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QUTLUŤ BOLZUN!

A Contribution to the history of the concept of 'fortune' among the Turks

(Part one)

By Alessio Bombaci (Napoli)

I apologize first of all to Prof. Ananiasz Zajączkowski and to my readers, for having used a play on words in the title: in fact it means two different things. As augural expression it states my wish that the special occasion celebrated by this book may indeed "occur with fortune"[1]. On the other hand it means that the theme of the present article is based upon the word *qut* 'fortune'. At first my only aim was to draw attention to the word *qut* used in Turkish Islamic literary texts as a complement to royal titles (see later on §§ 13 and 14), a use that has already been witnessed in the preislamic epoch. So, having had the opportunity of carrying out research into the most ancient evidence of the word, it seemed useful to me to collect all these old usages of the word and classify them in such a way as to contribute to the semantic history of *qut* and at the same time of the concept of "fortune" among the Turks.

There is a theory by H. H. Schaeder about the etymology of the word *qut*. In a paper presented in 1928 to the fifth "Deutscher Orientalistentag" in Bonn, he stated that *qut* in Manichean texts and in the titles of the qaghans of the Uighurs is employed for the Middle-Iranian *farrah* (Old-Iranian **hvarnah*) and therefore it means also "Royal Fortune" and then he supposed that the Turkish word is not only a "Lehnübersetzung", but perhaps a "Lehnwort" and derives from Old Iranian **kauta*, meaning as **hvarnah* 'Royal Fortune'[2]. Later W. Kotwicz, in an article published in 1934, without hinting at the etymology by Schaeder and without giving an etymology of his own, supposed that the original meaning of *qut* was 'soul', as in the use of the Turkish shamanist people until recent times[3]. Lastly, in an article issued in 1962, J. P. Roux, without referring to Kotwicz, promised that he would demonstrate that *qut* has the original meaning of 'viatique de vie', 'âme d'origine divine', in a future extensive paper, based not on the texts, but only on the data of the ethnography[4].

Such theories, which are concerned with the prehistory rather than the history of *qut* will be discussed after the analysis of the texts that Schaeder had not time to analyse, that Kotwicz only sketched, and that Roux seems not to consider.

[1] For ancient evidence of the phrase *qutluγ bolzun* 'may it be lucky!' see later on §§ 3 and 9.

[2] H. H. Schaeder, Über einige mitteliranische und osttürkische Ableitungen aus altir. kavi, in: ZDMG, 7/1928, pp. XCIV–XCVI.

[3] W. Kotwicz, Formules initiales des documents mongols aux XIII-e et XIV-e ss., in: Rocznik Orientalistyczny 10/1934, pp. 131–157 (particularly p. 147). This theory is summarized in „Contributions à l'histoire de l'Asie Centrale," in: Rocznik Orientalistyczny 15/1939–1949, pp. 193–195.

[4] J.-P. Roux, La religion des Turcs de l'Orkhon, des VIIe et VIIIe siècles, in: Revue de l'histoire des religions 161/1962, pp. 1–24 and 199–231 (particularly pp. 23 and 216).

The data collected here result from a perusal of all the Old Turkish texts contained in the bibliography of the "Alttürkische Grammatik", Leipzig 1941, by A. von Gabain (later: ATG.), quoted according to the abbreviations shown there on pp. XVI–XVII. I also consulted the texts published after that bibliography, which will be quoted when they occur. The abbreviations TT VIII, IX and X refer to the continuation of the series "Türkische Turfantexte", published in the Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Klasse für Sprache, Literatur und Kunst, respectively in the volumes pertaining to the years 1954, 1958 and 1959. The "Pamjatniki drevnotjurkskoj pis'mennosti" (Moscow-Leningrad 1951) by S. E. Malov are indicated by the abbreviation Pam. The *Chuastuanift* (ATG.: Ch.) is quoted on the base of the recent edition by L. V. Dmitrieva in: Tjurkologičeskie issledovanija, Moscow-Leningrad 1963, pp. 214–232. Each text is quoted according to the most recent edition. The transcription has been made uniform. Unless indicated otherwise, numerals indicate the lines of the texts.

1. In the earliest evidence[1], the word *qut* is represented by the derivative *qutluγ*, composed of *qut* and the denominal suffix *-lïγ* 'mit etwas versehen', 'zu etwas gehörig' (ATG. § 53, 77, 333). *Qutluγ* appears as a proper noun or epithet (it is not always possible to distinguish between the two) in ancient Chinese history books in two different forms of translitteration: 骨篤祿 and 骨咄祿 respectively, equivalent to *kuət-tuok-luk* (B. Karlgren, Grammata serica, Stockholm 1940, nn. 486, 1019 g, 1208 h – which can also be understood as *qutuγluγ*!) and *kuət-tuət-luk* (ib. 486 a, 496 h, 1208 h). *Qutluγ* translitterated in the first way refers to a prince (*tegin*) who was twice Ambassador to China in 618 A. D.[2] and to Bilgä Qaġan, General (*tu-tu*) of the K'i-tan army in 718 A. D.[3]. At times the first transcription and at others the second (therefore may be both are equivalent) are used as a noun referring to the qaghan T'u-chüeh Iltiriš

[1] I leave out doubtful or not sufficiently certain ancient evidence. The wall of the parodos of the South theatre of Gerasa (Jordanie) bears a graffito (II–III century B. C.) with the name Ἄννιος Κότραχ. This name has been connected with the Protobulgarian names Κότραγος and Κότραγοι: cf. G. Vernadsky, Gerasa 1938, p. 400 n. 1 and F. Altheim, Geschichte der Hunnen I, Berlin 1959, pp. 15–16. The Protobulgarian names seem to be connected to that of the Κούτριγουροι (G. Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica II, Budapest 1943, pp. 147 and 152–153), which Altheim (l. cit.) derives from the Turkish **qut taraγ* 'glückliche Abstammung'.

Qut is with more probability (see also later the conclusions) connected with the epithet which in *Ts'ien-Han shu* chapter 94 is referred to the Hsiung-nu sovereigns: *ch'eng-li ku t'u* and explained as 'the son of Heaven'. F. W. K. Müller identified this epithet with the Turkish *tängri qut* 'himmlische (oder göttliche) Majestät' (Uigurische Glossen, in: Ostasiatische Zeitschrift 8/1920, Festschrift Hirth, p. 316; see also A. von Gabain, Hunnisch-türkische Beziehungen, in: Zeki Velidi Togan'a armağan, Istanbul 1955, p. 22; F. Altheim, op. cit., p. 242. Objections to this identification have been made by K. Shiratori, Sur l'origine des Hiong-nu, in: Journal Asiatique, year 1923, p. 75.

[2] Liu Mau-Tsai, Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-küe), Wiesbaden 1958, pp. 133, 182, 283, 413, 420, 572.

[3] Ib. p. 225 (for the Chinese transcription see index p. 787).

(691–716)[1] and the second seems to be used as an epithet, referring to the qaghans Qapaγan in 714 A. D. (§ 2) and Bilgä in 740[2], and also to P'o-fu, daughter of the famous minister Tonyuquq and wife of the qaghan Bilgä (716 to 734)[3]. In addition we find the noun *Qutluγ* (in the second form of transcription) applied to a king of Wakhan in 720[4], to a *yabγu* of Tokharistan who was also king of the Efthalites in 729[5], and to chieftains of the Türkäš tribes mentioned in connection with the years 742, 743, 744, 749, 753 (probably the same gentleman in all or most cases)[6].

The name of a certain Qutluγ, a *čigši* (Chinese title: 刺史 tz'ŭ-shih)[7] is also found in an undated runic Turkish inscription of the Yenissei group, yet very probably belonging to an ancient epoch (Čā-xöl VII. I)[8]. Hence the noun or epithet *qutluγ* was enjoyed by many Uighur *qaghans* as various sources attest (§ 4). There is a later usage of this ephitet, referring to a Kirgiz chieftain, found in a runic inscription in Sūjī, Mongolia (about 840 A. D.) (Pam. p. 76).

The frequency of the use of *Qutluγ* makes us suppose that it was a noun or epithet which enjoyed a particular preference. In some cases it is probable that the personalities who held this title were not Turks. The morphological structure of the word, however, assures us that it is Turkish. The fact that *Qutluγ* is used to indicate personalities of very high rank may be the result of the special character of the sources in which we find this word. It is evident that *qut* in *qutluγ* is used as an attribute which characterises a certain person, as 'fortune' could be. Therefore we may suppose a meaning similar to the one we deduce from the Orkhon inscriptions (§ 3), which are a little later or contemporary with the different evidence of *qutluγ* we have enumerated above, and then we may translate it as 'fortunate'. In the case where the word is used as a noun referring to qaghans, it is not to be excluded that the idea of 'Royal Fortune' is indicated too (§§ 3. 5).

[1] Cf. ib., p. 787 s. v. Ku-to-lu (= A-schi-na Ku-to-lu) and E. CHAVANNES, Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux, (reprint Paris, s. d.), p. 282 n. 5. Iltiriš was the name as sovereign, cf. V. THOMSEN, Alttürkische Inschriften aus der Mongolei, in: ZDMG, 78/1924, p. 126. According to the Chinese inscription for Kül Tegin, the father of Iltiriš had also the name (or epithet) Qutluγ, cf. M. E. H. PARKER, L'inscription chinoise du monument I, in: V. THOMSEN, Inscriptions de l'Orkhon déchiffrées, Helsinki 1896, p. 213 (the notice is not confirmed elsewhere).

[2] P. PELLIOT, Neuf notes sur des questions d'Asie Centrale, in: T'oung Pao 26/1929, pp. 238 sgg.; LIU MAU-TSAI, op. cit., p. 622; E. CHAVANNES, op. cit., Notes additionelles, pp. 63 n. 3, 65 n. 2; 105 s. v. Pi-k'ia kou-tou-luo kagan. Ib. p. 89 n. 1. Kou-tou che-hou is named, who in the index p. 102 appears as Qutluγ yabγu.

[3] LIU MAU-TSAI, op. cit., p. 231.

[4] E. CHAVANNES, op. cit., p. 165 (Chinese transcription on p. 344, s. v. Lo-lu-i-t'o Kou-tou-lou); Notes add. p. 42.

[5] Ib. p. 158.

[6] Ib. see index p. 102.

[7] F. W. K. MÜLLER, Der Hofstaat eines Uiguren-Königs, in: Festschrift V. Thomsen, Leipzig 1912, p. 212; H. W. BAILEY, Turks in Khotanese Texts, in: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1930, p. 90.

[8] S. E. MALOV, Enisejskaja pis'mennost' Tjurkov, Moscow-Leningrad 1952.

2. A Chinese source has handed down to us the titles used by the Turkish qaghan Qapaγan or Qapγan (692–716) when he addressed to the emperor of China in 714[1]. The same titles occur in a Chinese funerary inscription concerning his daughter who died in 719: 天上得果報天男突癹聖天骨咄祿 *t'ien shang tê kuo-pao t'ien-nan t'u-ch'üeh shêng t'ien ku-tu-lu*[2]. P. PELLIOT translates: "qui a obtenu au Ciel la récompense, fils du Ciel, dieu saint des T'oukioue, kou-tou-lou" and suggests that the Chinese words should be understood as equivalent to Turkish: *tängridä qut bulmïš tängrikän türk qutluγ* (*tängrikän* would be represented by *t'ien nan* 'son or child of Heaven' as well as by *shêng t'ien* 'Holy Heaven'; for *ku-tu-lu* = *qutluγ* sec § 1)[3]. We are particularly interested in the formula *tängridä qut bulmïš*, which was reconstructed by PELLIOT from the Chinese: *t'ien shang tê kuo pao* 'qui a obtenu du Ciel la récompense'. The reconstruction is justified, provided we put the same formula in relation to other data. On the one hand, the connection of royalty to Heaven is to be observed in the titles of the qaghan Sha-po-lüe (581–587) who would have taken, according to Chinese sources, the following title: "born in Heaven, wise son of the Heaven (*t'ien tse*), qaghan of the T'u-chüeh kingdom"[4]; the successor of Qapaγan, Bilgä Qaγan, in the Orkhon inscriptions qualifies himself as *tängritäg, tängridä bolmïš* 'alike to Heaven, born in (or: from) Heaven'[5] and his son: *tängritäg tängri yaratmïš* 'alike to Heaven, created by Heaven'. On the other hand that there exists a *qut* particular to the qaghan is stated in the Orkhon inscriptions; this *qut* must be understand as 'Royal Fortune' as we shall illustrate later. In other words, in the formula *tängridä qut bulmïš* which would mean 'who obtained Fortune (or Majesty) in (or: from) Heaven', the aforesaid two notions are blended in afirming the nature of the heavenly charisma of the Royal Fortune. Another argument which justifies the reconstruction of PELLIOT is that the epithet *tängridä qut bulmïš* is surely attested as regards the Uighur qaghan Il Tutmïš Bögü (759–780) and his successors (§ 4). A difficulty which PELLIOT did not consider is how *qut*, in the meaning he gives to this word ("félicité" or "majesté"), corresponds to the Chinese *kuo pao*, which he translates 'recompence'. A relation between the Chinese *kuo pao* which could be analysed in the two terms *kuo* 'fruit' and *pao* 'recompence', and the Turkish *qut* could be found by having recourse to Buddhist religious meaning. In effect, the Chinese *kuo* (fruit), first term of *kuo pao*, with meaning equal to

[1] Cf. LIU MAU-TSAI, op. cit., pp. 458 and 751 note 556.

[2] E. CHAVANNES, Epitaphes de deux princesses turques de l'époche des T'ang, in: Festschrift V. Thomsen, cit., pp. 82–87; P. PELLIOT, La fille de Mo-tch'o Qagahan et ses rapports avec Kül Tegin, in: T'oung Pao 13/1912, pp. 301–306; id., L'Edition collective des oeuvres de Wang Kouo-wei, ib. 26/1929, pp. 151–153.

[3] L'édition, cit., p. 152.

[4] P. PELLIOT, Neuf notes, cit., pp. 209–210; LIU MAU-TSAI, op. cit., pp. 458 and 751 note 556.

[5] In the funerary inscription mentioned above the epithet *t'ien shang tê* 'who obtained in Heaven' refers to Bilgä Qaγan, without any direct object. P. PELLIOT, l. cit., supposes that in this case the Chinese words are for the Turkish *tängridä bulmïš* and adds: "on voit par là que, sous les T'angs, on comprenait en Chine ces formules avec *bulmïš*, et non avec *bolmïš*, que *qut* soit exprimé ou non".

the Sanskrit *phala* 'religious fruition'[1], is rendered in Turkish as *qut* in Buddhist texts (§ 9). *Kuo pao*, as Buddhist word then means: "retribution for good or evil deeds, implying that different conditions in this (or any) life are the variant ripenings, or fruit, of seed sown in previous life or lives"[2]. The equivalence *kuo* = *qut* is surely a datum in favour of the reconstruction of PELLIOT, but the presence of a Buddhist notion in the titles of Qapaγan is surprising. It is true that the Buddhist propaganda reached the Žuan-žuan, predecessors of the Turks in the empire of Mongolia, and the same Turks in the second half of the sixth century[3]. Nevertheless, there is nothing which certifies that Buddhism was later practiced by their sovereigns. Therefore it would seem probable that *kuo-pao* 'fruit – retribution', was a Chinese Buddhist interpretation of the Turkish *qut*, actually having the profane value of 'Royal Fortune'. However in the epitaph of the daugther of the qaghan there is no hint of Buddhism.

KOTWICZ, according to the theory mentioned at the beginning of this paper, understands the formula *täŋridä qut bulmiš* (referred to the Uighur qaghans) in the meaning that the qaghans received their *qut* 'leur âme, leur bonheur' from Heaven, adding however that: "ce *qut* là devait être différent du *qut* que recevait, de façon normale, l'homme ordinaire et il assurait aux khagans des aptitudes exstraordinaires, l'éclat et la majesté"[4].

3. In the Orkhon inscriptions, related to the prince Kül Tegin, of 732 (I) and to the qaghan Bilgä, of 735 (II), the word *qut* occurs more than once, in a meaning variously understood by the interpreters, and which could be generally translated 'fortune', unless further information should be given on the value of this word.

Bilgä Qaγan, saying: *täŋri yarlïqaduq üčün, özüm qutum bar üčün, qaγan olurtïm* 'by god's will, because I have fortune (transl. THOMSEN-SCHAEDER, p. 142: hoher Beruf; Pam. p. 35: sčast'e) I seated as qaghan' (I S 9–10 = II N 7)[5], states that he became souvereign by the will of God, understood as a person who issues his own decrees[6], and by an attribute of his own, the 'fortune', understood as a force bestowing success. It is not clear whether this force is to be understood as a heavenly charisma, because there is not a direct connection between fortune and god's will, on the contrary the former seems well separated from the latter, as divine will and personal merit are distinguished in another passage: *täŋri yarlïqaduq üčün män qazγanduq üčün* 'by god's

[1] E. EDGERTON, Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit Grammar & Dictionary, II, New Haven 1953, p. 395.

[2] W. E. SOOTHILL and L. HODOUS, A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist terms, London 1937, p. 264. LIU MAU-TSAI, op. cit., p. 458, translates *kuo-pao* as 'Fruchtvergeltung' and considers it equivalent to sanskrit *vipāka* 'maturation, coming to fruition (of action)', E. EDGERTON, op. cit., p. 491.

[3] A. VON GABAIN, Buddhistische Türkenmission, in: Asiatica. Festschrift für F. Weller, Leipzig 1954, pp. 161–173. Nothing more in LIU MAU-TSAI, op. cit., pp. 461 to 462.

[4] W. KOTWICZ, Formules, cit., p. 147.

[5] For the translation THOMSEN-SCHAEDER see V. THOMSEN, Alttürkische Inschriften, cit.

