⁴¹

In particular as regards the *elevatio ad aerem* by asinine means, further observations may be added even to the abundant ones quoted by Frejdenberg.

³⁸ Frejdenberg (*op. cit.*, pp. 518—519) offers more plausible explanations, although more obvious ones, for the presence of the ass and the she-ass, in the different variants (however always of the sacred marriage type) of the myth of the animal destined in origin to transport the divinity, prior to the temple, *ešē vernee na samoe nebo* (cf. also 509, and 528, n. 84).

³⁹ Cf. Beigbeder, *Lexique des Symboles*, éd. Zodiaque, 1969, pp. 53—59.

⁴⁰ *Muḥabbat-nāma*, vv. 457—458.

⁴¹ Frejdenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 526 ; nn. 53 and 56.

The fable of the sons of Clinius, for example, who free the ass and are punished by their transformation into birds,⁴² hides in our opinion, apart from its euhemerization, the mythical truth according to which to untie the ass means «to fly». If untying Lazarus means «to make him go»,⁴³ to tie the dead, even today in Carelia, means to prevent him from «coming back», and to untie Koščej, in the Russian fairy-tale, means to free the horse of the netherworld.⁴⁴ In all three cases we are in the conceptual range of a journey *post mortem*, which is exactly what we call here *mī'rāj*.

It must be remembered, then, that in *Isaiah* 9:1, it is the mount «of the air» (the *cloud* swept by the *wind*) by which the Lord journeys to Egypt, which is a «forerunner» of the Flight to Egypt; the latter took place, as is well known, thanks to an *ass* which in a further Romanic representation (at Autun) treads upon the clouds. In this range of ideas we may very well perceive the simplification (and confusion) of terms occurring in a passage of the Babylonian *Talmud*,⁴⁵ regarding a contradiction which in fact was nonexistent:

«R. Alexandri said: R. Joshua b. Levi pointed out a contradiction. It is written, *in its time* [will the Messiah come], whilst it is also written, *I [the Lord] will hasten it* — If they are worthy, I will hasten it: if not, [he will come] at the due time. R. Alexandri said: R. Joshua opposed two verses: it is written, *And behold, one like the son of man came with the clouds of heaven*; whilst [elsewhere] it is written, [*behold, thy king cometh unto thee . . .*] *lowly, and riding upon an ass*» — If they are meritorious, [he will come] *with the clouds of heaven*; if not, *lowly and riding upon an ass*».

But the (equestrian) Iranian reinterpretation of the gentle «Semitic» donkey travelling in the skies seems also to imply a step further in colour sensibility, perhaps through the intermediate passages of the well-known «cross» which marks the back of the ass, or of the black line running through the dazzling splendour of the coat of Firdusi's onager Akvān. The quoted passage proceeds thus:

«King Shapur [I] said to Samuel, 'Ye maintain that the Messiah will come upon an ass: I will rather send him a *white horse* of mine.' He replied, 'Have you a *hundred-hued steed*?».

Here the *barqā* of the original may be translated «white horse» only if specific biases on the matter are applied, on the basis of Biblical tradition (the donkey is white), or as residues of very ancient collective subconscious factors which require that of necessity the animal instrumental to a specific

⁴² Frejdenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 500.

⁴³ Frejdenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 531, n. 122.

⁴⁴ Cf. G. Vercellin, *Sull'eventuale prototipo iranico del russo Koščej*, in *Gururājamañjarikā, Studi in onore di Giuseppe Tucci*, Napoli 1974, pp. 321—322.

⁴⁵ *The Babylonian Talmud. Seder Nezikin III. Sanhedrin II*, London, reprint 1961 of the «Soncino Talmud» 1935, 98a—98b (= pp. 663—664).

function be white.⁴⁶ Viceversa, it is the Semitic *ḥīwwar*, which corresponds in the text to the «hundred» of the English translation, which has been Persianized *ab antiquo*, while it might have well been interpreted as «white».⁴⁷ In fact, the Rabbinical commentary by Rashi (Solomon ben Isaac, Troyes 1040—1105) explains⁴⁸ that the full question means: «Have you perchance a horse of a hundred hues? For thus is His ass». Here *ḥywr* would be equivalent to «one hundred» in Persian, through evident confusion with the graphically more plausible *ḥazār* «one thousand» of a different interpretation⁴⁹ — which is more or less the same thing in that context, where «many (colours)» is simply meant. The latter interpretation rings thus in its entirety, albeit a bit obscurely: «Have you this horse, which has a thousand hues like the ass of the Messiah? For certainly he, too, will be up high by means of nature». Apart from what concerns the evident Iranization of the equid from white to «spotted» (*ablaq*), we feel that behind this sort of expression a sensation of necessary relation between the idea of the ass and that of levitation may be made out, although cloudily.

But, in all this matter, what concerns us foremost today is the dichromy of the animal instrumental in the Iranian *mi'rāj*: a dychromy essentially of the Zurvanite type, according to which the said animal is white and black, is day and night, is old and young, is the aged psychopomp and the impuber psychopomp, corresponding in brief to the double aspect of the «genius of the wind» of Hellenistic-Roman culture, but also to the angels repeatedly analyzed by Cammann. And this «equestrian» dychromy in Iran involves, or, as hinted above, perhaps takes up, even the «prehistory of the equides» evoked from the height of the «knightly» mentality of the Firdusian *dihqān*:⁵⁰ a prehistory in which the mount of the day is, *in this case also*, a hemýone, a being which is creature of Vayu prior to becoming *rām*, which is «savage as the wind» prior to

⁴⁶ Cf. Bellingeri, *op. cit.*, pp. 243—245, and note 63.

⁴⁷ W. Baumgartner, *A Dictionary of the Aramaic parts of the Old Testament in English and German*, in *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros*, Leiden 1958, p. 1074: *Ḥīwwār* (root: ḤWR) = white» (Jewish Aramaic, Syriac *ḥewwār*, Mandaic *ḥywr*, Neosyriac *ḥwarā*, Neoaramaic of Syria *ḥuwwār*).

⁴⁸ *Sanhedrin II*, p. 431.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* The indications are due to the kindness of F. Pennacchietti.

⁵⁰ For a preliminary attempt of phenomenological investigation on the *ablaq* and on «spotted», also apart from the context of animal coats, cf. our *La piaga e la luna*, in *Studi su Ḥarrān*, Venezia 1979, pp. 71—121. But here we may observe that, under this point of view, also Dyonisus' panther (e.g. cf. the well-known Alexandrine mosaic of Pella) and — why not? — the ass of the latter belong to the same category of Asclepius snake, on one hand, and of the Iranian sacrificial animal on the other. But then, when seeking (Bayet, *Les Origines*, pp. 463—467) instruments and companions of the earthly and netherworld Heracles, who «by logical connection» is a healer, should these instruments and companions not be traced — rather than in the various euhemerizing «serpent guardians» which become «enemies» by «inversion of sign» (pp. 468—469), in the red dog

becoming «gentle as the rain». But no doubt: that the wind is a manifestation of Verethragna/Bahrām is also stated in the *Yasht XIV*, and Firdusi says that the wind appears as an *ablaq* onager. Firdusi, who makes of it the instrument for an euhemerized and «overturned» apotheosis of the Hero (Rustam = Gars-hāsp), accompanied by an equally obvious «sacrifice» of the instrument itself⁵¹ — since the rite, and finally only the rite, is what effects the myth. In this light, the sacrifice of the ass of Carmania, witnessed by Strabo,⁵² cannot have been but an archaism, or a «local» episode, in comparison with the «classical» Iranian sacrifice of the horse. A local event, however, in which the place is not causal, since the birthplace of the Firdusian wind-onager is precisely Oriental Iran. Let us read the story again, by sake of convenience in the abridged version by Levy,⁵³ altered only by a few italics of ours.

«ROSTAM AND AKVĀN THE DIV»

(i) *The Div appears*

It happened once, when an hour of the day had gone, that out the wilderness a herdsman arrived at the palace. He presented himself before the king, kissed the ground and said to that prince of blessed birth,

'Amongst my horses a wild ass has appeared like a demon escaped from its bonds. You would think it a male lion for savagery, for it can break the neck of any horse. *In colour it exactly parallels the sun, as though the heavens had dipped it in liquid gold, and from its neck to its tail a stripe black as musk is drawn.* From its rounded haunches, its fore-legs and hind-legs you could judge it to be a powerful bay charger.'

Khosrow perceived that this was no wild ass, for no onager could surpass a horse in strength. Moreover he had seen much of the world and heard much from men of experience. He knew therefore that there existed *a spring where Akvan the Demon dwelt*, because of whom the world was overwhelmed by sorrow and lamentation. It was there that the herdsman kept his troop of horses, though letting them roam freely and safely for pasture. He said to the herdsman,

sacrificed to Heracles against dryness, which is so similar (if the connection with the star Sirius is real) to the black horse of *Yasht VIII*? Of the *ashqar* we have already spoken (above, n. 22); for some «equivalences» of red and black, cf. G. Vercellin, *Zur e Arzur*, in *ACaF* IX, 3 (1970), SO, I, (pp. 50—62), p. 56 sgg.

⁵¹ For the Iranian equivalence, by the way obvious, between sacrifice and winged (aerean) mount, see also I. Melikoff, *Abu Muslim, le «portehache» du Khorasan*, Paris 1962, p. 39. Even the conclusion of the episode in Firdusi (cf. below) represents the evident euhemerization of a sacrifice.

⁵² E. Benveniste, L. Renou, *Vrtra et Vrthragna, Etude de mythologie Indo-iraniennne*, Paris 1934, p. 87.

⁵³ *The Epics of the Kings* . . . translated by R. Levy, London 1967, pp. 146—151.

'That is no onager, as I now understand. Linger here no further.'

To his escort he said,

'Noble man, all endowed with splendour and lofty rank, from amongst you warriors I need a champion of leonine daring who will devote himself to this endeavour.'

As he spoke he looked keenly about him, but no warrior there met with his approval. For this high endeavour only Rostam son of Zāl was fitted to be of service. To him then he wrote a letter full of kindness and due gratitude and handed it to the warrior Gorgin son of Milād, to whom the king of blessed fortune said,

'Bear this missive of mine to Zāl's son. Travel night and day as swift as smoke ; there must be no resting in Zābolestān. Salute him warmly on my behalf, with the prayer that Heaven itself may not exist without him. When he has read the letter, tell him that my *Farr* owes everything to him. Show your face there but for a moment, then rise and return here. Once you have perused his reply do not linger in Zābol.'

Gorgin set off *like a storm-wind, or like an onager* in peril of its life. When he arrived in Zābol, in the presence of the famous hero, he surrendered the king's letter to him, and he, on receipt of the royal command, departed at a gallop for the king's court. There he kissed the earth at the foot of the throne and prayed for the king's good fortune. Then he said,

'O king, you summoned me. Here I stand to learn what you have thought out and wait with loins girt to hear what your behest shall be. May greatness and goodness be ever associated with your name.'

The king answered,

'Elephant-body, a task has arisen for which I have chosen you out of all my forces. If you do not deem it irksome, you must be ready at my bidding to strive for a throne and treasure. A herdsman has informed me that an onager has appeared amongst his troop of horses. And now, you must assume this further undertaking and once again burden yourself with a combat. Go, but be strongly on your guard, for this may be the Ahriman the vengeful.'

Rostam commented,

'With fortune favourable to you, nobody who serves your throne can harbour fear. Whether this be Div, lion or male dragon, it will not escape my sharp sword.'

(ii) *Rostam seeks out the Div*

Out in pursuit of his prey went the male lion, lasso at hand with his dragon (i.e. Rakhsh) under him ; out into the wilderness travelled this fierce lion to where the herdsman kept his troop of horses. For three days he sought for it over the grazing-grounds ; on the fourth he saw it galloping over the plain

and overtook it like a wind of the north. *It was a beast of shining gold, yet underneath its hide was a hideous canker.*⁵⁴ Rostam put spurs to his swift courser, but on coming close up with the beast he changed his purpose, saying,

‘This creature must not be put to death. I must ensnare it in a loop of my lasso and not destroy it with my dagger. So I can bring it to the king alive.’

He thereupon cast his royal lasso with the purpose of entangling its head in the noose. But the powerful onager, espying the rope, *suddenly vanished from his sight*,⁵⁵ making him understand that this was no onager and that to deal with it demanded guile rather than strength. He thought, ‘This can be nothing but Akvān the Div must be dealt a sword-thrust swifter than wind. I have heard from a sage that this is its abode and that by some marvel it has assumed the hide of a onager, so I must employ the sword with cunning if I am to let blood pour over that yellow gold.’

At that moment the onager reappeared from out of the wilderness, and the champion put spurs to his swift-moving steed. He fitted a string to his bow and made Raksh gallop faster than the wind, while he loosed an arrow that was quick as lightning. But no sooner had he drawn his royal bow than *the onager vanished*⁵⁵ *from his sight once again*. He galloped his courser over the wide plain in pursuit until, when a day and a night had thus passed, the need for water, and for bread too, overcame him, and his head struck the saddle-bow in sleep. Then, as his thirst for limpid water pressed urgently on him, there appeared in front of him a spring sweet as rose-water. He dismounted and watered Raksh, then out of weariness closed his eyes in sleep. From his royal saddle he unloosed his girth and laid down the saddle-cover of leopard-skin for a pillow, while Raksh moved off to graze. Then he spread out the felt underlay of the saddle alongside the water.

(iii) *Akvān the Div casts Rostam into the ocean*

When from afar Akvān beheld Rostam asleep, *he transformed himself into a storm-wind* to gain approach. *He dug round the earth all about him and [on this bed of earth] raised him aloft from the plain to the skies*,⁵⁶ so that on walking Rostam was smitten with fear. He writhed about in panic and his head filled with apprehension as he said to himself,

‘This foul demon has spread a bloody snare for me. Alas now for my courage and strength and these shoulders of mine! Alas also for my sword-

⁵⁴ Here is an *ablaq sub specie metaphysical*: cf. again our *La piaga e la luna*.

⁵⁵ For the helm of invisibility, typical of Vayu, cf. *Rām Yasht*, 51.

⁵⁶ Cf. the «incursion» by Mokri (*op. cit.*, pp. 52–55), apropos of the divine character of wind in the Kurdish milieu, among «tourbillions et cyclones».

manship and mace-wielding! This happening will bring my world to ruin and everything will foster the ambitions of Afrāsiyāb. Gudarz will not survive, nor Khosrow nor Tus, nor will throne or crown, elephant or drum. Though my own act evil descend on the earth, so slack my market become. Who will wreak vengeance on this accursed Div? There is none to confront him on equal footing.'

As Rostam contorted himself in his distress, Akvān thus addressed him, 'Elephant-body, speak your wish and declare where you would desire *the air to cast you down*.⁵⁷ Shall I thrust you down into the waters or on to the mountains? Into which region remote from men do you wish to fall?'

Rostam heard the words and realized that he was in the clutches of the accursed Div.

'Whatever he says,' the elephant-bodied warrior communed with himself, 'my one course lies is cunning. If I say one thing, he will do the opposite; he knows nothing of oaths and will bind himself with no promise. Should I bid him cast me into the ocean and make a shark's maw my grave, this despicable Div will at once deal with me by dropping me on to the mountains, where I shall be dashed to pieces, so that Resurrection will begin with me. I must employ some guile that his thoughts may be led into casting me into the ocean.'

'A Chinese sage has composed a discourse on this subject which declares that if a man yields up his life in the ocean his soul will not behold the angels in heaven but will remain in abasement where it lies; he will find no entry into the next world. Do not therefore cast me into sea or make the fishes' belly my grave. Rather cast me on the mountains, so that the tiger and the lion may experience the grip of a brave man.'

⁵⁷ Not too differently, the *mi'rāj* of Kā'ūs (*Shāhnāma*, ed. Osmanov, II, Moskva 1963, pp. 151–154) is *overthrown* by the wind. The demonization clearly implies the identification of the *jalīl* wind with the «devil», (Mokri, *op. cit.*, p. 66), but it also implies the identification of the *jamīl* (*rām*) wind with the «tamer» of the devil, the latter being reduced to «mount», or to «kidnapper». Only in the first case — and not even consistently — it becomes *rām* in its turn, whereas in the second case it is naturally stimulated to «unsaddle» its rider. From here derives the prevalence through Islam, with a seeming continuity, of the «fiery» image of the wind, from the *Vād*-bearded figure, (cf. the proto-Hermes), «running with its hair in the wind» (G. Widengren in *Enciclopedia Universale dell'Arte Sansoni* IV, p. 371) to the Akvān of Firdusi. On the other hand the «tamer» is, he too, often «fiery», since — apart from being «the angel of the goodly wind» — he is also tamer of the negative functions of the wind itself, riding on the latter for his positive aims. And the original concept of «sacrifice» remains in the final killing of the mount, effected by the «tamer» himself. In this sense, the pseudo-dynamism of the classical iconography of St. George is nothing else than a maximal synthesis: the true mount of the saint is not the horse, white as the ass of Christ, but the dragon, which in origin is an *ablaq* serpent like that of Asclepius: one may perceive this at Aghtamar, and in Cappadocia (e.g. in the Yılanlı Kilise of Soğanlı).

On hearing Rostam's speech, Akvān the Div uttered a roar like that of the ocean 'I will cast you into a place,' he bellowed, 'where you will remain hidden somewhere between the two worlds.'

As he spoke these words the malign Div seized the valiant Rostam and *flung him out of his hand into the depths of the ocean*. While falling out of the aether towards the sea, the hero quickly drew his keen sword from his girdle, so that the monsters which attacked him when he descended withdrew affrighted from his onslaught.⁵⁸ He swam with his left arm and leg while with his other limbs he sought ways of fending off his attackers, ceasing not a moment from active motion, as is the way of men inured to war. Determining on a certain direction in the water, he at last reached dry land and caught sight of the plain. There he gave thanks to the Creator, who had delivered his girdle, he laid down his leopard-skin cloak by the side of a spring, cast aside his saturated bow and other weapons and clad himself once more in his coat of mail. From there he went to the spring where he had fallen asleep and the malevolent Div had snatched him up.

Rakhsh, however, with his resplendent coat, was nowhere to be found on the pasture-ground, and the world-conqueror roundly imprecated his ill fate. With energy he roused himself, caught up saddle and bridle and despondently followed the horse's footprints. At a walking pace he went forward, his eyes meanwhile searching for game, when suddenly a pasture-ground came into view. It was well wooded and watered by flowing streams and everywhere partridges and turtle-doves called. While the herdsman who held charge of Afrāsiyāb's horses had laid his head down in the woodland to sleep, the fiery Rakhsh had come amongst the mares like a Div, neighing loudly in the midst of the herd. There Rostam caught sight of him and with a swing of his royal lasso entangled his head in the noose, then rubbed the dust from him, put on the saddle and grasped his sharp sword.

That done, he began to drive off the whole herd, having pronounced the name of God over his sword. The tramp of the horses as it fell on the herdsman's ears roused him from his slumbers. He raised his head and shouted to his companions, each of whom seized a bow and lasso. Mounted on their speedy coursers they rode out to discover who the evil miscreant could be that was bold enough to enter that pasture-ground, where so many horsemen were on guard. Swiftly they rode off on their task of rending the skin of any such prowling lion.

As Rostam espied the hasting men he quickly drew the sword of wrath from his girdle. Like a lion he roared and called out his name, saying, 'I am Rostam son of Dastān son of Sam.' With his sword he sew two men out of

⁵⁸ Cf. Dāvūd/Bād «plongeur dans la mer» in Mokri, *op. cit.*, p. 56, and even more *Rām Yasht* 27, where Garshāsp, as tamer of Vayu («by the help of Vayu») might be victorious over Gandarv *in the waters*.

three of them, and the herdsman on beholding this turned his back in flight, with Rostam, hot on his heels, fitting a string to the bow on his shoulder.

(iv) *Afrāsiyāb inspects his herd of horses*

Each year Afrāsiyāb had been accustomed to looking over his herd of horses, but he now found none in the places where he expected them to be. The herdsman told him how Rostam had single-handedly driven off the herd and slain a number of the guards. This information stirred him to wrath and he went off in pursuit, only to be put to flight by Rostam, who returned to the spring. When Rostam once more in his gallop came back to the spring, his battle-thirsty heart was eager for still more. Once again Akvān the Div encountered him.

'Are you still not surfeited with combat?' he inquired. '*You escaped from the ocean and the monsters' clutches*, yet you have come to the field impatient for more strife. Now you are to see that day following which you will never seek a battle.'

Tahamtan heard the demon's words and with the roar of a lion enraged he loosed his writhing lasso from his saddle-trap, cast it and encircled the other's waist in a knot. Turning in his saddle he raised his heavy axe as a blacksmith does his hammer and brought it down on the demon's head with the strength of a wild elephant, crushing his head, brain and shoulders into one mass. Then, dismounting, he drew his gleaming dagger and severed his head from his body. Now he called for blessing on the Creator, through whom he had beheld victory on the day of wrath.

In this story you must recognize the demon as the man of evil, he that displays ingratitude towards God; for you must reckon anyone who transgresses the ways of humane conduct as a demon rather than a man. If your reason refuses to believe these tales, it may be that it has not accurately understood this inward significance.

My aged master, what say you, who have tasted much of the heat and cold in the world? Who knows what ups and downs the long day will bring forth? The gallop of time, in spite of its length, will exhaust all the material at my disposal. Who knows what number of feasts and battles this swift-revolving dome may contain?'

We owe to Koyajee⁵⁹ an interesting «Sinizing» analysis of the passage under examination:

«The episode of Akwan Dev in the Shahnameh is a very short one and is easily summarised. A monstrous stag or buck appears in King Kaikhosru's stud of horses and

⁵⁹ J. C. Koyajee, *Cults and Legends of Ancient Iran and China*, Bombay 1936, pp. 9–13.

begins to destroy the horses. The stag or buck is of a yellow colour generally but has panther-like spots or streaks on it. As usual, in any case of danger, Rustam is sent for others are of no avail against it since it can change itself into the wind at pleasure. The tired and baffled hero falls asleep, and Akwan — for it was he who had assumed the strange shape — lifts up Rustam bodily into the air whence he drops the hero into the sea. The hero saves himself by swimming and then deals with the demon when he comes upon the other unexpectedly. I now proceed to show the similarities of this story to the Chinese legends about the god of the wind.

