

NESTORIAN PERSONAL NAMES FROM CENTRAL ASIA

Volker Rybatzki

Central Asia comprises basically Western as well as Eastern Turkestan; however, depending on the historical situation, this area can be extended by Afghanistan, Iran, the Caucasus, and large areas of modern Russia and China. Being an area so large, it can be expected that research in this field is able to make contributions to several Oriental disciplines. When thinking about a proper contribution for the Festschrift of Tapani, two different subjects came into my mind. The first idea was to investigate historical Jewish presence in Central Asia and adjoining areas with the help of Jewish literary remains from Central Asia, as well as the “ethnic” designation *yahûd* ‘Jew’ as it occurs in mediaeval documents from Central Asia. Partly this idea was inspired by the rather poor contribution of HOHEISEL (2002) in the memorial volume for Hans-Joachim KLIMKEIT. As a matter of fact, this idea will be realized in a review of the memorial volume that will be published in the *Central Asiatic Journal*. The other idea, concerning Nestorian personal names that occur in Central Asian documents, will be presented in the following. In the end, the second idea got the upper hand as it is somehow linked with my forthcoming habilitation *Onomastica mongolica medii aevi*, which (too slow) progress Tapani has been patiently following over the years.

Before presenting the onomastic corpus, it might be useful to give a short survey on Nestorian literary remains found in Central Asia and China, starting from the Sogdiana in the west and ending up in South-China in the east.

Up to now, no Nestorian literary remains in Sogdian/Sogdian (language/script) have been found in the Sogdiana. Nevertheless, Nestorian presence in this region is testified by a short rock inscription in Syriac, found near Urgut (close to Samarkand), and an ostrakon from Panjkant, inscribed with Psalms 1–2. Sogdian Nestorianism is further testified through several Sogdian/Sogdian rock inscription found in Ladakh (West-Tibet), and the Semirečie area, north of the old homeland of the Sogdians. Although the Sogdian inscriptions from Semirečie are not directly Nestorian by context, Nestorian presence is shown f. ex. by Sogd.

mlp'ny 'teacher' < Syr. *mlpn'* in them (LIVŠIĆ 1981; SIMS-WILLIAMS 1988, 1991.44, 1993). The main bulk of Nestorian literary remains from Semirečie, connected with Turkic people as it is visible through the personal names found within them, is formed by over 600 gravestones, mostly lost today. Mainly the texts of the gravestones are written in Syriac/Syriac, only 12 are written in Turkic/Syriac (Syriac/Syriac: CHWOLSON 1886, 1890, 1897; HJELT 1909; KLEIN 1998, 2000; NAU 1913. Turkic/Syriac: DŽUMAGULOV 1968, RADLOFF 1890.138–142). The oldest of these gravestones can be dated to ⁺859, followed in time by ⁺911, ⁺1201. Mainly the stones stem from the 13th and 14th centuries (SAEKI 1937.408–415). Further Western Middle Turkic literary remains connected with Christianity, although not Nestorianism, are exemplified by the famous *Codex Cumanicus* (GRØNBECH 1936, 1942; LIGETI 1981), and an Armenian-Turkic/Uigur-Arabic-Latin text of the Apostles' creed (POPPE 1965).

Another Nestorian graveyard is situated further east, near to the old Nestorian center Almalīq in the Ili-valley (DŽUMAGULOV 1968.473); possibly, also the third inscription published by HJELT (1909) belongs to this complex. All but one of the Almalīq-inscriptions are written in Syriac/Syriac.

Proceeding further to the south, one arrives in the Turfan region where a great variety of Nestorian texts has been found. These texts, psalters and lectionaries, hymnbooks and homilies, treatises concerning asceticism and religious life, as well as servicebooks, hagiographical literature and miscellaneous texts, comprise not only examples in Syriac/Syriac (MARÓTH 1984, 1985, 1991a–b; MÜLLER 1904a–b; SACHAU 1905; SAEKI 1937), some of these texts contain rubrics in Sogdian; Sogdian/Sogdian-Syriac (HANSEN 1941; MÜLLER 1913, 1934; SIMS-WILLIAMS 1985, 1991, 1992, 1994, 1995a–c; SUNDERMANN 1974–81, 1988), and Uigur/Uigur-Syriac (BANG 1926; ZIEME 1974, 1977, 1981b, 1997–98), but also fragments of the psalters in Middle Persian/Pahlavi, and New Persian-Syriac/Syriac, as well as the first line of a psalter in Greek as a superscription to its translation into Sogdian (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1990, SUNDERMANN 1976). On the ground of paleographic judgement, these text have been dated from the 9th to the 11th/12th centuries. In addition, some Uigur texts, f. ex. SteuH, J, have an exceptional large amount of Nestorian personal names.

Further east, in Dunhuang, the gateway to China, no Nestorian Turkic texts have been found up to now; however, one Syriac text (KLEIN & TUBACH 1994) has been discovered. The only Sogdian manuscript of recognizable Nestorian content is a small fragment of a text of popular character, an oracle book of the type known in the west as the *sortesa apostolorum* (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1976.63–65), that might be compared with a similar booklet from Turfan, as well as Tibetan oracle texts (LE COQ 1909; RYBATZKI 0000d; URAY 1983, 1987). Furthermore, several secular Sogdian texts with a strong linguistic impact from Turkic (SIMS-

WILLIAMS & HAMILTON 1990), contain a number of Nestorian personal names, as also the phrase *pr by'y n'm* 'in the name of the Lord' attested in two of them, could indicate Nestorianism. These texts can be attributed to the 9th and 10th centuries. Most importantly, however, Dunhuang and its surroundings were an important center of early Chinese Nestorianism, testified by several Chinese Nestorian texts found here. Besides the Xianfu inscription (→), the most interesting of these Nestorian Chinese texts is the one called *Zunjing*, or "Treaty of Veneration", which contains the titles of 35 Nestorian Chinese texts, but three of these texts are Manichaean (ENOKI 1998, MOULE 1930, SAEKI 1937). From the point of time the Chinese documents are earlier than the Sogdian documents, as they can be dated from around ⁺645 to after ⁺745, in any case before ⁺845, when Nestorianism was by imperial edict forbidden in China. In Qara-qoto, northeast of Dunhuang, one Turkic/Syriac Nestorian text has been discovered (PIGULEVSKAJA 1966). From Chang'an, southeast of Dunhuang, the Xianfu inscription (⁺781; partly in Chinese, partly in Syriac), an important document of the propagation of Nestorianism in China, has been known since a long time (MOULE 1930; PELLIOU 1984, 1996; SAEKI 1937).

Later Nestorianism in China is connected with the raise of the Mongols in the 13th century, and their conquest of first the Jin Dynasty in 1234, and later the Song Dynasty in 1276. The most important centre of Nestorianism in the 12th–14th century was situated in Olon süme (Tenduc of Marco Polo), the capital of the Önggüt. The Önggüt are mentioned in Chinese sources as *Shato* (translation of Önggüt, as *shato* 'quicksand' < *sha* 'sand, gravel, pebbles' + *to* 'a steep bank' = Tu. *öng* 'desolate, uninhabited; desert' + *güt* 'class marker') since the 9th century, in later times they were called also *bai Tata* 'white Tatars' (BESE 1988.31–32, OP80.5–7). Besides grave inscriptions (MURAYAMA 1963), also the seal of the Önggüt Mâr Yahballâhâ III preserved on two letters to Pope Boniface VIII and Benedict XI respectively (HAMILTON 1972), as well as the personal names of the Önggüt, or people associated with them, recorded in the *Secret History* (SH) belong to this complex. In the 14th century a Catholic church in Gothic style was erected in Olon süme; a very important corpus of Mongolic documents stems from the 16th–17th centuries (ENOKI 1998.475–481, HEISSIG 1976.1–11). A grave inscription from the northeast of Beijing, and a set of Syriac Nestorian documents from Beijing (HAMILTON & NIU 1994, SAEKI 1937) are not necessarily connected with the Önggüt, as Nestorianism is also attested for the Kereit (RYBATZKI 0000a). Further, also several members of Cinggis qan's family had at least friendly attitudes towards Nestorianism, and some of the highest officials of the Mongol empire were Nestorians (BOYLE 1976, 1977; BUELL 1993; FIEY 1975; RYAN 1998; SPULER 1976). The importance of Nestorians in the medieval Mongolian society is additionally stressed by the fact that they are mentioned besides "real" ethnic

groups in Middle Mongol “conquest-catalogues” as a separate “people” (RYBATZKI 2004a). Some further Christian names are attested in Western Middle Mongol documents, f. ex. Maryus in the Nûr ad-Dîn edict (Li72c.357), but, taking into consideration the provenance of the documents, these names are not necessarily Nestorian names.

Far to the south, two more important centers of Nestorianism in Yuan-China, namely Zaiton and Yangzhou, can be found. Besides numerous Arabic and Manichaean stone carvings and grave inscriptions, nine Syriac, one bilingual Chinese-Syriac, one Latin and two Turkic inscriptions, were discovered in Zaiton, Chin. Quanzhou, at the mouth of the Jinqiang-river, on the coast opposite to Taiwan (ENOKI 1998.482–495, FOSTER 1954, MURAYAMA 1964, HAMILTON & NIU 1994). North of Zaiton, in Yangzhou, two Latin tombstones (ENOKI 1998.495, ROULEAU 1954), as well as a bilingual Chinese-Turkic/Syriac grave inscription have been discovered, for the establishment of several Nestorian monasteries by Mar Sargis from Samarkand, see LIGETI (1972).

