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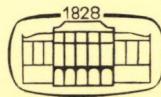
ADIUVANTIBUS

I. ECSEDY, P. FODOR, É. JEREMIÁS, K. U.-KÓHALMI, R. SIMON, GY. WOJTILLA

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TOMUS L

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AKADÉMIAI KIADÓ, BUDAPEST
1997

ACTA ORIENTALIA

A JOURNAL OF THE HUNGARIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

FOUNDED BY
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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
H-1117 Budapest, Prielle Kornélia u. 19–35

Manuscripts should be addressed to

Acta Orientalia
House of Professors, Room 303
H-1146 Budapest, Ajtósí Dürer sor 19–21

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

Subscription information

Orders should be addressed to

AKADÉMIAI KIADÓ
H-1519 Budapest, P.O. Box 245

Acta Orientalia is abstracted in Sociological Abstracts.

Subscription price for Volume 50 (1997) in 3 issues US\$ 114.00, including normal postage, airmail delivery US\$ 20.00.

© Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1997

PRINTED IN HUNGARY
Akadémiai Nyomda, Martonvásár

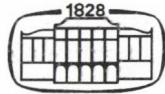
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Acknowledgement

The Board of Editors highly appreciates Ágnes Paulik's editorial help
to the preparation of this volume.

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EDMOND SCHÜTZ IS OCTOGENARIAN



Teacher, old friend, colleague, or ... Who knows what else; but each Hungarian Orientalist knows him at least in one of his capacities. Unbelievable as it may seem to many of us Ödön Schütz or (as he used his name in his publications written in "non-Hungarian" languages) Edmond Schütz celebrated his eightieth birthday on 29 March, 1996.

Edmond Schütz was born in 1916 in Budapest. He pursued his high school studies in the famous Evangelical (Lutheran) Gymnasium of Budapest (Fasori Evangélikus Gimnázium, 1925–1933) which gave Pleiads of wonderful scholars, scientists and artists to Hungary and the world. He earned his baccalaureate with distinction in 1933, then in 1933–1937 he attended the Faculty of Arts of Péter Pázmány University in Budapest where Hungarian and German were his major subjects. His interest in Hungarian and Finno-Ugric linguistics, Turkic and Inner-Asian studies and early Hungarian history was soon aroused by the lectures of his excellent professors, each one a giant in his speciality: Zoltán Gombocz, Miklós Zsirai, Gyula Németh, and Lajos Ligeti. But not only the teachers were outstanding, their pupils also comprised memorable personalities of a future generation of scholars. Of Schütz's generation were Károly Czeglédy, Denis Sinor, Tibor Halasi-Kun and György Györffy, to mention but the most outstanding representatives of this generation.

After the long years and compelled detours of World War II and the miserable post-war years which led to the Communist takeover in 1949, Edmond Schütz, unlike many of his talented colleagues and friends, did not leave the country, but began his scholarly work in the newly founded Historical Institute of the Hungarian Academy, and in 1968 he was transferred to the Altaistic Research Group of the Academy led by his former teacher Professor Lajos Ligeti. He spent there the most productive years of his career, and retired in 1987. From 1957 onward he has regularly given lectures and led seminars at the University as titular professor, mainly on topics of Armenian and Armeno-Kipchak philology. From 1962 onward he was often invited as visiting professor and worked on the staff on Indiana University, Bloomington. In 1989 he was rewarded by the Permanent International Altaistic Conference with the Gold Medal of Altaic Studies for his scholarly lifework, and in 1996 on his eightieth birthday he was decorated with the Officer's Cross of Honour of the Hungarian Republic. The Armenian Academy of Sciences in Yerevan elected him ordinary member in 1990.

Professor Schütz began publishing fairly late, but since that time his scholarly activity has flown incessantly embracing a wide range of humanities. The fundament of his education was extremely solid: he had a good knowledge of Greek-Latin antiquity, Hungarian and Finno-Ugric linguistics, Turkic and Inner Asian philology and history, and last but not least Armenian philology. He commanded the major West-European languages and Russian.

His interest and inclination to Armenian studies was aroused by Professors Németh and Ligeti who encouraged him to deal with Turkic (both Ottoman and Kipchak) texts written in Armenian transcription. One of the most productive field of his activity rose from this interest. One may say that in the field of Armeno-Kipchak studies he produced pioneering works that helped better understand the language and culture of the mediaeval Armenian groups in the Crimea and the Ukraine (one-time Polish Kingdom) that lost their Armenian mother tongue and adopted the Tatar language of their surroundings. He published several texts, among others parts of the Armeno-Kipchak Chronicle of Kamenets dealing with the Polish-Turkish wars in 1620–1621 (No. 20), Armeno-Kipchak texts written in Lvov in the 17th century (Nos 11, 14, 47), marriage contracts and wills from the 16th century (No. 25). He elucidated many problems concerning the transcription, phonology and lexicon of Armeno-Kipchak (Nos 9, 15, 18, 33, 36).

But he was engaged not only in Armeno-Kipchak, that wonderful example of linguistic and cultural interaction, but various fields of Armenian and Turkic studies, both philological and historical aspects included. Problems of the transcription of Middle Armenian texts are the topic of a number of his articles (Nos 37, 41, 56), and he traced the historical fate of different groups of the mediaeval Armenian diaspora, thus the Crimean Armenians (Nos 29, 39), the Armenians in Persia (No. 50), and the Cilician Armenians (Nos 64, 66). He had a keen interest in the history of the events of the Mongol invasion in the 13th

century, especially in the historical fate of the Armenians struggling between the Ilkhanid Mongol and the Mameluke Egyptian political influence (Nos 8, 27, 51, 54, 66). The Armeno-Hungarian cultural contacts was also a cherished theme for him, he devoted several articles to this theme (Nos 1, 2, 7, 13, 44, 65, etc.). Last but not least, following his masters Gy. Németh and L. Ligeti he also dealt with pure linguistic problems of Turcology (Nos 26, 28, 32, etc.).

Having thrown a cursory glance at Professor Schütz's multifarious scholarly activities one may ascertain that he is a scholar of unique erudition and insight. We may add with satisfaction that some of his finest works have just been finished and they are in print. Decades of intensive work are behind this achievement. The *Rasulid Hexaglot* from Yemen was discovered by Tibor Halasi-Kun and described as a six-language vocabulary (Arabic, Persian, Turkic, Greek, Mongol and Armenian) written by al-Afdāl al-‘Abbās, the sixth Rasulid ruler (reg. 1363–1377). Owing to international cooperation of scholars (T. Halasi-Kun, L. Ligeti, P. Golden and E. Schütz) the complete material of the Hexaglot is ready for publication. Schütz is publishing the uniquely interesting Cilician Armenian material. Another valuable work of his is the complete annotation of the Armenian Count Hayton's (1307) famous historical work entitled "Flor des estoires". It will be published together with E. Mickel's English translation from the original Old-French of Hayton's book. Finally, Prof. Schütz prepared a detailed annotation on the "barbarian" chapters of the 7th-century anonymous Armenian Geography of Anania Širakac'i (often falsely attributed to Movses Horenac'i). His treatise entitled "Barbarian Confines of the 7th-century Armenian Geography" will basically contribute to a better understanding of the western steppe region in this obscure historical period.

So Professor Schütz does not rest on his laurels but keeps working with vigour and energy in his eighty-first year. He is an amiable person who succeeded in obtaining no enemy in his long lifetime. Exaggerated critical sense often feeding on subjective feelings, evil will or malice have always been far from his personality. That is why he is venerated and loved by so many Hungarian and foreign colleagues. We wish him long years to come and God's blessing on his life. The best way to conclude this introduction to a volume of articles written in his honour is to cite the words of F. Sargsian, President and V. Barxudarian, Secretary of the Armenian National Academy of Sciences, addressed to the celebrated person on his election to be a foreign member of the afore-mentioned Academy, on 1 April 1996: "You have consecrated a considerable contribution to the education of the new students of Armenology and to the promotion of the interest of Armenology also in the international world. In Europe and America for decades with unrelentless zeal devotedly you have taught and preached the cultural treasures of the Armenian nation. It is due to your ardent work and noble character that in Armenia in the scholarly spheres and in the wide circles of intellectuals you have become a deeply venerated and beloved personality."

István Vásáry (Budapest)

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CHRONOLOGISCHE ANGABEN
ÜBER UNGARN UND KILIKISCH-ARMENIEN
IN DER „LÜBECKISCHEN CHRONIK“ (14. JAHRHUNDERT)

GEWORG ABGARJAN
(Jerewan)

Im Jerewaner Institut für alte Handschriften (Mesrop-Maschtots-Matenadaran)¹ gibt es eine 600 Jahre alte deutsche Handschrift (cod. lat. 38)², die sich bis 1945 in Deutschland befand und unter dem Namen „Rats-Handschrift“ bekannt ist. Diese auf Pergament geschriebene und mit 301 goldenen Initialen geschmückte Handschrift ist zum ersten Mal 1829 in Hamburg herausgegeben worden.³ Die zweite Auflage erschien 1884 in Leipzig.⁴ Es handelt sich um eine Weltchronik, die auch als „Lübeckische Chronik“ bekannt ist. Der Autor der Chronik ist der Franziskaner-Lesemeister Detmar, der bedeutendste mittelalterliche Geschichtsschreiber Lübecks. Er lebte im 14. Jahrhundert. Seine Chronik enthält die Beschreibung der weltgeschichtlichen Ereignisse vom 12.–14. Jahrhundert.

In unserem Artikel geht es um die Ereignisse in Ungarn und Kilikisch-Armenien (Kleinarmenien). Wir benutzen nicht den Drucktext, sondern die Handschrift, in welcher es ein unveröffentlichtes Fragment über die Beziehungen zwischen Mongolen und Kilikisch-Armenien gibt.

Was die Schreibweise in unserer Handschrift anbelangt, so hat der Schreiber dieselben Wörter oft unterschiedlich geschrieben und verschiedene Buchstaben mit graphischen Zeichen gleicher Form dargestellt. Bei der Anführung der Zitate aus der Chronik ist von uns grundsätzlich die Form der zugrundeliegenden Handschrift wiedergegeben worden (uneinheitliche Orthographie, Kleinschreibung etc.). Nur die Interpunktionszeichen wurde dabei leicht verändert und die Worte voneinander getrennt. Die Sprache der Chronik ist die frühneuhochdeutsche Sprache (mit Eigentümlichkeiten des Lübecker Dialekts). Unsere Übersetzungen setzen wir in eckige Klammern.

Als Quellen für die Berichte über Ungarn nennt der deutsche Chronist Annalen, ohne diese näher zu bestimmen:

¹ Im weiteren: MMM.

² Kiséléva, L. I., *Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften in Matenadaran*. Jerewan 1980, 15 (russ.). Hier wird das Datum dieses 1385 geschriebenen Manuskripts falsch angegeben (1345).

³ *Chronik des Franciscaner-Lesemeisters Detmar nach der Urschrift und mit Ergänzungen aus anderen Chroniken*. Hrsg. von Dr. F. H. Grauthoff, I-II, Hamburg 1829–1930.

⁴ *Die Chroniken der niedersächsischen Städte*. Lübeck, I. Bd., Leipzig 1884.

„Dat mach men lesen in den kroniken, geschreuen van den hilghen lande.“⁵

[Das mag man lesen in den Chroniken, geschrieben von dem Heiligen Lande.]

„Also in anderen boken schreuen steit.“⁶

[Also/wie in anderen Büchern geschrieben steht.]

Im Vorwort der Chronik zählt der Autor auch Quellen auf, die er näher bestimmt:

„Sol man weten dat desse cronika uan uele andere stukken is to samende bracht. en deel is ghenomen ot dem speghel historiarum, dar uele historien sin inghesettet: der romere, francoyser, engelscher, hispaner. en del ot der stades cronican. en deel ot den wendischen.“⁷

[Man soll wissen, daß diese Chronik von vielen anderen Stücken zusammengebracht ist. Ein Teil ist genommen aus dem Spiegel historiarum (Vincenz von Beauvais – G. A.), da/wo viele Historien sind hineingesetzt: der Römer, Franzosen, Engländer, Spanier; ein Teil aus der Stadt Chroniken (die ersten Chroniken der Stadt Lübeck – G. A.); ein Teil aus den wendischen (sc. den slawischen – G. A.).]

Detmar machte annalistische Notizen über Ungarn zu den Jahren 1145, 1180, 1197, 1217, 1219, 1229, 1241, 1242, 1246, 1260, 1345, 1377, 1392, 1395, 1396 usw. Viele Einzelheiten fehlen in den „Gesta Hungarorum“, besonders in der Ungarischen Bilderchronik des Markus von Kalt. Im Unterschied zu Markus von Kalt, der seine negative Einstellung zu den Deutschen nicht verheimlicht („Sehr viele Deutsche wurden von dem übermäßigen Essen und Trinken krank, ja sie starben sogar“⁸), verhält sich Detmar freundschaftlich zu den Ungarn. Er lobt die heilige Elisabeth von Ungarn, die Tochter des ungarischen Königs Andreas II.:

„In dem iare MCCXXIX do upclarede dat leuent der hilghen vrowen elisabeth, de en dochter des könighes vas van unghern unde en husvrowe des lantgreuen van doringen. de was en moder der armen unde en sirheit aller vroweliken ere und en bild aller hillicheit ... Sie stichtede zeckhuse to kranken luden ... Na eres heren dode nam ze to sik grawe kleit, dat er paues gregorius sende

⁵ MMM. cod. lat. 38, fol. 45r.

⁶ Ebenda, fol. 68.^r

⁷ Ebenda, fol. 1v.

⁸ Die Ungarische Bilderchronik des Lukas von Kalt. Budapest 1961, S. 151.

unde hadde sante franciscus to ghehoret ... We mer will van er weten, de lese er passional, dar er hilghe leuent ... is beschreuen.“⁹

[In dem Jahre 1229 klarte das Leben der heiligen Frau Elisabeth auf. Sie war die Tochter des Königs von Ungarn und die Hausfrau des Landgrafen von Thüringen. Sie war die Mutter der Armen und der Glanz aller fraulichen Ehre und das Bild aller Heiligkeit ... Sie stiftete Siechenhäuser für kranke Leute ... Nach ihres Herren Tod nahm sie zu sich das graue Kleid (der Franziskanerterziarin – G. A.), das ihr Papst Gregorius sandte, und sie hatte zu Sankt Franziskus gehört ... Wer mehr will von ihr wissen, der lese ihr Passional¹⁰, da/wo ihr heiliges Leben ... ist beschrieben.]

Auch Detmar war ein Angehöriger des Franziskanerordens und hat über seine ungarischen Ordensbrüder geschrieben:

„Bey der suluem tyd was in ungheren en vast kloster up den uelde van sunte bernardus orden. dar weren to samende giestlicher personen van den orden sunte bernardes, sunte frantiscus, sunte dominicas. dat kloster hadden de tateren beleghet ... In desseme iamer quam so grot hunger in ungheren ... dat de lude eten hunde unde catten.“¹¹

[Bei/zu derselben Zeit (1242) war in Ungarn ein festes Kloster auf dem Felde vom Sankt-Bernardus-Orden. Dort waren zusammen geistliche Personen von den Orden Sankt Bernards, Sankt Franziskus', Sankt Dominikus'. Das Kloster hatten die Tattern (sc. Tataren) belegt ... In diesem Jammer kam ein so großer Hunger in Ungarn, ... daß die Leute aßen Hunde und Katzen.]

Im Jahre 1217 kämpften die Christen gegen die Sarazenen.

„Dar weren mede dre koninghe: de koningh van ierusalem, de koningh von ungheren und de koningh von cytern. ok was dar de heretoghe van bayeren unde van osterrike ... De patarcha van ierusalem gink se uore mit den holte des heiligen cruces ... Dat mach men lesen in den kronika, geschreuen van den hilgen lande. ok is en del hir na beschreuen.“¹²

[Dort waren mit drei Könige: der König von Jerusalem, der König von Ungarn und der König von Cypern. Auch war dort der Herzog von Bayern und von Österreich ... Der Patriarch von Jerusalem ging

⁹ Cod. lat. 38, fol. 51r.

¹⁰ Passional (Passionale, Passionar): Legendenwerk des 13. Jh. über die Lebens- und Leidensgeschichte von Heiligen, eine gottesdienstlich gebrauchte Legenden Sammlung des Mittelalters (*Fremdwörterbuch*, Leipzig 1965, S. 520).

¹¹ Cod. lat. 38, fol. 58r.

¹² MMM cod. lat., fol. 45r.

voran mit dem Holz des heiligen Kreuzes ... Das mag man lesen in den Chroniken, geschrieben von dem Heiligen Land. Auch ist ein Teil hiernach beschrieben.]

In „anderen boken“ hat Detmar auch die Beschreibung des Kriegs zwischen Ungarn und Böhmen im Jahre 1260 gelesen:

„De koning van ungheren [tog] to behem mit groter macht. also in anderen boken shreuen steit, he hadde in suneme here cristen und heidene verhundert dusent man to perde. dar wedder hadde de koning von beheme hundert dusent man und perde, dar mede weren vol ses dusent man mit groten rossen vordecket. ze quemen to stridde. de koning von ungheren wart ghevunt. der sine wurden vele slagen ... De koning van behem vilghede en do na in ungheren. do de koning van ungheren dat vor nam, he sande boden eme jeghen ...“¹³.

[Der König von Ungarn (zog) nach Böhmen mit großer Macht. Wie in anderen Büchern geschrieben steht, hatte er in seinem Heer Christen und Heiden, vierhundert Dutzend Mann zu Pferde. Darwider hatte der König von Böhmen hundert Dutzend Mann und Pferde, damit waren wohl sechs Dutzend Mann mit großen Rossen gedeckt. Sie kamen zum Streit. Der König von Ungarn wurde verwundet. Der seinen wurden viel geschlagen ... Der König von Böhmen (ver)folgte ihn da bis nach Ungarn. Da der König von Ungarn das vernahm, sandte er Boten ihm entgegen ...]

Die „anderen boken“ erwähnt Detmar auch bei der Beschreibung der Taten des Bischofs Gerhard von Bremen im Jahre 1258: „Van deme bisscope gherarde in anderen boken beschreuen is“¹⁴. Es ist sicher, daß Detmar in diesem Falle die „Annales Hamburgenses“ benutzt hat.¹⁵ Ob dieselben „boke“ auch für irgendeine Notiz über Ungarn nützlich waren, können wir nicht sagen.

Ungarn und Böhmen, die 1260 gegeneinander kämpften, wurden nach 85 Jahren Verbündete und kämpften zusammen gegen Litauen:

„In dem iare cristi MCCCXLV vor der vasten do weren de koning von ungheren, de blinde koning van behemen unde de greve van hollande, alle mit vil groter machte togen in dat lant to letowwen. dar deden se den heidenen schaden grot ... De koninge hadden dar besat ene vaste borch. dar der heidenen weren uele uppe floghen do der borch uilna winnen was.“¹⁶

¹³ Ebenda, fol. 68r.

¹⁴ Ebenda, fol. 66v.

¹⁵ Die „Annales Hamburgenses“ soll man nicht mit Tratzingers „Hamburger Chronik“ („Der alten weltberühmten Stadt Hamburg Chronica und Jahrbücher von Zeit Caroli des Großen bis auf das Kaisertume Caroli des Fünften“) verwechseln.

¹⁶ Cod. Lat. 38, fol. 121r-v.

[In dem Jahre 1345 Christi, vor den Fasten, da waren der König von Ungarn, der blinde König von Böhmen und der Graf von Holland, alle mit sehr großer Macht, gezogen in das Land zu Litauen. Dort taten sie den Heiden großen Schaden ... Die Könige hatten dort besetzt eine feste Burg. Als der Heiden viele weggeflogen waren, da war die Burg Vilna gewonnen.]

Obwohl die Namen der Könige von Ungarn und Böhmen sowie des Grafen von Holland fehlen, ist doch sicher, daß die Streitkräfte unter der Leitung des Königs von Ungarn, Ludwig I. des Großen (1342–1382), kämpften. Die Namen fehlen auch in der folgenden Notiz:

„In der tyd starf ok de koninghinne von ungheren to ptolomayde, en suster des konings von vrankriken. sie wolde nach den dode ere heren ... to den hilgen graue unde blef dot an den weghe.“¹⁷

[In der Zeit (1345 – G. A.) starb auch die Königin von Ungarn zu Ptolemais (d. i. Akko – G. A.), eine Schwester des Königs von Frankreich. Sie wollte nach dem Tode ihres Herren ... zu dem Heiligen Grabe und blieb tot auf dem Wege.]

Es handelt sich um die Königin Anne de Châtillon¹⁸, die Frau von Bela III. (1173–1196). Sie findet keine Erwähnung in der Ungarischen Bilderchronik. Das ist insofern merkwürdig, da der Autor dieser Chronik gewöhnlicherweise die bedeutenden Frauen erwähnt.¹⁹

*

Die beiden Autoren der Ungarischen und Lübecker Chronik lebten in demselben Jahrhundert und kannten die Armenier gut. In der Ungarischen Chronik lesen wir: „Außerdem kamen zu Zeiten des Königs Geisa, des heiligen Königs Stephan und auch der anderen Könige nach Ungarn: Böhmen, Polen, Griechen, Spanier ... Armenier, Sachsen, Thüringer ...“²⁰.

Fast in derselben Zeit kamen Armenier nach Deutschland.²¹ Kilikisch-Armenien (Kleinarmenien) stand in nahen Beziehungen zu Deutschland. Der kleinarmenische König Lewon der Große erhielt die Königskrone vom deutschen Kaiser Heinrich VI. (1173–1196). Die Krönung wurde durch Kardinal Konrad von Wittelsbach 1198 vollzogen. In Kilikisch-Armenien gab es einen deutschen Ritterorden. 1211 kam der Großmeister des Ordens, Hermann von Salza, zu-

¹⁷ Ebenda, fol. 36r.

¹⁸ Hussey J. M. (ed.), *The Cambridge Medieval History*, IV. *The Byzantine Empire*, Part 1, Cambridge 1966, pp. 234, 583.

¹⁹ *Die Ungarische Bilderchronik*, S. 90, 118, 119, 123, 129, 165, 210, 232, 238, 240, 252, 258.

²⁰ Ebenda, S. 110.

²¹ Zu den entsprechenden schriftlichen Angaben über Armenien siehe: Gerda Gunerd-Topakian, Die Bayerisch-armenische Stammsage. *Handes Amsorya* 101, Wien 1987, S. 925–937.

sammen mit dem Hildesheimer Domherrn Willbrand von Oldenburg nach Kiligien. Dieser Domherr hat einen Reisebericht hinterlassen, in welchem er schreibt: „Hormenien (Kilikisch-Armenien – G. A.) ist ein sehr wohl verwahrtes Land ... Dies sind sehr fromme Menschen (sc. die Armenier – G. A.), sehr gute Christen“²².

Detmar scheint über diese Ereignisse gut informiert zu sein und ist bemüht, in der „Lübeckischen Chronik“ entsprechende Ergänzungsberichte mitzuteilen. Seine Hauptquelle war „La flor des estoires de la Terre d’Orient“²³, „ein besonders wertvolles Werk ..., das der als Laienbruder ins zyprische Kloster Bellapais eingetragene König Hayto von Armenien um 1300 geschrieben hat“.²⁴ Der Autor dieses Geschichtswerkes ist allerdings der Cousin des armenisch-kilikischen Königs Hethum, der Heerführer seiner Streitkräfte (gest. 1307), der in französischer Sprache schrieb und in Europa als „Hayton der Armenier“ („Hayton Arménien“) bekannt war.²⁵ Der Geschichtsschreiber Hethum beschreibt viele Erreignisse nach den Augenzeugenberichten seines königlichen Onkels (auch die 7 Punkten des mongolisch-armenischen Vertrages, s. unten). Sein Buch, ähnlich wie die Bücher Marco Polos und Rubroucks, war ein Lieblingsbuch für die Leser und hatte viele Auflagen. François Rabelais erwähnt den armenischen Schriftsteller zusammen mit Marco Polo: „Herodote, Pline ..., Philostrate ..., Strabo ..., Chaïton Arménien, Marc Paule Venetien“ (Gargantua et Pantagruel, livre 5, chap. 31). Auch in mehreren Handschriften und Druckausgaben treten diese Autoren zusammen auf. In einer Handschrift, die sich im Escorial befindet, sind die spanischen Übersetzungen der Werke Haytons und Marco Polos zusammen abgeschrieben.²⁶ Auch die niederländischen Übersetzungen der beiden Werke sind zusammen gedruckt worden.²⁷

Haytons „Flor“ ist in fast alle europäische Sprachen übersetzt: französisch (Originaltext und Übersetzung aus dem Lateinischen), lateinisch, deutsch, englisch, italienisch, spanisch, holländisch, niederländisch usw.²⁸ Eine ungarische Übersetzung kennen wir nicht, obwohl Hayton auch über Ungarn geschrieben hat.²⁹ Die ältesten vier Ausgaben (15. Jh.) erwähnen Ungarn direkt auf dem Titelblatt: „Sensuyvent les Fleurs des histories de la Terre Dorient: compilees

²² Laurent, Johann Carl Mauritz, *Willbrand von Oldenburgs Reise nach Palästina und Kleinasiens*. Hamburg 1859, S. 15.

²³ Die kritische Ausgabe von *La flor des estoires de la Terre d’Orient* siehe in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades ... publié par documents arméniens*, t. II, Paris 1906, p. 111–255.

²⁴ N. Backmund, *Geschichte des Prämonstratenserordens*. Grafenau 1986, S. 53.

²⁵ Bibliographie zu Hayton: *Recueil*, XXIII; N. Backmund, *Die mittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreiber des Prämonstratenserordens*. Furth 1970; W. Giese, Asienkunde für den kreuzfahrenden Westen: die Flos Historiarum terre orientis des Hayto von Gorhigos aus dem Jahre 1307. In: *Festschrift N. Backmund* 1978, 245/65; Abgaryan, G. W. Der Archetypus von Hethums „Tataren-Chronik“ in der „Lübecker Chronik“ Detmars. *Patma-banasirakan handes* 1971 Nr. 1, S. 159 (russ.).

²⁶ *Recueil*, S. CXX.

²⁷ Ebenda, S. CXXX.

²⁸ Ebenda, S. CXXVI–CXXX.

²⁹ Ebenda, S. 335.

par frere Haycon seigneur du cort: et cousin germain du roy Darmenie par le comandement du Pape: et sont diuisees en V Parties ... La IV parle des Sarrazins et des Turcs depuis le premier iusques aux presens q'ont conqueste Rhodes Hungrye et dernirement assaili Austriche³⁰.

Der Name des armenischen Geschichtsschreibers ist auf dem Titelblatt entstellt; statt „Hayton“ steht „Haycon“. François Rabelais schreibt „Chaiton“. Eine Handschrift, die sich in Düsseldorf befindet, hat die Lesart „Antonius“. Es gibt auch andere Entstellungen.³¹

Detmar hat die lateinische Übersetzung („Haythonus flos historiarum Terre Orient“) des französischen Originals benutzt.³² Er kannte den Hayton als „Raychonus“ oder „Rayconus“. Die Buchstaben „H“ und „R“, „T“ und „C“ sind in der gothischen Schreibkunst zum Verwechseln ähnlich, wodurch „Haythonus“ („Hayconus“) sich in „Raychonus“ („Rayconus“) verwandelt hat.

Die Herausgeber bemerkten die Identität beider Namen nicht und faßten den „Raychonus“ als einen selbständigen Geschichtsschreiber auf.³³ Derselbe „Raychonus“ figuriert auch in der Fachliteratur³⁴ und in Enzyklopädien³⁵. In der zweiten Ausgabe der „Lübeckischen Chronik“ ist es schon bekannt, daß Detmar Haytons Werk benutzt hat, aber auch diesmal hat man die „Hayton“-„Raychon“-Identität nicht bemerkt.³⁶

Neben Detmar haben mehrere Europäer wie G. Willini, G. Mandwill, Marino Sanudo, G. Lelong, K. Galanos u. a. Haytons Werk benutzt. K. Jahn be-

³⁰ Ebenda, S. CXXII.

³¹ Ebenda, S. CIV. Die entstellte Lesart „Antonyus“ war im 17. Jahrhundert auch dem Moldauer Gelehrten Nikolaus Milescu Spatharius (1636–1708) bekannt. Er schreibt: „Europa hat den Buchdruck von China erlernt ... Als die Kalmücken und Tataren China eroberten, kamen mit ihnen nach China Peter Oderikos und Antonyus der Armenier und der Römer Marco Polo und sie haben ... das genannte Handwerk aus China nach Europa gebracht.“ (Spatharius, *Sibirien und China*, Kischinjow 1960, S. 184 [russ.]). Das ist ein offensichtliches Mißverständnis. „Antonius der Armenier“ ist nie in China gewesen. Er hat nur über China geschrieben. Auch Peter Oderikos und Marco Polo haben in China kein gedrucktes Buch gesehen. Außerdem sind die chinesischen Druckmethoden ganz anders als die europäischen (senkrechter Druck mit nichtbeweglichen Lettern). In Europa gab es bis zum 15. Jahrhundert keine Druckkunst. Daß „Hayton“ mit „Antonius“ identisch ist, war den armenischen Historikern Levon Chatschikjan und Hakob Papasjan nicht bekannt, deshalb vermuteten sie, daß Nikolaus Spatharius einen Venezianer Antonius gemeint hat (*Das Handelsleben des Johannes Ter-Darjan*, hrsg. von Levon S. Chatschikjan und Hakob D. Papasjan, Jerewan 1984, S. 28–29 [arm.]). Bis heute ist kein Venezianer Antonius bekannt, der im 14. Jahrhundert in China gewesen sein sollte. Ein weiterer Irrtum ist, den Antonius mit dem Archiepiscopus Antonius Sultanensis, der im 14. Jahrhundert ein „Liber contra machometanos“ geschrieben hat, zu identifizieren (A. Martirosjan, *Anton Sultanc'i und seine Materialien*. Lraber, Jerewan 1992, S. 83 [arm.]).

³² Ebenda, S. 255–363.

³³ Detmar, 1829, S. XXI.

³⁴ G. W. Forsten, *Der Kampf um die Herrschaft auf der Ostsee im XV.–XVI. Jh.* S. Petersburg, 1884, S. 7 (russ.).

³⁵ *Enzyklopädisches Wörterbuch*, hrsg. von Brockhaus und Ephron, Bd. 10a, S. Petersburg 1893, S. 497 (russ.).

³⁶ Detmar, 1884, S. VIII, XII, XIII, 337 ff.

merkt, daß Haytons Werk einen bedeutenden Einfluß auf das politische Denken Europas ausübte.³⁷

Über „Raychonus“ schreibt Detmar:

„In dem iahre MCCCX do reguerde in armenien bevon, en iunck koning, deme god hadde gheuen wisheit unde bedderlichheit ... by siner tyd was en wrome pape. de heft rayconus van sine gesinde. de heft al de croniken beschreuen vore benomet von den thateren unde saracenen ... ok was sin here de koning, de desse salue historien let to sammen de schriuen. de berichtet em alles dinghes. Desse salue gude raychonus schrift van der macht der thateren.“³⁸

[In dem Jahre 1310 regierte in Armenien Levon, ein junger König, dem Gott Weisheit und Bitterlichkeit gegeben hat ... In seiner Zeit war ein frommer Priester, der Raychon in seinem Gesinde hatte. Der hat all die Chroniken beschrieben, vornehmlich von den Tataren und Sarazenen ... Auch war sein Herr der König, der desselben Historien zusammenschreiben ließ. Der berichtet ihm von allen Dingen. Dieser selbe gute Raychonus schrieb von der Macht der Tataren.]

Detmar nimmt fast vollständig das ganze Werk Haytons in seiner Chronik auf. Hier möchte ich nur die sieben Punkte des armenisch-mongolischen Vertrags bringen, die in der Druckausgabe der „Chronik“ von 1829 leider weggelassen sind.³⁹

Zunächst gebe ich meine deutsche, komprimierte Zusammenfassung der sieben Punkte, dann den entsprechenden unedierten Teil aus Detmars Chronik und zum Beschuß die entsprechende Stelle aus dem lateinischen Hayton-Text, den Detmar benutzt hat.

1

In dem Jahre 1255 besuchte der König von Armenien den großen Kaiser der Tataren, der Mango Chan hieß, und bat um folgende sieben Dinge. Die erste Bitte: Der Kaiser der Tataren soll sich und alle seine Untertanen taufen lassen. Die zweite Bitte: Die Tataren sollen in ewigem Frieden und in Freundschaft mit den Christen leben ... Die dritte Bitte: In allen christlichen Städten/Ländern, die die Tataren besetzt haben, sollen Geistliche und Laien von allen Steuern befreit werden. Die vierte Bitte: Er (Mango Chan – G. A.) soll sein Volk ins Heilige Land senden, daß sie dieses Land den Sarazenen, die es mit Gewalt erobert hatten, wegnehmen und vor allem das heilige Grab den Christen wieder geben. Die fünfte Bitte: Die Tataren sollen die Stadt Bagdad erobern und den Kalifen,

³⁷ K. Jahn, *Die Frankengeschichte des Rašid ad-Din*, Wien 1977, S. 16.

³⁸ MMM cod. lat. 38, fol. 91r-v.

³⁹ Siehe die Anmerkung des Herausgebers auf S. 133: „Detmar zählt hier weitläufig alle sieben Bitten des Königs auf, wir glauben aber diese übergehen zu dürfen“.

den Herrn der Stadt, absetzen. Die sechste Bitte: Für den Fall, daß das armenische Reich durch Feinde bedroht wird, soll Mango Chan dieses der Hilfe der Tataren versichern. Die siebente Bitte: Alle Gebiete Armeniens, die im Besitz der Tataren sind, sollen zurückgegeben werden.

2

Der unedierte Teil der 7 Punkte in Detmars Chronik: (Die ersten beiden Punkte, d. h. die Taufe der Tataren und der ewige Frieden, sind in der Druckausgabe vorhanden, und hier folgen nun die nicht edierten Punkte 3–7):

65^v De dridde was dat in allen steden der cristenen de dar weiren under den tatheren beseten, de he hadde underbroken unde dat al de cristen beyde papen unde leyen weren vrey van aller beschatzinge ... De verde bede dat he wolte sin volk senden in dat hilge land unde laten dat weder winnen van den sarracenen de dat mit walt beseten unde sunderlike dat hilge grab unde andworden dat weder den cristenen. De vifte bede was dat he wolde beden tatheren de dar in turken seten unde dat rike hadden underbroken dat se wolden vorstoren de stad beldach unde kalif den heren der stad der alle errunghe van queme des bosen machometi. De seste bede dat he gheve en priulegium dat wen dat rike van armenien were benodet van wanden dat de koningh were denne des mechtich to ladende de gheve de beseten waren van den tatheren dat se hulpen deme rike to armenien. De sevende bede was dat alle recht dat oldinghes were ghewesen an deme rike armenien unde weren ... ghekeret van den tatheren. de de land hadden unde underbroken wolde weder gheven vry unde cristen vise als dat vore were gheweret an siner macht.

3

Die für Detmar als Quelle dienende lateinische Version der 7 Punkte in Haytons Werk:

Caput XVI Qualiter Mango Can, ad instanciam regis Armenie, misit fratrem suum Haloon ad subsidium Terre Sancte et destruendum califfum

S. 297 ... *Primo* enim rex Armenie petiit et rogavit quod imperator cum gente sua converteretur ad fidem christianorum, sectis aliis omnibus derelictis, et se et suos faceret bapticari. *Secundo* petiit quatinus pax et amicicia perpetua inter christianos et tataros firmarentur. *Tercio* requisivit quod in omnibus terris quas tatari acquisiverant et acquirerent, omnes ecclesie christianorum et clerici illa-

rum, sive laici sive religiosi, ab omni servitute essent, liberi et exempti, nec quicquam alicui solvere tenerentur. *Quarta* petitio fuit quod placeret imperatori dare subsidium et juvamen ad eruendum sepulcrum domini et terram sanctam de manibus sarracenorum, et restituendam fidelibus christianis. *Quinto* requisivit quatenus daret in mandatis illis tataris qui regnum Turquie subjugaverant, ut irent ad destruendam civitatem Baldac et calif, qui erat doctor et caput secte perfidi Mahometi. *Sexto* requisivit ut sibi concederetur privilegium speciale, quatenus ab omnibus tataris, precipue regno Armenie propinquioribus, auxilium posset habere tempore oportuno. *Sep-tima* vero petitio talis fuit videlicet quod omnes terre jurisdictionis regni Armenie, quas sarraceni abstulerant et postmodum redacte fuerant sub potentia tatarorum, restitui deberent regi Armenie; et insuper quod quascumque terras rex Armenie posset acquirere contra sarracenos, illas haberet et teneret pacifice et quiete.⁴⁰

*

Der armenische König schloß den Vertrag dieses Inhalts in einer Zeit, als der mongolische Orient vor einer möglichen Christianisierung stand. Mütter und Frauen vieler mongolischer Fürsten, auch die Mutter von Mango Chan selbst, waren Christen. Der Vertrag zwischen dem armenischen König Hethum und dem mongolischen Herrscher Mango Chan, der diese historische Situation widerspiegelt, ist ein seltenes Dokument und darf in der Edition des Originaltextes nicht ausgelassen werden. Die Historiker des 20. Jahrhunderts dürfen sich ein Beispiel an Detmar nehmen, der seine historischen Quellen getreulich wiedergegeben hat.

⁴⁰ *Recueil*, vgl. Anm. 23.

A VOLGA-BULGARIAN LOAN-WORD IN A KAZAN TATAR DIALECT SPOKEN IN DIASPORA

KLÁRA AGYAGÁSI
(Debrecen)

On the Volga-Bulgarian loan-words of the Kazan Tatar dialects several publications are known. Räsänen (1920, 31) and Róna-Tas (1976) have examined words containing Volga-Bulgarian *ś* (< Old Bulgarian *ž* and *č*). This Volga-Bulgarian *ś* in Kazan Tatar dialects was substituted regularly by *š*. In my last article (1996) I dealt with a case in which the protetic *y* of the donor language before *i* had an equivalent like *j* on the Tatar side.

Now I would like to show the history of a Tatar dialectal word borrowed from the Volga-Bulgarian, in which the Bulgar-Turkic phonetical criterium is an initial *ši-* developed from Old Bulgarian *si-*.

On p. 378 of the new Dialectological Dictionary of the Tatar Language (TTDS 1993) we can find the verb *širdir-* ‘облеплять’ collected in the Kargalin local variant of the Central Kazan Tatar dialect. The Kargalin local variant is spoken in the surroundings of Orenburg. The Tatar groups moved out from the Volga region in the 18th century, and afterwards their connections with the main part of the Central Tatar dialect has ceased to exist.

The verb *širdir-* can be well divided into a root-word *šir* and a suffix *-dīr*. The suffix *-dīr* in Tatar is most frequently used to form verbs from verbs with medial meaning, but in some cases it can also form verbs from nouns cf. TG 1995, 442. It is not productive in Modern Tatar. (Suffix *-dīr* with medial meaning is not the same as suffix *-dīr* with causative function, cf. TG 1995, 443.)

It is obvious that the root-word *šir* is a loan in Tatar, because a Tatar word of Common Turkic origin cannot begin with an *š*. Theoretically we can account on two languages as the source of the Central dialect of the Kazan Tatar language, in which an initial *š + i* is possible from the time of the arrival of the Kipchak tribes to the Volga region. They are the Middle Mongolian and the Volga-Bulgarian languages respectively. As Doerfer pointed out in 1963, *šir* occurred from 1317 in the Middle Mongolian written sources, which is in Middle Mongolian a loan-word from the Old Turkic language (Doerfer TMEN III, 239). The same word with initial *s* can be found in numerous Modern Turkic languages (it is present in all languages of the Volga region), moreover it got to the Cheremiss language, but there we can find forms with initial *š*, see the following data.

Tat. lit.: *sǐr-* 1. ‘облеплять, облепить’; 2. ‘окружать, окружить; обступать, обступить (плотно)’ (TRS 497); *sǐr* 1. ‘грань’; 2. ‘резьба, резной узор’ (TRS 496);

Tat. dial.: Ctat-kas. *sǐrla-* ‘красить’; Ctat-t.ya-nrl, Ctat-t.ya-trx ‘вышивать к подолу платья узкую полоску из другой материи’; Mtat-minz, bayk, strl ‘вязать узорами’; Mtat-bayk ‘собирать в складки’ (TTDS 1993, 275); TatSib. *sǐr* ‘краска’ (Tumaševa 1992, 197);

Chuv. lit.: *sěr-* ‘мазать’ (ČRS 361); *sǎrla-* 1. ‘красить, покрывать краской’; 2. разг. ‘небрежно, плохо рисовать, мазать, малевать’ (ČRS 353); *sār(ă)* 1. ‘краска и краски’; 2. ‘краска (на лице), румянец’ (ČRS);

Chuv. dial.: A *sǎrla-* ‘украшать резьбой’ (ČRS); V *sǎrla-* ‘красить, красить, придать окраску’ (Ašm. 11, 269);

Bashk. lit.: *hǐr-* ‘облепить’ (RBS 458);

Alt. Tel., Leb., Sag., Koib., Kas.: *sǐr* ‘Farbe, Zinnober, rot, bunt’ (Radlov IV, 636).

Usb.lit.: *sir* 1. ‘киноварь, сурик’; 2. ‘масляная краска’; 3. ‘глазурь, эмаль’; 4. ‘амальгама (на зеркале)’ (URS 386);

Turkish lit.: *sırla-* ‘покрывать глазурью, эмалировать’ (TrRS 774).

Cheremiss lit.: *śür-äš* ‘мазать’ (MRS 746).

Cheremiss dial.: *śər-aš* ‘мазать’ (MRS 760).

The verb *sǐr-* in the Kazan Tatar literary language has no suffix to form a verb form from the noun *sǐr*, and the meanings of the two words are partly different. In Chuvash we find two verbs, one without a denominal suffix (*sěr-*), and the other verb *sǎrla-* is formed from the noun *sǎr* with the suffix *-la*.

The Turkic data go back to the Old Turkic *sǐr*, cf. OT *sǐr* ‘краска, которой китайцы разрисовывают чаши; глазурь’ (DTS 505, see also Doerfer *op. cit.*). The Old Turkic *sǐr* is a borrowing from Chinese *ts'ir* ‘laquer’ (Clauson, 842). The motive ‘carving’ in the semantic content of the word first appears in the Old Turkic written sources of the 11th century, cf. Clauson *op. cit.*, and it is an inner Turkic development. It can explain the semantic differences of the Tatar verb and noun. Following the Kipchak phonetic rules, the Old Turkic noun *sǐr* has regularly developed into *sǐr* in Kazan Tatar. The data from the Kargalin subdialect is also a development from the Old Turkic *sǐr*, but the initial *ś* shows Bulgar-Turkic intermediation.

It is a well-known characteristics of Bulgar-Turkic phonology that the diptongisation of original OB *ă* in *să* has also caused the palatalization of the initial *s*: *să* > *sia* > *ša*. On the analogy of this primary process, later the secondary palatalization of *s* has appeared in the OB structure *s + i/i*.

OB <i>sār</i> ‘mud’ > <i>siar</i> > <i>šar</i> > MB <i>šår</i> > Chuv. <i>šur(ă)</i>	↓	
		AH <i>šar</i> >> H <i>sár</i> [<i>šár</i>] (EWUng. L. 5, 1305)
OB <i>sirkä</i> ‘nit’ > <i>širkä</i> > MB <i>širkä</i> > Chuv. <i>šärka</i>	↓	
		AH <i>sirke</i> >> H <i>serke</i> [<i>šerke</i>] (EWUng. L. 5, 1321.)

With respect to the Old Bulgarian loans of the Hungarian language, the palatalization of *s* can be dated before the end of the 9th century. (On the initial *š* of Hungarian in the Old Bulgarian loan-words cf. Ligeti 1986, 18–19.) The Modern Chuvash forms *särla-* and *sér-* (<*sär-*>) are loans from the Tatar dialects according to the testimony of Bulgarian development *si* > *ši*¹.

Returning to the history of the Kazan Tatar verb *širdür-*, phonetically both Middle Mongolian *šir* and a Volga Bulgarian *šir* can be accepted as donor forms. The Tatar back vocalic representation of the front Mongolian *i* does not cause a difficulty, because in Tatar words of Turkic origin the change of *i* > *i* occurs. However, there is an other objection against the Middle Mongolian etymology.

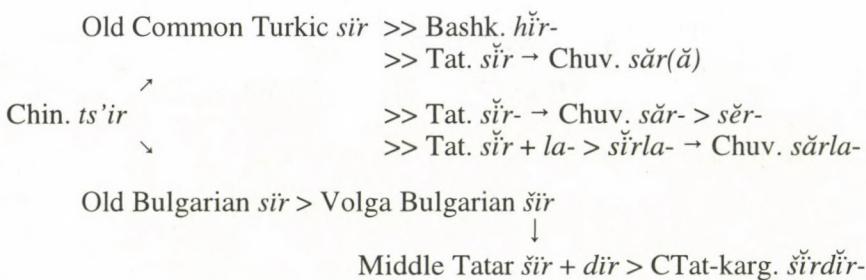
Among the Middle Mongolian loans of Volga Kipchak dialects there is a Mongolian donor form beginning with *ši-*, cf. MMo. *šiltay* ‘cause’, the Kazan Tatar, Bashkirian and Cheremiss equivalent of which contains an initial *s*, cf. Róna-Tas 1982, 113–115. The direct Middle Mongolian–Middle Kipchak linguistic contacts in the Volga region happened in the very beginning of the Middle Kipchak period, in the middle of the 13th century, when the original Turkic phonetical stock of the Tatar language was not influenced by foreign effects. This fact may have lead Róna-Tas to the following conclusion: “in the Volga Kipchak languages the *ši* syllable was originally unknown, thus it may be in part result of sound substitution” (*op. cit.*). If the Tatar root *šir* was a Middle Mongolian loan, probably there would be an *s* on the Tatar side.

The initial syllable *ši* in Kazan Tatar could have been generally adopted after the collapse of the Volga Bulgarian Empire by the Mongolian invasion, when the Kipchaks assimilated a numerous Volga Bulgarian population. Linguistic data show, that the initial *š* in Kazan Tatar dialects first appears as a sound substitution in Volga Bulgarian loans beginning with *š*, cf. Róna-Tas 1976, and later in Arabic loan-words with initial *š* (see Scherner 1977), when the speakers of the Kipchak dialects in Golden Horde were converted to Islam.

So, the root of the Tatar verb *širdür-* can be explained only as a Volga Bulgarian loan in the Central Tatar dialects of Middle Kipchak period.

The history of the Old Turkic word can be reconstructed in the Turkic languages of the Volga region in the following way:

¹ In the Ancient Cheremiss loan-words of Chuvash borrowed not earlier than the mid-13th century the initial Proto-Cheremiss *si-* did not develop into *ši-*, cf. Proto-Cher. *simâ* ‘thick’ → Early Middle Chuvash (EMC) *sim* > *sém*, Agyagási 1997, 4.



We have infinitive forms in Cheremiss dialects as *šər-aš* ‘мазать’ (MRS 760) and *šür-äš* ‘id.’ (MRS 746). Their roots probably cannot be direct Middle Mongolian borrowings, because all Middle Mongolian loans got to the Cheremiss through Chuvas or Volga Bulgarian intermediation, cf. Róna-Tas 1982.

Since the Cheremiss verbs begin with *š*, it could be supposed that the donor form was a Bulgarian word with initial *ši*. But this thesis cannot be proved because after the 16th century in the Cheremiss dialects both in original and loan-words an *s* > *š* development took place. The Modern Cheremiss forms can be originated from OB *sır*, in which the *s* > *š* change was realized on the Bulgarian side. (In the phonetic stock of Ancient Cheremiss the phoneme *š* could be found and it could take initial position, cf. Bereczki 1992, etymologies No. 340–347 and Bereczki 1994.) In this case the Cheremiss *š* serves as a Bulgarian–Turkic criterium. But it could be also a borrowing of EMC *sér-* (<*sır-* ← Middle Tat. *sır-*) where the *s* > *š* occurred in accordance with the Cheremiss tendency. The question of the donor form still remains open due to the lack of early written sources.

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АРМЯНО-АВСТРО-ВЕНГЕРСКИЕ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННЫЕ ОТНОШЕНИЯ ВО ВТОРОЙ ПОЛОВИНЕ 1918 ГОДА

ГРАНТ АВЕТИСЯН

(Ереван)

26 декабря 1991 г. Венгерская республика признала независимость Республики Армении, образованной 21 сентября 1991 г. 3 августа 1992 г. были установлены дипломатические отношения между Республикой Арменией и Венгерской Республикой на уровне посольств. Попытки по установлению государственных отношений с Венгрией армянской стороной были предприняты еще в первые месяцы существования Демократической Республики Армении (28 мая 1918 г.–2 декабря 1920 г.). Республика Армения была образована в тяжелый период истории, в то же время это было время национального пробуждения, время надежд. Восстановление государственности было вековым чаянием армянского народа, борющегося за свою независимость, сохранение своего очага, языка, культуры, самобытности. Она была завоевана отчаянной борьбой, кровью, многочисленными жертвами, благодаря стойкости, мужеству воинов, армянских ополченцев под Сардарабадом, Баш-Апараном, Караклисом. До этого была утеряна Западная Армения.

Брестский мир между Советской Россией, с одной стороны и Германией, Австро-Венгрией, Болгарией, Турцией, с другой (3 марта 1918 г.), был роковым для судьб армянского народа. «В вечерний час великоледливой жизни Россия¹ вся Западная Армения, занятая русской армией «по праву войны», по формулировке, на дипломатическом языке – «Восточноанатолийской провинции» – отошла к Турции. Турцией были отторгнуты также Карс, Ардаган и Батум.

Выражая по этому поводу недоумение, посол Австро-Венгрии в Турции маркграф Палавичини 1 июня 1918 г. писал министру иностранных дел империи Буриану: «Одной из крупных ошибок, в числе допущенных в Брест-Литовске многочисленных ошибок, по моему мнению, является уступка Турции округов Батум, Карс и Ардаган. Надо полагать несостоительным доверие округов, которые годами управлялись христианским государством, то есть Россией, передать стране, имеющей более низкую культуру». Он указал также дальнейшие устремления Германии и Турции. Первая стреми-

¹ Н. Адонц, Армянский вопрос и германские планы. *Международная политика и мировое хозяйство*. Петроград, 1918 № 3, с. 3–17.

лась привлечь на свою сторону Грузию, вторая – осуществить свою давнюю мечту: захватить Азербайджан и Северную Персию.²

Над Арменией нависла новая угроза. Об этом свидетельствует руководитель военной миссии в Константинополе Йожеф Помянковский: «Когда турецкая армия наступила для захвата районов Карса, Ардагана и Батума, все здешние армяне убежали на север. Оставшаяся часть была истреблена. Турки действовали таким образом: в армянские села сначала были направлены турецкие разбойники, которые организовали резню, затем регулярные войска. В оккупированных районах армян больше не осталось».³ Такая угроза нависла и над армянами Закавказья.

С целью предотвращения турецкой угрозы и нового геноцида, приобретения могучего союзника Тифлисский Армянский Национальный Совет по примеру Грузии переориентировался на Германию. В Берлин была отправлена делегация Национального Совета, которая имела также полномочия вести переговоры по Армянскому вопросу с государственными и общественными деятелями Австро-Венгрии.

Оповестив Буриана о прибытии в Берлин 22 апреля 1918 г. делегации Армянского Национального Совета, о ее составе и целях, посол Австро-Венгрии в Берлине Гогенлоэ отправил в Вену также копии меморандумов делегации, направленных в Министерство иностранных дел Германии. Он сообщил также, что Армянский Национальный Совет «охватывает всю Россию, в том числе и Кавказ, делегация желает быть принятой Рейхсканцлером, а также прибыть в Вену для встречи с министром иностранных дел и получить его поддержку в разрешении Армянского вопроса».⁴ В другом письме, сообщив о полученном посольством заявлении от ее делегации на предмет о разрешении выезда в Вену, Гогенлоэ известил, что делегация в Берлине была принята заместителем министра иностранных дел Бусше.

Поиски путей спасения армянского народа и Родины, продолжались после Батумского договора между Республикой Арменией, образованной в 28 мая 1918 г. и Турцией (4 июня 1918 г.).

На заседаниях Армянского Национального Совета обсуждались также вопросы принятия Арменией австро-венгерской и немецкой ориентации.⁵

² Magyar Országos Levéltár. Budapest. Коллекция Венгерского государственного архива. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv Wien (далее OLFT-W) W-1112, Республика Армения, K-157, л. 587.

³ OLFT-W-1110, политический архив X, K-156, приложение к сообщению из Константинополя от 27 июня 1918 г. 65/p, л. 345.

⁴ OLFT-W-1112, политический архив X K-155, докладная записка Гогенлоэ от 10 мая 1918 г. из Берлина в Вену – министру иностранных дел Буриану, 53/РА. Приложение к сообщению от 2 мая 1918 г. 2552.

⁵ ЦГИА РА (Центральный государственный исторический архив Республики Армения), ф. 222, оп. 1, д. 120. Протоколы Тифлисского Армянского национального Совета, 15 мая–12 июня 1918 г.

В сложных условиях в Берлине и Константинополе начали свою деятельность новые делегации уже от имени Республики Армении. Находясь в Берлине почти 5 месяцев (3 июня–10 ноября 1918 г.), делегация, в составе А. Оганджаняна и А. Зарабяна, направила в правительство Австро-Венгрии 9 меморандумов, в которых в основном ставились вопросы признания независимости Республики Армении, приостановления продвижения турецких войск; оказания военной экипировкой и гуманитарной помощи Республике; возвращения военнопленных армян русской армии, находящихся в лагерях Эгера, Кечкемета, Эстергома; возвращения беженцев в родные места и обеспечения гарантий для их жизни, чести, имущества; выполнения условий Брестского мира, указав на неправомочность Батумского договора.⁶

Эти же вопросы ставились делегацией Армении, в составе А. Агароняна, А. Хатисяна, М. Пападжаняна, прибывшей в Константинополь 19 июня 1918 г. на встречах с послом Австро-Венгрии Палавичини, его заместителем Сциласом, руководителем военной миссии Помянковским и с другими дипломатами.

«К Армянскому вопросу с пониманием относится Помянковский, который энергично и всей душой действовал для улучшения положения военнопленных армян»,⁷ – сообщил А. Агаронян 19 июня в Ереван, в правительство Армении.

Помянковский оповестил армянских делегатов о намерениях турок занять Баку, Владикавказ. Рассмотрев в русской ориентации армян своеобразную гарантию безопасности от турок, тем не менее, он указал на необходимость их новой ориентации на центральные державы. «Армяне достойны свободы и хорошей территории»,⁸ – говорил фельдмаршал-лейтенант, беседуя с армянскими делегатами 23 июня 1918 г. Обсуждался также вопрос, выдвинутый германским послом Бернstorфом, относительно протекции Армении со стороны Австро-Венгрии. «Я надеюсь осуществить свою программу, – говорил Бернstorф, – грузины пользуются протекцией Германии, татары – Турции, только вы – армяне – висите в воздухе. Пусть на вас будет протекция Австрии». Посол это мотивировал тем, что австрийская протекция не вызовет сомнения, что Австрия это делает исходя из своих выгод.⁹

Австро-Венгерский фактор в Армянском вопросе был затронут в Берлине. Статс-секретарь по иностранным делам в Германии Хинтце посоветовал делегатам Армении обратиться к Австрии, с просьбой отправить в Армению войска. «Этим самым, – сказал Хинтце, – докажем Турции, что союзники в вопросах сохранения брестских границ действуют сообща».

Активно включился в изучение ситуации на Кавказе, в частности в Армении, военный представитель Австро-Венгрии в Тифлисе генерал, ба-

⁶ Там же, ф. 200, оп. 1, д. 80, Переписка делегатов Республики Армении из Берлина и Константинополя с правительством Армении.

⁷ Там же, ф. 200, оп. 2, д. 34, л. 4.

⁸ Там же, ф. 200, оп. 1, д. 13, л. 18.

⁹ Там же, ф. 222, оп. 1, д. 12, л. 103–104.

рон фон Франкенштейн. В конце июня он с руководителями германской военной миссии на Кавказе генералом фон Крессенштейном и болгарской Кулешовым имел первую встречу с членами делегации Тифлисского Армянского Национального Совета; выяснив интересующие их вопросы и из других источников, выехал в Ереван.

4 августа он сообщил министру иностранных дел Австро-Венгрии Буриану о целях своего визита в Ереван, подробно представив ему процесс открытия Армянского парламента, состоявшегося 1 августа 1918 г. Он представил сведения о составе правительства в краткой характеристике: министр-президент - О. Качазнуни, инженер из Баку; министр внутренних дел - А. Манукян, учитель из Вана, который был им героически защищен; министр иностранных дел - А. Хатисян, доктор медицины, в прошлом мэр города Тифлиса; военный министр - генерал О. Ахвердян, охарактеризованный русскими, как энергичный офицер; министр финансов - Х. Карчикян; и министр юстиции - П. Петросян, юристы-правоведы; председатель парламента - С. Саакян, агроном по специальности.

На открытии парламента присутствовали Католикос всех армян, 46 депутатов, министры, представители германской миссии, турецкого, персидского и украинского правительства, русского и татарского национальных советов. Открывший заседание парламента председатель национального совета Агаронян подробно остановился на событиях, благодаря которым страна добилась независимости. Он заявил, что границы Батумского договора, в пределах которых Армения не может существовать, должны быть изменены. По завершению заседания парламента состоялся военный парад с участием всех родов войск.¹⁰

На вопрос Франкенштейна, почему невозможно в узких границах Батумского договора существование Республики Армении, министр-президент О. Качазнуни разъяснил генералу: «Самые плодородные районы заняты турками. Армении остались земли до 6 тыс. верст, а общественные земли по Батумскому договору отделены со стороны Персии. Это наносит тяжелый урон прежним, экономически эффективным отношениям ...

Теперь Армения, крайне загруженная, окруженная турками, вынуждена держать армию на границах. Армения не в состоянии кормить свое население, когда оно еще увеличилось на триста тысяч беженцев.

Вследствие внезапного наступления турок армянское население в основном оставило свое имущество, припасы и в панике обратилось в бегство. Турки грабили поля, зерно испортилось. Турки увезли не только шерсть и спирт, стоимостью 100 млн., но и завладели другими районами, например, Караклисом, который не входил в их границы».

Приводя эти слова министра-президента Качазнуни, Франкенштейн отмечает, что сам с фон Крессом, прибыв в Армению, убедились в том, что «на территории, уже занятой турками по ту сторону Караклиса, турки пла-

¹⁰ OLFT-W-1112, K-157, л. 254-257.

номерно грабят районы, представляющие экономическую ценность, игнорируя Апрельский договор Турции с центральными державами»¹¹.

Франкенштейн излагает и содержание последующих переговоров с министром-президентом. Качазнуни сказал: «После Брестского мира и установления границ Армения питала надежды на существование, однако дальнейшие шаги турок довели до отчаянного состояния. После того как турки, нарушив Батумский договор, захватили плодородные районы и находящиеся северней Дилижана территории, ведущие к Акстафе, армяне чувствовали себя как в клетке. В Турецкой Армении турки убивали мужчин, а женщин и детей загнали в горы, обрекая их на голодную смерть. Аналогично поступают турки и в отношении беженцев. Правительство имеет основание опасаться новых боев с Турцией. Армяне для защиты своей столицы готовы до последнего человека вести отчаянную борьбу. Барон Кресс не разделил мнение министра-президента».

Тем не менее, как продолжает сообщать Франкенштейн, с министром-президентом продолжалось обсуждение вопроса, поставленного Арменией, о предоставлении ей помощи. «Мы сказали, что немецкие войска защитят Грузию, турецкие войска - Азербайджан, а австро-венгерские - Армению. Проникнутая идеями человеколюбия, Германия желала бы предпринять спасение Армении и защиту ее независимости. Представителю Армении были даны полномочия сообщить об этом разговоре своему правительству». На требование австрийских и германских представителей быть совершенно искренними в выражении мнений, министр-президент сказал, что «если прибудет достаточное количество войск для спасения Армении, они до последнего человека с любовью будут приняты армянами. Однако, в случае отправки малочисленных войск опасаешься, что их присутствие раздразнит турок».

Фон Франкенштейн сообщал и о Карабахском вопросе: «В Нагорном Карабахе проживает 150 тыс. армян и 20 тыс. мусульман. Тем не менее, турки считают эту территорию азербайджанским районом. Если турки попытаются разоружить население, то это приведет к новому восстанию. Армяне не сдадут эту территорию добровольно и с оружием в руках будут бороться, не уступят Карабах».

Франкенштейн подробно описал встречу с Католикосом всех армян в Эчмиадзине, о любезности армянского народа, встречавшего его и Кресса хлебом и солью, с надеждой о помощи и поддержке. Он описал и плачевное состояние беженцев, встречавшихся на дорогах по всей Армении.¹²

Положение беженцев фон Франкенштейн изучал также совместно с фон Крессом и турецким генералом Халилом. Они убедились в несостоятельности распространенных в Константинополе слухов об армянской опас-

¹¹ Имеется в виду секретное соглашение, заключенное 27 апреля 1918 г. между Германией и Турцией о разделе сфер влияния в Закавказье. См. Г. В. Пипия. *Политика Германии в Закавказье в 1918 году*. Тбилиси 1971, документы №№ 24-39, 54-58, 68.

¹² OLFT-W, PA/P, A.C., 8987.

ности. Результаты наблюдения по всей Армении были обобщены в письменных докладах фон Кресса и фон Франкенштейна, адресованных своим правительствам. Фон Кресс представил канцлеру Гертлингу также детально составленную фон Франкенштейном докладную записку.

«Возвращение армянских беженцев на Родину турки запрещают, утверждая, что нельзя допустить переход полумиллионного вооруженного противника в тыл армии». Эти полмилиона – женщины, старики, дети. И в том случае, когда урожай этого года в оккупированных турками районах уничтожается».

Вывод генералов фон Кресса и Франкенштейна был таков: «Итоги ереванских переговоров были противовесом тенденциозных утверждений Эсад, Шевки, Нури пашей об ожидаемых от армян угрозах. Они на Халил пашу оставили обратное впечатление. Возвращение армянских беженцев возможно, а это находится под полномочиями Халила паши. Однако он считает себя лишенным этих прав. Беженцев ждет смертельная опасность».¹³

Как свидетельствуют документы и материалы, Австро-Венгрия, как и Германия, не были намерены портить отношения с Турцией из-за Армении. Однако, внимательно изучали меморандумы армянских делегатов и сообщения своих представителей. По Армянскому вопросу министерство иностранных дел Австро-Венгрии одновременно вело переговоры с Германией с целью выяснения деталей оказания военной помощи Армении, и уточнения своих экономических выгод.

«Я не скрываю то мнение, что отправляя войковые части на Кавказ, можно обеспечить себя сырьем, в первую очередь нефтью», – писал Штефан Буриан 9 августа 1918 г. в Баден, представителю министерства иностранных дел в ставке главнокомандования Траутмансдорфу. В данной политической и военной обстановке Буриан находил желательной отправку Австро-Венгерской экспедиции, что даст возможность империи значительно расширить сферу своего влияния. С этой целью предполагалось в переговорах с Германией достичь соглашения в вопросе доли Австро-Венгрии от ожидаемой экономической выгоды из Кавказа в совместном вступлении в Грузию и Армению немецких и австрийских войск. «Есть опасения, – предупреждал министр, – что наши войска будут действовать в далекой, лишней дорог, бедной припасами, в политическом плане слабо организованной Армении».

Предлагалось по этому поводу выяснить мнение начальника ген. штаба и доложить в Вену.¹⁴

Об обращении делегаций Армении в Константинополе и Берлине к Австро-Венгерскому и Германскому правительству 21 августа Буриан сообщил в Тифлис фон Франкенштейну: «Петиция, которую выдвинули армян-

¹³ *Deutschland und Armenien. 1914–1918. Sammlung diplomatischer Aktenstücke*. Hrsg. von dr. Johannes Lepsius. Potsdam, 1919, pp. 433–434.

¹⁴ OLFT-W-1112, K-157, № 3183, л. 183–185. Там же, W-1110, 8382, 1 90, приложение к отчету. Р. б.

ские делегаты, главным образом относится к признанию правительства де-факто, посыпке в Армению войсковых частей, установлению над Арменией такой же протекции, которую осуществляет Германия по отношению к Грузии. Последняя проблема нам детально не знакома. Что касается отправки Австро-Венгерских военных частей, в последнее время немецкое командование считает, что действиями нескольких австро-венгерских батальонов и батарей мы можем поддержать Германию в Армении».

Мнение Буриана заключалось в следующем: достичь соглашения с Германией в плане общих экономических выгод, а не в плане предлагаемого географического района. Вопросы признания Армении, отправки дипломатического представителя, отношения к Кавказу в целом, по мнению министра, должны были быть решены с взаимным согласием с Германией, – учитывая «взаимоотношения с другими государствами Четверного союза»,¹⁵ т.е. с Турцией.

Проблемы Кавказа 5 сентября были обсуждены на собрании в Вене с участием министра иностранных дел Австро-Венгрии Буриана, его заместителя Амброщи, посла в Константинополе Палавичини, министра иностранных дел Германии Хинтце, великого визиря Турции Талаат паша и других высокопоставленных лиц. Обсуждение проблемы продолжалось 8 сентября в Берлине. Недоумение, даже у союзников Турции, вызвало то, что независимость Армении на этих совещаниях, требовало государство, которое чудовищными методами душило любое стремление к свободе народов, населяющих территорию империи, варварски подавляло национально-освободительные движения этих народов, осуществило геноцид армян, яростно противостояло автономии и реформам в Западной Армении, вторглась в Восточную Армению. «Талаат паша в отношении армян изменил свою позицию так основательно, что здесь не верят, что политика Турции может измениться настолько радикально, что стали осторожно относиться к его словам, – говорил заместитель министра иностранных дел Амброщи после Берлинской встречи, – Талаат заявил, что Турция готова довольствоваться границами Бреста, если им дадут возможность действовать свободно и распространить свое влияние на Азербайджан».¹⁶

Турецкие устремления раскрываются в сообщении чиновника генерального штаба Австро-Венгерской армии Магроффера, долгое время работавшего в Константинополе и имевшего личные контакты с чиновниками Высокой Порты. Вот его мнение: руководящие круги Турции отказались от идеи панисламизма и охвачены идеей пантюркизма, Армения и армяне стоят на пути, ведущем в Азербайджан и Закаспийский край. Если Турция сейчас может смириться с существованием Армении, то думает, что ее территорию можно ограничить в рамках границ Батумского договора от 4 июня

¹⁵ Там же, № 12, л. 211–212.

¹⁶ ЦГИА РА, ф. 200, оп. 1, д. 11, л. 81.

1918 г. Не может быть речи о Турецкой Армении (Ван, Алашкерт и т.д.), это полностью закроет дорогу Турции к Турану, Востоку.¹⁷

«Щедрость» Талаата раскрывается в передовой статье идеолога пантюркизма Ахмед Эмина, напечатанной в газете «Вахт» («Время») 3 сентября 1918 г. Статья была озаглавлена «Наша политика на Кавказе и армяне». «Мы всегда можем требовать отчет за каждый враждебный шаг, направленный против нас. Если будут такие действия, тогда будет легче рассчитаться с независимой Арменией, чем с армянами, находящимися под протекцией иностранных государств». «Став буфером между Россией и Турцией, Армения за свою свободу найдет поддержку у Турции, за свое существование вынуждена будет пользоваться турецкой территорией – сухопутными и морскими коммуникациями». «Таким образом, – заключал идеолог пантюркизма, – в политическом отношении Армения будет под нашим влиянием». Этим самым доказав, что заявление младотурок о федерации, сердечном союзе и о независимости Армении были лишь слова и фарс.¹⁸

По Магрофферу в австрийских военных кругах в вопросе о помощи Армении существовали два течения – за и против. Представители второго течения утверждали, что Армянский вопрос очень сложный и не выгодный для Австрии. Непосредственной связи между Арменией и Австроией не существует, при отправке войск Австроия всегда зависела бы от Германии и Грузии – для поддержания связей с Арменией. А с экономической стороны Германия занимала бы более выгодные места: Грузию и железные дороги, остается только нищая Армения со своими сложными проблемами. Они не соглашались со сторонниками Армении, которые доказывали, что они получат большие экономические выгоды, отправив малочисленные войска. Магроффер посоветовал армянской делегации высказываться в низких тонах и быть поскромнее в своих требованиях, попросив от австрийского правительства один батальон пехоты, батарею артиллерии, госпиталь, самолет, автоколонну, указав, что «в составе войск просим иметь для большей объективности часть боснийских мусульман». Предлагалось об армянских вредрениях говорить высокими тонами и крупными цифрами, например: хлопок, медь, шелк, кожа, показать экономическую роль армян в Персии, в Передней Азии, о предоставлении своих войск в распоряжение Австроии для действий против Англии.¹⁹

6 сентября 1918 г. председатель армянской делегации в Берлине А. Оганджанян прибыл в Вену. Находясь в столице Австро-Венгрии 11 дней, он имел встречу с первым заместителем министра иностранных дел Флоттофым, заместителем Амброцци, послом в Константинополе Паллавичини, главнокомандующим армии Арцем, послом Германии в Австро-Венгрии Веделем, представителем Римского Папы, членами австро-венгерского армянского общества, руководителями армянской католической церкви, обще-

¹⁷ Там же, л. 82.

¹⁸ Статья была перепечатана в тифлисской газете «Кавказское слово» 2 ноября 1918.

¹⁹ ЦГИА ф. 200, оп. 1, д. 11, л. 140.

ственными деятелями и учеными. Как правило, встречи проходили в дружественной, теплой обстановке. Армянская делегация выдвинула свои предложения: 1) Отправить в Армению Австро-Венгерские войска – 2 батальона, 1-2 батареи, госпиталь, стрелковый отряд, конный эскадрон, радиостанцию, автоколонну, воздушную эскадрилью. Армяне не возражали бы, если бы в составе войск были 1-2 отряда боснийских мусульман; 2) Просили разрешить возвращение на Родину армян-военнопленных, находящихся в Австро-Венгрии; 3) Поддержка на международных конференциях и при подписании договоров прав армянского населения в Армении и армянских интересов, границ и самостоятельности; 4) Заставить Турцию сохранить границы, установленные Брест-Литовским договором, очистить Армению от турецких войск. Взамен этого в распоряжение Австро-Венгрии предлагалось сырье, а также все политическое и коммерческое влияние. Отмечалось, что в Армении налицо около 4 тысяч пудов накопившегося хлопка (годовая продукция – 2 млн. пудов), 30 тысяч пудов меди (годовая продукция – 200 тыс. пудов), шерсти, шелка, кожи и т.д. Армения согласилась на организацию Австро-Венгрией в Республике армянских вооруженных сил и их использование в соответствии с интересами двух государств. Армения в это время имела 20 тысячную армию, 80 тыс. армян служили в русской армии.²⁰

Как германская, так и австро-венгерская сторона, говоря о независимости Республики Армении, часто указывали на Россию. Они советовали армянской делегации сначала выяснить отношения с Россией, подчеркнув, что при положительном решении вопроса со стороны России они сами также примут решение о независимости Армении.²¹

Армянская делегация в Берлине и Вене прекратила свою деятельность в связи с перемирием в Мудросе – 30 октября 1918 г. Договор, принятый на Брестской конференции, был аннулирован.

²⁰ Там же, л. 59–60.

²¹ Там же, д. 80, л. 43, 44.

ARMENIAN *t'oyl*, *t'olum* AND RELATED MATTERS

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Charles de Lamberterie (1978:266–9) has shown that Pedersen's (1906:354, 371) etymology,¹ connecting this verb with Lat. *tollō*, *tolerō*, etc., is unsound. The core semantics of Lat. *tol-* are 'lift up, (sou)lever'; 'tolerate' and the like are secondary. For Arm. *t'olum*, which must be studied in conjunction with *t'oyl* (*tam*) – each rendering Gk. ἀφίέναι in the Gospels –, Lamberterie's analysis of numerous NT passages discloses a fundamental noeme 'lâche': *t'oyl* 'lâche, mou, flasque', *t'olum* 'lâcher > quitter, abandoner'. His fully justified conclusion (268) is that, "Il n'y a donc rien de commun entre les faits latins et les faits arméniens."

Klingenschmitt (1982:242–4) maintains the etymology and offers a semantic progression 'ertragen' > 'ertragen, dulden, zulassen' > 'lassen' for the verb; 'nachlassend' leads to 'schlaff, locker, weich' for *t'oyl*. His analysis astutely recognizes that the /o/ of the Armenian forms constitutes a serious formal difficulty, which he accounts for on the basis of either a PIE perfect **te-tolh₂*- reflected by OLat. *tetulī*, OIr. ·*ro-thíuil* (< **tyi-θʰyλ̥-*) and especially by Gk. τέτληκα τέτλαμεν, none of which furnishes unambiguous evidence for PIE *-o-; or of the noun *t'oyl*, which he sees as an old derivative **tolh₂-i-* comparable to the type Gk. τρέφω 'I nourish' → τρόφις 'well-fed'.

While the stative meaning of τέτληκα τέτλα- 'have patience, endure with courage, etc.'² combines with the use of this form instead of the *n*-present evidenced by Lat. *tollō*, OIr. *tlenaid* and Toch. B *tällam*, etc., to indicate some probability that **telh₂*- did indeed form a perfect in PIE,³ if such a perfect existed, it could only have meant 'is in a state of holding/bearing up under something (that one has raised) > endures', an essential connotation being [STRENGTH]. Such a scenario simply exacerbates the semantic difficulties, nor does an *o*-grade *i*-stem derivative offer really better chances. To put it briefly – if a bit crudely – Arm.

¹ Booked by Pokorny 1959:1060.

² Cf. τέτλαθι καὶ ἀνάσχεο, A 586, E 382, etc.

³ The Latin and Irish forms are nonprobative, and there is the possibility that Gk. τέτληκα τέτλα- was formed in pre-Greek as a replacement for *τάλλημ on the model of aor. ἔστη → pf. ἔστηκα ἔστα- once the preform of sg. ἔτλη had leveled from the plural to replace the continuation of **e-telh₂ (-s)-*.

t^culasirt ‘faint-hearted’ is a poor semantic match for Homer’s ταλάφρων ταλασίφρων. On the formal side there is no motivation for the replacement of a PIE perfect by an Armenian *-nu*-present rather than by a well-parallelled *e*-present, type: *gitem asem karem mart^cem* (Lamberterie 1982:24ff.), or statival *a*-present, e.g. *ateam* (Barton 1990–91). As regards a putative *CóRCI*-deverbal there is little that suggests that the formation was productive in pre-Armenian and no evident reason why a derived forme fondée, **tolh₂-i-* vel sim., should have come to dominate the formerly fundamental verb to such an extent as to motivate so thoroughgoing a formal reshaping. Moreover, such a reconstruction, like Hübschmann’s (1906:477) **t^colio-*,⁴ complicates significantly the structural description of the rule of **i/y*-epenthesis in view of *olj* < **soljo-*, OIr. *uile*.⁵

Djahukian (1982:177) records Meillet’s (1896:154, n. 1) connection with OCS *u-toliti* ‘apaiser’, Lith. *tilti* ‘be still’, Ir. *tuilim* ‘I sleep’, and adds Gmc. **stel-n-* (OE *stillan*, etc.); cf. Pokorny 1959:1061–2 (1019). The semantics are marginally acceptable only for ‘permit’, but not for ‘depart from’; and of formal difficulties the *-o-* remains unaccounted for particularly in conjunction with the **nu*-stem. (The *-o-* of *u-toliti*, derivational within Slavic, cannot be compared.) But Meillet was right to connect *t^coyl* with Skt. *tucchyá-*, OCS *tōštb*.

Since *t^coyl* functions not only as an adjective pure and simple, but also as chief lexeme in verbal phrases, i.e. in “periphrases” with semantic content expressed elsewhere by a unitary verb, *t^coyl tam*, *t^coyl arnem*, *t^coyl linim*, and since the fientive *t^culanam* is a patent derivative based on the adjective, the hypothesis that *t^coyl*, not *t^colum*, is the keystone of the pre-Armenian system imposes itself. Apart from its use in verbal phrases, *t^coyl* exhibits a noeme [EMPTY]: Sap. 2:3 *yoroy sjāaneln moxir lini marminn, ew ogin sp̄ri ibrew zawd t^coyl* ‘at the becoming extinguished of this [reason] the body becomes ash, and the spirit is dispersed like empty (χαῦνος) air’. Given that *olj* discourages **tolj/i-* and that a PIE root **teul-*, vel sim., is countercanonical, the easiest solution is to posit an archaic adjectival formation with suffix **-lo-*, viz. **teus-lo-* (or **tous-lo-*) ‘empty, vacant, thin (= not dense)’. The root **teus-* (Pokorny 1959:1085) recurs in two of Armenian’s three dialect neighbours. For Slavic OCS *tōštb* ‘empty’ renders Gk. κενός at Mc. 12:3, Lc. 1:53, 20:10,11 (Zogr., Mar., et al.). An evident link with the semantics of *t^colum* in the sense ‘abandon, depart from, desert, leave (a place)’ can be seen in passages like Suprasl. 444^{29–30} *viděše grobz tōgda tōštb tēla* ‘they saw the tomb then empty of (= quitted by) the body’ [PG 58:783 ὥρωσι τὸν τάφον κενὸν τοῦ σώματος], sim. 445²⁶, Cloz. 727, 723, or the Old Russian Nestor Chronicle for the year 6603 (Tschižewskij 1969:221^{12–16}) *Gjurjevci že vyběgoša i idoša (kč) Kyjevu ... a Gjurjevz zažgoša Polovci toščb* ‘the people of G got away and went to Kiev ... but the Polovcians burned down the abandoned (city of) G’. For Baltic a similar state of affairs is evidenced by turns like Lith. *namaī stovéjo tuštì* ‘das Haus stand leer’, *tuščià gātvé* ‘leere, einsame, verlassene Straße’, etc. (Senn-Salys 1963:741–2).

⁴ See further Schmitt 1980:430 and the lit. there cited.

⁵ Cf. Kortlandt 1980:103–4.

For Indo-Iranian the Rig Veda furnishes two attestations of adj. *tucchyá-*, built to an old inchoative present stem **tus-ske-*,⁶ which survives in LAv. 3pl. inj. *tusə-n.*⁷ The core noeme [EMPTY] is evident in the famous *nāsad āsít* hymn RV X 129:3cd, where *tucchyá-* denotes the primal cosmic void *tucchyénābhv ápihitam yád āsít / tāpasas tán mahinájāyataíkam* ‘that which, coming-into-being, was enveloped by Void, that One was engendered by the power of Heat’. Iranian furnishes an exact connotational counterpart in the Greater Bundahišn, where Phl. *twhkyh* (*twh-* < **tus-*) designates the Primordial Void that separates the infinite realms of Endless Light and Endless Darkness (normalized text and translation from Zaehner 1955:278,313): ‘ut-śan miyān tuhīkīh ’būt ... ’če bālistīh ’ān i asar rōśnīh, ’goßēt ... ’ut zufr-pādak, ’ān i asar tārīkīh ’ut ’pat vīmand ’har 2 kanārakōmand ’ku-śan miyān tuhīkīh ‘between them was the Void: ... the heights which are called the Endless Light ... and the depths which are the Endless Darkness. On the border both are finite since between them is the Void’. The second Rigvedic occurrence, V 42:10d *tucchyán kámān karate* ‘(that man) shall make empty wishes’, evidences the connotation ‘([EMPTY] →) vain, futile, coming/brought to naught’, matching OCS *vō tōste* ‘in vain’ (Suprasl.), *taštimi slovesy* ‘with empty words’ (Cloz.), etc.

Alongside of inchoat. *tusə-* (Late) Avestan exhibits a causative stem *taošaiia-* glossed ‘laisser tomber’ by Kellens (1984:143) to a root *tuš-* ‘être vide’. V. 17:2 *varəsásca hqm.rāzaiiei(n)ti varəsásca pairi.brīnənti sruuaēca upa.θbərəsənti aða dim upa.taošaiieiṇti ūnāhuua ...* ‘(they revere the Daēvas who...) comb (their) hair and cut off (their) hair and clip off [both sets of] nails and then let it fall into an earth-hole...’ Cf. further N. 100 *yō barəsma +taoša-yeiti* ‘wer einem B[aresman]-Stengel fallen lässt’ (Bartholomae 1904:624,738), N. 87 *pasca +aiþiiāstəm nitaošaiieiti ...* ‘afterwards (if) he lets fall [= takes off] what had been girt (around him)...’⁸ A different connotation is at hand at Yt. 10:48 *miθrō ... apa gaoša taošaiieiti* ‘Mithra ... deafens the ears’, where ‘deafens the ears’ is compatible with ‘*makes the ears empty’ > nonfunctional.⁹ The root is well preserved in later Iranian: Phl. *tuhik* (*bütan*) ‘(to be[come]) empty’ [gl. V. 3:32], *tuhīkīh* ‘Void’ (v. supra), ManMPer. *twhyg* ‘empty; vain, illusory; barren’ ~ Prth. *twsyg* ‘empty’ (Boyce 1977:88), Khotan. *tušša-*, NPers. *tih*, Psht. *taš* ‘empty’, Bal. *twsag* ‘to faint; be extinguished (lamp, fire)’, et al.¹⁰

To summarize: **teus-*, at least in a dialect of PIE ancestral to Baltic, Slavic and Indo-Iranian, originally exhibited a core denotation [EMPTY], from which Arm. ‘rarified > loose > slack > weak’ is an easy extension. Compare Lat.

⁶ So recently Lubotsky 1988:90.

⁷ V. 3:37. Regrettably the passage is “tardif et incompréhensible” (Kellens 1984:241).

⁸ Bartholomae 1898:252–3, “wenn er aber dann das angezogene wieder abthut...”

⁹ Bartholomae 1904:624 ‘leer s(o) v(iel) a(l)s schwach, (Ohren) stumpf machen’. Geldner’s (1881:521⁶⁸) connection with *tūsni-*, Skt. *tusñi-* ‘silent’ is less likely, cf. Mayrhofer 1956:508–9; although an eventual identification of **teus-* ‘empty’ with **teus-* ‘calm, peaceful, still’ cannot be ruled out.

¹⁰ See Bartholomae 1898:252; 1904:624, Mayrhofer 1956:508–9; for New Indic, Turner 1966:333, № 5850.

exhaustus, Goth. *laus* ‘κενός’: ON *laus-s* ‘loose, free (from bonds); unsteady, wobbly (on one’s feet)’.¹¹ Connotations are also compatible. The Indo-Iranian application to a ‘cosmic chasm, void’ finds, perhaps, a faded counterpart in Arm. *awd t'oyl* ‘χαῦνος ἀήρ’. A connotation ‘vain, futile, brought/coming to naught’ (RV ‘wishes’, Slav. ‘words’, etc.) accounts readily for Armenian acceptations like that of *t'oleal ... melk^c* ‘remitted [= brought to naught] (be your) sins’ (Mc. 2:9 and commonly). Finally the acceptation (‘empty’ >) ‘vacant’ > ‘vacate’ > ‘leave, depart from’, e.g. Mt. 8:15 *et 'ot zna ġermn* ‘the fever departed from her’, Mt. 4:14 *t'oleal zNazarēt^c* ‘leaving Nazareth’, etc., has a parallel in both Slavic (v. supra) and Iranian (*taošaiia-* ‘laisser tomber’ < *cause something to depart from’). It is an easy step from here to the acceptation [PERMISSION] of *t'oyl tam*, etc. In addition to the specialized usages, “langage des cavaliers (« donner du mou » = « laisser la bride sur le cou ») ou des marins (« larguer les amarres » = « laisser aller le navire »)”, suggested by Lamberterie (1978:267), we may have simply ‘(make) void (a previous prohibition/objection) (> remit) > permit’.

We turn now to questions of form. I have no extra-Armenian evidence for a PIE **teus-lo-*, but there can be no doubt as to the productivity of *l*-suffixes in pre-Armenian. Witness the secondary categories still more or less aligned with the verbal system: *eal*-participle, *l*-infinitive, *ot*-participle and *nomina agentis* in *-awl*,¹² as well as such synchronically transparent adjectival formations as (types): *jr-alic^c* ‘aquosus’, *barjr-eal* ‘Most High’, *ms-elēn* ‘fleshly’, *ənken-li* ‘despised’, etc. In Proto-Indo-European **-lo-* formed a class of primary deverbal adjectives,¹³ diathesis-indifferent,¹⁴ with stative actionality, capable of incorporation into a given verbal system as active or passive, imperfective or perfective. The comparison of Lat. adj. *pendulus* ‘hanging’ with Umbrian vb. *apelust* (< **am-pend-lo-*) is instructive. Stempel (1983:40–48, esp. 45–46) has convincingly reasoned that the respective grammaticalizations as verbs were independent innovations of Slavic, Tocharian and Armenian. Solta (1970:46) recognized a “dauernde, intensive Eigenschaft” and concluded (84) that the surviving uses as (1) verbal adjectives, (2) (quasi-)participles, and (3) (pseudo-)nomina agentis point to a basic function, “den Hang zu etwas auszudrücken,” for the protolanguage. It would be out of place here to discuss the role of **-lo-* as a (noncentral) Caland suffix. The essential point is that **-lo-* served to form adjectives – from both Caland and non-Caland roots – denoting states or qualities (Brugmann 1904:326–8). The following examples, functionally comparable to Arm. *t'oyl*, will suffice to illustrate: Hit. *makla-nt-* ‘thin, emaciated’; Toch. A *pāk-* ‘ripen, cook’ → *pkal* ‘ripe’ (Thomas 1952:35); Gk. aor. ἔ-κη-α → περίκηλος ‘very dry,

¹¹ ... *lauss ... ór bǫndom* Baldrs Draumar 14, *lauss á fótum* Gylf. 336. See Bartholomae 1898:253.

¹² For the distinction between these two categories see Lamberterie 1982:41–42.

¹³ I agree with Weitenberg 1986:2–3 et passim that PIE had **-lo-*nouns as well as adjectives: **sed-lo-* seems a secure addition to the examples there cited. Cf. Brugmann 1906:373–5. In other words the substantivation as *nomina actoris/instrumenti* of stative **-lo-*adjectives was already a process of the protolanguage.

¹⁴ Cf. Schmidt 1962:231–2, Weitenberg 1986:18–20.

parched', στρέψω 'I twist' → στρεβλός 'twisted'; Lat. *tran-quī-lu-s* (*quiēre*); OCS *teplъ* (: Skt. *tap-ah* 'heat'), *mi-lъ* 'dear' (= Lith. *mýlas* 'dear' : Lat. *mī-ti-s* 'gentle'), *cě-lъ* 'ύγιής' = Goth. *hails* 'id.', and the type of Russ. *gnit'* → *gniloj* 'rotten, putrid', *žit'* 'vivere' → *žiloj* 'inhabited';¹⁵ OHG OE *fūl* 'foul' (: Ved. *pūya-ti*) and with productive, extended formant OE *fleogan* 'fly, flee' → *flugol* 'fleet, swift', *swiotul* 'clear', *sticol* 'sharp', *stāgēl* 'steep' (*stīgan* 'to ascend'), etc., etc.

Armenian itself furnishes a virtually certain parallel in *joyl* 'cast, χωνευτός' < **gheu-lo-* (or **ghou-lo-*) : Gk. *χευ-* 'pour',¹⁶ etc., with matching stative semantics and innovative full-grade ablaut, a datum that strengthens Stempel's view that **gheou-lo* replaced a PIE *-to- or *-no-verbal adjective. Like **teus-lo-*, **gheu-lo-* does not recur outside of Armenian: it seems likely that both words are innovations of pre-Armenian coined during a period of productive expansion of *-l-formations.¹⁷ The archaic primary adjectival *-lo-deverbals would canonically exhibit zero grade [(Krahe-)Meid 1967:86]. Some living verbal paradigm must have furnished a fundamental **gheu-* for the creation of **gheu-lo-*. It also follows that Stempel is correct to account for the survival of the archaic root formation (without "thematization") on the basis of the disappearance of the verb proper from use. The same considerations exactly apply to **teus-lo-*. A further example is *lol* 'swimming' < **pleu-lo-* 'afloat' (v. infra). Other possibilities are less clear to me now, but indirect testimony may be at hand in the secondary denominals in -*el* if this < *-e-lo- renovating *-lo- as elsewhere: *mis* → *ms-el* 'fleshy', *suk^c* → *šk'el* 'glorious', *asu* → *asuel* 'woolly', *ah* → *ahel* 'terrible', *oyz* → *uzel* 'strong', etc.¹⁸

From *t^coyl* the formation of a derived fientive *t^culanam*, type *hin* 'old' → *hnanan* 'I grow old', etc., is virtually automatic and requires no comment.¹⁹ The counterpart – with factitive semantics 'make vacant > vacate, leave, depart from; *make void > remit, etc.' – to this would be **toyl-nu-*. For derivational, factitive *-nu- in pre-Armenian the example par excellence is *li* 'full' → *Inum* 'I make full, I fill', a neologism that must have replaced a reduplicated present (Greek, Indo-Iranian): there is no believable way, phonologically or morphologically, to start from PIE **pl-n-(e)h₁-* (Ved. *prñā-ti*, etc.). The *nu*-factitives must have been sufficiently productive in pre-Armenian to model the replacement, of which the aor. *lc^ci* is a survivor not a component.²⁰ There is, then, no reason to expect a *c^c*.

¹⁵ Productive, "comme adjetif marquant un état." Vaillant 1974:548–549.

¹⁶ Detailed discussion by Stempel 1983: 46–7. See also Weitenberg 1986:2–3, Klingenschmitt 1982:57, Pokorny 1959:447.

¹⁷ Cf. Stempel 1983:46.

¹⁸ Greppin 1975:80 notes that this suffix is "productive, appearing in stems of diverse origin."

¹⁹ On the *ana*-fientives see, e.g., Lamberterie 1992:273, Barton 1990–91:46–48, Solta 1984: 68–69, Klingenschmitt 1982:119–124, Greppin 1973:191–192.

²⁰ I cannot here discuss the interplay of factitive *-nu- with inflectional *-nu- (type *ařnum* : Gk. *ἀρνυμαι*) or -nu-/ -či- (type *t^cak^c-nu-m* : *t^cak^c-či-m*), the usual loss or displacement of factitive

aorist to **toyl-nú-*, which, however, might be expected to yield Arm. *+tulum*. Lamberterie (1978:269) suggests a lowering **uCú* > **oCú* comparable to that of, say, **i* in *lezu* : *lizem*, *henum*, etc.²¹ This is entirely possible. Another possibility is a phonotactically motivated simplification of the rare three-resonant cluster *-yln- to *-ln- or, more generally, the lowering and subsequent absorption of nonsyllabic [i] before velarized lateral. Compare the (sporadic, nonregular) lowering of stressed syllabic [i] in the type of *ułel ułloy*.²² As Meillet (1896:154, n.1) saw, a central role must have been played by the extremely common imv. 2sg. *t'ol*, with both verbal and lexicalized ('apart from') semantics. In a secondary, factitive formation we expect a presentive preform: **t'oyl-nu*. Given the phonotactic constraint against word-final -oył -aył,²³ the expected **t'oył* maintained the velar ł of the other forms, which entailed loss of countercanonical -y-. We compare *lol* 'swimming' (whence *lołam*) : *lułim* (etc.) with secondary -ł-,²⁴ *yola(na)m* 'am lazy' : *yoył yulanam* (*yułanam*), *śol* : *nšoył*. Speculatively perhaps *hołm* 'wind' was built up from **hol* (awkwardly homonymous with *hot* 'earth') < **peu-lo-* to *hewam*, *hov*, even *hoylk*^c (Pokorný 1959: 847).

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meaning (type *zart'num* 'I become awake, am awoken : *zart'uc'anem* 'I awaken (someone)'), or the relationship of Arm. *-nu-* to the archaic factitive type of Hit. *tep-n-u-*.

²¹ Meillet 1936:55.

²² Meillet 1911 (1977):152, 1936:43; Jensen 1959:23.

²³ Palandjian 1991 cites *aył čaył t'oył joył nšoył loył (loył)*. All but the hapax *čaył* are variants: *aył t'oył joył nšoył* : (*śot*) *lol*.

²⁴ *lol* is not an inverse derivative, but, like *joył* and *t'oył*, the keystone around which the formal representations of 'swim' were rebuilt. The process whereby *loył* (attested) normalized as *lol* rather than *+loył* is unclear. Dissimilation and dialectal diffusion are possibilities. In any case I think a stative adj. **ple/ou-lo-* 'afloat' → n. 'swimming' is at least as likely as Klingenschmitt's 1982:82 n.23 **pleu-tle-*.

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L'IMPORTANCE SYNTAXIQUE DES DÉMONSTRATIFS PERSONNELS DU LATIN ET DE L'ARMÉNIEN ET LEUR RAPPORT AVEC L'ORDRE DES MOTS¹

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Accroché aux flancs du Caucase, séparé de la Mer Noire par le géorgien indigène et de la Mer Caspienne par les idiomes de l'occupant altaïque, l'arménien est à quelques parlers slaves près (cf. Pedersen, 1905:7-8 et Meillet, 1925:52) la seule langue indo-européenne qui partage avec le latin la surprenante particularité d'avoir des démonstratifs répartis non pas selon une dichotomie entre la proximité et l'éloignement, mais selon l'apparente trichotomie des personnes grammaticales. Ainsi, aux lat. *hic, iste, ille* correspondent en arménien classique les formes pleines *ajs, ajd, ajn* et les particules enclitiques *-s, -d, -n*. Étant donné que l'indo-européen appliquait le critère de la distance, on est en droit de se demander pourquoi cette innovation, et dans le cas du latin pourquoi ce détours, puisque les langues romanes ont abandonné le modèle « personnel » pour revenir sur des distinctions spatiales, dont l'application se limite de plus en plus aux situations de contraste.

1. Une explication insuffisante

Dans leur célèbre grammaire, Kühner et Stegmann s'empressent de noter dès le début de leur présentation, mais sans en donner les raisons, que le modèle trichotomique était supérieur aux autres. « Die lateinische Sprache hat dabei vor den anderen Sprachen, die eines dem *iste* entsprechenden Demonstrativs entbehren, einen großen Vorzug » (1955:620). L'arménien, qui n'était pas de ces langues « démunies », s'était construit tout un système qui séduisait par la richesse et la régularité de ses paradigmes ; mais quel en était le profit pour la fonction communicative de la langue ? Meillet, qui relève la rigueur du parallélisme morphologique et l'emploi précis des distinctions de personne, semble voir quelque rapport entre la perte du genre grammatical et l'essor des démonstratifs personnels.

¹ Wouter Kusters de l'Université de Nimègue et Jos Weitenberg de l'Université de Leyde ont eu la gentillesse de lire une version initiale de ce texte et de me faire profiter de leurs remarques. Je m'empresse de leur exprimer ma reconnaissance tout en assumant l'entièvre responsabilité de la forme définitive.

En arménien la notion du genre grammatical a disparu. La précision avec laquelle sont distinguées les personnes dans le démonstratif lui sert en quelque sorte de substitut. ... Dans tels cas où la distinction des genres introduit la clarté, la distinction des personnes peut n'être d'aucun usage, ou inversement ; mais, dans l'ensemble, les deux procédés répondent à un même besoin (1962:8).

Le raisonnement de Meillet surprend, car cette justification qu'il suggère aux démonstratifs personnels de l'arménien implique que le latin aurait inutilement alourdi une morphologie qui, on le sait, était déjà pesante. L'introduction de distinctions inutiles n'est certes pas inconnue, mais c'est généralement le travail des grammairiens ; or, s'étant développés en période préhistorique, les démonstratifs personnels latins ne peuvent être issus que d'un mouvement populaire, et le peuple n'est pas porté sur le gaspillage linguistique. D'ailleurs, on peut se demander où est cette clarté qu'apporte le genre ? Le français, qui oppose le masculin au féminin serait-il de ce fait plus clair que l'anglais, qui ne les distingue pas, et le neutre procurerait-il à l'allemand un tiers de clarté supplémentaire ? Ce sont là, avouons-le franchement, des tares encombrantes plutôt que des distinctions utiles, mais au siècle dernier, lorsqu'un jeune Meillet écrivait ces lignes, on était encore tout imbu de *veneranda antiquitas*, et ce sera plus tard le grand mérite de Jespersen de dénoncer l'utopie de la clarté et de la précision qu'assurerait la morphologie des langues anciennes et de cloquer au pilori ce mythe, qui d'ailleurs refuse de mourir (cf. Jespersen, 1941 et 1976:325 et sq.).

Devant le doute que suscite la corrélation suggérée par Meillet et le mutisme que gardaient Kühner et Stegmann sur la nature de l'avantage qu'ils affirmaient, la question de savoir ce qui a pu motiver le développement des démonstratifs personnels du latin et de l'arménien reste posée. La réponse ne paraît pas facile, mais peut-être y aurait-il un avantage heuristique à la reposer dans la perspective que recommandait Benveniste lorsqu'il invitait l'indo-européaniste à « essayer, par de larges comparaisons, de retrouver le système initial sous sa forme la plus simple, puis de voir quels principes en modifient l'économie » (1935:147-8). Le système initial, nous le connaissons : c'était celui qui était fondé sur le critère dichotomique de la distance. Notre tâche est de dépister les principes ou les besoins linguistiques qui ont poussé l'arménien et le latin à « en modifier l'économie ».

2. La situation latine

Lorsqu'on observe l'emploi des démonstratifs latins, on constate que si la répartition personnelle est incontestable, il n'en reste pas moins vrai que *hic*, *iste*, *ille* entraient dans des oppositions binaires et non pas tripartites. La distinction fondamentale, celle qui avait été héritée de l'indo-européen et qui est la mieux ancrée dans le vocabulaire latin, est celle qui se faisait entre *hic* et *ille*. On découvre dans ces deux mots, d'une part, le thème *k- de la proximité et, d'autre

part, le thème **l-* de l'éloignement, qu'on retrouve dans l'opposition incontestablement binaire que faisait le latin entre *citra* ‘en deçà’ et *ultra* ‘au delà’ (on pourra noter au passage la conformité des voyelles radicales au principe de marquage : *i*, la voyelle non-marquée, dans le mot qui indique la proximité, *u*, la voyelle marquée correspondante, dans le mot qui exprime l'éloignement [cf. aussi *olle*, la forme archaïque de *ille*, et son homologue slave *onū*]). Cette conformité au principe de distribution confirme le caractère populaire de l'évolution du latin pré-classique).

Ainsi, *hic* dénotait le temps présent et le lieu de l'action ou du discours, alors que *ille* s'appliquait au temps passé et à un lieu différent.

1. *Q. Catulus non antiquo illo more, sed hoc nostro eruditus* (Cic., *Br.* 132). Quintus Catulus [était] savant non à la manière des anciens, mais à la nôtre.

Le critère de l'éloignement jouait aussi au sein de l'énoncé. Ainsi, le dernier nommé, c'est-à-dire le mot le plus proche était repris par *hic*, le plus éloigné par *ille*.

2. *Haec non dico maiora fuerunt in Claudio quam in Milone, sed in illo maxima, nulla in hoc* (Cic., *Mi.* 35). Ces [sentiments] étaient, je ne dis pas plus grands chez Claudio que chez Milon, mais extrêmes chez le premier et inexistantes chez le second.

L'éloignement pouvait aussi devenir l'altérité et donner à ces deux démonstratifs le sens indéfini de ‘l'un ... l'autre’.

3. *Hoc licet impune facere huic, illi non licet* (Ter., *Ad.* 824). Voilà une chose que l'un peut faire impunément, l'autre pas.

Vu cet éventail d'applications, il n'est pas difficile d'imaginer que le démonstratif de la proximité ait aussi servi à désigner le locuteur et ce qui le concerne, et que, d'autre part, le marqueur de l'éloignement en soit venu à caractériser le locataire et tout ce qui se trouve dans son champ.

4. *Orator, non ille vulgaris, sed hic excellens a propriis personis et temporibus avocat controversiam* (Cic., *Or.*, 45). L'orateur, non l'orateur commun, mais notre orateur parfait, élève la discussion au-dessus des circonstances particulières de personnes et de temps.

De là, il n'y avait qu'un pas à franchir : celui de créer au niveau des démonstratifs une opposition entre la première et la deuxième personnes. Pour ce

faire il suffisait d'opposer *hic* à *este*, où le *t-*, étymologiquement apparenté à celui de *tam*, *tum*, invitait le rapprochement avec le *t-* de *tu*.

5. *Tu si hic sis, aliter sentias* (Ter., *Andr.* 310).
Si tu étais à ma place, tu en jugerais autrement.
6. *Ego ista sum omnia dimensus* (Cic., *Cat.* 59).
C'est moi qui ai tracé tout ce que vous admirez.

Cette rapide présentation des démonstratifs latins ne se voulait pas exhaustive. Son objectif était seulement de montrer combien il est facile de passer de la proximité au locuteur et de l'éloignement à la troisième personne et comment ce glissement s'est doublé au niveau du démonstratif d'une opposition nouvelle entre la première et la deuxième personne. Mais si une analyse tant soit peu approfondie révèle clairement l'existence de deux oppositions binaires, et si l'élargissement et la redéfinition des critères distinctifs ne sont pas dépourvus de logique, le travail n'est pas pour autant terminé, car il reste à déceler et à spécifier l'utilité précise de ce développement.

Les traductions modernes des textes latins nous donnent des indices très clairs de ce que les Romains cherchaient à exprimer à l'aide de ces démonstratifs, qui, on se souviendra, étaient avant tout des déictiques. Accompagné d'un geste de la main et d'un regard expressif, *ista* suffisait à lui seul à représenter tout ce qui peut avoir quelque rapport immédiat avec l'interlocuteur. D'où les traductions du genre de ‘ce que tu me racontes, ce que tu me décris, ce que tu me proposes, là où tu es, etc.’

7. *De istis rebus expecto tuas litteras* (Cic., *At.* 2, 5, 2).
J'attends une lettre de toi sur ce qui se passe là-bas [c.-à-d. là où tu es].
8. *Non erit ista amicitia, sed mercatura quaedam utilitatum suarum* (Cic., *Nat. Deor.* I, 122).
Ce dont tu parles ne sera pas de l'amitié, mais un vulgaire trafic d'intérêts personnels.
9. *Adventu tuo ista subsellia vacuefacta sunt* (Cic., *Catil.* 1, 16).
A ton arrivée les bancs où tu sièges se sont vidés.

La concision de l'énoncé latin est incontestable, et l'on serait presque tenté de regretter que les langues romanes aient perdu ce raccourci. Mais l'apparence est trompeuse, car, derrière ce procédé apparemment ingénieux, se cache en fait la difficulté qu'avait le latin à manier les subordonnées. En période classique, le latin avait certes des relatives et des subordonnées adverbiales, mais la complétive n'était pas encore née et le tour hypotactique préféré du latin était la participiale.

10. *Quid dicam de Socrate, cuius morti illacrimari soleo Platonem legens* (Cic., *Nat. Deor.* III, 82) ?
 Dois-je citer Socrate, dont la mort ne manque pas de m'émouvoir quand je lis Platon ?
11. *Hunc [Mithridatem] in timore et fuga Tigranes, rex Armeniae, exceptit diffidentemque rebus suis confirmavit et afflictum erexit perditumque recreavit* (Cic. *Manil.* 23).
 Quant à Mithridate dans sa terreur et dans sa fuite, il a trouvé une retraite auprès de Tigrane, roi d'Arménie, qui a ranimé sa confiance, l'a tiré de son abattement et lui a donné une vie nouvelle quand tout semblait perdu.

Il convient de noter que si la version française du dernier exemple, empruntée aux traductions Budé, contient une subordonnée adverbiale qui dépend d'une relative qui dépend elle-même d'une principale, Cicéron n'emploie que des indépendantes coordonnées, où l'hypotaxe est exprimée par des participes.

diffidentem rebus suis confirmavit

Lit. [Tigrane] encouragea [Mithridate] perdant confiance

afflictum erexit

Lit. [Tigrane] redressa [Mithridate] abattu

perditum recreavit

Lit. [Tigrane] restaura [Mithridate] perdu

On voit là le génie de la syntaxe latine, où la technique d'enchâssement d'une phrase dans une autre n'est pas chose courante, et où l'on préfère les particiales, qui cadrent mieux avec le caractère SOV de la langue. Si le latin de Cicéron, celui d'une civilisation déjà avancée et d'un prosateur accompli, n'avait pas encore développé la complétive ni vraiment assimilé les subordonnées existantes, il est logique de supposer qu'au début de la latinité la technique d'enchâssement faisait encore moins partie du génie de la langue et que les locuteurs ont préféré le recours à des mots uniques, qui étaient bien plus faciles à manier. En élargissant le critère de la distance pour inclure celui de la personne grammaticale et en affectant *iste* à la deuxième personne, le latin archaïque avait créé un système de déictiques personnels, qui en fait étaient des syntagmes postiches. Ils indiquaient le rapport avec la personne grammaticale, mais ils n'avaient pas de contenu sémantique. C'était au lecteur ou à l'interlocuteur de les remplir sémantiquement à l'aide du contexte, guidé le cas échéant par un geste de la main ou un regard expressif du locuteur. Avec l'innovation des démonstratifs personnels, le latin s'était donc doté à peu de frais d'un paradigme qui permettait de pallier le développement encore insuffisant de la technique d'enchâssement, et en cela il avait acquis un avantage certain sur ses soeurs italiques (pour l'absence de cette innovation dans les dialectes osco-ombriens, cf. Meillet 1925:52), mais vers la fin de la latinité, lorsque l'évolution de la langue aura réduit et éliminé

cette carence, les démonstratifs personnels perdront de leur utilité et le système reviendra au critère de la distance.

3. Le parallèle arménien et sa particularité

Morphologiquement, l'arménien classique, qui va du Ve au XI^e siècle apr. J.-C. (voir Schmitt, 1981:22, qui se fonde sur Djahoukian, 1964), s'était équipé d'un système bien plus riche que le latin, puisque les équivalents de l'anaphore *is* et du marqueur d'identité *idem* étaient aussi répartis sur les trois personnes, et puisque les trois déictiques (les équivalents de *hic*, *iste*, *ille*) pouvaient apparaître sous la forme de morphèmes indépendants, et dans le cas de l'adjectif en outre sous la forme de particules enclitiques. Mais sur le plan syntaxique les emplois sont comparables (les exemples suivants sont empruntés à Meillet, 1913 et 1962 ou tirés directement des évangélistes).

- 12. *Usti e indz ajs* ? (Luc i, 43).
D'où me vient ceci (ce que je constate) ? Lit. D'où est à-moi ceci ?
- 13. *Ziard limits*h*i indz ajd* ? (Luc i, 34).
Comment cela (ce que vous m'annoncez) se fera-t-il en moi ? (Réponse perplexe de Marie à l'Archange Gabriel).
- 14. *Zi jajn ... ařakħētshaj* (Luc iv, 43).
Car telle est la mission qui m'a été confiée.
Lit. Car pour cela (la tâche que mon père a fixée) j'ai été envoyé.

Dans la perspective temporelle, *ajs*, comme *hic*, se rapportait au présent, et *ajn*, comme *ille*, au passé : d'où *ajsawr*, qui correspond exactement à *hodie (<hoc die)* et *jajnžam à in illo tempore* ; sur le plan spacial, *jajskojs* et *jajnkojs* répondent respectivement aux latins *citra* et *ultra*.

Le parallèle avec le latin s'arrête ici, car l'arménien classique connaissait en outre des formes enclitiques qui pouvaient s'employer en combinaison avec les formes pleines, qui les renforçaient, comme dans

- 15. *Antsho zbažaks zajs jinen* (Marc xiv, 36).
Éloignez de moi ce calice, celui dont il s'agit ici.

ou avec un possessif, notamment à la deuxième personne,

- 16. *Ew xawskħd isk kħo nman ē* (Math. xxvi, 73).
Et même ta façon de parler est semblable (cette façon de parler qui est la tienne).

mais aussi seuls, sans aucun adjectif déterminatif :

17. *Ogis jawžar ē, bajts^h marmins tkar* (Marc xiv, 38).
 Cet esprit [qui est le nôtre] est prompt, mais cette chair [qui est la nôtre] est faible.
18. *Ew eleal ... ənthanajin patmel ašakertats^hn* (Math. xxviii, 8).
 Et [elles] se levèrent et coururent [le] raconter à ses disciples.

Cette originalité de l'arménien classique est importante, car elle ouvre des possibilités syntaxiques fort utiles. Meillet avait fait observer à juste titre que, contrairement à l'article grec, les particules arméniennes « ne joue[nt] aucun rôle lorsqu'il s'agit de donner la valeur substantive à un adjectif ou à un infinitif » (1962:29), et l'on sait par ailleurs qu' « un tour comme ὁ νῦν λέγων (= celui qui parle maintenant) est inconnu du latin » (Collart, 1980:46), mais la particule personnelle de l'arménien pouvait sinon substantiver un participe ou un infinitif, puisqu'ils l'étaient déjà, du moins les déterminer

19. *Gitem zi zjisus zxac̄helealn xndrēk^h* (Math. xxviii, 5).
 Je sais que vous cherchez Jésus, celui qui a été crucifié.

et en faire l'équivalent d'une relative.

20. *Ew asē ts̄hekealsn i veraj nora* (Luc xxii, 52).
 Et [Jésus] dit à ceux qui étaient venus à lui. Lit. ... aux venants-particule démonstrative ...

La particule pouvait aussi changer un syntagme prépositionnel en un syntagme nominal

21. *Tuk^h zkajsern zkajser ew zAstutsojn Astutsoj* (Luc xx, 25).
 Donnez à César ce qui revient à César et à Dieu ce qui revient à Dieu. Lit. 'le de-César' ... 'le de-Dieu.'

et même s'ajouter à une forme personnelle du verbe.

22. *Č̄ē ast, k^hanzi jareaw, orpēs asatsh^hn* (Math. xxviii, 6).
 Il n'est pas ici, car il est ressuscité, comme il l'avait prédit. Lit. comme le/son il-a-dit [asatsh^h] correspond exactement au lat. *dixit*.

Si ces derniers exemples montrent bien que l'emploi des particules enclitiques est propre à l'arménien, tous indiquent que les deux langues se servaient des démonstratifs personnels pour pallier les insuffisances d'une syntaxe où la subordination était encore en voie de développement. La relative était certes connue, mais en latin comme en arménien c'était le tour participial qui avait la préférence des auteurs.

23. *Valvalaki ztueal hramans nora katarēr* (F. Byz. iv, 11, p. 107).
 Il exécuta promptement les ordres qu'il avait donnés. Lit. les ordres donnés de celui-là.