(a) First, as to the appearance and characteristics of Akwan : Fei Lien, the Chinese demon of the wind, is said to have the body of the stag, and is about the size of a leopard. He is able to make the wind blow whenever he wishes it. It possesses also a serpent's tail. As regards colour he wears a *yellow cloak* when he assumes the shape of an old man, and it is *yellow* and white when it changes into a sack which exhales wind. [. . .] All these characteristics are carefully emphasized by Firdausi in describing Akwan Dev. He speaks twice of the yellow or golden colour and the spots or lines in its body.

همان رنک خورشید دارد درست
سپهرش بزراب کونی بشت
یکی بر کشیده خط از یال اوی
ز مشک سیه تا بدنبال اوی
درخشده زرین یکی باره بود
بچرم اندرون زشت بیتاره بود

Nor does the serpentine trait remain unnoticed.

برون آمد از پوست مانند مار
کز و هر کسی خواستی زینهار

It is an interesting matter and well worth noting that while in Chinese myths the wind-demon has the body of a stag, in India Vayu (the wind-god) rides on the back of an antelope. Hence the «Gor» in the Shahnameh, the stag of the Chinese legends and the antelope of Indian mythology all symbolise the wind — very likely because no other animal can represent better the speed and abrupt movements of the wind.

(b) In the second place, whenever Akwan Dev is hard pressed he changes into the wind. Further, it is obvious that it was only a strong wind that could raise an «elephant-bodied hero» like Rustam and hurl him down from thence on land and sea. There could thus be no question of the identity of Akwan with the wind demon. But, as if to emphasize the identity further, in this short episode of three or four pages Firdausi refers in one way or another to «the winds» repeatedly.

(1) چهارم بدیدش کرازان به دشت
چو باد شمالی بر و بر گذشت
(2) چو باد از خم خام رستم بجست
بخانید رستم همی پشت دست
(3) جز اکوان دبو این نشاید بدن
نباید بر باد تیغی زدن

(4) چو اکوانش از دور خفته بدید
یکی بادشد نا بلو در رسید

Indeed, in 3rd line Firdausi asserts the identity of Akwan and the wind.

(c) But, further, in this case Firdausi is aware fully that he is narrating a Chinese legend and he quotes from a Chinese philosopher the psychological traits of the demon beginning :

چنین داد پاسخ که دانای چینی
یکی داستانی ز دست اندرین

At the end of the story the poet goes further and informs us that the true name of the demon was not Akwan but Kwan or Kuan and that it had been so written in Pehlevi; but since in Persian letters compounds could not be formed at the beginning of words, it was necessary to write the name as Akwan :

کوان خوان و اکوان دیوش مخواه
ابر پهلوانی بکردان زین

Now the name Kwan or Kuan thus emphasized by Firdausi reminds us of Chinese names of gods like Kuan Ti or Kuan Yu (the god of war) and Kuan Yin (goddess of mercy). Akwan might also be a reminiscence of the Chinese expression «Kwei Wang» or «Kui Ong» which means the «Spectre King» (Cf. De Groot, *Religious System of China*, Vol. V, p. 806).

While however, Akwan Dev is fully identified with the wind-god, there are also old Chinese stories of «were-stags» and «were-bucks» which offer great resemblances to the Akwan episode. Thus «a were-buck most celebrated in China's history» created as much consternation by its appearance in the time of the renowned founder of the Wei dynasty as Akwan had caused at the court of Kai-Khusrow. The warriors of the Wei Court were also at a loss how to seize the were-buck as the latter ran into a crowd of goats and assumed their shape through its magical powers. (De Groot, Vol. IV, p. 211.)

Our suggestion (that Akwan represents the wind-demon) is corroborated when we find that Rustam is not the only Saka hero to whom the feat of overcoming the wind-demon is attributed. Indeed, there was something like a tradition in Rustam's family of fighting the storm-god or wind-spirit. For in Denkart (Book IX, chapter 15, section 2) we read of Rustam's great ancestor Kereshasp that «the mighty wind was appeased by him and brought back from damaging the world to benefiting the creatures.» Nor is the exploit confined to the Saka heroes, for a purely Iranian hero, Kai Khusro, is said to have transformed the wind into the shape of a camel and to have ridden him. «So, for Rustam as subduing the wind in the shape of Akwan Dev we are following the precedents and ideas of the legends both of Sakastan and of Iran.»

On the mythical basic structure we are in full agreement, while merely believing that the Sinological reasons brought forth may be superfluous ; also because, among other things, what is meant by *Čin* and *čīnī* in the Iranian world is known of long,⁶⁰ and because the «Pahlavic» form of Akvān is — as the

⁶⁰ Thanks especially to the research of A. S. Melikian-Chirvani ; cf. *Le Bouddhisme dans l'Iran musulman*, in *Le Monde Iranien et l'Islam* II, p. 62 of the offprint.

evidence goes — nothing but a play of words and meaning with *gavān* («heroes», i.e. «multitude of courageous men which has become as a single person»). For the name of the demon-wind-onager it is possible to provide explanations of a purely local character, perhaps even more local than was believed by Spiegel⁶¹ or Nöldeke.⁶² For this, it is sufficient to think of the area which, in Iran, presents itself as the ideal birthplace of the hemyone. Of course, even in the Iranian zone, as in the Fertile Crescent, one may pose the paleontological and historical problem of clarifying which was the exact species of equides to be considered legitimate predecessor of the horse in a «coadjuvating» position. In fact, we know that the presumed onager of the Standard of Ur does not appear to be such any longer;⁶³ and also for Carmania we might suggest — as a contrast with our Akvān — some being corresponding to the *Equus asinus Palestinae* on which debate is concerned at present, following a report by Ducos.⁶⁴ However, an ancient stereotype would bring about a distance between the «Hamito-Semitic» ass, which feared the cold, and Scythia,⁶⁵ Pontus,⁶⁶ and the Indoeuropean area in general,⁶⁷ despite the tradition, taken up in the tenth Pythiac by Pindarus, of the Hyperborean sacrifice of the ass :⁶⁸ the latter might,

⁶¹ Fr. Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde* I, Leipzig 1871, p. 637, n. 1 : «Dieser Name scheint altbaktrischen Akavao, mit Sunden begabt, zu entsprechen. Ob dieser Akavao eins mit Ako-mano vermag ist nicht anzugeben».

⁶² T. Nöldeke, *Das Iranische Nationalepos*, Zweite Auflage, Berlin—Leipzig 1920, p. 10 : «Besonders bezeichnend ist für ihn sein Abenteuer mit dem Dämon Akvān. (n. 7)». (N. 7) Ich hege den Verdacht, das *اكران* in Firdausi's Vorlage aus verschrieben oder von Dichter verlesen oder aber von ihm, der mit Eigennamen sehr willkürlich umspringt, zurecht gemacht ist und hier eigentlich Akemmano (Akoman), der specielle Gegner des Vohumano (Bahram) ist. Schon Spiegel war (*Eran. Alterth.*, I, 637) nahe daran, diese Identification auszusprechen, hat den Schluss aber nicht gezogen, will ihm der Gedanke nicht nahe lag, das wie arab. Schrift die Schuld an der Einstellung haben möge. Der Wildesel in dessen Gestalt Akvān den Rustam lerückt, gehört zwar der guten Schöpfung an, aber des beliebtes Tier des grossen Jagd passt er und kommt auch sonst ganz ähnlich (1094 f. M. 1846 f.) als Verführende Gestalt vor».

⁶³ On these problems, F. Mario Fales, in *L'Alba della Civiltà*, Torino 1976, chap. II, *La produzione primaria*, pp. 248—261.

⁶⁴ P. Ducos, *The Oriental Institute Excavation at Mureybit, Syria: preliminary report on the campaign. Part IV: les restes d'equides*, in *JNES* XXXIX (1970), pp. 273—289.

⁶⁵ Herodotus, IV, 130 ; Strabo, 7, 3, 18 (7, 4, 8, on the Scythian onager).

⁶⁶ Pliny, 8, 167.

⁶⁷ Schraeder, *Realexicon des Indoeuropäischen Altertums* I, p. 205.

⁶⁸ The analogous sacrifice usual at Delphi causes difficulties in reading the legend of Midas and of his asinine ears, the result of a refusal of harmonies of Delphi in favour of those of Pan. I.e. it is not clear — neither in the initial scene of Aristophanes' *Frogs*, nor in the Islamic *topos* on Christ's ass- whether an honour or a demerit is represented by the act of bearing sacred loads. We would incline towards the first solution : but a subsequent «depreciation» would not be too unusual. As for the motif of the cold climate not fit for asses, cf. also Marco Polo, *Milione*, CLXXXVIII, and his «asini assai nelle parti di Tramontana».

of course be a rite made precious by the rarity of the animal, but it implies at all events a close participation of the beast itself to the social and religious life of the relevant community. In any case, if the same doubts are allowed for the hemyone of Carmania and of Ur, it does not seem possible to be in any great perplexity concerning the Sistan onager, *zābulī* we might say, i.e. of Garshāsp and Rustam, i.e. of Vayu and Zurvān/Zāl.

Quoting from very recent research:⁶⁹ «Equides are represented [at Shahr-i sūkhta, III mill. B. C.] by the wild ass or hemyone. Since Sistan is part of the original milieu of the onager (*ghor-khar*) the archaeological remains are referred to this subspecies . . . It may be held that the flesh of the hemyone was used for eating. It is very likely that the hemyones rarely constituted the objects of hunting . . . the fiery nature of the present-day onagers has been an impassable obstacle toward their domestication . . . The onager, as in general the wild Asiatic asses, is originally a typical dweller of the pre-desertic steppes, being an animal much tied to water, unlike the African wild ass . . . Sistan in the age of Shahr-i sūkhta must have represented an ideal habitat for the life of the hemyone, due to the vast terraced areas covered by underbush, as well as for the salt-laden vegetation, and for the presence of the Hamun-i Hilmand basin. Moreover, its disappearance . . . goes back to a very recent age. In 1902 [the animal] was still so abundant as to be the object of regular hunt on the margins of the Registan desert . . .». As for the problem of the presence of the ass at Shahr-i sūkhta, «a positive answer would be of great interest, since it would constitute the most ancient indication of the ass in Sistan. Hitherto, the earliest positive testimony . . . is . . . at Dhan-i Ghulaman . . . in the VI—IV centuries B. C. From the same city come also a few bones of hemyone and horse. Since the horse has not been found at Shahr-i Sokhta, if the indication of the ass could find confirmation, the latter would have been introduced into Sistan 1200 years before the horse: in the opposite case . . . more or less at the same time».

The most plausible localization of primitive Zābul has already been indicated for some time,⁷⁰ and the local legends which place the glades of Samangān, in themselves negligible, in the adjacent zone of Rashkhwār (Akbarābād, the Parthian Qal'a-yi Jij), confirm further a constant tradition in Turkmenian folklore: i.e. that Čanbul > Čanlibel is to be found in the «four-mountain» region close to Herat, which can hardly be other than the area of Adraskan-Sabzavār in Afghanistan, rigidly divided into four parts, where still

⁶⁹ L. Caloi e B. Compagnoni, *Gli Equidi*, in *La Città Bruciata del Deserto Salato*, Venezia 1977, pp. 191—192, 197.

⁷⁰ By G. Vercellin, *Il monte-santuario di Qal'e-kāh nel Sistan afgano*, in *ACaF* XI, 3 (1974), SO. 3, pp. 75—117, cf. p. 90.

are bestowed the two place-names of Zābul and Awqal.⁷¹ In the time of Tate, «the name of the district is Hokat. The exact significance of the name cannot be ascertained. As it is now pronounced, the word differs from the form in vogue at the present day; in Sistan is Auk and the inhabitants are called Aukatis; this is very much closer to the ancient form of the name than the first». ⁷² In any case, and however it may be read and interpreted, the form Awq corresponds to a place renowned for its great antiquity, seat of a peculiar cult which is that of the *Jabal al-Faṭḥ*, or *Mons Victoralis* of the Kings of Bethlehem, or Kūh-i Zūr/Zor/Zāl/Zurvān; and the Afghans, who according to a surely not vain legend come from a *Kūh-i Fīrūza* («victorious» or «turquoise»),⁷³ sharing here a religiously «Jewish» phase with the «Zurvanite» family of Rustam,⁷⁴ derive their very peculiar name from none other but that toponym, «normalized» in a popular and picturesque fashion (as is suggested by G. Vercellin in the form of a too modest hypothesis).⁷⁵ In fact, they have been known in Iran and Europe as Awkans and Akwans long before than as Afghans; and the language of the Turkmenians — important bearers, as said, of specific linguistic relics — does not even at present make use of the modern term. The country under discussion is still called, according to them, Awqān, and a camouflaged reflex of this is also maintained, probably, in the popular Khorasanian use of saying *Afghān* for *Afghanestān* and *Afghāni*. Thus, if the immediate descendants of the Avagāna of the VI century Indian sources have inherited the «victorial» culture of Awq, which is the same as saying the culture of Zābul and of Zāl/Zurvān, or of the country of Garshāsp and Vayu, there can be nothing peculiar in the fact that a «demon» of theirs, which is Vayu and the victorious Verethragna⁷⁶, and the local onager by spontaneous association of ideas, should have a name meaning, more or less, nothing else than *Zābulī*. Tate provides information on the specific «corruptibility» of the name: but

⁷¹ Cf. also, by G. Vercellin, *Šindand. Le vicende di un toponimo afgano*, in *ACaF*, XIII, 3 (1974), SO. 5, pp. 99—107. The interpretation of *čār-dāgh* as «quadrimontium» has of long been provided by a specialist such as Karryev, who, however, has not derived from it the same consequences as ours, and has not even compared them with the other intimation mentioned above.

⁷² G. P. Tate, *Seistan. A Memoir on the History, Topography, Ruins and People of the Country*, III, Calcutta 1910, p. 122.

⁷³ Cf. again G. Vercellin, *Firuz, Firuzkuh, Firuzkuhi*, in *ACaF* XV, 3, (1976), SO. 7, pp. 75—85.

⁷⁴ Cf. our article quoted in n. 7.

⁷⁵ G. Vercellin, *Sulla voce «Fīrūzkūh»*, in *E. I. in Rivista degli Studi Orientali* L (1976) pp. 323—324.

⁷⁶ An exceedingly rationalizing objection would be that the comparison with Vayu does not necessarily imply a comparison with Verethragna. For the functional relationship between the two we do not believe than anything more precise may be said after Widengren.

Akvān is a *facilior* variant from the phonetical viewpoint (cf. also Kruzinski)⁷⁷ than a prototype which we too would seek in the vicinity of *Ābak*, *Āβag*, Pashtu *oba*.

At this point, it is only required to think of how the pair Verethragna-onager is recomposed in the name itself, very well-known as it is, of Bahrām Gur: the primitive naturistic wind-onager gives way to a mythological personified wind *plus* an onager, and then, in the fable, to a hero who hunts onagers. It will be thus clear that Pre-Islamic Near Eastern antiquity had very precise symbological figurative realizations of the wind, both as an instrument of victory (Verethragna) and as an instrument of *mī'rāj* (the miraculous mount of the Akvān type).

Can new light thus be acquired by the tradition — otherwise certainly difficult to be understood — according to which Bahrām Gur proper would have been the restorer of the ancient lost Dyonisiac spirit at the court of justice of the Persian kings?⁷⁸ Be that as it may: if Bahrām Gur, i.e. the onager Verethragna, is also Vahagn, as Orbeli states with strong arguments and not incorrectly,⁷⁹ here is a further plausible explanation of the «double» Zurvanite traits, of the Zāl-i zar type, of the Armenian hero identified with Herakles:⁸⁰ and this time we will be on the level of myth itself, not on that of intellectual analogies.

But the search in the iconographical field is certainly not less stimulating than the one we have here begun among the papers of the Medieval poets. On this line it must be said, and recalled in concluding, that — apart from the ascensional iconography of the Jamshīd-Ka'ūs-Alexander type, and apart from the innumerable Burāq > onagers which are everywhere found in the act of accompanying the Prophet of Islam to heaven — the evidence of a journey up high effected by the aid of winged anthropomorphical genii, angel-turned winds so to speak, seems to us to be preponderant in the Iranian milieu. For this theme, cf. especially certain miniatures of the XIV century described

⁷⁷ *Tarih-i Seyyah, hoc est chronicon peregrinantis seu Historia ultimi belli Persarum cum Aghwanis gestis, e tempore primae eorum in Regnum Persicum ejusque occupationis, usque ad Eschrefum Aghwanum* . . . Leipzig 1731.

⁷⁸ *Le Livre de la Couronne, Kitāb al-tāğ (fi aḥlaq al-mulūk)*, ouvrage attribué a Ḡāhiz, traduit par Ch. Pellat, Paris 1954, pp. 57–58. We speak of loss and restoration thinking of Herodotus I, 133.

⁷⁹ J. Orbeli, *Sasanian and early Islamic Metalwork*, in Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* I, 1938, pp. 725–729.

⁸⁰ Abegjan, *op. cit.*, p. 27. In ancient song Vahagn is an infant with flaming beard and hair, and this may recall also a further Armenian child, hungry for immortality (G. Scarcia, *La distruzione del dato mitologico nell'Eskandar-nāme*, Roma, Accademia dei Lincei 1977, p. 118), while, for a suggestion of ours, relevant to a *facilior* reading of the zar of Zāl-i zar, cf. G. Scarcia, *Sulla religione di Zābul*, p. 155.

by Ettinghausen;⁸¹ and, at the height of the Safavid age, the often recalled iconographies on carpets analyzed by Camman and on the *kāshī* of the caravansary of Ganj 'Alī Khān at Kirmān (exactly the Carmania of the Firdusian Akvān and of the asses of Nearchos and Strabo, long overrun by the Auquan tribes):⁸² all images, in our opinion, of a psychopomp angelwind. The birds with human face, or the winged semi-anthropomorphic beings, in a famous *tūrbe* of Niğde, appear almost as a midway meeting-point (there is no psychical or spiritual distance, as is well known, between Balkh and Rūm) between this rarer typology of Burāq and the more usual one.⁸³

⁸¹ R. Ettinghausen, *Persian Ascension Miniatures of the Fourteenth Century*, in *Atti dei Convegni . . . Volta, XII Convegno . . . 27 maggio- 1 giugno 1956*, Roma, Accademia dei Lincei, 1957, p. 366: «He [an angel] serves not only as a guide but he actually carries the Prophet on his shoulders, thus taking on the function usually assumed by Burāq . . .»; p. 367: «The angel carries Muhammad in the company of many minor angels high above mountains . . .»; p. 383: «. . . in that century there must have been current a large body of stories dealing with various forms of ascension . . .». Fig. 12 commented on p. 383 («Angel carrying Young Prince Aloft») might functionally correspond to the psychopomp of the Hermes, or Christ, type bearing infants (cf. above and n. 31).

⁸² Cf. J. Aubin, *Deux Sayyids de Bam au XV siècle*, Wiesbaden 1956 (pp. 375—501), pp. 391, 399.

⁸³ Cf. the «Sfinx-Burāq» of E. Baer, *Sphinxes and Harpies in Medieval Islamic Art. An Iconographical Study*, Jerusalem 1965, Tav 81 (On the Hudavent Türbesi of Niğde, p. 65, note 59).

DIE SAMMLUNG TÜRKISCHER HANDSCHRIFTEN IN
DER STAATSBIBLIOTHEK PREUSSISCHER
KULTURBESITZ (BERLIN/WEST)

VON

KLAUS SCHWARZ (Berlin/West)

Friedrich Wilhelm, Kurfürst von Brandenburg (1640–1688) — später bezeichneten ihn viele als den «Großen Kurfürsten» — hatte am 20. April 1659 während des dänischen Feldzuges die Weisung erteilt, die Privatbibliothek der Hohenzollern, die in den Dachkammern des Berliner Schlosses lagerte, der Öffentlichkeit zugänglich zu machen. Zu diesem Zwecke wurden in einem Flügel des Schlosses Umbauten vorgenommen, die im Jahre 1661 abgeschlossen werden konnten. Die «Churfürstliche Bibliothek» wurde eröffnet. Sie war damals wohl nicht besonders umfangreich, sollte sich aber in der Folgezeit zu einer der großen Bibliotheken Europas entwickeln. Gemäß der Entwicklung des brandenburgisch-creußischen Staates trug sie später den Namen «Königliche Bibliothek» und dann schließlich «Preußische Staatsbibliothek».¹

Während des Zweiten Weltkrieges wurden die wertvollen Buch- und Handschriftenbestände in verschiedene Teile Deutschlands ausgelagert. Der größte Teil der orientalischen Handschriften überstand den Krieg unbeschädigt im Benediktinerkloster Beuron in Schwaben und gelangte dann in die Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen und nach Marburg/Hessen, wo die Bücher, die in Westdeutschland lagerten, unter dem Namen «Westdeutsche Bibliothek» zusammengeführt wurden. Seit 1964 erfolgte schließlich die Rückführung der Bücher und Handschriften nach Berlin (West) in das neue Gebäude der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, das am 15. Dezember 1978 feierlich eröffnet wurde.²

Dem Sammeln der Schriften der Völker des Orients wurde stets besondere Bedeutung beigemessen. Zeitweise wurde die «Königliche Bibliothek» auch von Orientalisten geleitet, so 1817–1840 von Friedrich Wilken, dem Verfasser der siebenbändigen «*Geschichte der Kreuzzüge nach morgenländischen und*

¹ Einen guten Überblick zur Geschichte der Bibliothek bieten Eugen Paunel, *Die Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. Ihre Geschichte und Organisation während der ersten zwei Jahrhunderte seit ihrer Eröffnung. 1661–1871*, Berlin 1965; und *Deutsche Staatsbibliothek 1661–1961. Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Leipzig 1961, 2 Bde.

² Vgl. hierzu *Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Festgabe zur Eröffnung des Neubaus in Berlin*. Hrsg. von Ekkehart Vesper, Wiesbaden 1978.

abendländischen Berichten» und 1873—1884 von dem großen Ägyptologen Richard Lepsius.

