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A MIDDLE TURKIC TEXT OF THE APOSTLES' CREED

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The document examined in this article belongs to the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence. The author of these lines was informed about its existence by Dr. John L. Mish, Chief of the Slavic and Oriental Division of the New York Public Library, who also sent the photograph of the sheet 2b of the text under discussion. The author takes pleasure to express his warmest thanks to Dr. Mish for his thoughtfulness. Having learnt, in the course of his correspondence with the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, that the sheet 2b was only the first half of the document, the author secured also a photograph of the sheet 3a which contains the Arabic and Latin text of the Apostles' Creed.

The text represents the sheets 2b and 3a of the *Ms. Laur. Gadd. 108* and is part of a collection of documents, some of them written on paper, others on parchment, bound in one volume, the document under study representing two sheets of paper of Oriental manufacture.

The approximate date of the document can be established on the basis of a note made on the sheet 2a of the same manuscript: "hec scripta sunt ī Concilio celebrato Florentie año d̂ni 1439 sub Eugenio. 4."[1]

The upper part of sheet 2b contains twelve lines in Armenian, and the lower part has as many lines in Uighur script. As for sheet 3a, it gives the Arabic and the Latin text. With the exception of the Latin text, all the others have Latin titles, namely,

1) The original orthography preserved. The author owes all particulars regarding the outer appearance and the date of the manuscript to the courtesy of the Director of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Dr. Irma Merolle Tondi. He takes the opportunity to express his sincere thanks to Dr. Tondi for all the valuable details and for permission to publish the document under examination.

Confessio fidei in lingua armenica, *Confessio fidei in lingua tatarica*, and *Confessio fidei in lingua arabica*, respectively. The term *lingua tatarica* was understood by Dr. Mish as being Mongolian, for which reason he sent the photograph to the author, knowing him as a Mongolist. It did not take much time, however, to realize that the text was not Mongolian but Turkic. Having no knowledge of the Armenian language but knowing the alphabet, the author was able to find out that the text in Armenian was not Turkic but Armenian.[2] In order to establish how close, in wording, the two texts are, the author asked the Reverend Artoon Sempadian, Rector of St. John's Armenian Apostolic Church in San Francisco, to help him. Father Artoon was very cooperative, made a literal translation of the Armenian text and added that it was not the Creed unless it was an older version unfamiliar to him, remarking that the text was very different, in language and form, from what is used in the Armenian Church in the way of hymns or religious songs. The author takes pleasure in expressing his heartfelt thanks to Father Artoon for his kindness and valuable help.

It will be seen below that all four texts agree with each other almost verbatim. Although we shall return to this problem later, let it be remarked that this form of the Apostles' Creed is very different from the known forms of the *Confessio fidei*.

To finish the description of the text under investigation, it may be pointed out that the photograph of the Armenian and Turkic text shows a number of traces of lines crossing the Turkic text. These are impressions of the Latin text which occupies the lower part of sheet 3a. These imprints were possibly caused, in the course of time, by humidity, or by the fact that the Latin text, freshly written and not yet dry, was put face down upon the document under study.

A translation of the Arabic text will not be given. Instead, the Arabic equivalents of the Turkic words and expressions will

2) As a matter of fact, there are Turkic texts written in Armenian script. Therefore, it would not have been surprising if the text in Armenian script had turned out to be Turkic.

be discussed in the notes. Likewise, Latin words and terms will only be quoted.

Father Artoon's translation of the Armenian text is given here for comparison with the Turkic text of the Creed.

1. Translation of the Armenian Text

1. We believe in one God almighty.
2. We believe that God is one, Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit.
3. We believe that God created the heavens and the earth, and is the guardian of all [things].
4. We believe that God founded one holy church; that in Him (God ?) one is baptism and forgiveness of sins.
5. We believe that God raises all the dead with the same body.
6. We believe that God judges the world; and [that] to everyone He renders his dues according to his own works.
7. We believe in Jesus Christ, His Son; that He is true God and true man, one person in two natures.
8. We believe that Jesus Christ took body through the Holy Spirit and was born of the holy virgin Mary.
9. We believe that Jesus Christ was crucified; died; was buried; descended into hell.
10. We believe that Jesus Christ truly rose on the third day.
11. We believe that Jesus Christ ascended to heaven while the apostles viewed [it].
12. We believe that Jesus Christ is to return in great glory, at the end of the world, to judge the living and the dead.

* * *

In proceeding to the Turkic text, the transcription will be given first.

2. The Turkic Text (*1*)

1. ïnanur-mn (*2*) bir täŋri-gä kim köŋül-lär bildäči (*3*) [.]
2. ïnanur-mn täŋri-gä birligiŋä (*4*) ata oγul ǰanï nur-dan (*5*) [.]
3. ïnanur-mn bir täŋri-gä kim kök-ni yir-ni (*6*) yaratï (*7*) näkim (*8*) dünä-dä (*9*) bar-ča-γa (*10*) tädbir (*11*) [.]

4. ïnanur-mn bir täŋri-gä [kim](*12*) bitirdi(*13*) bir kiläsiyä(*14*) alγïš-lïγ(*15*) kim bir salam(*16*) taγï(*17*) barča yaz-uq(*18*) bošut[qai](*19*) [.]
5. ïnanur-mn täŋri-gä kim turγuzur(*20*) barča ölüg-ni(*21*) toγru (*22*) ätüz-lär-ni(*23*) qas ätär(*24*) bir bir-ini(*25*) [.]
6. ïnanur-mn täŋri-gä kim ǰïγan-nï(*26*) sor-γai(*27*) ǰazasï(*28*) bärgäi barča-nï öz biγli(*29*) bir[l]ä(*30*) [.]
7. ïnanur-mn isi misiqa(*31*) täŋri oγlï aqïqat(*32*) ad[a]m(*33*) bir surat(*34*) [.]
8. ïnanur-mn isi misiqa-γa kim ǰan taptï(*35*) nur-dan(*36*) ad[a]m (*37*) boldï toγdï maryam(*38*) bikr qïz-dan(*39*) [.]
9. ïnanur-mn isi misiqa-γa kim turdï qaq(*40*) ölüg-lär ičindän(*41*) üčünč kün üz-ä(*42*) [.]
10. ïnanur-mn isi misiqa-γa kim salïb äti-lär(*43*) kömdi-lär indi(*44*) duz-aq-qa(*45*) [.]
11. ïnanur-mn isi misiqa-γa kim kök-kä čïqtï aŋa alγïš ätkän-lär (*46*) körä [.]
12. ïnanur-mn isi misiqa-γa kim aqïr(*47*) zaman-da(*48*) kälgäi tirig-ni ölüg-ni sorγai [.]

3. Notes to the Turkic Text

(*1*) As a general remark, it should be said that the orthography of the text is rather inconsistent. The diacritical dot at the letter for *n* is found in *ïnanur-mn* "I believe" in the first five lines but is missing elsewhere. Final *n* has a dot in *nur-dan* (line 2), *ǰïγan-nï* (6), *ǰan* (8), *zaman* (12), but it is lacking in *ičindän* (9), *kün* (9), and in syllable-final position in *indi* (10).

Two dots are written in order to distinguish between *γ* and *q*. The letter for *γ* has two dots in *oγul* (2), *alγïš-lïγ* (4), *taγï* (4), *turγuzur* (5), *toγru* (5), *ǰïγan* (6), *oγlï* (7), *toγdï* (8), *sorγai* (12), but they are lacking in *sor-γai* (6) and in *misiqa-γa* (8, 9, 10, 11, 12). On the other hand, the letter for *q* has two dots in *aqïqat* (7), *qaq* (9), *čïqtï* (11), and *aqïr* (12).

The two signs for *t*/*d* are used indiscriminately, cf. *bildäči* (1), *yaratï* (3), *bitirdi* (4), *ad*[*a*]*m* (7), *boldï* (8), *turdï* (9), *kömdi* (10), *indi* (10), *čïqtï* (11) but, on the other hand, *ata* (2), *tädbir*

(3), *ad[a]m* (8), *ičindän* (9), *ätkän* (11).

The vowels are sometimes unmarked: the vowel *ä* of the affixed pronoun of the first person *män* in *ïnanur-mn* "I believe" (at the beginning of each of the twelve lines), and the short *a* in *ad[a]m* "man, human being" which reflects the Arabic spelling ﺁﺩﻡ.

(*2*) The vowel of the ending (enclitically affixed pronoun) is not marked, cf. note 1. The vowel is probably to be supplemented as *ä*: cf. *inanirmen* "I believe" in Cuman;[3] *alurmen* "I take," *kalurmen* "I remain," *uyanurmen* "I awake" *ibid.*[4]

The suffix of the aorist is here *-ur*: cf. *turγuzur* (5) but *-är* in *ätär* (5).