[6] For the conception of Heaven as a God-person see the extensive account in P. W. SCHMIDT, Der Ursprung der Gottesidee, IX, Freiburg (Swiss) 1949, pp. 8 sqq. The meaning of *yarlïqa-* has been determined by R. GIRAUD, L'empire des Turcs Célestes, Paris 1960, p. 104 (where the form *yarlïqqa-* is preferred).

will and by my victory (over the Oghuzes) (II E 33)[1]. The concept of 'fortune' is better specified in another passage: *täŋri yarlïqazu, qutum bar üčün, ülügüm bar üčün öltäči budunuγ tirgürü igitim; yalïŋ budunuγ tonluγ, čïγany budunuγ bay qïltïm az budunuγ üküš qïltïm* 'by God's will[2], by my prosperous fortune (THOMSEN-SCHAEDER, p. 150: die hohe Würde und das Schicksalslos; Pam., p. 40: sčast'e i udača) I brought to life the people that was on the point of perishing, I clothed the people that was naked, I increased the people that was scanty' (I E 29 = II N 23–24). In this passage beside the word *qut* we have the word *ülüg* whose etymological meaning is 'portion', from the root *ül-* 'to divide'[3]. *Ülüg* occurs with such a meaning alone e. g. in the inscription of Tonγuquq (W. 4). There, likewise Persian *baxt* or Greek μοῖρα (both derived from roots meaning 'to divide') it has probably the value of 'allotted destiny' (the translation 'Schicksalslos' by THOMSEN-SCHAEDER is to be preferred to 'udača' by MALOV). However it is uncertain whether in the hendiadys *qut-ülüg*, which we shall see occuring frequently, the two terms are to be understood each one in its own meaning, or, as it happens commonly in Turkish hendiadyses, the second term specifies the first. In the context the notion of 'prosperity' seems to be associated with that of 'fortune' and therefore I proposed to translate jointly the two terms by 'prosperous fortune'.

In the passages mentioned, *qut* appears as a prerogative of the king. However, an intrinsic connection between *qut* and regality is not expressly stated. On the contrary, this happens in two other passages which clearly express the concept of 'royal fortune'. It is supposed that in one of them, which belongs to a lacunose text, Bilgä Qaγan speaks of the death of his father and of the short reign of a brother; the phrase: *üzä täŋri üduq yer šub* (. . . [?] [*qa*])*γan qutï taplamadï ärinč* 'above the Heaven, the holy Yir-sub, [. . . ?] the Qaghan's fortune apparently were not favourable' (II E 35) seems to refer to this reign[4]. A different translation, proposed by R. GIRAUD: ' . . . ne confirmèrent pas le Bonheur de ce Kagan'[5] meets with the difficulty that the suffix of the accusative, which should be requested by a name with a possessive suffix (*qutï*) (cf. ATG. § 391) is lacking. The 'royal fortune' seems to present itself in the form of hypostasis together with two typical divinities of the old Turkish pantheon: Täŋri and Yir-sub. KOTWICZ advanced the supposition that: "nous n'avons probablement pas ici l'idée abstraite de 'Glück', mais bien celle de son âme, obtenue du Ciel, et qui agit ici à l'instar d'un être vivant"[6]. Unfortunately the exact understanding of this passage is difficult on account of the gap before the word *qut*, which THOMSEN proposed to fill with *:äčim* 'my elder brother'[7].

[1] For the meaning of *qazγan-* see R. GIRAUD, op. cit., p. 96.

[2] *Yarlïqazu* is a gerund, cf. ATG. § 215, R. GIRAUD, op. cit., pp. 16 and 132. MALOV (Pam. 40) translates: 'da budet – ko mne – Nebo blagosklonno'.

[3] On this root see L. BAZIN, Les noms turcs et mongols de la constellation des Pléiades, in: Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 10/1960, pp. 295 to 297. Is the name of the god Ülgän connected in some way with this root?

[4] For *ärinč* cf. V. THOMSEN, Turcica, Helsinki 1916, pp. 33–44 = Sammlede Afhandlinger III, Kopenhagen and Cristiania 1922, pp. 122–134.

[5] R. GIRAUD, op. cit., p. 105.

[6] Formules, cit., p. 157.

[7] Inscriptions, cit., p. 126.

The other passage is the following: *Umaytäg ögüm qatun qutïnya, inim Kül tegin är at buldï* 'by virtue of the Fortune of my mother' (THOMSEN-SCHAEDER, pp. 150–151: zum Glück für meine Mutter; Pam. 40: dlja, t. e. na radosti, ee beličestva moej materi), the queen like Umay, my younger brother Kül Tegin obtained his virile name' (I E 31). Rather than with the generic expression 'for the fortune of my mother' (THOMSEN-SCHAEDER), or, giving to *qatun qutï* the value of a Court formula (which perhaps could be done for a second time, cf. § 6), as does MALOV, the dative in *qatun qutïnya* could eventually be translated, as I proposed, in the way MALOV (elsewhere) understood the expression *tängri küčingä* (Pam. p. 81 l. 25) 'po moguščestvu neba', that is 'by virtue of the power of Heaven' (for such a use of the dative cf. ATG. § 389). It does not exclude the possibility that the "fortune" of the mother acquired a charismatic value by the assigning of the virile name[1].

In the inscription of Bilgä Qaγan the term *ïduqut*, that is *ïduq qut* 'the holy fortune', occurs as a title referred to the chief of the Basmïls (II E 25). The adjective *ïduq* 'holy' certifies the sacral character of *qut* 'fortune'[2]. The abstract notion of 'fortune' is personified by a national leader, may be through the concept of "royal fortune".

The word *qut* and the adjective *qutluγ*, derived from it (§ 1), occur at last in a group of Turkish inscriptions in runic letters of Xoitu-Tamir, in Mongolia, approximately contemporary with the Orkhon inscriptions, in the meaning of 'fortune' and 'fortunate', at least judging by the phrase: *biš balïqa barïrbïz, anda qutluγ bolzun* 'we go to Biš Balïq, may be there with fortune!'[3].

4. Chinese historical works, the Turkish inscription of Šine Usu and especially the trilingual inscription of Qara Balγasun (Turkish, Chinese, Sogdian), Manichean texts handed down the (almost complete) series of the titles borne by the thirteen qaghans of the Uighurs, who after supplanting the Turks (T'u-chüeh) ruled over Mongolia between 744 and 840[4]. Many of them, starting from the first, were named *Qutluγ*. The second sovereign of the dynasty, Il

[1] Kül Tegin was then ten years old. About *är at* see A. VON GABAIN, Inhalt und magische Bedeutung der alttürkischen Inschriften, in: Anthropos 48/1953, p. 546.

[2] For *ïduq* see V. THOMSEN, Inscriptions, cit., p. 144; C. BROCKELMANN, Volkskundliches aus Ostturkestan, in: Asia Major 2/1925, p. 118; R. GIRAUD, op. cit., p. 104; J.-P. ROUX, La Religion etc., cit., p. 202. The word is connected with the verb *ïd-* 'to leave free' for a sacral interdiction.

[3] S. E. MALOV, Pamjatniki drevnetjurkskoj pis'mennosti Mongolii i Kirgizii, Moscow-Leningrad 1959, p. 47. See also RAMSTEDT, GRANÖ, AALTO, Materialien zu den alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei, in: Journal de la Société Finno-ougrienne 60/1958.

[4] A survey of these titles is in J. R. HAMILTON, Les Ouïgours à l'époque des cinq dynasties, Paris 1955, pp. 139–142. It may be complemented by A. VON GABAIN, Steppe und Stadt im Leben der ältesten Türken, in: Der Islam 29/1949, pp. 50–62; id., Alttürkische Datierungsformen, in: UAJb. 27/1955, pp. 191–203; and the edition of the Sogdian text of Qara Balγasun by O. HANSEN, Zur soghdischen Inschrift auf dem dreisprachigen Denkmal von Karabalγasun, in: JSFOu. 44/1930. For the inscription of Šine Usu see: R and S. E. MALOV, cit. Qara Balγasun: Turkish text by W. RADLOFF, Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei, I. S. Petersburg 1895, pp. 291–294; Chinese text by G. SCHLEGEL, Die chinesische Inschrift auf dem uigurischen Denkmal in Kara Balgassun, Helsinki 1896 = MSFOu IX) and E. CHAVANNES

Itmiš Bilgä (747–759), beside qualifying himself as *tängridä bolmïš* 'born in Heaven', as the T'u-chüeh qaghans (§ 2) (Šine Usu and Qara Balγasun: Chinese and Sogdian texts, in transcription from Turkish), bore the title *iduq qut* (Šine Usu 4 – uncertain lecture!), attributed before to the Basmïl chiefs (§3). Problably this title was assumed by a predecessor, after defeating the Basmïls in 744[1].

The epithets *tängri ilig* and *tängrikän* (= *tängri* + *qan*) 'celestial' or 'divine king' are attributed to the third sovereign of the dynasty, Il Tutmiš Bilgä (759 to 780), who is responsible for the introduction of Manichaeism as the State religion in 762, in fragments of Manichean texts in Turkish found at Turfan (Chinese Turkestan)[2]. The formula *tängridä qut bulmïš* 'who found Fortune in Heaven' is referred to the same sovereign in another Manichean fragment in Sogdian, coming also from Turfan[3]. We saw that this formula is supposed to occur already in the titles of the T'u-chüeh Qaghan Qapaγan (§ 2).

This formula, whether or not it continues an older one, could be inspired by the profession of the Manichaeism recently adopted because it emphasizes the value of heavenly charism for the royal fortune. We can compare the Turkish formula *tängridä qut bulmïš* with other similar ones occurring beside it in the Chinese and Sogdian texts of the Qara Balγasun inscription. In the Chinese text the Uighur emperor Alp Bilgä (808–821), to whom the inscription belongs, is said 受命之君 *shou ming chi chün* 'the prince whose destiny was fixed (by Heaven)'[4], according to the well known Chinese conception of the Emperors' *t'ien ming* 'mandate of Heaven'. In the Sogdian text we have: MN *βγšty prnβyty* that received the Fortune (*prn* < Old-Ir. *hvarnah) from Heavən'[5]. A similar expression: *MN βγšty prnβyrty*, occurs at the beginning of a Sogdian letter in Uighur script preserved in the British Museum[6]. (To be continued).

– P. Pelliot, Un Traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine, in: Journal Asiatique, year 1913, pp. 177–199; Sogdian text by O. Hansen, op. cit. All the three texts are fragmentary (especially the Turkish one) and a comprehensive reconstruction is lacking. In the Chinese and Sogdian texts the Turkish titles are referred in transcription.

[1] A. von Gabain, Steppe und Stadt, cit., p. 43 and Das uigurische Königreich von Chotscho 850–1250, Berlin 1961 (= SBAW, Kl. für Sprachen, Lit. und Kunst, Jahrg. 1961 nº 5), p. 21.

[2] TT II A passim, cf. A. von Gabain, Steppe und Stadt, cit., p. 58 (6. Text) and A. von le Coq, Ein manichäisches Buchfragment aus Chotscho, in: Festschrift V. Thomsen, Leipzig 1912, pp. 147 and 149, cf. A. von Gabain, 1. cit., pp. 58–59 (7. Text).

[3] F. W. K. Müller, Der Hofstaat, cit., p. 208, cf. A. von Gabain, 1. cit., p. 59 (9. Text).

[4] G. Schlegel, 1. cit., p. 13.

[5] O. Hansen, op. cit., pp. 15 and 38.

[6] British Museum Or 8212 (89). The quotation in O. Hansen, op. cit., p. 38, is to be corrected, cf. H. Reichelt, Die Soghdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums, II, Heidelberg 1931, p. 61. The two phrases in the inscription and in the letter are identified by O. Hansen, op. cit., p. 38. MN 'from' is the usual beginning of Sogdian letters and in the letter it has certainly this value, so we can translate: "from the lords prosperous and fortunate kings" (cf. H. W. Bailey, Zoroastrian problems in the ninth-century books, Oxford 1943, p. 56). But we may suppose that a second MN referred to βγγyšty was omitted. In the inscription MN seems to refer to *βγγyšty*, but the text, being lacunose, does not allow a definitive judgement.

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ВСЕСОЮЗНАЯ
ГОС. БИБЛИОТЕКА
ИНОСТРАННОЙ ЛИТЕРАТУРЫ
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ВСЕСОЮЗНАЯ
ГОС. БИБЛИОТЕКА

QUTLUT BOLSUN!

(Part two)*

By Alessio Bombaci (Napoli)

5. It is not certain whether an enlargement of the same formula: *ay tängridä qut bulmïš* 'who found Fortune in (or from) the Moon Heaven' does or does not refer to the mentioned Il Tutmïš Bilgä (759–780). We can doubt that a document, in which the said enlarged formula occurs, coming from the zone of Turfan, and precisely the colophon of a Turkish Manichean manuscript, is to be dated in the reign of this sovereign[1]. However, formulas with the expression *ay tängri* 'Moon Heaven', and precisely *ay tängridä bolmïš* 'born in the Moon Heaven', *ay tängridä ülüg bulmïš* 'who found fortune in the Moon Heaven' (for *ülüg* see § 3) and *ay tängridä qut bulmïš* 'who found Fortune in the Moon Heaven', are attributed to Uighur sovereigns who ruled respectively during the periods: 789–790, 795–805, 805–808[2]. Alp Bilgä Qaġan (808–821) seems at first to have borne the epithet *ay tängridä qut bulmïš*, which occurs in the Qara Balġasun inscription (in transcription in the Chinese and Sogdian texts; in the Turkish text *ay* could be represented by a gap) and from 812, according to a Chinese source, the epithet *kün ay tängridä qut bulmïš*[3]. The colophon of a manuscript containing Manichean hymns refers to him with the epithet *ay tängridä qut bulmïš*[4]. The epithets *kün tängridä ülüg bulmïš* and *ay tängridä qut bulmïš* are attributed, respectively, *kün tängridä ülüg bulmïš* and *ay tängridä qut bulmïš* are attributed, respectively, to a sovereign who ruled from 821 to 824 and to two of his successors (824–832 and 832–839)[5].

Among the Uighur sovereigns of the kingdom of Qocho (ninth – twelfth century) the formula: *uluġ tängridä qut bulmïš* 'who found Fortune in the great Heaven' is attributed to a sovereign who ruled from 845 (?) to 857 (?)[6]. The epithet: *kün ay tängrida qut bulmïš uluġ qut ornanmïš* 'who found Fortune in the Sun and Moon Heaven, on whom the great Fortune rested' seems to

*Part one: UAJb 36 (1965) (Pars altaica), pp. 284–291.

[1] M III n° 28. For the date see A. von Gabain, l. cit., p. 55 (2. Text) and Altt. Datierungsformen, cit., p. 195.

[2] In Chinese sources, cf. J. R. Hamilton, l. cit. In the Chinese and Sogdian Texts of Qara Balġasun the first one bears the epithet: *tängridä bolmïš* and the second one *tängridä qut bulmïš* (both epithets transcribed from the Turkish).

[3] J. R. Hamilton, l. cit.

[4] F. W. K. Müller, Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch, Mahrnāmag, in: Abhandlungen der königl. preußischen Akad. der Wiss. zu Berlin, Philos.-hist. Kl., Jahrg. 1912; cf. J. R. Hamilton, l. cit. and A. von Gabain, l. cit., p. 60 (11. Text) and id., Datierungsformen, cit., pp. 195–196.

[5] J. R. Hamilton, l. cit.

[6] Ibid.

pertain to a sovereign of the tenth century, in a votive inscription found at Turfan (Pf. III)[7]. In this formula the verb *ornan-* 'to take place' (from *orun* 'place') suggests a personification of Fortune. In a similar later inscription that king appears with the epithet *kün ay tängritäg küsänčig* 'lovely as the Sun and Moon Heaven'[8].

It is likely that *kün* 'sun' and *ay* 'moon' added to *tängri* 'heaven' are only defining the notion of "luminosity", showing the two bigger sources of heavenly light. This is the opinion expressed by G. SCHLEGEL with regard to *ay tängri*. He remembers the use of *ay* as an epitheton ornans in names like Ay Qan 'Moon Prince', Ay Kün 'Moon - Sun', Ay Mökö 'Moon-strong', Ay Arïg 'Moon-pure', or the expression *ay qara at* 'moon black horse', etc., which show that rather than the moon in itself, its brightness is to be intended; therefore *ay tängri* should be translated rather than 'moon heaven', 'bright heaven'[9].

Otherwise, F. W. K. MÜLLER sees in the expressions *ay tängri* and *kün tängri* a conscious resumption of the old tradition of the Hsiung-nu, adducing the definition of the sovereign as: "installed by the Sun and the Moon"[10]. But a conscious resumption by the Uighurs of the Hsiung-nu tradition, after such a long time, seems rather unlikely, the more so because the formulas with "sun" and "moon" do not appear suddenly, but are clearly derived from the simpler one *tängridä qut bulmiš*, which in some way seems to continue the formula *tängridä bolmiš* of the T'u-chüeh Qaghans, if it was not already employed by them (§ 2).

However, the connection between regality and sun and moon is a well kwon fact occuring in Iranian and Central-Asiatic milieus[11]. As a matter of fact the mentioned votive inscription says that the sovereign is "lovely as the sun and the moon" and the colophon of a Manichean manuscript compares the death of an *ïduq qut* to the setting of the sun and the accession of the new one with the rising of the moon (M III n° 15)[12]. It may also be observed that the phrases with "sun" and "moon" appear after the contact of the Uighurs with Manicheism, "the religion of the light", as the Chinese called it. Therefore the emergence of the luminous element, represented by the two stars,

[7] Ibid. p. 142 n° 18; A. VON GABAIN, Steppe und Stadt, cit., pp. 56–58 (4. Text); id., Datierungsformen, cit. p. 198 (where HAMILTON's opinion is accepted). Against a datation to the time of Bögü Qaġan, beside the chronological arguments of HAMILTON, it may be observed that the inscription is inspired by the Buddhism and not by Manicheism.

[8] J. R. HAMILTON, op. cit., p. 143 n. 19; A. VON GABAIN, Steppe und Stadt, cit. p. 58 (5. Text); id., Datierungsformen, cit., p. 198 (where a date 1008 or 1068 is proposed).