So besitzt die Bibliothek eine große Sammlung von Büchern aus den Ländern Asiens und Afrikas. Die Bestände an Büchern aus Ostasien — schon der Große Kurfürst und Leibniz interessierten sich besonders für chinesische Bücher — sind wohl die umfangreichsten Deutschlands.

Daneben verwaltet die 1919 gegründete Orientabteilung der Bibliothek wohl eine der bedeutendsten orientalischen Handschriftensammlungen, unter ihnen eine große Sammlung türkischer Stücke, die im Laufe der Jahrhunderte stetig gewachsen ist. Schon bei ihrer Gründung besaß die Bibliothek türkische Handschriften und im Jahre 1914 konnte festgestellt werden, daß die Bibliothek mehr orientalische als abendländische Handschriften besitzt.

Bereits vier Jahre nach der Gründung der Bibliothek wurde eine ihrer türkischen Handschriften auszugsweise von einem Fachmann sozusagen «herausgegeben». Der lutherische Theologe und Orientalist Andreas Müller — sonst mehr bekannt durch seine chinesischen Studien³ — druckte nämlich 1665 die «*maḡsad-i aḡsā*» genannte Abhandlung des Nasafi über islamische Mystik und Gotterkenntnis.⁴

Für die Katalogisierung und Beschreibung der türkischen Handschriften ist bereits Bedeutendes geleistet worden.

Schon 1889 legte Pertsch das erste «*Verzeichniss der türkischen Handschriften*»⁵ vor, in dem 514 Stücke beschrieben sind. Nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg kam die Katalogisierungsarbeit erst richtig in Bewegung mit dem 1957 auf Anregung und mit Unterstützung der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) begründeten Unternehmen der Katalogisierung der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland. Unter der tatkräftigen Leitung des kürzlich verstorbenen Herausgebers Wolfgang Voigt erschienen im Rahmen des «*Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland (VOHD)*» die Bände von Barbara Flemming (1968),⁶ Manfred Götz (zwei Bände 1968⁷ und 1979⁸

³ Eine ausführliche Würdigung seines Schaffens bietet Eva Kraft, *Frühe chinesische Studien in Berlin*: *Medizinhistorisches Journal* 11 (1976) 1/2. S. 92—128.

⁴ Nasafi, 'Aziz Ibn-Muḡammad, *Excerpta manuscripti cuiusdam turcici quod de cognitione Dei et hominis ipsius a quodam Azizo Nesephaeo Tataro scriptum est et in Bibliotheca electorali Brandenburgica asservatur: quae cum versione latina et notis nonnullis subitaneis* in publ. emittit Andreas Müllerus. Colon. Brandenb. 1665.

⁵ Wilhelm Pertsch, *Verzeichniss der türkischen Handschriften*, Berlin 1889. (Die Handschriftenverzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin. Bd IV.)

⁶ Barbara Flemming, *Türkische Handschriften*. Teil 1, Wiesbaden 1968. (*Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Bd XIII, 1.)

⁷ Manfred Götz, *Türkische Handschriften*, Teil 2, Wiesbaden 1968. (*Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Bd XIII, 2.)

⁸ Manfred Götz, *Türkische Handschriften*, Wiesbaden 1979. (*Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Bd XIII, 4.)

und Hanna Sohrweide (zwei Bände 1974⁹ und 1981¹⁰), in denen insgesamt über zweitausend Stücke ausführlich beschrieben werden.

Neben diesen Bänden finden sich auch an anderer Stelle Beschreibungen und Vermerke über türkische Handschriften der Berliner Sammlung. So hat Johann Heinrich Mordtmann ein Verzeichnis der Handschriften seines Vaters, von denen einige in den Besitz der Staatsbibliothek gelangten, publiziert.¹¹ Franz Babinger hat ebenfalls für sein bekanntes Werk *«Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke»*¹² die Berliner Handschriften mit berücksichtigt, allerdings naturgemäß nur jene, welche die Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches betrafen.

Neben der Beschreibung der Texte der Handschriften galt das wissenschaftliche Interesse auch stets ihrer kunstvollen Ausstattung und den in ihnen enthaltenen Miniaturen. Hier sei der Katalog von Jörg Kraemer¹³ und besonders der gemeinsame Band von Ivan Stehoukine, Barbara Flemming, Paul Luft und Hanna Sohrweide erwähnt, in dem die türkischen Miniaturen der Staatsbibliothek vorgestellt werden.¹⁴ Erst kürzlich hat die Orientabteilung in einer Ausstellung einen Querschnitt ihrer vielfältigen Handschriftenbestände unter buchünstlerischem Aspekt vorgestellt, zu der auch ein repräsentativer Katalog erschienen ist.¹⁵

Im folgenden soll nun ein kurzen Überblick über Neuerwerbungen der letzten Jahre gegeben werden. Hierbei kann und soll freilich in diesem Rahmen nur eine Kurzbeschreibung vorgelegt werden. Eine ausführliche Beschreibung wie in den vielen vorgenannten Katalogen bleibt einem späteren Zeitpunkt vorbehalten.

⁹ Hanna Sohrweide, *Türkische Handschriften und einige in den Handschriften enthaltene persische und arabische Werke*, Wiesbaden 1974. (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland. Bd XIII, 3.)

¹⁰ Hanna Sohrweide, *Türkische Handschriften*, Wiesbaden 1981. (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland. Bd XIII, 5.)

¹¹ Johann Heinrich Mordtmann, *Die Orientalischen Handschriften der Sammlung A. D. Mordtmann sr*, in: *«Der Islam»*, XIV, 3/4, S. 361–377.

¹² Franz Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, Leipzig 1927.

¹³ Jörg Kraemer, *Persische Miniaturen und ihr Umkreis. Buch- und Schriftkunst arabischer, persischer, türkischer und indischer Handschriften aus dem Besitz der früheren Preußischen Staats- und der Tübinger Universitätsbibliothek*, Tübingen 1956.

¹⁴ Ivan Stehoukine, Barbara Flemming, Paul Luft und Hanna Sohrweide, *Illuminierte islamische Handschriften*, Wiesbaden 1971. (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Bd XVI.) S. 225–281.

¹⁵ *Islamische Buchkunst aus 1000 Jahren; Ausstellung der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz*, Bearb. von D. George, H. Kurio, K. Schwarz und K. Sollfrank, Wiesbaden 1980. (Ausstellungskataloge/Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz. 12.)

G l a u b e, R e l i g i o n

Nr. 1

Hs. or. 8334

Aḥsan el-hadīs

13 × 20,5 cm, 179 Blatt

des Oqčizāde Meḥmed Šāhī (vgl. unten Nr. 15). Sammlung von vierzig Überlieferungen mit türkischer Übersetzung. Die Abschrift unseres Stückes wurde am 4. Reğeb 1035/1. April 1626 — also noch zu Lebzeiten des Autors — von einem Kadi von Aqča Qazanlıq, namens Ṭāhir, vollendet.

Andere Handschriften: Sohrweide II, Nr. 11 (mit ausführlicher Beschreibung) und Pertsch, Nr. 8 und 17.

R e c h t

Nr. 2

Hs. or. 8293

Şakk

12 × 21 cm, 121 Blatt

ein Urkundenformularbuch des Ḥizr b. 'Oṣmān.

Dieser beklagt in der Einleitung die fehlenden Kenntnisse vieler in der Justiz Tätigen hinsichtlich der korrekten Ausfertigung von Gerichtsurkunden. Zudem müßten diese Urkunden in der Sprache der Zeit — in Türkisch — ausgefertigt werden. Daher habe er die Konzepte der Fälle, die ihm während seines Berufslebens als Richter und u. a. als Sekretär (*Kātib*) des Heeresrichters von Rumelien, Beyāzizāde Aḥmed Efendi, bekannt geworden waren, aufgehoben, später geordnet, vervollständigt und in Form dieses Werkes zusammengestellt. Diese Fallsammlung ist eine hochinteressante Quelle zum täglichen Leben und Rechtsgeschehen der türkischen Hauptstadt und ihrer Umgebung.

Die Handschrift ist am 19. Safer 1131/11. Januar 1719 datiert (Blatt 114a). Es folgt eine Sammlung von Beglaubigungsformeln von Urkunden (Bl. 114b—121b).

Andere Hss.: Sohrweide II, Nr. 123 (unvollständig) und Karatay, Topkapı, Nr. 317.

S t i f t u n g s u r k u n d e n

Nr. 3

Hs. or. 8314

Abschrift der Stiftungsurkunde eines

26,5 × 78,5 cm, 1 Blatt

Čavuşzāde el-Ḥāğğ Meḥmed Aja b. Aḥmed

Der Stifter — wohnhaft im Stadtteil Veled-i Ḥabīb (Bursa) — errichtet aus 1050 Gurusch eine Stiftung. Die Zinserträge dieses Betrages in Höhe von

jährlich 105 *Guruş* sollen für genau bestimmte Zwecke dem Derwisch-Kloster des *Eşrefiye-Scheichs Eşrefzāde Seyyid ʿAbd al-Qādir Neǧīb Ef.*¹⁶ im Stadtteil *İngirliĝe* (Bursa) zufließen. Zum Verwalter (Mütevelli) wird vorübergehend der Scheich *Eşrefzāde Seyyid Sāfi ud-Dīn Ef.* bestimmt. Im *Ruǧūʿ-Prozeß* beruft sich der Verwalter auf den *Imam al-Ansarī*. Die Urkunde ist am 13. *Ĝemāzī* I 1170/3. Februar 1757 datiert. Der vorliegende Registerauszug (Abschrift) stammt vom 12. *Ševvāl* 1172/8. Juni 1759. Unter den 10 Zeugen befinden sich Scheiche und ein Professor. Bei der Errichtung dieser Stiftung wirkte der *reʿis ül-küttāb* شبلى زاد. على Efendi mit.¹⁷

Nr. 4

Hs. or. 8304

17 × 25 cm, 12 Blatt

Stiftungsurkunde des ehemaligen Heeresrichters von Rumelien
Abū Ishāq Ismāʿil, Sohn des Ibrāhīm Efendi.

Gegenstand der Stiftung sind zwei Häuser im Istanbuler Stadtteil *Mīrāḫūr*¹⁸, ein Haus außerhalb von Galata im mahalle قمر خاتون (?) mit Garten sowie weitere Liegenschaften in *Qasimpaşa* (Bad, Brunnen, Çörek-Bäckerei usw.). Die Urkunde trägt das Datum vom 9. *Zilhiĝge* 1126/16. Dezember 1714. Es werden zwanzig Zeugen genannt — und zwar Professoren (*müderris*), Kadis, Gebetsrufer (*müʿezzīn*), ein Imam, ein Derwisch, ein Drogist (*ʿattār*) und ein Wiegemeister (*ser terāzī*). Auf dem letzten Blatt befindet sich eine Kaufurkunde. Auf dem ersten Blatt stehen Urteilsspruch und Beglaubigungsvermerk des Kadis von Istanbul *Velī ud-Dīn* b. *el-Mewlā Şeyh Mehmed*.¹⁹

¹⁶ Wahrscheinlich der Sohn des scheich *ʿIzz ad-Dīn*. Er wurde 1115 geboren, starb 1202 und ist im Tekke im Stadtteil *İngirliĝe* (Bursa) begraben. Vgl. Belig, I.: *Güldeste-i riyāz-i ʿirfān ve vefayāt-i dānişverān-i nadiredān*, Bl. 84 a. Auf Blatt 83 b dieser Berliner Handschrift finden sich wertvolle Randglossen zur Geschichte von *Eşrefiye-Scheichen* (Hs. or. 8335).

¹⁷ In der Liste bei Reyhman, Jan und A. Zajaczkowski, *Handbook of Ottoman-Turkish Diplomats*, 1968, S. 163 und Aḫmed Resmī, *Ḥalīfet ür-rüʿesā* mit dieser Namensform nicht enthalten. Zur *Eşrefiye*, einem Zweig der *Qadiriye* vgl. IA, Bd 4, S. 396 und Iz, F.: *«Eşrefoĝlu»*, in: EI², Supplement. S. 282.

¹⁸ Wahrscheinlich Imrahor, kurz vor Yedikule gelegen. Vgl. Mantran, R., *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVII^e siècle*, 1962, Carte 10.

¹⁹ Laut Ziyaoĝlu, Rakim, *Istanbul Kaduları-şehreminleri-belediye reisleri ve partiler tarihi. 1453—1971*, Istanbul 1971, S. 60 handelt es sich wohl um Kevakifizade Veliyüddin Efendi.

Nr. 5

Stiftungsurkunde²⁰

Hs. or. 8302

16 × 24,5 cm, 18 Blatt

der Stiftung des mehrmaligen Großwesirs *Koça Sinān* Pascha (gest. am 4. April 1596) in *Uzunğaova/Uzundžovo* zwischen Plovdiv und Edirne. Die Stiftung besteht aus einer Moschee, einer Armenküche (*‘imāret*) und zwei Herbergen. Der Großwesir begründete diese Stiftung im Juli 1593, als er mit dem Heer nach Ungarn zog, wo er drei Monate später Veszprém und Palota eroberte.

Nr. 6

Hs. or. 8313

18,5 × 42 cm, 1 Blatt

Abschrift einer Stiftungsurkunde
eines *Ḥāğği Mehmed* b. *‘Abdallāh*

Der Stifter errichtet aus seinem Haus mit Garten und dem, was dazugehört, im Stadtteil *Selčuk Hatun* in Bursa eine Stiftung.

Die arabische Urkunde wurde in der letzten Dekade des Monats *Reğeb* 995/28. Juni—6. Juli 1587 geschrieben. Urteil und Beurkundung stammen vom Richter in Bursa.

Nr. 7

Hs. or. 8296

12 × 20,5 cm, 17 Blatt

Stiftungsurkunde und Kaufvertrag
einer *Raḥime Hatun*

Die erste Urkunde (1b—5a) behandelt den Verkauf von vier Fünfteln eines Wohnhauses im Istanbuler Stadtteil Galata. Ein gewisser *‘Abdallāh*, Sohn des *Qarğıbaşı Ḥağği Muştafā*, verkauft die ihm gehörenden vier Fünftel eines im «mahalle» *Oğcizāde Mūsā*²¹ gelegenen Hauses (*menzil*) an seine Schwester *Raḥime Hatun*. Der Kaufpreis beträgt 400 *Esedî guruş*. Die Käuferin errichtet danach eine Stiftung, deren Urkunde sich von Blatt 6a—17b anschließt. Die Stifterin verfügt, daß ihr Neffe *Ibrāhım Čelebi* und ihr Bruder *‘Abdallāh Čelebi*

²⁰ Faksimile und Bearbeitung dieser vaqfiye finden sich bei Klaus Schwarz und Hars Kurio, *Die Stiftungen des osmanischen Großwesirs Koça Sinān Pascha (gest. 1596) in Uzunğaova (Bulgarien)*: Berlin 1983. (*Islamkundliche Untersuchungen*. 80.)

²¹ Vgl. Ülgen, A. A., *Fatih devrinde İstanbul (1453—1481)*, Ankara 1939, S. 40.

und später deren Nachkommen in dem Hause wohnen sollen. Dafür sollen sie jeder pro Tag 1 *Ağçe* an den Imam der *Şehsüvār-Moschee* in Galata zahlen. Als Zeugen für beide Urkunden treten u. a. der Regiments-Kommandeur (ser oda) der Janitscharen *Muṣṭafā Baša*, ein Schneidermeister und ein Schwertmacher (?) (*sayyāf*) auf.

Geschichte, Biografien etc.

Nr. 8

Tārīḥ-i Mi'mar Sinān . . .
(bzw. *Selimiyye*)

Hs. or. 8328

13 × 21,5 cm, 35 Blatt

des *Dāyezāde Muṣṭafā* (GOW. Nr. 244), der *Kethüdā beim Defterdār* für Rumelien war. Im Jahre 1156/1743 war er beim Angriff der Perser 75 Tage in der Festung Kars eingeschlossen. Der Verfasser beschäftigt sich ausführlich mit der *Selimiyye-Moschee* in Edirne und ihrem Erbauer Sinān. Im Text erwähnt er Titel und Inhalt weiterer Schriften aus seiner Feder. Die Abschrift besorgte *Süleymān b. Ḥabīb*, Imam an der *Bāyezīd Moschee*, und vollendete sie am 27. *Ġemāzī* II. 1182/8. Nov. 1768.

Andere Hss.: Flemming, I, Nr. 331.

Nr. 9

Tārīḥ-i Tīrū Ḥasan Paša

Hs. or. 8329

12 × 20 cm, 87 Blatt

Beschreibung der Belagerung von Kanizsa durch Erzherzog Ferdinand und dessen tapfere und listenreiche Verteidigung durch *Tīryākī* (Opiumesser) *Ḥasan Paša* im Jahre 1601. Das Werk trägt ganz den Charakter eines *ğazānāme*. Der Verfasser befand sich im Stabe des Paschas und hat sein Werk am 5. *Reğeb* 1074/2. Februar 1664 beendet. Aus einem Exemplar in *Manisa* (Parmaksızoglu, I.: *Manisa genel Kütüphanesi tarih-cografya yazmaları katalogu*, 1952, S. 32 f.) geht hervor, daß es ein gewisser *Aḥmed b. 'Osmān b. Sānī* war.

Die Geschichten um *Tīryākī Ḥasan Paša* liegen auch in anderen Bearbeitungen vor. Vgl. Levend, A. S., *Gazavāt-nāmeler ve Mihaloğlu Ali Bey'in gazavāt-nāmesi*, Ankara 1956. S. 98–103. Vgl. auch Blaškovič, Josef: *Arabische, türkische und persische Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek in Bratislava*, Bratislava 1961, Nr. 450, S. 326 f.

Die Abschrift unseres Exemplars wurde am 16. *Reğeb* 1129/26. Juni 1717 abgeschlossen.

- Nr. 10 Hs. or. 8364
17 × 27 cm, 538 Blatt
Künh ül-ahbār

des bekannten Geschichtsschreibers *Muṣṭafā b. Aḥmed*, genannt *‘Alī* (GOW, Nr. 110). Die Handschrift schließt mit den Ereignissen des Jahres 1004/beg. am 6. September 1595. *Damad Ibrāhīm Pascha* wird anstelle des verstorbenen *Sinān Pascha* zum Großwesir ernannt. Die Handschrift enthält wertvolle Randglossen. Ihr Schreiber war *‘Alī b. Ḥasan* aus *Qırqkılise*, Imām der dortigen Moschee. Die Handschrift ist 1084/beg. am 18. April 1673 geschrieben.

- Nr. 11 Hs. or. 8179
13,5 × 21 cm, 49 Blatt
Selīmnāme

des *Suḡūdī Ćelebi* (GOW, Nr. 35).

Es schildert die Feldzüge Sultan Selīm I. gegen die Safawiden in Persien und die Mamluken in Ägypten. Die Handschrift ist undatiert. Weitere Exemplare befinden sich in Wien (Flügel, Nr. 992) und im Istanbuler Topkapı-Saray-Museum. (Karatay, Nr. 2961, 1).

- Nr. 12 Hs. or. 8335
Güldeste-i riyāz-i ‘irfān ve vefayāt-i dānişverān-i nādiredān

des 1142/1729 verstorbenen *Isma‘īl Belĳ*. Das in fünf Rosenstöcke (*gülbün*) geordnete Werk (GOW, Nr. 232) enthält die Lebensgeschichten berühmter Persönlichkeiten, die in Bursa begraben sind. Die Abschrift stammt von *Derwisch Aḥmed Ziyā ad-dīn Eşrefzāde* (Vgl. hierzu oben Nr. 3), dessen eigene Schriften auf der Rückseite des ersten Blattes genannt werden. Die Handschrift ist 1188/1774 entstanden. Sie ist reichlich mit Randglossen ausgestattet, die einzelne Biographien über das Jahr der Abschrift hinaus fortsetzen.

Geographie

- Nr. 13 Hs. or. 8201
15 × 23,5 cm, 267 Blatt
Hadīqat ül-ğevāmi‘

des *Ḥüseyn Ayvānsarāyi* (gest. 1201/1786–7). Das vorliegende Exemplar wurde von *Mehmed ‘Ömer Fā’iq ad-Dimaşqī* (laut GOW, Nr. 316, im Jahre 1245/1829 gestorben) abgeschrieben. Darüber hinaus hat *‘Ömer Fā’iq* das Grundwerk ergänzt und bis auf seine Zeit fortgeführt. Die Abschrift unseres Textes wurde am 27. *Rebī’* I 1228/30. März 1813 von ihm beendet.

In š a-Werke

- Nr. 14 Hs. or. 8336
Münše'āt 16 × 26 cm, Bl. 1a—77b

des *'Azmižāde Muṣṭafā*, der den Dichternamen *Hāletī* trug (vgl. Babinger, F., «*'Azmižāde*», in *El*², I S. 826).

Diese Sammlung von Staatsschreiben beginnt mit Briefen an den Großwesir *Mehmed Pascha* (Bl. 1b) und den *Qapudan 'Alī Pascha* und endet mit einem «*nāme-i hūmāyūn*» an Schah *'Abbās*. Die Handschrift ist undatiert.

Weitere Handschriften befinden sich in Wien (Flügel, I, 265), London (Rieu, S. 96 b) und Istanbul (Hamidiyye-Bibliothek, jetzt in der Süleimaniye-Bibliothek).

- Nr. 15 Hs. or. 8336
Münše'āt 16 × 26 cm, Bl. 78a—215b

des *Oqčizāde Mehmed b. Mehmed* (gest. 1039/beg. 21. August 1629). Er war Diwan-Schreiber und später dann *re'is ül-küttāb* sowie *nišanġi*. Eine genaue Beschreibung findet sich bei Rieu, S. 97f.

Literatur

- Nr. 16 Hs. or. 8337
'Ibretnāme 10,5 × 17 cm, 147 Blatt

des *Lāmi'i Mahmūd b. 'Osmān* (gest. 1532).