(*3*) The form *bildäči* is a form of the verb *bil-* "to know, to rule." The meaning "to rule" is also found in Cuman, cf. *bilsin* "let [him] rule!"[5] Cf. Alt., Tel., Leb., Shor., Sag., Koib., Kač., Küär., Bar. (Radloff, *Wörterbuch* IV, 1336) *pil-* "to rule." As for the form *bildäči*, it is a verbal noun and acts mostly as the future tense.[6]

(*4*) Dative with the possessive suffix of the third person of *birlik* "unity." The stem-final consonant *k*, before the vowel of a suffix, was probably voiced as in Modern Uzbek, Tatar, Bashkir, Nogai, Kazakh, Kirghiz, etc., which voicing already occurred in Middle Turkic, e.g., *ayaγïm* "my feet," etc.[7] Cf. forms with voicing of the final *q/k* before a suffix vowel in Cuman: *ayaγï*

3) Comes Geza Kuun, *Codex Cumanicus Bibliothecae ad Templum Divi Marci Venetiarum*, Budapestini 1880, p. 211.

4) Kuun, *op. cit.*, p. CXII. In Grønbech's dictionary these forms are not given.

5) K. Grønbech, *Komanisches Wörterbuch: Türkischer Wortindex zu Codex Cumanicus*, Kønbenhavn 1942, p. 58.

6) Cf. A. von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik*, 2. verbesserte Auflage, Leipzig 1950, pp. 75, 115. Cf. С. Е. Малов, Памятники древнетюркской письменности, Москва-Ленинград 1951, p. 188. The form in *-tači* is characteristic of Türküt. In Karakhanide the suffix *-dači* corresponds, cf. O. Pritsak, "Die Herkunft des tschuwaschischen Futurums," *WZKM* 56 (1960), p. 149.

7) А. М. Щербак, Грамматика староузбекского языка, Москва-Ленинград 1962, p. 115.

" his foot,"[8] *yazïqlarnïŋ bošatmaγï* " forgiveness of sins,"[9] etc.

It should be noted that the possessive suffix of the third person before a case suffix is *-in-* but not *-i-*, i.e., *birligiŋä<birlig-in-gä.*

(*5*) The expression *ǰanï nur* corresponds to *Spiritus Sanctus* of the Latin text and to روح القدس (in more correct spelling روح القدس) " the Holy Spirit " of the Arabic text. Here the form is an ablative in *-dan* which also refers to *ata oγul* " Father, Son," the ablative, together with *birligiŋä* " to the unity," rendering the idea of " to the unity [consisting or composed of, cf. German *bestehend aus*] of Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit."

The word *nur* corresponds to Kazan Tatar *nor* " holy " (*vide* Radloff, *Wörterbuch* III, 694). It might have originated from Arabic *nūr* " light, beam, brightness," although Tatar has also *nur* " beam, shine," Cuman *nur* " light."[10] The first member of the phrase is *ǰanï* which corresponds to Persian *ǰān* " soul, spirit, life." As for *ǰanï nur*, it renders the Persian *izāfat* construction جان نور.

Returning to the word *nur*, it should be remarked that the word " light " does occur in some forms of the Creed but there it refers to Christ, cf. *Deum ex Deo, lumen ex lumine* in the Nicene Creed, in the Symbolum " Nicaeno-Constantinopolitanum," etc.

(*6*) The vowel is clearly written *i* which either renders a closed *e* or *i*, cf. *yer* (=*yėr*) " earth " ;[11] cf. AT *yir* id.[12] The letter for *i* renders here, in the document under discussion, and in Malov's dictionary, a closed *e* which is still distinguished phonemically in some Turkic languages.[13]

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8) Grϕnbech, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

9) Grϕnbech, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

10) Grϕnbech, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

11) А. К. Боровков, Лексика среднеазиатского тефсира XII-XIII вв., Москва-Ленинград 1963, p. 151.

12) Малов, *op. cit.*, p. 388.

13) M. Räsänen, *Materialien zur Lautgeschichte der türkischen Sprachen*, Helsinki 1949, pp. 88–90. Cf. Ф. Г. Исхаков, Общая характеристика тюркского вокализма, Исследования по сравнительной грамматике тюркских языков, I, Фонетика, Москва 1955, pp. 53 ff. Cf. also the same author's Характеристика отдельных гласных современных тюркских языков, *ibid.*, pp. 70–74, 80–85.

(*7*) Like in Chaghatai, where this occurs frequently, double consonants are rendered with one letter in *yarattï* which is written as *yaratï*. Cf. also *yarati* "he created" in the Codex Cumanicus.[14] Cf. also forms like *oqšatï* "he made similar" in *Muqaddimat al-Adab*.[15] Cf. also *ätti-lär*, instead of *ätti-lär* "they made," note 43.

(*8*) The Uighur word *näkim* (in Radloff's transcription, *nägim*, vide *Wörterbuch* III, 674) means "whoever, everyone." Cf. *näkim* "qualiscunque" in the Codex Cumanicus.[16] It is true, *näkim* means also "so that," cf. Rabġuzī,[17] but this meaning does not make sense in this context.

(*9*) The word *dünä* or, possibly, *düinä* (?) is Arabic دنيا "world" which also occurs in the Codex Cumanicus as *dunyá, duniyá, dünya, dünye*.[18] Cf. Kazakh *dünüö*, Kirghiz *dünõ* id., Radloff, *Wörterbuch* III, 1804. Cf. also Kirghiz *düinö* id.

(*10*) As this is written, it can only be read as *bar ǰan-γa* because the second syllable is written clearly as *ǰan* or *čan*, i.e., with final *n* provided with a diacritical dot. The passage *näkim dünä-dä bar ǰan-γa tädbir* can be translated as "there is administration for whatsoever life in the world": *bar* "is," *ǰan-γa* "to life, for life," *tädbir* "administration." However, this does not make any sense. Instead, the passage in question is to be regarded as misspelled and to be read as *näkim dünä-dä bar-ča-γa* (instead of *barča-γa*) *tädbir* "[He is] the administration for all in the world, no matter what", i.e., "for anything, everything in the world." This agrees, in meaning, with the Armenian text which has "and is the guardian of all [things]," and with the Latin text which reads *et omnia quae in eis sunt, et gubernat omnia*. The Arabic text gives كل من (instead of كل شيء). There can be no doubt that the passage in question is to be read as

14) Kuun, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

15) N. Poppe, "Eine viersprachige Zamaxšari-Handschrift," *ZDMG*, 101, 1951, p. 320.

16) Kuun, *op. cit.*, p. 291. Cf. *ne kim jol bar* "welche Weise es auch gibt," Grønbech, *op. cit.*. p. 168.

17) Малов, *op. cit.*, p. 402.

18) Grønbech, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

näkim dünä-dä bar-ča-γa tädbir "[and is] the administration for all in the world, for whomsoever."

(*11*) This is the Uighur transcription of Arabic تدبير "governing, ruling, administration, measures to be taken, arrangement" from دبر "to arrange, take measures, prearrange, manage, rule." The same word occurs in the Arabic text of the Creed. The verbatim translation of *näkim dünä-dä bar-ča-γa tädbir* is "[and He is] the administration for whomsoever, all in the world." It corresponds to *Credo quod Deus creavit celum et terram et omnia quae in eis sunt. et gubernat omnia.*

(*12*) The relative pronoun *kim* "who" has been supplied by the author of these lines because the meaning requires it.

(*13*) The reading of this word is not quite certain although the meaning is perfectly clear: "founded," "created," "established," "made," "instituted," etc. The closest, in meaning, Turkic verb is Cuman, Crimean, Uighur, Osman, Chaghatai *qur-* "to establish" (Radloff, *op. cit.*, II, 919), cf. Cuman *qur-* "herrichten, einrichten."[19] However, as this word is written, it does not look like *qurdï*. It should be noted that in the document under examination initial *q* is nowhere written like the initial of the word in question, the initial letter rather resembling *b*, and that which follows possibly being *t*: cf. *ata* in line 2, *bošut*[*qaï*] at the end of line 4, etc. There is the verb *bitir-* "to create, finish," etc. in Osman, Kirghiz, Turkmenian, etc. (Radloff, *op. cit.*, IV, 1774), cf. Cuman *bitir-* "vollenden, perficere,"[20] *bitirrimen* "perficio," *bitirdim* "perfeci."[21] Therefore, the reading *bitirdi* is preferred here. As for the equivalent in the Latin text, it is *stabilivit* "he made firm, he established." The Arabic text has رتب, cf. رتّب "to put in order, prepare, organize."

(*14*) The word *kiläsiyä* corresponds to Cuman *klisia*<Greek ἐκκλησία.[22] The Latin text gives *ecclesiam*, and the Arabic text has بيعة "church."

19) Grønbech, *op. cit.*, p. 203.
20) Kuun, *op. cit.*, pp. 47, 301.
21) Grønbech, *op. cit.*, p. 61.
22) Grønbech, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

(*15*) Corresponds to Cuman *alγïšlï* "blessed, hollowed, holy" from *alγïš* "blessing."[23] Cf. Shor., Leb., Küär., Bar., Crim., Kar. T. *alγïš* "blessing" (Radloff, *op. cit.*, I, 395). If the fact that this word is written as *alγïšlïγ*, i.e., with diacritical dots at the letter *γ*, means anything, the language in which the document is written should not be classified as belonging to those Turkic languages in which the form in question is *alqïš*. Cf. Maḥmūd al-Kāšġarī *alqïš* "blessing";[24] Tatar, Bashkir *alqïš* "ovation" < Osm. *alqïš* "applause." Cf. also KKalp. *alγïš* "blessing," Kazakh *alγïš* "gratitude," Kirg. *algïš/alkïš* "blessing, gratitude."