[9] G. SCHLEGEL, op. cit., p. 137. The quotations are from W. RADLOFF, Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türkdialekte, II, S. Petersburg 1893, col. 5.

[10] F. W. K. MÜLLER, Uigurische Glossen, cit., p. 315. For the Hsiung-nu epithet see: J. J. M. DE GROOT, Die Hunnen der vorchristlichen Zeit, I, Berlin-Leipzig 1921, p. 82; E. A. PARKER, A Thousand Years of the Tartars², London 1924, p. 19, where it is translated: the equal of Sun and Moon.

[11] Very copious references in M. BUSSAGLI, Due statuette di Maitreya (Nota sul simbolismo lunare nel buddhismo), in: Annali lateranensi 13/1949, pp. 355–390 and Cusanica et serica, in: Rivista degli Studi Orientali 37/1962, pp. 91–103.

[12] On this text see A. VON GABAIN, Steppe und Stadt, cit., pp. 61–62 (12. Text).

psychopomp divinities worshipped by the Manicheans, is justified, as MÜLLER already suggested. The god Moon enjoyed among them a particular favour[13] and this fact could explain the prevailing of the formula with "moon" in comparison with that one with "sun" (which occurs later and alone only once). The fact that such formulas do not refer to the qaghan Alp Qutluġ (779–789), who seems to have been an adversary of Manicheism, could be considered significant[14].

Such consideration, provided also that *tängri* means 'heaven' and 'god', and the suffix *-da* has also the value of an ablative, could induce us to translate *kün tängridä* and *ay tängridä* respectively: 'from the god Sun' and 'from the god Moon', notwithstanding that *kün* and *ay* in beginning do not appear in the formula to specify *tängri* and their presence is not constant.

6. The formulas which we have examined are strictly connected with the epithet *qutluġ* (also *qutluġ ülüglüg*) attributed to some qaghans[15] and chiefly with the title *ïduq qut*. As we said, the second Uighur Qaghan (747–749) appears with this title and so the Uighur qaghans and kings are designated in Chinese and Islamic sources (for *ïduq qutluġlar* in U II p. 87 see § 10). The title *ïduq qut*, which in itself contains the idea of holiness (*ïduq*: see § 3), occurs as *iligimiz ïduq qut* 'our king, the *ïduq qut*' (M III n° 15 recto) in a Manichean manuscript to be attributed probably to the period 821–824[16]. The king is connected with his Fortune in the invocation: *yitili iki yigirmili ärklig küčlüglärdän küč basut kälzün körtlä küsänčig adïnčïġ yaruq alp ärdämlig bädük küčlüg iligimiz qutï üzä ornanzun* 'might and aid may come from the Seven and Twelve Mighty and Powerful and rest on the Fortune (or Majesty) of our beautiful, lovely, noble, luminous, valiant sublime mighty king!' (ib. verso 21–24)[17]. In invocations of this kind, a feeling of religious devotion toward a sovereign protecting Manicheism was certainly not extraneous. On the king the "Glory of the Law" (*nom qutï*, see § 11) reverberated: *nom qutï kädilmiš käntü qanïmïz* 'our king himself, clothed in the "Glory of the Law"' (M III n° 16).

A charismatic power is attributed to the Fortunes of the deceased sovereigns and of the same throne, which are clearly conceived in the form of hypostasis: *il ötükän qutï ilki bögü iliglär qanġlarï iliglär qutï bu ïduq örgin qutï tängri iligimiz ïduq qut üzä ornanmaqï bolzun* 'the Fortune of the country of Ötükän (see § 11), the Fortune of the first wise kings, of the kings his fathers, the Fortune of this holy throne may rest upon our heavenly *ïduq qut*' (M III n° 25 already quoted, verso 16–22).

In phrases as *iligimiz qutï* and other similar ones (M III n° 23 verso 8–9, ib. n° 27 verso 19, KP 6: *qanġïm qutï* 'the Majesty of my father – the King'), formulas of respect are composed with *qut*. Such formulas, probably in a second time, were referred to persons not of royal rank: *Säli bäg qutïnġa*

[13] Cf. M III 6 II verso 13–18 where the question is posed why in Mani's Evangelion the Moon is praised before Zurvan.

[14] Cf. A. VON GABAIN, Steppe und Stadt, cit., p. 47.

[15] See the survey in J. R. HAMILTON, l. cit. *Qutluġ ülüglüg* occurs in TT II A 87, cf. A. VON GABAIN, Steppe und Stadt, cit., p. 58 (6. Text).

[16] A. VON GABAIN, l. cit., pp. 61–62 (12. Text).

[17] A. VON GABAIN, l. cit., thinks that *küčlüg* is the name of the king.

(U II p. 81). Similarly the epithet *qutluġ* refers to persons who hold the offices of *ičräki* or *tutuq*[18]. Finally *qut* assumes a value which can be compared to that of "His Excellency". On the back of a letter found at Turfan by a Chinese mission, the address is: *yindä inanču tarqan qutïnġa bäg bars ötügüm* 'To his Excellency the *tarqan* Inanču, in Yin (?), petition of me, Bäg Bars'; the letter begins with the same formula[19]. Likewise in a letter coming also from Turfan, preserved in Moscow, we observe: *buyančï bäglärim qutïnġa munġ ötüglüg Qoludï Bïntunġ ötügüm täginür* 'To their Excellencies the meritorious (or: fortunate) (see §§ 9, 10) lords the petition of me Qoludï Bïntunġ, humble suppliant is presented' (Pam. p. 202). Formulas of this kind persist in the Islamic epoch (§§ 13, 14). They can be added to the inventory of Turkish diplomacy dealt with by Prof. ZAJĄCZKOWSKI in an excellent book.

In such conventional usage, in which *qut* in the end loses its value of charism, the formulae *qonġ tai-qui qutï* and *qonġ qiu qutï*, referred respectively to the Empress Dowager (皇太后 *huang t'ai-hou*) and to the Empress (皇后 *huang-hou*) of China are to be considered. These formulas occur in the colophon of a xilograph of the sutra of the Great Bear (*Yitikän sutur*) to be dated in the year 1313, at the time of the Mongol dynasty of China[20].

To such usage of *qut* in formulae of the ceremonial, the use of the Mongol *su* corresponds, and this is commonly translated by "fortune" or "majesty", as for instance: *mongke* (sic) *t(e)ngri-yin küčündür qaġan-u suu-dur* 'by the might of the eternal Heaven, by the Fortune of the Qaghan', in a letter of Argun to Philippe le Bel, of 1289[21], which can be compared with *ba-quvvat-i ḫudāy ba-iqbāl-i pādišāhī*(sic) *ġahān Mangū qā'ān* 'for the might of God, for the fortune of the sovereign of the world, Möngke Qaġan', occurring on a coin[22]. A similar phrase *qan suusï* 'His Imperial Majesty' occurs in the colophon already mentioned. The fact is to be noted that while *su* refers to the Emperor, *qut* refers to the Empress, probably because *qut* was already attributed to persons of a rank inferior to that of the sovereign. The Mongol word *su* seems to derive from the Chinese 祚 *tsu* 'happiness', as PELLIOT proposed[23], and is not to be connected with other Mongol and Turkish words which mean a

[18] F. W. K. MÜLLER, Der Hofstaat, cit., p. 210.

[19] HUANG WEN-PI, T'u-lu-fan k'ao-ku chi, in: K'ao-ku-hsüeh n° 3, Peking 1954, pl. 86. I thank Prof. Walter Fuchs who kindly lent me this volume.

[20] See L. LIGETI, Notes sur le colophon du „Yitikän sudur", in: Asiatica, cit., pp. 397–407; M. LEWICKI, Turcica et Mongolica, in: Rocznik Orientalistyczny 15/1939–1949, pp. 239–245; A. VON GABAIN, Datierungsformen cit., pp. 201–203.

[21] A. MOSTAERT – F. W. CLEAVES, Les lettres de 1289 et 1305 des ilkhan Arγun et Öljeitü à Philippe le Bel, Cambridge (Mass.) 1962, p. 17. About *su* see comment pp. 18–22.

[22] E. DROUIN, Notice sur les monnaies mongoles, in: Journal Asiatique (1896), p. 507. On such formulas see W. KOTWICZ, Formules, cit., Neuvième Série, Tome VII .

[23] P. PELLIOT, Les Mongols et la Papauté, in: Revue de l'Orient Chrétien 28/1931, p. 166. The suggestion of PELLIOT is accepted by M. LEWICKI and A. VON GABAIN, ll. cc.

kind of soul as KOTWICZ proposed[24]. In Chinese we have phrases like 王祚 *wang tsu* and 帝祚 *ti tsu* 'the happiness of the king or Emperor, the Imperial Throne'[25].

7. In the colophon quoted in the preceding paragraph (M III n° 15) the phrase *il ötükän qutï* 'The Fortune of the country of Ötükän' occurs twice: once in the following passage (recto 14–16): *il ötükän qutï küč birü yarlïqaduq üčün* 'because the Fortune of the country of Ötükän decreed to give force to us', and again in the passage already referred to (verso 1–17). Ötükän, called *yïš* 'mountain grazing ground' in the Orkhon inscriptions[26], is the region of the Khangai Mountains in Mongolia, residence first of the T'u-chüehs then of the Uighurs[27]. The use of the verb *yarlïqa-* 'to decree', referred in the Orkhon inscription to *tängri* 'Heaven – God' (§ 3), hints at a personification of *qut*. A personification occurs in another colophon where *qut* is referred to another placename: *qočo uluš iki otuz balïq qutï vaqšiki* 'The Fortune Spirit of the twenty two towns of the realm of Qočo' (M III n° 23 verso 6-7). The hendiadys, *qut vaqšik*, is of a tautological kind, whose first term is Turkish and second Iranian (Middle-Iranian *wāxš*, see below), here evidently means 'guardian spirit' (for other examples of the same hendiadys see §§ 10 and 11). *Qut*, associated with divinities of the Central Asiatic Buddhist pantheon, has the same value in one of the colophons of the Uighur Maitrisimit: *üstünki äzrua xormuzta tört mxarač tängrilar višnu maheśvri sakantaqumarï qutluġ qočo uluš qutï* 'above, Brahmā, Indra, the four Kings of Heaven, Viṣṇu, Maheśvara, Skandhakumāra, the Fortune of the fortunate realm of Qočo'[28].

The epithet *qutluġ* refers in this passage to *Qočo uluš*, and is also to be found elsewhere, referring to *Qočo uluš* (Pf. III 4), or simply to *uluš* (M I 26) and also to the Chinese Empire: *qutluġ tavġač ilindä* (U I p. 13), *qutluġ tavġač uluš* (Ht. VII 1820, 2149). In these cases it is probable that the ideas of "fortune" and of "guardian spirit" are mingled with that of "royal fortune", expressed elsewhere by the same epithet (§ 6). A religious meaning is not to be excluded (§ 10). A. VON GABAIN in the use of *qutluġ* for the Chinese Empire sees a reflex of the concept of a Turkish national Fortune, coming from the memory of the To-p'a (*tavġač*) dynasty which was connected with the Hsiung-nu, as later on the Turks too. She bases also on the fact that in the Chinese text of Ht a word corresponding to *qutluġ* is lacking[29] (but see § 10).

With regard to the phrase *il Ötükän qutï*, the sacred character that Ötükän (or Ütükän) had among the ancient Turkish people may be remembered. In a passage of the Orkhon inscriptions it is qualified as *iduq* 'holy' (I E 23 = II E 19); there is located *iduq baš* 'sacred source', *tamïġ iduq baš* 'sacred

[24] Formules etc. cit. and Contributions etc. cit.

[25] H. A. GILES, A Chinese-English Dictionary, London 1892, n° 11. 851. Mathews' Chinese-English Dictionary, Cambridge (Mass.) 1956, n° 6822.

[26] On the meaning of *yïš* see A. VON GABAIN, Steppe und Stadt, cit., pp. 33–34.

[27] On the location of Ötükän see A. VON GABAIN, l. cit., p. 37; R. GIRAUD, op. cit., p. 172; K. CZEGLÉDY, Čoγay-quzï, Qara-qum, Kök-öng, in: Acta Orientalia, cit. 15/1962, p. 62 note 5.

[28] A. VON GABAIN, Maitrisimit, Wiesbaden 1957, pp. 27 and 34.

[29] Das uig. Kön., cit., p. 23.

source of the Tamïġ', which is mentioned in the same inscriptions (II E 25, II E 29)[30]. The sacral character of Ötükän derived probably from a local cult of the Mother Earth (in Mongolian *etügen*) or of the ancestors[31], or generally of a spirit of the mountain[32]. However, Ötükän had great strategic importance because of its position and represented a centre of rallying predisposed by nature, a stronghold, a "refugium" for the political formations of the Mongolian steppe[33]; so much so that in the Orkhon inscriptions it is said, as referring to a tradition: *il tutsïq yir Ötükän yïš ärmiš* 'the place whence the realm should be ruled is Ötükän yïš (I S 4 = II N 3) (for the value of the indefinite past tense with *-miš*, cf. ATG § 219: "eine nur von Hören-Sagen bekannte Tatsache").

These considerations lead to the attribution of a complex value to *qut* in the phrase *il Ötükän qutï*. In it different notions were probably mingled: the notion of a divinity of the Earth or of a divinized ancestor, in a "national" cult, as Pelliot supposed[34], or of a guardian spirit identified with the royal fortune and located in the ideal centre of the empire: a "national fortune" also in this case. The translations given by A. VON GABAIN are "des Reiches Mutter-Gottheit" (ATG p. 310), or "Charisma der Stammes-Muttergottheit"[35].

A connection between *qut* 'fortune' and 'mountain' among the Uighurs is also in a legend relating to the existense in their country of a mountain called *Qut-taġ* 'Mountain Fortune', located, according to Islamic sources, near the mountains Buqratu Buzluq and Ašqunluq Tängrim, between which the mountain Qaraqorum was located[36]. Probably the narrative of a Chinese

[30] On the identification of *Tamïġ baš* see R. GIRAUD, op. cit., p. 107.

[31] P. PELLIOT, Neuf notes, cit., III. Le mont Yu-tou-kin (Ütükän) des anciens Turcs, pp. 212–219; id., in: T'oung Pao 28/1931, pp. 229–223; B. Ya. VLADIMIRCOV, Po povodu drevne-tjurkskogo Ötükän jïš, in: Dokladi Akademii Nauk, 1929, section B, pp. 133–136; A. VON GABAIN, Steppe und Stadt, cit., pp. 35–37, 48, 61–62. On the Mongolian cult of Etügen see E. LOT FALCK, A propos d'Ätügän déesse mongole de la terre, in: Revue de l'histoire des religions 149/1956, pp. 156–196; A. MOSTAERT, Le mot Natigay/Nacigay chez Marco Polo, in: Oriente Poliano, Rome 1957, pp. 95–102.

[32] On the cult of mountains among the Turks see L. P. POTAPOV, Kult gorna Altaje, in: Sovetskaja Etnografia, 1946, nº 2; A. İNAN, Tarihte ve bugün şamanizm, Ankara 1954, pp. 48–59 and the comprehensive outlook in P. W. SCHMIDT, op. cit., XII, Münster i. W. 1955, pp. 537–540.

[33] See A. VON GABAIN, Steppe und Stadt, cit., p. 36 · R. GIRAUD, op. cit., pp. 107, 169, 173. On the idea of "refugium" see A. VON ROSTHORN, Die Hochburg von Zentralasien, in: Hirth Anniversary Volume = Asia Major. Introductory Volume. London s. a. [1922], pp. 286–297.

[34] Neuf notes cit., p. 218.

[35] Das uig. Kön., cit., p. 23.

[36] See the Persian history by Rašïdu 'd-Dïn as reported by W. RADLOFF, Das Kudatku bilik, S. Petersburg 1891, p. XXV. The notice is repeated in the Šagara-i tarākima by Abū 'l-Ġāzī Bahādur Ḫān, ed. Desmaison, S. Petersburg 1871, p. 39 transl., ib. 1874, p. 39. Mention of a Qut-taġ occurs also in the Ta'rïḫ-i Ğahāngušāy by Ğuvainī, according to M. D'OHSSON, Histoire des Mongols², den Haag and Amsterdam 1834, p. 429, but the known manuscripts have at its place

source about a mountain 胡力荅哈 Hu-li ta-ha (*guo-liet tap ha*, approximate rendering of *qutluġ taġ* 'fortunate mountain?), explained as 福山 *fu shan* fortunate 'mountain', may refer to such a mountain. The fortune of the Uighur kingdom was connected to the Hu-li ta-ha: the Chinese obtained permission to remove a rock in exchange for the granting of a Chinese princess as wife to the son of the Qaghan of the Uighurs; the rock was so heavy that in order to carry it it was necessary to melt it with a big fire, and pour wine and vinegar upon; when they took it away broken in pieces, the birds and other animals raised high wailing and great misfortunes befell the Uighurs and their royal family[37].

8. In the Turkish scriptures coming from the Tarim basin (now Sinkiang) or from North-western China, which belong mostly to the Uighurs and date back to the ninth – twelfth centuries, and which are to a larger part translations, the range of meanings of *qut* becomes larger. Unfortunately, it is not always possible to ascertain an exact meaning because in many cases we have not the texts from which the Turkish texts are translated at our disposal and because the translations in Turkish are often very free.