Vgl. Karahan, A., «*Lami'i*» in: *IA*, VII, 10—15. Die Sammlung von Heiligenlegenden und Erzählungen entstand 1525/26 in Bursa. Die Abschrift unseres Exemplares wurde in der 1. Dekade des Monats *Rebi'* II 942/29. 10.—7. 11. 1535 beendet. Das erste Blatt des Textes ist später hinzugefügt worden. Andere Hss.: Flemming, I, Nr. 373.

- Nr. 17 Hs. or. 8301
Risāle-i Sūdī 14,5 × 20,5 cm, 37 Blatt

Eine kleine Abhandlung des Bosniers *Ahmed Sūdī* über Stilistik und Ästhetik in der Gasel-Dichtung des *Hāfiz* im Vergleich mit anderen persischen Dichtern. Die Abschrift des ersten Teils (Bl. 3b—13a) ist 1040 (beg. 10. August 1630) vom müderris *Muṣṭafā b. Ibrāhīm* angefertigt worden. Der zweite Teil (14b—36b) ist 1091/beg. 2. Febr. 1680 datiert. Vgl. Džemal Čehajić, *Ahmed Sudi*

Bošnjak, in: *Prilozi za Orientalnu Filologiju* 28—29 (1978—79) S. 103—122, wo eine weitere Handschrift der Süleimaniye-Bibliothek in Istanbul erwähnt ist.

Der Text ist reichlich mit Randglossen meist philologisch erklärender Art versehen.

Nr. 18

Šerh-i tuhfe-i Šāhidī

Hs. or. 8297

14,5 × 21 cm, 137 Blatt

des Imams der *Ibrāhīm-Pascha-Moschee* (Istanbul) *Muṣṭafā b. Mirzā*. Andere Kommentare zum persisch-türkischen Vokabular in Versen des berühmten *Mevlevīye-Scheichs Ibrāhīm Šāhidī* finden sich bei Götz II, Nr. 479, Nr. 485 sowie Karatay Nr. 2057—2061.

FROM THE YOZEROT OF SAMUEL B. HOSHANA

FROM THE LENINGRAD GENIZA

BY

A. SCHEIBER

A few years ago we published here an elegy from Samuel b. Hoshana and on that occasion gave the most necessary information about him.¹

M. Weisz published from the Kaufmann collection² those parts of our author's Yozerot to the Book of Genesis which stretch from **לך לך** to **מקץ**.

In the Saltykov—Shchedrin Library, Leningrad, there is in the Antonin collection (No. 164) a four-page fragment of Samuel b. Hoshana's Yozerot-booklet. Harkavy mentions it in the library's Report for 1899 (p. 84). A. E. Katsh gives the author's name thus: Samuel of Damascus, confusing the author of the booklet with its third owner, who came from Damascus.³

The title-page is also extant. The first owner wrote on it thus:

מה שקניתי אני יצחק הלוי ביר
שמואל הלוי החזן ס"ט שנת א"תקע"ו
ל"ט

Thus he obtained this volume of poetry in 1265, perhaps in order to make use of it, as a cantor, at divine service.

It begins at Bereshith (1b), thereafter a number of pages are missing. It continues from **לך לך** (2a-2b). The Kaufmann fragment's text comes after this, though not immediately. The two manuscripts are not, however, identical.

The first seven lines correspond with the Yozer printed in the publication entitled **הזוניה** (Constantinople, 1580 or 1585, pp. 5-6), without however referring to the author.⁴ I give the variae lectiones in the notes.

¹ A. Scheiber: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXVI (1972), pp. 357-370; idem, *Geniza Studies*, Hildesheim - New York 1981, pp. 397-402.

² M. Weisz, *Geniza-Fragmente der Bibliothek David Kaufmann S. A. I*, Budapest 1924, pp. 50-98; M. Wallenstein, *Some Unpublished Piyutim from the Cairo Geniza*, Manchester 1956, pp. 82-87.

³ A. I. Katsh: *Leo Jung Jubilee Volume*, New York 1962, p. 128.

⁴ I. Davidson, *Thesaurus of Mediaeval Hebrew Poetry IV*, New York 1933, p. 63. No. *856.

Samuel's Yozerot were at one time widely available. They figure in the book-lists from the Geniza. In the book-list to be found on the title-page of the Saadya Kitâb al-Amânât (Evr. arab. I. 127) — Bacher⁵ was unable to read this — it is found thus: יוצר לרב אלשלישי. Elsewhere similarly:⁶ אל יוצרות ללשלישי זצ"ל.

At one point the beginning of his name occurs in the acrostic (lines 28—29): [שמ]ואל.

Its dependence on the Palestine aggada can be observed at every turn.

I found this text during research on a trip financed by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and take the liberty to express my grateful thanks to this body.

I use this opportunity to return thanks to Prof. E. Fleischer (Jerusalem) for his valuable remarks.

⁵ W. Bacher : *REJ* XXXII (1896), pp. 126—129.

⁶ N. Allony : *SBB* VI (1962), p. 163/41.

Antonin Evr. III. V. N. 164.

יוצרות רבינו שמואל ביר הושענא [1a]

השלישי רי"ת

מחזור ר' שמואל בן הושענא נע [1b]

בראשית

אכתיר עוז למלך דברו במהרה יירץ 5

במאמרות עשרה דוק וחלד ושבמו תירץ

בראשית ברא אלהים את השם ואת הארץ:

גבורות מפעליו מהם הכל יתמהו

דבר דבר וזרותים למעלה גבו

והארץ הית תהו ובהו: 10

2 רי"ת [רוח ה' תנוחו (יש' סג, יד)].

5 עוז] ח בעוז.

6 במאמרות] אבות ה, א. ושבמו] ח שבמו.

7 [בר' א, א.

8 מפעליו] ח מפעלותיו.

9 דבר] ח דברים. [וזרותים] תכן בורת, כינוי לשמים עפ"י יש' מ, יב. ח חרותים.

10 [בר' א, ב.

הִתְקַיֵּן בְּרֵאשׁוֹן דְּבָרִים עֲשֶׂרָה לְתַאֲוֹר
 וּבְהִקְרוֹת תְּקָרָה חֲשֶׁבָה רְקִיעָה מִלְּאוֹר
 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יְהִי אוֹר וַיְהִי אוֹר:

בדבר קדוש:

15 אוֹר שֶׁנִּבְרָא תַחֲלָה מִנּוּ נַעֲשׂוּ יוֹחַד

שִׁבְעָה כּוֹכָבִים וּמְזֻלוֹת שְׁלִישִׁירְתָם רְבִיעֵי יוֹחַד

וַיְהִי עֶרֶב וַיְהִי בֹקֶר יוֹם אֶחָד:

בדבר קדוש:

זֶה כְּצַפָּה שֶׁאֵין הָאָרֶץ סוֹבֵלֶת הַמַּיִם

20 חֵץ מִחִיצָה בְּתוֹךְ שֵׁאת חֲצֵי מַיִם

וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יְהִי רְקִיעַ בֵּת הַמַּיִם:

מֵיכֶם מֵהַלֵּךְ חֲמֵשׁ מֵאוֹת עֶבְיוֹ שֶׁלְרְקִיעַ
 יַחְזוֹק יִקְרֵשׁ יִגְלַד יַעֲשֶׂה כִּמּוֹן מִמְלַת רְקִיעַ
 בְּטוֹ וַיַּעַשׂ אֱלֹהִים אֶת הַרְקִיעַ:

11 דברים עשרה [חנינה יב, ע"א: ,,עשרה דברים נבראו ביום ראשון." ח התקין בראשון דברים נאור. מכאן הנוסח משונה.

12 ובהקרות [ב"ר א, ו: ,,הקב"ה לא קורה עילמו אלא כמים."

13 [בר' א, ג.

16 [חנינה, יב, ע"א.

20 חין [ב"ר א, ו: ,,רבנין אמ' מחצה למחצה." בתוך [יר' בר' א, א: ,,יהי רקיע בתוך."

21 [בר' א, ו.

22 חמש מאות [ב"ר ו, ו: ,,ועובי הרקיע מהלך חמש מאות שנה."

23 יחזק [יר' בר' א, א: ,,יחזק הרקיע יקרש הרקיע יגלד הרקיע ימתה הרקיע." מטלת [שם: ,,יעשה כמין מטלית הרקיע."

24 בט' [מלש' לבטה-לדבר. בר' א, ו.

25 כִּשְׁעַת יִצִירְתּוֹ בְּכֹל שְׁעָה נִרְאִים שָׁמַיִם

לֹא מַעֲלִים חֲלוּדָה שְׁבַטְמַם עֲשׂוּיִים שָׁמַיִם

וַיִּקְרָא אֱלֹהִים לְרִקִיעַ שָׁמַיִם:

שָׁמַיִם מַעֲלָה מַעֲלָה כְּדָנְדָם עֲשֵׂאִם תּוֹכְנִי

מְלֹאכִים יִצַר בְּבִלְלֵי רִקִיעַ מִזְהוּר אִישׁוֹנִי

30 וַיְהִי עֶרֶב וַיְהִי בֹקֶר יוֹם שֵׁנִי:

בְּדִ קְדוּשָׁה:

[וַיִּצַר לְלֶךְ לְךָ]

[2a] וְעַז מִשְׁלֶשֶׁת וְאֵיל מִשְׁלֶשֶׁת

מִשְׁלֶשֶׁת לְבַתֵּר וְכֵן שְׁתֵּי בְּהֵמוֹת צוֹ צוֹפָה מֵהַ בְּאַחֲרִית

26 [יר' בר' א, א: „בנוהג שבעולם אדם נוסך כלים על ידי שהות הוא מעלה חלודה ביום הכא כראי מוצק בכל שעה ושעה הן נראין כשע' יציקתן.”

27 [בר' א, ח.

28 כְּדָנְדָם] = כְּדָנְדָם, τέρας, אוהל, עי' במילוניו של קרויס, עמ' 268. ראה חגיגה יב, ע"ב.

29 מְלֹאכִים] חגיגה יב, ע"ב: „מעון שבו כיתות של מלאכי השרת.”

30 [בר' א, ח.

32 [שם, טו, ט.

להודיע שסוף המלכויות להתפטר שָׁמַם וזכרם להכרית

35 ביום ההוא כרת יי את אברם ברית:

קדוש:

אופן

תֹּכֵן אַרְבַּע מִזְבְּחוֹת יִסֵּד אֲבִי מֵרֵאשִׁית

שְׁוֹת הַיִּשָּׁת לְכָל אֶחָד מֵעַם לְדְרוֹשׁ

40 רִם גִּילָה לוֹ מָה יֵהָא לְבֹנֵי וְלְאֲרוֹשׁ

קָדוֹשׁ נִקְדַּשׁ בְּשֵׂרָפִים מִתְנַשֵּׂא לְכָל לְרֵאשִׁית:

צִיָּין הָרֵאשִׁיִן בְּשִׁכְם עֵבֶד בְּשׁוֹרֵת הָאָרֶץ

פֶּאֶר בְּרִיתוֹת בַּה נִכְרְתוּ בְּשָׁל לְדַחוֹת הָרֶץ

34 [עי' מפתח התלמוד של גוטמן, כרך נ' חלק ב'. ברסלוי, תר"צ, עמ' 56.

35 [בר' שו, יח.

38 [ארבע מזבחות עי' בהמאת החמדה: „ארבעה מזבחות בנה אברהם.” נגזו ירושלים, חלק נ', ירושלים, תרס"ב, י"ד ע"ב (הערת הפרופ' צ"מ רבינוביץ). [אב] זה אברהם עפ"י בר' יו, ד.

40 [ולארוש] לשון ארשת שפחים.

41 [מתנשא] ד"ה א' א, יא.

42 [בשכם] בר' יב, ז. [בשורת הארץ] ב"ד לש, יד: „זו שיכון לבשורת ארץ ישראל.”

עֲתִים אֲשֶׁר עָבְרוּ לְרוֹב נִפְרִין בְּהַ פְּרִין
 45 סוּמְךָ דְּבַר בְּקִדְשׁוֹ אַחֲלֶקְהָ שְׂכָם בְּמִוּרָא וְעֲרִין:

נְיֻהָ מְזִבַּח שְׁנֵי בֵּין בֵּית אֵל וּבֵין הַעֵי
 מְתִיו פֶּן יִפְלוּ בַחֲרֵב בִּיד מְרַעֵי
 לְיִשְׁךָ מְזִבַּח שְׁלִישֵׁי בַחֲבֵרוֹן לְהַחֲבִיר אֱלֹוֹ רַעֵי
 כֶּס מַמָּה מָרָם יִתְבַּסֶּם בּוֹ יִרְאוּ דְלֵי וְשׁוֹעֵי:

50 יִיקָר מְזִבַּח רְבִיעֵי בְּהַר מוֹר בְּנָה
 יֵעַן כִּי מוֹכֵן הִיָּה מֵאֵז לְקִיטוֹר מוֹר וּלְבוֹנָה
 טְמוֹנוֹת אֱלֹהֵי הַדְּיָעוֹ חֲכָם לִבָּב נֹתֵן בִּינָה
 מְהוֹר נִכְתָר בְּרַבְבוֹת אֲרָאֵלִי מַעֲוֹנָה:

והאופנים:

45 [תה' ס, ה.

46 מזבח שני] בר' יב, ח. ניוה] שם אותו בנוה.

47 פן יפלו] ב"ר לט, טו: „שלא יפלו בניו בעי." מתיו כמו אנשיו.

48 [בר' יג, יח. לישך כמו לשכה.

49 דלי] איוב לד, יט. ז.א. לפני שייבנה בית המקדש במזבח שבחברון יראו כל ישראל, הדלים והעשירים.

50 [בר' כב, ט.

מאורות

55

חַל כְּאִים מוֹשְׁכוֹ וּמִרְטוֹ בְּקוֹ קוֹ וּמְבוֹסָה לְהַסְעִיר
 וְהַ כְּמָה שְׁנִים מוֹשִׁל עַל מוֹשִׁל לְהַנְעִיר
 וְיִתְנַדְּדוּ מֵאֲרֵי לְדוֹב וּמִנְמַר לְשַׁעִיר
 הַיָּמָר אֲגוּדוֹת מוֹטָה הַזְּכֵר מִמְזַרְחָה הַעִיר:

כַּכ מִי הַעִיר || מִמְזַרְחָה צִדְקָה יִקְרָאֵהוּ לְרַגְלוֹ 60 [2b]

יִתְּ לִפְנֵינוּ גּוֹים וּמַלְכִים יִרְדּוּ יִתֵּן כַּעֲפָר
 חָרְבוּ בְּקֶשׁ נִדְף קִשְׁתוֹ וְנָא לְעוֹשֶׂה וְג
 בַּ יּוֹצֵר:

יִלְגַּתְהָ אֵימָה חִשְׁבָה גְדוּלָה מְלִבֵּי הַבְּהוּבִי
 גִּוְף אֲנַבְּעוֹת רַגְלֵי נוֹפֶלֶת וּבַעֲיֵן הַרְזִיבִי 65

56 חל כאים] תה' י, י. מושכו] יש' יח, ז.

57 מושל] יד' נא, מו.

58 [ב"ר מד, טו, הוצ' טאודור, עמ' 437.

59 התר] יש' נה, ו.

60 [שם, מא, ב.

62 לעושה] תה' קלו, ז.

64 אימה] בר' טו, יב. מלבי הבהובי ז.א. המלבים את אשי.

בְּךָ חֲשַׁקְתִּי פִלְמִנִי שׁוּב עִמּוֹם יְהִי
אָמֹר אִמְרָתָה לֹא אִמָּאָם זֶרַע אֲבָרָהִם אֲהִי:

כַּכְתּוּב וְאַתָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל עַבְדֵי יַעֲקֹב אִשְׁרֵי בַחֲרִתֶיךָ וְגו'

וְנֹא כִי יַעֲקֹב וְגו'

ב' הַבּוֹחֵר:

70

זֹלֶת

אִפְרָתִי טָרַם הָאִסְפוֹ אִסְפָּה גִוִי נֹזֶהֶר
פֶּתַח בְּתוֹכָהּת וְעֵנָה כֹּה אָמַר נִגְלָה בְּסִין הַהָר
בְּשֶׁבֶת אֲבוֹתֵיכֶם בְּעֵבֶר אַחֲרֵי הַהַבֵּל הִלְכוּ לְהַתְּיָהֵר
וְאָקַח אֶת אֲבִיכֶם אֶת אֲבָרָהִם מֵעֵבֶר הַנְּהָר:

75

גִּדְלַתִּי שְׁמוֹ וּבִירְכַתִּיו לְהַעֲצִים וּלְהַרְבּוֹת יַחֲסוֹ

67 זרע [יש' מא, ח.

68 [שם.

69 [תה' קלה, ד.

72 אפרתי [זה יהושע עפ"י יה' כד' ל. אסף [שם, כד, א.

73 כה [שם, ב. בסין ההר [בהר סיני.

74 בשבת [שם, ב. אחרי ההבל [יר' ב. ה. להתיהר [במשמ' מתנאה.

75 [שם, ג.

76 [בר' יב, ב.

בְּשֵׁלוֹ הוֹכַחְתִּי מַלְכִים וְהִשְׁמַדְתִּי כָל מַכְעִיסָיו
 דָּרְשָׁתוּ פִקְדוֹתָיו בֶּן מֵאָה בִזְרַע יוֹרֵשׁ נִכְסָיו
 וְאַתָּן לִי־צַחַק אֶת יַעֲקֹב וְאֵת עֵשָׂו:

80 הִרְחַקְתִּי שְׁעִיר וְשִׁנְאָתוֹ לְבַהֲלוֹ בְיוֹם הָרוּן
 וְקִירְבַּתִּי חֶלֶק וְחִיבְבַתִּי בַתְּמִכּוֹ בְּכֶשֶׁרוֹן
 וּבַהֲשַׁתְּעַבְדֵּבֵד בְּנָיו בְּצוּעֵן וּבְנֵאֲקָם וּבְקִרְאָם בְּגֵרוֹן
 וְאַשְׁלַח אֶת מֹשֶׁה וְאֵת אֹהֲרֹן:

דָּרוֹ לְזָדִים וְחִזְקוּ לֵב וּפְצוּ הַבַּה נִתְחַכְמָה
 85 נְטִיתִי יָדִי עֲלֵיהֶם לְשַׁלַּח בָּם עֲבָרָה וְחַמָּה
 חִצּוֹת לִילָה מַחְצֵתִי כָל בְּכוֹר אָדָם וּבַהֲמָה
 וְאַצִּיא אֶת אֲבוֹתֵיכֶם וְתִבְאֵן הַיָּמָה:

77 בשלון] בר' יד, י. ז. א. בשלון.

78 [בר' כא, ה.

79 [יה' כד, ד.

80 שער] זה עשו עפ"י בר' כה, כה. לבהלו כמו להפחידו.

81 חלק] זה יעקב. עי' שרודים מהגניזה, בודפשמ, תרפ"ד, עמ' 66, בשורה האחרונה.

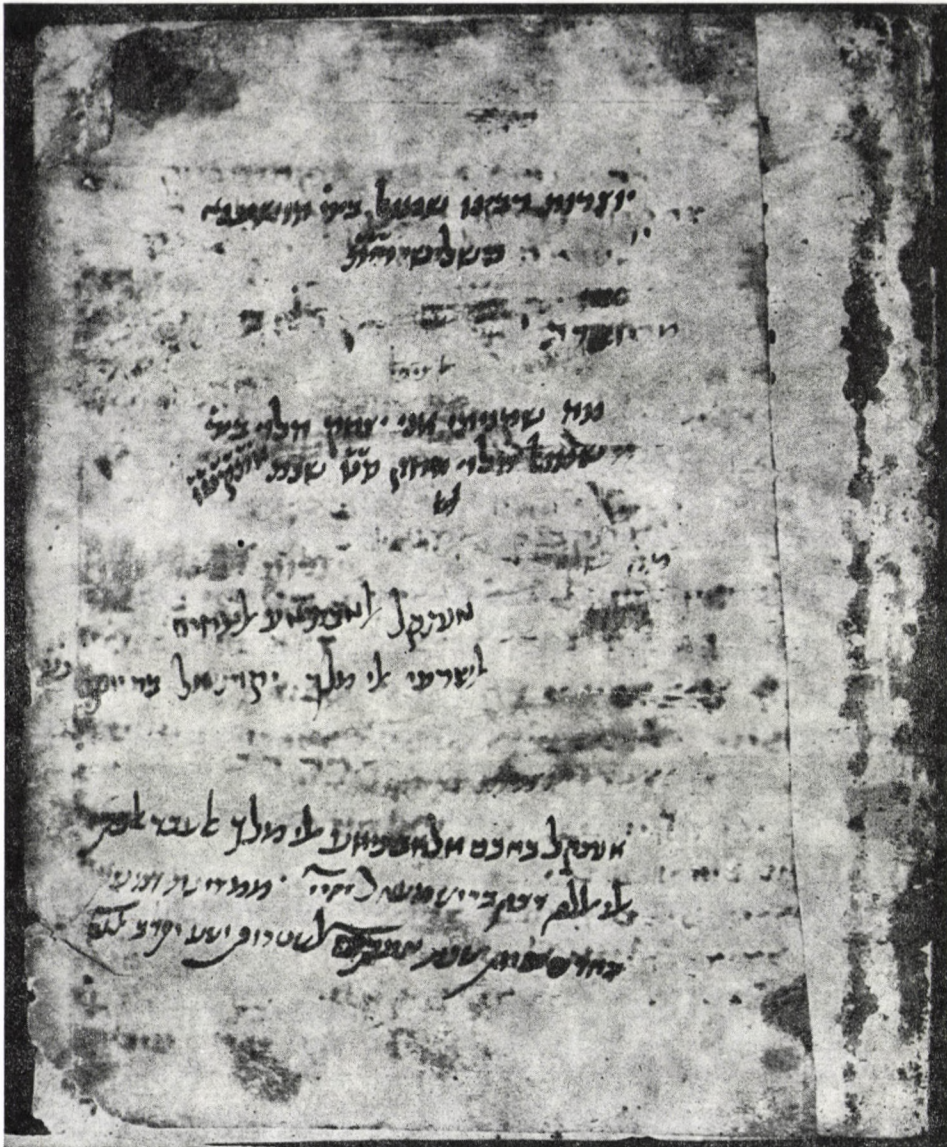
82 [שמ' ג, ז.