ABBREVIATIONS (additions to RYBATZKI 2004a)

M(an) | Manichaean

MPersM | Middle Persian Manichaean texts (Boyce 1977)

Pahl. | Pahlavi (MacKenzie 1986, Nyberg 1974)

ParthIss | Parthian inscriptions (Gignoux 1972)

ParthM | Parthian Manichaean texts (Boyce 1977)

SogdB | Sogdian Buddhist texts (Gharib 1986)

SogdC | Sogdian Christian texts (Gharib 1986)

SogdM | Sogdian Manichaean texts (Gharib 1986)

SogdS | Sogdian secular texts (Gharib 1986)

Syr. | Syriac

UigB | Uigur in Brâhmî script (Maue 1996)

BeiNest | Uig. | 1253 | U | Nestorian funeral inscription from Beijing | Hamilton & Niu 1994

Böz1-113 | Uig. | XIV | U | different secular texts from Turfan | Raschmann 1995

BriefI | Uig. | XIV | U | commercial letter from Turfan | Raschmann 1991

Cojr | OT | 693? | R | inscription | Sertkaya 1998

ColIX | Uig. | XIV | U | colophon of an Avalokiteśvara-praise | Buddhist | Hazai 1976

ColX | Uig. | XIV | U | preface of the Suvamaprabhâsasûtra (Altun yaruq sudur) | = AltSüü

ColXI | Uig. | XIV | U | colophon of a confession text | Buddhist | Warnke 1981

ColXII | Uig. | XIV | U | colophon of the Hua-yen-ching sûtra | Buddhist | Moriyasu 1982.10

ColXIII | Uig. | XIV | U | colophon of the Mañjuśrînâmasaṅgîti | Buddhist | = Stab50

ColXIV | Uig. | XIV | U | colophon of an Uigur blockprint | Buddhist | Zieme 1995–96

ColXV | Uig. | XIV | U | preface of the Suvamaprabhâsasûtra (Altun yaruq sudur) | Buddhist | UI.13–15

DuIssI–III | Uig. | XIV | I–II: U, III: P | inscriptions from Dunhuang | Kara 1976

DašBrln | Uig. | XII–XIII? | U | Daśakarmapathâvadânâmâlâ text from Turfan | Buddhist | Ehlers 1987

DašHmi | Uig. | XII–XIII? | U | Daśakarmapathâvadânâmâlâ text from Hami | Buddhist | Geng, Klimkeit & Laut 1993c

- DaśStPbg | Uig. | XII–XIII? | U | Daśakarmapathâvadânâmâlâ text from Turfan | Buddhist | Shôgaito, Tugusheva & Fujishiro 1998
- Estr | (I–II) | X–XI? | Turfan | different Nestorian and Manichaean texts in Estrangelo-script from Turfan | Müller 1904
- GaoVoc | Uig. | XV | S | vocabulary of the Bureau of Interpreters | Ligeti 1966b
- Gao1–41 | Uig. | XV | S | texts added to the vocabulary of the Bureau of Interpreters | Ligeti 1967–68
- Gur | Uig. | XIV–XV | U | Guruyogas “Tiefer Weg” | Buddhist | KZ77/I
- Hsin | Uig. | XIV–XV | U | HSIN tözin oqïdtači nom | Buddhist sûtra | Tekin 1980/I
- ÏB | OT | X | R | Ïrq bitig | divination text from Dunhuang | Tekin 1993
- MaitrHmiX, XI, XIII, XV, XVI, XX–XXVII, XX–XXVI | Uig. | XI | U | Buddhist theatre play from Hami | Geng, Klimkeit & Laut 1985–98
- Mi36 | Uig. | XIII–XIV | U | secular text from Turfan | Sertkaya 2002
- OSNesta-e | Tu. | XIII–XIV | Syr. | Nestorian grave inscriptions from Olon sûme discovered by Martin | Murayama 1963
- OSNest1–10 | Tu. | XIII–XIV | Syr. | Nestorian grave inscriptions from Olon sûme discovered by Egami | Murayama 1963
- QqtNest1 | Tu. | XIII–XIV | Syr. | Nestorian text from Qara-qoto | Pigulevskaja 1966
- Râm | Uig. | XIII–XIV | U | Râma-tale | Buddhist | Zieme 1978b
- Sad | Uig. | XIV–XV | U | the story of Sadâprarudita and Dharmodgata Bodhisattva | Buddhist | Tekin 1980/II
- SealNest | Tu. | XIII | Syr. | seal of Mâr Yahballâhâ III | Nestorian | Hamilton 1972
- SemNest1–11 | Tu. | 1278, 1286, 1300, 1308, 1310, 1317, 1323, 1333, 1337 (2) | Syr. | grave inscriptions from Semireçie | Nestorian | Radloff 1890
- SemNest12 | Tu. | 1336 | Syr. | grave inscription from Semireçie | Nestorian | Džumagulov 1968
- Steu1–2 | Uig. | XIII–XIV | U | documents on taxation from Turfan | Zieme 1981a
- SteuA–J | Uig. | XIII–XIV | U | documents on taxation from Turfan | Matsui 2002
- TfnNest1 | Uig. | XIII–XIV | U | Nestorian text on the three Magi from Turfan | Bang 1926, Müller 1908
- TfnNest2 | Uig. | XIII–XIV | U | Nestorian divination text from Turfan | Bang 1926, Le Coq 1909
- TfnNest2a | Uig. | XIII–XIV | U | Nestorian divination text from Turfan | Zieme 1977
- TfnNest3 | Uig. | XIII–XIV | U | Nestorian text from Turfan (Legend of St. George) | Bang 1926, Le Coq 1922 (NŞ40)
- TfnNest4–7 | Uig. | XIII–XIV | U | various Nestorian text-fragments from Turfan | Zieme 1974
- Tfn8 | Uig. | XIII–XIV | U | Glaubensbekenntnis | Nestorian | Zieme 1997–98
- TfnNest9–11a–b | Uig. | XIII–XIV | U | various Nestorian text-fragments from Turfan | Zieme 1974
- TfnNest12–17 | Uig. | XIII–XIV | Syr. | various Nestorian text-fragments from Turfan | Zieme 1974
- TfnNest18 | Uig. | XIII–XIV | Syr. | Hochzeitssegen | Nestorian | Zieme 1981b
- YalA–F | Uig. | XIII–XIV | U | Yalîn-texts (secular texts) | Matsui 2003
- YangNest1 | Tu./Chin. | 1317 | Syr./S | Nestorian grave inscription from Yangzhou | Geng, Klimkeit & Laut 1996
- YarArabI–V | Arabic | XI | A | secular texts from Yarkand | Gronke 1986 (old YarArabI = new YarArabIII)
- ZaiNest1 | Tu./Chin. | XIV | Syr./S | bilingual Nestorian Chinese-Turkic grave inscription from Zaiton | Murayama 1964
- ZaiNest2 | Tu. | XIV | U | Nestorian Turkic grave inscription from Zaiton | Hamilton & Niu 1994

The basis of the following corpus is formed by documents clearly connected with Nestorianism. Furthermore, according to the guideline of my *Onomastica mongolica medii aevi*, only texts written in Turkic or Mongolic (irrespective of the script used) have been considered, namely: BeiNest; OSNesta-e, 1–10; QqtNest1; SealNest; SemNest1–12; SH (Önggüt); TfnNest1–18; YangNest1; ZaiNest1–2. Surely this attitude leaves aside a large body of literature written in Sogdian,

Syriac or Chinese (with a great number of personal names); however, a different approach would have extended the corpus far beyond the frame of the present work and, furthermore it would have gone beyond my competence. However, for comparison, Iranian, Syriac and Chinese Nestorian documents, as well as Iranian onomastic research, have been taken into consideration whenever needed.

Slightly different from RYBATZKI (2004a) and my habilitation, the data under every headword is grouped as **O1**: Turkic material, **O2**: Mongolic material, **E**: etymology and, if possible, prosopography.

ONOMASTIC CORPUS

Abraham. **O1** (a) ‘biblical person’: TfnNest18:4 *Abraham qang* ‘Vater Abraham’. (b) ‘historical person’: YarArabIII:11’ *Ibrâhîm* ‘son of Muḥammad sübaši’. YarArabV:25, 34 *Ibrâhîm tamğaçi* ‘Ibrâhîm, the seal-bearer; son of Abû Bakr İrdäm’. Further: BASKI 1986.7, 56; SAEKI 1937.57, 59, 60, 84-85, 92, 276, 416, 453-455.

O2 Abul:e2 *siy šaqid İbrayim*.

E (O1/a) *Abraham* /’brhm/ ‘name of the patriarch’ (DDD 6–10), < Sogd. /’brhm < Syr. /’brhm (PAYNE-SMITH 20, SIMS-WILLIAMS 1988.146; SUNDERMANN 1981.213, 220, 1988.180). (O1/b, O2) *İbrayim* < Arab.-Pers. *Ibrâhîm* (AHMED 1999.67, SCHIMMEL 1989.29, St 7a).

Alaquš. **O2** SH:§182/6213–14, SH:§190/6611, 6614, 6621 *önggüd-ün Alaquš digit-quri* ‘Ala=quš digit-quri of the Önggüt’ ≈ SH:§202/7727 *önggüd-ün Alaquš digit-quri güregen* ‘the imperial son-in-law Ala=qus digit-quri of the Önggüt’. Further: BRETSCHNEIDER I.184 (YS §118), ENOKI 1998.475–481.

E Tu. *ala* ≈ Mo. *alaq* ‘variegated’ (**O1**, **O2** further examples, **E**: RYBATZKI 0000c) + Tu. *quš* (↓).

Aleksandros. **O1** SemNest5:1, 6:1–2, 9:1, 10:1, 12:1; YangNest1:2 *Aleksandros qan* ~ BeiNest: 1 *Aleksantroz qan*. Besides its use in dates, extremely rare as a n. pr. (BAZIN 1991.413–429; CHWOLSON 1890.N°XXIII).

O2 Alx:7a2, 7a4, 7a5, 7b12, 8a5, 8a6ff *Sulqarnai* ‘Alexander the Great’.

E [a] (O1) *Aleksandros* (<) < Syr. /’hndrws < Greek *alexândros* (CHWOLSON 1890.133, PAYNE-SMITH 208–209); MPersM /’ixsyndrgyrd ‘place name; «Alexandria (in Egypt)». [b] (O2) MMo. *Sulqarnai* < MT *Dû l-Qarnayn* < Arab.-Pers. *Dû l-qarnain* ‘The Two-Horned’ (RYBATZKI 0000e, SCHIMMEL 1989.66).

Alma. O1 SemNest12:10 *Alma qatun*. Further: BASKI 1986.14.

O2 Ord. *Alima kü*: 'n. pr. f.'

E [a] (??)Syr. 'lm ~ 'lm' 'world' (PAYNE-SMITH 2898–2902), cf. Hebrew 'almâ 'virgin' ~ *Maryam* (DDD 1678–1680, SUNDERMANN 1981.223). [b] Tu. *alma* 'apple'; MT *alma* ~ *almïla*, Uig. 'lym'l' ~ *alïmla* «apple». The double form, and the fact that the apple is unlikely to have been native to the original Turkish habitat, suggest that this is a l.-w., possibly from Indo-European" (C72.146–147, ERDAL 1993, Rö 93, TEKIN 1980.295, TMEN §2127, Tu91.309, VEWT 18a), > MMoS, P, A *alïma* 'apple (P, A), pear (S)'; MoL, Ord. *alima*, KhalL *alim*, Kal. *almn* 'apple', in the Gansu-Qinghai complex 'fruit (in general)'. Further: KARA 2001.79. [c] ≠ *Ilma* 'Kereit n. pr. f.; «mulberry»', < MoL *ilam-a* ~ *ilm-a*, KhalL *yalma*.

Arslan. O1 SemNest9:4 *Tay-arslan*. Further: CHWOLSON 1890.N°8, 9, 11:4, 34, 36, 42:3, 75; KLEIN 2000.N°14, 41.

O1, O2 further examples, E: RYBATZKI 0000b.

Asan. O1 [a] YarUigI:29 *Hasan* 'son of elig Murad'. YarUigV:a3 *Hasan ğal(l)ab ħat(t)çi* 'Master Hasan, the scribe'. YarUigV:b6 *Hasan tamyaçi* 'Hasan, the seal-bearer'. YarUigI:26 *uzun Hasan ğal(l)ab* 'Master Hasan the tall'. Further: BASKI 1986.55. [b] Pfl:18, Stab43:16 (TTVII40:140); Mi17:13, 19 (USp12) *Āsän* ~ Sa29:30', Mi09:7, USp39:2, USp71:5 'Āsän. ColV:8 *Āsän ačari-bäg*. Sa10:20 (USp13), Lo18:16, USp64:2, 77:3 *Āsän-buqa* ~ Sa10:16 (USp13), WP06:10 'Āsän-buqa; Gao33:1, 36:1 *Yäsän-buqa ong*. ManMin32:iir3 's'ncwr cygšyy 'Āsän=čor čigši'. ColV:9 *Āsän inal*. USp77:3 'Āsän-qara (or: -qaya). USp64:2, WP01:7–8 (USp78) 'Āsän-qaya. CollI:14 'Āsän qunčuy. Stab46:35 'Āsän-qutluy wuš[in]'n. pr. f. + title'. YulUigK:7 *Āsän-tegin* ~ Sa29:3–4, 29' *Āsän-tegin*. Mi20:4 (USp14), SteuI:9 'Āsän-tmür. USp123:5 (Rö 274: *Āsän-atsiz*), Em01:5 *Āsän-toyril*. Sa05:19 (USp109), Mi12:7 (USp84) *Āsän tutung* ~ Mi11:8 (USp83) 'Āsän tutung. Böz85:3 *Āsän-uri*. Sa11:6, 8, 12 *Buqa-äsän*. Gao34:6–7 *qoči Yäsän*. Em01:18 *Quduyçi-äsän*; Sa24:12 *Quduyçi-äsän qıday*. YulUigE:5 *Tämir-äsän*. Further: BASKI 1986.17, 50–51. [c] varia: MaitrHmi:73–74 *äsän tükäl* 'wohlbehalten und gesund', further: Ha86.216, KARA 2001.92.

(A) *äsän* + -A 'interjection, vocative': WP01:20, 25' (USp78, 82); CollI:5 'Āsän-ä. Sa21:17 (USp61) *yuz bägi Āsänä* 'der Hundertschaftsführer Āsänä' ~ Sa21:23 *Āsänä*. USp54:6 *Temir-äsänä* (Rö 224).

O2 [a] Abu2:13–14 *Asan*. MünII68 (1344/45), 69 (1343/44 or 1353) *as-sultân al-âdil Qasan* 'Hasan der Große; Il-qan, 1336–56. [b, or: a] Nûr:a35; DocTfn11:6, 8, 11 'Esen' 'Verwalter der Staatsgüter und des Wassers in Qoco (Tfn)'. SH:§182/6214 *Asan sartaqtai* 'Asan ('Esen), the Sartaq (i.e. merchant);

sent by Alaquš digit-quri to Baljuna'. Hin:2, 10 *Esenbuq-a* 'scribe and translator of the Mongolian text of the inscription'.

E [a] [*Q*] *asan* < Arab.-Pers. *Ḥasan* (AHMED 1999.68–69, HeDo75a.343, St 420); ≠ *Gasan* (< Tu.). [b] Hyperplene Schreibung für Uig. *äsän* /(')S'N/ (Rö 224, Z78.78); OT, MT, Uig. *äsän* «in good health, sound; safe». The spelling *asan*, which is common in Uig., is prob. an aberration. Not to be confused with Pers. *âsan* «easy», but see TMEN §478" (C72.248).

Ay. O1 PflIII:16 *Ay-ayaz inal*. ALQipcaq, Coll:11 *Ay-bäg* 'n. pr. m.'. ALQipcaq *Ay-qatun* 'n. pr. f.'. PflIII:22 *Ay-qunčuy*, Rö (284) reads: *Ay-qinčuy*. Mi02:3 *Ay-silīy*. SemNest11:1 *Ay-tay*. Ramstedt II:18 *Ay-tonga* 'n. pr.; Zeuge, Schuldner' (Rö 284). PflIII:15 *Ay-tuymiš sangun*. Further: BASKI 1986.8–10; CHWOLSON 1890.N°47:2, 81, 91, 99:1, XXV.

O2 (A) AL *Sara-yin qatun*. AL *Sara-yin noyan*. Ord. *Sarā-gerel*, *Saran-jicik* 'n. pr. f.', < *saran* «lune»; s'entend dans des noms propres de personnes'. **(B)** DocQqt12:6 *T' B' = Ta Ba ~ Ta-ba ~ Da-ba*, cf. MoL *daba*, KhalL *dabaa* 'Monday' < Tib. *zla ba* «moon»' (JÄSCHKE 490–491, Ka03.17), > Kal., Ord. *Dawâ* 'n. pr. m.'.

E OT, MT, Uig. *ay* «the moon»; hence from the earliest period «a (lunar) month»; as an Adj. «crescent shaped» (C72.265; Rö 281–285, 314–315). Further: RYBATZKI 2000.251–276, 0000b; TMEN §627; VEWT 10a.

Bägün. O1 TfnNest15:colophon *Bägün*.

O1, O2 further examples, **E**: RYBATZKI 2004a.

Čangši. O1 'mostly: title, partly > n. pr.'. Kaš. *čangši* 'the name (i.e. title?) of an amir of Qotan'. Steu1:40 *čangši ayiči-lar* 'Steuereinnehmer'. SemNest12:7 *Čangši qan*. Yen37:3 *türgäš bän : čangši bän*. PflIII:20 *Alp-šingqur tarqan vap čangši* 'Alp-šingqur tarqan, [the, (or: and the)] vap-čangši'. Beicht308:70 *atam Bay apa-čangši* 'my father Bay, the apa-čangši'. ManEccLit151:4 *Bilir čangši yg///*. PflIII:19 *Čina tiräk Qumar-arслан čangši* '2 n. pr. + title; MORIYASU, following the punctuation: 1 n. pr. + title'. PflIII:14 *Kül-arīy čangši*. PflIII:19 *Navašinki(?) čangši*. PflIII:05 *köngüllüg upasi Tarduš-tapmiš yayatyar(?) čangši*. BeichtShô:30 *atam Topiq čangši*. BeichtShô:29 *ičim Tonga čangši*. Yen31:1 *Uz bilge čangsi*.

E OT, MT, Uig. *čangši* "1.-w. from Chin. *chang-shi* «remembrancer, annalist»" (C72.427). For the semantic development title > n. pr. (Kaš., SemNest12), cf. RÁSONYI (1953.332–337).

El. O1 SemNest6:8 *El-taš qaša* 'der Priester El-taš'.

O1, O2 further examples, E: RYBATZKI 1997.75–78, 0000a.

Älišbä. O1 OSNest2 *Älišbä*. YangNest1:5 *Älišbä qatun* 'Frau Elisabeth'. Further: CHWOLSON 1890.N^o49:8, XVII; FRANKE 1998.319–321 (O2).

E (<) < Syr. 'lyšb' < Greek (CHWOLSON 1890.134; PAYNE-SMITH 207).

Äniš. O1 SemNest11:2 *Äniš qata* 'die Priesterin(?) Äniš'.

E [a] MT *äniš* 'declivity, downslope; valley' (C72.191). [b] *Äniš* < *Änič* (BASKI 1986.49) < *Änük* 'the young of a carnivorous animal, cub, puppy, etc.' (BASKI 1986.48, C72.183, Rö 379, VEWT 44b) + *-Ač* 'diminutive suffix' (E91.44–46) ≈ Uig. *Äničük* 'n. pr.' < *Änük* + *-čük* 'diminutive suffix' (BASKI 1986.49, Rö 379, Y93.244); cf. (↓) *Qutaš*, (↓) *Qutačuq*.

Äsän. (↑) *Asan*.

Giwargis. O1 (a) 'historical person': OSNest1 *Giwargis* ≈ SteuH:5 *Kövärgiz*. DuSogdG:14 *kwr'k swkv'r* 'the monk Georg[ios]' (thus SIMS-WILLIAMS 1992.55, →). DuSogdG:5 't'm *snkwn yw'r-k's* ~ G:23 *yw'rks* ['t'm *snkw*]n '[G]eorgios, my father, the general'. Further: CHWOLSON 1890.N^o11:1, 12:4, 19:2, 34:1, 50:14, 73, 78:4, 83, 1600:1, XV, XXVII, XXXIX; FRANKE 1998.318, 322 (*Körgis*); SAEKI 1937.61, 73, 94–95. (b) 'biblical person': TfnNest3:r8, v1–2 *mar Giwargiz*. Further: SAEKI 1937.273, 275, 320, 328, 330, 331.

E Uig./Sogd. < Syr. *gwrgrs* ~ *gwrgrys* ~ *gywrgys* ~ *gwrgr* < Greek (CHWOLSON 1890.133; PAYNE-SMITH 691, 708).

Hedutha. O1 OSNesta *Heduta qoštānč*. Further: HJELT 1909.N^o3.

E (<) < Syr. *ħdṯ* ~ *ħdṯ'* ~ *ħdyṯ'* 'n. pr. f.' (HJELT 1909.11, PAYNE-SMITH 1207).

Helena. O1 OSNest3 *Helena*.

E (<) < Syr. *hlny* < Greek (PAYNE-SMITH 1011).

Hirodis. O1 TfnNest1:lr2 *Hirodis qan* ~ EstrII.M132:12 (Nest.) *Hêrodôs šâh*. Further: DDD 785–792, JUSTI 1895.129.

E < Sogd. *hrwds* < Syr. *hrwd(s)* (PAYNE-SMITH 1050, SUNDERMANN 1981.215, 222) > ParthM *hyrdws* [hirodos] 'Semitic pr. name, «Herod»'.

Išô'. O1 (a) 'Biblical name': YangNest1:1 *Išô' mšiha* ~ ManLiturLit91:76 *yišo mšiha* 'Jesus Christ' ≈ Sogd. *yšwγ mšyh* < Syr. (GHARIB N^o11015, 11017; SIMS-WILLIAMS 1988.150; SUNDERMANN 1988.186). TfnNest18 *uluy küčlüg tonga yanga Yišo' Bar N[ôn] Šemšôn gabbârâ* 'die großen mächtigen Helden² Josua Bar

Nôn und Held Simson' \approx Sogd. *yšyγ br nwn* 'Josua, der Sohn Nuns' (SUNDERMANN 1988.186). Further: SAEKI 1937.140-141, 207, 226, 234, 246, 273. (b) 'historical person': YarArabIV:7, V:24 *ʾĪsā* 'son of Muḥammad sübaši (IV); son of Abû Bakr Irdäm ḥaylbaši (V)'. YarArabIV:2 *ʾĪsā al-Baqqâl* 'son of Muḥammad sübaši'. ManMin2:v3 *yyswʾ* '(r)y'm'n 'Yišô-aryaman'; ManEccLit134:426 *Yišo-* 'aryaman' *ʾaql[iγ] /// ///* named Yišo-aryaman, «Jesus the Friend». ManEccLit150:11 *yšwɔwɔr* 'Išo=čor'. Mahr:96 *ʾônčūr Yišô yân* '[the] on=čor [called] Yišô'yân'. ManEccLit146:r20 *mr Išoyazd mahistak* 'Lord Išoyazd, the presbyter'; DuUig7:13 *mar Yišo-yazd kw možak* 'the magister Lord Yišo-yazd Kw (Kaw, Ku?)'. Mahr:121 *yišô zên tolûnâpâ* 'Yišô'zên, [the?] tolun=apa'. ManEccLit125:596 *mr šad iš[o] ///* 'mar šad Išo ///'. Further: BASKI 1986.59; CHWOLSON 1890.N°16:1, 18:1, 19, 38:2, 50:10, 74; JUSTI 1895.149, KLEIN 2000.N°1; SAEKI 1937.37, 63, 68, 69, 73, 76, 96-97, 100-106; SUNDERMANN 2001a.941, 943.