In two books of predictions which are among the more ancient texts, *qut* has commonly the meaning of "fortune" or "blessing". In one of them, in runic letters, the so-called *ïrq bitig*, "fortune" is a gift of the Waygod: *ala atlïġ yol täŋri män yarïn kičä ašur män. Utru äki aylïġ kiši oġlïn soqušmïš. Kiši qorqmïš. Qorqma, -timiš qut birgäy män, timiš* 'It said: I am the Waygod on a piebald horse. Early and late I amble along. He met a two-month-old child of man. The man was afraid. – Fear not; I will give you fortune –: said he.' (Pam. p. 80). Also in another passage fortune is referred to a god: *kiši oġlï yorïyu aztï, yana täŋri qutïnta üčünč yïlda qop äsän tükäl körüšmiš* 'the child of man went astray while walking. By the fortune (blessing) of God (or Heaven) they all met again in the third year, hale and hearty' (Pam. p. 81). Who *Yol täŋri* 'the Way-God' is has not yet been explained. Unfortunately we do not know which culture or religion (probably Manicheism) inspired the text to which it belongs. It may only be noted that *yol* also means "fortune" and this may explain the connection with *qut*[38]. In the second passage *täŋri* could be the god of Heaven, the supreme god of the Turks. The *qut* appears

Aqtaġ, cf. W. RADLOFF, op. cit., p. XLIV and the edition by M. QAZVĪNĪ, Leiden 1912, p. 42 (but a variant could be read *qut-taġ*). Also the Quttaġ or Aqtaġ by Ğuvainī is bound to a legend: during many years the King of the Uighurs met a mysterious girl there.

[37] Yüan Shih, chapter 122 p. 1. See the translation by V. P. Vasiliev in W. RADLOFF, op. cit., p. L.

[38] Cf. Mus. 36 p. 235 n. 1 where the phrase *yol bolzun* "möge der Weg (gut) werden" and Mongolian *dzol* 'bonheur, avantage, succès, réussite' (J. E. KOWALEWSKI, Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français, Kazan 1846, p. 2386) whence Yakut *džol* 'Glück, Heil' are mentioned. With *yol* 'fortune' the name of the prince Yol[lu]ġ ("fortunate") in the Orkhon inscriptions should probably be connected. See also TT I 196: *äd yol* 'wealth and fortune'; TT V B 103 *atlïġ yolluġ* 'famous and fortunate'; Suv. p. 444: *at yol* 'fame and fortune'. *Yol* also means 'radiance': TT V A 31, 101–102 (*yol yaruq*); TT V 79 note (*yaruq yol*).

as a charism belonging to the god. In another passage fortune consists in wealth: *är ömäläyu barmïš tängrikä soqušmïš qut qolmïš qut birmiš aġïlïnda yïlqïnġ bolzun* 'a man went creeping along. Then he met God and asked him for fortune (blessing). He gave him fortune (his blessing) and said: – Would that you might get (much) cattle in your enclosure!' (Pam. p. 83). In the same text occurs the expression *učuruġluġ qut* 'hight (?) fortune' (from *uč* 'point' or *uč-* 'to fly'?) (Pam. p. 82). The adjective *qutluġ* occurs with the meaning 'of good omen', and refers to *ting* 'bride' (ib. p. 81) and *adġïr* 'stallion' (ib. p. 84).

In the other book of predictions, which is presumably translated from Chinese, of the kind that has its prototype in the ancient *I ching*, the association between "fortune" and "moon" may be noted: *kün täŋri külündi čärigin üzä – ay täŋri battï qutunġ üzä* 'The Sun-god laughed on your army, the Moon-god set on your fortune' (TT I 39–40). That sun and moon produce good or bad effects on the destinies of men is a notion not strange to Chinese mythology[39]. The use of *qut* with the verb *käl-* 'to come' may give rise to the idea of a personification of the concept of fortune (ib. 94, 137). The same may be said of the verb *ornan-* 'to take place' employed with the hendiadys *qut buyan* : *üsküngdä täŋridäm qut buyan utmaq yïgädmäk käntün ornantï* 'before you the heavenly fortune (hend.) and the victory (hend.) took place themselves' (ib. 1–2). The term *buyan* seems to mean here merely "fortune", while originally it had a religious value (§ 10)[40]. The hendiadys *qut qïv* is employed with the verb *käl-* as an evident personification: *atïnġ atayu qut qïv özin käldi* 'Fortune (hend.) itself came calling you by name' (ib. 116). The word *qïv*, whose etymology is not known, occurs also alone with the meaning of fortune[41].

[39] See E. T. C. WERNER, A Dictionary of Chinese Mythology, New York 1961, p. 469 s. v.: Sun (The God of the).

[40] On *buyan* in the meaning of "fortune" see A. VON GABAIN, Inhalt, cit., p. 542.

[41] The word *qïv* occurs alone in the *Dïvān* by Maḥmūd of Kāshgar: 'al-baḫt wa 'l-daula' (fortune), cf. facsimile ed. Ankara 1941 p. 167, printed ed. Istanbul 1333 h., I, p. 278, transl. B. ATALAY, I, Ankara s. d. p. 332. Also alone it is registered in Tarama Dergisi I, İstanbul 1934, p. 140, s. v. *baht* (fortune) (Ankara) and p. 742, s. v. *tali* (fortune) (İncesu, Kayseri) and in Türkiye halk ağzından söz derleme dergisi, II, İstanbul 1940, p. 926: baht (fortune) (Ankara). On the variant *quv* and the supposed variants *qïp*, *qovï*, *qïvi* see §§ 13, 14. W. RADLOFF, Versuch, cit., coll. 839–840, observed that *qïp* (sic) always appears connected with *qut*, that the attribute *qobï* (= *qovï* cf. § 14) is often associated with *qut* and that *qïpčaq* seems to be a synonym of *qobï*; he states that probably *qïp* means "die Leere" or "leer". Later he abandoned this conjecture, cf. J. MARQUART, Über das Volkstum der Komanen, in: W. BANG – J. MARQUART, Osttürkische Dialektstudien, Berlin 1914, p. 206.

It is not clear whether *qïv* 'Geiz': ATG p. 329; A. ZAJĄCZKOWSKI, Najstarsza wersja turecka Ḫusrāv u Šīrīn Quṭba, II. Facsimile, Warsaw 1958, c. 56 recto (gloss: *šahvat* 'eagerness') is or is not connected with *qïv* 'fortune'. In Tanıklariyle tarama sözlüğü, I, İstanbul 1943, p. 463, *qïv* also has the meaning of "eagerness" (there it is explained as: devlet, ikbal 'fortune, success'). *Qïv* explained as: hamle (impetus) (Göksün) in Tarama Dergisi, cit., p. 277 perhaps belongs there.

The word *qavud* in the same text seems to mean "royal fortune", in a quatrain with verses of seven syllables, following the scheme 4 + 3[42]:

tävlig kärlüg tapïġčï *tängri qanïnïŋ qavudï*
taġdïn turup . . . (?) tilär *küntün turup yig tilär*

'the unfaithful (hend.) servant, standing up in the North seeks . . . (?); the fortune of the King Heaven (or: of the king = *tängrikän*, see § 4) standing up in the South seeks . . . . (?) (ib. 182–184). The editors of the text advance the supposition that *qavud* (it may be read *qavut* because the graphic system does not distinguish between *d* and *t*, cf. ib. p. 242) is an archaic dialectal form of *qut* preserved thanks to the metre (elsewhere the text has always *qut*).

9. Beside the books of predictions, in the other texts, *qut* has also the meaning of fortune, not without a certain religious value (for religious or prevalently religious use see §§ 10 and 11). So in TT VI 18 with *bir-* 'to give'; ib. 437: *qut qalïn bolġay* 'the fortune will be great' (= Chinese: 甚大吉利 *shên ta chi li* 'greatly auspicious'; TT V A 70, with *aš-* 'to let increase'; ib. 75 with *ašïl-* 'to increase'.

From *qut* in this meaning the following are derived: a) *qutluġ* 'fortunate', in the expression of good wish *qutluġ bolzun* (M I p. 21); b) *qutad-* 'to be', or 'to let be fortunate or happy', in TT VI 100–101, 299, 301, 348 (= Chinese: 福 *fu* 'happiness'; 大利益 *ta li i* 'great profit'; 榮合 *yung hua* 'glory'); Usp 280; TT VI n. 28. 33; Pf. (in the auspicious expression *qutadmïš*); c) *qutsuz* 'without fortune', in TT VI 19, 24: *qutsuz qovï* (for *qovï* see § 14); TT VI n. 28. 9; KP 54.

Qutluġ is used as a substantive and with the meaning of fortune (= Chinese 福 *fu* 'happiness'), referred to the Emperor of China, in relation to his acting in favour of Buddhism, in the translation of a letter of Hsüen-tsang (Ht VII 1999).

We observe also the hendiadyses mentioned above: *qut buyan*, in TT VII n. 28. 44 (with *ašïl-*); Suv. p. 29 = TT V A 118 note; b) *qut ülüg*: *qut ülüglüg*, in U I p. 30 (= Chinese 吉祥 *chi hsiang* 'fortunate'), *qutluġ ülüglüg*, in U II p. 15 (= Chinese: 智慧 *chih hui* 'wisdom'!); Suv. p. 474; M III n. 29; *ülüglüg qutluġ*, in M III n. 12 verso 2; *qutsuz ülügsüz*, in TT VI 7, 12; c) *qut qïv*: M III n. 5 recto 7, ib. 15 (with *bul-*), ib. n. 36; U IV A 290–291; Ch. 78–79 (trad. Mus. 36: 'Majestät und Glanz', trad. Dmitrieva: séast'e i sud'ba); *qutča qïvča*, in M III n. 5 recto 7; *qutadmaq qïvadmaq*, in M I pp. 27, 29; *qutluġ qïvlïġ*, in U III p. 80; TT VII n. 28, 17 – as a substantive in TT VI 100–101 (=Chinese 福 *fu* 'happiness'). *Qut qïv* is connected with regality in M III n. 27 verso 15 and n. 15 recto 22 (*qutluġ qïvlïġ*).

Proper names composed with *qut* are very frequent: Qut Tiräk, Qut Sangun[43];

In Söz derleme dergisi, l. cit., *qïv* is explained: bir iş veya mahsulün kemale gelme zamanı (the time of ripening of a matter or crop) (Kal'a- İncesu, Kayseri) and: fırsat (occasion) (Hamurcu – İncesu, Kayseri).

[42] To be added to the examples in T. Gandjeï, Überblick über den vor- und frühislamischen türkischen Versbau, in: Der Islam 33/1957, pp. 143–144.

[43] J. R. Hamilton, op. cit., p. 155.

Qut Bulmiš[44], Qutat (U II pp. 84, 86, 88); Qutadmïš (Usp. 281, Pf. I, III, Man. Buchfragment)[45], Qutadmïš Bars (TT IX S 5), Qutadmïš Sïngġur (Pf. III), Il Qutadmïš (Pf. III), Qutluġ (U II pp. 85, 86; Pf. III; Runen-Mss. Thomsen Ms. I a 19; TT IX S 5, Pam. 16), Qutluġ Bars (Pf. III, TT. IV B 69 note), Qutluġ Bay (Pf. III), Qutluġ Bayutmïš (PF. I), Qutluġ Tämir (Pam. p. 16), Qutluġ Togmïš (Pf. III), Qutluġ Üzük (U II p. 81).

Qutluġ and *qutadmïš* 'fortunate' or eventually 'blessed' have a magic value if referring to words like *kün* 'day', *ay* 'month', *yïl* 'year', *qolu* 'period': M III n. 15 recto 13, 27 verso 4; U I p. 48 (*q.* is to be referred to *yïl*); U II pp. 78, 88; Pf. I, 1, III. 1; Suv. pp. 34, 199 = S 52; M I p. 26; TT VII 40. 4, ib. p. 80.

Such use of the two adjectives is particularly frequent in dates: *qutadmïš qutluġ topraġ qutluġ bïčïn yïlqa* 'in the lucky Year of the Monkey whose element *ch'i* is Earth' (Pf. I, 1); *qutluġ ki ot qutluġ qoynyïl* 'the lucky Year of the Sheep whose element *ch'i* is fire' (U I p. 48; other examples in TT VII pp. 80–81 = also Suv. pp. 34, 686). As may be observed from the preceding examples *qut* has also the meaning of "element", limited to dates and to prognostics derived from Chinese calendars, and corresponding to the Chinese 氣 *ch'i* 'element'. Also the names of the elements correspond to the Chinese series: *altun, iğač, suv, topraq, oot biš qutlar ol* 'Gold (or Metall), Wood, Water, Earth, Fire are the five elements' (TT VII n. 10. 6–7). Each element is related to a day or month or year and determines its horoscope, in the same way as stars or planets or "Palaces" do: *it yïl yultuzï attarabatiravat graxï sanïčar ol qutï suv ordusï altï* 'Year of the Dog: its star is Uttarabhadrapadā, its planet Saturn, its element Water, its Palace the sixth' (TT VII n. 4. 2–5). For such calendar formulas see also TT VII n. 1, 6, 8, 9. There is also an example of *qut* 'element' referring to men: *či šün üčünč yïl toġmïš kiši sim bïčïn yïllïġ on yïti* [*yaš*] *lïġ ärür qutï altun* 'the man born in the third year 至順 *chih-shun* (= 1332, cf. p. 95) belongs to the Year of the 申 *shên* – Monkey, is seventeen years old, his element is Gold' (and so on for other ages and elements (TT VII n. 18).

The phrase *yultuzlï qutlï* occurs in TT VI 343 (there translated: Gestirn und Glück) in a passage where Buddha warns against the practice of forecasting horoscopes.

The meaning of *qut* in a proverb (or riddle?) in a more recent manuscript is not clear: *är qutï bäling, suv qutï däring* (TT VII n. 42. 4). The editor translates: "Des Mannes Wert (zeigt sich beim) Erschrecken, des Wassers Wert liegt in (seiner) Tiefe." In the index (ib. p. 115) the passage is registered under the same lemma as *burqan qutï* 'the dignity of Buddha' (§ 10). We shall come back to this proverb in the concluding part of this paper.

10. In the scriptures mentioned at the beginning of the preceding paragraph which are prevalently of a religious character, Buddhist, Manichean, or Nestorian, *qut* passes easily from a profane to religious meanings.

In the Buddhist terminology *qut* indicates mainly the dignity corresponding

[44] A. VON GABAIN, Maitrisimit, cit., p. 32.

[45] A. VON LE COQ, Ein Manichäisches Buchfragment aus Chotscho, in: Festschrift V. Thomsen, cit., p. 146.

to the four stages of the way leading to perfection: *tört türlüg qutqa tägmiš tüzünlär* 'noble people who reached the four kinds of dignity' (Suv. p. 501 = TT. IV A 36 note). In this usage *qut* corresponds to Chinese *kuo* 'fruit', in the meaning of 'religious fruition' (§ 2). Particularly, *qut* indicates the dignity of the arhats (*arqant qutï*: U III p. 39, 75), of the bodhisattvas (*bodistv qutï*: U I p. 33, *sitatapatri qutï* 'the dignity of the sitātapatra; U II p. 51) and especially that of the Buddha (*Burqan qutï*, the examples are countless). The attainment of the Buddhist dignities is indicated by the verb *täg-* 'to reach' (see supra and U III pp. 39, 79; TT IV A 21 note; TT VIII A 37), but mostly by the verb *bul-* 'to find, to obtain' (cf. TT IV 57–58; TT V B 6, 34, 55–56; TT VI 38; TT VIII 01; HT V 105; Suv. p. 41 = TT IV A 21 note). In such a use *qut* mainly has a charismatic value, as we can see from the invocation addressed to a bodhisattva: *sizingä qutunγuzta ozalïm* 'let us be saved thanks to you, by your dignity!' (KP 51). This "dignity" is a charism rather than a "rank" or "position" as proposed by Bailey; therefore it is not necessary to suppose a way to "rank" or "position" from "fortune" through "rank or position to which the fortune had brought him"[46]. The "dignity" is itself "a fortune". H. W. Bailey, with regard to Sogdian *farn*, whose use corresponds to that of *qut*, observes also: "As the Turkish use of *qut* (= *farn*) in the phrase *tört türlüg qut* shows, *farn* was not confined to one of the majesty of a Buddha, so that we need not seek an origin of this use in the "Royal Fortune" of the Iranian kings"[47]. As a matter of fact, in the cases where an appeal to a Chinese text is possible, we observe that sometimes nothing corresponds in Chinese to *qut* in the expression *Burqan qutï* (U I pp. 30, 32; II pp. 27, 40, 55, 56) (for instance *Burqan qutïnγa yükünürmän* 'I bow before Buddha') and that it indicates the "Majesty" of Buddha rather than his "dignity"; this is analogous to the use of *qut* in the value of "royal fortune" (§ 6)[48]. This is not surprising, granted the interaction that exists between the Court and religious phraseology. Therefore the phrase "Majesty of Buddha" adopted generally by the interpreters is justified.

The relation between *qut* and "salvation" observed in the invocation quoted above allows us to advance the supposition that the verbs *qutqar-* 'to save' and *qutrul-* 'to save oneself' derive from the word *qut*; the former by the denominal suffix + *qar-* (ATG 87), and the latter in a way I am not able to determine. The forms *qurtul-* (by metathesis?) and *qurtqar-* are certainly related to the mentioned forms. If this supposition is right, the original religious meaning, which is common in Uighur texts (I do not know examples of the two verbs in the ancient inscriptions) would have been extended in later texts[49].

The word *qutluγ*, derived from *qut*, in the Buddhist texts indicates people

[46] H. W. Bailey, op. cit., p. 55.

[47] Ibidem.

[48] An analogous use is to be observed in Sogdian texts, as: „il fit hommage à la gloire (*prn*) de [du roi] son père', cf. E. Benveniste, Vessantara Jātaka, Paris 1946 (73, 376, 890, 1397, 1422, 1433) (= Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale, IV).