83 [יהושע כד, ה.

84 [שמ' א, י.

86 [שם, יב, כט.

87 [יה' כד, ו. אבותיכם] הפסוק מוסיף: „ממצרים“.



Antonin Evr. III. V. N. 164, p. 1a

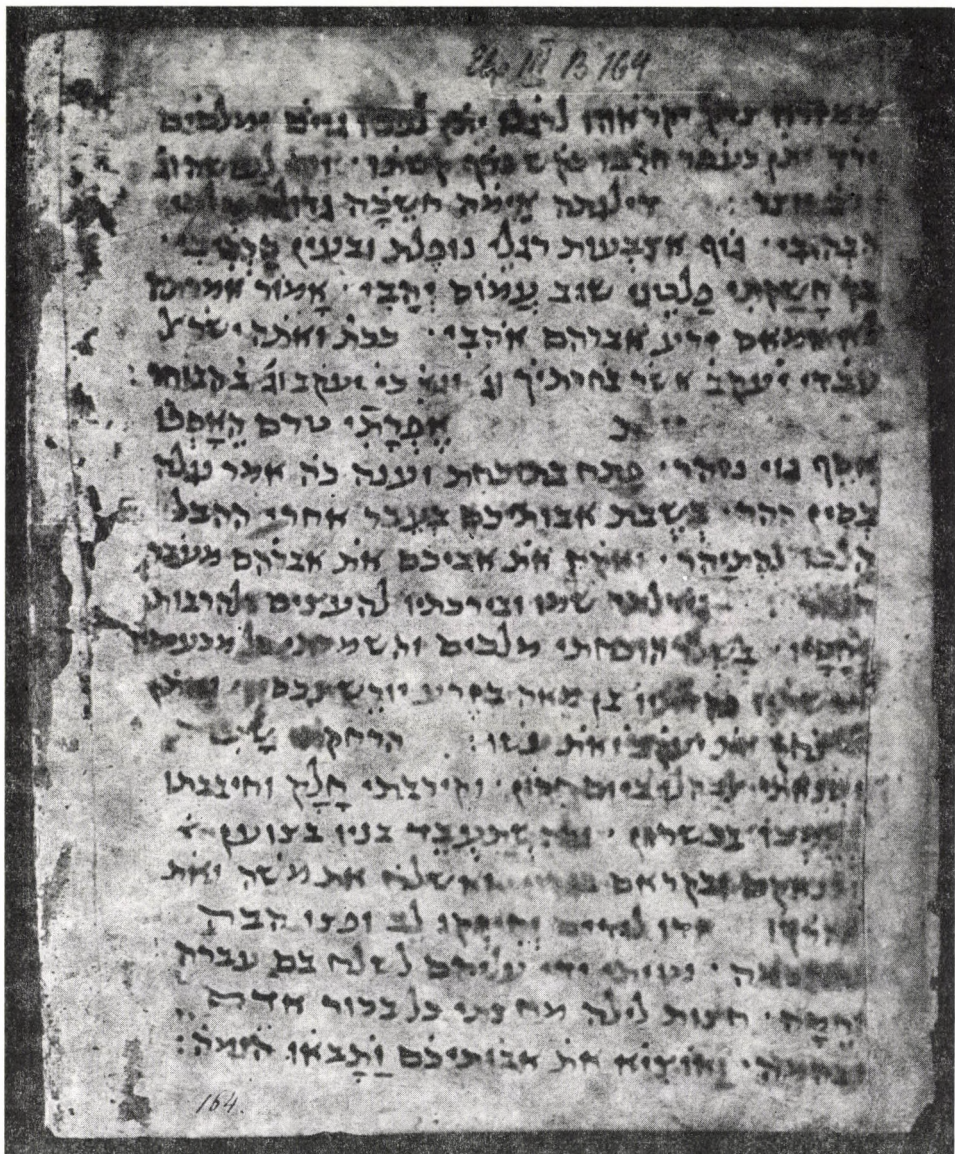
החזור ו' שנה חושבא נב
 בראשית

ויבטל ענין לילך דצרו במהרה יורץ . במאמר
 בשלש דוק ואלו השנים תורץ . בראשית בראשית
 את השנה ואת הארץ . בצורות המעלה בהם הכל יתנו
 דבר דבר ודורותם למעלה צמו . והארץ היו גרו
 וקרו . התקין בראשון דברים עשרה לראוי . וקולות
 תקרה חשבה קופה בראוי . ויאמר להם יהי אור יהי
 אור . אור שנברא בחלה ענו נבשר יחד שבע
 כוכבים ומקלות שלסרתם יביע יחד . יהי ערב
 יהי בקר יום אחד . בדבר קדוש : **א** **ב**
 שאין הארץ מובלת המים . חץ בחייה **ב** **ב**
 חץ מים . ויהי אור יהי קופה **ב** **ב**
 מהלך ארבע מאות עשרה של קופה . ויחזק קופה
 קופה יעשה כעין מטה קופה . בט ויעש אדם
 את הקופה . כשעת יצאתו בכל שנה נראים שמים
 לה מעלים חלודה שפסדו שמים שמים . ויקרא
 אדם לקופה שם . שמים מעלה ופעולה בדגים
 בשמים וקופה . בראשית יצא בכלל קופה מחזור
 שם : ויהי ערב ויהי בקר יום שני . **ב** **ב**

Antonin Evr. III. V. N. 164, p. 1b

ועם נשלוט ויהי נשלוט . משלש לבינה וכן סג
 בהמות זו נופה מה באחרית להודיע שפוף
 הנלמדות להקצרה שנים וזנים להכריח ביום החם
 כלותה את אבנים צרות : קדוש :
 אופן תוכן ארבע עשרה
 יסד אב נראש . שור הושג לכל אחד טעם לחוש
 עם נלה לו מה יהא לבנון ולאוש . קדוש נקדש :
 בשמים מתנשא לכל לראש : פיין הראשון בשנים
 עצור בשורת הארץ . פאר בריהוה נהגו בשל
 לחות חרץ . עמים אשר עצרו ופירא בה פירא
 פועל דבר בקדשו אחלקה שכם במורא וערץ :
 נוח נמצא שני בין צותל וכן העי . מצי
 פניו נחרב ציד נלעי . לישף נמצא של א
 צעירק להעמיד לו יעי . כס מטה נרם יתצמ
 בו יראו הלי וסועי . יקרי נמצא רבועי ציה
 מור ציה . יען כי עומק היה מאז לקיטור מור ולצוה
 טענות אלה הודיעו חכם לצ נותן בינה טחור
 נכחי צרבות אה לי מציוד : והאופנים
 חל כמים נשפכו ומקטו בקו קו ומצופה
 להסעף . זה כנה שנים מושל על מושל להנעיל
 זיתו דודו מאהי לדוב ומנארי לשעיר . היתר
 אנחות מושק החבר ממזרח העיר . כעלי העיר

Antonin Evr. III. V. N. 164, p. 2a



Antonin Ebr. III. V. N. 164, p. 2b

IN MEMORIAM

PAUL DEMIÉVILLE

(1894-1979)

Paul Demiéville, one of the great old men of contemporary European sinology, whose name will be remembered along with those like Marcel Granet, Henry Maspero or Paul Pelliot, was born in Lausanne, Switzerland in 1894. He pursued his studies in Paris at the faculty of arts, at the École Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes, the École des Hautes Études and finally at the Collège de France. In 1919 he became a member of the École Française d'Extrême Orient then in Hanoi. There followed a professorship at the University of Amoy in 1924, and from 1934 on he was attached to the Maison Franco-Japonaise in Tokyo of which he later became director. At the École des Hautes Études he directed the studies on Buddhist philology from 1945, and the following year he became professor of the Chinese language and literature at the Collège de France. He became an honorary professor there in 1965, after his retirement. In 1951 he was elected a member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. From 1947, following P. Pelliot he became one of the editors of the T'oung Pao.

The achievements of this long, successful and active life were centred mainly around his chief line of interest, around Buddhism. In addition to numerous papers devoted to the textual criticism, the interpretation or the historical analysis of various Chinese Buddhist texts, and apart from his imposing, but regrettably unfinished undertaking, the *Hôbôgirin (Hôbôgirin. Dictionnaire encyclopédique du bouddhisme d'après les sources chinoises et japonaises*, I, Tokyo 1929; II, Tokyo 1930; fascicule annexe, Tokyo 1931; III, Paris 1937; IV, Paris-Tokyo 1967; V, Paris 1979), perhaps his following books might be mentioned: *Les versions chinoises du Milindapañha* (Hanoi 1924), his first book, cleared up the problems of textual transmission in the case of an important old Buddhist document; *La concile de Lhasa* (Paris 1952) gives not only an exhaustive account of an eighth century theological controversy between Indian and Chinese Buddhist authorities, but it is also a comprehensive survey of Chinese-Tibetan relations of that epoch, and a basic work in this field; *Entretiens de Lin-tsi* (Paris 1972) gives a very lucid account of one of the most important *ch'an*-texts in French, generally believed to be next to impossible to explain adequately. Although he was one of the leading authorities

on Buddhism, this did not prevent him from contributing to Chinese linguistics (*Archaismes de prononciation du chinois vulgaire*: *T'oung Pao* XL, 1951, pp. 1—59) or to the history of Chinese popular literature (cf. e.g. *Les débuts de la littérature en chinois vulgaire*: *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Comptes rendus*, Paris 1952, pp. 563—571; *Au bord de l'eau* (*Chouei-hou tchouan*): *TP* XLIV, 1956, pp. 242—265; *Quelques traits de moeurs barbares dans une chantefable chinoise des T'ang*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XV, 1962, pp. 71—85; *Airs de Touen-houang*, Paris 1971, etc.), which were all contributions of lasting value.

These scholarly achievements, although remarkable in themselves, were merely a part of Mr. Demiéville's outstanding personality. He played an important role in the coordination, and organization of European — and not only European — sinologists' „public life”. The author of these lines still remembers his sincere and lively interest shown in the début of the youngest generation of Eastern European sinologists at the International Congress of Orientalists in Moscow in 1960, and his readiness to immediately give support or counsel to young people. Among others, the European Association of Chinese Studies owes its existence — to a considerable extent — to his untiring efforts.

Hungarian sinologists also regard the death of Mr. Demiéville as a personal loss. His lifetime friendship with the late Étienne Balázs, the eminent French sinologist of Hungarian origin, provided the opportunity for him to note works written in Hungarian, which resulted in the French edition of Ferenc Tókei's *La naissance de l'élégie chinoise* (Paris 1967, révision et préface par P. Demiéville). His merits in supporting youthful Hungarian sinology were acknowledged by his election as an honorary member of the Hungarian Alexander Csoma de Kőrös Society of Oriental Studies.

Barnabás Csongor

CRITICA

Д. Г. Тумашева, *Диалекты сибирских татар (Опыт сравнительного исследования)*, Казань 1977, S. 294 + 1 Karte

Die in Westsibirien geborene und einige der dort gesprochenen tatarischen Mundarten von Haus aus kennende Verfasserin der besprechenden Monographie, Diljara Garifowna Tumaschewa (Professorin, Leiterin des Lehrstuhles für die tatarische Sprache an der W. I. Uljanow—Lenin Universität zu Kasan) beschäftigt sich seit langen Jahren in erster Linie mit den tatarischen Mundarten Westsibiriens. Die Ergebnisse ihrer wertvollen und lückenfüllenden Forschungen auf diesen wenig bekannten Gebiete der Turkologie sind in zahlreichen Arbeiten erschienen. Hier seien nur ihre Monographien erwähnt: *Könbatış seber tatarları tele (Grammatik očerk häm süzlek)*, Kazan' 1961 und *Jazyk sibirskich tatar*, Kazan' 1968. Die erste der erwähnten Monographien enthält die Beschreibung der Tobol—Irtysch—Mundarten, die zweite stellt die Mundarten der neben der Stadt Barabinsk (zwischen Omsk und Nowosibirsk) und in der Nähe von Tomsk lebenden Tataren dar.

Die besprechende Monographie kann als Summierung der vorigen Forschungen der Verfasserin betrachtet werden (s. auch ihren zusammenfassenden Artikel: *Les dialectes des Tatares siberiens*, in *Acta Orient. Hung.* 32, 1978, S. 187—199).

Obwohl die wissenschaftliche Forschung der türksprachigen Mundarten Westsibiriens schon im 19. Jahrhundert begonnen hat, kennen wir diese Mundarten, ihre

Geschichte und Entwicklung nicht genügend.

Die erste wissenschaftliche Klassifikation der westsibirischen Mundarten ist mit dem Namen von W. W. Radloff verbunden. Die in Sibirien gesammelten mundartlichen Texte wurden von ihm in der Gruppierung: Baraba, Tara, Tobol, Tüman veröffentlicht (*Obrazcy narodnoj literatury tjurkskich plemen*, Bd. 4., SPb. 1872). In seiner *Phonetik der nördlichen Türksprachen* (Leipzig 1882, S. 280—291) unterscheidet Radloff zwei Hauptgruppen von sibirischen Mundarten. Zu der ersten Gruppe gehören die sog. irtyscher Mundarten (Tara, Tobol, Tüman), die zweite Gruppe wird allein vom Baraba repräsentiert. N. F. Katanow und W. A. Bogorodickij gingen hauptsächlich von den Radloffschen Untersuchungen aus.

Die Erneuerung der Forschungsarbeit hängt mit der Tätigkeit der tatarischen Sprachwissenschaftler S. Ämirow und L. Dschäläj zusammen. In seinem über die tatarischen Mundarten geschriebenen Hauptwerk (*Tatar dialektologiyäse*, Kazan 1947), das in nicht geringem Masse auf den Ergebnissen der Forschungsreisen von Ämirow beruht, hat Dschäläj zum Ostdialekt des Kasantatarischen nicht nur die Tobol—Irtysch-Mundarten, sondern auch das Baraba und die Mundart von Tomsk gezählt.

Trotz der gut argumentierten Auffassung und des reichen Beweismaterials von Dschäläj wird das Baraba — meistens nach Radloff — als eine Sondersprache betrachtet (vgl. z. B. K. Thomsen's Mei-

nung in *PhTF* I, S. 409 und den Artikel von L. W. Dmitriewa in *Jazyki narodov SSSR* II, S. 155—172). Die Mundarten der Tataren von Tomsk (*eušta—čat, kalmak*) der traditionellen Meinung nach werden auch nicht zum Ostdialekt des Kasantatarischen gerechnet. (Vgl. z. B. das Werk von G. Achatow *Dialekt zapadnosibirskich*, Ufa 1961, in dem der Verfasser geht davon aus, daß dem Ostdialekt des Kasantatarischen nur die Tobol—Irtysch-Mundarten gehören.)

Tumaschewa's Verdienst besteht darin, daß sie eine endgültige Antwort auf die Frage nach der Stellung der sibirischen Mundarten — durch eine systematische Analyse, die meistens auf ihren eigenen Forschungen beruht — zu geben versucht. Tumaschewa gelang es die wichtigsten sprachlichen Kriterien in bezug auf diese Mundarten aufzustellen. Mit Hilfe dieser Kriterien (z. B. in der Phonetik: Geschlossenwerden der urtürkischen offenen Vokale, Reduzierung der ursprünglichen geschlossenen Vokale oder Bewahrung des urtürkischen Vokalismus; Stimmloswerden; Stimmhaftwerden in intervokalischer Position; Assimilierungsprozesse; in der Morphologie: Konjugationssystem; Possessivsuffixe u. s. w.) und mit einer tiefgehenden Analyse der historischen Formulierung der verschiedenen ethnischen Gruppen der sibirischen Bevölkerung kam Tumaschewa zur Schlussfolgerung, daß es in Westsibirien drei Gruppen von tatarischen Mundarten gibt: 1. Tobol—Irtysch-Mundart, 2. Baraba-Mundart, 3. Mundart der Tataren von Tomsk.

Aus den ausführlichen Beschreibungen der phonetischen, morphologischen und syntaktischen Eigentümlichkeiten und Besonderheiten der einzelnen mundartlichen Gruppen (S. 34—240) wird ersichtlich, daß sie sich in ihrer Zugehörigkeit zum Kasantatarischen unterscheiden. Die Tobol—Irtysch-Mundarten stehen dem Kasantatarischen sehr nahe, die Mundarten von Tomsk und das Baraba weisen dagegen einen neuerdings gut vernehmbaren Prozess der Annäherung zum Kasantatarischen auf. Diese

neue Entwicklungen entstanden in diesen beiden Gruppen unter der in den letzten Jahrzehnten immer mehr wachsenden Wirkung des Kasantatarischen.

Die wichtigsten Merkmale der unterschiedlichen Beziehungen zwischen den einzelnen westsibirischen Mundarten einerseits und dem Kasantatarischen andererseits tauchen hauptsächlich im Bereich des Vokalismus auf. Das Vokalsystem der Tobol—Irtysch-Mundarten fällt mit dem System des Kasantatarischen zusammen. Das Baraba hat die alten Vokale *a, *ä, *o, *ö, *ï noch bewahrt, die Mundart von Tomsk zeigt Schwankungen zwischen den ursprünglichen und den neuentwickelten Vokalen.

Die Bewahrung der alten Vokale und die Schwankungen im Vokalismus kommen auch in den osteuropäischen Mundarten des Kasantatarischen vor. In einem großen Teil der Mischärmundarten kann das Geschlossenwerden nur als sporadischer Lautwandel betrachtet werden (s. darüber z. B. H. Paasonen, *Die türkischen Lehnwörter im Mordwinischen*, in *JSFOu* 15, 2 [1897], S. 14; L. T. Machmutova, *Opyt issledovanija tjurkskich dialektov. Mišarskij dialekt tatarskogo jazyka*, Moskva 1978, S. 33—35). Das Fehlen des Geschlossenwerdens ist auch in den zum Zentralsdialekt gehörenden Mundarten nachweisbar (s. Machmutova's Aufsatz *Bastanskij govor tatarskogo jazyka*, in *Materialy po tatarskoj dialektologii*, Bd. 3., Kazan' 1974, S. 31).

Ein ganz anderes Bild zeigt die von G. Bálint untersuchte Mundart der neben Kasan isoliert wohnenden getauften Tataren (*Kazáni—tatár nyelvtanulmányok* I—III, Budapest 1875—1877), wo in einer Reihe von Fällen — neben den bekannten wolgakiptschakischen Entwicklungstendenzen — auch ein «zweiter» Reduzierungsprozess (*o > *u > ö und *ö > *ü > ő) auftrat. Wenn auch sporadisch, können wir dasselbe Entwicklungsschema auch in anderen tatarischen Mundarten, sogar in den kasantatarischen und baschkirischen Literatursprachen nachweisen. Es seien hier aus der kasantatarischen Literatursprache

die folgenden Wörter erwähnt: *söŋ* «Ende, nach, nun denn», *šaša-* «gleichen», *köngür* «braun», *köŋgüz* «Käfer», in denen der reduzierte Vokal *o* den ursprünglichen **o* Vokal vertritt.

Das Obenstehende weist darauf hin, daß die Richtung der Lautveränderungen des Vokalismus auf dem ganzen tatarischen Sprachgebiet (wie in der Wolga—Gegend, so auch in Westsibirien) zusammenfällt, aber die Intensität der gleichen Lautveränderungen unterschiedlich ist.

D. G. Tumaschewa's Werk bietet den Forschern mit seiner ausgezeichneten Beschreibung der westsibirischen Mundarten ein sehr wertvolles Material. Wir bedauern nur das Fehlen eines kleinen Mundartenwörterbuches, unter Beifügung dessen wäre das Werk noch nützlicher.

Árpád Berta

A. M. POZDNEYEV, *Religion and Ritual in Society: Lamaist Buddhism in Late 19th Century Mongolia*, Ed. by John R. Krueger, translated from the Russian by Alo Raun and Linda Raun, Bloomington 1978.

After Pozdneyev's *Mongolia and the Mongols I—II*, here we have again in hand the next volume of Prof. J. R. Krueger's mission of revealing valuable but not easily accessible books.

The work, originally published in 1887, presents an almost literary copy of the diaries which Pozdneyev kept during his travels in Mongolia in 1878—1879. His purpose was to give a detailed picture of the status of Buddhist monasteries and the clergy in Mongolia. The book provides valuable data about the daily situation and life of Buddhist monasteries and monks, describes the rules by which the Buddhist clergy was guided, the notions and beliefs which prevailed among Buddhists.

The year 1887 was regarded by the Mongols as the 300th anniversary of the rebirth of Buddhism in Khalkha. The

first Lamaist monastery in *Erdeni Zuu* was consecrated in 1587. From that time on the religion of Buddha flourished in Khalkha and ruled the life not only of the monasteries but commanded all spheres of activity of the common people. That is why Pozdnev having become acquainted with the life of lamas as well as with that of the population of the yurts, felt it necessary to give a systematic description of the Mongolian form of Buddhism. After the editor's foreword and the author's preface chapter one contains *General Remarks about Buddhist Monasteries in Mongolia*, chapter two describes *Mongol-Buddhist Idol-Temples and their Belongings*, chapter three speaks of *The Clergy*, chapter four gives a long list of *Khubilgans (Reincarnations)* corrected by the editor, while chapter five presents us the *Divine Services or Khurals*.

A special value of the book lies in the fact that it offers a treasure-house of Mongolian terminology concerning Buddhist faith. These expressions were translated mostly from Tibetan, anyhow, some of them have come from the Sanskrit. These terms, though thoroughly studied in Tibetan and Sanskrit, have been greatly neglected in Mongolian up till now. This publication hopefully calls the attention of scholars to the importance of Mongolian terminology of Buddhism and at the same time gives rich material to the research.

The editor prepared a special glossary of all foreign terms which occur, in this way making the book readable for a wide circle of users, not just for specialists who know the given languages.

Useful notes and topic headings added at the proper places make the book manageable.

The present translation of Pozdneyev's work will certainly meet a kind reception among Mongolists as well as among all those interested in Buddhism, especially since the original edition has become bibliographical rarity today.