It is to be noted that the suffix is *-lïγ* = Cuman *-lï*. This is an important classificatory feature which places the language of the document under discussion in one group with East Turki (Modern Uighur), Chaghatai, and Uzbek. Indeed, Radloff's dictionary (I, 396) gives *alγïš* "blessing," and the suffix in question is *-liγ*, whereas Uzbek and East Turki have also *-liγ* but the word concerned is ET *alqiš*, Uzb. *olqiš* which mean "ovation, applause," perhaps, a new reborrowing from Osman. Chaghatai or the Central Asiatic Literary Turkic language having been the literary language of the Golden Horde, the form *alγïš-lïγ*, in the text under investigation, may reflect the pronunciation in one of the Central Asiatic dialects of the XV century.

The word *alγïš-lïγ* corresponds to *sanctam* of the Latin text, and to تقدس "holy" of the Arabic text.

(*16*) This is the transcription of Arabic *salām* "peace, security, well-being, greeting" and corresponds to Cuman *salam* "greeting."[25] The Armenian, Arabic, and Latin texts have only "baptism," cf. Latin *baptisma* and Arabic تعميد "baptism." Consequently, *salam* stands here for "baptism." It is to be noted that no known form of the Creed contains words with similar meaning. The phrase "one salvation and forgiveness of sins" of the Turkic text makes the latter somewhat different from all the other texts in question, unless *salam* is to be accepted as a rather

23) Grønbech, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

24) Besim Atalay, *Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk Dizini "Endeks,"* Ankara 1943, p. 21. Cf. Малов, *op. cit.*, p. 357.

unfortunate translation of the term *baptisma*. However, the Gospel of John 11 : 25 contains a passage which resembles the phrase "one salvation and forgiveness of sins."

(*17*) Corresponds to Cuman *taγï/daγï* "also."[26] In the Latin text *et*, and in the Arabic text *wa* "and" correspond.

(*18*) The word *yazuq* "sin" is written as *yaz-uq*, i.e., separately. Cf. Cuman *yazuq* "sin,"[27] Maḥmūd al-Kāšġarī *yazuq* id.;[28] cf. Radloff (*Wörterbuch* III, 237) AT, Uig., Chag. *yazuq* id., (*ibid.*, 231) Tat., Alt., Tel., Osm. *yazïq* id.

(*19*) The end of this word is not quite clearly visible but there is no doubt about its being the future-tense suffix *-qai*. The word is read as *bošutqai* "will forgive," cf. Cuman *bošat-* "to release, forgive, *absolvere*," cf. *yazuqlarnïŋ bošatmaγï* "forgiveness of sins."[29] In the Latin text the corresponding words are *remissio peccatorum*. The Arabic text gives غفران الخطايا "forgiveness of sins."

The passage beginning with [*kim*] literally means "[who] is one salvation and [who] will forgive all sins." The form *bošut-* is to be compared with Uig. *bošut-* "to free" (Radloff, *op. cit.*, IV, 1297, or in accordance with his system of transliterating Uighur, *požut-* which is incorrect). Cf. AT *bošu-* "to free";[30] Maḥmūd al-Kāšġarī *bošat-* id. and *bošut-* "to set free."[31] Most Turkic languages having *bošat-*, the form *bošut-* may also be regarded as an important feature which links the language of the document to Central Asia.

On the suffix *-qai* see note *27*.

Returning to the passage "[who] is one salvation and [who] will forgive all sins," it should be remarked that it renders the meaning of the Latin text only approximately, because the Latin

25) Grønbech, *op. cit.*, p. 212.
26) Grønbech, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
27) Grønbech, *op. cit.*, p. 119.
28) Besim Atalay, *op. cit.*, p. 767; cf. Малов, *op. cit.*, p. 387.
29) Grønbech, *op. cit.*, p. 65.
30) Малов, *op. cit.*, p. 378.
31) Besim Atalay, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

text gives *in qua datur unum baptisma et vera remissio peccatorum.* As for the Armenian text, Father Artoon was not quite sure when translating the passage in question as "that in Him (God ?) one is baptism and forgiveness of sins." The Turkic text leaves no doubts about this passage which can be only translated as "who is one salvation and forgiveness of all sins." This must be regarded, however, as an unfortunate rendition of the meaning given by the Latin text, which is the only possible one under the dogma of the Catholic Church. There is not a single text reading that God is the salvation (or baptism) and forgiveness of sins, and all texts available mean only that baptism and salvation are only within the Catholic Church, cf. *Corde credimus et ore confitemur unam Ecclesiam non haereticorum, sed sanctam Romanam, catholicam et apostolicam, extra quam neminem salvari credimus* (Professio fidei Durando de Osca et sociis eius Waldensibus praescripta).[32]

(*20*) The verb *turγuz-* is the causative stem of *tur-* "to stand," i.e., "to make stand up, to raise." Here it corresponds, in meaning, to Latin *resuscitare* (*Credo quod Deus resuscitabit...*). It is to be noted that Cuman uses *qop-* "to rise," cf. *ölümdän qoptï* "he arose from death," and *qopmaqlïq* "resurrection."[33] In other words, Cuman has *qop-* "to arise" versus *tur-* in the document present. Cf. Uig., Alt., Tel., Leb., Shor., Sag., Koib., Kač., Chag., ET, Tar., Kir., Kazakh, Kar. TL *turγuz-* "to make stand up, to put, to erect" (Radloff, *op. cit.*, III, 1458).

(*21*) The form *ölüg* "dead" corresponds to Cuman *ölü* id.[34] On final *üg*=Cuman *ü* see note *15*. The form *ölüg* is to be compared with Maḥmūd al-Kāšġarī's *ölüg* "dead,"[35] Sag., Koib., Kač., Shor., Leb. *ölüg* id. (Radloff, *op. cit.*, I, 1250); cf. ET *ölük/ölüg* id.[36]

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32) Henricus Denzinger, *Enchiridion Symbolorum, definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum* quod a Clemente Bannwart denuo compositum iteratis curis edidit Iohannes Bapt. Umberg S.J., Friburgi Brisgoviae MCMXXXVII, p. 196.

33) Grønbech, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

34) Grønbech, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

35) Besim Atalay, *op. cit.*, p. 457.

36) G. Jarring, *An Eastern Turki-English Dialect Dictionary*, Lund 1964, p. 218.

(*22*) Corresponds to Cuman *toγru* "straight, *rectus*" and *tuvra* "straight," MHG *glich*.[37] Cf. Chag., ET *toγri* "straight, true" (Radloff, *op. cit.*, III, 1167), Osm. *doγru* "straight, correct, true," Uzbek *tŭγri* "straight, correct, etc.," Bashk. *toγro*<**tuγru* "honest, faithful," Tatar *turï* id., KKalp. *turï* id.

The phrase *toγru ätüz-lär-ni* is translated as "the right bodies," meaning that all the dead will be raised, each getting his right body, i.e., the one he had when he was alive. Cf. note *54*. The corresponding phrase in the Latin text is *cum vero corpore et proprio unicuique*, and the Arabic text gives جسد حقيقى.

(*23*) The word *ätüz-lär-ni* "bodies" is to be compared with Cuman *etez/etiz* "body,"[38] AT *ät öz* "body, life,"[39] a compound of *ät* "flesh" and *öz* "self."

(*24*) The words *qas ätär* are translated as "deals out," *qas* being the Uighur transcription of Arabic خاص *ḫāṣṣ* "to partition, divide, distribute" from خصّ "to be due as a share." The Arabic form is followed by *ätär* "he does, makes" from *ät-* "to do." Together, *qas ätär* render the meaning of "he deals out." The whole expression is moulded after the Persian construction with the verb *kardan* "to do, to make."

(*25*) *bir bir-ini* "one by one, each one of them." The suffixes are written together as *-ini* but separately from *bir* "one." The expression *bir bir-ini* renders Latin *unicuique* "to each one, every one."

(*26*) Transcription of Persian جهان "world," cf. Cuman *ǰahan/ǰehan* id.[40] The consonant *h* is rendered with *γ*. Cf. Kirghiz *ǰaan* "world." This word translates *mundum* of the Latin text, and *ʿālam* "world" of the Arabic text.

(*27*) The form *sor-γai* is the future tense in *-γai* of *sor-* "to ask," here "to judge," Cf. Cuman *sor-* "to ask,"[41] cf. Osm., Crim.,

37) Grønbech, *op. cit.*, p, 247, 258.
38) Grønbech, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
39) Малов, *op. cit.*, p. 366.
40) Grønbech, *op. cit.*, p. 98.
41) Grønbech, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

Kar. TL *sor-* "to ask" (Radloff, *op. cit.*, IV, 542). The word *sor-γai* corresponds, in meaning, to Latin *iudicabit.*

The meaning "to judge" is close to "ask, interrogate, question, rule, order" which are found in Chaghatai (Radloff, *op. cit.*, IV, 764), Uzbek *sŭra-* "to ask, question, rule," Bashkir *hora-* "to ask, interrogate." The verbatim translation is "will interrogate." The Arabic text gives the verb *dīn* "to judge."