[49] A connection between *qut* and *qutqarmaq* (and also Chaghatay *qutul* = *qut* + *u-l-*?) has been already stated, but not explained, by H. Vámbéry, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Turkotatarischen Sprachen, Leipzig 1878, p. 95.

proceding on the way to perfection, the Āryas: Suv. p. 136 = S 35, 193, 195; TT IV A 36 note, 47; U III p. 57); *ïduq qutluġ* indicates in particular the arhat (TT IV B 18). It is not clear whether *ïduq qutluġlar* in U II p. 87 indicates religious people or is connected with the title *ïduq qut* and indicates the Royal family. Generally, *qutluġ* besides "fortunate" means "blessed", "holy", and refers to persons: *qutluġ yalanġuq* 'holy man' (Suv. p. 135 = S 5–10, 20, 21 note; 611), *qutluġ tïnlïġ* 'holy being' (U III pp. 23, 26, 49, 58, 59, 71, 75, 80; U IV A 211, 278, B 4, 45, D 142; TT V A 39 note; TT X 324); *ïduq qutluġ tïnlïġlar* 'holy blessed being' (U II p. 78); *qutluġ bodstv* 'holy bodhisattva' (KP 45; U I p. 17 = Chinese 吉祥 *chi hsiang* 'fortunate'). In other cases *qutluġ* refers to a dhāraṇī (U I p. 34 = Chinese 神 *shên* 'divine') and also to places: *qutluġ orunlar* 'sacred places' (Ht V 93, 211–213), *çutluġ sanqram* 'blessed monastery' (Ht VII 1813), *qutluġ čaytï* 'blessed temple (*caitya*)' (Suv. p. 3). The already mentioned phrase *qutluġ tavġač ilindä, qutluġ tavġač uluš* could be inspired by respect to a country where Buddhism was honoured (see § 6). *Qutadmïš* is employed analogously to *qutluġ*, and refers to the might of a bodhisattva, in U II p. 14 (= Chinese 威神 *wei shên* 'awe inspiring').

Corresponding to these uses of *qut* we have the Mongolian *qutuġ* 'sainteté, divinité; bénédiction', *burqan-u qutuġ* 'la dignité de bouddha', *dayin-i darigsan-u qutuġ* 'la dignité d'arhat'; *qutuġtu* 'ârya'[50]; Kalmuk *xutᵘG* 'Heiligkeit', *xutᵘqtv* 'seine Heiligkeit', *xutᵘktn* 'die Heiligen, die Seligen'[51]; Manchu *hutuqtu* 'Eminenz'[52].

The phrase consisting of *qut* and the verb *qol-* or *qolun-* 'to wish' is connected with the concept of religious merit: 'to vow' (Sanskrit *praṇidhāna*), 'to wish to accomplish a meritorious deed', in Suv. pp. 14 = Pam. p. 156, 643; U III pp. 15 (?), 16, 19; U IV C 189, 193–194; QIP 176. Elsewhere *qut qol-* or *qolun-* means 'to implore the blessing' (TT VIII K 5, QIP 176) or only 'to beg', 'to express a wish' (U I p. 31: = Chinese 求 *ch'iu* 'to beg'; KP 51, transl. 'il demanda le salut'; QIP 179).

Qut occurs also in religious meanings associated with other words in the hendiadyses: a) *qut buyan*, where *buyan* from sanskrit *puṇya* 'religious merit' has its original meaning (see on the contrary § 9)[53]: Suv. 348 = TT V A 118

[50] J. E. KOWALEWSKI, op. cit., II, pp. 918–919.

[51] G. J. RAMSTEDT, Kalmückisches Wörterbuch, Helsinki 1935, p. 200.

[52] E. HAUER, Handwörterbuch der Mandschu Sprache, Wiesbaden 1952, p. 464.

[53] In Islamic texts *buyan* conserved the value of "religious merit", "recompence", cf. the Dīvān by Maḥmūd of Kāshgar, cit.: *muyan* 'ṯawāb' (religious merit), *muyanlïq* 'al-siqāya allātī yubnā 'alà al-ṭarīq' (watering place built on the road) (facs. 520 = printed ed. III 129 = transl. Atalay III 172); the word *muyančïlïq* explained in the Dīvān: al-tawassuṭ wa'l-ṣulḥ baina 'l-raġulain yuqālu *sän muyančïlïq qïl* tawassaṭ bainanā wa aṣluhu min *muyan* ṯawāb (intermediation e. g. *sän muyančïlïq qïl* 'act as an intermediary between us', from *muyan* 'merit') seems to be influenced by, if not derived from, New-Persian *miyān* 'middle' as Osmanli *miyāngïlïq* 'the quality or function of an go between' (J. W. REDHOUSE, A Turkish and English Dictionary, İstanbul 1921, p. 2050). See also in the poem Qutadġu Bilig, cf. W. RADLOFF, Versuch, cit. IV coll. 2183–2184, ed. ARAT, İstanbul 1947, vv. 3499, 3976, 5161, 5296, trad. ARAT, Ankara 1959: sevap, ecir (religious merit,

note; TT X 232; b) *qut küsüš* in the phrase *qut küsüš örit-* 'to vow' or 'to express a wish': Suv. p. 11 = Pam. p. 155; TT VII 40. 138 (transl. 'Segen und Wünsche aufsteigen lassen); c) *qut ülüg*, in *qut ülüglüg* 'fortunate' refers to a Buddha (U I 30 = Chinese 吉祥 *chi hsiang* 'fortunate'); *qutluġ ülüglüġ* refers to a bodhisattva: KP 64; d) *qut qïv* refers to the king Caṣṭana (perhaps also with the notion of "Majesty"): U IV A 51–52, 99, *qutluġ qïvlïġ* refers to a dhāraṇī: U II 36 = Chinese 吉祥 *chi hsiang* 'fortunate'); this phrase also refers to the eyes that see the "Fortune" or "Majesty" of the king Caṣṭana: U IV A 290–291.

The hendiadys *qut vaqšik* (§ 6) occurs in Buddhist texts in the meaning of 'spirit' either good (TT III 120 note; TT V B 124; TT VI 117, 143, KP 64?) or bad (TT 40, 13).

We may suppose that the verb *qutur-* 'besessen werden, . . . sein' (ATG p. 331) is formed by *qut* 'spirit' and the suffix + ^{0}r- (ATG §§ 94 and 105)[54].

Śrī, the Indian goddess of Fortune, appears as *širigini qut tängri qatunï* (U I p. 27), *širigini atlïġ qut tängri qatunï* (ib. p. 28), *Širigini qut tängrisi* (ib. p. 31 = Chinese 大吉祥天女 *ta chi hsiang t'ien nü* 'the great Fortune, daughter of Heaven'). Probably inspired by Sanskrit *śrī* in the meaning of "Fortune" and "personified Majesty", is the phrase referring to a boddhisattva: *iliglär bäglärning qut tängrisi-yä* 'o God-Fortune of the kings and the lords' (U I p. 45 = TT X 46–47; in the index a connection with Kubera or Vaiśravana is suggested; U IV 54–55).

11. The Manichean Turkish terminology, as in general the Manichean terminology of Central Asia, follows in the steps of the Buddhist one, which was naturally adapted to the different creed. Therefore there are the terms *Burqan qutï* 'the dignity (or Majesty) of Buddha' (the rank of prophet or *legatus* of the Light is attributed to Buddha in Manicheism) (TT III 66, 107–108, with *bul-* 'to find'; M I p. 34; M III n. 27; Man. Erz. p. 25) and *arqant qutï* 'the dignity of arhat' (TT III 121, also with *bul-*). Besides *Mani qutï* 'the dignity (or Majesty) of Mani' (TT IX 92) occurs. *Din qutï* 'the Majesty of Faith' (M III n. 4) and *nom qutï* 'the Majesty of Law' (M I pp. 22, 27; M III nn. 1, 7, 16, 24; Ch. 218–219; Man. Erz. p. 126) appear also as divinities: *din qutï tängri* (M III n. 4) and *nom qutï tängri* (M I p. 22; M III nn. 8, 9, 13; Man. Erz. p. 26). *Nom qutï* is understood by W. Bang as "the Church"[55].

Qut referring to the divinity has the value of charism which bestows salvation, and of blessing (M I p. 14, III n. 9 passim; Man. Erz. p. 25: *qut birtäči*). Referring to the believer, it is "salvation" or "blessedness" (M III n. 15 recto 15–16, n. 27 recto 12; in the hendiadys *qut qïv*: M II p. 5 – with the verb *bul-*).

The phrase *qut qol-* (also in the hendiadys *qut qïv qol-*) or *qut qolun-* 'to ask for salvation or blessing' can simply be translated 'to beg' or 'to implore' (M II 10, TT III 141, Man. Hymn. p. 22, Ch. 128). The hendiadys *qut vaqšik* indicates good spirits (TT III 170). The adjective *qutluġ* indicates the Electi

recompence). In Mongol *buyan* is vertue ou mérite moral etc. (J. E. Kowalewski, op. cit., s. v.).

[54] H. Vámbéry, l. cit., states as not clear the connection between *qut* and *qutur-*.

[55] On *nom qutï* see Mus. 36 pp. 234–240; Man. Hym. p. 10; Man. Erz. p. 31.

(M I p. 30; TT III = 120) or means in general "blessed" (TT III 141, 142): *brišti* 'angel' (M I p. 27), *pads* (?) (Ch. 39: = *padsar* 'explicit', cf. Mus. 36 p. 182?).

Qut assumes a particular meaning in the Manichean texts in so far as it indicates one of the five *membra dei* and, more precisely, the intellect, corresponding to Latin *mens*, Greek *nous*, Sogdian *parn* (from **hvarnah*), Chinese *hsiang*, Syriac *hwn'*. It occurs in M I p. 22 (transl.: 'Majestät) and in M III n. 8 III recto 1 (transl.: die Seele)[56]. Probably the same meaning occurs in a fragment of difficult interpretation which speaks about the destiny of the sinner's soul after death. Perhaps a hint is given of the grief of the Nous, the Jesus Patibilis, who is crucified in each corner of the universe, in Heaven and on the Earth, in humid and dry bodies, "in omnibus seminibus arborum, herbarum, hominum, animalium" (SAINT AUGUSTINE, De natura boni, XLIV)[57]: *yir sub qutï irinür*; *ot sub qutï ïglayur*; *ï ïǧač qutï ulayur* 'the Nous of the Earth and of the Water grieves; the Nous of Fire and Water cries; the Nous of vegetation (hend.) moans' (M II p. 12, transl.: die Majestät) (the rhythm 4 + 4 + 3 of the three kola may be noted, in the third: *ï (ï)ǧač*?).

12. In Nestorian Christian texts the word *qut* occurs three times, once in the meaning "Majesty" in a fragment of the Gospel relating to the adoration of the Magi (according to Saint Mathew): *barïp yükünälim aninǧ uluǧ qutïnǧa* 'let us go to worship his great Majesty!' (Pam. p. 134, transl. p. 136: dostoinstvo). In the Vulgate there is only 'let us go to worship Him!'

In a fragment of the Passion of Saint George, whose parallel passages do not exist in other languages, *qut* seems to have the meaning of "gratia": *tängrikä nä qut qolsar, barča tüzü-tükädi bulzunlar . bu on türlüg qut qoltï* 'whatever grace they ask from God they obtain it entirely! He asked of these ten sorts of graces' (StG. p. 64, transl. p. 73: Glück).

In the same fragment the phrase *nom qutï*, which we know from the Manichean texts (§ 11), occurs in a context whose interpretation is difficult because of the presence of the unknown term *mdman*: *ang ilki tängri uruǧï nom godï* (= *qutï*) *ornašǧusï mdmanǧa yükünsär tapïnsar* 'if firstly he worships the Son of God, the *mdman* on which the *Nom qutï* rests' (ib. p. 64). W. BANG proposes to explain *nom qutï* as "the Church" (ib. p. 75).

13. In the Turkish-Arabic dictionary of MAḤMŪD of Kāshgar (eleventh century) *qut*, which often occurs, is translated with the Arab words *daula*, *ǧadd*, *ṭālï'*, *yumm*, *baḫt*, every one of which expresses a different notion of the "Fortune" idea: we have with *daula* the mutable alternation of human things,

[56] On the equivalences see C. COLPE, Der Manichäismus in der arabischen Überlieferung, Göttingen 1954, pp. 16–17. The second text belongs to the *Iki yïltïz nom* 'Book of the two roots', corresponding to the text published by E. CHAVANNES – P. PELLIOT, art. cit. (cf p. 569 = Chinese p. 600: *hsiang*). According to W. B. HENNING it is to be identified with the Šabuhrâgan, one of the seven books by Mani (AM 1952 p. 210).

[57] Cf. G. GNOLI, Un particolare aspetto del simbolismo della luce nel Mazdeismo e nel Manicheismo, in: Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, Nuova Serie 12/1962, p. 122. I owe to Dr. Gnoli the suggestion for such interpretation of the Turkish text.

in accordance with the meaning of D W L root[58]; *ğadd* is a word which continues the name of Gad, ancient Semitic "Fortune"; *ṭāli'*, the rising star, corresponds to an astrological conception of Destiny; *yumn* means the "Good omen", according to a Semitic root which means "right"; finally, *baḫt* is derived from Persian *baxt* 'assigned destiny', as we have already mentioned (§ 3) (55 = I 79 = 85, 161 = I 269 = I 320, 193 = 321 = I 385 and following references)[59]. I do not know whether in the saying *qut bälgüsi bilig* 'inna imārat al-daula al-'ilm wa 'l-'aql' (knowledge is a sign of Fortune) an Islamic or pre-Islamic Turkish saying is reflected.

In idiomatic usage, *qut* occurs with *bul-* 'to find' (154 = I 255 = I 304; 253 = I 419 = I 508; 329 = II 98 = II 122) and *al-* "to take" (aḫaḍa 'l-qūt: 329 = II 97 = II 121).

The following expressions suppose a personification of Fortune: *qut kälir* 'ğā'a al-ğadd' (Fortune comes) (59 = I 85 = I92), *qačmïš qutuġ irtädim* 'tabi'tu aṯar al-ğadd al-hārib' (I trod in the steps of the flying Fortune) (139 = I 229 = I 272), *ärdämsizdän qut čärtilür* 'inna al-daula wa 'l-ğadd tafūtu 'an al-raǧul allāḏī lā manqaba wa lā adab ma'ahu' (Fortune avoids vicious and ill-mannered man) (381 = II 181 = II 229), *sürdi mäning qutumnï* 'ṭarada daulatī' (he drove out my Fortune) (355 = II 138 = 177). The following expressions must further be noted: *anïnġ qutï učdï* 'ḏahabat daulatuhu' (his Fortune went away (lit. flew) (92 = I 143 = I 164); *anïnġ qutï öðündi* 'ṭufiya (sic) ğadduhu '(his Fortune burned out) (109 = I 173 = I 200). The hendiadys *qut qïv* (152 = I 252 = I 301) occurs with the variant *qut quv* (161 = I 269 = I 320) (cf. § 9).

The derivative *qutluġ* appears in the meaning 'fortunate' (ṣāḥib al-ğadd) (470 = III 46 = III 60) and blessed; *qutluġ yay'* al-ṣaif al-mubārak' (the blessed summer) (54 = I 78 = I 82, 233 = I 385 = I 463), *qutluġ näng* 'kull šay' mubārak' (every blessed thing) (233 = I 387 = I 464), *qutluġ tigin* 'al-abd al-mubārak' (the blessed slave) (208 = I 345 = I 413). *Qutsuz* means 'unfortunate' (al-mudbir allāḏī lā ğadd lahu) (230 = I 382 = I 457). The verb *qutat-* (= *qutad-*) 'to become fortunate' derives from *qut* (ṣāra al-raǧul ḏā ğadd wa daula wa baḫt) (415 = II 241 = II 299).

Finally the survival of a preislamic use of *qut* (§ 8) is noteworthy in the following distich (in syllabic metre, to be scanned 4 + 3 + 2 + 4):

tärkän qatun qutïnġa tägür mändin qošuġ // ayġïl sizing tapuġčï ötnür yanġï tapuġ

'balliġ al-ḫātūn al-malika minnī qaṣīda wa qul inna ḫādimaki yuhdī ilaiki bi-ḫidma ğadīda'

(Let come to the queen *qatun* from me an ode, say to her: your servant dedicates to you a new homage) (189 = I 314 = I 376)[60].

The particular value of *qut* (to which terms as *ḥaḍra* or *ğanāb*, inspired by

[58] See the article Dawla in the: Encyclopédie de l'Islam² (F. Rosenthal, 1961).

[59] The quotations refer respectively to the already quoted facsimile edition, printed edition and translation by B. Atalay.

[60] For the metre, considered as 7 + 6, see T. Gandjeï, l. cit., p. 148 (*qatïnġa* l. *qutïnġa*: for the reading cf. the appendix to the errata (Düzeltme cetveli eki) added to the facsimile edition.

a different conception of Royalty, would correspond in an Islamic environment) probably escaped MAḤMŪD, as he neither translates it nor explains it. *Qut* is also neither translated nor explained by C. BROCKELMANN: Der Herrin bringe von mir ein Lied, sage: – Euer Diener bringt einen neuen Dienst dar –[61].

14. A use like that we mentioned at the end of the preceding paragraph is found in the poem *Qutadġu Bilig* (eleventh cent.) (metre: *mutaqārib*):

Bayat birdi davlat ay tärkän qutï
anïnġ šukri qïlġu oqïp ming atï

'God has given you sovereignty, Royal Majesty; it is necessary to thank him repeating a thousand times his name! (v. 109)[62].

It is to be noted that the formula *tärkän qutï* was changed in the manuscript of Herat; this indicates that at the time the manuscript was composed (XV cent.) the formula was no longer understood.

There are also examples of the formula with *ilig* 'king', as:

bu ay toldï aydï ay ilig qutï
tapuġ birlä xoš boldï qulluġ atï

'Ay Toldï said: Royal Majesty! The name of slavery became pleasant by serving' (v. 589).

The formula also refers to a court dignitary:

bu ay toldï aydï ay ḫāġib qutï
äšittim bu kün toġdï ilig atï

'Ay Toldï said: Excellency ḫāġib! I heard the name of the king Kün Toġdï' (v. 526).

The word *qut*, also in the hendiadys *qut qïv* (vv. 2105, 4337 and § 8)[63], occurs numberless times in the poem with the meaning of "fortune", to which the title and the subject of the work are connected. As the author explains, the book is entitled *Qutadġu bilig* 'The science which makes fortunate', because it helps the reader to be fortunate in this world as well as in the other one (vv. 350 and 352).

In a passage of this book Fortune personified presents itself to the service of the sovereign of Kāshgar to whom the poem is dedicated:

tapuġqa kälip qut qapuġda turur
qapuġda turuġlï tapuġda turur

'Fortune came and was on duty staying at the door: who is staying at the door is on duty' (v. 100).