Alice Sárközi

Studies on Mongolia: Proceedings of the First North American Conference on Mongolian Studies, ed. by Henry G. SCHWARZ, Western Washington University 1979.

The First North American Conference on Mongolia was held in Bellingham on November 25—26 1978. Henry G. Schwarz, the organizer writes in his preface: «the time had come to give Mongolists their own conference... It could provide a setting in which Mongolists felt «at home». Participants arrived from distant parts of North America as Southern California, New England, the Middle Atlantic States and the Canadian prairies, the Rocky Mountains and the Midwest.

Linguistics and history stood in the centre of interest at the conference. A number of papers discussed the problems of modern language. Robert I. Binnick focused on the *Past and Present in Modern Mongolian* investigating the uses and mutual relationship of forms referring to events in the past (*irēv, irʹee, irlee, irsen*). The author describes their differences and places them within the context of a linguistic theory.

Larry V. Clark devoted his paper to *A Problem in Buryat Historical Linguistics* analyzing the Buryat development of Mongol *s, č* and *ʃ*. He gives a chronology of the sound changes:

Written Mongolian	Buryat
-s	— -d
si	— š
s	— h
č, ʃ	— c, j
či, ʃi	— š, ž

Hisao Kimura from Tokyo gives a brief account on *The Activities of the MPR State Committee for Terminology: Basic Principles in Formulating New Vocabulary*. Mary Frances Weidlich also deals with modern lexicology examining the current status of the loan word *этнографу* with respect to the native *уцаатны зүй*.

Nicolas Poppe devoted his paper to the relationship of the *Jurchen and Mongolian* languages. He proves that Jurchen is an important source for the study of the Mongolian language as it preserved a large number of Ancient Mongolian forms. At the same time, Mongolian data can be useful for the reconstruction of Jurchen and other Manchu-Tungus forms.

Winston Wu analyses the well-known Mongolian opera, the *Three Sorrowing Hills*, from the literary and musical point of view.

Franc B. Bessac gave a brief essay on his *Impression of Inner Mongolia, 1945—1950*.

Paul D. Duell called the attention to the *Role of the Sino-Mongolian Frontier Zone in the Rise of Chinggis-Qan*.

Alicia J. Campi examined the intertwined history of *Tibet and Mongolia in the Seventeenth Century: the Nature of a Special Relationship*. She put into parallel the alliance established by Qubilai and the 'Phags-pa Lama, that of Altan Qan and the Third Dalai Lama, the Mongol-Tibetan cooperation in the person of the Forth Dalai Lama and Gushi Qan's partnership with the Fifth Dalai Lama.

Paul Hyer gave an account on *The Role of Inner Mongolia in the Independence Movement, 1911—1914*. Sechin Jagchid joined to the previous paper with his study on *The Inner Mongolian Response to the Chinese Republic 1911—1917*. These two latter papers are part of a research project on modern Inner Mongolia.

Georgeanne Lewis Reynolds contributed to the history of the country with the examination of *The Prehistory of Mongolia and the Roots of Man in North America*.

Keith Scott examined *The Oyrot Under Manchu Rule: Social and Administrative Policies*.

Reports were made on the *Activities and Publications of the Mongolia Society (1978)* by John R. Krueger and on *The Bibliotheca Mongolica* by Henry G. Schwarz, Man-kam Leung, and Michael Underdown.

The interesting lectures reflect the many-sidedness of the participants' interest and achievements. The conference opened the door to the conversation of American Mongolists. We wish them success in work and are awaiting the following-up to this conference.

Alice Sárközi

FELIX KLEIN-FRANKE, *Die klassische Antike in der Tradition des Islam*, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt 1980, 181 p. (Erträge der Forschung 136)

Das Buch, das von den verschiedenen, einander widersprechenden Würdigungen der auf die klassische Antike gebauten arabischen Kultur ausgeht, ist inhaltlich viel reicher, als man aufgrund des Titels gläube. Der Verfasser erörtert nämlich die Frage der orientalischen Rezeption des antiken Kulturgutes im Rahmen einer geschichtlichen, und zwar forschungsgeschichtlichen Darstellung. Dadurch gibt er gleichzeitig ein Bild auch davon, wie sich die arabische Philologie entwickelte, wie sie mit der klassischen Philologie gebunden war, wie sich die europäische Beurteilung der Vermittlerrolle der Araber änderte.

Der Verfasser geht von der von den Arabisten allgemein anerkannten Definition des Begriffes des Islams aus. Er beabsichtigt seine Untersuchungen nur auf das von der Definition umfasste Wissensgebiet zu beschränken. Die angeführte Definition des C. H. Becker ist aber logisch betrachtet zu lose, so überlässt sie einen zu grossen Raum den subjektiven Erwägungen des jeweiligen Forschers. Dementsprechend behandelt auch unseres Buch z. B. das Fortleben der griechischen Philosophie bei den rationalistischen Theologen (das gehört unbedingt zum Islam), und auch die medizinischen Wissenschaften (das gehört nicht unbedingt zum Islam, nicht einmal im Sinne der erwähnten Definition).

Den Rückgrat der vorliegenden Arbeit bilden drei Kapitel, die die orientalistischen Studien in verschiedenen Epochen

aus dem Blickwinkel der Erforschung der klassischen Tradition aus betrachten.

Das erste Kapitel (S. 17—52) untersucht die orientalistischen Arbeiten der 15. und 16.-ten Jahrhunderte, im Vordergrund deren hauptsächlich medizinische Arbeiten standen. Der Verfasser zeichnet ein gutes Bild über die zwei gegeneinander erbittert kämpfenden Parteien: über die Anhänger von Avicenna und der arabischen Tradition und über ihre Gegner. Er gibt eine klare Schilderung der entgegengesetzten Anschauungen, er fasst die (oft grundlosen) Argumentationen zusammen, die letzten Endes notwendig zur Geburt der arabischen (und auch der klassischen) Philologie führten.

Das zweite Kapitel — *Das 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (S. 53—108) — schildert die Anfänge der wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit auf dem Gebiete der Arabistik, die unter dem Einfluss der klassischen Philologie, davon aber nicht getrennt (das ist «der goldene Zeitalter der Philologie»), die Grundlagen für die späteren Forschungen durch Texteditionen schuf. Der Verfasser gibt eine schöne Analyse dieser Tätigkeit, und untersucht die Arbeiten der Arabisten mit Rücksicht auf ihren allgemeinen europäischen kulturellen Hintergrund. Um nur ein konkretes Beispiel zu nennen: die Erforschung des arabischen Aristotelismus wurde von der negativen Kritik Gassendis an Aristoteles stark beeinflusst. In entsprechenden Stellen wird immer nachgewiesen, wie diese Kritik die Stellungnahme des jeweiligen Forschers bestimmt hat.

Im dritten Kapitel — *Das 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (S. 109—149) — werden die genannten Jahrhunderte als Zeitalter der Ernte hingestellt. Die Forscher aufgrund einer neu aufgekommenen Anschauung — die verschiedenen Kulturen müssen mit eigenen Maßstäben gemessen werden — fingen an, den Islam zu verstehen. Diese neue Einstellung gegenüber der arabischen Kultur hat die Arabistik und die klassische Philologie voneinander getrennt.

Der Verfasser versucht die Texteditionen, Monographien und Aufsätze mit

Interesse zu verfolgen, aber die Fülle der Arbeiten macht es ihm unmöglich. Vor dieser Tatsache fühlt er sich benötigt, sein Augenmerk nur auf die Hauptlinien der Entwicklung und auf die Leistungen, die als Knotenpunkte der Entwicklung können gewertet werden, zu richten. Als Ergebnis dieser Mässigkeit bleibt die Darlegung des Stoffes klar und durchschaubar.

Es tut dem Rezensenten weh, daß die (erwährungswürdige) Arbeit M. Plessners über die Magie angeführt ist (die wenig mit dem Islam zu tun hat), während die Logik, die im Islam eine wichtige Rolle spielte, außer Acht gelassen ist. Genauer gesagt N. Rescher und I. Madkour, die die Logik der Philosophen studierten, flüchtig, ohne ihre Werke erwähnt sind, J. van Ess dagegen, der Vieles und Wichtiges über die Logik der Theologen (und das ist schon der Kern des Islams) und über ihre griechischen Wurzeln publizierte, kommt in diesem Zusammenhang nicht vor.

Die Erwähnung dieser Ungereimtheit ist aber keineswegs Kritik an der vorliegenden Arbeit, sie will vielmehr die Aufmerksamkeit auf den Mangel an einer guten Definition des Islams und auf die daraus folgenden Unsicherheiten lenken.

Die Meinung des Verfassers, die das letzte Kapitel (*Schlussbetrachtung und Ausblick*, S. 150—155) abschließt, will den alten Streit über den Wert der Vermittlerrolle der Araber im Lichte des im Buch zusammengebrachten Materials und auf I. Goldziher zurückgreifend folgendermaßen auflösen: «Wir untersuchen die arabische Literatur heute mehr als ein Medium, das uns nur zur 'Wiederherstellung der antiken Philosophie und Wissenschaften' dient. ... Denn der Islam interessiert uns nicht nur als ein Vermittler antiker Weisheit an den lateinischen Westen. ... An den Islamforscher treten daher zwei große Aufgaben, die sich aus dem Gesagten ergeben: die Ausstrahlung und das Fortleben der griechisch-arabischen Tradition in anderen Kulturen zu untersuchen, und die Aufgabe, zu einer tieferen Erkenntnis von Religion und Kultur des

Islams zu gelangen.» Das ist eine Meinung, die jede Forscher bepflichten kann.

Leider sind nicht alle Arbeiten, die im Laufe der Erörterungen angeführt wurden, in die auch in der jetzigen Form reiche Bibliographie (s. 157—173) am Ende des Buches aufgenommen.

Das Buch ist ökonomisch, ohne überflüssige Ausschweifungen, auf das Thema konzentriert und gleichzeitig spannend geschrieben. Der Verfasser stellt sich oft in den Hintergrund, und läßt die zitierten Werke reden. Auch in anderen Fällen legt er lieber die Tatsachen vor, als seine Erklärungen. Seine gründlichen Kenntnisse und das gute Ordnungsprinzip, laut dessen das Buch aufgebaut ist, ermöglichen ihm die ganze verwickelte Frage einfach, jedoch gleichzeitig von mehreren Standpunkten aus vorzutragen.

Die klar gezeichneten Entwicklungslinien und die gute Bibliographie machen aus dem Buch ein lehrreiches und unentbehrliches Werk.

Der bescheidene, sachliche Stil des Verfassers macht das Buch zu einer angenehmen und sympatischen Lektüre.

Miklós Maróth

DAVID SHENNUM, *English-Egyptian Index of Faulkner's Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*. Aids and Research Tools in Ancient Near Eastern Studies 1. Undena Publications, Malibu 1977, 178 p.

This volume gives exactly what is promised in the title, that is no more than an exact reverse of the original Egyptian-English dictionary as far as the main meanings are concerned (marked with a double underline in Faulkner). Compounds, variant writings and references are omitted. The Egyptian equivalents of the English words are given in transliteration, italicized.

The vocabulary may serve as an aid for scholars when starting to find an Egyptian equivalent, and therefore thanks

are due to its compiler, D. Shennum. The reader should, however, be aware of the fact that it does not stand for an English-Egyptian dictionary in the true sense of this term. The inadequacy of the method of mechanical reversion turns out in a number of instances. It will suffice to adduce three entries to illustrate the problems.

Amulet. As one of the equivalents one finds *tit* which is misleading, since *tit* is the name of a special kind of amulet, the so-called blood of Isis (Isisblut). In Faulkner: an amulet. Under the same entry figures *wꜥꜥ* as amulet in the shape of a papyriform column. This is true, but the question arises, why other important sorts of amulets have been neglected. *ḏd*, the counterpart of *tit* is omitted obviously because in Faulkner «the djed column» is furnished as explanation without mentioning its amuletic character. While in an Egyptian-English vocabulary this, of course, does not represent an insufficiency, in an English entry the automatic reversion of the corresponding Egyptian items makes, as a whole, a rather unfavourable impression.

Praise. In the long list of Egyptian words one fails to find *izw* for the simple reason that in Faulkner it is translated as «adoration». Naturally, it includes also the meaning «praise», it is, in fact, one of the commonest words used in this sense.

Steal. Here the reader will miss the common verb *lil*. Faulkner registers «take away».

All these insufficiencies result inevitably from the method followed in this book. A small-scale revision, first of all with regard to a reasonable consideration of English synonyms, as well as with a due attention to the cultural background of the words would make this vocabulary a really valuable supplement to Faulkner's excellent dictionary.

László Kákosy

Immortal Egypt. Invited Lectures on the Middle East at the University of Texas at

Austin. Edited by DENISE SCHMANDT-BESSERAT, Malibu 1978, Undena Publications. 62 p., XLVII pl.

The volume contains seven lectures given in conjunction with an exhibit on Ancient Egyptian art at the University of Texas. It is dedicated to the memory of John A. Wilson, a prominent figure in American Egyptology. The studies are, therefore, preceded by a biography of Wilson made by G. R. Hughes.

The first study (*An Early Recording System in Egypt and the Ancient Near East* by D. Schmandt-Besserat) is an ingenious new interpretation for a group of minute objects of various forms found on wide areas of the Ancient Near East. They are designated by the author as *abnati*, a word taken from the Akkadian language, and are said to have been used in a prewriting recording system as counters.

Karl W. Butzer (*Perspectives on Irrigation in Pharaonic Egypt*) suggests new methods in reconstructing the technology and mechanism of Egyptian hydraulic agriculture.

William Kelly Simpson's (*Aspects of Egyptian Art: Function and Aesthetic*) is treating of basic theoretical and practical problems of Egyptian art. The prevailing trend for a formalized program is opposed by the author to the appearance of particular individual features on some monuments.

The foreign relations of Egyptian art are dealt with by Harold A. Liebowitz (*The Impact of the Art of Egypt on the Art of Syria and Palestine*). The author demonstrates Egyptian influence on a number of domains of Syro-Palestinian art. Some motifs, such as the horse, are treated in detail. We find the important statement that the borrowing of Egyptian imagery does not necessarily imply the adoption of religious conceptions.

Theodore A. Wertime (*Tin and the Egyptian Bronze Age*) presents new data to the much debated problem of the discovery of bronze. Recent geological surveys in the

Eastern Desert in Egypt and in Sudan have thrown new light on places of occurrence of tin in this areas. The author, obviously a geologist, extends his investigations to Iran, Turkey, Greece and Thailand too. The method is very instructive but the problem where bronze was used for the first time remains, as stressed by the author himself, unsolved. Bronze objects appear in Egypt under the 12th Dynasty, and not under the 18th, as stated here. Cf. A. Lucas—J. R. Harris: *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*,⁴ London 1962, 219 f.

We find a light and refreshing reading in the article of L. Mesnick Gallery (*The Garden of Ancient Egypt*) which is, all the same, rich in evidence and gives a good idea of the Ancient Egyptians' love of nature. It is an embarrassing flaw that we find for the name of the god Min the long rejected reading Khem. It is, however, not the fault of the author who is an architect, it ought to have been removed by a supervisor specialist.

Cyril Aldred is a well-known expert in the Amarna Period. His article (*Tradition and Revolution in the Art of the XVIIIth Dynasty*) is a highly interesting study. It is pointed out by the author that Amarna-Art was inspired also by the monuments of the Old Kingdom. In another part of the article he draws attention to the new conception of space at this period. Artists try, sometimes, to give the illusion of depth on the pictures.

To sum up, we can say that the richly illustrated volume will be welcomed by Egyptologists, first of all by those who are interested in art and archaeology.

László Kákósy

First International Congress of Egyptology. Acts. Cairo October 2—10, 1976, ed. by WALTER F. REINEKE. Akademie Verlag, Berlin 1979. 704 pp., XCIII pls.

The First International Congress of Egyptology will stand as a landmark in the

history of studies on pharaonic Egyptian civilization. Among other issues, the Congress gave an opportunity for the formation of a new organization, the International Association of Egyptologists, with the aim of promoting studies and encouraging the preservation of ancient Egyptian monuments. The Acts of the Congress duely underline the importance of this meeting of scholars in the land which is the prominent scene of their researches. The reader is given a detailed account of the course of the Congress, its sections, inaugural addresses, time-table, and so forth.

The bulk of the volume consists of the papers delivered. Not less than 112 of them are published here, a number which is in itself a proof of the general interest of the participants. It would be out of place to review here the items of this unique collection one by one. They present a clear picture of the current state of scholarly discussion on a wide range of fields of Egyptology.

The articles are lined up in alphabetical order. The plates are in their majority clear, but one finds also some pictures with less distinct details.

An expression of gratitude is due to Dr. W. F. Reineke for the hard editorial work of this important document of the history of Egyptology.

It should be noted that the volume appeared apparently in a very limited number. It remained e.g. in Hungary, at least for the private libraries of scholars, practically unavailable.

László Kákósy

An Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles. Volume One. Part 3. General editor A. M. GHATAGE, Poona 1978, pp. LXXXIX—CXXXVII + 505—719. Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute.

The volume before us comprises the word-headings beginning with *anika* and

concludes with the word *á-chambā-kāram*.¹ The structure of the items is the same as that of the previous volumes since there is no need changing the well-established principles of the redaction given in the introduction of part 1. For the proper illustration of this here I should like to draw attention to such items like *aṅga*. Here it is quite visible how the editors distinguish *aṅga*¹ Ind. *aṅga*² a common noun and *aṅga*³ a proper name (pp. 531—534).

I would mention the impressive mode of handling the vocables where the proportion of proper names is dominant. This is an inexhaustible mine of information about mythology, history, geography etc. This type of references can replace the wanting of a special dictionary of proper names of Sanskrit² for instance *a-cyuta* (pp. 712—713) reads:

¹ As for the preceding volumes see my review on part 1 in *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXXII (1978), pp. 120—122, my review on part 2 in *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXXIII (1979), p. 288.

² The significance of proper names are recognized by Iranists too and there are useful works in the Indology like: Sørensen's index to the *Mahābhārata*, Malalasekera's dictionary of *Pāli* proper names, the volumes of *Prakrit* names edited by the L. D. Institute, Ahmedabad etc. 1Ai *Viṣṇu* ii a form of *Viṣṇu* born of *Anūruddha* himself constituting a part of *Caturvyūha* iii one of the thousand names of *Viṣṇu* iv idol of *Viṣṇu* Bi *Kṛṣṇa* ii idol of *Kṛṣṇa* C *Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa* D *Rāma* E one of the names of *Śiva* Fi *Brahman* ii one of the five forms of *Brahman* G a son of *Kubera* H name of an attendant of *Guha* I *Upendra* presiding over an organ of action viz, foot J name of *Indra* of the twelfth heavenly region K one of the gods called *Lekha* L name of a god M name of the deity presiding over specific syllable N idol one of the subordinate deities O name of a group of gods in the *Satyāloka* P one of the 250 sons of *Tārkaṣyālakṣman* 2A *Yudhiṣṭhira* B Arjuna C name of a king (son of *Rajas*) D name of a king E name of an architect son of *Rāma* F name of a poet G name of a physician 3A name of the twelfth heaven B name of a village from *āhka* country 4 the plant *Morinda tinctoria* 5 name of the month of *Māgha*.

The present volume also contains an index of works used in the dictionary arranged according to the *devanāgarī* alphabet. One may find here the name of the single works, the name of the authors, the nature, the various names (*anekārthakośa* is identical with *māṅkhakośa* etc.) subject of the sources and their abbreviation.

A list of the abbreviations of the handbooks, dictionaries, encyclopaedias utilised completes the introduction to the whole dictionary. We do hope that the publication of the subsequent parts of this epoch-making dictionary will continue as promptly as the already published ones.

Gyula Wojtilla

L. STERNBACH, *Verses Attributed to Murāri*, Lucknow 1978, 47 p. Akhila Sanskrit Parishad.

The small volume under review belongs to the series of Professor Sternbach's explorations of «forgotten chapters» of Sanskrit literature.

Murāri's age can be put in the fourth quarter of the tenth century and he was known for his single drama entitled *Anargharāghava* consisted of 567 verses out of which 129 are quoted in different Sanskrit anthologies. As Professor Sternbach rightly shows this fact satisfactorily proves the appreciation of his poetry by the tradition and it is strong argument against the negative criticism made by modern scholars.

All the available references to Murāri and his activity are summed up in the introductory part of the book. An informative table illustrates the distribution of these verses in the anthologies.

The learned author presented 28 verses so far unknown accompanied with critical remarks.

An annex appended comprises the verses of the *Anargharāghava* occurring in anthologies and treatise of poetics and rhetorics.

This masterly written study from the pen of a great scholar is a reasonable contribution to our knowledge of the history of Sanskrit literature.

Gyula Wojtilla

H. SCHWARZBAUM, *The Mishlé Shu'alim (Fox Fables) of Rabbi Berechiah Ha-Nakdan*. Kiron, Institute for Jewish and Arab Folklore Research 1979. 658 p.

Berechiah was born in France and was active in England in the mid-thirteenth century. Ha-Nakdan indicates that he was a copyist trained in grammar; this was how he made his living. He was the first to write a volume of animal fables in rhythmical prose in the language of the Bible and the Talmud (A. Scheiber, *Enz. des Märchens* II, New York 1977, pp. 135—137).

A great deal has been written about this collection of fables, but after H. Schwarzbaum no-one will dare touch upon it again. In this enormous scholarly work he gives a definition of the animal fable and demonstrates its satirical, political, rhetorical and theodical function. He regards the fables not individually in isolation, but as an important link in the gigantic chain of ancient, medieval and modern fable and folklore.

The author next discusses the sources of the collection and shows how it was influenced by Avianus, Phaedrus, Romulus, «Romulus Nilantii», and Marie de France. He also makes use of the dissertation of József Berg in this connection: *Az aesopusi mese sémi változatai* [Semitic Variants of Aesop's Fables]: *MZsSz* XLVIII (1931), pp. 319—352. He also knows of the Jewish Theological Seminary of Hungary's Berechiah manuscript, whose otherwise unknown fables were published by S. Löwinger (*Mahler-Festschrift*, Budapest 1937, Hebrew Section: pp. 16—35).