On voit là le parallèle avec la syntaxe latine de l'ex. 9, et l'on comprend que les deux langues aient développé des démonstratifs personnels qui leur permettaient d'apporter les précisions nécessaires sans avoir recours à la relative. Les deux langues étant SOV, il était logique de préférer la participiale, qui convient au modèle SOV, à la relative, dont l'interprétation exige presque un cadre SVO. Il ne s'agit pas bien sûr de l'ordre des mots dans la relative, mais de la place de la relative dans la phrase où elle s'enchâsse. Les deux types de structures apparaissent clairement dans les phrases suivantes,

24. (*Er sagt daß*) *er das Schinkenbrödchen essende Kind kennt.*
 25. (*Il dit qu'*) *il connaît l'enfant qui mange un sandwich au jambon.*

où l'allemand, qui adopte ici une syntaxe SOV, place l'objet devant le verbe et la participiale devant le nom qu'elle modifie, alors que le français, qui applique l'ordre SVO, met l'objet derrière le verbe et la relative après son antécédent. C'est donc ce besoin de rester dans le cadre SOV de la syntaxe latine et dans le schème correspondant des opérations mentales de ses locuteurs qui explique le non-recours à la relative incongrue et, pour compenser, le développement des démonstratifs personnels qui permettaient de véhiculer les précisions nécessaires tout en se conformant au modèle existant.

4. L'arménien classique : SOV ou SVO ?

Avant de discuter les évolutions divergentes des démonstratifs latins et arméniens, il convient de définir clairement la nature exacte de l'ordre des mots en arménien classique. La question de savoir si une langue est du type SVO ou SOV n'est pas toujours facile à trancher. Il y a des problèmes à la fois théoriques et empiriques.

Sur le plan théorique, il convient de noter que les termes de SVO et SOV doivent être pris pour des raccourcis ; il s'agit en réalité de l'ordre recteur/régime, en anglais *head first*, et de l'ordre régime/recteur, en anglais *head last*. Au sens strict, SVO n'est qu'un cas particulier de l'ordre recteur/régime, et SOV de l'ordre inverse. Cette définition de l'ordre des mots suppose à son tour l'existence de critères exacts qui permettent de déterminer dans chaque structure syntaxique lequel des deux constituants est le recteur et lequel est le régime. Or, il n'existe pas de critères qui fassent l'unanimité. On invoque généralement le modèle de Jackendoff (1977), et malgré des réserves discutées ailleurs, c'est celui qui sera tacitement appliqué ici.

Sur le plan empirique le problème est encore plus épineux. On conclut sans peine que l'arménien moderne est SOV ; or l'enchâssement de la relative se fait selon le modèle SVO. De même, on n'hésite pas à mettre le français du côté SVO, et pourtant toute la morphologie synthétique des paradigmes verbaux est du type SOV. La part du SOV est encore plus grande en anglais où les adjectifs précèdent le nom, et où tous les composés sont systématiquement du type régime/recteur (cf. par exemple, le contraste entre (*a*) *new dish-washer* et (*un*) *lave-vaisselle neuf*). Que dire enfin de l'allemand, où la subordonnée est incontestablement SOV et la principale susceptible d'être interprétée dans un sens ou dans l'autre ? Avec des arguments qu'on ne saurait balayer, Jan Koster (1975) a soutenu que le hollandais, et donc a fortiori l'allemand, serait SOV.

Le véritable problème tient au besoin d'appliquer une distinction algébrique à une situation qui semble arithmétique, car, aussi bien sur l'axe typologique qu'historique, il n'y a ni blanc ni noir, mais une gamme de nuances qui va du gris le plus sombre au gris le plus clair. Alors où placer la limite entre le gris clair et le gris foncé. La tâche est délicate et la controverse facile.

Les problèmes théoriques et empiriques qui viennent d'être évoqués expliquent que les avis soient partagés sur l'ordre des mots en arménien classique. Les données dont nous disposons permettent de faire les constatations suivantes. On sait tout d'abord que les expressions qui se composent d'un nom et d'un verbe étaient du type SOV : cf. *i xawar dañaj* 'il se fait nuit,' *i k^hown ē* 'il dort, lit. en sommeil est' *patasxani* et 'il répondit, lit. réponse donna.' Toujours sur le modèle SOV, la copule suivait normalement le participe « présent » ou futur : cf. *bnakeal ē* 'il habite, lit. habitant est,' *hramajeal ē* 'l'ordre a été donné,' *matnelotsh ē* 'il trahira, lit. *tradendus est*' ; En règle générale, la copule suivait aussi l'attribut nominal ou adjectival et le syntagme prépositionnel : cf. *es ajr mi em* 'je ne suis qu'un homme,' *jajtni ē* 'il est évident,' *kanxagēt ē* 'il est présent,' et *es and dzez em* 'je suis avec vous.' En outre, l'adjectif épithète, qui est un régime, précédait normalement le nom : cf. *barerar ēowthiwn* 'être bienfaisant,' et dans les suites composées d'un nom propre et de son générique, c'est encore le régime qui souvent se mettait devant : cf. *Dawith ark^haj* 'le roi David,' *Gabriel hreštak* 'l'ange [sic] Gabriel' (Jensen, 1959:140, 157-59). Dans chaque cas, l'ordre inverse, tout en étant l'exception, n'était pas rare.

Pour la phrase en général, les grammairiens s'empressent de dire que l'ordre était très libre (Meillet, 1913:120 ; Jensen, 1959:155-56 et 211 ; Schmitt, 1981:158). Meillet stipule que le sujet et les compléments pouvaient se mettre devant ou derrière le verbe, Jensen voit une préférence pour l'ordre SVO en principale, SOV dans les relatives, et Schmitt constate que les prédictats se trouvaient « particulièrement souvent » en tête de phrase. Devant ces données apparemment contradictoires, comment faire un choix binaire catégorique ?

Si l'on examine soigneusement les données on constate que ce choix ne relève pas de la gageure, et qu'on a de bonnes raisons de conclure que l'ordre dominant de l'arménien classique était l'ordre régime/recteur. C'était en fait ce que Greenberg appelait l'ordre SOV non rigide, et les implications de son « uni-

versel » 7 sont particulièrement pertinentes pour la classification de l'ordre des mots de l'arménien classique (1966:80).

If in a language with dominant SOV order, there is no alternative basic order, or only OSV, then all adverbial modifiers of the verb likewise precede the verb (This is the rigid subtype of III).

L'universel de Greenberg implique donc qu'une langue peut avoir l'ordre dominant SOV tout en ayant « [an] alternative basic order ». Donc la liberté observée et l'apparente préférence pour un ordre SVO en principale n'exclut nullement la possibilité d'avoir SOV comme ordre dominant. Mais, si SOV n'est pas exclu, encore faut-il avoir des raisons probantes de conclure que c'était bien l'ordre dominant.

Les preuves sont manifestes. L'arménien classique dérive de l'indo-européen. L'ordre de la protolangue était incontestablement SOV. L'arménien avait assoupli la rigueur ancienne, allant même jusqu'à faire un usage courant de l'ordre SVO, mais si la balance avait penché de l'autre côté, si l'ordre dominant avait véritablement basculé du côté SVO, les conséquences auraient été visibles en morphologie, comme par exemple dans les langues romanes, où les auxiliaires qui suivaient le verbe sont passés devant, et où des articles préposés se sont développés pour véhiculer la marque du pluriel. Or l'arménien ne manifeste aucun changement de la sorte. L'auxiliaire issu de la copule reste postposé, et le modèle SOV se voit réaffirmé avec un développement majeur, celui notamment du marqueur agglutinant du pluriel *-er*, qui s'est produit en vieil arménien au cours de la période qui est postérieure au « Siècle d'Or. » Venant s'ajouter à l'article indéfini *mi* 'un', qui était généralement postposé, et aux déterminants enclitiques (cf. Weitenberg, 1994 pour leur vitalité morphologique et leur réorganisation fonctionnelle après le V^e siècle), ce marqueur agglutinant indique clairement qu'au moment de son développement l'ordre dominant de la langue ne pouvait être que SOV, un SOV assoupli certes, mais néanmoins pleinement déterminant. Sous l'effet du bilinguisme issu de l'occupation altaïque, ce SOV deviendra un jour rigide, ce qui est le cas de l'arménien moderne, mais, rigide ou assoupli, l'ordre *dominant* de l'arménien classique ou moderne a toujours été SOV.

5. Les évolutions divergentes des démonstratifs latins et arméniens

En latin, le système personnel du démonstratif s'effondre, on le sait, avec le latin classique. Meillet attribue cet effondrement à la difficulté de maintenir des distinctions délicates dans une communauté linguistique agrandie (1952:256). C'est là peut-être un facteur d'accélération, mais c'est dans l'évolution de la syntaxe latine qu'il faut chercher les véritables raisons du changement. Le rapport apparaît lorsqu'on examine les détails. Le démonstratif *hic*, qui faisait bande à part avec sa déclinaison intérieure, est marginalisé, et *iste* et *ille*, renforcés par le

déictique *ecce*, sont mis en opposition pour distinguer l'objet rapproché de l'objet éloigné. Il est intéressant de noter la place de l'élément déictique. Dans *hic*, forgé au début de la latinité au cours d'une phase SOV de la langue, le marqueur avait été placé en fin de mot ; à basse époque, *ecce* est préposé, ce qui laisse supposer que la syntaxe latine prenait une configuration SVO. C'est aussi la période où la complétive, qui appartient au modèle SVO, détrône la construction infinitive, qui était caractéristique de la disposition syntaxique inverse. Cf.

26. *Haec me vidisse certo scio* (Pl., *Mil.*, 299).
Je suis sûr d'avoir vu ces choses.

mais au premier siècle après J.-C.

27. *Scis quod epulum dedi* (Pét., *Sat.*, 71, 9).
Tu sais que j'ai donné un festin.

et plus tard

28. *qui credit quoniam Iesus est filius Dei* (Ép. Jean I, v, 5).
qui croit que Jésus est le fils de Dieu.

En fait, comme le montre ce dernier exemple, c'est toute la phrase qui est refaite sur le modèle SVO, et l'on pourrait appliquer au traducteur de l'épître cette observation d'Hélène Pétré, qui, en lisant la *Peregrinatio* d'Ethérie (une contemporaine de Saint Jérôme), trouvait sa « phrase si proche de la phrase française qu'il nous semble presque entendre l'aimable dame nous raconter son beau voyage dans notre propre langue » (1948:91 ; voir aussi Haadsma et Nuchelmans, 1963:73). Dans ce latin devenu SVO, la relative ne pose pas de problèmes et les démonstratifs personnels n'ont *ipso facto* plus de rôle indispensable à jouer. Les locuteurs nouvellement intégrés dans la communauté latine ont peut-être contribué à précipiter ce mouvement, mais c'est l'essor d'une syntaxe SVO qui l'avait déclenché. (Pour le passage du modèle SOV, caractéristique des langues ancestrales, au modèle SVO des langues modernes, et pour les avantages des structures nouvelles, voir Bichakjian 1987-92).

Bien que ce travail porte sur les démonstratifs latins et arméniens, il ne serait pas hors sujet de dire un mot sur les démonstratifs français, car les changements qui se sont produits en ancien et moyen français continuent en fait l'évolution latine post-classique et la font aboutir. Le latin vulgaire était en effet revenu pour les raisons que nous avons présentées ci-dessus à une opposition dichotomique entre le rapproché et l'éloigné au sens propre et au sens figuré. Le français est allé plus loin, et l'on s'est évertué à expliquer la disparition de cette distinction en situation non-marquée (c.-à-d. là où il n'y a pas de contraste) en

invoquant quelque accident morphologique (cf. pour un bref état de la question McCool 1993). La faiblesse d'un tel raisonnement apparaît lorsqu'on le transpose sur le plan de l'expérience pratique.

A moins de vouloir mettre en doute l'intelligence et le sérieux de la personne, on ne saurait avancer que si son voisin a changé de voiture c'est parce que ses pneus étaient usés. Lorsque les pneus sont usés, on remplace les pneus. Si l'on décide de remplacer sa voiture, c'est qu'on a des raisons personnelles ou des raisons technico-économiques déterminantes pour le faire. On peut faire coïncider sa décision avec l'usure des pneus, mais c'est là une condition qui n'est pas nécessaire et encore moins suffisante.

Revenons à la linguistique. L'italique a éliminé le duel, les langues romanes ont éliminé le neutre, le hollandais a confondu les articles masculins et féminins, l'anglais et l'arménien ont éliminé le genre, beaucoup de langues ont éliminé l'optatif, d'autres l'optatif et le subjonctif. Est-ce à dire que ces langues n'avaient pas les ressources et l'ingéniosité nécessaires pour réparer ou compenser les dégâts morphologiques causés par l'érosion phonétique ? Ne sous-estimons ni l'intelligence du voisin ni l'ingéniosité des langues. Si ces distinctions se sont perdues, c'est qu'elles ont été jugées inutiles à l'économie de ces langues. Il en va de même de la distinction de distance, qui a été éliminée là où elle n'était pas nécessaire, et qui s'est maintenue uniquement là où elle l'était, c.-à-d. dans les situations de contraste. Si l'on avait voulu la maintenir de partout on aurait trouvé les moyens morphologiques de le faire. Le français a donc évolué vers un système qui correspond aux besoins de la langue : un démonstratif non-marqué pour les situations non-marquées, et un jeu de démonstratifs diacritiquement spécifiés pour les situations marquées. On trouvera dans Christiane Marchello-Nizia (1992) une rapide esquisse historique et surtout des données empiriques et une classification qui permettent de tracer la genèse de l'unique démonstratif français et la disparition concomitante de l'opposition de distance en contexte non-marqué (1992:80-81).

Il convient de noter que l'organisation des démonstratifs français se retrouve aussi en anglais. En effet, contrairement à ce que les apparences pourraient laisser induire, l'anglais a un unique démonstratif non-marqué, qui est *that*, et la paire alternante *this* et *that* lorsque la distinction de distance doit être stipulée. L'aboutissement semblable du français et de l'anglais, et l'on pourrait y ajouter du hollandais, indique clairement qu'il y a une évolution commune du principe d'organisation, et que les contingences morphologiques n'y jouent aucun rôle déterminant.

Partant de l'indo-européen pour arriver au français, on constate que la distinction dichotomique de distance de la langue ancestrale a été élargie en latin pour des raisons syntaxiques, puis ramenée à son stade originel lorsque les besoins syntaxiques qui avaient motivé l'élargissement étaient assouvis par des procédés mieux appropriés et jusqu'alors peu compatibles avec le système, et enfin réduite dans son application aux situations de contraste et éliminée partout ailleurs. Cette évolution s'inscrit à son tour dans le cadre beaucoup plus vaste de

la réorganisation des distinctions selon des critères purement linguistiques et non pas perceptuels comme c'était le cas dans les premiers stades du développement des grammaires (cf. par exemple, l'opposition entre agent et patient au lieu de sujet et objet, et toutes les distinctions souvent disparues aujourd'hui qui caractérisaient la forme et la nature organique des signifiés ; pour une possible explication des raisons biologiques du stade initial, voir Bichakjian à paraître).

En arménien, la situation est tout autre. L'ordre dominant de la langue classique est SOV, mais ce modèle d'organisation, qui n'était pas rigide et qui tolérait souvent des phrases SVO, allait connaître un mouvement rétrograde car l'évolution qui s'amorçait sera étouffée et renversée sous la pression exercée par le bilinguisme issu de l'hégémonie altaïque. Le vieil arménien prend fin en effet avec l'arrivée des occupants dont « les invasions et la domination ... portèrent un coup irrémédiable au peuple arménien, brisant sa civilisation, arrêtant son développement » (Pasdermadjian, 1971:257). L'auteur de ces lignes pensait sans doute aux développements culturel et technologique, mais en fait tous les développements sont touchés, y compris celui de la langue. Ainsi, les prépositions, qui avaient pris de l'importance et qui auraient un jour rendu les déclinaisons inutiles, se convertissent en postpositions et l'ordre des mots souvent SVO devient rigidement SOV. Le contraste entre la phrase SVO que tolérait l'ordre dominant SOV de la langue classique (premier exemple) et la syntaxe rigoureusement SOV de la langue moderne (2^e ex.) a été soigneusement relevé par Adjarian, un élève de Meillet et le « Meillet » de la linguistique arménienne (1909:8 ; cité ici à partir de Nichanian 1989:56).

29. *Tesi zt^hrč^hownn or ergēr i veraj tsařojn.*
 Lit. (Je) vis acc.-oiseau-le qui chantait à sur arbre-gén.-le.
 30. *Dzařin vraj erkol t^hrč^hownə desaj.²*
 Lit. arbre-gén.-le sur chantant oiseau-le (je) vis.
 J'ai vu l'oiseau qui chantait sur l'arbre.

Cet exemple qu'Adjarian faisait valoir pour illustrer la formation d'un ordre SOV rigide après la perte de l'indépendance nationale, confirme le lien établi et soutenu ci-dessus entre la relative et l'ordre SVO d'une part, et les constructions participiales et l'ordre SOV de l'autre. On voit maintenant à l'aide de cet exemple indépendamment motivé que c'est ce renversement de tendance et le renforcement corollaire de l'ordre SOV qui explique l'histoire postclassique des démonstratifs, qui vont se maintenir et jouer un rôle syntaxique croissant.

² Les exemples empruntés à l'arménien classique avaient été transcrits en alphabet phonétique. Les exemples modernes seront empruntés à l'arménien occidental et seront reproduits en alphabet phonétique dans une translittération qui représente la prononciation actuelle mais qui respecte aussi les distinctions orthographiques. Si l'on retient que l'arménien occidental n'aspire pas, ne connaît pas la quantité vocalique, et ne prononce pas le *j* en fin de mot, on aura la plupart du temps la prononciation exacte.

Dans une étude qui s'impose par la richesse de sa documentation et l'étendue de son appareil bibliographique, Dora Sakayan (1986) a fait une présentation détaillée de la syntaxe des formes nominales du verbe et de leurs combinaisons possibles avec les particules enclitiques de personne. Il suffira ici de donner quelques exemples empruntés à l'arménien occidental. On notera que là où la langue classique employait *-n*, la langue moderne emploie généralement *-ə*.

31. *Kals/kalt/kalə garevor ēr.*
 Lit. venir-mon/ton/son important était.
 Il était important que je/tu/il vienne(s).

L'infinitif peut avoir des compléments et des modificateurs adverbiaux.

32. *Polorin nuēr dals/t/ə anhražešd č̄ēr.*
 Lit. tous-à cadeau donner-mon/ton/son indispensable ne pas était.
 Il n'était pas indispensable que je/tu/il donne(s) des cadeaux à tous.

Ce sont là des constructions qu'on peut dériver par le genre de transformation qu'invoquait Chomsky en 1970, car les exemples ci-dessus se traduisent directement en anglais, à l'exception près du géronatif que l'anglais emploie au lieu de l'infinitif arménien (voir aussi Sakayan 1986:63 *et sq.*).

33. *My coming over was important.*
 34. *My giving presents to everyone was not indispensable.*

L'arménien va cependant plus loin et peut aussi employer le participe passé (exx. 35 et 36) et le participe futur (exx. 37 et 38).

35. *Uzadzt peri.*
 Lit. voulu-ton j'ai apporté
 J'ai apporté ce que tu voulais.
36. *Uzadzt kirkə peri.*
 Lit. voulu-ton livre j'ai apporté
 J'ai apporté le livre que tu voulais.
37. *əselikʰners əsi.*
 Lit. dire-à-pl.-mon dis
 J'ai dit ce que j'avais à dire.
38. *Dalikʰ nuērs lrgetsʰi.*
 Lit. donner-à cadeau-mon envoyai
 J'ai envoyé le cadeau que j'allais faire.

On remarquera que le participe futur ne prend la particule enclitique que lorsqu'il est employé comme nom (ex. 37), et que l'enclise se fait avec le nom qu'il modifie lorsqu'il a une valeur adjectivale (ex. 38).

L'arménien moderne a enfin une forme nominale dérivée d'un ancien déverbalif agentif qui sert de participe présent (cf. Meillet 1913:27 et Feydit 1969:281-83).

39. *Ötanaw ařnolnerə valə bidi megnin.*

Lit. avion preneurs-les demain partiront

Ceux qui prennent l'avion partiront demain.

Employé substantivement, ce participe « présent » peut aussi avoir un sens passif et servir à opposer l'animé à l'inanimé.

40. *Desadzə knets^h.*

Lit. vu-son acheta

Il a acheté [tout] ce qu'il a vu.

41. *Desnolin parew duaw.*

Lit. voyant-à-son salutation donna

Il a salué [tous] ceux qu'il a vus.

Les exemples qui viennent d'être présentés montrent clairement que la langue moderne à étendu l'emploi hypotactique des formes nominales du verbe. Au lieu de l'unique participe en *-eal* (cf. Meillet 1913:112), l'arménien moderne a un véritable participe passé (la forme en *-adz*), un participe présent (*-ol*) et un participe futur (*-ik^h*). Mais ce qui frappe surtout c'est le profit syntaxique que la langue a su tirer de ces formes nominales en les combinant à un démonstratif personnel. Tout comme la phrase 11 reflétait le génie de l'hypotaxe latine, les phrases 30-32 et 35-41 reflètent celui de l'arménien moderne. Si donc les démonstratifs arméniens se sont maintenus, c'est parce qu'ils assurent aux constructions participiales et infinitives des précisions d'une grande utilité. Le surcroît de précisions apparaît clairement lorsqu'on compare les exemples latins 6, 8, et 9 aux exemples arméniens 31 *et sq.* Réciproquement ces démonstratifs personnels ont permis à ces constructions nominales de se développer et de véhiculer presque autant d'information que les subordonnées proprement dites. Ce sont en effet des constructions concises commodes à employer lorsqu'il y a relativement peu d'éléments à exprimer (cf. par exemple la phrase 36), mais dès que la structure se complique on passe à la relative ordinaire.

42. *Ajn kirkə or sdibuadz em gartal krataranə č^h'ēr.*

Lit. Le livre que obligé suis lire bibliothèque ne pas était.

Le livre que je suis obligé de lire n'était pas à la bibliothèque.

On observe une tendance comparable en anglais, où l'on dira *the red house* 'la maison rouge' avec préposition de l'adjectif (c.-à-d. dans l'ordre SOV), mais *the house with red shudders* 'la maison aux volets rouges' avec postposition des compléments (c.-à-d. dans l'ordre SVO) lorsque la structure acquiert un niveau de complexité supplémentaire (le modifieur est lui-même modifié). Il existe donc des conditions de simplicité, mais lorsque celles-ci sont remplies, les formes nominales du verbe peuvent en se combinant aux démonstratifs personnels rendre de précieux services syntaxiques.

6. L'instrument d'un ingénieux pis-aller

Nous touchons là au point essentiel. Les démonstratifs personnels doivent leur existence à l'emploi hypotactique des formes nominales du verbe et les formes nominales du verbe se prêtent à un usage hypotactique grâce au supplément de précision qu'apportent les démonstratifs personnels. Le soutien mutuel est là, et la langue en tire un maximum de profit. Mais aussi ingénieux que soit le procédé, l'emploi hypotactique des formes nominales du verbe appartient au modèle SOV. L'arménien moderne a peut-être su tirer le maximum de profit des ressources disponibles au sein d'une syntaxe SOV, mais il n'en reste pas moins vrai que ce sont là des pis-aller. Le continuum latin-français a connu un développement normal : l'ordre SOV est devenu SVO, la distinction de personne s'est estompée dans les démonstratifs, et la subordonnée a pris la relève des tours construits sur les formes nominales du verbe. En arménien l'évolution qui aurait mené SOV à SVO a été stoppée et renversée par le bilinguisme qui s'est installé après la perte de l'indépendance nationale. Bloquée au stade SOV et soumise à un ordre rigide, la langue s'est vue contrainte de recourir aux formes nominales du verbe pour exprimer les rapports hypotactiques et aux démonstratifs personnels pour y ajouter les précisions nécessaires.

Le cours normal c'est celui qui aboutit au développement des subordonnées, car elles ont l'avantage de pouvoir véhiculer toutes les précisions qu'on veut apporter, tout en étant faciles à coder et à décoder (cf. *mutatis mutandis* Bach, Brown et Marslen-Wilson, 1986 et Bichakjian 1987-92). L'arménien n'a pas encore eu cette chance ; il a fait contre mauvaise fortune sinon bon coeur du moins bonne syntaxe. C'est donc la nature SOV de la langue et les raisons externes de son maintien et de son renforcement qui expliquent la préservation des démonstratifs personnels en arménien. Ce sont les instruments d'un ingénieux pis-aller.

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ON THE PRESENCE OF THE HUNS IN THE CAUCASUS

TO THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE ‘OVS’ RAID MENTIONED IN ŽUANŠER’S CHRONICLE

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A brief but highly intriguing episode in the chronicle of the 11th century Georgian historiographer, Žuanšer, has lately attracted the attention of several researchers.¹ It is connected to the biography of the legendary 5th-century king of Georgia, Vaxtang Gorgasal². In this episode, Žuanšer talks of an ‘Ovs’ raid against K‘art‘li (Eastern Georgia) and Caucasian Albania:³

“When Vaxtang turned ten, innumerable Ovs troops came over and devastated K‘art‘li from the source of the Mtkvari⁴ to Xunani.⁵ They laid havoc to the fields, but left the fortified towns (intact),

¹ C. Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History*. Georgetown 1963, 363, n. 15.; A. Bogveraje: Priske Panionelis ert‘i c‘nobis šesaxeb [About a piece of information by Panioni Priskos]. In: *Ivane Javaxišvili dabadebis 100 clist‘avasadmi mījvñili saiubileo krebuli* [Collection of studies in honour of the 100th anniversary of Ivane Javaxišvili’s birth.] Ed.: G. Melik‘išvili. Tbilisi 1976, 196.; Г. В. Цулая, Мровели Леонти: *Жизнь картлийских царей* (Translation of excerpts, introduction, and notes). Москва 1979, 88–89.; A. B. Gadlo, *Этническая история Северного Кавказа IV–Х вв.* Ленинград 1979, 45. Cf.: Bíró Margit, Vahtang Gorgasal életrajzához. Egy XI. századi grúz krónika tudósításai. [To the biography of Vaxtang Gorgasal. Reports in an 11th century Georgian chronicle]. *Történelmi Szemle* 1988/2, 243–260.

² Bíró Margit, *op. cit.*

³ “Mašin vit‘ar ik‘mna Vaxtang clisa at‘isa, gardamovides ovsni spani uric‘xuni da motquenes K‘art‘li t‘avit‘gan Mtkurisat‘ vidre Xunanamde, da moaoqrnes velni aramed c‘ixe-k‘alak‘ni daurč‘es, t‘winier Kaspisa. Xolo Kaspi k‘alak‘i šemusres da tque qves, da cariqvanes da Vaxtangisi Miranduxt, samis clis k‘ali. Romel daurč‘es carutquenvelad q‘evni K‘art‘lisani, Kaxet‘i da Klarjet‘i da Egrisi, č‘avles Ranisa da Movakanisa, cartquenes igic‘a da ganvles kari Darubandisa, ramet‘u t‘wit‘ gza sc‘es darubandelt‘a, da ševides Ovset‘ gamarjuebulni.”: *K‘art‘lis C‘xovreba* [A history of Georgia], I. Ed.: S. Qauxčišvili. T‘bilisi 1955, 145₂₁–146₃.

⁴ The Georgian name of the main river of Georgia. (I discuss in detail the geographic names of the episode in To the biography of Vaxtang Gorgasal, see note 1.)

⁵ Xunani can be localized on the right side of the river Mtkvari, above the confluence of the river Tauz-čaī (formerly: Kotman): Д. Л. Мусхелишвили, К вопросу о локализации Хунана Хнаракерта. In: *P‘eodaluri Sak‘art‘velos ark‘eologiuri jeglebi* [The archeological memories of feudal Georgia], II. Ed.: V. V. Jap‘arie. T‘bilisi 1974, 275–277.; idem, *Sak‘art‘velos istoriuli geograp‘iis jirit‘adi sakit‘xebi* [The central issues of the historical geography of Georgia], I. T‘bilisi 1977, 153–159.; В. М. Вайдов-Н. М. Гулиев, О тождестве городища Торпаггала и города Хунана. In: *P‘eodaluri Sak‘art‘velos ark‘eologiuri jeglebi*, II. op. cit., 278–279.

with the exception of Kaspi⁶. They occupied and destroyed the town of Kaspi, and took Miranduxt, Vaxtang's three-year-old sister with them. Without occupying the valleys of K'art'li, Kaxet'i⁷, Klarjet'i⁸ and Egrisi⁹, they went down to Rani¹⁰ and Movakani¹¹, pillaged them, and left through the Daruband¹² Gates, as the people of Daruband themselves made way for them, and they returned to Ovset'i triumphantly.”

The cited incursion by the ‘Ovs’ is usually identified by researchers with one of the two nomadic raids against Persia (the Hunnish raid prior to 448¹³ and the Saragur raid of 466)¹⁴, which primarily hit the populations of Transcaucasia. These raids are narrated in the fragments of the historical work of Priskos Rhetor.

In the following, I am going to present an attempt at identifying this ‘Ovs’ attack with the chronologically fairly well definable 5th-century Hunnish raid mentioned by the 5th-century Armenian chronicler Elišē¹⁵ and by the author and editor of the chronicle of “The History of the Albanians” known by the name of Movsēs Kalankatvac'i¹⁶ or Movsēs Dasxuranc'i. This Hunnish offensive, how-

⁶ An ancient settlement in Georgia, north-west of Tbilisi, on the right side of the river Mtkvari: A. Апакидзе, Города древней Грузии. Тбилиси 1968, 5, 6, 118.; З. И. Ямпольский, Каспи Грузии и этно-топонимические закономерности. In: *P'edaluri Sak'art'velos ark'eologiuri jeglebi*, II. op. cit., 273–274.

⁷ Originally, the territory of Georgia in the valley of the river Iori from Erco T'ianet'i to Ujarma (including the latter). Later on its territory was enlarged, so in the 4th century the north-western section of the basin of the river Alazani also belonged to Kaxet'i: D. Musxelišvili, *Sak'art'velos istoriuli geograp'uis jirit'adi sakit'xebi*, I. op. cit., 179–184.

⁸ The basin of the lower stretch of the river Čorox: D. Musxelišvili, op. cit., 80, 215.

⁹ The Georgian name of the state that emerged in the territory of Western Georgia: Д. Л. Мусхелишвили, Основные вопросы исторической географии Грузии. In: Сборник по исторической географии Грузии V. Тбилиси 1976, 26.; idem, *Sak'art'velos istoriuli geograp'uis jirit'adi sakit'xebi*, I. op. cit., 206.

¹⁰ The Georgian name of Caucasian Albania: T'. Papuašvili, *Hereti's istoriis sakit'xebi* [The questions of the history of Hereti]. T'bilisi 1970, 16.

¹¹ The part of Caucasian Albania on the left side of the river Mtkvari: T'. Papuašvili, op. cit., 55–56.

¹² Derbend.

¹³ *Excerpta de legationibus* (ed. De Boor) 1903, 141, frg. 3. (Mü. Di. Frg. 8). Its translation into German: *Byzantinische Diplomaten und östliche Barbaren*. (Transl. E. Doblhofer), Graz, 1955. 49–50.; its translation into English: C. D. Gordon, *The Age of Attila*. Ann Arbor, 1961. 91–92.

¹⁴ *Excerpta de legationibus*, 588. Frg. 19. (Mü. Di. Frg. 37); *Byzantinische Diplomaten und östliche Barbaren*, 74.; C. D. Gordon, op. cit., 12–13.

¹⁵ A 5th century Armenian historiographer, who narrated the Armenian struggle for liberation from the Persians in his work “About Vardan and the war of the Armenians”. Little is known of his life. According to the tradition he was the secretary of Vardan Mamikonian and took part in the decisive battle in 451. After the fall of the war of liberation, he became a monk, that was when he started writing. Манук Абեян, *История древнеармянской литературы*. Ереван 1975, 163–176.; Л. К. Тер-Мкртичян, *Армянские источники о Средней Азии V–VII вв.* Москва 1979, 26–30.

¹⁶ Neither the identity of the author(s) and compiler nor the date of the Armenian chronicle entitled “History of the Albanians” or “History of Albania” covering the history of Caucasian Al-

ever, was not directed against the Persians – as the attacks described by Priskos Rhetor were – but was launched upon Persian request to crush the Albanian uprising.

Elišē¹⁷ says that after the death of the Persian ruler Yazdgerd (457), his sons were fighting for power for two years. Albania's ruler, Vače, tried to make use of this strife and revolted against the Persian conquerors spreading the cult of fire-worship. Earlier, Yazdgerd had forced Vače, who, though related to the Persian ruling family on his mother's side, was originally Christian after his father, to convert to Mazdaism. After the triumph and accession to the throne of Pērōz, Yazdgerd's younger son, Vače opened the Čor Gates and called in the Mazk^cut^cs¹⁸ for help, struck an alliance with the eleven mountain kings, and continued to fight against the Persians with a strengthened army. Vače's attempt, aimed at securing the independence of the country, was unsuccessful. Failing to come to an agreement with the rebellious king of Albania either by force or by negotiations, Pērōz sent a great amount of treasure to the country of the Xařlendur¹⁹, opened the Alan Gates and called in a large army against the Albanians. It is certain that the Hunnish troops called in to help the Persians marched to the

bania from the earliest times to the 10th century are known for sure. Some researchers attribute the work to Movsēs Kalankatvac^ci, others to Movsēs Dasxuranc^ci, and again others claim the chronicle is the joint endeavour of the two authors. For a summary of researches highlighting the identity of the author(s) of the work, see: Фариды Мамедова, «История албан» Моисея Каланкатуйского как источник по общественному строю раннесредневековой Албании. Баку 1977, 32–69.

Most recent researches claim that book I, book II from chapter 9 and some chapters (3–12) of book III of the three-part work were written by a single person during the late 7th, early 8th century. To write the chronicle, the author used several historical sources, church and state documents with hardly any alteration. The events discussed in book II (from chapter 9) and in the first chapters of book III are presented by the author as a contemporary and an eye-witness. The rest of book III was written by another person in the 10th–11th century: *op. cit.*, 32–69.

¹⁷ Егише, *О Вардане и войне армянской*. Перевод с древнеармянского И. А. Орбели. Подготовка к изданию, предисловие и примечания К. Н. Юзбашяна. Ереван 1971, 169–170. The Albanian episode is discussed in detail: К. В. Тревер, *Очерки по истории и культуре Кавказской Албании IV. в. до н. э.–VII в. н. э.* Москва–Ленинград 1959, 213–217.

¹⁸ In Gadio's opinion, the Mazk^cut^cs were settled in Albania by Vače south of the river Samur, in the area between the eastern edges of the Caucasus and the Caspian Sea. He presumes that their former residence was the part of Dagestan along the Caspian Sea. (А. В. Гадло, *op. cit.*, 31–35). In connection with the Arab–Khazar wars, Arabian sources often mention the area south of the Samur as M.s.q.t. The Armenian 'mazk^cut^ck' and Arabic 'M.s.q.t' compare well with the name of the ancient Massagetes: Б. Ф. Минорский, *История Ширвана и Дербенда*. Москва 1963, 108–111.

¹⁹ In the cited locus, the land of the Xařlendurs mentioned by Elišē is named Aluandreay in a manuscript of Movsēs Dasxuranc^ci's work (*The History of Causacian Albania* by Movsēs Dasxuranci. Transl. C. J. F. Dowsett. London 1961, 9, n. 3). Elišē located the Xařlendurs north of Čor, between the Caspian Sea and the Alan Gates (Darialan). (А. В. Гадло, *op. cit.*, 29–31, 55). In the view of J. Marquart (*Eranšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac^ci*. AGWG, Berlin 1901, 3/2, 56, 96, 98), the name Xařlendur^c occurring in the Armenian sources designates the leading tribe of the Huns, while Czeglédy (Kaukázusi hunok, kaukázusi avarok [Caucasian Huns, Caucasian Avars]: *Ant. Tan.* 2 [1955], 134, n. 70) argued that it denotes the leading tribe of the Caucasian Huns.

area of Albania during Pērōz's reign (459–484), and before the fifth year of his rule (when the Albanian events came to a close),²⁰ that is, between 459 and 463.

Certain details of the episode in the Armenian source (that the Hunnish raid followed the unsuccessful attack of the Persians against Albania and the ensuing negotiations on the one hand, and that this raid was the last armed action leading to the fall of the revolt, on the other) suggest, however, that the Persians did not ask for Hunnish aid right after Pērōz's accession to the throne (459) but in the fourth, or perhaps third year of his reign (between 461 and 463).

Movsēs Dasxuranc*i*²¹, who used Elišē's work as a source,²² repeated the Armenian account almost word for word.

In view of the aforesaid, one may rightly contend that the campaign mentioned in the Georgian source has two moments which allow for its identification with the Hunnish raid described in the works of Elišē and Movsēs Dasxuranc*i*. One is the chronological correspondence, the other is the direction of the 'Ovs' offensive.

Although it is not mentioned in the Georgian source, it seems inevitable that the 'Ovses' broke in through the Darialan, not only because that was the main route of any offensive of force heading for Eastern Georgia from the north, but also because the first targets were areas south of the Darialan, after which they turned eastward. The cited passage of the chronicle – "Without occupying the valleys of K^cart^{li}, Kaxetⁱ, Klarjetⁱ or Egrisi, they went to Rani and Movakani, they pillaged them and left through the Daruband Gates, as the inhabitants of Daruband themselves made way for them, and they went into Ovsetⁱ triumphantly" – plainly suggests that the main targets of the offensive were Rani and Movakani, that is, the territory of Caucasian Albania.

As for the dating of the 'Ovs' campaign, one may reach practically the same conclusion when approaching from another direction, relying on sources which are independent from those cited above. After the account of the 'Ovs' attack, Juanšer reports²³ that "at the same time the Greeks came out of Ap^cxazetⁱ because (formerly) they had possessed the entire territory south of the river Egris-cqali and now they conquered the area between the river Egris-cqali and C^cixe-Goji".

In the 25th fragment, Priskos also speaks of a Byzantine attack against Western Georgia.²⁴ His account lets us know that the Emperor had some dispute with Gobazes, the king of the Laz, and launched a campaign against him. Shortly afterwards, the Byzantine troops returned and began preparing for another war.

²⁰ Егиш, *op. cit.*, 170.

²¹ The History of Caucasian Albanians by Movsēs Dasxuranci, *op. cit.*, 9–10.

²² *Op. cit.*, 9, n. 1.; Манук Абегян, *История древнеармянской литературы*. Ереван 1975, 259.; Фарида Мамедова, *op. cit.*, 50.

²³ "Masve Žamsa gamovides berjenni Ap^cxazet^{it}, ramet^u berjent^a hk^conda Egris-cquals k^cuemotⁱ kerji qoveli, da daipqres Egris-cqlit^{gan} vidre C^cixe-Gojadmde." (K^cart^{lis} C^cxovreba, I. *op. cit.*, 1464–5.)

²⁴ *Excerpta de legationibus*, *op. cit.*, 152, Frg. 8. (Mü. Di. Frg. 25); *Byzantinische Diplomaten und östliche Barbaren*, 68.; C. D. Gordon, *op. cit.*, 11.

However, the Emperor was hard put to decide how to attack: by sea, as he had done previously, or from Armenia bordering on the Persian Empire. He disapproved of the approach by sea because the reefs along the Colchian shore made landing difficult.

It is obvious from Priskos's account that the imperial troops first attacked Lasica (Colchis) from the sea, most probably through coastal Ap^cxazet*i* northwest of Lasica under Byzantine suzerainty. This, in turn, implies as for the direction of attack that the first offensive against Western Georgia mentioned by Priskos can be identified with Žuanšer's above-cited account, namely that during the 'Ovs' attack "the Greeks came out of Ap^cxazet*i* as (formerly) they had possessed the entire area south of the river Egris-cqali, and (now) they occupied the area between the river Egris-cqali and C^cixe-Goj*i*".

The 25th fragment goes on to reveal that fearing a repeated Byzantine attack, Gobazes asked the Persians for help, but the shah turned Gobazes down due to his war with the Kidarite Huns. Further developments of the Byzantine-Laz conflict are discussed by Priskos in the 26th²⁵ and 34th²⁶ fragments. They reveal that having been denied help by the Persian ruler, Gobazes sent envoys to Byzantium to come to terms with the Emperor. He abdicated from the throne in favour of his son, then travelled to Constantinople upon the Emperor's order where he was first reprimanded for his rebellion but later he was treated benevolently and allowed to leave for home.

To be able to determine the date of the 'Ovs' attack mentioned by Žuanšer, one ought to clarify when exactly the events of the Byzantine-Laz confrontation preserved by Priskos's fragments took place. There are, however, several obstacles. The 25th fragment, for example, does not name either the Byzantine or the Laz ruler. The only clue might be Priskos's remark that at the time of Gobazes's solicitation for help the Persian monarch was engaged in a fight with the Kidarite Huns. The naming of the Kidarites, however, merely means that the attack of Byzantium against Western Georgia must have been prior to 467, the year of the decisive victory of Pérōz over the Kidarites.²⁷ The war with the Kidarites had been going on for decades, for not only Pérōz but also his father Yazdgerd II (438–457) fought against them.²⁸

The only exact piece of information to help with the dating of the Byzantine-Laz events is provided by the 34th fragment. It says that Gobazes went to Byzantium during Emperor Leon's reign, after the great fire of Constantinople, to conclude peace with the Emperor. As is known, Leon I reigned from 457 to

²⁵ *Excerpta de legationibus*, op. cit., 584, Frg. 12. (Mü. Di. Frg. 26); *Byzantinische Diplomaten und östliche Barbaren*, 68–69.; C. D. Gordon, op. cit., 11–12.

²⁶ *Excerpta de legationibus*, op. cit., 587, Frg. 16. (Mü. Di. Frg. 34); *Byzantinische Diplomaten und östliche Barbaren*, 73.; C. D. Gordon, op. cit., 12.

²⁷ Czeglédy Károly, *Nomád népek vándorlása Napkelettől Napnyugatig*. Budapest 1969, 156.

²⁸ Czeglédy Károly, op. cit., 73. From East to West: The age of Nomadic migrations in Eurasia. In: *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* III. Ed. and transl.: P. B. Golden. Wiesbaden 1983, 84.

474, and on 2 September 465 a fire devastated the capital of Byzantium.²⁹ Therefore, the Byzantine–Laz peace must have been struck in 465.

No information is available as to the earlier events of the conflict. It must be noted, however, that until recently, researchers usually connected the mention of Emperor Markianos (450–457) in Priskos's fragment no. 26 to the conflict, presuming on this basis that the antagonism began during the reign of Markianos.³⁰ As for me, I join those scholars³¹ who claim that the Western Georgian events took place during Emperor Leon I's reign, and not under Markianos. In my view, the mention of Markianos is a mere reference to some former time prior to the conflict and does not belong to the events discussed in the fragment. Interpreting the mention of Markianos as a reference to what went before, one can no longer doubt that Priskos's 25th, 26th and 34th fragments relate a single series of events which all took place during the reign of the same monarch (Leon I).

Hence, the event at issue, the Byzantine offensive launched at sea against Lasica, occurred during Emperor Leon I's reign: the *terminus post quem* is Leon I's accession in 457. The sequence of events that ranged from this raid to the conclusion of peace (the withdrawal of the Byzantine troops, then – possibly after a shorter or longer break – a renewed offensive, Gobazes's negotiations, repeated exchange of delegations before the conclusion of the peace between Gobazes and Leon I) must have lasted at least a year or two. It is therefore highly likely that the latest date of the offensive raid was 463.

It can therefore be concluded on the basis of real and explicitly discussed data in Priskos's text that the Greek attack in question against Lasica was conducted between 457 (Leon I's accession) and 463. Since, however, it is highly unlikely that the events detailed above from the onslaught to the peace treaty took more than four or five years, one cannot be grossly mistaken in saying that the attack took place in the 460s, that is, between 460 and 463.

Provided that we accept Žuanšer's statement on the simultaneity of the 'Ovs' and Byzantine attacks, the date of the 'Ovs' incursion must also be put to this time interval (460–463). These dates practically coincide with the time limits (461–463) of the Hunnish raid into Albania mentioned by Eliše and Movsēs Dasxuranc'i and discussed at the beginning of this paper. This confirms that the attack termed by Žuanšer as an 'Ovs' raid is identical with the Hunnish attack on Albania. Thereby, the time limits of Byzantium's offensive against Lasica are also restricted to these years.

In sum, it can be declared that the episode in Žuanšer's chronicle about the 'Ovs' raid, containing no chronological data, can be identified with the Hunnish incursion into Albania mentioned in Eliše's and Movsēs Dasxuranc'i's histories,

²⁹ Ю. Кулаковский, *История Византии*, I. Киев 1913, 392–393.

³⁰ PWRE VII. Stuttgart 1912, 1548.; E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, I. Paris 1959, 352–353.; М. И. Аргамонов, *История хазар*. Ленинград 1962, 62.; C. Toumanoff, *op. cit.*, 363.; Ivane Javaxišvili, *T'xzulebani t'ormet tomad* [His works in 12 volumes], I. Tbilisi 1979, 278–279.; D. Musxelišvili, *Sak'art'velos istoriuli geograp'iiis jirit'adi sakit'xebi*, 200–201.; A. B. Гадло, *op. cit.*, 45.; B. Baldwin, Priscus of Panium. *Byzantion* 50 (1980) 25.

³¹ C. D. Gordon, *op. cit.*, 11.; A. Bogveraje, *op. cit.*, 192.

which in all probability took place between 461 and 463. Virtually the same time limits of the ‘Ovs’ raid are arrived at, when Žuanšer’s statement on the simultaneity of the ‘Ovs’ incursion and a Byzantine attack against Western Georgia is accepted, and the latter is compared to an offensive against Western Georgia described in Priskos’s fragments.

Extending the examination to another, so far unmentioned, fragment of Priskos’s also narrating events of Western Georgia and to other statements by Žuanšer, further correspondences can be found between the two sources.

Žuanšer’s chronicle informs us that turning 16, the king of K^cart^čli, Vaxtang launched an extensive campaign against the ‘Ovses’.³² After the victorious campaign, he continued his conquests in Western Georgia. This time, Žuanšer mentions no date, but his account implies two moments that might provide some clue: one is the mention of Leon, the Emperor of Byzantium, the other is the noting of the campaign’s duration. The king of K^cart^čli “went to Ap^cxazet^či.”³³ He began fighting against the Ap^cxaz fortresses without haste or fear, since the king of the Greeks, mighty Leon was engaged in warfare with the Persians and (therefore) he could not send troops to Ap^cxazet^či;³⁴ and in three years’ time, he captured all the forts in Ap^cxazet^či up to C^cixe-Goji.”³⁵

The Priskos fragment discussed earlier (no. 34), which informs of the date of the peace between the Byzantine Emperor Leon and Gobazes (465) and the 41st fragment³⁶ to be discussed below seem to contribute largely to the more exact dating and sequence of the events, although the latter source is defective at two points.

Fragment no. 41 reports that in the sixties of the 5th century, allied Persian and Iberian forces threatened some towns in Western Georgia, possibly on the side of the Svans trying to shake off the Laz yoke. The king of Lasica asked the Emperor to send him Roman troops, to be exact some of the Roman forces stationed in Armenia. As Priskos’s chronicle reveals, the reason for this reservation was that being nearby, the Roman troops could interfere any time in the Western Georgian events, and at the same time, the provisioning of the Byzantine troops would not have cost too much in case of the prolongation of the conflict. The historiographer refers back to a former confrontation in which the Laz were at

³² I have tackled the question of Vaxtang Gorgasal’s campaign against the ‘Ovs’ in my above-mentioned study entitled *To the Biography of Vaxtang Gorgasal*.

³³ Georgian sources call the Kluxori pass “The road of Ap^cxazet^či”: Д. Л. Мусхелишвили, *Основные вопросы исторической географии Грузии*, op. cit. 26.; *Атлас Грузинской ССР*. Тбилиси—Москва 1964, 7.

³⁴ No data in other sources support Žuanšer’s cited statement. As we know now, there was no warfare between the two leading powers during the reign of Leon I and Pērōz: A. Christensen, *L’Iran sous les Sassanides*. Copenhagen—Paris 1944, 283–316, 336–352.

³⁵ “... carmovida gzasa Ap^cxazet^čisasa. Sulgrjelad da ušišad icqo brjolad c^cixet^ča Ap^cxazet^čisat^ča. Ramet^ču mep^če berjent^ča Leon didi uc^calo iquo brjolisagan sparst^časa, da veršemjlebel iquo spat^ča gamogzavnad Ap^cxazet^čs; da sam cel cartquenna qovelni c^cixeni Ap^cxazet^čisani vidre C^cixe-Gojamde.” (*K^cart^člis C^cxovreba*, I. 157_{16–20})

³⁶ *Excerpta de legionibus*, op. cit., 500, Frg. 22. (Mü. Di. Frg. 41); *Byzantinische Diplomaten und östliche Barbaren*, 77–78.; C. D. Gordon, op. cit., 13.

war with the Persians and Iberians. The Laz ruler had also solicited help from the Emperor, who sent troops to aid his vassal under the commandership of a certain Heracleios.³⁷ When the Byzantine assistance arrived, “the Persians and Iberians with whom he was at loggerheads now, had been engaged in fighting on other fronts then (at Heracleios’ time)”, so the Laz monarch sent the troops home. After this digression the chronicler continues the account saying that the Emperor promised to send Roman troops to help. At the same time, however, the Persian envoy arrived at the Emperor’s court, informing him of their victory over the Kidarites and the occupation of the city of Balkh.

As is well known, the Persians triumphed over the Kidarites and occupied the town of Balkh in 467. Hence the event described in fragment 41 must be dated to 467. The similar conflict that took place earlier and involved Heracleios as the Emperor’s commander obviously cannot be dated to the Byzantine–Laz controversy, for the king of Lasica rising against the Emperor could not have asked for his help. If this conflict did not precede the revolt of Gobazes – which is highly unlikely – it must have followed the peace between Gobazes and Leon. As was noted above, the peace was concluded after the great fire of 2 September 465. It must be remembered at this point, however, that the passes of the Caucasus and the roads leading into Svanetiⁱ are impassable in the winter months. Therefore, Svanetiⁱ could hardly have suffered an onslaught from the outside in 465. All this adds up to support the presumption that the events mentioned in fragment no. 41 (the two Persian–Iberian attacks against Lasica) took place in 466–467.

It seems indubitable that in 467 the Persians and Iberians launched an offensive against Western Georgia, and prior to that, a similar Persian–Iberian attack against Lasica was interrupted, possibly in 466, for “other engagements” of the attackers. It can be hypothesized that, on the one hand, both Persian–Iberian raids were part of Vaxtang Gorgasal’s Western Georgian campaign, and on the other hand, the “other engagement” that made the Persian and Iberian troops temporarily withdraw from Western Georgia, was none other than the Saragur onslaught against Georgia from the north in 466, mentioned in Priskos’s 37th fragment.

³⁷ PWRE VIII. 503.; Ю. Кулаковский, *op. cit.*, 367–368.

LES DIFFERENTS EMPLOIS DU MOT QUI DESIGNE L' « ART » EN ARMENIEN, EN GREC ET EN LATIN

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Je voudrais attirer l'attention sur la variété des emplois et des sens du mot par lequel déjà l'arménien classique (*grabar*) désigne l' « art », c'est-à-dire le mot *arowest*, et d'essayer d'expliquer l'origine de cette variété sémantique.

Une analyse détaillée des textes fait ressortir la grande variété des acceptations de ce mot arménien, que les grands dictionnaires enregistrent soigneusement. Arm. *arowest* est donc bien attesté non seulement au sens fondamental de « art », mais aussi aux sens plus particuliers et parfois techniques de « habileté, industrie », de « moyen, expédient », de « travail, oeuvre », de « métier, profession », de « ruse, artifice », de « traité » etc. On pourrait penser au premier abord que tous ces sens se sont développés à l'intérieur de la langue arménienne par des évolutions sémantiques propres à la langue arménienne. Mais si on jette un coup d'œil sur le mot grec *téχνη* « art » qui est l'exact équivalent sémantique de l'arm. *arowest*, on est étonné de trouver dans le mot grec tous, ou presque tous les sens du mot arménien. En effet de même qu'*arowest*, le grec *téχνη* est bien attesté non seulement au sens fondamental de « art », mais aussi aux sens de « habileté, industrie », de « moyen, expédient », de « travail, oeuvre », de « métier, profession », de « ruse, artifice », de « traité », etc.

Le frappant parallélisme et la parfaite correspondance des sens entre les mots des deux langues ne semblent pas, dans l'ensemble, un caprice du hasard. Mais on peut aisément prouver que dans chacune de ses acceptations particulières arm. *arowest* est bien attesté comme traduction du grec *téχνη*. Il suffit d'analyser n'importe quelle ancienne traduction arménienne d'un texte grec pour trouver que le mot grec, dans tout son éventail sémantique, est toujours traduit par arm. *arowest*. À cet égard les « premiers traducteurs », les « seconds traducteurs », les auteurs de la *yownaban dproc^c* « école hellénisante » se sont conduits de la même manière. J'ai fait des essais sur des anciennes traductions de différentes périodes, et les essais ont donné toujours le même résultat : arm. *arowest* recouvre exactement et traduit parfaitement toutes les acceptations sémantiques de grec *téχνη*. Ma recherche s'est révélée tout spécialement intéressante sur la traduction des œuvres de Platon (les Lois, l'Euthyphron, l'Apologie de Socrate, le Timée, le Minos) où la polysémie de *téχνη* est mieux attestée.

Il faut donc conclure que, concordant avec τέχνη au sens fondamental de « art », arm. *arowest* a absorbé les autres sens du mot grec, de sorte qu'il a pu servir à traduire τέχνη dans toutes ses nuances sémantiques. C'est un procédé linguistique bien connu dans toutes les langues, auquel même les Arméniens ont eu recours. Ainsi pour enrichir leur vocabulaire, au lieu d'emprunter de nouveaux mots, les Arméniens dès l'époque plus ancienne ont assez souvent préféré charger un mot indigène des sens particuliers et techniques d'un mot, surtout grec, proche par quelque côté. Les Arméniens ont ainsi fait surtout au grec des « emprunts de sens ». Suivant une heureuse et très réussie définition du linguiste italien Matteo Bartoli (empruntée à Graziadio Isaia Ascoli), on peut même dire que *arowest* est un mot arménien de forme mais grec d'esprit. En raison de sa forme externe, de son signifiant, on peut ranger *arowest* parmi les « echtarmenische Wörter », mais il faudrait aussi préciser que ce mot arménien est tout pénétré d'esprit grec dans ses signifiés. Comme il n'y a pas de forme nouvelle, le locuteur moins averti n'aperçoit pas une influence étrangère dans un mot tel que *arowest* ; on a déjà bien remarqué que « l'influence la moins perceptible qu'une langue exerce sur une autre, se trouve sans doute dans l'emprunt de sens »¹.

Le mot arménien *arowest* est donc un exemple intéressant du procédé technique qui s'appelle « calque sémantique ». On a jusqu'ici surtout étudié les emprunts lexicaux grecs en arménien, qui à vrai dire n'ont pas joué un rôle très important dans la langue arménienne, en dépit de leur remarquable consistance numérique, et on a plutôt négligé l'étude des calques surtout sémantiques. Si on fait des recherches minutieuses, on découvrira bien d'autres mots arméniens qui, sur le modèle de mots grecs ayant avec eux des parties communes, ont été chargés de nouveaux sens grecs. Par exemple un mot tel que arm. *ban* signifiait « parole », mais il s'est enrichi de toute une série de nouveaux sens d'après le grec λόγος. Il suffit d'analyser les nombreuses acceptations et nuances sémantiques de arm. *ban* « parole, discours, discours oratoire, traité, commandement, ordre, raisonnement, raison, relation, analogie, condition, etc. » et aussi, dans la terminologie religieuse chrétienne, « Verbe de Dieu », pour constater que toutes les acceptations de l'arm. *ban* ont leurs exactes correspondances dans les mêmes acceptations du mot grec λόγος, et que tant de correspondances très précises et spécifiques ne peuvent pas être fortuites, mais qu'elles supposent une interférence entre les deux mots, dont l'un est en effet attesté comme traduction de l'autre dans toutes ses nuances sémantiques.

De même arm. *drowt'iwn* signifiait à l'origine « action de placer », mais il a pris aussi le sens de « adoption », et bien d'autres sens techniques dans les terminologies juridique, rhétorique, philosophique, grammaticale etc., sur le modèle et sous l'influence du mot grec correspondant θέσις.

Le procédé technique du calque sémantique a été utilisé même par une langue qui avait une tradition bien prestigieuse comme le latin. Il est significatif qu'en latin aussi le mot *ars* a ajouté au sens origininaire de « art » les significations nouvelles de « artifice, ruse, métier, profession, travail, oeuvre, traité,

¹ L. Deroy, *L'Emprunt linguistique*. Paris 1956, p. 215.

etc. » sur le modèle du mot grec τέχνη, exactement comme l'a fait plus tard l'arménien. Et j'ai eu l'occasion de faire ressortir ailleurs les mêmes procédés linguistiques adoptés par l'arménien et par le latin dans la formation de plusieurs autres calques sémantiques et lexicaux grecs.

Je voudrais encore rappeler qu'il y a assez nombreux mots arméniens composés avec *arowest* dont on peut découvrir l'équivalent exact en grec :

arm.	correspondent exactement à grec
<i>amenarowest</i>	πάντεχνος
<i>anarowest</i>	ἀτέχνος
<i>bazmarowest</i>	πολύτεχνος
<i>jeřarowest</i>	χειροτέχνης
<i>hamarowest</i>	όμότεχνος
<i>č̄ararowest</i>	κακότεχνος
<i>arowestabanem</i>	τεχνολογέω
<i>arowestasēr</i>	φιλότεχνος
<i>arowestagorcem</i>	τεχνουργέω

et bien d'autres encore.

Une telle correspondance entre ces composés des deux langues n'a aucune chance d'être, dans son ensemble, fortuite : l'analyse des textes fait ressortir qu'en effet les composés arméniens avec *arowest* sont bien attestés comme traductions des correspondants composés grec avec -τέχνος, -τέχνης, τεχνο-, ce qui nous amène à croire qu'ils sont à l'origine des calques lexicaux faits par les traducteurs arméniens qui se sont efforcés de transposer et de reproduire les composés grecs en les adaptant à l'arménien.

Les calques lexicaux de mots composés sont d'ailleurs les plus fréquents non seulement en arménien mais dans toutes les langues. Beaucoup d'Arméniens, peut-être, ne s'aperçoivent pas d'employer encore tous les jours des mots usuels qui sont en réalité des anciens calques de composés grecs :

arm.	calque du grec
<i>anasown</i>	ἄλογον
<i>banasirowt'iwn</i>	φιλολογία
<i>bac'akay</i>	ἀπών
<i>gitakc'owt'iwn</i>	συνείδησις
<i>ent'adrowt'iwn</i>	ύπόθεσις
<i>mecanjn</i>	μεγαλόθυμος
<i>yarajaban</i>	πρόλογος
<i>neracowt'iwn</i>	εἰσαγωγή
<i>stowgabanowt'iwn</i>	έτυμολογία
<i>verlowcowm</i>	ἀνάλυσις

et bien d'autres encore.

Je veux enfin attirer encore l'attention sur l'emploi de *arowest* dans la locution technique *azatakan arowestk^c*. Même pour cette locution le prototype est certainement grec. Ce fut en effet l'école d'Alexandrie qui inventa la dénomination ἐλευθέριαι τέχναι, par laquelle on désigna longtemps toutes les matières qu'embrassait l'enseignement classique. Ces arts libéraux au Moyen Âge furent répartis, comme chacun sait, en *trivium* (comprenant grammaire, rhétorique, dialectique) et *quadrivium* (comprenant arithmétique, géométrie, astronomie, musique). L'expression arménienne *azatakan arowestk^c* est donc sans aucun doute la transposition et la traduction fidèle de grec ἐλευθέριαι τέχναι, locution qui eut le plus grand succès : elle fut tout d'abord bien adaptée en latin (*liberales artes*), et par le grec et le latin elle s'est répandue dans toutes les langues de civilisation. Evidemment en grec on a appelé ἐλευθέριαι τέχναι les arts dignes des hommes libres et exercés surtout par l'intelligence et l'esprit ; par conséquent les ἐλευθέριαι τέχναι s'opposaient aux βάνανσαι τέχναι qui désignaient les travaux manuels des artisans et des ouvriers, et Pierre Chantraine remarque bien que « l'emploi du terme reflète le mépris où étaient tenus à Athènes les métiers d'artisans »². En arménien aussi, comme dans les autres langues, nous trouvons la même opposition : aux *azatakan arowestk^c* s'opposent en arménien les *gorcakan* (ou *jeřagorcakan*) *arowestk^c*, c'est-à-dire ceux des artisans et des ouvriers qui exigent principalement le travail de la main et l'emploi des machines.

Ainsi la polysémie de arm. *arowest*, les composés et la locution avec *arowest* que nous venons de mentionner reflètent bien l'influence que la culture grecque a exercée sur la langue et la culture arménienes. Même à ce cas peuvent s'appliquer très bien les mots de Benveniste : « Vous voyez là une stratification de culture qui laisse sa trace dans les différents emplois possibles » des mots. Aussi dans la culture arménienne comme « dans notre culture d'aujourd'hui s'intègre toute l'épaisseur d'autres cultures. C'est en cela que la langue peut être révélatrice de la culture ». Nous devons voir toujours le langage non seulement au sein d'une société, mais aussi au sein d'une culture en rapport dynamique avec d'autres cultures. « Aucune langue n'est séparable d'une fonction culturelle » remarquait encore Benveniste³.

Comme j'ai déjà rappelé, jusqu'ici on a presque exclusivement étudié et privilégié les mots que l'arménien a empruntés au grec, et on a marqué de l'étiquette « *echtarmenisch* » tous les autres mots non empruntés. Je veux cependant encore une fois souligner que l'influence grecque sur le vocabulaire arménien se mesure non seulement au nombre des emprunts, mais aussi et encore mieux au nombre des nouveaux mots arméniens créés à l'imitation des modèles grecs, et au nombre des mots arméniens préexistants qui ont été chargés de sens grecs.

² P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots*. Tome I, Paris 1968, p. 164.

³ E. Benveniste, *Problèmes de linguistique générale*, vol. II, Paris 1974, pp. 23–24.

À propos de la langue allemande Meillet remarqua : « dans la langue allemande il ne subsiste de germanique que les moyens matériels d'expression ; toute la face sémantique est latine ou romane »⁴. De tout mon exposé on peut conclure que dans des mots tels que *arowest* et dans beaucoup de ses composés et de locutions il ne subsiste de vraiment arménien que les moyens matériels d'expression ; toute la face sémantique est grecque.

⁴ A. Meillet, *Les langues dans l'Europe nouvelle*, Paris 1928, p. 266.

BILINGUISME ET INTERFERENCE LINGUISTIQUE, LE CAS DE L'ARMENIEN OCCIDENTAL

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Le bilinguisme est un vaste domaine : il n'est pas un phénomène de linguistique pure, même s'il fournit une explication de l'évolution de la langue. Le bilinguisme concerne également la psychologie, la sociologie, la pédagogie, ainsi que le domaine du contact des peuples.

Je voudrais commencer par une constatation : tous les locuteurs de l'arménien occidental sont aujourd'hui bilingues. Cet état de fait ne provient pas du goût excessif des Arméniens pour l'étude et la connaissance des langues. Cela provient, nous le savons, d'une nécessité vitale imposée par l'histoire : celle de s'insérer dans des pays différents, dans diverses sociétés d'accueil, toutes différentes de la leur, par leur langue, leur traditions et coutumes. Dans la mesure où le bilinguisme est vécu au quotidien, les recherches, l'étude des mécanismes de bilinguisme et de tous les phénomènes qui s'y attachent sont essentiels pour mieux comprendre l'évolution de l'arménien occidental.

Quel que soit le pays d'accueil, l'arménien est en position de langue dominée, car il est non seulement la langue d'un groupe minoritaire partout dans le monde, mais aussi, parce qu'il est caractérisé par un manque de pouvoir de décision sur son propre sort. Cette impuissance s'étend non seulement à l'usage de la langue, mais aussi aux domaines importants, tels l'économie, l'administration et l'éducation.

Il faut dire que le concept de bilinguisme s'est au fil des années élargi. Bloomfield considérait que le « bilinguisme consiste à parler deux langues comme ceux qui les ont pour langue maternelle ». A. Martinet donne la définition suivante : « il n'y a bilinguisme que dans le cas d'une maîtrise parfaite et identique des deux langues en cause ». Alors que quelques années plus tard, Haugen définissait le bilinguisme comme « l'aptitude à produire dans l'autre langue des énoncés bien formés porteurs de significations ».

Cette extension du concept du bilinguisme provient de ce qu'on s'est rendu compte que le moment où celui qui parle une seconde langue devient bilingue est, soit arbitraire, soit impossible à déterminer. Dans ce sens le concept de bilinguisme peut être considéré comme un phénomène entièrement relatif. Pour ma part, je retiendrais la définition de William Mackey qui considère le bilinguisme comme « l'alternance de deux ou plus de deux langues ».

Compte tenu de ces différentes définitions de bilinguisme, il est aléatoire et peut-être même secondaire d'essayer de préciser très exactement à partir de quel moment un locuteur est bilingue, c'est-à-dire qu'il connaît le français et l'arménien à une compétence égale en tant que langues maternelles.

Nous disons donc que tout locuteur de l'arménien occidental est bilingue (quel que soit le pays d'accueil) quand il est capable de s'exprimer, de communiquer d'une manière équivalente dans deux langues (arm.-français ; arm.-angl. ; arm.-grec ; arm.-espagnol etc.). Dans cette optique, nous pouvons dire que le locuteur bilingue arménien fait partie de deux groupes culturels et il est perçu par chaque groupe comme un membre à part entière. Cependant, il est important de préciser que dans le cas du locuteur arménien, il ne s'agit pas de bilinguisme en tant que phénomène individuel. Dans le cas de l'arménien, il s'agit bien de bilinguisme comme phénomène de groupe, de « communauté linguistique », pour laquelle la langue est une dimension saillante de l'identité culturelle et ethnique, qui joue un rôle essentiel en tant que symbole d'identité.

Le bilinguisme individuel émane des besoins professionnels de l'individu, des voyages, des mariages mixtes. Le comportement linguistique individuel n'a aucun effet, aucun corollaire quant au fonctionnement de la langue dans son ensemble ; les locuteurs isolés, dispersés ne peuvent assurer le fonctionnement d'une langue littéraire. C'est bien l'ensemble des locuteurs constituant « un groupe linguistiquement significatif » qui est en mesure d'assurer le fonctionnement du mécanisme de la langue littéraire et d'assurer ainsi sa continuité. Partout dans le monde, les locuteurs d'arménien occidental constituent des « groupes linguistiquement significatifs bilingues ». Cette situation implique une double conséquence que je voudrais développer à présent.

Premièrement, le groupe linguistiquement significatif, que Hamers nomme « groupe ethnolinguistique », ne peut assurer sa survie en maintenant sa langue que grâce à certains facteurs. Le premier facteur a trait **au nombre de locuteurs** : la proportion de locuteurs dans le groupe linguistiquement significatif doit être assez grande pour assurer la vitalité de la langue. Ce n'est qu'un groupe homogène et important en nombre qui peut être en mesure d'assurer des conditions normales de fonctionnement et la continuité de la langue littéraire. Un groupe de locuteurs ne disposant pas des conditions de vie collective, réduit en nombre et isolé, n'est pas en mesure d'assurer le bon fonctionnement et la pérennité de la langue littéraire. Le deuxième facteur concerne le **degré d'organisation du groupe** en question : dans quelle mesure le groupe a-t-il ses propres institutions : écoles, média, églises, associations culturelles, compatriotiques, sportives, clubs, théâtres, etc. A cet égard, le rôle de l'école, lieu de transmission de la culture et de la langue littéraire, est décisif. Sans école la langue se dialectalise, sans école la vitalité de la langue est condamnée à court terme. Tout le patrimoine mental du groupe, son état d'esprit se forment à l'école. L'école est effectivement le lieu où peut subsister et s'organiser un micro-environnement, un milieu proprement arménien, ce qui permet de penser arménien.

Les réseaux familiaux sont un facteur essentiel du « groupe linguistiquement significatif ». Ils sont les dépositaires de la mémoire, des valeurs nationales, ils véhiculent les normes éthiques du groupe et sont les meilleurs garants de la survie de la langue maternelle.

Dans le patrimoine culturel du « groupe linguistiquement significatif arménien » **la langue** est une valeur centrale : elle véhicule les valeurs culturelles, sociales, la singularité nationale, grâce auxquelles le groupe minoritaire exprime son identité, sa cohésion. Le haut degré d'attachement des Arméniens à leur langue est un facteur important qui jusqu'à présent a fortement contribué à la survie, au maintien de la langue. En tant que valeur centrale, la langue arménienne ne doit pas être un simple instrument de communication. Ce rôle unique de la langue serait trop réducteur. La langue doit être l'élément essentiel de héritage culturel du groupe et de sa transmission. Le fonctionnement et le développement de la langue, sa continuité ne peuvent être assurés qu'avec la création artistique, littéraire et scientifique dans cette même langue.

Dans un poème consacré à la langue arménienne, le grand poète arménien E. Tcharents écrit :

... et des maîtres humbles et ingénieux
l'ont poli durant des siècles, comme le marbre,
parfois elle a brillé comme le cristal pur,
parfois elle s'est durcie comme le roc des montagnes
mais elle a toujours conservé son âme vivante ...

Effectivement, afin que la langue soit polie, afin qu'elle conserve toujours son âme vivante, et qu'elle ne tombe pas en désuétude et ne se dialectalise pas, la langue doit être en permanence, continuellement en cours d'évolution, comme un corps vivant. C'est donc son usage dans toutes les sphères, dans tous les champs d'intérêt : création artistique, littéraire, musicale, poétique, qui peut contribuer à son essor et son développement. Il y a la langue crue, brute qui n'a subi aucune élaboration intellectuelle, et la langue soignée, raffinée, entretenue par ses lettrés. La langue raffinée, soignée, celle de culture ne peut survivre, se développer et avoir un avenir que grâce à la création artistique et littéraire. Dans ces conditions l'état de bilinguisme du « groupe linguistiquement significatif » ne devrait pas constituer un obstacle à la continuité du standard de la langue et à son évolution.

Je viens d'énumérer les facteurs essentiels qui contribuent à assurer la survie, la pérennité et le développement de la langue d'un groupe linguistiquement significatif (il y en a d'autres : l'unité territoriale, concentration des groupes, le statut de la langue etc.). Ces facteurs sont les conditions sine qua non, faute de quoi le groupe est condamné à l'assimilation.

Les questions évoquées ne constituent qu'un aspect, qu'une des conséquences que le bilinguisme implique. Je veux à présent évoquer le deuxième

aspect que le bilinguisme implique inévitablement. Il s'agit de l'interférence linguistique. Dans la mesure où le bilinguisme est l'usage alterné de deux langues, il y a forcément chez les locuteurs bilingues contact entre les langues, c'est-à-dire la présence simultanée de deux langues à un niveau individuel ou sociétal. Je n'évoquerai pas les différents types de contacts des langues : individuel, raisons professionnelles, voyages, population de pays frontaliers, etc. Le cas qui nous intéresse plus précisément est le contact de deux langues au sein de même « groupe linguistiquement significatif ».

Pour être plus clair, disons que la communauté arménienne de France (il s'agit bien évidemment de celle qui connaît l'arménien suffisamment bien) alterne quotidiennement le français et l'arménien (il est bien entendu que celle des Etats Unis alterne l'arménien et l'anglais, celle de Grèce – le grec, celle d'Argentine – l'espagnol etc.). Cette alternance qui est à l'origine du contact des langues provoque des interférences linguistiques : c'est-à-dire l'usage inapproprié d'éléments d'une langue dans une autre. L'emploi d'éléments inappropriés au code de la langue peut se faire consciemment ou inconsciemment.

Toujours est-il qu'au fil des années, ces interférences peuvent apparaître au niveau de la syntaxe, de la phonétique et de la morphologie. Mais c'est principalement dans le domaine du lexique que l'interférence se manifeste de visu. Quand l'interférence linguistique se manifeste au niveau du locuteur individuel, celle-ci n'a pas de corollaire sur la langue. Par exemple, si un locuteur dit « vale **stadə** bidi ertas ? » *demain iras-tu au stade ?*, il sera compris sans effet sur la langue. Mais si tous les locuteurs disent toujours « vale **stadə** bidi ertas ? », dans ce cas l'équivalent arménien de stade « **marzatašt** » sera, avec le temps, écarté, tout au moins dans la langue parlée, au profit du mot stade.

Par conséquent, le comportement linguistique individuel des locuteurs isolés, dispersés ne peut assurer ou influencer le fonctionnement d'une langue. C'est bien au niveau du groupe linguistiquement significatif que l'interférence conduit au transfert de différents éléments étrangers, ce qui, à terme, peut conduire à des modifications dans le code de la langue. Aussi, tout nouveau concept, quel que soit le domaine, trouve-t-il son expression lexicale d'une manière ou d'une autre, chaque fois que cela se révèle nécessaire dans la langue. Dans le domaine du lexique, les interférences peuvent conduire à différents types de transferts :

- les emprunts conceptuels, nécessaires dans un premier temps ;
- les emprunts non conceptuels, *a priori* non indispensables ;
- les calques conceptuels, auxquels la langue a souvent recours ;
- les calques non conceptuels, conséquences de l'interférence ;
- les transferts conceptuels exprimés par les moyens internes.

On ne peut détailler, dans le cadre de cette étude, tous les aspects des transferts provoqués par le contact des langues. Je dirais simplement que dans le cas de l'arménien en France, la langue arménienne, étant en position de langue

dominée, se trouve en permanence sous l'influence du français et cela, non seulement pour exprimer des concepts nouveaux, mais aussi pour des transferts non conceptuels, ceux qui ne semblent pas indispensables pour le locuteur du milieu arménien. Les raisons en sont nombreuses : d'une part, nous avons une langue d'Etat au prestige culturel élevé, une langue qui a un rayonnement international et qui a souvent le privilège d'être à l'origine de concepts nouveaux. Pour ce qui concerne l'arménien, nous sommes en présence d'une langue à statut inférieur, pour ne pas dire sans statut du tout par rapport aux langues de minorités régionales ou territoriales. L'arménien ne bénéficie pas du support solide de l'Etat. Le prestige culturel de la langue ne dépasse pas les limites du « groupe linguistiquement significatif », même s'il est vrai que leur histoire ancienne donne aux Arméniens une assise intérieure, une assurance. Avoir un passé historique glorieux avec des racines anciennes et profondes rassure et contribue à créer une forte cohésion nationale. Dans ces conditions, le transfert du français en arménien ne se limite pas aux simples emprunts lexicaux, par ailleurs très nombreux. La communauté arménienne ne peut vivre en vase clos, elle ne peut se fermer entièrement à la culture environnante. Elle évolue au sein d'un milieu linguistique ayant ses propres traditions et coutumes et produisant des concepts nouveaux qui lui sont spécifiques. Afin d'exprimer la réalité vécue, le groupe linguistiquement significatif arménien est amené à exprimer des faits de société caractéristiques à la société d'accueil. Aussi, note-t-on des transferts non conceptuels qui ne proviennent pas de la nécessité d'exprimer un nouveau concept. Les calques en arménien des expressions « 3^{ème} age », « remède de cheval », « état marginal » relevés seulement dans la presse écrite arménienne en France, en sont le témoignage. Cette dimension de transfert de phénomènes sociétaux est caractéristique de langues non territoriales dominées. Partout dans le monde l'arménien est assujetti à l'interférence linguistique. Les transferts excessifs d'éléments non contrôlés de la langue dominante peuvent, à terme, mettre en péril la pureté de la langue dominée, agir sur le code de la langue. Il est vrai qu'une langue qui se veut moderne et qui évolue au rythme de son temps doit donner à ses usagers la possibilité de s'exprimer sur tous les sujets, dans tous les domaines. Il est donc naturel que la langue développe, organise son expansion lexicale d'une manière ou d'une autre, afin d'exprimer, par les moyens qui lui sont propres, tous les concepts nouveaux. Le bilinguisme ne doit pas être un obstacle au bon fonctionnement de la langue ; au contraire, il peut faciliter le renouvellement lexical si l'influence excessive provoquée par l'interférence linguistique est contenue et contrôlée (seule l'influence excessive incontrôlée peut modifier le cours et le contenu de l'évolution du système lexical de la langue). Il est vrai aussi que la langue est à l'image des besoins du peuple qui en fait l'usage. L'avenir et le destin de la langue arménienne seront ceux que ses locuteurs, ses usagers lui donneront. En fait, nous sommes conscients que le destin de la langue est attaché à celui de son peuple, en l'occurrence au « groupe linguistiquement significatif » arménien. Je terminerai par une interrogation : la minorité arménienne, unique dépositaire de l'arménien occidental, vit une période charnière de son histoire et

de sa langue. Sera-t-elle en mesure d'assurer la pérennité, la continuité de sa langue, pourra-t-elle mettre en œuvre et exploiter tous les facteurs qui sont indispensables pour assurer la vie et le développement de sa langue ? Seul l'avenir répondra à cette question.

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EIN ARMENISCH-KAUKASISCHER REIGEN

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Die exponierte geographische Lage der Armenier in der Umgebung iranisch, türkisch, semitisch und kaukasisch sprechender Völker spiegelt sich deutlich in ihrer Sprache wider, die v.a. im Wortschatz mannigfaltige Einflüsse seitens der benachbarten Idiome erkennen läßt. Umgekehrt hat aber auch das Armenische seine Nachbarsprachen in mehr oder weniger starkem Maße beeinflußt. Von besonderer Qualität sind in dieser Hinsicht die Beziehungen zum Georgischen, die sich über einen Zeitraum von mindestens 1500 Jahren mit einer gemeinsamen, vom Christentum geprägten Tradition zurückverfolgen lassen. Innerhalb dieses Zeitraums, vermutlich aber auch schon einige Jahrhunderte früher, hat das Armenische das Georgische nicht nur durch „eigenes“ Wortmaterial bereichert, sondern auch durch Elemente, die es selbst zuvor entlehnt hatte. Den größten Anteil daran haben jene Lehnwörter, die aus mitteliranischen Sprachen, v.a. dem Parthischen und Mittelpersischen, übernommen wurden.

Während es noch bis vor nicht allzu langer Zeit üblich war, für die im (Alt-)Georgischen anzutreffenden Iranismen generell die Übernahme aus armenischer Quelle anzunehmen (die sog. „via armeniaca“), so hat sich in jüngerer Zeit die Erkenntnis durchgesetzt, daß es durchaus auch selbständige iranische Entlehnungen im Georgischen gibt¹. Diese sind insbesondere dann als solche anzuerkennen, wenn sie eindeutige lautliche Merkmale aufweisen, die sie von den entsprechenden Iranismen im Armenischen differenzieren. Aber auch in solchen Fällen, wo zwischen einer georgischen und einer armenischen Wortform eine lautliche Identität herrscht, kann die Frage des Entlehnungswegs bisweilen mit großer Sicherheit entschieden werden; nämlich dann, wenn die Beleglage im Altgeorgischen darauf hinweist, daß das betreffende Wort in „armenischem Kontext“, d.h. bei der Übersetzung aus dem Armenischen übernommen wurde².

¹ Bahnbrechend für diese Erkenntnis war die Arbeit von M. Andronišvili, *Narkvevebi iranul-kartuli enobrivi urtietobidan / Очерки по иранско-грузинским языковым взаимоотношениям / Studies in Iranian-Georgian Linguistic Contacts*, I, Tbilisi 1966.

² Der Ausarbeitung und Überprüfung dieser Kriterien ist die Arbeit „Iranica Armeno-Iberica“ des Verf. gewidmet (Wien 1993); cf. dort insbesondere S. 345 ff. Vgl. auch „Mitteliranische Lehnwörter im Altgeorgischen“, in: *Akten des Melzer-Symposiums 1991*, Graz 1992, S. 114–124.

Ein einschlägiger Fall, der bis heute wenig beachtet wurde, soll im folgenden kurz behandelt werden.

Unter dem Lemma *par*, das er u.a. mit „*xat, kak'aw*“, i.e. „Spiel, Tanz“ glossiert, verweist Hr. Ačařyan in seinem „Armenischen Wurzelwörterbuch“³ auf ein gleichbedeutendes georg. *pari*, das bereits von N. Marr mit seinem armenischen Pendant identifiziert worden war⁴. Marr war offenbar auch der erste, der arm. *par* (oder, genauer, seine verbale Weiterbildung *parel* „плясать“ „tanzen“) auf ein iranisches Etymon zurückführte, indem er es mit avestisch *pāda-* „Fuß“ (sic, s.u.) verband⁵. Obwohl sich das Wort bei dieser Herleitung mit der Vertretung eines iranischen δ durch armen. *r* in eine reich vertretene Sippe einreihen würde, fand Marrs Vorschlag doch nur geringes Echo⁶. So zog z.B. Ačařyan (l.c.) den bereits von Petermann und Windischmann propagierten Anschluß an die in griech. πέρι und aind. *pari* reflektierte Präposition der Bedeutung „ringsum“ („շօրյ“) vor. Gerade unter dem Aspekt, daß armen. *par* einen gleichlautenden und bedeutungsgleichen Stamm *par-* im Georgischen neben sich hat, verdient Marrs Zusammenstellung aber eine neuerliche Überprüfung, die von den ältesten Textbelegen auszugehen hat.

Schon der einzige Beleg von armen. *par* und georg. *par-* im Neuen Testamente deutet auf eine Affinität beider Wortformen hin. Mit dem Wortlaut *lowaw zjayn ergoc ew zparowc* „er hörte den Klang der Gesänge und der Tänze“ stellt sich die arm. Bibel in Lk. 15,25 zunächst dem griech. Text entgegen, der mit ηκουσεν συμφωνίας καὶ χορῶν keine unmittelbare Entsprechung für das arm. *jayn* „Klang, Ton“ aufzuweisen hat; näher steht der arm. Text dem syrischen, der mit *qālā* „Stimme, Ton“ (*šm' ql zmr' dsgy'* „hörte den Klang des Sanges vieler“) eine mögliche Vorgabe für arm. *jayn* enthält. Die georg. Bibelübersetzung gesellt sich in ihren beiden Redaktionen der armenischen zu, insofern auch sie mit *qma-* „Stimme, Laut“ ein entsprechendes Wort verwendet. Deutlich unterschieden sind die beiden georg. Redaktionen jedoch im Hinblick auf die Genitivattribute, die den armen. *erg-oc* und *par-owc* entsprechen: Während die sog. Protovulgata, die die Grundlage für den seit dem 10. Jh. kanonisch gewordenen Text abgibt und deren älteste Form in den sog. Xanmeti-Texten des 6.–7. Jhs. vorliegt, die Wörter *sixarul-i* „Freude“ und *gancxroma-y* „Vergnügen“ verwendet (*xesmoda qmay sixarulisay da gancxromisay* in der Xanmeti-Version⁷), erscheinen in der allein durch die sog. Adishi-Handschrift von AD 897 reprä-

³ *Hayeren armatakan bařaran*, D, Erevan 21979, 54 ff.

⁴ In: *Hay-vrac'akan yaraberowt'wnner*, [Tiflis 1898], 31 (so nach Ačařyan, l.c.; non vidi).

⁵ In der ausführlichen Rezension von A. Tomson, Istoricheskaja grammatika sovremennago armjanskago jazyka goroda Tiflisa (S.-Peterburg 1890), in: *Zapiski Vostočnago Otdelenija Imperatorskago Russkago Arxeologičeskago Obščestva* 5, 1890 (1891), 318: „16. з. пādha, нога – nunū, отн., нога, но одновременно ψωρτī, пар-ел, плясатъ“.

⁶ In den beiden Artikeln über iranische Lehnwörter im Armenischen in der *Encyclopedie Iranica* (von R. Schmitt bzw. H. W. Bailey: *Armenia and Iran* IV, Iranian Influences in Armenian 1 / 2: Enc.Ir., Bd. A, 448–459 / 459–465) wird *par* nicht erwähnt, obwohl letzterer Beitrag sogar eine Rubrik „Music“ hat (463).

⁷ Cf. die Ausgabe Xanmeti tekştəbi, nağveti 1, ed. Lamara Kažaia, Tbilisi 1984, 108.

sentierten zweiten Redaktion die Genetive *saxiob-isay* und *memger-tay*, die etwa durch „(Klang) der Musik“ bzw. „der Singenden (pl.)“ zu übersetzen sind. Letzteres Wort, eigentlich ein Partizip zur Verbalwurzel *-mger-* „singen“, ist dabei weiter durch *par-it* ergänzt, das als Instrumental zu dem mit arm. *par* identifizierten Stamm *par-* aufzufassen ist. Nun ist die Affinität der durch das Adiši-Evangeliar vertretenen altgeorg. NT-Redaktion zur armenischen Tradition geradezu notorisch⁸, so daß die Verwendung von *par-* trotz der Divergenz im exakten Wortlaut auf einen armenischen Einfluß zurückgeführt werden kann. Da die Protovulgata im Gegensatz zur Adiši-Redaktion stetige Bestrebungen zeigt, Anklänge an das Armenische zugunsten einer an das Griechische angepaßten Diktion auszumerzen, kann man sogar schließen, daß *par-* von den georgischen Bearbeitern selbst als Armenismus eingeschätzte wurde.

Einen ähnlichen Schluß läßt, wenn auch nicht ganz so deutlich, die Beleglage in den alttestamentlichen Texten zu. Den vierzehn Belegstellen für armen. *par* (Ex. 15,20; Ri. 11,34; 21,21; 1.Kön. [= 1.Sam.] 10,5; 10,10; 18,6; 29,5; 2.Kön. [= 2.Sam.] 6,13; 3.Kön. [= 1.Kön.] 1,40; 1.Esr. 5,3; Jud. 15,14; Lam.Jer. 5 [= Or.Jer.], 15⁹; 3.Makk. 6,32; 6,35⁹), zu denen noch vier Belege der Ableitung *parawor* (Ex. 32,19; Ri. 21,23; 1.Kön. 18,6; 21,11) und ein Beleg von *paranc'ik* (Ri. 9,27) kommen, können aus den verschiedenen altgeorgischen AT-Bearbeitungen insgesamt nur fünf Belege von *par-* gegenübergestellt werden, von denen allein vier der sog. Mcxeta-Bibel entstammen. Die älteste georg. AT-Handschrift, die sog. Oški-Bibel von AD 987, enthält genau einen Beleg, nämlich in dem apokryphen Buch Esra Zorobabel, das in der Zählung der armen. Bibel wie auch der Septuaginta das erste, in der georg. Bibel jedoch das dritte Esra-Buch ist. Gerade dieses Buch gehört nun innerhalb der Tradition der georg. AT-Übersetzung wieder zu einem Stratum, das besonders zahlreiche Übereinstimmungen mit dem armenischen Bibeltext aufzuweisen hat¹⁰. Dies läßt sich gerade auch an der gegebenen Stelle zeigen, wo georg. *par-* genau an der Stelle von armen. *par* erscheint, während beide im griech. Text der Septuaginta keine eindeutige Entsprechung finden: Hier werden zunächst in 1.Esr. 5,2 als Begleitumstände, unter denen die von Dareios ausgesandten ἀρχῆγοι mit ihren 1000 Reitern in Jerusalem einziehen sollen, „Frieden“ (*εἰρήνη*) sowie „Musikanten“ (*μουσικοί*), „Pauken“ (*τύμπανα*) und „Blasinstrumente“ (*ῳλοί*) genannt; im armen. Text lassen sich damit die Wörter *xalałowt'iw* „Friede“, *nowagaranoc'* „Musik(instrumente)“, *t'mbowk* und *p'ol* gleichsetzen, im georg. Text, der in der Oški-Bibel und der Mcxeta-Bibel übereinstimmt, die Termini *mšwdoba-*, *menoage-*, *bobğan-* und *nestu-*. Im folgenden Vers 5,3 ist jedoch keine derartige Äquivalenz zu erkennen: Der Überlieferung des griech. Texts, wonach „alle ihre

⁸ Cf. dazu z.B. J. Molitor, Die georgische Bibelübersetzung, in: *Oriens Christianus* 37, 1953, 23 ff.; Verf., Zur christlichen Terminologie in den südkaukasischen Sprachen, in: *Die Slawischen Sprachen* 17, 1989, S. 13 ff.

⁹ Diese Belege fehlen in der arm. Bibelkonkordanz (Hamabarbař hin ew nor ktakaranac', Jerowsałem 1897).

¹⁰ Cf. dazu Verf., *Iranica Armeno-Iberica*, 346 u.ö.

Brüder tanzten“ (*καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν παιζόντες*), scheinen im armen. Text hier zwei Angaben gegenüberzustehen, nämlich die Instrumentale *ew parow ew a(menay)n owraxow(team)b* „und mit *par* und mit aller Freude“. Der georg. Text bietet sogar drei Instrumentale: *da parita da rokvita, da qovlita sixarulita*. Setzt man nun voraus, daß *sixarul-i* „Freude“ die exakte Entsprechung von arm. *owraxowt iwn* darstellt und *da parita* unmittelbar das armen. *ew parow* reflektiert, so läßt sich die „überzählige“ Angabe *da rokvita* als eine sekundäre, als Glosse in den Text geratene Erläuterung zu *da parita* verstehen; tatsächlich steht *rokv-*, dessen Bedeutung etwa durch Mt. 14,6 oder Jes. 13,21 bestimmt ist, wo es als Äquivalent von griech. ὄρχέομαι „tanzen“ auftritt, dem armen. *par* semantisch nahe genug. Wenn georg. *par-* aber durch *rokv-* sekundär glossiert werden mußte, so folgt nicht nur, daß das Wort im Georgischen als Armenismus zu werten ist, sondern es muß sogar ein Fremdwort geblieben sein. Der Übersichtlichkeit halber seien die drei Versionen der behandelten Textstelle¹¹ noch einmal synoptisch angeführt, wobei sich zugleich zeigt, daß die Angabe *ew parow* selbst bereits als sekundäre Ergänzung im Sinne einer Glossierung in den armen. Text geraten sein dürfte (Übereinstimmungen in allen drei Versionen sind fett hervorgehoben):

5,2 καὶ Δαρεῖος συναπέστει-
λεν μετ' αὐτῶν ἵππεῖς χιλίους
ἔως τοῦ ἀποκαταστῆσαι
αὐτοὺς εἰς Ιερουσαλημ
μετ' εἰρήνης
καὶ μετὰ μουσικῶν,
τυμπάνων καὶ αὐλῶν.
5,3
καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν
παιζόντες,
καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτοὺς συν-
αναβῆναι μετ' ἔκεινων.

5,2 *Ew dareh ařak^ceac^c and
n(o)s(a)jis hazar,
minčew erťeal hasanic^cen
ye(rowsatē)m
xatalow(team)b,
ew handerj nowagaranōk^c,
t'mbkaw ew p'otov*
5,3 *ew parow.
ew a(menay)n
owraxow(team)b
arjakeac^cznosa ye(rowsale)m.*

5,2 *da darel (dareh M) misca
mat tana cxenebi atas,
vidremdis mividen da miiči-
nen (miičivnen M) ierusalemd
mšwdobit,
menoagiturt,
bobgnita da nes̄wta,
5,3 da parita da rokvita,
da qovlita
sixarulita
ganutevna igini ierusalemd.*

Eine Abhängigkeit von der armen. Tradition läßt sich dann auch für die weiteren drei Belege von *par-* im georg. AT wahrscheinlich machen, die sämtlich der Mcxeta-Bibel zu entnehmen sind¹². Dies betrifft zunächst die Stelle 1.Kön. (1.Sam.) 18,6, wo dem griech. ἐξῆλθον χορεύονται „musizierende (Frauen) kamen heraus“ insgesamt die drei armen. Termini *parawork^c, ergel* und *par arñowl* gegenüberstehen. Die armen. Bibel gesellt sich hier offensichtlich

¹¹ Eine syrische Fassung des Textes von Esra Zorobabel war mir nicht zugänglich.

¹² Da die Neuausgabe des georg. AT, die alle bekannten Redaktionen umfaßt, bisher nur bis zum Buch Richter gediehen ist (Çignni zuelisa aģtkumisani, naķv. 1–3, Tbilisi 1989–1991), können die hier gemachten Belegstellenangaben noch nicht als endgültig angesehen werden. Entsprechend der Ausgabe werden die einzelnen AT-Redaktionen hier wie folgt referiert: O – die Oški-Bibel (10. Jh.); S – die Mcxeta-Bibel (17. Jh.); B – die Bakar-Bibel (18. Jh.); G – die Gelati-Bibel (12. Jh.); A – die AT-Handschrift H 1207 (17. Jh.); K – die Handschrift Kut. 28 (17. Jh.); C – die Handschrift A 179 (17. Jh.); D – die Handschrift H 885 (17. Jh.).

der syrischen Texttradition zu, die mit *npqy nš̄ ... lmšbh̄ brbȳc*, „es gingen hinaus die Frauen ... mit Gesang zu preisen“ ihrerseits dem hebr. Text mit *tēšēnāh hannašim ... lāšir wəhamməholōt*, „es gingen hinaus die Frauen mit Gesang und Reigen“ nahekommt. Auch der georg. Text der Mcxeta-Bibel¹³ verwendet drei Elemente, nämlich *mznobar-i*, *memger-i* und den Instrumental *par-it*. Da *mznob-ar-i* als Partizipialbildung zu *znob-a-* „Musik, Gesang“ auch sonst vielfach dem armen. *parawor* entspricht¹⁴ und das von *-mger-* „singen“ abgeleitete *memger-ad* dem armen. Infinitiv *ergel*, „zu singen“ ohne weiteres entsprechen kann, steht einer Identifikation von *par-it* mit der Fügung *par arñowl* nichts im Wege. Auffällig ist nun, daß in dem einzigen weiteren georg. Zeugen, der für die Textstelle verfügbar ist, nämlich dem sog. „Pariser Lektionar“ des 10.–11. Jhs.¹⁵, anstelle von *parit* die drei Formen *kebad*, *znobad* und *sesxmad*, „zum Loben, zum Besingen und zum Preisen“ erscheinen, was wiederum darauf zurückzuführen sein mag, daß eine Ersetzung von *par-* angestrebt wurde, für dieses aber kein eindeutiges Äquivalent bekannt war. Das Lektionar würde damit übrigens einen jüngeren Traditionszweig reflektieren als die im 17. Jh. entstandene Mcxeta-Bibel.

Wieder etwas anders gelagert sind die beiden verbleibenden Belege von georg. *par-i* im AT, 1.Kön. 10,5 und 2.Kön. 6,13–14. An der erstenen Stelle erscheint an der Stelle von griech. χορὸς προφητῶν (bzw. syr. *hbl̄ dnbȳ*, hebr. *hebel nəbīim*) die armen. Fügung *par margareic*, der in der Mcxeta-Bibel *das-i cinaçarmetquelta-y*, „eine Schar Propheten“ entspricht; die Äquivalenz ergibt sich eindeutig aus 1.Kön. 10,10, wo dieselben Syntagmen zu verzeichnen sind. In 1.Kön. 10,5 werden nun weiter vier Musikinstrumente aufgezählt, die im griech. Text als *váþla*, *týμπανον*, *avλός* und *κινύρα* benannt sind; die armen. Bibel hat *sring*, *tmbowk*, *p'ol* und *k'nar*. Während die letzteren drei im georg. Text mit *knar-i*, *nestw* und *bobgan-i* ihre üblichen Entsprechungen finden, steht dem griech. *váþla* bzw. dem armen. *sring* ($\approx \sigmaύριγξ$) die Fügung *parit memgerni* gegenüber, die in Lk. 15,25 als Wiedergabe von armen. *par* zu notieren war. Es läßt sich also vermuten, daß *parit memgerni* an der gegebenen Stelle nur sekundär in die Position von *sring* gerückt ist, wobei es dessen ursprüngliche Entsprechung verdrängt hat (sofern eine solche überhaupt je vorhanden war); den Ausgangspunkt der „Verschiebung“ dürfte *das-i cinaçarmetquelta-y* gebildet haben, das seinerseits als Äquivalent zu den *parit memgerni* in den Text eingeführt wurde. Die Entsprechungen seien durch die folgende Tabelle verdeutlicht, die in der Anordnung der „Musikinstrumente“ zugleich eine bemerkenswerte Übereinstimmung zwischen dem georgischen und dem syrischen Text erkennen läßt¹⁶:

¹³ Nach der Edition Mcxeturi xelnaçeri [1–5], ed. El. Dočanašvili, Tbilisi 1981–1986.

¹⁴ Ex. 32,19 O / B; S hat hier *mçqobr-i*, „Aufstellung“. – Ri. 11,34 S / B; hier hat G *mçqobr-i*. – Ri. 21,23 O / S / B; hier hat G *me-mçqobr-e-*, „zur Aufstellung gehöriger“. – In 1.Kön. 21,11 hat S *makebelni*, „Lobpreisende“.

¹⁵ Hrsg. von K. Danelia, St. Čxenkelidze und B. Šavivili, *Kartuli lektionaris parizuli xelnaçeri*, 1/1, Tbilisi 1987.

¹⁶ Derartige Übereinstimmungen deuten durchweg auf die Vermittlung eines armenischen Textes, der im Verhältnis zu dem etwa durch die Zohrab-Bibel repräsentierten *textus receptus* eine ältere, noch nicht nach der griech. Bibel überarbeitete Tradition reflektiert.

hebr.	syr.	LXX	armen.	georg. M
<i>hebel nəbī̄t̄m</i>	<i>hbl^o dnby^o</i>	χορὸς προφητῶν	<i>par margarēic^c</i>	<i>dasi çınaçarmeṭqueltay</i> ↓ <i>parit memğerni</i> ↓
<i>nēbel</i>	<i>qytr^o</i>	váβλα	<i>sring</i>	
<i>top̄ ✕</i>	<i>✗ knr^o ✕</i>	✗ τύμπανον	<i>t̄mbowk ✕</i>	✗ <i>knari</i>
<i>ḥālil</i>	<i>plg^o</i>	ավճօց	<i>p̄'ol</i>	<i>nes̄tw</i>
<i>kinnōr ✕</i>	<i>✗ rby^o ✕</i>	✗ κινύρα	<i>k̄nar ✕</i>	✗ <i>bobğani</i>

Ganz ähnlich gelagert sind die Verhältnisse in 2.Kön. 6,13. Hier ist im griech. Text von ἑπτὰ χοροί die Rede, denen im armen. Text *ewt'n das parowc^c* „sieben Scharen von *par*“ gegenüberstehen¹⁷; χορός ist hier also durch *das parowc^c* wiedergegeben. Der armen. Text verwendet dabei mit *das* genau jenes Wort, das in der Form *das-i* in 1.Kön. 10,5 im georg. Text zu notieren war; tatsächlich sind beide ohne weiteres identifizierbar¹⁸, und auch in 2.Kön. 6,13 ist *das-i* im georg. Text benutzt. Eine Entsprechung des armen. Plural-Genetivs *parowc^c* scheint in der Fügung *memğerni šwd dasad*, wtl. „Sänger zu sieben Scharen“, auf den ersten Blick jedoch nicht gegeben. Im folgenden Vers tritt dann allerdings eine Wendung *parita šoris* auf, die hier weder als Äquivalent von griech. ἀνεκρούετο ≈ armen. *harkanēr* „stimmte, schlug an“ noch zu ἐν ὁργάνοις ἡρμοσμένοις ≈ *z-tawils nowagaranc'n* „(mit den / die) eingestimmten Instrumente(n)“ gelten kann; diese werden vielmehr durch *rokvida* „tanzte, musizierte“ und *moştwnvarta da mbobgnarta* „Bläser und Pauker“ (statt „Blasinstrumente und Schlaginstrumente“?) vertreten. So ergibt sich die Folgerung, daß *parita šoris* aus 6,13 in den folgenden Vers geraten ist.

Es sei festgehalten, daß gerade die Mcxeta-Bibel zahlreiche Beispiele für eine Akkumulation verschiedener Traditionen bietet, so daß die angenommenen Verschiebungen nichts Auffälliges haben. Dies mag mit dem Umstand zusammenhängen, daß die Mcxeta-Bibel nach allgemeiner Auffassung von Sulxan-Saba Orbeliani redigiert wurde, der sich mit seinem „Leksikoni kartuli“ zugleich als Begründer der georgischen Lexikographie hervortat; Saba scheint bemüht gewesen zu sein, in „seiner“ Bibelredaktion möglichst alle ihm vorliegenden Überlieferungsschichten zu verarbeiten. In seinem Lexikon hat er, unter Verweis auf die Stelle 1.Kön. 10,5, übrigens auch *par-i* verzeichnet¹⁹. Das Wort wird da-

¹⁷ Das unklare Verhältnis des griech. Wortlauts zu hebr. *šiššāh ṣə'ādīm* und syr. *št ps̄n* „sechs Schritte“ kann dabei unberücksichtigt bleiben.

¹⁸ Cf. dazu bereits Verf., *Iranica Armeno-Iberica*, S. 57 mit Anm. 12.

¹⁹ Cf. die Edition Sulxan Saba Orbeliani, *Leksikoni kartuli*, cigni 1, Tbilisi 1966, 612. – Bei dem ib. erfaßten zweiten Lemma *pāri*, dessen Bedeutung mit *pirvelivit itkmis* angegeben und für das die Belegstelle „3,2 Iona“ verzeichnet ist, handelt es sich vermutlich um ein Ghostword: In keiner der verfügbaren altgeorg. Textredaktionen erscheint im Buch Jonas eine Form des Wortes *pāri*. In Jon. 3,2 findet sich statt dessen in der durch die Oški-Bibel vertretenen ältesten Redaktion der Gen. *pírvelisa* „der ersten, früheren (sc. Prophezeiung)“ (entsprechend armen. *ařajin* und

bei einerseits durch *lini* glossiert, das selbst ein Musikinstrument bezeichnet (z.B. in 2.Kön. 6,5 S mit freilich unklarer Zuordnung), daneben findet sich aber (in den Abschriften Z und A des Lexikons) auch die Definition *p̄ari somxurad sama*, d.h. *p̄ar-i* (ist) **auf armenisch** *sama*; da das (arabisch-) persische Fremdwort *sama-* (< *samā*) als Bezeichnung eines Volkstanzes im Georgischen Fuß gefaßt hat, nicht jedoch im Armenischen, muß Saba selbst also *p̄ar-i* als „armenisch“ angesehen haben.

Daß die Verwendung von georg. *p̄ar-i* ausschließlich in Abhängigkeit von armen. *par* erfolgte und das Wort dabei im Georgischen nie „heimisch“ geworden ist, wird letztlich auch durch den einzigen bisher verfügbaren Beleg außerhalb der Bibelübersetzung nicht widerlegt. Es handelt sich um eine Passage aus dem Martyrium der hll. Ripsime und Gaiane²⁰, das auf georgisch als selbstständiger Text überliefert ist, dessen armen. Entsprechung jedoch Bestandteil der von Agathangelos verfaßten Geschichte der Bekehrung Armeniens ist. Auch wenn sich der Wortlaut an der gegebenen Stelle nicht völlig deckt, ist mit dem im armen. Text erscheinenden *zp̄arsn p̄arel* „die Tänze zu tanzen“ doch wieder die anzunehmende Vorlage gegeben. Zur Illustration seien die beiden Versionen einander gegenübergestellt²¹:

Ard, ibrew ekn emowt na i nerks, ař hasarak da vitarca ševida šina, qovel igi simravle erisa, mardikn, omank^c artak^coy aparanicⁿ, kēskⁿ i romelnime gareše tažarta mat, romelnime p^cołoc^s i nerksagoynsn, ař hasarak ergs ařeal polocta mat, ertbamad ažege saxiobeli, mağlita barbařec^can kayt^ciwk^c vazelov, c^coyc^c (v.l. qmita qmobdes, t̄quelvides da rokvides. da c^cowc^c) barjeal mardkann. kēskⁿ i berdamijin, moakunda saçevneli korçilisa mis da guls-ew kēsk^c zk^calak^camējn lc^cin xnčoyiwk^c. ař modgined p̄arsa mas itqodes. hasarak hamarēin harsaneacⁿ zp̄arsn p̄arel ew zkak^cawsn yordorel.

„Now when he (Trdat) came in, all the populace, some outside the palace, others in the streets, and others inside (the city), all together struck up songs and dancing. Some filled the citadel, others the center of the town, with merry-making. They all intended to celebrate the wedding with dancing.“

„Und als er (Trdat) hineinkam, erhob die ganze Volksmenge, einige außerhalb der Paläste, einige auf den Straßen, gemeinsam einen **Gesang**, mit lauter Stimme **sangen**, **spielten** und **tanzen** sie. Und sie brachten ein Hochzeitsgeschenk mit, und mit Hingabe besprachen sie diesen **Tanz**.“

griech. τὸ ἔμπροσθεν), so daß die Annahme naheliegt, daß Saba eine (entstellte) Abbreviatur, etwa **π~πατιλιτ** ~ *p̄-lisa*, als **π~πατιլիտ** = *p̄arisa* mißgedeutet hat. Seine „Definition“ *p̄irvelivit itkmis* würde dann „wird wie / für *p̄irveli* ‘der erste’ gesagt“ bedeuten.

²⁰ Dieser Beleg ist im Wörterbuch von I. Abulaze, *Zveli kartuli enis leksiōoni (masalebi) / Slovar' drevnegruzinskogo jazyka (materialy)*, Tbilisi 1973, s.v. verzeichnet.

²¹ Der armen. Text und seine engl. Übersetzung nach den Ausgaben von R. W. Thomson, Agathangelos, *History of the Armenians*, Albany 1976 (§ 180, S. 188) sowie Agathangelos, *Patmowt'iwn Hayoc*, Tiflis 1909 / Repr. Delmar 1980 (S. 99 f.); die georg. Fassung nach der Ausgabe von I. Abulaze in *Xelnaçerta Institutiš Moambe* 2, 1960, 163 ff. (S. 171, 33-36) bzw. in dess. *Šromebi*, 4, 1985, 91 ff. (99, 33-36); eine zweite Ausgabe enthält P. M. Mowradyan, *Agat'angelosi hin vrac'erən xmbagrot'iwnnera*, Erevan 1982 (54, 17-21). – Die auf georgisch daneben existierende, sog. „metaphrastische“ Bearbeitung der Vita Gregors hat im entsprechenden Absatz nichts Vergleichbares; cf. die Ausgabe *Cxorebay çm(idisa) Grigol Partelisay*, ed. L. Melikset-Begi, Tbilisi 1920, S. 24, Z. 10 ff.

Während es somit als sicher gelten kann, daß georg. *par-i* mit armen. *par* identisch ist und als Fremdwort auf ihm beruht, bleibt die primäre Bedeutung von armen. *par* selbst noch zu klären. Auch wenn sich dadurch keine eindeutige semantische Bestimmung ergibt, ist zunächst darauf hinzuweisen, daß armen. *par* in der überwiegenden Mehrzahl der Belege im AT als Äquivalent genau eines griech. Wortes, nämlich χορός auftritt, dem es ja auch in Lk. 15,25 gegenübersteht. Tatsächlich erscheint für griech. χορός an allen seinen Belegstellen im AT mit Ausnahme des Psalters (Ps. 29,12: *owraxowt'iwn* „Freude“; 149,3: *ōrhnnowt'iwn* „Segen“; 150,4: *owraxowt'iwn* oder *c'ncowt'iwn* „Jubel“), des Hohen Liedes (7,1: *gownd* „Heer“) sowie des apokryphen Buches Judith (3,7: *cnclay* „Zimbel“)²² im armen. Text *par* oder eine seiner Ableitungen, und auch das Verb χορεύω wird regelmäßig durch Fügungen wie *par a'real* (Ri. 21,21), *par a'rnowl* (1.Kön. 18,6; 3.Kön. 1,40) oder aber, als Partizip χορεύοντα, durch die Ableitung *parawor* vertreten (Ri. 21,23; 1.Kön. 21,12 und 1.Kön. 18,6, hier tautologisch neben *par a'rnowl*). Das braucht nun nicht zu bedeuten, daß armen. *par* selbst die gesamte, von „Reigen, Tanz“ bis „Gruppe, Schar“ reichende Bedeutungspalette von griech. χορός zueigen gewesen wäre; denn die Gleichsetzung kann auch auf einer gleichsam mechanischen Übertragung eines für ein Wort beruhen, wie sie für die Übersetzungsgepflogenheiten im christlichen Orient typisch ist²³. Die für eine etymologische Bestimmung entscheidende Ausgangsbedeutung muß damit vorerst offenbleiben. In diesem Zusammenhang ist jedoch der Blick auf eine verwandte Wortform aufschlußreich, auf die wiederum bereits Marr und Ačařyan hingewiesen haben.

Im Georgischen existiert neben *par-i* auch ein Stamm *šušpar-*, dessen Bedeutung ebenfalls mit „Tanz, Reigen“ angegeben wird²⁴ und somit derjenigen von *par-i* nahekommt. Dies geht bereits aus dem Lexikon Sabas hervor, der *šušpar-* zwar nicht als eigenes Lemma verzeichnet, das Wort jedoch (neben *rokva-*) zur Definition von *sama-* benutzt, mit dem seinerseits *par-i* identifiziert ist (s.o.). Einen altgeorgischen Beleg des Wortes dokumentiert I. Abulaze in seinem Wörterbuch, der unter dem (unkommentierten) Lemma *šušpar-i* mit der Angabe „Ath. 11, 240r“ den folgenden Satz anführt: *nu šušparni davadginnet, nu nestwta da pandurita*. Leider kann diese Textstelle derzeit in ihrem Kontext nicht verifiziert werden – sie müßte aus der bisher unedierten Homilie Ephrems des Syfers über das Kreuz stammen –, und auch eine Parallelfassung in einer anderen Sprache scheint nicht vorzuliegen²⁵. Auch so erscheint es aber fraglich, ob das pluralische *šušparni* als Objekt zu *nu davadginnet* „wir haben nicht aufgestellt“ tatsächlich einen „Reigen“ und nicht vielmehr die „Ausführenden“

²² Eine armen. Version von 4.Makk. 8,4, 13,8 und 18,23 liegt nicht vor.

²³ Cf. hierzu Verf., *Iranica Armeno-Iberica*, passim.

²⁴ So z.B. im *Georgisch-Deutschen Wörterbuch* von K. Tschenkeli, wonach das (veraltete) Wort im „psch(avischen)“ Dialekt „e(inen) Tanz“ bezeichnet.