The suffix *-γai/-qai* forms the future tense.[42] Cf. Uzbek optative in *-γai,*[43] Chaghatai ("Old Uzbek") indefinite future in *-γai.*[44] Cf. also Uighur and Karakhanide future tense in *-γai.*[45]

(*28*) Transcription of Arabic جزا "requital, remuneration, retribution." In the Arabic text جازى "compensate, reward" corresponds. The expression *jazasï bärgäi* "will requite," lit. "will give requital," corresponds to Persian جزا به دادن.

(*29*) As this word is written, it can only be read as *biγli* or *bïγlï,* this being the transcription of Arabic فعل *fi'l* "action, deed." The Arabic text gives فعل. The final *i* in the Turkic form is the possessive suffix of the third person which links it to *öz* "self." As for the Arabic ع being rendered with *γ,* this is found quite often in modern Turkic languages such as Tatar, cf. *märγlum* "noted, known," *märγnä* "meaning," Bashkir *lärγnät* "curse," etc. Cf. in older sources *muγallaq*<Ar. معلق "hanging" in *Qutaδγu bilig.*[46]

(*30*) The consonant *l* is lacking. There can, however, be no doubt that the word in question is *birlä* "with" which also has the meaning "according to," cf. Chaghatai *birlä* "on the pattern of, after, in accordance with,"[47] Uzbek *birlä* "according to (an

42) A. v. Gabain, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

43) А. Н. Кононов, Грамматика современного узбекского литературного языка, Москва-Ленинград 1960, p. 236.

44) Щербак, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

45) Pritsak, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

46) Малов, *op. cit.*, p. 400.

47) Л. Будагов, Сравнительный словарь турецко-татарскихъ нарѣчій, Санктпетербургъ 1869, p. 254.

order, law, etc.)"[48]

The phrase *öz biγli birlä* corresponds, in meaning, to *propter opera sua* of the Latin text.

(*31*) The name of Jesus Christ is here *isi misiqa*, the first component being the transcription of Arabic عيسى *'īsā*=Syriac *yešū'*. It is to be noted that *isi* renders the Arabic spelling of the name but not its pronunciation. In other words, it is rather transliteration than transcription. The name should be read, however, as *isa* or *īsā*, in accordance with the Arabic pronunciation *'Īsā*. It is important to note that Codex Cumanicus has *Yesus* (in the original *yezuz*).[49] The Arabic text of the Creed has يشوع المسيح.

The other part of the name, *misiqa*, corresponds to *misixa* in the Codex Cumanicus, the original having *misiHa*.[50] This is the Syriac form of the word for Messiah.[51] The Arabic corresponding form is *masīḥ* "annointed," cf. عيسى المسيح "Jesus Christ." Again it is important to point out that the Cuman Creed has *ihc̄ X'ga* "to Jesus Christ."[52] The name *isi misiqa* in the document under study testifies to the fact that the text is not a translation from Latin (or Greek) but goes back to an original written in Arabic script reflecting a Near Eastern tradition.

(*32*) Corresponds to Arabic حقيقة *ḥaqīqat* "truth, authenticity, truly" which refers to the following *ad*[*a*]*m* "man."

(*33*) Corresponds to Arabic *ādam* "man, Adam." It is to be noted that the Uighur form is an exact transliteration of Arabic آدم, i.e., the vowel of the second syllable is unmarked.

It is interesting to note that the Arabic text of the Creed gives the word انسان *insān* "man" but not *ādam*.

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48) Узбекско-русский словарь под редакцией С. Ф. Акабирова . . . гл. редактор . . . А. К. Боровков, Москва 1959, p. 71.

49) Grønbech, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

50) Grønbech, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

51) W. Bang, "Der komanische Marienpsalter nebst seiner Quelle herausgegeben," *Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Philologisch-historische Klasse, Neue Folge, XIII, aus den Jahren 1912 bis 1914, Berlin 1914, p. 250, note 13.

52) Kuun, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

(*34*) Arabic *ṣūrat* صورت "outer appearance, form, shape, picture" which is translated here as "person." The words *bir surat* are translated as "one person." They correspond to *una persona* of the Latin text, and *šaxṣ wāḥid* شخص واحد "one person" of the Arabic text.

The Turkic text has *täŋri oγlï aqïqat ad[a]m bir surat* "the son of God, the true man in one person," the equivalent of "true God and" missing. There is no doubt that the original text contained such words, i.e., *aqïqat täŋri*. Consequently, the restored text should read *ïnanur-mn isi misiqa-γa täŋri oγlï [aqïqat täŋri] aqïqat ad[a]m bir surat*. This is evident from the fact that "true man in one person" does not make any sense. Besides, the Latin text reads *verus deus. et verus homo. una persona in duabus naturis.* Likewise, the Arabic text gives آله تام و انسان تام شخص واحد. Besides, it should be kept in mind that the Creed of the Catholic Church recognizes the two natures of Christ. In other words, this is not a monophysitic Creed.

(*35*) The verb *tap-* "to find," together with the preceding *ǰan*<Persian *ǰān* "life, soul," means "received life." Cf. Cuman *tap-* "to find."[53] The equivalent expression in the Latin text is *incarnatus est*, and in the Arabic text there corresponds تجسد من روح القدس "incarnation from the Holy Spirit." Consequently, *ǰan tap-* is to be regarded as a term which had the meaning of being incarnated.

(*36*) Regarding *nur* cf. note *5*. Here *nur* alone means "Holy Spirit."

(*37*) Cf. note *33*. The words *ad[a]m boldï* mean "became a man"=*factus est homo* of the Latin text=Arabic صار انسان "became man."

(*38*) Arabic *maryam* مريم Maria. Cf. Cuman *mariam* id.[54]

(*39*) *bikr* is Arabic بكر "virgin, immaculate." Together with the following *qïz-dan*, "from the virgin," lit. "from the virgin maiden." It is to be noted that the Holy Virgin is *arï qïz mariam*

53) Grønbech, *op. cit.*, p. 235.
54) Grønbech, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

in Cuman where *qïz* alone stands for "virgin."[55] The words *bikr qïz maryam* correspond to *de virgine maria* of the Latin text. It is to be noted that Virgin Mary is مريم العذرا in the Arabic text of the Creed.

(*40*) Corresponds to Arabic *ḥaqq* حق "right, true," Latin *vere.*

(*41*) The whole expression *kim turdï qaq ölüg-lär ičindän* is translated as "who truly arose from amidst the dead." The corresponding expression in the Latin text is *resurrexit vere a mortuis.* In the Cuman Creed there corresponds *ölumdän qoptï* "arose from death."[56]

(*42*) The postposition *üzä* "on, above" occurs in Chaghatai (Radloff, *op. cit.*, I, 1889) and in various other, older, Turkic languages with the meanings "on, above,"[57] "on, above, on the basis of,"[58] "on, in the direction of, towards, above, for the sake of"[59] = Osman *üzär* "above, on." It is probably akin to Cuman *özä* "through, by means of, because of."[60] The expression *üčünč kün üz-ä* is translated as "on the third day" = *die tertia* in the Latin text, and في اليوم الثالث "on the third day" in the Arabic text.

(*43*) Arabic *ṣalīb* صليب "cross, crucifix," *ṣalaba* صلب "to crucify," cf. Syriac *ṣlīva* "cross." The form *salïb äti-lär* (instead of *ätti-lär*), "they crucified," is formed by adding the past tense of the verb *ät-* "to do" to the noun-stem *ṣalīb.* The construction *ṣalīb ät-* corresponds to Persian *xāč kardan* "to crucify." The Latin text gives *passus est* "he suffered," and the Arabic text gives likewise تألم "suffered."

It is to be noted that the word for "cross" in the Cuman text of the Creed is *xač* < Persian *xāč* "cross,"[61] and the word for "to crucify" is *xačqa keril-* "to be crucified," cf. *xačqa kerilmiš* "was crucified."

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55) Grønbech, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
56) Grønbech, *op. cit.*, p. 200; Kuun, *op. cit.*, p. 212.
57) Besim Atalay, *op. cit.*, p. 720.
58) Малов, *op. cit.*, p. 441.
59) Боровков, *op. cit.*, pp. 336-37.
60) Grønbech, *op. cit.*, p. 186.
61) Grønbech, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

(*44*) Past tense of *in-* "to descend," cf. Cuman *en-* "to descend,"[62] cf. Shor., Leb., Küär., Cuman, Osm., Chag., Uig., Kar. TL, Crim. *än-* "to descend, to go down" (Radloff, *op. cit.*, I, 727), Sag., Koib., Kač., Kirg. *en-* "to come down" (Radloff, *op. cit.*, I. 728), AT *in-* "to descend,"[63] Az. *en-*<**ėn-* id.[64]

(*45*) This form could also be read as *tuz-aq-qa.* It is identified with Persian *dūzax* دوزخ "hell." In the Codex Cumanicus the Cuman word for hell is *tamu/tamuq/tamux,*[65] whereas *tosak* (= *tozaq*) is given in the column of Persian words.[66]

The word *tuz-aq-qa* corresponds to *ad inferos* of the Latin text, and to الجحيم of the Arabic text of the Creed. It is interesting that in the Turkic text the word for hell is Persian *dūzax* but not its Arabic equivalent.