E (i) OT, Uig. *yišo* /yjšw/ ~ *išo* /yšw/ < SogdM *yšw* ~ SogdC (')*yšwγ* ~ SogdM *yšw* (') ~ SogdM, C *yšw* 'Jesus, Josua' < MPersM, ParthM *yjšw* ~ *yjšw* ~ *yšw* ' [yišô] 'Semitic pr. name «Jesus»' < Syr. *yjšw* ~ *yšw* (CHWOLSON 1890.133; PAYNE-SMITH 1609, 1638-1639; SUNDERMANN 1981.222). Further: DDD 878-889; SUNDERMANN 2001b; 2001c.125/1-14.1, 126/2-14.2, 127/3-14.2. (ii) MT (Arab.) *ʾĪsâ* = Arab.-Pers. *ʾĪsâ* 'Jesus, sometimes with the appellation *masih* «Christ»' (AHMED 1999.82, SCHIMMEL 1989.29, St 875).

Quš. O1 (a) ??Sa08:8, 10, 15, 20 *Quus-tmür baqši* ~ 08:13-14 *Quus baqši*. DuSogdE:12 *xwšy z ty pwzy* '= Tu. *Quš oylī Boz*, «Boz, son of Quš». ManEccLit153:4 [*tngri*] *kän Qaraquš t[egin] ///* 'the pious prince Qara=quš'; Lo25:11 (USp37) *Qara-quš*; (→). DuUig28:04 *Tang-quš ärdäm ügä* ~ 28:10 *Tang* ~ 28:25 *Tang-quš*. DuSogdG:5-6 *tm'r xwš* ~ H:1, 3 *t'm'r xwš* 'n. pr.; Tämär(?) -quš; his picture: plate 17'. DuUig33:03 *Ürüng-quš*. Further: BASKI 1986.84, 98-99. (b) Gur:100-101; HtV/50:21, 22; Maitr:55v9 *quš quz-γun* 'birds and ravens; or: birds²'. Maitr:5r25, MaitrHmi:226 *qušlaγu quš* 'Jagdvogel'. HtV/75:6-7, VI/35:12-13, VIII/1:15, 26:21-22 *qra quš sāngirliγ tag* ~ VI/28:26 *qra quš sāngirliγ grtrakut* 'skt. *gridhrakūta* «n. of a mountain (vulture-peak)», MaitrHmiX:346:57 *talīm qara quš* 'Raub-Geier/-Adler' \approx Ins:1000 *talīm qara quš Garudi*; (←), further: MENGES 1982.113-115. DuUig17:4 *toγan quš* 'falcon'; (→ O2). HtVI/8:5, X/10:2; Maitr:32v4; Totb:1019 *yuy quš* 'Pfau' (HAUENSCHILDT 2003.249-50).

(A) *quš* + *-la* 'suffix forming denominal verbs' (E91.429-455, esp. 441) + *-dačl* 'suffix forming deverbal nouns' (BERTA 1996.598): Yen48:13 *Qušladači bilgä totuq*.

O2 (†) SH *Alaquš*. Hin:17 *taɣai-qunčui Toɣan-quš neretü* ‘the taɣai-qunčui, named Toɣan-quš’, (←).

E OT, MT, Uig. *quš* ‘«bird»; often used as a sort of appendage to specific names of birds’ (C72.670, HAUENSCHILD 2003.155–161). Further: TMEN §1561, VEWT 305a.

(A) *quš* + *-GAč* ‘classmarker denoting animals or plants’ (E91.8385): MT *qušɣač* ~ Uig. *qwsq’c* ‘sparrow’ (C72.672, HAUENSCHILD 2003.161, TEKIN 1980.355), > Uig. *qizil qušɣačliɣ qay* (Tu91.355). (B) *quš* + *-KIñA* ‘diminutive suffix’ (E91.47–56): Uig. *qwsqy’* ‘Vöglein’ (TEKIN 1980.355). (C) *quš* + *-GAč* (←) + *-KIñA* (←): Uig. *qušɣačqya* ‘Vögelchen’ (Z96.210).

Qut. O1 SemNest7:3 *Qut tegin-bäg* ‘Vater des (↓) Šadi bäg’.

O1, O2 further examples, **E**: RYBATZKI 2004a.

Qutačuq. O1 TfnNest9:1 *Qutačuq tu-tung*.

O1, O2 further examples, **E**: RYBATZKI 2004a.

Qutaš. O1 SemNest5:8 *Qutaš*. Further: CHWOLSON 1890.N°XL.

O1, O2 further examples, **E**: RYBATZKI 2004a.

Luqa. O1 (a) ‘Biblical person’: TfnNest2:v9 *Luqa patɣamvar* ‘Lucas, der Apostel’. Further: SAEKI 1937.73 (‘historical person’), 273 (‘Biblical person’).

O2 (b) ‘historical person’: Qqm1:2 *Luq-a-dan* ‘Luq-a and others’.

E < Sogd. *lwq*’ < Syr. *lwq*’ (PAYNE-SMITH 1915, SUNDERMANN 1981.215, 223).

Mäng(g)ü. O1/a (a) ‘n. pr.’: Sa16:23; Mi32:13, 15 *Mänggü*. DuUig35:02 *Mängü*. ManEccLit171:110 *Mängü sangun*. SemNest1:5 *Mängü-taš*. Mi20:4 (USp14) *Mänggü-tmür*; (→). DuUig33:09, 36:01 *Mänggü-toɣdı*. PflIII:22 *Mäng//toɣrıl qunčuqı*. ManEccLit146:Colr5 *Arslan-mängü*. TfnSogdC:13, 17–18 *’yl mnkw ’yn’l* ‘El-mängü inäl’. USp26:27 *İnančü-mängü*. ManEccLit150:11–12 *inčü /// Mängü ygän*. ManEccLit152:r2 *///an-mängü ygän Tözün* ‘2 n. pr.’. Sa17:11 *Oylan-mängü* (or: *oylan Mängü*). Sa17:7 *Öz-mängü*. DuUig29:09 */// Mänggü*. Further: BASKI 1986.105; CHWOLSON 1890.N°17, 47:2, 49, 69, 81, 84, III, VIII, XXV; KLEIN 2000.N°17. (b) varia: TfnNest1:IIv5–6 *mängü tngri oɣlı elig qan mšiqqa* ≈ TfnNestI:IIv5 *mängü tngri oɣlı* ‘der ewige Sohn Gottes’.

O1/b SealNest:2 *Möngkä qayan* (→ O2). Qut1:2 *Möngkä-tmür*; (←).

O2 SH:§243/99517 *Möngke* ‘n. pr. m.’. SH:§270/11134, 11216, §274/11407 *Möngge* (read: *Möngke*); eldest son of Tolui ∞ Sorqaqtani; 1208–1259; 4th ruler of the Mongol empire, reg. 1251–1259; Chin. temple name: *Xianzong*’ ≈ Mke1:2 *Mongke-qan* ~ Mke2:2; Qqm2:4, 18 *Mongke-qayan*. Note further (← O1/b).

(A) *möngke* + *tU* ‘suffix designating possession of or containment in something (semantically = Tu. -*IXG*)’: SH:§270/11128 *Mönggetü* ‘succourer of Cormaqan’. SH: §50/1029, §120/3103, §213/8313 *Mönggetü kiyān* ‘a son of Bartan Ba’atur’ (→ a). (B) *möngke* + *-gUr* ~ *-bUr* ‘denominal suffix specifying the basic noun’, cf. MMoS *keyibür* ~ *keibür* ‘fast flying arrow with an iron head’ < MMoS, U, A *kei* ~ P *keé* ‘wind’ (Tu.: BERTA 1996.106, Mo.: RYBATZKI 2003c.64): SH:§202/7719 *Mönggü’ür* ‘a captian of a thousand’. Nur:57–58 *Möngkegür bökegöl*. SH:§48/1024, §50/1030–31 *Qutuqtu-müנגgür* (read: *-müנגgü:r*) ‘third son of Qabul qagan’ ≈ SH:§140/3909–10 *Qutuqtu-möngler*. (C) *möngke* + *-i* ‘diminutive’: SH:§277/11504, 11525 *Mönggei* ‘a Mongolian noyan’.

(a) SH:§68/1407, 1408, 1412, §69/1501 *Mönglik* ‘son of Caraqa of the Qongqotad; a captain of a thousand’ ≈ SH:§130, 244 *qongqotadai Mönglik ecige* ≈ SH:§69/1505, §130/3501–02ff *Mönglik ecige*.

E [a] OT *bänggü* ~ MT, Uig. *mänggü* ~ MT, Uig *mängü* ‘eternal, everlasting’ (C72.350–351) ≈ MMoS *möngke* ~ S *möngge* ~ U, P *mongke* ~ P *mongqa* ~ A *mönke*. Further: TMEN §1744; VEWT 334b, 342a. [b] O2/a perhaps (i) MT, Uig. *bäng* > *mäng* ‘a mole in the face’ (C72.346), > MMoA *menge* ‘sign, hole’; > Tu. *mänglig* ‘mit einem Muttermal versehen, sommersprossig’ (D75.209, 234) ≈ MMoA *mengetü* ‘id.’: Pfl:18 *Mänglig-singqur* ‘n. pr.’. Further: BASKI 1986.105; TMEN §§378, 511–512; VEWT 70a, 334b. or: (ii) OT, MT, Uig. *bengi* > *mengi* ‘«joy» and the like; to be carefully distinguished from *benggü* with which it is easily confused in some scripts’ (C72.348): DuUig1:10’ *Mängi açari* ‘n. pr. + title’, DuUig29:01 *Mängi-silig* ‘n. pr.’, > Böz25:10 (USp31) *Mängilig qoča* ‘n. pr. + title’, Chin./BlockIII:28 *ming-li k’ie-ch’i* ‘Mängilik k’ie-ch’i; «n. pr. f. + ??’. ?Khot. *mamgali çârä ttâtâhä* ‘the totuq Mängilig çor’ (BAILEY 1949–50.48, HOVDHAUGEN 1971.195). Further: BASKI 1986.105, VEWT 334b.

Marta. O1 ZaiNest2:2–3 *qaḍunī Marḍa tärīm* ‘his wife Marta terim’. Further: CHWOLSON 1890.N°1, 5, 10, 50:3, I; JUSTI 1895.195; KLEIN 2000.N°20.

E (<) < Syr. *mrt*’ (CHWOLSON 1890.135, PAYNE-SMITH 2233).