²⁵ Cf. van Esbroeck, *Les plus anciens homériaires géorgiens*, Louvain 1975, 114f., nach dem sich der Text der Homilie in der Athos-Handschrift über die Folia 239^{vb}–240^{vb} erstreckt und wesentlich kürzer ist als der von Assemani herausgegebene griech. Text (BHG 431 / 432; non vidi).

eines Tanzes meint. In diesem Fall könnte die Stelle eine Anspielung auf 2. Esra 4,20 beinhalten, das in der Mcxeta-Bibel wie folgt lautet:

*ac davadginnet adgil-adgilad կանի, ռօմենից հերվիճ նեշւեբսա, րաշամս գեմես զմա նետվսա միս րկիսա, դա մոն մօքրեն ջովելնի ... „Jetzt haben wir Ort für Ort Männer (*kacni*) aufgestellt (*davadginnet*), die die Blasinstrumente (*neštaw*) blasen, (und) sobald ihr den Laut des Blashorns (*neštū- rka-*) hört, sollen sich dort alle versammeln ...“ Mit diesem Wortlaut steht die Mcxeta-Bibel relativ weit vom Text der Septuaginta (wie auch der hebr. Bibel) ab, wo an der entsprechenden Stelle (2.Esra 14,14 / Neh. 4,14) gerade die Aufstellung der „Posaunisten“ unerwähnt bleibt (ἐν τόπῳ, οὐδὲν ἀκούσατε τὴν φωνὴν τῆς κερατίνης, ἐκεῖ συναχθήσεσθε πρὸς ἡμᾶς); eine entsprechende Angabe findet sich jedoch in der armen. Bibel (Neh. 4,20), deren Textgestalt sich mit der georgischen völlig deckt: *ard kac'owsc'owk' i telis telis zarsn or harkanen zpołsn. ew yoržam lsē ok' zjajn eljer p'oloyn, andr žolovesc'in amenek'ean*. Für die Belegstelle aus der Athos-Hs. ergibt sich somit die tentative Übersetzung „wir haben keine Tänzer aufgestellt, weder mit Blas- noch mit Saiteninstrument(en)“.*

Keinen Aufschluß über die primäre Bedeutung von *šušpar-* im Altgeorgischen gibt auch das von ihm abgeleitete Verbum *šušprob-*, für das Z. Saržvelaže folgenden Beleg aus der Sammelhandschrift von Klaržeti (A 144 = „Klaržetis mrvavaltavi“, 10. Jh.) anführt²⁶: *da tu dedani sadame rokved, gina šušprobēd, adre srbit mun miičinian*. Im Gegensatz zur vorher behandelten Textstelle ist diese Passage genau lokalisierbar: Sie entstammt der Homilie „Über den Sonntag“ des Eusebius von Alexandria²⁷. In der griech. Fassung dieses Textes steht der georg. finiten Verbalform das Abstraktum *όρχησις* gegenüber: *καὶ εἴ που κιθάρα καὶ ὄρχησις, ἐκεὶ πάντες τρέχουσι*. Trotz des Unterschieds ergibt sich damit eine sichere Übersetzungsgrundlage für den georg. Text: „Und wenn Frauen irgendwo musizieren (*rokved*) oder tanzen (*šušprobēd*), dann begibt man sich eilig dorthin“. Da ein Verbum *šušpr-ob-a* „tanzen“ aber sowohl von einem Nomen actionis der Bedeutung „Tanz“ als auch von einem Nomen agentis der Bedeutung „Tänzer“ abgeleitet sein kann („sich als Tänzer verhalten“), bleibt die Bestimmung von *šušpar-* zunächst weiter offen.

Eine sichere Interpretation ermöglichen demgegenüber die verfügbaren Belege aus der Sprache der mittelalterlichen georg. Dichtung. Im Visramiani, dem aus dem persischen Epos von Vīs und Rāmīn übersetzten Prosawerk, begegnet *šušpar-* zweimal, wobei seine Bedeutung jeweils mit „Tanz“ angegeben werden kann. So zunächst im zweiten Kapitel, wo es über den tragischen König Moabad heißt²⁸: *iqo qelmcipe šahi moabad dedata moqvaruli; učvretda, ixarebda da gascemda da muřtribta amğerebda; zogta asparezta aceminebda,*

²⁶ Հveli kartuli enis leksiķoni (masalebi), Tbilisi 1995, 250, s.v. *šušproba*.

²⁷ Der georg. Text wurde in Synopse mit einer zweiten, in der Handschrift A 70 enthaltenen Redaktion, von T. Çqonia herausgegeben (in: *Xelnaçerta İnşıtuşis Moambe* 2, 1960, 204–213); die hier erfaßte Stelle, die in A 70 keine Entsprechung hat, findet sich auf S. 207. Ib. S. 193–195 ist der griechische Text (aus *Patrologia Graeca* 86, 413–421) gegenübergestellt.

²⁸ S. 36, Z. 11–14 in der Ausgabe Visramiani, ed. A. Gvaxaria und M. Todua, Tbilisi 1962.

zogta šubita amgerebda da keklucta kalta šušparta aknevda – „Der König Šāh Moabad war ein Frauenliebhaber: Er betrachtete sie, erfreute sich (an ihnen) und beschenkte sie, und (er) ließ (sie durch) die Barden (be)singen; manche ließ er (für sie) auf dem Spielplatz kämpfen, manche mit der Lanze ‘singen’, und die schönen Frauen (selbst) ließ er (sich in) Tänze(n) bewegen“. Obwohl der in Frage stehende Satz einer der zahlreichen Passagen entstammt, wo der georg. Bearbeiter seinen Text gegenüber dem persischen Original wesentlich verkürzt hat²⁹, findet sich doch gerade für ihn eine unmittelbare Vorlage in dem Vers

gurōh-ē dar nišāt u aspə-tāzī *gurōh-ē dar samā° ū pāyə-bāzī*
 „Eine Gruppe bei Spiel und Pferderennen,
 eine Gruppe bei Tanz und Reigen“³⁰.

Hier ist mit *samā°* nicht nur dasjenige Wort verwendet, das dem bei Saba mit *šušpari* identifizierten georg. *sama* zugrundeliegt, sondern als zweite Entsprechung auch noch *pāyə-bāzī* „Reigen“, das wörtlich etwa „Fuß-Spiel“ bedeutet. Letzteres erscheint auch in der Vorlage der zweiten einschlägigen Passage aus dem Visramiani. Es handelt sich um den als Aphorismus aufzufassenden Satz *xucesi ra oržalta uķrevdes, diaķonman šušparisa kide ramca kmna?* (104, 13–14) – „Wenn der Priester die Laute schlägt, was kann der Diakon (dann) machen, außer Tanz(en)?“ Das persische Original, das der georg. Übersetzer lediglich an das christlich-klerikale Umfeld anpassen mußte³¹, lautet (31, 34):

mu°allim čūn kunad dastān-nawāzī *kunad kūdak ba pēš-aš pāyə-bāzī*
 „So wie der Mullah den Liedgesang ‘macht’,
 ‘macht’ der Junge nach ihm den Fußtanz.“

Mit der Bedeutung „Tanz, Reigen“ ist georg. *šušpar-* darüber hinaus auch in die svanische SchwesterSprache eingedrungen, wo es mit den Stämmen *šuš-pär-* (oberbal., niederbal. und lențex. Dialekt) sowie *šušpar-* (lăsx. Dialekt) belegt werden kann³². Daß es sich tatsächlich um ein Nomen actionis handelt, läßt sich z.B. daran zeigen, daß es häufig in Verbindung mit dem Verbum -čvem- „machen“ auftritt (z.B. lențex. *ečeisa lok šušpärs ičox* „darin, heißt es, ‘machten’ sie einen Tanz“³³). In einem anderen Beleg erscheint (lăsx.) *šušpar* neben *čišxaš* „Reigen“, das als sein Äquivalent gelten kann: *xinob li neboznun, libriāl, šušpar, čišxaš, litop, 3gəd molxena li* – „ein Festgelage (*xinob*, < georg. *lxinoba* id.) gibt

²⁹ Zu prinzipiellen Fragen der bei der Übersetzung von Vis u Rāmīn angewandten Techniken des georg. Bearbeiters cf. Verf., *Studia Iranica, Mesopotamica et Anatolica* 1, 1994, 21–59; zu den verkürzten Passagen ib. S. 31.

³⁰ Kap. 8, Vers 47 in der Ausgabe *Vīs va Rāmīn*, ed. M. Todua–A. Gvaxaria, Tehran 1970.

³¹ O. Wardrop, der die erste englische Übersetzung des georg. Textes vorlegte, schloß aufgrund dieses Aspekts irrig, der ganze Satz sei „evidently the addition of a Georgian translator or copyist“ (Visramiani, 1914, S. 109, n. 1). Die Adaptation an die christliche Umgebung ist hingegen ein typisches Verfahren des Übersetzers; cf. Verf., o.c., S. 27.

³² Die bei Ačāryan, o.c. als „šāšpär“ notierte Form gibt es m.W. ebensowenig wie das bei Marr, Iz poězdki v” Svaniju (*Xristianskij Vostok* 2, 1914, 26 f.) behandelte „шүшпäр“.

³³ *Svanuri enis kresłomatia*, ed. A. Šaniže, M. Kaldani, Z. Čumburiže, Tbilisi 1978, 320 f.

es am Abend, Lichterschein (georg. *-brial-* „glänzen, funkeln“), Tanz, Reigen, Schießen (zu *top* „Gewehr“), eine große Belustigung (< georg. *molxena* id.) findet statt“³⁴.

Unter der Voraussetzung, daß *šušpar-* tatsächlich zu *par-* (bzw. armen. *par*) zu stellen ist, ergibt sich durch die zuletzt behandelten Belege nun eine deutliche etymologische Perspektive: Sowohl die Äquivalenz mit svan. *čišxaš*, das sich als (Genetiv-)Hypostase ähnlich zu *čišx* „Fuß“ verhält wie sein modernes georg. Pendant *perxul-i* zu *perx-* „Fuß“³⁵, als auch die Gleichwertigkeit mit pers. *pāy-bāzī* sprechen für einen Zusammenhang mit dem iranischen Wort für den „Fuß“, wie er von Marr vorgeschlagen wurde. *Par* würde in diesem Fall unmittelbar die nordwestiran. (parthische) Entsprechung des Wortes reflektieren, das in pers. *pāy* in südwestiranischer Lautung vorliegt. Nun bedeuten parthisch *pāδ* und mittelpers. *pāy* selbst offenbar nur „Fuß“, nicht aber ein davon abgeleitetes „Tanzen“ oder einen „Reigen“³⁶; vgl. z.B. mpers. *pāy* z.B. in dem kosmogonischen Text der Handschrift b I R I, Z. 27 innerhalb der von F. C. Andreas und W. B. Henning herausgegebenen Mitteliranischen Manichaica in der Wendung *⟨p̥y spwxt⟩ pāy ispōxt* „er preßte den Fuß (auf ihn)“³⁷ oder parth. *pāδ* in dem Bericht über die Konversion des Königs Mihršāh durch den „Apostel“ Mani in dem Satz *⟨pd fryštg p̥d kft⟩ pad frēštag pāδ kaft* „er fiel dem Apostel zu Füßen“, wtl. „er fiel auf des Apostels Fuß“³⁸. Wenn die Bedeutung „Fußtanz“ für armen. *par* zugrundegelegt werden soll, müßte dieses also eine auf innerer Derivation beruhende, im Mitteliranischen selbst nicht bezeugte Variante reflektieren. Dies wäre unter der Annahme einer bereits zu altiranischer Zeit entstandenen, dehnstufig-thematischen Vrddhibildung **pāda-* zum Wurzelnomen **păd-* „Fuß“ ohne weiteres denkbar³⁹. Eine solche Bildung scheint in jungavest. *pāda-*

³⁴ *Svanuri enis kresłomatia*, S. 260, Z. 15–16. – In den svan. Volksliedtexten, die eine ältere Sprachform widerspiegeln, ist nur die mit einem charakterisierenden *-a*-Suffix erweiterte Bildung *šušpra-* zu belegen: *bogži šušpray Yezayěral* „(Ihr Angehörigen der Familie der) Yezayäšer, immer auf der Brücke mit Tanz beschäftigt ...“ (*Svanuri poezia*, ed. A. Šaniže, V. Topuria, M. Gužežiani, Tbilisi 1939, Lied Nr. 62c, Vers 68). Sie entspricht der georg. Bildung *šušpara*, die nach dem Wörterbuch K. Tschenkelis „poet(isch)“ ist und soviel wie „ausgelassen, lebhaft“ bedeutet.

³⁵ Vgl. dazu wiederum bereits N. Ja. Marr (in *Xristianskij Vostok* 2, 1914, 27), der georg. (*perx-i* < altgeorg.) ცირკი *perq-i* (so, nicht ცირქი *perk-i* wie bei Ačaryan, o.c.) seinerseits mit dem armen. Plural *par-k-* verknüpfte. Eine derartige Verbindung ist jedoch aufgrund der differierenden Artikulationsarten der Okklusiven (georg. aspiriertes *p*-, uvulares *-q-*) ausgeschlossen. Interessant ist demgegenüber das bei Marr angeführte, als Genitiv-Hypostase mit svan. *čišxaš* bildungsgleiche georg. *perq-isa* „horowodnaya płyasca“.

³⁶ Cf. z.B. M. Boyce, *A Word-List of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*, Leiden u.a. 1977, 66 bzw. 67.

³⁷ SPAW 1932/10, S. 10/182 bzw. Henning, *Selected Papers*, Leiden 1977, S. 8; entsprechend bei M. Boyce, *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*, Leiden 1975, S. 75 (y 14).

³⁸ Boyce, *Reader*, S. 38: f, 2 bzw. C. Salemann, *Manichaeische Studien* I, S.-Peterburg 1908, S. 13: 47b.

³⁹ Daß *par* im Armenischen als *-u*-Stamm flektiert, kann diese Herleitung nicht entkräften; auch wenn die mitteliranischen Entlehnungen mehrheitlich als *-i/a*-Stämme ins Armenische integriert sind, sofern sie nicht mit *par* identisch sind, kann dies die Hypothese nicht bestätigen.

(Vd. 6,26 und 8,73) tatsächlich bezeugt; die Bedeutungsangabe „Tritt, Schritt, Schreiten“ (*pāða aiiantəm* „mit Schritt gehend“) ist freilich nicht ganz sicher⁴⁰. Daß die angenommene Vrddhibildung die spezifische Bedeutung „der zum Fuß gehörige, mit dem Fuß ausgeführte Tanz“ erlangt haben müßte, wäre angesichts der o.g. Parallelen *čišxaš* und *perxuli* nicht weiter bemerkenswert.

Die von Ačāryan bevorzugte Verknüpfung mit der in griech. περί und altind. *pari* vorliegenden Präposition kann demgegenüber allein schon deshalb keine Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich beanspruchen, weil armen. *par* wegen des Vocalismus auch in diesem Fall eine Entlehnung darstellen müßte und die iranische Kognate, z.B. avest. *pairi*, offenbar nirgends substantiviert erscheint.

Zu klären bleibt noch die Entstehung der Weiterbildung *šušpar-*. Ein erster Vorschlag hierzu stammt wiederum von N. Ja. Marr, der das im Wort enthaltene Vorderglied mit arm. *c'owc'* „Lustspiel“ identifizierte: eine eigentliche kartvelische Enstprechung dieses Etymons liege in „tubal-kajnisch“ (i.e. urzianisch = ur-megrelo-lazisch) *tuta* „Monat“ vor, und *šuš-* sei die ursprünglich svanische Lautung, das Wort also aus dem Svanischen ins Georgische übernommen⁴¹. Auch wenn in einer Textstelle bei Mowsēs Xorenac'i (1,6) armen. *c'owc'* und *par* unmittelbar nebeneinanderstehen (*Bayc' ařawel yačaxagoyn hink'n Aramazneayc' i nowags p'andřan* [v.l. *bambřan*] *ew yergs c'c'oc'* [v.ll. *c'c'owoc'*, *c'oyc'*, *c'c'oyc'*] *ew parowc' zaysosik asen yišatakaw* – „Aber noch öfter erzählen die alten vorchristlichen Armenier⁴² so aus [ihrer] Erinnerung zu Melodien der Leier und zu Liedern der Schauspiele und Reigen“⁴³), birgt diese Herleitung doch unüberwindbare lautliche und semantische Probleme: Zum einen ist, wie allein schon die divergente Überlieferung der gegebenen Stelle zeigt, die exakte Stammgestalt des armen. Wortes selbst nicht ganz sicher⁴⁴; zum anderen kann ein Übergang von armen. *c'* zu georg. *š* sonst ebensowenig belegt werden wie die Übernahme svanischer Lehnwörter ins Altgeorgische, und die Verknüpfung mit einem Wort der Bedeutung „Monat“ würde auch bei Zugrundelegung einer Ausgangsbedeutung „Drehung, Bewegung“ („трепеваніе, движение“) einer ausführlichen Begründung bedürfen. Vorzuziehen ist demgegenüber die bei Ačāryan erwogene Zurückführung auf das armen. Kompositum

riert wurden, kann doch z.B. der Einfluß eines Reimworts jederzeit den Wechsel der Stammklasse bedingt haben. Im gegebenen Fall käme dafür etwa *dar* „Zeitalter, Jahrhundert“ in Betracht (selbst wohl ein Lehnwort aus dem Syrischen).

⁴⁰ Chr. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Straßburg 1904, Sp. 887. Der Instr.Sg. von *pād-* „Fuß“ müßte jungavest. *paða* lauten, die Überlieferung von *pāða* ist an den gegebenen Stellen jedoch nahezu einheitlich (*paðā* in Vd. 8,73 K1 könnte auf dem mißglückten Versuch einer Restitution des Instrumentals von *pād-* beruhen). Ob Marr dieses *paða* meinte (s.o.), muß offenbleiben. – Das bei Bartholomae, Sp. 842 erfaßte vollstufige *paða-* (Vd. 2,24) bedeutet eher „Fußspur“ und steht damit weiter ab; die Notiz in *Iranica Armeno-Iberica*, S. 75, Anm. 6 ist dementsprechend zu korrigieren.

⁴¹ *Xrist. Vostok* 2, 27; cf. auch Ačāryan, o.c., s.v.

⁴² Die Bedeutung von *aramazney* ist nicht ganz sicher; falls es von *Aramazd* „Ahura Mazda“ abgeleitet ist, müßte es ursprünglich „Zoroastrier“ bezeichnet haben.

⁴³ Mowsēs Xorenac'i, *Patmowt'wn Hayoč*, Tiflis 1913 / Repr. Erevan 1991, 27.

⁴⁴ Vgl. auch die o.a. Stelle aus Agathangelos, *Patmowt'wn hayoc'*.

šowrjpar, wtl. „Ringsum-Tanz“. Hinsichtlich der Vereinfachung der inlautenden Konsonantengruppe (-rjp- > -špj-) ist zwar auch hier eine ad-hoc-Annahme erforderlich; die Vertretung bleibt jedoch im Rahmen üblicher Entsprechungsregeln. Daß *šowrjpar* im altarmen. Schrifttum selbst offenbar nicht bezeugt ist⁴⁵, kann die rel. frühe Übernahme ins Georgische (und weiter ins Svanische) nicht entkräften; denn das Wort mag zunächst als volkstümliche (verdeutlichende) Erweiterung von *par* aufgekommen sein. Daß das Wort unmittelbar vom Armenischen ins Svanische gedrungen sein könnte, wie Marr es annahm, bleibt trotz einschlägiger Fälle⁴⁶ wegen der Bezeugung des Wortes im Altgeorgischen unwahrscheinlich.

⁴⁵ Weder das „Venediger Wörterbuch“ (*Nor bařgirk^c haykazean lezowi*, Venetik 1857) noch das *Bařgirk^c i barbař hay ew italakan* von M. Čaxčaxeian (Ciakciak, Venetik 1837) verzeichnen *šowrjpar*; es ist jedoch z.B. im *Armenisch-Deutschen Wörterbuch* von D. Froundjian (München 1952) erfaßt (mit der Bedeutungsangabe „Reigen, Reigentanz“).

⁴⁶ Svan. *çorän* „rot“ ist lautlich exakt mit armen. *cirani* id. identifizierbar, eine georg. Entsprechung existiert nicht.

WOLVES, DOGS AND QIPČAQ RELIGION

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There have been very few studies of the Pre-Islamic system of religious beliefs that was prevalent among the Cuman–Qipčaq–Qanglı confederation of Pre-Činggisid Eurasia.¹ In a recent study,² I put together all of the available data on Qipčaq³ religious beliefs. I would like to turn now to two particular elements in the religious system of the Qipčaqs before they adopted one or another of the monotheistic, universal religions. Both of these elements focus on two important animals in the steppe world: the wolf and the dog. As we will see, these animals

¹ A brief overview can be found in M. Safran's historico-socio-linguistic study of terms pertaining to religious matters found in the *Codex Cumanicus* and the Mamlük–Qipčaq glossaries, see his *Yaşadıkları Sahalarda Yazılan Lügatlara Göre Kuman/Kipçaklar'da Siyasi, İktisadi, Sosyal ve Kültürel Yaşayış* (Ankara, 1993), pp. 70–78.

² P. B. Golden, Kuman–Kipçaklar'da Din Meselesi to appear in the *Festschrift (Armağan Kitap)* for Hasan Eren to be published by the Türk Dil Kurumu. A considerably longer study titled "Religion Among the Qipčaqs" is now in preparation (part of a book-length project dealing with the history of the Qipčaqs) which treats the larger question of indigenous Qipčaq religious practices and why they did not convert in large numbers to the major world religions of their sedentary neighbors (Christianity and Islam) before the Činggisid era. For the conversion of the Qipčaqs to Islam, see now the excellent study of D. DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde* (University Park, Pa., 1994).

³ The Cumans (Quman), Qipčaqs and Qanglı constituted a single, albeit loosely held tribal union, the western grouping of which was usually termed in the European (Graeco-Latin) sources *Cuman/Coman*, Κούμανοι, Κόμανοι etc. or in a variety of loan-translations, e.g. Russ. Половцы, Arm. *Xartēš*. Lat. Pallidi, Phalagi, Germ. Valwen, etc. (see discussion in O. Pritsak, The Polovcians and Rus', *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*, II [1982], pp. 321–331) and the eastern part of which was called *Qanglı*, see P. B. Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples* (Wiesbaden, 1992), pp. 270–278. The precise interrelationship of these groupings is unclear. Thus, Mahmūd al-Kāṣḡārī comments on the Yimek/Yemek (< Kimek) one of the paramount groupings of the Eastern Qipčaqs/Qanglı that "they are considered by us to be Qifčāq, but the Qifčāq Turks reckon themselves a different party" (Mahmūd al-Kāṣḡari, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects (Dīwān Luyat at-Turk*, trans. R. Dankoff in collaboration with James Kelly [Cambridge, Mass., 1982–85], II, p. 161). William of Rubruck refers to "quidam Comani qui dicebantur Cangle" ("some Comans who are called Cangle") and later speaks of "Cangle quedam parentela Comanorum" (Cangle who are some [sort] of relatives of the Comans), see A. van der Wyngaert (ed.), *Sinica Franciscana* (Quaracchi–Firenze, 1929), I, pp. 211, 218. In the interests of simplicity, I have used the term *Qipčaq* for the group as a whole (as did various contemporary authors). When dealing with specifically Cuman or Qanglı phenomena these have been so labelled.

have a long history in the belief systems of the Eurasian steppes.⁴ We will begin with data available to us from literary and archaeological sources and then try to set that material in a larger context.

The Wolf in the Qipčaq Religious System

As a consequence of the mounting internecine strife among the Rjurikovič princes of Rus', various factions began to draw in different groups of Qipčaqs as allies in their military struggles. One such incident, which, *en passant*, sheds light on Qipčaq religious beliefs, is preserved in the Rus' *Povest' vremjannych let*. In 1096, Davyd of Volyn', having returned to Rus' from Poland, whither he had fled from his Rjurikovič foes, secured an "alliance" with one of the chiefs of the so-called Wild-Cuman confederation: Бонякъ (Bonjak: Böñäk? Bañaq?)⁵ against the forces of his Rus' opponents and their Hungarian allies. At midnight, on the eve of battle, "Bonjak got up and rode away from the host and began to howl like a wolf and a wolf howled in response and many wolves began to howl" (и яко бысть полунощи и вставъ Бонякъ отъеха отъ вои и поча выти волчьски и волкъ отвыся ему и начаша волци выти мнози). Bonjak then returned and told Davyd that "we will be victorious over the Hungarians". Indeed, the next day, the Hungarians were completely routed.⁶ V. A. Gordlevskij, the Russian Turkologist and astute student of Turkic folklore, saw in this tale a refraction of an old Turkic tradition noted in Maḥmūd al-Kāšgārī in his explanation of the term *čiwi*⁷ ("name of a party of jinn"):

"The Turks maintain that when two groups do battle, the jinn who dwell in their respective lands fight each other beforehand, out of loyalty to the human rulers of their two lands. Whichever of them is victorious, victory comes to the ruler of that one's land on the morrow; but whichever of them is defeated during the night, defeat comes to the king in whose country that party of the jinn dwell. The

⁴ Fundamental works on these questions are A. Alföldi, *Die Struktur des voretruskischen Römerstaates* (Heidelberg, 1974) and D. G. White, *Myths of the Dog-Man* (Chicago, 1991).

⁵ On the "Wild Cumans", see P. B. Golden, *The Polovci Dikii*, *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, III–IV (1979–80), pp. 296–309. "Bonjak" appears to have been the ruler of the Ölberli(g) tribe within this union. A number of etymologies have been suggested for this name. The most likely in my view is: Turk. *bañaq* "dung, animal dung", cf. 14th century Qipčaq *mayaq* (Sir Gerard Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish* [Oxford, 1972], p. 350), cf. the forms *Maviák* of the Byzantine sources (Anna Komnena, see Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantino-turcica* [2nd ed. Berlin, 1958], II, p. 181.); Jan Dlugosz: "Dux Maniak" (see V. G. Vasil'evskij, *Vizantija i peçenegi* in his *Trudy* [St. Petersburg, 1908], I, pp. 98–99 n. 2.). This would be a protective name. Another possibility is that suggested by L. Rásónyi: *Bönyák/Böngák* < Turk. *bön-* "alt werden, alterschwach werden", Old Osm. *bön* "ahmak, saf" which Rásónyi (Kuman Özel Adları, *Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları*, III–IV [1966–1965], p. 95), views as a "protective" name.

⁶ *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej* (St. Petersburg/Petrograd/Leningrad–Moskva, 1841–), I, cc. 269–271; II, cc. 245–246, VII, cc. 14–17; IX, p. 135.

⁷ Possibly of Iranian origin, see Clauson, *ED*, p. 394.

armies of the Turks shield themselves on the eve of battle and keep to their tents, to protect themselves from the arrows of the jinn. This is a well-known belief among them.”⁸

Another Qipčaq chieftain, Bonyak’s contemporary, Tugorkan (Тугоркань, Тугортокань, Тугътъкань, Byz. Тоуортак⁹), according to the modern Georgian novelist Konstantine Gamsaxurdia, howled like a wolf after defeating an enemy.¹⁰ Tugorkan, however, is not mentioned in the Georgian chronicles (*K'art'-lis C'xovreba*) and Gamsaxurdia may have taken his information from Rus’ traditions (and perhaps confused Tugorkan with Bonyak). Tugorkan does appear in Rus’ literary tradition, in the *byliny*, where he is known as “Tugarin Zmeevič (the son of the Snake/Serpent). In a *bylina* verse he is depicted as riding forth with two grey wolves preceding him.¹¹ Interestingly enough, Tugarin Zmeevič’s name is usually preceded in the *byliny* by the epithet “Dog” (*Sobaka Tugarin Zmeevič*).¹² As we shall see, dogs figure prominently in our themes. Tugarin’s patronymic is also noteworthy in that Matt’eos Urhayec’i’s notice on the Qun migration (which he dates to 1050–51, most probably the year in which the results of the migration became known to him), mentions the “People of the Snakes” who attacked the Pale Ones (*xartēš* = Cumans).¹³

The wolf references are, of course, central to our theme. First and foremost is the connection with the ancestral wolf of the Türks. The much-discussed ethnogenetic myth of the Orxon Türks, according to which the latter descend from a wolf-progenitrix and a human is recorded in the Chinese sources, the *Chou-shu* and *Sui-shu*.¹⁴ In the shamanic system, as R. Hamayon has written, the

⁸ Kāšgari,/Dankoff, II, p. 267, Turk. trans. B. Atalay, *Divanü Lâgat-it-Türk Tercümesi* (Ankara, 1939–41), III, p. 225; V. A. Gordlevskij, Čto takoe bosyj volk? *Izbrannye sočinenija* (Moskva, 1960–1961), II, p. 501.

⁹ PSRL, II, cc. 216, 221–222; Moravcsik, BT, II, p. 316.

¹⁰ See K. Gamsaxurdia, *David Stroitel'* (Moskva, 1945), p. 175 cited by Gordlevskij Čto takoe bosyj volk *Izbrannye sočinenija*, II, p. 498 n. 104.

¹¹ B. A. Rybakov, *Drevnjaja Rus'*. *Skazanija, byliny, letopisi* (Moskva, 1963), pp. 102–104 and his *Kievskaja Rus'* i russkie knjažestva XII–XIII vv. (Moskva, 1982), p. 156 in which this verse is cited.

¹² Cf. the *bylina* “Alěša Popovič i Tugarin”: *Sobaka Tugarin byl Zmeevič-ot; Da Bogu, sobaka, ne molitsja...*, B. N. Putilov (ed.), *Byliny* (Leningrad, 1957), pp. 98–99.

¹³ See J. Marquart, Über das Volkstum der Komanen, in W. Bang, J. Marquart, *Osttürkische Dialektstudien* (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, N. F., 13/1, Berlin, 1914), pp. 54–55. The *locus classicus* for the Qun migration is the account of Marwāzī (see V. Minorsky [ed., trans.], *Sharaf al-Zamān Tāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India* (London, 1942), Arabic, p. 18/Eng. 29–30. Minorsky (p. 103) suggested that the “People of the Snake/Serpent” were the Qun, while Marquart (p. 55) was inclined to identify them with either the Qitan or Qay. The interpretive literature on these passages dealing with the Qun migration is too extensive to be dealt with here, see Pritsak, Polovcians and Rus, *AEMAE*, II, pp. 321–340; Golden, *Introduction*, pp. 270–277.

¹⁴ Liu Mau-tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-küe)* (Wiesbaden, 1958), I, pp. 5–6, 40–41. See also discussion in D. Sinor, The Legendary Origins of the Türks, *Folklorica: Festschrift for Felix Oinas*, ed. E. V. Zegars, P. Voorheis (Bloomington, Ind., 1982), pp. 223–257; B. Ögel, *Türk Mitolojisi* (Ankara, 1971), I, pp. 13ff.; J.-P. Roux, *La*

"founder of the tribe ... is animal by essence but human by function, inasmuch as he begets the forefathers of the clans..."¹⁵ Alföldi has written: "Die Herrschen-geschlechter der Grossstaaten der Eurischen Hirten nahmen auch den Namen des Ahnentieres ihres Ursprungsmythos anstelle eines Familiennamens an, wie das 'Wolfsgeschlecht' der Dynastie der türkischen Kagane im Altai oder das 'Stier-geschlecht' der Sippe des Džingis usw."¹⁶ This ancestral lupine spirit with which Bonyak believed himself to be in communication and who gave him the guarantee of victory, has a long and distinguished pedigree in Eurasia. Among the more immediate neighbors of the Türks, we find variants of this wolf myth in the ethnogenetic tales of the Wu-sun, a most probably Iranian nomadic grouping who were driven off from their homelands in the northwestern steppe borderzone of China, by the Yüeh-chih, another Indo-European people set into motion by the Hsiung-nu (late third-early second century B.C.). The Kao-ch'ü ("High Carts"), the name given to a part of the widespread T'ieh-lê (**Tegreg* "cart, wagon"?¹⁷) confederation from which the Toquz Oğuz (and thence the Uyğurs) derived, also had a myth of their lupine origins. The Chinese sources maintained that Uyğur singing sounded like the howling of wolves.¹⁸ While this may simply indicate a lack of critical appreciation for Old Turkic musical styles, it might also point to a specific singing style celebrating their mythic forebears.

Another example of the wolf cult, this time among the Uyğurs¹⁹ is noted in the Chinese sources concerning the revolt of An Lu-shan, the half Sogdian, half Turkic general who led a revolt against the T'ang. In 756, when the Middle Kingdom was badly shaken by this revolt, the Chinese general Kuo Tzu-i was sent to request Uyğur assistance in suppressing the rebels. The Uyğur ruler, before he would even discuss the matter, insisted that Kuo Tzu-i first "pay respect to the wolf pennons."²⁰ As for lupine cantilation among the Turkic peoples, Petahyah of Ratisborn, the late 12th century Jewish traveller in the "Land of Qedar" (Cumania), notes that a presumably Qipčaq people living between "Khazaria" (the Crimea) and the "Land of Qedar", who appeared to him to be in perpetual mourning, "groan and howl" at night. "The dogs also whine and bark

religion des Turcs et des Mongols (Paris, 1984), pp. 188ff. and A. İnan, Türk Rivayetlerinde 'Bozkurt', in his *Makaleler ve İncelemeler* (Ankara, 1968), pp. 69–75.

¹⁵ See R. Hamayon, Shamanism in Siberia: From Partnership in Supernature to Counter-power in Society, in N. Thomas, C. Humphrey (eds.), *Shamanism, History, and the State* (Ann Arbor, 1994), pp. 83–84.

¹⁶ Alföldi, *Die Struktur*, pp. 32–33.

¹⁷ See discussion of this question in P. B. Golden, *Introduction*, pp. 93–95, 145–146, 155–156 and the literature cited there.

¹⁸ See Roux, *La religion*, pp. 188–190; W. Eberhard, *Kultur und Siedlung der Randvölker Chinas* (Leiden, 1942), p. 49; Ögel, *TM*, I, pp. 13–14, 17–18; Alföldi, *Die Struktur*, p. 70; White, *Myths of the Dog-Man*, pp. 136, 273 n. 70.

¹⁹ Here we must take exception to Sir Gerard Clauson's approach in his *Turks and Wolves*, *Studia Orientalia*, XXVIII: 2 (Helsinki, 1964), pp. 1–22 who attempts to completely disassociate the Türks from the wolf cult.

²⁰ C. Mackerras, *The Uighur Empire According to the T'ang Dynastic Histories* (Canberra, 1972), p. 17.

at their voice.”²¹ This was perhaps some kind of mournful dirge of communion with their ancestral wolf spirits. Communication with the latter was not, of course, limited to song. Thus, the Oğuz Khan sagas preserved by Rašid ad-Dīn report that Tuman Khan understood the language of wolves and all other animals.²² In brief, then, there is considerable evidence in Turkic traditions for the presence of a wolf (ancestral) cult.

In Europe, the Romulus and Remus legend is, perhaps, the best-known example illustrating the wolf cult.²³ The word for “wolf” figures in many tribal names and ethnonyms. The original name of the Dacians, according to Strabo (7.3.12) was *Daoi* (οὐς οἵμαι δάους καλεῖσθαι τὸ παλαιόν²⁴) which has been connected with the Phrygian *daos* “wolf”. This same term, as Strabo recognized, was very much like the name of a Scythian/Saka tribe descended from the Massagetae confederation, the *Dahae*. Mircea Eliade views both of these terms as denoting “wolf”. Similarly, he derives the toponym Hyrcania from Iran. *vehrkana*, *varkana* “wolf” and suggests that the use of animal names in ethnonyms “always has a religious meaning”.²⁵ Nordo-Gothic tradition has the heroic clan of the Ylfingar (< *ulf* “wolf”) whose eponym, Úlfhamr (“wolfskin”) was viewed as having the power to transform himself into a wolf.²⁶

The wolf was not only a creature of great power and force, it was the symbol of forces living outside of society, outlaws. In particular, the wolf cult was associated with warrior societies, the *männerbünde*. In discussing these with reference to Indo-European society, J. P. Mallory remarks that “there is a series of recurrent motifs in the organization of these warrior sodalities – egalitarian structure, frenzied berserker – like behavior in war and sometimes in peace, the use of wild animals such as wolves as totems, and a tendency to operate outside the normal jurisdiction of society...”²⁷ Putting on wolf-skins, as Eliade notes,

²¹ A. Benisch (ed. trans.), *Travels of Rabbi Petachia of Ratisbon* (London, 1856), pp. 4–7. The precise geography is not clear, but it probably refers to the area north of the Sea of Azov.

²² K. Jahn (ed. trans.), *Die Geschichte der Oğuzen des Rašid ad-Dīn* (Wien, 1969), facs. f. 598r, line 15/p. 52.

²³ See J. D. Evans, *The Art of Persuasion. Political Propaganda from Aeneas to Brutus* (Ann Arbor, 1992), pp. 59ff. for its symbolic use in Rome. For the larger Eurasian context, see Alföldi, *Die Struktur*, pp. 69ff.

²⁴ *The Geography of Strabo*, ed. trans. H. L. Jones (Loeb Library, 1924, reprint: Cambridge, Mass.–London, 1983), III, pp. 212/213.

²⁵ M. Eliade, *Zalmoxis, The Vanishing God*, trans. W. Trask (Chicago, 1972), pp. 1–3. On the Dahae–Massagetae connection, see J. Harmatta (ed.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, (Paris, 1994), II, pp. 25, 457. See also, R. G. Kent, *Old Persian* (American Oriental Series, 33, New Haven, 1953), p. 206 *Varkāna*- “Hyrcania”, NPers. *Gurgān* “Wolf-land”.

²⁶ Alföldi, *Die Struktur*, pp. 78–79; O. Pritsak, *The Origin of Rus'* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), I, pp. 130–131.

²⁷ J. P. Mallory, *In Search of Indo-Europeans* (London, 1989), p. 110. M. Eliade, in his *A History of Religious Ideas*, (Chicago, 1978), I, comments that the *Männerbünde* “behaved toward the sedentary populations that they attacked like carnivores ... Numerous Indo-European and Turko-Mongol tribes had eponyms of beasts of prey (primarily the wolf) and regard themselves as descended from a theriomorphic mythical ancestor. The military initiatives of the Indo-Europeans

allowed the warrior to partake of the beast's raging spirit and gave him "furor heroicus", the Homeric *lyssa*. Berserkers were "warriors in the body-covering of a bear". Others were *úlfhéðnar* "those with wolf's head". In the *Ynglingsaga*, they are described as going into battle "without shields, and were made as dogs or wolves". These warriors, then, as Bruce Lincoln suggests, "dressed and acted as bears and wolves" and "cultivated this state of furor or rage" associated with these animals "to a high art". Among the Indo-Iranians, this state of battle furor (**aišma*) was attained through practice and the use of intoxicants (Indic *sauma*, Iran. *haoma*).²⁸ The werewolf legends of Eurasia, first noted by Herodotus (IV. 105) with regard to the Neuroi, one of the peoples under Scythian rule, are connected with these beliefs, as Gordlevskij suggested. This kind of "ritual or ecstatic lycanthropy" is attested across a broad spectrum of societies in Eurasia, as well as Africa and the Americas and undoubtedly also has its origins in warrior practices.²⁹

Stig Wikander, with Eliade and Lincoln following him, translate the Scytho-Saka tribal name, *Saka haumavarka* as "the Saka who change themselves into wolves in the ecstasy brought on by soma (*hauma*)".³⁰ The elite warriors of the Indo-Iranian *marya/mairyā* (war-bands)³¹ were also called "wolves". While we have no direct evidence for the use of battle-rage inducing stimulants among the Turkic peoples, the lupine warrior image is well known. In the Orxon Türk inscriptions of Kül Tegin (E12) and Bilge Qağan (E11) we read: *qañim qağan süsi böri teg ermİŞ yağısı qoñ teg ermİŞ* "the army of my father, the Qağan was like a wolf, his enemy were like sheep".³² In this regard we should recall that the personal guard of the Türk Qağans was termed *Böri* (in Chinese transcription *Fu-li*) "wolf"³³ and lupine symbols were frequently used in subsequent Turkic polities. The word *böri* itself, it has been suggested, is a loanword, possibly for a tabuicized Turkic term, from Iranian: **bairaka* "frightening", or **birūka*, cf.

involved a ritual transformation into a wolf; the paradigmatic warrior appropriated the behavior of a carnivore".

²⁸ B. Lincoln, *Death, War, and Sacrifice. Studies in Ideology and Practice* (Chicago, 1991), pp. 133–134 and his *Priests, Warriors, and Cattle* (Berkeley, 1981), pp. 127–131.

²⁹ Eliade, *Zalmoxis*, pp. 6–7; Alföldi, *Die Struktur*, pp. 33–35, 76–84; White, *Myths of the Dog-Man*, pp. 15, 215 n. 51; Gordlevskij, Čto takoe bosyj volk?, *Izbrannye sočinenija*, II, pp. 497–498; cf. Herodotus, says that the Neuroi, annually, transform themselves into wolves for several days. In Slavic, the term Russ. *volkolak*, *volkodlak* "werewolf", Ukr. *vovkulak*, Belarus. *vovkolak*, Serbo-Croat. *vukodlak* et al. derive from *volk* "wolf" and *dlaka* "šerst", škura", see N. I. Tolstoj (ed.), *Slavjanskie drevnosti, étnolingvisticheskij slovar'*, (Moskva, 1995), I, p. 418.

³⁰ S. Wikander, *Der arische Männerbund* (Lund, 1938), p. 64 ("die Leute die sich durch den Haoma-Rausch in [wer]wölfe verwandeln"), Eliade, *Zalmoxis*, p. 9; Lincoln, *Priests, Warriors, and Cattle*, p. 131. This translation is not universally accepted.

³¹ See Wikander, *Der arische Männerbund*, pp. 22ff.; M. Boyce, *Zoroastrianism* (Costa Mesa, Calif.–New York, 1992), pp. 39, 59, 61 n. 24 (the Mairyā was called a "two-legged wolf"); G. Widengren, *Der Feudalismus im alten Iran* (Köln–Opladen, 1969), pp. 11ff.; Alföldi, *Die Struktur*, pp. 78, 135. Lincoln, *Priests, Warriors, and Cattle*, p. 125, renders this term as "young men".

³² T. Tekin (ed.), *Orhon Yazılıları* (Ankara, 1988), pp. 10/11; 40/41.

³³ Liu, *CN*, I, pp. 8–9.

Saka *birgga*, Old Pers. *vəhrka*, *vəhrkā*, Sogd. *wyrka*, East Osset. *bīrāğ* “wolf” etc.³⁴ The Turks, who, it would appear, took over much of their governmental structure from their predecessors, the Jou-jan, whom they drove from power in 552, in all likelihood, adopted this ancient Eurasian lupine-inspired comitatus as well. Presumably, the *Böri*, like the later *nökters* of Činggis Khan, consisted of young men who had broken with or left their clans and tribes to take personal service with the Qağan.

Our source tells us nothing of the process by which Bonjak communicated with the wolves, other than his (ecstatic?) howling. But, we have other evidence for werewolf-type cults among the Turkic peoples of Western Eurasia. Thus, the tenth century diplomat, Liudprand of Cremona, in his *Antapodisis* (III.29) writes that “Baianus” (Bayan), the son of the Bulgarian tsar Symeon (893–927), “was such an adept in the art of magic that he could suddenly turn himself before men’s eyes into a wolf or any other beast you pleased”. Although this is, to be sure, a traveller’s tale introduced to shock and amaze the readers, the persistence of this belief in Balkan Bulgaria, which had begun the process of formal Christianization in 864, undoubtedly, reflects the continuity of Old Turkic traditions and beliefs.³⁵

The Dog in the Qipčaq Religious System

The dog figures prominently in a number of notices regarding various Qipčaq religious beliefs. Before discussing these a few words must be said regarding the dog in Eurasia. Dogs are associated with burial rituals among a number of Indo-European peoples. In some cultures (e.g. Greece, China) they were sacrificed in purificatory rituals or as scape-goats.³⁶ The tales of Dog-men that are found in European, South Asian/Indian and Chinese traditions are all centered, geographi-

³⁴ See discussions in M. Räsänen, *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türk-sprachen* (Helsinki, 1969), p. 84; V. I. Abaev, *Istoriko-étimologičeskij slovar' osetinskogo jazyka* (Moskva–Leningrad, 1958), I, pp. 262–263 (who also notes forms found in Volga Finnic, cf. Mari *piragy*, Mordv. *Erzja viřgez*, Mordv. *Mokša virgas*); G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neopersischen*, (Wiesbaden, 1965), II, pp. 333–334 and É. V. Sevortjan, *Étimolo-gičeskij slovar' tjurkskix jazykov* (Moskva, 1978), II, pp. 221 with full citations to the literature. Max Vasmer (M. Fasmer, *Étimologičeskij slovar' russkogo jazyka*, trans. O. N. Trubačev [Moskva, 1986], I, p. 168) considered Russ. *birjuk* (“volk, neljudim”) a loan-word from Turkic while noting that it has been explained “as a tabuicized loan from Iranian”. Clearly, it derives from Iran. **bīruka*.

³⁵ Liudprand of Cremona, *Die Werke Liudprands von Cremona*, ed. J. Becker (*Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, T. 41, 3rd ed., Hanover–Leipzig, 1915, repr. 1977), p. 88: “Baianum autem adeo ferunt magicam didicisse, ut ex homine subito fieri lupum quamvecumque cerneret feram”. Eng. trans.: *The Embassy to Constantinople and Other Writings*, ed. J. J. Norwich, trans. F. A. Wright (London, 1993), p. 83; V. Beševliev, *Die protobulgarische Periode der bulgarischen Geschichte* (Amsterdam, 1980), pp. 381–382.

³⁶ F. J. Simoons, *Eat Not This Flesh. Food Avoidance from Prehistory to the Present* (2nd, rev. ed., Madison–Wisconsin, 1994), pp. 232–235, 241; M. Loewe, *Divination, Mythology, and Monarchy in Han China* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 151; J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (1890, repr. New York, 1981), II, pp. 194–195.

cally in Central Asia. The Chinese derived a number of the “Barbarian” peoples that lived to the North and West of the Middle Kingdom from dogs (cf. the Dog Jung). Canine ancestries were claimed by the Qitan, various Tungus peoples, the Koryak, Chukchi and Ainu.³⁷ There are traces of canine-based ethnogenetic myths among the Turkic peoples that may represent variants on the tales of lupine origin.³⁸ Canines in the Turkic world have been thoroughly discussed by Edward Tryjarski. He notes that they appear as mythological ancestors, sacrifices were made to them and they, in turn, were used in sacrifices to accompany the dead and at oath-takings. Their howling (at least among the Volga Bulgars) was considered a good omen and they appear in shamanic practices. They were also eaten. Indeed, the Turfan texts indicate that there were specialists in the sale of dog-meat (*it etin satguči*).³⁹

There is, however, no scholarly consensus on Turkic attitudes towards the dog in Pre-Islamic times.⁴⁰ Nonetheless, synonyms figure in the anthroponomy and ethnomy of some Turkic (and Mongol) peoples.⁴¹ The Oğuz tribal legends tell of a struggle with the *Qıl Baraq*, appropriately led by *It Baraq* (< Turk. *it* “dog”⁴²), whose menfolk, as their name suggests (Turk. *qıl* “hair” often used in animal compounds, e.g. *qıl quš* “swallow”, *baraq* “long-haired dog”⁴³) resemble dogs.⁴⁴ The *Qıl Baraq* are probably to be identified with the Peçenegs. Relatively early examples of canine-based anthroponomy can be seen in the name of the Khazar *Itāx* (إیتاخ) = Itaq, who was among the early *gūlāms* brought into Abbāsid service during the Caliphate of Ma'mūn (813–833).⁴⁵ Among the pre-Činggisid era Qıpčaqs and Qanglı we find personal names such as: İtlar/İtlär

³⁷ White, *Myths of the Dog-men*, pp. 124–125, 130, 133–138.

³⁸ Roux, *La religion*, p. 194.

³⁹ E. Tryjarski, The Dog in the Turkic Area: An Ethnolinguistic Study, *Central Asiatic Journal*, XXIII/3–4 (1979), pp. 300–305; see also the discussion of the consumption of dog-meat world-wide, in Simoons, *Eat Not This Flesh*, p. 205.

⁴⁰ A. Caferoğlu, Türk Onomastiğinde ‘Köpek’ Kültü, *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı Belleten 1961* (Ankara, 1962), pp. 1–2 has a more positive view, whereas Ögel, *TM*, I, pp. 562–563 is of the opinion that the Turks always viewed the dog as lower in character. He does note, however, that the neighbouring Mongols (with whom the Turkic peoples shared many elements of culture) had a dog cult as did also the Jurčens (see also P. B. Golden, The Dogs of the Medieval Qıpčaqs, in *Varia Eurasistica. Festschrift für András Róna-Tas* [Szeged, 1991], p. 47). Tryjarski (The Dog, *CAJ*, XXIII/3–4 [1979], pp. 297–300) takes a more balanced view, remarking that the attitudes of different Turkic peoples varied over time and place. Dogs, thus, could be both the “objects of enmity and contempt”.

⁴¹ On the whole, ethnonyms of totemic origin are not common among the Turkic peoples, see Gy. Németh, *A honfoglaló magyarság kialakulása* (Budapest, 1930), pp. 71–72.

⁴² Clauson, *ED*, p. 34.

⁴³ Clauson, *ED*, pp. 360, 614.

⁴⁴ See facsimile ed. K. Jahn, *Die Geschichte der Oğuzen des Rašīd ad-Dīn* (Wien, 1969), ff.591v–592r/pp. 24–25.

⁴⁵ al-Yāqūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Bibliotheca Geographicorum Arabicorum, VII, Leiden, 1892), p. 256. On his career, see H. D. Yıldız, *İslāmiyet ve Türkler* (İstanbul, 1976), pp. 74, 80, 83, 98, 104–109 et passim (where his name is incorrectly read as “Inak”). See also M. Erdal, Ein unbemerkter chasarischer Eigenname, *Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları 1991* (Ankara, 1991), pp. 31–36.

(Итларь), İt-oğlu (Итоглы)⁴⁶, İtük (Ityk) as well as the clan/tribal-name İtoba.⁴⁷ The notes of the Synaxarion of Sudaq, the Crimean port city dominated by the Cumans in which a sizable Christianized Cuman population lived, mentions It/İt-Mengü ('Итменкou).⁴⁸ We also encounter canine names such as: Qutuz Xan (in Chinese transcription Huo-t'u-ssu-han, < Turk. *qutuz* “mad dog”⁴⁹), Aqa Köpäk (< Turk. *köpek* “dog”) and Aq Qasar (two mamlüks of Toqsoba Qipčaq origin, *qasar* is the name of a kind of dog). In this connection we might note that Bonjak had the sobriquet in Rus’ of “şeludivyj” “mangy” (= Turk. *qotur*).⁵⁰ Other Mamlük canine names include اذوك Enük (Turk. *enük* “chiot, lioneau, petit de lion, du chien, des fauves en général”) and كچك Küçük (Turk. *küçük* “chiot”).⁵¹ In Uyğur juridical documents from Turfan (probably dating to the twelfth century, but not later than the fourteenth century), we find an individual named It Saman.⁵² Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions a daughter of Özbek khan (1312–1341) of the Ulus of Joči named It-Küçük.⁵³ Rašid ad-Dīn mentions a number of individuals with synonyms in the Činggisid era, e.g. It Qara, an important amīr of Batu and It Buqa who took part in an expedition against the Qırğız led by Toq Temür.⁵⁴

With regard to the Qipčaqs, we have two reports from the 1240s regarding dog sacrifice in connection with oath-taking. Joinville, in his Chronicle of the Crusade of St. Louis, transmits the account of Philip of Tourcy who witnessed the swearing of an oath of alliance between the Qipčaqs and the last Latin Emperor of Constantinople Baudouin II against the Byzantines. The Latin Emperor and his nobles mingled their blood with that of the Cumans in a large silver bowl. It was then mixed with wine and water. Each of the parties drank from it, declaring their blood brotherhood. Then, according to Philip, “they caused a dog to pass between their people and our people, and cut the dog in pieces with their swords, our people doing the same; and they said that who so failed the

⁴⁶ The same name is noted by Rašid ad-Dīn, *Jāmi‘ at-Tawārīx*, ed. M. Rowšan, M. Müsawī (Tehran, 1373/1994), II, p. 1201: بیت اوغلی during the time of Geixatu.

⁴⁷ Caferoğlu, Türk Onomastiğinde, p. 5; Golden, The Dogs, pp. 45–46 and the references cited there.

⁴⁸ See I. Vásáry, Orthodox Christian Qumans and Tatars of the Crimea in the 13th–14th Centuries, *Central Asian Journal*, 32/3–4 (1988), pp. 264, 265.

⁴⁹ Clauson, *ED*, p. 608. This was the name of the famous Mamlük (of Qipčaq origin) Sultan Qutuz whose bravery defeated the Mongols at ‘Ayn Jälüt in 1260, see R. Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks. The Mamluk-Īlkhānid War, 1260–1281* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 35–48. Qutuz claimed descent from the last Xwārazmshāh, Muhammad, who was of partial Qipčaq origin.

⁵⁰ For the references see Golden, The Dogs, p. 46.

⁵¹ J. Sauvaget, Noms et surnoms de Mamelouks *Journal Asiatique*, 238 (1950), pp. 38–39, 54; Clauson, *ED*, pp. 183, 696, *enük* “the young of a carnivorous animal, cub, puppy, etc.”, *kičig* “small, puppy”.

⁵² W. Radloff, *Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler*, ed. S. E. Malov (1928, repr., Osnabrück, 1972), pp. 37–38.

⁵³ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Rihla*, K. al-Bustānī (Beirut, 1963), pp. 332, 337.

⁵⁴ Rašid ad-Dīn, *Jāmi‘ at-Tawārīx*, ed. Rowšan and Müsawī, I, p. 89, II, pp. 893, 894.

other in this alliance on either side should be thus cut in pieces".⁵⁵ A similar ceremony can be observed in the account of an oath sworn at the marriage ceremony of István V (d. 1272), co-ruler with his father, Béla IV (1235–70) of Hungary, to a Cuman princess. In this instance, the Cuman nobles swore "over a dog that had been cut in two by a sword, as was their custom" (*iurantes super canem gladio bipartitum iuxta eorum consuetudinem*), that they would loyally defend Hungary and the king against the Tatars.⁵⁶

The Turkic Bulgars of the Balkans are reported by Byzantine sources to have had similar customs.⁵⁷ As Denis Sinor has pointed out, this was an old custom in the steppe, known to the Hungarians before their conversion to Christianity in the eleventh century. Its roots lie deep in antiquity and examples of it can be found in the Bible and among ancient Near Eastern peoples.⁵⁸ The Macedonian army, for example, when it gathered before the start of the campaign season, "marched between the two halves of a sacrificed dog which created what has been called an "absorptive zone" for all its impurities".⁵⁹ Elements of these beliefs can be found today in Central Asia. Thus, among the Özbeks of Afghanistan, dogs were used to "carry away evil" from a sick person.⁶⁰

There is also evidence of dog sacrifices at Cuman burial sites or near the sites of *kamennye baby/babals*. For example, at a kurgan near the village of Čokrak in the Crimea, the skeleton of a dog was found under a fundament stone near a grave pit in which were the relics of other animal offerings (horse, ox, sheep) and alongside of which were two statues of warriors.⁶¹ The Volga Bulgars also had the custom of placing the skeletons of dogs (and other animals) under the foundations of houses.⁶² Although we have no references to canine an-

⁵⁵ Jean Sire de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. M. Natalis de Wailly (Paris, 1874), p. 272; *Memoirs of the Crusades by Villehardouin and De Joinville*, trans. Sir Frank T. Marzials (New York, 1958), p. 260. Blood oaths among the Qipčaqs are also noted by Petahyah of Ratisbon, a late twelfth century Jewish traveller, see A. Benisch (ed., trans.), *The Travels of Rabbi Petachia of Ratisbon* (London, 1856), Heb. text, p. 4/Eng. trans., p. 5.

⁵⁶ Luxembourg, BN cod. 110, f.187r in H. Marczali, *Magyar Történelmi Tár*, 1878, p. 376; G. Istványi, XIII. századi följegyzés IV. Bélának 1246-ban a tatárokhoz küldött követségéről, *Századok*, 72 (1938), pp. 270–272. The Cuman princess took the name of Elizabeth... see Gy. Kristó, *Az aranybullák évszázada* (Budapest, 1976), p. 118.

⁵⁷ See V. Zlatarski, Kljatva u jazyčeskix Bolgar, in his *Izbrani proizvedenija* (Sofija, 1972), I, p. 182; V. Beševliev, *Die protobulgariische Periode*, pp. 363–365, 379–380.

⁵⁸ See D. Sinor, Taking an Oath Over a Dog Cut in Two, in G. Bethlenfalvy et al. (eds.), *Altaic Religious Beliefs and Practices* (Proceedings of the 33rd Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference, June, 1990, Budapest, 1992), pp. 301–305.

⁵⁹ R. Parker, *Miasma. Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion* (Oxford, 1983, repr. 1996), p. 22; see also Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, ed. W. Weissenborn, M. Mueller (Stuttgart, 1981), XL, cap. vi (p. 62).

⁶⁰ I. Cirtautas, Pre-Islamic Rites among Uzbeks, in *Traditions religieuses et para-religieuses des peuples altaïques* (XIII PIAC, Paris, 1970, Paris, 1972), pp. 46–47.

⁶¹ G. A. Fëodorov-Davydov, *Kočevniki Vostočnoj Evropy pod vlast'ju zolotoordynskix xanov* (Moskva, 1966), pp. 191–192.

⁶² N. I. Vorob'ëv, G. M. Xisamutdinov (eds.), *Tatary Srednego Povolž'ja i Priural'ja* (Moskva, 1967), pp. 352–353.

cestral i.e. ethnogonic myths among the Turks, these are known to the Tibetans and Mongolic (Qitan) peoples in East and the Germanic peoples in the West.⁶³

As can be seen from the foregoing, the indigenous religious practices and cults of the Qipčaqs do not appear to have been very much different from those of the other Turkic peoples of the Middle Ages. As these beliefs and practices were largely unwritten (there was no scriptural orthodoxy), and our sources, invariably stemming from usually hostile sedentary states, mention them only in passing and often didactically to stress the "barbarism" of the uncouth nomads, we can catch only fleeting and sometimes distorted glimpses of the Qipčaq spiritual world. As a consequence, comparative data are extremely important. Qipčaq religion, then, must be viewed not only within the context of steppe traditions, especially including those of the earlier Iranian peoples who dominated the Eurasian grasslands for over a millennium until the Hunnic era, but also within a global context.

⁶³ Ögel, *TM*, I., pp. 556–557; Alföldi, *Die Struktur*, p. 33.

MANCHU–CHINESE SYNTACTICAL PARALLELS

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The Manchu language, as compared with other languages belonging to the Altaic linguistic community, is the most analytical one and its morphological apparatus is developed rather weakly. It is very difficult to divide all Manchu words into parts of speech because the notion “parts of speech” itself requires the existence of well-developed morphological devices corresponding to certain grammatical functions. As a result of weak differentiation of the parts of speech we can speak about great importance of the parts of the sentence for the organization of the Manchu utterance.

The Manchu language and Chinese as amorphous language have some similar characteristics participating in formation of structural-functional sentence positions (parts of the sentence).

There are a number of important syntactic characteristics common to both languages, in spite of the fact that they belong to different typological classes of languages.

Firstly, word-order is an important grammatical mode of distinguishing parts of the sentence. In the Manchu language the principal word-order rules are to the effect that the subordinate component of a syntactical unit always stands before the governing one, and the subject stands before the predicate. Therefore, if the subject and the predicate have the same syntactic structure, their word-order is the only possible way of distinguishing them.

Example:

Sain ehe be yabure=ngge, dorgici tucirakū=ngge
good harm (accus.) he who makes on the inside he who guided
“He who makes good (or) harm is he who is guided by inner causes”
(Pashkov, D., p. 25)

In the Chinese language in the predicative syntagma the subject is always placed before the predicate. The subordinate syntagma allows both preposition and postposition of the subordinate component to its governor.¹

¹ E. I. Shutova, *Syntax of the Modern Chinese Language*. Nauka, Moscow, 1981, p. 50.

Secondly, in the sphere of the nominal type of predication there exist special predicative copulae which are obligatory structural components of the predicate in certain cases.

In the Chinese language there exists a special word 是 *shì*, possessing the affirmative modal semantics. Some scholars believe that this word has non-verbal nature. The word *shì* can be used as an autonomous one in some syntactic structures, but it can also function as a synsemantic element. This universal predicative copula is an obligatory structural component of the nominal predicate. It is combined with a noun or a functional analogue of nouns to produce the actual attribute of the subject i.e. the attribute being ascribed to the subject in the utterance².

Examples:

Chinese:

他 是 老師

tā shì lǎoshī

“He is a teacher”

你們 是 什 么 時 候 去 的

Nǐmen shì shénma shíhòu qù de

You are what time those who came

“When did you come?”

(You are those who came at what time?)

我 是 從 法 國 來 的

Wǒ shì cóng fǎguó lái de

I am from France the one who arrived

“I arrived from France”

(I am the one who arrived from France) (New Chinese 300, pp. 22, 247, 333)

The copula *bùshì* is the negative analogues of the copula “*shì*”.

Example:

我 不 是 一 個 人 來 的

Wǒ bùshì yīge rén lái de

I am not one person the one who came

“I did not come alone”

(I am the one who came not alone) (New Chinese 300, p. 21)

In the Manchu language the copula *bi* has a role similar to the Chinese copula *shì*. The copula *bi* should not be identified with the Manchu verb *bi*= “to

² E. I. Shutova. *Problems of Syntactic Theory*. Nauka, Moscow 1984, p. 194.

be", "to exist"³. The copula *ombi*, being the present indefinite form of the verb *o=* "to become" in its auxiliary use, may also appear as a component of a nominal predicate. According to B. K. Pashkov, the copula *bi* represents permanent attributes intrinsic to the object, while the copula "*ombi*" represents temporary ones.⁴

A number of other predicative copulae can function as substitutes of the copulae *bi* and *ombi*, such as *kai*, *be*, *inu*, *dere*, *dabala*, etc.

These copulae, which are traditionally considered modal predicative particles, possess pronounced modal meaning. For example, copula *kai* has modality of truth, trustworthiness. In the Manchu language there exist some negative predicative copulae such as *aku*, *vaka*, *unde*.

It should be stressed that semantics and functions of even the most usable copulae have not yet received a satisfactory description. Composite copulae *bikai*, *bikai dere*, *akubi*, *dere kai*, *unde kai*, etc., are formed as combinations of the simple ones mentioned above. They require special discussion which is beyond the scope of this presentation. Most of them are briefly mentioned in the manuscript by B. K. Pashkov cited above.⁵

Copulae function in syntactic constructions of two different types. Firstly, these are constructions where the predicate denotes a permanent attribute of an event or an object, in particular the presence or absence of this event or object.

Examples:

Manchu:

1. *Senggi fulgiyan bi*
blood red is
"Blood is red" (Pashkov, D., p. 44)

Urgun be cira de sereburekū=ngge akū
gladness (accus.) face (dative) those who did not show are not
"There do not exist those who does not show gladness on their faces"
(Orl., p. 212)

Niyalma untuhuri tacira be kicere=ngge vaka
person in vain teaching (accus.) the fact that is not
"It is not true that a person's efforts to study may be in vain"
(The fact that a person makes efforts to study in vain does not exist)

³ More details on distinguishing copula *bi* and verb *bi=* can be found in the article "Correlation Between the Principle Parts of the Sentence in the Manchu Language" by L. M. Gorelova (In: *Components of the sentence*. Novosibirsk, Nauka, 1988, pp. 74–81).

⁴ B. K. Pashkov, *Syntax of the Manchu Simple Sentence*. Doctor's thesis (manuscript), pp. 43–44.

⁵ Op. cit., p. 48.

On the other hand, these are constructions where a given event (or object) is characterised through correlation with the categories of human thought. This semantic type includes two groups of constructions: construction of classification, where the given object is being put into correlation with a certain class of objects, and constructions of identification, where the objects are being identified with each other. From the logic point of view the identification is a particular case of classification.

Examples:

Manchu:

2. *muse niyalma bi*
 we people are
 “We are people” (Pashkov, D., p. 44)

ere niyalma sain akū
 this man good is not
 “This man is not good” (Orl., p. 212)

tere jidere=ngge men'i mama kai
 the one who is coming our old woman is
 “The one who is coming is our old woman” (S. K.)

Thirdly, in the Manchu and the Chinese languages there exist special markers which can take part in the organization of pronominal complexes functioning as noun analogues.

In the Chinese language this is the syntactical element *de*, the primary function of which is the attributive one. In the attributive constructions the element *de* forms attributes independently of the grammatical nature of the word by means of which this attribute is expressed. On the basis of this primary function there appears a secondary one which forms pronominal complexes functioning in the sentences in the nominal positions, i.e. as noun analogues.⁶

Examples:

Chinese:

你们 是 坐 什 么 来 中国 的
Nǐmen shì zuò shénma lái zhōngguó de
 you are go by what the one who arrived in China
 “By what means of transportation did you arrive in China?”
 (You are the one who arrived in China by what?)

⁶ E. I. Shutova, *Syntax of the Modern Chinese Language*, pp. 51–53.

我 是 坐 飞 机 来 的

Wǒ shì zuò fēijī lái de
I am go by air the one who arrived
“I arrived by air” (I am the one who arrived by air)

这 个 人 是 昨 天 来 的

zhège rén shì zuótān lái de
this man is yesterday the one who arrived
“This man is the one who arrived yesterday”

In these three examples the element *de* forms the predicative constructions functioning as nominal predicatives.

谈 的 是 钱

tán de shì qián
what they are speaking about is money
“What they are speaking about is money”

我 买 的 是 一 本 书

Wǒ mǎi de shì yī běn shū
I what bought is a book
“What I bought is a book”

The element *de* puts the verbs *tán* ‘to speak’ and *mǎi* ‘to buy’ in the subject position.

In the Manchu language such universal elements as *de* are absent, but there exists a number of markers which following a word of a certain grammatical class, place this word in a noun position (we can name this process substantivization or nominalization).

The marker =ngge can be used with two Manchu participles, perfect and imperfect (forms in -ha/-he/-ho and -ra/-re/-ro correspondingly). This marker following a single participle or a subordinate predicative construction with a participle as a head permits both of them to play the part of a subject or an object.

The absence of case markers after participles denotes the direct case which expresses the subject. The accusative marker, added to participles, expresses the object.

Examples:

Manchu:

1. *=ngge*

age i jombure=ngge aisin go i gese gisun kai
 elder (genet.) what he said gold jasper (genit.) like words are
 “The elder brother’s words are comparable to gold and jasper”
 (What the elder brother said are the words like gold and jasper) (Pang., p. 94)

men'i yabuha=ngge yarg'an'i tondo akū
 our what we did indeed honest is not
 “Our action (what we did) is not honest indeed” (S. K.)

Ere be muke seme omiha=ngge gemu arki bihebi
 that (accus.) water thinking what he drank everything wine was
 “Everything that he drank thinking it was water was wine” (S. K.)

ama jui be tantara=ngge jui be gosira=ngge kai
 father child (accus.) who punishes child (accus.) who loves is
 “The father who punishes the child is the one who loves him.” (Pashkov, p. 57)

In these sentences the subordinate predicative constructions are introduced into the noun positions – subject and object – by means the markers *=ngge*.

In the Manchu language the syntactical element *ba* can also substantivize participles.

Examples:

2. *ba*

sinde ai guniha ba bi?
 you (dative) what you have thought (accus.) have?
 (= your thoughts)
 “What thoughts have you got?” (S. K.)

t'e usin veileme geneci ai ojorakū sere ba bi
 now arable land to cultivate going what impossibility talking (talk) (accus.) is
 “How can you talk now about impossibility of going to cultivate the arable
 land?” (S. K.)

The element *ninge* can be attached to the Manchu adjectives to substantivize them. In that case the whole complex denotes some object which is the carrier of the corresponding attribute.

Examples:

3. *ningge*

gasha bethe foholon ningge dedure mangga, bethe golmin ningge elere mangga
 birds legs short=their lie usually legs long=their fly usually
 "Birds that have short legs usually lie, those that have long legs usually fly"
 (Orl., p. 181)

Considerably fewer similarities between the Manchu and the Chinese languages can be found in the sphere of syntactic devices supplying the functioning of certain grammatical word classes in the positions of various parts of the sentence.

In this field Manchu and Chinese use only postpositions which are common to both languages. In Chinese the postpositions ensure the syntactical functioning of nouns and verbs, in Manchu the postpositions do the same for nouns and participles that function as predicates of subordinate predicative constructions.

In both languages most postpositions are formed on the basis of nouns having time, place or cause semantics. In Chinese, postpositions correlate with prepositions, while in Manchu they combine with case markers.

Examples:

Manchu:

sourin'i dergi de emu šain meihe hayafi deduhebi
 throne (genitive) on (dative) one white snake coiled up lied
 "One white snake was lying, coiled up on the throne" (S. K.)

ahun jihe turgunde, geo genehe
 elder bother went away because younger brother came
 "Because the younger brother went away, the elder brother came (instead of him)" (Pashkov, p. 60)

Chinese:

桌子 上 有 盒子
zhuózi shàng yǒu hézi
 table on there is box
 "There is a box on a table"

正 在 他 说 话 时 候 我 走 进 屋 里 来
zhèng zài tā shuō huà shí (hou), wǒ zǒu jìn wūzili lái
 at the moment he was saying at that time when I came into the room
 "At the moment when he was saying, I came into the room"

Source texts

- New Chinese 300 – *Xīn hàn yǔ sān bǎi jù. Běijīng, Yǔ yán xué yuàn*, 1984.
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GREEK VERBS IN -άζω AND -ίζω

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Greek verbs in -ίζω and -άζω, from pre-Greek *-a/-iδyω, are usually regarded as factitive, tending to activate the root, which is frequently nominal. Thus we have ονομάζω ‘to name’, or νομίζω ‘to use customarily’. There are more than two thousand of these words ending in -ίζω and -άζω (about seven hundred separate roots) and they are neatly laid out in Paul Kretschmer’s *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch* (1944).¹ The first extensive effort to classify by semantic use these suffixes is found in Albert Debrunner’s *Griechische Wortbildungslehre* (1917). He devoted a sufficiency of room to an analysis of the various uses of these suffixes (§ 232–275). He sees some as intensives, iteratives, or instrumentives, others as factitives, derivatives from number words, and several more classifications. He also notes echoic terms which will be discussed below. His various classes are interesting, but do not really produce separate and unique classes of verbs in -ίζω and -άζω, but rather enforce the longheld ‘factitive’ view, and his various classes are simply subspecific to that.² He does appropriately note that Greek stems in -ā and neuter -n stems usually have the suffix -άζω while -ίζω is attached to all others. The future and aorist of these factitive verbs tend overwhelmingly to be sigmatic (νομίζω, νομίω, ἐνόμισα; ονομάζω, ονομάσω, ὀνόμασα).³

Yet there is also another semantic set for verbs in -ίζω and -άζω, and that is reflected in numerous verbs that are echoic (onomatopoeic). These have often been seen as a variety of the factitive verb, since they could be translated as ‘make an (appropriate sound)’.⁴ Among them are βατταρίζω (Hippon.Ic8)

¹ Further examples and basic discussion of these verbs can be found in Schwyzer’s *Griechisches Grammatik I*: 734–736 (1953 [1977]) and, more recently, in Andrew Sihler’s *New Comparative Grammar* (1995:516). A dissertation was devoted to this subject by Arthur Müller (1915), though it was uneventful.

² Skoda (1980) also makes an effort to sub-classify these iterative verbs into various semantic groups but cannot show that a general description as ‘factitive’ is inappropriate.

³ Many verbs in -ίζω and -άζω are actually stems in -δ-, and not built on the suffix -ί/άζω: note ἐλπίζω (*ἐλπιδ-y-) ‘hope’.

⁴ Létoublon (1988) describes two semantic classes for echoic verbs, the standard onomatopoeic class, and a ‘delocutive’, but these two remain subspecific to ‘echoic’.

'stutter', βληγάζω (Autocr. 3) 'bleat', κακκαβίζω⁵ (Arist.HA. 536b14) 'cackle', κλαγγάζω (Poll. 5.89) 'to cry (of cranes)', κοίζω (Ar.Ach. 746) 'squeal like a pig', μουγκρίζω (Rh. 216.28) 'snarl', λακάζω (A. Th.186) 'howl', πιπίζω (Ar.Av. 306) 'to peep', τιτυβίζω (Thphr. Fr. 181) 'cackle', τιτίζω (Il. 2.314) 'say *ti-ti*' (Thphr. Fr. 181) ύίζω, possibly όίζω, (Poll. 5.87) 'squeal like a pig', χρεμετίζω (Il. 12.51) 'whinny', ψοφίζω (Babr. 131.7) 'chatter'.⁶

These echoic verbs largely share a morphology different from the factitive, not forming their future and aorist in -σ-, but rather in -ξ-, implying a proto-Greek *-γγ-,⁷ not, as for the factitives, *-δγ-.⁸ Thus we have ἐλελίζω, ἡλέλιξα (Pi.O. 9.13) 'raise a battle cry', αἰάζω, αἴαξας (*Epigr.Gr.* 223) 'wail', ἀλαλάζω, ἡλάλαξα (E.HF. 981.x) 'babble' καχάζω, κάχαξω (Theoc.5.142) 'laugh aloud', κλείζω, κλείξαι 'celebrate in song', κράζω, κεκράξομαι (Eup. X.1.) 'to cry aloud, caw',⁹ σίζω, σίξα¹⁰ 'hiss' (Theoc. 6.29).

There is further a large class of verbs which denotes speaking in a certain language or dialect: αιολίζω (S.Fr.912) 'speak, Aeolic', ἄττικίζω (Th.3.62), βαρβαρίζω (Hdt.2.57), ἐλληνίζω (D.C.55.3), ιωνίζω (A.D.Adv.162.7), etc. This adds to the texture of this echoic classification while there are also similar shapes, μηδίζω (Hdt.4.144), αἴγυπτιάζω (Luc.*Philops.*31) which do not refer to speaking, but to behavior: 'act like a Mede', 'act like an Egyptian'. There are few futures or aorists recorded for these verbs, and they can be often used both as echoic and factitive verbs. Later Greek and Ionic usually have an -σ- aorist: ἐμήδισα, ἐλληνίσαι.

In addition to these echoic verbs in -ίζω and -άζω, there are numerous verbs in -ύζω which share the same echoic capacity while having a future and aorist -ξ-. They include φεύζω, ἔφευξας (A.Ag.1308) 'say *fe-fe*', κελαρύζω, ἐκελάρυξα (Il.21.261) 'gurgle', ἀνωλολύζω, ἀνωλόλυξα (A.Ag.587). Yet this

⁵ This is a very common onomatopoeic term, appear in diverse Indo-European and non-Indo-European languages, note Hitt. *kakkapi*, Akk. *qaqbanu*, Georgian *kakabi*; it is widely distributed in the Iranian languages Per. کبک *kabk*, Afghan کبک *kabk*, Beluchi کبج *kabg*, along with Arab قبج *qabj* and Ottoman کوی *kev*.

⁶ This echoic capacity can also be served by verbs in -άω and -έω; note φυσάω 'snort, buzz', βομβέω 'drone', ώλακτέω 'bark'.

⁷ This same -ξ- is found in Greek roots ending in -γ, ἀρπάξω, ὄρπαξα, from *ἄρπαγγ-, and these roots in -γ are not part of this suffixal paradigm. We also acknowledge that there is a touch of variation, where paradigms have collapsed under analogic pressure: note γογγύζω 'grumble', but aorist ἐγόγγυσαν (LXX.*Nu.*14.29). And some echoic verbs in -ξ- are not of an -αγγ- suffix, but rather a root final in -γ: note κλάξω 'scream', with aorists in κλάχξω or κλάσσω (*κλαγγ-γ). Attic verbs form the Classical period are largely consistent; later Greek, especially Christian Greek, shows paradigmatic collapse; Homeric, Ionic and Doric also are not reliable.

⁸ Of course there are exceptions; we might note that the factitive πτολεμίζω has a future in -ξ-: πτολεμίξω (Il.13.644).

⁹ Though echoic, this word for cawing, or for the crow, is possibly inherited from Indo-European; note English (*h*)rook, Skt. *karaṭa*, IE *ker-. Non-Indo-European parallels abound: Ottoman قرقىز *qarğaz*, Laz გური *guri*, Avar. კ'აკრა *akra*, Arab. غرائب *garāb*.

¹⁰ Doric here has a -σδ- aorist, and is somewhat erratic in its reflections of the aorist of the factitive in -δγ-; it retains the -ξ- future: γρυλίξεῖτε 'you will grumble', but has κλείξα 'celebrate in song' as shown above.

classification is not clear since a verb οὔκω, οὔξον ‘cry out’, exists separately, which perhaps it is the basis of the compound verbs in -ύζω; equally, οὔκω might be derived from any of those verbs by back formation.¹¹ Neither Frisk (1960) nor Chantraine (1968) comment on it and Debrunner (1917:117) sees it solely as a back formation of roots in -γ, which is implausible. Schwyzer (1953:736–37) is essentially mute. Hence it is not clear if stems in -ύζω are part of the same echoic system we find in -άζω and -ίζω, derived from an original *-αδύ-ω or *-ιδύ-ω.

Yet it does seem clear that there are two distinct semantic sets for verbs in -άζω and -ίζω, one being factitive, e.g., ‘to name’, the other be echoic, e.g., ‘to make a sound’. These separate semantic categories are reinforced by a separate morphology, one reflecting a formant in *-idy-, the other in *-igy-.

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¹¹ However, οὔκω is quite obscure; it is more likely not independent, but produced by back formation. Thus verbs in -ύζω are likely members of the same class as -άζω and -ίζω. No such derivatives exist for verbs in -έζω or -όζω.

ON THE LOCATION OF THE LUPENIANS, A VANISHED PEOPLE OF SOUTHEAST CAUCASIA

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In Volume One of the *Annual of the Society for the Study of Caucasia*,¹ I listed and commented upon the various mentions of an elusive Christian state of ancient Caucasia, the kingdom of the Lupenians. Since the publication of that notice, I have undertaken further investigations into the few detailed citations of them and have come to certain conclusions relevant to their location that contradicts the impression of S. T. Eremyan² that I had previously followed in preparing various maps of Caucasia in the Middle Ages.³ I am indebted to Professor B. K. Harut'yunyan, of the Department of History at the University of Erevan for bringing Eremyan's original misunderstanding to my notice and for drawing my attention to the clarifying reference in the sources.⁴

Basing himself on the indications of Ptolemy (V.10.2), Eremyan assumed that Loubion Khōmē “Loubion village,” cited by Ptolemy as lying in Iberia, meant that, at that time (second century A.D.), the Lupenian capital, *Lp'nak^c k^calak^c* in Armenian “[capital] city of the Lupenians,” had been included within the Iberian kingdom. Then, finding that the River Alazani had once been called the Laban and that a village named Lapanebi still lay on one of its tributaries, the tiny River Lop^cota, he assumed that the Lupenian country was to be found on the upper reaches of the Alazan river in the area of modern Napareuli, a village due north of T^celavi. While this seems very clear as an interpretation of Ptolemy's datum and a reconciliation of it with modern toponymy, this localization misses entirely a major passage in the *History of the [Caucasian] Albanians* of

¹ Hewsen, R. H., The Lupenians, a Vanished Christian Kingdom of Caucasia, *Annual of the Society for the Study of Caucasia* I (Chicago, 1989).

² Eremyan, S. T., *Hayastaně ēst “Ašxarhac^coyc^c”-i* [Armenia According to the “Ašxarhac^coyc^c”] (Erevan, 1963, s.v. “Lp^cink^c”); *Aršakuni t^cagaworut^cyuně 298–387 t. t.* [The Arsacid Kingdom 298–387 A.D.], map in *Haykakan sovetakan hanragitaran* [Soviet Armenian Encyclopedia], 2 (Erevan); Ašxarac^coyc^c i skzbnakan bnagri verakagnman p^corj [Attempt at a Primitive Text of the Ašxarhac^coyc^c], *Patma-banasirut^cyun handēs*, 2 (Erevan, 1973).

³ Hewsen, R. H., *Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Map B VI 14. Armenia and Georgia. Christianity and Territorial Development from the 4th to the 7th Century* (Wiesbaden, 1987), 1:2000,000.

⁴ Personal conversation, February, 1996.

Dasxuranc*c*i (or Kałankatuac*c*i, II.39, hereinafter: MD), the historian of Albania (who, however, wrote his text entirely in Armenian),⁵ that makes it abundantly clear that the Lupenian capital and consequently the Lupenian kingdom, lay considerably further to the southeast, not in the territory of modern Georgia but rather well within the territory of the present Republic of Azerbaijan.

According to MD (II.39), the Albanian nobles and clergy, wishing to make peace with the Huns, who had been raiding their country, dispatched an embassy led by Israyēl, Bishop of Mec Kołmank*c*, to Varačan, the Hunnic capital, located somewhere in Daghestan, apparently rather close to the sea. Movsēs' passage is worth quoting in his own words (eliminating only certain unnecessary details not relevant to the route taken by the embassy):

“Safely escorted out of the town of Peroz-Kawat [Partaw], they crossed the River Kur, crossed the Albanian frontier, and arrived at the town of the Lp^cink^c on the twelfth day ... Entering the town and lodging there, they celebrated the feast [of the Epiphany], and departing again, they passed into the country of the Čilbk^c at the foot of the great mountain[s]. Then the northern blasts of the winter winds raised terrible snowstorms near the summit of Mount Caucasus, and, held back for three days, they could not look up or find their way ... The man of God ... led them up the mountain called Vard-ē Gruak ... and thus they crossed the huge and gigantic summit [of the Caucasus] ... continuing their journey abroad ... they arrived after many days at the site of the ancient royal residence where St. Grigoris, the katholico of Albania and the grandson of the great Gregory, was martyred. After some days they reached the gate of Čołay which is near Darband ... they continued their long journey and came to the magnificent town of Varačan at the beginning of the forty-day fast.”

From this interesting passage, we are able to glean the following data:

1) The Albanian embassy of Bishop Israyēl was going from Partaw to Varačan, which appears to have lain on the coast of the Caspian Sea since, having crossed the Caucasus, there would be no point in going to Čołay and Darband, both on the coast, if one were going to have to reenter the mountains of Daghestan to reach Varačan.

2) Given the time of the year – the dead of winter – and the fact that the embassy crossed the mountains rather than took the longer but easier route around the range where it nearly reaches the Caspian Sea, it seems logical to assume that the party was anxious to reach Varačan as quickly as possible and was traveling in as direct a line as it could manage.

⁵ Movsēs Kałankatuac*c*i (Dasxuranc*c*i), *Patmut iwn Aluanic*^c [of Moses Kałankatuac*c*i or of Dasxuren, *History of the Albanians*]; Engl. trans. C. F. J. Dowsett, *History of the Caucasian Albanians* (London, 1962).

3) Thus, the town of the *Lp^cink^c* (*Lp^cnac^c k^calak^c*), i.e. the Lupenian capital, which lay south of the mountains must have been located on a more or less direct line between the city of Partaw (whose location at modern Barda is beyond doubt) and the Caucasus range. Given the nature of that range, however, it seems equally logical that they would have crossed at a convenient pass, one that might be expected to be serviceable even in winter. To locate the Lupenian kingdom, therefore, we have only to choose the pass nearest the logical road from Partaw to a point on the coast somewhere due southeast of Darband.

4) The fact that the embassy did not pass through either Šak^cē (now Nukha) or Kapałak (now Chukhur Kabala), both prominent towns in this period and both of which still exist, greatly narrows the territory through which the embassy could have traveled. A glance at the map makes it clear that there are only two routes that pass through this general area (between Šak^cē and the Caspian coastal pass) while at the same time avoiding Šak^cē and Kapałak. The first of these would be the one that, departing from Partaw, crossed the Kur in the vicinity of modern Yevlakh and ran up the valley of the River Sani (now the Aldzigan-chai) between Šak^cē and Kapałak to where the mountain range might be crossed north of modern Vartashen (Vartašēn) and Khachmaz (Xač^cmaz), even though no actual pass exists anywhere along this sector of the Caucasus. In this case, the mountain called *Vard-ē Gruak*, could be identified with the peak now called Bazar Dyuzy (4477 m./14,698 ft.), especially since MD seems to indicate that the party had to make a detour to get to it. After this, the mission would have followed a tiny affluent of the River Samur and then passed into the long Samur valley, which, curving gently to the northeast, could have then taken the embassy to a point south of Č^cołay. The second route would be the one that lay to the east of both Šak^cē and Kapałak, crossing the Kur due east of Partaw at a point where the River Terter (on which Partaw is located) entered the first named river. This would undoubtedly have taken the embassy through the Shirvan Steppe in the general direction of the site of the later town of Shemakha, passing to the west of this site to reach the Pahl Gates of Eremyan's maps, i.e., the pass today called the Akhar-Bakhar. In this case, the peak called Varde-ē Gruak would probably be the one now called Mt. Dyubrar (2207 m./7247 ft.).

5) A decision as to which of these two routes the Albanian embassy took to reach the Caspian coast can be arrived at if we remember that, after crossing the mountains, the embassy did not immediately arrive at Č^cołay but rather at the site of a former Albanian "royal residence," where St. Grigoris, apostle of the Albanians, was martyred early in the fourth century. The site of this martyrdom, we know, was in a plain along the Sea, and MD tells us that it took "some days" after arriving at this point for the party to reach Č^cołay. Since the littoral route is not a difficult one, the only way that the journey to Č^cołay could have taken some days would be if the site of St. Grigoris' martyrdom was at a fairly important town lying some distance south of Č^cołay and this points to Šapotran, which lay somewhere in the vicinity of modern Kuba. Obviously, then, given the fact that the first route suggested above would involve crossing the Caucasus range

in winter where there is no real pass, the Albanian embassy must surely have chosen the Pahl Gates to cross the mountains, next descending to the Caspian Sea probably by way of the valley of the little River Atachay. From all this we can determine that the Luponian country must have lain in the Shirvan Steppe between the Kur and Shemakha but east of Kapałak.

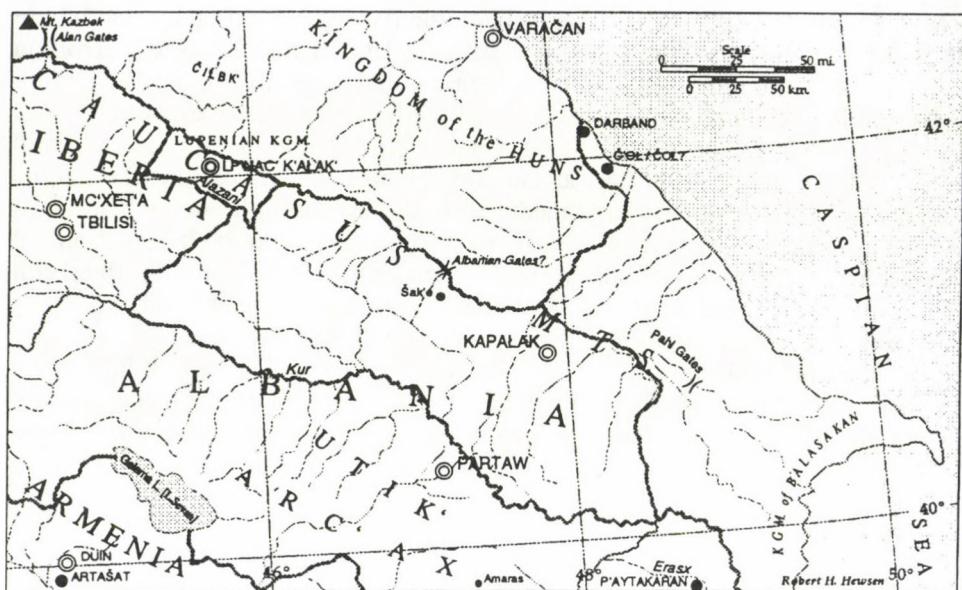
6) North of the Luponians – but before one came to the mountains – lay the land of the Čilbk^c, probably the *Silvi* of Pliny (VI.X.28), where, indeed they are indicated as dwelling north of his “Lupenii”). Since the Čilbk^c are specifically stated by MD to have dwelled at the foot of the Caucasus range and definitely to the south of it, the location of the Luponian country is narrowed still further to a point between the old Albanian district of Geławu (located between the Aksu and Pirsagat Rivers just south of the mountains), and the River Kur. Here, in the plain, lay two other Albanian districts: Hegeri on the Kur, itself, and to the north of it, Hambasi bordering on Geławu. MD tells us that the embassy “crossed the River Kur, crossed the Albanian frontier...” but his language at this point is too laconic to enable us to determine if the words “crossed the Albanian frontier” are a gloss on “crossed the River Kur (read: they “crossed the River Kur [i.e.] crossed the Albanian frontier”) or whether by “the Albanian frontier” another point on the journey is intended *after* the river was crossed (read: “crossed the River Kur [and then] crossed the Albanian frontier”). My guess would be that the latter is intended because, at this time (681 – in the early Arab period), the Albanian kingdom still extended north of the Kur. If there was much of a journey to the frontier of the Luponian country after crossing the Kur, there would not have been much space for the latter between the Albanian frontier and Geławu. Of course, we could always assume that the Luponian country was quite small but the frequent references to the Luponians in Armenian sources (not to mention their citation by Ptolemy, Pliny, the *Tabula Peutigeriana* and the *Ravenna Anonymous*) preclude their having been a small or otherwise insignificant people. Indeed, the term “Katholicos of Albania, Lp^cink^c and Č^cołay” formed the *intitulatio* of the head of the Albanian Church.

7) From all this, it logically follows that the country of the Luponians, the *Patria Lepon* of the seventh century *Anonymous Cosmography of Ravenna*, must have lain in the old Albanian district of Hegeri and Hambasi. As for the Silvians (Č*i*lbk^c), they must have inhabited the districts of Geławu bordering the Caucasus range just south of the Pahl Gates. Curiously enough, there is no trace, whatsoever, of any village, river or mountain in this area that can now be connected with a people called Luponians or a town called Lp^cnac^c k^całak^c. The only solution to the question of the location of the Luponian capital is the obvious one: it is to be identified, most likely, with Shemakha – not the present Shemakha founded by the Russians, but the original Shemakha (Pers.: Shamakhi) a few kms. to the northeast, destroyed by Nadir Shah in 1734.

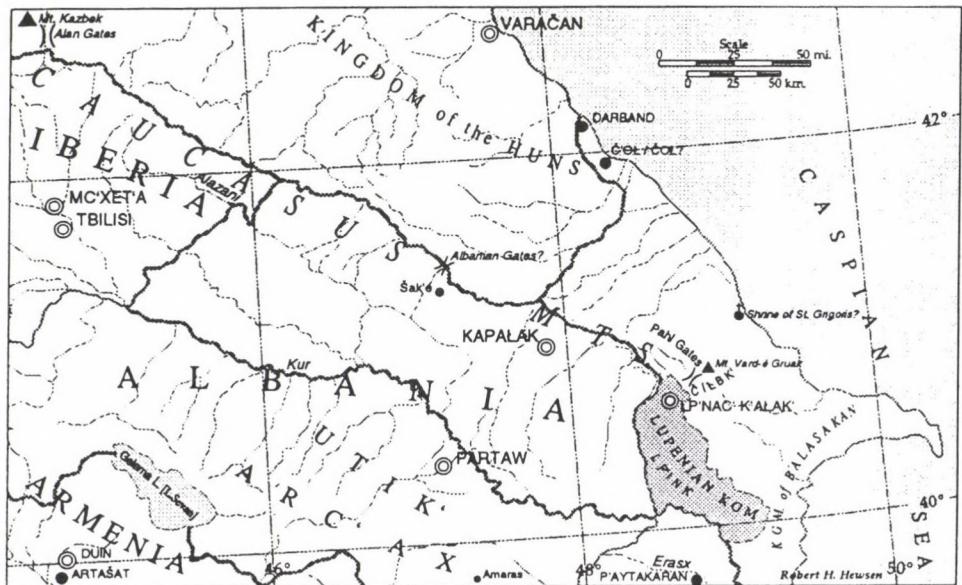
8) Yet what are we to make of Ptolemy’s assertion that Lubion Khōmē – an obvious Greek translation of the native name (whatever the Armenian Lp^cnac^c k^całak^c of MD would have been in the Luponian language) – lay in Iberia (where

Eremyan found a village called Lapanebi on the rivulet called Lopota, and where the River Alazan once bore the name Laban)? Unless this is a sheer error on Ptolemy's part, we must assume that at the time that this toponym was picked up by his source (probably the report of one of the Roman military expeditions into Albania), the Lupenians must have been included in an extended Iberian kingdom that reached as far east as Gelawu. Though not impossible, this seems hardly likely. Ptolemy must have made a mistake in placing Loubion Khōmē in Iberia; it would not be the first such mistake in his mammoth geographical undertaking and certainly not his worst (e.g. making both Italy and Scotland run from west to east instead of north to south!). As for Lapanebi and the River Laban, we can only assume that a colony or branch of the Lupenians had once settled along the Alazan and that this may have something to do with Ptolemy's misplacement of their *khōmē*. From MD, we can see that Lp^cnac^c k^całak^c, as the Armenians called it, was clearly located in a Lupenian state that lay along the northeast frontier of the original Albanian kingdom, the latter centered at Kapałak north of the Kur; Ptolemy (or his source) may simply have confused this true Lp^cnac^c k^całak^c with the Lapanebi in Iberia.

In conclusion, now that we know the location of the Lupenian state, we may well ask who exactly were the Lupenians and how and when did they disappear? That they were a Caucasian people (as opposed to Georgians, Armenians, Iranians or Turks) seems difficult to doubt, and their close links with the Albanian people suggests that they may well have been one of the twenty-six components of that people mentioned by Strabo (XI.4.6). Beyond this, we are not yet in a position to venture. As to what became of their state, it seems that its demise must in some way be connected with the coming of the Arabs, but of this we cannot yet be sure. What is needed is an excavation of the site of old Shemakha, which lies to the northeast of the site of the present town. Only the chance survival of a few telling inscriptions can provide us with any more data on these enigmatic Christian people, who so far survive only in the pages of ancient writers.



1. The Location of the Lupenians according to S. T. Eremyan



2. The Location of the Lupenians according to Moses of Kalankaytuk (or of Dasxuran)

ARE THE OLD JAPANESE PERSONAL PRONOUNS GENETICALLY RELATED TO THOSE OF THE ALTAIC LANGUAGES?

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Abstract

All the functions of the OJ personal pronouns may never be cognate with any of the Altaic personal pronouns, except for OJ *wa*, as well as possibly *o₂re*, and *i/si* which may possibly be cognate with PMo **ba*, **öre*/**örö*, PA **i/Ma*-Tg *si*/OTK **si* respectively. The OJ morphemes *i/si* identical with the OJ personal pronouns *i/si* seemed to play a crucial role in finding out the origin of the OJ personal pronouns *i/si* because the identical morphemes *i/si* may have the undifferentiated deictic/emphatic function in common, which became developed into the OJ personal pronouns *i/si*.

[0] Preliminary

Some attempts to find out the origin of the Old Japanese personal pronouns have been made since 1950s. Most of the early attempts (e.g. Murayama 1950) are concerned with the relations to the Altaic languages. There are some recent attempts (e.g. Sakiyama 1990) engaged in the relations with the Austronesian languages.

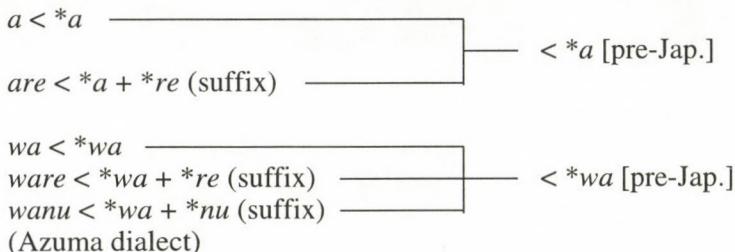
But in Japan, most of the reactions to those attempts were ambivalent and many Japanese linguists even said in chorus that it was premature to compare the Old Japanese personal pronouns to those of other languages or language families since we do not know the functions of the Old Japanese personal pronouns. If their reasoning is correct, then the time will never come that we can compare them to those of other languages. We have to work toward both ways, that is, we try to find out all their functions of the Old Japanese personal pronouns and also to compare them to those of other languages.

I will briefly explain and compare each person of Old Japanese at a time to the corresponding Altaic personal pronouns to see if they are cognate with those of Altaic.

[1] 1st Person Pronouns

(a) Japanese

First, we will look at the first person pronouns in Old Japanese and their examples:



examples:

1. *a wo matikanete* [Man. 3562]
a *wo* *matikanete*
 I [acc.] cannot wait
 '... you can't await me'
2. *a ga nusi no₂ mitama tamaFite...* [Man. 882]
a *ga* *nusi* *no₂* *mitama* *tamaFite*
 I [gen.] lover [gen.] heart giving
 'Would you please give me your heart...'
3. *tatuno₂ma wo are Fa mo₂to₂me₂mu...* [Man. 808]
tatuno₂ma *wo* *are* *Fa* *mo₂to₂me₂mu*
 dragon [acc.] I [top.] get
 'I will get a dragon...'
4. *are Fa itaramu...* [Man. 3428]
are *Fa* *itaramu*
 I [top.] reach
 'I will come (to you)'
5. *wa ga yado ni sakari ni sakeru ume₂ no₂ Fana...* [Man. 851]
wa *ga* *yado* *ni* *sakarini* *sakeru* *ume₂* *no₂* *Fana*
 I [gen.] home [loc.] fully bloom ume [gen.] blossom
 'The fully blooming ume trees in my yard...'

6. *wa ni yo₂so₂ri*... [Man. 3408]
wa ni yo₂so₂ri
 I [loc.] rumor to have an affair with
 'spreading rumor that the girl has an affair with me'
7. *ware koFi₂meyamo₂* [Man. 858]
ware koFi₂ me yamo₂
 I miss [conjec.] [rhet. ques.]
 'why should I miss you?'
8. *FikoFo₂si mo₂ ware ni masarite o₂mo₂Furameyamo₂* [Man. 3657]
FikoFo₂si mo₂ ware ni masarite o₂mo₂Fu rame yamo₂
 Altair [emp.] I [comp.] excel think [conjec.] [rhet. ques.]
 'The Altair would not think of his love more than I do of my love...'
9. *ube kona Fa wanu ni koFunamo₂*. [Man. 3476: Azuma dialect]
ube ko na Fa wanu ni koFu namo₂
 truly child [pl. suf.] [top.] I [loc.] miss [conjec.]
 'My love truly misses me...'

As shown above, the personal pronouns in Old Japanese are *a*, *are*, *wa*, *ware*, *wanu* (Azuma dialect). *A* and *wa* never stand alone and always appear with a particle (e.g. *wo₂* [acc.] or *ga* [gen.]), and *a* is found in direct association with a noun such as *azuma* 'my wife', *ase* 'my spouse', *agi* 'my dear' in the Kojiki and Nihonshoki. Conversely, *wa* does not have any combination with a noun in the early Old Japanese, namely, **wago* 'my child', **wagi* 'my dear' do not exist.

On the other hand, *are* and *ware* can stand alone as the subject of a verb. Besides that, there seems to be no difference in function between *a* and *are* and between *wa* and *ware*. The element *re* of *are* and *ware* may be cognate with *re* of *ko₂re*, *so₂re*, *kare*, and *idure*, the demonstrative pronouns.

Wanu is used for *ware* in Azuma dialect and the *nu* of *wanu* normally corresponds to the *re* of *are* and *ware*. *Wanu* for the 1st person is also found in Ryukyu and the same sound correspondence is found between Old Japanese and Ryukyu as seen below. The *-nu* in Azuma dialect may be the exact cognate with *-nu* in Ryukyu, but at this point we do not know that for certain. That is, there is a possibility that the *-nu* may be a secondary/internal development in both Azuma and Ryukyu.

There seems to be some other difference in use between *a* and *wa*. Namely, *a* tends to be employed with such nouns as 'body, heart, chest, face; love, unrequited love', whereas *wa* has a tendency to be used with paired nouns such as 'husband, wife/lover, father, mother' and also with collective nouns like 'a country, village, house'. This evidence implies that *a* and *wa* must have denoted originally different numbers (singular or dual?).

(b) *Ryukyu*

We now turn to the 1st person singular pronouns in Ryukyu. Note that the plural pronouns are all derived from their singular pronouns in all the persons:

$a < *a$	<hr/>		
(Miyako and Yonaguni)			
$an < *a + *nu$ (suffix)	<hr/>		$< *a$ [pre-Ryukyu]
(Miyako and Yonaguni)			
$wa < *wa$	<hr/>		
$wan(u) < *wa + *nu$ (suffix)	<hr/>		
(Amami and Okinawa)			$< *wa$ [pre-Ryukyu]
$ba < *ba$	<hr/>		
$ban(u) < *ba + *nu$ (suffix)	<hr/>		
(Miyako, Yaeyama and Yonaguni)			

examples:

1. ?a η a kagu kutu... [Yonaguni dialect: Hirayama & Nakamoto 1964:161]
 ?a η a kagu kutu...
 I [nom.] write [suf.]
 'I will write (it), so...'
2. ?anu ?N hiru ka?ya [Yonaguni dialect: Hirayama & Nakamoto 1964:168]
 ?anu ?N hiru ka?ya
 I [emp.] go wonder
 'I think I will go'
3. wa: ga ?iku: sa [Okinawa dialect: Uchima 1984:77]
 wa: ga ?iku: sa
 I [nom.] go [suf.]
 'I will go (there)'
4. wan ?ikun ro: [Okinawa dialect: Uchima 1984:78]
 wan ?ikun ro:
 I go [suf.]
 'I will go (there)'
5. ba ga kakadisiba... [Yonaguni dialect: Hirayama & Nakamoto 1964:173]
 ba ga kaka-disiba
 I [nom.] write- [suf.]
 'I will write (it), so...'

6. banu Nna ta:ga yaga s^s sariN [Miyako dialect: Shomoji 1979:179]

banu Nna ta:ga yaga s^s sariN

I [nom.] anyone [suf.] can't know

'I don't know who it is'

We basically have the same forms of the 1st person pronouns as in Old Japanese; but they are geographically restricted either to the northern or southern islands of the Ryukyu area: *wa* and *wan(u)* are found only in the northern islands, while *a*, *an*, *ba* and *ban(u)* are spread to the southern islands. However, we know that historically *a* and *an* were employed also in the northern islands because Amami and Okinawa dialects still have some linguistic remnants of *a* (Nakamoto 1983:161; Yamada 1981:133).

As mentioned above, there is some kind of suffix *-nu*, which is functionally equivalent to OJ *-re*, but we do not know the relationship between the two suffixes. They might be cognate with each other since there seems to be a regular consonantal correspondence between *-n* and *-r*.

The *b-* of *ban(u)* in Miyako, Yaeyama and Yonaguni dialects regularly corresponds to *w-* of *wan* in the other dialects. It has been proven (Nakamoto & Hirayama 1964:50–1; Murayama 1981:67–72; Hosei Univ. 1977:16) that *b-* in these dialects was developed from **w-* in Pre-Ryukyu:

<i>w</i> (Amani, Okinawa)	—	
<i>b < w</i> (Miyako, Yaeyama, Yonaguni)	—	
<i>p < b < w</i> (Uganjima [大神島] in Miyako)	—	
<i>F < p < b < w</i> (Kumishi [米須] in Okinawa)	—	< <i>*w</i> [pre-Ryukyu]
<i>ç < F < p < b < w</i> (Kumishi [米須] in Okinawa)	—	
<i>gw < w</i> (Kudaka [久高] in Okinawa)	—	
<i>g < gw < w</i> (Kikajima [喜界島] in Amami)	—	

On the basis of the existing 1st person pronouns, we may reconstruct the two different forms **a* and **wa* in Pre-Japanese or even in Proto-Japanese. When we consider the other personal pronouns, it appears anomalous that only the 1st person is represented by two different forms. This suggests that each of these two forms are inherited from two separate sources. We will come back to this point later in this section.

Now we will consider the possible connections of the OJ 1st person personal pronouns with those of the Altaic languages. OJ *a* and *wa* are said to correspond to *ba* [1st p.p.excl.] in Mongolian:

① Miller (1981:185–199) claims that OJ *a* was an allomorph of *wa* which corresponds to **ba* which is the Proto-Mongolian 1st person plural pronoun and **man-*, the Proto-Altaic 1st person plural oblique stem. But this explanation is not convincing: there is no evidence

that in Old Japanese *wa* changed to *a*. In addition, Miyako and Yonaguni dialects have the two 1st person pronouns *a* and *ba*. The initial consonant *b-* of *ba* corresponding to *w-* of OJ *wa* is very stable. Moreover, as mentioned above, *a* and *wa/ba* appear in different areas. All these show that *a* was not derived from *wa* or *ba*. This evidence certainly weakens Miller's first claim that OJ *a* comes from *wa*.

There is another claim that OJ *a* was derived from *na*, the 2nd person pronoun, and the *na* is claimed to be the original 1st person pronoun:

- ① Hattori (1959:401–2) insists that OJ *na* (1st p.) was dissimilated into *a* through the following stages: **nan-ga* 'my' > **anga* > *aga* > *a*. The function of *a* then must be restricted to the possessive case only, but actually it was able to take other case suffixes like accusative *wo*, dative *ni*, or even another possessive *ga*. Thus the function of this personal pronoun *a* contradicts those of the case suffixes, so we must discard his claim.
- ② Murayama (1950:42–3) asserts that *a* was developed from *na* (1st p.) because of the following similar changes found in Old Japanese: *nani* 'what?' vs. *ani* 'how, why?'; *nazo* 'why?' vs. *azo* 'why?'. But there were many cases where word-initial *n-* was preserved in Old Japanese, so Murayama's claim does not convince either. In addition, there is no evidence that *na* was the original 1st person pronoun in Old Japanese.

Neither of the above claims explain why Old Japanese had two different forms, *a* and *wa*. My opinion is that both forms probably came originally from two different sources: the 1st person pronoun **a* may have originally come from the Austronesian and OJ *wa* may have been inherited or borrowed intensively from the Proto-Altaic (if this stage ever existed) or the Proto-Mongolian 1st person plural pronoun **ba*.

In this connection, we should emphasize that OJ *a* tends to associate with nouns of body parts and OJ *wa* tends to be employed with paired and collective nouns. This suggests that OJ *a* was originally a *singular* pronoun, and OJ *wa* was originally a *plural* pronoun. In addition, it is odd that only the 1st person has the two different forms. Furthermore, because of this difference in meaning and number, OJ *a* cannot possibly be inherited from the Proto-Altaic third person plural **a*, and there may not be any other candidates for this OJ *a* in any of the Altaic languages. All this evidence would indicate that the two forms of the 1st person are either loan or inherited elements from two separate language families, Austronesian and Altaic/Mongolian, respectively.

Mi₂ in Old Japanese does not cause any etymological problems; originally, it was a noun, not a pronoun, meaning 'body, flesh'. In later periods it began to be used as the 1st person pronoun. Its internal development has never been questioned. Despite this commonly accepted claim, Miller (1981:182–4)

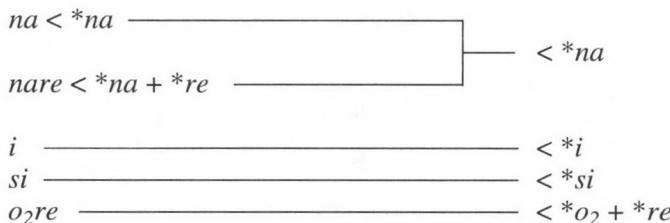
claims that OJ *mi₂* is cognate with the P to-Altaic 1st person pronoun **bi*, which is not acceptable. Besides this, there is another reason that there is no established regular sound correspondence either between OJ *m-* and PA **b-* or OJ *m-* and PA **m-*; and the same holds true concerning OJ *i₂* and PA **i*. The postulate of the vocalic correspondence is very doubtful because OJ *i₂* was derived from **o₂/u* + **i*, hence the first original vowel of the Old Japanese does not match at all to the supposed PA **i*.

[2] 2nd Person Pronouns

(a) Japanese

As forms of the second person pronouns in Old Japanese, *na* and *nare* appear. The latter exhibits the same suffix *re* which is attested in *are* and *ware*.

There are also three other 2nd person pronouns *i*, *si*, and *o₂re*, which are independently used.



examples:

1. *na wo mireba mukasi no₂ Fito₂ wo aFimiru go₂to₂si* [Man. 309]
na wo mire-ba mukasi no₂ Fito₂ wo aFimiru go₂to₂si
 you [acc.] look-[cond.] old time [gen.] person [acc.] look each other like
 'When I look at you, you remind me of the person in the old days'
2. *nare mo₂ are mo₂* [Man. 3440]
nare mo₂ are mo₂
 you [emp.] I [emp.]
 'you and I both (wash)...'
3. *i ga tukuri tukaFe₂maturu o₂Fo₂to₂no₂ uti ni Fa...*
[K part 2, NKBT p. 157]
i ga tukuri tukaFe₂maturu o₂Fo₂to₂no₂ uti ni Fa
 you [gen.] build serve [hon.] great hall [pros.] [top.]
 '(you will go first) into the great hall you have built in service (to me)'

4. *o₂re* madu irite... [N, Jimmu No. 126]

o₂re madu irite
you first enter
'you first enter (the palace)…'

5. *si ko₂ re wo ba o₂re to iFu* [N, Jimmu No. 126]

si ko₂re wo ba o₂re to iFu
you this [acc.] [emp.] you [quo.] say
'You call this *ore* (you)'

Na is not able to stand alone as subject, while *nare* can, which has exactly the same relationship of the use *a/wa* with that of *are/ware*. We also find *i/si* for the 2nd person pronouns and *o₂re* for the 2nd person deprecatory pronoun in Old Japanese.