(*46*) The words *alγïš ätkän-lär* are translated verbatim as "those who did the blessing." For *alγïš* see note *15.* The expression *alγïš ätkän-lär* corresponds to "apostles" in line 11 of the Armenian text, and *discipulis* of the Latin text. What is meant here is that the apostles saw or witnessed the ascension to heaven. The Latin text says clearly *coram discipulis suis* "in the presence of his disciples."

(*47*) Arabic *āxir* آخر "last, final, end," *axīr* اخير "last."

(*48*) Arabic *zamān* زمان and *zaman* زمن "time" which in Persian means both "time" and "world," the second meaning being close to that of the Latin text (cf. there *in fine mundi*) and in the Armenian text which also reads "at the end of the world."

The expression *aqïr zaman-da* is translated here as "at the final time" or "in the last time," because the word for world is

62) Grønbech, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

63) Малов, *op. cit.*, p. 380.

64) Азербайджанско-русский словарь, Баку 1962, p. 79. The Azerb. form *en-* indicates clearly that the ancient form was **ėn-* from which *in-* originated in some Turkic languages both ancient and new.

65) Grønbech, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

66) Kuun, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

in this text *dünä* or *düynä*, not to mention the fact that "at the end of the world" should be *dünä-niŋ aqïrïnda.*

It should be added that the Arabic text gives اخر الزمان "at the end of time."

4. Translation of the Turkic Text

1. I believe in one God who rules [over] the minds. (*49*)

2. I believe in one God, in the unity (*50*) of Father, Son, [and] the Holy Spirit.

3. I believe in one God who created the heaven [and] the earth [and is] the administration for all in the world, for whomsoever. (*51*)

4. I believe in one God [who] instituted one holy church, (*52*) who [is] one salvation and forgiveness of all sins. (*53*)

5. I believe in God who raises all the dead and deals out, to each one, the right bodies. (*54*)

6. I believe in God who will judge the world [and] requite all according to their own merits. (*55*)

7. I believe in Jesus Christ, the son of God, [the true God and] the true man (*56*) in one person. (*57*)

8. I believe in Jesus Christ who was incarnated from the Holy Spirit, became man, was born from the Virgin Mary. (*58*)

9. I believe in Jesus Christ who truly arose from the dead on the third day. (*59*)

10. I believe in Jesus Christ whom they crucified and buried [and who] descended to the hell.

11. I believe in Jesus Christ who ascended to heaven, the apostles seeing him. (*60*)

12. I believe in Jesus Christ who will come at the end of time (*61*) [and] will judge the quick and the dead.

5. Notes to the Translation of the Turkic Text

(*49*) The word *köŋül-lär* is a plural of *köŋül* "heart, mind" and corresponds to Cuman *köŋül*=Latin *mens* "mind." The expression *köŋül-lär bildäči* "who rules [over] the minds" is a substitute for "almighty," cf. the Latin text which gives *Credo in unum deum omnipotentem*, Arab. ﻗﺎﺩﺭ "almighty, omnipotent." It should be added that the expression "who rules over the minds" resembles *episcopus animarum nostrarum* (I Petr. 2, 25) rather than *omnipotentem*.

(*50*) Turkic *birlik* "unity." The sentence "I believe in one God, in the unity of Father, Son, [and] the Holy Spirit" corresponds to *Credo quod deus est unus. pater. et filius. et spiritus sanctus* of the Latin text. Although the Latin text does not contain a word for unity, such a term does occur in other forms of the Creed, e.g., "Fides autem catholica haec est, ut unum Deum in Trinitate, et Trinitatem in unitate veneremur."[67]

(*51*) This corresponds, in meaning, to the third line of the Latin text which reads *Credo quod deus creavit celum et terram et omnia quae in eis sunt. et gubernat omnia.* This is similar, in meaning, to "Credimus in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem, factorem coeli et terrae, visibilium omnium et invisibilium" (Symbolum "Nicaeno-Constantinopolitanum");[68] "Patrem quoque et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum unum Deum, de quo nobis sermo, esse creatorem, factorem, gubernatorem et dispositorem omnium corporalium et spiritualium, visibilium et invisibilium, corde credimus et ore confitemur" (Professio fidei Durando de Osca et sociis eius Waldensibus praescripta),[69] etc.

(*52*) This passage is very close, in meaning, to the fourth line of the Latin text which says *Credo quod deus stabilivit unam ecclesiam sanctam catholicam. in qua datur unum baptisma. et vera remissio peccatorum.* The Armenian text gives the same idea.

67) Symbolum "Quicunque" (Athanasianum), *vide* Denzinger, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
68) Denzinger, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
69) Denzinger, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

Although this expression does not occur in the various forms of the Apostles' Creed, it reflects the idea about the church as instituted by Christ which is expressed in the Gospel (cf. Mtt. 16 : 18) "Tu es Petrus et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam" and is one of the basic parts of the dogma. Cf. "Sacrosancta Romana Ecclesia, Domini et Salvatoris nostri voce fundata ..." (Decretum pro Iacobitis),[70] or "Pastor aeternus et episcopus animarum nostrarum, ut salutiferum redemptionis opus perenne redderet, sanctam aedificare Ecclesiam decrevit, in qua veluti in domo Dei viventis fideles omnes unius fidei et caritatis vinculo continentur" (Constitutio dogmatica I de Ecclesia Christi).[71]

(*53*) The Turkic text says clearly "who [is] one salvation and forgiveness of all sins." The Armenian text says "in Him one is baptism and forgiveness of sins," and the Latin text has *in qua datur unum baptisma et vera remissio peccatorum.* Baptism and salvation are no synonyms, but there is a connection between them, because baptism is the first of sacraments which are media through which grace is obtained. However, the idea that baptism and salvation are one and the same is wrong: "Neminem etiam baptismatis gratia renovatum idoneum esse ad superandas diaboli insidias et ad vincendas carnis concupiscentias, nisi per quotidianum adiutorium Dei perseverantiam bonae conversationis acceperit" (De gratia Dei "Indiculus" seu "Praeteritorum Sedis Apostolicae episcoporum auctoritates")[72].

As stated above (*vide* note *19*), no form of the Creed contains words to the effect that God created the church.

(*54*) The words "God who raises all the dead and deals out, to each one, the right bodies" mean that each one will rise from the dead with that body which he had in his lifetime. This is in full agreement with the Latin text which reads *quod deus resuscitabit omnes mortuos cum vero corpore et proprio unicuique.* This is also in full agreement with the Christian dogma, cf. "ad cuius adventum omnes homines resurgere habent cum corporibus suis et

70) Denzinger, *op. cit.*, p. 259.
71) *Ibid.*, p. 501.
72) *Ibid.*, p. 62.

reddituri sunt de factis propriis rationem" (Symbolum "Quicunque");[73] "In huius morte et sanguine credimus emundatos nos ab eo resuscitandos die novissima in hac carne, qua nunc vivimus" (Formula "Fides Damasi" nuncupata);[74] "Credo etiam veram resurrectionem eiusdem carnis, quam nun gesto, et vitam aeternam" (Symbolum fidei S. Leonis IX);[75] "qui omnes cum suis propriis resurgent corporibus, quae nunc gestant" (Conc. Lateranense IV, De fide catholica),[76] etc.

(*55*) The literal translation of this passage is "I believe in God who will interrogate the world and give remuneration to all by (i.e., in accordance with) their own deeds" which is the exact equivalent of what is said in the Latin text: *credo quod deus iudicabit mundum. et reddet unicuique propter opera sua.* This agrees with the dogma, cf. "adstare ante tribunal Christi, ut recipiat unusquisque propria corporis, prout gessit, sive bona sive mala" (2 Cor., 5, 10); "reddituri sunt de factis propriis rationem: et qui bona egerunt, ibunt in vitam aeternam, qui vero mala, in ignem aeternum" (Symbolum "Quicunque");[77] "Inde cum sanctis Angelis et hominibus veniet ad faciendum iudicium, reddere unicuique mercedis propriae debitum" (Conc. Toletanum XI, Symbolum fidei),[78] etc.

(*56*) For reasons explained in note 34, the text should be reconstructed as *ïnanur-mn isi misiqa-γa täŋri oγlï* [*aqïqat täŋri*] *aqïqat ad*[*a*]*m bir surat.* This corresponds, in meaning, to what is found in the Latin, Armenian, and Arabic text, and agrees with certain forms of the Creed: "... perfectum assumpsit hominem, animam et corpus et mentem et omne quidquid homo est, excepto peccato" (Symbolum Epiphanii, forma longior, Expositio Symboli Nicaeni);[79] "sicut vere Deus ita verus homo absque peccato..." (Formula "Clemens Trinitas");[80] "Filium et dominum nostrum

73) *Ibid.*, p. 18.
74) *Ibid.*, p. 13.
75) *Ibid.*, p. 170.
76) *Ibid.*, p. 200.
77) *Ibid.*, p. 18.
78) *Ibid.*, p. 133.
79) *Ibid.*, p. 10.
80) *Ibid.*, p. 13.