Maryam ~ **Mariam** ≈ **Maryan** ≈ **Miryam**. O1 (a) ‘historical person’: Yar-ArabII:6 *Maryam* ‘daughter of Yahûd ikän sübaši’. SemNest10:9 *Maryan analarîn* ‘mit seiner Mutter Maryan’. Further: CHWOLSON 1890.N°19:3, 38:1, 41:2, 44:9, 48:3, 49:4, 61, 65, 87, XXX; KLEIN 2000.N°12, 20. (b) ‘Biblical person’: EstrII.M18:r9, 10, v1 (Nest.) *Maryam*. CC *Mariam qatun* ‘die Jungfrau Maria’ ≈ CC [ulam] *erden ana Mariam* ≈ TfnNest8:d *ariy qiz maḍ* (Sogd. *m’ t*) *Miryam* ‘die reine Jungfrau Maria’ ≈ Sogd. *mry’ m pwr̄yc’ y* (ZIEME 1997–98.177) ≈ Ins:1019 *maḍ Maryam* ‘Mutter Maria’. EstrII.M28:10 (Man.) *bar Maryam* ‘Sohn Mariä’. Further: SAEKI 1937.140, 320, 325, 329, 330; T74.71; Z91.247.

E < SogdC *mrym* ~ SogdM *mry'mh* < Syr. *mrym* (CHWOLSON 1890.135; GHARIB N°5482, 5483; PAYNE-SMITH 2226; SUNDERMANN 1988.182) > MPersM, ParthM *mrym* [miryam] 'Semitic pr. name, «Miriam»'.

Matay. O1 TfnNest3a:r4 *Matay ptyamvri* 'der Apostel Matthäus'. Further: SAEKI 1937.73 ('historical person'), 273 ('Biblical person').

O2 Nür:a65 *Matus bayši*.

E (<) < Syr. *mty* (PAYNE-SMITH 2249).

Möngkä. (↑ *Mängü*).

?**Mümrig?** (*Mumriy*). **O1** SemNest10:5 *Mümrig qaša bæg* 'M. der Herr Priester'.

E If the reading suggested by RADLOFF is correct, the word has to be considered etymologically unclear.

Nôn. O1 TfnNest18 *Yišó' Bar N[ôn]* (↑ *Išô*).

E < Sogd. *nwn* < Syr. *nwn* (PAYNE-SMITH 2324, SUNDERMANN 1988.183).

Nw[.]s? **O1** YangNest1:4–5 *tatuluq nw[.]s sm-š'* 'Nw[.]s samša aus Daidu (Beijing); either a title, or the Christian name of Hindu (→)' = Chin.:1 *dadu Xindu* 'Hindu aus Daidu'. YarArabII:3 *Nūš tegin ügä*. ManMin32:iir5 *nw(š) /// 'Nôš ///'*.

(A) DuSogdE:19 *nwš'n* 'n. pr.', cf. SogdS *nwš'nc* 'ambrosial'. Further: BACK 1978.184; GIGNOUX 1972.16, 1986.II/42–44:N°101–115; GIGNOUX & GYSELEN 1987.295; JUSTI 1895.17–18, 230; YAMAUCHI 1993.4.

O2 MünII70 (1344/45), 71, 74 *as-sultân al-'âdil anûšîrvân* ~ 72 (1345/46) *as-sultân nusîrvan qan* ~ 73 *as-sultân nusîrvan* 'II-Qan 1344–55'.

E (O1) (?)SogdB *nwš* 'ambrosia', B, S *nwš'k* ~ S *nwš'k* 'immortal', B, M *nwš'ky* 'immortality', B *nwš'ykh* 'eternal' ~ B, C *nwš'y* 'eternal, immortal', M, C, S *nwš'c* 'immortal'. (O2) ~ Uig. *anušîrvan* (DTS 46), *anošagan* 'Name eines Himmels im Man.' (Rö 145) < NPers. *Nôšîrvan* 'n. pr.' < Pahl. *anôšag-ruwân* 'the late, deceased' < Pahl. *anôš* 'immortal, i. e. the next life; elixir, antidote', Pahl., MPersM, PrthM *anôšag* 'immortal' + *ruwân* 'soul, the immortal part of the human being': Pahl. *'nwš'lw'b'n* 'à l'ame immortelle', Pahl. *Anôšruvân-panâh* 'n. pr.' (GIGNOUX 1986.II/44:113). According to BRUNNER (1987), *anôšruvân* was in Pahl. "a respectful euphemism" and should be thus translated as «of immortal soul». Only in the Islamic period the word developed into an aristocratic personal name.

Pilduz. O1 TfnNest8:f *Pilduz bešinč buryuq* 'Pilatus der fünfte Statthalter (von Judäa)' ≈ Sogd. *pntyws pyl'tws* ≈ CC *Pont Pil(at)* (SAEKI 1937.159-160, ZIEME 1997–98.176). Estril.M18:r1 *Pilatîs* ~ M132:r9 *Pilatîs*. Further: SAEKI 1937.144-145.

E < Sogd. *pyl'tws* < Syr. *pyl'tws* < Greek *pilātos* (PAYNE-SMITH 3108) > ParthM *pyltys* [pilatis] 'pr. name in Parth.; «Pilate»'.

Rahel. O1 YangNest1:9 *Sara Ripka Rahel ariḡ qunčuylyar* 'die reinen Frauen Sarah, Rebekka und Rahel'.

E here: 'Jacob's favourite wife and mother of Joseph and Benjamin' (DDD 1290–1292). (<) < Syr. *rḥyl* (PAYNE-SMITH 3879).

Ripka. O1 YangNest1:9 *Ripka* (↑ Rahel). Further: CHWOLSON 1890.N°42:3.

E here: 'wife of Isaac'. (<) < Syr. *rḥk*' (CHWOLSON 1890.135, PAYNE-SMITH 3966).

Šadi. O1 SemNest6:4 *Šadi bāg* 'Sohn des (↑) Qut tegin-bāg'. Further: AHMED 1999.193, 326; BASKI 1986. 132, 133; JUSTI 1895.269–271, esp. 270–271, 291–292.

O2 cf. MünII59 *as-sultāna al-‘ādila sātī bik ḥān* 'Il-qan Herrscherin Sātī bāg; 1338–39' ≈ MünII60 *as-sultāna al-‘uzmā sātī bik ḥānum*.

E [a] Arab.-Pers. *šadi* 'singer' (AHMED 1999.193, St 722), ≈ Tu. **oyunčī bāg*, cf. RYBATZKI 2004a for examples of the type name of professions + *bāg*. [b] Arab.-Pers. *šad* 'happy' (St 721–722).

sam-ša?. O1 YangNest1:4–5 *tatuluq nw[.]s sm-š* 'Nw[.]s samša aus Daidu (Beijing)' = Chin.:1 *dadu Xindu* 'Hindu aus Daidu'. Further: BASKI 1986.132.

O2 (??)Arg4:10 *Šamsatin-i* ~ FragTeh2e:3, 2h:9; Uwa/üjig, Bar2:2 *Šamsadin*.

E [a] Unclear. The words following *tatuluq* should be either a title, or the Christian name of Hindu. Perhaps to be connected with [b] (O2) *Šamsadin* < Arab.-Pers. *Šams al-Dîn*, < *šams* 'being sun-shiny; the sun etc.', *šamsa* 'light, a ray' (St 759).

Sara. O1 YangNest1:9 *Sara* (↑ Rahel).

E here: 'wife of Abraham'. (<) < Syr. *sr' ~ s'r'* (PAYNE-SMITH 2724–2725).

Šauma. O1 SteuH:8 *Savm-a*. ZaiNest1:2 *keliu* (?) *Zauma* = [Chinese part] *T'ieh-mi-ta sao-ma* 'David Šauma'. Further: CHWOLSON 1890.N°11:3, 13, 16:1, 27:4, 40:2, 56, 92.

O2 DocII2:5–6 *mar Bar-sawm-a saḡur-a* '(Syr.) *m'r br s'wm' s'wr*', «Lord Son-of-fasting the visitor»' (MOSTAERT & CLEAVES 1962.26).

E: (<) < Syr. *s'wm' ~ swm'* 'fasting' (CHWOLSON 1890.134, PAYNE-SMITH 3380, SUNDERMANN 1981.224).

Šemšôn. O1 TfnNest18 *uluy küčlüg tonga yanga Yišô' Bar N[ôn] Šemšôn gabbârâ* 'die großen mächtigen Helden² Josua Bar Nôn und Held Simson'. Further: SAEKI 1937.76 ('historical person').

E (<) < Syr. *šymšwn* (PAYNE-SMITH 4141).

Šilemün. O1 SteuJ:r2 *mar Šilimun*. ZaiNest1:1 *mar-i hasya mar-i Šlimun epis-gupa* = [Chinese part] *ma-li shih-li-men e-pi-ssu-ku-pa ma-li ha-hsi-ya*. Further: CHWOLSON 1890.N°IV; SAEKI 1937.77.

O2 HyB:a21r, 21b, 22b *Širemün* ≈ HyB:a20v *cing-seng Širemün*. DocTfn14:2 *Siremün tai-ui* (?) *aqalaqu önsi*(?) 'Siremün, the ??'; *aqalaqu* «Älterer, Senior, in Titeln». SH:§170(2), §171(2) *quri Šilemün taisi* ≈ SH:§208 *quri Šilemün* 'Kereit. Chief of the thousand dayguards of Ong-qan'.

E: [a] O1, O2 mostly: (<) < Syr. *šlymwn* 'Salomo' (PAYNE-SMITH 4195, SUNDERMANN 1981.224). [b] some forms of O2 possibly < Mo. *siremün* 'Kupfer' (RYBATZKI 2002.99–102).

Tay. O1 (a) Böz78:h *Tay*. SemNest9:4 *Tay-arşlan*. SemNest11:1 *Ay-tay*. Further: BASKI 1986.135; CHWOLSON 1890.N°34. (b) TfnNest18:16, Totm:32 *taylar-ning qani* 'König der Berge'. Further: GK88.100, 101; Te80.119; Tu91.364–365.

(A) *tay* + *-čUK* 'diminutive' (E91.44–47): Ins:1042 *Tayčuq* 'n. pr.' (according to TEZCAN: «*nomen urbis*, eine zentralasiatische Stadt»).

E OT, MT, Uig. *tay* 'mountain' (C72.463), further: TMEN §859, VEWT 454a > MMOu *tay* 'Berg' (CeTa93.223), MoL, KhalL *tay* 'mountain; mountain terraces, flat mountain top, plateau; shelf, hanging rack', Kal. *tay* '(i) Boden (od. auch Deckel) von hölzernen Gefäßen (Tonnen usw.); (ii) Gipfel'; further: KARA 2001.112.

