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The Old Turkic Title « γwrγ'p'ynt »

My dear friend, the late Alessio Bombaci, devoted his last scholarly efforts to the study of Old Turkic titulature. This short essay, I hope, would have aroused his curiosity, and so I dedicate it to his memory.

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The text of the Sogdian inscription from Bugut (Mongolia), published twice by Sergej G. Kljaštornyj and Vladimir A. Livšic in 1971–1972 [1], opens new vistas yet again for the history of the early Türküt (T'u-chüe). The editors of the published inscription dated it to ca. 572–580, which means that it was carved in stone only some twenty to thirty years after the creation of the Türküt Kaganate. One might expect the inscription, then, to contain the earliest versions of some political terms. Unfortunately, only fragments of it have been preserved, and there are great lacunas between them. The language of the inscription is, as one would expect, Sogdian. The Sogdians were instructors of the Türküts in matters of both politics and international trade, and at the time of the inscription (and indeed, until the Islamic conquest) their language was the *lingua franca.*

Three times the inscription contains the title *γwrγ'p'ynt*, which was previously totally unknown; it occurs twice in the enumeration of the highest ranks, and the third time in the recounting of the social strata of the realm. Fortunately, the Old Turkic Kül Tigin Inscription of A.D. 732 has a parallel enumeration of highest ranks. Let us compare these two texts:

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[1] *Sogdijskaja nadpis' iz Buguta*, in « Strany i narody Vostoka » 10 (1971), pp. 121–146; *The Sogdian Inscription of Bugut Revised*, in « Acta Orientalia Hungarica » 26:1 (1972), pp. 69–102.

Bugut (B2:2) [2]	*Bugut (B2:7–8)* [3]	*IS 1* [4]
1. *š'δpyt*	*š'δpyt*	*birəyä šdpyt bäglär*
2. *trγw'nt*	*trγw['nt]*	*y¹ir²aya tarqat*
3. *γwrγ'p(')ynt*	*γwrγ'p'ynt*	*buyruq bäglär*
4. *twδwnt*	– – –	*otəz [twdən]* [5].
5. *s* ...		

Sogdian *š'δpyt* corresponds to the OT *šdpyt bäglär*, just as Sogdian *trγw'nt* is a new variant of the OT title *tarqan*. This was correctly recognized by the editors: *t'rγw'n–* stands for **tarqun–*, and *–t* is the Sogdian plural suffix [6]. *trγw'n–t* corresponds exactly to the OT plural *tarqa–t* (sg. *tarqa–n*).

In a comparison of the texts it becomes clear that the titles given in third place, i.e., *γwrγ'p'ynt* and *buyruq bäglär* [7], designated the same rank.

In function the *buyruq bäglär* has been correctly identified with the Western *comitatus* (' ruler's retinue ') [8]. Similarly, the newly discovered Sogdian form, *γwrγ'p'ynt*, must refer to the same institution, since it is the earlier version of the OT *buyruq bäglär*.

The editors, who failed to compare the Bugut lists with that of the Kül Tigin inscription, propose the following interpretation of the title: *γwrγ'p ('y)nt* (see also in B2, line 12) is a Pl. form from the Turkish (or Mongolian) title *γwrγ'p'yn* ' holding girdle ' (Turkish *qur*) or ' holding quiver ' (Mongolian *qor*). A girdle with golden decorations was one of the indispensable accessory of a noble Turk (as well as of a Sogdian). This is reflected in the semantics of Turkish *qur* 1. ' girdle ': 2. ' merit, dignity '... Neither was the quiver inferior to it as a symbol of power, an attribute of higher rank. It is known in detail from Chinese sources describing the structure of the First

[2] « Acta Orient. Hungarica » 21,1 (1972), p. 86.

[3] « Acta Orient. Hungarica » 21,1 (1972), p. 86.

[4] *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon recueillies par l'expédition Finnoise 1980 et publiées par la Société Finno–Ougrienne*, Helsingfors 1892, pl. 9–10.