Iesum Christum consonanter omnes docemus, eundemque perfectum in deitate, et eundem perfectum in humanitate, Deum verum et hominem verum" (Concil. Chalcedonense 451, Definitio de duabus naturis Christi).[81]

(*57*) The words "in one person" translate *bir surat* and correspond to *una persona* of the Latin text. Whereas the Latin and Armenian text have "one person in two natures," the word for natures is missing both in the Arabic and Turkic text. The expression *una persona in duabus naturis* in the Latin text of the Creed corresponds to "duabus dumtaxat naturis, id est, Deitatis et carnis, in unam convenientibus omnino personam" (Symbol. Concil. Toletani anni 400 [et 447], Formula "Libellus in modum Symboli");[82] "Salva igitur proprietate utriusque naturae et in unam coeunte personam..." (S. Leo I M. "De Incarnatione"),[83] etc.

(*58*) The words *jan taptï nur-dan* have been translated as "was incarnated from the Holy Spirit" but the verbatim translation should be "received [his] life from the Holy Spirit." The latter corresponds to "qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto" (Rufinum, forma Romana).[84] It should be added that the Armenian text has "took body through the Holy Spirit," and the Arabic text gives تجسد "incarnation."

It should be noted that the words *ad*[*a*]*m boldï*=Lat. *et factus est homo* link the text to the following forms of the Creed: Symbol. Epiphanii, Nicaenum, Professio fidei Tridentina (in all three "homo factus est"), Quicunque ("homo est ex substantia matris"), Nicaeno-Constantinopolitanum ("Et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine, et humanatus [homo factus] est").

(*59*) In the Latin, Armenian, and Arabic text this is the tenth line. The order of lines in the Turkic text is wrong.

(*60*) The words "the apostles seeing him" correspond to *coram discipulis suis* of the Latin text. No known form of the

81) *Ibid.*, p. 70.
82) *Ibid.*, p. 15.
83) *Ibid.*, p. 67.
84) *Ibid.*, p. 2.

Creed contains these words which agree, however, in meaning, with the Acts of the Apostles, 1, 9–11. It should be added that some forms of the Creed state that Christ conversed with his disciples after resurrection, cf. "conversatum postmodum cum discipulis [suis], quadragesima [post resurrectionem] die ad coelos ascendisse" (Symbolum Conc. Toletani anni 400 [et 447]).[85]

(*61*) The expression "at the end of time" occurs both in the Turkic and Arabic text, whereas the Latin and Armenian text have "at the end of the world." It is to be noted that the known forms of the Creed have *finis saeculorum* but not *finis mundi*, cf. "exspectatur in finem saeculorum iudex omnium vivorum et mortuorum" (Concil. Toletanum XI 675, Symbol. fidei);[86] "adventus in fine saeculi" (Concil. Senonense 1140 vel 1141);[87] "venturus in fine saeculi" (Concil. Lateranense IV, De fide catholica),[88] etc.

6. Glossary

The words which occur in the Turkic text are given here together with their Latin equivalents.

ad[a]m, homo.
ad[a]m boldï, factus est homo.
alγïš ätkän-lär, discipuli.
alγïš-lïγ, sancta.
aqïqat, verus.
aŋa, dat. of the pronoun of the third person.
ata, pater.
aqïr "last".
aqïr zaman-da, in fine mundi.
ätüz, corpus.
barča, *bar-ča*, omnes, omnia.
bär- "to give." Cf. *ǰazasï bär-*.
biγl, opus.
bikr qïz, virgo.

85) *Ibid.*, p. 15.
86) *Ibid.*, p. 133.
87) *Ibid.*, p. 180.
88) *Ibid.*, p. 200.

bil- "to rule."
bir bir-ini, nomin. *bir bir-i*, unusquisque.
bir[*l*]*ä*, postp. "with, by means of, in accordance with," propter.
bir, unus.
birlik "unity, oneness."
bitir-, stabilire.
bol- "to become." Cf. *ad*[*a*]*m boldï*.
bošut- "to free, forgive," remissio.
čïq-, ascendere (Ms. *adscendit*).
duz-aq, inferi.
dünä "world."
ičindän "from within": *turdï qaq ölüg-lär ičindän*, resurrexit vere a mortuis.
in-, descendere.
isi, ihſ = Iesus.
ïnanur-mn, credo.
ǰan "life."
ǰan taptï, incarnatus est.
ǰanï nur, Spiritus Sanctus.
ǰaza "requital."
ǰazasï bär-, reddere [propter opera sua].
ǰïŋan, mundus.
käl-, venire.
kiläsiyä, ecclesia.
kim "who" (relat.).
kök, caelum (Ms. *celum*).
köm-, sepelire.
köŋül-lär "minds."
köŋül-lär bildäči, omnipotens.
körä, gerund of *kör-* "to see," Lat. coram "in the presence of."
kün, dies.
maryam, Maria.
misiqa, x' = Christus.
näkim "whosoever."
nur, Spiritus Sanctus.
oŋul, filius.

ölüg, mortuus.
öz "self."
qaq, vere.
qas ät- "to deal out."
salam, baptisma (baptismum).
salïb ät- "to crucify."
sor-, iudicare.
surat, persona.
taγï, et.
tap- "to find, obtain." Cf. *ǰan taptï*.
tädbir "administration," Lat. gubernat "he administers, rules."
täŋri, Deus.
tirig, vivus.
toγ-, nasci.
toγru, verus.
tur-, resurgere.
turγuz-, resuscitare.
üčünč, tertia.
üz-ä postp. "on." Cf. *üčünč kün üz-ä*, die tertia.
yarat-, creare.
yazuq, peccatum.
yir, terra.
zaman "time."

7. Grammatical Forms

-ä Converb (gerund) of the present: *kör|ä* "seeing."
-är Aorist: *qas ät|är* "he deals out." See *-ur*.
-da/-dä Locative: *dünä-dä* "in the world"; *zaman-da* "in the time."
-däči Verbal noun: *bil-däči* "he who rules."
-dan Ablative: *bikr qïz-dan* "from the Virgin; *ǰanï nur-dan* "of the Holy Spirit"; *nur-dan* "from the Holy Spirit."
-dï/-di, -tï/-ti Past tense: *bitir|di* "he instituted"; *bol|dï* "he became"; *in|di* "he descended"; *köm|di-lär* "they buried"; *toγ|dï* "he was born"; *tur|dï* "he rose"; *čïq|tï* "he rose" (verbatim: "went out"); *salïb äti-lär* (pro *ät|tilär*) "they crucified"; *tap|tï* "he obtained" (*ǰan taptï* "was incar-

nated"); *yaratï* (pro *yarat|tï*) "he created."

-gä/-γa, -kä/-qa Dative: *aŋa* (<**an-γa*) "to him"; *bar-ča-γa* "to all"; *isi misiqa-γa* "to Jesus Christ"; *täŋri-gä* "in God"; *duz-aq-qa* "into hell"; *kök-kä* "to the heaven."

-gäi/-γai, -qai Future: *bär|gäi* "he will give"; *käl/gäi* "he will come"; *sor-γai/sor|γai* "he will judge"; *bošut[qai]* "he will forgive."

-i/-ï, -sï Possessive suff. of the 3rd person (also with case suffixes): *biγl|i* "his deed"; *bir bir-ini* (acc.) "each one"; *birlig|iŋä* (dat.) "in the unity of"; *oγl|ï* "his son"; *ölüglär ič|indän* (abl.) "from the dead"; *ǰaza|sï* "his requital."

-kän Nomen perfecti: *alγïš ät|kän-lär* "the disciples."

-lär Plural: *köŋül-lär* "the minds"; *ölüg-lär* "the dead."

-lïγ Adjective: *alγïš-lïγ* "holy."

-nč Ordinal numerals: *üč|ü|nč* "the third."

-nï/-ni Accusative: *ätüz-lär-ni* "bodies"; *barča-nï* "all"; *ǰïγan-nï* "the world"; *kök-ni* "the heaven"; *ölüg-ni* "the dead"; *tirig-ni* "the quick"; *yir-ni* "the earth."

-ur Aorist: *ïnan|ur-mn* "I believe"; *turγuz|ur* "he raises." See *-är*.

8. Linguistic Observations

Speaking of the language in which the Turkic text is written, one should point out that its most outstanding feature is the abundance of Arabic and Persian words.

The Arabic words are more numerous than the Persian words. The following Arabic words have been found in the text: *nur* "holy," *dünä* (*düinä*) "world," *tädbir* "administration," *salam* "salvation" (in the text "baptism"), *qas*<*xaṣṣ* "to deal out," *ǰaza* "requital," *biγl*<*fi'l* "deed," *isi* "Jesus," *aqïqat* "true," *ad[a]m* "man," *surat* "form, shape" (in the text "person"), *maryam* "Maria," *bikr* "virgin," *qaq*<*ḥaqq* "right," *salïb äti-lär* "they crucified"<*ṣalīb* "cross," *aqïr* "final," *zaman* "time."

The Persian words are: *ǰan* "spirit, life," *ǰïγan*<*ǰahān* "world," *duz-aq* "hell."

The only Syriac word is *misiqa*<Syr. *mišiha* "Messiah."