The core of the book is formed by the commentaries and parallels cited for the 119 fables. The author's omniscience is

staggering; I think it will be impossible to offer any addenda. Let me nevertheless mention that on the subject of Chapter CXIII (pp. 533—536) I have written in the Harmatta-Festschrift of *Acta Antiqua*; this has, perhaps, some new material as regards the Hungarian dimension. More generally, it is possible to cite parallels from the Aesopian fables of Hungarian literature (Károly Major, *A magyar ezópi meseírás története* [The History of Aesopian Fables in Hungary], Kolozsvár 1887).

N. Golb in his book devotes a whole chapter to Berechiah (*History and Culture of the Jews of Rouen in the Middle Ages*, Tel-Aviv 1976, pp. 120—144). He discusses Berechiah's literary activities and argues that the time of his stay in Rouen was about 1233. It is a pity that the author was not able to use this work.

The index of motifs at the end of the book enhances its value considerably. This is one of the greatest achievements of research into Jewish folklore.

A. Scheiber

TE'UDA. I. *Cairo Geniza Studies*, Ed. M. A. FRIEDMAN, Tel Aviv University 1980, XXVIII, 206 p.

This volume contains the papers delivered at the Geniza Symposium held on 24—25 March 1976 in Tel-Aviv. Every area of Geniza studies is covered.

S. D. Goitein points out that the everyday life of the Jewish family is mirrored in the documents. He mentions that even in the summer of 1972 it was possible for a Frenchman to buy, quite intact, a family letter from the Geniza in the bazaar at Cairo. Y. Sussmann gives an account of the systematic way in which the work on the arrangement of the Talmud fragments is progressing. Z. M. Rabinowitz writes of the significance of the Geniza's midrash texts (v. *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXXII, 1978, pp. 231—243). M. B. Lerner offers elucidation of a book-list that has already seen publication

(T.-S. Loan 149.); נגלה occurs in the form נגלה in a Leningrad book-list too: Ant. 349. M. A. Friedman's contribution concerns the marriage contracts (*ketubba*) in the Geniza. E. Fleischer examines the Geniza from the point of view of sacred poetry (*piyyut*), while M. Schmelzer collects the *piyyutim* of Isaac Ibn Giat from this source. J. Schirrmann, on the other hand, evaluates the Geniza as a source of secular poetry. M. Gil surveys the documents relating to the Arab epoch in the history of Palestine (634—1099). N. A. Stillman summarizes the business and public life of the house of Joseph Ibn Awkal (v. *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXXI, 1977, pp. 237—240). M. R. Cohen concludes his examination of the material in the Geniza relating to David b. Daniel b. Azarya thus: «Finally, the Geniza documents show that David b. Daniel's regime was far more significant for Jewish political history than Evyatar wished openly to admit.» Y. K. Stillman studies women's dress and textiles on the basis of the Geniza marriage contracts. M. Benayahu is concerned with 16th to 18th century Geniza documents, while A. M. Habermann focuses on the Geniza's Yiddish texts. According to M. Michaeli, present-day oriental Jewish life can often furnish a commentary to the Geniza documents. I. Yeivin writes on the pointing system of the Geniza texts, while J. Blau examines the linguistic features of the Judeo-Arabic documents. M. Beit-Arié offers a palaeographic survey of the documents, and S. C. Reif gives a glimpse of the collections of the Cambridge University Library.

The volume offers an accurate picture of the present state of Geniza studies.

A. Scheiber

ROBERT DÁN, *Accumulated Index of Jewish Bibliographical Periodicals*, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1979. 278 p.

The work presents the accumulated index of the defunct bibliographical

periodicals of Jewish literature (Central-Anzeiger für Jüdische Litteratur, Hebräische Bibliographie, Journal of Jewish Bibliographie, Soncino-Blätter, Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie, En ha-Qore, Alim le-Bibliografiya, Qiryath Sefer) which appeared between 1858 and 1943. The number of entries are about 10,000 drawn from 58 periodical issues. This immense material is arranged in two parts. Part I is dealing with items published mainly in German, English, French and Dutch, while Part II covers works printed in Hebrew. The clear arrangement of the book makes its use easy. The reader can find headings such as subject; author of the article; in the case of reviews, author of the book reviewed and the reviewer and sometimes even geographical location.

On the basis of this cross-reference system Part I lists the names of the authors of the articles as individual entries. On the other hand, the articles themselves are also given according to subject headings arrived at through an analysis of the contents of the publications. Besides, when need arises, other important data (biographical, geographical etc.) are also to be found as separate items. (E.g. an article about an important text edition can be looked up under the name of the author, the title of the text, and the place of the edition.)

To a certain extent, Part II follows the arrangement adopted in Part I, but in addition to this, it lists the Hebrew books by titles.

In his Foreword to the book, the eminent Hebraist, A. Scheiber welcomes R. Dán's work as the filling of a serious gap and summarizing its importance, states that the painstaking but rewarding work of the author is certain to spare its users a great deal of search and effort.

The usefulness of this volume as a handy reference book for Hebraists can hardly be over-emphasized, but it can also count with full right on the interest of Arabists, especially of those concerned with Judeo-Arabica. Suffice it to quote

here only entries as *Arabern, Jüdische Aerzte unter den; Arabern, Sectenstifter unter den; Arabische Ausdrücke für hyperbolische Redensart bei jüdischen Autoren; Arabische, Jüdisch Bücherlisten aus der Geniza; Arabische Höflichkeit; Arabische Hymnen; Arabische Quellen über Juden; Arabischen Litteratur der Juden, Zur neues-*

ten —; Arabischer Brief an R. Chanael, Ein; Gazzali; Ibn Gabirol; Ibn Sina; Muhammed; Mutanabbi; etc.

In short, the book is a real contribution in the field of Hebrew bibliographies.

A. Fodor

BIBLIOGRAPHIA

— *Defter-i caba-ı eyalet-i Çıldır 1694—1732 Y. Y.* Türkçe metni ve Gürcüce Çevirisini Notlarla Yayınlayan Tsisana ABULADZE. Araştırmalar Miheil SVANIDZE'nindir. 326 pages. Metsniereba Yayınları, Tbilisi 1979. R 1,70.

— ACHMETGALEeva, Ja. S., *Issledovanie tjurkojazyčnogo pamjatnika «Kisekbaš kitaby»*. 190 pages. Izd. Nauka, Moskva 1979. R 1,60.

— AĞAT, Nurettin, *Altınordu (Cuçi oğulları) Paraları Kataloğu 1250—1502*. X + 184 pages. Edebiyat Fakültesi Matbaası, İstanbul 1976.

— *Islamic Perspectives*. Studies in Honour of Mawlānā Sayyid Abul A'lā Mawdūdī. Edited by Khurshid AHMAD, Zafar Ishaq ANSARI. xvii + 394 pages. The Islamic Foundation, U. K. 1979.

— *Azerbaycan halk yazını örnekleri*. Derleyip düzenleyen Ehliman AHUNDÖV, Türk çevriyazısına aktaran Semih TEZCAN. XIV + 554 pages. Ankara 1978. (*Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları* 445) TL 250,—.

— AJDAROV, G., *Bibliografičeskij ukazatel' literatury po enisejsko-orchonskim i talasskim pamjatnikam drevnetjurkskoj pis'mennosti*. 144 pages. Izd. Nauka Kazachskoj SSR, Alma-Ata 1979. R 0,35.

— *Ömer Asim Aksoy Armağanı*. Yazı kurulu Mustafa CANPOLAT, Semih TEZCAN, Mustafa Şerif ONARAN. 317 pages. Ankara 1978. (*Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları* 449) TL 250,—.

— ALBAUM, L. I.—BRENTJES, B., *Herren der Steppe. Zur Geschichte und Kultur mittelasiatischer Völker in islamischer Zeit*. 190 pages. VEB, Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, Berlin 1978. DDR M 27,—.

— *Society and Sexes in Medieval Islam*. Edited by Afaf Lutfi AL-SAYYID-MARSOT. 149 pages. Undena Publications, Malibu, California 1979. (*Sixth Giorgio Levi Della Vida Biennial Conference*)

— ARAT, Reşit Rahmeti, *Kutadgu Bilig* III. Indeks. Neşre hazırlayanlar: Kemal ERASLAN—Osman SERTKAYA—Nuri YÜCE. XV + 565 pages. İstanbul 1979. (*Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü Yayınları* 47, seri IV, sayı A 12) TL 500,—.

— ARIS, Michael, *Bhutan. The Early History of a Himalayan Kingdom*. xxxiv + 344 pages. Aris & Phillips Ltd., Warminster 1979. £ 12,50.

— *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson*. Edited by M. ARIS and Aung San Suu KYI. Proceedings of the International Seminar on Tibetan Studies, Oxford 1979. xx + 348 pages. Aris & Phillips Ltd., Warminster 1980. £ 12,—.

— *Études Song*. In memoriam Étienne Balazs éditées par Françoise AUBIN Series II/Civilisation 2. Éditions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris 1980. pp. 99—204.

— *Bandung i kollektivnaja bezopasnost' v Azii*. Sbornik statej. Čechoslovackaja akademija nauk, Institut Vostokovedenija, Otdelenie Južnoj i Jugo-Vostočnoj Azii 10, Praga 1977. 150 pages.

- BASKAKOV, N. A., *Russkie familii tjurkskogo proischozdenija*. 279 pages. Izd. Nauka, Moskva 1979. R 1,50.
- VON BETZEK, Jakob, *Gesandtschaftsreise nach Ungarn and in die Türkei im Jahre 1564/65*. Herausgegeben und bearbeitet von Karl NEHRING. XI + 78 pages. München 1979. (*Veröffentlichungen des Finnisch-Ugrischen Seminars an der Universität München*. Serie C: Miscellanea, Band 10) DM 28,—.
- *Dynamics and Institution*, Based on Papers read at the Symposium on Dynamics and Institution held at Åbo on the 6th—8th of September 1976. Edited by Haralds BIEZAIS. Almqvist & Wiksell, Uppsala 1976. (*Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis IX*)
- *Religious Symbols and their Functions*, Based on Papers read at the Symposium on Religious Symbols and their Functions held at Åbo on the 28th—30th of August 1978. Edited by Haralds BIEZAIS. XXIX + 177 pages. Almqvist & Wiksell, Uppsala 1979. (*Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis X*)
- BIRJUKOVIČ, R. M., *Zvukovoj stroj čulymsko-tjurkskogo jazyka*. Institut Jazykoznanija Akademii Nauk SSSR, Moskva 1979. 202 pages. R 1,—.
- BRADLEY, David, *Proto-Loloish*, xi + 452 pages. Curzon Press, London and Malmö 1979. (*Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies*, Monograph Series 39)
- *India and Indology*. Selected articles by W. Normann BROWN. Edited by Rosane Rocher. Motilal Banarsidass 1978. Rs 190,—.
- BURTON, John, *The Collection of the Qur'ān*. vii + 273 pages. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge—London—New York—Melbourn 1977. £ 8,50.
- CHAKIMZJANOV, F. S., *Jazyk épitafij volžskich bulgar*. 206 pages. Izd. Nauka, Moskva 1978. R 2,—.
- CHALIKOV, A. Ch., *Proischozdenie tatar Povolž'ja i Priural'ja*. 160 pages. Tatarskoe knižnoe izdatel'stvo, Kazan' 1978. R 0,40.
- CHANG, Kwang-Chih, *Shang Civilization*. xvi + 417 pages. Yale University Press, New Haven and London 1980. £ 18,90.
- CHATTOPADHYAYA, S., *Reflections on the Tantras*. Motilal Banarsidass 1978. Rs 30,—.
- *Contemporary Literature on Islamic Economics*. Research Report I. King Abdul Aziz University, Jeddah, and The Islamic Foundation, Leicester 1978.
- *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, Part II. Inscriptions of the Seleucid and Parthian Periods and of Eastern Iran and Central Asia, vol. II. Parthian Economic Documents from Nisa, Plates III. By I. M. DIAKONOFF and V. A. LIVSHITS, Edited by D. N. MACKENZIE. Lund Humphries, London 1979. Pl. 331—536. £ 60,—.
- DÁN, Robert, *Accumulated Index of Jewish bibliographical periodicals*. 276 pages. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1979.
- DE JONG, J. W., *Textcritical Remarks on the Boddhisattvāvadānakalpalatā (Pallavas 42—108)*. Tokyo, The Reiyukai Library 1979. x + 303 p. (*Studia Philologica Buddhica*, Monograph Series II)
- *Aryan and Non-Aryan in India*. Edited by Madhav M. DESHPANDE and Peter Edwin HOOK. Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor 1979. xii + 316 pages. (*Michigan Papers on South and Southeast Asia*, No. 14, 1978)
- DOERFER, Gerhard—TEZCAN, Semih, *Wörterbuch des Chaladsch (Dialekt von Charrab)*. 232 pages. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1980. (BOH XXVI) Ft. 200,—.
- DRÜLL, Dagmar, *Der Codex Cumanicus. Entstehung und Bedeutung*. 143 pages. Klett-Cotta, Stuttgart 1979. (*Geschichte und Gesellschaft, Bochumer Historische Studien*, Band 23). DM 44,—.

- ECSEDY, Ildikó, *Nomádok és kereskedők Kína határain* [Nomads and Merchants at China's Borders]. 238 pages. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1979. Ft. 23,—.
- EGEROD, Søren, *Atayal-English Dictionary*. Vol. 1: XI + 1—400 pages, Vol. 2: 401—830 pages. Curzon Press 1980. (*Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies*, Monograph Series, No. 35)
- EIMER, Helmut, *Rnam Thar Rgyas Pa. Materialien zu einer Biographie des Atiša (Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna)*. Teil 1: Einführung, Inhaltsverzeichnis, Namensglossar. X + 486 pages; Teil 2: Textmaterialien. XII + 436 pages. Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1979. (*Asiatische Forschungen* 67) DM 158,—.
- EIMER, Helmut, *The Tibetan Indexes (dkar chag) to the Collected Works (bka' 'bum) of A kya gsañ 'dzin rdo rje*. 42 pages. The Reiyukai Library, Tokyo 1980. (*Bibliographia Philologica Buddhica*, Series minor IV)
- EMMERICK, R. E., *A Guide to the Literature of Khotan*. 62 pages. The Reiyukai Library, Tokyo 1979. (*Studia Philologica Buddhica*, Occasional Paper Series III)
- *History of Shah 'Abbas the Great (Tārik-e 'Ālamārā-ye 'Abbāsī)* by ESKANDAR BEG MONSHI. Translated by Roger M. SAVORY. Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado 1979. Vol I: xxx + pp. 1—544, Vol. II: pp. 545—1400 (*Persian Heritage Series*, No. 28) \$ 75.—
- GADŽIEVA, N. Z., *Tjurkojazyčnye arealy Kavkaza* 264 pages. Izd. Nauka, Moskva 1979. R 2,30.
- GÁLIK, Marián, *The Genesis of Modern Chinese Literary Criticism (1917—1930)*. 349 pages. Curzon Press, London—Veda, Bratislava 1980 Kč 59,—.
- GHATAGE, A. M., *An Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles*. Volume II, Part I. pp. 721—976. Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Poona 1979. Volume II, Part II. pp. 977—1224. Poona 1980.
- GILLARD, David, *The Struggle for Asia 1828—1914. A Study in British and Russian Imperialism*. 214 pages. Methuen & Co Ltd, London 1977. £ 8,95.
- GOLDEN, Peter B., *Khazar Studies. An Historico-Philological Inquiry into the Origins of the Khazars*. Vol. I: 291 pages, vol. II: XXV + 252 pages. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1980. (BOH XXV/1, 2) Ft. 520,—.
- GOUDRIAAN, T., *Māyā divine and human*. Motilal Banarsidass 1978. Rs 100,—.
- GRIMM, G., *Buddhist Wisdom. The Mystery of the Self*. Motilal Banarsidass 1978. Rs 25,—.
- GUZEV, V. G., *Staroosmanskij jazyk*. 96 pages. Izd. Nauka, Moskva 1979. (*Jazyki narodov Azii i Afriki*) R 0,85.
- *Prolegomena to the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia*. Edited by J. HARMATTA. 340 pages. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1979.
- *Studies in the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia*. Edited by J. HARMATTA. 162 pages. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1979. (*Collection of the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia*. Series I. Volume II)
- *The Poetic Memoirs of Lady Daibu*, Translated, with an Introduction, by Phillip Tudor HARRIES. xii + 324 pages. Stanford University Press, Stanford, Cal. 1970. \$ 17,50.
- HEISSIG, Walther, *Mongolische Ortsnamen*, Teil II: Mongolische Manuskriptkarten in Faksimilia. XV + 132 pages. Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, Wiesbaden 1978. (*Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Supplementband 5,2)
- HEISSIG, WALTHER, *Die Zeit des letzten mongolischen Großkhans Ligdan (1604—1634)*. Westdeutscher Verlag 1979. 40 p. (*Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Geisteswissenschaften, Vorträge, G 235)
- HINKEL, Friedrich W., *Auszug aus Nubien*. 104 pages. Akademie-Verlag, Berlin 1978. M 34.—

- *The People's Republic of China: A Handbook*, edited by Harold C. HINTON. xvii + 443 pages. Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado—Dawson, Folkestone, England 1979.
- ḤUNAYN IBN ISHĀQ, *Questions on Medicine for Scholars*. Translated into English, with a preface and historical note, by Paul Ghalioungui, M. D., from a critical edition by Galal M. Moussa, Ph. D., of the Ninth Century Arabic text, »Al Masa'il fi al-Tibb lil Muta'allimin.« xlix + 162 pages. Al-Ahram Center for Scientific Translations, Cairo, A.R.E. 1980.
- *Das Igor-Lied. Eine Heldendichtung*. Der altrussische Text mit der Übertragung von Rainer Maria RILKE und der neurrussischen Prosafassung von D. S. LICHTSCHOW. 77 pages. Insel-Verlag, Leipzig 1978. (*Insel-Bücherei* Nr. 689)
- IRVING, Th. B.—AHMAD, Kh.—AHSAN, M. M., *The Qur'ān: Basic Teachings*. An Anthology of Selected Passages from the Qur'ān, translated into contemporary English with an Introduction to the Message of the Qur'ān. 278 pages. The Islamic Foundation, London 1979/1399.
- *Issledovanija po istoriografii Tatarii*. 150 pages. Institut jazyka, literatury i istorii im. G. Ibragimova, Kazan' 1978. R 1,20.
- *Issledovanija v oblasti etimologii altajskich jazykov*. 262 pages. Nauka, Leningrad 1979. R. 3,20.
- *Issledovanija po semantike russkogo jazyka. Leksičeskaja i slovoobrazovatel'naja semantika. Mežvuzovskij naučnyj sbornik*. 140 pages. Ufa 1979. R 1,—.
- JAHN, Karl, *Die Indiangeschichte des Rašid ad-Din*. Einleitung, vollständige Übersetzung, Kommentar und 80 Texttafeln. 118 pages. Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 1980. (*ÖAW*, phil.-hist. Klasse, Denkschriften 144) DM 49,—.
- JARRING, Gunnar, *Matters of Ethnological Interest, in Swedish Missionary Reports from Southern Sinkiang*. 21 pages. CWK Gleerup, Lund 1979. (*Scripta Minora Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis* 1979—1980:4)
- JARRING, Gunnar, *Literary Texts from Kashghar Edited and Translated with Notes and Glossary*. 156 pages. CWK Gleerup, Lund 1980. (*Acta Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis* LXXIV)
- *Jubilee Volume of the Oriental Collection 1951—1976*. Papers presented on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Edited by Éva APOR. 224 pages. Budapest 1978. Ft. 60,—.
- KAKAR, Hasan Kawun, *Government and Society in Afghanistan, The Reign of Amir 'Abd al-Rahman Khan*. xxiv + 328 pages. University of Texas Press, Austin and London 1979 (*Modern Middle East Series*, No. 5) \$ 24,95.
- KAKUK, Zs., *Cultural Words from the Turkish Occupation of Hungary*. 118 pages. Budapest 1977. (*Studia Turco-Hungarica* IV)
- KAMIOKA, Koji—YAJIMA, Hikoichi, *The Inter-Regional Trade in the Western Part of the Indian Ocean. The Second Report on the Dhow Trade*. 185 pages. Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo 1979. (*Studia Culturae Islamicae*, No. 9)
- KAMIOKA, Koji—YAMADA, Minoru, *Lārestāni Studies 1: Lāri Basic Vocabulary*. xvii + 227 + ۳۰ pages. Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo 1979. (*Studia Culturae Islamicae*, No. 10)
- KLEIN-FRANKE, Felix, *Die klassische Antike in der Tradition des Islam*. X + 181 pages. Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt 1980. (*Erträge der Forschung*, Band 136)
- KOLB, Albert, *East Asia. China, Japan, Korea, Vietnam. Geography of a Cultural Region*. xvi + 591 p. London, Methuen & Co. Ltd. 1977.