Taş. O1 (a) 'n. pr.'. Mi14:7 (USp126), ManEccLit171:5 *Taş*. BlockIV:38 *Ta-shī* 'Taş'. ManEccLit106:v8 *Taş qoştr Käd-oğul qoştr*. Lo06:9 (USp63) *yigän Taş-oğul*. Sa23:18 (USp110) *Taş-qan*. Sa19:6–7 *Taş-qra atly türk qra-bašimün* 'meinen Taş-qara genannten türkischen Sklaven' (Z77 translates *türk* as 'strong'). Qut15:12–13 *Taş qy-a*. Mi32:12 *Taş-tola*(?), cf. Qut2:10, 4:9 *Taş-töläk*. USp36:1 *türči* (read: *torči*?) *Alp-taş* ~ Beicht302:r12 (TTIV:432), BeichtShô:29 *Alp-taş* (Rö 107) ~ Sa01:3, 7, 10, 11, 13, 15 *Alp-taş sangun*. AdmOrd:29 *Arşlan-taş totuq*. USp115:23 *Bäg-taş*. Kal:LIIext *Bägi-taş Qaračuq* '1 or 2 n. pr.'. SemNest6:8 *El-taş*. Qut2:7 *Buyan-taş*; (→). MaitrHmi:528–529, 2854, 2859, X:8b1 *Čuu-taş ygän-totuq* ~ MaitrHmi:587 *upasi Taş ygän-totuq* ~ MaitrHmiXI:16b7 *Taş ygän-totuq* ~ MaitrHmi:255 *Čuu-taş ygän* 'Stifter des Hami-Maitrisimit'. Kal:XXIIant *İnal-taş*. ManLetG:1 *Inčü-taş qoştr*. USp.248u.12 *Qutluy-taş* (Rö 86b) ~ Sa02:4, 7, 13, 19 *Qutluy-taş* ~ Sa02:18 *Quđluy-taş*. Mi14:2 (USp126) *Käd-tş*. SemNest1:5 *Mängü-taş*. Further: BASKI 1986.139; CHWOLSON 1890.N°49,

49:1, V, VIII. (b) 'varia'. HtV/54:15 *taš burqan* 'steinerner Buddha'. Totm:553–554 *taš oqaqlıy tamudaqı* 'die in der Stein-Mörser-Hölle seienden'.

O2 Nur:a65 *Tš-tmür* [*Taš-temür*]. DocQqt13:8 *Luu Buyan-taš* (or: *Buyandaš*) 'Chin. family name + Tu. given name'; (←). SH:§190/6610 *Torbi-taš* 'Naiman; messenger of Tayang qan'.

E OT, MT, Uig. *taš* '«stone» in all the usual meanings of that word in English" (C72.557, Ko97.292, Te68.376–377, TMEN §855–857, VEWT 466a), Uig. *ašvajatu taš* = Skt. *āsmajatu* 'Bitumen' (MAUE 1996.117–118), Uig. *sorinčan taš* 'Magnet' (KZ76.41), Uig. *bi taš* (Tu91.163, 165) > MMoU *bii tas* ~ *bui tas* 'stela, stone inscription', modern: Yogh. *t^haš*, MangM, MongH *taš*, Bon. *tači*, San. *taši*, MoghL *tāš* 'stone'.

Yaqob. O1 (a) 'historical person': YarUigl:28 *Yaqob* ~ IV:15 *Ya'qob* 'son of Yusuf, the ferry-man'. EstrIL.M4:5–6 (Man.) *Yākōb Narē[m]ān* 'Jakob Nerimān'. Further: CHWOLSON 1890.N°1, 92, 97:1; SAEKI 1937.75, 76. (b) 'Biblical person': DuUig5:53 (Man.) *Yakob frišti* ~ EstrIL.M20:iv2; M4:1, 7–8, 17 (Man.) *Yaqōb prēstag*. 'Jakob (der Anführer) der Engel'. TfnNest18:6 *Yaqob qang* 'Father Jacob; here: son of Isaac' (DDD 862–865). Further: SAEKI 1937.323.

E < Sogd. *y'qwb* < Syr. *y'kwb* (CHWOLSON 1890.133, PAYNE-SMITH 1613–1615, SUNDERMANN 1981.220) > MPersM, ParthM *y'kwb* [*yākōb*] 'Semitic pr. name, «Jacob»'.

Yawsep. O1 (a) 'Biblical person': TfnNest1:Iv16 *Yawsep*. TfnNest18:8 *Yawsep qang* 'Vater Josef; son of Jacob and Rachel' (DDD 895–898). Further: SAEKI 1937.216, 243. (b) 'historical person': OSNest4 *Yawsep* 'Josef'; ManEcc-Lit181:20, 38, 42ff *Yosīpas* 'Aesop' YarArabII:6, 15(2); V:3; V:31 *Yūsuf* 'son of Haurā (II); son of Yaḥyā (V:3); son of 'Umar Čaffli (V:31)'. YarUigIII:5, V:b5 *Yusuf hal(l)ağ* 'Yusuf, the cotton-carder'. YarUigIV:9 *Yusuf inal* ~ YarArabI:11, 12 *Yūsuf inal*. YarArabV:30 *Yūsuf ḥuymiš*. YarUigV:b11 *Yusuf otaγ baši* ~ YarArabII:6, 13, 17, 20, 22 *Yūsuf otağbaši* ~ YarArabIV:4 *tärkän Yūsuf otağbaši* '(tärkän) Yusuf, the master of the tent; son of Yahūd ikän sübaši'. YarArabV:27, 28 *Yūsuf tamğači* 'Yūsuf, the seal-bearer; son of Hārūn Irdām ḥaylbaši (:28), son of Aḥmad ḥaylbaši (:29)'. YarUigl:27; II:c5, c8; IV:14 *Yusuf täknäči* 'Yusuf, the ferry-man; father of Yaqob'.

E (i/a) Uig. *Yawsep* (<) < Syr. *ywsp* ~ *ywsyp*, (i/b) Uig. *Yosīpas* < Syr. < Greek (PAYNE-SMITH 1582, ZIEME 1968.45). (ii) MT *Yusuf* < Arab.-Pers. *Yūsuf* (AHMED 1999.223–224, SCHIMMEL 1989.29, St 1538).

Yišo. (†) *Išo*.

Yohnam ~ Yohnan. O1 YarArabV:3 *Yaḥyâ*. DuUig14:12; 15:13, 21 (YWHNN), 3' *Yohnan*. SemNest10:12 *Yô[h]nan atalar birlä* 'mit dem Vater Yô[h]nan'. YarArabIII:5 *Yaḥyâ inäl*. OSNestb *Yohnam oligun*. DuUig15:10 *Yohnan tegin*. TfnNestSogdA:7 *y'nn 'wry* 'Yo[h]nan(?) urī'. TfnNestSogdA:7 *'pγ ywhnn* 'Abīy-Yohnan'. BeiNest:4–5 *bu ordu igäzi Yô(h)nan kömäk(k)ä sänggün* 'le chef de ce siège, Yohnan, commandant affecté aux troupes auxiliaires'. SemNest10:9 *mari Yohnam* 'Herr Johannes'. Further: CHWOLSON 1890.N°3:1, 3:5, 12:2, 17, 18:1, 23, 27:2, 28:1, 38, 41:1, 50:5, 51, 97, 98, 99:1, XIII, XXXI, XXXIV; HAMBIS 1953; SAEKI 1937.72, 73, 75, 76, 77 ('historical persons'); 141-142, 273, 274, 278 ('Biblical person').

O2 SH:§190/6615–6616, 6621 *Yoqanan neretü elci* 'an emissary called Yoqanan; sent by Alaquš to Cinggis qan'.

E (i) MT, Uig. *Yohnan* < Sogd. *ywhnn* < Syr. *ywhnn* (CHWOLSON 1890.133, GHARIB N°11055, PAYNE-SMITH 1573–1574, SUNDERMANN 1981.222, 1988.186). (ii) MT *Yaḥyâ* < Arab.-Pers. *Yaḥyâ* 'John the Baptist' (AHMED 1999.222, SCHIMMEL 1989.29, St 1528).

Yošmid. O1 OSNest5 *Yošmid*. USp17:3 *Yosmuṭ*. Further: CHWOLSON 1890.N°16, 49:10, 50:10, 50:13, 75:1, XII; KLEIN 2000.N°27.

E Unclear, but cf. further: *Yošmūt* 'n. pr. of one of the sons of Hülegü qan'. Further: FRANKE (1998.321–322).

Yulita. O1 OSNest6 *Yulita*. Further: CHWOLSON 1890.N°18, 50:11.

E << Syr. *ywlyt'* (CHWOLSON 1890.134, PAYNE-SMITH 1575).

Yuntuz. O1 SemNest10:4 *qutluy tümän bägi Yuntuz bäg* 'der seelige Tausendschaftsführer Herr Yuntuz'.

E Etymologically unclear, perhaps < *yunt* "apparently a generic term for «horse», while at was more generally «a riding horse»" (C72.946, HAUENSCHILDT 2003.248–249, TMEN §1901, VEWT 211).

Zavṭai. O1 TfnNest2:r10–11 *Zavṭai patyamvar* 'Zebedäus der Apostel'.

E (<) < Syr. *zwdy* (PAYNE-SMITH 1073).

Zqari-a. O1 TfnNest1:lv3 *Zqari-a dintar* 'Zacharias der Hohenpriester'. Further: CHWOLSON 1890.N°50:5; SAEKI 1937.77 ('historical person'), 275 ('Biblical person').

O2 Uwa/üjig *Sakariy-a*.

E < Sogd. *zkry'* < Syr. *zkry's ~ zkry'* (PAYNE-SMITH 1122–1123, SUNDERMANN 1988.186).

LITERATURE (additions to RYBATZKI 2004a)