Consequently, the text is written in a thoroughly Arabicized language. It should be emphasized, however, that the available Arabic text of the Creed is hardly the original from which the Turkic text was translated, because both texts use different Arabic words, e. g., Turk. *ad[a]m* "man" — Ar. انسان ; Turk. *salam* "baptism" — Ar. معمودية ; Turk. *isi* "Jesus" — Ar. يسوع ; Turk. *surat* "person" — Ar. شخص ; *salïb äti-lär* "they crucified" — Ar. تألم "he suffered."

It should also be pointed out that some Arabic words which occur in the Turkic text are transliterations of forms in Arabic spelling. These forms are *ad[a]m* "man" from Arabic آدم, and *isi* "Jesus" from Ar. عيسى . As a matter of fact, the Arabic pronunciation of the name Jesus is *'Īsā*. It is obvious that the person who wrote the Turkic text was following the Arabic spelling but not the pronunciation. Otherwise he would have written *isa*.

Although the text is brief, it contains a number of forms which enable anyone familiar with Turkic to identify the text with a particular language.

First of all, the form *bošut-* "to free" (in the text "forgive") is of importance. It corresponds to Uighur *bošut-* (in Radloff's transcription *požut-*, vide *op. cit.*, IV, 1297) "to free"; *bošu-* "to free oneself," and *bošut-* "to set free" in Maḥmūd al-Kāšġarī's dictionary,[89] cf. Modern Uighur *bošu-* "to free oneself," *bošutul* "the setting free, liberation."[90] In all the other Turkic languages there is only *bošat-* "to set free." Thus, *bošut-* points in the direction of Uighur.

Another form relevant for the purpose of identification is *ölüg* "dead." Thus, Cuman has *ölü* id.[91] Consequently, the language of the text under investigation does not belong to the

89) Besim Atalay, *op. cit.*, p. 104. Cf. *bošu-* "to free" and *bošun-* "to free oneself," Малов, *op. cit.*, p. 373.

90) Уйгурско-русский словарь, под редакцией Ш. Кибирова и Ю. Цунвазо, Алма-Ата 1961, p. 42.

91) Grønbech, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

Kypchak or any other group in which final *üg* has resulted in *ü* (*ü*).[92] The preservation of *üg* is again a characteristic feature of Middle Turkic and of the so-called South-Eastern or Chaghatai group, cf. Middle Turkic, Chag., East Turki, Uzb. *tüg-* "to make knots."[93] Consequently, this feature, too, links the language of the document to the South-Eastern group.

Hand in hand with the features discussed goes also the suffix *-lïγ* of adjectives in *alγïš-lïγ* "blessed, holy."[94] The suffix *-lïγ* is characteristic of the South-Eastern group, i.e., it occurs, in this form, in East Turki, Chaghatai, and Uzbek.

A characteristic feature is also the verbal form in *-dačï* which is attested in Ancient Turkic as *-tačï*,[95] and occurs in Middle Turkic and in Chaghatai. According to Pritsak, *-tačï*/*-dačï* are characteristic of Türküt and Karakhanide respectively.[96]

To conclude this survey of linguistic features, let the verbal form in *-γai* be mentioned which occurs in Karakhanide,[97] Chaghatai,[98] and Uzbek.[99]

The results of this survey of the linguistic features can be summarized as follows:

-dačï Karakhanide, Chaghatai
-üg, *-lïγ* Chaghatai, East Turki, Uzbek
bošut- Karakhanide, East Turki
-γai Karakhanide, Chaghatai, Uzbek

Consequently, the language of the text can be identified as Karakhanide or as Older Chaghatai. It is known that both of them were used as literary languages in Turkestan (Central Asia)

92) Cf. note 21.
93) Räsänen, *op. cit.*, p. 120.
94) See note 15.
95) Räsänen, *op. cit.*, p. 28. Cf. M. Räsänen, *Materialien zur Morphologie der türkischen Sprachen*, Helsinki 1957, p. 105.
96) Pritsak, *op. cit.*, p. 149.
97) Pritsak, *l. c.*
98) Щербак, *op. cit.*, p. 166.
99) Кононов, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

and even in Eastern and Southern regions of the European part of Russia, i.e., on the territory of the Golden Horde. Documents written in Uighur script were found there, e.g., the so-called *yarlïq*, i.e., edicts, and the birch-bark book which was published by the author of these lines and which contained a number of pages in Turkic in Uighur script.

9. General Conclusions

Whereas the Turkic text of the Creed, seen linguistically, is simple and does not raise problems, the theological aspect of the document as a whole is very complex. Not being a theologian, and quite on the contrary, being utterly ignorant as far as history of the various forms of the Creed is concerned, the author of these lines has to refrain from investigation of the contents or wording of the text, and to confine himself to a few general remarks.

An outstanding feature of the polyglot text of the Creed is that it consists of two equal parts, each counting six lines, whereas all the more recent forms of the Apostolic Creed consist of three articles.[100] The polyglot text or version lacks the third article, namely the one which corresponds to "Credo in Spiritum Sanctum, sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam, etc." Nevertheless, although the third part or article is lacking, most of its contents is incorporated in the first part. Thus *in Spiritum Sanctum* is found in the very first line of the first article; *sanctam Ecclesiam* (without *catholicam*) is found in *qui stabilivit unam ecclesiam sanctam* (line 4); *remissionem peccatorum* is found in *et vera remissio peccatorum* (ibid.); *carnis resurrectionem* is found in *quod deus resuscitabit omnes mortuos* (line 5). However, one important item is missing, namely mention of life everlasting. This brings the text very close to the older occidental form of the Symbolum Apostolicum "... et in Spiritum Sanctum, sanctam Ecclesiam, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem."[101]

100) Namely, 1. "Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem..."; 2. "et in Iesum Christum..."; 3. "credo in Spiritum Sanctum..."

101) Cf. Rufinum. Cf. also Psalterium Aethelstani: *καὶ εἰς πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν. Vide* Denzinger, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

Another salient feature is the repetition of the word *Credo* twelve times, i.e., each of the twelve lines begins with *Credo* (*ïnanur-mn*,).

Consequently, this text of the Symbolum is very different from the known forms of the Apostles' Creed, and differs also from the Cuman *Symbolum* which is the only other one in another Middle Turkic language.[102]

An interesting feature is also that in the Latin, Turkic, and Arabic text the first person singular is used, as in all Western forms of the Creed (cf. there *credo*, *πιστεύω*), whereas the Armenian text uses the plural "we believe," as in the Eastern forms (cf. there *credimus*, *πιστεύομεν*).

Agreeing, in essence, with the Apostolic Creed, the text investigated differs from it in form. Thorough investigation of the documents referring to the Florentine Council might provide an answer to the question about the origin and purpose of the document examined.[103]

The Council of Florence, known as the XVII Oecumenical Council, took place from 1438 to 1445, under Pope Eugene IV (1431–47).[104] It was the direct continuation of the Council of Basle which had opened in 1431. The struggle between the Pope

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102) Kuun (*op. cit.*, p. 211, n. 1) identified the Cuman Creed with the Nicene Creed. This is not quite correct because it is much closer to the "Symbolum Nicaeno-Constantinopolitanum." As a matter of fact, the Nicene Creed ends with the words *καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα*, nothing being said about the church, forgiveness of sins, resurrection of the body, and life everlasting, whereas the Cuman Creed is almost identical, in this aspect, with the "Nicaeno-Constantinopolitanum." Giving excerpts from the two forms of the Creed would lead too far. It may be added that the text of the Nicene Creed is found in Denzinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 29–30, and the "Nicaeno-Constantinopolitanum" is given *ibid.*, pp. 41–42.

103) Numerous documents have already been published, *vide* G. Hofmann, S. I., *Epistolae Pontificiae ad Concilium Florentinum spectantes*, pars I, *Epistolae Pontificiae de rebus ante Concilium Florentinum gestis* (*1418–1438*), Roma 1940. Cf. in particular Vol. II, fasc. 2, Roma 1941: *Orientalium documenta minora* which contains numerous documents in Greek, Arabic, etc. However, the document examined in this article is not mentioned there.

104) "Council of Florence," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. VI, New York 1913, p. 112.

and the Council, which caused the former to transfer the council to Ferrara (1438) and, a year later, to Florence (1439), is irrelevant for the purpose of this article and will not be dwelt on.

The main purpose of the Council of Florence was to achieve union of the Roman Catholic and the Eastern Church, in the first place the Greek Catholic Church, a problem which caused prolonged and heated debates because it involved such fundamental questions as consubstantiality, the procession of the Holy Spirit, the nature of the Holy Trinity, interpretation of certain sacraments, etc.[105]

Not dwelling on these questions, let it be remarked that the formula "Filioque" which the Greeks rejected was the key problem.[106] Finally it was accepted by the Greeks, after the Emperor of Byzantium had been promised military help against the invading Turks,[107] and the Union Decree was issued on the 6th of July 1439 (Bulla "Laetentur coeli").[108] A few months later, union of the Armenian Church with the Roman Catholic Church was achieved (Bulla "Exultate Deo," Nov. 22, 1439).[109] This was followed by the union of the Iacobites with the Catholic Church, which was confirmed by the "Decretum pro Iacobitis" (Bulla "Cantate Domino," Febr. 4, 1441).[110] Finally, in 1445, union of the Churches of Mesopotamia (i.e., the Syriac Church), of the Chaldeans, and Maronites was achieved.[111]

It is important to note that none of the decrees gives any indication that a new text of the Creed should be introduced. On

105) Rev. H. J. Schroeder, O. P., *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils*, London 1937, p. 470.