In another passage, according to the author's imaginative language, for-

[61] Alttürkestanische Volkspoesie. I, in: Hirth Ann. Vol., cit., p. 22.

[62] The quotations are according to the cited Arat's edition; see also his translation already cited.

[63] The variant *qïp* by Pam. p. 417 based on W. RADLOFF, Versuch cit. II, coll. 839–840 (where the meaning "void" and not "fortune" is suggested), is a reading later abandoned by Radloff himself (cf. above note 14). For the supposed variant *qïvï / qovï* see note 64. The phrase *qut bögü* mentioned in Pam. p. 415 seems to be a wrong reading for *tut*, cf. ed. Arat, v. 183.

tune is compared to a "belt", which is the conventional attribute of the servant in Persian poetry:

ažunqa badï kör tükäl qut qurï
qozï birlä qatlïp yorïdï böri

'Look! (The king) girdled the world entirely with the belt of fortune. Sheep and wolf walk abreast' (v. 461).

The allegorical construction of the poem is partly related to the conception of fortune. A personage, the minister Ay Toldï, whose name means "moon became full", is the living symbol of Fortune, as it is said in the following verse, where perhaps *ïduq qut* recalls the ancient Turkish title (§ 3, 6):

basa aydïm ämdi bu ay toldïnï
anïnġdïn yarïyur ïduq qut küni

'I spoke of Ay Toldï afterwards – thanks to him the sun of Holy Fortune shines' (v. 354) (the antithesis *ya* 'moon' – *kün* 'sun' is conventional for "minister" and "sovereign").

However the Muslim author is not so much interested in the ancient Turkish "royal fortune" as in the fortune corresponding to the concept of the Arabic word *dawla*, with which the word *qut* alternates (for ex. vv. 694–695). It is based upon observation of the mutability of human things. This is the way we can explain the adjectives attributed to *qut*, as for instance, *vefasïz* 'unfaithful', *yayïġ* 'mutable' and *irsäl* 'capricious' (v. 685), *qovï* 'empty'[64], *tilvä* 'fool', which refer in the poem also to *dunyā* or *ažun* 'world', commonplaces of Arabic and Persian Islamic Poetry.

A long passage of the poem (vv. 620–764) is dedicated to an allegory. The minister Ay Toldï presents himself to the sovereign who is sitting on a sphere (v. 622); in his presence he closes his eyes (v. 624); frowns (v. 626); turns his

[64] In Pam. p. 285 *qïvï* (variant *qovï*) in the phrase *qïvï qut* (cf. ed. Arat v. 668) is intended as another form of *qïv* 'fortune'; consequently in the index p. 417 it is included in the same lemma as *qïv*; on p. 417 the variant *qovï* is compared to Mongol *xubi* and to Turkoman *govi* 'xorošij, xorošo, prekrasnyj, prekrasno'. *Qïvï/qovï* is 'void' by W. RADLOFF, Versuch cit. II, col. 659 (with the reading *qobï*) and by Arat, transl. v. 668: boş (void). *Qobï* is by H. VÁMBÉRY, op. cit., pp. 64–65 included in a series of words having the following basic meanings: 1. aufstehen, aufheben, anschwellen, aufwallen, 2. angeschwollen, aufgeblasen, dick, rund, bauschig, gewölbt, leer, hohl, 3. stolz, prahlerisch, eitel, sich aus Stolz aufblasend. For an analogus series see J. MARQUART, l. cit., pp. 159–161. In the paper On ancient Turkish theatre, in Aspects of Altaic Civilization = Ural Altaic Series 23/1963, p. 102 and note 79, I also had the occasion to deal with a root *qab/qav* ~ *qoġ/qov*, and I attributed to it the value of "hollow", unfortunately without quoting Vámbéry and Marquart. As parallels of *qoġ* ~ *qav* I may add: *soġuq* 'kalt': ATG p. 334, *soġuqlamaq* 'kalt werden': C. BROCKELMANN, Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz, Budapest-Leipzig 1928, p. 182, *soġuq* 'kalt': W. RADLOFF, Versuch, cit., IV (1911), col. 530 (~ *souq*, *sōq*: ib. coll. 516, 518) ~ *savuq*, *savux*: K. GRØNBECH, Komanisches Wörterbuch, Kopenhagen 1942, p. 216, *savuq*, *sauq* 'kalt': W. RADLOFF, op. cit. coll. 233, 428; *qoġurmaq* 'rösten': C. BROCKELMANN, op. cit., p. 152 (~ *qaġurmaq* ib. p. 141) ~ *qavurmaq*: W. RADLOFF, op. cit., II, col. 470. See also M. RÄSÄNEN, Lautgeschichte der türkischen Sprachen, Helsinki 1942, pp. 114–115, where an original **aġu* is assumed.

face (v. 628). He then explains to him the meaning of his attitude which just shows the fickleness of Fortune and compares himself to the moon in its variable phases.

15. The value of *qut* and of the words derived from it in Turkish writings later than the evidence we examined in the preceding paragraphs, as well as in modern usage, is commonly "fortune", "blessing", "good omen". To collect the relative data would be superfluous; some examples are enough. In the Turkish translation of the Persian poem Khusrav and Shīrīn by NIẒĀMĪ done by QUṬB (thirteenth century) *qut* means "fortune", corresponding to the Arabic-Persian *daulat*[65]; in the Mamluk-Kipchaq dictionary of the fourteenth century al-Tuḥfat al-zakiyya, *qut* explains the Arabic *baraka* ('blessing')[66]; in the Codex Cumanicus *qut* means 'glücklich, beglückt, gesegnet'[67]; in the Chaghatai dictionary Sanglaḫ, *qut* is indicated as a Mongol word and explained by the Arabic-Persian *maymanat* 'good omen' and *qutluġ* means *mubārak va bā maymanat* 'blessed and of good omen'[68]; *qut* and *qutlu* in ancient Osmanli and modern Turkish of Turkey[69], *qutto* in Kazak[70], *hătlă* in Chuvash[71], etc. have analogous meanings. In Kirgiz *qut* indicates "fortune", but also assumes particular meanings: 1. a piece of gelatinous substance, of dark red colour, which, it is said, falls from *tündük* (opening in the top of the tent) in the *qolomto* (the herd) and brings fortune to the person who succeeds in taking it; in the hand of a bad person, it becomes excrement; 2. a kind of amulet composed of seven pearl-buttons sown in a bag with a piece of lead inside[72].

16. To the collection of evidence for *qut* in the meaning "fortune", another with the meaning "soul" is to be added. The oldest certain evidence of this meaning occurs in the Šağara-i tarākima by ABŪ L-ĠĀZĪ BAHĀDUR ḪĀN, a work rich in information on Turkish ethnic traditions. The author explains the meaning of the term *idi qut* (= *ïduq qut*, the title of the Uighur qaghans) (§ 4): *idining ma'nisi barča bilürsiz* (*yibärdi timäk bolur*); *ayturlar kim yipni i yibär tigän bolur sïġïr idi ya'nï sütini saqlamadï yibärdi*; *ğānnï türk ḫalqï qut dir*; *bir kišikä ayturlar kim atīnġ vayā tonīnġ qutlï bolsun ğānli bolzun timäk bolur igäsining ğānï bolmasa ol ničük mubārak bolur*: *idi qut barča ḫalq ğānïnï yibärgän turur* 'you all know what *idi* means (it means: he let go); it is said: *yipni i* that is: "let the rope go", *sïġïr idi* that is: "he did not keep its (of the cow) milk, he let it go"; the Turks call the soul *qut*; to some they say: may your

[65] A. ZAJĄCZKOWSKI, op. cit., part III, Warsaw 1961, p. 146.

[66] Facsimile, ed. B. ATALAY, İstanbul 1945, c. 7a. 6.

[67] K. GRØNBECH, op. cit., p. 204.

[68] Facsimile, ed. G. CLAUSON, London 1960, c. 283 recto 11, 20 and 23. Also by PAVET DE COURTEILLE, Dictionnaire turk-oriental, Paris 1870, p. 422: *qut* = bonheur, félicité en mongol.

[69] Tanıklariyle, cit. III, Ankara 1941, p. 491; Türkçe sözlük[2], Ankara 1955, p. 481.

[70] Pam. p. 416.

[71] Ib. On $q > h$, $u > ă$ and the suffix *lă* see J. BENZING, Das Tschuwassische, in Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta I, Wiesbaden 1959, pp. 706, 711, 717.

[72] K. K. JUDAHIN, Kirgizsko-russkij slovar', Moscow 1940, p. 404 (I quote from W. KOTWICZ, Contributions, cit., p. 194: *tïndïq* read *tündük*!).

horse or your dress be *qutlï* that is; "with soul"; if the owner did not have a soul how could it be blessed? *idi qut* is 'he who lets the soul of all the people go'[73], Abū 'l-Ġāzī rightly guessed the origin of *idi*[74], but obviously his interpretation of *qutlï* is not suitable.

Evidence for *qut* 'soul' is frequent in the dictionaries. Budagov registers for the Chaghatai and the Tatar *qut*: žizń, sčast'e; serdce, hrabrost' (life, fortune; heart, courage) and for the Altaic: duša, prisutstvie duxa (soul, presence of mind), with examples: *qudï čïqtï* 'duša vyšla t. e. pusterjalsja ot straxa' (the soul went away, that is he was bewildered); *qut učmaq* or *čïqmaq* 'to get frightened, to be dismayed'; *qutïnï almaq* 'ispugat'' (to frighten); *qut alġučï* 'užasnyj, strašnyj' (frightful, terribile)[75]. In the dictionary of the Turkish of the Altay and Aladagh by V. Verbickij the phrase *maldïnġ qutï* 'duša skota, sila prodorodija' (the soul of the cattle, the force of fecundity) is noted[76]. In the Lahğa-i Ṭaṭarī we have: *qut čïqmaq* or *učmaq* 'qorqmaq' (to be frightened); *qut čïġarlïq* 'maḫūf' (frightful)[77]. In the dictionary of the Turkish dialects by Radloff we notice for the Turkish of Kazan: 'Die Gesundheit; der Zustand der Menschen wie er sein soll, das geistige Gleichgewicht; *qut čïqtï* 'er erschrak heftig', *qut učtu* 'er war wie erstarrt, er verlor vollkommen die Fassung', *kim qutunġnu aldï* 'wer hat dich erschreckt?'[78]; for the Teleut: *qut* 'das geistige Leben, die Lebenskraft, Seele, Geistesgegenwart': *qudu čïqtï* 'ihn verließ die Geistesgegenwart' (aus Furcht)', *maldïnġ qudun üzüt alïp pardï* 'der Geist (die Seele des Verstorbenen) hat die Seelen (Lebenskraft) des Viehes fortgeführt'[79]. The Kirgiz dictionary by Judahin notes for *qut* the meanings "vital force, spirit, soul": *qutum učtu* 'I was frightened', *qutu ketti* 'he became very thin'; *qut ursun* 'may you be damned!'[80]. In Anatolia the phrase *qutu qurumaq* 'çok korkmak, korku ve hayretin son haddine varmak, ödü patlamak' (to be very frightened, to reach the extreme of fear and bewilderment; to be scared) (Urfa) occurs[81].

Information collected by ethnographs among the Turks of the Altai and the Yakuts may be added to the lexical data. I can give here only summary indications[82].

[73] Ed. Desmaisons, S. Petersburg 1871, p. 40; transl., ib. 1874, p. 40. Abū 'l-Ġāzī adds that in his times the Uzkeks called *idi-qut* a valiant man (*irlik kiši*). Elsewhere (p. 86) he states that *idi qut* in the Mongol language means *davlatlik* 'mighty' or 'lucky'.

[74] Exactly for *ïduq*, cf. note 34: *i-* < *ïð-*. By Rašïdu 'l-dïn *idi qut* (= *iduq qut*) is interpreted as "lord of fortune" (*xudāvand-i daulat*), see W. Radloff, Das Kudaktu bilik, cit., p. XXVII, probably referring to *idi* 'lord'.

[75] L. Z. Budagov, Sravnitel'nyj slovar' turecko-tatarskih narečij, S. Petersburg 1871, p. 69.

[76] Slovar' altajskago i aladagskago narečij tjurkskago jazyka, Kazan' 1884, s. v.

[77] 'Abdu 'l-Qayyūm Nāṣirī, Lahğa-i Ṭatarī, Kazan 1895–1896, s. v.

[78] W. Radloff, Versuch, cit., II, col. 681.

[79] Ib., col. 991.

[80] See above note 72.

[81] Söz derleme dergisi, cit. II, İstanbul 1940, p. 1000.

[82] I follow the exposition by P. W. Schmidt, op. cit., IX, Münster i. W. and Freiburg (Swiss) 1949, pp. 197–211 (on the Turks of the Altai; see also pp. 343, 364, 433); XI, Münster i. W. 1954, pp. 575–577 (on the Yakuts; see also pp. 88,

The Teleuts, according to the information of ANOHIN, imagine the *qut* as an embryonal force. It is created and infused in the body of the mother in the shape of a red worm by the goddess called Änäm Yayučï, who dwells in the fourth heaven; in another version the guardian spirits of childhood, called *yayučï*, dwelling in a mountain, draw it from a lake by name *Süt aq köl* 'white-milk Lake'. The *qut* supports man during his existence as the vital force, but it can also abandon him (under the name of *yula*), and cause illness and death; in case of illness the shaman cares to bring back the *yula* to the body. The *qut* also exists in the plants and animals. – In a prayer a shaman addresses the Altai Mountain as the creator of the souls (*qut*) of the herds[83].

Among the Yakuts the soul-*qut*, according to an observer (SIEROSZEVSKI), is what ethnographs define "shade-soul"; it leaves the man in the case of loss of consciousness and can be returned to the body by the shaman; it is to be found only in men and in horses; according to another observer (TROŚĆANSKIJ), three *quts* are to be distinguished: *buor qut* 'earthly soul', *salgïn qut* 'aerial soul' and *iyä qut* 'mother soul'; the *qut* is infused by Ayïsït, goddess of birth and by death is devoured by a demon. On the contrary in a Yakut prayer the *qut* at the time of death flies in the shape of a lark and goes to live in the celestial meadows, eternally green.

* * *

At the beginning of this essay we mentioned the theory of H. H. SCHAEDER whose purpose was to explain *qut* as a derivation of the Old-Iranian **kauta*, but we may raise many objections to this theory. SCHAEDER derives **kauta* from the verbal root *kav-* "sich versehen"[84] in the same way as av. *staota* 'Lob' derives from *stav-*, *sraota* 'hören' derives from *srav-*, *haota* 'daevische Geburt' derives from *hav-*. From the same root he derives the Old-Iranian *kavi* 'Fürst', which he links to the Old-Iranian *kavi* 'Seher' (may be the royal as well as the sacerdotal functions were united in the king), hence he attributes to **kauta* the meaning of "royal fortune". Now, first of all, it is not certain that *kavi* 'prince' is to be linked to *kav-* 'to foresee', and therefore the connection of the hypothetical *kauta* with the notion "king" is uncertain. As a matter of fact, *kauta* is not an attested term. SCHAEDER brings forward as proof the names of Cautes and Cautopates, the dadoforoi of the Mithraic sculptures, which may have gotten *hvarnah* like Mithra (**kauta* is assumed as synonymous with **hvarnah*) (Cautes < **kauta-dā*, with contraction of the two dentals, Cautopates < **kaut*° *patē*, with obscure schwa because of the following labial), but these two names have been recently more convincingly explained as derived from a term meaning 'torch'[85]. In the same way the Middle-Iranian term *kōt assumed as intermediary between **kauta* and *qut* is an unattested word, which should have passed into the Turkish language

275, 281, 323–324) and XII, ib. 1955, pp. 575–577 (a general survey; see also p. 604).

[83] A. İNAN, op. cit., p. 51 (no source is indicated).

[84] C. BARTHOLOMAE, Altiranisches Wörterbuch, p. 442.

[85] H. W. BAILEY, Ambages indoiranicae, in: Annali, cit. (sez. ling.) 1/1959, p. 123. I owe the reference to my colleague Prof. W. BELARDI.

not directly from the language of the Arsacid period, but through the Sogdian and the language used at the court of peoples who inled Central Asia before the Turks. About **kōt*, we have still to justify the passage **kōt* > *qut*, in another language before Turkish or in Turkish. The variant *qavut* certainly agrees with the etymology of SCHAEDER, but is a hapax whose meaning is not sure (§ 9). The Chinese transcriptions and the Turkish attestations show us univocally the form *qut* (a vocalization *qot*, allowed by the graphic system of the texts, seems to be contradicted by the same Chinese transcriptions and by living attestations). Taking for granted a Turkish term *qavut*, we have to think that it is the continuation of the Old Iranian **kauta* rather than of the Middle Iranian *kōt, while *qut* may derive from this one or be the result of a contraction which occured after the passage of the term from Iranian into another language before coming into Turkish or in Turkish itself. The coexistence of the two forms is still very peculiar, although admissible, but it would be really a very strange case to find in Turkish a form reflecting an Old Iranian one.

In its semantic profile the difficulty that meets the theory of Schaeder is to explain how the Turkish *qut* in the meaning of "soul" (§ 15) (not considered by Schaeder) could be connected to **kauta* "kingship" or "royal fortune". Unless we do not suppose that *qut* 'fortune' is a word different in origin from *qut* 'soul'. On the contrary, a convincing idea is, as proposed by Abū 'l-Ġāzī and recently by KOTWICZ and ROUX, that "soul" is the original value of *qut* "soul", although no sufficient explanation was given. The conjecture of KOTWICZ that *qut* may have this meaning in the Orkhon inscriptions (§ 3) is based principally on the opinion that the Mongolian *su*, used in a similar way to *qut* in protocol formulas, means in origin 'soul' but it is not excluded that *su* derives from Chinese *tsu* 'happiness' (§ 6). The same can be said concerning the interpretation of KOTWICZ of the formula *tängridä qut bulmïš*, in which himself recognizes no other meaning than "majesté" (§ 2). Not altogether convincing is likewise the tentative establishment by KOTWICZ of a relation between *qut* 'soul' and *qut* 'fortune', in the sense of soul bearing fortune, on the basis of the Kirgiz belief in a "substance" bearing "fortune", which it is not said that it is a materialization of "soul" rather than of "fortune" itself (§ 15).