[5] I suppose that the missing word in I S 1 was *twdən*/tudən/ since the *tudəns*, like the *šdpyt bäglär*, were the representatives of the central government at the ' tribes ' (*oq*); during the reign of Bilgä Qagan there were thirty such political units within the Türküt Empire. See also Alessio Bombaci, *The Husbands of Princess Hsien–li Bilgä*, in « Studia Turcica » Budapest 1971, pp. 105–106; and Károly Czeglédy, *On the Numerical Composition of the Ancient Turkish Tribal Confederations*, in « Acta Orient. Hungarica », 25 (1972), pp. 275–281.

[6] « Acta Orient. Hungarica » 21:1 (1972), p. 89.

[7] The full title was *buyruq bäglär*, rather than simply *bäglär*, which may have the same meaning, but is elliptical in form.

[8] See György Györffy, *Die Rolle des « Buyruq » in der alttürkischen Gesellschaft, in* « Acta Orient. Hungarica » 11 (1960), pp. 169–179. Gerhard Doerfer's rejection (*Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, vol. II [Wiesbaden 1965], pp. 364–366) is based on the fact that he did not know the fuller form of the title: *buyruq bäglär*.

Empire and the composition of its ruling aristocracy... Mongolian *qor* ' quiver ' is widely presented in the Turkish languages (*qur*, *qor* ' arms ', cf. also Persian *qōr* in the same sense, *qōrxāne* ' arsenal ' and the titles *qōrči*, *qōrbāši*, *qōrčībāši*, *qōrbeki* and others). The second part of the word in question *–γ'p' yn–* is derived from a verbal stem *qap–* having the original meaning ' to catch, to hold tight) '... The derived stem *qapïn–* (reflexive–middle) is already present in Maḥmūd al–Kāšgarī's dictionary... however, the type of composition of **qorqapïn* deserves special attention " [9].

Although one can argue with the editors that the word was not of Sogdian origin, the proposed etymology is hardly satisfactory for a Turkologist. Even if the identification of *γwr–* with OT *qor* were accepted, the word's second component has no philological explanation. The reflexive verbal stem *qap–ïn–* cannot be used in nominal composition without a corresponding suffix. On the other hand, *p'yn* has marked a *long ā* vowel, and under no circumstances can it be interpreted as *–pin–*. That element cannot be anything other than *–pāy–/–bāy–* [10].

There exists a Turkic verbal stem *qori–*, with the meaning " to fence in, protect, restrict "; its deverbal noun in /Ig/ (*qori–γ*) has two attested basic meanings: (1) OT " enclosure, enclosed area [by a ruler] "; (2) Middle Turkic (Čagatai, 15th century), " prevention, guarding (= Arabic *man' wa–ḥirāsa*) " [11].

The noun *bāy* (with a long vowel in Turkmen and Yakut) also has two basic meanings: (1) OT ' rich '; (2) MT " distinguished (Arabic *al–muḥtašam*) " [12]; /an/ is the well–attested OT collective suffix for strong men, e.g., *är* ' man '; *är–än* " men " [13]; *–t* in *p'yn–t/bāyan–t* is the Sogdian plural.

The use of the dative for attribution in titles is known in Old Turkic, e. (Šine Usu Inscription N. 6) *biŋ–a baš–i* " the leader of a thousand " [14]. The OT nominal declension has the dative ending /ka/; but since in OT the geminates were avoided, the sequences of *–g + k–* or *–k + k–* would usually result in *–k–* [15].

[9] « Acta Orient. Hungarica » 21,1 (1972), pp. 89–90.

[10] As stated, the Turkic *bāy* had a long vowel, which is correctly represented in the Sogdian by means of an Aleph: *p'y–*.

[11] Sir Gerard Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre–Thirteenth–Century Turkish* Oxford 1972, pp. 654–646, 652. Martti Räsänen, *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türksprachen*, Helsinki 1969, p. 282.

[12] Sir Gerard Clauson, *Etymological Dictionary*, p. 384; Martti Räsänen, *Versuch*, p.56.

[13] Omeljan Pritsak, *Stammesnamen und Titulaturen der altaischen Völker*, in « Ural–Altaische Jahrbücher » 24,1–2 (1952), p. 71.

[14] Gustaf John Ramstedt, *Zwei uigurische Runeninschriften in der Nord–Mongolei* Helsinki 1913, p. 14. Cf. also Annemarie von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik*, 2d ed. Leipzig, 1950, p. 172, § 411.