(b) Ryukyu

Now we will consider the Ryukyu 2nd person singular pronouns:

<i>na</i> < *na [Okinawa dialect: hon.]	—	
<i>nan</i> < *na + *nu (suffix)	—	< *na [pre-Ryukyu]
[northern Amami dialect: hon.]	—	
<i>na:mi</i> < *na + mi [身: 'body']	—	
[kikajima/northern Okinawa dialect: hon.]		
<i>?ui</i> < <i>uri</i> < *uri < *u + *ri	—	
[Tokunoshima/Yoronto dialect: hon.]		
<i>?uri</i> < *u + *ri	—	
[Tokunoshima/Yoronto dialect: hon.]		
<i>?ra</i> < <i>?ura</i> < <i>?uri</i> + a (endear. suf.)	—	< *o + < *re [pre-Ryukyu]
[Amami: depre.; Okinawa dialect: hon.]		
(n) <i>da</i> < <i>?ura</i> < <i>?uri</i> + a	—	
[Yonaguni dialect: hon.]		
<i>vva</i> < <i>uva</i> < <i>uwa</i> < <i>ura</i> < <i>uri</i> + a	—	
[Miyako dialect: hon.]		
<i>?undžu</i> < <i>uri</i> + <i>nu</i> + <i>ſu</i> [主: 'main']	—	
[Okinawa dialect: hon.]		
<i>ya</i> < <i>?ya</i> < * <i>?iya</i> < * <i>iryā</i> < * <i>ira</i> < * <i>iri</i> + *a < *i + *re	—	
[mid-south Okinawa dialect: depre.]		
<i>oka</i> < o + no [gen.] + ga [gen.] [Omorosaushi]	—	
[old Omoro: hon.; latest Omoro: deprecatory]		

examples:

1. *na: ga ?iyuru Futu* [Yoronto dialect: Yamada 1981:149]
na: ga ?iyuru Futu
 you [nom.] say fact
 'the fact that you are saying (it)'
2. *nan mo:yu mi* [Okinawa dialect: Uchima 1984:91]
nan mo:yu mi
 you go [hon.] [ques.]
 'Will you go (there)?'
3. *na:mi ya wakase: bin* [Okinawa dialect: Uchima 1984:91]
na:mi ya wakase: bin
 you [top.] young [cop.]
 'you are young'
4. *?ui da:tsi ?mo:i ga* [Tokunoshima dialect: Nohara 1986:197]
?ui da:tsi ?mo:i ga
 you (hon.) where to go [ques.]
 'Where are you going?'
5. *?uri da:kam ?mo: ryuŋ ga* [Tokunoshima dialect: Nohara 1986:199]
?uri da:kam ?mo: ryuŋ ga
 you (hon.) where to go [ques.]
 'Where are you going?'
6. *nyama ?ura wakasa'i* [Amami dialect: Yamada 1981:173]
nyama ?ura wakasa'i
 still you [depre.] young
 'You are still young'
7. *?nda ḡa hi ta?nti?n buru nu?n* [Yonaguni dialect: Hirayama & Nakamoto 1964:162]
?nda ḡa hi ta?nti?n buru nu?n
 you [nom.] go even if be not
 'Even if you go (there), he won't be (there)'
8. *vva mai kaka dzii: na* [Miyako dialect: Shimoji 1979:139]
vva mai kaka dzii: na
 you [emp.] write [sug.] [ques.]
 'Why don't you write (it)?'

9. *ya ga katsi bitsi* [Okinawa dialect: Uchima 1984:443]
ya ga katsi bitsi
 you [nom.] write should
 'You should write (it)'

We find four types of the 2nd person pronouns, *na*-type, *ore*-type, *undžu*-type, and *oka*-type, most of which are honorific. On the basis of this, the following forms can be reconstructed in pre-Ryukyu:

**na*
 **ore*
 **ire*
 **onoga*

Pre-R. **na* is identical with OJ *na*, so we safely claim that there was a **na* for the 2nd person pronoun in Proto-Japanese. Pre-R. **ore* is compared with OJ *o₂re* and this pronoun can be postulated for Proto-Japanese as **o₂re*.

Pre-R. **ire* is paired with **o₂re*, in which Pre-R. **i* is in opposition to **o₂*. This pre-R. **i* must be cognate with the Old Japanese 2nd person pronoun *i*. R. *oka* < **onoga* < **o* + **no* + **ga* is cognate with OJ *o₂no₂ga* 'myself, oneself'.

These four distinct forms are certainly cognate with OJ *na*, *o₂re*, *i*, and *o₂no₂ga* in that order, where OJ *na* and *i* are the only pure pronouns as opposed to denominal pronouns.

We notice that in Ryukyu does not appear an equivalent of OJ *si*, the 2nd person pronoun. This seems to imply that the Old Japanese 2nd person pronoun *si* may not be the original person. That is, the original person of OJ *si* must be the 3rd person instead of the 2nd. This observation is in accordance with the view that the Proto-Japanese pronouns *i/si* must have been the 3rd person pronouns.

Now we will consider the question whether OJ *na* was originally a 1st person or a 2nd person. In Nara period, almost all the OJ *na* were used as the 2nd person except for the vocative forms such as *na-o₂to₂* 'my younger brother' (Man. 3957), *na-se* 'my older brother/husband' (Man. 3458), *na-n-imō* 'my sister/wife' (NS 61), *na-ne* 'miss, ma'am' (Man. 1800). Although these examples show a genitive case only as opposed to the nominative or accusative, they all denote a 1st person. Moreover, these compound forms were not found in the 2nd person pronoun *na*. Note also that the 1st person pronoun can normally and readily be extended in use to the 2nd person pronoun with the connotation of depreciation in Japanese.

However, it is odd that Old Japanese did not have other forms of the 2nd person pronoun without that connotation, and that the addressed in the vocative case were animals and plants. This fact seems to indicate that the original person of OJ *na* was a 2nd person not a 1st person (Jidaibetsu 1985:512) pronoun. This fact contradicts the preceding evidence. Therefore, it is safe to state at this point

that OJ *na* was both a 1st and a 2nd person pronoun in pre-Japanese. However, since a 3rd person pronoun becomes readily extended to a 1st person pronoun in many languages, it is possible or even probable that the Proto-Japanese **na* may have been a 3rd person pronoun, which was developed into a 1st person pronoun as early as in pre-Japanese; this then became less frequently used, when the 2nd person pronoun **na* became more productive. Then, the 1st person pronoun *na* became obsolete with the remnant of the noun compound forms discussed above and the *na* was used only for the deprecatory 2nd person pronoun in Old Japanese.

Miller (1981:198–9, 202–3) insists that OJ *na* is cognate with the Proto-Mongolian 2nd person plural pronoun **ta* and the Old Korean 1st person singular pronoun *na*. It is possible that OJ *na* may be cognate with OK *na*. However, this would not necessarily mean that both forms are inherited from Proto-Mongolian or Proto-Altaic. It is impossible to relate OJ *na* to PMo **ta* because the word-initial consonant *t*- of PMo **ta* never corresponds to the word-initial *n*- of OJ *na*. For that matter, he should have related OJ *na* with Mo *na-*, the 1st person singular oblique stem and not with PMo **ta*.

We cannot preclude that *na* as an unproductive 1st person pronoun and a productive 2nd person pronoun in Old Japanese may have been a 1st person pronoun in pre-Japanese, which was either inherited from pre- or Proto-Korean or borrowed from Old Korean, probably from Silla or Paeckche. There is also another possibility that Proto-Korean had **na* as a 3rd person pronoun, which then developed into the 1st person pronoun in pre-Korean and Old Korean, in which case, Proto-Japanese and Proto-Korean had had the same original personal pronoun **na*.

Since the two main Altaic branches, Manchu-Tungus and Old Turkic did not have a 1st person pronoun *na*, or even the oblique stem *na-*, it is doubtful that both OJ *na* and OK *na* or any of them were inherited from Proto-Mongolian or Proto-Altaic. In addition, there is a very little possibility that both or either one of the two were borrowed either from Proto-Mongolian or Proto-Altaic. All this evidence leads to the conclusion that OJ *na* and probably OK *na* also may have been a 3rd person pronoun in Proto-Japanese and Proto-Korean but not a 1st or 2nd person pronoun. This conclusion implies that OJ *na* and probably OK *na* also may have been inherited from some other language or language family.

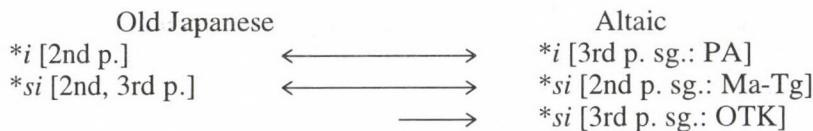
Both Miller (1981:183–4) and Murayama (1950:45–6) claim that the Old Japanese 2nd person pronoun *i* is compared to the 3rd person singular pronoun *i* which exists in all the Altaic main branches and can be postulated as **i* for the Proto-Altaic 3rd person singular pronoun. They also insist that the Old Japanese 3rd person singular pronoun *i* was inherited from the Proto-Altaic 3rd person pronoun and then it became extended in use to the 2nd person singular pronoun. Since this kind of extension is also very common in many language families, this suggests that this extension in use may have occurred at the latest by the end of the pre-Japanese period. But if we consider all other functions of OJ *i* (see be-

low), we cannot relate it with Proto-Altaic **i* existing in all the Altaic branches because none of the Altaic languages show any of the additional other functions of the OJ *i* and also because we can hardly think that the other functions in all the Altaic branches might have been lost. Hence, we need to search another language family for the origin of this element.

Further, both Miller and Murayama insist that the other Old Japanese 2nd person pronoun *si* is cognate with the Manchu-Tungus 2nd person singular pronoun *si*, which might also possibly be cognate with that of Mongolian *ci* (coming from the Proto-Mongolian **ti*). Both also claim that Ma-Tg *si* and PMo **ti* are derived from the Proto-Altaic 2nd person singular pronoun **si*. It is, however, impossible that the original 2nd person singular pronoun **si* which is identical with the Old Turkic 3rd person singular pronoun **si* was reconstructed on the basis of the Ma-Tg and PMo forms.

OJ *si* had not only the functions of the 2nd and 3rd person pronoun but also many other functions (see below), which probably developed for external reasons. These other functions cannot be found in the corresponding Ma-Tg *si* [2ps] and OTK **si* [3ps]. Thus, OJ *si* cannot be either inherited or borrowed from Proto-Altaic, and it is impossible to connect it etymologically with any of the Proto-Mongolian and Proto-Turkic mentioned above.

The above mentioned comparative details are put together in the following chart:



Miller (1981:200–1) asserts that OJ *ore* ‘you (deprecatory)’ and OJ *ono₂/ono₂re* ‘myself, one’s self’ is cognate with all the Altaic words, Mo örel/örö ‘guts’, Ma-Tg *ur* ‘animal’s stomach’, OTK öz ‘own, self; he’ and that the reflexive meaning ‘self’ appears to be the original meaning of these words including OJ *ore*. But those words in Mongolian and Manchu-Tungus branches have concrete meanings as opposed to abstract meaning in Old Turkic; and the concrete meaning of basic words such as these above is normally older than the abstract meaning. In other words, abstract meaning is normally derived from its concrete meaning if both meanings have something in common, which in this case they do. We can also hardly think that these concrete meanings as above are derived from the abstract noun ‘self’. Thus, Miller’s claim would not hold. Moreover, there seem to be some Old Japanese cognates which fit to these Altaic words: OJ *uti* ‘home’ and *udi* ‘tribe’. We also know that OJ *ore* (**o₂re*) consists of *o* and *re* not of *or* and *e* (the latter of which Miller tries to compare with Mo örel/örö, Ma-Tg *ur*, OTK öz, and analyzing the Mo forms as ör + e/o in order to find fitting forms to the other Altaic words). It is well known that Old Japanese

also had *ono₂re* 'myself, oneself' and *ono₂* meaning 'myself, oneself' in which the *re* of *ore* is some kind of suffix. This makes us doubt that the Old Japanese *ore* is cognate with these Altaic words. And instead, it would indicate either that ① Old Japanese *ore* might be a loan from Proto-Mongolian which is less likely or that ② OJ *uti* and *udi* may be cognate only with OTK *öz* and OK *uri* 'cage', and OJ *ore* (for that matter OJ *ono₂* and *ono₂re*) may be related only with Mo *öre/örö*, or that ③ OJ *uti* and *udi* may be cognate only with OTK *öz* and MK *uri*, and OJ *o₂re* may have been shortened from OJ *ono₂re* and may not be related with Mo *öre/örö* whatsoever because we are not certain that Mo *öre/örö* is analyzed as *ö* + *re/rö*. That is, there may be two possible sources of OJ *ore*: one is either inherited or borrowed from Altaic and the other is internally developed from OJ *ono₂re*. However, for the above reason, we conclude that OJ *ore* was internally developed rather than borrowed or inherited from Altaic. Hence, it is an internal element. The results of the above explanation are summed up in the following chart.

<i>Old Japanese</i>	<i>Altaic</i>
1. <i>ore</i> [loan]	↔
	<i>öre/örö</i> (PMo)
2. <i>uti; udi</i> [inheritance] <i>ore</i> [inheritance]	↔ ↔
	<i>öz</i> (OTK) <i>uri</i> (OK) <i>öre/örö</i> (PMo)
3. <i>uti; udi</i> [inheritance] <i>ore</i> [< OJ <i>ono₂re</i>]	↔ ↔
	<i>öz</i> (OTK) <i>uri</i> (OK)

[3] 3rd Person Pronouns

(a) Japanese

As already mentioned in the previous section, OJ had one 3rd person pronoun: *si*. And **i* did not appear as a 3rd person pronoun, but did appear as a demonstrative pronoun, which will be dealt with in the following section.

si ————— < **si* [pre-Japanese]

examples:

1. *si* *ŋa kataraFeba...* [Man. 904]
si *ŋa kataraFe ba*
 he [nom.] talk [conj.]
 'since he (my child) says...'

2. *si* *ŋa* mawosiko₂to₂ Fa... [Sem. 28]

si *ŋa* mawosi ko₂to₂ Fa
he [nom.] say matter [top.]
'what he (Nakamaro) said was...'

3. *si* *ŋa* tukaFe maturu sama ni stagaFite... [Sem. 48]

si *ŋa* tukaFe maturu sama ni stagaFite
they [nom.] serve [him] state [pros.] follow
'because of what they (one or two of the common people served (to him)...'

Si in the first two examples serves as the 3rd person *singular* and *si* in the last example as the 3rd person *plural*.

(b) Ryukyu

The 3rd person pronouns are normally displaced by the demonstrative pronouns **kare* which goes back to **ka* + **re*. The only words whose forms are identical with those of the Old Japanese noun *i* and 3rd person and demonstrative pronouns *si* are the 2nd person pronoun **i* in Ryu **ire*, which was mentioned in the previous section. The other functions of Ryu *i/si* will be dealt with in the following section.

[4] Old Japanese and Ryukyu Morphemes **i* and **si*

There are many morphemes with different functions in Ryukyu which are identical with the Old Japanese noun *i*, so the Ryukyu noun *si* and the 3rd person and demonstrative pronoun *i/si*. It seems that all these morphemes are not only formally but also semantically related with one another including the Old Japanese and Ryukyu noun *i* and the demonstrative and 3rd person pronoun *si*. Almost all scholars have treated all these morphemes separately because they thought the functions of all these morphemes were different from one another. Thus, they have never tried to integrate them into a larger framework that can handle all these morphemes including the Old Japanese and Ryukyu noun *i* and the demonstrative and 3rd personal pronouns *si*. The scope of their study seemed to be too narrow to cover all of the functions. That is why they failed to explain all the functions systematically.

When we systematically consider all the functions of these identical morphemes and the nouns and pronouns mentioned above, we may be able to reason that all these morphemes belonging to the two separate particular word families, **i* and **si* would have an underlying common function, although they appear to have different functions on the surface.

As previously explained, the functions of the Altaic 2nd and 3rd person pronouns cannot explicate all the functions of the Old Japanese and Ryukyu morphemes and pronouns, since the functions of the Altaic pronouns do not possess most of the functions of the OJ and Ryu morphemes *i* and *si*. Therefore, they must be traced into some other languages and/or language families such as Ainu, Giliyak, Austronesian and Austroasiatic.

Now, we will consider all the functions of the Old Japanese and Ryukyu morphemes *i* identical with the 2nd person pronoun *i*. First, we will look at all the suffixes with different functions:

[A] All the functions of the morpheme i

(a) suffixes

① emphatic nominative case suffix

Japanese

1. naramaro komarora-*i* sakasimanaru to₂mo₂gara wo
FizanaFi Fikiwite... [Sem. 19]
naramaro komaro-ra *i* sakasimanaru to₂mo₂gara wo FizanaFi
Naramaro Komaro- [pl] [nom.] rebellious friend-[pl] [acc.] inciting
Fikiwite...
leading
'Naramaro, Komaro, and other bad and rebellious men inciting and
leading a band of rebels...'
2. aritigata arinagusame₂te₂ ikamedo₂mo₂ iFe-naru imo *i* obosimisemu [Man.
3161]
aritigata arinagusame₂te₂ ika-me-do₂mo₂ iFe-naru imo *i*
[pil. word] consoling go-wish- [conj.] home-is wife [nom.]
obosimisemu
long for
'Although I would like to go, consoling myself with the beautiful gloomy
and uncertain...'

Ryukyu

1. ototaru-*i* kimokarato... [Omoro.14–11 (992)]
ototaru *i* kimo-karato
Ototaru [nom.] heart-from
'Ototaru is (adored) very much and...'

I in the Old Japanese and Ryukyu examples clearly shows the nominative case suffix, whose function is to emphasize the nominativeness (the nominative case is normally indicated without any specific suffix in Old Japanese). In Ryukyu the nominative case suffix *ga* has the same function; and the Ryukyu *ga* is cognate with Old Japanese *yga*.

② emphatic accusative case suffix

Japanese

1. mitumitusi kume₂ no₂ ko-ra-ga kubututu-i isitutu-i moti... [K.10; N.S.9]
 mitumitusi kume₂ no₂ ko-ra ga kubututu i
 [pil. word] Kume [gen.] soldier- [pl] [nom.] kubutsutsu [acc.]
 isitutu i moti
 ishizutsu [acc.] having
 ‘soldiers in Kume having kubutsutsu and ishizutsu (swords)...’

Ryukyu

1. sirotsumo-i masi-i mitsaru... [Omoro. 20–42 (1372)]
 sirotsumo i masi i mi tsaru
 paddy [acc.] footpath [acc.] look [perf.]
 ‘I have looked at the paddy and footpaths’
2. katanautsi-i jakuni toyomiyoware [Omoro. 1–5 (5)]
 katanautsi i jakuni toyomi yoware
 sword-having [acc.] country get famous [resp.]
 ‘I hope I, having a sword, will be famous throughout the country’

Since further examples of this Old Japanese accusative case suffix are not found in any documents of the Old Japanese period, and this text above appears repeated several times in identical form, we believe that this function was almost fossilized by the time of early Old Japanese. In other words, this suffix was no longer productive by the time of early Old Japanese, probably because the other accusative case suffix *wo* had become predominant by that time (Itabashi 1989:153).

Both Iwa and Hokama (1981:226–7) have claimed that the *i* of the second Ryukyu example was a *kakari-joshi*, which correlated with the sentence-final verb + *yoware* (izenkei form) because this *kakari-musubi* concord is identical with ‘*su*’ ... ‘V + *yoware*’ (of which *su* corresponded to the Old Japanese *ko₂so₂*) except for the suffix *i* rather than *su*. This *su* *kakari-musubi* concord is well-established in Omorosaushi, so that according to their claim, this *i* must also be a *kakari-musubi* concord with the identical function with the *su* concord. However, there remains a question: since Omorosaushi has already had a well-

established *su* concord, why would it need some other concord which had the same function? This implies that this *i* concord must have had some function different from the function the *su* concord had; this *i* can be regarded as the accusative case suffix rather than the kakari-joshi because this type of *i*, that is, the accusative case is found only in this example of Omorosaushi. The idea of the *i* concord is doubtful because this example is the only one with their claimed *i* concord as opposed to the *su* concord which is represented many examples of Omorosaushi.

③ vocative case suffix

Ryukyu

1. otomako-*i* akamako-*i* okaruna [Omoro. 14–17 (998)]
 otomako *i* akamako *i* okaru-na
 my sister- [voc.] my sister [voc.] exist- [ques.]
 ‘My sister, are you home?’

This is the only example of the vocative case in Ryukyu and no analogous use can be found in Old Japanese. The *i* in this example clearly shows the vocative case which serves as the emphasis on otomako and akamako, the nouns before the suffix. That is, this suffix makes these nouns stand out as opposed to some other elements in the sentence.

④ locative case suffix

Japanese

1. kono kuni-*i* keu-wo Firomuru-ni... [Konkōmyōsaishōkyō Vol. 6 (early Heian)]
 kono kuni *i* keu wo Firomuru ni
 this country [loc.] sutra [acc.] spread [temp.]
 ‘When I go on a mission in this country...’

Ryukyu

1. Fikamits i-*i* yaki-no-omoikiya matsiyori... [Omoro. 14–15 (996)]
 Fikamitsi *i* yaki-no-omoiki-ya matsi i-yori
 east road [loc.] Yaki- [pos.] -love- [emp.] waiting-is
 ‘I might see my love of Yaki on the east road,’

I is not found in any document of the early Old Japanese period like Nara, which does not necessarily mean that the locative case of *i* did not exist at that

time. But rather, that case of *i* probably may have been used in Old Japanese, but it did not appear in any document until the early Heian period. What is more, the locative case suffix *ni* almost took over the role of the locative suffix *i* in Old Japanese (we believe *i* and *ni* were developed from the referential nominal **i*). The locative function of *i* reappeared in the formal document, which tends to retain old forms and remnants, such as a Buddhist sutra at a later time.

Ryukyu also has a locative case suffix *i* as shown in the example above. Some scholars such as Hokama (1981:225) claim that the inscription of this letter was ‘ha’ rather than ‘*i*’, but in some other texts except for the Iwa text appears ‘*i*’, so we assume that the letter in question is ‘*i*’, not ‘ha’.

In terms of functions there is no doubt that this Ryukyu *i* serves as the locative case suffix, rather than just an emphatic element on the noun before it, although its original function must have been a deictic emphasis on the noun before it.

⑤ unbound nominalizing suffix ($N \rightarrow N$)

Japanese and Ryukyu (Omoro.)

1. *saka-* ‘sake’ + *i* > *sake₂* ‘sake’
2. *ama-* ‘heaven’ + *i* > *ame₂* ‘rain’

As in the examples above, the function of the suffix *i* is deictic/emphatic; by changing the combining nominal form to the unbound form: the noun itself becomes more definite and specific. *Saka-* itself is not used alone but is used with other nouns like *-ya* ‘shop’, the combination of which becomes a word directly related to *sake*, whereas *sake₂* directly refers to the liquid itself. The relationship of *ama-* to *ame₂* is similar to the first example: *ame₂* is the specific material falling from the *ama-* ‘heaven’, which is not normally employed alone.

⑥ verbal suffixes

- 1) continuative (ren’yoiki) forming suffix

Japanese

1. **kak-* + *i* > *kaki-* ‘to write’
2. **tat-* + *i* > *tati-* ‘to stand up’

Ryukyu

1. **kak-* + *i* > *katfi-* ‘to write’ [Ryukyu]
2. **num-* + *i* > *numi-* ‘to drink’ [Ryukyu]

This kind of suffix *i* appears only in four-step, upper one- and two-step, and irregular conjugation verbs in Old Japanese. The same suffix appears only in one- and two-step conjugation verbs in Ryukyu.

As in both Japanese and Ryukyu examples, this suffix *i* is thought to serve as a nominalizing element for both Japanese and Ryukyu verbs. When a Ryukyu verb has a final [k] in the stem, it becomes palatalized into [tʃ] as shown in Ryukyu example 1 above. On the other hand, when a Japanese verb has the same consonant in the stem, it never becomes palatalized. However, this phonological difference never affects the meaning of the word.

Furthermore, this suffix can be also thought of as a predicating suffix if the final (shushikei) form with *-i* of *ra*-line irregular verbs (like *ar-i* and *wor-i*) is viewed as more of a basic form than the other form with *-u* of four-step verbs (such as *tat-u* ‘to stand’ and *tug-u* ‘to tell’). That is, this suffix *i* can end a sentence. This view of the predicating function contradicts the previous tenet of the nominalizing function. We take the latter view because we regard some other derived conjugations mentioned above and below as part of a unified verbal system; those conjugations can be explicated in a lot more systematic way than the ordinary view of the nominalizing function (cf. Matsumoto 1995:162–5).

2) conditional (izenkei) forming suffix

Japanese

1. **kak-a-* (indefinite [mizenkei] : vt) + *i* > *kake*₂- ‘write (vt)’
2. **tat-a-* (indefinite [mizenkei] : vi) + *i* > *tate*₂- ‘stand up (vi)’

Ryukyu

1. **ik-a-* (indefinite [mizenkei] : vi) + *i* > *ike-* ‘go (vi)’
2. **mat-a-* (indefinite [mizenkei] : vt) + *i* > *mate-* ‘wait for (vt)’

The izenkei form *e*(₂) of four-step conjugation verbs is derived from the combination of the mizenkei suffix *a* and the izenkei forming suffix *i*. This suffix *i* is probably the same as that of ⑥ above: the deictic/emphatic suffix. The relationship of the mizenkei form, for instance, *kak-a-* to the original form of the izenkei and meireikei form *kak-a-i* > *kake*₂ is that of the bound form *ama-* to the unbound form *ama-i* > *ame*₂. The main function of the forms of four-step conjugation verbs is characterized by ‘indefinite and generic’, whereas that of the forms of nouns is characterized by ‘definite and specific’. Thus the main function of the izenkei form is deictic/emphatic such as ‘iriFi *sasinure*₂ (since the setting sun shone,...)’ [Man. 135], where the *sasinure*₂ itself makes the conditional clause without a correlative emphatic word *ko*₂*so*₂. This implies that the

original function of the izenkei form was probably to make verb stems independent and emphatic just as unbound nouns do. (Matsumoto 1995:166)

3) imperative (meireikei) forming suffix

Japanese

1. oshaku-ni maira-*i* to no onoFosenari [Otogisaushi; Kokurie]
 oshaku ni maira *i* to no onoFose-nari
 pouring [purp.] coming [imp.] [quo.] [pos.] command- [cop.]
 'He commanded, "Come to pour (sake into my cup)"...'

Although only one example is cited from the early Edo period, it may be the case that the use of this suffix in Old Japanese may not have been proven. However, there are some dialects where this function of the suffix is found; for instance, my dialect (Sendai; Miyagi) has the same suffix *i(n)* or *î* to make an imperative (meireikei) conjugation:

1. og-a- 'to place s. th. down' [mizenkei] + *i(n)* > ogai
2. hashira- 'to run' [mizenkei] + *i(n)* > hashirai
3. mi-ra- 'to look' [mizenkei] + *i(n)* > mirai
4. uda- 'to strike' [mizenkei] + *i(n)* > udai

We do not know the function of the final nasal /n/ of /-i(n)/, but it may be some kind of suffix. In fact, this final /-n/ can be omitted, but it seems that the older generations have this nasal or a nasalized vowel /-î/, in which case it may have been a fusion of the vowel and the following nasal /-n/.

Of course this kind of dialectal verification does not prove any existence of this suffix in Old Japanese, since these forms in this dialect may possibly be an internal development. However, the possibility of the internal development is extremely low; that function of that dialect must be a remnant of the function of Old Japanese because the phonological fusion of *-a-i* before the Old Japanese period did not take place in that dialect and remained intact, while the ordinary imperative (meireikei) form is the result of that fusion, namely, *-e₂* (<-*a-i*), which may have taken place in Old Japanese. These dialectal examples infer that at least this suffix is not so rare and give support to our supposition of the existence of this suffix before the Old Japanese period.

The function of this suffix must be the same as that of the izenkei forming suffix, that is, the deictic/emphatic suffix, since the meireikei form is employed to specifically address the second person. As its name shows, the suffix of the meireikei form is a stronger realization of the deictic/emphatic function than that of the izenkei form.

4) resultant-state forming suffix

Japanese

1. *tata- (indefinitive; vi) + *i* > tate₂- 'to stand (vt)'
2. *nura- (indefinitive; vt) + *i* > nure₂- 'to become wet (vi)'
3. *o₂to₂- (nominal adjective: 'inferior') + *i* > yo₂ti- 'to fall (vi)'
4. *yo₂ko₂ (nominal: 'peripheral area') + *i* > yo₂ki- 'to avoid/detour (vi)'

Ryukyu

1. *tata- (indefinitive; vi) + *i* > tate₂- 'to stand (vt)'
2. *tuka- (indefinitive; vi) + *i* > tuke₂- 'to stick (vt)'
3. *taka- (nominal adjective: 'high') + *i* > take₂- 'to be superior (vi)'
4. *aka (nominal: 'red (n)') + *i* > ake₂- 'to dawn (vi)'

In Japanese examples 1 and 2, the function of the suffix *i* is to change a transitive to an intransitive verb and vice versa. The suffix *i* of the ren'yokei form of four-step conjugation verbs, for example, *tat-i* is originally the same as that of lower two-step conjugation verbs *tata-i* (> tate₂), which infers that the original function of the suffix *i* to verbal stems is to predicate them (Matsumoto 1995:162).

In Ryukyu examples 1 and 2, the same can be said about the original function of the suffix *i*, (note that there seem to be fewer examples in Ryukyu). Thus, the suffixed verbs in all the first two examples of Japanese and Ryukyu can be called 'resultant state verbs'. The fact that the intransitive verbs changed their function to the transitive verbs is that the original resultant state was reinterpreted into their actor-action motion (Matsumoto 1995:165). For instance (Matsumoto 1995:165):

**tata nama-i*

shield line up

The possible meanings are:

- ① shields form in line
- ② shields are being lined up
- ③ someone forms shields in a line

The original meaning of the sentence was probably either ① or ②, but then that resultant state was restructured into the actor-action motion, which the verb indicates, *name₂-* to mean ③. There seem to be many examples of reinterpretation of verbs into actor-action verbs or agent/situation verbs in which case the original verbs are transitive. Therefore, it is safe to claim that each ren'yokei form of four- and two-step conjugation verbs is a predication form and a derived predication form [e.g. *tati* (vi) and *tata-i* (vt)] respectively, so that these two

verbs were originally one single verb, which came to be conjugated separately (Kawabata 1979:337; Matsumoto 1995:165–6).

Japanese examples 3 and 4 show that the function of the suffix *i* is to change an adjective or a nominal to a verb. We can state from this observation that the original function of this suffix *i* is to change from a simple state to the resultant state (= to make inchoative verbs) which the verbal stems or nouns indicate, rather than referring to the simple state or nominal form. The same principle is applied to the third and fourth Ryukyu examples, although the number of the examples may be fewer than those of Old Japanese.

To sum up, we can safely claim that the original function common to all the suffixes *i* is deictic/emphatic; some of those suffixes appear as markers to indicate particular emphasis.

(b) prefixes

① emphatic prefix (to nouns, verbs and adjectives)

Japanese

1. komoriku-no₂ hatuse-no₂ kaFa-no₂ kami-tu se-ni *i*-kuFi-wo uti,... [Man. 3236]
 komoriku no₂ hatuse no₂ kaFa no₂ kami tu
 [pil. word] [gen.] Hatsuse [gen.] river [gen.] upstream [loc.]
 se ni *i* kuFi wo uti
 rapid [loc.] [emp.] peg [acc.] strike
 'striking the pegs in the rapid of the upstream of Hatsuse River,...'
2. umi-ni *i*-detaru sikama kaFa... [Man. 3605]
 umi ni *i* detaru sikama kaFa
 ocean [dir.] [emp.] going-out Shikama river
 'Shikama River running into the ocean...'

Ryukyu

1. ſiForaſi *i*-kotoba-ya... [Ryuka. 224]
 ſiForaſi *i* kotoba ya
 splendid [emp.] words [excl.]
 'splendid words...'
2. toſi-ka mitose *i*-kiyote... [Omoro. 12–7 (658)]
 toſi ka mitose *i* kiyote
 year [gen.] 3rd-year [emp.] inviting
 'In the 3rd year we invited (the Goddess),...'

3. mi-inotsi-no tsuna mi-hosi-no tsuna i-jiyoku,... [Nantokayo (jo) 0-29-29]
 mi inotsi no tsuna mi hosi no tsuna i jiyoku
 [hon.] life [gen.] rope [hon.] star [gen.] rope [emp.] strong
 'The rope of life and of a star is so strong,...'

The prefix *i* is not only found in Old Japanese but also Ryukyu. There are numerous verbal examples of this prefix in Manyoshu, while there are very few nominal examples of this prefix in it. In Omorosaushi of Ryukyu, on the other hand, there are a number of verbal and nominal examples of this prefix.

The function of the prefix *i* is to emphasize either a noun or a verb after it. It developed probably the same way as the unbound nominalizing suffix *i*, namely, the deictic/emphatic function. The noun or the verb to which the prefix added becomes more definite and specific: the noun in the first example is a definite and specific peg, which has the very similar function of the definite article 'the' of English. The verb, *idetaru* in the second example is used with a directive case suffix which indicates a specific destination, (*the ocean the river runs into*). Likewise, the verb *ikofu* in example 2 indicates the particular invitation of the Goddess.

The *i* in the 3rd Ryukyu example, the adjective *jiyo-shi* carries emphasis. This kind of adjectival emphasis is not found in Old Japanese. This adjectival emphasis may be the result of an internal development rather than an old remnant from pre-Japanese. Note that no remnants of this emphasis have been found in Old Japanese. However, the distribution of this emphasis *i* in Ryukyu is broader than that in Old Japanese. This may indicate the original Old Japanese and Ryukyu *i* may have been more of a general emphasis than a specific emphasis.

(c) demonstrative pronoun 'that'

Japanese

1. aratayo₂ ni to₂mo₂ni aramu to₂ tamano₂wo no₂ tayeji *i* imo to₂ musubite si ko₂to₂ Fatasazu... [Man. 481]
 aratayo₂ ni to₂mo₂ni aramu to₂ tamano₂wo no₂ tayeji
 new age [loc.] together exist [quo.] [pil.word] [gen.] disappear
i imo to₂ musubite si ko₂to₂ Fatasazu
 that wife [com.] unite [emp.] matter realize-not
 'I could not promise my wife to last our relationship forever,...'

2. Farukaze-ni midarenu-*i* ma-ni misemu komo₂-gamo₂ [Man. 1851]
 Farukaze ni midare-nu *i* ma ni mise mu
 spring wind by become disarrayed-not that interval [temp.] show [vol.]
 ko mo₂ gamo₂
 child [emp.] [excl.]
 'While spring wind has not yet disarrayed (it), I wish I could show (it) to children'

This function is found only in Old Japanese and not in Ryukyu. The demonstrative pronoun appears to be always preceded by the attributive form (*ren-taikei*) of the verb, *tayeqi-* and *midarenu-*.

The function of this *i* is to emphasize the clause immediately before it in order to relate that clause with the subsequent clause. In other words, the *i* has the function of referring back to the preceding clause: to a demonstrative pronoun. There is at least one more example in Manyoshu for this: No. 1359.

It is also possible to regard this *i* as a noun meaning 'fact'. If it is the case, then this noun may have developed from the original undistinguishable deictic/emphatic function of *i* through the stage of the independent demonstrative pronoun; and it belongs to the category of the following section (d). In either case, these apparently different functions may have been developed from the original referential role of *i*.

(d) noun indicating 'person/fact'

Japanese

1. ko₂re-wo tamotu-*i*-Fa Fomare-wo itasi,... [Sem. 45]
 ko₂re wo tamotu *i* Fa Fomare wo itasi
 this [acc.] cherish person [top.] praise [acc.] receive
 fact
 'Those who believe in this (teaching) are to gain praise,.../believing in this (teaching) is to gain praise,...'
2. suturu-*i*-Fa sosiri wo maneki-tu. [Sem. 45]
 suturu *i* Fa sosiri wo maneki tu
 abandon person [top.] abuse [acc.] invite [cont.]
 fact
 'those who do not believe in (this teaching) are to invite abuse/not believing in (this teaching) is to invite abuse'

It would be easier to grasp this semantic relationship between the two forms, if we interpret *mono* as 'person, fact'.

This noun *i* is found only in Old Japanese, but not in Ryukyu, although a similar noun *si* appears only in Ryukyu. There are very few examples of this

noun *i* even in Old Japanese and the only examples we have found are cited from the same compound sentences in the Semmyo. This seems to imply that this function had already become unproductive or even obsolete by the time of the early Old Japanese period.

The noun *i* in these examples indicates the two separate meanings ‘person’ and ‘fact’, which are indistinguishable in interpreting the sentence, since either meaning can be understood. We cannot determine which of the two meanings is original: one can postulate that the meaning ‘person’ is more likely to have been used because it is more concrete in its meaning than ‘fact’, which represents an abstract concept. Note that a concrete meaning is older than the abstract one. On the other hand, if the original meaning was deictic/emphatic, then the meaning ‘fact’ may have been derived directly from the emotional concept.

[B] All the functions of the morpheme si

(a) suffixes

① emphatic suffix

Japanese

1. kimi wo si o₂mo₂Feba inekatenukamo₂ [Man. 607]
 kimi wo si o₂mo₂Fe ba ine katenu kamo₂
 you [acc.] [emp.] think [cond.] sleep difficult wonder
 ‘as I long for you, alas I cannot sleep!’
2. Fo₂to₂to₂gisu ko₂ yu nakiwataru ko₂ko₂ro₂ si aru rasi [Man. 1476]
 Fo₂to₂to₂gisu ko₂ yu naki wataru ko₂ko₂ro₂ si aru rasi
 cuckoo this place [pros.] sing cross heart [emp.] exist appear
 ‘the cuckoo, crying, flies over this place, perhaps he has (the same) feeling
 (as I have)’

There is only one kind of suffix *si*, emphatic suffix, which is well attested by many examples, but found only in Old Japanese, not in Ryukyu. One of the characteristics of that suffix (as opposed to the suffix *i*) is that it can follow most parts of speech: it can occur after a noun (e.g. *ko₂ko₂ro₂ si*, *hito si*), verb (e.g. *miraku si*, *yorite si*), other suffixes (e.g. *sika si*, *wo si*), and it can precede other suffixes (e.g. *si mo₂*, *si zo₂*). It is interesting to note that this suffix represented by the character 之 ‘this’ and its meaning is similar to that of *zo₂* and *ko₂so₂* in the later language, although *si* cannot end a sentence, while *zo₂* and *ko₂so₂* can. This evidence shows that unlike the suffix *i*, this suffix cannot morphologically and syntactically affect the predicate of a sentence. Its function is simply to put

emphasis on the particular part of speech immediately before it and/or transfer on it the dominance of a deictic element.

(b) demonstrative pronoun 'that'

Japanese

1. oFuwo-yosi sibi tuku ama-yo *si*-ga are₂ ba urakoFosi-kemu... [Kojiki: Seinei]

oFuwo yosi sibi tuku ama yo *si* ga are₂ ba
[pil.word] [suf.] mackerel pierce ama [excl.] it [nom.] leave [cond.]
OFuwo Sibi (name) sibi

ura koFosi kemu
heart miss [sup.]

'Sibe!, who tries to win OFuwo's love, if the mackerel (OFuwo) left you behind, you would feel lonely.'

The suffix as a demonstrative pronoun is found only in Old Japanese, but not in Ryukyu. However, there is only one example for its use. This is because there are other forms of the demonstrative pronoun *so₂-*, which had taken over in most cases the function of this demonstrative pronoun *si* by the time of recorded history. This infers that this example above must have been a remnant of an early systematic use of *si* as a demonstrative pronoun. As mentioned earlier, the 2nd and 3rd personal pronouns were expressed by the same *si*, that is, the same *si* had the undivided function of the demonstrative and personal pronouns. In this section, we will not explain those cases again, referring only to some additional places of occurrence the 3rd person pronoun: Semmyo 24, 28, 48; Nihonshoki: Yūryaku 13th year; Manyoshu 4211.

(c) noun indicating honorific title

Ryukyu

1. tsiyana-no-*si* Fa neis iyari, ... [Omoro. 15–48 (1099)]

tsiyana no *si* Fa nei siyari
Jana [gen.] person [top.] sound doing
'The person from Jana calls the tune and...'

2. tau-no-*si* namutsiya kokane motsi mitsiweru [Omoro. 15–48 (1099)]

tau no *si* namutsiya kokane motsi mitsiweru
Do [gen.] person silver gold having filled
'The person from Do has much silver and gold'

3. kise-no-*si*-ya waka ototsiya [Omoro. 17-7 (1181)]

kise no *si* ya waka ototsiya

Kise [gen.] person [top.] my brother

'The person from Kise is my brother'

This type of abstract noun designating an honorific title such as 'Mr, Majestic' is not attested in Old Japanese and is found only in Ryukyu. Old Japanese had two types of demonstrative pronouns *i* and *si*, the latter of which had probably the same form as the previous stage of the Ryukyu abstract noun *si*. This Ryukyu abstract noun *si* became developed from the demonstrative pronoun *si* 'he, she, they (that) person'. Many examples of this semantic development can be found in Omorosaushi. *I*, **i* of **ire* and *si* may be not only identical in form but also related with one another:

**ire* ————— < **i* [3rd P] + **re* [pre-Ryukyu]
si 'person (honorific)' ————— < **si* [pre-Ryukyu]

Although there are many other examples of *si* in Omorosaushi, we will consider only a few of them. *si* in example 1 indicates 'person (honorific title)' and the whole noun phrase refers to the particular person with a honorific title who came from the village called 'Jana' and who may be the village chief.

si in the second example shows, just like that of the first example, the 'person (honorific title)', so the entire noun phrase indicates the particular person who came from the village called 'Do'. If we go one step further, this whole noun phrase can be referred to as a person's name. This type of semantic and functional derivation is very common in Omorosaushi.

si in example 3 also indicates that 'person (honorific title)', and the whole noun phrase refers to the particular person with a honorific title *si*.

All these pieces of evidence suggest that the original function of this *si* was something emphatic or deictic; however, these qualities (emphasis or deicticity) are not always separable in their function.

[5] Conclusion

All the evidence we have seen so far points to the following conclusions: the OJ personal pronouns *wa* as well as possibly *o₂re* and *i/si* may be cognate with the corresponding Altaic personal pronouns. The rest of the OJ personal pronouns are not cognate with the particular Altaic personal pronouns. We infer from this conclusion that the Altaic personal pronouns did not play a major role in forming the OJ personal pronoun system as a whole, but did play an important role in filling some gaps of the personal pronouns in individual cases promoting to stabilize their functions of the OJ personal pronoun system as a whole.

We also infer that OJ or pre-Japanese is a nongenetic language whose lexicon and grammar were inherited from more than one language or language family in connection with the OJ personal pronouns.

Abbreviations

1. Languages

PA: Proto-Altaic
Pre-Ryu.: Pre-Ryukyu
Mo: Mongolian

PMo: Proto-Mongolian
Ma-Tg: Manchu-Tungus
OJ: Old Japanese

Pre-Jap.: Pre-Japanese
MK: Middle Korean
OTK: Old Turkic

2. Grammar

acc.: accusative
conj.: conjunction
conjec.: conjecture
cop.: copula
com.: comitative
comp.: comparative
cond.: conditional
depre.: deprecatory
emp.: emphatic

fut.: future
gen.: genitive
hon.: honorific
imp.: imperative
loc.: locative
nom.: nominative
pill.: pillow word
pl.: plural
pos.: possessive

pros.: prosecutive
ps.: person singular
purp.: purposive
ques.: question
quo.: quotation
rhet.: rhetoric
suf.: suffix
sug.: suggestive
top.: topic

3. Texts

K.: Kojiki
Man: Manyōshū
N.: Nihonshoki

NKBT: Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei
Omoro.: Omorosaushi
Sem.: Semmyo

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TÜRKISCHE DIMINUTIVSUFFIXE IN DEN TÜRKISCHEN LEHNWÖRTERN DER UNGARISCHEN SPRACHE

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Bei Betrachtung der türkischen Lehnwörter der ungarischen Sprache fällt die große Anzahl der Ableitungen auf. Zur Erklärung dient die große Aktivität dieser Wortbildungsart in der türkischen Sprachen.

Im Folgenden möchte ich eine Gruppe der aus türkischen Ableitungen stammenden ungarischen Lehnwörtern skizzenhaft darstellen, u. zw. die mit türkischen Diminutivsuffixen. Erst möchte ich aber auf einige Schwierigkeiten hinweisen. Die grundlegende Schwierigkeit liegt in der Natur dieser Suffixe, die verschiedensten Funktionen erfüllen zu können. Die Grundfunktion der folgenden Suffixe ist zwar die Diminution, aber sie kann sich in Richtung der Bildung von Namen für Geräte, Pflanzen, Tiere, Orte usw. erweitern. Im Türkischen können Suffixe von gleicher Form sowohl mit Verben als auch mit Nomen verbunden werden. Dieser Umstand erschwert die Etymologisierung der türkischen Wörter sehr, es stehen ja nicht immer alle nötigen Angaben zur Verfügung, um diese Frage zu entscheiden. Oft können wir nur feststellen, daß das Wort eine Ableitung ist, aber es ist zweifelhaft, ob aus einem Verbum oder einem Nomen. Im Falle der mit Diminutivsuffix versehenen alten ungarischen Personennamen stellt sich die spezifische Frage, ob das Wort schon in suffigierter Form in die ungarische Sprache übernommen wurde, oder ob sie erst im Ungarischen mit dem Suffix versehen wurde, da so manche Suffixe in der ungarischen und in der türkischen Sprache die gleiche Form besitzen.

In den türkischen Lehnwörtern der ungarischen Sprache kommen die folgenden Suffixe und ihre Kombinationen vor: **-č**, **-q~k**, und **-n**. Diese Suffixe verbanden sich in manigfaltiger Weise zu zusammengesetzten Suffixen, von denen verschiedene Formen in den ungarischen Lehnwörtern erscheinen.

I. Das Suffix **-č** und seine Zusammensetzungen

1. Das Suffix **-č** (**-ač**, **-äč**) erscheint in nur zwei Gattungsnamen und mehreren Eigennamen. Diese Gattungsnamen sind das vor der Landnahme übernommene Wort *kikerics* ‘Kuhschelle, Herbstzeitlose’, bzw. das aus dem Osman-türkischen übernommene *üvecs* ‘weibliches Lämmchen’.

Für die türkische Ausgangsform vom Blumennamen *kikerics* kann ein türkisches **kökärč* ‘Blauliches, Blauchen’ angenommen werden, das auf ein *kökär* ‘bläulich’ (< *kök* ‘blau’) zurückzuführen ist. Das es ein *kökärč* im Türkischen gab, wird von der Angabe Κονσταντίνος Πορφυρογένετος unterstützt. Das war der Name des zweiten Stammes der Petschenegen, und ist aus *küäärč* ‘bläulich’ und *čur* einem ‘Würdennamen’ zusammengesetzt (ByzT 2: 147).

Die Entsprechungen der Benennung des weiblichen Lämmchens, *üvecs*, sind nur in den ogus-türkischen Sprachen zu finden, in den Formen: *ögäč*, *öväč*, *öyüč*, *üväč*. All diese sind die diminutiven Ableitungen von *ög* ‘Lamm’, das aus einem turkmenischen Sprachdenkmal zu bestätigen ist. Es bleibt aber problematisch, wie das Wort in die ungarische Sprache geraten ist. Hasan Eren und Louis Ligeti meinen, es käme aus dem Osmanischen (TörK 102). Nur gibt es solche Wörter unter den osmanischen Lehnwörtern der ungarischen Sprache nicht. Vielleicht trug eine Vermittlersprache – in erster Linie kommt hier das Rumänische in Frage – dazu bei, daß dieses Wort sich in der Sprache der siebenbürgischen Ungarn verbreitete.

In den türkischen Personennamen ist das Suffix -č in der diminutiven und Kose-Funktion sehr häufig. Hier stellt sich zuerst die Frage, ob das Suffix -cs [-č] der mittelalterlichen ungarischen Personennamen den türkischen Appendix des türkischen Grundwortes darstellte, oder eine ungarische Zutat war. Mit Gewissheit kann das Suffix -č im Bestimmungswort des vorher erwähnten petschenegischen Stammesnamen, *Küerč-čur*, für türkisch gehalten werden, weiter auch in den zwei von István Mándoky aufgezeichneten kumanischen Familiennamen: *Alacs* (< *ala* ‘bunt’) und *Karacs* (< *qara* ‘schwarz’) (KNyME 133, 139). Unentschieden ist der Ursprung des Suffixes in den Personennamen *Bács* (< *Bayac* < *baya* Würdennamen), oder im altungarischen *Opuch* (< *Apač* < *Apa* ‘Vater’). Wahrscheinlich kann es in dem Personennamen *Bajcs* (< *bay* ‘reich’), oder in *Kajdacs* (< *Qaydi* ‘Umgewendeter’) für ein späteres ungarisches Suffix gehalten werden.

Als Variante des -č erscheint im Türkischen manchmal ein -š. Das können wir im kumanischen Familiennamen aus Ungarn, *Tekes* (< *täkä* ‘Ziegenbock’) beobachten (KNyME 145).

2. Die grundsätzliche Funktion des aus der Zusammensetzung von -č + -a stammenden türkischen Suffixes -ča, -čä ist Diminution und Kosung. Aber als Annex eines Personennamens kann es auch den Wohnort bestimmen, übernimmt also auch die Funktion eines Ortsnamen-Suffixes.

Das Diminutivsuffix -ča erscheint in nur einem einzigen, heute schon ausgestorbenen Gemeinnamen: in der zur Zeit der Türkeneherrschaft in Ungarn gänglichen Benennung des Klein- und Silbergeldes, *akcsa* (< *ak* ‘weiß’) (Rech. 32). Oft treffen wir es jedoch in Ortsnamen, wo es nicht mehr die Diminution zur Funktion hat. Von den Ortsnamen mit Suffix -csa können nur die aus der Kumanei stammenden für türkisch gehalten werden, solche wie z. B.: *Katoncsa* (< *qatun* ‘Frau’) und *Nyögércse* (< *nögär* ‘Militär-Gefolgsmann’) (KNyME 150). Da sie nicht nur in von Kumanen bevohnten Gebieten vorkommen, könnte

in den Orstnamen *Bajcsa* (< *bay* ‘reich’), *Kalocsa* (< *qali* ‘Überbleibsel’), *Karcsa* (< *qara* ‘schwarz’), *Kölcse* (< *kül* ‘Würdename’), *Tarcsa* (< *tar* ‘khal’) das Suffix von ungarischem Ursprung sein, obwohl *Bajcsa* und *Karcsa* auch türkische Entsprechungen haben: *Bayča*, *Qarča*.

3. Die häufigste Funktion des aus -č + -q, -k zusammengesetzten Suffixes **-čaq, -čäk** ist neben der Diminution die Bildung von Gerätenamen. In den alten Lehnwörtern kommt meistens eben diese zweite Funktion zur Geltung.

Aus den Zeiten vor der ungarischen Landnahme sind nur drei mit dem Suffix **-čaq** gebildete Lehnwörter von sicherer Etymologie bekannt: *borsó* ‘Erbse’, *orsó* ‘Spindel’ und *koporsó* ‘Sarg’. Unter ihnen kann man vielleicht nur im Falle von *borsó* an eine türkische, mit Diminutivsuffix versehene Prämisse denken. Das türkische *burčaq* ‘Erbse’ wurde tatsächlich mit dem Suffix **-čaq** gebildet, nur das Grundwort ist umstritten. Von Clauson, Jegorov und Sevortjan wurde sogar ein Verbum als Grundwort angenommen, während andere, z. B. Gabain, Brockelmann, es eher von einem Nomen herleiteten und unter den Verkleinerungen erwähnen. Meinerseits neige ich auch zu letzterer Annahme, doch das Suffix halte ich nur bedingt für ein Diminutiv. Im Falle von *orsó* (< *ur-čaq*) und *koporsó* (< *qapur-čaq*) kann das Suffix mit Gewissheit für ein Gerätenamen bildendes Suffix gehalten werden.

4. In den mittelalterlichen ungarischen Quellen treffen wir zahlreiche Personen- und Ortsnamen kumanischen Ursprungs die mit den Diminutiven **-čiq, -čik, -čuq, -čük** gebildet sind. Hier einige von ihnen: *Abcsik* (< *aba* ‘Vater’), *Bengecseg* (< *banyü* ‘ewig’), *Illuncsuk* (< *ilan* ‘Schlange’), *Köncsög* (< *kün* ‘gegerbtes Leder’), *Küpcsek* (< *kiip* ‘Gefäß, Krug’) (AntrC). *Töbörcsög* (< *tämür* ‘Eisen’) war der Name einer petschenegischen Siedlung (TörK 120).

5. Aus der Verbindung der Diminutivsuffixe **-č + -n** entstand das Suffix **-čin, -čin**. Sein Andenken bewahren zwei ungarische Pflanzennamen, *kökörcsin* ‘Kuhschelle’ und *komócsin* ‘Lieschgras’.

Die Prämisse von *kökörcsin* als Pflanzennname ist aus dem Türkischen nicht auszuweisen. Allgemein bekannt ist sie aber in der Bedeutung ‘Taube’, in den Formen *kökärchin*, *kügürchin*, *güverjin*, usw. Das Grundwort ist das oben im Zusammenhang mit dem Wort *kikerics* erwähnte Adjektiv *kökär* ‘von bläulicher Farbe’ (< *kök* ‘blau’). Aufgrund der bläulich-violetten Farbe einer Art der Kuhschellen kann angenommen werden, daß dieses Wort auch schon in der übergebenden Sprache als Pflanzennname diente.

Eine entsprechende türkische Form als Vorläufer von *komócsin* ‘auf Sumpfwiesen wachsende grasartige Pflanze’ ist nicht belegt, aber mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit kann ein türkischer Pflanzennname **qamuščin* angenommen werden, eine Ableitung aus dem weit bekannten Wort für ‘Rohr’, *qamuš*. Das ungarische Wort muß wegen seines späten Vorkommens (1798) für kumanisch gehalten werden.

Hierher gehört noch das Problem des ungarischen Personennamens *Taksony*. Obwohl das türkische Suffix **-čun, -čün** auch eine Variante **-šun, -šün** besitzt, kann die lautliche Anpassung erst im Ungarischen erfolgt sein. Ein Perso-

nennname *Toqčin* (< *toq* ‘satt, dick’) ist aus dem Türkischen erwiesen (OnT). Der übernommene türkische Personename könnte **Toqčun* oder **Toqšun* gelautet haben.

II. Das suffix *-q*, *-k*

1. Das *-q*, *-k* ist hinsichtlich seiner Funktion eines der reichsten türkischen Suffixen. Es kann sich sowohl Verben als auch Nomen anschließen. Zunächst sollen die deverbalen Wörter abgesondert werden, so wie *apró* ‘sehr klein’ (< *opra-* ‘schneiden, zerstückeln’), *karó* ‘Pfahl’ (< *kaz-* ~ *kar-* ‘hineinstechen in etw.’), *ocsú* ‘Afterkorn’ (< *uč-* ‘fliegen’), *tanú* ‘Zeuge’ (< *tani-*, *tanu-* ‘wissen, erkennen’). Von vielen türkischen Lehnwörtern ist aber nur bekannt, daß sie Ableitungen mit Suffix *-q*, *-k* darstellen, vom Grundwort ist es aber unbestimmt, ob es ein Verbum oder ein Nomen sei.

Unter den nominalen Wörtern müssen wir eine weitere Auswahl vornehmen, da das denominale Suffix *-q*, *-k* mehrere Funktionen besitzt. Neben der diminutiven und karitativen Funktion kann es auch eine determinative besitzen, weiters bildet es Gegenstandsnamen, Namen von Körperteilen und Ortsnamen. Das Material öfters durchforstend, kommen wir auf folgendes Ergebnis: in den Jahrhunderten vor der Landnahme besitzen sicher jene Wörter ein Diminutivsuffix, die ein Tierjunges bezeichnen, so z. B. *olló* ‘Rehkitz, Lamm, Zicken’, *ürü* ‘verschnittener Ziegenbock’ und *kölyök* ‘Welpe’.

Von sicherster Etymologie ist der Namen *olló* mit der türkischen Entsprechung *oylaq* (< *oyul* ‘Kind / Junges von jmd.’). Es kann kaum bezweifelt werden, daß auch *ürü* zu dieser Kategorie gehört, auch wenn das türkische Grundwort nicht auszuweisen ist. Die Prämissen des ung. *ürü* ist ein türk. *irk*, *irik*, im Türkmenischen sogar *ürü* ‘junger verschnittener Widder’. All diese Formen sind Ableitungen von einem türk. **ir*. Etwas anders interpretiert M. Erdal (S. 41) dieses Wort, hält es aber ebenfalls für eine Ableitung mit Diminutivsuffix. – Wahrscheinlich gehört hierher das Lehnwort bulgarisch-kasarischen Gepräges, *kölyök* (die ursprüngliche Bedeutung war ‘Tierjunges’), in dem sich an Stelle des gemeintürkischen *-š* ein *-l* Laut zeigt. Im Gemeintürkischen sind die Formen von *köšek* weitreichend belegbar, und die Form mit *-l* kann auch durch mong. *gölige* ‘Tierjunges, besonders Hundewelpe’ bestätigt werden. Das übernommene Wort von kasarisch-bulgarischem Typ könnte **köläk* gewesen sein. Die gemeintürkischen Wörter könnten diminutive Ableitungen aus einem nicht ausgewiesenen Wort **köš*, **köšä* darstellen. – Sicherlich ist der ausgestorbene kumanische Personename *Itük* eine diminuierende Ableitung aus *it* ‘Hund’ (AntrC 140).

Es ist möglich, daß in den türkischen Vorgängern von einigen, nicht Tierjunge bedeutenden Tiernamen ursprünglich auch mit diminuierender Funktion zu rechnen ist. Für ein solches halte ich in erster Linie das Wort *güzü* ‘Feldmaus, Ziesel’. Die Voraussetzung des ungarischen Wortes ist ein türkisches **kiüsäk* oder **küsük*, das nicht belegt ist. Es gibt aber andere diminuierte Formen, so wie

küsküü, küskä, küsä, anhand dieser kann ein noch unbekanntes **kiüs* Grundwort erschlossen werden.

Es ist nicht auszuschließen, daß auch die Wörter *sőreg* ‘Stör, Sterlett’ und *szúnyog* ‘Mücke, Gelse’ ein Diminutivsuffix beinhalten. (Darüber siehe M. Erdals ähnliche Meinung, S. 42). Das Wort *sőreg* (d.h. *šőreg*) ist von bulgarisch-kasarischem Ursprung, es zeigt sich in ihm ein *š* statt des gemeintürkischen *s*. Seine gemeintürkischen Formen *süürík*, *sürík* usw. sind bekannt; es sind wahrscheinlich Derivate des Adjektivs *sivri*, *süvri* ‘spitz’. – Die türkischen Entsprechungen des ungarischen Wortes *szúnyog* sind meistens palatal und haben in der Wortmitte ein *-y-* (z. B. osm. *sinek*, trkm. *siyek*), aber es konnten auch velare Formen, wie **siŋaq*, **siŋuq*, gegeben haben. Die türkischen Ausdrücke sind Ableitungen der lautmalenden Wörter: *siy*, *süz*. Das ungarische Wort stammt wahrscheinlich aus dem Petschenegischen, denn nur so kann die Entsprechung von türk. *-y- ~ ung. -n-* (*> ny*) erklärt werden (TörK 105).

Noch zweifelhafter ist die diminutive Funktion der Suffixe *-q*, *-k*, wenn es sich nicht um Tiernamen handelt.

Zuerst erwähne ich das Wort *homok* ‘Sand, Sandboden’, das in der frühesten Periode der ungarisch-türkischen Kontakte in die ungarische Sprache kam. Der Vorgänger des ung. *homok* war ein türkisches *qumaq* ‘Sand, sandiger Ort’, eine Ableitung aus türk. *qum* ‘Sand’. Das Wort ist im Türkischen gut belegbar. M. Erdal deutet das Wort *qum* als ‘Sand’ und *qumaq* als ‘Sandkorn’ (S. 40).

Ein Diminutivsuffix enthält auch die türkische Urform, *čöpik*, *čepák* aus <*čöp* ‘Abfall, Schmutz’ (Vgl. Erdal 43; Vásáry 277) des ungarischen Lehnwortes *csepű* ‘Werg’. – Vielleicht war der türkische Vorgänger, *tezák*, *tätzük* ‘Mist, getrockneter Mist’ des ungarischen *tőzeg* ‘Torf’, ursprünglich auch mit Diminutivsuffix versehen gewesen; das Grundwort ist aber im Türkischen nicht belegt. Es kam wahrscheinlich aus dem Kumanischen in die ungarische Sprache (TörK 91). – Ligeti nimmt als Vorgänger des ungarischen Wortes *idő* ‘Zeit’ ein türkisches **ödek* an, ein mit Diminutivsuffix versehenes Derivat aus dem wohlbelegten türkischen Wort für ‘Zeit’, *öd* (TörK 29). – Unentschieden ist der Status des türkischen Wortes *budaq* ‘Zweig, Rute’. Clauson und Doerfer meinen, es sei eine deverbale Abteilung, Erdal (44) aber hält es für das Diminutivum von *but*, *bud* ‘Schenkel, Bein’. Dieses türkische *budaq* erscheint in den ungarischen Ortsnamen *Bodajk* und *Bodoglar*.

In den weiteren hierher gehörenden türkischen Lehnwörtern des Ungarischen nahm das Suffix *-q*, *-k* statt der ursprünglichen diminutiven eine andere, spezialisierte Funktion an: es bildet Namen von Gefäßen, Behältern. Von den Lehnwörtern aus der Zeit vor der Landnahme vermute ich diese Funktion beim ungarischen Wort *köpű* <*küp-äk* <*küp* ‘Gefäß’; von denen kumanischen Ursprungs beim Wort *csanak* ‘Schöpfkelle aus Holz’ <*kum. čan-aq* <*čan* ‘Schüssel, Napf’ (das Grundwort stammt wahrscheinlich aus dem Chinesischen), und beim Wort *kobak* ‘Kürbisflasche’ <*kum. qab-aq* <*qab* ‘Gefäß’; schließlich von jenem osmanischen Ursprungs beim Wort *csibuk* ‘Tschibuk Pfeife’ <*osm. čib-uq* ‘Stab’ <*čib* ‘Ast’.

III. Das Suffix *-n* und seine Zusammensetzungen

1. Ähnlich dem *-q*, *-k*, kann auch das *-n* sowohl eine deverbales als auch ein denominales Suffix darstellen. Obwohl es im türkischen häufiger als deverbales Suffix erscheint, finden sich unter den Lehnwörtern viel mehr nominale als deverbale Ableitungen. Von letzteren gibt es nur zwei: *kín* ‘Pein, Qual’ (< *qiý-* ‘quälen’) und *szám* ‘Zahl’ (< *sa-* ‘zählen’).

Als denominales Suffix ist seine Funktion in erster Linie die Verkleinerung, aber es kann auch zum Ausdruck der Intensivierung und Augmentierung dienen. In den ungarischen Lehnwörtern kommt es in der letzteren Funktion öfters vor. Für solches halte ich es im ung. *özön* ‘Flut, Schwall’ (< *özän* ‘Tal, Flußbett, Fluß’ < *öz* ‘mittlerer Teil’), *gödény* ‘Pelikan’ und *görény* ‘Iltis’ (ihre Grundwörter sind nicht ganz klar). Wahrscheinlich hatte es auch im Stammesnamen der Kumanen, *kun* (< *ku* ‘gelblich, blond, fahl’) eine augmentierende, bekräftigende Funktion, so wie der Personennname *Köten*, *Kötöny* (< *köt* ‘Gesäß’) ausdrückt, daß der Junge ein starkes Gesäß haben soll, also zu einem guten Reiter werden soll.

Von ungewisser Funktion ist meines Erachtens das türkische *-n* Suffix im ung. *kökény* ‘Schlehdorn’. Der türkische Vorgänger ist das ebenfalls ‘Schlehedorf’ bedeutende *kökän* (< *kök* ‘blau’), in dem sowohl die Bedeutung ‘kleine blaue Beeren’, wie ‘sehr blaue Beeren’ möglich ist.

In der Fachliteratur erhob sich in Bezug auf die türkischen Vorgänger von zwei ungarischen Lehnwörtern die Meinung, sie seien Ableitungen mit dem Diminutivsuffix *-n*. Diese sind die Wörter *gyümölcsény* ‘Weißdorn’ und *kicsiny* ‘klein, wenig’. *Gyümölcsény* wird auch für eine Ableitung aus dem ung. *gyümölcs* ‘Frucht, Obst’ gehalten. Das ist aber darum unwahrscheinlich, weil die Bedeutung von *gyümölcsény* sich nicht unmittelbar von ‘Obst, Frucht’ ableiten läßt. Dieses Wort bezeichnet einen Dornbusch, seine Frucht inbegriffen. Zweifellos trifft das für den Weißdorn zu, dessen Name eine genaue Entsprechung im Türkischen hat: *yimišän* ‘Weißdorn’ (TörK 228). Das ist eine Ableitung mit dem Suffix *-än* aus *yimiš*. Brockelmann (130) hält es für ein Diminutiv.

Vom ungarischen Wort *kicsiny* ist nur die tschuwaschische Entsprechung bekannt: *kěšén* ‘klein, jung’. Die ins Ungarische gekommene türkische Form könnte **kičin* gewesen sein, von dem das Grundwort *kiči* auch weitere diminierte Formen im Türkischen besitzt, z. B. *kičinäk*, *kičkene* usw. Den türkischen Vorgänger des ungarischen Wortes *kicsiny* können wir mit Gewißheit für ein Diminutiv mit *-n* halten.

2. Aus der Verbindung der Diminutivsuffixe *-n* + *-a*, *-ä* entstand das türkische Suffix *-na*, *-nä*. Im Ungarischen kommt es nur in Eigennamen vor. Solche sind die Personennamen *Ernye* (< **Ärnä* < *är* ‘Mann’) aus der Zeit vor der Landnahme; der ausgestorbene, aus dem Kumanischen stammende Namen *Buhna*, *Buhnya* (< *Bugana* < *buga* ‘Stier’, Vgl. OnT) weiter der Ortsname *Pecsene*, *Becsene*, mit demselben Grundwort wie der Stammesname der Petschenegen (S. unten).

3. Die Koppelung der Diminutivsuffixe *-na*, *-nä* mit *-q*, *-k* ergab das türkische Suffix ***-naq***, ***-näk***. Es kommt verhältnismäßig selten vor.

Aus dem Ungarischen besitzen wir nur einen sicheren Beleg, eben den Stammesnamen der Petschenegen, *besenyő* (*beſen'ő*). Er kommt aus der Selbstbezeichnung der Petschenegen, *bäčänäk*, aber die Ungarn übernahmen ihn nicht aus dem Petschenegischen, sondern aus der bulgarisch-kasarischen Sprache, was die Wortendung und der Laut *-š* statt dem gemeintürkischen *-č* bezeugt. Der Stammesname *bäčänäk* ist eine mit *-näk* suffigierte Form von *bäčä*. Das türkische Grundwort *bäčä* erscheint im ungarischen Personennamen *Becse* aus der Arpadenzeit und in den von diesem abgeleiteten Ortsnamen *Óbecse*, *Becsháza* usw. als unmittelbar petschenegische oder kumanische Übernahme. Diesem Grundwort, aber seiner tschuwaschischen Form, entstammen der Personennname *Bese* und der Vogelname *bese* ‘eine Art Raubvogel’. Es ist fraglich, was die Bedeutung von diesem *bäčä* im Stammesnamen *Bäčänäk* sein könnte. Da der Vogelname nur durch eine einzige Angabe aus dem heutigen Uigurischen belegt ist, kann *bäjä*, *bäčä*, *başa* ‘Schwager’ als Grundwort für wahrscheinlicher gelten.

Zuletzt möchte ich noch die Möglichkeit erwähnen, daß das ungarische Wort für ‘Schwein’, *disznó*, ein Suffix *-naq* enthält. Wie bekannt, verfügen wir nur über einen einzigen Beleg aus den türkischen Sprachen, über das tschuwaschische *śisna* ‘Schwein’. Die von der bulgarisch-kasarischen Sprache übernommene Form könnte **jisnay* gewesen sein. Die gemeintürkische Entsprechung **jisnaq*, oder **yasnag* war wohl die mit dem Diminutivsuffix *-naq* versehene Ableitung aus dem unbelegten Wort, *yis* oder *yas*.

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NOMINA-VERBA MONGOLICA

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Morphologically multivalent words: roots and stems (morphemes or morpheme sequences) belonging to more than one morphosyntactic categories are known not only in the analytic languages, but also in those of agglutinative type, see, e.g., Hungarian *fagy* ‘frost’ and ‘to freeze’. It is a commonplace that English, originally a synthetic language, abounds in such morphemes like *star*, *stir*, and *store*, that can function as noun and verb, and in the case of English it is usually easy to state which is the primary and which is the secondary function that emerged in the change of this language from the synthetic towards the analytic type, for instance there is no doubt about that the verb *to star* ‘to have as main performer’ is derived from the noun *star* ‘main performer’ which is derived from *star* ‘a bright celestial body of the night sky,’ etc. It is similarly easy to state that in the case of Hungarian *vadászom* that can mean both ‘my hunter’ and ‘I hunt’ the noun is the primary unit because *vadász* itself is a denominal noun derived from *vad* ‘game; wild’, like Mongolian *angčin* is derived from *ang* ‘game, animal hunted’. The first-quoted Hungarian word of freezing and frost however represents a very old, Ugric or Finno-Ugric noun-verb or nomen-verbum which is the vestige of a less differentiated, more archaic morphology (as to Hungarian, cf. Ferenc A. Molnár, *A két- és többszófajúság; a szófajváltás* [Words belonging to two or more word-classes; change of word-class], in: *A magyar nyelv történeti nyelvtana* [Historical grammar of the Hungarian language], vol. I, *A korai ómagyar kor és előzményei* [The early Ancient Hungarian period and its antecedents], Budapest 1991, pp. 553–583).

The phenomenon in Turkish is mentioned and described by Jean Deny in his *Grammaire de la langue turque (dialecte osmanlie)* (Paris 1921), in several paragraphs. First, in paragraph 128, he states: “Une racine ne saurait être à la fois verbale et nominale, sauf quelques rares exceptions.” These latter are dealt with in paragraph 849 where he introduces his list of noun-verbs with the following sentence: “Certains mots sont employés tantôt comme base verbale, tantôt comme base nominale (°133), sans qu'il soit toujours facile de discerner quel est l'emploi primitif.” On p. 541, no. 1 he adds: “Cette liste de mots relativement longue montre qu'il ne faut pas prendre trop à la lettre la théorie de Boethlingk qui soutient dans sa grammaire du Yakout qu'il existe une ligne de démarcation très nette entre les racines (bases) nominales et les racines (bases)

verbales." Deny's list of the Anatolian Turkish noun-verbs is indeed impressive and offers more than "some rare exceptions". He enumerates 74 items: 19 monosyllabic roots and 32 disyllabic stems with 1 trisyllabic stem, 6 further disyllabic stems with the reflexive nomino-verbal suffix *-n(-)* and 16 disyllabic stems with the mutuality suffix *-š(-)*. Among the monosyllabic stems we find *dong* 'to freeze; frost,' a semantical parallel to the Hungarian noun-verb *fagy*, the trisyllabic stem is *oyulya* 'tack (stitch); to tack/baste' (cf. also Mongolian *oyu-* 'to sew' and *oyulya* 'sewing').

The problem of the noun-verbs in the Turkish languages had been discussed by several scholars before and after Deny. An ample summary of the history of research is given by Ervand Sevortian in his Etymological Dictionary of the Turkish Languages [*Etimologičeskij slovar' tjurkskich jazykov (Obše-tjurkskie i mežtjurkskie osnovy na glasnye)*], Moscow 1974, pp. 32–40]. He investigated the nature and history of the phenomenon far beyond the confines of the Turkish and Altaic world. His horizon embraces English conversion and Indonesian noun-verbs as well; he mentions Johannes Benzing's statement on Lamut (Ewen) noun-verbs (but Benzing's Tungusic scope is wider, cf. *Lamutische Grammatik*, Wiesbaden 1955, para. 47: "Wie alle tungusische Sprachen kennt auch das Lamutische nicht wenige Stämme, die sowohl nominal als auch verbal sein können, ..."), see also his main source, Vera I. Cincius's *Očerk grammatiki évenskogo (lamutskogo) jazyka*, Leningrad 1947, para. 70, pp. 158–160; to find other Tungus, Manchu and Mongol parallels it is enough to check the relevant entries in Cincius et al., *Sravnitel'nyj slovar' tunguso-man'čurskich jazykov*, vols I–II, Leningrad 1975, 1977; cf. also Denis Sinor, *Le verbe mandchou*, 1949, reprinted in his *Essays in Comparative Altaic Linguistics*, Bloomington/Indiana 1990, no. XXXI, pp. 146–147, *jalu* 'full' and 'to fill', etc.).

Sevortian does not examine Uralic data, but lists a few Mongol noun-verbs (pp. 38–39), he collected from Ferdinand Lessing's *Mongolian–English Dictionary*. It is perhaps not without interest to recall his examples and to give here some more multivalent Mongol words, as this terrain of Mongol grammar and vocabulary seem to be neglected in our manuals. He quotes *oyil* 'to whirl; whirlpool; a tuft of hair' (1), *ötü(n)* 'worm; maggot' and *ötü-* 'to become wormy or maggoty' (2), *oro(n)* 'place; bed,' and *oro-* 'to enter' (3), *uγji* [add *ubuji*] 'baby's feeding-bottle' and *uγji-* 'to feed a baby from a bottle' (4) and *emkü/ümkü* 'a mouthful; to hold in the mouth' (5). He remarks that a part of these words might be of a later date.

The words *oro(n)/ora(n)* and *oro-/ora-* of item (3) are attested in Middle Mongolian; the Mongol noun is to be compared with the Ancient Turkish noun *orun* (cf., e.g., in Sevortian, *op. cit.*, pp. 477–479), but there is no acceptable Turkish parallel for the verb, and the semantical connection between noun and verb is not easy, though not impossible.

The verb for maggots in (2) may be derived from an earlier **ötüte-* (cf. *qoroqayita-* < *qoroqai* 'worm').

The noun for whirlpool, tuft of hair, exressence, etc. (cf. also Matthew Haltod et al., *Mongolian-English Practical Dictionary with English Word Reference List*, for The Evangelical Alliance mission 1949–1953, pp. 72–73, with *oyil-* ‘to whirl; to come up; to rise’ and its derivative *oyilya* ‘the whirling, ..., the boiling up’) of item (1) is quoted by Joseph Kowalewski (*Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français*, vol. I, Kazan 1844, p. 332) from a Manchu period polyglot (cf., e.g., in the Manchu Pentaglot, *Wuti Qingwen qian*, nos. 818, 4790, 16376, and below); in Tsewel’s Khalkha dictionary (*Mongol xelnii towč tailbar toli*, Ulaanbaatar 1966, p. 588) it appears as *uil*, it is also attested in the story of Geser’s adventure with the Ogre Lobsoyoldoi (*Alu Mergen-i čikin-ü yurban oyil* or *uyil*, the three tufts of hair over, or, maybe, the threefold pattern of the ear or auricle of Alu Mergen, cf. MS Mong. C 269 of the St. Petersburg Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences, f. 30a, or in Damdinsürün’s anthology, *Jayun bilig*, p. 196b, a 17th-century text; the Tibetan equivalent *gcug* quoted by Kowalewski is explained in Sumatiratna’s Tibeto-Mongolian Lexicon (*Mun-sel sgron-mel/Qarangyuy-yi arilyayči žula*, vol. II, Ulaanbaatar 1959, p. 517) as *uyil*, *üsün-ü toyorin ergijü uryuysan* ‘that part of hair which is grown turning [i.e. a swirl, whorl]’ and *oroi* ‘top/crown of the head’; add *uṣṇīṣa*). Sumatiratna’s first definition seems to be taken from an earlier Mongolian-Mongolian dictionary, parallel to the great Manchu-Manchu Lexicon. In the 18th-century *Qorin nigetü tayilburi toli* (re-edited in Jang Jiya Keü, 1979, pp. 99–100) *oyil* is interpreted as *qoroljan urusqu usun-i oyil kememüi*: ‘one calls *oyil* the water which flows whirling’ (1), *üsün-ü toyorin uryuysan-i anu oyil kememüi*: ‘one calls *oyil* (that part) of the hair which is grown turning (around a point)’ (2), *mal-un iüsü toyorin uryuysan γajar-i oyil kememüi*: ‘one calles *oyil* that place (of the pelage) of a domestic animal where the hair is grown turning (around a point)’ (3), and *ur-i üje* ‘see *ur*’ (4), the latter meaning an exressence on a tree. The verb ‘to whirl/swirl’ has a longer history: Kowalewski’s entry *oyil-* or *uyil-* ‘s’éléver, s’agiter, ondoyer; se tournoyer (un gouffre)’ (I, 333) is quoted from *Üligerün nom* (1720); Antoine Mostaert recorded Ordos *oilo-* ‘jaillir, sortir impétueusement (liquide); ... tourbillonner, être florissant’ (*Dictionnaire ordos*, Pékin 1941, p. 515b), while the Secret History of the Mongols (MNT °204) has *huyil-* (in *huyilun bükiii usuntur* ‘into whirling/boiling water’ in stave-rhyme text with *hulal-* in the next line), cf. also Mong. *üilje-* ‘to turn, whirl, spin round’ (Lessing, p. 1000; from *üyü* > *üyi-*) and Manchu *fuye-* ‘to boil’ (Jerry Norman, A Concise Manchu-English Lexicon, Seattle and London 1987, p. 98; Cincius, II, 337–338, Ewenki *huyu-*, *uyu-*, Negidal *xuy-*, Nanai *puylu-*, etc.)

As to *emkü*, etc., the verb is attested in MNT °195 and in Sayang Sečen’s *Erdeni-yin tobči* (e.g. in the proverb *yeke ügüleküi ber yekede emkügdekü gelē* ‘Big words should be held in the mouth a long while (before saying)’; cf. also the *Word-Index* by I. de Rachewiltz and J. R. Krueger, Canberra 1991), and, as we shall see, it belongs to a special semantical group of words.

What follows is a selection of some fifty entries arranged in alphabetical order:

- adqu* ‘a handful; to seize/grab’ (cf. Khalkha *atga(n)* and *atga-*, but Daur *xatku* and *xatkulaa-*, cf. also Sun Zhu, ed., *Menggu yuzu yuyan cidian*, Xining 1990, p. 124; Zhong Suchun, *Dawor yu jianzhi*, Beijing 1982, p. 92, *xatookw* [= Mong. *adqu*])
- alqu* (also *alqum*) ‘a step’ and *alqu-* ‘to step’ (but cf. Khalkha *alxam* vs *alx-*; Daur *alkunj* ‘pace [measure]’ and *alkud* ‘step, tread’ vs *alku-* ‘to step, to tread’)
- anie* Daur ‘the New Year; to celebrate the New Year’ < Manchu *aniya* ‘year’ and *aniya-* ‘to celebrate the New Year’ (see Engkebatu et al., *Dayur kelen-ü üges*, Kökeqota 1984, p. 5)
- arya* ‘means, ruse; to find a means’ (Lessing < Kowalewski quoting Čayan *lingqua*)
- aryamji* ‘tether; to tether’ (cf. Qypchaq *argan*)
- asqa* ‘slope covered by boulders’ and *asqa-* ‘to pour, to scatter; to pour, intrans.’ (?)
- baani* Daur ‘hail; to hail’, cf. Ewenki *boona* ‘hail’ (Engkebatu et al., p. 66; Cincius I, p. 94, Spoken Manchu/Yamamoto *boni*, Jurchin *bonio*, see Daniel Kane, The Sino-Jurchen Vocabulary of the Bureau of Interpreters, Bloomington, Indiana 1989, p. 136; Manchu *bono* and *bono-*; the older Daur word for ‘hail’ is *murtul*, Mong. *möndür*)
- balba* ‘through and through, to pieces; to smash’ (seems to be onomatopoeic; cf. *balbara-* intr. and *balbal(a)-* trans.)
- balyu* ‘a gulp, draught; to gulp or hold (liquid) in the mouth’
- barui* ‘dark’ (in *barui bürüi*) and *baruyi-* ‘to become dark’
- boyos* ‘pregnant (animal); to become pregnant’ (cf. Daur *boor* noun and *boos-* verb, i.e. < *boyos* and **boyosa-*)
- bulqa* Middle Mong. ‘hostile’ 1246 and ‘to be hostile’ (in MNT *bulqaldu-*, a verb of mutual action; cf. Ancient Turk. *bulyaq* and *bulya-*), from **bulqa-laldu-*?
- čaart* Daur ‘white mould; to appear (white mould)’ (Enhebatu, *Daor Niakan Bulku Biteg*, p. 174; ? cf. Ewenki *čääwa(ksa)* ‘rotten stuff on the root of a tree’ and Ewenki *čääya*, Even *čaakay* ‘thin crust [of ice on snow], Manchu *čaqja-* ‘to become crusted over’ Cincius II, 386; cf. Daur *-rt-* in *ort-* ‘to encounter’ < Mong. *uytu-*)
- čäčraa* (qieqraa) Daur ‘diarrhoea; to suffer from diarrhoea’ (Enhebatu, p. 179; cf. Mong. *čičaya* ‘diarrhoea’)
- čerwu* Daur ‘pulley; to use a pulley’ (Enhebatu, p. 178; cf. Mong. *čir-* ‘to drag’ and *čirgegül* ‘sled; barge; trailer’?)
- cimki* ‘a pinch; to pinch’ (cf. Daur *kimči* in this list)
- dawaa* Daur ‘mountain pass; to exceed (also *daw-*)’ (Enhebatu, p. 32; the verb apparently with a secondary length, or derived from **daba+γa-*? Cf. Mong. *dabayán* and *daba-*, etc.)

düli 'half; middle of the day or night; to spend the night' (cf. Daur *duli* id.; Khalkha *dül(en)* and *düle-* are explained in Cewel's *Towč Tailbar Toli*, p. 216, as '*turš, tuj, duusan* = during, along, until the end' (as if it were a postposition) '... *šöniig untaxgii öngörüülex* = to spend the night without sleeping' respectively; the form with *n*, a verbadverb in *šönö dülen yawaw*, should have been quoted in the verbal entry; the other example, *ödör dül xüleew* should mean '[the subject] waited [until] noon'. The two entries show the meaning of this noun-verb changed and perhaps confused in Khalkha or at least in the dictionary quoted.)

ebir Daur 'weak; to become weak' < Manchu *eberi* and *ebere-* (see Engkebatu et al., p. 22)

emkü 'a mouthful, bite; to hold in the mouth' (see above; Enhebatu, p. 48, only has the verb, *enku-* 'to hold in the mouth, to chew, to eat')

imool Daur 'hazelnut; to crack hazelnuts' (Engkebatu et al., p. 39; Namcarai and Qaserdeni, *Dayur kele Mongyol kelen-ü qaričayulul*, Dörbed Qosiyun 1983, p. 459, *imoolgu* 'sid Jimis arilyaqu')

itel Daur 'threshing and winnowing ground (also *itleg*); to thresh and winnow' (Enhebatu, p. 101; cf. Mong. *ütüreme?*)

jayaya(n) 'fate, destiny' and *jayaya-* 'to predestine' (perhaps the final *n* is here the suffix of deverbal noun, cf. also *qatan* 'hard' and *qata-* 'to become hard/dry')

jängää (jingie) Daur 'tie; to tie' (Enhebatu, p. 107; cf. Mong. *janggiya* 'knot, tie' and *janggila-/janggid-* 'to tie a knot')

jegüü(n)/jegün 'needle' and *jegü-* 'to fasten/tie, to put on' (Khalkha *jüü(n)* and *jüü-*), a quasi-noun-verb in both phonetical and semantical senses?

juuyuu (juuwuu) Daur 'direction; to try to do' (Enhebatu, p. 112)

kaarčuu Daur 'hairless skin; to become hairless' (Enhebatu, p. 113)

kele(n) 'tongue; language' and *kele(le)-* 'to speak' (a clear case of haplology), cf. Khalkha *xel(en)* and *xel-*, but Daur *xeli* 'tongue' and *xel-el-* 'to speak'

kimč Daur '(finger)nail; to scratch (with the fingernails)' (Enhebatu, p. 124; cf. Mong. *čimki* and *kimusun*)

kökö 'breast (oblique stem: *kökön*); to suck(le)' (cf. Ancient Turk. *kögüz* 'breast' and Daur *mek*)

kullu Daur 'outbreak of fire; to break out (fire)' (Enhebatu, p. 131; cf. Ewenki *kuli* 'to burn' intr., *kuluran* 'burnt place' in S. M. Shirokogoroff, *A Tungus Dictionary*, Tōkyō 1944/1953, pp. 76–77)

lakdaa Daur 'a potful of pap; to prepare a pap' (Enhebatu, p. 135; cf. Ewenki *luktey* 'thick pap' and Manchu *luqdu* 'thick, dense' in Shirokogoroff's dictionary, p. 188)

longoo Daur 'bad luck; to provoke bad luck' (Enhebatu, pp. 140–141)

mek Daur 'breast; to suck(le)' (Enhebatu, p. 147; cf. the meaning of Mong. *kökö*)

meemee Daur child language word, 'mother, mommy, mom; breast; to suck, to suckle' (Enhebatu, p. 146; see *mek*; cf. also Khalkha *meem* 'breast' and Eastern Mong. *mööömöö* 'breast; mommy, mom')

- nayadu(n)* ‘game, play’ (also *nayadum*) and *nayad(u)-* ‘to play’ (Daur has *naadam*, *naadal*, *naadus*, nouns, and *naad-* verb, Enhebatu, p. 156)
- oγool* (wool) Daur ‘tilt(ing back); to tilt back’ (Enhebatu, p. 169; Namcarai and Qaserdeni, p. 463; only give another verb, *ogoolii* ‘qangyaraqu, gederge-dekü [terge-yin]’)
- ooči* ‘a mouthful of drink; to drink a mouthful’ (the Kalmyk equivalent of this word meaning ‘the inner side of the cheek, the oral cavity’ is compared by Ramstedt, *Kalm. Wb.*, 292b, with Turkish *avurt* ‘the inner side of the cheek’ = Koybal *ort*, etc. id., cf. also Ancient Uyghur *adurt*; on the phonetical and morphological problems of these words see s.v. *owurt*, Sevor-tian I, 407–408 and s.v. *adurt* ‘cheek-pouch’ in Sir Gerard Clauson’s *Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, p. 65)
- oro* ‘place, space, bed; to enter’ (cf. also *bütü-* ‘to be accomplished’ and *bütün* ‘complete’), see above
- oyill/uyil* ‘whirl; to whirl’ (see above)
- ötü* ‘worm, maggot; to become wormy or maggoty’ (see above)
- qarsi* ‘contrary, evil, hostile; to oppose/disagree’ (MNT, Išidanjinwangjil’s *Suryal*; Kalmyk *xarš* ‘hindrance’ and *xarš-* ‘to hinder’; cf. Ancient Turk. *qarši* and *qariš-*)
- qudaldu* ‘trade; to trade’ (Khalkha and some other modern Mongol languages have now *xudaldaa(n)*, Kalmyk *xuldaan*, etc. <*qudalduyan* for the noun.)
- sanna* Daur ‘comb; to comb’ (Enhebatu, p. 190; cf. Mong. *sam* and *samna-*)
- selbi* ‘oar; to row (also *seli-/sele-*)’ (cf. Khalkha *sele-* ‘to row a boat, to swim’ and Daur *xalbi*)
- sime* ‘sap, essence’ and *sime-/simi-* ‘to sip/suck’ (Khalkha, Daur *šim* and *šim-*, Ordos *šime* and *šime-*, Buryat *šeeme* and *šeeme-*, etc.)
- sinji* ‘token, sign, symptom (also *singsi*); to examine’ (cf. Buryat *šenže* and *šenže-*, Khalkha *šinj* and *šinj-*; Mong. *singsi-*, Khalkha *šinš-* ‘to sniff, to scent; to track down by smelling’, Daur *šinš-* ‘to examine’, *činč* ‘perception’, *činčil-* ‘to scrutinize’, Manchu *činčila-*, etc. Cincius II, 91b)
- talki* ‘a wooden instrument used for tanning leather; an instrument used for torture; to use such an instrument; to exploit (also *talkida-*)’ (cf. Oirat [Ölöt] *arsnä tal'k/talk* ‘eine einrichtung von holz, um die ungegerbte haut aufzuweichen’ and *tal'k-* ‘von der halbgegerbten haut den *boz*° abschaben, leder bereiten, aufweichen; radebrechen’ in Ramstedt’s *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch*, Helsinki 1935, p. 376ab, with Turkish and Manchu equivalents, also *täl'kä* in J. Tsoloo’s *Oird ayalguu*, in vol. II of *BNMAU daxi Mongol xelnii nutgiin ayalguunî toli bičig*, Ulaanbaatar 1988, p. 803; Buryat *talxi* and *talxi-* Khalkha *talxi(n)* and *talxida-*, less frequently *talxi-*, passive *talxigda-*; Hungarian *tiló* ‘hempbrake’, a Chuvash-type Turkish element, see L. Ligeti, *A magyar nyelv török kapcsolatai a honfoglalás előtt és az Árpád-korban* [The Turkish relations of the Hungarian language before the conquest of the country and during the Árpád dynasty], Budapest 1986,

- pp. 34–35; for Turk. *talqi/talqū* and *talq-/talqi-* see also Clauson, ED, p. 496)
- teberi* ‘an armful; to embrace’ (cf. Khalkha *tewer* and *tewer-*, but Daur *teur* and *teurie-*)
- tegius* ‘full, complete; to finish/complete’
- timed* Daur ‘bottom; to sink to the bottom’ (Enhebatu, p. 211; cf. Ewen *timir-dey-* ‘to sink, drown’, V. I. Cincius and L. D. Rišes, *Russko-evenskij slovar'*, Moscow 1952, p. 655, Ewenki *timir-* ‘to drown’ in Cincius II, 182)
- toya* ‘number, count (oblique stem also *toyan*, Daur *tool/toon*); ‘to count’ (cf. Turk. *san-* and *san*, <*sa-*
- tongoi* Daur ‘bent, curved; to stoop’ (Enhebatu, p. 213; cf. Mong. *tongyoyi-*)
- tooli* Daur ‘support for the kettle over the fireplace; to load the support for the kettle’ (Enhebatu, p. 213; the word is compared with Mong. *tulya* by Engkebatu et al., cf. also Solon *toolga*, *toolo* id., Cincius II, 210)
- tögene* ‘cauterization; to cauterize’ (cf. Khalkha *töön(ö)*, Daur *tuene* id., Enhebatu, p. 216)
- uyji/ubuji* ‘baby (animal)’s feeding horn/bottle’ and *uyji-* ‘to feed a baby (animal) from a horn/bottle’ (see above and Cincius II, p. 245; Khalkha *ugj* and *ugj-*)
- waj* Daur ‘trail, footstep; to follow a track’ (Enhebatu, p. 224; Engkebatu et al., p. 334, also *wajmaa-*; < Ewenki *uja*, cf. Negidal *ojal/oja-*; Ulcha, Nanai *hoja-*; Cincius II, p. 249)
- xadil* (hadil) Daur ‘a clot; to form a clot, intr. (also *xadilt/hadilt*)’ (Enhebatu, p. 71)
- xalbi* Daur ‘oar; to row’ (Engkebatu et al., p. 101), cf. Kalmyk *xääw*, Ölöt *xääwr* ‘oar’ and Ölöt *xääw-* ‘to swim (of animals)’ in Ramstedt’s *Kalm. Wb.*, 181a; Wuti no. 908 only has the verb, *qayiba-*; Kowalewski II (Kazan 1846), p. 707 records Jungar *qayibiči* = *selbigürči* ‘oarsman’ (cf. also Mong. *selbi* in this list)
- xalgi* Daur ‘water flowing over the ice’ and *xalgi-* ‘to float’, cf. Mong. *qalgi-* (and *čalgi-*), Manchu *χalgi-* (Engkebatu et al., p. 101)
- xanääd* (hanied) Daur ‘phlegm; to cough’ (cf. Mong. *qaniyadu(n)* and *qaniya-*; Khalkha *xaniad* and *xania-*; Enhebatu, p. 73, Engkebatu et al., p. 98)
- xonko* (honko) Daur ‘pasture; to graze’ (Enhebatu, p. 86)
- yadar* Daur ‘weak, exhausted; to be tired/exhausted’ (Enhebatu, p. 239, cf. Mong. *yadanggi*, *yadanggir*, <*yada-*, *yadara-*; Engkebatu et al., p. 328 quote Mong. *yadar*, not yet found in other sources; Daur syllable-final *r* can be derived from *g*; cf. also Daur *yadaa* and *yadaangu* ‘emaciated’ in both sources quoted in this entry)
- yärii* (yierii) Daur ‘loquacious; to chatter’ (Enhebatu, p. 241; cf. late Written Mong. *yarian* and *yari-*, Khalkha *yäria(n)* ‘talk’, *yäria* ‘talkative, loquacious’ and *yäri-* ‘to talk, to speak’).

This list of mostly classical, partly pre-classical Mongolian and Daur noun-verbs is far to be complete, but it seems to show that (at least Written) Mongolian has less noun-verbs than Turkish (1), that some of them are quasi-noun-verbs, noun and verb merging due to some phonetical changes (2), that there is a distinct group of mostly disyllabic morphemes (*adqu, alqu, balyu, čimki, emkü, ooči, teberi*) that mean a certain measure and the measuring thereby (3), and that there are historical and dialectal differences in the usage of the noun-verbs (4), each of which requires thorough synchronical and diachronical investigations. As expected, Daur has several peculiar noun-verbs, some of them are of Tungusic origin.*

* A shorter version was published in: *International Symposium on Mongolian Culture* (Menggu wenhua guoji xueshu yanjiu taohui/Mongyol soyol suduly-a-yin olan ulus-un qural. lunwen ji/ögülel-ün tegübüri. Ed. by Zhang Junyi of the Meng Zang weiyuanhui, Taiwan, Minguo 82 [Taibei 1993], pp. 151–154. For nounverbs in the Turkic languages, see also G. Doerfer's Nomenverba im Türkischen in *Studia Turcologica Memoriae Alexii Bombaci Dicata* (Napoli 1982), pp. 101–114.

РАЗНОВИДНОСТИ ДРЕВНЕТЮРКСКОЙ РУНИЧЕСКОЙ ОРФОГРАФИИ (ОТРАЖЕНИЕ МАНИХЕЙСКОЙ ПИСЬМЕННОЙ КУЛЬТУРЫ В ПАМЯТНИКАХ ЕНИСЕЙСКОГО И ОРХОНСКОГО ПИСЬМА)

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Изучение всей совокупности степных рунических надписей Евразии позволило в последние годы показать многообразие письменной культуры раннесредневекового тюркоязычного общества. Выяснилось, что как в Восточной Европе, так и в Средней Азии и Сибири руническое письмо главным образом и изначально применялось для письма чернилами или тушью по пергамену, бумаге и тому подобным вполне обычным писчим материалам того времени. Надписи на камне создавались лишь с культовыми целями и далеко не всюду.

Богатство древнетюркской письменности заключалось не только в широте сфер её применения в каждом конкретном обществе, но и во вновь открывшемся факте использования в одном и том же государстве нескольких различных не только по облику, но и по происхождению рунических алфавитов. Это явление наблюдается в VIII–XI вв. повсеместно – от Сибири и Центральной Азии до Восточной Европы¹.

Многообразие и глубина письменной культуры, присущие раннесредневековым обществам тюркоязычных народов, проявились и в иных особенностях рунических надписей, до сих пор не привлекавших внимания исследователей. Речь идёт о различных типах правописания, представленных в азиатских памятниках, выполненных одним и тем же алфавитом или родственными видами письма.

Прежде, чем перейти к показу этих особенностей и выявлению породивших их причин, следует оговориться, что здесь не будут рассматриваться надписи так называемого евроазиатского письма (начертанные знаками донского, кубанского, ачикташского, исфаринского или южноенисейского алфавитов), поскольку по мнению автора этих строк все они до сих пор не

¹ Кызласов И. Л., *Древнетюркская руническая письменность Евразии*. М., 1990; он же, *Рунические письменности евразийских степей*. М., 1994; Kyzlasov, I. L., Sphere of Applications of the 8th–10th Centuries Steppe-Runic Alphabets. In: *The Archaeology of the Steppes. Methods and Strategies*. Napoli 1994, p. 619–631; Idem, Paleographic Research on Asiatic Runic Alphabets. In: *Anthropology and Archaeology of Eurasia*. N. Y. 1995, vol. 33, № 4, p. 38–72; Kizlasov, L. R.–Kizlasov, I. L., Sayan-Altay Türkelerinin yeni runik yazısı. In: *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı*. Belleten 1990. Ankara 1994, s. 85–136.

азиатских рунических алфавитов таласские надписи, всё ещё малочисленные и недостаточно изученные. Лишь многочисленные тексты, составленные давно и хорошо читаемыми двумя алфавитами азиатской группы рунических письмён – родственными между собою енисейским и орхонским алфавитами – составляют область настоящего анализа.

Известные ныне памятники енисейской и орхонской письменности позволяют отметить многие орфографические различия между конкретными текстами. Все они обычно оговариваются при публикации каждой отдельной надписи. Легко предположить, что эти расхождения связаны с личными навыками писцов, вероятно, отразившими и некоторые своеобразия бывших школ письма в этой области. Обобщение и анализ материалов еще предстоит.

Мне хочется обратить внимание исследователей на явление другого порядка: демонстрацию памятниками трёх больших классов рунического правописания. Каждый из них отразил различные подходы к принципу отражения речи на письме.

Все три выделяемых типа рунического правописания представлены в енисейских надписях, в известных ныне орхонских текстах прослеживаются две орфографические разновидности.

1. Классическое правописание

Первый орфографический тип можно именовать «классическим руническим письмом». Он полно отвечает исконным нормам этой письменности и отличает абсолютное большинство и орхонских, и енисейских надписей. Приходится, конечно, учитывать существующие различия в алфавитном строе текстов, поскольку енисейские руны содержат большее, чем орхонские, количество знаков. И хотя среди них есть знаки для согласных, основные расхождения в правописании вызваны употреблением дополнительных енисейских рун для гласных (прежде всего знака **Х** для закрытого «ä/e»; в тувинском варианте енисейского письма ещё и **Ч** для открытого «ä»). И всё же эти отличия не являются столь значительными и вписываются в единую орфографическую систему азиатского рунического письма.

Характеризовать ее здесь нет необходимости – прекрасный анализ орфографии был сделан еще 100 лет назад при дешифровке письменности В. Томсеном и В. В. Радловым. Хотя с тех пор этому уделялось немного внимания², можно указать на очерки орхонского правописания, данные в 1968 и 1971 гг. Т. Текином и Г. Айдаровым³.

² См., например, Насилов В. М., Язык орхено-енисейских памятников. М.-Л. 1960, с. 10–13; Кондратев В. Г., Очерк грамматики древнетюркского языка. Л., 1970, с. 5–6; Кононов,

Напомним здесь, в интересах сопоставления с приводимыми далее материалами, что классическая руническая орфография прямо вытекает из основных особенностей самого письма. Правописание требует различия в употреблении букв для согласных в зависимости от рядности сопутствующих гласных, отвечает нормам передачи на письме гармонии гласных в слове и – в связи со всем этим – далеко не во всех случаях прибегает к обозначению гласных.

2. Полногласное правописание

Второй орфографический тип можно именовать «полногласной (или книжной) рунической орфографией». Он был фактически описан В. Томсеном при рассмотрении рукописей младшего орхонского письма из Восточного Туркестана⁴. Выделен же второй тип рунического правописания совсем недавно в связи с публикацией двух кратких енисейских надписей на камне, созданных в монгольское время⁵. Для него характерно обозначение на письме всех гласных. Это правило, судя по известным текстам, не распространялось только на широкие негубные «а» и «ä» («е»).

Первая надпись является припиской конца XIII–начала XV в. к ранее существовавшему тексту, выбитому в IX–X вв. на спине гранитной скульптуры «Богатырь», стоявшей в междуречье Теси и Ербы в Хакасии (рис. 1). Этот памятник известен с 24 января (4 февраля) 1722 г. и в рунологической литературе наделён индексом Е 37⁶. Дополнительная надпись (обозначим её Е 37/2), интересующая нас в этом случае, расположена на затылке изваяния и имеет, видимо, пояснительное значение (рис. 1, 2). Она состоит из единственного слова: *bīčig* «(вот –) надпись». Слово *bīčig* является монго-

А. Н., *Грамматика языка тюркских рунических памятников VII–IX вв.* Л., 1980, с. 60–75. Обычно орфография не составляет самостоятельного предмета рассмотрения, а входит в раздел фонетики (к тому же разбираемой обобщённо – совместно для орхонских и енисейских надписей).

³ Tekin, T., A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic. Bloomington 1968, p. 30–49; Айдаров, Г., Язык орхонских памятников древнетюркской письменности VIII века. Алма-Ата 1971, с. 36–73.

⁴ Thomsen, V., Ein Blatt in türkischer „Runen“schrift aus Turfan. SPAW 1910, № XV; Idem, Dr. M. A. Stein’s Manuscripts in Turkish “Runic” Script from Miran and Tun-Huang. JRAS 1912, January.

⁵ Кызласов, Л. Р.–Кызласов, И. Л., Новый этап развития енисейской письменности. Конец XIII–начало XV в. *Российская археология* 1994, № 1, с. 46–48; Kyzlasov, L. R.–Kyzlasov, I. L., The New Stage in the Development of the Eniseian Written Language. *Anthropology and Archaeology of Eurasia*. N. Y. 1995, vol. 33, № 4, p. 93–97.

⁶ Малов, С. Е., *Енисейская письменность тюрков*. М.–Л. 1952, с. 66, 67. Для сокращённого указания письменных памятников в моей статье применены обещепринятые в российской тюркологии обозначения (см.: *Древнетюркский словарь*. Л. 1969, с. XXI–XXXVIII): Е – енисейские надписи (далее № памятника); документы, изданные В. Томсеном: ThB – Тойок II, ThS – рукописи, добытые А. Стейном в Миране и Дунъхуане; цифра после запятой обозначает строку. Транскрипция соотнесена с набором «Древнетюркского словаря», подчёркнутая пара букв соответствует одному руническому знаку оригинала. В круглых скобках () даны авторские привнесения, в квадратных [] – восстановленные лакуны.

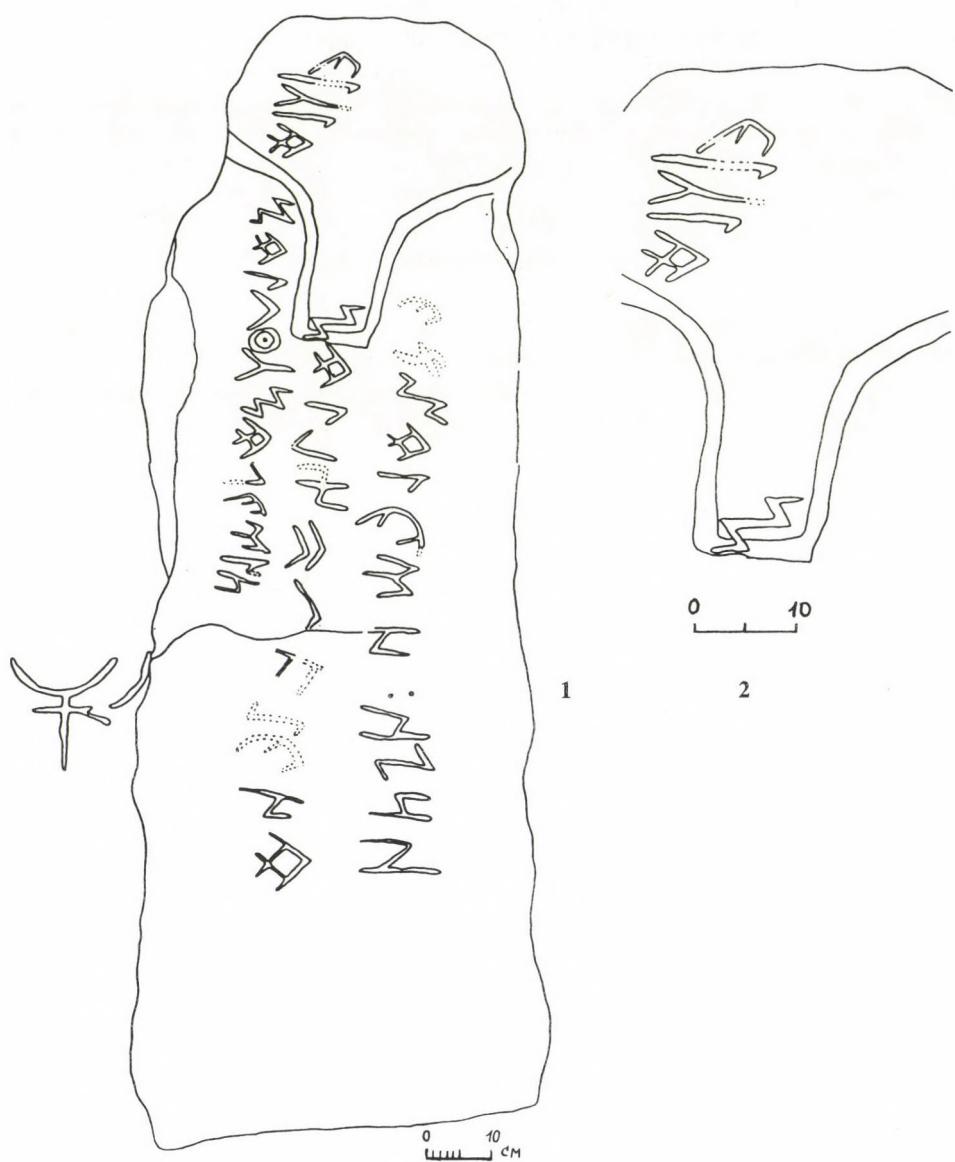


Рис. 1. Надпись на спине изваяния Богатырь (Хакасия, Е 37): 1 - общий вид, 2 - деталь: приписка Е 37/2 на затылке скульптуры. Прорисовки автора

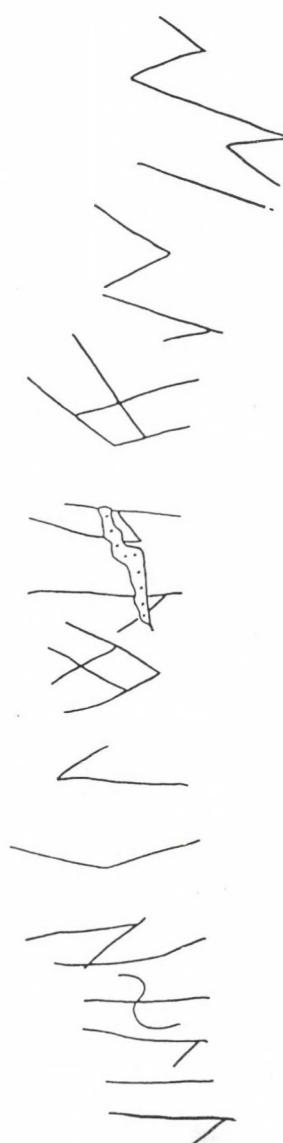
лизмом, производным от древнетюркского bitig. Оставляя здесь в стороне несходство двух этих форм в отношении согласных, являющееся результатом заимствования, обратим внимание на тождество фонетического облика их гласных, который предопределяет единство отражения их на классическом руническом письме.

Однако сравнение орфографии надписи Е 37/2 с известными по памятникам енисейского письма написаниями слова bitig выявляет существенные различия. В других текстах слово пишется без употребления гласных букв в середине: btg [Озерная I (Е 138) - в падежной форме btgi⁷, Ийме I (Е 73, 6) - в притяжательной форме btgm⁸]. Сходным образом в строке Хая-Бажи XI (Е 24/11) выведено причастие абсолютного общего времени, образованное от глагола biti=, и имеющее вид btgli⁹. Такое написание всецело соответствует нормам рунического письма.

Совершенно очевидно, что орфографическое своеобразие надписи Е 37/2 заключается в полном обозначении отдельными буквами всех входящих в слово гласных звуков.

Вторым примером применения такой полногласной орфографии, подтверждающим неслучайность отмечаемого принципа правописания для памятников енисейского письма, является наскальная надпись Хая-Бажи X (Е 24/10) из Тувы (рис. 2)¹⁰ isiz qul bitmiš (e)s(ä)n «поскольку недостойный раб (божий) написал (здесь/это) - (он стал) здоров». Как и в предшествующем памятнике в этом тексте узкие не-

Рис. 2. Десятая надпись на скале Хая-Бажи (Тува, Е 24/10). Прорисовка автора



⁷ Кызласов, И. Л., *Рунические письменности евразийских степей*. М. 1994, с. 189, рис. 22.

⁸ Сужу по публикации: Батманов, И. А.-Кунаа, А. Ч., Памятник из Ийме. In: *Материалы по общей тюркологии и дунгановедению*. Фрунзе 1964, с. 92, 94, рис. 2. Те же материалы переизданы: Они же, *Памятники древнетюркской письменности Тувы*. Вып. III. Кызыл 1965, с. 22, рис. 6; Васильев, Д. Д., *Корпус тюркских рунических надписей бассейна Енисея*. Л. 1983, с. 37, 73.

⁹ Малов, С. Е., *Ук. соч.*, с. 44 (строка 3); Кызласов, И. Л., *Ук. соч.*, с. 191, рис. 24.

¹⁰ Публикацию и историю изучения см.: Кызласов, Л. Р.-Кызласов, И. Л., *Ук. соч.*, с. 40-44; Kyzlasov L. R.-Kyzlasov, I. L., The New Stage in the Development of the Eniseian Written Language, p. 85-91.

губные гласные, вопреки правильным нормам, вырезаны во всех случаях употребления.

Поскольку слово *isiz* «недостойный» (будучи фонетическим вариантом более обычного в средневековых тюркоязычных текстах *esiz*) единственный раз встречено в енисейских надписях, проясним ситуацию сравнением с глаголом *biti-*. В енисейских надписях отмечаются следующие случаи написания этого глагола: *bтmš* (т. е. *bitimiš* «написал») – Лисичья II¹¹; *bтdm* (т. е. *bitidim* «я написал») – Хая-Бажи V (Е 24/5), Озерная I (Е 138), Тэс II; *bтdi* (т. е. *bitidi* «он написал») – Мугур-Саргол I (Е 136); *bitdm* – Гурвалжин-ула; *btidm* – Яр-хото. Как видим, правильная орфография не требовала обозначения узких гласных среди слова или изредка допускала нерегулярное написание одной из них. Следовательно, в показанном тексте фиксируется явное отклонение от норм классического правописания.

При учете аналогичной записи второго слова этого текста, содержащего узкие негубные гласные (*isiz*), нельзя не признать в таком нарушении правил вполне очевидной последовательности. Последнее обстоятельство служит основой для прочтения и глагольной формы надписи как *bitmiš* (а не *bitimiš*), что позволяет относить ее к монгольскому времени¹². Выходит, что две изучаемые енисейские надписи – Е 37/2 и Е 24/10 – сопряжены не только в области орфографии, но и хронологии.

Обе надписи разделены восьмью хребтами Западносибирских гор и расстоянием в 400 км. Поэтому, как бы ни были малочислены сегодня эти материалы, они указывают не на личную манеру отдельных резчиков, а на былое существование в чрезвычайно плохо изученную эпоху в долинах Верхнего и Среднего Енисея единой и особой орфографической системы. Для нее было характерно соблюдение разграничения парных знаков для согласных при обозначении всех гласных слова. Это правило, судя по написанию слова (*e*)*s(ä)p* в Е 24/10, не распространялось на широкое негубные «а» и «ä» («е»), стоящие в начале и середине слова.

Традиция закономерного опускания при письме находящихся в определенных позициях гласных, столь характерная для всех азиатских рунических письменностей домонгольского времени, восходит еще к древней семитской основе местных письменностей Средней и Центральной Азии раннего средневековья¹³. Понятно, что выявленная система полногласного написания не могла явиться естественным порождением самого рунического письма, т.к. этого не подразумевает сама его природа. Наиболее правдоподобно допустить, что перед нами привнесенная в рунику орфография, выработанная в иной письменной среде.

¹¹ Об этой и последующих надписях см.: Кызласов, И. Л., *Рунические письменности евразийских степей*, с. 189, 192, 194, 197, рис. 21, 22, 27, 29.

¹² См.: Кызласов, Л. Р.-Кызласов, И. Л., *Ук. соч.*, с. 43; Kyzlasov, L. R.-Kyzlasov, I. L., *Op. cit.*, p. 87.

¹³ Новую гипотезу происхождения рунического письма см.: Кызласов, И. Л., *Ук. соч.*, с. 105–142, 158–167.

Поиски этого источника нельзя ограничить монгольским временем и обществом. Как известно, правило неполноты обозначения на письме гласных было воспринято из согдийской письменности уйгурской и передано от нее старомонгольскому вертикальному письму¹⁴. В юаньском квадратном письме гласные буквы не считались самостоятельными и в начале слова следовали за дополнительными знаками, не имевшими звукового значения. Гласный «а» после согласных вообще не обозначался¹⁵. Приходится заключить, что, несмотря на встреченные в надписях монголизмы, возможное влияние официальных письменных систем монгольского государства в XIII–XIV вв. не могло привести к введению в позднем енисейском руническом письме отмечаемых новых орфографических норм.

Определяющим для разысканий, по-видимому, должен быть иной факт. Обратим внимание на то, что система двойного обозначения согласных, не только полностью соответствовавшая, но и талантливо усовершенствовавшая в руническом письме принцип неполного написания гласных, была, как показывают обе наши надписи, сохранена на позднем этапе существования енисейского письма без изменений. Следовательно, источником нововведений могла стать только сама тюркоязычная среда, хорошо знакомая с рунической письменностью.

В сказанном только на первый взгляд содержится противоречие сделанным замечаниям о природе рунического письма. Оно непреодолимо лишь при допущении изолированного существования рунических грамотеев в рамках своей культуры. Надуманность такого далёкого от действительности предположения проистекает из упоминавшегося факта одновременного бытования в одном и том же древнетюркском обществе нескольких письменных систем, подчас совершенно различного происхождения.

Как известно, последовательное алфавитное письмо с обозначением всех звуков слов было издавна характерно для средиземноморской античной традиции. Там, где при своём продвижении по миру она встречалась с письменами финикийско-арамейского корня, её влияние на последние нередко выражалось в полной вокализации письма. Например, попытка обозначения на письме всех гласных (прежде всего заметная по передаче краткого «а» в середине слова), предпринятая в свое время в согдийской письменности в отличие от остальных среднеиранских письменностей, расценивается специалистами как влияние греко-бактрийской орфографии. Весьма показательно, что, хотя в собственно согдийском письме строгий алфавитный уровень правописания так и не был достигнут, он оказался присущ согдийско-манихейским и согдийско-христианским текстам¹⁶.

¹⁴ Кара, Д., *Книги монгольских кочевников. Семь веков монгольской письменности*. М. 1972, с. 18, 46, 49.

¹⁵ Там же, с. 28, 29.

¹⁶ Хромов, А. Л., Памятники согдийской, среднеперсидской, парфянской, бактрийской, новоперсидской письменности. In: *Восточный Туркестан в древности и раннем средневековье*. М. 1992, с. 279, 280, 291, 570, прим. 5, 6; Исхаков, М. М., *Палеографическое изучение*

Наиболее вероятно, что и человек, разработавший новые нормы полногласного рунического правописания, сделал это на базе алфавитной письменной традиции западного корня. Основой для него послужила орфография письменного языка, не знавшего закона гармонии гласных и осуществлявшего принцип вокализованного письма. Есть основания полагать, что это был грамотей, получивший образование в манихейской общине и что его реформированию первоначально подверглось орхонское руническое письмо. В пользу сказанного свидетельствуют три существенных обстоятельства.

Во-первых, следует отметить, что именно для тюркоязычной манихейской среды VIII-X вв. известно применение наряду с собственно манихейским и уйгурским также и рунического, точнее орхонского письма¹⁷. В Восточном Туркестане это явление приобрело достаточно широкое распространение, о чем свидетельствуют не только найденные там рунические религиозные рукописи, написанные по-туркски, но и духовные тексты на среднеперсидском языке, выведенные рунами. Известен также фрагмент учебной орхонской азбуки, звуковые значения (или названия) букв которой переданы манихейским письмом¹⁸.

Во-вторых, именно манихейские рунические рукописи (и некоторые светские тексты, происходящие из тех же местонахождений) демонстрируют ранние примеры несоблюдения классического рунического правописания. Характер таких отклонений совершенно очевиден и уже нам знаком: на письме обозначаются все гласные, кроме широких негубных «а» и «ä» («е»), стоящих в начале и середине слова. Приведем начало двенадцатистрочной IV рукописи из Дунъхана, имеющей в тюркологии индекс ThS IV (рис. 3): (1) j(ä)mä : bisinč : (a)j s(ä)kiz jig (2) (i)rmigä biliq köpjüл (3) s(a)jun : b(a)šlap : k(ä)lti: «затем, в пятый месяц, восемнадцатого [числа], взяв на себя командование, пришел Билиг Кёнгуль-сангун». Дополним доказательства первой фразой из двадцатидвухстрочного фрагмента *a* документа ThS I: törtinč : (a)j : tooquz : otuzqa (2) un(a)y(a)n čur : j(a)rīqī : ur(u)ju : tudu(3)n : čigši : kä : j(a)rl(i)y : bolti: «Четвертый месяц, двадцать девятое [число]. Были [пожалованы]: Унаган-чуру - панцирь, (а) Урунгу Тудун-чигши - предписание». Сюда относится и двухсторонняя запись на листе *b* того же ThS I

сегодняшних письменных памятников. Автореферат докторской диссертации. Ташкент 1992, с. 13, 14.

¹⁷ Габен, А. фон, Культура письма и печатания у древних тюрков. Ип: Зарубежная тюркология. М. 1986, с. 170, 171. Заметим, что сегодня уже, пожалуй, нельзя с абсолютной уверенностью отрицать и возможное знакомство с руническим письмом тюрок-буддистов. На обороте рукописи сутры Sekiz jükmäk давно известна руническая приписка kör(ü)g bitid(i)m «(я), Кёрюг, написал» (Bang, W.- Gabain, A. von – Sachmati, G. N., Türkische Turfan-texte, VI. SPAW, 1934, s. 97). Её орфография близка к полногласному типу, а палеографическую принадлежность из-за отсутствия характерных знаков нельзя определить ближе, чем орхено-енисейская.

¹⁸ Le Coq, A. von, Köktürkisches aus Turfan. SPAW, 1909, Zweiter Halfband.

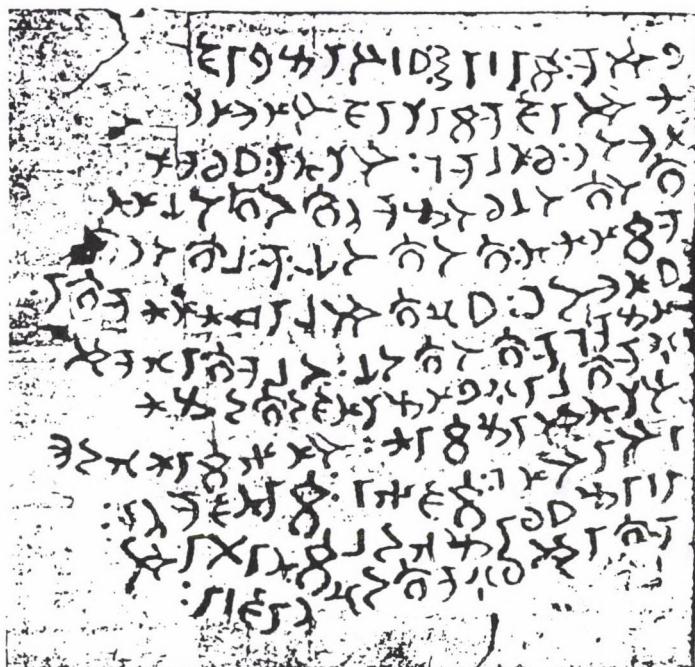


Рис. 3. Рукопись из Дуньхуана (ThS IV). По В. Томсену

(всего 22 строки)¹⁹, и строки на фрагменте листа из Кара-Ходжи²⁰. Тому же правописанию следует текст фрагмента из Кара-Ходжи, опубликованный В. В. Радловым²¹. Особенno показательно, что таким образом написана целая книжка Іrq bitig (ThS II), имеющая 104 странички текста. Вот как выглядит её первый раздел (рис. 4): (1) t(ä)n : si : m(ä)n : (2) j(a)r(i)n : kičä : (3) (a)ltun : örgi(4)n : üzä : olu(5)rup(a)n : m(ä)nil(ä)j(6)ürg : m(ä)n : (a)nča : (7) biliŋl(ä)r : (8) (ä)dgü : ol : «Я – Тенси (т.е. китайский император). Утром и вечером, сидя на золотом престоле, я радуюсь. Знайте так: это хорошо!» (перевод С. Е. Малова)²².

Таким образом, есть все основания для выделения здесь полногласного правописания как особого типа, присущего не только енисейской, но

¹⁹ Thomsen, V., Dr. M. A. Stein's Manuscripts in Turkish "Runic" Script from Miran and Tun-Huang, p. 186, 187, 219, tabl. I, II, III a.

²⁰ Thomsen, V., Fragment of a Runic Turkish Manuscript Kao. 0107, from Kara-Khoja. In: A. Stein, *Innermost Asia*. Oxford 1928, v. II, p. 1083; v. III, pl. CXXIV.

²¹ Radloff, W., *Alttürkische Studien. III. Ein Fragment in türkischer Runenschrift*. *Известия Имп. Академии Наук* 1910, №13, серия VI.

²² Thomsen, V., Dr. M. A. Stein's Manuscripts in Turkish "Runic" Script from Miran and Tun-Huang, p. 196, tabl. III b; Малов, С. Е., *Памятники древнетюркской письменности*. М-Л. 1950, с. 85.

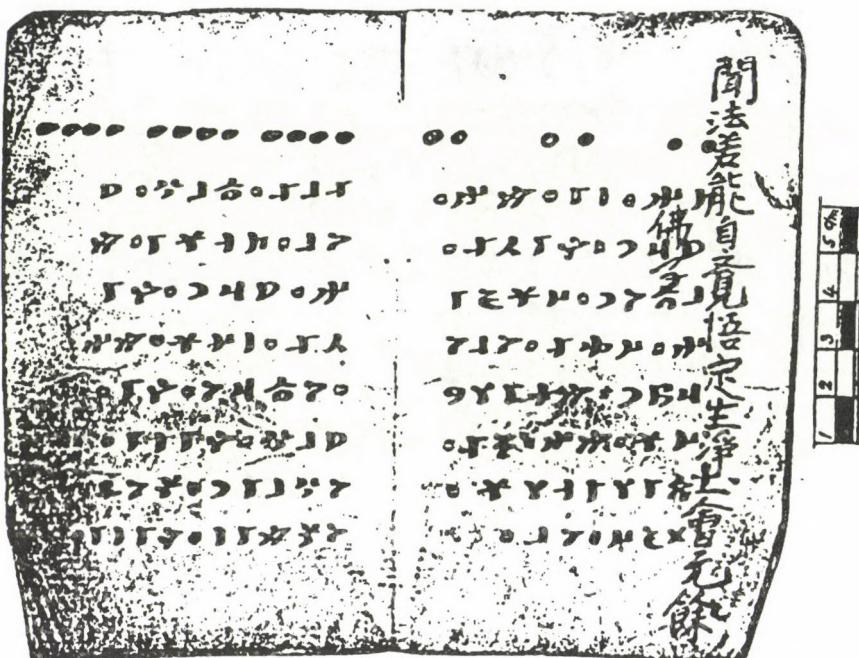


Рис. 4. Две первые страницы рукописи Іq bitig (ThS II). По В. Томсену

и орхонской письменности. Благодаря довольно многочисленным восточно-туркестанским материалам, возможно подробнее рассмотреть его особенности.

Наиболее последовательно выдерживается в рукописях полное обозначение узких негубных гласных «ї» и «і». Можно указать тексты, состоящие из полутора и даже трех десятков строк, в которых знак для «ї/і» пропущен лишь дважды – ThS IIIa и Тойок II (ThB, 15)²³. Привнесение такой орфографии из норм манихейского письма не вызовет сомнений, если учесть, что совершенно так же написаны рунами среднеперсидские по языку рукописи²⁴. И там встречается единственный пропуск знака для «і»²⁵.

Присущий согдо-манихейским текстам алфавитный принцип письма проявился в ираноязычных рунических фрагментах частым обозначением и широких негубных гласных. Ту же картину встречаем и в некоторых тюркоязычных орхонских рукописях, например, в первом фрагменте Т. М. 342²⁶:

²³ Thomsen, V., Ein Blatt in türkischer „Runen“schrift aus Turfan, S. 302 (строка 15), Taf. III.

²⁴ Le Coq, A. von, *Op. cit.*, S. 1052–1055.

²⁵ Le Coq, A. von, *Op. cit.*, S. 1053 (строка 11).

²⁶ Le Coq, A. von, *Op. cit.*, S. 1056.

(1) azu : toru(2)q : sub : (ä)rs(3)(ä)r : upajin : (4) azu : etmi(5)š : jaratmii(6)š : tat(i)ył(i)y (7) : aš : (ä)rs(ä)r // a(8)šajun «если чиста вода – выпью-ка, если вкусна приготовленная еда – съем-ка» или в четырнадцатистрочном фрагменте *a* документа ThS III: ... (1) ziniŋ : ölmäz ... (2) :: tanuuqluy : s(a)b : tamyalıy : (3) bitig :: išidmištä : körgü : (4) körmiiš : jig :: ... (2-4) лучше воочию увидеть засвидетельствованные слова, снабженную печатью грамоту, чем услышать». Подобные нормы правописания находим здесь и на обрывке *b*²⁷.

Наблюдения над сходством орфографии ираноязычных текстов манихейского письма и орхонских рукописей манихейского (реже светского) содержания позволяют решить вопрос о среде и причинах появления полногласного рунического написания. Они заключаются в том, что писцы получали образование на среднеиранском языке и письменности, а затем (вероятно, в целях религиозной пропаганды и культовой деятельности в тюркоязычной среде) изучали руническое письмо (и письменный тюркский язык). Важным доказательством этому служит существование среднеиранских по языку рукописей, написанных орхонским письмом. Только соединение первоначальных знаний алфавитного принципа письма с дополнительно постигнутыми своеобразными нормами рунического правописания привело к появлению полногласной рунической орфографии.

Несмотря на существование текстов, очень строго выдержаных в отношении полногласного правописания, орхонские рукописи Восточного Туркестана позволяют увидеть и непоследовательность в его соблюдении. С одной стороны, делу явно мешало сильное влияние среднеперсидского алфавитного письма, что вело к неполному, но все же обозначению на письме знаков для широких негубных гласных: ThB – (1) b(a)šl(a)ndi : jiti : p(a)y(a)rl(i)ni(2)ŋ : j(ä)mä : 5 : türlüğ : mun(3)čuquŋ : tašl(a)riŋ : (ä)rdämi (4) b(ä)lgülü[ŋ] : s(a)bl(a)r : «начались слова, описывающие достоинства семи планет, а также 5 видов драгоценностей и [драгоценный] камней»²⁸; ThS IV – (3) ... j(a)baš (4) tutuuq buzač tutuuq ör(5)ä bört : tutuuq : altun t(6)(a)j s(a)ŋun : j(a)rt(i)mliŋ (ä)rür : «Ябаш-тутук, Бузач-тутук, Оре Бёрт-тутук (и) Алтун Тай-сангун были (одним) подразделением». Это же видим в упоминавшемся фрагменте из Кара-Ходжи и в строке 6 обрывка из Кара-Ходжи.

С другой стороны, чёткости в обозначении всех узких негубных гласных на письме тюркам-манихейцам, видимо, мешали знания классических норм рунического правописания. Именно так можно расценивать записи типа qorq(i)nčiŋ «твой страх» или biš jig(i)rmikä «пятнадцатого» (ThS II, 55, 103). Наиболее часто допускался пропуск «ї» или «і» при написании последнего закрытого слога слов, в которых в предыдущем слоге или слогах был необозначаемый на письме широкий негубной звук. В ThS I слово

²⁷ Thomsen, V., Dr. M. A. Stein's Manuscripts in Turkish "Runic" Script from Miran and Tun-Huang, p. 216.

²⁸ Использован перевод: *Древнетюркский словарь*. Л. 1969, с. 346 (mončuq).

j(a)rl(i)y «повеление, приказ» написано так во всех случаях употребления (*a*, строки 3, 5, 8, 10, 12; *b recto* – 2, 4, 7, 8, 10, 12; *b verso* – 5, 8); здесь же находим *s(a)r(i)y* «желтый, часть имени собственного» (*a*, 18). Многочисленные примеры этого есть и в Йrq bitig: *j(a)r(i)n* «утром» (дважды), *(a)d(i)y* «медведь», *s(a)r(i)y* «желтый, сивый», *j(a)z(i)y* «пестрый?»²⁹ (дважды), *j(a)b(i)z* «плохой» (трижды), *q(a)m(i)q* «целый» (трижды) (здесь, правда, возможно читать и *q(a)m(a)y*), *t(a)l(i)m* «хищный, дерзкий» (трижды), *j(a)l(i)m* «крутоий» (дважды), *j(a)s(i)l* «зеленый», *(a)d(y(i)r* «жеребец», *q(a)t(i)y* «твёрдый», *(ä)nč(i)p* «таким образом» (ThS II, строки 1, 2, 10, 16, 17, 34, 37, 39, 59, 65, 68, 69, 75, 76, 78, 81, 86, 98, 100, 102).

Нередко та же закономерность захватывает в Йrq bitiq и написание слова с аффиксом (и именным, и глагольным): *b(a)s(i)m* «моя голова», *j(a)jl(a)y(i)m* «мой летник», *(a)tl(i)y* «имеющий лошадь, всадник», *j(a)yl(i)y* «жирный», *q(a)nl(i)q* «ханство», *(a)g(i)p* «исходав», *(a)l(i)p* «взяв», *t(ä)z(i)-p(ä)n* «удаляясь», *(a)y(i)p(a)n* «поднимаясь» (ThS II, строки 15, 16 – дважды, 18, 25, 43, 54, 55, 78, 90, 96, 97). Возможно, сюда же следует отнести случай ürk(i)tt(i)j «ты испугал» (ThS II, 33). Известны примеры пропуска руны для узкого гласного при обозначении предыдущего широкого негубного звука: *qam(i)y* «целый» (хотя здесь возможно чтение *qam(a)y*) – ThS IV, 7–8; *t(a)l(i)yl(i)y* «вкусный» – Т.М. 342, I, 6.

Есть и исключения из этой тенденции: знак пропускается в позиции, следующей за слогом с обозначаемым узким. Так, в ThS I для слова «меч» встречается и *qil(i)č* (*a*, 6; в ThS II, 13 – сходное *qil(i)čin*), и *qilič* (*b recto*, 10), а в ThS II глагольная основа «вспугнуть» начертана как *ürk(i)t=*, форма прошедшего вермени – как *ičy(i)nmis* «выпустила» (33, 34). Там же находим *idiš(i)mtä* «без моего сосуда», *jig(i)rmikä* «к двадцати», *kič(i)g* «младший», *(ä)s(i)dšič(i)m(i)z* «наших слушателей» (ThS II, 63, 103), а в ThS IV, 1–2 – *jig(i)rmigä* «к двадцати», во фрагменте из Кара-Ходжи – *sil(i)y* «чистый» (I, 12).

Любопытно, что к сокращённо выведенным основам иногда при соединяются полногласные по письму аффиксы: *j(a)r(i)lmis*, *j(a)t(i)yliy*, *(a)l(i)gin* (ThS II, 10, 31, 97), *j(a)rt(i)mliiç* (ThS IV, 6). Сюда же отнесем и *k(ä)lt(i)miz* (ThS IV, 9). Изредка среди текста, подчиненного полногласной орфографии, встречается правильное руническое написание трехсложного слова: *t(a)b(i)sy(a)n* «заяц» или *(a)d(y(i)rl(i)q* «качества жеребца» (ThS II, 8, 67) (последнее, по-видимому, объяснимо применением аффикса (об отклонениях в их записи сейчас пойдет речь), ср. особенно: *buýral(i)q* «качества верблюда-самца» – ThS II, 8).

В одних и тех же текстах нередко встречается двоякая, с написанием и пропуском гласной, передача аффиксов, будь то -im/-im (ThS II, 4 – дважды, 78 – трижды, 90, ср. 86 – дважды), -iγ/-ig (ThB, 15), -din/-din (ThS II, 66), -liγ/-lig (ThS II, 2, 4, 80), -liq/-lik (ThS II, 8 – дважды), -in/-in (ThS II,

²⁹ Понимание слова см.: Малов, С. Е., *Памятники древнетюркской письменности*. М.–Л. 1950, с. 86, 387.

33, 65, 70, 72, 74, 84), -m̄is/-mis (ThS Ia, 6), что особенно заметно в крупных текстах (ThS II) или на границе двух показателей - -duq(i)m̄in/-dük(i)min (ThS II, 4), или аффикса и основы: -m̄in/-min (ThS II, 13 – дважды), -s̄in/-sin (ThS II, 29) или -iñ/-in (ThS II, 13, 18). Во фрагменте Кара-Ходжа (II) замечается пропуск узкого гласного в аффиксе, имеющем вид закрытого слога, и его обозначение перед открытым слогом: t(ä)ñgr(i)m (3-4), bit[i]d(i)m (12), m(ä)ñ(i)ñ (6), но äbimä (6), qutïja (4-5).

Ради возможности прямого сопоставления с полногласным правописанием енисейской надписи на скале Хая-Бажи (Е 24/10) произведем сводку написаний формул «(я) написал» в орхонских рукописях. Здесь встречается пропуск гласной первого слога и аффикса: b(i)tidim (ThS IV, 11), bitid(i)m (ThS II, 104) и приписка на обороте сутры Sekiz jükmäk³⁰) bit[i]d(i)m (Кара-Ходжа, II, 12). В одной из рукописей встречаем фразу, почти совпадающую с наскальной надписью: isiz j(a)bïz qul b(i)tidim «(я,) ничтожный раб написал» (ThS IV, 11). Как видим, нормы полногласного написания в енисейском тексте выражены полнее.

Причины такой орфографической непоследовательности писавших, очевидно, могли быть различными. Одно из объяснений состоит в незавершенности отработки строгого алфавитного принципа в самом источнике этой рунической орфографии – среднеперсидском манихейском письме. Другое – в возможном переходе части писавших не с манихейского письма на орхонское, а, наоборот, в овладении уже знавшими рунику грамотными тюрками нормами полногласного написания. Наконец, нельзя не учитывать и явного сопротивления, которое оказывала природа рунического письма самой манереowego обозначения гласных. Остается заключить, что нормы строгого алфавитного написания не были до конца выработанными и воспринятыми в среде, владевшей полногласной рунической орфографией.

Основной вывод, следующий из факта существования выделяемой орфографии, заключается в несомненно книжной ее природе. Вполне очевидно также, что она применялась в высокообразованных кругах раннесредневекового тюркоязычного общества. Несомненно и то, что применялась она в манихейских общинах и является признаком манихейской письменной культуры.

Экскурс, проделанный в область орфографии орхонских рукописей Восточного Туркестана, понадобился мне не только для того, чтобы показать существование там особого полногласного правописания, но и для того, чтобы установить источник появления полногласного написания в енисейских текстах. Им оказалась манихейская книжность. Вероятно, первоначально нормы манихейского алфавитного правописания были распространены на младшее орхонское письмо, что сформировало в нем своеобразную полногласную орфографию. Затем с этой уже рунической пись-

³⁰ Bang, W.– Gabain, A. von – Rachmati, G. R., *Op. cit.*, c. 97. Здесь глагол начат с руны твёрдого ряда.

менной манерой познакомились носители енисейского письма – древние хакасы, обратившиеся в манихейство вслед за уйгурами.

К двум уже изложенным доводам в пользу этого заключения (использованию манихейством рунического письма и существования в нём полногласной орфографии) теперь добавим третий. Собранные Л. Р. Кызласовым косвенные данные позволили ему прийти к выводу о распространении манихейства в качестве официальной религии Древнехакасского государства уже к середине IX в. Вероятно, этому способствовало более раннее признание манихейства в соседнем Уйгурском каганате³¹. Именно в нём государственным было младшее орхонское письмо, отражённое в восточнотуркестанских рукописях.

Таким образом, имеющиеся материалы не противоречат определению енисейской полногласной орфографии как явлению манихейскому. Не отрицает этого и показанная поздняя датировка двух описанных енисейских надписей. Если в некоторых областях Китая и пунктах Великого Шёлкового пути манихейство сохранялось вплоть до XIV в.³², нет ничего невероятного в том, что оно могло уцелеть и на Саяно-Алтайском нагорье в монгольское время. Историческая обстановка даже благоприятствовала этому³³.

Необходимо отметить, что выявление полногласной орфографии в поздних енисейских надписях не может свидетельствовать о её появлении в Древнехакасском государстве только лишь в это время. Учитывая упомянутую историю распространения там манихейства, следует допустить, что полногласное написание могло существовать в енисейской письменности и ранее монгольского времени, но применяться в не сохранившихся до наших дней рукописях. В связи с этим можно указать енисейские памятники, имеющие заметную тенденцию к полногласному написанию. Такова, например, эпитафия Е 19 с р. Чая-Холь³⁴, в ущербном тексте которой встречаем не только сплошное написание губных, но и практически полное обозначение узких негубных гласных: (1) *qutluq* : čigši b(e)n : q(a)d(i)g j(a)yida ... (2) *q(a)ra bodun(i)ma(?)* : *jita(?)* (:) (e)s(i)z(i)m-ä ... «(1) Я – Кутлуг-чигши. У жестоких врагов [я убил столько-то мужей ...] (2) Со всем моим народом, увы, о горе [...] я был разлучен».

Если допущение о раннем появлении в Древнехакасском государстве полногласной орфографии сегодня не удается обосновать конкретными материалами, то заключение о том, что именно енисейское письмо наиболее долго сохраняло такую орфографию, совершенно правомерно.

³¹ Кызласов, Л. Р., *История Южной Сибири в средние века*. М. 1984, с. 142, 146, 147.

³² Литвинский, Б. А.-Смагина, Е. Б., Манихейство. In: *Восточный Туркестан в древности и раннем средневековье*. М. 1992, с. 526.

³³ См. об этом: Кызласов, Л. Р.–Кызласов, И. Л., Новый этап развития енисейской письменности, с. 45, 46; Kyzlasov, L. R.–Kyzlasov, I. L., The New Stage in the Development of the Eniseian Written Language, p. 83–85.

³⁴ Малов, С. Е., *Енисейская письменность тюрков*, с. 41; Васильев, Д. Д., Ук. соч., с. 22, 62, 94.

Опираясь на выявленную книжную природу этого правописания, получаем новую возможность для важных выводов в области глубины культурного развития и специальной образованности, существовавших в раннесредневековом Древнехакасском государстве. Нельзя не указать и на то, что с обнаружением двух наших енисейских надписей гипотеза о распространении манихейства на Среднем и Верхнем Енисее получает новые, хотя и не прямые подтверждения. Более того, становится очевидным возможное былое существование здесь манихейских проповедников и общин, носителей религиозной философии, письменности и образования.

Остаётся заметить, что применение в орхонской и енисейской книжности алфавитного принципа письма охватывало не только сферу обозначения гласных, но и, насколько можно судить, приводило к изменению значения и вытеснению из употребления рунических знаков, имеющих слоговой характер или обозначавших стечение двух согласных (буквы типа oq, nč, lt)³⁵.

3. Псевдоруническое правописание

Третий орфографический тип впервые выделяется сегодня. Он обнаружен при изучении камнеписных рунических надписей Горного Алтая, начертанных алтайским вариантом енисейского письма³⁶. Это правописание отличает несоблюдение всех главных норм рунической письменности – как относительно применения знаков для согласных, так и для гласных. Здесь встречаем употребление согласных букв без связи с окружающими гласными (главным образом варианты для мягкорядных применяются вместо твердорядных, обратное явление ныне отмечается в единичных случаях при записи аффиксов). Известна и замена самих рун для гласных (также мягкорядные используются вместо твердорядных). Этот вид письма следовало бы именовать «псевдорунической орфографией».

Существование подобной орфографии впервые проявилось при разборе редкой алтайской надписи на каменной стеле Бар-Бургазы I (Кош-Агачской)³⁷, расположенной близ истоков р. Чуи. Ее текст транслитерируется вполне определенно (рис. 5): öjä(a) : s²zmä : kit²zd¹t²i : kküj²d²ä(a) : kišpjä : d¹t²l²t²m. Прочтение же будет заметно отличаться от написанного: oja (e)s(i)z(i)m-ä (i)kit (a)z (a)d(i)rti (a)q qujda kiš(i)lä (a)d(i)g(i)lt(i)m «с (моим) князем (или «уделом, долей»?), о горе, (меня) гибельная алчность разлучила; с (моей) женою (находящейся) в белом тереме я разлучился». Ключ к пониманию надписи заключен в особенностях написания глагольных форм.

³⁵ Кызласов, И. Л., *Рунические письменности евразийских степей*, с. 116, 126, 127, 138.

³⁶ Выделение алтайского варианта енисейской письменности см.: Кызласов, И. Л., Ук. соч., с. 83–91, 172.

³⁷ Кызласов, И. Л., Горноалтайские рунические надписи на стелах. In: *Археологические и фольклорные источники по истории Алтая*. Горно-Алтайск 1994; он же, Вновь об алтайских стелах с руническими надписями. In: *Проблемы охраны, изучения и использования культурного наследия Алтая*. Барнаул 1995.

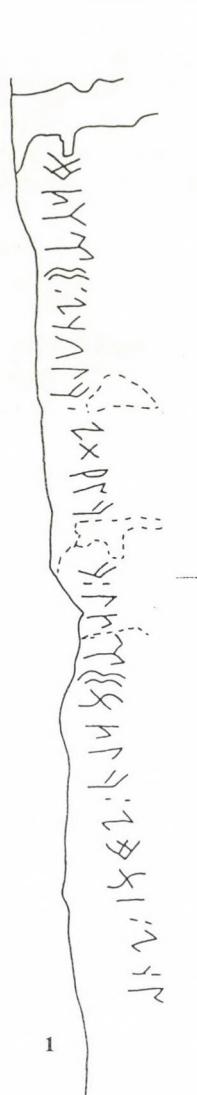


Рис. 5. Надпись Бар-Бургазы I (1) и общий вид стелы с шаманистскими рисунками современных алтайцев (2). Горный Алтай. Прорисовки автора

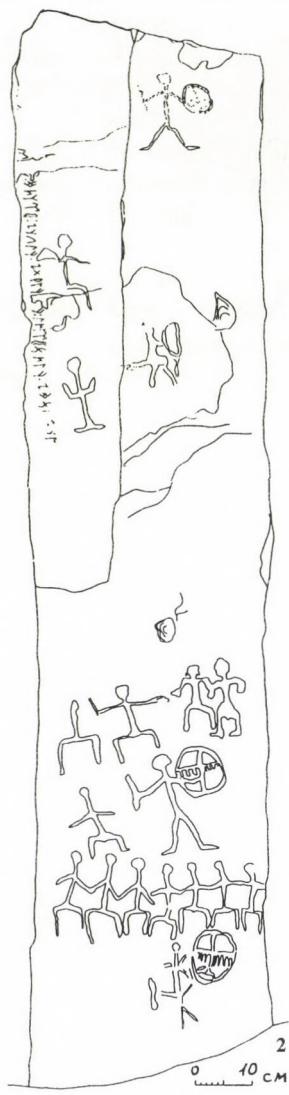


Рис. 6. Стела с надписью Бар-Бургазы II, размещённой в тамге раннего железного века: 1 – общий вид, 2 – деталь. Горный Алтай. Прорисовки автора

Они совершенно обычны для эпитафий енисейского типа и здесь опознаются лишь благодаря каноничности своего употребления. В обоих случаях твёрдорядной руной воспроизведен только начальный d, для всех остальных согласных применены буквы для мягкорядных звуков. При учете этой особенности надписи становится понятным и слово qujda «в тереме», также обычное для эпитафийной енисейской лексики, но здесь сплошь начертанное рунами для мягкорядных звуков. Та же орфографическая манера сохранена и для записи слов aq «белый» и oq «князь».

Как видим, в барбургазинской надписи приходится наблюдать не единичные ошибки, связанные с неточным употреблением на письме отдельных рунических знаков, а систематическое несоблюдение норм классической рунической орфографии. При этом во всех случаях и практически до конца последовательно здесь применены мягкорядные руны вместо твердорядных знаков. Единственное нарушение (допущенное дважды) касается буквы d в словах adīrti и adīrlitum.

Второй случай применения на Алтае описываемой необычной орфографии встречаем на стеле Бар-Бургазы II (рис. 6), расположенной поблизости от рассмотренной. Краткая надпись здесь транслiterируется t²u(o)t²u(o)k, а читается, наиболее вероятно, как tutuq. При этом исхожу из факта обнаружения в Туве и на самом Алтае стел с эпитафийными надписями, содержащими лишь одно имя умершего³⁸. Само слово tutuq, обычно служащее называнием должности военного правителя области, отмечено в письменных памятниках и в качестве мужского имени собственного³⁹. Вопреки ожиданиям, в надписи все буквы для согласных представлены мягкорядными (что, как мы видели, характерно и для предыдущего текста). Гласные руны передают твердорядные звуки (что отличает надпись от предыдущей). Главное же сходство двух памятников состоит в систематическом несоблюдении в них правил, обычных для рунического письма.

Третья надпись, привлекаемая для изучения, принадлежит к наскальным и происходит с низовьев р. Чуй. Это двадцать третья строка с третьей плоскости скалы Ялбак-Таш (или Калбак-Таш). Она состоит из двадцати рунических знаков, размещенных вертикальной строкой и читаемых снизу вверх (рис. 7): ūr²(ü)l b²(i)t²(i)d²(i)m (a)n¹(a)č(i)m (a)d¹(i)r²(i)l²d²(i)m(i)z «(Я -) Юрюнг (или «благородный») написал. С моей матушкой мы разлучились (или «были разлучены»)». Орфографические особенности здесь не сводятся к словоразделительному назначению руны «а», прослеживающемуся трижды, а в четвертый раз служащей знаком окончания текста. Эти черты обычны для енисейских надписей Алтая. В публикуемой строчке мы вновь видим употребление мягкорядных букв для написания согласных слова adīrlidimiz (особенно любопытно, пожалуй, передача только первого d через твёрдорядную руну – как отмечается и в тексте Бар-Бургазы I). На этот раз

³⁸ Кызласов, И. Л., *Рунические письменности евразийских степей*, с. 182.

³⁹ Древнетюркский словарь. Л. 1969, с. 593.



Рис. 7.

Двадцать третья надпись на скале Ялбак-Таш (нанесена среди более ранних средневековых изображений). Горный Алтай.

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инструмента, отличающие третью строку от других. Между тем очевидно, что рассматриваемая надпись неслучайно присоединена к предшествующей – их объединяет даже содержание (при первых публикациях этого памят-

нельзя думать, что такое правописание распространено на все твердорядные звуки надписи – в слове *анаčim* для н- использован необходимый твердорядный вариант руны (лишь перевернутый зеркально). Но этот знак является единственным – все другие слова текста содержат мягкорядные звуки. В целом нет сомнения, что и в этой надписи несоблюдение классических норм рунического письма не является единичной ошибкой, а связано с определенной орфографической системой.

Есть на Алтае и четвертая надпись, демонстрирующая подобное особое правописание. Такова одна из строк, некогда начертанных на скале Бичикту-Боом близ одноименной деревни на р. Кара-Кол. В общем перечне здешних наскальных текстов ее следует именовать Бичикту-Боом II. Ныне камень с нею хранится в Республиканском музее в г. Горно-Алтайске (инвентарного № не имеет). Размещение этого текста довольно необычно – это третья строка, по-видимому, несколько позднее приписанная к надписи из двух других коротких строк (рис. 8). Об этом свидетельствуют три обстоятельства: больший просвет между этой и предыдущими строками, иная орфография (третья строка лишена словоразделительных отметок в виде букв «а», применяемых в первых двух строках) и, главное, следы иного

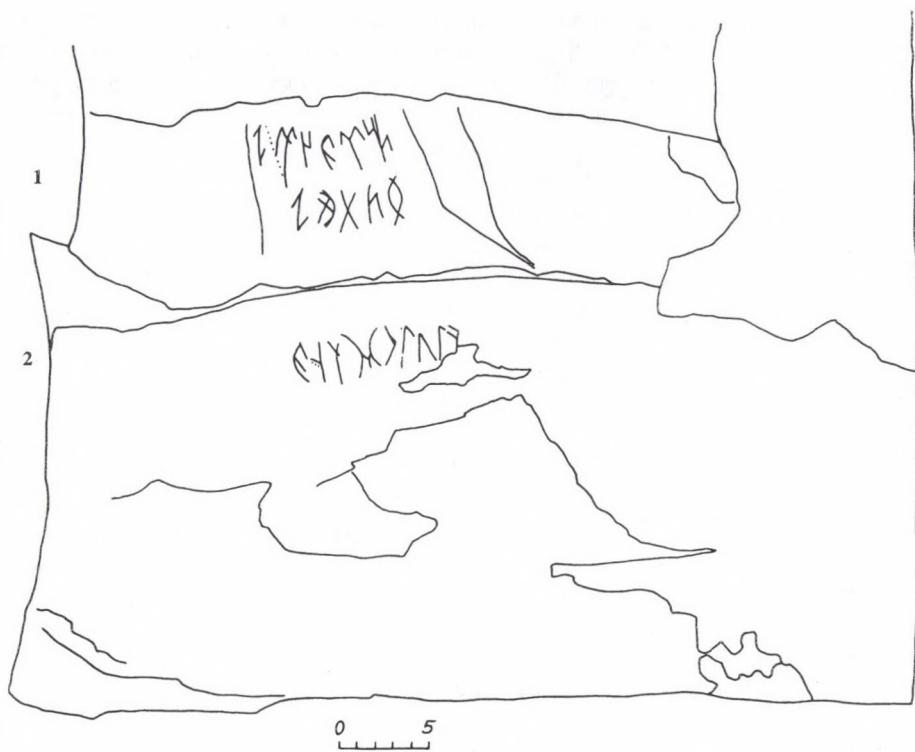


Рис. 8. Наскальные надписи Бичикту-Боом II: 1 – первая надпись (две строки),
2 – вторая надпись. Горный Алтай. Прорисовка автора

ника, получившего название «средняя надпись», он и воспринимался как единый текст⁴⁰).

Первая двустрочная надпись (Бичикту-Боом II/1, рис. 8, 1) читается, вероятно, так: (1) (e)n² (e)r²(i)g ör² (2) b²(i)t²(i)d²(i)m «(мой бог,) предстань перед грешным мужем! (Это) я написал». Вторая (Бичикту-Боом II/2 – рис. 8, 2), по-видимому, продолжает: kiš²i oyl²(i)ŋ(i)g «(И) перед твоим сыном человеческим (предстань)!» Вновь в этой строке встречаем применение мягкорядных знаков (l, g), там где по руническим нормам следовало бы писать твердорядные. Опять в слове правильно выписана руна только для первого согласного (и первого губного гласного).

Пятая надпись известна с 1889 г. и находится в Хакасско-Минусинской котловине на Шалаболинской писанице. В литературе она известна как третья строка памятника Туба II⁴¹ (Е 36/3), хотя, как и две другие на-

⁴⁰ Сейдакматов, К., Древнетюркские надписи на Горном Алтае. In: *Материалы по общей тюркологии и дунгановедению*. Фрунзе 1964, с. 101, рис. 7; Тенишев, Э. Р., Древнетюркская эпиграфика Алтая. In: *Тюркологический сборник*. М. 1966, с. 265.

⁴¹ Малов, С. Е., *Енисейская письменность тюрков*, с. 66.

скальные строки, представляет собою самостоятельный краткий текст: **Ү ү ә : > ё ү ө : ү ө ү 9 ү ө ү**. Его правильное прочтение стало возможным только теперь – после выделения по надписям Алтая псевдорунической орфографии⁴². Зная её особенности, следует допустить, что в старииной копии текста пропущен необходимый левый отводок третьего справа знака, – что это не **Ү** (l²), а **ꙗ** (k): id(i)k j(e)g(i)m-ä : b(e)ngu : b(o)l(u)ŋ «О моя Священная Земля, будьте вечной!». Совершенно очевидно, что здесь все согласные первого слова начертаны знаками для мягкорядных звуков, в то время как необходимо было твёрдорядное написание (ср.: iđiq «священный»⁴³), а в третьем слове знак для твёрдого губного гласного «и» применён вместо ожидающейся мягкой руны «ÿ». Ясно, что и в отношении этой надписи неверно воспринимать показанные орфографические отклонения как случайные описки резчика, поскольку неверно написаны не только отдельные знаки, но и целое слово.

Орфографию всех показанных в этом разделе надписей с формальными позиций можно было бы охарактеризовать как малограмотную. Но, думается, что такое заключение было бы поверхностным, ибо не позволило верно определить причину свойственных нашим текстам орфографических отклонений. Даже плохие успехи в овладении рунической письменностью неграмотным человеком не могли бы привести к систематическому нарушению норм классической орфографии, если бы им был изначально верно осмыслен главный принцип этого письма, основанного на выборе соответствующей буквы из пары знаков для согласных. Были бы допустимы лишь единичные (пусть и частые) разнохарактерные неверные употребления.

Наблюдаемая нами картина должна иметь другую природу. Правописание приведённых здесь надписей свидетельствует о том, что в этих случаях руническим письмом овладевали уже грамотные люди. До этого момента их сознание накрепко впитало в себя правила написания,ственные какой-то иной письменной системе, не знавшей графического противопоставления знаков в зависимости от качества гласных звуков слова. Эти предшествующие глубоко усвоенные знания и препятствовали писцам и резчикам в осуществлении норм рунической орфографии. Примеры рунической безграмотности в данном случае оказываются редкими свидетельствами обширных знаний средневековых тюрков, одновременно владевших несколькими принципиально различающимися системами буквенного письма.

⁴² К попыткам прочтения В. В. Радлова, Х. Н. Оркуна и С. Е. Малова нужно добавить: Кляшторный, С. Г., Руническая эпиграфика Южной Сибири. Наскальные надписи Тепселя и Турана. *Советская тюркология* 1976, № 1, с. 69. Транслитерация Д. Д. Васильева повторяет радловскую (Васильев, Д. Д., *Корпус тюркских рунических памятников бассейна Енисея*, с. 28).

⁴³ Учитывая, что древняя форма слова – iđiq (Древнетюркский словарь, с. 217), здесь также можно видеть id(u)k, имея в виду написание b(o)l(u)ŋ. Однако формы со вторым негубным гласным очень распространены в современных тюркских языках (Севортьян, Э. В., *Этимологический словарь тюркских языков. Гласные*. М. 1974), что позволяет предполагать подобное и в данном случае.

Полагаю весьма важным отметить обширность ареала надписей, демонстрирующих выделяемый орфографический тип. Этот факт указывает на существование людей, лично владевших несколькими системами письма (и изучивших неруническую грамоту ранее рунической) на всем Горном Алтае. Встречались они, как видим, и в Хакасско-Минусинской котловине.

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Сегодня сложилась редкая ситуация, когда понимание древнего явления довольно просто подтвердить примерами из современной жизни. Для этого даже не следует выходить за пределы рунической письменности.

В результате широкого интереса к своему прошлому, возникшему в среде тюркоязычных народов, национальная интеллигенция тех районов, которые до советского времени не имели своей письменности, нередко пытается в той или иной мере познакомиться с древним руническим письмом и применить его для разнообразных нужд самобытной культурной жизни. При этом во всех известных мне случаях в равной мере проявилась одна общая особенность: нынешние авторы наивно переносят на руническое письмо с детства знакомые им правила алфавитной кириллической письменности, усвоенные стольочно, что они неосознанно воспринимаются людьми как единственно возможные. Укажу три примера.

В 1992 г. выходящая на хакасском языке газета изменила свое название. Ее новое заглавие («Хакасия», буквально «Хакасская земля») было начертано как современной хакасской письменностью («Хакас чирі»), так и древними руническими знаками: :↑Υ↑λ: | ↓ϟ↓η:. Транслитерация последней записи имела бы следующий вид: :qakas² :cir²ⁱ: . Здесь мы наблюдаем сохранение привычного нашим современникам алфавитного принципа письма (полногласие, которое следует сравнить со II типом рунической орфографии) и несоблюдения незнакомого им правила употребления двойных согласных знаков, отличающихся по рядности звуков (псевдоруническая орфография, характеризующая III тип рунического правописания). Вне всяких рунических норм использованы и отметки-двоеточия. (Ныне, после данных редактору газеты разъяснений, положение с рунической частью заголовка исправлено по нормам классического правописания).

Второй пример находим на одной из заставок телевидения Республики Алтай. Слово «Алтай», воспроизведенное там рунами (↓ΥՃ↓D), в транслитерации следует передать так: j¹at¹l²a. Таким образом, перед нами вновь полногласное написание, очередное несоблюдение рядности примененных букв и изменение направления письма в угоду привычному – слева направо.

Третий пример показывает глубину проникновения современных орфографических норм в сознание, ибо связан с деятельностью языковедов, к тому же живущих в землях, издавна знакомых со многими письменными системами. В процессе подготовки к международной конференции «Проблемы создания среднетюркского языка ортатюрк» в Ташкенте в 1992 г.

была издана по-узбекски, по-русски и по-английски брошюра «Уртатурк тили» Б. Р. Каримова и Ш. Ш. Муталова. Кроме трёх основных языков и алфавитов, ее заглавие было также написано и руническими знаками: Т Й Т А : Ӯ Ӳ Н И Н И Ӯ Ӯ . Транслитерация этой строки будет следующей: u(o)r¹t²at²ür²k : t¹il¹i. Ошибки, допущенные здесь с точки зрения классической рунической орфографии, все так же заключаются, как видим, в полногласном написании слов и несоблюдении противопоставления знаков для согласных при твёрдых и мягких гласных.

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Итак, приведенные материалы позволяют выделить в общем массиве орхонских и енисейских надписей три типа орфографии. За этим многообразием скрывается важнейший для осознания феномен: владение раннесредневековыми тюрками несколькими системами письма одновременно. Полногласное и псевдоруническое правописание в равной мере возникают как результат внешнего воздействия на руническое письмо. Условиями этого влияния являются предшествующие знания писцов – владение ими иными, алфавитными системами письма (и вполне возможно, другими, не-турецкими письменными языками). Сформулируем и следующий неизбежный вывод: несмотря на отсутствие прямых данных, очевиден факт былого распространения в Южной Сибири в эпоху рунического письма одновременных ему различных алфавитных письменных систем западного происхождения. Наиболее вероятна связь их применения со специальной, религиозной средой и литературой (прежде всего, но, вероятно, не единственno, – с манихейской).

История культуры раннесредневековых тюркоязычных народов была гораздо богаче представлений, существующих в нашей науке сегодня.

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INDO-EUROPEAN AND PROTO-ANATOLIAN VOWELS

A PHONOLOGIC REMARK

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On the strength mainly of Lycian linguistic material, a recent hypothesis¹ teaches that – contrary to what has been the generally accepted view up to now – IE *a and *o remained phonemically distinct in Proto-Anatolian: thus, according to H. Craig Melchert,² ‘The consistent contrast between Lyc. *e* < *o and Lyc. *a* < *a can only be explained by assuming that Lycian, like Hittite, inherited the PIE five-vowel contrast intact from Common Anatolian and then merged original *o directly with *e, while Hittite and Luvian merged *o with *a. This account presupposes that some cases of Lyc. *e* continue directly PIE *e..., and several examples can be found: (1) *esu* ‘let it be’ < *h₁estu; (2) -pe (particle) = Luv. -pa (cf. Lat. *nempe*); (3) -te (particle) = Luv. -tta (cf. Grk. hó-te, prob. aū-te); (4) ē ‘if’ < *en ‘in’ (the case that)...; (5) īmu ‘I, me’ < *emu (cf. Grk. emé, Hitt. ammug, etc.); (6) *tise* ‘some/anyone’ probably also represents *kʷis-k’ē (= Hitt. *kuiški*), but *-k’o is also possible (cf. Hitt. nom. pl. *kuiēšqa*)’.

In addition, Melchert considers the frequent plene-writing of the vowel *a* in Hittite forms like *ma-(a-)al-di* ‘solemnly declares’, *si-pa-(a-)an-ti* ‘libates’, *ka-(a-)as-za* ‘hunger’ a reflex of a prehistoric lengthening – followed by the merger of Proto-Anatolian *a and *o – of accented short Indo-European and Proto-Anatolian *o in closed syllables in Hittite.³ However, to scholars who do not accept the as yet unverified claim that *scriptio plena* marks synchronic vowel length only, this is not a strong argument: in my view, G. Hart⁴ has made it seem extremely plausible that plene-writing does not indicate vowel length,

¹ See H. Craig Melchert, Relative Chronology and Anatolian: The Vowel System, in *Rekonstruktion und relative Chronologie*. Akten der VIII. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft, eds. R. Beekes, A. Lubotsky, J. Weitenberg, Innsbruck 1992, 41–53 (henceforth abbrev. Vowel System). Cf. J. E. Rasmussen, The Distribution of *e* and *a* in Lycian, *ibid.* 359–366. For examples with Lyc. *e* < IE *o, and with Lyc. *a* < IE *a and *ā, see Melchert, Vowel System 46ff.

² Vowel System 49.

³ See Melchert, Hittite Vocalism, in *Per Una Grammatica Ittita Towards a Hittite Grammar*. (Studia Mediterranea 7), ed. O. Carruba, Pavia 1992, 186, where the IE preforms of the cited Hitt. *ma-(a-)al-di*, *si-pa-(a-)an-ti* and *ka-(a-)as-za* are reconstructed as *mōldhei, *spóndei, and *Góstis, respectively.

⁴ See G. Hart, Some Observations on Plene-Writing in Hittite, *BSOAS* 43, 1980, 1–17.

but is historically connected with IE paradigmatic accent variation.⁵ Also, the degree of uncertainty inherent in this hypothesis can best be seen by referring to S. Kimball's divergent analysis according to which also short accented *á was lengthened in closed syllables in Hittite.⁶

Also, the claim⁷ that the contrast between Hitt. *tu-wa-a-an* 'hither' (allegedly reflecting *dwān < IE acc. sg. *dweH₂m, with preserved w, cf. Gk. *dén* 'for a long while; long ago') and *ta-a-an* 'twice' (< IE *dwoyom, with loss of w before the following *o) testifies to a pre-Hittite distinction of *a and *o seems questionable for the following reasons. Firstly, to cite⁸ the phonology of Hitt. *idālu-* 'evil' (vs. Luw. *adduwali-* 'id.'), allegedly reflecting PAnat. *edwolū-,⁹ as a parallel case, is non-probative: I fail to see anything wrong with Laroche's explanation¹⁰ of the loss of *w in the Hittite reflex of the PAnat. proto-form *edwal:¹¹ '... en hittite, l'addition du suffixe -u- provoque la dissimilation de la vélaire: *edwal-u- > edalu-; cf. lat. *augusto-* > rom. *agosto*'.

Secondly, I am far from convinced that Hitt. *tu-wa-a-an* 'hither' represents an accusative sg. of an IE root noun *dweH₂- 'distance'.¹² It is possible to speculate whether Hitt. *tu-u-wa* 'in(to) the distance, far' might not rather be a "directive" of the shape */dewH-yō/ with the full grade seen in Skt. *dávīyas-* 'farther' (IE */dewH-yos-/) and in Arm. *tew* 'duration', *i tew* 'always'.¹³ A full grade *dewH- would underlie also the abl. *tu-u-wa-az* 'from afar'. Perhaps, then, Hitt. *tu-wa-a-an* contains a zero grade *duH-yóm: for the morphologic structure and accentuation cf. IE *duH-ró- in Skt. *dū-rá-* 'distant, far'.

As far as I am able to judge, there is nothing wrong with the traditional view according to which the attested Lycian four-vowel system derives ultimately from a Proto-Luwian system with three vowels, i.e. in phonemic notation (with length added):

*i	*u	*i:	*u:
*a			*a:

⁵ See also J. Catsanicos, *BSL* 69, fasc. 2, 1984, 148ff., and J. Puhvel, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary* Vol. 3, *Words beginning with H*, (Trends in Linguistics), Berlin–New York 1991, 224. (Henceforth abbrev. *HED*).

⁶ See the references given in Melchert, *Anatolian Historical Phonology*, (Leiden Studies in Indo-European 3), eds. R. S. P. Beekes, A. Lubotsky, J. S. S. Weitenberg, Amsterdam–Atlanta, GA 1994, 146. (Henceforth abbrev. *AHPH*.)

⁷ Melchert, Vowel System 44 (with further references). See also the references given in J. Tischler, *Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar*, Lief. 8, Innsbruck 1991, 93f.

⁸ Melchert, Vowel System 44.

⁹ Melchert, *AHPH*. 101, 128.

¹⁰ *RHA* 23, 1965, 42.

¹¹ Puhvel, *HED* 2, 493, takes the PAnat. proto-form *edwal to reflect older *edwl

¹² See Melchert, *Studies in Hittite Historical Phonology*, Göttingen 1984, 30, with references.

¹³ For the phonology of Arm. *tew* < IE *dew-V- (V = vowel), cf. *arew* 'sun' < *Hrewi- = Skt. *raví-* 'the sun'.

The object of the following phonologic analysis is to try to show how this Proto-Luwian vowel system may have given rise to a four-vowel system in Lycian. I will begin with the assumption that the short vowel */a/ had two conditioned allophones at some stage of the Luwian dialect ancestral to Lycian, i.e.:

$$*/a/ > \begin{cases} [a] / H \\ [\alpha] \end{cases}$$

where H is a cover symbol for the different 'laryngeals' which this Luwian dialect inherited from Proto-Anatolian.¹⁴

Now, the moment H was lost in *some* pre-Lycian sequences of the shape [Ha] or [aH], a contrast between /a/ and /æ/ arose, by phonologization, in the language, giving, in its turn, rise to a new system, distinguished by the features of height and backness, of four short vowels, i.e. (in phonemic notation):

$$\begin{array}{ll} *i & *u \\ *æ & *a. \end{array}$$

The long vowels */i:/, */u:/ and */a:/, which so far had remained unchanged,¹⁵ now underwent shortening and fell together with short */i/, */u/ and */a/. I will write the attested Lycian four-vowel system resulting from these changes as (in phonemic notation):

$$\begin{array}{ll} *i & *u \\ *æ & *a. \end{array}$$

In this system */æ/ is the Lycian vowel traditionally transcribed with *e*.¹⁶

The proposed phonologic analysis enables us to account for the greater part of the etymologically transparent Lycian material cited by Melchert, Vowel System 46ff.

¹⁴ The exact number and quality of these Proto-Anatolian 'laryngeals' remain unknown, but there is some reason to assume that – in accordance with Sturtevant's rule – the Hittite graphic contrast between intervocalic -hh- and -h- testifies to the existence in Proto-Anatolian of both voiceless and voiced 'laryngeals', i.e., probably, velar and/or uvular fricatives. See the author's *Introduction to the 'Laryngeal Theory'*, Oslo 1987, 108–114. (Henceforth abbrev. *Introduction*.)

¹⁵ As pointed out by e.g. Roger Lass, *Phonology*, Cambridge 1984, 144, in his discussion of vowel systems: '... long and short vowels do not have to match in either number or quality; ...'

¹⁶ It is interesting to quote, in this connection, what Melchert, The Vowel System 52, writes about this Lycian low front vowel: 'R. Gusmani also kindly reminds me that the Lycian 'e' is often transcribed with Greek alpha: note the names *Erbbine* = *Arbinas* or *Trijētezi* = *Triendasis*. I emphasize again that in the Lycian synchronic system the 'e' is a low front vowel. It is thus quite possible that the real phonetic value is that of an [æ] or even [a] as in French *la*'.

Thus, we find that Proto-Luw. short */a/ is generally continued in a non-'laryngeal' environment as Lycian /æ/, written *e*. Some illustrative examples: (1) neuter nom. acc. sg. Lyc. *pddē* 'place' < Proto-Luw. **padan* = Hitt. *pedan* (IE **pedom*).¹⁷ (2) Lyc. *pede-* 'foot' = Luw. *pada-*, Hitt. *pada-* 'foot' (< **podo-*). (3) Since there is no evidence to the contrary, we may take the Lyc. gen. pl. ending -*ē* (of i-stems)¹⁸ and the Hitt. gen. pl. ending -*an*¹⁹ to go back to PAnat. *-*ān*, the short vowel of which is either original²⁰ or a shortened PAnat. **ā* < IE **ō*.²¹ (4) Lyc. *epñ* 'behind' = Hitt. *appan* (IE **op-*). (5) Lyc. (enclitic) -*ē* 'him' = Luw. and Hitt. -*an* (< IE *-*om*).

If, as assumed above, Proto-Luw. */a:/ did not fall together with short */a/ until after the contrast */æ/ : */a/ had arisen in the language, we must expect Proto-Luw. */a:/ to be continued in Lycian as /a/. An illustrative example is the Lycian neuter nom.-acc. pl. in -*a* < *-aH₂, cf. *ebeija* 'these', *kumezija* 'sacred precinct', etc., and see Melchert, Vowel System 47f. Further examples are Lyc. *adi* 'makes' (= Hitt. *iezzi*) and *tadi* 'puts' (= Hitt. -*tezzi* in *pehutezzi* 'carries off') which Melchert, ibid. 51, cf. AHPH. 75, takes to reflect IE *yeH₁-ti and *dheH₁-ti, respectively.²²

A Lycian form with a dorsal plosive of 'laryngeal' origin²³ which may belong here is *Qeli* if this is the name of the 'grain-god' = Hitt. ^dHalki-, see G. Neumann, *Florilegium Anatolicum. Mélanges offerts à Emmanuel Laroche*, Paris 1979, 270, and cf. Melchert, AHPH 283. A PAnat. form *Halgi- 'grain' would have given pre-Lycian *Hali- (with regular loss of the voiced velar plosive) > Lyc. *Hali-, whence, by Melchert's umlaut rule, *Hæli- > χæli- = *qeli*.²⁴

¹⁷ See Melchert, Vowel System 46, n. 10, for possible n-stem reflexes of this word in Lycian.

¹⁸ See Melchert, Vowel System 46, n. 12.

¹⁹ For Hitt. -*an* see Laroche, RHA 23, 1965, 33ff.

²⁰ presupposing an original IE ending *-om.

²¹ presupposing an original IE ending *-ōm, cf. the parallel case of the Celtic gen. pl. ending *-on (OIr. *ferN*) which presupposes a shortening, in Celtic, of IE *-ōm#.

²² Lycian has a synchronic umlaut rule which is given in the following form by Melchert, AHPH. 296 (cf. Vowel System 44):

V[– high] > [ɑ back] / – C o V[ɑ back].

Consequently, the lack of umlaut in a form such as *tadi* would be due to leveling: there is umlaut in 3 pl. pret. *tetē*, see Melchert, *Lycian Lexicon*, 1993, 66.

²³ According to Melchert, AHPH. 40, the signs *q* and χ should be understood 'as representing some kind of voiceless dorsal stop'. For the chronology regarding the development of *H into a dorsal plosive in Lycian see Melchert, ibid. 305f.

²⁴ Despite Melchert, Vowel System 46 (with references), the idea that Lyc. *ēke* 'when' and Luw. *ahha* 'when' come from IE *enH₂o must be considered highly questionable. Puhvel, *HED* 1, 9, referring to well documented forms in Luwian the *h* of which comes from an original dorsal plosive, may be right in taking the preform of *ahha* to have been *en-ko. The same explanation applies in the case of Lyc. *tiķe* 'some/anyone' = Luw. *kuisha*. Whether a sequence */H₂o/ ever existed in the parent IE language, is a moot question, see the discussion in the author's *Introduction* 37f., and cf. below.

A clear example of Lycian *a* < PAnat. **Ha* is *χuga-* ‘grandfather’ = Hitt. *huhha-* < IE **H₂ewHo-*, cf. Lat. *avus*. Further, according to Melchert,²⁵ a PAnat. sequence **aH* underlies the Lycian denominative verb type in *-a-* (= Hittite *-ahh-*) seen in *prñawa-* ‘build’ [cf. *prñawa-* ‘(grave-)house’], *χñtawa-* ‘rule’ (cf. **χñtawa-* = Luw. **hantawa-* ‘leader’).²⁶

The existence of Hittite forms such as *katterahta* (3 sg. pret.) ‘made lower’ < *kattera-* ‘lower’, *idalawahzi* ‘treats badly’ < *idalu-* ‘evil’, etc., constitutes unquestionable proof that the factitive suffix *-H- was not lost in preconsonantal position in Proto-Anatolian. Consequently, there can be no question of ascribing any compensatory lengthening of the short **a* vowel preceding the factitive suffix *-H- to Proto-Anatolian. Anatolian forms which reasonably can be explained as containing a compensatorily lengthened vowel (after the loss of a preconsonantal ‘laryngeal’), all belong to one chronological stratum only, i.e. to Proto-Anatolian, e.g. the Hitt., Luw. and Pal. neuter plural in *-ā#* (< IE *-*aH₂#*), or a Hitt. verb such as *tayezzi* ‘steals’ (< IE **taH₂yeti*, cf. OCS *tajiti* ‘to conceal’). For obvious chronological reasons, a pre-Lycian denominative verb stem of this type in /-ahh-/ (= Hitt. *-ahh-*) could not be affected by a phonologic rule (i.e. *-āH-C > *-ā-C) that had long since ceased to operate.

Assuming, then, that the Anatolian denominative verb type surviving in the cited Hitt. *-ahh*-formation was inherited also in Lycian, we choose, for the phonologic reasons given above, to reconstruct the stem underlying e.g. the verb *χñtawa-* ‘rule’ as */*Hantawa-H-*/ in the Luwian dialect ancestral to Lycian. Similarly, we will posit the 3 sg. pret. of this verb as */*Hantawa-H-ta/* for pre-Lycian.²⁷

Now, according to the phonologic analysis proposed above, a form such as */*Hantawa-H-ta/* would, at some stage of pre-Lycian, have been realized phonetically as *[*Hantæwa-H-tæ*]. The moment the factitive suffix *-H- was lost in *[*Hantæwa-H-tæ*], however, a new contrast of */æ/ and */a/ arose, by phonologization, in the language, changing */*Hantawa-H-ta/* to */*Hantæwa-tæ/*, whence Lycian **χñtæwatæ* (**χñtewate*), cf. the phonologically parallel (hapax) *prñnewatæ* ‘they built’.²⁸ By Melchert’s umlaut rule, **χñtæwatæ* becomes *χñtæwætæ*, written *χñtewete*. A differently umlauted stem would arise before endings with a back vowel, cf. e.g. pres. 1 sg. *prñnawaxā* (the PAnat. stem of which is **prñawa-H-*).

The change of pre-Lycian */*Hantawa-H-ta/* to */*Hantæwa-Ø-tæ/* brought with it the replacement of the suffix *-H- by a suffix zero. Now, just as the original verb stem */*Hantawa-H-*/ is derived, by the addition of the suffix *-H-, from an animate noun stem */*Hantawa-*/ (Luw. **hantawa-*), the verb stem

²⁵ Vowel System 48.

²⁶ For the stem **hantawa-* see Laroche, *Fouilles de Xanthos* 6, 1979, 105.

²⁷ For the possibility that the 3 sg. preterite ending Lyc. *-te* = Luw. *-tta* comes from the IE medial ending *-to, see Melchert, Vowel System 46f., n. 14.

²⁸ For *prñnewatæ* see Melchert, Vowel System 50.

Hantæwa-Ø-* can be analysed as derived, by the addition of a suffix *-Ø-*, from an animate noun stem **Hantæwa-*. The thus abstracted animate noun stem **Hantæwa-* would seem to survive in the (regularly umlauted) Lycian *χῆτawa* ‘ruler’.²⁹ The Lycian animate noun stem *prñnawa-* ‘(grave)house’ (< PAnat. **prñnawa-*) is an exactly parallel case. We would expect PAnat. **prñnawa-* to give Lyc. **prñnæwæ-* (prñnewe-*), by regular phonetic development: this **prñnæwæ-*, it seems, was replaced, at some stage, by **prñnæwa-* (> Lyc. *prñnawa-*, by umlaut), the new stem form abstracted from the PAnat. denominative verb **prñnawa-H-* ‘build’ > Lyc. *prñnawa-*.

I do not know of any non-ambiguous linguistic evidence that might substantiate the claim³⁰ that the PAnat. animate noun attested by Hitt. *hassa* ‘fireplace, hearth, altar’ and Lycian *χaha-* ‘altar’ presupposes an *IE feminine formation* in **-eH₂-*.³¹

Morphologically, Hitt. *hassa-* and Lyc. *χaha-*, if from PAnat. **HasH-a-*,³² may be to the collective/neuter plural **Häsh* underlying Italic **āsā* ‘altar’

²⁹ This form would have ousted the original animate noun stem (pre-Lycian **Hantawa-*) > **χῆτæwæ* (**χῆtewe-*) from the language.

³⁰ See Melchert, Vowel System 48, and also Melchert, The Feminine Gender in Anatolian, in *Früh-, Mittel-, Spätindogermanisch*, Akten der IX. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft, eds. G. E. Dunkel, G. Meyer, S. Scarlata, Chr. Seidl, Wiesbaden 1994, 231–244 (henceforth abbrev. The Feminine Gender).

³¹ Melchert, The Feminine Gender 237f., bases his account of Hitt. *hassa-* and Lyc. *χaha-* on ‘lex Stang’ which, however, is of no help since this ‘lex’ is non-existent, see the author’s note: Idg. **-eHm/#*, *IF* 94, 1989, 5f. It is incomprehensible to me how Chr. Stang’s hesitant and ill-founded suggestion (in *Symbolae linguisticae in honorem Georgii Kuryłowicz*, Wrocław 1965, 295) has come to be construed as a *law* in the field of IE phonology (cf. Mayrhofer, *Indogermanische Grammatik I*, 1986, 163f. with further references). On the strength of his assumption according to which the acc. pl. **gʷʰōns* ‘cows’ seen in Skt. *gāḥ* is the regular outcome of an Early IE form **gʷʰouns*, Stang proposes to account for the acc. pl. in **-ās* of **ā*-stems in the following way: ‘On ne peut pas, cependant, nier la possibilité que le développement ait été parallèle à celui de **gʷʰōs*, à savoir que **-aH₂ns* (< **-eH₂ns*) ait donné **-āns*, comme **-ouns* a donné **-ōns*, le schwa fonctionnant comme une sonante dans le système phonétique indo-européen. En ce cas, il faudrait supposer que le même développement ait eu lieu à l’accusatif singulier: **-aH₂m* > **-ām* comme **-oum*, **-eum* > **-ōm*, **-ēm*.’ Stang’s assumptions, however, are in obvious conflict with one of the few firmly established facts of IE phonology, i.e. that the IE ‘laryngeals’ did not function as resonants in the IE phonologic system, but were consonants, inherently less sonorous than the resonants **y*, **w*, **r*, **l*, **n*, **m*, see the detailed discussion in the author’s *Introduction* 29ff. For the correct analysis of the acc. pl. in **-ās* seen in Celtic (OIr. *túatha*), Germanic (Goth. *gibōs*) and Indo-Iranian (Skt. *sénāh*) I refer to Burrow, *The Sanskrit Language* 235f. I would also like to stress here that, despite Melchert’s speculations, The Feminine Gender 237ff., there is no formal way of proving – either phonologically, morphologically or syntactically – that F. Starke’s PAnat. motion suffix *-i-* presupposes an *IE feminine motion suffix* **-iH₂-/-yeH₂-* (cf. the Vedic feminine type *devī* ‘goddess’ vs. masc. *devá* ‘god’). Consequently, the origin of Starke’s *-i-*-suffix remains unknown, cf. the author’s review (*IF* 99, 1994, 353ff.) of F. Starke, *Untersuchung zur Stammbildung des keilschrift-luwischen Nomens*, *StBoT* 31, 1990.

³² I.e. **HasH-a-> *Has-a-*, by dissimilation of **H...H- > *H...Ø-*.

(OLat. *āsa*, Osc. loc. sg. *aasai*)³³ as Indo-Iranian *rátH-a- ‘a chariot’ (> Skt. *rátha-* m.) is to the collective/neuter plural *rotH underlying Italic *rotā ‘a wheel; a chariot’ (Lat. *rota*).³⁴

Melchert, Vowel System 51, has made it seem plausible that the source of the secondary Lycian a-stem inflection of some earlier animate consonant stems is the (Lycian) accusative singular in -ā < IE syllabic *-m, e.g. Lyc. *wawa-* ‘cow’, the attested acc. sg. of which is *wawā* (from *wæwā, by umlaut) < PAnat. *gʷawān < IE *gʷow-m.³⁵ It is generally assumed, doubtless correctly, that Lycian *χawa-* ‘sheep’ has taken over its a-stem inflection from *wawa-*. See Laroche, *BSL* 62, 1967, 60, for Lycian *wawā* ... *χawā* reproducing the Hieroglyphic Luw. sequence *wawa-* ... *hawa/i-*.³⁶ Theoretically, Lyc. *lada-* ‘wife’, acc. sg. *ladā*, which has no clear etymology,³⁷ may likewise represent a refashioned animate consonant stem.

As is well known, there are good grounds for assuming that the parent IE language possessed distinctively voiced ‘laryngeal’ consonants, see the discus-

³³ For a different analysis see Puvel, *HED* 3, 224, according to whom ‘Italic *āsa* may be in origin a neuter plural (> feminine singular) related to Skt. *āsa-* like e.g. Lat. *loca* to *locus*.’

³⁴ For the normal refashioning of forms of the type *rotā (< IE *rot-H) into *rotā in Italic see F. Sommer, *Handbuch der Lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre*³ 386. It will be assumed here that the original collective/neuter plural form of ‘a wheel’ should be reconstructed as IE *rot-H₂. If, as assumed in the author’s *Introduction* 108ff., the collective/neuter plural ending *-H₂ was a voiced a-colouring ‘laryngeal’, the schematically reconstructed *rot-H₂ should be understood as *[rod-γ] (with *-t+γ > *-dγ-, by assimilation). It is highly plausible, however, that this *rod-γ, in a close speech-group, would have alternated with a sandhi variant *rot-x (with *-x < *-γ, by unvoicing) in the position before an immediately following word beginning with a voiceless consonant. Further, if, as I have argued in *HS* 105, 1992, 166f., *γ was lost earlier than its voiceless counterpart *x in non-Anatolian IE, it follows that the supposed sandhi variants *rody ~ *rotx would appear as *rod ~ *rotx after the loss of *γ. There is no trace of *rod anywhere. In the IE dialect ancestral to Indo-Iranian, however, *rotx, by an early addition of the thematic vowel, would seem to have given *rotx-o-> Skt. *ráth-a-(th- < *tx-)*. As noted above, Italic *rotā may be a refashioning of earlier *rotā (< IE *rot-x). Similarly, an IE collective/neuter plural of the (schematic) shape *H₂āsH₂ ‘fireplace, hearth, altar’ would have had the following two phonetic realizations in sandhi: *xāzγ ~ *xasx. Italic *āsā (OLat. *āsa*) could ultimately go back to *xasx (cf. what was said above regarding Lat. *rota*). In Anatolian, however, *xasx, by addition of the thematic vowel, would give *xasx-a-, whence, by dissimilation, */xas(x)-a-/ > pre-Lyc. */xas-a-/ > *χaha-*. Hitt. *hassa-* would likewise reflect dissimilated PAnat. *xas(x)-a-. Formally, Skt. *ās-a-* m. ‘ash’ could have the same origin as Hitt. *hassa-* and Lyc. *χaha-*.

³⁵ Cf. Lat. *bovem*. I still think that *gʷówm/, the IE acc. sg. of *gʷow- ‘cow’, was originally realized phonetically as *[gʷówm] in the parent language and that *gʷōm > Skt. *gām*, etc., owes its form to the analogy of certain root-nouns of the shape *CeH-, cf. my remarks in *NTS* 21, 1967, 133ff. Similarly, the acc. pl. */gʷówns/ should be understood as *[gʷówns], cf. Toch. B pl. acc. *kewām*.

³⁶ For Luw. *hawi-*, cf. Lyc. *χawa-* ‘sheep’ < IE *xawi- (*x = H₂*), i.e. dissimilated *x(w)ewy-, see the author’s remarks in *HS* 103, 1990, 20f.

³⁷ Winter’s connection, *Evidence for Laryngeals*, 1965, 191, of *lada-* with Toch. B *läre* ‘dear’, Russ. *ladyj* ‘dear’, *lada* ‘spouse’ is anything but convincing. Cf. also Fasmer, *Etimologičeskij slovar’ russkogo jazyka* II, Moskva 1967, 447.

sion in the author's *Introduction* 108ff., and cf. above n. 34. Further, forms such as Hitt. *ais*, Luw. *assa-* 'mouth' (: Lat. *ōs*), Hitt. *dai* 'takes' (: Gk. *dō-* 'give'), Hitt., Luw. and Pal. neuter plural *-a*, plausibly testify to the regular loss in Anatolian of the voiced *a*-colouring ($*H_2 = \gamma$) and the voiced *o*-colouring ($*H_3 = \gamma^w$) 'laryngeals'.³⁸ This hypothesis enables us to explain the formal discrepancy between, on the one side, Hitt. *happar-*, *happir-* n. 'business, trade', *happiriya-* 'sell'³⁹ with initial *h*- and, on the other, Lycian *epirije-* 'sell' without any initial 'laryngeal' reflex. We may begin with the assumption that these Anatolian forms go back ultimately to IE (ablauting) $*H_3opr \sim *H_3pēr$ (with an initial voiced *o*-colouring 'laryngeal'). According to the generally accepted rules of IE phonology, $*H_3pēr$ would be realised phonetically as $[x^wpēr]$ (with $\gamma^w > x^w$, by normal assimilation). Consequently, if Anatolian inherited these ablauting stems from the parent IE language, they would there appear as $*\gamma(w)apr \sim *x(w)pēr$. As a consequence of the regular PAnat. loss of the voiced *o*-colouring $\gamma(w)$, however, the inherited alternation $*\gamma(w)apr \sim *x(w)pēr$ would now develop into $*apr \sim *x(w)pēr > *xpēr$.⁴⁰ Assuming that the full-grade root form $*ap-$ was generalized in Luwian, we may – in accordance with our phonologic formula – posit Luw. **apiriya-* > Lyc. /æpirijæ-/ written *epirije-*.⁴¹ In Hittite, however, the inherited **xpēr* seen in *happir*, the *-a-* of which is graphically or phonetically anaptyctic, would have formed the basis for the creation of a new full grade **xapr* attested by *hāppar*,⁴² which, then, ousted the original full grade (**āppar*) from the language.⁴³

There is one final question which is of some importance here: is there any non-ambiguous linguistic evidence which might indicate that the theoretically possible IE sequences $*H_2a$ (< normal grade $*H_2e$) and $*H_2o$ (with ablaut $*o$) yielded two different reflexes, i.e. $*/ha/$ and $*/ho/$, respectively, in Proto-Anatolian? If so, accented PAnat. **hó-*, according to Melchert's teaching discussed above, should be written plene (*ha-a-*) in closed syllables in Hittite, whereas PAnat. **há-* should not. This question can be answered in the negative right

³⁸ For Puhvel's views on the reflexes of the IE 'laryngeals' in Hittite, see *Evidence for Laryngeals*, 1965, 92, HED 1, X.

³⁹ Puhvel, HED 3, 127, discusses the stem-ablaut of the Hittite forms.

⁴⁰ The initial x^w- of $*x^wpēr$ falling together with inherited x^w (= voiceless $*H_3$) gave $x-$, by unrounding, cf. e.g. Hitt. *hastai* 'bone' < PAnat. **xast-* < IE $*x^wost-$, cf. Gk. *ostéon*.

⁴¹ Luw. **apiriya-* has *-i-* from IE lengthened grade **ē*, see Melchert, *AHPH*. 283.

⁴² The plene writing of the *-a-* in *ha-a-ap-pár* may indicate the place of the accent.

⁴³ There are Lycian forms the *a*-vocalism of which I am unable to explain. They are, however, for the most part etymologically obscure, see the discussion by Melchert, Vowel System 50ff. In Lyc. *kbatra-* 'daughter' the first vowel may be anaptyctic in origin (< PAnat. **dugHatr-*), cf. also Melchert, Vowel System 48. According to Melchert, *AHPH*. 77, the Luwian 'relational' suffix *-assai-i-* = Lycian *-ahe-* reflects Anat. **/-asso-/* (with geminated **/ss-/*) < IE **-eH₂so-*. The claim that IE **-H₂s-* gave PAnat. geminated **/ss-/* is anything but convincing, however. Supposing that the etymology is correct, one could instead take Luw. *-assai-i-* and Lyc. */-ahæ-/*, written *-ahe-*, to be from a PAnat. form **-āsa-* < IE **-eH₂so-*.

away, however. Thus, there is no objective way of proving that e.g. 3 sg. pret. act. *hāzta* (from *hat-* ‘dry up’) *must* presuppose IE **H₂ód-t()* rather than **H₂éd-t()*, cf. the **H₂ed-* > non-Anatolian IE **ad-* seen in Gk. (*Iliad* 4. 487) *hē mén t' azoménē keītai* ‘and it (i.e. the poplar) lies drying’. Hitt. *hāssa-* ‘offspring’ is also formally ambiguous: Melchert, *AHPh.* 163, takes this to come from **H₂ónso-*, whereas Puhvel, *HED* 3, 217, chooses to reconstruct *hāssa-* as IE **E₂omso-* (*E₂=* voiced *e*-colouring ‘laryngeal’) connecting it with the word for ‘flesh’ (Skt. *mās-*, Arm. *mis*, etc.). Clearly, as long as the etymology of *ha(-a)-as-sa-* ‘offspring’ remains undecided, the question of the quality of its initial ‘laryngeal’ must likewise remain unsettled. An obvious counterexample to Melchert’s hypothesis is Hitt. *ha-a-an-za* ‘in front’ which – according to Melchert – reflects IE **H₂ánti*.⁴⁴

Since, obviously, there is no way of proving that a theoretically possible IE sequence **H₂ó* yielded Hittite *hā* in closed accented syllables, I see no reason to modify my teaching⁴⁵ according to which the ablaut **e* > **o* occurring later than the colouring of */*e/* to *[*a*] by a neighbouring **H₂*, could not affect the */*e/* or */*eH₂/* which had already been changed to *[*a*], an allophone of */*e/*.

The preceding discussion would seem to show that there is no need to revise the traditional doctrine according to which Proto-Anatolian possessed four short vowel phonemes: */*i* : *u* : *e* : *a*.

⁴⁴ *AHPh.* 117.

⁴⁵ *Introduction* §40.

IRANIAN ELEMENTS IN GERMANIC RELIGION

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The problem of Iranian components in the Germanic religion has been discussed for decades. Obviously, a clear distinction needs to be made between what is genuinely Iranian and what Germanic religion and mythology shares with the Iranian as well as with other Indo-European systems of belief. This immediately excludes the considerations based on the Dumézilian tripartite ideology; also to be dismissed are the data on sporadic horse sacrifice in Germany, on the occurrence of a divine beverage of immortality, on the absence of temple buildings or iconic representation of the deities in primitive cult. Also to be left out of consideration are the scarce manifestations of a fire-cult, the appearance of chariots as cult objects, the comparison of the Tacitean eponymic heroes of three Germanic tribes with the Scythian *Lipoxaīs*, *Arpoxaīs* and *Kolaxaīs*, mentioned by Herodotus. Not convincing either is the assumed parallelism between the alleged dual nature of Odin and the opposition between *Ayra Mainyu* and *Spənta Mainyu* under *Ahura Mazda* or the equation established on flimsy ground between Odin and *Vayu*; a comparison between *xšaθra* and ON *regindómr* is hardly cogent. To be sure, the Ossetic *Sozryko* shares a number of features with Loki, and Dumézil has definitely made the most of it, and it may be significant that in both cultures – Germanic and Ancient Iranian – butter was used in funeral rites; the carrying away of deities by demonic powers is however frequently attested, and that the number of *einherjar* corresponds to a 15th of the small stars created by *Ahura Mazda* is not particularly impressive: juggling with numbers is a common Indo-European habit. If striking Irano-Germanic correspondences are to be found, they appear essentially in the cosmogony and the eschatology. Already in the thirties, Hermann Guntert demonstrated the parallelism between the slaughter and cutting up of the primal giant *Ymir* in the Scandinavian myth about the creation of the world and definite Iranian traditions, but since then a number of similar mythological explanations have been listed, and with the Vedic *puruṣamedha* in RV X, 190, the comparison of the Germanic cosmogony with Iranian data is no longer as striking. To be sure, the equations between body parts and elements in the constitution of the world found in the Manichean *Škand-Gumanig-Vizar* are the closest to the Germanic ones, but both narratives are merely variants of an obviously older [Indo-European] myth, which illustrates the con-

stant interchange between microcosm and macrocosm. Therefore the hypothesis of a close relation with Manichean myth has been abandoned long ago.

Different is the case of the world's end: here we deal clearly with the decisive final combat between the gods and the demons in which the temporary victory of the forces of evil is followed by the emergence of a purified brave new world in which evil however looms again at the horizon while mankind has been freed from lie and sin. The motives in *Ragnarök* are numerous and complex, a mixture of pagan and Christian elements: in his 1924 article on "Weltuntergangsvorstellungen", R. Reitzenstein tries to sort them out, assuming that the Manichean vision of the final collapse served as a model for the Scandinavian description. Various features in the Iranian depiction of the ultimate clash between good and evil correspond to the Nordic scenario: the sinking down of the earth in flames, the falling of the stars from the sky, the serpent motif [which could be Christian as well]. But some elements may be already Indo-European: the battle of the gods, the destruction of the world by fire and water, and especially the worsening of weather conditions. The *fimbulvetr* or extra-long winter that precedes *Ragnarök* reminds us of the Iranian *malkoš* winter, a motif inspired by the rough climate of the Iranian plateau. In his study on Germanic eschatology (1935), W. Peuckert tries to reinforce Reitzenstein's view by indicating among other things that the younger Iranian poem *Zamaspnamak* talks about a "wolf's age" which would correspond to ON *vargöld*, but the term *vargr*, although it basically means "wolf", designates the outlaw in Scandinavia. His speculations on *Muspell* are at best conjectural: the term cannot be separated from Old Bavarian, the name of a medieval Christian poem on the Last Judgment with pagan overtones; scholars have been disputing its etymology for decades, being divided into two opposing groups: the scholars who try to give it a heathen interpretation centered around the idea of world destruction through fire, and those who recognize it as a Christian term for the Last Judgment. Whatever the case may be, it must have spread from the south to Scandinavia, where it was linked to the fiery abode of *Surtr* in the South. The people of *Muspell* are supposed to ride through the gloomy forest of *Myrkviðr* to their final destination, and the association of fire and obscurity reminds Peuckert of the "dark fire" of the Mandean-Manichean tradition. How could the Germanic people have gotten these Manichean concepts, when this religion which spread in the Western Roman Empire in the 4th century, was vigorously combatted there after the conversion of Augustine and his relentless attacks against his former Manichean creed and had its major communities in North Africa destroyed by the Vandals? In spite of the efforts of the popes to eradicate it, it survived at least till the 8th c. in North Africa, and Paulician missionaries expanded their activity in the 7th c. from the Balkans along the Danube: they may have brought the concept of *Muspilli* to Bavaria, and Manichean ideas may have reached Scandinavia through Russia? Let us also remember that two Armenian half-Christian Manichean bishops visited Iceland in the 11th c., but the ideas Reitzenstein talks about must

already have been there two or three centuries earlier. Thinking of the impact of the Bogomils or the Cathars, we can conclude that some Manichean ideas may have reached the North, but there is nothing compelling in the Scandinavian traditions to assert an undisputable Manichean influence.

In 1981, the medievist J. Grisward published a thesis which ascribed the remarkable parallelism between the French "geste des Narbonnais" and the Ossetic tradition of the Narts to a Visigothic background. After the searching studies of Dumézil, this could hardly come as a surprise: after all, Iranians were often traveling companions of the Germanic hosts during the Migration Age: when the Gothic kingdom in the Pontic area was destroyed by the Huns in the 4th c. A.D., the Goths were accompanied by Alans, led by Safrac, on their migration to territories controlled by the Romans, and these same Alans helped defeat the Emperor at Andrinopolis in 378; in 406, Alans crossed the Rhine with the Germanic tribes invading the Roman Empire, and they followed the Vandals through Spain (409) all the way to North-Africa (428–430). When Albuin, king of the Langobards, conquered northern Italy in 568, he was accompanied by Turkish Bulgarians and by Iranian Sarmatians. In the cultural community that resulted from these contacts, no doubt some aspects of the complex personality of Loki may have originated, and other mythological themes have been transmitted easily from east to west. Pursuing this line of reasoning, C. Scott Littleton and Linda Malcor have recently tried to reassess the whole King Arthur, Knights of the Round Table and Holy Grail cycle in the light of Scythian influences in the west. He based his inquiry on two important findings: a casual remark by J. Mallory that the emperor Marcus Aurelius had sent a contingent of heavily armed auxiliary cavalry, 5,500 Sarmatian *cataphracti* from Pannonia to Britain ca. 175 A.D. and that the ethnic enclave established by their offspring had survived at least till the beginning of the 4th c., and an article by J. Grisward pointing to some remarkable parallels between the fate of king Arthur as described in Sir Thomas Malory's 15th c. *Le Morte Darthur* and the Ossetian saga about the death of their hero *Batraz*. Over the years, C. Scott Littleton elaborated the hypothesis that the Arthurian legend, instead of being rooted in Celtic tradition, originated in the same north-eastern Iranian tradition as gave rise to the Ossetic narratives. His argument is cleverly constructed and developed in a series of informative though sometimes rather controversial chapters, the outcome of which is a series of revolutionary statements on the Arthurian legend. Whether he is right or not in his major assumptions, he carefully tracked the march of the *Alans* through Gaul. The future will tell us how much of his theories on the origin of the Grail will survive; in the meantime, he has opened fascinating new perspectives on the possible cultural impact of Iranian tribes in western Europe.

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ZU EINIGEN WÖRTERN OSTIRANISCHER PROVENIENZ IM ARMENISCHEN

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Von den Iranismen des Armenischen, die sich einer bestimmten lehngebenden Einzelsprache zuweisen lassen, stammt die Mehrzahl aus dem Parthischen, der Sprache der Arsakiden, die auf dem Höhepunkt ihrer Macht eine Herrscherdynastie im armenischen Reich begründeten. Daneben lässt sich eine Reihe mittelpersischer, in sasanidischer Zeit übernommener Lehnwörter ausmachen. Es gibt des weiteren iranische Lehnwörter, deren Originale entweder außerhalb des Ostiranischen nicht zu belegen sind oder eine Lautstruktur aufweisen, die nur aus dem Ostiranischen erklärbar ist. Als erster hat wohl Gauthiot iranische Lehnwörter ostiranischen Gepräges im Armenischen behandelt. Er nennt die armenische Bezeichnung für den Propheten, *margarē*, dessen parthische Entsprechung *mārēgar* ‘Zauberer’ gegenüber soghd. *mārkarē* (*m̥rkr̥yt* [Plur.]) eine andere Lautgestalt gezeitigt hätte, und *kari* ‘sehr’ (soghd. *k̥dy*), das sich sonst im Mitteliranischen nicht nachweisen lässt. Zu *kari* gehören auch arm. *kari-* ‘Kraft, Macht’ sowie *kare-* (Aor. *karac-*) ‘vermögen, können’.

Henning erwähnt die genannten armenischen Wörter im Zusammenhang mit ostiranischen Elementen des Manichäisch-Parthischen wie *hand* ‘blind’, dem ein westiranisches *kōr* gegenübersteht (1958, 93). Nach Henning handelt es sich hier um Reliktwörter aus der Sprache der Parner (Parni, Aparni). Diese sind antiken Quellen zufolge um die Mitte des dritten vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts unter ihrem Führer Arsakes aus ihren Sitzen östlich des Kaspischen Meeres (vgl. Schippmann 15 ff.) in die von Sprechern eines nordwestiranischen Idioms bewohnte Provinz Parthien eingefallen (vgl. Colledge 16 und das Kapitel „The Coming of the Parni“ S. 22–35) und müssten dann in der unterjochten Bevölkerung aufgegangen sein.

Auch arm. *zawr* ‘Kraft, Macht’, speziell dann ‘Streitmacht (Truppen Heer)’, weist mit seinem Vokalismus aufs Ostiranische (vgl. soghd. *z̥wr* ‘power, might’ [Sims-Williams 237], avest. *zāvara*). Ein mitteliranisches *zōr* hätte ein *zojr* ergeben, vgl. oben *kōr* > *koyr* ‘blind’. Zwar kennt auch das Neopersische Ostiranismen (s. Henning 1977), doch ist im Parthischen und Mittelpersischen im vorliegenden Fall jedenfalls nur *zōr* zu belegen.

Ein weiteres armenisches Wort lässt sich hier anschließen: arm. *paštawn/ paštaman-* ‘Ritus, (Gottes)dienst’. Ein geeignetes Etymon bietet sich in dem

christlich-soghdischen *paštāwan* (*pašt²wn*, s. Sims-Williams 221), das im Vokalismus die nämliche Konstellation wie das mitteliranische Original von arm. *zawr* aufweist: *paštāwan* wie *zāwar*. Die semantische Seite der Etymologie ist unproblematisch (Gebot, Ermahnung → religiöse Vorschrift → Ritus), erkläруngsbedürftig wäre freilich die Stammform *paštaman-*. Sie könnte aber ohne weiteres analogisch nach dem Typ *gočiwn* ‘Geschrei’ entstanden sein: *paštawn* : *x = gočiwn* : **gočiman*; die Form **gočiman* kann zum Zeitpunkt der Übernahme von *paštawn* durchaus noch existiert haben, da die Elision von unbetontem *i* noch die älteren iranischen Entlehnungen betroffen hat.¹

Damit würde sich zu *margarē* ein weiterer Terminus ostiranischen Gepräges aus dem religiösen Bereich gesellen; auch die Entlehnung der oben erwähnten Termini *zawr* ‘Kraft, Macht’ und *kar* ‘id.’ könnte in diesem Kontext geschehen sein.²

Daß sich die „parnischen“ Elemente im Parthischen nicht nachweisen lassen, ließe sich zur Not mit der geringen Belegdichte dieser Sprache erklären. Wenn man aber berücksichtigt, daß das Armenische gerade nicht die belegte – also offenbar normale – parthische Variante der Bezeichnung für ‘Prophet’ entlehnt hat und daß die vom Armenischen vorausgesetzte Lautform keinerlei typisch ostiranischen Merkmale aufweist, sondern nur mit der in einer ostiranischen Sprache, dem Soghdischen, überlieferten Wortform übereinstimmt, die in dem Idiom der mutmaßlichen mittelbaren Lehngabe der armenischen Iranismen ostiranischen Gepräges gar nicht so gelautet haben muß, sollte das Wort in der Sprache dieses Stammes, „known to have existed somewhere in Central Asia“ (Lozinski 9), überhaupt vorhanden gewesen sein, dann drängt sich der Gedanke auf, daß wir es mit einer direkten Übernahme dieses³ und der übrigen Termini aus dem Soghdischen zu tun haben; eine Entsprechung mir. δ : arm. *r* wird man nicht auf parthische Entlehnungen beschränken müssen und mit einer Einwirkung seitens *margarit* ‘Perle’ – griechischer Herkunft, aber früh und häufig belegbar – darf im Falle von arm. *margarē* trotz der Bedeutungsdiskrepanz gerechnet werden. Man kann dann ferner vermuten, daß die Entlehnung mit einer manichäischen Mission in Armenien im Zusammenhang steht. Eine solche wird nach Sundermann schon zu Manis Zeiten durch dessen sogenannten „armenischen

¹ Klingenschmitt geht indessen unter Hinweis auf einen armenischen Wandel **mn* > *wn* von einem **parištáman* (> *paštawn*) / **parištamán*- (> Gen. *paštaman*) mitteliranischen Ursprungs aus (25) – zu *paštawn* vgl. Verf., MSS 45 (1985), S. 197–99.

² Keinen offenkundigen Bezug zu dem in Rede stehenden Sachbereich hätte das bisher nicht gedeutete armenische *manawand* ‘mehr, eher’ (*manawand zi, manawand t‘ē* ‘vor allem, besonders, zumal’), für das nur im Soghdischen ein in formaler Hinsicht passendes Original belegt zu sein scheint. Soghd. *m̥nawand* ist jedoch nur aus stark verdorbenen Kontexten, die keinen Schluß auf die Bedeutung des Wortes erlauben, nachweisbar (vgl. Sundermann l.c.).

³ Gauthiot schließt direkte Übernahme aus dem Soghdischen mit dem Hinweis, daß das armenische Wort dann *markarē* lauten müßte, aus. Er sieht in dem -*g-* eine Spur parthischer Vermittlung, wo es *Sagastan* neben *Sakastan* gebe (127). Die Lautgestalt des armenischen Wortes könnte aber auch durch das anklingende *margarit* ‘Perle’ beeinflußt sein.

„Brief“ bezeugt (vgl. auch Lieu 75 ff., Russell 524)⁴. Sundermann findet des weiteren in einem Ortsnamen *Rewān* (*ryβ̥n*) innerhalb eines soghdischen Textes den Namen der armenischen Hauptstadt wieder. Mit der Identifikation von *Revān* und *Erewan* wäre aufgrund der Angaben des soghdischen Textes auch die Existenz einer bedeutenden christlichen Gemeinde um die Mitte und in der zweiten Hälfte des 3. Jahrhunderts, d.h. vor der offiziellen Erhebung des Christentums zur Staatsreligion, impliziert. Sundermann geht bei seiner Deutung von der Identität dieses Namens mit dem urartäischen *Erebuni* aus und hält es für nicht ausgeschlossen, „daß zwischen einem ursprünglichen labialen Verschlußlaut (*b*) und einem labiodentalen Reibelaut (*w*) im modernen Armenischen ein bilabialer Reibelaut (*v*) stand“ (45).

Manichäische Missionstätigkeit von Soghdieren ist freilich erst für eine erheblich spätere Zeit und nur für Mittelasien belegbar (vgl. Lieu 184 ff.). Immerhin erscheint nicht ausgeschlossen, daß im Gefolge Manis oder seines Schülers Mar Ammo oder anderer in Transoxanien missionierender Manichäer (vgl. Lieu 55, 179) soghdischsprachige Anhänger den Weg nach Westen gefunden haben. Warum aber gerade diese eine solche Bedeutung in der manichäischen „Bewegung“ erlangt und Spuren ihrer religiösen Terminologie sogar im Armenischen hinterlassen haben sollen, entbehrt bisher einer einleuchtenden Erklärung.

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⁴ Für den von der zoroastrischen Religion zum manichäischen Glauben übergetretenen Kleinkönig (*šhrd'r*) Bāt (Ort 159), der Mani auf seiner letzten Reise begleitet hat, wird armenische Nationalität erwogen (Boyce 43, Russell 167). Die einheimische Überlieferung kennt aber offenbar nur einen Armenier dieses Namens, den Erzieher des Königs Varazdat (374–78), s. Ačařyan I 385.

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THE HISTORY OF THE YOUTH FARMAN (*PATMUT'WN FARMAN MANKANN*)

A MEDIAEVAL ARMENIAN ROMANCE

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Ten years ago, Prof. Dr. Edmund Schütz and I shared quarters at the Akademicheskaya Hotel, Moscow, on our way to a conference in Erevan. It was September, and unseasonably cold. Professor Schütz bundled himself to bed, looking quite cozy in striped woolen hat with pom-pom; but the room was chilly, and I volunteered to fetch us some hot tea from the concierge. My colleague was happy. He sipped his tea and cooed “Ach, James, these Russian winters!” As a Hungarian, he knew from Russian winters; but despite them he was at every meeting, ever learned, courtly, witty – a beloved presence. The learning of Prof. Schütz embraces Slavica, Turcica, Armenology, and Mediaeval Studies; so it is suitable to felicitate him with this short Persian-Armenian entertainment of Irano-Hellenistic lineage. May its *khabar-e 'eshq* soothe the memories of winter with the perfume of an ancient Khōrāsānian spring.

1. Introduction and analysis

The *Patmut'iwn Farman Mankann* (PFM) is a short romance attested in prose and verse versions in a number of manuscripts, mainly of the 17th century; the earliest is from the 15th century. It has not been translated into English before, though F. Macler published a text of it with a French translation in the journal *Anahit*, Paris (Nos 3–11, 1904; Nos 2, 4–9, 1905).¹ Prof. Manuk Abeļyan of Erevan, who wrote the most compendious and detailed history of Armenian literature to date, believed PFM to be a non-Armenian composition that underwent total revision by the Armenians. He considered it a work of importance to Armenian literature, and planned to publish a study of it; but this was never completed.² A text based upon the available MSS in verse was edited and published, with an introductory study, by Š. Nazaryan in 1957.³ The romance is

¹ I have not seen Macler's text and translation.

² See Manuk Abeļyan, *Erker*, Vol. 4, Erevan, 1970, p. 12.

³ Šušanik Nazaryan, ed., *Patmut'iwn Farman Mankann*, Erevan: Haykakan SSR GA hratarakč'ut'yun, 1957. I thank here the Faculty of Arts and Sciences of Harvard for a travel grant that allowed me time to find the book at Librairie Samuélian and to start reading it on a sunny

divided in the printed Armenian text into quatrains, each with separate monorhyme (aaaa bbbb, etc.); most lines are eleven syllables in length, with caesura after the sixth syllable – the general stress in Armenian is on the last syllable of each word; and since one is brought up short because the second half of every line is one syllable shorter than the first, the rhythm of the poem has a rapidity and abruptness, which makes the narration spirited and colorful. It is likely that the construction of the poem is an effort to approximate the standard structure of Persian epic: a distich of two rhymes, each hemistich eleven feet in *hazaj* meter (v---/v---/v--).⁴ Armenian has no short and long vowels or syllables, so its basic poetic forms have been syllabic; but the regularity of stress can be manipulated to produce an imitation of quantitative meter: Kostandin Erznkac'i does this, famously, in a Christianizing poem composed – at the urging of his “brothers” – in the “voice” (*jayn*) of the *Sāh-nāme*. This heroic effect, employed in PFM, sets a suitable mood, since the action of the poem moves back and forth between action scenes – jousting and fighting, narrow escapes, clever tricks and fast moves – and more tranquil episodes: love letters and expressions of longing.

The language of PFM is late Middle Armenian, displaying the typical forms *eret* “gave”, *erek* “came”, and the *k-* formation that is standard in Modern Arm., alongside Classical forms such as *etes* “saw”; participal endings in both *-ac* and *-eal* are found. Overall, the author labors to make his text Classical Arm. as he understands it, and the result is a rather awkward hybrid, closer to the language of the minstrels than that of the priests. The most conspicuous vernacular, late mediaeval feature is the large proportion of loan-words from the spoken languages of Armenia’s Moslem neighbors; and here, it is striking that hardly any of these words are Turkish. Nearly all are New Persian, or Arabic. Nearly all the proper names are Persian, too; and most of the action of the tale is set in Khorasan.

Yet if PFM was an Iranian romance in origin, it was probably disseminated in Armenia early and widely, entering national tradition. The 14th-century Armenian scholar Yovhannēs Orotneč'i, in his treatise “On the Elements” considers the degrees of veracity of different categories of writing, and declares, *Isk erkord, or amenewimb sut, orpēs arāspelakan girk̄ øst patmut̄ean Aramazdea ew Hermea, ayspēs ew i nors Ptnjē k̄alak̄ ew Šeranšah ew ayl soynpisik̄, or amenewimb sut en* “And the second (kind) are lies altogether, like the books of legend according to the history of Zeus and Hermes. So, in these modern times, are the City of Bronze, and Šeranšah, and other things of this kind, which are altogether lies”⁵. In PFM is found the name Šāh-i Šērān, an alternative form with *ezafe* of the name mentioned by Orotneč'i, Šērānšāh,

morning in June at the Café les Deux Magots on the Blvd. St. Germain. What setting for the start of some literary research could be more congenial?

⁴ See discussion by J. C. Bürgel, “Romances,” in E. Yarshater, ed., *Persian Literature*, Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1988, p. 161 & n. 4.

⁵ Text ed. with Rus. tr. by S. Arevshatyan, S. Lalafaryan, “Sochinenie Ioanna Vorotnetsi ‘Ob elementakh,’” *Banber Matenadarani* 3, Erevan, 1956, p. 378.

"King of Lions". But all we learn of this character in PFM is that he is the son and heir of the hero, Farmān-i Āsmān, whom he resembles in all respects; so it is likely there was another romance about him, forming part of a cycle of such stories to which PFM belonged. As for the Bronze City, or City of Brass, that Orotneč'i mentions also, it is a legendary place from pre-Islamic Iranian lore, made famous by an episode in *The Thousand Nights and a Night*. This episode was translated into Armenian at the order of David the Cropicalate in A.D. 1000, and remained popular in longer and shorter versions down to modern times.⁶ So it is at least possible that a version of PFM existed by Orotneč'i's time.

Some characterizations in the romance, as we shall see presently, seem to be inspired by Armenian oral epic, and by the terminology of the mediaeval Armenian fraternities. There is also a section in which the hero Farman laments his state as a wanderer or stranger (*tarib*, i.e., Arabic *gharib*; Arm. *panduxt*, from M.Ir., is an older term also used). Since as a result of Turkish and Kurdish depredations many Armenians were forced to leave their homes to earn a living in foreign climes, the song of the exile became a hallmark of Armenian folk poetry in the Middle Ages and later. The setting in PFM does not conjure up the picture of an itinerant worker begging the crane (*krunk*, the national bird, thanks in part to its role in such songs) for news of the land of Ararat, though.⁷ Farman has been making merry with his Persian girlfriend, and a tale he is relating reminds him inadvertently of the parents and home he seems, in his youthful revelry, to have forgotten. The lament he then delivers is more about the hapless exile than the forgetful prince; and the ill fit suggests the interpolation of the lament, by Armenians, into a romance, probably Persian, that originally had not contained one. A romance long in Armenian tradition might be expected to be thoroughly Christianized;⁸ but PFM is suffused with the same non-sectarian fatalism that pervades Ferdousi's epic; and the only morality is the valor and pleasure of young warriors accustomed to play polo, drink deep, enjoy minstrelsy and other profane entertainments, and make love. The heroes occasionally thank a vaguely-named "Immortal Father", and no religious sentiments adorn their abrupt deaths. Only at the very end of the romance is there a perfunctory invocation of the Holy Trinity.

The tale begins with King Zarmanazan (Arm., "of wonderful lineage") of Asorestan, that is, Assyria, who is childless – Nazaryan suggests his name is based upon Salmanasar; and one notes how the Assyrian Sarasar of the Bible becomes Irano-Armenian Sanasar (*"vanquishing enemies") as the eponymous

⁶ See J. R. Russell, "The Tale of the Bronze City in Armenian," in T. J. Samuelian and M. E. Stone, eds., *Medieval Armenian Culture*, Univ. of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 6, Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1984, pp. 250–61.

⁷ See Tat taripi, "Song of the Wanderer," no. 41 in Manik Mkrtčyan, ed., *Hay mijndaryan pandxtut'yan taler* (XV–XVIII dd.), Erevan: Haykakan SSH GA hratarakčut'yun, 1979, p. 89.

⁸ See J. R. Russell, "On Armeno-Iranian Interaction in the Mediaeval Period," in R. Gyselen, ed., *Au Carrefour des Religions: Mélanges Offerts à Philippe Gignoux, Res Orientales* 7, Bures-sur-Yvette, 1995, pp. 235–9.

ancestor of the heroes (Arm. *k'aj-er*) of Sa(na)sun. The *topos* of a man in old age who is favored in all respects but that of a son to carry on his name is common, and the appearance at court of a mysterious soothsayer named Moses (Perso-Arabic Musē, not the Arm. form, from Greek, Movsēs) from Egypt ought perhaps to recall the case of Abraham before the birth of Isaac; but the model here is probably the Egyptian Nectanebos in the *Alexander-Romance* of Ps.-Callisthenes – an immensely popular book in Armenia.⁹ In the epic of Sasun, an old man or woman appears at crucial points to offer a hero needed advice or guidance – probably a parallel to the motif of the sage at the outset. Musē assures the King that the stars have ordained a son of favored destiny (this is the usual Persian *topos* of *ṣāhib qirānī*, birth under a fortunate conjunction of the stars). The boy is named at birth, appropriately, Farmān-i Āsmān, i.e., “Command of Heaven” (in Armenian script, Farmani Asman, usually Farman alone, with *manukn*, “the youth”). The name is unusual in Armenian: Adjarian suggests that the name of one Farmaša, 14th. cent., be reconstructed as *Farmān-i Šāh, “Command of the King”; and he lists a person named Farman from A.D. 1761 – but that is all.¹⁰ A hero named Orbik Parman, “Little Orphan *Farman” appears in a narrative appended to the Armenian epic of Sasun; but his valorous deeds seem unrelated to those of the hero of PFM.¹¹ The element meaning “heaven” is found, though, in a proper name in a Persian romance: Āsmān Parī, “Fairy of Heaven”, imprisons a hero for eighteen years inside Qāf, the magical axial mountain of the world, in the *dāstān* of Ḥamzah, of which there was a 12th-

⁹ See the critical edition and study, with refs., of Hasmik Simonyan, *Patmut'iwn Ałek'-sandri Makedonac'woy*, Erevan: Haykakan XSH GA hratarakč'ut'yun, 1989. Ms. Lucy Barsamian of the Armenian Library and Museum of America, Watertown, MA, presented to Columbia University in 1996 an M.A. thesis, prepared partially under my direction, on the didactic verses in Middle Armenian added by diverse poets to the text through the Middle Ages – an internal indication, apart from the abundant use of the text as a source for theme and style by authors such as Movsēs Xorenac'i, of its perpetual popularity.

¹⁰ H. Ačarean, *Hay anjanunneri bařaran*, Vol. 5, Beirut: Sevan, 1972 (repr.), p. 248.

¹¹ *Sasna c̄rēr*, the epic of the Wild Men of Sasun, consists of four branches (Arm. *čiwl*), a thematic unity related genetically to the Alanian *Narts*. The ethnographer D. Č'it'uni recorded at Van, 1907, a version with three additional branches from the reciter Kanč'ō in the dialect of Sparkert (ancient Išayr – on the name of which see J. R. Russell, “Two Armenian Toponyms: Hrasekaberd and Išayr,” *Annual of Armenian Linguistics* 9, 1988, pp. 47–53) of the Moks region (west of Van city, to the south of the lake shore). This Orbik Parman is born in Egyptian captivity, like Sanasar and Bałdasar in the first branch of the epic. He grows quickly, and, like them (one recalls the Cyrus legend from Herodotus here, too), unintentionally kills other children at games. They complain, the ruler Xədrō (Khidr?) is angry, and the child presses his mother to tell him who is true father is: she explains he is really of Sasun and his grandfather is Paron Tēr Nersēs (a woman will not mention directly her husband). See D. Č'it'uni, *Sasunakan: Sassounacan, épopee populaire arménienne*, Paris: Hayagitum matenašar no. 11, 1942, p. 1113. Though the reciter explains the name Parman as a form from Persian (loc. cit., n. 1: *t'ē kō fērman ərin: an cnol mēra berin*, “though they commanded, they brought the mother who bore him”), Č'it'uni understands it as Arm. *parmani*, “a youth”.

century Georgian version. But again, the word here conveys the sense of the supernatural, rather than of astrological good fortune.¹²

Farman enjoys the companionship of other young gallants. They are called *k'aj* “brave”, like the heroes of Sasun;¹³ and some of the language of the epic may have colored the Armenian rendering of the romance. Even the name of the aged king Zarmanazan – the only non-Iranian name in the romance and that of the progenitor of the royal line including Farman and Šeranšah – may perhaps recall the occasional designation of the house of Sasun as *Aznanc^c tun*, “house of the Noble”.¹⁴ Farman is always called *manukn*, “youth”; but the word can have the pejorative shading of “boy”, too: and when our hero is about to fight his rival, the muscle-bound, wicked, deceitful P^cōlat, the latter taunts him as a boy whom it would be unsporting to kill. This incident parallels exactly the episode in the third and longest section of the Sasun epic, in which the hero Dawit^c (David), still a very young boy, finds himself on the arena fighting with maces, polo balls, and other projectiles against his older half-brother, the Goliath-like Msra Melik^c – an enemy whom he will eventually slay, as Farman will kill P^cōlat. Farman also fights a woman-knight in his dream; and the heroes of Sasun always marry women who know how to put on armor and ride to war.

The Bronze City, mentioned by Orotneči above together with Šeranšah, was worked into the material of the first of the four branches of the Sasun epic, indicating a fair amount of interchange between shorter, more romantic tales and the longer, more serious matter of epic: the hero Sanasar goes to the Bronze City and abducts from there the powerful enchantress Deļjun Cam (i.e., Goldilocks, Guinevere). The comrades of Farman bear also the equally-telling epithet *ktrič*, “young hero, brave”, which was applied in the Middle Ages and later to members of secret societies of young men in Armenia who fulfilled philanthropic, martial, and guild functions. This is most likely the development of the ancient *Männerbund* of the northwestern Iranian area, with special reverence for Mithra in its religious aspects, that was the root of Mithraism and one of the sources for the Sasun epic. Its Iranian survival is the institution of the *javānmardān* and *'ayyārān* (an arabicized version of Middle Iranian *hayyārān*, “helpers” – the

¹² See Frances W. Pritchett, *The Romance Tradition in Urdu: Adventures from the Dastan of Amir Hamzah*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1991, p. 2. This cycle of tales is immensely popular in India, and it is quite possible that this detail inspired the Parsi mystic Behram-shah Shroff, who used to lounge and listen to such stories during his youth in Surat, Gujarat, to invent the story of his conveyance to, and sojourn in, Mt. Damāvand – though visits to sacred mountains are themselves a *topos* (see J. R. Russell, “On Mysticism and Esotericism among the Zoroastrians,” *Iranian Studies* 1993, pp. 83–4 and n. 27).

¹³ The epithet refers in the ancient strata – Artaxiad and Arsacid – of Armenian epic poetry and mythology to the kings themselves and to supernatural titans, the *k'ajk^c*, who hunt and feast in the manner of kings, and dwell in the mountains. They kidnap the young king Artawazd and imprison him in Azat Masik^c – Mt. Ararat. This episode is a source for the disappearance of the last of the heroes of Sasun, P^cok^r Mher (“Mithra the Younger”) into an Urartean blind portal carved upon a cliff-face at Van, Mheri duīn/ Meher Kapsi.

¹⁴ See Čituni, *op. cit.*, p. 19 n. 3.

Arabic *futuwwa* should be seen as Iranian in inspiration).¹⁵ Perhaps Kostandin Erznak*c*i's poem in the style of Ferdousi's heroic epic entertained the same youths who saw themselves reflected also in the tale of Farman and his comrades, chief amongst whom is the appropriately-named *Pāy-i parr*, "Wingfoot" (Arm. *P^eayip^cair*). This figure, like Mercury in both name and activity, gives one the sense that there is a second level of astrological symbolism, recalling the *Haft paykar* of Nizāmī of Ganja.¹⁶ Thus the hero, Command of Heaven, contests in a dream with a heroine whose name means Crown of the Circle of Heaven (Arm. *T^eaci Dawr*, Arabo-Pers. *tāj-i daur*). The princess is called Šāh-i šab nūr, "King of the light of the night" (Königin der Nacht! presumably Venus or the Moon). Her suitor, with whom Farman fights, is Pōlād-i Hendī, "Indian Steel": his name sums up what he is, a creature of war.¹⁷

PFM belongs, then, to the general Iranian tradition of romantic epic, though the names of the characters are not, to my knowledge, elsewhere attested; and it belongs, most likely, to a cycle of romantic stories. In Persian, this is the genre of the *dāstān*; and W. L. Hanaway's description of the latter could easily serve as a summary of PFM: "The hero of each romance is a prince... [his] beloved is a princess, usually from a foreign land. Closely associated with him is his father, the old king... his vizier... and several *'ayyārs*... opposing him will be an enemy prince with essentially the same sort of entourage, and often they will be pursuing the same girl. In all cases the hero is born to be a hero... he does not change or develop after he reaches his mid-teens... When faced with a sudden or difficult decision, [the heroes] usually go to pieces and rely heavily on their advisors." The *'ayyār* has to be a "speedy messenger who is also clever with words." The princess is invariably "bold, aggressive, and beautiful," and she also must have an advisor – a nurse or some old woman.¹⁸ One noted how

¹⁵ See J. R. Russell, "Medieval Armenian Fraternities," *Transactions of the American Lodge of Research, Free and Accepted Masons*, Vol. 22, 1993, pp. 28–37, containing a translation of the charter for the Brotherhood of Erznka (Erzincan), A.D. 1280.

¹⁶ Interestingly, Nizami himself might have been associated with an *Akhī* – one of the Iranian fraternities of youths in Ganja – on the eastern edge of Armenia. So it is possible at least that the astral symbolism he employs, which we see also in PFM, formed a part of their esoteric teachings. Mithraism has a strong astrological component; and I have argued that we must seek its origins in the Zoroastrian milieu of Armenia in the Roman period (see J. R. Russell, "On Mithraism and Freemasonry," *Heredom: Transactions of the Scottish Rite Research Society*, Vol. 4, 1995, Washington, DC, pp. 269–87, with refs.). On the *Haft Paykar*, see the Intro. by Julie Meisami to her translation of the text, Oxford Univ. Press, 1995.

¹⁷ Though the names are all good and predictable Arabo-Persian ones, they do not appear in the Hamzah or Firuz Shah translations I have seen; nor is my colleague Prof. Wheeler Thackston familiar with them from his vast knowledge of Persian literature.

¹⁸ W. L. Hanaway, Jr., *Love and War: Adventures from the Firuz Shah Nama of Sheikh Bighamī*, Persian Heritage Series 19, Delmar, NY: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1974. Make the lovers star-crossed instead of charmed, and we have the tragedy of Romeo and Juliet. For the motif of lovers from enemy groups – without the tragic conclusion, though – in Arm. literature, cf. the ballad of Yovhannēs and Aisha, a version of which is attributed to a mediaeval lyric poet: see J. R. Russell, *Yovhannēs T^elkuranc*c*i and the Mediaeval Armenian Lyric Tradition*, Univ. of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 7, Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1987, ch. 2.

little there is in PFM that is Christian; and one summary of the typical characteristics of the *dāstān* may be cited, with serious critical reservation, however, to explain that silence in part: "Dastans had no official religious or social purpose within their culture... They existed for the sheer pleasure of the storytelling experience: created by the narrator's artistic authority, they were sustained by the listeners' responsiveness..."¹⁹ This art-for-art's-sake argument is easy, and pleasantly and confidently phrased; but it is absurd to suggest that an entire genre of oral and written literature, relying so much on public performance and approbation, could exist entirely without social purpose or religious content. The material Pritchett herself translated has been forced into the context of the family of Mohammed, and expresses a courtly ethic most of the Mughal princes approved – in which, perhaps, they saw themselves mirrored. The genre had come a long way from the pagan Hellenistic romance that is one of its roots, and the case of *Metiochus and Parthenope* may serve as a caution against Pritchett's rather unhistorical and romantic approach. "Unṣūrī presented a version of this Hellenistic romance – *Wāmiq and 'Adhrā*, "The Lover and the Virgin" – to the court of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, early in the eleventh century. It was thought to be a Moslem composition until a fragment containing Greek names was found. And meanwhile, it had been co-opted into a Coptic Synaxarion as the life of a Christian martyress who refuses the behests of kings and remains faithful to her lover – not Metiochus, but Christ! See Tomas Hägg, "The Oriental Reception of Greek Novels: A Survey with Some Preliminary Considerations," *Symbolae Osloenses* 61, 1986, p. 106. What might have seemed – before an acquaintance with the facts – the very template of a romance of purely aesthetic content turns out to have been reworked a few times, for quite different and often very explicit social and religious purposes.

There is color and action, passion and travel in PFM to delight the listener; and the endurance of the essential plot of the love story suggests a predictable plot need not dull the entertainment. But one must not stop there, as Pritchett does, in evaluating the significance of a *dāstān*. Such a tale does indeed contain religious and social material: it is the heroic ethic of pre-Islamic Iran, alive in the souls of the brave youths of Armenian fraternities who commissioned and enjoyed such poetry. The romance provides ideals of beauty and pleasure, whilst teaching valor, craft, Davidic self-sacrifice (an appropriate metaphor for Armenians, and one employed in other arts as well) and the martial virtues through example. Of course a work of literature is not a theological treatise; but no one could reasonably insist that only works of the latter category can justly be mined for social and religious content. Indeed, if *belles lettres* were bereft of such meaning, then Japan might have no religious literature at all, since its religious sensibility is best exemplified in aesthetic creations, not systematic summae. Armenian hearers of the ballad of Prince Aslan (perhaps borrowing the

¹⁹ Pritchett, *op. cit.*, p. 1; cf. also Tomas Hägg, "The Oriental Reception of Greek Novels: A Survey with Some Preliminary Considerations," *Symbolae Osloenses* 61, 1986, p. 106.

name of its hero from the Persian romance of Amīr Arsālān) in its long and short dialect versions, or as a part of the fourth branch of the Sasun Epic – that of P̄ok̄r Mher – could enjoy it without knowing that it is a reflex of the tale of Alcestis, an Indo-European meditation on death.²⁰ That is part of the virtue of literature, but it is not a liberty the scholar of literature can permit himself. Not having permitted it, then, on to the entertainment.

2. Translation from Armenian

THE HISTORY OF THE YOUTH FARMAN

There was a great king in Assyria:
 His name was Zarmanazan.
 He had innumerable brave cavalry and strong men,
 And to many cities gave order and command.

To no other king did he do homage,
 Nor was any other's like his throne.
 He possessed countless jewels, possessions, treasures –
 No other king nor great monarch had the like.

(10) He had a lovely, choice queen
 Who was righteous and full of pious fear.
 She did not adorn herself in jewels, pearls or gold:
 She had no heart for luxury, nor love of this world.

The king had no heir, no son,
 No brother by his father, no nephew.
 His time had passed: sixty years,
 And he had seen no offspring, no goodly fruit.

(20) He descended from his throne, cried all day long,
 Prayed oft to God,
 Gave charity and gifts to the poor,
 And asked for a son for himself, an heir to the throne.

He lamented at length in his mind,
 Saying: Whatever the green tree, it is adorned with flowers.
 Whatever the verdant plant, its fruits appear.
 I am a tree, and have dried, a king with his throne.

²⁰ This is how I see the meaning of the type; W. Burkert, *Creation of the Sacred*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996, pp. 54–5, considers the Alcestis tale to be concerned also with sacrifice: the wife of Admetus offers herself as *pars pro toto*.

I look at the beasts, and their progeny grow.
 I look at the animals – they all increase.
 I observe the birds of heaven – numberless is their flock.
 I look at myself, and my life is accursed.

- (30) There is none to inherit my crown and my throne,
 None to console me and rejoice my heart.
 I am old, the measure of my life has elapsed,
 And in this world my remaining days are short.

**Chapter 2: The Astrologer comes
 and interprets the dream that king Zarmanazan saw**

Suddenly a wise man appeared,
 A soothsayer, astrologer of the celestial globe.
 He knew both the evil and the good stars of heaven,
 And would tell every man plain what his life foretold.

- (40) News of the soothsayer came to the realm:
 People came, praised him to the great king,
 Saying: A man, astrologer of the arc of the skies
 Declares the bad and the good to every man.

The king hears this and rejoices.
 He despatches a messenger and summons him:
 Perhaps he can explain the dream and declare its sense,
 Or find some remedy to sire a son.

- That astrologer came before the king,
 Bowed, and stood upon his knees.
 He pondered: What word does he want to say to me?
 The monarch commanded that he sit before him, face to face.
- The king commands him to be seated on a throne,
 And they bring the king his food, sweet to the taste with sugar.
 He drinks with pleasure wine with sweet aroma,
 And then comes forward eagerly to offer questions.

He says: Man, where are you from, what country?
 He said: My country is Egypt.
 He says: From what people, and what is your name?
 He said: The Hebrews; my name is Moses.

He says: What art do you know, what skill?

He said: I am an astrologer and physician.

He says: How do you know the course of the stars?

He said: I know them as well as a relative.

He said: If you are a doctor, make me a potion.

He says: What pain do you have that gives you trouble?

He said: I saw an awful dream.

He says: I shall inquire of a star of heaven.

He said: I saw a high and awesome tree

With many branches, great and strong.

I looked to see if it bore fruits,

And there was none – it was like dry wood.

Suddenly something in the tree moved.

All the leaves and flowers spread,

And a fruit appeared at the edge of the tree,

But of very bright color, like a rose.

He brought the book of wisdom, opened it,

And whatever skill of art is there

He sought, found it fast, and said: King,

The words I have are great good tidings for you.

That tree you saw is yourself, O King,

You who are childless – that is why the tree was dry.

The lovely fruit that appeared on its highest branch

Is a child to be born to you, who will be king.

He opened the book and saw the child's birth:

He finds his star and its governance.

He finds the day and the hour of birth,

And tells the glad tidings to the king.

He says: He is born to the solar sign, that is the Sun,

When the time of spring enters the Ram.

Your son is born, incomparable in beauty,

And becomes a great and warlike king.

And paired with his star is Jupiter,

Which is a sign and giver of much glory.

Then he has a heart in Venus:

He endures trouble in love from an alien race.

His hair is like gold – his tresses, blond –

And a birthmark on his heart in the shape of a star

Is the sign of his greatness and glory,

But long will he wander in a strange land.

- The king has precious gifts brought,
And dresses him in regal robes.
He gave him many possessions and priceless jewels,
(100) And commanded that the wise man stay by him.

**Chapter 3: The queen conceives and bears a son,
and his name is called Farmani Asman**

The queen conceives, and bears a son,
And the news of joy is announced to the realm
That a first son is born to the king,
Lord of the crown and throne, heir of all.

The great king rejoiced at the birth of the child,
For his hair was golden; the birthmark – star-shaped,
His visage radiant like the Sun,
And he himself full of grace, an image of adornment.

- He granted freedom to the realm for seven years:
(110) They rejoice and make merry
On account of the child made known to them,
Comely and graceful, like a fiery angel.

They gave him the name Farmani Asman,
And suckled him with forty other children.
He grew, and became seven years old,
And they consigned him to the school of wisdom.

- Moses the Egyptian tutors him,
Trains him in the writing of the Hebrew nation.
Opens to him the doors of all wisdom,
(120) And shows him course of the stars and their constellations.

That boy was now twelve,
Clever, and skilled in wisdom,
Astute in every thing, fast to learn,
Like his master another wise man.

He asks to study the art of war,
And wishes to join the army's ranks,
To wield mace and sabre, and ride on a horse,
And with bow and arrow become a matchless archer.

- He puts on the armor of battle and mounts,
 (130) Rides his good steed, enters the cavalry,
 Goes with the forces to the fighting front,
 But does not strike any man with a just heart.
- He enters the arena, plays ball,
 Whips his horse smartly and none overtakes him,
 Wanders the mountain, the plain, goes a-hunting,
 Hunts the stags of the mountain and the gazelles of the plain.
- He builds his splendid house and hall,
 A place of delight for drinking wine,
 And has it adorned with all manner of painting
 (140) Leafed in gold and studded with pearls.
- He loved the sound of songs and melodies,
 And kept many troupes of minstrels by him:
 He played and made merry with his birth-companions,
 And his father rejoiced and blessed God.

Chapter 4: On the invincible boyhood and dream of Farman

- The boy was brave, mighty in strength,
 So that none was a horseman like him,
 Nor was any so choice in appearance,
 Or in wit so prudent and deeply informed.
- Many champions came from a foreign realm
 (150) To contest the monarch's son.
 He was a lion in heart that none could overcome –
 No strong man was found who could hold his belt.
- One night he beheld a vision in his dream:
 One wrestled with him – but a woman was she,
 Her body very tall, great and fearful,
 Mounted on a white horse with a slingshot in her hand.
- The woman addressed him: Farmani Asman,
 Lauded boy, choice brave champion,
 I am a woman from the realm of Khorasan,
 (160) And I contest your boyish strength.
- Farman said to her: What is your name?
 She says: My name is T^cači Dawr.
 He said: You may not fight with me.
 She says: If you win you may lawfully shed my blood.

He said: It would be a disgrace for me to fight a woman.
 She says: My hand is used to beating boys.

He said: I know not your strength, but your tongue has skill.
 She says: My strength, like my tongue, does its will.

(170) When the youth heard that, he shouted mightily,
 Turned to her mounted and clad,
 And the woman said: Stand, hero,
 Let us dismount. He obeyed.

Both dismount and stand,
 They grab each other's belts and contest,
 And the youth when he saw his equal in strength
 Said: She defeats me. He feared in his mind.

The woman took the youth, struck him to the ground,
 Said: Child Farman, you are silent about what is forbidden now.
 He says: You are no woman, but a lion in the canebrake.
 (180) Whoever sees you as a woman is humbled, like me.

He awoke from his sleep affrighted,
 And thought: What was this dream he had seen?
 He brought the book of wisdom and asked:
 The road out of Persia opened to him.

He said: What is the woman's winning in my dream?
 It says: You will wander to Khorasan.
 He said: What is my tribulation's source there?
 It says: On account of love, from an alien nation.

He remembered what Moses had written before.
 (190) He bowed to him – for he had died –
 For the wisdom and command that he had studied.
 He spoke – all this – when I was still unborn.

He entered in to the king, bowed,
 And told his father the dream and its interpretation.
 He asked of father and mother leave to go,
 Saying: These are Moses' words, spoken long before.

I recall the wisdom of the book, and of the learned man,
 And of the star in heaven on the day I was born.
 No man can alter the wisdom of command,
 (200) So now I must go into exile.

Father and mother say to their son:
 You have revealed to us a measureless sorrow.
 They said: How long must you live in a foreign land,
 And will you find us still alive again?

He says: The book indicates seven years to me,
 To live in a foreign land and in adversity.
 And when much trouble comes to me on account of love,
 Then to me all sugar and sherbet and grace will it seem.

- (210) I will come back from Persia and see you.
 I shall find you, O king, alive, and happy.
 I will play with my friends and ride my horse.
 I will rejoice with the horsemen and enter their game.

**Chapter 5: It was the youth Farman's will to leave the city
 and he asked of his father what he wished**

His road to Khorasan had come.
 He told the king what he had to give him.
 His father knew that he wanted much wealth,
 Or many soldiers, or horsemen to ride with him.

- Father said to son: Farmani Asman,
 Go, open your hands in my treasury.
 Gold, jewels, and noble pearls –
 (220) Take them, bear them with you, as much as you need.
 As many horsemen as you need are yours,
 As many brave champions or riders,
 Or if you go with princes, that is proper,
 And if you want me, it is my heart's ardor.
 The youth Farman said this to his father:
 I do not need many horsemen for this journey.
 I need no wealth, nothing from the treasury.
 I do not desire that you go with me.
 I need one wise man, clever and prudent,
 (230) And another, swift of foot and clever of tongue,
 And another, lion-hearted with brotherly love,
 And another, sweet in grace, in adversity as hard as stone.
 And this is inscribed in the book of wisdom
 That the wise Moses has instructed me:
 This is the treasure – these I take with me –
 From amongst my friends. That is what I need.

- He found a wise man, clever and prudent,
 A youth whose name was Fahmi Natar.²¹
 And another, swift of foot and clever of tongue,
 (240) A youth they call by the name P^cayip^cair.
- Another, lion-hearted with brotherly love,
 A brave champion by race, they call Širinar,²²
 And another, sweet in grace, in adversity as hard as stone,
 Whose name is called Apip^catkar.²³
- And from his birthmates that had been with him,
 He found one called by name Ditar,²⁴
 And whatever was needed for his journey,
 He prepared, everything with equal care.
- He took horses and mules, as many as he wished,
 (250) And took wealth and gold, as much as was needed,
 Both kingly robes and armor,
 And, taking all, he set out on his way.
- The king rose from his throne with his army,
 And accompanied his son for a day.
 He kissed him, then turned away.
 But the youth left the realm willingly.

Chapter 6: The youth Farman reaches Khorasan

- He travels a long and hard road.
 He reaches Khorasan with all his companions,
 Enters the city where the king lived,
 (260) Changes form and – became a learned physician.
- He says: I am a doctor, a skilled soothsayer,
 I can know the bad and good of a man,
 Recognize a man's shape by his star
 And then declare his time.
- I find the thief, display what is lost,
 And every year's knowledge I tell truly:
 What is to come and what is to be.
 I tell men's dreams, both good and bad.

²¹ Arabo-Pers., “Understanding Warning”.

²² Arabo-Pers., “Male Lion”.

²³ Nazaryan, “Water of Immortality”(?) The name seems combine Pers. *āb*, “water” and Arm. *patker* “image”

²⁴ Pers., “Sight”.

Many from the city came to him,
 (270) To learn wisdom's knowledge and command.
 He told them what their hearts concealed,
 And interpreted whatever dream they had seen.

They dubbed him a wise man without equal,
 A most skilled doctor and physician.
 The king hears of him and summons him,
 Wishes to see him and speak to him.

The youth Farman comes before the king,
 Royally pays homage,
 The king beholds the incomparable youth,
 (280) Image of beauty, dazzling form.

The king speaks and questions him,
 And with wisdom he replies.
 Whatever he asks the youth Farman,
 With sharp cleverness he shows the way.

He says: I see you are of gentle birth.
 He said: I am a wanderer, how can you recognize me?
 He says: From what realm, whence?
 He said: From a far country that you have not seen.

He said: Lovely youth, what is your name?
 (290) He said: My name is Farmani Asman.
 He said: What is the cause of such a name?
 He said: On account of the stars that prophesied.
 He says: What other art or thing do you know?
 He said: I am a horseman, a champion in fighting.
 He says: Tomorrow I want a game in the arena.
 He said: Bring me an opponent, a brave champion.

Chapter 7: The youth Farman enters the arena and competes with the army of the king of Khorasan

The great king entered the arena with his soldiers,
 With many grandes to play polo.
 The youth Farman arose, mounted his horse,
 (300) And went into the arena with all his comrades.

They saw his entry, his regal bearing.
 They have all weapons and armor ready,
 The strong, victorious youths who were with him.
 One was Sirinar; the other, P^cayip^cair.

The King gave the order for the games to begin,
 To show him strength and might,
 To surround the mounted youth Farman in the troop
 And separate his friends from him in the game.

The youth played, coursed on his brave horse.

- (310) On his white horse, he caught the ball and hit it
 So no horseman could keep up with him.
 Then he turned at play, and entered the troop.

His raiment was kingly; golden, his hair.
 His stature was lovely, his body was tall;
 His visage, radiant as the Sun:
 He played like a king or great Sultan.

He ordered the youth P^cayip^cair to play,
 To ride to the arena with him.

He said: It is not proper for me to play on horseback.

- (320) I am most skilled on foot, swift at going.

He entered the game on foot
 And played, swift of foot, wise and clever:
 He took the ball and rose up like a soaring bird.
 Amidst the horses, his feet traced the curve of a dome.

The king saw that skill
 And called the youth Farman to come with his friends
 And gave them a robe, regal raiment,
 And says: Tomorrow I want you to play in the arena again.

Chapter 8: The triumph of the youth Farman

On the morrow the king arose,

- (330) Brought his troop and brave youths along,
 And arrayed them all in the arena
 For the youth Farman to come for the game.

The youth Farman changed his aspect and dressed
 In many colors, multihued, as a rose in bloom
 And rode a red horse like a fiery angel,
 So too his companions who were with him.

- He enters the arena, before the king.
 The great king wished glory and honor to him.
 Whoever saw him with his comrades who had come
 (340) Say in their minds, They are not earthborn.
- They make the voice of song and melody resound,
 And the thunder of drums, as they start the game.
 The movement of horses as they swing and strike
 Shakes the earth with awful tremor and thunder.
- The great king summoned them all to come to him.
 With his heart's desire he played with the heroes,
 And their game was slingshot, broadsword and dagger,
 Or the swift-arriving arrow, or mace and shield.
- The king says: As you command,
 (350) I will play with the one you select,
 I will play with broadsword, mace and shield;
 I know diverse skills of war.
- The king commands that champion
 Great leader of the army and brave men
 To come forward and contest with Farman.
 His name is called P^cōlati Hndi.
- P^cōlat rides his horse, advances,
 He was great in stature, a conquering giant.
 The youth Farman beholds and turns back,
 (360) Dismounts, dons armor and goes to face him.
- The king advances, comes in between,
 Does not allow them to deal death blows to each other.
 He commands them to dismount from their horses,
 To take their warlike armor off and stand.
- He says: Contest each other in a friendly way,
 And I will see who of you is the braver today.
 Between you today is the hot blood of youth,
 But it is not right that you be vain or cruel.
- P^cōlat says to Farman: Hear!
 (370) Farman says to P^cōlat: Command.²⁵
 He said: Your lovely appearance constrains me.
 He said: Don't feel regret, just try to defeat me.

²⁵ Arm. *hramayē!* cf. modern *hramē!* rendering Pers. *be-farmāyid!*

He said: You are a wanderer from a foreign realm.

He said: Try not to lose to a boy.

He said: Your tongue is the executioner of your life's Sun.²⁶

He said: My tongue is the servant of my heart.

He said: You seem eager for your blood to be spilt.

He said: Whomever you vanquish, it will be fairly won.

He said: To defeat someone like you is improper.

(380) He said: My invincible fate has determined my strength.

He said: Come forward, it's time for the game.

He said: My heart rejoices and is eager.

He said: I need not play with you gently.

He said: Play heartily – that will be fine.

They grabbed each other at the waist by their belts.²⁷

They went one on one, and played the game.

His opponent knew it, though, better than Farman –

All sorts of varied, cunning grips.

All his friends came to Farman,

(390) To see that he not defeat the youth Farman

By a death blow struck with deceit

Or some other stratagem the merciless giant might use on the boy.

In their minds they fear and wonder much:

He is still a boy of twenty years.

Without your return, our life is unclean:

When your father inquires, how will we respond?

All the horsemen in the arena

Bemoaned the boy, who was to lose.

Many sighed for Farman:

(400) He will overcome him, then deliver the dagger to his heart.

The youth P^cayip^cair said: Farmani Asman,

If you don't know the rules, this game's not for you.

Lift him, so his feet are up off the ground,

Or he'll attempt another trick on you.

²⁶ An Arm. expression: one's Sun is the metaphor meaning one's life.

²⁷ This is the Near Eastern form of wrestling, Pers. *kušī giriftan*, "grabbing by the belt", borrowed into Arm. as *k'yuštik břnel* (Van dialect); see J. R. Russell, "The word *k'ustik* in Armenian," in J. Greppin, ed., *First International Conference on Armenian Linguistics: Proceedings*, Delmar, NY: Caravan Books, 1980, p. 109.

As soon as Farman heard that from his friend,
 He raised up the champion with his arm.
 He carried him all round the arena,
 Slammed him to the ground, and gripped him hard.

Pcōlati Hndi replied:

- (410) What land is this child from, from whence did he come?
 He answered: This brave one's from Assyria,
 And has thrown many a hero of Khorasan.

He released him, and said: Come, stand.
 You have a wild beast's heart that thirsts for blood.
 You wish to defeat me with eager heart
 Or to spill my blood, and it be lawful.

The great king gave him a robe,
 Lovely clothes, all amber and gold,
 Gave him arrack, wine, sherbet,

- (420) And said: No more games. A thousand gifts.

He went with the king into town,
 And the news of his valor went out to the realm:
 His color, his beauty, his stature so handsome –
 All spoke about it together and marvelled.

They told the king's daughter,
 And she desired to see him with her own eyes.
 She burns, inflamed with love for the boy yet unseen,
 And wants to contrive a way to meet him.

Chapter 9: The king's daughter, having seen Farman, wrote a letter

The king's daughter desired to see him,

- (430) Ordered her youths to go and observe
 When the youth Farman would pass outside:
 Come, tell me quick. I want to see him.

The youth Farman went out with his friends.
 They saw. They informed: He is riding a horse.
 She sat on a step past which he rode,
 And beheld his person plain, face to face.

He sat shining in glory, incomparable to behold.
 She saw the comely face of the youth Farman.

His friends were with him, a white steed he rode,

- (440) And his appearance was as the light of the Sun.

She said: Who is this boy, from what realm?
 He has taken my soul, carried it away as a captive.
 My heart has no fear if he bid it stop.
 My eyes long so for the sight of him.

My soul yearns to walk with him,
 My body is a burning fire, consumed to ash.
 My heart founders in the sea of his love,
 Filled with the blood that pours down from my eyes.

Who will bring me physic or cure now?

- (450) If he accept me, I will be his slave.
 He brings back my departed soul
 That the Sun dawn on my wounded heart.

She takes paper and writes, master of the scribal art,
 And sends a letter to the youth Farman:
 Who has given you such wisdom and command,
 That the mere sight of you has taken my soul away?

If this has happened to me, a princess,
 What has it done to the hearts of many others?
 The earth has caught fire for your love.

- (460) Your heart has no pity, no mercy.

I saw you as you passed by with your friends.
 You carried away with you the light of my eyes.
 My soul escaped to go and deliver this news to you,
 And declare what my state has become for your love.

God gave you the countenance of a jewel
 With which you have brought darkness upon many a heart,
 Become the soul of many, caused their own soul's departure –
 Now receive these tidings from me, your slave.

I, the king's daughter, wrote this

- (470) To the soul of my soul, the youth Farman,
 A thousand times to you consigned. Do not wound me any more:
 Come here close to me, or take me nearer unto thee!

She found a wise and clever servant,
 Praised him, and said: Brave sage,
 Convey this writing to Farman and bring back his reply.
 I have no soul; I have reached the gates of death.

Chapter 10: Farman writes an answer

Unseen, me you would bring into sin.
 I've not seen with my eyes nor conceived in my heart
 Nor had it foretold to me in a dream.

(480) I do not understand your words. I do not follow.

I am sinless. Do not blame me.
 Your heart's own will has lusted after me.
 Your heart has made your eyes gaze upon me.
 Without my part you have stolen my visage from me.

I know you, too, are comely and lovely,
 Graceful and glorious in beauty and countenance,
 Like a jewel incomparable, a shining gem,
 There is none as beautiful as you in the land.

As I have heard, you are praised by many.

(490) Otherwise you are invisible, never shown to me.
 I desire greatly, and my heart eagerly
 Wants to see you; as you, to see me.

So if a man conceive a manner, a way
 Your heart and mine be joined in harmony,
 Then it is the desire of my heart and soul
 To wish your sight, even as you desired mine.

But I fear the great king.

I do not want my heart's wish to be fulfilled.

If you want, then, the hidden revealed

(500) You want the king to have my blood spilled.

I rely upon you a thousand times, I, stranger
 From a strange land, from faraway,
 Who have loved you with much longing in my young heart –
 Let it not be the cause for me to expire.

If you come, loving, to meet me,
 It will cause the swift extinction of my Sun:
 A great transgression and sin for you, and harm
 That I become a martyr for your ardent heart.

Just as if for a moment of life you eat sugar

(510) You are not to forget the poison of many years,
 You profit your heart – do not cause others cruelty,
 Do not will others evil for the sake of your love.

Though the things I say are hard for your heart,
 And you will not agree this cannot be,
 I know you are not knowledgeable: you have a woman's mind,
 Which is drunken and wanton in company.

- If you have love for me, then come to me.
 If not, my heart is not eager to come to you.
 Rather you must come to me and love me
 (520) In such a way that no man on earth may know.

I, the youth Farman, wrote this reply.
 This is the answer to you, my Šahiapnur.
 My heart rejoices much at your coming to me,
 But my heart has much terror; so it fears.

Chapter 11: The king's daughter comes to Farman by night

She heard this reply of the youth Farman,
 Rejoiced, and said: Glad tidings have come.
 My heart's will has been fulfilled.
 I will go to him, who is soul of my soul.

- (530) She prepared sweet food of different sorts,
 Spiced it with sugar – things of kings –
 And takes with her one of her friends
 Lovely of face, prudent in counsel.

She takes with her gold and priceless jewels,
 Luminous pearls of very great price,
 And they loaded also royal raiment
 To go to Farman in the middle of the night.

- She went before all her friends,
 Looking like a brave youth who recognizes no man.
 She comes to the youth's door and knocks carefully:
 (540) She tries to see who is with him.

The youth P^cayip^cair calls: Who is there?
 She says: The great monarch summons Farman.
 He says: It is midnight. The youth is asleep.
 She says: Call him. His summons is great.

He goes and calls the youth: Awake!
 The king has sent concerning you.
 He says: Who is at the door? Go and ask
 What he wants of me. Learn the reason.

P^cayip^cair goes to the door and asks her.

- (550) Skillfully she slips in,
Goes to the youth Farman and says:
Come to the king, who calls you to him.

Farman got to his feet, casts a glance at her
And saw such a face as was incomparable,
Like a ray of the Moon commingled with Sun
Dawning on him in the middle of the night.

He says: See grace, kindness, and charm,

For at midnight the Sun has risen on me.

I was deep in slumber, completely asleep,

- (560) And lips of sugar spoke to me.

She says: Since for you, since for your love

I rose and came, for longing for you,

Do not part my soul from your own,

My eyes are without light if deprived of you.

They brought before the youth that which was prepared,
And he saw lovelier things than he had ever beheld.

The sweetly spiced food diffused a fine aroma:

Its color was beauteous, it tasted of sugar.

She brought priceless jewels, luminous gems,

- (570) Lovely pearls and clothing brilliant,
Raiment of kings with rows of pearls
With figured scenes and pictures of gold adorned.

The youth Farman put it on with his own hands,

And with love in their hearts the two together sat down

And ate the sweet sugar with each other

And proceed then to sweet speech.

Farman says: You are sweeter than the sugar.

You were the poison to me that you now counteract.

If of this coming to me you alone know,

- (580) Then a thousand welcomes. You are my soul.

The girl says to him: Your heart is mad for me.

If a man discovers us – this thought is yours.

This one moment that my eyes see you

Sets at naught the rest of my life. This moment has no price.

Be merry this moment that I am with you

For my heart, for I love you.

Today I take happiness and joy,

For today I have spoken to my soul's soul.

- They sat in happiness all night long
 (590) Until the sign of morning.
 He went outside and saw who was awake,
 And told the girl before the house was light to go away.
- She says: I still long for your love.
 When will it be that I see you again?
 He says: Be ready, as for your life –
 I fear your father. Perilous is my way.
- He steals back into the house that no man know,
 Is patient some days, restrains his heart
 But also frets and ponders greatly
 (600) How he will find the means for her again to come.

Chapter 12: Her second visit to Farman. Also about the slaying of P^colati Hndi

- By the dark of night secretly she goes
 And comes to the youth Farman in love.
 He sends the youth P^cayip^car in haste:
 Look, lest any man has seen her come to me.
- But P^colati Hndi had altered his guise.
 He was seated on an ass that night.
 He desired to do evils to the youth Farman:
 There was envy in his heart, and it had conquered him.
- He saw the girl come. Swiftly she passed,
 (610) And was disguised, so he could not recognize her.
 He followed, and saw her
 Going to visit Farman.
- He had mail and cold iron armor on,
 Round his waist, his sabre on its belt,
 And he had his iron mace in hand.
 He rode up to the door, still seated on his ass.
- He waited there for Farman to come outside
 That he might deal him the sword stroke of death,
 Not knowing that the man who digs another's trap
 (620) Will fall in himself, instead of his fellow.
- Out came the youth P^cayip^car.
 He walked the route and observed all,
 Turned back to the door, spied the man,
 Standing there fully mailed and armored.

He did not say, I saw you. Nor did he ask ought.
 Quickly he opened the door, entered the house,
 Feared in his mind with foreboding awful.
 But he could not speak, a stranger to his words.

Farman says to him: Did you perceive any man?

- (630) The brave youth for fear could not utter a word in reply.
 He said: Say, tell, youth P^cayip^cair.
 Whom did you see who frightened you so?

He says: I saw one of awesome size
 All clothed in mail and iron armor.
 He stood at the door in concealment.
 I fear he was conceiving some evil.

He turned to the girl and answered:
 Do you want to bring down darkness on our life?
 Now the reckoning of our Sun comes.

- (640) They saw you, and have followed secretly.

If you have our lives extracted from us,
 I do not believe you will remain in this world long.
 You will circle round distracted over mountains, across plains,
 Searching and not finding, and will become hopeless.

He said to all the youths: Put on your armor.
 He put on his own, said: Fear not.
 I go to the rooftop. Do not emerge
 Till I command it, then out you go!

He goes to the rooftop, takes another route,
 (650) Descends to the street, calls the youths,
 As though he did not know it was Farman himself
 The youth P^cayip^cair comes running to him.

He says: Go in the house, that he not know me,
 Recognizing me only when I come out.
 I'll come forward suddenly and ask him
 And see who it is who hunts us.

The youth comes forward boldly, stands,
 Says: Who are you? Reply!

He knew this must be one of his soldiers,

- (660) And said: Go away! I am P^côlati Hndi.

The youth hears this, goes forward,
 Seizes him and calls his comrades.

All the men rush upon him.

He overpowers him, orders them to bind him.

He says: Take him in with me to the house,
 So that whatever I may ask, he will make reply
 And tell us for what deceit he foregoes sleep
 And what youth he wants to take away from the Sun.

They bear him to the youth for trial.

- (670) He says: Ferocious, bloodthirsty beast,
 I know how many men's blood you have spilled.
 Instead of others' blood, your own death's day is come.

Why are you pitiless, with mercy for none?

Why is a boy's blood lawful for you?

You cannot recognize the opponent that confronts you,
 But would play with him in evil treachery.

Now the hands of the brave have seized you fast.

What you wanted for others is prepared for you at last.

Here you stand a captive, before me, bound.

- (680) I dispatch you to death, to the sword's slashing cut.

He draws his sabre, stabs him in the liver.

That one lets out a roar like a lion.

P^cayip^cair steps forward and lops off his head,
 Like a mad dog he slaughters him dead!

He says to the girl: Come, they will take you home.

He commands his comrades to accompany her.

Swiftly they go, and soon return,

And ponder what to do with the man they killed.

He orders four youths to go outside the town,

- (690) But tells the youth P^cayip^cair to stay with him.

He gives them much gold, treasure, goods,

And they disguise themselves to pass unknown.

At night he lets them down the wall

And tells them to go to another town,

But not too far away, to separate

Till he sends news or a letter their way.

He takes the youth P^cayip^cair, goes home,

Says: Pick him up carefully, dispose of him

Far for sure, on the road,

- (700) Then return to me quickly, that no one may know.

**Chapter 13: The news of the death of P'ölat becomes known,
and the king puts Farman in prison**

The next day they see P'ölat slain,
Thrown down by the wayside,
And there was a disturbance amongst the troops,
For he had led many brave men.

They are terrified, and say: Who defeated the brave man?
Or what other lion met this lion?
Who saw his power come to naught?
That one is invincible in strength who cast him down.

They go and make it known to the king:

(710) Your brave champion P'ölati Hndi –
We found him all of a sudden, dead.
We do not know what he met this night.

They said to the king: Who has vanquished him
If not Farman, who saw his might.
The great king sent for the youth,
Who came to him with his comrades nimble.

He goes in before the king and bows,
Sees what he wishes to inquire,
And whatever answer the king bestows,
Bravely he makes reply.

He said: Are you aware of P'ölat's murder?
Tell me the secrets of your heart.
He replies: He was hunting me down in the dark of night
And got what had been intended for me.

He said: How do you know he was coming to strike you down?
He replied: He knocked on the door and lay in wait.
He said: When you saw him, did he have his armor on?
He replied: Armor and weapons – sword and dagger.

He said: Be ready for his mounted men
(730) Lest they come in secret by night to take their revenge.
Alone, with no companion, don't venture outside.
Let them think we ourselves will take your life.

The king nurtured much love for that youth
And did not want his death for the evil deed,
Says: Goodly brave youth Farman,
I would counsel you, if you agree.

He says: Whatever you wish, command is yours.

I am a wretched wanderer from a foreign realm.

He says: He is chief of the Persian nation,

(740) A lion, and the brave youths are subject to him.

For my heart, put on chains. Go to jail

That hearts quiet and it do good.

I will send many guards, for it is a fearful place.

I will keep you in prison but return soon and take you out.

The youth assented to his command,

Puts on irons and goes eagerly to prison himself.

The youth P^cayip^car stays by him,

And enters the prison free, without bonds.

He was invisible to see and short in height,

(750) But his tongue was fire; sugary, his words.

In the dark of night he left the prison,

Went about, a sprightly youth, and in haste returned.

Chapter 14: P^cayip^car did many things and they did not recognize him

I will relate the art he had,

How many skills diverse he possessed,

Then return and tell what he did

With the horsemen called the cavalry force.

He leaves the prison at will by night,

Changes shape and goes where the riders are.

Furtively he enters the camp

(760) And takes the drum, and swiftly, stealthily flees.

They do not see who it was, where he took it,

And none of the warriors could catch up with him.

He went to a distant village, went up on the rampart,

Struck the drum, and the horsemen heard it.

All the riders arise, ready in their armor,

Following close on the sound.

He goes down to the place where the cavalry were,

Rends it, on swift feet to the jail returns.

After a few days and another,

(770) He becomes a sweet-voiced minstrel and magician,

Goes out and sits upon a high spot,

And in a sweet voice recites Persian odes.

Many go and gather round him,
 Listen to his voice singing, to the melody,
 Say: Let us take him and bring him to our leader,
 That he delight in his sweet voice.

He goes gaily with an eager heart,
 For the leader was a friend of great P^colat.

He goes, delights all present,

(780) Till they give him a robe and precious things.

When it was time for them to go to sleep
 They ordered him to leave for home.

He pleaded and said: Give the stranger a place.
 I have no other place to go at your command.

He says: This night, stay with us,
 Rest sweetly in sleep till the light dawns:
 On the morrow we'll sit down to love, to wine,
 That you receive a very great robe as a prize.

He rises when he learnt they had gone to sleep,

(790) Takes the priceless sabre and all other weaponry,
 A belt of gold bejewelled to light the darkness,
 Takes it swiftly and goes, that they not find him out.

He bears it away, hides it, and returns soon,
 That no living creature might suspect,
 Goes out, hastens to the prison
 And enters it secretly – Farman slumbers.

The next day he transforms himself into a sage,
 Goes to the city, sits in a field,
 Says: I am a wise, famous soothsayer.

(800) Whatever knowledge there is, you'll find it here.

They all came around, all the riders there
 And ceaselessly sought to see the youth.

They came and saw a sage – there was no way to recognize him:
 A sage and soothsayer, full of wisdom and skill.

The chief saw, summoned him:
 Perhaps he could reveal what was taken away.

The brave boy rises, goes quickly to him,
 And reveals his heart's will: you have suffered loss.

The man who took it you cannot find.

(810) But he will visit you again,
 And make such a spell you cannot recognize him,
 And take so much more that you'll sorely lament.

He says: Sage, knowledgeable and wise,
 Don't you know any means, solution, or cure at all
 For me see him, to find him out all alone,
 To waste him on my knife and sword?

He said: Who else knows him but I alone?
 Or who else wants to take revenge?
 I change my shape, don armor for war,
 (820) Stand opposite his door and hunt him myself.

He did as he said, and the other believed.
 When night fell, he stood at the door,
 And when he saw them all lying down
 He entered. They were fast asleep.

He sees him and his lady slumber,
 Gives them a sleeping potion, that they not waken soon,
 Takes all the gold that he chances to find,
 Takes and hides it, goes back to the prison.

**Chapter 15: The chief seeks to kill Farman.
 P^cayip^cair slays the former; and they escape**

The army and the chief are disgraced,
 (830) Bewailing the deed of one man's hands.
 Their hearts full of fury, they ceaselessly hunt him.
 They don't find him, and turn back; their faces, black as ash for shame.

They remember the champion P^cōlati Hndi
 And their heart's blood boils anew with wrath.
 They say: Why are we quiet on account of Farman?
 They determine to ask the king to kill him.

They say: If the great king does not issue the order for us,
 We will stab him to death in the prison ourselves.
 The great king will not want in exchange for him
 (840) To have to slay youths by the thousand.

The youth P^cayip^cair hears this and remains silent.
 He extracts him from jail without anyone knowing:
 Cuts the irons on his feet, releases him,
 And leaves the city himself swift as lightning.

He dons armor and steel, a dagger in hand,
 Attaches fine weapons – a saber at his belt –
 Stealthily enters the armed band,
 Kills the chief and escapes deftly.

- (850) He goes to Farman, gives him the news,
 Lowers him down from the ramparts,
 Climbs down himself and stands at his side,
 Says: To what place, where shall we go?

He picks up Farman on his shoulder, runs with grace
 All night long with fiery-footed stride.
 When night passes and morning comes,
 They reach the edge of a wood. It dawns.

- He saw a tree growing up to the heights,
 Its leafy crown thick to conceal it from view.
 He told the youth Farman to climb up
 (860) While he goes to look somewhere else himself.

He goes a long way into the wood
 Till he finds its edge and end,
 Saw a tall mountain, rocky and hard:
 On its summit a great building stood.

He goes and finds a fine fortress,
 Dwelling of heroes, refuge of youths
 With sweet streams, springs burbling,
 Yet dwelling there – not a soul.

- He turns and goes back the way he came,
 (870) Rending beasts bar his way,
 But he is swift of foot, none can reach him,
 And he returns, finds Farman in his place.

He says: I saw a great, incomparable place,
 Unknown to any man of this age.
 Manlike beasts will guard my way –
 The place is uninhabited and barren.

- Come, I will take you there this night,
 While the beasts in the wood are all resting in sleep.
 I will take you – I swear you will be invisible.
 (880) I'll keep you there. None will discover you.

He takes the youth on his shoulders, sets off,
 Enters the forest, arrives there,
 Carries him about, shows him all the buildings,
 Says: Stay and be happy. No man will come here.

All round is thick forest,
And four days' journey up the hard rock.
Beasts attack: they circle, all ready,
Not letting so much as a bird on the wing appear.

- (890) But I discovered this spot with skill.
It is your dwelling. Stay awhile here.
He goes, hunts animals, the wild gazelle,
Brings it to the youth and feeds him well.

**Chapter 16: P^cayip^car goes, finds the companions, brings them,
goes and tells the king's daughter about Farman**

He turns back, goes, circles, and finds
The companions, reunited. To them he relates
All that had happened and shows them
Also where he took Farman.

- (900) He departs with the comrades, goes to Farman,
They all gather round him,
And he lets no man go outside into the wood,
Lest they become the beasts' food.

He fills the place where they stay with good things:
All kinds of sweet, choice food.
He goes to the very edge of the town, appears,
Takes what they need, and quickly returns.

Whatever thing that mattered – he prepared it all:
Whether raiment or food, all they required
He provided full the goodness of creation,
Said: Be happy, care nought.

- (910) He sought a manner that the King's daughter
He might convey thither for Farman.
For he had much love, lived in longing,
Wanted her with him, with eager heart.

The youth P^cayip^car returns, follows,
Enters the city of the king.
He changes shape, becomes a pauper,
And settles in the quarter where the girl resides.

One day he goes, deliberate, to her door, stands
 In the guise of a pauper and beggar.
 But as soon as she saw him she recognized the youth plain
 (920) And knew thereby that Farman was not slain.

She said: Go, and come to me by night
 In secret, that no man on earth may spy.
 This evening I want to see you alone
 That I hear the news of the return of my soul.

**Chapter 17: The king's daughter writes a letter to Farman
 and gives it to P^cayip^car**

She writes a letter to Farman and sighs.
 She writes in anguish, with tears and cries.
 She sends greeting to him with a longing heart,
 Declares the love of her heart – she will soon arrive.

She says: I have no soul. I am not alive.
 (930) And fire burns in my heart without respite.
 I found you easily and swiftly I lost you;
 Now I wander crying: Where can you be found?

If you discover a means for me to come to you,
 I shall take cheer in my great sorrow.
 It is my soul's lucky star and the will of my heart.
 If not, there approaches my death's hour.

Here I am, ever sad, and cannot stop crying.
 It is grace and kindness if you want me at your side.
 One sight of you is small price for the giving of my soul:
 (940) And to your heart I surrender with gladness my love.

The youth P^cayip^car comes to her secretly
 By the dark of night, that none may know.
 He says: Take possessions, gold, whatever there is.
 Take your letter, go, and return once more.

The brave youth arises, strides, his feet
 Reach the youth Farman, gaily
 He says: I bring you good tidings,
 I found whom you wanted. Be happy!

- He tells of his going, his finding her,
 (950) Tells him all as it was:
 Shows him, hands him the letter, says:
 Read! And gives him the rest of the goods and the treasure.

Chapter 18: The youth Farman reads the letter and writes this reply

My soul has sought with eager will,
 And my heart desires what my eyes have seen.
 I am a parched flower: you are dew for me
 That at your sight my soul will fill.

Why else would I have fear or fright?
 Have I any city, any country, or village?
 I have come here to live on this hard rock.

- (960) I am sad, a stranger, you are balm.

If with your eager heart you would come,
 My soul will give you a place in my own.
 My love to yours is licit to the heart
 Since out of your heart you will give love to me.

I have everything here. There is no lack.
 My place is a fortress where no one has come.
 If you want to come, don't say yes or no,
 The youth P^cayip^cair will convey you to me.

Chapter 19: P^cayip^cair goes and brings the king's daughter to Farman

The youth returns and enters the town.

- (970) Under cover of night he finds her,
 Says: I've come. Answer quickly.
 Will you go? Do you long to depart?

She says: I will go. You make the plan
 For us to leave here that nobody knows.
 She says: I want to take one servant along,
 That I may have a dear companion.

He took the two and went far from the city
 So that none in the realm found them out,
 And in the night they traverse the wood

- (980) And went to Farman: he brought her there.

Farman sees him, says: Rejoice,
 The soul of my soul and the light of my eyes has come,
 Face that is Sun by day and by night.
 He kissed her, said: Rejoice, my eyes!

They live together in happiness:
 There was no lack of any good thing there,
 Everything the youth P^cayip^cair would prepare,
 Bringing daily what he hunted from the world.

**Chapter 20: The king goes to find his daughter.
 He did not find her and returned sadly home**

On the morn they go to the king and say:

- (990) Nobody has seen her – they've taken your daughter away.
 Whatever servants she had are in their place
 Save one, with whom she has fled.

He asked: Whoever came to her?

They said: A brave youth came in pauper's shape.

He said: Where was he from, who is he?

They said: Nobody knows him. A stranger.

He said: These are plainly the comrades of Farman
 Who had much vengeance in their hearts for us.

And if I find them alive in the land

- (1000) I'll put them to sore torture and the sword.

News of the dire command spread through the kingdom.
 Innumerable horsemen mounted up, all the king had;
 And he rode with his grandees,
 Closing every road in the realm, every pass.

Numberless horsemen swarmed over meadow and plain,
 But found none who might give any news.

They left no fortress unseen, no unconquerable castle,
 No land, no city, no lowland or peak.

No one could find them; none gave even a name,

- (1010) No one could learn how they had escaped.

The king turns back, gloomy at heart,

His body consumed with fire over his child.

Chapter 21: P^cayip^cair brought whatever they needed

Deftly the youth P^cayip^cair departed a-hunting,
And returned bringing mountain gazelles and wild sheep.
Secretly he came before the town,
And removed and bore off whatever he saw.

- Secretly he entered it, nobody knowing,
Took weapons and armor – whatever he needed –
Heaped up gold aplenty, gems and jewels,
(1020) Kingly raiment, whatever the monarch possessed.

They had weapons then for themselves beyond compare –
Neither the king nor his army had the like.
Farman rejoiced standing there,
And his comrades were merry, and gave thanks.

He glorified unceasingly the Immortal King
That he had found shelter in this uninhabited spot.
There he lived in love, took his fill of his longing,
And commanded his youth no more to go out,

- Saying: My dear boy, worthy P^cayip^cair,
(1030) Rest and make merry, pause awhile:
We lack nothing. All is prepared.
I am grateful for your nimble feet.

The boy then gamboled, entertained them,
And told the youths jokes. They made merry.
Sweetly he sang, like a plucked silver string:
He gave voice to the rocks, made the mountains sing.

Chapter 22: And Farman spoke about his exile.

Once, as Farman sat with his companions
And told a tale of desire and love,
Suddenly tears welled. He wept,

- (1040) Saying: I remember my father and mother.

He shed bitter tears, sobbed from his heart,
Mourned piteously all the day long.
He said: Everything here – hill, dale, stone –
Turns to gold for me, but I am still a stranger, alone.

Though a wanderer win many cities
 And have no lack of magnificence,
 His heart ever fears: I go astray,
 Friend here and perfect love I have none.

His soul greatly longs, his heart yearns.

- (1050) A poor man, he wanders over the earth, and his heart wants
 Bitterness, not sugar. Swallowing poison,
 He deems it sweet – it seems delectable to him.

The stranger come to a strange land
 Is not accepted by its earth. It will not nurture him.
 Though he were a very Solomon for wisdom,
 He seems a fool to men, bereft of wit and drunken.

Though the stranger be rich and resplendent,
 And have satisfaction of all the world's wants,
 Care, pain, and sorrow still beset him:

- (1060) Death may come and take me captive before I return home.

Or pains come upon him of a sudden,
 Or a sign of death for him is prophesied.
 His eyes scrutinize the plain and the hidden pitifully
 His father and mother and dear brother to find.

The body that bore him of the earth
 Is his thirst, his longing
 Before death seize him and grind him to dust
 And imprison him, a foreigner, abroad.

I thirst here for longing, parched is my heart.

- (1070) I desire my parents. I want to see them.
 It is time for us to leave.
 So think as you will, and form a plan.

**Chapter 23: Their departure, their encounter with the Persian armies,
 whom they vanquish, and their coming to their own land**

The youth P^cayip^cair asked Farman,
 If you say the road is upon me
 Then all is my responsibility:
 I fulfill your command. And he made a plan.

He takes Farman. They leave that place
 And he takes him to that tree with all the companions,
 Contrives a shelter in it, lifts them up

- (1080) That none may see them – and none did.

Whatever they require, he brings them:
 Gold, and arms, or food –
 He brings it all and stores it,
 And goes off elsewhere, as his wits tell him.

Wherever there was fodder, on mountain, plain, and meadow,
 Many horses stood there, grazing.
 In the mountains and meadows, near that country and village
 Swiftly he goes, scouts, finds a place.

By night he enters a thoroughbred herd,

- (1090) Picks twenty of the finest steeds from their midst,
 And drives them, unseen by any man, takes them,
 Goes back and saddles them all.

All are altered that none may perceive them:
 The girl they make a dancing boy,
 Take all the treasure, goods, and gold,
 And ride by night, depart unknown.

At daybreak they dismount and sleep, concealed in the rocks.
 By cunning byways hidden they travel at night
 And reach the frontier, the exit to their way,

- (1100) A mountain pass, with many horsemen dozing there.

They said: Who can pass by night?
 Let's wait, and arise and go at dawn.
 If horsemen there try to seize us by force,
 We've swords in our belts, too: it will be war.

Some cavalry were down by the side of the pass.
 At first light, when they were slipping through
 These saw and raced to bring the cavalry the news,
 As the youths were passing, fully armed.

Four thousand horsemen rode after them,

- (1110) Every one a knight, brave in the fight,
 And reached them soon. They halted
 And swung about to face the force with youthful ardor.

Farman grabbed the girl and went
 While his five comrades faced the cavalry
 And fought them bravely and well.
 They took count: many fell.

They order them to go in peace,
 But in whose name, they ask, who is he?
 They answer: The youth Farman,
 (1120) Who came with his comrades and again departs.

They leave that realm, travel a long road,
 Enter those places for which they had longed,
 And offer thanks in gladness and rejoicing
 To Him who did thus for them, the Immortal King.

Chapter 24: On the good tidings of P^cayip^cair

He went swiftly to the king's city,
 The youth P^cayip^cair, and told him good tidings:
 Your son has arrived. Why do you sit there?
 He took a priceless robe to do him honor.

The king commanded all to mount.

(1130) He took the road, his grandes by his side.
 He hastened, he hurried to see his child,
 For sharp was his longing; and grieving, his sigh.

Suddenly he saw the youth Farman
 With all his comrades, together as one.
 He spurred his horse, with paternal love
 Kissed Farman, sweeping him up in his arms.

He had brought priceless robes, shining raiment
 In which he dressed his son and the companions,
 Not knowing it was a girl that was with them.

(1140) For the trip she had altered her appearance.

They turned with great joy and entered the city.
 He bade the army and populace make merry
 For the safe return of his boy Farman,
 For the fulfillment of the desire of his heart.

He relates what had happened in Khorasan,
 Displays the daughter of the king to him,
 How he took her, how none saw,
 And they were amazed when they beheld her.

The king made a wedding for his son Farman

(1150) Who made the brave young girl his wife.
 He got his desire, the love of his heart,
 And they spent the day in glad celebration.

He went with the horsemen to ride the trail and play:
 He entered the polo arena, hit the ball,
 When they saw their son, his parents were glad,
 And unceasingly gave thanks and glory to God.

**Chapter 25: His father dies: Farman is king in his father's place
 and fights many wars against the Persians**

Three years his father lived.
 Death's command comes, and the end is near.
 The son inherits his father's throne, is seated
 (1160) And becomes a great king, wise and good.

The king of Khorasan hears
 His daughter is in Assyria with Farman.
 He takes innumerable horsemen, comes to attack:
 His army cannot withstand them.

Farman arrives with many forces, conquers,
 And forces all to turn in flight,
 Kills many, brings them down,
 But the king swiftly regains his realm.

They return to invade again and again,
 (1170) But every time could do nothing to his army,
 Till the end came for that king,
 After which brave Farman had peace.

Chapter 26: The death of the youth Farman and his son's reign

When that great king was thirty
 A son was born who resembled him,
 Handsome of face, glorious all around,
 And the king rejoiced at the birth of the boy.

They gave the son the name Šahišeran,
 The boy was weaned and raised,
 Learned much of books, much wisdom,

(1180) Till he reached the age of twelve.

He rides a horse, puts on battle armor,
 Plays with his friends, enters the arena,
 Studies all the skills of war,
 And in youthful prowess is like his father.

King Farman lives sixty years,
Happy in fulfillment, vanquished by none.
Death comes suddenly and overcomes him,
And his son sits upon his father's throne.

We send up glory to you, Lord, our Father on high,
(1190) And your uncreate, sole-begotten Son we glorify.
The creatures exalt the Holy Spirit:
And glory to you, forever and aye.

ON THE TRANSLATABILITY OF SOME BASIC WORDS AND PHRASES IN ARMENIAN PROVERBS

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This paper deals with lexical gaps in languages and the challenges they pose to the translator in ensuring cross-cultural understanding of language-specific notions and concepts in folklore. The discussion here is based on empirical observations on language- and culture-specific vocabulary differences between such linguistically and culturally remote languages as Armenian and English. In the early 90s, while I was translating Armenian folk sayings into English for my book *Armenian Proverbs* (Sakayan 1994/95), I often experienced difficulties whenever the cultural information in a key-word or a phrase in the Armenian text did not fit into the “world-view” of an English native speaker. Comprehending any proverb’s message and/or wit presupposes shared knowledge, i.e. the cultural implications embedded in the key-word(s) must be commonly known to users of the language. From the perspective of translation, the highly elliptical nature of proverbs poses a particular challenge if appropriate linguistic transfers are to be achieved.

Translating folk genres in general and proverbs in particular has always been a difficult chore. In order to convey the message and to give new life to the source-proverb in the target language, the translator has to keep its content as intact and its form as “natural” as possible. Convention has held that when translating a proverb, it is always best to give the equivalent, if such exists, in the target language (Koller 1972:170–171). Unfortunately, this has often resulted in robbing the original of its flavor. To capture the distinct national character of Armenian proverbs, I chose to translate them as literally as possible, preserving the original figures of speech, wherever I could. The expectation was that the English reader would supply the English equivalent where applicable.

Translation, of course, is always a decision-making process for the translator. However, translating such concise text units as proverbs calls in each case for a special strategy, ranging from common procedures like word-for-word translation (direct transfer, substitution and loan translation) to free translation (transposition, adaptation, paraphrasing, etc.). Very frequently, in order to shed light on differences in cultural values and social practices, glosses, commentaries and/or clarifications – at times much longer than the proverb itself – were necessary.

Translation difficulties were encountered on all linguistic levels: grammatical, lexical, stylistic, etc. I will concentrate here on the lexical level, namely on vocabulary discrepancies between Armenian and English where socio-cultural divergences are most apparent.

One-to-one correspondence between words to be translated from a source language to a target language are rare. As Koller (1979:157–166) points out, one-to-two, one-to-three, one-to-four, etc. relations are far more common. Armenian–English one-to-zero correspondences proved to be the biggest obstacle. In some cases, deficiencies in English were surmounted by importing the Armenian word without change into the English text. Such instances were *փիլաֆ* [pilaf], *գրող* [grogh], *բնակիր* [toneer], *զարայ* [gata], and other socio-cultural specifics which had to be directly borrowed from Armenian and then explained in a glossary (Sakayan 1995:473). An alternative solution for one-to-zero correspondences has also been the use of various approximations.

Interlinguistic differences in vocabulary are usually ascribed to the distinct world-views of each language reflected in

1) the language-specific organization of reality, which is held to account for the lack of exact cross-linguistic correspondences. A case in point is the greater and lesser degree of specification in Armenian and English kinship terminology (Sakayan 1995:123–125).

2) the existence of “authentic” language-specific words which do not have counterparts in other languages. Compare the connotations of the Armenian adjective *սևանդ* [anter]¹ in Armenian.

3) various connotations in cross-linguistically similar denotations. Compare the connotations of *hwug* [hats] in Armenian and *bread* in English (Sakayan 1995:104–107).²

Everyday words, such as *water*, *bread*, *hand*, *raisin*, are usually said to be easily rendered from one language to another, the assumption being that there is a one-to-one relationship between these words which allows for literal translation. Compare Arm. *շուր* [*djour*] for Engl. *water*, Germ. *Wasser*, Fr. *eau*, Rus. *вода*, etc. A closer look, however, shows that this assumption does not apply to idiomatic usage. Difficulties in the translation of the common word *լոլու* [yeres] *face* and its use in Armenian proverbs can illustrate this problem. As the English

¹ The Armenian adjective *սևանդ* [anter] is derived from the noun *տեր* [ter], a near-equivalent of the English “Lord,” “God,” “master,” “owner,” “boss,” etc. The noun can also be used figuratively with the meaning “protector,” “guardian,” “caretaker,” “custodian,” etc. The adjectival derivation *սևանդ* [anter] is based on this metaphoric meaning. Using the negating adjectival prefix *սև-* [an-], it describes something or someone who lacks a “protector,” “guardian,” “caretaker,” “custodian,” etc. It carries the meaning “protector-less.” Given Armenia’s harsh climatic, political and economic conditions, an existence without protection from above is feared; *սևանդ* (“protector-less”) people are helpless and destitute and *սևանդ* [anter E / ander W] things are headed for destruction. The variety of solutions for the translation of this particular adjective alone shows the demands that the translator faces when dealing with lexical deficiencies in the target language (Sakayan 1995:68–69).

² Compare analogous discussions on difficulty in translation due to world-view differences in various languages in Wilss 1982 (pp. 40–41).

face, the Armenian *tptu* [yeres] is a polysemic word with a very wide range of meanings. Some of them, however, do not have direct transfers in many other languages, and particularly not in English.

Here are some cases of the usage of *tptu* [yeres], in both literal and figurative meaning, as presented in proverbs and as translated into English:

1. The front part of the head, reaching from the forehead to the chin, visage.

Human face:

(1) Կասոն որ կասոն ա, լատ որ հետն ընկնես, քարը երեսդ կը քի:
Even a cat, if too much annoyed, will throw its paw in your face.

[Message: Know your limits.]

(2) Գողի աչքն երեսին կը խաղայ:

A thief's eye twinkle on his face.

[Message: It is easy to recognize a thief.]

Animal face:

(3) Կասոն քարիկներով երեսը լուաց, զիսնի՞ր որ անձրեւ պիտի զայ:
When a cat washes its face with its paws, know that rain will fall.

[Weather proverb]

2. The person him/herself (frequently as substitute for personal pronouns):

(4) Աղէկ օրիդ երեսիդ խնդացող լատ կ'ըլլայ:

In good times, many people will smile at you. [Lit.: ... at your face]

[Message: People are fair-weather friends.]

(5) Գրողը մտաւ տունը, բոլորը փեսին երեսը նայեցին:

The grogh (Angel of Death) entered the house; everyone looked at the son-in-law.

[Message: A live-in son-in-law is not popular.]

3. The cause of something for which the ablative form of *tptu* → *tptuhg* [yeres → yeresits] with the postpositional meaning 'because' is used:

(6) Սարսադի երեսից սարեկները սարը կը փախչեն:

Because of a fool, the finches will fly away to the forest. [Lit.: Because of a fool's face ...]

[Message: Unworthy people can cause harm.]

4. Side of a page:

(7) Գրքին երկու երեսն ալ կարդալու է:

In a book, one should read both sides of a page.

[Message: Be impartial.]

5. Cheeks:

- (8) Երեսներիցը լոյս է վեր քափում:
There is a glow pouring down her cheeks.
 [About a beautiful woman.]

6. General outward appearance:

- (9) Երեսին մի՛ նայիր, բախսին նայիր:
Don't look at her face, look at her fate.
 [Message: You don't have to be beautiful in order to be lucky.]
- (10) Մարդ մարդի երեսին կը նայի, Աստուած՝ սրտին:
Man looks to man's face, God to man's heart.
 [Message: God sees people's substance, not appearance.]

7. Surface of an object:

- (11) Երեսանց հայելի, տակեւանց ածելի:
On the surface a mirror, underneath a razor.
 [About two-faced people]

8. Looks or facial expression:

- (12) Երեսը սրտին հայելի է:
A face is the mirror of the heart.

8a. Ugly face:

- (13) Սրտի ժանզը երեսին է զարկեր:
The evil(ness) [lit.: rust³] of his heart has hit his face.
 [About people whose ugly face reflects their evilness]

8b. Friendly expression:

- (14) Հացն երեսիցը կ'ունեն:
They eat bread (food) from the (host's) face.
 [Message: Be friendly to your guests.]

In order to make a connection between this proverb's wording and its message, the cultural implications of the first key-word, *hug* [*hats*] *bread* in Armenian must first be clarified:

The word *hug* [*hats*] *bread*, the most crucial food staple, has a broader resonance in Armenian than in other Indo-European languages. Bread is not only

³ Note that the figurative meaning of *ժանզ* [*zhang*] *rust* in Armenian as *grave facial expression, hatred and evilness* is not known in English. Hence the substitution *evilness* for *ժանզ* [*zhang*] *rust*.

an all-encompassing factor in life, it embraces any food available for consumption. In Armenia, up to the present, *hwug nuntq [hats outel]*⁴, literally: “to eat bread” means “to have lunch or dinner or a full meal”. Similarly, *մեղ հեն հայ կեր [mez het hats ker]* literally: “Eat bread with us”, is in Armenia an invitation to join a meal.⁵ Hence the meaning in the saying (14) where *hwug [hats] bread* stands for food.

It is known that hospitality is a central part of the Armenian belief system and the basis for close human ties. Its cardinal rule states:

- (15) *Ղոնաղն (հիւր) Աստծունն ա:*
A guest is God-sent.

Generosity in offering food is, therefore, essential. However, a warm reception is more important than the food offered; therefore, hosts are advised to show their guests unconditional hospitality, as specified further in (16), another version of proverb (14):

- (16) *Ղոնաղը տաճտիրոց հացին չի նայի, երկու ունքի մէջսեղին կը նայի:*

The guest doesn't look at the host's bread, but at the spot between his eyebrows.

Without incorporating these many implications, a literal translation of the Armenian proverbs (14) and (16) would not convey their meaning. It was therefore considered necessary to add an explanatory line after the translation of (14) and (16):

[For the guest, a warm reception is more important than the food offered; he therefore carefully watches his host's mood.]

Whereas the majority of Armenian proverbs featuring the word *tptu* [yeres] are gender-neutral, some are gender-specific. In the examples listed below, the word *tptu* [yeres] refers exclusively to women's faces, reflecting the long-held and universal convention that female beauty is an important asset.

8c. Women's face:

- (17) *Սիրունի երեսին զիլաւ չեն ուտում:*
You cannot eat pilaf on a beautiful face.
[Message: Beauty in women cannot replace the staples of life.]
- (18) *Երեսին ալողը կը կլտանայ:*
If you look at her face, you'll have your fill.
[Message: She is very ugly.]

⁴ As some reader will observe, from the two versions of literary Armenian, the Eastern and Western, I have chosen the Eastern pronunciation as basis for transliteration.

⁵ A comparable expression in English would be “to break bread” with somebody.

(19) Երեսին ճուածեղ եփեմ, չի ուսո՞ի:
If you cooked an omelette on her face, you couldn't eat it.
 [Message: She is very ugly.]

9. The ‘cream’ or the top layer of prepared food:

(20) Թռէ էնի պղնձի տակն է, ես երեսն եմ:
If he/she is the bottom of the pot, I am the top.
 [Message: I am superior to him/her.]

This saying would remain linguistically and culturally opaque to the English reader, if s/he were not familiar with the eating patterns and food preferences of Armenians living in Armenia. There, it is commonly thought that meals should be cooked with plenty of fat, – the more fat, the better. In this saying, the person who considers him/herself to be superior is likened to the top, fattier part of the dish, as opposed to the lower, leaner, and, therefore, “inferior” part.

Another saying – very similar in spirit – requires even more detailed knowledge as to what Armenians cherish most in food: in the case of yogurt – the creamy top layer; in that of pilaf – the fatty lower crust. Note that the prerequisite for tasty *pilaf* in Armenia is generous proportions of butter, which, after the water evaporates, sinks to the bottom of the pot, making the rice of the *pilaf* golden-brown, crispy and tasty.

(21) Մածնի երես, փլաւի տակ, կռովի վերջ:
(Give him/her) The pilaf's bottom, the yoghurt's top, and the fight will stop.
 [Message: Tasty food can bring peace.]

Note here that in translation some slots had to be filled in order to avoid ambiguity and to help the English reader draw inferences from an otherwise culturally unintelligible text.

10. The outer or upper side of the fabric:

(22) Ասսառն էլ երեսն արժի:
The lining should match the face.

In the examples discussed so far, the majority of applications of *tptu* *face*, in either its literal or figurative meaning (as visage, surface, upper side of the fabric, etc.), is more or less known to Westerners. There is, however, in Armenian a special and widespread use of the word *tptu* [yeres] *face* in a very specific figurative sense. It refers to the relationships between the individual and society and serves to express a certain set of moral values shared by members of the linguistic community. The word *tptu* [yeres] *face* reflects here assumptions about people’s standing in society, particularly about the *face* people want to claim for themselves and are willing to attribute to other participants in a given

communicative situation (Scollon/Scollon 1995:35). In other words, *tptu* [yeres] *face* in this figurative usage refers to the simplified image of a person, held in common by members of a group, or, in its more subjective sense, to the self-image of the speaker. As vestiges of cultural stereotypes run through many thematic groups of proverbs, particularly those concerning interpersonal relationships and social conduct, the many stock expressions containing *tptu* [yeres] *face* are widely used in every-day phraseology; they have therefore become commonplace components of proverbs.

Here Armenian is not unique. In some Asian languages this particular usage of *face* has been accorded formal recognition. For instance, the two kinds of 'face', *mien-tzu* and *lien*, in Chinese (Hsien Chin hu 1944:45)⁶; also *mentsu* in Japanese, *chae myon* in Korean, etc. (Scollon/Scollon 1995:34). In these cultures, the many figurative meanings of *face* refer to the evaluation of a person's conduct according to the moral code established by their respective societies. Depending on the values placed on different aspects of *face* in different cultures, the use of this key-word can vary from group to group. Nuances range from *reputation*, *honour*, *good social standing*, *prestige* and *shame* to *shamelessness*, *impudence*, *impertinence*, *embarrassment*, *disgrace*, etc. English is the only major European language to exhibit a comparable, though restricted usage⁷ of *face* in contexts concerning interpersonal relations. In English the most common instances occur in such verbal phrases as '*to save face*' = *to escape humiliation*, '*to lose face*' = *to suffer humiliation* or *to lose prestige* and '*to maintain face*' = *to keep up social recognition*. As for other major European languages, there is little evidence of any association of the word *face* with the concept of honour or social standing, although some very recent borrowings from English into other Western languages are exceptions. For instance, in German '*das Gesicht wahren*' [for the standard: *den Schein wahren*] = *to maintain face*, and '*das Gesicht verlieren*' = *to lose face* [for the standard: *etwas von seiner Geltung einbüßen*, *sein Ansehen verlieren*] or '*Gesichtsverlust*' = *loss of face* are recognized as recent loan-expressions from English.⁸ Similarly, in French '*sauver la face*' is perceived as a verbal phrase borrowed from English [for the standard: *sauver les apparences*]. As for Russian, it does not seem to have any collocations containing the word '*face*' associated with this special meaning of *honour*, *reputation*, or *shame*, etc. Whereas English has the literary expression for effrontery '*to have the face*', German's equivalent expression does not contain the word *face* but rather *the forehead* = *die Stirn haben* or the *impertinence* = *die*

⁶ This concept of *face* was first explained by the anthropologist Hsien Chin Hu in 1944.

⁷ One must assume that this usage of '*face*' is a relatively later development in English and one probably influenced by Asian cultures. In American sociological and socio-linguistic works human communication is seen to be based on a very special interpretation of *face*: there, negotiation of *face* in interpersonal communication plays a great role (compare Goffman 1967:5-45).

⁸ Duden vol. 11, *Redewendungen und sprichwörtliche Redensarten*, Dudenverlag, 1992.

*Frechheit haben.*⁹ The same is true for French: Compare *d'avoir l'aplomb/le toupet*¹⁰; also in Russian: *иметь наглость* ‘to have the impudence’.

Thus, when translating proverbs and referring to such notions as, on the one hand, *honour* and *prestige*, *dignity* and *recognition*, and on the other, *dishonour* and *shame*, *scorn*, *embarrassment* and the like, the key-word *tptu* [yeres] *face* presented a particular challenge. *Shame*, “the painful feeling of having done or experienced something dishonourable¹¹” is in many Armenian proverbs identified with *face*, the main body part which reflects human emotions. The following proverb can demonstrate this:

(23) Երեսն երեսնմէն լ'ամաշի:
A face will be ashamed of another face.

Originating from the Armenian dialect of Tbilisi, this proverb advocates that in order to succeed in negotiations, one should have a face-to-face encounter, for then people are usually ashamed to refuse. Most of the time, the use of *tptu* [yeres] ‘face’ reflects certain stereotypes which only participants of the same social group understand. This understanding is not necessarily shared by representatives of unrelated cultures. How is the translator to render this complicated meaning to the non-native speaker in such a short linguistic unit as a proverb?

One of the common concepts is *tptu niščnaw* [yeres ounenal] *having face* vs. *tptu zniščnaw* [yeres ounenal] *having no face* or a synonymous form *tptuñ utn̄/tptusawnt̄ niščnaw* [yeresi tegh/yeresategh ounenal], which means *to enjoy high esteem (based on merit)*. Compare the following proverb:

(24) Ոչ մի կոպեկ չունենամ, երեսաւող ունենամ:
Let me have not one centime, let me have some esteem.

The following proverb deals with the *ղարիպ* [gharip] or *պանդուխ* [pandoukht], the Armenian expatriate, a prominent figure in Armenian folklore:

(25) Ղարիպ մարդը օտար տեղ երես չի ունենայ:
In a strange country, a gharip * has no face.

As one can see, on the linguistic level, I had to import the word *gharip* directly from Armenian. As for the cultural level, an asterisk would direct the reader’s attention to a special glossary at the end of the anthology (Sakayan 1995) where a *gharip*’s status is explained.¹² As for the word *face*, English

⁹ Collin’s *English–German Dictionary*, Klett 1983.

¹⁰ Harrap’s *New Shorter French and English Dictionary*, Harrap/Bordas, 1979.

¹¹ Webster’s *College Dictionary*, 1990.

¹² In Armenian folklore a *gharip* is portrayed as someone who was forced to leave his homeland and gain his livelihood abroad. There he is an individual of little account, where he feels small and unimportant since he is unknown and lacks the support of family and friends, to say nothing of recognition in society. Obviously, to translate what is said about the *ղարիպ gharip* without explaining the cultural connotations of the word is a formidable, not to say impossible task.

offers a more or less comprehensible literary translation which conveys some of the original's meaning, while all other major European languages known to me would have to resort to other lexical substitutions. Compare the loss of information in the German translation of the same proverb, where the word *Gesicht face* could not be used:

(25a) *Der Gharip *hat in der Fremde keinen Halt.*

Not having or lacking t̄ptu face can also mean *being impertinent, impudent, insolent and bold*. To describe somebody with these negative traits, Armenians frequently use the adjective *w̄st̄ptu*, derived by means of the negation prefix *w̄s-* + *t̄ptu* = *w̄st̄ptu* [lit.: faceless] *shameless, impudent*.¹³

The majority of phrases with *t̄ptu face* in this particular figurative meaning belongs to the sphere of so-called negative stereotyping, especially those dealing with the notion of *shame* and *humiliation*. Reproaches commonly exchanged in arguments are: «Երես ունի՞ս» ‘Do you have the/a face?’ meaning ‘Do you have the courage/nerve/audacity?’, and «Երես չունի՞ս» ‘You have no face’ meaning ‘you are shameless’ (also: ‘You do not dare/you must be ashamed), «Ի՞նչ երեսնվ» ‘With what kind of a face?’, meaning ‘With what nerve?’, «Այ տ̄պես» ‘What a face!’, ‘What nerve!’

In Armenian there is an idiomatic verbal phrase *t̄ptu տալ* – literally “to give somebody (a) face,” referring metaphorically to the giving of excessive *recognition, honour, attention or freedom* to behave as one pleases, hence meaning “to spoil”.

It is known that an especially difficult task is the translation of proverbs whose linguistic effectiveness is founded on the double-meaning of words, i.e., when we deal with puns. Therefore, a particularly challenging case was the following saying, which was playing with the two meanings – literary and figurative – of the word *t̄ptu face*:

(26) *Երես տոնիկը, աստան ալ ուզեց:*

We gave (him/her) the face, he/she is asking for the lining.

Or:

(27) *Տղին երես տալու բլաս, աստան ալ հետք կ'ուզէ:*

If you give a child the fabric, he will ask for the lining as well.

¹³ In English, as in other European languages, the word *faceless* does not have this figurative meaning. Here ‘faceless’ means literally *lacking face*, in the sense of lacking personal distinction or identity; unidentified or unidentifiable; concealing one's identity (compare: Webster's College Dictionary).

Derivations from the Armenian adjective *w̄st̄ptu* – *shameless, impudent, brazenfaced* are also very common:

Adverb: *Աներեսարար*, *աներեսօրէն*. – *անպատկառօրէն*, *լրօրէն*, *առանց ամշնալու*, *ամօրխած* *without shame, without being ashamed*

Noun: *Աներեսորին*. – *անամօրորին*, *անպատկառորին*, *լրորին*, *լկտիորին* *shamelessness, impudence, brazenness*

Verb: *Աներեսանալ* – *աներես*, *անպատկառ դառնալ*, *լկտիանալ* *to become shameless, impudent*.

[Message: A spoiled child will demand even more.]

The word-play is based on two meanings of the word *tptu face*:

- 1) "face" as the outer or upper side of fabric
- 2) "face" in the idiomatic verbal phrase *tptu unuł to spoil, to indulge*

In its first part, the proverb uses the expression *tptu unuł "to give (a) face"* without revealing which of the two meanings of *tptu face* is meant. The word-play comes into effect in the second part of the proverb, where the literal meaning "*face of fabric*" is taken up and contrasted with *wuunun "lining"*. This word-play in (26) and (27) alludes to a person who, after getting something undeservedly, looks for more. Although the message of the proverb is well-conveyed in translation, the word-play itself, based on the ambiguity of the word *tptu face*, has been lost. The reason is simple: there is no corresponding idiomatic expression *tptu unuł "to give face"* with the meaning "*to spoil*" in English.

Some proverbs containing *face* may often be incomprehensible even to the modern Armenian user, although he or she may know the appropriate time and place to use the proverb in question, – a fact which speaks for the conventional character of any proverb. As a result of changes in language and society, the old meaning of the text is often lost, and the message is no longer derived from its content:

(28) *Երեսի ջուրը զնացել ա:*
The water of his/her face is gone.
 [Message: He/she is shameless.]

A more blunt and cynical version says:

(29) *Երեսը պուղուրի ջրով են լուացել:*
They have washed his/her face with bulgur water.
 [Message: He/she is shameless.]

We see in this proverb that another very common word i.e. *ջոր water* has again no direct transfer into English. A closer look into the Armenian proverbial stock shows that the key-word '*water*' refers here to the *chrism, the holy oil*, or *holy water* used in the sacramental anointment during the baptism of each Armenian newborn. This is borne out by another version of the same proverb:

(30) *Երեսի մեռնկը զնացել է:*
The chrism/holy oil of his/her face is gone.
 [Message: He/she is shameless.]

As so many other Armenian proverbs drawing upon very deep roots in Christianity, the proverbs (28), (29) and (30) reflect the folk belief that preserving the chrism water on the *face* equals being blessed, sacred, and, therefore, a person worthy of adoration and respect. People who have lost the holy water on their *face* have lost their honour and esteem.

In Armenian phraseology the word *tptu* *face* usually appears in collocations with other words, and particularly in conjunction with adjectives used in figurative and evaluative sense, such as *utl* *black* or *սպիտակ/ճերմակ* *white* or *պարզ* *bright*, *պհնդ* *hard* or *կալուղ* *soft*, *բաց* *open* or *ծածկած* *veiled*, etc.

Various formations are possible: the adjectival phrases *utl tptu* *black face* (metonymy for a person), or *tptu utl* (*մարդ*) *a person with a black face* or the composed adjective *utl tptu* *black-faced*, or the derived abstract noun *utl tptu որփին* “*black-face-ness*”, the verbal phrase *tptu utl(w)gutl* *to blacken the face*, etc.

One of the central points in the Armenian folk belief system is the dichotomy of *լոյն* *light* and *խաւար* *darkness* or *սպիտակ/ճերմակ* *white* and *utl* *black* which corresponds to the antithesis of good and evil forces (Abeghian 1975:15; Sakayan 1995:138). In accordance with this dualism, faces are also perceived as white vs. black. Compare *ճերմակ* *white* in the collocation *սպիտակ/ճերմակ երես* *white face*, versus *utl* *black* in *utl tptu* *black face*, and *պարզ* *bright* or *clear* in *պարզ երես* *bright/clear face*, etc. This dichotomy corresponds to that of *having* vs. *not having a face* (good stand in society).

For the most part, collocations of *face + black* serve to condemn people for immoral or socially disagreeable behaviour and convey the meanings *blame-worthy*, *subject to criticism, unacceptable*. This judgement of people is expressed in the following generalization:

(31) *Անամօք երեսէն սլ քան չկայ:*

There is nothing more shameful [lit.: blacker] than a shameless face.

Below the many shades of meaning which the collocation *black + face* achieves in Armenian proverbs will be illustrated:

1. Disgrace for defaming other people:

(32) *Հերքեսին սելը՝ իրեն երեսը:*

*May everybody's disgrace go back to his own face.*¹⁴

2. Embarrassment due to low social standing:

(33) *Քեսախսի (աղքատի) երեսը միլու սլ կը լինի:*

A poor man will have no face.

[Lit.: A poor man's face is always black.]

3. Humiliation and embarrassment due to low achievement or failure in work:

(34) *Գողի եկալ, սլերես զնաց:*

The thief came, and he left in shame.

[Lit.: The thief came, and he left with a black face.]

¹⁴ Note the translation of the nominalized *սելը* ‘the black’ as *disgrace*.

4. Shame for not being able to cope with the challenges of life:

(35) Երկու ժամի լուսարարը մնին սեւերես կ'զլնի:
The verger of two churches will fail (lose his face) in one.
 [Lit.: ... will be black-faced in one.]

5. Shame of liability, debts:

(36) Պարտաստիրոջ երեսը սեւ է, լեզուն կարճ:
A debtor's face is blackened with shame, his tongue is tied.
 [Lit.: A debtor's face is black, his tongue is short.]
 [Message: A debtor is always shame-faced and reticent.]

6. Shame for refusing help to others:

(37) Ուզողի մի երեսը սեւ, չուզողի՝ երկուսը:
He who asks (for something) has one shame; he who refuses two shames.
 [Lit.: He who asks has one black face, he who refuses two.]

7. Shame for falsehood and imposture:

(38) Անւս ասողի երեսն ի սեւ, հնգին ի դեւ:
A liar's face is full of shame, his soul is full of blame.
 [Lit.: A liar's face is black, his soul is with the demon.]

An antonym for this particular nuance of *սեւ երես black face* is the expression *պարզ երես – clear face or bright face* meaning *free of blame*:

(39) Գարի հաց, պարզ երես:
Barley bread, but a proud [lit.: clear] face.
 [Message: You do not have to be rich in order to be a great host.]

Another antonym for *սեւ երես black face*, is *սպիտակ/ճերմակ երես white face*, or *երեսը սպիտակ/ճերմակ with a white face* or the composed adjective *սպիտակ-/ճերմակերես white-faced*, or the verbal phrase *երեսը սպիտակ/ճերմակ(ե)ցնել to whiten the face*.

To reproach somebody for failure of for insensitivity, Armenians sarcastically substitute *black* with *white*. To shame somebody people use the expression:

(40) Երեսդ սպիտակ/ճերմակ:
Shame on you! [Lit.: What a white face!]
 (Here *white* used instead of *black*.)

Another reproach follows the same logic:

- (41) Երեսդ կճումի տակից էլ սպիտակ է:
You are very shameless/bold.

[Lit.: Your face is whiter than the bottom of the kettle.]
 (Usually, the bottom of a kettle is very black.)

A very common collocation containing *face* is *սիհնդ երես* which literally means: *hard, stiff face*. People who have a *սիհնդ երես* *hard, stiff face* are those who have a face which is hard to penetrate with criticism. Folk wisdom observes, for instance, that in order to survive, orphans have or must have a *սիհնդ երես*, i.e. they should disregard public disparagement. In translation, my intuition lead me to render *սիհնդ երես* as *thick skin*, the closest equivalent in English.

- (42) Որբի երեսը սիհնդ կ'ունի:
An orphan has a thick skin. [lit.: ... hard face]

The phrase *սիհնդ երես* *thick skin* also implies that since the carrier of such a face is able to ignore public opinion, he/she will take advantage of other people for his/her own profit. At times, having a *սիհնդ երես* is looked upon as an asset. Therefore, people say:

- (43) Պիհնդ երեսը լաւ ա, քանից մի տանու զուրան:
Having a thick skin is better (i.e. more profitable) than having a plough.

How recurrent the notion of *սիհնդ երես* is, can be seen in an even more expanded hyperbolic expression, where items taken for comparison are amplified to unrealistic dimensions. In such a saying used, for instance, as a reproach, a person's *thick skin* is compared to *thick leather* used for the preparation of a pair of shoes. Compare:

- (44) Երեսի կալիդ հազնիմ Հինդիստան երբամ՝ չի մալիր:
*If I wear the skin [lit.: leather] of your face (as shoes) to go to Hindustan,
 it won't wear out.*

The antonym to *սիհնդ երես* = *hard face* in Armenian is *կակուղ որ փափուկ երես* *soft, gentle, tender face*, indicating a *bashful, reticent, shy and kind nature*. In the following proverb, a person with *կակուղ երես* is equated with an angel. One is advised to refrain from excessive humility when confronted with evil people:

- (45) Կակուղ երես հրեշտակին սատանէն թէզ-թէզ վրայ կը տայ:
A timid angel will swiftly be taken over by a devil.

In this instance, the phrase *կակուղ երես* was rendered by the adjective *timid*.

Another distinction is that between a *covered* and an *open face*. A *covered* or *veiled face* stands for a *shy* and *bashful face*, while an *open face* is a *face without shame*. Compare:

(46) Ժամի դուռը բաց է, լանն էլ երեսը:
The church door is open, so is the dog's face.

[Meaning: Even if the door is open, a dog should not enter the church.]
 [Said about shameless people.]

A challenge arises for the translator when, because of the polysemic keyword, the main idea of the proverb as a whole is ambivalent and allows for different interpretations. At times, proverbs can have two, three or even more readings. It is clear, that the translator cannot embrace all possible interpretations in one sentence as short as a proverb, and must take some liberty to choose what he or she considers the most relevant. Such an approach is, of course, not free from bias. Although alternative interpretations have their own validity, the translator has his/her constraints. The following example demonstrates one instance of handling ambiguous proverbs in translation:

(47) Քողն երեսին, երևէլի փեսին:
The face has a veil, how lucky the male!

[Message 1. When the girl is bashful, the bridegroom is enviable.]

[Message 2. Reference to the old custom of marrying a girl without seeing her before the wedding; sarcastic suggestion that an unpleasant surprise could follow the lifting of the veil. Mostly used metaphorically when one is unpleasantly surprised.]

Another opposition is *warm* vs. *cold face*:

տաք երես ունենալ *to have a warm face* = *to be lovable, adorable, honourable.*

(48) Փարային երեսը տաք է, խենդն ալ կը սիրէ, խելացին ալ:
People like money, whether they are fools or sages.

[Lit.: Money's face is warm, both the fool and the wise man love it.]

պաղ երես ունենալ lit.: *to have a cold face* = *to be despicable, disgraceful*

(49) Աղքասի երեսը պաղ կ'երեւայ:

Nobody likes a poor man.

[Lit.: The poor man's face seems cold.]

Very common in colloquial speech is the expression *լոլուր ըպ(ս)ել* *to spit in(to) someone's face*, fig. *to dishonour, condemn, shame, desecrate, profane, blaspheme.*

To convey the message that bad actions will be punished, people say:

- (50) Քամու դէմ բքողը, իր երեսին կը բքի:
He who spits towards the wind, spits in his own face.

The following very popular saying about insensitive and impudent people appears in many variations:

- (51) Անամօթ մարդի երեսը բքեցին, ասեց. անձրեւ է զայխ:
They spat on the shameless man's face; he said, it is raining.

- (52) Գորսն որ զորս է, որ բքեն իր երեսին կ'ամաշի:
Even the frog would be ashamed if you spit in its face.

Does the English reader grasp the meaning of this saying *to spit into someone's face* in view of the fact that the collocation *tptkup pp(ü)tł* does not exist in English, neither culturally nor linguistically?

Another, very common and even more complex and therefore opaque meaning can be found in the following saying:

- (53) Ո՞չ սատանին կը տեսնեմ, ո՞չ երեսը կը բքնեմ:
I won't see the devil, I won't spit in his face.
 [i.e. To avoid unpleasantness, I forego some pleasure.]

A cultural gap could prevent English-speaking people from understanding the translation of this proverb. In cases like (53), even an interlinear clarification does not make much sense. The following knowledge is required here: in some oriental cultures, spitting in someone's face, as a physical act or even merely as a speech act, is a great dishonour to the person targeted. At the same time, both the action of spitting and the performative expression "I spit on you" give to the performer a great satisfaction.

In translation theory there are many views on the translatability of texts in general. For some theoreticians the translatability of any text is on the whole guaranteed by the existence of universal categories in syntax, semantics and the natural logic of experience (Wilss 1982:49). As Govaert maintained in 1971, the text often seems untranslatable because it has not yet been correctly translated (Govaert 1971:40). According to this view, the theory of untranslatability is in fact based only on exceptional cases. However, it seems that since linguistic and socio-cultural differences between individual languages and speech communities are very real, and since translation represents a transposition from one linguistic world-view to another, it invariably involves some addition or some reduction of information or, in Becker's words, an "exuberance or a deficiency of meaning" (Becker 1995:186). Therefore, for many, including myself, translation is and will remain a relative concept. The variety of solutions for the translation of this one word *tptkup face* alone shows the demands which are made on the translator

in cases of lexical and cultural deficiencies in the target language. The loss of information which inevitably follows from having to choose from this variety is, it seems, unavoidable. Due to the absence of adequate equivalences, colourful original proverbial texts have had often to be toned down and the loss of pertinent information has had to be replaced by commentaries, annotations and glosses, appended to the proverb in order to explain features culturally inaccessible to the native English speaker.

Despite the occasional sacrifice, however, the special strategies followed in translating this particular set of proverbs managed to capture a great deal of the proverbial wit. Overall, the time and energy spent on decision-making processes in translation proved worthwhile.

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САМООПРЕДЕЛЕНИЕ И ОРИЕНТАЦИЯ В ПЕРИОД ВОЗВЫШЕНИЯ ГОСУДАРСТВА ВЕЛИКАЯ АРМЕНИЯ

ГАГИК САРКИСЯН

(Ереван)

Понятия самоопределение и ориентация могут быть противопоставлены лишь на первый поверхностный взгляд. На деле они взаимосвязаны и взаимообусловлены. Стремление нации к самоопределению рождается почти одновременно со становлением ее самосознания. За самосознанием, упрощенной формулой которого является противопоставление «мы–они», непосредственно следует стремление к политической, культурной, а затем и экономической самостоятельности, т. е. к самоопределению. Последнее же сразу сталкивает с «их» т. е. с окружения, аналогичными или, наоборот, агрессивными устремлениями. Отсюда и образуется то явление «их» различия, оценки и, на этой основе – распределения предпочтительности, которое есть политическая ориентация. Ориентация, таким образом, это внешнее проявление самоопределения.

С каких же времен можно говорить о наличии национального самосознания армянского народа, а следовательно и о стремлении к самоопределению и к внешнеполитической ориентации. Теоретическая мысль советского периода дала такие прокрустовы определения терминов народ, народность, нация, притом буржуазная и социалистическая и других подобных терминов, как и образованных ими сочетаний, что они скорее затемняют, чем объясняют их сущность. Из определения «нации» во всяком случае вытекает, что такие понятия как «национальное самосознание», «национальное самоопределение», применимы только лишь к новому и новейшему историческим периодам. Между тем исторические источники свидетельствуют о другом. При таких обстоятельствах наилучшее – это отказаться от этих терминов, воспринимать их просто как слова и вновь обратиться к свидетельствам первоисточников.

Итак, в качестве несомненного свидетельства о наличии у армян национального самосознания выступает «История Армении» автора V в. Мовсеса Хоренаци. С этой точки зрения было бы достаточно вновь процитировать его общезвестные слова «Ибо хотя мы и небольшая грядка, и числом очень ограничены, и обделены могуществом, и многократно бывали покорены другими государствами, но ведь и в нашей стране совершено много подвигов мужества, достойных быть письменно увековеченными» (1,3). Но мы

прибавим к этому и другой, менее известный, но столь же выразительный отрывок, где речь идет об армянской царе Тигране Ервандяне. «Он, – пишет Мовсес Хоренаци, – возвысил наш народ и нас, угнетенных, сделал угнетателями, налагающими дань на многих» (I, 24).

Несмотря на смысловое различие, даже противоположность, ибо в одном случае речь идет об ущемленности нации, в другом же – о ее агрессивности, в обоих случаях выпукло выявляется противопоставление «мы–они».¹

Однако, имея для V в. столь выпуклое свидетельство о высокой степени национального самосознания армян, каковым является «История» Мовсеса Хоренаци, мы обязаны проникнуть в более отдаленные эпохи в поисках более ранних проявлений указанного феномена. Здесь мы наталкиваемся на новое свидетельство, каковым, по нашему мнению, является сообщение греческого историка I в. до н. э. Страбона о времени армянского царя Арташеса, жившего в предшествующем II в. до н. э.

Представим вкратце события истории Армении, предшествовавшие времени, описанному Страбоном. Решительная победа Александра Македонского над Дарием III Ахеменидом в 331 г. до н. э. положила конец его грандиозной державе. Армения, избежавшая завоевания Александром, освободившись от персидского владычества, восстановила свое независимое государство, притом под властью своей древней династии Ервандакан, представители которой во времена владычества персов являлись сатрапами Армении. По смерти Александра началась кровавая борьба за раздел его государства его полководцами («диадохами», т. е. наследниками), каждый из которых старался выкроить себе отдельное царство. Армения по возможности сохраняла нейтралитет.

Борьба диадохов завершилась на грани IV и III вв. до н. э. образованием ряда новых горударств, из коих Армении довелось соседствовать с могучей и хищной державой Селевкидов, которая завладела почти всеми азиатскими землями державы Александра. В течение III в. до н. э. Селевкиды время от времени предпринимали попытки подчинить Армению. В этот период Армения подвергалась нападкам также с севера, со стороны новосозданного грузинского государства Иберии, и с востока, со стороны Мидии-Атропатены, что привело Армению к территориальным потерям.

В конце столетия, в 201 г. до н. э., Селевкиду Антиоху III Великому удалось руками Арташеса и Зареха, служивших у него полководцев армянского происхождения, временно завоевать Армению, с целью обеспечить свой тыл в проектируемом походе через Малую Азию на Балканы. Представим теперь слово Страбону.

1. «Затем страна (Армения) стратегами воевавшего с римлянами Антиоха Великого Артаксием (Арташесом) и Зариадром

¹ Этот пассаж, однако, требует небольшого комментария. Сам автор приурочивает это сообщение к царю VI в. до н. э. Тиграну Ервандяну, однако, мы здесь воспринимаем и демонстрируем его (сообщение) как реалию V в. н. э. – времени жизни автора, как своеобразное отражение уровня национального самосознания, свойственного эпохе.

(Зарехом) была поделена надвое, и они правили там под властью царя (Антиоха). Когда же тот потерпел поражение, они, примкнув к римлянам, положились на собственные силы и были объявлены царями».²

2. «Повествуют, что Армения, первоначально небольшая, расширилась усилиями Артаксия (Арташеса) и Зариадра (Зареха), бывших стратегов Антиоха. Воцарившись после его поражения один в Софене, Акисене и Одомантиде и прилегающих землях, другой же - на землях, простиравшихся вокруг Артаксаты (Арташата), расширились, отобрав от окружающих народов области: у мидийцев - Каспиану, Фавнитиду и Басоропеду, у иберов (грузин) - предгория Париадра, Хордзену и Гогарену, лежащую по ту сторону Куры, у халибов и моссинойлов - Каренитиду и Дерксену, которая соседит с Малой Арменией или является ее частью, у катаонов - Акилисену и земли вокруг Антитавра, у сирийцев - Тамонитиду. Так что все одноязычны».³

Из богатого содержания этих отрывков отметим прежде всего последнее предложение - «Так что все одноязычны».

Согласно Страбону получается, что отмеченное им одноязычие является прямым следствием завоеваний Арташеса и Зареха, объединивших под единой политической кровлей разноязычные территории. Истории, однако, не знакомы подобные случаи, ибо завоевание различных земель приводит лишь к образованию империй, внутри которых каждый этнос сохраняет свой язык. Во всяком случае достижение одноязычия может потребовать очень много времени. Поэтому упомянутому Страбоном одноязычию следует найти другое объяснение. Такое объяснение вытекает из самого перевоя упоминаемых им областей, содержащего одиннадцать единиц. Выясняется, что почти все они предварительно, столетиями раньше, начали втягиваться в процесс этногенеза армян и в интересующее нас время, будучи уже арменоязычными, успели по большей части так или иначе политически соприкоснуться с Арменией.⁴

² Strab., XI, 14, 15.

³ Strab., XI, 14, 5.

⁴ Так, например, согласно Мовсесу Хоренаци, страна каспов была частью армянского государства еще до Арташеса I, и его поход в эту страну был не завоевательным вовсе, а карательным, вызванным ее восстанием (II, 53). По мнению С. Т. Еремяна, подножие Париадра, область Годердзакан, Гогарена (Гугарк и Хордзена-Кларджк) в свое время входили в Ахемендскую армянскую сатрапию, и унаследованные царством Ервандаканов, лишь в III в. до н. э. перешли к Грузии, области Дерджан (Дерксена) и Акилисена в свое время являлись частями Хайасы, колыбели армян. Что касается Тамонитиды (Тморика), то древнегреческая историческая традиция указывает на первоначальное расселение армян на юг вплоть до Адиабены и Калахены, в то время как Тморик - Тамонитида расположена к северу от них (Strab., XI, 4, 9; 14, 19).

Таким образом «завоевания» Арташесани на деле были вовсе не завоеваниями в прямом смысле слова, а плодом его деятельности «собирателя земель», в результате которой территории, населенные армянами, которые находились или попали под власть других государств, объединились политически. Так что выражение «все одноязычны» Страбона следует понимать независимо от его собственного восприятия, лишь как объективное свидетельство современного событиям и очень надежного автора о том, что, действительно, в эти времена население большей части Армянского нагорья было одноязычным, т. е. арменоязычным.

Однако, как мне кажется, это наблюдение Страбона, сделанное на основании брошенного извне взгляда, хотя и надежного и достоверного, но, тем не менее, иностранного автора, отмечает лишь внешнюю сторону более значительного явления.

Отмеченное Страбоном одноязычие в действительности было показателем консолидации армянского народа, зарождения общего менталитета, т. е. национального самосознания.

К этому заключению приводят два других ориентирующих выражения приведенных выше отрывков из Страбона.

Как там значится, Арташес и Зарех, овладевшие Арменией, правили в ней в качестве стратегов (губернаторов) Антиоха III Селевкида. После тяжкого поражения, понесенного Антиохом от римлян в битве при Магнесии в 190 г. до н. э., Арташес и Зарех, пишет Страбон, «примкнув к римлянам, положились на собственные силы» (*καθ' αὐτοὺς ἐτάττοντο* – буквально – «положились на самих себя») означает, что Арташес и Зарех отказались от селевкидских войск, с которыми они завоевали Армению, и положились на другие, собственные, а поскольку они не могли действовать одни, то на местные армянские силы. Тут перед нами явственная формула самоопределения, которая в паре с сообщением об одноязычности подтверждает высказанную выше точку зрения, что под последним действительно кроется явление самоопределения нации.

Выражение «примкнув к римлянам», *προσθέμενοι Ρωμαίοις*, в свою очередь дополняет упомянутую пару третьим членом и подтверждает высказанную в начале настоящей статьи мысль о том, что самоопределение и ориентация – явления тесно взаимосвязанные.

Эта мысль находит свое дополнительное подтверждение как у самого Страбона, так и в других надежных источниках, в которых отразились последовавшие события.

Прежде всего отметим перечисляемые Страбоном крайне целенаправленные походы по всем направлениям: на восток, север, запад и юг, которые как бы воплощают в жизнь идею собирания, концентрации земель, населенных армянами. Далее подчеркнем то впечатление удивительной легкости и успешности осуществления этих походов, которое буквально изливается из сообщения Страбона.

Все это требует объяснения, а иначе может породить сомнения в достоверности этих сообщений. Одна из причин уже известна нам – это то, что население «покоряемых» стран было преимущественно армянским. Но этого недостаточно. Ведь эти территории, хотя и арменоязычные, тем не менее завоевывались, отнимались у других государств, как подчеркивает сам Страбон, что было нелегким делом. Если на востоке и на севере Мидия-Атропатена и Грузия (Иберия) возможно и не были в состоянии серьезно воспротивиться натиску Арташеса, то на прочих направлениях положение было иным. На западе – в Малой Азии – военно-политическая обстановка, как мы ниже убедимся, была очень сложной, поскольку здесь, кроме наличия небольших, но весьма сильных царств, сталкивались также и противоположные политические интересы Рима и Селевкидов, а на юге простиралась территория все еще могучей Селевкидской державы. Поэтому хотя бы по отношению к этим двум направлениям надлежит установить те благоприятные обстоятельства, которые дали возможность Армении осуществить свою программу.

И здесь трудно избежать той мысли, что эти обстоятельства были связаны с благоприятным отношением Рима к вопросам обретения независимости Арменией (что прямо отмечается у Страбона) и ее усиления. В лице Армении Рим обрел в тылу Селевкидов традиционно враждебную им силу, которая могла бы содействовать ему в обеспечении преобладания в Малой Азии и вообще на Востоке. За это Армении полагалась соответствующая поддержка Рима.

К сожалению, из краткой информации Страбона трудно составить конкретное представление о содержании армяно-римского договора, какой должен был существовать, но надо думать, что в числе условий был и вышеупомянутый пункт о взаимной поддержке, и как его конкретное содержание – сдерживание Селевкидов, в случае их агрессии по отношению к одной из договорившихся сторон.

При рассмотрении успехов Армении на западе и на юге с этой точки зрения становится возможным раскрыть их механизм.

К западу от Армении, в Малой Азии, после вступления туда Рима, образовались два лагеря – проримский и порсевекидский. Ядро первого из них составляли Пергам и Каппадокия, и к ним примыкали Вифиния, Великая Армения, Софена и др. мелкие государства. Ядром второго было Понтийское царство, к которому примыкала союзная с ним Малая Армения и, вероятно, Коммагена. Хотя две последние страны после битвы при Магнесии и отделились от Селевкидов, но в отличие от Великой Армении и Софены, их правители не объявили себя царями и продолжали управлять, нося титулы, полученные при Селевкидах: один – сатрапа, другой – эпистата.

В 183 г. до н. э. Понт и Малая Армения, заручившись за крупную сумму денег обещаниями помочи от Селевкидов, согласно сообщению Полибия, развязали войну, вторглись в земли Каппадокии, Галатии и Пафла-

гонии⁵. Диодор Сицилийский сообщает, что Коммагена ввела свои войска в область понтийского царства Мелитену⁶. Однако за рядом успехов последовали неудачи, и Селевкиды, под угрозой Рима, отказали в обещанной помощи. Союзники были вынуждены очистить занятые земли (то же Диодор сообщает о Коммагене)⁷ и выплатить большую контрибуцию. Полибий сохранил текст соответствующего договора, который завершается перечнем гарантов сторон. Со стороны Каппадокии это «правитель большей части Армении (т. е. Великой Армении) и Акусилох», а со сторон Понта ряд причерноморских городов, в том числе и Херсонес в Крыму.

Сопоставляя эти происшествия с сообщением Страбона о распространении власти Армении на четыре области в Малой Азии, мы можем предположить, что это произошло после поражения союзников и в связи с ним. Кстати, одна из этих областей, по Страбону, примыкала или принадлежала Малой Армении. Само собой разумеется, что их аннексия со стороны Армении не могла бы иметь место без одобрения и поддержки Рима.

Аналогичное впечатление производят также южные завоевания Арташеса I, в процессе которых, согласно Страбону, к Армении была присоединена область Тморик (Ταμούτις), отобранная у Селевкидов (τῶν Συρῶν). Хотя этот поход и был совершен в правление последнего из могущественных царей Селевкидов – отважного и воинственного Антиоха IV Эпифана (175–165 гг. до н. э.), однако Страбон ничего не сообщает о сопротивлении Селевкидов.

Об этом повествуют другие авторы. Так, Диодор пишет, что Антиох «отправился в поход против Арташеса и, победив его, заставил подчиниться»⁸. Аппиан в одном случае в какой-то мере созвучен с ним, сообщая, что Антиох «пошел походом против армянского царя Арташеса и немного спустя умер»⁹, в другом же идет далее, говоря, что Антиох «взял в плен армянского царя Арташеса».¹⁰

Автор IV в. Иероним, один из виднейших отцов христианской церкви, пишет, однако, совершенно другое, а именно: «Хотя мы и знаем, что Антиох действительно сражался с Арташесом, но известно также, что последний сохранил свою прежнюю власть»¹¹. Несомненно Иероним почерпнул эти сведения в более древних источниках, возможно – в недошедших до нас книгах Полибия.

Автор III в. Порфирий, придавая сообщаемым сведениям вид пророчества, пишет о том же Антиохе IV следующее: «воюя с египтянами ... он услышит, что его с востока побуждают к сражениям и, вернувшись оттуда, ... сразу же продолжит поход против царя Армении Арташеса, который

⁵ *Polyb.*, XXX, 2.

⁶ *Diod.*, XXI, 19a.

⁷ *Diod.*, XXI, 19a.

⁸ *Diod.*, XXXI, 17a.

⁹ *App.*, Syr., 45.

¹⁰ *App.*, Syr., 66.

¹¹ *Patrologiae cursus complectus*, T. XXV, St. Hieronymi, t. V, Parisiis, p. 625.

будет продвигаться с восточных сторон, и, истребив многих из его людей, разобьет свой шатер в местности под названием Апеднон между двумя широкими реками – Тигром и Евфратом»¹².

Как же нужно ориентироваться в отношении столь противоречивых данных, и откуда происходят эти противоречия? Здесь, по-видимому, ощущается лакуна, пробел в информации, который попытаемся восстановить на основании имеющихся сведений.

Итак, в наличных сообщениях, с одной стороны, указывается, что Антиох IV победил Арташеса, подчинил его себе, истребил его войска и даже взял его в плен. С другой стороны, говорится, что Арташес сохранил свою прежнюю власть, и даже отобранная им у Селевкидов область стала арmenoязычной (Страбон), т. е. осталась в пределах армянского царства (о последнем свидетельствует вся дальнейшая армянская средневековая историография).

В то же время отрывок из Порфирия, имеющий вид пророчества, тем не менее представляется наиболее реалистичным и помогает ориентироваться в имеющихся противоречиях.

В нем, во-первых, подтверждается, что нападавшей стороной был именно Арташес, который вторгся на селевкидскую территорию, т. е. Порфирий здесь созвучен Страбону. Во-вторых, в нем отмечено, что после уничтоженного им большого побоища, Антиох разбил свой лагерь между реками Тигр и Евфрат, т. е. довольно далеко к югу от границ не только Армении, но и присоединенного к ней Тморика.

Это означает, что Антиох Эпифан, хотя и одержал военную победу над войсками Арташеса, но по каким-то причинам не смог воспользоваться ее плодами, т. е. не смог вернуть утраченную область.

Как было сказано, для решения этой проблемы нам недостает промежуточного звена, которое мы вынуждены выставить в порядке аналогии. Итак, до того как двинуться на Арташеса (165 г. до н. э.), Антиох IV ходил походом на Египет (168 г. до н. э.). Он осадил столицу Египта, Александрию. Из Рима туда было направлено посольство, которое в ультимативной форме потребовало у Антиоха очистить Египет, что и произошло. При этом легат Гай Попилий, в ответ на просьбу Антиоха дать ему время поразмыслить, очертив своей тростью круг вокруг него, сказал: «Размышляй там!».

Наша проблема будет решена, если согласимся в том, что благоприятный для Армении исход войны между Антиохом и Арташесом был результатом такого же вмешательства Рима.

Однако Рим по отношению к переживавшему период возвышения царству Великая Армения осуществлял не только поддержку и помощь. По велению своих интересов Рим также препятствовал некоторым предприятиям Арташеса I. Именно так произошло в отношении проблемы с Софеной. Отметим предварительно, что область Софена, будучи собственно частью Великой Армении, в силу обстоятельств продолжала существовать

¹² St. Hieronymi, t. V.

в виде отдельного царства. Царь Софены Зарех, соратник Арташеса, успел умереть, как и его преемник – основатель города Аркатаикерт. Это произошло, видимо, около 165 г. до н. э., когда Антиох Эпифан, после неудачного исхода борьбы с Арташесом, направился походом на Софену и, завоевав ее столицу Аркатаикерт, переименовал ее в Эпифанию. Софенские царевичи, внуки Зареха, старший Меружан, и младший – с неизвестным нам именем, бежали, первый в Каппадокию, второй – в Великую Армению.

Следя за объединительной деятельностью Арташеса I, было бы естественным предположить, что он всегда был склонен к воссоединению Софены с Великой Арменией, но обстоятельства этому не содействовали. Теперь он, очевидно, счел пору подходящей для этого и попытался (после ухода Антиоха из Софены и его смерти в 164 г. до н. э.) посадить на софенский престол царевича, нашедшего у него приют. Однако аналогичные намерения имел и царь соседней с Софеной Каппадокии Ариарат в отношении пребывавшего у него царевича Меружана, притом с большим правом, ибо Меружан был старшим из братьев. Чтобы избежать столкновения, Арташес предложил Ариарату, устранив братьев, разделить Софену между собой, но тот не согласился, и Арташес уступил. Меружан воссел на пустовавший престол Софены.¹³ Полибий приписывает эту уступку Арташеса моральному воздействию Ариарата, также и Диодор. Однако в политических вопросах моральное воздействие едва ли играет существенную роль. Каковой же должна быть причина отказа Арташеса от своего намерения, если учесть, что будучи в военном отношении существенно сильнее Каппадокии, он легко мог бы решить спор применением силы.

В качестве причины мы видим только соответствующую реакцию Рима, который, очевидно, выступил на стороне Каппадокии и вынудил Арташеса отступиться. По-видимому в данном случае именно это диктовалось интересами Рима и его малоазийского лагеря. Нелишне вспомнить, что Каппадокия, наряду с Пергамом составляли ядро этого лагеря. Проблема при соединении Софены к Великой Армении была, таким образом отложена почти на столетие и разрешилась лишь при Тигране II Великом, внуке Арташеса I, в совершенно иных внешнеполитических условиях, когда Рим из покровителя Армении обратился в потенциального, а затем и реального врага.

В то время, однако, эпизод с Софеной не помешал союзу Армении с Римом, как на это указывают обстоятельства восстания селевкидского сатрапа Тимарха против своих хозяев (162–160 гг. до н. э.).

Тимарх, будучи сатрапом Вавилонии и соседней с Арменией Мидии, замышлявший отпадение от Селевкидов, прежде всего отправился в Рим за поддержкой. Получив от сената согласие на объявление себя царем, он двинулся в Мидию, набрал армию, выпускал монеты с легендой «Великого царя Тимарха» и заключив союз с заклятым врагом Селевкидов царем Великой Армении Арташесом I, получил также его поддержку.

¹³ *Diod.*, XXX, 22; *Polyb.*, XXXI, 16.

В 160 г. до н. э. он двинулся с войском против Селевкидского царя Деметрия, однако потерпел поражение и был убит, а дело его заглохло. Впрочем, к этому времени царя Арташеса I, видимо, уже не было в живых.

История с Тимархом напоминает историю Арташеса и Зареха (все трое были селевкидскими сатрапами, получившими поддержку Рима), с той коренной разницей, что дела этих двух увенчались успехом, а того ни к чему не привело.

Основной причиной неудачи Тимарха (кстати, при благоприятных для него условиях начала распада Селевкидской державы) было то, что он не располагал единой этнической базой, тем более подошедшим к национальному самосознанию народом, какой является базой для Арташеса и Зареха. Этнически пестрой державе Селевкидов он противопоставил столь же этнически пестрое военно-политическое объединение, в то время как пора подобных государств уже миновала. В повестке дня стояло образование нового типа государств, основой которым служил единый этнос, и именно эти государства оказались наиболее жизнеспособными, будучи в состоянии противостоять всякого рода политическим и военным бедствиям и даже укрепляться и закаляться в их горниле, а не ослабляться и разрушаться. Одним из таких государств и была Великая Армения.

Этот период возышения Великой Армении явственно демонстрирует тесное единство процессов возникновения национального самосознания, вытекающего из него стремления к самоопределению – с правильной внешнеполитической ориентацией – важным фактором их осуществления. Арташес I оказался той высокоодаренной личностью – дипломатом и полководцем, в деятельности которого воплотились императивы времени.

ZUR REKONSTRUKTION UND TRANSFORMATION DES PROTOARMENISCHEN

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Die vor einigen Jahren erschienene Monographie von James Clackson¹ enthält eine Überprüfung der Argumente, die man seit Holger Pedersen 1924 zum Beweis besonderer sprachlicher Beziehungen zwischen dem Armenischen (Arm.) und Griechischen (Griech.) zusammengestellt hat²: „Daß unter den mit dem Arm. enger verwandten Sprachzweigen das Slavisch-Balt. den bescheidensten Platz einnimmt, ist nicht zweifelhaft... Die Übereinstimmungen mit dem Indisch-Iran. sind jedoch sowohl zahlreicher als auch bedeutsamer... Aber alle diese Fälle werden durch die Spezialübereinstimmungen des Arm. mit dem Griech. ganz in den Schatten gestellt“ (Pedersen 1.c. 224f. = 307f.).³

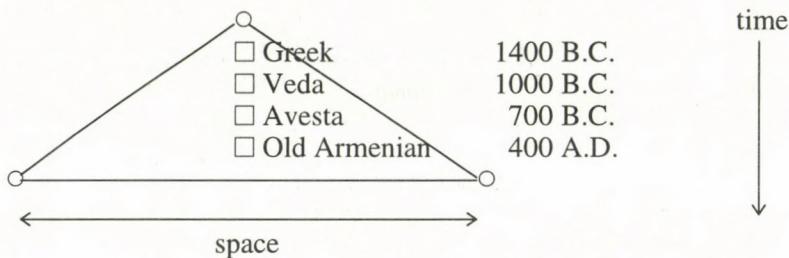
Clacksons Untersuchung besteht aus sechs Kapiteln, von denen die Kapitel 2, 3, 4 die Diskussion der phonologischen (29–57), morphologischen (58–87) und lexikalischen (88–192) Übereinstimmungen zwischen dem Armenischen und Griechischen zum Gegenstand haben. Als Ergebnis zieht der britische Armenologe die Schlußfolgerung, daß wir anstelle von Armenisch und Griechisch eine aus Armenisch, Griechisch und Indo-Iranisch bestehende besondere Dialektgruppe anzusetzen haben: „These various factors all support the reconstruction of a dialectal group of the parent language comprising the speech forms which later developed to give the Armenian, Greek and Indo-Iranian languages, as has recently been argued by K. H. Schmidt (1980) and others. In my opinion there is not sufficient evidence to suppose any closer link between Greek and Armenian than between either language and Indo-Iranian, and the reconstruction of a Greek-Armenian-Indo-Iranian dialect area is sufficient to account for these agreements“ (202).

¹ J. C., *The Linguistic Relationship between Armenian and Greek* (Oxford 1994).

² H. P., in: Max Ebert (Hrsg.), *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* 1 s.v. *Armenier. B. Sprache* (Berlin 1924) 219–226 = H. P., *Kleine Schriften zum Armenischen*, hrsg. von R. Schmitt (Hildesheim–New York 1982) 302–309.

³ Weitere Literatur zur Verwandtschaft zwischen Arm. und Griech. vgl. bei Clackson 1.c. 27f.

Clacksons Zitat bezieht sich auf „the triangle of time and space (Zeit-Raum-Dreieck)“, das Vf. nach dem Modell von Wolfgang Meid 1975:208 entwickelt hatte⁴:



„This diagram shows in a simple way how the linguistic differences between Old Armenian and Greek or Indo-Iranian respectively decrease as we go back in time, the languages having also been closer to each other geographically in prehistoric times. If this conclusion is correct, it should be possible to infer an earlier pre-Armenian state by language comparison with Greek, Indo-Iranian and Phrygian“⁵.

Trotz der begrüßenswerten grundsätzlichen Übereinstimmung Clacksons mit Vf. in dem Ansatz einer aus dem Griechischen, Indo-Iranischen, Phrygischen und Armenischen bestehenden Ost- oder Südostindg. Sprachgruppe (OIdg.), die durch Argumente wie das *Augment* besondere Stützung erfährt⁶, gibt es doch einige darüber hinausgehende Isoglossen zwischen dem Arm., Griech. [und Phryg.], an denen das Indo-Iran. keinen Anteil hat⁷. Vielleicht am häufigsten ge-

⁴ W. M., Probleme der räumlichen und zeitlichen Gliederung des Indogermanischen. In: H. Rix (ed.), *Flexion und Wortbildung. Akten der V. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft*, Regensburg 1973 (Wiesbaden 1975) 204–219. Zur Kritik an diesem Modell vgl. die Literatur bei Clackson 1.c. S. 10f., 204.

⁵ Vf., Armenian and Indo-European. In: *Proceedings of the First International Conference on Armenian Linguistics, held at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 1979*. Ed. by John A. C. Greppin, (Delmar, New York 1980.) 35–58:39 f. Vgl. auch Vf., Kartvelisch und Armenisch, *HS* 105 (1992) 287–306: 295.

⁶ Im Vedischen fehlt das Augment beim *Injunktiv*, einer vortemporalen Kategorie, in der K. Hoffmann, *Der Injunktiv im Veda* (Heidelberg 1967) 35 „eine der Keimzellen des indogermanischen Verbalsystems“ sieht, „aus der durch formale Differenzierung einerseits der Ind. Präs. (Primärrendungen), andererseits Imperfekt und Ind. Aor. (Augment) hervorgegangen sind“. Zum Unterschied von Hoffmann wertet Vf. das Augment nicht als protoindg. Morphem, sondern als dialektisch entwickeltes Merkmal der Sprachen des OIdg. (Indo-Iran., Griech., Arm., Phryg.): vgl. altphryg. εδαες ἀνέθηκε vs. heth. dāiš; arm. eber, griech. ἔφερε, ai. abharat < *e-bher-e-t. Einen *terminus post quem* zur Entwicklung der Tempora gibt der Injunktiv als aspektrelevante Kategorie. Zum Aspekt im Altarm. vgl. Vf., *On Aspect in Old Armenian and Proto-Kartvelian*, *AARM* 6 (1985) (Papers presented to G. B. Djahukian) 85–90.

⁷ Vgl. die antiken Zitate zur phryg. Abstammung der Armenier bei Vf. 1992 [Anmerkung 5] 293. Zu den phryg.-griech. Sprachkontakte vgl. letztlich G. Neumann, *Phrygisch und Griechisch. AÖAW* 499 (Wien 1988).

nannt werden in diesem Zusammenhang die auf Laryngale zurückgeführten prothetischen Vokale⁸, die Clackson 1.c. 36 als „an areal feature“ interpretiert.

Weniger diskutiert worden sind andere armenisch-griechische Innovationen, von denen zwei im folgenden noch einmal skizziert werden sollen: a) Der Synkretismus von Gen. Sg. und Abl. Sg. der *o*-Stämme unter der Form des Gen. Sg., ein Prozeß, der im Griech. nicht lange vor Beginn der historischen Überlieferung stattgefunden haben dürfte, da hier außerhalb des Paradigmas stehende Reste des ererbten Abl. Sg. auf *-ōd noch erhalten geblieben sind; b) die Rückführung des arm. *ace*-Aoristes auf *ā + inchoatives *-sk-.

Ad a) Wie die deskriptive Grammatik des Altarmenischen lehrt, unterscheidet sich im Altarm. der Kasussynkretismus der *o*-Stämme mit Gen. Dat. Abl. Sg. von dem Kasussynkretismus der anderen Stammklassen mit Gen. Dat. Lok. Sg. und Abl. Sg. als davon getrennter Bildung: *o*-Stamm Nom. Akk. Lok. *mard*, Gen. Dat. Abl. *mardoy*, Instr. *mardov* vs. *a*-Stamm: Nom. Akk. *azg*, Gen. Dat. Lok. *azgi*, Abl. *azgē*, Instr. *azgaw* etc. Clacksons Kommentierung dieses Phänomens beinhaltet eine Beschreibung, aber keine sprachgeschichtliche Erklärung: „In this declension pattern [bezogen auf den *a*-Stamm *azg*] the three cases which have local significance when in combination with the preposition *i*, namely the ablative, locative and accusative, are kept distinct, whereas in the singular of the *o*-declension accusative and locative are syncretised“ (63). Keine Berücksichtigung findet bei dieser Interpretation die von Vf. 1987 für den Zusammenfall von Genetiv und Ablativ Sg. der *o*-Stämme gegebene sprachgeschichtliche Erklärung⁹: „The genitive/ablative singular of *o*-stems. In CA [CA steht für Classical Armenian] the case formant -oy < *-osio ... functions as genitive, ablative, and dative singular. This semantic development resulted from a sequence of processes: 1st stage: *-osio (genitive singular of *o*-stems, analogically taken from the pronominal inflection). Evidence: Faliscan, Indo-Iranian, Greek, CA¹⁰ ... 2nd stage: *-osio (genitive plus ablative singular of *o*-stems). Evidence: CA, Greek (in dialects which use *-osio and not *-oso as a genitive marker); some Greek dialects preserve traces of the old ablative singular of *o*-stems in *ōd: Delphian Φοίκω ‘domo, Doric πῶ ‘from where?’ etc. The transfer of *-osio to the ablative singular of *o*-stems was caused by the imbalance between differentiation of the genitive and the ablative singular of the *o*-stems and non-

⁸ Vgl. phryg. *avap* ‘Mann’, arm. *ayr*, griech. ἀνήρ vs. ved. *nar-*, alban. *njer* etc.

⁹ Vf., The Indo-European background of the Classical Armenian Noun Declension, *AArmL* 8 (1987) 35–47; 40–42.

¹⁰ Der Passus ist folgendermaßen zu ergänzen: 1. die griechischen Belege finden sich im Mykenischen, Thessalischen und bei Homer; 2. Faliskisch ist durch Latino-Faliskisch zu ersetzen: vgl. lat. *Popliosio Valesiosio* (*Lapis Satricanus*); 3. Venetisch *Kaialoiso* (Gen., 5. Jh. v. Chr., Oderzo) < **Kaios/Gaios* + -al- + -osio < *-osio; 4. Lepont. *xosioiso* < **ghosiosio* (Gen., 6. Jh. v. Chr., Casteletto Ticino), *Plasioiso* < **Bliosio* (Graffito, 5. Jh.); vgl. F. Motta, *EC* 29 (1991) 311–318; Vf., *ZPC* 47 (1995) 252f.

differentiation of these cases in the other stem classes¹¹. ... 3rd stage: *-osio (genitive/ablative singular plus dative singular of *o*-stems): this development, which is restricted to Armenian, takes place on the analogy of the syncretism of genitive and dative singular as it appears in other stem classes. It implies the disappearance of the inherited dative singular ending in *-ōi.“

Ad b) Was den *ace*-Aorist angeht, so wird dessen ç von Klingenschmitt in einer hypothesenreichen Erklärung folgendermaßen gedeutet: 1. ç steht für das *s* des *s*-Aoristes; 2. ç < *ss: *ss ist „aus Formen wie *ues-s- abgelöst und als Ersatz für -s- auf andere Verben übertragen worden“; 3. *ss > ç, d.h. [ts^h] durch Dissimilation „bei Aufeinandertreffen zweier dentaler Spiranten“¹². Gegenüber dieser unbeweisbaren Abfolge von Hypothesen (vgl. die Kritik von Clackson 1.c.83) verdient die von A. Meillet, *Esquisse d'une grammaire comparée de l'arménien classique* (Vienne 1936) 115 vorgenommene Rückführung des ç auf *ske- weiterhin den Vorzug; die Gleichsetzung mit den griechischen Präterita/jonischen Iterativpräterita des Typus φάσκον, φεύγεσκον, φύγεσκον, φιλέεσκον etc.¹³ lässt sich durch zwei zusätzliche Argumente stützen: 1. durch die Parallelen für den Übergang von Imperfekt zu Aorist im Altarmenischen: a) thematischer Aorist < Ipf.: eber < *e-bher-et: ai. ábharat, griech. ἔφερε; β) komplex-thematischer Aorist < Ipf.: elic < *e-plē-sk̄-et: ai. áprāt, griech. πλήτο; γ) komplex-thematischer Aorist zweiten Grades auf -ac- und -eaç-: gitac < *uoid-āsk̄-et, gorceaç < *uor̄gei-āsk̄-et¹⁴; 2. durch die typologische Parallelle des Hethitischen, wo die durch Präsensstammsuffixe markierten Präterita den älteren Aorist verdrängt haben: Präs. daškimi ‘ich nehme wiederholt’: Prät. dašganun; Präs. dahhi ‘ich nehme’: Prät. dahun; Präs. arnuz(z)i ‘er bringt’: Prät. arnut: ai. ṛnóti, griech. ὄρυστ vs. lat. orior, idg. Wurzel *er-, *or-, *r- (Pokorny, IEW 326ff.)¹⁵

Für den Nachweis alter Sprachkontakte weniger relevant als die Morphologie sind andere linguistische Ebenen wie Phonologie und Lexikon¹⁶.

¹¹ Andere Typen von Ausgleichstendenzen zwischen Gen. Sg. und Abl. Sg. sind: 1. Übertragung des Abl. Sg. der *o*-Stämme auf *-ōd auf den Gen. Sg. (Ostbalt., Slav., Dakisch, Leont., Keltiberisch); zum Keltiberischen vgl. jetzt den Versuch einer anderen Erklärung bei F. Villar, *Estudios de celtibérico y de toponimia prerromana* (Salamanca 1995); ds., *A New Interpretation of Celtiberian Grammar* (Innsbruck 1995); 2. Übertragung der Differenzierung von Abl. Sg. und Gen. Sg. von den *o*-Stämmen auf andere Stammklassen (Italisch, Jungavestisch): Abl. Sg. altlat. -ād, -īd; osk. toutad ‘civitate’, slaagíd ‘fine’; jav. daēnayāt (daēnā- ‘Religion’).

¹² G. K., *Das altarmenische Verbum* (Wiesbaden 1982) 287.

¹³ Vgl. zum Griech. E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*. Erster Band (München 1953) 710ff. und s. die Diskussion bei Clackson, 1.c. 80–83.

¹⁴ Zur Herkunft des *a* (Präteritum anzeigenches Formans oder analogische Übertragung des *a* der präsentiellen *a*-Stämme) vgl. Vf. 1980 [Anmerkung 5] 43f.

¹⁵ Vgl. Vf., K transformacii predikativnych sintagm v zanskich jazykach. In: *Pilologuri ziebani* [Philologische Forschungen]. FS Guram Karzozia (Tbilisi 1995) 149–158: 158.

¹⁶ Das Kriterium der Syntax setzt die Kenntnis des Ausgangspunktes voraus. Für das Proto-idg. relevante Merkmale sind: Wortstellung *Subjekt–Objekt–Verb* (SOV), Fehlen von Verbalkomposita, d.h. *Tmesis* mit enklitischen Elementen an zweiter Position (Wackernagels Gesetz), eine Konstruktion des zusammengesetzten Satzes, die typologisch der von G. Deeters, *Die kaukasischen Sprachen. Handbuch der Orientalistik*. I. Abteil. VII. Bd. (Leiden/Köln 1963) 74 für die West- und Ostkaukasischen Sprachen gegebenen Definition nahekommt: „daß der zusammen-

Die Bewertung des armen. Konsonantismus – Lautverschiebung oder Archaismus – hängt ab von der Akzeptierung oder Zurückweisung der Glottaltheorie¹⁷. Der Schwund von idg. *p entspricht universalen Lautentwicklungen. Trotzdem unterscheidet sich die relative Chronologie im Armenischen von den keltischen Lautentwicklungen, wo idg. *p anlautend und intervokalisch vollständig geschwunden ist: vgl. armen. *ew* < *epi vs. gallisch *vo-*, air. *fo-* < *upo-.

Der armenische Wortschatz ist wiederholt überprüft worden. Über das Armenische hinaus richtungweisend war Hübschmann¹⁸, der die Identifizierung der verschiedenen (iranischen, arabischen, syrischen, griechischen) Lehnwortschichten¹⁹ der etymologischen Bestimmung der verbliebenen armenischen Erbwörter vorangestellt hatte²⁰.

Ich komme zum Schluß. In einem Beitrag zur Festschrift D. E. Evans²¹ hatte ich für den Rekonstruktionsprozeß des Protokeltischen vier Operationen unterschieden: „(α) Differentiating between innovations and archaisms; (β) incorporating the archaisms into the reconstruction model recovered by way of linguistic comparison with the non-Celtic Indo-European languages; (γ) attempting to disentangle the transformations which mark the separating out of the individual Celtic languages from proto-Celtic; (δ) evolving a theory about the position of proto-Celtic within the Indo-European language family“. Wenden wir diese Operationen auf den gegenwärtigen Stand der Rekonstruktion des Protoarmenischen an, so ergibt sich: ad α) Differenzierung zwischen Archaismen und Innovationen verschiedener Grade: 1. gemeinidg. Archaismen, die über die ostidg. Gruppe hinausgehen; 2. Merkmale, die auf die ostidg. Gruppe beschränkt sind;

gesetzte Satz aus einer Reihe von zwar in sich prädikativen, aber infiniten Fügungen (Konverbien) besteht und durch eine finite Verbalform abgeschlossen wird“. Der idg. in zwei Varianten vertretene Relativsatz mit *kʷi-, *kʷo- (Interrogativpronomen) im Heth., Tocharischen, Italischen vs. *ios im Oldg., außerdem im Slavischen und Keltischen, dürfte demgegenüber eher eine jüngere Neuschöpfung darstellen.

¹⁷ Vgl. Th. V. Gamkrelidze–V. V. Ivanov, *Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans*, Part I (Berlin–New York 1995) 9–70: 36–40; M. Mayrhofer, *Indogermanische Grammatik* Bd. 1, 2. Halbband: *Lautlehre* (Heidelberg 1986) 92–97.

¹⁸ Vgl. H. H. Ueber diestellung des armenischen im kreise der indogermanischen sprachen, *KZ* 23 (1875) 5–49 = *Kleine Schriften zum Armenischen*, hrsg. von R. Schmitt (Hildesheim–New York 1976) 1–45; ds., *Armenische Grammatik. 1. Teil. Armenische Etymologie* (Leipzig 1897).

¹⁹ Zur Eruierung weiterer Lehnwortschichten vgl. später die Arbeiten von J. A. C. Greppin, *AArmL* 3 (1982) 65–72; I. M. Diakonoff, *JAOS* 105 (1985) 597–603; G. Kapancjan, *O vzaimo-otnoshenii armjanskogo i lazo-megrel'skogo jazykov* (Erevan 1952); G. B. Džaukjan, *IKJa* 18 (1973) 91–95; G. B. Djahukian, *AArmL* 3 (1982) 1–12 u.a.

²⁰ Zur armen. Etymologie vgl. auch G. R. Solta, *Die Stellung des Armenischen im Kreise der indogermanischen Sprachen* (Wien 1960).

²¹ K. H. S., Rekonstruktion und Transformation des Protokeltischen. In: *Hispano-Gallo-Brittonica. Essays in honour of Professor D. Ellis Evans*. Ed. by J. F. Eska, R. G. Gryffydd, N. Jacobs (Cardiff 1995) 183–195: 183.

3. das Problem armenisch-griechischer Innovationen; 4. auf das Armenische beschränkte Innovationen, die zusätzlich auch durch den Einfluß späterer Sprachkontakte (z. B. mit den Kartvelsprachen) bedingt sein können.

ad β) Einbau der Merkmale α1) und α2) in die entsprechenden Rekonstruktionsmodelle.

ad γ) Versuch einer Rekonstruktion der Transformationen, durch die das Armenische von den Rekonstruktionsmodellen α1) und α2) differenziert worden ist.

ad δ) Verifizierung von α2) und α3).

CONSTANTINE AND TRDAT IN ARMENIAN TRADITION

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A visit to the emperor Constantine by Trdat, the first Christian king of Armenia, figures prominently in Armenian written sources. It plays a significant role in the account of Trdat's conversion as described by the historian Agat'angelos, and in later centuries the story underwent curious developments. This encounter between king and emperor, both recently converted, does not appear outside the Armenian tradition (which includes texts in other languages dependent upon that tradition).¹ The origin of the story is unclear, though several commentators have suggested that it may be an adaptation of the visit of Trdat I to the court of Nero in Rome two hundred and fifty years previously.² In any event, the meeting was taken for granted by Armenian historians. It may, therefore, be of interest to sketch the development of the story over the centuries in classical and medieval texts to show how contemporary concerns shaped its future course. For the meeting between these two newly converted kings, each with his patriarch, was later used by Armenian historians as justification for a variety of anachronistic claims.

The first description of the journey of Trdat to Rome is that in the *History* of Agat'angelos. The surviving Armenian recension of Agat'angelos is later than a version known in Greek and Arabic which was translated from lost (or suppressed) Armenian texts. Nonetheless, the story had received by the fifth century its main outline. It is not necessary here to repeat verbatim the account of the

¹ Such texts may be translations of Armenian histories [the Greek or Arabic versions of Agat'angelos, for example], or histories dependent on Armenian sources like the Chronicle of the Crusades by Jean Dardel.

² This was well known to classical authors. See, for example, Tacitus, *Annals*, XVI 23, Suetonius, *Life of Nero*, XIII, Dio Cassius, *Epitome* to Book LXIII. An actual treaty in 314 has been postulated by Honigmann; see N. G. Garsoian, *The Epic Histories* (Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies, 8), Cambridge, MA, 1989, p. 265, being note 6 to III 21 of the Armenian text.

In what follows I shall refer to the first Christian king of Armenia as Trdat. He is now usually considered to be the fourth of that name; see R. H. Hewsen, In Search of Tiridates the Great, *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 2 (1985–86), 11–49.

Armenian Agat'angełos, but merely to highlight those aspects which were stressed or developed in later times.³

At an unspecified date after the conversion of Trdat Constantine became emperor and believed in Christ. Having suppressed his enemies through the power of the Cross, he restored ruined churches and honoured the Christians. On hearing this news, Trdat and St. Gregory the Illuminator went to visit the emperor with a large escort of nobles and 70,000 troops. In Rome they were greeted by Constantine and the patriarch Eusebius. Trdat related the details of his conversion and presented Gregory, whose blessing Constantine requested. Then he made an alliance [*daśins*] with Trdat "to keep faithful love between the two kingdoms." Constantine gave further details to him about the Armenian martyrs who had originally lived in Rome and met a violent death at the hands of the unconverted Trdat.⁴ Trdat and Gregory then returned to Armenia with presents and gifts for the martyrs' chapels.⁵

In the Greek text which represents an earlier form of the Armenian story significant differences appear.⁶ First of all the order of conversions is reversed. Constantine summoned Trdat to form a pact of friendship after he heard of events in Armenia. His own conversion and his baptism by Silvester he described in a letter sent to Trdat, in which he also stated that he had sent his mother to Jerusalem to seek the Cross. Trdat and Gregory set out with an escort of 10,000. In Rome they prayed with bishop Eusebius at the church of St. Peter. Trdat told his story in Latin and Greek, and the emperor offered presents to him and Gregory. They returned after confirming the pact. The Arabic version of the Greek not only has Constantine summoning Trdat and Gregory to make peace, but states twice that Trdat was constrained to pay tribute.⁷

In what follows we shall be concerned with the Armenian developments rather than the multiple subsidiary versions of Agat'angełos. The question of whether the emperor summoned Trdat, or whether he went to Rome on hearing of Constantine's conversion – one of the main points of difference between the A and V recensions – will re-emerge.

³ The episode covers paragraphs 867–882 of Agat'angełos, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, ed. G. Tēr-Mkrtčean and St. Kanayeanc', Tiflis 1909; repr. Delmar, NY, 1980. The text [without apparatus] is reprinted with facing English translation in R. W. Thomson, *Agathangelos. History of the Armenians*, Albany 1976.

⁴ The martyrdom of Hrip'simē, Gaianē, and their companions is the focal point of the History of Agat'angełos, but they are not specifically named here.

⁵ According to Agat'angełos, at an unspecified time after this Constantine summoned the council of Nicaea [held in 325], which was attended by Gregory's son and successor, Aristakēs. But later developments of the story do not necessarily link these two episodes in which the emperor plays a central role.

⁶ For this Greek text and the Arabic version see G. Garitte, *Documents pour l'étude du livre d'Agathange* (Studi et Testi, 127), Vatican City 1946, Greek text, par. 174–190. To distinguish the Armenian recension from this recension known in Greek and Arabic, Garitte used the sigla A [for Armenian] and V [for "Vie"]. Thus Aa refers to the Armenian text [as in n. 2], Ag to the Greek version of the Armenian. But Vg refers to this Greek recension, and Va to the Arabic.

⁷ Latin translation of the Arabic text [in Garitte, *op. cit.*], par. 167–183.

The first Armenian writer after Agat'angelos to refer to a pact between the Armenian and Roman sovereigns is the author of the *Buzandaran*. In the time of king Tiran an Armenian delegation went to request military assistance from the king of the Greeks. "The emperor ... met their request to be of help ... all the more when he recalled the covenant and treaty of alliance reinforced by oaths that had been concluded between the emperor Constantine and king Trdat."⁸ The *Buzandaran* refers again to a covenant of peace and alliance between Armenia and the emperor of the Greeks in the context of an embassy led by the catholicos Nersēs I to Valens.⁹ The echo of phrasing similar to that of the first reference would seem to imply a reminiscence of the specific pact between Trdat and Constantine, though there is a possibility that a different, and purely secular, agreement is intended.¹⁰ But there is no explicit reference in this History to a visit by Trdat to Rome.

The first recapitulation of the History of Agat'angelos is given by Lazar P'arpec'i, writing at the end of the fifth century. He regarded his own work as the third history of Armenia. The first was that of the blessed Agat'angelos, who described the conversion of Armenia through the holy champion Gregory, after whose name the book was called "The Book of Gregory." The second history was that of P'awstos [the *Buzandaran*], whose reliability Lazar disparages. But although Lazar gives a précis of the contents of the work of Agat'angelos and is the first Armenian historian to refer to the cult of St. Gregory, he makes no reference to the visit to Rome by Gregory and Trdat.¹¹ On the other hand, he does mention that Constantine sent his mother Helen to Jerusalem in search of the Holy Cross: "How there through the energetic search of the holy man the wood of life was revealed, everyone knows who has learned of the discovery of our salvation from his book."¹² Lazar does not explain "his book," leaving the impression that it is the History of P'awstos. But the latter has no reference to Helen; this is a misleading allusion to Yuda, who appears in the story of the discovery of the Cross in the Armenian adaptation of the Abgar legend.¹³ The V recension of Agat'angelos does refer to Constantine sending his mother to seek the Cross.¹⁴ But the activity of Yuda is not mentioned there.

⁸ *Buzandaran*, III 21; translation by N. G. Garsoian, as n. 2. The *uxt dašanc'* is reminiscent of the *dašins* in Aa, 877, but Agat'angelos does not refer to "mutual oaths." Vg, 174, refers to *pakta kai filian*, while Va, 167, mentions only "peace" and the paying of tribute by Trdat.

⁹ *Buzandaran*, IV 5: *vasn xalalut'ean uxtin miabanut'ean dašinn*.

¹⁰ See note 2 of Garsoian *ad loc.* As pointed out by K. V. Šahnazareanc', *Dašanc' T'lt'oc' k'nnut'iwn u herk'umč*, Paris 1862, p. 75, à propos of Elišē, there were various pacts between Rome and Armenia; cf. Ammianus Marcellinus, XV 9, Eutropius, X 17.

¹¹ Lazar Parp'ec'i, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, ed. G. Tēr-Mkrč'eans and St. Malxasean, Tiflis 1904; repr. Delmar, NY, 1985: pp. 1–3 for Agat'angelos; pp. 55, 176 for Gregory's relics.

¹² Lazar, p. 4.

¹³ Yuda is named in Movsēs Xorenac'i, II 87; see references in note 6 *ad loc* in R. W. Thomson, *Moses Khorenats'i. History of the Armenians* (Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies, 4), Cambridge, MA, 1978.

¹⁴ Vg 190, Va 183. Helen is only named explicitly in the reference to liturgical commemoration of Constantine and Helen, Vg 190, Va 183.

The Armenian revolt against Sasanian Iran in 450/451, in which Vardan Mamikonean, the uncle of Lazar's patron Vahan, was killed in battle, forms the second part of Lazar's narrative. This revolt and the consequent sufferings in captivity of prominent Armenian clergy and nobility are related in greater detail by Elišē. Describing the appeal of the Armenians to Theodosius II for assistance, he quotes the letter supposedly sent by the Armenian bishops and military forces to the emperor, in which previous Roman help for Trdat is recalled.¹⁵ But the version of events surrounding Trdat's restoration with Roman support before his conversion is totally different from that in *Agat'angełos*. According to Elišē, Trdat's father was killed by his brothers, not the Parthian spy Anak; and after his restoration "he received faith in Christ from the holy archbishop of Rome." When this letter had been read to Theodosius, many records were introduced in which "they found the same firm covenant."¹⁶ Placed in direct connection with Trdat's conversion this must be a reference to the pact between the Armenian king and Constantine.

The reference to Trdat's receiving the faith from the holy archbishop of Rome – though contrary to the role of Saint Gregory in Armenian tradition – has a parallel in the Karshuni version of *Agat'angełos*. According to this version, Gregory and Trdat made a visit to Constantine after the latter's conversion when they sealed a pact of mutual aid; but this took place in Constantinople, not Rome.¹⁷ Gregory's visit to Rome occurred earlier. In contrast to the standard text of *Agat'angełos*, which has him consecrated bishop for Armenia by Leontius at Caesarea, the Karshuni version states that king Trdat sent Gregory with an escort to Rome, where Leontius – promoted now to patriarch – consecrated him.¹⁸ This version of events was not echoed by Armenian authors, though later texts will elaborate on the privileges granted to Gregory by emperor and pope in Rome.

The first Armenian historian to lay stress on the pact between Trdat and Constantine as an occasion when the orthodox faith was confirmed is Sebēos. His first reference to the pact again occurs in a military context. After the rebellion of 572, when Vardan Mamikonean II turned his allegiance to the Greeks, Justin II "made an oath with the Armenians and confirmed the same pact [*uxt*] which had been made between the two kings, the blessed Trdat and Constantine."¹⁹ More significant is the long letter quoted by Sebēos, which he claims to be a composition of the Catholicos Nersēs and his bishops rebutting the demand of Constans II that they join in communion with the Romans and not reject the

¹⁵ Lazar does not give the text of this letter, but refers, p. 74, to a treaty between Rome and Persia – not Armenia.

¹⁶ Elišē, *Vasn Vardanay ew Hayoc' Paterazmin*, ed. E. Ter-Minasean, Erevan 1957, p. 72: *uxt hastatur'ean*.

¹⁷ M. van Esbroeck, Un nouveau témoin du livre d'Agathange, *REArm* 8 (1971), 13–167, par. 275–286 of the Karshuni text.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, par. 219–240.

¹⁹ *Patmut'iwn Sebēosi*, ed. G. V. Abgaryan, Erevan 1979, p. 68.

council of Chalcedon.²⁰ In this document the visit to Rome plays an important role.

Following the general Armenian tradition, Sebēos notes that Gregory was ordained by Leontius in Caesarea. Gregory's orthodox faith was confirmed at the council of Nicaea, at which council Gregory's son and successor, Aristakēs, was present.²¹ Then the faith was confirmed for a third time when king Trdat, with Gregory and Aristakēs, and an escort of 70,000, went to Rome to see Constantine. Sebēos – or the letter's authors, if it is genuine – have thus reversed the order found in Agat'angelos and other Armenian sources, all of which place the visit to Rome before the council of Nicaea.

Once they had reached Rome, Constantine prostrated himself before Gregory in order to be blessed by him. Then with an oath the two kings joined together, keeping a sure mutual peace for ever between them, and confirmed the truth of the faith. Sebēos does not use the term "pact, *uxt*," or "treaty, *dašink*." Here his interest is not in a promise of military support to which the *Buzandaran* and Ehšē had alluded; rather he emphasizes the antiquity of Armenia's orthodoxy, which even predates the conversion of Constantine by "almost thirty years."²² But the letter, at least in its present form, is inconsistent. For after quoting the creed – though this is the standard Armenian creed, not that of Nicaea as Sebēos claims – he states that "they were summoned to Rome and met king Constantine." Their going in response to a summons is the version found in the V recension, not the standard Armenian text.²³ Furthermore, near the end of the letter, Sebēos stresses again that "we received [the orthodox faith] from Saint Gregory and the God-loving kings Constantine and Trdat; and afterwards the light of Nicaea was established for us through that same blessed Constantine."²⁴ This contradicts the earlier section of the letter, but follows the standard Armenian order of events.

Significant new information about Constantine is introduced into the Armenian historical tradition by Movsēs Xorenac'i, who is familiar with the Armenian version of the apocryphal *Acts of Silvester*, a text translated into Armenian in 678. He also used the *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates Scholasticus which was translated in 696/7. In Book II, ch. 83, Movsēs describes Constantine's marriage, his victories with the emblem of the Cross, his affliction with leprosy, and his cure through baptism at the hands of Silvester, bishop of Rome. He then very briefly states that Trdat "went to Rome to Saint Constantine." There is no reference to any pact or to Gregory's going with him.²⁵ Movsēs places much

²⁰ Sebēos, p. 148–161. For a discussion of its contents and sources see R. W. Thomson, The Defence of Armenian Orthodoxy in Sebēos [forthcoming].

²¹ As Aa, 884.

²² Sebēos, p. 155.

²³ See Garitte, *Agathange*, pp. 327–331, and Thomson, *Agathangelos*, pp. lxxi–lxxiii, for a comparison of the different versions.

²⁴ Sebēos, p. 160.

²⁵ Movsēs Xorenac'i, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, ed. M. Abelean and S. Yarut'iwnean, Tiflis 1913 [reprinted Delmar, NY, 1981], II 84. It is noteworthy that he does not describe the conversion of

more emphasis on the council of Nicaea, to which not only the bishop Gregory but also king Trdat were summoned by the emperor. They refused to attend, Trdat because of fears of an attack from Persia, Gregory because he feared excessive honour. In their stead Aristakēs attended, bearing a copy of "the true confession of faith." As known from Agat'angelos, he returned with the Nicene creed and canons, to which Gregory made suitable additions.²⁶

On the other hand, when Gregory's second successor, and elder son, Vrt'anēs, wrote to Constantius, Movsēs has the letter begin: "Remember the sworn covenant [*payman uxti*] of your father Constantine with our king Trdat."²⁷ As in earlier historians, the tradition of a pact is associated with military aid. But Nicaea – not Rome – is emphasized as the place where a *prior* Armenian orthodox faith was confirmed, as in Sebēos. The role of Silvester as bishop of Rome now becomes paramount, and Eusebius disappears from Armenian accounts of the visit of Trdat and Gregory to Constantine.²⁸ Later Armenian historians generally refer to the visit of Trdat and Gregory to Rome either in the context of a military alliance or, more frequently, in the context of Armenian orthodoxy. It is the second aspect which undergoes the most varied development. Only Step'annos of Taron notes that Trdat went to Rome to the holy Constantine in order to inform him of troubles brought on Armenia by the Persian shah, without any reference to their pact or to the presence of Gregory or Silvester.²⁹

In the tenth century the historian John Catholico has but a passing reference to the famous visit. His work is particularly interesting as the witness of one who played a personal role in the events described. But before reaching his own era, he gives a brief resumé of the origins of Armenia as known from the History of Movsēs Xorenac'i and of early Armenian church history as known from various previous writers. Saint Gregory brought enlightenment to Armenia for the second time, since the martyred Thaddaeus had not left a permanent following. After Trdat's conversion Gregory occupied the throne of the blessed apostles Bartholomew and Thaddaeus, in the seventeenth year of Trdat's reign. "After that" he and Trdat visited Constantine, who honoured the patriarch and fell on his knees to seek his blessing. John does not even state that this occurred in Rome, and he has no reference to a pact.³⁰ He does, however, introduce an interesting change to the reference to the pact found in the *Buzandaran*. Movsēs

Trdat. The conversion of Mihran and the work of Nunē in Georgia, for which he relies primarily on Socrates, he integrates into the Armenian tradition of Hrip'simē and her companions. For his reference to Constantine sending Helen to seek the Cross in Jerusalem see above, n. 13.

²⁶ Movsēs, II 88–89; cf. Aa, 884–885.

²⁷ Movsēs, III 5.

²⁸ The two are identified as the same person in the "Letter of Concord," on which more below.

²⁹ Step'annos Taronec'i, *Patmut'iwn tiezerakan*, ed. K. Šahnazareanc', Paris 1859, II 1.

³⁰ *Yovhannu Kat'olikosi Drasxanakertc'woy Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, ed. M. Emin, Tiflis 1912 [reprint of the Moscow 1853 edition, in turn reprinted Delmar, NY, 1980], p. 39; ch. 8 in K. H. Maksoudian, *Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc'i. History of Armenia*, Atlanta, GA, 1987.

Xorenac'i had copied that earlier work for the text of a letter sent by Vrt'anēs to the emperor, adding himself the name of Constantius. But John has Vrt'anēs go in person to see Constantius and to request his aid in making Trdat's son, Xosrov, king of Armenia. John omits, however, any reference to the earlier pact between Constantine and Trdat or to the visit of Gregory and Trdat to Rome.³¹

The historian of the Caucasian Albanians [*Aluank'*], Movsēs Dasxuranc'i [or Kałankatuac'i], associates Constantine and Trdat as bringers of prosperity and faith to west and east, each being the first Christian king in those regions.³² Movsēs has his own elaborations of the History of Agat'angełos reflecting traditions of the evangelization of the *Aluank'*. But he has no reference to any meeting between Constantine and Trdat or to a pact. Another historical work of the later tenth century also adapts the story of Agat'angełos for its own purposes. The *History of Taron*, attributed to Zenob and Yovhannēs Mamikonean, is an attempt to claim a foundation by Saint Gregory for the monastery of Glak. Its author notes that when king Trdat heard of the conversion of Constantine, he decided to visit him in order to conclude a mutual treaty of peace: *vasn dneloy daśins xałatut'ean i mej iwreanc'*.³³ So Grigor and Trdat went to Rome, whence they returned with many gifts.

At the end of the tenth century Uxtanēs adds a further detail to the story of Gregory's visit to Rome, though he omits any reference to a pact – or even to the specific presence of Trdat in Rome. According to Uxtanēs, Constantine gave relics of the holy apostles to Saint Gregory in Rome, which in later times formed part of the holy treasure of the Armenian patriarchate.³⁴ Gifts and vessels for the churches had been mentioned in the Armenian Agat'angełos; but relics of the apostles do not appear in earlier sources. The identity of “the apostles” as Peter and Paul is only specified in later writers.

The question of fasting also becomes attached to the encounter of Constantine and Trdat. By the seventh century there is attested an Armenian tradition of celebrating a five-day fast preliminary to Lent, the *äräjawork'*. By the eighth century this was standard Armenian practice and a source of dispute between the Greek and Armenian churches.³⁵ However, in an apocryphal letter attributed to Step'annos, the eighth century bishop of Siwnik' noted for translations of patris-

³¹ Yovhannēs, *Patmut'iwn*, p. 43; Maksoudian, ch. 11.

³² Movsēs Kałankatuac'i, I 9, 23. Armenian text: *Patmut'iwn Aluanic' Ašxarhi*, ed. V. Arak'elyan, Erevan 1983; C. J. F. Dowsett, *The History of the Caucasian Albanians by Movsēs Dasxuranc'i* (London Oriental Series, 8), London 1961.

³³ Zenob Asori, *Patmut'iwn Taronoy*, Venice 1889, p. 40; L. Avdoyan, *Pseudo-Yovhannēs Mamikonean*, Atlanta, GA, 1993, p. 92. The Armenian phrase brings together the pact, *daśins*, of Agat'angelos and the treaty of peace, *xałatut'iwn*, of Sebēos.

³⁴ Uxtanēs, II 38. Translation in Z. Arzoumanian, *Bishop Ukhtanes of Sebastia. History of Armenia*, Part II, Fort Lauderdale 1985.

³⁵ Discussion in C. Renoux, *Le lectionnaire de Jérusalem en Arménie: le Čašoc'* (Patrologia Orientalis, 200), Turnhout 1989, p. 433–434, and M. van Esbroeck, *Le discours du Catholico Sahak III en 691*, in *The Council in Trullo Revisited*, ed. G. Nedungatt and M. Featherstone (Kanonika, 6), Rome 1995, pp. 351–2. Matthew of Edessa, II 41, stresses this conflict.

tic Greek texts, it is asserted that Constantine observed this fast of Trdat and Gregory.³⁶ Such a useful authority will be stressed in later texts.

Another close connection between Constantine and Armenia will be found in the family relationship between the emperor and the Armenian martyr Hrip'simē. According to Agat'angełos, Hrip'simē was "of royal lineage."³⁷ In the apocryphal eulogy on the Hrip'simeank' attributed to Movsēs Xorenac'i, the author claims that Constantine was of the house of this holy virgin.³⁸ He goes on to laud the common policy of king and emperor in exterminating polytheism and establishing peace throughout the world. A different emphasis on the connection with Rome is made in the early twelfth century by Yovhannēs Sarkawag. He notes that Hrip'simē and her companions brought the faith of Peter and Paul to Armenia, the "foundation of faith" which cannot be overthrown.³⁹ This may be a reminiscence of Elišē's statement that Trdat received the faith from the archbishop of Rome.⁴⁰

It is noteworthy that the meeting of Trdat and Constantine does not always appear in passages where events of that time are discussed. The seventh century *Anonymous Chronicle* has no reference to the visit to Rome in the passage on Constantine. T'ovma Arcruni omits any mention of it. Nor does the twelfth century chronicler Samuēl of Ani refer to it, though he knows [from Zenob] that Glakavank' was founded in the reign of Constantine and that the emperor believed in Christ when Silvester was bishop of Rome.⁴¹ Nersēs of Lambron associates Trdat and Constantine as pious rulers and teachers of their people, each in his own time, but without mentioning the fact that they had ever met.⁴²

Nersēs Šnorhali, earlier in the twelfth century, added nothing new to the traditional account. In his long poem on Armenian history, the *Vipasanut'iwn naxni ēst Homeri*, he notes that on hearing of Constantine's conversion Trdat and Gregory visited Rome with an escort of 70,000. The patriarch – neither Silvester nor Eusebius is named – honoured Gregory; the two kings made a pact, *uxt dašanc'*; and they returned with gifts.⁴³

³⁶ *Book of Letters*, p. 334. This fast is also discussed in the apocryphal dialogue between Komitas and the Patriarch of Constantinople, *Book of Letters*, p. 496.

³⁷ Aa 138: *i t'agakal tohmē*.

³⁸ Movsesi Xorenac'woy Matenagrut'iwnk', Venice 1865, p. 323.

³⁹ A. Abrahamyan, *Hovhannes Imastaseri Matenagrut'yunč*, Erevan 1956, p. 234. Sarkawag does, however, acknowledge Thaddaeus, p. 132; but there is no reference to the apostle Bartholomew in the fragments of his works which survive.

⁴⁰ Cf. above, at n. 16.

⁴¹ Samuel of Ani, *Hawak'munk' i groc' Patmagrac'*, ed. A. Tēr-Mikaēlean, Ejmiacin 1893, s.a. 310.

⁴² Nersēs of Lambron, *Grigor Kat'olikos Tlay, Nersēs Lambronac'i: Namakan*, Venice 1865, in the *Letter to prince Lewon*, p. 247; there is no reference to the visit or to a pact.

⁴³ Nersēsi Šnorhalwoy Bank' Č'ap'aw, Venice 1928, pp. 569–570; there are many editions, lines 657–675. Nersēs moves immediately to the council of Nicaea, whence Aristakēs brought the declaration of faith, *ban hawatoy*, and then lists various heretics before giving his own confession of faith.

After the Armenians in Cilicia came into contact with the Crusaders during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the question of reunion with Byzantium became less prominent than relations with the papacy, two further strands were added to the story. In the first place, Gregory's standing as patriarch of an independent branch of Christendom needed emphasis; and secondly, Armenian control over their holy places in and around Jerusalem required substantiation. On the other hand, the priority of Trdat's conversion over that of Constantine is now ignored, while the primacy of the Pope gains emphasis. The most elaborate form of these new developments is found in the *Letter of Concord* [*Dašanc' T'ult'*], which describes events from a pro-Roman point of view. Some of its themes are found in the thirteenth century Armenian historians. The first to introduce these new ideas is Kirakos Ganjakee'i, whose account may be quoted at some length:

"Our spiritual father and parent in the gospel saint Gregory, worthy of all praise and of renowned and blessed memory, having illuminated Armenia with the knowledge of God, and having ordained more than 430 bishops, had occasion to go to Rome with the great king Trdat to see the relics of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, [and to visit] the great emperor Constantine and the holy patriarch Silvester in order to make mutual pacts and covenants. The holy Constantine and the great patriarch of the imperial court received them with great respect and honoured saint Gregory as a confessor and apostolic martyr of Christ. They endowed him with patriarchal status [*patiw hayrapetut'ean*] as the successor of Peter, and gave him part of the relics of the apostles, including the left hand of the apostle Andrew, and many other presents: in Jerusalem, Golgotha, the place of Christ's crucifixion, and St. James, and a place for the liturgy at the tomb of the holy Anastasis. They say that saint Gregory hung a lamp over Christ's sepulchre and prayed to God that it might be lit without tangible fire on the feast of holy Easter – which miracle takes place up to today.⁴⁴ Likewise they also honoured the great Trdat, as was appropriate to his valour, concluding an agreement [sealed] by the blood of Christ⁴⁵ and with faith in Him, to keep indissoluble the friendship between these two nations after them. ..."

He ordered the whole city to make festivities with the slaughter of sheep. Both Jews and heathens who had remained in unbelief washed with the blessed salt, for saint Gregory and Silvester had

⁴⁴ "They say" implies that Kirakos thought that this was a new tradition. It is not found in earlier Armenian sources, but figures in the *Letter of Concord*. For the miracle of holy fire, and for conflicts arising from discrepancies in the date of Easter and hence debate about the authenticity of Armenian versus Greek holy fire, see A. K. Sanjian, *Crazatik 'Erroneous Easter' – A Source of Greco-Armenian Religious Controversy*, *Studia Caucasicia* 2 (1966), 26–47.

⁴⁵ I.e., the ink was mixed with communion wine.

blessed salt. Saint Gregory said to the Jews: ‘You have made circumcision uncircumcision contrary to the law.’ And he added: ‘Animals which are offered as a sacrifice to God or as a votive gift to the saints or in memory of the departed without the blessing of salt, are like the sacrifice of heathens.’ Then returning to our land in great joy and spiritual happiness, they adorned it with all Christian institutions. In his lifetime [Gregory] ordained his saintly son Aristakēs as archbishop [*episkoposapet*] of Armenia, Georgia, and Albania. He himself embraced the order of solitaries. . . .”⁴⁶

Vardan Arewelc’i, a friend of Kirakos and fellow-pupil of Vanakan, finished the first recension of his *Chronicle* in 1265. He has no reference to Gregory’s being granted sites for the Armenians in Jerusalem. But he does mention the blessing of salt in Rome and the sealing of the pact in “the awesome mystery,” and he refers to Gregory and Sylvester as two popes, *papk’*.⁴⁷

Attributed to Vanakan, teacher of Kirakos and Vardan, is a brief anti-Greek diatribe known as the *Ban hawatali*.⁴⁸ It claims that Gregory went to Jerusalem, where he became “patriarch, *hayrapet*,” before going to Rome where he became “pope, *papk’*.” The two kings divided the holy places, giving St. James and Golgotha to the Armenians, but throwing lots for the Anastasis! And Gregory’s claim to the title of “Illuminator” was reinforced by his right to light lamps at the tomb of Christ. This text is strongly anti-duophysite, and emphasizes the priority of the Armenian faith: Abgar believed before the Crucifixion; three apostles [Thaddaeus, Bartholomew, and Yuda] came to Armenia; Trdat believed before Constantine; Gregory was consecrated at Caesarea, which is an Armenian city; the Armenian script was given by God; Agat’angełos testifies that relics of Peter and Paul came to Armenia.⁴⁹ The author of this nationalistic text was familiar with themes from the “Letter of Concord.”

Another Armenian document, of uncertain date, also associates Armenian sites in Jerusalem with the time of Gregory and Trdat. The list of Armenian monasteries attributed to “Anastas” mentions seventy monasteries, and in addition implies that saint Gregory was also responsible for founding numerous large churches, including those of Golgotha, the Holy Nativity, the Sepulchre, the site of the Ascension, St. James, and others. Part of the list had been interpolated into the History of Movsēs Dasxuranc’i to boost the repute of the Aluank’ in Jerusa-

⁴⁶ Kirakos Ganjakec’i, *Patmut’iwn Hayoc’*, ed. K. A. Melik’-Ohanjanyan, Erevan 1961, pp. 10–12. Kirakos also mentions, p. 118, that in the time of Gregory Vkyasēr “they renewed the old pact, *hin dašinsn*, of Trdat and Gregory with the emperor Constantine and the patriarch Sylvester.”

⁴⁷ Vardan Vardapet, *Hawak’umn Patmut’ean*, Venice 1862 [repr. Delmar, NY, 1991], p. 40; commentary on Vardan’s sources in R. W. Thomson, The Historical Compilation of Vardan Arewelc’i, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 43 (1989), 125–226.

⁴⁸ *Book of Letters*, pp. 533–5; critical ed. in M. Mutafyan, *Ban Hawatali erki helinaki xndirč, Solakat’* [İstanbul] 1995, 156–164.

⁴⁹ Relics of Peter and Paul are not mentioned in Agat’angełos; Uxtanēs in the tenth century only refers to relics “of the apostles,” without naming them.

lem.⁵⁰ This tendentious document shows a knowledge of the "Letter of Concord," which is to be discussed below, and cannot predate the thirteenth century. But it is noteworthy that it does not claim that Gregory received authority from Constantine to establish these churches and monasteries. "Anastas" is merely anxious to prove an early fourth century foundation date.

The final stage in the elaboration of Trdat and Gregory's debt to Constantine and Silvester is that in the "Letter of Concord," which purports to be the actual text promulgated by Constantine describing the pact with the Armenians. Numerous earlier threads are taken up and amplified; but the emphasis is quite different from previous Armenian accounts of the visit, in that Roman supremacy is upheld throughout. Armenian orthodoxy is no longer upheld on the grounds of its antiquity. The author of this document accepts Silvester's superior role, but insists that Armenian rights in the east derive their authority from Rome. The situation has greatly changed from that of the pre-Crusader period. The main points may be summarised briefly:

Eusebius, the bishop of Rome, is equated with Silvester; the two names refer to a single person.

Trdat and Gregory go to Rome to visit the holy sites and relics, not to congratulate Constantine.⁵¹

Gregory's profession of faith is approved – which emphasizes papal supremacy.

Constantine sends written notice throughout the east that he has appointed Trdat as the second in his empire, superior to the rulers of the east who are to help in war against the Persian shah.

The borders of Trdat's territory are spelled out.

In the last times Armenia will fall into tribulation, and help will come from Constantine's progeny.⁵²

The relationship of Constantine and Hrip'simē is explained: the martyr is Constantine's cousin, being the daughter of his maternal aunt.

Constantine gives Trdat a piece of the Cross brought from Jerusalem by Helen.

Silvester, supreme pope, ordains the Catholicos Gregory as the autocephalous patriarch of Greater Armenia with authority to ordain the Catholicoi of Georgia and Caucasian Albania, as well as the Catholicoi of other Armenian

⁵⁰ For the text of this document, with translation, commentary, and bibliography, see A. K. Sanjian, *Anastas Vardapet's List of Armenian Monasteries in Seventh-Century Jerusalem: A Critical Examination*, *Le Muséon* 82 (1969), 265–292.

⁵¹ Cf. the version in Kirakos, above.

⁵² In addition to a new Constantine and a new Trdat, three [or four] hundred troops from the escort which accompanied Trdat to Rome were left behind, according to the "Letter of Concord." Their descendants will lead the Franks to the rescue, according to Arak'el of Bitlis; see Sanjian, as n. 57 below. A curious addition to the story of the escort is made by Jean Dardel in the late fourteenth century. He states that three hundred of the Armenian escort were sent to "Alemaigne," hence many say that that country was peopled by the "Armins;" Jean Dardel, ch. 3, in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Documents arméniens*, vol. II, Paris 1906 [repr. 1967].

communities scattered throughout the east.⁵³ Furthermore, the patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria were to be consecrated with the consent of the Armenian patriarch, and they had to submit their confessions of faith to him as well as to Silvester's successors.

When Gregory was celebrating the liturgy in Rome, his visage was transformed and a brilliant light shone over the holy altar.⁵⁴

The edict was written by Constantine, signed by Silvester, and delivered through Trdat's secretary, Agat'angelos.⁵⁵

Only in passing does the "Letter of Concord" mention a theme associated with the famous meeting of Trdat with Constantine which was to have a long career: the rescue of Armenia when it had fallen into tribulation "in the last days" by descendants of Constantine. Here motifs from the Pseudo-Methodian apocalypse coalesce with the earlier Armenian tradition of a visit to Rome.

Somewhat earlier than the "Letter of Concord," the Armenian Pseudo-Epiphanius, *Sermo de Antichristo*,⁵⁶ emphasizes the future liberation of Armenia. It refers to the meeting of Constantine and Trdat in two connections. In chapter V we read that Constantine summoned Trdat to Rome – following the tradition found in Sebēos, but foreign to most Armenian authors – and that they went to Jerusalem and divided the holy places between them.⁵⁷ In ch. VIII the Pseudo-Epiphanius mentions the mutual pact between the two kings and intimates that when the Armenians have been punished by the Elamites [i.e. Turks], there will be born a new Constantine, a new Trdat, and a new Gregory, from their respective lines. These new kings will recover both east and west from the infidels. The

⁵³ Although there had been earlier schisms in the Armenian church, this would seem to point to a date after the independence of the Armenian patriarch of Jerusalem from 1311. Cf. A. K. Sanjian, *The Armenian Communities in Syria under Ottoman Dominion*, Cambridge, MA, 1965, ch. 5: "The Historical Evolution of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem," p. 98.

⁵⁴ This is given an older Armenian association in the 17th century Chronicle of Dawit' Bališec'i, who states that the Holy Spirit descended in the form of a dove over the altar: *Manr Žamanakagrut'yunner*, ed. V. A. Hakobyan, vol. II, Erevan 1956, p. 318. Dawit' thus assimilates this event to the consecration of the fourth century descendant of Gregory, Nersēs, as described in the *Buzandaran*, IV 7.

⁵⁵ The term "secretary, atenadpir," does not appear in the History of Agat'angelos, who describes himself as a skilled writer in Latin and Greek, commissioned by Trdat to write his history. The Greek version, however, renders the Armenian *išxan malxazut'ean tann*, one of the princes who formed Trdat and Gregory's escort to Rome, as *ton apografonta arxonta*, Aa 873, Vg 164. M. Č'amč'eanc', *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, vol. I, Venice 1784, p. 637, assumes that this refers to Agat'angelos. That precise identification I have not found in earlier Armenian texts.

⁵⁶ Ed. G. Frasson (*Bibliotheca Armeniaca*, 2), Venice 1976, with commentary and translation.

⁵⁷ The visit to Jerusalem is further elaborated in the prophecy of Agadron, which describes the activity of the two kings in actually building churches in the holy places. The Armenian text of this prophecy in *Bazmavēp*, 1913, pp. 396–400, was not available to me. There is a resumé in A. K. Sanjian, *Two Contemporary Armenian Elegies on the Fall of Constantinople, 1453*, *Viator* 1 (1970), pp. 232–234. This article has material on the later developments of the legends surrounding the meeting of Constantine and Trdat (though it was written before Frasson's publication of the Pseudo-Epiphanius).

Pope of Rome will ordain the new Gregory as Catholicos of Armenia on the Mount of Olives, and the Lord will renew the priesthood of Gregory's line and the Armenian kingdom of the Arsacids.

Not every detail of these progressive developments was of use to every historian. In the early fourteenth century, for example, Step'annos Orbelean, metropolitan and historian of the province of Siwnik', was solely interested in the activity of Saint Gregory in teaching and founding churches in Armenia, and he passes over the visit to Rome with a cursory reference.⁵⁸ On the other hand, Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i, writing a generation later, takes a much broader view – even though his Chronicle is a “bare bones” affair compared to the discursive narrative of Step'annos. He stresses the conversion, not only of Trdat through Gregory and of Constantine through Silvester, but also of Mihran, king of the Georgians, through Nunē and of Urnayr, king of the Aluank', through Grigoris. He mentions the pact made in Rome and signed with the blood of Christ, and notes the grant to the Armenians of St. James in Jerusalem and of rights at the Holy Sepulchre.⁵⁹ These events are put in their chronological place in the Chronicle, but not cited later in justification for Armenian claims.

The later developments of such wishful thinking have recently been described elsewhere.⁶⁰ Here my purpose has been to sketch the gradual elaboration of the story from the fifth century down to the full-scale rewritings of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Different authors at successive epochs had different reasons to refer to the visit of Trdat and Gregory to Rome and the pact with Constantine. At first the tradition of a military alliance was used in appeals for support against Armenian enemies. Later this military aspect was interpreted in terms of future liberation from oppressors. The priority of Trdat's conversion was used to support the orthodoxy of the Armenian church and her rejection of Chalcedon. This rivalry of churches was later reflected in the struggle for control of the Holy Places, especially at the time of the Crusades. Primacy for the Armenian patriarch in the east was then claimed on the basis of this early Roman connection.

Armenian historians naturally upheld the story of Armenia's conversion to Christianity, expounded in the History of Agat'angelos, as a contemporary record of the most important event in the history of their country. But no single episode in that lengthy tale underwent such remarkable development as the visit to Rome.

⁵⁸ Step'annos Orbelean, *Patmut'iwn Tann Sisakan*, ed. M. Emin, Moscow 1861, pp. 11–12. It is noteworthy that he refers to Zenob, not Agat'angelos, as his source for Gregory's consecration in Caesarea.

⁵⁹ Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, ed. M. Emin, Moscow 1860, p. 45. These are placed under the year “of our Lord” 287.

⁶⁰ See N. G. Garsoian, Reality and Myth in Armenian History. In: *The East and the Meaning of History [International Conference, 23–27 November 1992]*, Università di Roma “La Sapienza,” (Studi Orientali, 13), Rome 1994, 117–145; cf. also Sanjian, Two Contemporary Armenian Elegies, as n. 57.

NOTE CLASSICO-ORIENTALI 1–3

GIUSTO TRAINA

(Perugia)

1. Il nome di Farasmane nell'*Historia Augusta*

Gli autori greci e latini (ma anche i *Fasti Ostienses* e l'iscrizione domiziana di Mcxeta)¹, presentano la forma Φαρασμάνης / *Pharasmanes* per indicare il nome di tre sovrani d'Iberia, che regnarono nei primi due secoli della nostra era². La forma corrisponde al georg. *Parsman*, che per i primi re d'Iberia è riportato da due fonti georgiane di tradizione origine medievale: la c.d. *Lista dei re* e la *Cronaca* di Leonti Mroveli³. Il nome ha un'evidente origine iranica⁴.

Il greco Φαρασμάνης, e quindi il latino *Pharasmanes*, rende il nome locale con una forma epentetica. La corrispondenza *Parsman*/Φαρασμάνης sembra quindi certa. Per questa ragione, i vari editori dell'epitafio greco-aramaico

¹ *Fast. Ost.* fr. Og Vidman (su cui sotto, 293); ILS 8795. Cf. A. Giardina, Roma e il Caucaso, *Settimane Spoleto* 43 (1996), 85–141, spec. 102 s., con bibl.

² Appartenenti alla dinastia dei Farnabazidi: C. Toumanoff, Chronology of the Early Kings of Iberia, *Traditio* 25 (1969), 1–33; cf. Id., *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de la Caucاسie chrétienne (Arménie-Géorgie-Albanie)*, Roma 1976, 85 s.; 386 s.; 437 s. Toumanoff ha anche elaborato le date di regno (da considerare con molta cautela): Parsman I.1–58 d.C.; P. II 116–32; P. III 135–85. Secondo Toumanoff, che si affida essenzialmente alle fonti georgiane, il Farasmane di *SHA*, AP 9.6 sarebbe Farasmane III (sul 136 d.C. come ultima attestazione di Farasmane II cf. F. Altheim, *Geschichte der Hunnen* I, Berlin 1959, 248 s.; ibid. IV, Berlin 1962, 13): sarebbe quindi un «comprensibile» errore quello dell'*Historia Augusta*, che riporta *Pharasmanes rex ad eum Romam venit plusque illi quam Hadriano detulit*, per un episodio avvenuto nel 141. Per un uso corretto delle cronache georgiane cf. ora B. Martin-Hisard, in N. Garsoian-Ead., *Unité et diversité de la Caucاسie médiévale (IV^e–XI^e s.)*, *Settimane Spoleto* cit., 275–347. Sui rapporti fra Roma e l'Iberia cf. la sintesi di D. Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity. A History of Colchis and Transcaucasian Iberia*, Oxford 1994, con bibl., e ora soprattutto Giardina, cit.

³ In generale cf. C. Toumanoff, Medieval Georgian Literature (VIIth–XVth Centuries), *Traditio* 1 (1943), 139–82; D. Rayfield, *The Literature of Georgia. A History*, Oxford 1990, 49–57. Il nome fu portato da altri tre sovrani – Parsman III, IV e VI – della dinastia dei Cosroidi ovvero Mihranidi, che regnarono tra il V e il VI secolo. Cf. *P'arsman* nell'adattamento armeno della *Cronaca georgiana (Kartlis cxovreba)*: R. W. Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History*, Oxford 1996.

⁴ F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg 1895 [Reprint Hildesheim 1963], s.v.

di Armazi (ca. 150 d.C.), hanno proposto la vocalizzazione *Parsman* per la grafia *prsmn*, attestata alle ll. 2 e 7 del testo aramaico⁵.

Un passo dell'*Historia Augusta* (H, 18.12), riporta però una variante *Frasmanes*: *cum a Frasmane ipse quoque ingentia munia dona accepisset etc.*⁶. Così, almeno, i codd.; poiché la consueta forma epentetica ricorre in altri due passi dell'*Historia Augusta*⁷, tutti gli editori hanno considerato questa grafia come una svista, e hanno regolarmente emendato *Frasmane* in *F<ā>rasmāne*, seguendo così un procedimento di normalizzazione grafica, in coerenza con con altre scelte di natura apparentemente analoga⁸.

Ora, però, *Frasmane* costituisce un caso ben diverso rispetto ad altre grafie dell'*Historia Augusta*, sottoposte dagli editori a normalizzazioni più banali (e, comunque, non sempre sicurissime), attribuibili alla tradizione manoscritta⁹. Trattandosi di un nome orientale, e tenendo conto della tradizione di questi nomi nell'*Historia Augusta*, occorre qui maggior cautela¹⁰: tuttavia, al tempo stesso, la forma tarda *Parsman* delle fonti caucasiche mostra come una variante *Frasmanes* non possa essere esclusa a priori.

Infatti *Parsman* potrebbe essere il risultato di una metatesi da **Prasman*, analogamente a quanto si osserva nel passaggio dal mediopersiano al neopersiano (ad es. *Frahāt* > *Farhād*, cf. *frahang* > *farhang*, *Fravartīn* > *Farvardīn* ecc.). Cadrebbe così l'ipotesi di una forma originaria iranico-orientale **Xvāra*.

⁵ Ultim. K'. Ceret'eli, *Šenišvnebi Armazis bilingvis arameul t'ekst'ze*, Tbilisi 1992; cf. Braund, op. cit., 212-5, e anche Id., *Fronto and the Iberians: Language and Diplomacy at the Antonine Court*, *Ostraka* 2 (1993), 53-5. Altheim e Stiehl, *Gesch. d. Hunn.* cit. I, 248 s., riportano *Parsmān* senza ulteriori specificazioni. La lingua dell'iscrizione è considerata dalla maggior parte degli studiosi (*pace* Nyberg) come una varietà particolare di aramaico, detto «armaziano», anziché come un pahlavi espresso quasi interamente con eterogrammi [cf. B.M. Metzger, *A Greek and Aramaic Inscription discovered at Armazi in Georgia*, *JNES* 15 (1956), 18-26; con toni più polemici, F. Altheim e R. Stiehl, *Die Araber in der alten Welt* I, Berlin 1964, 651 s.; ma v. ancora Ph. Gignoux, *Glossaire des inscriptions pehlevies et parthes*, London 1972, 66 e W. Sundermann, in R. Schmitt (ed.), *Compendium linguarum Iranicarum*, Wiesbaden 1989, 120, n. 74.]. In generale, cf. comunque le cautele di J. Naveh, *Early History of the Alphabet*, Jerusalem-Leiden 1982, 130.

⁶ Sul contesto cf. Braund, *Georgia* cit., 232 ss e, più specificamente, Id., *Hadrian and Pharasmanes*, *Klio* 73 (1991), 208-19. L'interpretazione corretta si deve però a Giardina, cit., 108-19.

⁷ H 13.9:, *qui venire noluerunt, causa speciatim Farasmanis, qui eius invitationem superbe neglexerit; AP*, 9.6; *Pharasmanes rex ad eum Romam venit etc.*

⁸ Per una storia della tradizione manoscritta cf. J.-P. Callu e al., *Histoire Auguste II*, Paris 1992.

⁹ Sulla critica testuale dell'*Historia Augusta* cf. O. Pecere, Il codice Palatino dell'*Historia Augusta*, in Id., M. Reeve (a c. di), *Formative Stages of Classical Traditions: Latin Texts from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, Spoleto 1995, 323-67.

¹⁰ Cf. i casi controversi di *sarmatosirin*, emendato in *Parthamasirin* in H 5.4, su cui M. Harras-Klaproth, *Prosopographische Studien zur Geschichte des Partherreiches auf der Grundlage antiker literarischen Überlieferung*, Bonn 1988, 114 ss. e 130 s., e di *artaxansen/artaxerxen*, normalizzato (ma con dubbi) in *Artaxerxen* in *Gd* 26.6, su cui cf. M.-L. Chaumont, *Recherches sur l'histoire d'Arménie de l'avènement des Sassanides à la conversion du royaume*, Paris 1969, 42.

zmāenā, supposta in base all'attestazione di un altro Φαρασμάνης, dinasta dei Coresmii al tempo di Alessandro, ricordato da Arriano (*an.* 4.15.4)¹¹.

In conclusione, ritengo che normalizzare *Frasmanes* in *Farasmanes*, nel contesto di *SHA H* 18.12, sia una banalizzazione. Gli indizi linguistici riportati permettono almeno di sospettare una variante **Prasman* più antica, corrispondente alla pronuncia locale nel II secolo¹². Una conferma si può forse riscontrare nel frammento *Og Vidman* dei *Fasti Ostienses*, relativo alla visita di Farasmane II (III?) a Roma¹³. Ecco il testo delle ll. 3-5:

[---] *Pharasman*[---]
 [---] *e et uxore Phr*[---]
 [---] *reddidit. V.k. apr.* [---]

Il nome *Phr*[...], attestato alla l. 4, dovrebbe riferirsi alla moglie del sovrano; ma già il primo editore del frammento, H. Nesselhauf, aveva osservato che Leonti Mroveli attesta, per la consorte di Farasmane, il nome di *Gadana*¹⁴.

L. A. El'nickij ha cercato di risolvere questa aporia in base alle indicazioni della fonte georgiana (che dà anche il nome del figlio di Parsman, *Adam*): il nome frammentario *Phr*[...] si riferirebbe sempre a Farasmane, e pertanto la fine della l. 4 andrebbe integrata *et uxore Phrasmanis* - - -¹⁵. La congettura

¹¹ F. Altheim e R. Stiehl, *Geschichte Mittelasiens im Altertum*, Berlin 1970, 188, con bibl. La tradizione testuale di Arriano è corretta (il passo è riportato anche in Const. Porph. *Exc. de leg.* 4, 514 De Boor). D'altronde, lo stesso personaggio è indicato da Curzio Rufo (8.1.8) come *Phrataphernes*. La presa relazione tra il nome di Farasmane e il toponimo *Xvārezm* ha favorito la testimonianza di Arriano rispetto a quella di Curzio Rufo: quest'ultimo, «presumably», avrebbe sostituito «a more familiar name for a more familiar one» (A.B. Bosworth, *A Historical Commentary on Arrian's History of Alexander II*, Oxford 1995, 104 s.; ivi altra bibl.). Ma Arriano non nomina questo personaggio in modo coerente: a 6.27.3 riporta Φαρισμάνης e, a 7.6.4, addirittura Φραδασμένης (uno dei figli di Frataferne: cf. Arr. *succ. Alex.* fr. 3). Pur nella difficoltà di giungere a conclusioni soddisfacenti, la testimonianza di Arriano non va qui preferita a quella di Curzio, se non altro perché, se proprio dobbiamo attenerci a un criterio soggettivo quale quello della familiarità dei nomi, quello di Farasmane (in questo caso il II) era ben più familiare per Arriano, che oltre a esser contemporaneo del re d'Iberia operava proprio nei territori adiacenti (Arr. *Per.* 11.2). Andrebbe discussa anche la lettura [p]wsłsmn = pwr'smn per il §93 dell'iscrizione di Paikuli: P. O. Skjærvø, *The Sassanian Inscription of Paikuli*, Wiesbaden 1983, 3, 1 e 2. Skjærvø rende il nome come Porāsmān (Fursaman per Ph. Gignoux, *Noms propres sassanides en moyen-perse épigraphique* (Iran. Personennamenb. II.2), Wien 1986, 88 nr. 385).

¹² Sul fenomeno della metatesi (individuato per il periodo dal III al VII secolo) cf. A. Pisovič, *Origins of the New and Middle Persian Phonological Systems*, Kraków 1985, 146-8 (ivi bibl.)

¹³ L. Vidman, *Fasti Ostienses*, Praha 1982, 19. Il frammento è oggi irreperibile.

¹⁴ H. Nesselhauf, Ein neues Fragment der Fasten von Ostia, *Athenaeum* n.s. 36 (1958), 214-28. Lo studioso aveva tratto l'informazione dalla traduzione commentata di Brosset: cf., ora, il testo critico a c. di S. Q'auxčišvili, *Kartlis cxovreba*, I, Tbilisi 1955, 54.11. Il nome è riportato come iranico da Justi, cit., ad l.

¹⁵ L. A. El'nickij, O maloizuchennych ili utracennych grečeskich i latinskikh nadpisjach Zakkavkaz'ja, *VDI* 1964.2, 136-48, spec. 140-2. El'nickij, 142, ha considerato *Frasmane* come una variante, ma ne ha dedotto solo che le fonti latine (in realtà solo l'*Historia Augusta*) presentavano varie grafie del nome.

dello studioso russo non è stata però accolta, in quanto la sua lettura complessiva del frammento appare poco convincente; infatti, El'nickij ha proposto integrazioni piuttosto disinvolte, e soprattutto non conosceva il contesto materiale del complesso epigrafico dei *Fasti Ostienses*¹⁶: di qui le giuste critiche di L. Vidman¹⁷. Tuttavia, sulla base di quanto detto, l'integrazione alla fine della l. 4 acquista maggiori probabilità.

Quindi, forse già nei *Fasti Ostienses* la forma ‘letteraria’ *Pharasmanes* coesisterebbe con *Phrasmanes*, forma che potremmo definire come ‘ufficiale’¹⁸. In effetti, intorno al II secolo le cancellerie imperiali cominciarono a raccogliere le informazioni d’Oriente in modo più sistematico, ricorrendo a segretari linguisticamente preparati¹⁹. Potremmo quindi interpretare la variante *Frasmane* dell’*Historia Augusta* (e, con qualche probabilità, anche già il *Phrasmanis?* dei *Fasti Ostienses*) come una resa ‘autonoma’, ovvero elaborata senza il consueto intermediario del greco Φαρασμάνης²⁰.

2. Una dedica su mosaico da Pityus (ca. V d.C.)

Nell’agosto 1952, un’équipe di storici e archeologi dell’Accademia delle Scienze della RSS di Georgia (Abkhazia), ha intrapreso gli scavi nel sito di Pityus, presso l’attuale Bič’vinta. Nella prima campagna, scavi presso l’abside di una basilica bizantina hanno messo in luce un pavimento a mosaico, per cui è stata proposta la data del V secolo, con l’iscrizione greca del dedicante posta al di sotto di un pannello recante il monogramma di Cristo²¹. L’ed. propone il seguente testo: ὑπὲρ / ε[ὑχ]ῆς Ωρ-/-ε[λ κ]αὶ πα[v]-/ τό[ζ το]ῦ οἴ-/κο[v]²².

¹⁶ Ibid.: - - - *Iberorum regi] Pharasman[o (sic) qui cum filio suo - - - Adam]e et uxore Phrasmanis Ghadanae ad eum Romam venit - - - regnum] amplius redditit etc.*

¹⁷ Vidman, *l. cit.*

¹⁸ Un argomento a sfavore di questa ipotesi è stato però formulato da N. Ju. Lomouri, *Gruzinno-rimskie vzaimootnošenija*. Č. I. *Političeskie vzaimootnošenija*, Tbilisi 1981, 200, secondo cui è difficile ammettere la presenza di due varianti dello stesso nome in un testo ufficiale come i *Fasti Ostienses*.

¹⁹ Cf. il *librarius Arabicus* (età adrianea?) di ILS 1684; sugli interpreti cf. W. I. Snellman, *De interpretibus Romanorum deque linguae Latinae cum aliis nationibus commercio* I-II, Leipzig 1909–1914; G. Traina, *Il complesso di Trimalcione*, Venezia 1991, 14. Sugli sviluppi tardoantichi cf. A. D. Lee, *Informations and Frontiers*, Cambridge 1993.

²⁰ Sul greco come barriera per la comprensione dell’Oriente, cf. le osservazioni, utili anche se riferite a un periodo più antico, di W. Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age*, Harvard 1992, 35, su cui M. Bernal, *Arion* Fall 1996, 142–7, spec. 142.

²¹ Misure: 0,10-11 x 0,23/24 m. h.l.. media 0,055 m. T. S. Qauxčišvili, Grečeskaja nadpis’ Bitvintskoj mozaiki, in *Didi Pitiunti III*, Tbilisi 1978, 231–41 (testo georgiano ivi, 218–30), spec. 232; Foto: figg. 115 e 119–22; Ead., presso M. Dž. Odišeli, *Spätantike und frühchristliche Mosaiken in Georgien*, Red. von R. Pillinger u. B. Zimmermann, Wien 1995, 48; foto: tav. 16, fig. 31).

²² Collaziono qui l’*editio maior* (Qauhčišvili, ibid., 232) e la breve scheda in Odišeli, cit., 48, dove però alla l. 4 si legge ΠΑ[N]/ ΤΟ[N TO]Υ; nell’*editio maior* propone l’integrazione ο[ι]-κο[v αὐτοῦ], mentre nella scheda il testo si interrompe con ο[ι]-κο[v].

L'ed. si è soffermata sull'insolito nome Ὠρελ. Anzitutto ha giustamente respinto l'ipotesi che si tratti di una variante locale del gentilizio romano *Orentius*²³. D'altra parte, non sembra attendibile neanche il suo tentativo, piuttosto forzato, di considerarlo come un inedito nome kartvelico derivato da un toponimo²⁴. In realtà, come si può vedere agevolmente dalle fotografie (Figg. 1-2), alla fine della l. 2 dell'iscrizione si distingue chiaramente *iōta*, posto sotto il *rhō* per ragioni di spazio. Abbiamo quindi una forma ὠριελ, che sembra riferirsi senz'altro a un teoforico semitico; un nome *Oriēl*, però, non risulta altrimenti attestato²⁵. A mio parere può trattarsi di una resa del nome biblico *'Uriēl*²⁶: lo autorizza il frequente scambio *o/u* osservato per il georgiano antico²⁷. Il nome va quindi letto come ὠριέλ (= ὠριήλ), e quindi propongo:

5 'Υπὲρ
 ε[ύχ]ῆς ὠρι-
 ἐλ [κ]αὶ πα[ν]-
 τὸ[ς το]ῦ ο[ὗ]-
 κο[υ αὐτοῦ]

Va scartata anche l'idea che, in questo caso, οῖκος abbia qui l'accezione di «casato»²⁸. Il lemma, infatti, ricorre con una certa frequenza nell'epigrafia cristiana: cf. l'iscrizione musiva della basilica di Paolo a Filippi (IV sec.): Χριστέ,
βωήθι τοῦ δούλου σου Πρίσκου σὺν παντὶ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ²⁹, o quella di S.
Eufemia a Grado (VI sec.): ὑπὲρ παντὸς / τοῦ οἴκου μου³⁰.

²³ Orentius, in effetti, è un martire cristiano festeggiato il 24 giugno; perseguitato da Massimiano, avrebbe tentato invano di rifugiarsi in queste regioni: cf. J.-M. Sauget, s.v. Orenzio, Eros, Farnace, Firmino, Firmo, Ciriaco e Longino, *BS IX*, Grottaferrata 1967, cc. 1224-26 Il collegamento si deve a V. A. Lekvinadze [Lekvinaze], O drevnejšej bazilike Pitiunta i ee mozaikach, *VDI* 1970.2, 192; cf. anche Braund, *Georgia* cit., 262 s.

²⁴ La radice *Or-*, da cui deriverebbe il supposto georg. **Oreli*, si riscontrerebbe in toponimi della Georgia meridionale: Qauxčišvili, *Grečeskaja nadpis'* cit., 232.

²⁵ Cf. però H. Wuthnow, *Die semitischen Menschennamen in griechischen Inschriften und Papyri des vorderen Orients*, Leipzig 1930, Verz. sem. Stämme, 160: «יְרָע *Ορεος M[oritz]V[erfasser]?».

²⁶ Il nome designa due personaggi biblici, ma soprattutto uno dei quattro Arcangeli: J. Michl, s.v. Engel IX (Uriel), *RAC V* (1962), 254-8.

²⁷ A. Schanidse [Šaniže], *Grammatik der altgeorgischen Sprache*, Tbilisi 1982, 20, che riporta l'esempio di sviste ortografiche su mss. del IX secolo.

²⁸ Un simile argomento riflette la tendenza ad attribuire all'area caucasica a periodi più antichi realtà sociali attestate solo nel medioevo: in proposito cf. B. Martin-Hisard, L'aristocratie géorgienne et son passé: tradition épique et références bibliques (VII^e-XI^e siècles), *Bedi Kartlisa* 42 (1984), 13-34.

²⁹ D. Feissel, Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de Macédoine du III^e au VI^e siècle, *BCH Suppl.* 8 (1983), nr. 227, 193 s.

³⁰ Cf. ora J.-P. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges d'après l'épigraphie des pavements de mosaïque (IV^e-VII^e siècles)*, Roma 1993, 230 s. e 448. οῖκος, nell'epigrafia cristiana, può designare anche la chiesa: Y. E. Meimaris, *Sacred Names, Martyrs and Church Officials in the Greek Inscriptions and Papyri to the Christian Church of Palestine*, Athena 1986, s.v. ἄγιος οῖκος (testimonianze fra il V e l'VIII sec.).

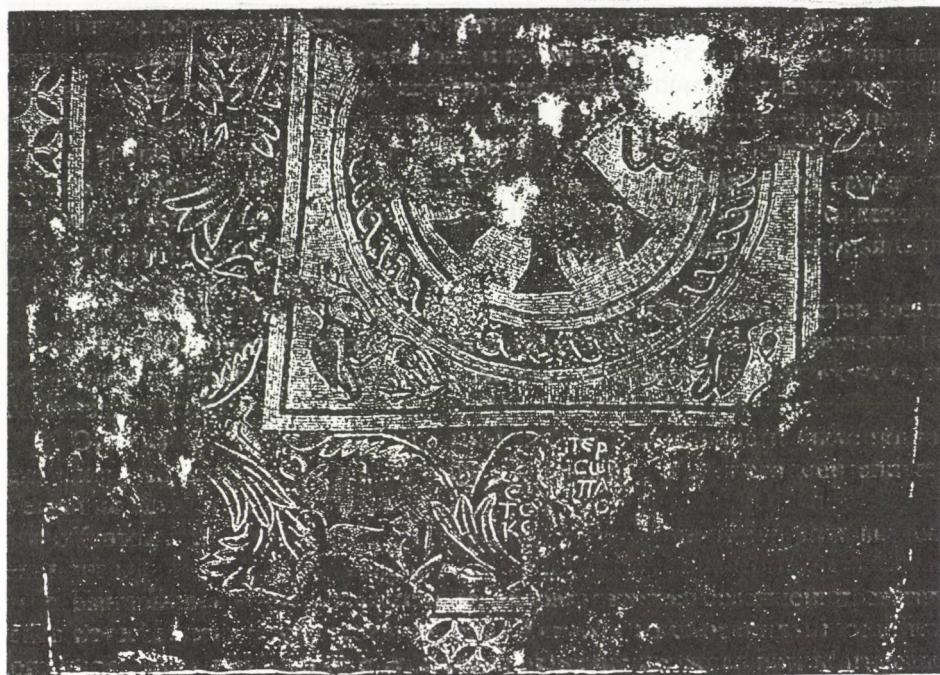


Fig. 1: Bičvinta, mosaico absidale della basilica cristiana (da Odišeli, tav. 16, fig. 31).



Fig. 2. Bičvinta, particolare dell'epigrafe musiva.
Disegno da fotografia (fig. 121 in *Didi Pitiunti III*).

3. Un πιγκέρνης ibero a Vicenza (VI d.C.?)

Nel suo corpus sulle iscrizioni bizantine in Italia, André Guillou ha incluso quella del πιγκέρνης Iōannēs, figlio di Alani[os] e Salome, rinvenuta nel 1840 a Vicenza sotto l'altare della Basilica dei SS. Felice e Fortunato, dove era stata reimpiegata come pietra da costruzione. Il testo, mal pubblicato in *CIG* IV 9876 e in *IG* XIV 2314, è stato ora così ristabilito da Guillou³¹:

5	† Ἐν[θ]ά-
	δε κ[ατ]ά-
	κειται Ἰω-
	άννης ὁ τῆ-
	ζ ἐν μα-
	καρία τὴν
	μνήμην στρα-
	τευόμ(ενος) δεσπο-
	τ[ι]κός π[ι]νκέρν-
10	ης τ[ῶ γ]ένη Ἰβη-
	ρος [νι]δς Ἀλα-
	νί[ου] καὶ Σαλό-
	μες τελευ-
	τήσας ἔτῶν
15	είκοσι οκτώ.

L'origine iberica di Iōannēs è indubbia, e di origine caucasica doveva essere il padre Alanios (il nome biblico della madre, Salomé, non permette un'identificazione sicura). Resta però da definire la datazione della pietra. In precedenza Guillou, sulla base della paleografia e seguendo la precedente ipotesi di B. Forlati Tamaro, aveva suggerito una datazione intorno al VI secolo³²; nell'edizione definitiva propone ora una datazione al X secolo, che sarebbe «autorizzata» dalla scrittura. Un simile spostamento cronologico sembrerebbe ragionevole, non tanto per ragioni paleografiche (che, allo stato attuale della ricerca, restano sempre aleatorie), quanto per due argomenti di carattere antiquario. Il primo si riferisce al titolo di «coppiere» menzionato alle ll. 9–10: se l'iscrizione risalisse effettivamente al VI secolo, si tratterebbe della prima attestazione della carica di πιγκέρνης, che in realtà sarebbe attestata solo più tardi³³.

³¹ A. Guillou, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques médiévales d'Italie*, Roma 1996, nr. 103 (102–4); cf. Id., *Inscriptions byzantines importées en Italie*, in G. Cavallo e C. Mango (a c. di), *Epigrafia medievale greca e latina. Ideologia e funzione*, Spoleto 1995, 119–150, nr. 20 (148–50).

³² Guillou, *Inscriptions byzantines*, cit.; B. Forlati Tamaro, Due iscrizioni di Vicenza, in *Atti V Congresso nazionale di archeologia cristiana*, II, Roma 1982; Ead., Le epigrafi romane e paleocristiane, in AA.VV., *La basilica dei Santi Felice e Fortunato di Vicenza*, II, Vicenza 1981, 365–81.

³³ R. Guiland, 1945 = *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, Berlin-Amsterdam 1967, 242–50.

Il secondo riguarda il participio στρατευόμενος (ll. 7–8), che Guillou intende nella sua accezione amministrativa, attestata «soprattutto» sotto gli imperatori macedoni³⁴.

Guillou ritiene che la stele non sia stata eseguita a Vicenza: la grafia Ἰβέρος per Ἰβηρος è attestata in Cilicia, e testimonierebbe di un'alternanza η/ε, confermata dalla grafia Σαλόμες³⁵; Vicenza è a 60 km da Venezia, e ciò autorizzerebbe a considerare la stele come una delle tante *pierres errantes*, tanto più che il servizio di un δεσποτικὸς πιγκέρνης Iōannēs non è attestato nell'Esarcato. La stele, in definitiva, proverebbe da Costantinopoli o, comunque, dall'Asia minore.

L'interpretazione di Guillou è senz'altro ragionevole, e tuttavia poggia soprattutto su *argumenta ex silentio*. Inoltre, egli trascura gli aspetti archeologici del contesto: si può dubitare soprattutto sull'origine orientale della pietra, tenendo conto delle difficoltà di trasporto di questi materiali; Vicenza, città romana, era già in sé un'ottima riserva di spogli, e non avrebbe avuto senso trasportare dei marmi da Venezia, anche per via fluviale, a meno che non si fosse trattato di pietre di pregio, e comunque destinate all'esposizione. Resta quindi più plausibile che Iōannēs fosse stato sepolto a Vicenza, e che la sua stele fosse stata reimpiegata durante una delle ristrutturazioni della chiesa³⁶.

Anche gli argomenti antiquari non sono del tutto certi. Alcune fonti mediobizantine attestano l'ufficio di coppiere imperiale nella forma ἐπικέρνης: in realtà, però, il lemma πιγκέρνης è non solo più frequente³⁷, ma anche più antico, dato che si ritrova già in *P.Lond.* 5.1563 (IV d.C.) e in *Ps. Callisth.* 3.31 (*Rec. β*)³⁸. Sia lo Stephanus che il LSJ considerano il lemma come *vox Latina*³⁹, ma in realtà il lat. *pincerna*, anch'esso attestato a partire dal IV secolo; deriva dal greco, e si tratta di una neoformazione tardoantica, coniata apparentemente sulla base di πίνω e κέρνω (ovvero κεράννυμι), per l'esigenza di rendere l'accezione tecnica del lemma rispetto a termini più vaghi.

³⁴ Guillou, *Recueil*, cit. Per una datazione più alta propende però A. Carile, *La presenza bizantina nell'alto Adriatico*, «AAAd» 27 (1985), 107–29, spec. 116.

³⁵ Ultim. G. Dagron, D. Feissel, *Inscriptions de Cilicie*, Paris 1987, nr. 59.

³⁶ Su cui cf. le notizie in A. Mareschi, L'architettura della basilica fra X e XII secolo, in *La basilica* cit., 217–45.

³⁷ Cf. S. B. Psaltes, *Grammatik der byzantinischen Chroniken*, Göttingen 1913, 22; Guillard, cit.

³⁸ Dove, però, è *varia lectio*: cf. l'ed. di L. Bergson, Stockholm 1965 (la forma ἐπικέρνης, presente in alcuni mss., è recepita da LSJ come voce dello Pseudo-Callistene); W. Heraeus, ΠΡΟΠΕΙΝ, in *Kleine Schriften*, Heidelberg 1937, 190–226, spec. 201 ss. lo attribuisce alla *Recensio A*, ed. Kroll, ma qui πιγκέρνης è presente solo in apparato come variante di B, mentre A ricorre al lemma ἀρχιονοχόος, di origine biblica, su cui cf. sotto.

³⁹ Il *ThLG* rimanda al dizionario del Du Cange, s.v. *pincerna*, che però ha solo esempi medievali; il LSJ, pur indicando *P.Lond.* 5.1563, non contraddice l'origine latina. Un'origine latina è supposta anche da Psaltes, op. cit., 80 e 180. Cf., diversamente, D. Ernout, A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, 4^e ed. (1959), 4^e tirage augmenté d'additions et de corrections nouvelles par J. André, Paris 1985.

In effetti, la figura istituzionale del coppiere è ben nota nel mondo orientale, in particolare iranico. Gli armeni lo definivano *takařapet*: nella versione armena dei Settanta (V sec.), il lemma rende il gr. ἀρχιοινοχόος (che a sua volta rende l'ebr. *mašqeh*: *Gn* 40.1;5;13⁴⁰); cf. la medesima resa in Ps. Callisth. arm. §. 262 (*Rec.* a 3.31). Con *takařapet*, gli armeni intendevano una sorta di gran maestro di corte⁴¹. Il *takařapet* armeno richiama, a sua volta, figure analoghe del mondo iranico (cf. part. *tkrpty*⁴²), che non di rado assumeva anche incarichi militari⁴³; non sarebbe quindi impossibile considerare Iōannēs come uno dei vari ufficiali orientali che militarono nelle file bizantine, durante la guerra gotica e negli anni successivi⁴⁴; il participio στρατευόμενος andrebbe inteso nell'accezione usuale e non in quella traslata. Ciò giustificherebbe una datazione alta dell'epigrafe⁴⁵.

⁴⁰ CGL V 233.26 ss.: pincernam ... in Hebreo scriptum habet masech quem nos posuimus more vulgato vocare pincernam etc.

⁴¹ N. G. Garsoian, *The Epic Histories Attributed to P'awstos Buzand (Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk')*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1989, 556, cita il Šāpstān *takařapet* di Ps. Faust. 4.46, sorta di grande eunuco del Palazzo.

⁴² Da cui si suppone un m.pers. **takārpat*: Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, Leipzig 1895-7, 251; H. Ačāriyan, *Hayeren armatakan bařaran*, IV, Erevan 1979, 361; altra bibl. in Garsoian, *cit.*, 556, e ora E. Š. Churšudyan, K etimologii nekotorych srednepersidskikh titulov, *Patmabanasišrakan handes* 1993.1-2 (137-8), 157-63, spec. 160 s.

⁴³ Cf. J. R. Russell, s.v. *cupbearer*, *Encyclopaedia Iranica* VI, 1993, 464 con bibl.; Churšudyan, *cit.* Da segnalare un'altra voce curiosa dello Pseudo-Callistene, dal medesimo significato: πινεγχύτης (cod. πινεγχύτης) a II.11, che l'arm. (par. 180) rende con il lemma *matruak*, decisamente meno tecnico di *takařapet*.

⁴⁴ Basti per tutti l'armeno Γιլάկιος: Procop. *Bell.* 7.27.24.

⁴⁵ La forma ἐπικέρνης dei testi medio-bizantini potrebbe essere subentrata in seguito, forse proprio perché la diffusione del lat. *pincerna* (ad es. nella *Vulgata*) aveva prodotto l'impressione che il termine fosse proprio una vox *Latina* (così ancora S. Daris, *Il lessico latino nel greco d'Egitto*, Barcelona 1971, 91). Di qui il ricorso 'antibarbaro' a ἐπικέρνης.

ONE MORE SERMON BY ANTON VARTABED*

EDWARD TRYJARSKI
(Warsaw)

The present Armeno-Kipchak text, being an *editio princeps*, presents one of many Anton Vartabed's sermons¹ contained in a volume preserved in Polish collections.² During a relatively long time, and on many occasions, endeavours are being made to decipher, translate (in English or in German), and to analyse this rather comprehensive volume, dating from 1657.³ It is probable that a complete edition of the volume in question, as well as of other volumes kept in foreign collections, especially in Erevan, might be cared of only by a generation of Turkologists and Armenologists to come.

From the formal stand-point, the text in question has a special character since it opens the whole volume. The sermon is most likely inaugurating the Lent of 1657. As all other sermons contained in this volume, it has a heading in Armenian announcing the main topic of the sermon based on some fragments of the Holy Scriptures (See reproduction of the F^o 2r^o). In the main text in Armeno-Kipchak citations from the Bible are given in Armenian and then, more or less exactly, translated into Armeno-Kipchak. The pages containing the text are in a relatively good state of preservation and the lacunae are insignificant.

At the very beginning the preacher tries to explain why Jesus Christ was making use of parables (called in the text *maniler*), then he discusses two special topics, viz. a thread of a "candle" and that of "human eyes". As for the first, he speaks at length upon the qualities demanded from ecclesiastical spiritual chiefs, or leaders (Arm. *aračnort*). Their fundamental virtues should be piety and wisdom. While fulfilling their blessed role of "burning candles", imposed on

* The present paper is with all best author's wishes friendly offered to Professor Edmond Schütz on His eightieth birthday. Professor Schütz is a many-sided scholar with a remarkably long personal bibliography. Among all His most valuable works His studies on Armeno-Kipchak, written from the viewpoint both of an Armenologist and a Turkologist, have a very important position on the list. Accordingly one may hope that the following Armeno-Kipchak text, selected just to celebrate His Jubilee, will be accepted by Him grato animo.

¹ A list of Anton Vartabed's sermons edited so far has been given in E. Tryjarski, Anton Vardapet on the Feast of the Assumption of the Mother of God, in «Mappa Mundi» *Studia in honorem Jaroslav Daškevyc septuagenario dedicata*, L'viv–Kiyy–N'ju-Jork 1996, p. 298, note 2.

² MS 6 [L.528] of the Warsaw University Oriental Institute.

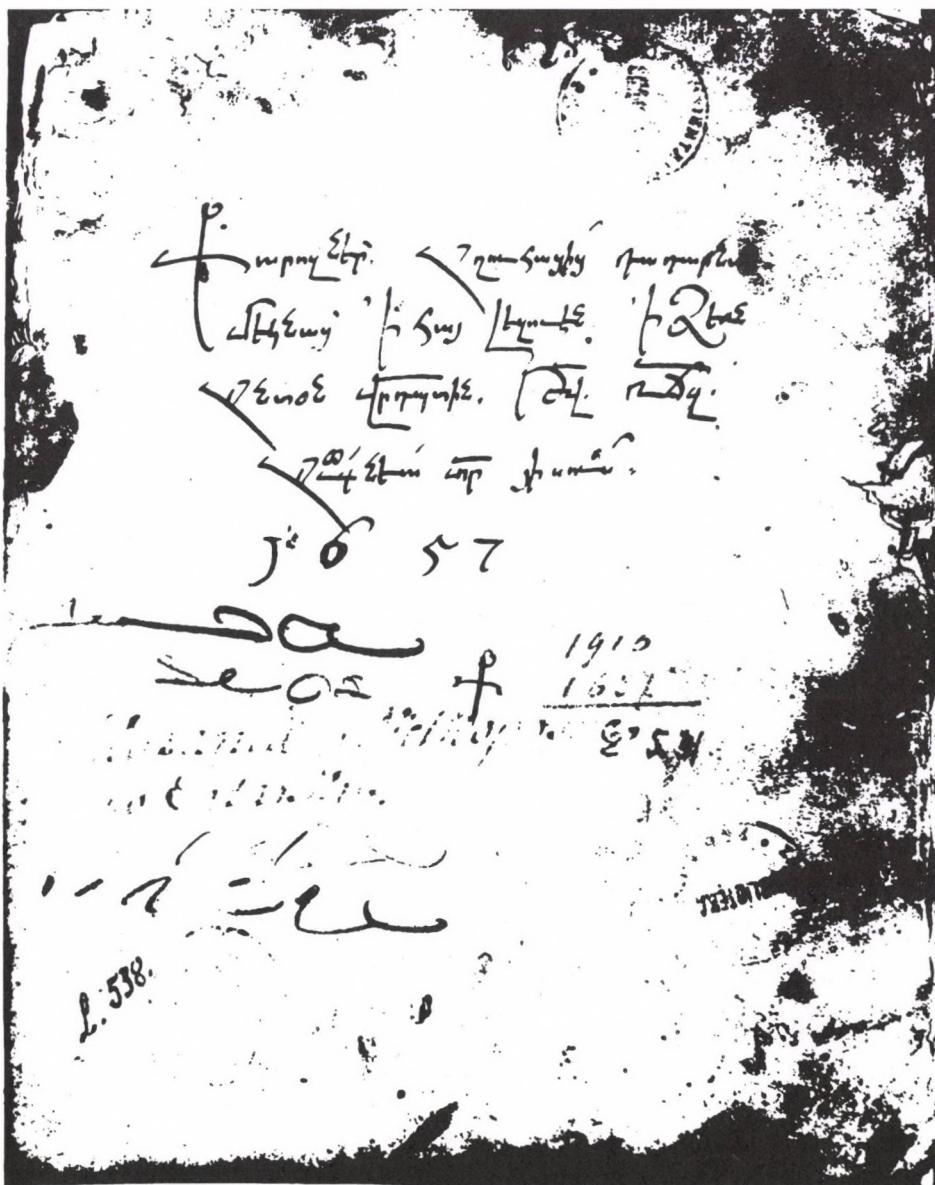
³ See the reproduction of the title page.

them by Jesus Christ, they should always give a good example and shed light on the life paths of the faithful.

As for the man's eyes, Anton Vartaped explains, in a rather sophisticated manner, when and in which way they can and should be "good" in the moral sense, and serve good aims. Among the sins that are committed through the eyes the preacher decidedly condemns the envy, the conceit and, especially, the debauchery. In conclusion, he encourages his hearers to pass piously the coming Lent and confess their sins.

From the linguistics point of view, the present text brings no sensational material for observation some interesting details, however, should be noticed. As far as phonological and orthographic systems are concerned a *y*- in the onset of *yierax* (usually *iirax*, *iirax*, *ierax*) 'distant', *iux* (usually *iox*) 'there is not', *djunia* (usually *dunia*, but Cf. Osm. *dünya*) 'world', *dioxovni* (Pol. *duchovny*) 'spiritual' are worth observing. Among the Turkic genuine or foreign words *dayil-*, *dayit-fitil*, *χarišmaš*, *msamól bol-* (Cf. Osm. *mismil* archaic 'clean, pure') *mani*, *osa* (Cf. Sag., Koib., Kach. *ōs*, Tar. *ōč*, also *uš*, *avuč*, *auč*, Radl. Dict.), *saptıl-*, *sifat* will draw the reader's attention. Interesting is the form of *ol turlu-š*, of a reinforced character (used together with the normal *ol turlu*), being evidently a combination of the Turkic *turlu* and the Slavic emphatic *-ž* (*-š*). Among the Slavic, mainly Polish, loan words such as *krištal*, *obžarstvo*, *obžirča*, *róż-džial*, *różtrópnóst*, *póródok*, *pózivat ét-*, *svidróvatí*, *zak'amieniali*, *zciebló* should be mentioned. The variant *zi všitk'im* is the ninth variant that has been known to the present (Cf. Tryj. *Dict.*). Among the Armenian words only a few appear for the first time to cite: *džrak*, *mólóriele*, *mólórialičé*, *zoru[t ijun]*. Quite fascinating is *ark'aig iilan*, a rather fabulous snake killing at a glance a flying bird.

From among the proper names *Byadon* 'Plato', *Sogradés* 'Socrates', and *Yovnat'an* 'Jonathan' seem to appear in Armeno-Kipchak texts for the first time.



Title page

Text

F^o 2r^o

1. – 4 [Arm.]

5. barçay sozlar k^carözut^c i[un]nu k^q[risdö]snung manilar bla dr né učun6. zéra χolay dr išitmažk^a bir k^ciez da tähimli dr išitk^canlarga ann

7. učun manilar bla har zaman sozliyédi [Arm.]

8. [Arm.] t[awi]t^c m[ar]k[a]ré aytiyr 48 b[u dur]9. ačiyim ayzmniⁱ ménim manilarm bla sózliyim manilarniⁱ alγš[m] bila ilgartn

10. (1) da bu 3 sabaptan utru awalgi sabap zéra ta-

11. himli da tat'lí dr išitk^canlarga sozlar manilarnn ann učun

12. aytiyr m[ar]k[a]ré 118 [Arm.]

13. tatlıⁱ dr tanglayima ménim sozlarıng séning né k^ci čibal ayzimda ménim14. (2) ék^cinči sab[ap] dayi artx t^cöχtatılr manilarıⁱ sozlarıⁱ fik^cirina15. (3) da buzulmaχsz χalır učunči s[a]b[ap] k^ci fik^ciri ačılrl da ja-16. r̄zlí bolur vik^cadıⁱ isdöriyann néčik^c k^ci sózunu^a buyuriyr biy-17. imz bugungi awje[daran] 47 (Arm.) b[u dur] čiraxj^c t^cenning18. k^coz dur égar k^ci k^cozung séning aruv bolsa barça t^cenning jařxta19. bolur a égar k^ci k^cozung séning jaman bolsa barça t^cenning χaran-20. γuluχta bolur da bu sozlarıⁱ usna 2 néma aytsarbiz21. awalgi né anlanıyr čiraxj^c ék^cinči k^cozlarıⁱ učun22. [1] awalgi rõzdžial aytiyr m[ad]t^céōs awjed[aran] bugungi awiedaranda

23. [Arm.] b[u dur] čiraxtrlar ařačnórtlar s[ur]p ji-

24. χövnun da žöγövurtnun néčik^c ayti biy ař[a]k^q[iel]larga [Arm.]^a MS. err. sózubu.

Դաստիարակութեան գործունէն. Ապրութի. Երանձն. Միա՞ ամեն?

Եթ. Ճրադ նոր հոգ ամէն. Եթ ամէն ու ուստի.

ամ Քե լուսաւոր եղից. և թա ամէն ու շըռք

ամ Քե իւսուս եղից:

5 Վարչակ ազգայի աշրուցութեան ան հոգակ մանիկուր ուր ու շնուռուն.

Վարչակ իւսուս որ իշխում ան այս տարբանի ու իշխում ան անընդունակ ամէն մանիկուր ուր հոր շահան ազլի եղի. Եթ. Բարդ առանձին պիտի իւր իսկ անընդունակ ամէն իւսուս էն. Պթ. Բարդ այդուր. Բը. Պ.

10 Վարչակ ազգայի մանիկուր ուր ազլի մանիկուր ազլի իւսուս.

Վարչակ ան ապահովութեան ուստի. Վարչակ. Ան պահ. պիտի գոր,

Տիկի ան դամբուր իշխում ան ազգայի մանիկուր էն. Վարչակ

պահուր մանիկ. Պթ. Տթ. Խաղարձ իշխում իմ բանք ան զմուր թափանց իւր ուր

գործուր որ գործուր իւր մանիկ ազլուր ամէն նետ ցուր ազլուր մանիկուր մանիկ.

15 Վարչակ իշխում ապահով մանիկուր մանիկուր ազլուր թափին ան պահուր մանիկ իւսուս. Պահուր ապահ. Իթ թիթի ազլուր ան եա,

ուր պահուր մանիկ իւսուս նետ իթ ապահուր պահուր ուր ուր

իւր. պահուր իթ ապահ. Պթ. Ճրադ նոր հոգ ամէն. Պթ. Չըսիկ Աճեն-

խուն. Եկարդ չափան ամէն ապահ պահուր. պահուր Աճեն եա ապա-

հուր. ա եկարդ ա պահ ամէն ապահ պահուր. պահուր Աճեն իւսուս

պահուր պահուր. Վարչակ ապահ ուստի թ նեմ պահուր պահ.

20 Վարչակ իշխում ապահ ուստի թ նեմ պահուր ուստի.

Ճրադ նոր հոգ ամէն. Ճրադ. Ո՛չըստ ուստի ուստինորդուր ու կ

իւսուսն. ան ժայռագործն. նեղիք այդ ու առջարիս. յատ

Վարչակ. Նեղանուր ըրտի. Է իշխում ապահ ուստի.

F^o 2v^o

1. [Arm.] *b[u dur] siz siz jařχi dunian da bu 5 sabap učun*
2. (1) *awalgi néčik^c kⁱ ov čiřaxtan bašxa da jařxtan xaramyu dur*
3. *ol turlu žóγovurt da iužov aracnórttsuz da v[a]rt[a]b[ied]dan bašxa*
4. *da k^c[a]h[ana]ylardan xaramyu dur da igranči zéra kⁱeča igranli^c undaliyir*
5. (2) *ekⁱnči jařχ bla k^cork^clu boliyr da k^corumlu barča néma ol turlu*
6. *ařačnór[t]lar dr ozdóbasi iužovnun da alar korguziyyrlar jažšini^cy*
7. (3) *da jamanü tóyrularni^c da jazxlilarni^c učunči néčik^c kⁱ ja-*
8. *rχ da ačiň mat^ceriyayni^c ozdóbni^c étiyr néčik^c k^crištal da piala*
9. *da néčik^c t^caš da topra[χ] xaln zatriimat^c étiyr bu turlu k^carózlux-*
10. *lari^c ařačnórtlarnn džaniňa axılılarnn xaysi kⁱ aruv durlar inam*
11. *bla da aruv išlar bla artx xabar dr da kⁱim kⁱ jaman išlari^c bla*
12. *da zak^camienjali^c inamda išitmaslar sozlarına alarnn*
13. (4) *dioruntuňi t^cut^culmagán dr jařχ kⁱlasa k^coruniyr k^cozuna adamniň*
14. *ol turluš kⁱterak^c tr ařačnórtk^a kⁱlasa k^coriyrlar ani hiércuadzoylar ja-*
15. *manlar da inamszlar héč tutmaslar ani kⁱgenslarinn išlarnda*
16. (5) *béšinči zéra jařχ barča néma usna igranli^c[χ] sačiyry da kⁱjendi héč xá-*
17. *rišmaš igrančlxta ol turlu ařačnórtk^a da kⁱterak^c tr égar kⁱ böř-*
18. *niglar bla da jamanlar bla iurusar da ogut béra sačiyry da kⁱzalma po-*
19. *déymovat^c étmas alardan igrančlxni^c évét alarni^c aritr da tahim-*
20. *li is étar alarni^c néčik^c kⁱ ar[a]k^cie]ll[a]r éttilar alar učun aytıyr*
21. *awjed[aran] džrak [...] čiřaxi t^cenning k^coz dur égar kⁱ k^cozung séning aruv*
22. *bolsa barča t^cenning jařxta bolur b[u dur] ařačnórtlars s[ur]p iužov-*
23. *nun ari bolsa da prik^clad jařší béra barča iužovlar jařší*
24. *bolurlar da ari da égar kⁱ k^cozung séning jaman bolsa barča*
25. *t^cenning xaranýuluxta bolur ays égar kⁱ ařačnórt jaman*
26. *bolsa égar kⁱ žóγovurt mólörjelé b[u dur] xari^c[š]ilar na prik^clad*

լոյս ո՞ւ. Ո՞ւ աշխարհ եւածելու մասը Ե առաջի ուղարկէ.
 Ե ներդի. Շեշտ ո՞ւ օլ չըրախօսն պաշխան և առ եւափօքան ինքը առաջնորդութէ.
 օլ գործը ժարդարութ ուս եւափակ ու ուղարկութաւունց ևս պարզուն պաշխան
 ևս աշխարհ ուս ինքը առաջնորդութ ուս ինքնէ. վերս եւշն ինքնը առ ալլուր.
 5 Ե է է ինքն. Եւափակն արքունուց ուս արքայն պարզ նեմն. Օլ գործը
 առաջնորդութ օլ գործը եւափակն ուս ալլուր գործուցը եւիլլուց
 Ի ուս եւս մասը դրակութը ուս եւափակութ է. Պաշտէն. Շեշտ ո՞ւ եւ,
 ուս ոս աշխ մակերտութ օլ գործուց եւիլլ. Շեշտ շիշուց ուս բաւարա.
 10 առաջնորդութ մասն անկըլուք ինքնի արածնորդութ ինքնի.
 պը առաջնորդութ իշխուց պրին ինքնուուր. առ շիմի եւամն իշխուց
 ուս պահմենու ինքնու. իշխուալու առաջնորդու պարզն. . .
 պատօրութ է. Բայուղ մակերտ ուս եւափ. չիս առ արքունու աջական ու ուժն.
 օլ գործը այսուհետ առաջնորդ ուս պարզութ ևս մեջութ պարզութ
 լույս ուս ինքնուց իշխուալու պարզ անդ պաշտութ իշխունու.
 Ե միշտէն. վերս եւափ պարզ նեմն ուսն ինքնը առ աշխ պարզ
 ուս մեջութ գու. Օլ գործը առաջնորդութ ուս չեմարդ ինքնի պարզ
 ուս մեջութ պարզ նեմն ուսն եւափութ ուս պարզութ իշխուն ու
 ուս մակերտ եւափ պարզութ մեջութ պարզ. եւիլլ ալլուց պարզ ուս գուն
 լի ին եւափ պարզն. Շեշտ ո՞ւ առաջնորդ եւիլլ. Վլու ուսն պարզ
 ուսն. Ցրու ի՞ս չըրտի իշխու ուսնու. Էնորդ ուսն պարզ անձին պարզ
 պարզ. պարզ լիքի եւափ ուս պարզ. Ո՞ւ առաջնորդութ ո՞ւ եւափութ
 նու պարզ ուս բիշու եւափութ պարզ. պարզ եւափութ եւափութ
 պը լուտ ուս պարզ. առ եւափ ուս պարզ լիքի եւամն պարզ պարզ
 լիքի ինքնի շուղանութ պարզ. յ՞ւ եւափ առաջնորդ եւամն
 պարզ. Էնորդ պաշտութ մուրիկ. Ո՞ւ ինքնը ուս պարզ:

Fº 3rº

1. [é]gar k*ü* at*ü*lar *χoš*[k*ü*]an bolsalar arabay içina da awalgi at*c* *jařxli*
2. [bo]lsa k*ü*lasa artxardagi soxur bolsa zaraz dugul évét *χačan*
3. k*ü* awalgi at*c* soxur bolsa k*ü*lasa artxardagi *jařx* k*ü*orsa čoyurga
4. tušarlar bu turluš da pöródokü *južovnun* *χaysi* éltar k*ü*ok*c*tagi
5. učmažina t*c*éngrining égar k*ü* ařačnort s[ur]p da biluči bolsa k*ü*lasa
6. ašxarhaganlar sašx**n** bolsalar b[u dur] mólórjaliçé néma zarar étmas a é-
7. gar k*ü* ařačnort soxur bolsa bilik*siz* k*ü* néma bilmagay barča žóγö-
8. vurtnu tamužk*a* éltar nečik*c* k*ü* aytıyr k[Trisdó]s awie[daran] 57 [Arm.]
9. [Arm.] b[u dur] γ[u]g[a]s soxur so-
10. *χurga* *iol* k*ü*orguzsa pévné k*ü* ek*c*si da čoyurga tušarlar
11. [2] ék*c*inči *rözdzjal* aytilsar k*ü*ozlar üçün aytıyrlar v[ar]t[a]b[ie]dlar k*ü*
12. (7) turlu k*ü*ozlar**b** bolmas *iažxši* k*ü*orma
13. (1) awalgi *χačan* k*ü* k*ü*ozlari*ü* ulu da dišari*ü* č̄xa bolmas igi k*ü*orma
14. da bu značit étiyr ok*c*tamni*ü* *χaysi* k*ü* héč k*ü*ormas *iažxši* k*ü*imsani*ü* nečik*c*
15. aytıyr t[awi]t*c* 100 [Arm.] b[u dur] *χaysi* k*ü* ok*c*tam-
16. lanr édi k*ü*ozlari*ü* bila da akah iwrak*ü*lari [= *jurak*ü*lari*] bila aytıyrlar ažillilar
17. *χaysi* k*ü* k*ü*ozlari*ü* bolsa ulu da dišari*ü* slab*i* dr da *χasta* da k*ü*im-
18. nin k*ü* téran dr *χuvat**ü* dr da bu 2 sabaptan utru
19. (1) [err. for 2 ?] awalgi k*ü* *χačan* k*ü* k*ü*ozlari*ü* dr téran *jéraž* tr barča zarardan a é-
20. gar k*ü* tišari*ü* dır barča turlu t*c*öz da zčieblösü k*ü*endi *χabul* étiyr
21. ol turlu*c* ašaxlargə bir néma ijetišmasar né tarl*ü* zéra yieraž trlar
22. barča talaştan évét ok*c*tam k*ü*isilar arasiña barča tarl*ü*ta da
23. talašta nečik aytıyr s[ó]γ[ó]m[ó]n [Arm.] b[u dur] ok*c*tam-
24. (2) larnn arasiña bolur talaš ék*c* inčid *χačan* k*ü* k*ü*ozlari*ü* bolsa téran
25. zoru[tžun]i *χuvat**ü* čopliyr k*ü*ormažk*a* da *χačan* k*ü* dišarda dr zabun dur

^b MS. a superfluous *u* above.^c MS. err. *turši*.^d MS. err. ék*c*ink*ü*.

5 Եւսուր ամելը, ինչպէս այս արագոց իշխան . առ առաջի մտ եւսուր կը կ' լ' ։ Հասա արքական առ ինուր պօլս զբրոր տուեալը . Եվդր ինչուն 5
տի առաջի ամ սօնուր պօլս ։ Հասա արքական առ եւսուր հօգուր կա գուրը ։ Բայսի կը զա հօգուր կ' ուշ մինչ իշխան իշխան իշխան ։ Եվդր ամ պիլում պօլս . Հասա
արքական հանձնար սաշխն պօլսաւր Պ. Աղյուսակին . Շնան զբրոր եօնան . ո՞ւ,
կ' կ' առաջնորդ սօնուր պօլս պիլում ու Շնան պիլում ։ Կրուս մայս
զարդուա քամախան եցար . Շնան չ' աղյուր էն, անձն Ց. Կոյր կուրք յութ
առաջնորդ սօնուր եւսուր անձնան . Ի իշխան անձնան . Պ. Ց. Անուր ա
խոր հանձնական միջնորդ եւսուր զարդուա գուրը ։

10 Ե կ' պիլուր Ռու Ձեաւ աղյուր խոլոր ուշում . Վրդիրլոր վրդուր . Ե
Ե գործու խոլոր պօլս եանչ եանչ խօն .

15 Ե Վասիլի . ինչուն չ' խոլոր ուշում առ պիլուր շնան պօլս մի խօն .
առ պիլուր չ' եանչ օհքանը . ինչուր Շն խօն եանչ պիլուր . Շնիւր
պիլուր Պ. Ց. Օ արքա առաջնորդ սօնուր եօնան պրուր . Պ. Ինչուր օհքան
լան եանչ խոլոր ուշում առ արքա ինչուր ուշում . աղյուր - ինչուր
ինչուր չ' խոլոր պօլս ուշում առ պիլուր պիլուր առ ինչուր . առ պիլուր
Շն չ' թիրան առ ինչուր պիլուր . Վրդ պիլուր առ պիլուր պիլուր .

20 Ե Վասիլի չ' ինչուն չ' խոլոր պիլուր . Երանուր պիլուր զարդուա . ո՞ւ,
կ' ինչ պիլուր պիլուր պիլուր Պ. Ռու աղյուր աղյուր ինչուր ինչուր եանչ .
օհքանը աղյուր պիլուր եանչ եանչ եանչ պիլուր պիլուր
պիլուր պիլուր . Եվդր օհքան պիլուր պիլուր պիլուր պիլուր
պիլուր . Շնիւր պիլուր պիլուր . Ինչ արքա առաջնորդ ընէ ինձ . Պ. օհքան
լան պրուր պրուր . Ե կ' պիլուր . ինչուն աղյուր պիլուր պիլուր .

25 Ե լարդ ինձն պրուր պրուր . Ե կ' պիլուր . ինչուն աղյուր պիլուր պիլուր .

Fº 3vº

1. zéra dayiitiyir χoralmazjin k°orguziyr ok°tamnī χaysī jurak°larī alarn[n]
2. (2) dayilip tr suxlançlik° bla dunjanin ék°inçi bolmaslar k°ozlarī i[ax]-
3. ši k°orma χačan k°i egrı k°ozlu bolsa b[u dur] svidrovatī k°orguziyr paxillik°
4. adamnī zéra paxilli k°imsaga paxilik°i bolsa bolmas bažma ann usna
5. toγru bu turluš paxilli adam k°lamas išitma jažši ozgası učun
6. nečik° k°i jažiyr sogradés égar k°i pódöbnı̄ néma ésa k°i k°oz da xulax
7. paxillarnın bir k°imsa učun jažši išitmagay zéra barča dunjanin
8. jažšilxi k°orsa édi da išitsa édi bulay bék° asrı̄ opranr édi da sap-
9. tilr édi jurak°inda k°jensining nečik° k°i ol zinawórk° b[u dur] ričiřlar χaysi k°i bi-
10. lir édi padšah k°i biri birina bla paxıl édlar ayti padšah birina né k°i
11. k°lasan mēndan bérirmén sana èvet séning joldašına ék°i k°jerat bérir-
12. mén artx né k°i sana aytıyr fik°irinda égar k°i χolsam bir néma jažši
13. anar ék°i k°jerat bérsar né k°i mana ayti padšahga ménim bir k°ozum-
14. nu čižhar k°i birsina ék°sında čižargaysén bulay jaman dr paxillik°
15. (3) učunči bolmaslar k°ozlarī jažši k°orma χačan k°i jurak° lansa
16. da jurak°tan k°ozlarin čovursar da bir birina rast k°jelsalar k°orgu-
17. ziyr k°imlar k°i jurak°li drlar da χawyači alarnn fik°irları̄ da džanları̄
18. bolmaslar k°orma k°onusun nečik° suv k°i biri birina rast k°jelsa bul-
19. yalanr k°orunmas sifatī içinda ol turluš jurak°inda jurak°langannn
20. k°orunmas sifatī t°engrining χaysi dr k°onuluk° na priklad χačan k°i
21. adam k°ozlarī čovursa jérindan bir néma 2 k°oriyr bulay-žé jurak°-
22. li adam bir joldašnī 2 k°oriyr ann učun aytırlar k°i byadon
23. očašlandī ašagierdī usna k°jensinin bolmadı̄ oč alma andan aytı oz-
24. gasına χaysī jurak°langan dugul édi xiynama anı̄ aytıyr k°i ju-
25. rak°langan adam bolmas t°öyruluč bla alma očun k°jensinin
26. (4) diortunči bolmaslar k°ozlarī jažši k°orma χačan k°i msamol̄ bolsa

- միաս տաղացքիր չօրալ մի իւն. Փօրհուզը օքառմէն խոյդ եղորակը և այս 5
 Ե տաղացքոր սովոր անցնիս ողա տուբանէն. Է ժիշի. պունսւր խոյդ : -
 շ չօրմն խացանք ենոր աջլու պօլուն. Ու սփորովադու. Փօրհուզը բ 10
 տուբան. զիւ բանիլլ դիման բանիլլ ու ողա պօլուն պայման անձ ունան
 դորուս. մաստուրու բանիլլ առաջ խանս իշխուն ենիսու օգիս ու ուշուն.
 ներխու եալը սկիրատն. ենարդ բատուցը նեմն եան չի խոյն խացան
 բանիլլը նու պիր պիմն ուղանք եանիլլ իշխունեայ. պիա պարզը տուննեն ինչ
 եանցը լու անու տա իշխուն եան. պայս պի ուղա օքառն եան, տա պի
 ուղ եան եարու պի ուղ ան պիմն. ներխ քի ու շնուռու. Ռուսլու ուղ ու,
 լու եան բատունք չի պիր պիմն պիմն բանիլլը, պիր բատունք պիրին. ներ
 պասն մետն պիրին ունան. ենոր անքան եղորակը նու եկար պիրի
 մեն պրու ներխ ունան. պիր քի քի քի քի ենոր բանիլլ ուղ եան եանիլլ.
 անոր եան եկար պիրու ներխ ունան. պիր բատունք մենք պատիլլա -
 15 Ե Ռ ուղանք պունսւր խոյսը եանիլլ ուղ եան. պայս եան եան բանիլլա.
 ուն եարու քան անու չակուրը զավուր ուղ ուղ պիրին բատ եանը. Փօրհու,
 զոյ չի նորու եարու չի պրու ուն բատունք: ալուն պի պիմնը ուն չակուրը
 պի բանուր չօրմն չանունան. ներխ անզ չի պիր պիրին բատունք պրու
 ուղ եան չօրմն ու բատունք իշխուն. Ըլուրը եարու եարու եան եանիլլ
 20 չօրմն մաս սի քուրը թիերին իւս ուր չանունան. Նորը լու, իւս ուն
 առան առան զավուր սի քուրը. ուղ եան բանիլլ բանիլլ. պայս օտ եարու
 ու սուս թիեր եանիլլ բանիլլ. Վ նու ուղ ուղ պիրու. չի պիս ուն
 օւսուն առ ան եան ուն ան տենին պիմն. պի լու օտ ան ան ան այդ օւ
 կազն իւս ուր եարու եան եան եան եան եան. պիր ու եան,
 25 բան ընդ առան պի պիմն լուղուն պի պիմն այն օւսուն չեն պիմն:
 Ե անորուն պունսւր չակուր եանիլլ չօրմն իւս մի պուն.

F^o 4r^o

1. [da] bék^c sémiz bolsa k^corguzryr χařni běslangan kⁱ k^cop jémaχ bla
2. da ičmaχ bla soχur étiyé[d]lar fik^cirlar k^censlariññ na prik^qlad χačan kⁱ
3. k^cop bolsa ol^cley da fitil inčk^a téz sonar jařχi ol turluš k^cop jémaχ-
4. tan sóχur bolíyr fik^ciri obzirçann ann učun ógut bériyr biyimiz
5. awie[daran] γ[u]g[a]s 259 [Arm.]
6. saχt bolunguz bøyunguzda bolmagay aγırlangay jurak^cingiz sizing
7. (5) obžarstvó bila da džimrilik^c bila běšinči k^cozlariⁱ bolmaslar igi k^corma
8. χačan kⁱ t^cöz bla da k^cul bla t^colu bolsa k^corguziyr damahlχ adamni
9. b[u dur] akahniⁱ da [k]umuš sóvučini zéra alar oχsiyrlar k^crét k^ca χaysi
10. iuχ tur k^cozlariⁱ évét oχšaš k^cozlarga da tibina iernin farahlik^c bla
11. turiyrlar da χaziyrlar topraxnⁱ da bériyr baš[lar]i]n^e usna k^censlariñng
12. da usta drlar tibina topraxnⁱ da barča téšik^clarniⁱ bilirlar da
13. k^cimsa bolmas alarniⁱ tut^cmagay évét χačan kⁱ dišχariⁱ čxsalar bu-
14. larγiyrler da téz taspolurlar bu turluš akah damahlü adam
15. χaysi kⁱ bar dr k^cozlariⁱ hókiewór aχilnⁱ évét tugal aχiliⁱ χaysi diu-
16. njann róztrópnóstu bar da jiγiyr χaramγuluχta ténnin asriⁱ us-
17. talχ bla χutuliyⁱ jamandan évét χačan kⁱ k^cielsar jařχk^ca diu-
18. χóvníⁱ zí všitk^cim soχur bolíyrlar da taspolíyrlar tamuχk^ca
19. (6) altiňči bolmaslar k^cozlar iaxší k^corma χačan kⁱ k^cozlariⁱ ayriⁱ da kⁱ
20. ozgasⁱ da téšk^cirilir da [...]^f k^ciečsa k^cozlarndan bu börnig-
21. niⁱ k^corguziyr kⁱ ann učun awied[aran] aytıyr m[ad]t[éo]s 37 [Arm.]
22. [Arm.] b[u dur] har k^cim kⁱ baχar χatun kⁱšig
23. usna suxlanip angar anda itlik^c étti ann bila jura-
24. k^cina k^cendining alar oχsiyrlar ark^cayig jiilanga χačan
25. kⁱ baχsa učar χuš usna tušup taspoliyr ol tur-

^e Two oblique dashes to replace lari?^f A blank^g MS. err. kⁱči.

տիւ ամիշ պրկն. միրեալու խոռոչ պաշտօնին. ու չոք եղանակով,
 նա իշխան ու ուժաբեկ երը քիչ լուրջ տևալուրէն. ևս բարձր խացած
 չօք պրկն օքի ուս գոյ միշն. ուղ սննդ ետքիր. Օլուրըն չօք եղան,
 զան սովոր պուր գոյ ուղեցան. Վէս ուղու պատ սկեպ ութի ութի ցի.
 ամ. ցի. Տէ. զից կայե անձն գոյ ճան բան սկեպ շապանուն կան.
 Ամիշ ասլուն հուն պայտական ուղու կան կու եղան ինչ պայտէն
 Ե օպարուր ութի. ուս մինիր ութի. մի կամ. ուղլուր ուղլուր ին ուր և
 իւնչ ք թուղլ չուղլ թուղլ պուն. միրեալու տամակին առանձն
 Պ ապահէն ու պատու աղաւաչի. զեր այս օւղլուր քեւա խոյս
 ենթար խոյլուր. ենթ օւչու խոյլուրի. ուս դիմեն երէն քարտ հին զան
 գուղլուր. ուս խոյլուր գուղլուր. ուս պատու պահն առանձն էնց լուրէն.
 ուս ուղրակը պահն գուղլուր ուս զարչ գուղլուր պիլուր. ուս
 քիւն պահն աղաւ գուղլուր. ենթ խոյլուր աղաւար չուն,
 լուրըն լուր. ուս թի ուս լուրըն. մի լուրըն ափահ ուս նահը առանձն
 խոյլուր պար հանեա ախն. ենթ գուղլ ակը իւն,
 չենչ ըստորոշուր պար. ուս զուր խոյլուր չուն. ուրը ու-
 րուն պա խոյլուր ենմն տան. ենթ խոյլուր աղաւար եղան տան,
 կունչ. զուցակի ու խոր ասլուր լուր ուս քան բուրըն զան տան.
 Հ Վ լուց աղ կայլուր ենիշ չօք խոյլուր աղըն ու-
 պահն ուս թի պահն. ուս չուն խոյլուր ուն. մի պահն
 նը պարուրը. մի սուն ուղու սեն. այդը. մի. լու. ու հայ ցանի մին
 անթ շնուրա իւրի խոյլուր. մի հայ պահն պախուր խոյլուր պահն
 ուս սուն ուղը անհար ուս սուն իւրի երդի ուն պահն եղան,
 պահն պահն իւրի. Վ լուր օւղլուր պախուր իւրի ելունի. խոյլ
 պախուր ուղը ուս սուն գուղլուր ուս լուր. Ո լուր

F^o 4v^o

1. luš χatun bōrnig džanlarin biyik^ctagi χušlarnn b[u dur] s[ur]plarnn iazχ[k^c]a
2. salip olduriyr da tas étiyr néčik^c kⁱ biyik^c učk^can t[awi]t^cni s[ó]γ[ó]m[ó]nu da
3. samsónnu saldilar iazχk^ca póz iaman bašli bōrnig χatunlar da
4. bu iazχtan bék^c farahlaniyr šayt^can né kⁱ ozga iazχlardan zéra
5. ozga iazχlar jalız bir džani^c olduriyr b[u dur] ok^c tamlik^c da pazılık^c da
6. ozga évét bōrniglχ hém džanni^c iensinin tas étiyr hém ann k^cimnin bla
7. iazχ étiyr ann učun aytıyrlar v[ar]t[a]b[ie]dlar kⁱerak^c tr kⁱ k^c[o]zları^c da ju-
8. rak^c birina saýir bolgay da saxlagaylar k^censlarn jamandan
9. (7) iédinči bolmaslar k^cozlar iazχsü k^corma χačan kⁱ iuxu bla aylan-
10. sa da uyusay bu k^corguziyr orinčak^c larni^h k^clasa k^cop bar dr aldangan
11. iazχ bla évé[t] iuxu bla rósk^cöšni uyudu džani^c alarnn da χaygur-
12. maslar iazχlarn k^censilarini^c né pošmanlı^c bla da né χosdóvanjel bolmaχ bla
13. né oruč bla da né alyš bla évét rósk^cöşlari^c bla iazχlarnn éniyrlar ta-
14. muχk^ca ann učun 40 k^cun oručnu póstanóvit étlar ar[a]k^c[iel]lar da
15. hayr[a]b[ie]dlar kⁱ bu zamanda bizni iuxundan oyangaybiz b[u dur]
- róškošlar-
16. dan da ovrangle iazχlardan da ašama tatlı^cabaşχarut^ci[un]dan
17. da boşat^hχ tapmagay zéra érinčak^clarnn fik^ciriⁱ soxur boldu da ja-
18. puldu ešikⁱ k^cok^ctagi učmaχnn alniňa alarnn néčik^c iaziyr i t^c[a]k^c[awo]rw ieçj
19. kⁱ yovnat^canni^c k^cozları^c bolmaslar édi k^corma ačlχtan da aldi čibalnn
20. osası^cda iédi da k^cozları^c ačildilar kjenidinin a égar kⁱ iémasa édi
21. ačilmasalar édi k^cozları^c ann bu turlu χaysi kⁱ érinčak^clik^ctan pó-
22. zívat étmasalar taililχtan abaşχarut^ci[un]nu iarχlanmas tr fi-
23. k^cirları^c alarnn évét k^cimlar kⁱ zorlu bolsalar bu 40 k^cunnu oručta
24. alyšta da óγórmut^ci[un]da da χ[n?]niel bolmaχ bla da pozivat^c étsa-
25. lar tatlı^cabaşχarut^ci[un] arinr da iarχlanr džani^c alarnn barča

^h Instead of érinčak^clarni^c.ⁱ MS. err. flik^ciri.^j The reference to the chapter is probably wrong. The mentioned fragment is in I Samuel 14,27.

Ըստ իսրայելական պատմութեան մասնաւուն պարագաների խոչընուցքն է. Ո՞ւ լուսաւուն առաջ օլուստրութեան ուս դաս եղան է. Նեցին ու պահած աշխատ գումար. Այս առաջնուն առ աղջուր եացած էն. Բայ եածնակ պատմութեան խորոշութեան պահ եացիր ու քարոզիր շաբան. Նետի օչին եացնաւուն առաջ, պետք այս եացնաւուն եալու ուր մասն օլուստրութ. Ո՞ւ օկտոսմին, ուս բահիթու. ուս օչին եալու պատմութեան հեմ մասն ժամանեած դաս եղան: Հեմ առ ճանեն պահ եացն եղան. Վեց ուսուած այդից լոր լուսաւուր ժերատ ու խցուր տառեան, բայ պիտին սառա պուլու տաս սարիւնեալուր ժենաւուն եաման առաջ.

5

Է Ենթացի. Պրմասւուր չուլու արմա խոչն չի եափառաւուն ողբան
առ, ուս պահանակ. Բայ չորեւուր օրինաւունք, չասա չի պարու պատմենք
եալու պահ. Ենթա եափառաւուն բառաւուր մասն այսուն, ուս իսպար
մասւուր եացնաւուն ժամանեալուն. Նետ բայնաւուն տառն իսպատվանի պահանուն.
Նետրուսուն տառնեալուն. Ենթա բայ չուլուր պահ եալուր ենիրը դու,
մատիս. Վեց ուսուած Տ խոչ օրուցնուն բառաւուր եղաց առաջու. ուս
հայրածուր ու պահ պահուն ուրիշ եափառաւուն օյանիս պիլ Ո՞ւ բայ չուլուր
տառ ուս օվրունեան եացնաւուն. ուս աշան քառող ու պահ նարանուն.
ուս պաշանի քաբանիս. պետք եթէն չուլուր ժենեալուր ուսաւուն տառ,
բուշուն եղան առարկի ուսմանուն անդուն ալարն. Նեցին եալուր Դ թիգու.
Դ թիգունիսնուն չուլուր պահնաւուր ենի արմա աչլուրուն. ուս պահ չուլուր չի
օսուն ուս ենի ուս չուլուր աչլուր ժեն պին. Ա ենթաթի ենին ուս ենի
աչլուր նուր ենի չուլուր ան. Ալուստրուր իսպատվանի եթէն չուլուր գու,
պահուն երամասւուր քառող ու քաշիսիսունուն. Եափառաւուն մասուր գու
ժելուր ալարն. Ենթաթիստի շուրու պահնաւուր պահ Տ խոչն օրուցնուն
ալարն, ուս ուսուածնիս. ուս ինչ պուլուն պիլ. ուս բայ վան երա
Ծ քառող ապաշխարութ. պին ուս եամուսնուն մասն ալարն պահուն

10

15

20

25

F^o 5r^o

1. [ia]zχlardan χaysi k*ü* bizni barčamzn*ü* arzani étk*ü*ay k[risdó]s jařliyama
2. xi[i]la k*ü*énsining aruvluč bla saxlama oručnu χaysi k*ü* alniimzga dr
3. da sóvučluk*ü* bla yumsa bla jétišmaga y[ó]r[tut*ü*]i[u]nun bašxšina k[risdó]s
nun t'én-
4. grimzn*ü* bizim amén

F^o 5r^o

Translation

[F^o 2r^o] Why all words of Christ's sermons contain parables? Because they are easy to be listened and, at the same time, pleasant to the hearers. For this reason [Jesus-Christ] always spoke by the means of parables. The prophet David, 48, says [Arm.], which means: "Let me open my mouth with my parables, let me recite the parables along with my prayer from the very beginning!" And there are three reasons for this.

(1) The first reason: Because the words of the parables are pleasant and sweet for the hearers. This is why the Prophet David, 118, says: "Your words are unto my palate as sweet as honey (is) in my mouth."

(2) The second reason: The parables more strongly associate the words with the thought, and they remain uncorrupted.

(3) The third reason: The idea is expounded and the exposition of a (given) story is elucidated just as our Lord formulates the words in the gospel for the day, 47 [Arm.], which means: "The eye is a candle of the body: if your body is pure (clean), your whole body is in the light but if your eye is evil (sore), your whole body is in darkness." We shall say two things about these words: the first (is) what we should understand by "candle", and the second (is) about the eyes.

1. First chapter. Matthew's Gospel says, in the gospel for to-day: [Arm.], which means: "The superiors (chiefs) of the Holy Church and of the people are candles according to the Lord's words addressed to the Apostles [Arm.] **[F^o 2v^o]**, which means: "You are the light of the world." And this is for five reasons:

(1) First (reason): Like a house differs from a candle and the darkness from the light, so the people and the Church are without superiors (chiefs),

vartabeds (doctors) and other priests dark and ugly since the night is considered to be ugly.

(2) Second (reason): Once combined with the light, each thing grows nice and splendid. In the same way the superiors (chiefs) are an ornament of the Church, presenting to the eyes the good and the evil, the righteous people and the sinners.

(3) Third (reason): Like the light makes an ornament of a transparent materia, like a crystal and a cup (bowl), and like a stone prevents from a thick dust so the superiors' (chiefs') preaching brings more knowledge to the souls of wise people who are pure by their faith and by their pure deeds while those who (live) with their evil deeds and who are obdurate in their (own) faith do not listen to their words.

(4) Fourth (reason): You cannot grasp the light, it appears to the human eye whenever it likes. In the same way the superiors (chiefs) should see (look at) it whenever they like whereas the heretics, evil and unbelieving people will not grasp it for their evil deeds.

(5) Fifth (reason): Since the light scatters the dirt from (on) all objects and never mixes with the dirt itself, so the superiors (chiefs) should, while walking in the company of adulters, of evil people, and giving (them) good advice, accept no dirt from them. In truth they will purify the others and diffuse a pleasant odour on them like the Apostles did. The Gospel just says about them: *džrak* 'a wax-candle' [Arm.], which means: "The eye is a candle of the body: if your eye is pure (clean), your body is in the light, which means: if the superiors (chiefs) of the Holy Church are saintly and give a good example, all the churches are good and pure. But if your eye is evil, your whole body remains in darkness, i.e. if a superior (chief) is bad, (if ?) the people err, which means that they are confused. [Fº 3rº] If, for instance, two horses are harnessed to a car and the first (in front) has a good eyesight while the second (in the rear) is blind, no evil issues. But if the first (in front) is blind and the second (in the rear) has a good eyesight, both will fall down a ditch. The same is in the system of the Church which is leading the people to God's paradise that is in heaven: if a superior (chief) is saintly and wise while the laymen are not wise, or they go stray, no evil issues. But if the superior (chief) is blind, unwise, one that knows nothing, he leads the whole people to hell, as is said by the Christ's Gospel, 57 [Arm.], which means, Luke: "If a blind shows the way to another blind, it is certain that they both will fall down a ditch."

2. Second chapter. There will be talk of eyes. The vartabeds (doctors) used to say: "You do not need seven different pairs of eyes to see clear (well)." First, if the eyes are big and bulging one cannot see clear (well). This designates a self-conceited man (coxcomb) that perceives nothing good, no good man, David, 100 [Arm.], which means: "Those that swaggered with proud eyes and greedy hearts." Wise men say (that) those whose eyes are big and bulging are weak and ill while those whose eyes are deep-set are strong. This is for two reasons:

(1) The first (reason): When the eyes are deep-set, they are distant from any harm but if they are outside, they incet manifold powders and motes. Thus no distress will affect those that are low situated (humble) because they are distant from any struggle. But, as Solomon says [Arm.], which means: "Among proud people there (happen) great quarrels and fights."

(2) The second (reason): If the eyes are deep-set the man gathers his strength and courage against his fear, but if they are bulging, one is helpless, [F^o 3v^o] because he breathes hatred, manifests his self-conceit which by his greed of the world has dispersed (rejected) the hearts of other people.

(2) The second (reason): The eyes are not good to see if a man squints or, in other words, his eyes are squinting. This designates an envious man because an envious man immediately becomes jealous if anyone looks straight at him. In this connection an envious man wants to hear nothing good of anyone, as written by Socrates about a similar case. (It happens) that both eyes and ears of envious people want to hear nothing good of anybody since even if they might have seen and heard the whole good of the world they would be very much depressed and stray in their hearts, like those warriors, or knights, about whom a king knew that they envied one another. The King said to one of them: 'I will give you whatever you want from me. Yes, I give to your companion twice more than (I give to) you.' (The knight) said in his mind: 'If I ask him anything good, the other will be given twice more than myself.' (So) he replied the King: 'Pick out, please, one of my eyes, and then you will pick out both eyes (of the other).' So bad is the envy.

(3) It is not good to see the eyes which are sore, if the people are angry and turn away their eyes while meeting one another. Some of them show that they are angry and quarrelsome. Their thoughts and souls are unable to see the truth. Like water meeting anyone becomes turbid and, if once is disturbed, you cannot see the countenance so the same happens in the heart of a vexed man who does not perceive the countenance of God who is the truth. When, for instance, a man turns away his eyes from the ground, he sees an object in a double size. So does a vexing man who sees his companion twice so big (as he really is). In this connection it has been related that Platon revanged himself on one of his disciples. But it was not a (real) revenge on his side. He said to the other that he was angry (but) had no intention to worry him. He says: "A vexing man has no right to revenge himself."

(4) Fourth. It is not good to see the eyes if they are clean [?] [F^o 4r^o] and very fatty. They designate the bellies well nourished on much eating and drinking that make blind the thoughts (of those people). For instance, if there is much oil and the lamp-wick is thin, the light is quickly going to die out. The same is with excessive eating that makes blind the glutton's thoughts. In this connection our Lord gives advice in a Gospel of Luke, 21₃₄ [Arm.] "Be sober in your members, do not overcharge your hearts with surfeiting and drunkenness!"

(5) Fifth. It is not good to see the eyes if they are full of dusk and ash. They designate a greedy man, i.e. avid and liking for money (silver). (Such

people) are resembling the moles that have no eyes, even nothing like eyes, and live joyfully under the ground, burrow it and take it outside on their heads. They are masters of all deep parts of the earth and know all holes lest somebody could catch them. But when they get outside they suffer [?] and quickly perish. In the same way a greedy and covetous man that has spiritual eyes of his mind, and even a perfect mind, that has a discernment of the world or (maybe) weakens (mortifies) in darkness his body shelters with a great mastery from the evil. But as soon as he reaches the spiritual light, he goes [Pl.] blind and perishes [Pl.] in hell.

(6) It is not good to see the eyes that are sore and changed, and look away from other eyes. This designates an adulterer about whom the Gospel of Matthew, 37, says: [Arm.], which means: "Whoever looks at a woman after having lusted after her committed (in that moment) adultery with her in his heart." They are resembling the royal [?] snake that, as soon as a flying bird appears, looks at it, and it falls down and perishes. In a similar manner [F^o 4v^o] a harlot drives the souls of heavenly birds, i.e. of the saints, to a sin, kills them, and they perish. Thus such bad wretched harlots have driven the great (heavenly) birds – David, Solomon and Samson in a sin. The Satan rejoices over this sin more than over other sins because the other sins, like conceit, envy and others, kill only one soul while the debauchery brings to ruin both one's own soul and the soul of the person with which the sin had been committed. For this reason the vartabeds (doctors) say that the eyes and the hearts should be sober (in relation to some people ?) and protect themselves from the evil.

(7) Seventh. The eyes are not good to see when they are supercharged with sleeping and when they are asleep. This designates lazy people, there are many that were taken in by a sin, by a sweet sleep. Their soul has slept and they do not care much of their sins, of their contrition, of their confessing the sins, of their fast, of their prayer, in truth they descend together with all pleasure of their sins to hell. In this connection the Apostles and the Saints have established a forty days' fast in order that we could in this time be awake from our sleep, i.e. from our pleasures and from our accustomed sins, and taste a sweet expiation, and to fill remission (of sins), since the idlers' thought has gone blind and the door of the paradise that is in heaven has been closed for them. As the Book of the Kings writes, Jonathan's eyes were unable to see through [the lack of] food, and he took a handful of honey and ate it, then his eyes enlightened. But if he had not eaten it, his eyes would not be enlightened. Thus those whose thoughts on account of their idleness cannot taste from the sweetness of expiation are not illuminated, in truth those who are strong enough to pass over these forty days in fasting, and praying, and giving alms with all devotion and in making use of the sweet expiation (will) illuminate their souls and purify them from sins. [F^o 5r^o]

That we all, owing to Christ's purity, might be worthy of His mercy to observe the Lent, that is in front of us, and of achieving with joy and hope the abundance of gifts of Christ, our Lord. Amen.

Index of rare words

- abaščarutⁱ[un] 4v^o, 22; 4v^o, 25*
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- Bγadon 3v^o, 22*
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Samsón 4v^o, 3
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A PROPOSITO DELLA TRADUZIONE ITALIANA DI P^cAWSTOS BUZAND

PROBLEMI E PROPOSTE DI SOLUZIONE

GABRIELLA ULUHOGIAN
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1. Ha visto da poco la luce la prima traduzione italiana della *Storia degli Armeni* di P^cawstos Buzand¹. Questa, curata da chi scrive, è stata compiuta da due giovani allievi, Marco Bais e Loris Dina Nocetti, come esito di un lungo lavoro seminariale, nell'ambito dell'insegnamento di *Lingua e letteratura armena* dell'Università di Bologna.

I traduttori hanno inteso fare un lavoro filologico: conoscere a fondo il testo, cercando di scoprirne l'intimo significato attraverso le peculiarità di lingua e stile, per riprodurne in italiano, per quanto possibile, l'originalità. Delle due possibilità indicate già da Goethe e riportate limpidaamente da Georges Mounin si è scelto di « condurre il lettore verso il testo »².

Come sempre nell'atto del tradurre, si sono dovuti affrontare numerosi problemi per i quali le soluzioni, scelte di volta in volta come le più opportune, non sono certo uniche e definitive.

Su questa speciale « arte del compromesso » insita in ogni esercizio di traduzione letteraria, ineludibile anche quando si vuole operare in modo scientifico, vorrei soffermarmi in questa occasione graditissima di una *Festschrift* in onore del Prof. Edmond Schütz. Sia questo modesto contributo di riflessione a ricordo di una lunga, piacevole conversazione avuta con Lui sul problema della traduzione/traslitterazione dei nomi propri, uno degli aspetti più spinosi della complessa problematica relativa al passaggio di un testo da una lingua a un'altra.

2. L'opera di P^cawstos Buzand rappresenta la redazione scritta, avvenuta poco oltre la metà del secolo V d. C., di un'ampia raccolta di narrazioni epiche tramandate a lungo oralmente, integrate con notizie provenienti da fonti diverse

¹ Cfr. P^cawstos Buzand, *Storia degli Armeni* (a cura e con introduzione di G. Uluhogian, traduzione di Marco Bais e Loris Dina Nocetti), Mimesis, Milano 1997.

² G. Mounin, *Teoria e storia della traduzione*, trad. it., Torino, Einaudi, 1965, p. 140. Riparto l'intero passo, nel quale si presenta così l'alternativa a una totale « italianizzazione » del testo: « Oppure si cerca di estraniare il lettore italiano dal suo mondo, decidendo di fargli leggere il testo senza permettergli di dimenticare un solo istante che si trova di fronte a un'altra lingua, a un altro secolo, a una civiltà diversa. E cioè, come Goethe scrive, si decide di condurre il lettore verso il testo ».

sull'organizzazione della Chiesa e sulla sua azione evangelizzatrice e civilizzatrice della società armena. La *Storia* comprende gli avvenimenti che vanno dalla morte (338 ca. d. C.) di Gregorio Illuminatore e del re Trdat, i due protagonisti della conversione dell'Armenia al cristianesimo, alla spartizione del regno tra la Persia e Bisanzio (387 d. C.).

Il testo armeno risente del lungo uso orale che ne è stato fatto e stilisticamente tende a catturare l'attenzione degli ascoltatori, ancor prima che dei lettori, con l'utilizzazione sapiente di alcuni accorgimenti tecnici: la coordinazione continua, l'allitterazione, l'accumulazione dei sinonimi, la coloritura patetica di alcuni episodi e personaggi. La lingua si segnala per la grande ricchezza lessicale, l'abbondanza di *hapax*, l'eco indubbia delle forme parlate, oltre che per la presenza continua di citazioni e allusioni bibliche.

Una buona traduzione di quest'opera richiede, non solo una conoscenza sicura del contesto in senso lato, ma anche sensibilità e capacità di resa stilistica nella lingua ricevente: è qualche cosa che sfugge a una possibile teorizzazione e dipende dalla competenza e dalle doti innate del traduttore.

Sul piano linguistico però ci sono alcune scelte di fronte a singoli aspetti della lingua di partenza che devono richiamarsi necessariamente a principi generali, definibili a seconda delle caratteristiche della lingua e del genere letterario in oggetto.

Naturalmente i problemi sono più complessi se tra la lingua di partenza e quella d'arrivo ci sono notevoli differenze strutturali ed è ciò che avviene tra armeno e italiano. La prima è una lingua flessiva e dal punto di vista morfologico e sintattico è simile alle lingue classiche, di tipo sintetico, quali il greco o il latino, mentre l'italiano è una lingua prevalentemente analitica.

Come il greco, l'armeno è estremamente attivo nella produzione di derivati e neologismi, mediante l'uso di prefissi, suffissi, radici nominali e verbali. Già nella sua fase antica, quella cui appartiene la *Storia degli Armeni*, appare molto ricco di parole composte. Appunto nella traduzione dei frequentissimi composti nasce un primo contrasto con l'italiano che ha, nel confronto, scarse possibilità.

Per chiarire meglio come si è cercato di risolvere alcune tipiche difficoltà di questo testo, mi sembra opportuno ricorrere a qualche esempio.

Nel cap. 3 del III libro, Fausto bolla gli empi assalitori del patriarca Vrt'anēs con tre epitetti ingiuriosi *ašxarh-a-ker-k^{c3}*, *ašxarh-awer-k^c* e *žand-agorc-k^c*. Tutti e tre sono composti di un nome e di un tema verbale, i primi due hanno nella prima parte lo stesso nome *ašxarh* « mondo, universo, terra, paese », completato con un tema verbale che nel primo caso, *ker-*, significa « mangiare, divorcare », nel secondo *awer-* « distruggere ». I due aggettivi andranno tradotti quindi « mangiatori del mondo/paese », « distruttori del mondo/paese »: è chiaro che l'assonanza del finale armeno, che ha il suo peso stilistico nella particolare prosa di Fausto, si perde in italiano. Si dovrà allora trovare una soluzione diver-

³ La divisione mediante trattini è nostra, per isolare gli elementi di cui è composta la parola, tra i quali va segnalato la *a* compositiva, che non compare nel secondo in quanto fusa con la *a* del successivo tema verbale, e *k^c*, terminazione del nominativo plurale.

sa, che tuttavia mantenga la connotazione stilistica cui si accennava; si è scelto di tradurre « divisoratori e distruttori del paese », così che l'assonanza è stata trasferita nella prima parte del sintagma che unifica i due aggettivi armeni. L'ultimo, *žand-a-gorc-k^c*, presenta un caso raro felicissimo, in quanto corrisponde perfettamente all'italiano « pestiferi »; nel passo preso in esame si è preferito però anticiparlo al nome cui si riferisce: « Così assediati, legati, attorcigliati, soggiogati e raggomitolati, caduti a terra tutti quanti insieme, se ne stavano muti, incapaci di muoversi dal posto, loro che erano la progenie e la stirpe dei pestiferi preti pagani, divisoratori e distruttori del mondo ». E' sembrato quindi salvo l'andamento ritmico dell'intero periodo che in entrambe le lingue comincia con una serie di partecipi passati, ha la sua pausa nel verbo finito centrale « se ne stavano muti » e si conclude con la sottolineatura del soggetto mediante il cumulo degli aggettivi composti di cui si è detto.

Il caso appena visto può essere considerato specifico dell'italiano, non lo sarebbe invece per il tedesco, che ama e usa abbondantemente della composizione.

Ma il problema dei composti armeni è più complesso, dal punto di vista semantico, per la numerosa serie di composti in *-pet*⁴, con cui si indicano le funzioni di « capo, persona con funzione preminente in un gruppo di simili », come indica l'etimologia del termine suffissato. Con composti in *-pet* sono indicati in armeno quasi tutti i funzionari della gerarchica società armena nell'età rappresentata nella *Storia*, come *nahapet*, *sparapet*, *mardpet*, *hazarapet* ecc. Questi titoli, sia perché a tutt'oggi non sempre è stata individuata la precisa funzione che indicano, sia per la difficoltà di darne una concisa resa in italiano, sono stati lasciati nella loro forma originale. In un apposito *Glossario* alla fine della traduzione è riportata la loro più probabile interpretazione.

E' proprio per i composti in *-pet* riferiti alla gerarchia ecclesiastica, che è stato necessario procedere in modo diversificato e quindi con un compromesso, tenendo conto del dato linguistico e storico a un tempo. Il termine *hayr-a-pet*, viene tradotto con « patriarca », in quanto calco del greco πατριάρχης. Nella *Storia* questo titolo è usato, benchè con scarsa frequenza, per designare il capo supremo della chiesa armena⁵. I personaggi che hanno avuto la responsabilità dell'intera chiesa armena (*Vrt'anēs*, *Yusik*, *Nersēs* ecc.) sono più spesso ricordati con altri titoli: con quello di *kat'olicos*, attuale appellativo del capo della chiesa armena precalcedonita, divenuto corrente nel VII secolo, con qualche anticipazione già nel V, e, molto più spesso, con *episkopos-a-pet*, *k'ahanay-a-pet*, ossia, alla lettera, rispettivamente « capo dei vescovi » e « capo dei sacerdoti ». Questi titoli sono intercambiabili nell'uso che ne fa Fausto e recepiti probabilmente come equivalenti dai suoi ascoltatori/lettori. Il primo è un semi-

⁴ Cfr. M. Leroy, Les composés arméniens en *-pet*, *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire orientales et slaves*, 15, Bruxelles 1960, pp. 109–128 e E. Benveniste, Remarques sur les composés arméniens en *-pet*, *Handes Amsorya*, 75 (1961), coll. 631–640.

⁵ Esso non deve essere omologato a quello classico spettante ai titolari dei quattro patriarchati orientali: Costantinopoli, Alessandria, Antiochia, Gerusalemme.

calco di gr. ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, in cui *-pet* è il corrispondente semantico di ἀρχι-, e designa l'« arcivescovo » nella funzione originaria che tale ecclesiastico aveva nelle prime sedi patriarcali, o, come nel caso specifico dell'Armenia, nella funzione di presidente tutti i vescovi di una grande provincia fuori dai confini dell'impero⁶. Pur indicando entrambi la medesima funzione, è sembrato che tradurli entrambi con « arcivescovo » sarebbe stata un'indebita normalizzazione di una varietà significativa. In una situazione come è quella rappresentata in Fausto, che resta la maggior fonte per la conoscenza dell'organizzazione della chiesa armena nel IV secolo, l'esistenza dei due termini per indicare la medesima funzione può essere considerata infatti una spia delle due diverse aree linguistiche dalle quali è penetrato il cristianesimo in Armenia. L'una, già in età apostolica, costituita dalla Mesopotamia settentrionale, di lingua e cultura siriana, più direttamente collegata con la Palestina e comunque con un ambiente semitico, ha lasciato traccia di sé nel prestito *k'ahanay* « sacerdote » e nel derivato *k'ahanayapet*, collegabile attraverso il siriaco con l'ebraico *kohēn* « sacerdote » e quindi adatto a esprimere, nel ricordo biblico del « sommo sacerdote », la suprema carica della chiesa. L'altra è quella attiva nel IV secolo, direttamente collegata a Cesarea di Cappadocia e quindi greca, che si rivela appunto in *episkoposapet*, semicalco del greco ἀρχιεπίσκοπος. Per valorizzare il dato storico e mantenere la traccia del duplice uso si è tradotto « sommo sacerdote » il primo termine e « arcivescovo » il secondo, entrambi designanti la guida suprema della chiesa armena, per il quale in qualche raro caso è usata anche la forma ridondante di *ark'episkoposapet*⁷ ugualmente reso con « arcivescovo ».

Sempre sul piano lessicale, ma con una più marcata valenza stilistica, si è dovuto risolvere il problema dell'accumulazione sinonimica. Questo frequente tratto del nostro Autore, quasi sempre senza una vera e propria *climax* ascendente o descendente, è stato mantenuto quando è sembrato che anche in italiano avesse la stessa efficacia espressiva; ma quando la serie dei sinonimi è apparsa come una giustapposizione di termini senza gradazione si è tentato di alleggerire il passo, sostituendo qualche verbo con espressioni avverbiali aventi la funzione di ribadire il concetto fondamentale.

A contrappeso di questa relativa libertà, si è invece seguito un criterio di grande fedeltà nella riproduzione di uno stilema che, pur non essendo peculiare del nostro testo ed essendo presente anche in altre opere coeve, proprio per la sua frequenza in P'awstos è sembrato meritare un rilievo particolare. Si tratta della coppia verbale « veniva giungeva/andava giungeva », che descrive il moto nel suo svolgimento e nel suo compiersi: tale sintagma è stato mantenuto in italiano senza segno di interpunzione fra i verbi, in tutti i tempi in cui ricorre.

⁶ Cfr. G. Amadouni, L'autocéphalie du katholikat arménien, in *I patriarchati orientali nel primo millennio*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 181 (1968), pp. 137–178.

⁷ Sul valore e sulla formazione della terminologia ecclesiastica qui trattata, cfr. P. Mildonian, Fattori strutturali ed extra-strutturali nei meccanismi dell'interferenza. Note sulla formazione di un lessico liturgico, *Bazmavēp*, 140 (1982), 3–4, pp. 353–371.

Questa particolarità, infatti, e con essa la fedeltà ai tempi verbali del testo, anche quando non perfettamente corrispondenti alla *consecutio temporum* italiana, è sembrata rappresentare bene l'arcaicità della narrazione, così come l'uso particolare del verbo « dire » è stato visto come un mezzo di drammatizzazione del racconto. Esso infatti ricorre sempre al presente indicativo, per evidente influsso della versione biblica, prima del discorso diretto e ha la funzione di porre sul piano della contemporaneità il parlante con immediato coinvolgimento dell'ascoltatore/lettore.

Un altro segno dell'arcaicità del testo e della sua trasmissione orale è la coordinazione che domina il tessuto sintattico e ha la prevalenza sull'elemento subordinativo. E' soprattutto sovrabbondante la presenza delle congiunzioni e delle particelle coordinanti: in questo caso i traduttori, pur aderendo all'andamento narrativo coordinato del testo armeno, hanno dovuto eliminare drasticamente le singole congiunzioni coordinanti.

3. Per il suo statuto particolare⁸ un'attenzione specifica è stata riservata al nome proprio e alla sua trasposizione nella lingua d'arrivo, soprattutto perché, nel caso qui considerato, si tratta di un testo di epoca, civiltà e lingua molto lontane da quelle in cui vive il lettore italiano cui l'opera è indirizzata.

Prima di considerare i casi singoli che hanno costretto a soluzioni diverse, è opportuno indicare quali sono stati gli orientamenti generali.

Ci si è chiesti preliminarmente se si dovevano o no « tradurre » i nomi e, insieme, che cosa si intendesse per « traduzione ». Oltre che nell'accezione corrente, per cui si può avere traduzione nel caso del nome in funzione di vero e proprio segno linguistico, con la resa del suo significato (nomi con etimo trasparente), per « traduzione » si è inteso anche la trasposizione del significante nella forma fonetica della lingua d'arrivo (un esempio potrebbe essere quello di Giovanni che in armeno si presenta come Yohannēs, Yovhannēs, Yohan ecc.) e anche l'uso di un significante diverso, ma con significato corrispondente a quello della lingua originale: si veda il caso culmine di « Armenia » o « armeno » rispettivamente per *Hayk^c* (o *Hayoc^c erkir* « paese degli Armeni ») e *hay*.

Dopo aver accertato che nella maggioranza i nomi propri usati nella *Storia* di P^cawstos Buzand sono « intraducibili » in uno dei modi sopra detti, si è posto il problema di come « rappresentarli » nel loro valore fonetico. Si è trattato cioè di decidere se trascrivere i nomi propri rappresentandone il valore fonetico secondo l'ortografia italiana⁹ o traslitterarli in una forma universalmente valida

⁸ La bibliografia sui diversi aspetti dell'onomastica è molto ampia e per essa si rimanda al periodico bollettino pubblicato in « Onoma ». Fra i contributi più generali ricordo A. Gardiner, *The Theory of Proper Names*, Oxford 1954; per quel che riguarda l'italiano si veda E. De Felice, Onomastica, in *Linguistica storica*, a cura di Romano Lazzeroni, Roma 1987, per l'armeno H. Ačairean, *Hayoc^c anjanunneri bařaran*, Beirut 1972 (rist.).

⁹ La difficoltà deriva dal fatto che mentre in armeno ad ogni fono corrisponde un segno, in italiano, come nelle altre lingue europee, per alcuni di essi si deve far ricorso a più segni, e diversi in ogni lingua: si pensi alla resa della spirante palatale sorda /š/ trascritta in italiano con il gruppo -sc(i)-, in francese con -ch-, in inglese con -sh-, in tedesco con -sch-.

mediante l'alfabeto latino corredata di opportuni segni diacritici. E' stata scelta questa seconda possibilità, con l'adozione del sistema di traslitterazione Hübschmann-Meillet-Benveniste. Questo, pur obbligando il lettore italiano non specialisto a una breve iniziazione per riconoscere il valore fonetico dei singoli segni (a questo scopo è stata preparata una tabella di corrispondenze con ricorso a parole italiane come esempio di foni), è pur tuttavia estremamente coerente al suo interno e sempre più ampiamente utilizzato, almeno in Europa.

Per la resa dei nomi si sono individuati quindi alcuni principi generali, che però non sono, nella pratica, applicabili automaticamente perché per ciascun nome esiste una serie di fattori extralinguistici, derivanti dai rapporti col referente, col contesto, col lettore odierno, che non permette una soluzione definitiva e univoca.

Vediamo con una serie di esempi come ci si è comportati nella traduzione che ci interessa, facendo la classica distinzione in toponimi e antroponomi.

3.1. *Toponimi*. In questa categoria è stata fatta una divisione tra i toponimi universalmente noti e quelli conosciuti solo dagli specialisti. Tuttavia i criteri per questa distinzione sono stati necessariamente empirici, perché è difficilmente misurabile quello che è noto e quello che di certo sfugge al lettore italiano medio colto, cui l'opera è diretta.

Per i toponimi appartenenti alla prima serie, che in genere hanno un riscontro nelle fonti greco-latine, vige una consuetudine di traduzione comune al mondo occidentale e che è stata qui seguita.

Così, come già si è accennato, il nome stesso della regione geografica, cui si riferisce la storia narrata, è Armenia e non evidentemente il « paese degli Hayk » o « Hayastan ». Una « traduzione » fonetica nella lingua d'arrivo si è avuta, per fare esempio che ricorre spesso, nel caso della regione di Atropatene in luogo di « Atrpayakan », mentre ad indicare i popoli abitanti le rispettive regioni sono stati usati i termini Medi per i « Mark^c », Iberi per i « Virk^c », Albani per gli « Aluank^c ».

Sono stati invece traslitterati i nomi delle regioni « Aljnik^c », « Korduk^c » e « Ekeleac^c » (quest'ultima lasciata in genitivo plurale, unico caso attestato!) in luogo dei corrispondenti pressochè sconosciuti Arzanena, Corduena e Acilisena.

Va però osservato, in linea di massima, che se in un testo storico la frequenza dei toponimi traslitterati fosse troppo elevata si correrebbe il rischio di suscitare nel lettore un senso di estraniamento totale in luoghi e regioni di fantasia più che realmente esistiti; nel caso della *Storia degli Armeni* ciò falserebbe profondamente il suo valore di precisa fonte storica. Per mantenere quindi il necessario riferimento a una cornice culturale e geografica concreta sono stati tradotti, per esempio, « Mcbin » con Nisibi, « Gamirk^c » con Cappadocia; « Ep^crat » è stato restituito alla sua forma italiana di Eufrate e « Mijagetsk^c » è stato reso col preciso calco Mesopotamia, ripetendo l'operazione che l'armeno aveva fatto sul greco.

I nomi delle località ad etimo trasparente invece sono stati resi in modo duplice: con la traslitterazione, in omaggio al principio sopra accennato che il toponimo non universalmente noto doveva essere lasciato come era nel testo, e con la traduzione italiana aggiunta in nota perché la conoscenza del significato del toponimo era indispensabile per una migliore comprensione del contesto. Così troviamo, per esempio, « Anyuš (Oblio) », « Tačar Mayri (Palazzo del Bosco) », « C^{clu} Glux (Testa di Toro) », « Draxt Hac^ceac^c (Giardino dei Frassini) », Eljerk^c (Corni) ».

3.2 *Antroponomi*. A differenza che per i toponimi, in questo caso non si è fatta la distinzione tra quelli noti e quelli ignoti (presumibilmente) al lettore italiano, perché, essendo gli antroponomi molto più numerosi, è sembrato irrilevante usare solo per i pochi attestati nelle fonti occidentali le forme latinizzate Sapore per Šapuh, Arsace per Aršak o Papa per Pap, quando la maggioranza di essi doveva essere necessariamente traslitterata in mancanza della forma corrispondente.

Si è invece deciso di « tradurre », nel senso di adattare alla forma italiana, alcune categorie di nomi e precisamente: i nomi personali biblici, come Abramo, Noè, Mosè, Giovanni, Pietro, Paolo ecc.; i nomi degli imperatori Costantino e Valente; i nomi dei santi noti a tutta la cristianità, anche se in prevalenza orientali: abbiamo così Eusebio, Basilio, Sergio, Teodoro, Tecla ecc.

Per converso, Grigor, il grande apostolo della conversione dell'Armenia, noto anche con il soprannome di Illuminatore, mai però usato nel nostro testo, è stato traslitterato e non tradotto, per non diminuire in alcun modo la connotazione armena del personaggio.

Per quel che riguarda i soprannomi, non molto abbondanti nel nostro testo, alcuni come quelli dei tre ignoti monaci al seguito di Gind nell'ultimo capitolo della *Storia*, che sono usati al posto del nome per probabile espressione di umiltà, sono stati tradotti in nota dopo la traslitterazione, così Vač^cak (Uccellino), Artoyt (Allodola), Marax (Cavalletta), mentre per il re Xosrov Kotak, il soprannome Kotak « basso, piccolo », col quale è universalmente noto nella storia armena non è stato tradotto, anche per la difficoltà di precisarne esattamente il valore: il Basso? il Breve? il Piccolo? il Minore?

Quanto ai nomi di famiglia, che designano le grandi casate della società armena durante la monarchia arsacide, sono stati tutti traslitterati. Questi antroponomi, veri e propri cognomi¹⁰ hanno due terminazioni principali, in *-uni* e in *-ean*. I primi sono i più diffusi nella nostra opera e possono designare o solo i membri del clan (Arcruni/Arcrunik^c, Amatuni/Amatunik^c, Gnuni/Gnunik^c ecc.) o anche il territorio sul quale esercita il suo dominio il clan stesso (Aršaruni/Aršarunik^c, Rštuni/Rštunik^c, Siwni/Siwnik^c ecc.). In entrambi i casi essi sono assimilabili ad aggettivi o ad aggettivi sostantivati, e ammettono il singolare e il plurale. L'altra forma, tipicamente patronimica, è quella che esce in *-ean* e definisce i membri della famiglia ma non il territorio. A questo genere appar-

¹⁰ Cfr. H. Ačařean, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 353 sgg.

tengono i cognomi del tipo Mamikonean, Manawasean ecc., anch'essi trattati come aggettivi al singolare e al plurale. Nella traduzione si è deciso di mantenere distinto, secondo il testo originale, l'uso del singolare e del plurale. Così si potrà trovare, ad esempio, « la famiglia Mamikonean » in alternanza con « la famiglia dei Mamikonean » a seconda che l'armeno usi il singolare o il plurale.

Infine di fronte alle varianti grafiche dei toponimi e degli antroponimi si è ricorsi ancora una volta a un compromesso, naturalmente per quelli meno noti e meno verificabili con elementi esterni al testo. Tenuto anche conto che non possediamo un testo in edizione critica, si è infatti uniformata la grafia privilegiando quella attestata più frequentemente, per evitare confusione nel lettore. Per alcuni esempi di nomi molto noti (si veda il caso del toponimo Manawazakert/Manazkert), tuttavia, questo criterio non è sembrato valido e si è preferito lasciare in ciascun passo la variante in esso usata.

In conclusione si può affermare che non è stato possibile applicare in questa difficile resa onomastica nessuna norma vincolante, ma si è fatto ricorso a un articolato adattamento alle singole situazioni, nell'intento di condurre il lettore a un testo davvero lontano nel tempo e nello spazio, senza tuttavia togliergli tutti i punti di riferimento a una cultura, quella dell'oriente contiguo al mondo greco-latino e già permeato di cristianesimo, alla quale il lettore italiano medio non può dirsi totalmente estraneo.

ARMENIAN PLURALS IN -STAN

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In 1980 Professor Schütz, in his usual well-documented and inspiring style, published a paper on the origin of the Crimea and Northwest (Polish) Armenians (Schütz 1980). He traced the chronology of the successive Armenian settlements in the Crimea (and from there into Poland), and was able to show that the popular belief, according to which the Polish Armenians trace their descent directly from the survivors of the fall of Ani (1064), is unfounded. While stressing that the immigrations must be seen as the result of a continuous inpour of refugees, Schütz showed that a major constituent of the Polish Armenians result from the mass-flight towards the Crimea after the Tatar invasion into Armenia (1236); in 1475, the date of the Turkish conquest of the Crimea, the Armenian population of the Crimea left for Podolia and Moldavia. There remained only a minor Armenian settlement, concentrated in the city of Caffa. A second immigration was caused by the Jalali upheavals in Anatolia, in the beginning of the 17th century. This time the Armenian refugees went directly to Poland; only a small number settled in the Crimea. The latter group was moved out towards the newly created city of Nor-Naxijevan in 1779.

The origin of the first wave of immigrants can only be broadly defined as Northern and Eastern Anatolia; Schütz (1980:129) points out that one might also expect emigrants from the defeated Cilician Armenian kingdom in 14th century Caffa. Anatolia in a broad sense is also the origin of the second wave of immigrants; Schütz (1980:133–134) stresses the Tokat element. From the perspective of linguistic and dialectal research the historical background of the Polish Armenians is a perfect illustration of what happened to the Armenian speech community as a whole: warfare, deportations and population replacements have constantly disturbed the stratigraphy of the Armenian language. The problem of historical and linguistic continuity must always be posed in Armenian historical dialectology.

From Schütz's historical account one concludes that the Polish Armenian dialect possesses at least two chronological layers: an early layer to be dated to the years 1236–1475, and a second layer to be dated to the late 16th–early 17th century. The latter layer is identical to the Nor Naxijevan dialect. Therefore, one

suspects that elements which occur in Polish Armenian, but not in the Nor Naxijevan dialect possibly belong to the first layer. In addition, exclusive Polish–Nor Naxijevan features are second layer elements; this may be the case for the formation of the ordinals in *-um* (*ergusum* ‘second’; Ačairyan 1953:10). Of course, non-exclusive isoglosses between the Polish and Nor Naxijevan dialects are much more difficult to judge; this holds for the consonantal system (both dialects belong to group 1), and for shared archaisms like the presence of *nu*-verbs. In any case, Schütz’s approach offers us a chance to recover important medieval dialectal isoglosses.

The layer approach is fruitful in the case of the plural-formations in *-stan*. Plurals in *-stan* are an outstanding feature of Polish Armenian whereas they seem to be absent in Nor Naxijevan. The assumption that such plurals belong to the earliest layer of Polish Armenian is in accordance with the general distribution of this feature in Armenian dialects.

The element *-stan* is one of the numerous endings which Medieval and Modern Armenian use for the formation of plurals and collectives. The plurals in *-stan* occur in a limited group of nouns. Their semantic nature, dialectal spread and chronology were first described by Karst (1901:196–199) for the Middle Armenian period.

In Middle Armenian, *-a-stan* may replace the Classical plural marker *-k^c* with polysyllabic nouns ending in *-i*: *teli* ‘place’, plur. *telestan* (Class. *teli-k*). Karst rightly traces the origin of such *-a-stan* plurals to the Classical nouns which are formed with the Iranian loan suffix *-stān*. In Classical Armenian, formations closest to the Iranian source are designations of geographic entities (*Asorestan* ‘Syria’, Bible) and localities (*menastan* ‘convent’ (*miayn* ‘alone’), Koriwn). Already in the fifth century this suffix had developed into a collective marker, never completely devoid of spatial semantics: *aygestan* ‘vineyard’ (*aygi* ‘vine’, Bible), *murt-a-stan* ‘myrtle-grove’ (Bible), *gerdastan* ‘household’ (Bible). In later times, the plural marker nearly always reflects *-estan*; the *-e-* (from *-i* + *-a-*) in the number ending reflects its previous status as a suffix formation. Therefore, there is no reason to follow Łaribyan (1953:138, 332) in his view that the ending *-stan* is a conglomerate of original plural endings added to an original AccPl. ending: *-s* + *-ta-n*.

As Karst points out, collective value is also present in Middle Armenian *-a-stan* formations. Thus one finds *hayrenestan* ‘inheritance’. Collective value may also account for Middle Armenian *-estan* formations with body-parts: *šlnestan* (Geponica; next to *šlnik*) ‘neck’; *alestan* (15th c. Amirdovlat^c; Class. *alik*) ‘bowels’; *k^camestan* ‘flatulence’ (Amirdovlat^c; Class. *k^cami* ‘wind’). The borderline between collective and simple plural semantics is not always easy to draw. Syntactic behavior provides an indication; Middle Armenian *-stan* formations occur with a verb in the singular: *hayerenestan kenay* ‘there is inherited possession’ (13th c. Assizes of Antioch 21:10–11); *vayri t^crčunacⁿ lelestann ē ōgut* ‘wild birds’ gall is useful’ (Amirdovlat^c, *Ōgut Bž.* p. 218; *lelestan* is derived

from *leli* ‘bile, gall’); *ew ays yišac ginestans ... zarun ku tak^cnē ...* ‘and all these wines mentioned here ... warm (sg.!) the blood ...’ (Amirdovlat^c, *Anpit. Anp.* 404, No. 2366).

The actual occurrence of *-a-stan* plurals in Medieval texts does not support the assumption of a frequent feature. Karst could only mention five or six of such plurals; later research, though certainly not comprehensive (Hovsep^cyan 1975:59) (*-stan*), 61 (*-stner*) finds nine instances only in the corpus of the literary production of the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries. And whereas *telestan* occurs in one author only (Amirdovlat^c), the more common plural turns out to be *telik^c*, which is attested with five different authors (Hovsep^cyan 1975:48). Therefore, against Karst’s opinion (1901:198), the occurrence of *-a-stan* formations in literary Middle Armenian is a very limited feature.

Middle Armenian *-a-stan* collectives may be additionally marked to form singulative plurals (Karst 1901:197): *hayrenestan* ‘inheritance’: *hayrenestan-er* ‘inherited goods’. This interesting feature is also available in the Classical fifth century language. The plurals of Classical *-stan* formations may be listed as follows:

- Regular *-k^c* plurals: e.g. *tac^cē ... ards ew aygestans* ‘he will give ... fields and vineyards’ (1Kings 22:7).

- *-i* derivations. If I am not mistaken, formations of the type *aygestani*, while formal singulars, are semantically plural. Such instances are present in Agat^cangełos (§§ 42, 150) as well as in Movsēs Xorenac^ci, II 42. I cite Ag. § 42 (cf. Thomson 1976:56–57): “they happened to enter a narrow place in a sunken pathway, *yarowamējs aygestanwoyn* through the vineyards (Thomson: vineyard) *i p^coloc^cumējs hambaroc^cac^cn* and barns ...”. Formally the type *aygestani* is comparable with the *-ani* collectives of the type *azat-ani* ‘the nobles’ (Pseudo-Faustus; Jensen 1959:42, § 108e). The type *aygestani* shows *-wo-* inflection.

- Derivations of the type *-stanik^c* or *-staneayk^c*. Formally, such derivations seem to be a *plurale tantum*; they belong to the *-ya-* inflection. It is not clear in what morphological way the variants are related; the consonantal GDAblPl. *-eayc^c* next to the vocalic type *-eac^c* leads to (postclassical) confusion of the two types. Semantically the formation individuates the collective according to a scheme:

Asori, plur. *Asorik^c* ‘Syrian(s)’ – *Asorestan* ‘Syria’ – *Asorestaneayk^c* (Bible) ‘inhabitants of Syria’.

jēt^c ‘olive’, *jit^ceni* ‘olive tree’ – *jit^castan* ‘olive-grove’ – *jit^castaneayk^c* or *jit^castanik^c* ‘trees of an olive-grove’. For the latter see Koriwn (ch. 22, p. 84 l.2) *i jit^castaneac^c lerinn* ‘in the mount of olives’ (where the Bible translation always has *jit^ceneac^c*, e.g. Lk. 22:39).

The word which has been mentioned as the earliest example of a (‘Middle Armenian’) *-stan* plural (Ačairyan 1957:713) rather belongs to the individualizing plurals. It is *marestaneayk^c* (or *marestanik^c* according to Łazaryan 1995:34) ‘hens’ (Sg. *mari*). This word is used by Step^cannos Siwnec^ci (who died in 735)

when he explains why it is that roosters are painted on the third Canon Table (Interpr. of the X Canon Tables, § 4): *Ak'älalk'n i mēj marestaneayc'n čoxk'ew hamarjakk'*. An interesting translation is given by Russell (*apud* Mathews & Sanjian 1991:206): he clearly attempts to retain the spatial semantics of a *-stan* formation: 'roosters in the hencoops are splendid and bold'. In view of what has been said above on the type *jit'astaneayk'*, such a translation is not necessary. One rather follows Łazaryan (1995:35) 'amongst the hens', thus retaining the semantics of similar instances (e.g. Łazaryan 1995:40, 80–82 *i mēj mareac'q(n)*) or (Prov. 30:31).

Another (slightly later) 8th-century formation is *gerestanik'* 'captives' (*geri* 'captive') in the 'History' of Lewond (Ch. 31, p. 132–133): *zbazmut'iwn gerestaneac'n* 'multitude of captives'.

The two 8th-century references point to underlying **marestan* 'group of hens', and **gerestan* 'group of captives'. In these formations it is not the spatial aspect which is dominant; they rather have semantic links with the (fifth century) type *gerdastan* 'household'.

Thus, there is an outspoken continuity in the development from Classical to Middle Armenian *-stan* formations. The continuity is preserved into later times. In this sense Jahukyan (1972:165) is correct in tracing the modern *-stan* (and variant *-star* in Van and Šatax) plurals to the fifth century. The modern Armenian dialects, too, have preserved all elements which were present in the Middle Armenian period (Petrosyan 1972:404–409). The situation of the Malatya dialect is exemplary in this respect. In this dialect, plurals with *-stan* are stated to be collectives: *aygi* : *aygestan*. Collectives may receive a plural marker designating individual entities of a set: *madni* 'ring': *madnestan* : *madnestan-ner*. Hajən plurals in *-stanni* (i.e. *-stan* + plural marker *-ni*) may reflect the same situation (Gasparyan 1966:70). Such a double characterization is possible in all dialects.

On the formal side, many dialects have innovated in that they also incorporate polysyllabic words in *-a*, *-u* into this category (*satanay* 'satan' Van; *p'essay* 'bride-groom' Karin, Muš; *tlay* 'boy' Ardvin; *katu* 'cat' Ardvin; *lezow* 'tongue' Poland). Turkish loans are not excluded from this formation (Sebastia *emmi* 'paternal uncle'; Gasparyan 1966:70; Ačaiyan 1953:134 for Poland; *amiray* in Šatax; Muradyan 1962:87). All dialects seem to have innovated with respect to Middle Armenian in that they use a plural verb with *-stan* formations. A preferred semantic field in all dialects are family members (*k'eri* 'uncle') and animals (*jori* 'mule'). Words in *-ac'i*, *-ec'i* do not have plurals in *-stan*.

From the situation in Polish Armenian, Karst (1901:198–199) concluded that the *-stan* plural is restricted to nouns designating inanimates. He inferred that also in Middle Armenian, *-stan* plurals were used with inanimates only. In this view he is followed by Ačaiyan (1957:709), whereas Ačaiyan 1953 does not mention it at all. Justified doubts are expressed by Petrosyan (1972:404) who points out that Ačaiyan's earliest example of such a formation, *marestaneayk'* is derived from an animate. The material treated above, does not at all support

Karst's view either. In fact, Polish Armenian does possess a plural *k'ērestan* 'uncles'. This word (an 'exception' according to Karst 1901:199) which is in perfect agreement with the situation in other dialects should be weighed against the evidence of the Polish Armenian plurals *ordi-k'* 'suns' (rather a literary archaism), *ərzi-ner* 'Ruthenian-s', *datastanc'i-k'* 'some officer' (in my view comparable with the words in *-ac'i*. For the plural *drac'i-ner* 'neighbors' see Ačaryan 1953:134). It seems to me that in this particular point Karst's view cannot be upheld.

The dialect-geographical spread of the *-stan* plurals can be studied on the basis of Čahukyan's (1972:82) isogloss 54. This isogloss describes the distribution of plurals formed with the endings *-stan* and *-star*, treating them as belonging to an identical underlying entity. In this Čahukyan is correct; the two forms are both used after polysyllables ending in a vowel, mostly the vowel *-i*. The endings as a rule represent the form *-estan* (from *-i + -a- + stan*) and *-estar*; the variant *-star* may have originated from *-stan* under the influence of the numerous plural formations in *-r*, especially *-ter*, and *-tar*. The dialects which preferably use *-star* are Van (next to *-stan*), Urmia and Šatax. From the historical point of view, these dialects may be considered as participating in the same isogloss as those showing representatives of *-stan*. Given the morphological parallelism of *-star* and *-stan* there is no need to consider *-star* as representing a compound suffix *-tar* (from *-ti + ar* added to petrified accusative plurals in *-s* (Muradyan 1962:87; Petrosyan 1972:408)).

The overall picture of the geographical distribution of *-stan* plurals is as follows:

-stan formations do not occur in Eastern dialects, that is in the dialects of Ararat, Tiflis, Karabagh, and the group 6 dialects (Agulis, Melri etc). The *-stan* plurals share this distributional feature with the *-vi* plurals (which are a very old innovation, dating to well before the tenth century). I consider the absence of *-stan* formations in this Eastern area as the one of the indications for the existence of an early dialect-split in Armenian (for which see Weitenberg 1996) but I shall not treat this aspect here. The absence of the suffix in the Hamšen area may have a similar reason.

In the remaining area, one does not find *-stan* plurals in the far Western part of Anatolia (Polis, Rodost^co, Smyrna, Nicomedia), nor in the colony of Nor Naxijevan. In the rest of Western Anatolia the suffix is sparsely spread (it is mentioned for Tokat and Darende, but not for Amasya, Trabzon, Arabkir, and Akn). Also, it is not found in the Tigranakert, Urfa area.

The formation is at home in a continuous central area, starting from Sivas and Šapin-Karahisar in the West, continuing through the Central and North-Eastern parts of Anatolia, including Malatya, the Sassun and Dersim areas, as well as the Erznka – Karberd territories, down to the dialects of Muš, Karin (with Axal-^cxa), Xotorjur, and Ardvin. In the South-East the dialects of Van, Urmia and Šatax participate. In addition, the Cilician (Zeyt^cun, Hajen) and the Syrian dia-

lects to the South possess the feature, separated from the rest of the area by the gap which is formed by Urfa and Tigranakert. From the overseas areas the Polish Armenian dialect is involved.

The dialects which possess the *-stan* plurals are divided by two additional isoglosses:

- One isogloss, and in our present context the most important one, defines an area which innovated by developing productive use of the *-stan* formation as a plural marker: Muš, Karin (including the area of Axalc^cxa), Xotorjur. To this group also the Polish Armenian dialect belongs. The remaining area is archaic in that the use of *-stan* never led to a productive pattern.

- Within this archaic area the Van Šatax Urmia area innovated through the formation of *-star*. We have no indication for the chronology of this feature.

It is not always easy to judge the semantic developments in the individual dialects. From the examples adduced by Danielyan one gathers that the collective aspect of the *-stan* plural in Malatya is rather loose: it is used with words like *tari* 'year', *matani* 'ring', *gōti* 'belt', *hayeli* 'mirror'. Unfortunately, relevant dialect descriptions do not explicitly indicate in what sense such formations are 'collective'. Collective meaning is reported to be rather strong in the Northern region of Axalc^cxa; there one finds instances like *banlik^c* 'key', *banlestan* 'bunch of keys'; but it is not specified whether the same formation in other dialects (Poland, Ačairyan 1953:135; Dersim, Petrosyan 1972:406) likewise has this particular meaning. The semantic constraint probably is related to the morphological constraint in all dialects concerned. As a rule, nouns in *-i* may have a plural in *-stan*; but, with the exception of Polish Armenian, the use of *-stan* is nowhere an obligatory feature of such words. There are degrees here: in a dialect like Malatya the regular plural of a noun in *-i* shows *-ner*; likewise, in Van they normally receive an ending based on old *k^c + ter* (-hyter; Ačairyan 1952: 110). In such dialects, the use of *-stan* plurals may entail highly marked (collective) semantics. At the other end of the scale are dialects like Polish Armenian, Muš, and Karin (but also Axalc^cxa) where the use of *-stan* is much more wide-spread and, one might suppose, more unmarked. On this basis one is allowed to use productivity of the suffix as a criterion for dialect grouping.

Following the reasoning set out above, the absence of *-stan* formations in Nor Naxijevan indicates that the Polish Armenian *-stan* formations belong to the first layer of this dialect, and therefore can be dated to the 13th–15th century. It follows that the innovation which Polish Armenian shares with the dialects of Muš, Karin, and Xotorjur, i.e. the productivity of the *-stan* formations, likewise must be dated to this period. The feature which separates the Polish Armenian *-stan* formations from all other dialects is its obligatory character (Ačairyan 1953:133). This particular feature has been developed in isolation, after the split.

At the current stage of my research I cannot offer an explanation for the absence of *-stan* formations in the extreme Western dialects (Polish etc.), and in

the Nor Naxijevan dialect. One may suspect that these dialects gave up the feature; the loss may be connected with the transition from singular to plural verbal rection. I find no unambiguous data to document this transition, which in any case has taken place in the 'productive' area (Muš, Karin, Polish Armenian etc.). The transition must therefore likewise be dated to the 13th–15th century period. An indication that in this period the far Western area did not participate in the transition may be found in the Amirdovlat^c texts cited above which show singular verbal rection: they belong to the end of the period in question, the 15th century, and originate from the Western Anatolian region of Amasya. One speculates that absence of plural rection may have favored the loss of the morpheme *-stan*.

In the final analysis we have gained some more insight into the dialect map of medieval Armenia and into the linguistic relation of the Cilician area with Greater Armenia.

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L'IDENTITÉ POLYVALENTE DANS LE TÉMOIGNAGE D'UN ARTISTE : SERGUEÏ PARADJANOV

RÉFLEXIONS SUR LE PROBLÈME DE LA POLYVALENCE ETHNIQUE ET CULTURELLE

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(Venise)

L'art et la personnalité de Sergueï Paradjanov¹ ont représenté, dans les années soixante-dix, un des cas les plus célèbres, au niveau international, où la culture d'origine d'un cinéaste a été reconnue de façon si explicite et pertinente en fonction de sa création artistique. Cela était dû aussi, peut-être, à l'action humanitaire que des associations et des groupes arméniens promurent, surtout en France, avec une très ample résonance sur les média lors de la persécution officielle infligée par le régime à l'artiste et qui lui valut quatre ans de prison².

Mais à part cette contingence historique, l'œuvre de S. Paradjanov offre, sans aucun doute, un des exemples les plus vifs et les plus riches de l'interférence et de l'heureuse « symbiose » dans l'unité d'une synthèse géniale de cultures de souches et de racines différentes.

¹ Cet article reprend sous une forme plus concise et plus concrète à la fois, les principales idées que nous avions développées il y a quatre ans dans la revue *Filosofia Oggi* (an. XVI, 1993, n° 62-64, fasc. II-IV. Edizioni dell'Arcipelago, Genova, pp. 217-231), sous le titre : « Les identités polyvalentes et Sergueï Paradjanov. La situation emblématique de l'artiste et le problème de la polyvalence ethnique et culturelle ».

Nous souhaitons que la reprise de la thématique des « identités polyvalentes » dans ce présent recueil puisse se revêtir d'une double signification d'hommage : un hommage, tout d'abord, à la personne même du Prof. Edmund Schütz dont la vie constitue un éloquent témoignage de polyvalence, poussée jusqu'au niveau d'une certaine « symbiose » sympathétique, pour ce qui concerne en particulier ses relations avec l'Arménie et la culture arménienne, sans que ceci ait aucunement interferé avec la rigueur de sa recherche scientifique ; un hommage, en même temps, à son pays, l'Hongrie, qui vient juste de reconnaître spontanément – fait assez singulier et digne de la plus haute appréciation – l'identité ethno-culturelle des minorités vivant en son sein, même si elles ne sont pas territoriales dans le sens où nous allons définir ce terme.

Nous remercions Mlle Tiziana Cescon pour sa collaboration à ce travail.

² La Biennale de Venise de 1977, dédiée à la dissidence, consacra un large espace à Paradjanov alors qu'il était encore en prison : voir *Serghej Paradjanov, Testimonianze e documenti su l'opera e la vita a cura di Antonin J. Liehm, La Biennale di Venezia, Marsilio Editori, Venezia, 1977*. Sur Paradjanov voir en outre : *Ašik-Kerib*, a cura di G. Scarcia, coll. *Eurasistica, Quaderni del Dipartimento di Studi Eurasiaci, Università degli Studi di Venezia*, Venezia, 1991. (la complexité des dimensions culturelles polyvalentes de l'artiste y souffre d'une approche quelque peu unilatérale) ; P. Cazals, *Sergueï Paradjanov*, Ed.s Cahiers du Cinéma, Paris, 1993.

Citoyen soviétique de la République géorgienne, d'origine arménienne, né et élevé en Géorgie, formé en Russie, ayant vécu en Ukraine (outre que dans les geôles de l'État qu'il nommait son propre « Oxford ») –, Sergueï Paradjanov présente un cas singulier où la tentative de juger et de classifier une oeuvre d'art uniquement sur la base des critères de l'État d'appartenance de l'artiste ou du commettant ou bien du capital et des moyens de production conduirait à une grave incompréhension de ce qui marque au plus profond de lui-même l'âme, l'être, l'identité de cet homme et metteur en scène extraordinaire.

En fait, Paradjanov est l'incarnation même de l'artiste dont l'identité ne peut pas être saisie par les seuls paramètres politico-étatiques ou économico-productifs, ni être reconduite aux catégories sociologiques courantes, liées à l'idéologie de l'État-nation, qui se révèlent réductives de tout ce qui ne s'intègre pas dans ses schémas généralisants et homologants.

Culture de frontière

Pour une approche adéquate à une telle oeuvre, il faut, croyons-nous, dépasser les schémas en question. Ceci ne sera possible, nous semble-t-il, que par l'introduction d'une nouvelle catégorie de qualification d'identité, celle de la « polyvalence culturelle », en lui attribuant en tout cas une épaisseur réelle et concrète.

Certes, cette notion attend encore sa « canonisation » officielle, surtout aux niveaux pratiques de la cohabitation sociale et des mécanismes juridiques, malgré la grande actualité que la nécessité de son élaboration et adoption vient d'acquérir dans la société contemporaine. Ceci constitue un motif en plus pour en analyser la nature et en souligner l'importance.

La réalité exprimée par la notion de polyvalence culturelle, comme nous l'entendons ici, plonge ses racines dans l'expérience historique de quelques peuples de « frontière » – comme les Juifs et les Arméniens par exemple. Elle trouve dans les contextes et structures diasporiques, lorsque celles-ci ne sont pas englouties par les systèmes centraux ou dominants, des formes d'expression des plus significatives. L'exploration de la problématique de la polyvalence ethno-culturelle exige, donc, tout d'abord, un éclaircissement de la notion même de « frontière ».

L'être-en-frontière n'indique pas une situation de confinement territorial, géographique ou géopolitique, mais plutôt une condition anthropologique et socio-culturelle, caractérisée par une capacité d'assimilation, ou bien d'harmonisation, active et polyvalente, à l'égard d'un système central lequel, par hypothèse, doit être non totalisant : un système, c'est-à-dire, dont la dynamique fondamentale ne tend pas à homogénéiser ou à priver de leur identité les sub-systèmes ou les systèmes « périphériques », non dominants, qui lui sont liés.

Les systèmes périphériques peuvent être considérés comme des systèmes de « frontière », s'ils réussissent à maintenir leur propre identité et à échapper au

risque de l'assimilation passive, c'est-à-dire de l'absorption complète et indifférenciée, par le système central. En maintenant sa propre identité, à l'intérieur du système, la périphérie exerce une fonction d'assimilation active à l'égard du centre. De fait, elle en reçoit, certaines ou plusieurs caractéristiques qu'elle harmonise et intègre avec sa propre identité. Une telle assimilation active peut-être exercée par chaque système périphérique aussi à l'égard d'éventuels autres sous-systèmes à l'intérieur d'une même centralité.

Cette capacité d'assimilation active constitue le vrai noyau de l'être-en-frontière. Elle n'est que la polyvalence ethno-culturelle en acte et elle se manifeste, quant à l'essentiel, dans les différents contextes de convivence socio-culturelle multiple. Celle-ci atteint son maximum optimal dans la réalité riche et complexe de ce que nous aimerais appeler la « cosmopole » : le lieu privilégié de la rencontre et de la « sym-biose » heureuse d'ethnies et de cultures diverses, dans le maintien de leurs identités et dans la dialectique de leurs diversités, accompagnées d'une ample perspective d'horizons ouverts sur le monde.

De l'État-nation à l'État ethnique

La société à dimension culturelle univalente est conditionnée, en grande partie, par la conception et la pratique rigides de l'État-nation. Celles-ci, héritées de l'idéologie des Lumières et des courants romantiques, plongeant leurs racines dans le procès même de la formation de l'Europe moderne.

Cette conception, tout en étant à l'origine des conquêtes des sociétés occidentales sur la voie d'une démocratie effective et pluraliste dans ses composantes idéologiques, souvent relègue en marge ou ignore les réalités ethno-culturelles différentes de celle dominante de l'État.

L'intensification explosive du phénomène de la migration en Europe et en Amérique du Nord, dans ces dernières décennies, à laquelle s'ajoutent aussi d'autres facteurs, a commencé à rendre de plus en plus aiguë la conscience de l'insuffisance d'une telle conception. Cette conscience s'est manifestée d'abord et s'est développée davantage aux États-Unis et au Canada – pays dont la formation porte encore la mémoire fraîche de la pluralité de leurs souches ethniques.

Afin de garantir dans la société civile la sauvegarde et le développement des particularités ethno-culturelles – qui constituent une haute valeur humaine pour la société –, nous croyons nécessaire de prendre acte des limites et des lacunes de la théorie rigide de l'État-nation pour une nouvelle conception de l'État, renonçant à son monolithisme culturel, et donc plus profondément démocratique, laquelle ne réduise pas la dimension collective de l'individu au seul rapport avec l'État, mais qui sache en révaloriser, au contraire, la richesse complexe sur les plans ethnique, linguistique, culturel, religieux.

Nous appelons « État ethnique », en opposition à l'État-nation, l'État ainsi conçu et organisé en conformité de cette exigence d'ouverture aux dimen-

sions ethno-culturelles multiples existant en son sein, puisque les termes « ethnies » et « ethnicité » sont de plus en plus destinés dans l'usage courant de ces dernières années à indiquer les identités de souche et de culture différentes de celle dominante de l'État.

L'emploi de cette terminologie veut aussi signifier que le maintien et le développement des différents systèmes ethno-culturels périphériques ou de frontière ne signifie pas la suppression de la centralité d'un système à l'égard des autres dans l'unité d'une organisation étatique. Une telle hypothèse ouvrirait les portes, du moins à l'état actuel du développement de la société humaine, à toute sorte d'utopies inter- ou supernationalistes, amplement démenties, entre autre, par la faillite du système soviétique et par les réactions virulentes du « réveil des nations » qu'elle a suscitées. C'est pourquoi nous préférons de parler d'un État ethnique polyvalent, au niveau des ethnies et des cultures, que non simplement d'État pluriethnique, pour éviter des confusions, d'ambiguïtés et des malentendus.

Polyvalence ethno-culturelle, « minorités » et production artistique

L'affirmation de la positivité du pluralisme ethno-culturel, au niveau de la société politique, a naturellement une fondation d'ordre philosophique : une vision de l'homme et de la société qui les englobe dans leur intégrité, dans la pluralité et la polyvalence de leurs différentes dimensions.

La littérature et les arts entrent à plein titre dans cette recherche de pluralisme qui doit caractériser l'essor d'une société vraiment pluriethnique et multiculturelle, en d'autres mots, d'une société « cosmopolite ». La reconnaissance, en ces domaines, d'une pluralité de dimensions, indépendamment de références de nature étatique ou, du moins, territoriale, est encore malheureusement très peu familière, sinon étrangère, aux approches de la critique littéraire et artistique.

La perspective de la polyvalence ethno-culturelle permettrait d'approcher d'une façon nouvelle, plus adéquate et plus constructive à la fois, la problématique non seulement des minorités « territoriales » (comme les Basques, les Sud-Tyroliens, les Magyars de la Transylvanie, les Italiens d'Istrie, pour n'en citer que quelques uns parmi les cas les mieux connus), mais aussi et surtout des minorités « non territoriales » lesquelles sont normallement les plus méconnues dans leur identité irréductible aux seules dimensions de la nationalité de l'État et de sa culture dominante.

Par « minorité non territoriale » nous entendons désigner les groupes ethniques, de quelque étendue numérique qu'ils soient, qui ne sont pas définis par leur lien avec un territoire déterminé dans le pays où ils se trouvent. Ces minorités sont largement ignorées, en tant que telles, dans la conscience et dans la pratique des relations juridiques internationales ainsi qu'à l'intérieur de

chaque État. Aussi elles ne se reflètent pas non plus dans la conscience populaire. Les Juifs constituent à ce jour, peut-être, l'unique exception remarquable d'être reconnue comme groupe minoritaire non territorial, ne fût-ce qu'à cause des humiliations et des persécutions qu'on leur a infligées depuis le Moyen Age jusqu'à notre siècle. Mais ce qui les distingue, au niveau de la conscience populaire, c'est surtout leur religion et pas un facteur d'ordre clairement ethnique.

Nous sommes encore loin d'un droit « des peuples » ou « des ethnies » qui devrait nécessairement compléter notre droit actuel « des États » ou « des nations » lequel se place dans la plus fidèle linéarité avec l'idéologie de l'État-nation.

Cette nécessité d'un renouveau du droit réglant les relations de la grande société humaine, d'aller outre le système actuel de l'État-nation, – qui se trouve souvent à l'impasse, sans en rejeter quand même les conquêtes de valeur universelle –, vers une nouvelle synthèse de plus ample envergure, se fait aujourd'hui d'autant plus urgente que les jeunes États qui se présentent sur la scène de l'histoire s'attachent à l'héritage de l'État-nation l'idéalisant le plus souvent à l'extrême et en s'y attachant avec un phanatisme virulent.

Le manque d'un vrai droit des peuples explique aussi, du moins en partie, cette situation paradoxale de l'ordre actuel des rapports entre États et peuples, en vertu duquel l'humanité entière se trouve comme paralysée et impuissante à intervenir par des moyens *juridiques* efficaces (les moyens militaires engendrant très souvent des troubles pires que les remèdes) devant toute sorte d'iniquités et même de génocides flagrants que chaque État, au nom d'une malentendue souveraineté, ratifiée au niveau international, peut perpétrer à son intérieur sur les populations allogènes qui lui sont soumises.

Ce que nous venons d'affirmer au niveau le plus général et le plus fondamental des droits de l'homme comme « animal social et communautaire », peut-être vérifié et appliqué par rapport aux différents niveaux de la vie sociale ainsi que par rapport à la production littéraire et artistique.

Dans tous ces domaines les genèses et les appartenances culturelles sont couramment et presque exclusivement définies en raison des paramètres national-étatiques qui déterminent l'espace et les moyens de la production, ou bien qui qualifient le capital ou les capitaux producteurs dans le cas spécifique des arts exigeant d'investissements remarquables comme par exemple, le cinéma et, souvent, l'architecture.

Il faut, à notre avis, introduire la catégorie de l'identité polyvalente ou pluridimensionnelle de l'homme et de l'artiste comme tel, pour comprendre la production artistique dans toute l'ampleur de ses vastes horizons et se rendre compte de tous les facteurs d'ordre générationnel, pédagogique, linguistique, culturel, religieux, microsocial et autres qui, de façon expresse ou par des impulsions sub- ou inconscientes, auraient pu l'influencer.

Le principe de l'indentité polyvalente peut avoir un champ d'application beaucoup plus ample que celui des références purement ethniques. Il peut s'éten-

dre, compte tenu des modalités et des proportions différentes, à chaque diversité concernant un comportement de groupe (voire les diversités régionales, de classe, du type de l'habitat social – urbain, rural, autre –, des groupements démographiques, professionnels, etc.). Malgré la vastité d'horizons que nous décèlent les possibilités de l'application du concept de l'identité polyvalente, nous nous proposons ici d'approfondir ce concept par rapport à ses références d'ordre ethno-culturel, en visant son application au cas particulier, mais emblématique, du citoyen et de l'artiste. Si ce procédé nous conduira à une compréhension plus adéquate de l'art diasporique, en général, et de ce génie mystérieux qu'est Paradjanov en particulier, il est à espérer aussi que la richesse, la complexité et la profondeur de sa personnalité nous guident vers une meilleure compréhension de la notion même d'identité polyvalente.

La dialectique de la polyvalence

La définition et l'application du concept d'identité polyvalente exige l'analyse des éléments qui concourent à sa formation, c'est-à-dire de la corrélation et de l'interaction des dimensions (générationnelles, culturelles, sociales, politiques, etc.) qui constituent l'identité ethnique et l'identité national-étatique³.

L'« identité ethnique », concept d'ordre anthropologique et culturel, polyvalent et dynamique, se place sur un plan différent de celui de la notion juridique, univoque et statique de l'identité « nationale », basée sur la correspondance et l'équivalence de l'idée de la nation avec les structures étatiques conformément à la conception occidentale courante de l'État-nation. L'ethnie désigne, comme nous l'entendons ici, une communauté d'origine, d'histoire, de culture et de conscience collective, vécue et exprimée d'une façon stable et organique, mais pas nécessairement à l'intérieur des structures propres à un État ni même à l'intérieur d'un territoire défini.

Au-delà de cette question terminologique et conceptuelle à la fois, l'hypothèse de base, ou bien le principe de fond, à partir desquels nous procédons à l'éclaircissement de la dialectique de la polyvalence ethno-culturelle, c'est que la réalité ethnique, avec son histoire et sa vie, comme une microsociété au sein d'une macrosociété, constitue une haute valeur humaine et sociale, dont la sauvegarde et le développement, en harmonie tant avec les autres regroupements similaires (microsociaux) qu'avec les groupes macrosociaux, imposent un devoir éthique et politique.

³ Nous recourons à cette expression composée, pour éviter les ambiguïtés auxquelles se trouve exposé le terme « nation ». De fait, il peut – être employé dans son sens étymologique original comme l'équivalent de l'*ethnos* grec, sur un plan anthropologique et culturel où il est couramment employé aujourd'hui encore dans le langage social des peuples du Moyen-Orient, ou bien il est employé dans le sens politico-juridique du langage occidental conformément à la conception de la Nation-État.

Après ces précisions préliminaires, nous pouvons maintenant procéder à l'analyse de l'objet de notre question : la nature des différentes dimensions collectives qui déterminent une identité et leur corrélation réciproque. Cette analyse nous conduira à définir l'identité polyvalente comme le résultat de la synthèse entre les dimensions conditionnées par l'appartenance étatique et celles inspirées par le patrimoine culturel des origines ancestrales.

L'appartenance étatique, en d'autre mots, le fait d'être le citoyen d'un États représente, sans doute, une des dimensions les plus importantes de l'homme comme « animal social ». C'est en vertu d'elle que l'homme est reconnu dans la société comme sujet de droit et qu'il lui est garanti, en principe, le respect de ces droits. Cette reconnaissance et cette garantie juridiques comportent naturellement, dans une situation de rapports réciproques normaux, c'est-à-dire de non oppression de la part du pouvoir d'État, l'*intégration* de l'individu dans les structures de son État d'appartenance. Nous soulignons le terme *intégration* : il signifie le rapport réciproque harmonieux du sub-système ou du système périphérique vers le système central et vice versa. L'intégration suppose donc : de la part du système central, le respect de l'identité du sub-système par la création de conditions l'aidant à se maintenir et à se développer ; de la part du sub-système, ce que nous avons indiqué plus haut comme l'assimilation *active* et non homogénéisante de la culture du système central. L'intégration est, donc, un rapport réciproque à circuit ouvert entre les différents systèmes les aidant à communiquer, à vivre et à croître ensemble, tout en restant chacun ce qu'il est. L'intégration, ainsi conçue, s'oppose à l'*assimilation passive* (« assimilation » tout court dans le langage courant), celle que nous avons définie comme l'absorption complète, indifférenciée et homogénéisante du sub-système par le système central.

Cet ordre « normal » – dans le sens de conforme à la « norme » idéale –, des rapports entre systèmes centraux et systèmes périphériques, en fait se présente, malheureusement, très souvent, altéré par des crises qui trouvent leur expression en ce qu'un entier groupe ethnique ou des individus appartenant à un tel groupe, en raison de cette appartenance même, ne se reconnaissent pas dans l'État auquel ils appartiennent aussi en même temps qu'à leur communauté d'origine.

Si le qualificatif de citoyen réalise la dimension sociale de l'homme, surtout par égard aux instances juridiques qu'elle comporte, au contraire, ce qu'on désigne généralement comme « origine, souches, descendance, racines », représente quelque chose qui n'est pas strictement définissable par des catégories juridiques, mais qui sous-tend une dimension humaine profonde ; cette dimension que l'imaginaire collectif populaire nomme souvent le « sang ». Nous pourrions, de façon moins figurative et plus rationnelle, la situer dans ce substrat spirituel de comportements qui de la conscience de soi s'étend jusqu'à englober le patrimoine atavique des coutumes, des traditions, des valeurs idéales et pratiques, des critères de jugement et des normes d'action. L'origine ou les racines,

ainsi comprises, ont parfois des manifestations qui s'apparentent du folklore, mais qui peuvent comporter aussi de très forts engagements d'ordre spirituel et intellectuel.

La conscience d'identité accompagnant ces manifestations, pourra avoir des degrés de vécu intérieur et d'intensité assez différenciés conformément à la présence et au poids des facteurs qui concourent à la formation et à l'expression d'une conscience d'identité ethnique. Parfois l'action de ces facteurs peut même ne pas atteindre le niveau d'une conscience expresse à quelque degré remarquable, et déguiser plutôt sa présence dans l'imaginaire collectif, dans les « mythes », les traditions, le folklore, etc.

Ce qu'on a défini comme identité polyvalente, c'est justement le résultat de la synthèse qui se réalise entre les dimensions conditionnées par l'appartenance étatique et celles inspirées par le patrimoine culturel d'une origine ancestrale différente.

On peut alléguer comme modèle d'une telle synthèse, malgré les défauts et les imperfections inévitables, celles opérées par des communautés fortement marquées des caractères ethniques de leur origine particulière, mais bien intégrées dans les structures des « pays d'adoption » ; en d'autres termes, ces communautés qui se présentent comme des communautés de frontière par excellence.

Les Juifs et les Arméniens offrent probablement les exemples historiques les plus significatifs à l'égard. Nous avons l'indentité ou la figure polyvalente du Juif espagnol, allemand ou russe, de l'Arménien géorgien, de l'Arménien ottoman, du Persarménien, etc. La capacité d'ouverture et de synthèse, inhérente à ces cultures de frontière, avec une expérience de migrations, de colonies et de diaspora, peut-être unique en son genre, arrive même à dépasser la bivalence de la dialectique entre culture de l'État et culture des origines, pour se placer comme un trait d'union, une sève de communication, un ferment d'interférence entre plusieurs cultures en contact.

Les Arméniens des grandes colonies traditionnelles du Proche et du Moyen Orient, telles les colonies d'Alexandrie, de Constantinople⁴, de Tiflis, de la Nouvelle-Djoulfa, de Calcutta, de Madras, du XVII^e au XIX^e siècle et même, à certains égards, jusqu'aux années cinquante-soixante de notre siècle à Alexandrie et à Istanbul, présentaient des cas privilégiés d'identité polyvalente, d'intégration culturelle, de culture cosmopolite.

Cette polyvalence culturelle atteignit une telle vigueur et densité qu'elle arriva souvent au niveau même de la production artistique et littéraire. Que l'on pense à la création du théâtre turc, due surtout aux Arméniens, aux importantes contributions de ceux-ci à la musique, à l'architecture, aux arts mineurs ottomans, aux nombreux *achough* (trouvères, souvent itinérants, dans la tradition du Moyen Age) arméniens chantant en turc et à leur roi, Sayath-Nova, qui chanta

⁴ Le nom officiel de la ville, même dans les *berat* et *ferman* impériaux, pendant toute la période ottomane a été Konstantaniye (Constantinople). Il n'a été changé dans le « vulgaire » Istanbul qu'après l'avènement de la République, sous l'impulsion de motivations de goût suspect.

avec une égale maîtrise en arménien, en géorgien et en turc azéri⁵. Sayath-Nova représente le symbole même de cette polyvalence culturelle de l'âme arménienne et l'un des modèles les plus éclatants, dans l'histoire des cultures, de la pluridimensionalité ethno-culturelle ainsi que de l'attitude culturelle cosmopolite.

Le « modèle » Paradjanov

L'oeuvre de Sergueï Paradjanov se situe en plein, croyons-nous, dans un tel cadre lequel nous prête, à son tour, la meilleure clef pour en faire une lecture vraiment adéquate et compréhensive.

Ce n'est pas d'ailleurs sans une signification profonde qu'il ait choisi la vie de Sayath-Nova pour sujet de son film le plus risquant et le premier inspiré d'un personnage arménien. Sayath-Nova est, par rapport à Paradjanov, le prototype même de sa personnalité ouverte, de son oeuvre polyvalente, de son art de « frontière ». Arménien d'origine, citoyen géorgien, caucasien par la profonde communauté de vie avec les peuples de cette petite région d'une richesse de cultures populaires extraordinaire, ukrainien par symbiose (rappelons sa longue permanence en Ukraine), Paradjanov est quasi la réincarnation du Roi des Achough, Sayath-Nova. Il le fait revivre dans le choix même des caractéristiques ethno-culturelles des sujets de sa grande trilogie caucasienne (*Sayath-Nova* ou *La Couleur des Grenades*, inspiré de l'Arménie, *La légende de la Fortresse de Souram*, inspiré de la Géorgie, *Achik Kérib*, inspiré de la culture azérie), dans les éléments formels de la composition, jusque dans les détails structurels et décoratifs, comme l'entrelacement si spontané et si incisif des langues et des parlers dans le déroulement de ces films.

La polyvalence ethno-culturelle et le cosmopolitisme de Paradjanov ne sauraient pas, quand même, être interprétés, à notre avis, comme un irénisme indifférencié, dans le sens d'une conception utopique des relations humaines songeant à la possibilité de rapports pacifiques au niveau des familles, des classes, des religions, des peuples, des nations, sans le respect mutuel et scrupuleux des droits et de la dignité, de l'identité, des valeurs et du patrimoine de chacun. La scène de l'enterrement du Pasteur dans *Sayath-Nova* ou celle de la destruction de l'église dans *Achik Kérib* [celle-ci introduite *in extremis* à la nouvelle des massacres subis par les Arméniens de Soumgaït vers la fin de février 1988⁶] sont en ce sens, dans leur symbolisme cru, une indication claire et significative.

⁵ La contribution des Arméniens à la culture ottomane est souvent reconnue par les plus ouverts parmi les auteurs turcs eux-mêmes. Pour ne pas alourdir le récit de citations bibliographiques, qu'il suffise de rappeler ici ce que dit l'un des meilleurs spécialistes du théâtre turc, Metin And, de l'apport des Arméniens : « Autant que nous sachions gré aux artistes arméniens pour leurs efforts dans le développement du théâtre turc, sera peu » (*Le théâtre turc à l'époque du Tanzimat et de la Dictature, 1839-1908*. Ankara, 1972, p. 450, en turc).

⁶ Nous avons entendu ceci personnellement de feu Frounzé Dovlatian, metteur en scène, ami de Paradjanov et opérateur du film « *Achik Kérib* », décédé en 1997.

Conclusions

Nous pouvons distinguer en deux catégories fondamentales les facteurs confluant à la détermination de l'identité ethno-culturelle :

- a) facteurs objectivement déterminés, univoques ;
- b) facteurs subjectivement déterminables, polyvalents.

Le fait d'appartenir à un État, d'en porter le passeport ou la carte d'identité, est une donnée de fait, d'une entité « objective », en ce sens que sa réalité et ses effets juridiques ne dépendent pas de l'attitude du sujet à son égard, de son acceptation par le sujet de bon ou de mal gré. Yilmaz Güney, le cinéaste génial, auteur du film « *Yol* », grand prix ex aequo au festival de Cannes 1982, portait bien un passeport turc. C'est, tout court, un fait, une donnée « objective », indépendamment de la satisfaction ou non du porteur à son égard. Ce fait explique, en même temps, pourquoi l'œuvre cinématographique de ce génie ait été considérée par les media ainsi que par la critique officielle, de façon unilatérale, tout simplement du cinéma turc, bien qu'elle constitue, surtout avec *Yol*, une épopee de la lutte de libération du peuple kurde dont Güney était le fils.

Contrairement à cette appartenance étatique – donnée objective –, les racines ou les origines ethno-culturelles ne présentent pas la même « objectivité », la même stabilité et précision, la même détermination et déterminabilité juridiques. De fait, leur présence et transparence dans la vie de la personne, dans l'œuvre d'un auteur, dépendent en large mesure de leur présence dans sa conscience ou, du moins, dans son inconscient. La première hypothèse comportera une option du sujet pour leur assigner un sens et un statut existentiels ou bien pour les refouler ; dans la deuxième hypothèse, ce seront les signaux indirects de l'inconscient dans la vie ou dans la création artistique qui pourront en trahir ou déceler des traces camouflées.

L'œuvre d'art est fonction et reflet de la personnalité de l'artiste : elle participe à sa richesse intérieure et tend à la dévoiler. C'est pourquoi il faut éviter toute réduction, unidirectionnelle et monovalente, à une de l'identité de la personne humaine aussi bien que de sa création artistique dimension ethno-culturelle unique.

L'identité est une réalité unique et indivisible comme la personne elle-même. Polyvalence ne signifie aucunement une scission dans la personne ; elle traduit simplement la pluralité, la richesse des dimensions de la personnalité au niveau des déterminations ethniques de sa culture, comme dans tout autre domaine. Les différentes dimensions de l'identité, de ce que quelqu'un est, n'expriment une vraie personnalité que lorsqu'elles s'intègrent pour constituer un tout harmonique : c'est du moins le but où l'on doit tendre, l'aspiration qui doit guider la tension culturelle et, en particulier, pédagogique de la société, tout en sachant bien qu'une telle finalité ne représente dans la réalité concrète qu'une limite idéale. C'est l'unique voie praticable, nous semble-t-il, pour éviter les

risques soit de l'assimilation aplatisante et appauvrissante, soit de la ghettisation et des provincialismes bornés, soit enfin de la schizophrénie paralysante de l'identité personnelle.

Pour ce qui concerne, en particulier, le cinéma, l'unique polyvalence que généralement on y reconnaît aujourd'hui, est celle de la coproduction interéthique s'exprimant surtout dans le concours des capitaux, des moyens et des structures de production (on parle de plus en plus souvent de coproductions franco-italiennes, italo-américaines ou même internationales, etc.). C'est une approche réductive, même mutilante, à notre avis, de ce qu'il y a de plus profond et de plus enrichissant dans l'idée même de la polyvalence culturelle, propre à la personnalité de l'artiste et à la détermination de son oeuvre.

L'exemple de Sergueï Paradjanov est là pour nous le confirmer. Son oeuvre est, dans son intégrité, indépendamment de toute question de capitaux et de moyens, de drapeaux et de couleurs, la création d'un génie polyvalent au noyau même de son identité ethno-culturelle, un génie ibéro-arménien, doué d'une âme caucasienne avec tout ce que cela peut comporter en ouvertures, en relations et en sensibilité. Que sa figure puisse s'élever comme une voix prophétique annonçant pour les populations troublées du Caucase les horizons d'une cohabitation pacifique et d'une collaboration intelligente dans la pleins reconnaissance et le respect de l'identité, de la liberté et des droits inaliénables de chacune, condition indispensable de toute vraie paix.

Ottoman Garrisons on the Middle Danube (Based on Austrian National Library MS MXT 562 of 956/1549–1550)

Transcribed into regular Arabic script and translated
by Asparuch VELKOV and Evgeniy RADUSHEV

Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica, XLVI

The study of the Ottoman military organization in Hungary had already begun at the end of the 19th century and it was primarily based on Ottoman fiscal documents. Among these the pay lists (or in other words: pay registers, roll-call registers) containing the names of paid garrison soldiers and reflecting their military structure are of particular importance for a better understanding of the Ottoman border defence system.

Dr. A. Velkov and Dr. E. Radushev were the first to undertake the edition of an Ottoman pay register in full. For this purpose they selected the list of 1559 preserved in the Austrian National Library (Nationalbibliothek) in Vienna which comprises almost all the fortress guards in the province of Buda.

Readership: orientalists, librarians, cultural historians

In English • 1996 • 548 pages • 17 × 25 cm

Hardbound • USD 83.00

ISBN 963 05 7391 1 (Series: HU ISSN 0067–8104)



Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

Malerische Reise in einigen Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches

by Graf Eduard RACZYŃSKI

Herausgegeben und mit einem Nachwort versehen
von Peter ZIEME

Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica, XLV

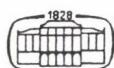
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In German • 1997 • 194 pages • 22 figures • 17 × 25 cm

Hardbound • USD 44.00

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1, 1997

1997. 250 Seiten, 8 Abb.
br, DM 98,- / öS 715,- / sFr 89,-

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ABBREVIATIONS OF JOURNALS AND SERIES

AEMA	Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi, Wiesbaden
AM	Asia Major, Leipzig
AO	Acta Orientalia, Copenhagen
AOtt	Archivum Ottomanicum, Wiesbaden
AOF	Altorientalische Forschungen, Berlin
AOH	Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
ArOr	Archiv Orientalni, Praha
AS	Asiatische Studien, Bern
BEFEO	Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient, Paris
BOH	Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica, Budapest
BSOS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London
CAJ	Central Asiatic Journal, Wiesbaden
FO	Folia Orientalia, Kraków
HJAS	Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, Cambridge, Mass.
HUS	Harvard Ukrainian Studies, Cambridge, Mass.
HZ	Hel Zohiol, Ulaanbaatar
IAN	Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR, Moskva
IJMES	International Journal of Middle East Studies, London
Islam	Der Islam, Berlin
JA	Journal Asiatique, Paris
JAH	Journal of Asian History, Wiesbaden
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven, Conn.
JAS	Journal of Asian Studies, Berkeley
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London
JSFOu	Journal de la Société Finno-ougrienne, Helsinki
JTS	Journal of Turkish Studies, Cambridge, Mass.
KCsA	Kőrösi Csoma Archivum, Budapest
KK	Keletkutatás, Budapest
KSz	Keleti Szemle, Budapest
MNy	Magyar Nyelv, Budapest
MRDTB	Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko, Tokyo
MS	Monumenta Serica, Peking
MSFOu	Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne, Helsinki
NAA	Narody Azii i Afriki, Moskva
NyK	Nyelvtudományi Közlemények, Budapest
OE	Oriens Extremus, Hamburg
OLZ	Orientalische Literaturzeitung, Berlin
OZ	Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, Berlin
RO	Rocznik Orientalystyczny, Warszawa
SM	Studia Mongolica, Ulaanbaatar
SO	Studia Orientalia, Helsinki
SUA	Studia Uralo-Altaica, Szeged
TD	Türk Dili, Ankara
TDAYB	Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı Belleten, Ankara
TG	Toyo Gakuho, Tokyo
TP	T'oung Pao, Leiden
UAJb	Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher, Berlin–Bloomington
UAJb NF	Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher: Neue Folge, Wiesbaden
UJb	Ungarische Jahrbücher, Berlin
VDI	Vestnik drevnej istorii, Moskva
VI	Voprosy istorii, Moskva
VJa	Voprosy jazykoznanija, Moskva
VMUV	Vestnik Moskovskogo Universiteta, Serija Vostokovedenija, Moskva
VV	Vizantijskij vremennik, Moskva
WOr	Welt des Orients, Göttingen
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Wien
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Wiesbaden
ZSt	Zentralasiatische Studien des Seminars für Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft Zentralasiens der Universität Bonn, Wiesbaden
ZVOIRAO	Zapiski vostočnago otdelenija Imperatorskago russkago arheologičeskago obščestva, Sanktpeterburg

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HU ISSN 0001-6446