However, in favour of the theory that *qut* had primarily the significance of 'soul' there is a consideration of a general nature. The data that are gathered in paragraph 16 demonstrate that the notion *qut* 'soul' is not at all recent and limited to the Turkish populations of the Altai and the Yakuts[86], but is some centuries old and extended to almost all the Turkish populations. Therefore it is to be presumed that it belongs to a common ancient patrimony and reflects an ancient ethnological stage. Maybe an etymological investigation could afford a proof for the Altaic origin of the word. The Mongolian *qutuġ* (for a possible Turkish *qutuġ* see § 1)[87] and the Tunguz *qutu*[88] have only

[86] It appears so in the quoted survey by P. W. SCHMIDT.
[87] See the quoted dictionaries by KOWALEWSKI and RAMSTEDT s. v.
[88] Quoted by RAMSTEDT, l. cit.

the meaning of 'fortune' or other religious meanings clearly derived from the Uighur (§ 10). As a simple conjecture, *qut* 'soul' could be related to the Manchu *hutu* that means 'devil' and also means 'soul'[89]. At the same time we could report the Turkish *qut* 'soul' rather than *qut* 'fortune' to the Hsiung-nu *ch'eng-li k'u-tu*, whose interpretation by the Chinese as "son of heaven" would become more understandable[90].

The lack of ancient evidence for *qut* 'soul' could be partly explained by the fact that the more ancient sources, the inscriptions, reflect the official religiosity of the milieu of the sovereign and not the popular beliefs, and partly by the fact that the other ancient writings, inspired by great religious trends of importation, certainly could not find a place for the peculiar Turkish popular beliefs, which appears only among the Turkish peoples who remained in almost primitive stage.

However, we are able to offer evidence in favour of an ancient meaning of *qut* as "vital principle". In horoscopes of Chinese derivation *qut* appears in the meaning "element", in correspondence to Chinese *ch'i* (§ 9). Such a correspondence very problably is not limited to the meaning "element" of Chinese *ch'i*, but extends to its general meaning of "vivifying principle or *aura* of the Chinese cosmogony", of or "vital fluid". The value of "fortune" of the expressions 氣運 *ch'i yün* 'luck – used of the State's prosperity' and 運氣 *yün ch'i* 'luck – used of persons'[91] is essentially due to *yün* rather than to *ch'i*. In translating *ch'i* by *qut* the Turks should have had in mind a value as "vital principle" of *qut*. If this opinion is right (see also later on), the evidence of the horoscopes is very important in order to ascertain the original value of *qut*. We may suppose that the value "soul" is secondary and that of "vital principle" having a magic character is primary.

The meaning "soul" or "vital principle" may also be attributed to *qut* referring to man and water in a proverb (or riddle?) (§ 9). We saw in paragraph 16 how frequently *qut* 'soul' is associated with "fear" (in Yakut there is a word *quttat* meaning "fear", whose connection with *qut* 'soul' I am not able to determine)[92]. Then, the fact that *qut* is attributed to water is not surprising, since water, like a mountain (in the mentioned invocation of a shaman to Altai, § 16), can bestow vital force. The proverb (or riddle?) may be translated: "the soul of man is fear (i. e. fearful), the soul (or: vital principle) of water is deep".

On another hand, meanings of *qut* as a spiritual entity, occuring in texts influenced by the Iranian culture, as we shall see later on, may also be considered as evidence related to the supposed basic meaning of *qut* as "vital principle" or "soul".

The semantic passage from *qut* "vital principle", securing success and prosperity, to *qut* 'fortune' is convincing. Such a semantic passage is, in par-

[89] E. HAUER, op. cit., p. 464.

[90] See Part one, p. 285 n. 1.

[91] H. A. GILES, op. cit., n° 1064. For the philosophical value of *ch'i* see FUNG YU-LAN, A History of Chinese Philosophy, I, Princeton 1952, pp. 395–396; II, ib. 1953, p. 286.

[92] H. VÁMBÉRY, op. cit., p. 95.

ticular, supported by a similar evolution that according to the more recent theories, would have had the Iranian **hvarnah* (hereinafter I will use this reconstructed Old Iranian form as a general reference for the words that represent it in the Iranian languages). While BAILEY, in a monograph which is still to be considered as fundamental, thought that the primary significance of *hvarnah* is "good things" and then "fortune"[93], other authors like G. GNOLI and J. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN have lately maintained that the original meaning is respectively a spermatic or germinal meaning connected to a symbolism of light[94] or the meaning of "un fluide igné et une semence vitale"[95]. Both authors support this thesis with evidence from the Avesta that demonstrates the antiquity of the meanings stressed by them. We can not exclude that there might be some relationship between the notions connected with the supposed primary meanings of *qut* on one side (its etymon be what it may, improbably from **kauta*), and of *hvarnah* on the other side[96].

It cannot be excluded that the Iranian *hvarnah* influenced the evolution of *qut* from the meaning of "vital principle" to that of "fortune". This should have happened in stages previous to attestations in the texts, where *qut* may be commonly translated by the word "fortune".

What may be stressed is that the use of the texts allows to consider the "fortune" represented by the word *qut* as a magic force bestowing success and wealth, according to the supposition of an original notion of "vital principle". The history of *qut* may be based on such an assumption. In this history the Iranian influence is to be noticed gradually becoming stronger, although it does not find an altogether passive acceptance on the Turkish side.

The semantic passage from "fortune" to "royal fortune" can easily be explained by the tendency of the sovereigns to monopolize the fortune that can reach anybody, as if it were their own charism. This passage may then have been spontaneous in the case of the Turkish *qut*. An influence of the Persian idea of a royal charism represented by the *hvarnah*, of ancient tradition, is however probable: the *kavaēm xᵛarənah* of the Avesta, Middle-Persian *xᵛarrah ī kayān* or *kayan xᵛarrah*, New-Persian *farr-i kayī* (or *kayānī*) (FIRDAUSĪ). Such an influence would be included in the field of the action exerted as it is known in many ways by Persian civilization on the Turkish one, thanks to direct contacts. In the semantic sphere of "royalty", we may think of the

[93] H. W. BAILEY, Zoroastrian problems, cit.

[94] R. GNOLI, Un aspetto particolare del simbolismo della luce, cit.

[95] J. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, Le "xᵛarənah", in: Annali, cit. (sez. ling.), 5/1963, pp. 19–31.

[96] The comparison particularly is to be made with the notion of the *hvarnah* as a "psychological" entity, associated with *ǰān* and *ruvān* (cf. H. W. BAILEY, Zoroastrian problems, cit., pp. 33–34, 37, 45–46; S. S. HARTMAN, Gayōmart. Étude sur le syncrétisme dans l'ancien Iran, Uppsala 1953, p. 68) or as a "spermatic", "germinal" or "embryonal" entity (G. GNOLI, l. cit. passim). The affinity between the Iranian myth of the *hvarnah* in the Vouru. kaša sea or in the deep of Water (G. GNOLI, l. cit., p. 101 and passim) and the Turkish one of the "Milk-white lake" (§ 16) is peculiar; only by way of conjecture, we could add the notion of the *qut* located deep in the water, according to the Turkish proverb (see above). How such similarities should be explained is beyond our aim.

title *qatuṇ* 'queen' that seems derived from the Sogdian[97]; SCHAEDER thinks also that the corresponding masculine title *qaġan* 'king' derives from the ancient Iranian *kavi* through Middle Iranian *kāvakān*, whence the more ancient form *qapqan*, the Protobulgarian καυκανος, καυχανος and the (Pseudo) Avaric *capcanus*, but these supposed intermediary forms are not definitely related to *qaġan*[98]. We may also think of the tiara of Sasanid type worn by a high ranking man represented by a sculpture which was found near the inscription of Kül Tegin (probably Kül Tegin himself), though we can not reject the hypothesis that the headdress of Iranian fashion reached the Turks through the Chinese[99].

The parallelism between Turkish *qut* and Sogdian *prn* (< **hvarnah*) in the inscription of Qara Balġasun (§ 4) is in favour of an Iranian influence. Certainly *qut* coincided with the *hvarnah* of the Iranian kings, as a charismatic "vital force" or as "fortune". Apparently the *hvarnah* was so interpreted, because words meaning "fortune" seem to have been its equivalent in other languages as in Sanskrit *rājalakṣmī* (prakr. *rāyalacchī*) or *rājnām śrī*; in Syriac, in formulas of oath: *bgdh d mlk mlk* 'by the Fortune of the King of the Kings', *bgdh d šbwr* 'by the Fortune of Šāhpūr'; in Greek: ὀμνύω τὴν τοῦ βασιλέου Σελεύκου τύχην 'I swear by the Fortune of king Seleukos'[100]. The Iranian *hvarnah* could also have given an impulse to conceiving *qut* as hypostasis, because it appears as a *yazata* in the post-gathic pantheon[101], and also as a god, by the name of ΦΑΡΡΟ or ΦΑΡΟ in coins of Kushaṇ sovereigns[102]. In a Sogdian tale the *farn* of a king is personified by a thief who apparently acts as a guardian spirit[103].

Typically Iranian, as F. W. K. MÜLLER has already observed (U I p. 57), is the addition of a luminous element to the idea of royalty among the Manichean Uighurs (§ 5). A connection between *hvarnah* and Sun and Moon corresponding to the same connection of *qut* (§ 5) is also not lacking[104].

[97] Cf. R. N. FRYE, The History of Bukhara, Cambridge (Mass.) 1954, pp. 110 bis 111, where different opinions are indicated.

[98] On this question see D. SINOR, in: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, year 1954, pp. 174 sqq. and F. ALTHEIM, op. cit., pp. 37 and 207–212.

[99] See L. JISL, Kül-Tegin Anıtında 1958'de yapılan Arkeolojik Araştırmaların Sonuçları, in: Belleten, of the Türk Tarih Kurumu, 27/1963, pp. 395 ad 399, where the shape of the crown is connected with the culture of the West.

[100] See H. W. BAILEY, op. cit., pp. 13 and 40.

[101] L. H. GRAY, The Foundations of the Iranian Religion, Bombay 1929, pp. 120–123 (= Journal of K. R. Cama Oriental Institute n° 15); H. W. BAILEY, op. cit., pp. 22 sqq.; J. DUCHESNE GUILLEMIN, La Religion de l'Iran ancien, Paris 1962, pp. 181–182.

[102] H. W. BAILEY, op. cit., pp. 64–65; BUSSAGLI, Royauté, guerre et fécondité. A propos d'une monnaie kuṣāṇa, in: Revue d'histoire des religions, 140/1951, p. 136; J. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, Le "xᵛarənah", cit., p. 29.

[103] H. B. HENNING, Sogdian Tales, in: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies 11/1943, p. 477. For Sogdian *prn* as object of veneration see above note 48.

[104] See particularly H. W. BAILEY, op. cit., pp. 19, 42, 55, 58, 60–61; M. BUSSAGLI, Un particolare aspetto religioso della regalità presso i Kuṣāṇa, in: Studi e materiali

On the other hand, the connection of the *qut* of the qaghans with Heaven recalls the Chinese Imperial title *t'ien tzŭ* 'Son of Heaven', which was borne by the Turkish qaghan Sha-po-lüe (§ 2) and whose influence, as it is known, is to be found as far as India and Persia, in the Gupta title *devaputra* and the Sogdian titles *βγpr / βγpδr* and *βγpwr* (New Persian *faġfūr*). Furthermore, the parallelism existing in the mentioned inscription of Qara Balġasun between Turkish *qut* and Chinese *ming* 'the destiny fixed by Heaven' (§ 4) leads us to consider the possibility of an influence of the Chinese conception of the "mandate" given by Heaven, since the Turks had very close relations with the Chinese Empire. Regarding a Chinese influence, we should also take into account the Chinese phrases reflecting the notion of a "royal happiness" as *wang tso* and *ti tso*, if they are not subsequent to the Mongol Conquest of China (§ 6).

In spite of these possible foreign influences, probably converging, the Turkish conception of royal fortune appears as standing with its own characteristics. First of all it is introduced as an hypostasis in the characteristic Turkish pantheon (§ 3). The connection with Heaven mentioned above is certainly related to the Turkish cult of Heaven. Moreover a peculiar political vision described by A. von Gabain is evident: "Alle Unternehmungen des Volks müssen, wenn sie günstig verlaufen sollen, vom Xagan ausgehen. Wenn ein Volksteil einmal auf eigene Hand auszieht, wird es danach vom Xagan schwer getadelt; hat es dabei Unglück, so wird das als selbstverschuldet bezeichnet; denn auch Krieg und Beutezug müssen vom Schutzgeist des Reiches gesegnet werden. Unmißverständlich bezeichnen die Xagane ihre Macht als ein Gottesgnadentum. Sie besitzen die hohe Würde und das vom Schicksal dafür gespendete günstige Geschick; das ist der Grund, daß ihnen ihre Unternehmungen glücken. . . . Die Entfernung eines Türk-Stammes aus dem Bereich des Königs gilt nicht einfach als feindselige Handlung, sondern als die schwerste Verfehlung und dazu als Torheit, weil das gegen das eigene Wohl ausschlagen muß; man ist dem Xagan Heeresdienst und Tribut einfach schuldig. Diese Weltanschauung ist übrigens unentbehrlich für den, der die ungeheuren Weiten der Steppe beherrschen will"[105]. This well-known German scholar also speaks of the belief: „an die Verbindung des Herrschers mit überirdischen Ordnungsmächten, die einem bestimmten Menschen *qut* 'Glück' für das ganze Staatswesen und Wohl für das gesamte Volk verleihen, also an das Charisma des Herrschers, an eine festgefügte, wohltuende Ordnung zwischen Hoch und Niedrig . . ."[106]. An evident manifestation of national solidarity centred on the sovereign by virtue of his charism may be observed in the quoted passage of the Orkhon inscriptions, where Bilgä Qaġan is proud of having brought to life the people which were to the point of perishing, of having dressed, enriched and made them numerous (§ 3). A. von Gabain states that the national tradition having the "royal fortune" as an ensign also appears in the attribute *qutluġ* referring to the Chinese Empire, recalling the T'o-pa (*tabġač*) dynasty derived from the Hsiung-nu, as the Turks (§ 7).

di storia delle religioni 24–25/1953–1954, pp. 12 sqq.; L. Duchesne-Guillemin, Le "xᵛarənah", cit. passim.

[105] A. von Gabain, Steppe und Stadt, cit., p. 39.

[106] id., Das uig. Königreich, cit., p. 24.

It is not to be excluded that the fortune of the forerunners of the Qaghan invoked in a Manichean text (§ 6) reflects a conception of dynastic legitimism connected to a hereditary "royal fortune", parallels of which could be found among the Mongols[107]. The identification of fortune with the person of the sovereign as it appears in the title *ïduq qut* is not to be met in the Iranian milieu (§ 6).

The Iranian influence on the notion of *qut* as "local guardian spirit" seems to be beyond doubt. The connection of *qut* to the Iranian word *wāxš*, that definitely has this significance, in the hendiadys *qut vaqšik* could not be interpreted in any other way, especially if the reference, as "poliad fortune", to "the twenty-two cities" belongs to an epoch in which the Uighur lived a primarily nomadic life (§ 7). In connection with the meaning of guardian spirit of *hvarnah* and of *wāxš* it is sufficient to mention the *Airyanəm xᵛarənō* 'the Fortune of the Aryans', "national" guardian divinity mentioned in the Avesta as object of veneration (XVIII. 7: *nəmō airyanəm xᵛarənō* 'honour to the Fortune of the Aryans'); a *Xurāsān xarra* 'fortune of the Khorasan' appeared on one of the nine seals of Chosroe II Parviz, we do not know if as a legend or in an iconic form, according to a Moslem source[108]; a late Zoroastrian text speaks of a *xᵛarrah ī xānak* 'fortune of the house' (Pahlavī Rivāyat, 76) and in other texts there is frequently found the hendiadys *farrah ud wāxš* referring to a province or to a town[109]; in Sogdian occurs also in phrases as "la gloire (*prn*) de son peuple, . . . de son palais"[110].

Even in this case the echo of the Turkish atavistic beliefs, perceptible where *qut* refers to the "sacred" Ötükän (§ 7), does not keep silent. Finally the legend of a "Mountain of Fortune" of the Uigurs does not find any correspondence that I know of in the Iranian milieu. In the quoted Zoroastrian text, a connection could be seen between *hvarnah* and the mountain, where it is said that the mountains have grown up because there is in them the "substance of the *xᵛarrah*" (Pahlavī Rivāyat, 46), but it is a matter of reference to a cosmogonic context that does not concern a determined place[111]. It is not clear if what appears on some coins that represent the God ΦΑΡΡΟ is a mountain or fire[112].

In the Buddhist, Manichean, and Nestorian writings it is to be noted that the Iranian influence proves true through some real linguistic calques, in the course of translations. Expressions such as *burqan qutï*, *din qutï*, *nom qutï*, could be normal arrangements of the Turkish *qut* "fortune" which had passed from the profane sphere to the religious one, but it is more probable that they

[107] W. KOTWICZ, Formules, cit., p. 149; Quelques mots encore sur les lettres des Il-Khans de Perse, Collectanea Orientalia N° 10, Wilno 1936 = Rocznik Orientalistyczny 16/1950, pp. 419 sqq.

[108] MAS'ŪDĪ, Murūğ al-ḏahab, II, p. 228; cf. H. W. BAILEY, op. cit., p. 65.

[109] W. B. HENNING, Sogdian Tales, cit., p. 477.

[110] E. BENVENISTE, Vessantara Jātaka, cit. (221, 378).

[111] On the relation of the *hvarnah* with "mountain" see H. W. BAILEY, op. cit., p. 18. The reading *xᵛarrah* is not accepted by R. C. ZAEHNER, Zurvan. A Zoroastrian Dilemma, Oxford 1955, p. 363.

[112] P. GARDNER, Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum. Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India, London 1886, p. 132.

repeat the corresponding Iranian terms derived from *hvarnah* as the Sogdian *pwty'kh prn* (= **butiyak farn*) "the fortune of Buddha"[113], the Middle-Persian Manichean *farrah ī dēn*, the Middle-Parthian *dēn farrah*, the Sogdian *dynyy frny*; these last ones express the notion of glory as the Greek δόξα and the Syriac *šwbḥ'* and go back to the Zoroastrian *xᵛarrah ī dēn* (Dātastān ī dēnik, 36, 37)[114]. Derivates from *hvarnah* in the meaning of Buddhist dignities appear also in Khotanese and in Kuchean and Agnean, probably in the latter two as a derivation from the Sogdian or the Khotanese[115].

That *qut* acquires the significance of 'spirit' in general, in addition to that of guardian spirit owing to the influence of the Sogdian, appears from the fact that this meaning is found in *qut* only in the hendiadys *qut vaqšik* (§§ 10, 11). Another linguistic calque from the Sogdian is the extension to *qut* of the meaning of *Nous* in the Manichean texts (§ 11), because a convergence of the meanings of "fortune" and "mind" can be explained only in the already quoted Sogdian *prn* from *hvarnah* due to the meaning of *hvarnah* as a constitutive element of individuality, or directly from the Zoroastrian use or through the Buddhist use to explain the Sanskrit *abhijñā* 'insight'[116]. The notion of *qut* attributed to earth, to water, to fire seems to belong to an Iranian origin because it is recurrent in a Manichean text and seems a particular development of the idea of Nous (§ 11).

With some of the meanings that we have reviewed and precisely "personified fortune", "guardian spirit", "spirit or genius", "spiritual force concerning man and nature", all meanings apparently due to Iranian influence, we approached the Turkish notion of *qut* 'soul' or 'vital principle'. It could not be excluded, owing to the fact that this notion is witnessed only in a relatively recent stage, that it was reached as an innovation through these meanings, had not general considerations already discussed led us to suppose an hypotesis of this sort as improbable. On the contrary, we believe that a Turkish *qut* in the meaning "vital principle" could be found below the meanings already mentioned. In other words, these meanings of *qut* as a "spiritual entity" probably are not all the results of mechanical transference of values of *hvarnah* in translations, but adaptations of values that *qut* already had.

The value of *qut* as equivalent of Chinese *ch'i* occurs in texts later than the mentioned Iranian influence, but seems to be independent of it and directly related to the Turkish tradition, as before stated. *Qut* = *ch'i* indeed occurs in texts translated from Chinese and even if it could be compared with values of *qut* in Manichean texts, we observe that such values are limited to these ancient texts and do not occur in later Buddhist or other texts. Therefore, a link is missing. The same may be said of *qut* in the proverb above discussed.

[113] H. W. Bailey, op. cit., pp. 54–55. E. Benveniste translates Sogdian *pwty'akh prn* as: 'le lakṣana de la buddhatā' which would mean a Chinese *hsiang* 'sign', cf. Textes Sogdiens, Paris 1943, II. 174 (= Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale III).

[114] Mus. 36, pp. 234–240; H. H. Schaeder, Urform und Fortbildungen des manichäischen Systems, Leipzig 1927, p. 138; H. W. Bailey, op. cit., p. 61. For Sogdian *dynyy frn*, see W. B. Henning, Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch, Berlin 1937, p. 125.

[115] H. W. Bailey, op. cit., p. 57.

[116] Ib., p. 61.

The idiomatic usage of *qut* allows some remarks. The association with the verb *bul-* 'to find', 'to obtain' could correspond to similar Chinese or Iranian words employed for the "heavenly mandate" or for the *hvarnah* (f. i. Sogdian *βyrt*). Analogously, it may be said of *bul-* and *täg-* 'to reach' referring to the Buddhist dignities. The verb *aš-* and *ašïl-* 'to increase' and 'to be increased' and the adjective *qalïn* 'big' denote the idea of fortune as wealth. *Ornan-* 'to take place' and *käl-* 'to come' are normal expressions of a personification of fortune. Noteworthy is that the verb *uč-* 'to fly' is used either referring to *qut* 'fortune' or to *qut* 'soul' (§§ 13 and 16), thus showing a point of contact between the two notions. While on this object, we can observe that the belief in the human soul as appearing in the shape of a bird is typical among the Turks. We can add that the Iranian *hvarnah* has also a hypostasis in the shape of a bird[117]. On the other hand, "to fly" referring to "fortune" could be merely a metaphor, as its association to the verb *öδün-* 'to burn out' (§ 13), which could recall the notion of *hvarnah* as "fire"[118]: otherwise there is no other hint to *qut* as "fire", but only the association with radiance, which can be ascribed to a Manichean milieu.

The entry of *qut* in the Islamic world affords a conceptual turning. While it only had a positive value of charism, it becomes an ambivalent notion, implying good but also bad effects and the character of fickleness and unfaithfulness of fortune is underlined as in the Hellenistic τύχη. To such a conception the symbolisme of fortune in the poem Qutadġu Bilig is inspired (§ 14). In a preceding article I put forth the hypothesis of a Hellenistic influence in the images of "blind" Fortune, having especially the attribute of a sphere (as for instance Tyche in a well known painting from Dura-Europos). This influence would also explain a successive allegory where the king compares himself to Justice appearing with attributes particular to Themis. It is impossible to say by which channels this influence reached the Turkish poem until the sources of it have been ascertained[119].

The history of *qut* appears rather complex and presents many obscure sides which need further research. From the point of view of cultural history, the relation of parallelism with or of dependence on the Iranian *hvarnah* "une des notions les plus célèbres de la civilisation iranienne – et l'une des plus malaisés à definir" is particularly interesting[120].

Postscript

Professor ANNEMARIE VON GABAIN was kind enough to read the manuscript of my article and to suggest many improvements which I could adopt by correcting the first proof. In the following I refer to some of her remarks that I did not insert in the text of the article:
§ 6: *buyanči bäglärim*: pluralis majestatis?

[117] Ib. p. 24.
[118] Ib., p. 31; J. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, Le "xᵛarənah", cit., passim.
[119] Kutadgu Bilig hakkında bazı mülâhazalar, in: Fuad Köprülü armağanı, İstanbul 1953, pp. 70–73 and Storia della letteratura turca², Milano 1962, p. 89.
[120] J. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, Le "xᵛarənah", cit., p. 19.

§ 10: *qutrul* < *qut* + *ur* – *ul* – (ATG 94 and 156).

p. 134: on the other hand . . .: „Die chinesischen Kaiser meinten tatsächlich, daß ihr Glück ihren Untertanen selbsttätig zukäme, und daß es für ein Volk unglücklich sei, wenn es fern dieser charismatischen Persönlichkeit lebte. Mindestens steht es so in chinesischen klassischen Texten des Hohen Altertums und solche Gesinnung beherrschte die ältesten Historiker. Ob das Volk ebenso dachte, ist schwer festzustellen."

p. 135: a prevailing nomadic life: „Das stimmt für die Zeit des uig. Kaganats, 750–850, in der mongolischen Steppe. Das uig. Königtum von Qočo, 850–13**, muß seßhafte Struktur gehabt haben. Sie trieben alle Arten von Berufen der Seßhaften. Die Mss. auf türk., in Turfan gefunden, müssen natürlich meist von den königlichen Uiguren stammen. Aber die uig. Imperatoren, die man. waren, begönnerten die türkischen Manichäer in Qočo und wurden daher in deren Kolophonen zuweilen erwähnt, als noch die Tibeter (bis 800 n. Chr.) von Süden anrückend sich dort einmischten. Wenn auf einem türk. Turfan-Ms. ein *χaγan* erwähnt wird, bezieht es sich auf keinen einheimischen Herrscher, sondern auf den Imperator, der in Qočo gern eine Rolle spielen möchte. Das Ms. in Man. III Nr. 23 hat *tŋrikänimz*. Es ist unbekannt, ob in der Lücke davor **ilig χan*, oder *χaγan* gestanden hat."

As is known the interaction of nomadic and sedentary life by the Uighurs has been masterly dealt with by A. von Gabain in the article: Steppe etc. already quoted.

Interesting references are in P. Demiéville, Quelques traits de moeurs barbares dans une chantefable chinoise des T'ang, in: Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, 15/1962, p. 73.

Note 38: "*yol* (Licht)strahl, also wie ein (Licht)weg."

* * *

I am also obliged to Prof. Gherardo Gnoli (Rome), who is carrying out an extensive research on the concept of *hvarnah* and discussed many questions with me. In a letter dated 24. VIII. 1964, when the article was already in print, he advanced the following suggestion: "Mi pare che un preciso motivo storico dell'incontro della nozione paleo-turca del *qut* con quella iranica dello *xᵛarənah* si possa cogliere nell'assunzione – non so quanto antica – da parte dei Turchi nel loro patrimonio leggendario del mito di Fraŋrasyan/Afrāsiyāb. Questo mito, di cui si conservano alcuni squarci in Yašt V, 41–42 (Apām Yašt, lo Yašt di Anāhitā) e in Yašt XIX, 56–64 (Zamyād Yašt, lo Yašt dello *Xᵛarənah*), narra appunto dei tentativi fatti dal turanico (*tūiryō*) Fraŋrasyan per impadronirsi dello Xᵛarənah dei popoli arii nati e da nascere e di Zaratustra (*. . . yat asti airyanąm dahiyunąm zātanąm azātanąmča yatča ašaonō zaraθuštrahe*). Ora, data l'identificazione fatta dai Turchi di Afrāsiyāb con Alp Är Tonga e dell'eccezionale favore che presso di essi incontrò questo ciclo di leggende (tanto che i Qarakhanidi si dicevano "famiglia di Afrāsiyāb") e dato che il centro del mito avestico è costituito appunto dallo *xᵛarənah*, può darsi che i Turchi fecero il primo o il più significativo incontro con questa nozione antico-iranica in queste leggende eroiche. In conseguenza di una interpretazione dello *xᵛarənah* con *qut* quest'ultimo si sarà poi caricato di valori e di significati originariamente iranici".

Some data related to the history of *qut* were overlooked when writing the article. I would add:

§ 3. We have an example of the mother giving the *är at* with her benediction in an epic account, see V. RADLOFF, Proben, III, p. 303. In such folkloristic genre, however, this fact is an exception, cf. V. M. ŽIRMUNSKIJ, Skazanie ob Alpamyše i bogatyrskaja skazka, Moscow 1960, p. 183.

S. E. MALOV (Pamjatniki drevnetjurskoj pis'mennosti Mongolii i Kirgizii, Moscow–Leningrad 1959, pp. 13, 17, 22) reads in II E 35: *üzä tängri iduq yär sub* [*asra*] *qaġan qutï taplamadï* (or: *tapïqlamadï*) *ärinč*, and translates: Ni Neba vverhu, ni svjaščennoj Rodiny (Jersuba) (vnizu) Ego blaženstvo qagana oni ne počtili (they did not honour either the Heaven above or the Holy Country [*yärsub*] below, his Majesty the qaġan). As I said, I do not agree with the interpretation of *qut* as a court formula and of *taplamadï* with accusative. The insertion of *asra* in the gap is not convincing because the adverb should be before *iduq yär sub*, as the preceding *üzä* is before *tängri*.

§ 4. In the inscription of Šine Usu (ed. S. E. MALOV, op. cit., pp. 37 and 43) the expression *qut yartaġ tuġ*, translated 'blagonispuskajoščee znamja' (ensign from which benediction descends) seems to indicate an association of *qut* with the imperial Uighur enseign.

§ 13. The image *anïnġ qut qïv tozï toġdï* 'the dust of his fortune arose' in Dïvân 152 = I 301 = I 252 is not clear to me. In the Ms. for *tozï* is *twry*, in the Arabic translation *qaṣṭal* 'dust'.

§ 16. A connection of *qut* with 'mountain' appears in the Oġuz-nâme written in a copy of the Selğuq-nâme by YAZÏĞÏOĠLÏ: Qutluğa Taġ (ed. GÖKYAY, Dede Korkut, İstanbul 1938, p. 121 (*ḳutluca ṭag*).

I could not see: S. TEKİN, Kuanşi im pusar, Ankara 1960.

* * *

Some publications which interest the history of *qut* appeared after I gave my manuscript to the printer.

1. R. RAHMETI ARAT, Der Herrschertitel Iduq-qut, in: Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher, 35/1963, Fasciculus B – Pars Altaica, pp. 150–157. In the first proof I could utilize the translation by ARAT of the passages quoted from M III n. 15 in § 6 and § 7. The text should belong to the Uighur kingdom of Qočo, because the sovereign is called *ilig* and not *qaġan* (p. 155). Arat thinks that it represents "ein Muster für Schriftstücke" (p. 157). Other evidence for the title *iduq qut* (§ 6) is also given (pp. 61–62).

2. J. SCHUBERT, Zum Begriff und zur Lage des Ötüken, in: Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher, 35/1963, Fasciculus B – Pars Altaica, pp. 213–218. Concerns *Ötükän yïš*, § 7 (J. SCHUBERT indicates the mountain to-day called Otgon tenger).

3. An edition of the Uighur X^{u}āstvānïft is contained in Jes P. ASMUSSEN, X^{u}āstvānïft, Studies in Manichaeism, Copenhagen 1965, pp. 167 sqq. Remarks on the relations between *qut* and *x^{v}arr* are on pp. 162–164, note 114. The statement on the cult of the Sun and the Moon among the Caucasian Huns could be advanced in favour of an atavic tradition in the titles mentioned in § 5.

4. L. Bazin, Le Nom propre d'homme «Qorqut»: Discussion étymologique, in: Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher, 36/1964, Fasciculus B – Pars Altaica, pp. 278–283. Bazin has collected much evidence on *qut* from sources I have not at hand. To add to § 15: Uzbek *qut* 'bonheur', 'abondance'; *qor-qut* 'biens accumulés, richesse, trésor; réserves'. To § 16: In the Kirghiz Manas epos *qut* as "soul" is represented "sous la forme de petits animaux volants, oiseaux ou insectes"; in the Yakut dictionary by Piekarski *kisi quta* is: âme humaine que le chamane rapporte, sous forme d'une boule ronde, de toutes les directions de l'espace à l'exception de l'Orient". Bazin considers (I think rightly) *qut* 'a piece of gelatinous substance etc.' (§ 15) as a materialization of *qut* "vital principle" (§ 16). He sees in the proper name Qorqut, explained by Rásonyi as an imperative: "Let be afraid!" (directed, I think, against evil spirits with apotropaic value), a name composed by *qōr* 'force vitale du feu' and *qut* 'force vitale divine', "qui peut parvenir à l'homme en tombant par le trou à fumée de la tente sur le foyer" (§ 15). The association is due to religious and phonetical affinities and perhaps also to similarity of form and colour between *qōr* "morceau de braise rougeoyante" and *qut* "petite masse rouge – foncé" (§ 15), "sans doute, à l'origine, caillot de sang frais" (Bazin recalls the legendary birth of Jengis – Khan having "dans sa main droite un caillot de sang qui ressemblait à un osselet", that is "ce pouvoir vital remarquable, ce gage divin de réussite que les Turcs appellent *qut*, et les Mongols *qutuq*". This explanation is very suggestive and convincing. Of course, further evidence of the hendiadys *qor-qut* more ancient and appropriated than the Uzbek *qor-qut* 'biens accumulés etc.', which could be derived from *qor* 'réserve (de fourrage ou d'argent), capital' (Kirghiz), *ġor* 'capital (productif)' (Turkmen) (according to Bazin secondary meanings of *qōr* 'braise') and *qut* 'abondance' (Uzbek), would be welcome. An interesting reference to the legendary Qorqut connected with water (!) is in a Kazakh riddle quoted by Andreas Tietze (Analysis of a Turkish Multiple Riddle, in: Rocznik Orientalistyczny, 27/1964, p. 106): *Su basïnda Süleyman Su ayaġï Er Qurqut* 'At the head (source) of the water Süleyman. The water's foot (lower part): *Er Qurqut*'.

5. Lastly a posthumous book by R. Arat, Eski türk şiiri, Ankara 1965, has appeared, where many new Uighur texts are published. In this book the word *qut* occurs frequently. Evidence may be added to § 6: the title *ïduq qut* 22.30, 23.8,15; *baqšïm qutï* 11.98; *qatunlar qutlarï* 22.23; *qunġ tay qïu qatïn qutï* 23.2; *qunġ tay qïu qutï* 24.2. To § 9: *äd tavar qutluġ* 9.214 (*qut* as wealth!); *qut buyan* 24.4; the name Toqluġ Qutluġ 23.9. To § 10: *üč ärdini qutï* 13 A. 189; *bilgä bilig paramït qutï* 15.1; *qutqa tägmiš burqan* 15.68; *üč türlüg qutuġ bultačï* 18.13; *qutluġ* 9.17; *ïduq qutluġ mančuširi* 16.41; *qutluġ ašuqa širi* 10.182; *qut qolunč* 13.3,47,169; 16.22,54,68,74,87,105; *qut qolun-* 13.15,16.109–110,20.76 (cf. pp. 307–308); *qut buyan* 9.17; *qut küsüš* 9.31; 13.42,55; 16.34; *qutluġ ülüglüg* 10.74, 196,267; *ülüglüg qutluġ* 10.70; *vaxšik qut* 11.26; *qut vaqšik* 22.18.

Other texts are republished. Referring to § 8: (*kün tängri külündi*) instead of *külündi* Arat reads *kölünti* and translates *gömüldü* (35.31 and note); *qavud* is not connected with *qut* and translated *şefkat* (35.121 and note). To § 9: there is not a new interpretation of *är qutï bäling suv qutï täring* (34.4 and note).*

* Vgl. auch den Nachtrag auf S. 181 dieses Bandes