- AHMED, S. 1999. *A Dictionary of Muslim Names*. London.
- ASMUSSEN, J. P. 1975. Iranische neutestamentliche Zitate und Texte und ihre textkritische Bedeutung. *AoF* 2, 79–92.
- BACK, M. 1978. *Die sassanidischen Staatsinschriften*. (Acta Iranica 18.) Leiden.
- BANG, W. 1926. Türkische Bruchstücke einer nestorianischen Georgspassion. *Muséon* 39, 41–75.
- BARRETT, T. H. 2002. Buddhism, Taoism and the eight-century Chinese term for Christianity. *BSOAS* 65, 555–560.
- BAZIN, L. 1981. *Les systèmes chronologiques dans le monde turc ancien*. (Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungaric, 34.) Budapest.
- BESE L. 1988. On some ethnic names in 13th-century Inner-Asia. *AOH* 42, 17–42.
- BOYLE, J. A. 1976. The Il-Khans and the princes of Europe. *CAJ* 20, 25–40.
- 1977. The Il-Khans and the Christian in the west. *The Mongol World empire 1206–1370*. (Variorum reprints, 13.) London.
- BRUNNER, C. J. 1987. Anōšag-ruwān. *Encyclopaedia Iranica* II, 98–100.
- BUELL, P. D. 1993. Činqai. (Eds.) I. DE RACHEWILTZ, CHAN HOK-LAM, HSIAO CHI-CHING & P. W. GEIER. *In the Service of the Khan. Eminent Personalities of the Early Mongol-Yüan Period*. (Asiatische Forschungen, 121.) Wiesbaden, 95–111.
- CHWOLSON, D. 1886. *Syrische Grabinschriften aus Semiretschie*. St. Petersburg.
- 1890. *Syrisch-nestorianische Grabinschriften aus Semiretschie*. St. Petersburg.
- 1897. *Syrisch-nestorianische Grabinschriften aus Semiretschie, Neue Folge*. St. Petersburg.
- DDD = *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*. (Eds.) K. VAN DER TOORN, B. BECKING & P. W. VAN DER HORST. Leiden 1995.
- DŽUMAGULOV, Č. 1968. Die syrisch-türkischen (nestorianischen) Denkmäler in Kirgisien. *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 14(3), 470–480.
- EHLERS, G. 1987. *Altürkische Handschriften, Teil 2: Das Goldglanzsūtra und der buddhistische Legendenzklus Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā*. (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland 13:10.) Stuttgart.
- ENOKI K. 1998. Nestorian Christianity in China in mediaeval times according to recent historical and archaeological research. *Studia Asiatica*. (The collected papers in western languages of the late Dr. Kazuo Enoki.) Tokyo, 475–523.
- ERDAL, M. 1993. Around the Turkic “apple”. *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 21, 27–36.
- FIEY, J. M. 1975. *Chrétien syriaques sous les Mongols (Il-khnat de Perse, XIIIe–XIVe s.)*. (Corpus scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 362, subsidia 44). Louvain.
- FOSTER, J. 1954. Crosses from the walls of Zaitun. *JRAS*, 1–25.
- FRANKE, H. 1981. Eine qarluqisch-türkische Familie im Dienst der mongolischen Großkhane. *Scholia, Beiträge zur Turkologie und Zentralasienkunde, Annemarie von Gabain zum 80. Geburtstag am 4. Juli 1981 dargebracht von Kollegen, Freunden und Schülern*. (Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica, 14.) Wiesbaden, 64–79.
- 1998. Zu einigen christlichen Personennamen der Yüanzeit. *ZDMG* 148, 315–322.
- GENG Shimin, H.-J. KLIMKEIT & J. P. LAUT 1985–98. — 1985: Das 16. Kapitel der Hami-Version der Maitrisimit. *Journal of Turkish Studies* 9, 71–132. — 1987: Der Herabstieg des Bodhisattva Maitreya vom Tušita-Götterland zur Erde. Das 10. Kapitel der Hami-Handschrift der Maitrisimit. *AoF* 14, 350–376. — 1988: Das Erscheinen des Bodhisattva. Das 11. Kapitel der Hami-Handschrift der Maitrisimit. *AoF* 15, 315–366. — 1991: Die Welt-

- flucht des Bodhisattva. Das 13. Kapitel der Hami-Handschrift der Maitrisimit. *AoF* 18, 264–296. — 1993a: Das Erlangen der unvergleichlichen Buddhawürde. Das 15. Kapitel der Hami-Handschrift der Maitrisimit. *AoF* 20, 182–234, 369–390. — 1993b: Der Gang zum Bodhi-Baum. Das 14. Kapitel der Hami-Handschrift der Maitrisimit. *Materialia Turcica* 16, 25–47. — 1998: *Eine buddhistische Apokalypse. Die Höllenskapitel (20–25) und die Schlusskapitel (26–27) der Hami-Handschrift der alttürkischen Maitrisimit.* (Abhandlungen der Nordrhein-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 103.) Opladen.
- 1993c. Prolegomena zur Edition der Hami-Handschrift der uigurischen Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā. *Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları, FS-Tekin.* Ankara, 213–230.
- 1996. Eine neue nestorische Grabinschrift aus China. *UJb*, N.F. 14, 164–175.
- GIGNOUX, P. 1972. *Glossaire des inscriptions pehlevies et parthes.* (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Supplementary Series I.) London.
- GIGNOUX, P. & R. GYSELEN 1987. *Bulles et sceaux sassanides de diverses collections.* Paris.
- GK88 = GENG SHIMIN & H.-J. KLIMKEIT 1988.
- GRØNBECH, K. 1936. *Codex Cumanicus. In Faksimile herausgegeben mit einer Einleitung.* Kopenhagen
- 1942. *Komanisches Wörterbuch.* (Monumenta Linguarum Asiæ Maioris.) Kopenhagen.
- GRONKE, M. 1986. The Arabic Yârkand documents. *BSOAS* 49, 454–507.
- HAGE, W. 1987. Das Christentum in der Turfan-Oase. (Hrsg.) W. HEISSIG & H.-J. KLIMKEIT. *Synkretismus in den Religionen Zentralasiens.* (Studies in Oriental Religions, 13.) Wiesbaden, 46–57.
- HAMBIS, L. 1953. Deux noms chrétiens chez les Tatar. *JA* 241, 473–475.
- HAMILTON, J. R. 1972. Le texte turc en caractères syriaques du grand sceau cruciforme de Mâr Yahballâhâ III. *JA* 260, 155–170.
- HAMILTON, J. R. & NIU RU-JI 1994. Deux inscriptions funéraires turques nestorienne de la Chine orientale. *JA* 282, 147–164.
- HANSEN, O. 1941. *Berliner sogdische Texte*, I. Berlin.
- HAZAI GY. 1976. Ein uigurisches Kolophon zu einem Avalokiteśvara. (Eds.) W. HEISSIG et al. *Tractata Altaica. Denis Sinor sexagenario optime de rebus Altaicis merito dedicata.* Wiesbaden, 273–276.
- HEISSIG, W. 1976. *Die mongolischen Handschriften-Reste aus Olon sūme, Innere Mongolei.* (Asiatische Forschungen, 46.) Wiesbaden.
- HJELT, A. 1909. Drei syrisch-nestorianische Grabinschriften. *MSFOu* A.I:2.
- HOHEISEL, K. 2002. Judentum an der Seidenstraße. (Hrsg.) W. GANTKE et al. *Religionsbegegnung und Kulturaustausch in Asien. Studien zum Gedenken an Hans-Joachim Klimkeit.* (Studies in Oriental Religions, 49.) Wiesbaden, 99–110.
- HUNTER, E. C. D. 1992. Syriac Christianity in Central Asia. *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 44(4), 362–368. [Deals with Western Turkestan]
- KARA GY. 1976. Petites inscriptions ouigoures de Touen-houang. (Ed.) GY. KÁLDY-NAGY. *Hungaro-Turcica, studies in honour of Julius Németh.* Budapest, 55–59.
- KASCHEWSKY, R. 2002. Das Sogdische – Bindeglied zwischen christlicher und buddhistischer Terminologie. (Hrsg.) W. GANTKE et al. *Religionsbegegnung und Kulturaustausch in Asien. Studien zum Gedenken an Hans-Joachim Klimkeit.* (Studies in Oriental Religions, 49.) Wiesbaden, 120–139.
- KLEIN, W. 1998. Nestorianische Inschriften in Kirgizistan: ein Situationsbericht. *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 256, 661–669.
- KLEIN, W. & J. TUBACH 1994. Ein syrisch-christliches Fragment aus Dunhuang. *ZDMG* 144, 1–13.

- KLIMKEIT, H.-J. 1986. *Die Begegnung zwischen Christentum, Gnosis und Buddhismus an der Seidenstraße*. (Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vorträge G 283.) Opladen.
- LALA COMNENO, M. A. 1995. Cristianesimo nestoriano in Asia Centrale nel primo millennio: testimonianze archeologiche. *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 61(2), 495–535.
- LE COQ, A. V. 1909. Ein christliches und ein manichäisches Manuskriptfragment in türkischer Sprache. *SPAW*, 1202–1218.
- 1922. Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho III. Nebst einem christlichen Bruchstück aus Bulayiq. *APAW*. Berlin.
- LIGETI L. 1967–68. Documents sino-ouigours du Bureau des Traducteurs (I–II). *AOH* 20, 253–306; 21, 45–118.
- 1972. Les sept monastères nestoriens de Mar Sargis. *AOH* 26, 169–178.
- 1981. Prolegomena to the Codex Cumanicus. *AOH* 35, 1–54.
- LIVŠIĆ, V. A. 1981. Sogdijcy v Semireč'e: lingvističeskie i èpigrafičeskie svidetel'stva. *Pis'mennye pamjatniki i problemy istorii kul'tury narodov vostoka, XV godičnaja naučnaja sessija LO IV AN SSR dekabr' 1979 I/2*. Moskva, 76–85.
- LUPPRIAN, K.-E. 1981. *Die Beziehungen der Päpste zu islamischen und mongolischen Herrschern im 13. Jahrhundert anhand ihres Briefwechsels*. Vatican City.
- MACKENZIE, D. N. 1986. *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*. London.
- MARINGER, J. 1975. A jade pendant with christian symbol from a grave near Shanghai. *East & West* 25, 487–507.
- MARÓTH M. 1984. Ein Fragment eines syrischen pharmazeutischen Rezeptbuches aus Turfan. *AoF* 11, 115–125.
- 1985. Ein Brief aus Turfan. *AoF* 12, 283–287.
- 1991a. Eine unbekannt Version der Georgios-Legende aus Turfan. *AoF* 18, 86–108.
- 1991b. Die syrischen Handschriften in der Turfan-Sammlung. *Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients* 23, 126–128.
- MATSUI D. 2002. Taxation and tax-collecting systems in Uiguristan under Mongol rule. *Research on Political and Economic Systems under Mongol Rule*. Osaka, 87–127. (jap.)
- 2003. The Yalin texts. Six Uigur administrative orders from the early fourteenth century. *Studies in the Humanities [Cultural Sciences]* 10, 51–72. (jap.)
- MENGES, K. H. 1982. Etymologika. *CAJ* 26, 105–118.
- MOSTAERT, A. & F. W. CLEAVES 1962. *Les lettres de 1289 et 1305 des ilkhan Argun et Öljeitü à Philippe le Bel*. (Harvard-Yenching Institute, Scripta Mongolica, Monograph Series, 1.) Cambridge, MA.
- MOULE, A. C. 1930. *Christians in China before the Year 1550*. London.
- MÜLLER, F. W. K. 1904a–b. Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkistan I–II. *APAW* 1904. Berlin.
- 1913. Soghdische Texte I. *APAW* 1913, 1–111.
- 1934. Soghdische Texte II. Aus dem Nachlaß hrsg. von Dr. W. LENTZ. *SPAW. Phil.-hist. Kl.* 1934:21, 504–607.
- MURAYAMA S. 1963. Die syrisch-nestorischen Grabinschriften aus Pailing Miao und Ch'üan-chou. *Transactions of the International Conference of Orientalists in Japan VIII*, 22–25.
- 1964. Eine nestorianische Grabinschrift in türkischer Sprache aus Zaiton. *UAIJb* 35, 394–396.
- NAU, F. 1913. Les pierres tombales nestoriennees du Musée Guimet. *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 18, 3–35, 325–327.
- PAYNE-SMITH, R. 1879–1901. *The Saurus Syriacus*. Oxonii.
- PELLIOT, P. 1914. Chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'Extrême-Orient. *T'oung Pao* 15, 623–645.