- KONONOV, A. N., *Grammatika jazyka tjurkskich runičeskich pamjatnikov VII—IX vv.* 256 pages. Nauka, Leningrad 1980. R 3,10.
- *Qataghan et Badakhshân. Description du pays d'après l'inspection d'un ministre afghan en 1922*, par Mawlawi Borhân al-din Khân KOSHAKI, traduit par Marguerite REUT. Tome I: XIV + 344 pages. Tome II: texte persan. Tome III: cartes. Editions du CNRS, Paris 1979. (*Publications de l'URA n° 10, Mémoire n° 3 = Travaux de l'Institut d'Études Iraniennes de l'Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle* 10. 1, 2, 3) F 240,—.
- Dr. Franz Kuhn (1884—1961). *Lebensbeschreibung und Bibliographie seiner Werke*. Bearbeitet von Hatto KUHN, unter Mitarbeit von Martin GIMM, Geleitwort von Herbert FRANKE. Mit einem Anhang unveröffentlichter Schriften. 180 pages. Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, Wiesbaden 1980. (*Sinologica Coloniensia*, Band 10) DM 17,—.
- LASSNER, Jacob, *The Shaping of 'Abbāsid Rule*. xviii + 328 pages. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey 1980. \$ 31,50.
- *Kleinere Schriften* von Berthold LAUFER. Teil 2: Publikationen aus der Zeit von 1911 bis 1925. Herausgegeben von Hartmut WALRAVENS. 2 Bände. 1. Halbband: S. 1—828, 2. Halbband: S. 829—1626. Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden 1980. (*Sinologica Coloniensia*, Band 7) DM 168,—.
- LULEI, Wilfried, *Die nationalen Einheitsfrontorganisationen in Vietnam. Historische Entwicklung und aktuelle Bedeutung*. 382 pages. Akademie-Verlag, Berlin 1979. (*Studien über Asien, Afrika und Lateinamerika*, Band 24) M 28,—.
- *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes. Annals of Japanese Aristocratic Life in the Heian Period*. Translated, with an Introduction and Notes, by W. H. and H. C. McCULLOUGH. Vol. I: xv + 428 pages, vol. II: pp. 429—910. Stanford University Press, Stanford, Cal. 1980. \$ 62,50.
- MENGES, K. G., *Vostočnye elementy v «Slove — polku Igoreve»*. 266 pages. Izd. Nauka, Leningrad 1979. R 1,60.
- *Mélanges de L'Institut Dominicain d'Études Orientales du Caire*. 134 + 30 pages. Librairie du Liban, Beyrouth 1980. \$ 13,—.
- *Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Études Orientales du Caire* 14. 512 pages. Librairie du Liban, Beyrouth 1980. \$ 40,—.
- MIRŽANOVA, S. F., *Južnyj dialekt baškirskogo jazyka*. 272 pages. Nauka, Moskva 1979. R 1,80.
- MOLČANOVA, O. T., *Toponimičeskij slovar' Gornogo Altaja*. 398 pages. Gornol'tajskoe otdelenie Altajskogo Knižnogo izdatel'stva 1979.
- MOTOKI Nakajima, *A Study of the Basic Vocabulary of the Min Dialect in the Tung Shan Island*. 276 pages. Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo Gaikokugo Daigaku 1977.
- MUCHAMETŠIN, Ju. G., *Tatary-krašeny*. Istoriko-ětnografičeskoe issledovanie material'noj kul'tury, seredina XIX—načalo XX v. 184 pages. Nauka, Moskva 1977. R 1,—.
- *Nacionalizm i klassovaja bor'ba v stranach Azii*. Sbornik statej. 204 pages. Českoslovačkaja akademija nauk, Institut Vostokovedenija, Otdelenie Južnoj i Jugo-Vostočnoj Azii 9, Praga 1977.
- NADŽIP, Ė. N., *Istoriko-sravnitel'nyj slovar' tjurksich jazykov XIV veka. Na materiale «Chosrau i Širin» Kutba*. Kniga I. 478 pages. Nauka, Moskva 1979. R 3,90.
- NAKAJIMA, Motoki, *A Comparative Lexicon of Fukien Dialects*. (16) + 354 pages. Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo 1979.
- NARA, Tsuyoshi, *Avahaṭṭha and Comparative Vocabulary of New Indo-Āryan Languages*. vi + 166 pages. Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo 1979.

- *Neuerwerbungen Orientalia* 1977. Nr. 4, S. 142—204; Nr. 6, S. 267—330. Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen, Orientalische Abteilung.
- *Očerki sravnitel'noj morfolologii altajskich jazykov*. 270 pages. Nauka, Leningrad 1978. R 2,—.
- O'MARA, Patrick F., *The Palermo Stone and the the Archaic Kings of Egypt*. xvi + 208 pages. Paulette Publishing Co., La Canada, Calif. 1979.
- J. PEREIRE, *Monolithic Jinas*. Motilal Banarsidass 1977. Rs 40,—.
- PERRY, Elizabeth J., *Rebels and Revolutionaries in North China, 1845—1945*. xi + 324 pages. Stanford University Press, Stanford, California 1980. \$ 25,—.
- PICKOWICZ, Paul, *Marxist Literary Thought and China: A Conceptual Framework*. 72 pages. Center for Chinese Studies, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1980. (*Studies in Chinese Terminology*, No. 18)
- *Pis'mennye pamjatniki vostoka. Istorija, filologija*. 200 pages. Izd. Nauka, Moskva 1979. R 1,50.
- PLETNJOWA, Swetlana Alexandrowna, *Die Chasaren. Mittelalterliches Reich an Don und Wolga*. 172 pages. Koehler & Amelang, Leipzig 1978. DDR M 14,80.
- RAHULA, Bhikkhu Telwate, *A Critical Study of the Mahāvastu*. Motilal Banarsidass 1978. Rs 90,—.
- RASSADIN, V. I., *Morfologija tofalarskogo jazyka v sravnitel'nom osveščennii*. 288 pages. Izd. Nauka, Moskva 1978. R 3,30.
- *First International Congress of Egyptology, Acts*. Edited by F. REINEKE. With 93 plates. Berlin, Akademie-Verlag 1979. 704 p. (*Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des alten Orients* 14) DDR M 150,—.
- RICHTER-BERNBURG, Lutz, *Persian Medical Manuscripts at the University of California, Los Angeles*. xxii + 298 pages. Undena Publications, Malibu, California 1978. (*Humana Civilitas*, vol. 4)
- RITTER, Helmuth, *Tūrōyo. Die Volkssprache der syrischen Christen des Tūr ʿ Abdīn. B: Wörterbuch*. Das Autorenmanuskript zum Druck in Faksimile gebracht von Rudolf SELLHEIM. 606 pages, Orient-Inst. der DMG, Beirut—Franz Steiner Verlag (in Komm.), Wiesbaden 1979. DM 56,—.
- ROBINSON, Kenneth, *A Critical Study of Chu Tsai-yü's Contribution to the Theory of Equal Temperament in Chinese Music*. With Additional Notes by Erich F. W. ALTWEIN and a Preface by Joseph NEEDHAM. X + 136 pages. Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden 1980. (*Sinologica Coloniensis*, Band 9)
- *Schiavitù, manomissione e classi dipendenti nel mondo antico*. 201 pages. «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, Roma 1979. (*Università degli studi di Padova, Pubblicazione dell'Istituto di storia antica*, vol. XIII)
- SCHUBRING, W., *The Doctrine of the Jainas*. Motilal Banarsidass 1978. Rs 50,—.
- *Studies on Mongolia. Proceedings of the First North American Conference on Mongolian Studies*. Editor: Henry G. SCHWARZ. iv + 138 p. Western Washington University 1979. (*Studies on East Asia* 13) \$ 5,50.
- SEMENOV, L. S., *Putešestvie Afanasija Nikitina*. 144 pages. Izd. Nauka, Moskva 1980. R 0,30.
- SHULMAN, David Dean, *Tamil Temple Myths. Sacrifice and Divine Marriage in the South Indian Śaiva Tradition*, xvi + 471 pages. Princeton University Press 1980.
- *Contributions aux études sur Touen-Houang*, Sous la direction de Michel SOYMIÉ. 167 pages. Librairie Droz, Genève—Paris 1979. (*Hautes Études Orientales* 10)
- STERNBACH, L., *A Descriptive Catalogue of Poets Quoted in Sanskrit Anthologies and Inscriptions*. Volume I. Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1978. DM 168,—.

- STERNBACH, Ludwik, *Unknown Verses Attributed to Kṣemendra*. 150 p. Lucknow, Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad 1979. \$ 15,—.
- STERNBACH, L., *Aphorisms and Proverbs in the Kathā-sarīt-sāgara*, vol. I. xii + 312 pages. Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow 1980. \$ 25,—.
- *Cahiers d'onomastique arabe*. Responsable: Jacqueline SUBLET. 175 pages. Éditions du Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris 1979.
- TAESCHNER, Franz, *Zünfte und Bruderschaften im Islam*. Texte zur Geschichte der Futuwwa. 672 pages. Artemis Verlag, Zürich und München 1979.
- TARDY, Lajos, *A tatárországi rabszolgakereskedelem és a magyarok a XIII—XV. században*. 241 pages. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1980. (*Kőrösi Csoma Kiskönyvtár* 17) Ft. 26,—.
- *Tatar teleneḡ aḡlatmaly süzlege*. Öč tomda. I: A—J. XVI + 476 p. Kazan, Tatarstan Kitap Näšrijaty 1977. R 3,36.
- TEKIN, Şinasi, *Maitrisimit nom bitig*. Die uigurische Übersetzung eines Werkes der buddhistischen Vaibhāṣika-Schule. 1. Teil: 264 pages, 2. Teil: 187 pages. Akademie Verlag, Berlin 1980. (*Berliner Turfantexte IX*) M 170,—.
- TEKIN, Şinasi, *Buddhistische Uigurica aus der Yüan-Zeit*. Teil I: HSIN Tözin Oqidtači Nom, Teil II: Die Geschichte von Sadāprarudita und Dharmodgata Bodhisattva. Mit 42 Faksimiles. 383 pages. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1980. (*BOH XXVII*) Ft. 380,—.
- TIETZE, Andreas, *Muṣṭafā Alī's Sultans of 1581 (Part I)*. 188 S. + LXXII plates. Wien 1979. Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. DM 74,—.
- TOALSTER, John Peter Claver, *Die uigurische Xuan-Zang-Biographie 4. Kapitel mit Übersetzung und Kommentar*. lxxxii + 276 pages. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades im Fachbereich Sprachen und Kulturen des Mittelmeerraums und Osteuropas der Justus Liebig-Universität, Gießen 1977.
- TUGUŠEVA, L. Ju., *Fragmenty uġurskoj versii biografii Sġuan'-Czana*. 174 pages. Izd. Nauka, Moskva 1980. R 1,40.
- USMANOV, M., *Zavetnaja mečta Chusaina Faizchanova. Povest' o žizni i dejatel'nosti*. 221 pages. Tatarskoe kniznoe izdatel'stvo, Kazan' 1980. R 0,95.
- VASS, Előd. *A kalocsai náhiye 1548. évi török adóösszeírása* [Turkish Tax-Registration of the Kalocsa nahíye in 1548]: *Cumania* 1979 (Kecskemét), pp. 7—62.
- *Uzbek—English Dictionary*, Compiled by Natalie WATERSON. xx + 190 pages. Oxford University Press, Oxford 1980. £ 18,—.
- WELCH, Anthony, *Calligraphy in the Arts of the Muslim World*. 216 pages. Published in Cooperation with The Asia Society, Dawson 1979. £ 15,—.
- *Islam: Past Influence and Present Challenge*. Edited by Alford T. WELCH and Pierre CACHIA. xvi + 359 pages. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 1979. £ 15,10.
- ZIEME, Peter, *Uigurisch lab «Spende»: Altorientalische Forschungen VI* (1979), pp. 275—277.

INDEX

K. RÉDEI—A. RÓNA-TAS, Early Bulgarian Loanwords in the Permian Languages . .	3
T. TEKIN, The Terkhin Inscription	43
S. L. WEST, The <i>Qiṣṣa-i Yūsuf</i> of Alī: The First Story of Joseph in Turkic Islamic Literature	69
G. SCARCIA, Heracles-Verethragna and the <i>mi'rāj</i> of Rustam	85
K. SCHWARZ, Die Sammlung türkischer Handschriften in der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Berlin/West)	111
A. SCHEIBER, From the Yozerot of Samuel b. Hoshana. From the Leningrad Geniza	121

In memoriam:

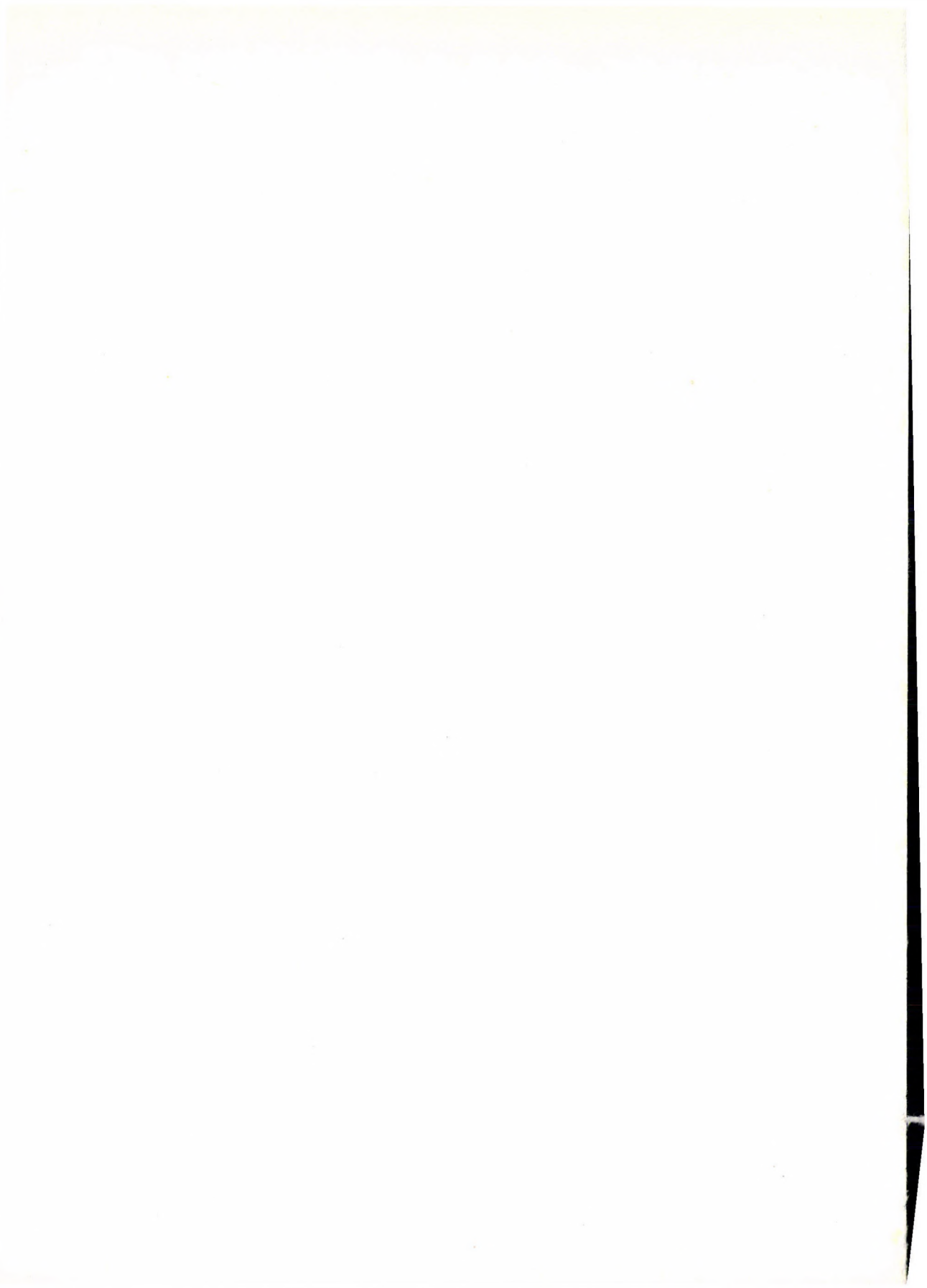
Paul Demiéville (1894—1979) (B. Csongor)	135
--	-----

Critica:

D. G. Tumaševa, Dialekty sibirskich tatar (Á. Berta) — A. M. Pozdneyev, Lamaist Buddhism in Late 19th Century Mongolia (A. Sárközi) — Studies on Mongolia, ed. by H. G. Schwarz (A. Sárközi) — F. Klein-Franke, Die klassische Antike in der Tradition des Islam (M. Maróth) — D. Shennum, English-Egyptian Index of Faulkner's Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian (L. Kákosy) — Immortal Egypt, ed. by D. Schmandt-Besserat (L. Kákosy) — First International Congress of Egyptology, ed. by W. F. Reineke (L. Kákosy) — An Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles, ed. by A. M. Ghatage (Gy. Wojtilla) — L. Sternbach, Verses Attributed to Murāri (Gy. Wojtilla) — H. Schwarzbaum, The Mishlé Shu'alim (Fox Fables) of Rabbi Berechiah Ha-Nakdan (A. Scheiber) — Te'uda I. Cairo Geniza Studies, ed. by M. A. Friedman, R. Dán, Accumulated Index of Jewish Bibliographical Periodicals (A. Fodor)	137
---	-----

<i>Bibliographia</i>	149
--------------------------------	-----

PRINTED IN HUNGARY
Akadémiai Nyomda, Budapest



Periodicals of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences are obtainable
at the following addresses:

AUSTRALIA

C.B.D. LIBRARY AND SUBSCRIPTION SERVICE
Box 4886, G.P.O., Sydney N.S.W. 2001
COSMOS BOOKSHOP, 145 Ackland Street
St. Kilda (Melbourne), Victoria 3182

AUSTRIA

GLOBUS, Höchstädtplatz 3, 1206 Wien XX

BELGIUM

OFFICE INTERNATIONAL DE LIBRAIRIE
30 Avenue Marnix, 1050 Bruxelles
LIBRAIRIE DU MONDE ENTIER
162 rue du Midi, 1000 Bruxelles

BULGARIA

HEMUS, Bulvar Ruszki 6, Sofia

CANADA

PANNONIA BOOKS, P.O. Box 1017
Postal Station "B", Toronto, Ontario M5T 2T8

CHINA

CNPICOR, Periodical Department, P.O. Box 50
Peking

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

MAD'ARSKÁ KULTURA, Národní třída 22
115 66 Praha
PNS DOVOZ TISKU, Vinohradská 46, Praha 2
PNS DOVOZ TLAČE, Bratislava 2

DENMARK

EJNAR MUNKSGAARD, Norregade 6
1165 Copenhagen K

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

KUNST UND WISSEN ERICH BIEBER
Postfach 46, 7000 Stuttgart 1

FINLAND

AKATEEMINEN KIRJAKAUPPA, P.O. Box 128
SF-00101 Helsinki 10

FRANCE

DAWSON-FRANCE S. A., B. P. 40, 91121 Palaiseau
EUROPÉRIODIQUES S. A., 31 Avenue de Ver-
sailles, 78170 La Celle St. Cloud
OFFICE INTERNATIONAL DE DOCUMENTA-
TION ET LIBRAIRIE, 48 rue Gay-Lussac
75240 Paris Cedex 05

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

HAUS DER UNGARISCHEN KULTUR
Karl Liebknecht-Straße 9, DDR-102 Berlin
DEUTSCHE POST ZEITUNGSVERTRIEBSAMT
Straße der Pariser Kommüne 3-4, DDR-104 Berlin

GREAT BRITAIN

BLACKWELL'S PERIODICALS DIVISION
Hythe Bridge Street, Oxford OX1 2ET
BUMPUS, HALDANE AND MAXWELL LTD.
Cowper Works, Olney, Bucks MK46 4BN
COLLET'S HOLDINGS LTD., Denington Estate
Wellingborough, Northants NN8 2QT
WM. DAWSON AND SONS LTD., Cannon House
Folkstone, Kent CT19 5EE
H. K. LEWIS AND CO., 136 Gower Street
London WC1E 6BS

GREECE

KOSTARAKIS BROTHERS INTERNATIONAL
BOOKSELLERS, 2 Hippokratous Street, Athens-143

HOLLAND

MEULENHOF-BRUNA B.V., Beulingstraat 2,
Amsterdam
MARTINUS NIJHOFF B.V.
Lange Voorhout 9-11, Den Haag

SWETS SUBSCRIPTION SERVICE

347b Heereweg, Lisse

INDIA

ALLIED PUBLISHING PRIVATE LTD., 13/14
Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi 110001
150 B-6 Mount Road, Madras 600002
INTERNATIONAL BOOK HOUSE PVT. LTD.
Madame Cama Road, Bombay 400039
THE STATE TRADING CORPORATION OF
INDIA LTD., Books Import Division, Chandralok
36 Janpath, New Delhi 110001

ITALY

INTERSCIENTIA, Via Mazzè 28, 10149 Torino
LIBRERIA COMMISSIONARIA SANSONI, Via
Lamarmora 45, 50121 Firenze
SANTO VANASIA, Via M. Macchi 58
20124 Milano
D. E. A., Via Lima 28, 00198 Roma

JAPAN

KINOKUNIYA BOOK-STORE CO. LTD.
17-7 Shinjuku 3 chome, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 160-91
MARUZEN COMPANY LTD., Book Department,
P.O. Box 5050 Tokyo International, Tokyo 100-31
NAUKA LTD. IMPORT DEPARTMENT
2-30-19 Minami Ikebukuro, Toshima-ku, Tokyo 171

KOREA

CHULPANMUL, Phenjan

NORWAY

TANUM-TIDSKRIFT-SENTRALEN A.S., Karl
Johansgatan 41-43, 1000 Oslo

POLAND

WĘGIERSKI INSTYTUT KULTURY, Marszał-
kowska 80, 00-517 Warszawa
CKP I W, ul. Towarowa 28, 00-958 Warszawa

ROUMANIA

D. E. P., București
ILEXIM, Calea Grivitei 64-66, București

SOVIET UNION

SOJUZPECHAT — IMPORT, Moscow
and the post offices in each town
MEZHDUNARODNAYA KNIGA, Moscow G-200

SPAIN

DIAZ DE SANTOS, Lagasca 95, Madrid 6

SWEDEN

ALMQVIST AND WIKSELL, Gamla Brogatan 26
101 20 Stockholm
GUMPRTS UNIVERSITETSBOKHANDEL AB
Box 346, 401 25 Göteborg 1

SWITZERLAND

KARGER LIBRI AG, Petersgraben 31, 4011 Basel

USA

EBSCO SUBSCRIPTION SERVICES
P.O. Box 1943, Birmingham, Alabama 35201
F. W. FAXON COMPANY, INC.
15 Southwest Park, Westwood Mass. 02090
THE MOORE-COTTRELL SUBSCRIPTION
AGENCIES, North Cohocton, N. Y. 14868
READ-MORE PUBLICATIONS, INC.
140 Cedar Street, New York, N. Y. 10006
STECHELT-MACMILLAN, INC.
7250 Westfield Avenue, Pennsauken N. J. 08110

YUGOSLAVIA

JUGOSLOVENSKA KNJIGA, Terazije 27, Beograd
FORUM, Vojvode Mišića 1, 21000 Novi Sad