[15] Omeljan Pritsak, *Das Alttürkische*, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, Erste Abteilung, 5 Band Leiden/Köln 1963, p. 33.

In this way we arrive at the explanation that *γwrγ'p'ynt* in the Bugut inscription should be interpreted as *qorqa* (*qorqa* < **qorəγ–qa*) *bāy–an*, with the meaning " the distinguished ones [commanded] for prevention [of violences] ". Certainly, this was not a bad designation for the retinue of a new dynasty.

The later term *buyruq bäglär* had a somewhat similar meaning: " the lords commanded to perform [military duties] " [16].

As mentioned above, the Bugut inscription contains still another enumeration, that of social strata:

1. *cw γwrγ(')p'ynt*	is there anybody of the *qorqa bāyan*,
2. *cwty wkwrt*	of the kinsmen,
3. *cw n'bcy'kh*	of the people (polity) [17].

The second and third terms are Sogdian, and they were properly recognized by the editors: *wkwrt* means ' kinsmen ' [18]; its OT correspondence is *oγəš*, while *n'bcy'kh* corresponds to OT *bodən* ' people, polity ' [19].

In the comparable passage of the Kül Tigin inscription (IS 1), the corresponding OT forms of the second and third terms (in the same order) do, in fact, appear.

2. *birəki oγəš–əm*	my united kinsmen,
3. *bodən–əm* [20]	and people (polity).

[16] Sir Gerard Clauson, *Etymological Dictionary*, p. 387.
[17] « Acta Orient. Hungarica » 21,1 (1972), p. 86.
[18] « Acta Orient. Hungarica » 21,1 (1972), p. 90.
[19] « Acta Orient. Hungarica » 21,1 (1972), p. 90.
[20] *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon* Helsingfors 1892, pl. 10.

ADRIANO V. ROSSI

In margine a *On the Ancient Turkish Title « Šaδ »* *

Le note che seguono sono ' marginali ' nel senso etimologico del termine, poiché sono la rielaborazione, con l'aggiunta di bibliografia e di qualche *excursus* su dettagli minori, di appunti che scrissi sui margini del-

* A. Bombaci, *On the Ancient Turkish Title « Šaδ », Gururājamañjarikā, Studi in onore di Giuseppe Tucci*, I, Napoli 1974, pp. 167–93 (= Bombaci 1974).

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Per le sigle bibliografiche cfr. pp. 447–450 sotto (sono siglati solo titoli che appaiono più d'una volta).

Sigle per le lingue: ar. arabo, arm. armeno, atu. anticoturco, av. avestico, battr. battriano, cot. cotanese, ie. indeuropeo, ir. iranico (air. anticoiranico, mir. medioiranico, nir. neoiranico), iir. indoiranico, part. partico, sogd. sogdiano, prs. persiano (aprs. anticopersiano, mprs. mediopersiano; si noti prs. = qualunque fase prs. successiva al mprs.), sogd. sogdiano (budd. buddistico, cr. cristiano, man. manicheo).

Simboli:

(1) ' ← ' indica che la voce a sinistra proviene dalla lingua (e eventualmente voce) a destra;
(2) ' ⇐ ' indica che la voce a sinistra è *Fremdwort* proveniente da interferenza con la voce a destra (cfr. n. 4 sotto);
(3) ' < ' indica che la voce a sinistra è esito diretto di evoluzione diacronica, cioè ' continuazione ' dello stato di lingua (e eventualmente voce) a destra;
(4) ' cfr. ' indica che tra la voce a sinistra e quella a destra esiste un rapporto diverso da quello dei precedenti (1)–(3) (usato quando l'intenzione dell'autore non è chiaramente ricostruibile);
(5) ' | | ' racchiudono ' famiglie ' semantiche diacroniche (se la glossa segue solo l'ultima voce, vale per tutte);
(6) ' ~ ' indica che la voce a sinistra è variante lessicale della voce a destra, o che il fono a sinistra è alternante (opzionale) di quello a destra;
(7) ' ° ' indica interruzione in una sequenza fonetica, fonemica o grafemica, quando ciò che segue o precede ha stato morfemico indeterminato;
(8) ' – ' indica la frontiera di morfema.

{ } includono morfemi, / / fonemi, [ ] foni, < > grafemi.