- PELLIOT, P. 1922–31. Les Mongols et la Papauté. *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 23, 3–30; 24, 225–335; 28, 3–84.
- 1973. *Recherches sur les Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extrême-Orient*. (Oeuvres posthumes de Paul Pelliot.) Paris.
- 1984. *Recherches sur les Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extrême-Orient*, II:1. *La stèle de Si-ngan-fou*. (Oeuvres posthumes de Paul Pelliot éditées par la fondation Singer-Polignac, présentées et commentées par J. Dauvillier.) Paris.
- 1996. *L'inscription nestorienne de Si-ngan-fou*. (Edited with supplements by Antonino Forte.) Kyoto-Paris.
- PIGULEVSKAJA, N. 1966. Ešče raz o siro-tjurkskom. *Tjurkologičeskij sbornik* 1966, 228–232.
- POPPE, N. N. 1965. A Middle Turkic text of the Apostles' creed. *Monumenta Serica* 24, 273–306
- RACHEWILTZ, I. DE 1971. *Papal envoys to the Great Khans*. London.
- RADLOFF, W. 1890. Das türkische Sprachmaterial der im Gebiet von Semirjetschie aufgefundenen Grabinschriften. In: CHWOLSON 1890, 138–157.
- RASCHMANN, S.-C. 1991. Die alttürkischen Turfantexte als Quelle zur Erforschung der sozial-ökonomischen Geschichte Zentralasiens. *Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients* 23, 141–149.
- 1995. *Baumwolle im türkischen Zentralasien*. (Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica, 44.) Wiesbaden.
- RICHARD, J. 1977. *La papauté et les missions d'Orient au Moyen Age (XIIIe–XIVe siècles)*. (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 33.) Paris-Torino.
- ROULEAU, F. A. 1954. The Yangchow Latin tombstone as a landmark of medieval Christianity in China. *HJAS* 17, 346–365.
- RYAN, J. D. 1998. Christian wives of Mongol khans: Tatar queens and missionary expectations in Asia. *JRAS* Ser. 3, 8, 411–421.
- RYBATZKI, V. 2002. Die tungusische Metallterminologie. *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* 7, 89–126.
- 2004a. The personal names and titles of the “Forest-folk”. *JSFOu* 95.
- 0000a. Kereit personal names and titles in the Secret History of the Mongols. *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* 00.
- 0000b. Turkic personal names in Middle Mongolian sources? *Veröffentlichungen der 5. Deutschen Turkologenkonferenz, Mainz 3.–7.10.2002*. (Turcologica, 00.) Wiesbaden.
- 0000c. Female personal names in Middle Mongolian sources. (Ed.) V. VEIT. *Proceedings of the 44th PIAC*. (Asiatische Forschungen, 000.) Wiesbaden, 000–00. [Paper presented: 44th PIAC, 26.08.–31.08.2001].
- 0000d. Remarks on the Old Turkic *ırq bitig* and its cultural background. (Ed.) A. VAN TONGERLOO. *Proceedings of the 43rd PIAC*, Lanaken/Belgium VIII.2000.
- 0000e. Linguistic particularities in the Middle Mongol Alexander Romance. [Proceedings of the conference «Turfan revisited», Berlin 8–12th of September 2002.]
- SACHAU, E. 1905. Litteratur-Bruchstücke aus Chinesische-Turkistan. *SPAW* 1905, 964–978.
- SAEKI, P. Y. 1937. *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China*. Tokyo. (Reprint in 1951.)
- SCHIMMEL, A. 1989. *Islamic Names*. (Islamic Surveys.) Edinburgh.
- SCHWARTZ, M. 1974. Sogdian fragments of the Book of Palms. *AoF* 1, 257–262.
- SERTKAYA, O. 1998. Die Runen-Inschrift von Čoir. (Eds.) J. P. LAUT & M. ÖLMEZ. *Bahşi Ögdisi, Klaus Röhrborn Armağanı. Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları Dizisi* 21. Freiburg/Istanbul, 349–361.
- 2002. [handout of the conference “Turfan revisited – the first century of research into the arts and cultures of the Silk Road”, 8.–12.9.2002]. *Zu Personen- und Ortsnamen in uigurischen Gelddokumenten*.

- SHÔGAITO M., L. TUGUŠEVA & S. FUJISHIRO 1998. *The Daśakarmapathāhvādānamālā in Uighur*. Kyoto. (jap.-russ.)
- SIMS-WILLIAMS, N. 1976. The Sogdian fragments of the British Library. *Indo-Iranian Journal* 18, 43–82.
- 1985. *The Christian Sogdian manuscript C2*. (Berliner Turfantexte, 12.) Berlin.
- 1988. Syro-Sogdica III. *A Green Leaf. Papers in honour of Professor Jes P. Asmussen*. (Acta Iranica 28, Hommages et opera minora, 12.) Leiden, 145–156.
- 1990. Bulayīq. *Encyclopaedia Iranica* IV, 545.
- 1992. Christianity. (iii) In Central Asia and Chinese Turkestan. (iv) Christian literature in Middle Iranian languages. *Encyclopaedia Iranica* V, 530–535
- 1993. The Sogdian inscriptions from Ladakh. (Ed.) K. JETTMAR. *Antiquities of Northern Pakistan. Reports and Studies*, II. Mainz, 151–163.
- 1994 [1995]. Traditions concerning the fates of the Apostles in Syriac and Sogdian. (Eds.) H. PREIBLER & H. SEIWERT. *Gnosisforschung und Religionsgeschichte. Festschrift für Kurt Rudolph zum 65. Geburtstag*. Marburg, 287–295.
- 1995a. A Sogdian version of the ‘Gloria in excelsis Deo’. *Res Orientalis* 7, 257–262. (NS spécial: Au carrefour des religions: mélanges offerts à Philippe Gignoux.)
- 1995b. Christian Sogdian texts from the Nachlass of Olaf Hansen, I: Fragments of the life of Serapion. *BSOAS* 58(1), 50–68.
- 1995c. Christian Sogdian texts from the Nachlass of Olaf Hansen, II: Fragments of polemic and prognostics. *BSOAS* 58(2), 288–302.
- SPULER, B. 1976. Le christianisme chez les Mongols aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles. (Eds.) W. HEISSIG et al. *Tractata Altaica. Denis Sinor sexagenario optime de rebus Altaicis merito dedicata*. Wiesbaden, 621–631.
- St: STEINGASS, F. 1930. *A Persian-English Dictionary*. London.
- STACHOWSKI, M. 1995. *Studien zum Wortschatz der jakutischen Übersetzung des Neuen Testaments*. Kraków 1995.
- SUNDERMANN, W. 1974–81. Nachlese zu F. W. K. Müllers “Soghdischen Texten I–III”. *AoF* 1, 217–256; 3, 167–194; 8, 169–226.
- 1976. Ein Bruchstück einer soghdischen Kirchengeschichte aus Zentralasien? *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 24(1), 99–105.
- 1988. Der Schüler fragt den Lehrer. Eine Sammlung biblischer Rätsel in soghdischer Sprache. *A Green Leaf. Papers in honour of Professor Jes P. Asmussen*. (Acta Iranica 28, Hommages et opera minora, 12.) Leiden, 173–186.
- 1994. Byzanz und Bulayīq. (Ed.) P. VAVROŠEK. *Iranian and Indo-European Studies. Memorial volume of Otokar Klima*. Prague, 255–264.
- 2001a. Wortindex/Personennamen. (Hrsg.) C. RECK, D. WEBER, C. LEURINI & A. PANAINO. *Manichaica Iranica. Ausgewählte Schriften von Werner Sundermann*. (Serie Orientale Roma, 89:2.) Roma, 940–943.
- 2001b. Christ im Manichäismus. (Hrsg.) C. RECK, D. WEBER, C. LEURINI & A. PANAINO. *Manichaica Iranica. Ausgewählte Schriften von Werner Sundermann*. (Serie Orientale Roma, 89:2.) Roma, 5–12.
- 2001c. Namen von Göttern, Dämonen und Menschen in iranischen Versionen des manichäischen Mythos. (Hrsg.) C. RECK, D. WEBER, C. LEURINI & A. PANAINO. *Manichaica Iranica. Ausgewählte Schriften von Werner Sundermann*. (Serie Orientale Roma, 89:2.) Roma, 121–164.
- TEKIN, Ş. 1980. *Buddhistische Uigurica aus der Yüan-Zeit*. T. 1: *HSIN tözin oqidaci nom*. T. 2: *Die Geschichte von Sadāprarudita und Dharmodgata Bodhisattva*. (Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica, 27.) Budapest.
- TEKIN, T. 1993. *Irk Bitig. The Book of Omens*. (Turcologica, 18.) Wiesbaden.

- Tu91 = TUGUŠEVA, L. JU. 1991. *Ujgurskaja versija biografii Sjuan'-czana*. Moskva.
- TUBACH, J. 1999. Die nestorianische Kirche in China. *Nubia et Æthiopia* 4–5, 61–193.
- URAY G. 1983. Tibet's connections with Nestorianism and Manicheism in the 8th and 9th centuries. (Eds.) E. STEINKELLNER & H. TAUSCHER. *Contributions on Tibetan language, history and culture. Proceedings of the Csoma de Kőrös Symposium held at Velm-Vienna, Austria, 13–19 September 1981*, I. (Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, 10.) Wien, 399–429.
- 1987. Zu den Spuren des Nestorianismus und des Manichäismus im alten Tibet (8.–10. Jahrhundert). (Hrsg.) W. HEISSIG & H.-J. KLIMKEIT. *Synkretismus in den Religionen Zentralasiens*. (Studies in Oriental Religions, 13.) Wiesbaden, 197–206.
- WARNKE, I. 1981. Ein uigurisches Kolophon aus der Berliner Turfansammlung. *Scholia, Beiträge zur Turkologie und Zentralasienskunde, Annemarie von Gabain zum 80. Geburtstag am 4. Juli 1981 dargebracht von Kollegen, Freunden und Schülern*. (Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica, 14.) Wiesbaden, 215–220.
- YAMAUCHI K. 1993. *The Vocabulary of Sasanian Seals*. Tokio.
- Z91 = *Die Stabreim-Texte der Uiguren von Turfan und Dunhuang*. (Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica, 33.) Budapest.
- ZIEME, P. 1968. Die türkischen Yosipas-Fragmente. *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientalforschung* 14, 45–67.
- 1977. Zwei Ergänzungen zu der christlich-türkischen Handschrift T II B 1. *AoF* 5, 271–274.
- 1978b. Ein uigurisches Fragment der Râma-Erzählung. *AoH* 32, 23–32.
- 1981a. Uigurische Steuerbefreiungsurkunden für buddhistische Klöster. *AoF* 8, 237–263.
- 1981b. Ein Hochzeitssegens uigurischer Christen. *Scholia, Beiträge zur Turkologie und Zentralasienskunde, Annemarie von Gabain zum 80. Geburtstag am 4. Juli 1981 dargebracht von Kollegen, Freunden und Schülern*. (Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica, 14.) Wiesbaden, 221–232.
- 1995–96. Donor and colophon of an Uigur blockprint. *Silk Road Art and Archeology* 4, 409–419.
- 1997–98. Das nestorianische Glaubensbekenntnis in einem alttürkischen Fragment aus Bulayîq. *UJb N.F.* 15, 173–80.