106) Carl Joseph von Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, Bd. VII, Freiburg im Breisgau 1874, pp. 686 ff.

107) Hefele, *op. cit.*, pp. 717-18.

108) Hefele, *op. cit.*, p. 746.

109) G. Hofmann, S. I., "Die Einigung der armenischen Kirche mit der katholischen Kirche auf dem Konzil von Florenz, 22. Nov. 1439," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, V, Roma 1939, p. 170. Cf. Denzinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 253-59. The whole "Decretum pro Graecis" is incorporated in the "Decretum pro Armenis."

110) Denzinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 259-66. Both the "Decretum pro Graecis" and "Decretum pro Armenis" were included in this one.

111) Hefele, *op. cit.*, pp. 814-16.

the contrary, as far as the Symbolum is concerned, the "Decretum pro Graecis" prescribes only the insertion of *Filioque*. The "Decretum pro Armenis" includes the Nicene and the Athanasian Creed (the so-called "Quicunque"), and contains a disciplinary decree concerning the obligatory reading of the "Symbolum Nicaeno-Constantinopolitanum" with *Filioque*.[112] As for the decrees concerning the Syriac, Chaldean, and Maronite Church, it is known that they do not contain anything new as far as the dogma is concerned.[113]

Consequently, no form of the Creed new in essence or in wording was ever decreed or proposed by the Council of Florence. The Symbola reconfirmed by the Council were the Nicene, Nicaeno-Constantinopolitanum, and Athanasianum ("Quicunque"). It is interesting to note that the polyglot document investigated in this article betrays traces of influence by the "Quicunque." First of all, the Latin text has in the 7th line *verus deus et verus homo* which corresponds to *perfectus Deus, perfectus homo* of the "Quicunque." Second, like the latter, it does not mention the name of Pontius Pilate, cf. *passus est et mortuus et sepultus et descendit ad inferos*=Q. *qui passus est pro salute nostra, descendit ad inferos.* Third, both of them mention resurrection with the same bodies which people had in this life, cf. *resuscitabit omnes mortuos cum vero corpore et proprio unicuique*=Q. *ad cuius adventum omnes homines resurgere habent cum corporibus suis.*[114]

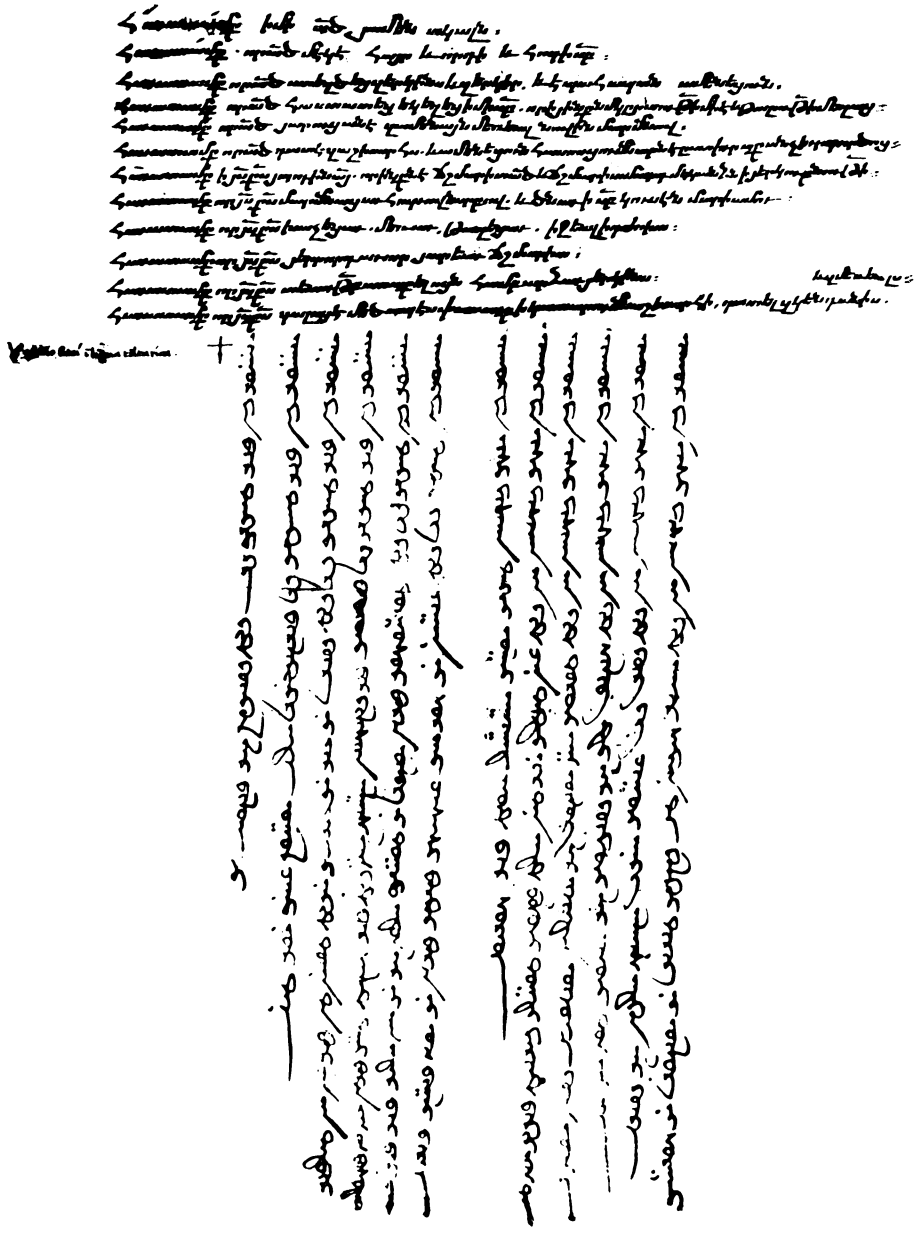
Of course, these similarities are insufficient to permit of identification of the text investigated with the Athanasianum. The question about the purpose of the text examined here remains open. To answer it, requires special theological erudition which the author of these lines does not have. It is to be hoped, however, that this article will draw the attention of specialists in questions of dogma.

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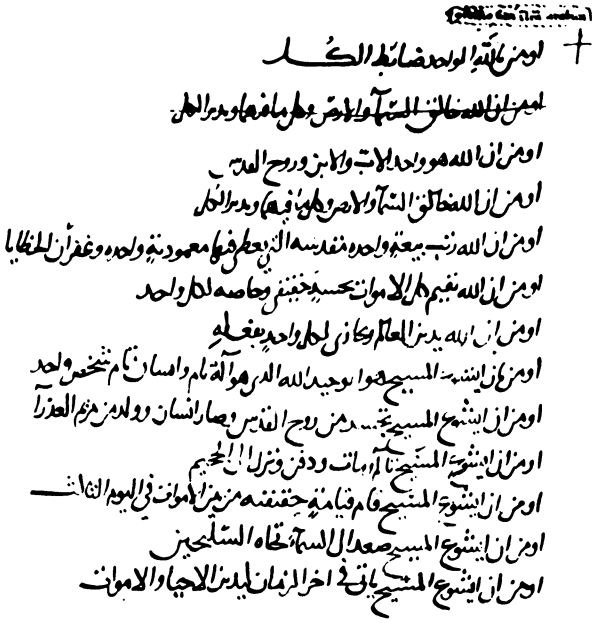
112) Hofmann, "Die Einigung der armenischen Kirche mit der katholischen Kirche," p. 170.

113) "Decreta pro Syris, Chaldaeis, Maronitis nil novi continent," cf. Denzinger, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

114) Symbolum "Quicunque," *vide* Denzinger, *op. cit.*, p. 18.



Ill. I. Creed in Armenian and Turkic. Sheet 2b of *Ms. Laur. Gadd. 108.* Courtesy of Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence.



Creed munum drum omnipotentem.
Creed q deus est unus. pater. et filius et ſpūs ſc̄s
Creed q deus creauit celum et trā et oīa q̄ in eis sūt. et quolibet eoꝝ
Creed q deus habuit una ecclīa scīa: catholicā. in qua non baptizat. 2 unam remissionem peccatoꝝ.
Creed q deus resuscitabit oēs mortuos cū uero corpore et quilibet unicuiq;
Creed q deus. iudicabit mūdū. et reddet unicuiq; ꝓ opi sua.

Creed q ihc x̄c unigenit' dei .uerus de' et uerus hō. una ꝑsona duab; naturā.
Creed q ihc x̄c incarnat' e despū scō et ex mā v̄ginē. et natus e de virgine maria.
Creed q ihc x̄c passus e et mortuus et sepult' et descendit ad infernū
Creed q ihc x̄c resurrexit uere .tertia die ꝑa
Creed q ihc x̄c .ascendit .ad celos .inde uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos.
Creed q ihc x̄c uenturꝰ ē fine mūdi. et iudicabit oēs uiuos et mortuos.

Ill. II. Creed in Arabic and Latin. Sheet 3a of *Ms. Laur. Gadd. 108.* Courtesy of Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence.