

# Ecclesiastical Terminology in *Töre Bitigi: ari*

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**Abstract.** In this article the semantic field of the Armeno-Kipchak word *ari/ari* “holy, sacred” is examined on the basis of *Töre Bitigi* (Wrocław version), which is an Armeno-Kipchak version of the Old Armenian law code *Datastanagirk’*. This magistrative-judicial text was based in a large part on ecclesiastical prescriptions. Accordingly it is possible to see a group of religious terms in the text and the word of *ari/ari* is one of them. This significant term shows parallelism with other historical Turkic texts, which have been translated from the Holy Book.

*Dayi da ne üçün emdi klädik yazmaga törälärni,  
ya ne säbüptän teprändi esimiz bu işkä [...] bu  
vaçtlarda erinçekliktän üvrämägä klämäslär Eski u  
Yäñi Törälärni ne markarçelardan, ne Awedarandan,  
ki bolgaylar edi ari bitiklerniñ küçündän bilmägä  
könü töräni. Anıñ üçün klädik bu Törä bitiki bilä  
oyatmaga alarni, neçik kimsäni yuxudan.*

Töre Bitigi/Ekinçi, ne üçün yazdıq ya kimniñ priçinasından 5r/160r

## 1. Introduction

### **Datastanagirk’ – Mkhitar Gosh – Smpad Sparapet**

*Töre Bitigi* is the Armeno-Kipchak version of *Datastanagirk’*<sup>1</sup> (a monument of the Old Armenian law code), which was composed in 1184 by the Armenian jurist, vardapet, scholarly monk, historian, moralist, and fabulist Mkhitar Gosh (Ambartsumian 1954, 107; HAL 432; Kaufhold 1997, 4). Mkhitar Ghos was born in the city of Gandzak in 1130. While still in his early youth, he was ordained a celibate priest and earned the

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<sup>1</sup> *Girk Datastani* or *Datastanagirk’*: դատաստանագիրք < դատաստան *tadasdan* “judgement” + գիրք *kirk/girk* “book”) (DAF 616); Polish version is *Prawa ormiańskie* (TB 506).

degree of vardapet. After studying under the vardapet Yovhannēs of Tawush, he went to Cilicia, to the monastery of Sev Ler in search of further knowledge. He visited many cities in Asia Minor, attracted many disciples especially in Gandzak. He spent the rest of his life in the hermitage of Nor Geti (Monastery of Gosh). He went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1196, and in 1213 he died in the monastery of which he founded (Dowsett 1958, 472; Thomson 2000, 15–20; HAL 431).

After Mkhitar Gosh, Smpad Sparapet or alias Constable<sup>2</sup> Smpad revised and rewrote *Datastanagirk'* in 1265 (Nersessian 1959, 167). Smpad Sparapet (1208–76) was a noble of the Cilician Armenian Kingdom, and also an historian, judge, diplomat and translator. He was the brother of King Het'um and the author of the *Chronicle (History of the Kingdom of Little Armenia)*, which is the most important Armenian source concerning the history of Cilician Armenia, the Crusades and of the author's journey to Mongolia (Dashdondog 2010a, 84). Smpad Sparapet and his father Kostandin left Cilicia in 1246 for the Mongol court at Qara-Qum as the ambassador of the Armenian Kingdom. He was sent to the Great Khan Güyük by the Mongol commander Baiju (Pogossian 2012, 171; Dashdondog 2010a, 80, 81). According to the notes of Grigor Aknertsi, The Great Khan Güyük made him a subject prince; the Khan gave to Smpad Sparapet a big *yarliq*, golden *paizi* and a Tatar *xatun*. By his wife, he had a son called Vasil Tatar. This second compositor of *Datastanagirk'* also visited Batu Khan (Dashdondog 2010a, 80, 81; Dashdondog 2010b, 9, 10; Saunders 2011, 102); moreover see Dédéyan 1989, 25; CSCO 188–91.

The code of Mkhitar Gosh or the code of Smpad Sparapet can be regarded as one of the principal monuments of the Cilician Armenian Kingdom (Feldbrugge 2009, 299). It was the first serious and comprehensive attempt to codify Armenian law, which was completed in order to provide guidance for judges (La Porta 2013, 260, 261; HAL 432; Golubock 2012, 70). *Datastanagirk'* was an exclusive basis of court procedures not only within Armenia or Cilicia, but beyond as well, where its laws were found suitable even for quite dissimilar groups. In 1519, King Sigismund of Poland approved this law code as the legal code for Gregorians living in Poland, in Lvov. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, King Wakhtang of Georgia took it into account it when compiling the Georgian legal code (HAL 433, 434).

<sup>2</sup> Smpad Sparapet wrote a letter to his brother-in-law Henry I Lusignan of Cyprus in 1248 at Samarkand. In this letter he used the term *Constable* for sender of the letter (Dashdondog 2010a, 82). This military title was used for Christian mercenaries by the Seljuks of Rūm in the form of *kundištāble* ~ *kund-i ištāble* (a loan title from the Cilician Armenian Kingdom). *arm. kundstabl* (Գուճապետի *gundstapl*), *gundeštāpl* or *kundištāble* (*gundeštāpl*) < *lat. comes stabuli* or *ital. contestabile*); and also see *gr. κοινοστάβλος, κοινοσταλος, fr. connétable, ital. contestabile*. The title of *kundstabl* or *gundstabl* was the equivalent of Classical Armenian title *sparapet* “commander-in-chief” (Korobeinikov 2014, 92, 93); *arm. gundstapl* “connétable” (Brockelmann 1893, 36); *gundstapl, gundustapl, kuntstabl, kuntstabl*, *Chronik des Smbat 124* (13. Jhd.) = *ital. contestabile, o-fr. conestable, fr. connétable* “Kronfeldherr” (Hubschmann 1962, 389); *sparapet* “général en chef” (CSCO 35).

The law code was translated first into Latin<sup>3</sup> at the behest of the King Sigismund of Poland. Following this, it was translated from Latin into Polish, also simultaneously from Polish into Armeno-Kipchak (or *Tatarča* as written in the text) (Schütz 1961, 140; Garkavec 2003, 4, 13, 15). More information about the formation and translation of the law code was written exhaustively in the lines of *Töre Bitiği* (see Appendix 2).

## 2. *ari/ari*

### 2.1. *ari/ari* in historical texts

The essential meaning of *ari/ari* is physical and spiritual *purification*. With this fundamental meaning it appears as a significant ecclesiastical or religious term not only in the *Töre Bitiği* but also in other historical texts, which shows us that the word had become a religious term in the early period: *törtünč söki=i t(ä)ri=h yalavaçtı=ı burhanlarka buyançtı=ı bögtäçi=i arıg dentarlarka bilmätin näčä yaz(ı) nt(ı)m(ı)z ärsär* “Viertens, gegen die früheren Gesandten Gottes, die Propheten, gegen die verdienstvollen, segenspendenden, heiligen Elekti unwissend irgendwie” (Vatextexte: Chuast\_L 064–078). *arıg idok [nom sudurlarnun]g* “reinen, heiligen [Lehren-Sūtra]” (Vatextexte: AY.B01.06); *arıγ üduq* “svjashchennyj, svjatoj” (DTS 52). Moreover the word is equivalent to some of the Sanskrit and Chinese terms in Buddhist, Manicheian and Christian terminology in Old Uighur.<sup>4</sup> In the first Turkic Quran translation *arıg* means a) “arı, pak, temiz ve iyi olan, hoşça giden, helal” → *Rūzī kıldı/bérđi sizke arıglardıñ, bolğay kim şükr ötegeyler sizler 28/78a2=8:26, Yengler arıglardıñ rūzī kim rūzī bérđimiz sizlerke 28/37b3=7:160*; b) “münezzeh, takdis ve tenzih etme” → *Kaçan usına keldi erse aydı: arıg sen, yandım sanğa 28/22b1=7:143, Tangrı*

<sup>3</sup> The Cilician Armenian Kingdom was the neighbor with Latin States of the East. To a certain extent it was in the sphere of influence of these states. Some practices adopted feudalism. In addition, some titles were borrowed (Chevalier 2009, 55). *Constable* is one of them, which is viewed above. This influence between two states, may have been a cause for the Latin translations of *Datastanagirk*.

<sup>4</sup> *arıg*, *arık* † /”RYQ (I) ‘A) Adv. a) rein, sauber, ohne Schmutz; b) rein, klar, ohne Trübung, durchsichtig; c) Reinheit, Klarheit, Deutlichkeit; d) rein, makellos, tadellos; e) rein, gründlich, völlig; f) Reinheit, Unerschütterlichkeit, Konsequenz; rein, unerschütterlich, ungebrochen, konsequent; g) Reinheit, Unbehindertheit, Ungestörtheit; h) rein, die Wahrheit ausdrückend, heilsam, zum Heil führend; i) Reinheit, Absolutheit, (durch Kleśas oder Āsrava) Unbeflecktheit, (mit Vortellungen, Attributen oder Dualität) Nicht-Behaftet Sein; rein, absolut, unbefleckt, nicht-behaftet; j) (rituelle) Reinheit, (meist im Sinne der Śikṣāpadas) Keuschheit; rein, keusch; k) Reinheit, Lichtelement; rein; licht; B) Adnom. a) “sauber, schmutzlos; b) rein, klar, ungetrübt, unverdeckt, durchsichtig; c) “rein, hell, glänzend (?), strahlend (?); d) rein, heilig, charismatisch; e) rein, makellos, tadellos; f) rein, unerschütterlich, ungebrochen, konsequent, inbrünstig; g) rein, unbehindert, ungestört; h) rein, die Wahrheit ausdrückend, heilsam, zum Heil führend; i) rein, absolut, (durch Kleśas oder Āsrava) unbefleckt, (mit Vorstellungen, Attributen oder Dualität) nicht-behaftet; j) (rituell) rein, sündlos, keusch, die Śikṣāpadas haltend, den Śikṣāpadas gemäß; k) rein, licht” (UW 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188)

*yok meger Ol, arıg ol andın kim ortak katarlar 29/23b3=9:31; c) “mukaddes, kutsal; esma-i hüsnadan ‘kuddûs’ ” → Ol erklig, arıg, esenlik bérgen, îmîn kılğan, rāst tanuķ 38/31b3=59:23 and equivalent ar. tayyibāt, subhān, kuddûs, muşaffā; far. hoş, hā u pāk, hā, pāk-ā, pāk goften, pāk gerde (TKT 221, 222). Additionally arıg means “dhikr, remembrance” and arıg ay-, arıg yād kıl-, arıgla- means “tesbih etmek” → arıg ayur anğar ol kim kökler içinde azu yer içinde 38/32b2=59:25, arıg yād kılur Tañgrını né kim yéti kat kök içinde né kim yér içinde turur 38/49b1=62:1, Uluğ tutuñ anı hem ağırlanğ anı yime arıglanglar anı erte taķı kéçé 37/31b1=48:9 (TKT 222, 223). Mevlî celle celālehu öz arıg zātı birle Ādem ve Havvā nikāhuja huṭbe kıldı 7v/20 (KE 12); arıg at “holy name (for God)” → Yaratқан İđimizdin yarlık keldi: ey meniñ feriştelirim bu ol turur kim kaçan meniñ arıg atım işitseniz. lâ ilāhe illallāh, tep soñınça anıñ atı turur: Muḥammed Resūlullāh 211r/20–21 (KE 303); arıglık “zekāt”: farmanladı māñā namaznı arıglıknı mán tirig bar erkān “Yaşadığım sürece namaz kılmayı ve zekāt vermeyi bana emretti.” (KT 55); arıg oğul “holy son (for the Prophet Jesus)” → ya nimen keldim saña ayğalı kim Mevlīta’ālā yarlıkar: saña arıg oğul bağışlayur-men. Meryem aydı: maña oğul kaydın kelsün, hiç ādemī maña yavuşanı yok 169r/3–4 (KE 240). ary tirō(v) “das heilige Leben, d. h. die Ewigkeit”, ar(y)lar “die Heiligen” (Grønbech 1942, 41, 42). arıg “münezzeḥ, farıg”: Taķı Tengri arıg kilmekden taķı kitmekten. 57a/3 (İMS 179, 501).*

## 2.2. arī/ari in Mongolian

The meaning of spiritual *purification* also exists in some Mongolian words, which shows parallalism with Turkish. mong. *ariyun*, m-mong. *air’un*, bur. *arūn*, Kh. *arūn*, ord. *arūn*, kalm. *ärūn* “pure, clean, immaculate, holy” (Poppe 1955, 38; Kempf 1999, 66). *ariyun / ariwun* = ar. *nazîf*, pers. *pāk* 203C/26 (KD 272). The Four (Kinds of) Pure: mong. *ariyun* (= tib. *dag pa* = skr. *çuddha / pari’suddha*) (Bareja-Starzyńska 1997, 28; Baumann 2008, 457). mong. *ariyun* > w-oir. *ariun*, s-oir. *arūn* ‘clean, sacred’ (Rákos 2002, 8). *ariyun* (*arī*- “sauber machen” + suff. *-yun*) “pur, net, propre, clair; serein, chaste, intégre, innocent, vertueux, pudique; verdique, honnête; saint; immatériel; impérissable” (TMEN 129, 130). *arigud*- АРИУДАХ “to be(come) clean, pure, holy or sanctified”, *arigudxa*- АРИУТАХ “to purify, cleanse; to hallow, sanctify; to disinfect, sterilize”, *arigula*- АРИУЛАХ “to cleanse, purify; to abstain from defilement or sin”, *arigulal* АРИУЛАЛ “the act of cleansing or purifying, expiation, sanctification; purifying incense”, *arigun* АРИУН “cleanliness, purity, chastity; clean, pure, chaste; chaste; sinless; holy; sacred”, *arij-a* “noble, pure, holy”, *arigun dain* “Holy or sacred war”, *arigun egyrge* “Sacred duty”, *arigun jabudal* “purity (of character), integrity”, *arigun cayan* “pure, clean; honest; innocent”, *arigun ugijal* “ablution; baptism; flute

used in religious rites”, *arigun usu* “clean; pure water; holy water” (MED 52, 53; Bertalan 2009, 75); and also *see* → pers. اروون (*arūn*) ~ آرون “libenswürdig” ← *wmmo.* *arūn* < *ariyun* “rein”; turc. *arıγ* = mong. *ariyun* = tu. *arivūn* (TMEN 129, 130).

### 2.3. *ari/ari* in *Töre Bitigi*

*Töre Bitigi* is one of the fundamental Christian Turkic texts after the Codex Cumanicus and it was based in large part on ecclesiastical prescriptions and laws. Consequently, it is possible to see a group of religious terms in the text (see Appendix 1). The word of *ari/ari* is a significant example. *see ari* “saint, holy” (Vásáry 1969, 165); *ari*, *ari* “holy” (Tryjarski 1993, 89); *aruv*, *aruf* “immaculate, chaste, pure”; *aruv zulal* (Tryjarski 1993, 91); *ari beriv* “the holy objects” KCh: 99/2, 5, 24 (Vásáry 1969, 144, 155, 165, 166); *ari uçmaç* “Holy Paradise” KCh 119/6–158/10 (Vásáry 1969, 149, 160); *arilik* “sacred thing, relic(s); purity, chastity, holiness” (Tryjarski 1993, 108). The word appears not only in *Töre Bitigi* but also in other Armeno-Kipchak texts. For example, the text of the Sermon by Anton Vartabed also contains this word in the form of *ari*, *aruv* “good; pure”. *égar k’i k’ozung séning aruv bolsa barça t’ening iarçta bolur / a égar k’i k’ozung séning çaman bolsa barça t’ening çarançuluçta bolur*. “If your eye is pure (clean), your body is in the light, but if your eye is evil (sore) your whole body is in darkness.” SAV F°2r°/18–20 (Tryjarski 1997, 304, 316); *awjed[aran] džrak... [...] égar k’i k’ozung séning aruv bolsa barça t’ening iarçta bolur b[u dur] araçnörtlar s[ur]p iuçövnun ari bolsa da prik’lad iaçşı bolurlar da ari da...* “The eye is a candle of the body: if your eye is pure (clean), your body is in the light, which means: if the superior (chiefs) of the Holy Church are saintly and give a good example, all the churches are good and pure.” SAV F°v°/21–4 (Tryjarski 1997, 306, 317); *[ia]zçlardan çayysi k’i bizni barçamizni arzani etk’ay k’[risdò]s iarliçamaçi [b]la k’jensining aruvlux bla saçlama oruçnu çayysi k’i alnimzga dr da sóvuçluk bla yumsa bla jėtišmaga y[ò]r[tut’]i[u]nun başçşına k’[risdò]snun t’engrimzni bizim amèn*. “That we all, owing to Christ’s purity, might be worthy of His mercy to observe the Lent, that is in front of us, and of achieving with joy and hope the abundance of gifts of Christ, our Lord, our Lord, Amen.” SAV F°5° 1–4 (Tryjarski 1997, 316, 319).

In the *Töre Bitigi* the word *ari/ari* was written along with *ata / bitik / Džan / kiši / könülük / tay / vartabed / yihöv / çaç / çan / çatün / çatunlar*. These combinations show parallalism with other historical texts, which have been noted below.

**ari ata**<sup>5</sup> “sacred father, sacred priest”

- I. *Yoḡsa asrī taḡlar edim, ki aḡak'ellär u belgili ari atalar munüñki ulu işniñ ḡayyusuna bolmadılar.* “But I was surprised greatly that the apostles and known sacred fathers have disregarded this great work.” TB-9v/164v
- II. *Egär ki Teḡridän esä bu yaḡşı sayış da tügällänsä Anüñ oḡarmaḡı bilä, asrī yaḡşı; a egär tügällänmäsä menim başlaganım, özgä ari atalar, tügälläp, başka çiyḡargaylar.* “If this good thought is from God and if it will be executed with his help, very well; and if my undertaking will not be completed, other sacred fathers will add and will finish.” TB-9v/164v–10r/165r
- III. *Daḡı da Miakel [=Mik'ael] vartabed yazar antniñ luḡzu üstünä, ki burungi ari atalar antniñ luḡzun asrī ayır ḡoyuḡurlar, neçä törä bitikini tüzmiyirlär edi.* “Further Vardapet Mikael writes about the penance of the oath, formerly sacred fathers established a very heavy penance of the oath, since nobody made the Law Code.” TB-32v/187v
- IV. *[E]gär ki dünyâda nemä yäñi badiyät çiyip esä, anı barça baḡip, ari atalar arıḡsılıḡni kerı salgaylar da toḡru yolga keltirgäylär.* “If new phenomena have arisen in life, after considering all of them, the sacred fathers will delete the leftovers and direct to the right way.” TB-37v/192v
- V. *Daḡı da köp bitiklär ari atalardan u vartabedlärdän yazıldı kendiläri vaḡtına.* “In addition, many books were written by the sacred fathers and Vardapets in their time.” TB-38r/193r
- VI. *Barir egäç çerövgä da öldürgäy anda kişi, anüñ kibik kişi öldürüçi ari atalarnüñ boyruḡlarından yazıḡ ornuna sayışlanmagay, ḡaysın ki biz dä alay saḡlama klärbiz.* “If someone goes to war and kills a person, by the command of sacred fathers such [a person] as this murderer is not considered as a sinner, and we, too are inclined to regard in this way.” TB 108v/263v
- VII. *[A]nüñ kibiklär Teḡridän da ari atalardan ḡaryışlıdırlar.* “[L]ike these people are more damned by God and by the sacred fathers.” TB-111v/266v
- VIII. *Zera vank' ari atalarnüñ yeridir [...].* “Because the monastery is the seat of sacred fathers [...].” TB-111v/266v

<sup>5</sup> *ata* is a spritual title not only in Christianity and also in Buddhism → *ata/T'* (I) A) Adv. a) ‘Vater, Schwiegervater’; b) ‘Vater (Titel Buddhas); B) Adnom. ) ‘Vater-, Schwiegervater-’; b) ‘Vater- (Titel Buddhas)’; C) In Eigennamen (UW 1977, 254, 255). Moreover the word is recorded in CC–G as the first consubstantial person of Holy Trinity → *ata dage ogul dage aretin* 61v/10–11 (Drimba 2000, 118).

**ari bitik**<sup>6</sup> “scripture, holy writ, holy book, Bible”

- I. *Kim ki munu aytir, bilmestir ari bitiklerniñ küçüni.* “He who says it, he does not know the power of the scriptures.” TB-5r/160r
- II. *3-ünçi, bu vaqtlarda erinçäkliktän iüränmägä klämäslär Eski u Yäñi Törälärni ne markarelärdän, ne Awedarandan, ki bolgaylar edi ari bitikläriñ küçündän bilmägä könü töräni.* “Third, at this time, people do not want to learn the Old and New Canon from prophets nor from the Gospel, because of laziness, thanks to the force of the scriptures will discover the true law.” TB-5v/160v
- III. *[E]slägäybiz törämizni da körgüzgäybiz özgä millätkä, ki dayma törälärimizni ari bitiklerdän etärbiz [...].* “[W]e remember our law and indicate it to the other nations, we always make our law from the Bible [...].” TB-7v/162v
- IV. *Dayi da bardir köp türlü haybatliq ki [=haybatliqi] bu işläriñ ari bitiklärdä.* “In the scriptures exist too many various examples of these works.” TB-8v/163v
- V. *Xaytip dayi da yaxşılıq beriliptir bizgä, ki barça ari bitikläriñ aniy üçün tüzdülär, ki adämilärni yazıxtan tartkaylar [...].* “One more benefit was given to us, just as they established all scriptures to distract the people from a sin [...].” TB-11v/166v
- VI. *Da bu iş ari bitiklärdä alanidir, kim kläsä tergämägä.* “And it is clear in the scriptures, if anyone wishes to explore.” TB-13r/168r
- VII. *Tiyişlidir yarıuçuga, ki bitikçi, uslu, ağılli bolgay, da ari bitikläriñ küçün yaxşı bilgäy [...].* “The judge must be literate, wise, clever, and he must understand the force of the scriptures well [...].” TB-14v/169v
- VIII. *Tanıqlıq beriyir muşar ari bitikläriñ [...].* “The scriptures give testimony to this [...].” TB-70r/225r

Compare with: *arığ kelām* “holy words” → *Ol ekki nerse turur: biri Tanğrı te ‘ālānıngs ariğ kelāmu turur. Eger anıng birle ‘amal qılsañız ya ‘ni bu Kelāmu ‘llāh ne işke kim buyurdu anı qılsañız taqı ne işdin kim yıgdı, andın yıgılsañız, hēç azmağaysız.* 168/16–7; 169/1 (NF 116). mong. title: *Ariγun surγayuli-yin asaγuqu öçikü biçig* “Questions and answers about the holy teachings” (Kuiper 2014, 29).

**Ari Džan “Holy Spirit”**

- I. *Ari Džanniñ şnork‘undan hadirländik yazmaga törälär bitikini.* “We prepared for for the writing of the code of laws by the grace of Holy Spirit.” TB-2r/157r
- II. *5-inçi, ki bu zamanda Ari Džan izyavit etmäs, neçik Şoyomon u Taniel vaqtına, ya neçik Gorint‘os kermäninä, ya özgä uluslarda, ki könü törä etärlär edi.* “Fifth,

<sup>6</sup> “CC yaqşı bitik ‘bonas literas’ (Kuun), ‘Dobrego Pisma (Ewangelii)’ (Zajaczkowski), ‘la bonne Écriture’ (Drimba). Mais on peut se demander sur quel modèle-terme l’auteur ou le traducteur de ce texte aurait calqué yaqşı bitik ‘bonne Écriture’? Ou auratit attendu plutō arī bitik ‘Sainte Écriture’ si l’on voulait exprimer ici une des Saintes Écritures ou les Saintes Écritures prises ensemble” (Mollova 1985, 347).

- currently the Holy Spirit doesn't influence as in the days of Solomon and Daniel or in the city of Corinth, or in the other countries where they judged rightly." TB-6r/161r
- III. *Zera Ari Džan edi körgüzüçü alarniñ yürekinä.* "The Holy Spirit was a guide in their heart." TB-6r/161r
- IV. *10-unçi, xačan ki adam yaratıldı ür[dü] da berdi añar Biy Teñri Ari Džanniñ šnorhk'in.* "Tenth, when the human being was created, the Lord God gave to him the gift of the Holy Spirit." TB-7v/162v
- V. *Xačan ki K'risdos keldi dünyâgâ, ol Ari Džanni yänä berdi adämilärgä da džan yaryusun, çaysi ki surp Awedarandır da ganunk' [...].* "When the Christ has come to the world, he has returned to people the Holy Spirit and the spiritual judgment, which is the Holy Gospel and canons." TB-8r/163r
- VI. *Ošta bu 12 türlü baş işlär biri birinä baylap, säbäp çoyarbiz Törä bitikinä oğşaš surp arak'ellärgä, çaysi ki Biy Teñridän yaryučular berildilär dünyâgâ, da çaytip Ari Džan bilä toyrudular hajrabelärni u vartabedläri, ari yiçövnüñ yaryučularin.* "Here we connect these twelve main circumstances of a different sort with each other and we consider as the basis of preparation of the Law Code, as Holy Apostles, who have been appointed by the Lord of God as judges to the world, and then through the Holy Spirit they have generated patriarches and vardapets, the judges of the Holy Church." TB-8v/163v
- VII. *Da Teñriniñ atı atalır ayirilmas tarbiyat, zera ne türlü yaryučudur Oğul, ol türlü Ata u Ari Džan. Da bu iş ari bitiklärdä alanidir, kim kläsä tergämägä.* "The name of God is called as an individual nature, because the Son is the judge, and the Father and the Holy Spirit. And it is clear in the scriptures, if anyone wishes to explore." TB-13r/168r
- VIII. *Da K'risdosnuñ mgrdut'iununa Ata Teñri, u Ari Džan, da surp Jovannes tanıxtirlar.* "God the Father and Holy Spirit and Saint John testify to the baptism of Christ." TB-24v/179v
- IX. *Dayi da yazar vartabed, ki biz k'risdânlarga tiymästir dinsizläriñ töräsi alnina barmaga, anıñ üçün ki Ata Oğul Ari Džanga inanmaslar.* "Further vardapet writes that, it is improper for us Christians to apply to the court of infidels, because they don't believe in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit." TB-33v/188v
- X. *Xaytip aytır dayi da: 'kim toymasa suvdan u Ari Džandan, ol bolmas uçmaçka kirmägä.'* "And (Christ) says more: 'If one is not born from the holy water and the Holy Spirit, one cannot enter heaven.'" TB-34r/189r
- XI. *Tiyäsidir bizgä könü törämiz bilä barmaga, ki biz Ata Oğul Ari Džanga bir Teñri tapunurbiz, bir tarbiyatta, u bir Teñriliktä, [da çanliçta], u bir çuvatta, da haybatliqta.* "And we should be guided by the true law; because we believe in



the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit, the oneness of God, in the individual nature, and in the individual divinity, [and in the Kingdom], and in the force, and in the glory.” TB-35r/190r

- XII. *Da Teyriniy Oylun inanürbiz könü Teysi, ki boldi könü adam ayürilmas Atadan u Ari Džanniy birlikindän meji mejilik.* “And we believe in the Son of God as the true God; who became the true man, staying in indivisible unity with the Father and Sacred Spirit for ever and ever.” TB-35r/190r
- XIII. *Haybat könü surp Errortut‘iunga, Ataga Oyulga da Ari Džanga meji mejilik, amen.* “Glory to the true Holy Trinity, to the Father, to the Son and to the Holy Spirit for ever and ever! Amen.” TB-141v/296v
- XIV. *Haybat surp Errortut‘iunga, Ata Oyul Ari Džan Teyrigä bugün da här kez meji mejilik, amen.* “Glory to the Holy Trinity, to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, to God, today and everybody, for ever and ever, Amen.” TB-112v
- XV. *Haybat Biy K‘risdoska, Barča dünyâni yaratkanga, Ata Oyul Ari Džan, bir Teyrigä, mejilik. Ammen.* “Glory to the Lord Christ, to the creator of the universe, to the Father the Son the Holy Spirit, to the one God, for ever and ever! Amen.” TB-126v.

Compare with: *ariğ Cān ya‘ni Cibril* “Cebrail” (TKT 221, 222, 223). *ariğ cān* “Holy Spirit (for Prophet Joseph)” → *Bu biz teg katıg kında kim bar bu kün / Uruldu ariğ cānga türlüg tügün / Ğariblıkda ərksiz tüşüp ilenip / İsiz on qarındaş öler-miz bu kün* 103r/17–8 (KE: 144). *ariğ ferışteler* → *Ol mel‘üne sebebodin əkki, ariğ ferışteler mu‘āqib boldular, tēp aytur erdi* 367/15–6 (NF 255). *ary tyn* “der Heilige Geist” (Grønbech 1942, 41, 42). mong. *Ariun süns* “Holy Spirit” (Kara 1997, 59).

### **ari xač** “Holy cross”

- I. *Kivoyt anda bolgay ol ermenilär bilä, xaysi ki birgäsinä oltururlar törädä, xačan vaht bolsa, barmaçin xoyma ari xač üsnä.* “A Paritor will be there with the Armenians, who sit together at the court, and if the time exists, to put (two) fingers on the holy cross.” TB-138r/293r

### **ari xan** “pious king”

- I. *Aniy üçün keräk, ki ol obiçay bilä tirilgäy, neçik ari xanlar, neçik eskidä Ovsiya xan, da Ezeğiya, Tawit‘, a yäñidä Apkar u Gosdandianos, T‘eotos u Drtadios, dayin da alarga oçsaşlar.* “Therefore, he should live according to the custom of pious kings, as in the ancient times the King of Hosea, and Hezekiah, and David, and in the modern times Abkar and Constantine, Theodosius and Tiridates and the similars.” TB-42r/197r

**ari xatîn/xatunlar** “Holy woman/Holy women”

- I. *Ne türlü K'risdosnun jarut'ünuna: ari xatunlar, körüp, sövünçlük berdilär arak'ëllärgä, da arak'ëllär toxtattılar K'risdosnuñ köni surp jarut'ünin.* “As with the resurrection of Christ: Holy women saw and gave love to the Apostles, and the Apostles established the truth of the Holy resurrection of Christ.” TB-22v/177v
- II. *Da surp arut'ünuna K'risdosnuñ frištälär, u kerezmaniniñ taşı, ki açıldı, da kefini, da arak'ëllär, da ari xatınlar, da storozlar tanıxtır.* “Just as the angels testified to the Holy resurrection of Christ, the gravestone and the shroud opened, the Apostles and the Holy women and the guards testify.” TB-25r/180r.

Compare with: *arıy;* “RYX “arı, saf, temiz” → -ıñ(-iñä) tädgi qapayda ekki *arıy qızlar turur elgi ärdini-lig yıp äñirär* “[Prens] [surların?] etegine ulaştı. Kapıda tertemiz iki kız duruyordu, elleri mücevherli ipleri eğiriyordu. O zaman prens sordu: ‘Siz kimsiniz?’. O kızlar: ‘Biz kapının bekçisiyiz.’ dediler” XLI (İKPÖ 31, 32, 135); *tañ arıy qızlar sarıy altın yıp äñirär-lär tegin körklerin tañlap sizlär lölä qanı quñcu-yı mu sizlär ayıtsar biz ordu qapay közätçi biz tep tedı-lär* “[...] olağanüstü temiz kız, sarı altın bir ipi eğiriyorlardı. Prens, onların güzelliğini hayranlıkla seyrettikten sonra sordu: ‘Sizler, Ejderha Hanı’nın eşleri misiniz?’; onlar da ‘Biz saray kapısının bekçisiyiz.’ dediler” XLIII (İKPÖ 31, 32, 135). *arığ tişiler* → *olar eki arığ tişiler erdi biri ‘Abire atlıg, biri Şadūk atlıg* 35v/3–4 (KE 48). *Arıg hūr* → *Arıg hūrñü kördi ulaş oynayur* 86r/4 (KE 119), *Köñül mundin kesgil ‘ukbika ulaşgil, keçer dünyädın keçgil uçmah tapa uçgil, arıg hūrñarñı kuçgil, kevşer şerbetin içgil, uçmah burākın mingil* 238v/2–3 (KE 345). *ary qyz mariam* “die heilige Jungfrau Maria” (Grønbech 1942, 41, 42). *ol oğlan kenfi anafibile. arekys mariam iwğūdilar ialbardilar Iesusga baz vrdilar teizdilar* CC-G 62r/9–10 (Drimba 2000, 119). Söz etiñ bolupturur. *arıkız ma’iamdan*. Sövnç bizgä bolupturur dvnıægä tıre lıç bereliptur *Christus* bizgä [bolup > togup] turur *arıkız ma’iādan* CC-G 73r/6–8 (Drimba 2000, 137). (b)is mıñkın azam uçun öz aretın erkındē vlan. *arekyz mariamdan* boy iaratup kenñinä. azam boldı... CC-G 80r/2–3 (Drimba 2000, 159). *Christus*[nıç > nıñ] algisli[ç > k]anı jazuxımızñı juldı barçaga tangla/n/çih boldı *ari kiz ma’iādan* CC-G 73r/17–9 (Drimba 2000, 137). *Arı kız* “Kızoğlan kız” (İML: 11). *ari göys Marianē* “Holy virgin” (Tryjarski 1993, 89, 91); and also see mong. *arı’ün eme* اريون ايمه (MA 105); *arigun keygen* “Chaste girl, virgin” (MED 53); *Theodora Arakhtloun*: Daughter of İlkhān Abaqa and Maria Diplobatatzina. *Arakhtloun* < *arı’ün khātūn* ‘a pious lady’ (Korobeinikov 2014, 169, 363).

**ari kişi** “righteous man, faithful”

- I. [...] *da ne türlü ari kişi xorçmastır köktägi yarıuçıdan* [...] “[A]nd a righteous man is not afraid of the judge of the heaven [...]” TB-11v/166v

Compare with: *Yılan olarnı körüp kitti, hatunu aydı: bu arıĝ kiři bolĝay, oyĝatıp ta‘ām bérĝil* 143v/18 (KE 203). *İblīs aydı: men arıĝ muşlih kiři-men. Mevlī hazretinde ‘azze ve celle ‘izzetim ve hürmetim bar; du‘ā kılayın ħarnııdaki oĝlan sen teĝ arıĝ ādemī tuĝsa meniı atımnı ataĝay-mu-sen* 14v/1–2 (KE 21). *Māryānuı ħatunu bar erdi arıĝ müsiülmān, üç yełük anuıklap koddı* 125r/16 (KE 175). *İbāhatīler aydı: mi‘rāc Muħammedniı köıliĝe erdi. Ammā arıĝ müsiülmānlar <ehl-i> sünnet ve cem‘at aydılar: mi‘rāc ħak turur* 217v/21–218r/1 (KE 312).

**ari könułük** “sacred truth, holy truth, holy creed”

I. *Anıı kibik iş ħarşidir Teırigä da ari könułükkä.* “Like this act is against God and the holy truth.” TB-98v/253v.

Compare with: *[K]amaĝ on-tın songarkı büĝü biliglig burĝan-lar ħın’kirtü arıĝ süzüük bilĝe biligleri üz-e [...]* “bütün on taraftaki bilgelik sahibi Budalar, gerçek-doĝru, temiz, pak bilĝe bilgileri ile [...] 137/III.6a/7–9 (AY-III 31). *yazınçsız arıĝ ç(a)kşap(a)t* “saf, temiz dinî (Şikşâpada)”? (AY-III 63). *arıĝ çaqşaput boditsva* “bodisatva – chistaja zapoved” (DTS 52). *arıĝ yol → Ķavlulu ta‘ālā taıı bizni arıĝ yolĝa köndürüp hidāyet birle aĝırlap yaman yoldın kutĝardı* 1v/5 (KE 3). *arıĝ it ‘ikād → Qayu mu‘min ve muvaħhid bu durüz ve şalavātı manĝa arıĝ it ‘ikād birle bir ħata ayıtur bolsa, Ħaq tvt anııĝ üze on raħmat idĝay.* 4/9–19 (NF 3).

**ari tay:** Mount Sinai

I. *Bu türlü Bedros, işitip Tapor tayda Ata Teırinıı avazın K‘risdos üstünä, aytir edi, tanıılıı berip, ki bu avazı biz könu işittik, ħaçan ki birĝäsinä edik ari tayda.* “And Peter, has heard a voice of Lord of God over Christos on the Mount Tabor, said that: ‘By the testifying, we truly heard this voice, when we were together with him on Mount Sinai.’” 26r/181r.

Compare with: *arıĝ yer* “kutsal toprak, mukaddes yer, Şam” (TKT 221, 222, 223). mong. *arigun orun* “Holy place; the Pure Land; Paradise (Buddh.)” (MED 53). *arıĝ yer* اریق بیر “svyashennoe mesto” (MA 105).

**ari vartabed** “Saint vardapet”

I. *Haybatlı ari vartabedniı yasaganı bu Töre bitikini ħoltıasından Sdep’annos gat’oyigosniı barča ermenilikniı.* “This Law Code has been made by Saint Vardapet, under the request of the Catholicos of all the Armenians.” TB-2r/157r

II. *[D]a sayış ettim, ki ħoltıa etkiy edim özgä küçlü ari vartabedlärdän, zera bar edilär köplär ol vaıtta atlı-çuvlu pilisopalar.* “[...] also I have tried to ask to other strong vardapets, because there were many eminent and glorified philosophers.” TB-9r/164r

- III. *Munda bu kün bu bitik tügälläniyir, çaysi ki ündälir Törä bitiki. Yasaganı ari vartabedläriñ barça ermeniliktä, çaysi ki yasadılar da toxtattılar ermeni tili bilä kendiläriniñ džinsına, çaysi ki yazılğan bar edi ermeniçä İlöv ermenilärinä, işlätirlär edi anı yazılğanına da toxtalğanına körä.* “Here today comes to the end this script, called the Code Law. This creation of vardapets of all Armenians, which they have composed and have written down in the Armenian language for their nation and have developed on the basis of script and regulations (canons) and which there was with the Lvov Armenians written in Armenian.” TB-141v/296v
- IV. *Äväldän bar edi ermeni töräsi, ne türlü ki ari vartabedläär yasap edilär da toxtatıp edilär kendiläriniñ džinsına, ulu ermenilikkä, ne türlü gat’oyigoslarnıñ çoltçası bilä da çanlarımizniñ çoltçası bilä vartabedlärdän yasalıp edi.* “In the beginning the Armenian laws existed, thus they they were created by vardapets for their nation, for great Armenia, as they have been composed by vardapets at the request of Catholicoses and our kings.” TB-112v.

Compare with: *abasvar atl(ı)ğ arığ y(a)ruk ün-lüg t(e)ngri* “Âbhâsvara adlı ‘temiz ışıklı’ tanrı” 143/III.9a/7; *parıtaşup atl(ı)ğ az arığ t(e)ngri* “Parıttaşupha adlı ‘az temiz’ tanrı” 143/III.9a/8–9; *apramanaşub atl(ı)ğ ülgüsüz arığ t(e)ngri* “Apramânaşubha adlı ‘sonsuz temiz’ tanrı” 143/III.9a/9–10; *şubakr(a)s atl(ı)ğ topl arığ t(e)ngri* “Şubhakrt̄sna adlı ‘tam temiz’ tanrı” 143/III.9a/10–1 (AY-III 36). *arığ turuğ arhant dıntar-larığ öldürdüm erşer...* “arı duru aziz(leri), seçilmişleri öldürdüm ise...” 134/III.4b/14–5 (AY-III 28). *arığ turuğ arhant-lar kuvrağ-ınga* “arı-duru Arhantlar topluluğuna” 155/III.15a/23 (AY-III 45). *arığ täñri* “nenogreshhimnyj bog” (HSh 189, 190). *arığ Tanğri* “subhan Allah” (TKT 221, 222, 223). *Suçulğil iki na ‘leynniñni, sen özde arığ Tuvā atlığ* 31/39a3=20:12 (TKT 222). *arığ tegin* (DTS 52). *arığ Tañrı* “münezzezh, temiz, uzak” → *tesbîh aydı Tañrıga / bu arığ Tañrı / ıydı anı* (K-EF 131, 160). *Arığ Beğ Tok Buğa* 2v/11 (KE 4). *arığ zātliğ Eñnūh atlığ İdrīs yalawaç a‘lehyīs-selam* 19v/16 (KE 28). *ary Lucas* “der Heilige Lukas” (Grønbech 1942, 41, 42); *ary steffan: biz oqur-biz ary steffandan kim...* “wir lesen von dem heiligen Stephanus, dass [...]” (Grønbech 1942, 146, 179, 277). *ary Augustin: ary Augustin ol alāj ajtyr* “der heilige Augustin er sagt so” (Grønbech 1942, 176, 276). *Are Paulus* 62v/25 (Drimba 2000, 120); *are francif* 61r/2 (Drimba 2000, 117, 120); *arı g/e/gor* 62r/19 (Drimba 2000, 119); *Arı Ambrofius* 62v/35 (Drimba 2000, 121); *ary bejmiz teñri* “unser heiliger Herr Gott” (Grønbech 1942, 41, 42). *arı arak’ellar* “Holy Apostoles” (Tryjarski 1993, 89). *اریق تینگری ariq tengri* “svjatoj tengri”, *اریق بی تینگری ariq bī tengri* “svjat tengri” (MA 106). mong. *ariq böke* → *ari[q] bökö-yin uruq-un kö’ün yesüder* “Yesüder, ein Prinz aus der Nachkommenschaft des Ariq-bökö” (Rybatzki 2006, 148); *Arīq Būqā* (Allsen 2004, 48, 64). *te’üünü kübe’ün Ari’yun-Ide’yetü-qayan* “sein Sohn war A. (der Chan mit reiner Nahrung)” (TMEN 129). *Arghun Aqa* (1243–1255), *Arighun Khan*

(1284–1291): Two medieval Mongols rulers of Persia, and also in Manchu *Arigūn* is a common element in names for both men and women (Schlesinger 2012, 216). Arigun (chin. 阿里衮 *Aligun*): A manchu officer of the Qing Army during Qianlong's era.<sup>7</sup>

### **ari yihöv** “Holy Church”

- I. *Din tanmaqniḡ anti budur, ki ḡoygay ḡolunu ḡaç üstünä ya yixöv üstünä da hražarel bolgay ari yixövädän* [...]. “The oath of the renunciation of faith is that he will put his hand on a cross or to the church, and he will give up from the Holy Church [...]” TB-29r/184r. Compare with: *arig ew* “Kabe” → *Bu arig ewüñgüni duşmanlardın saqlağıl, duşmanlarnı bu haramuñğa kigürmegil, sen anlarnı hel-äk qılğıl* (NF 31). *bařfa jnanırım bir/are/katolik dagn apostolik kl[e > i]seagæ* CC-G 74v/16–7 “die eine heilige katholische und apostolische Kirche” (Drimba 2000, 138; Grønbech 1942, 41, 42). mong. *ariyun ger* “pure house,” is a calque of the Chinese *jingzhu* 淨住, “pure abode,” a term for a Buddhist monastery (Elverskog 2008, 111). *Ariyun sariyun* (Jing-ju-se): the name of a Buddhist monastery (Sárkozi 2010, 101).

## **3. Conclusion**

The Armeno-Kipchak word *ari/ari* is significant ecclesiastical term in the *Töre Bitigi*, which is equal to Armenian հայր *haiṛ*, Polish *święty*, Latin *sanctus*. *ari/ari* is also seems as a religious term in the other historical text such as Chuastuanift, Altun Yaruk, Kışaşı'l-Enbiyā, Nehcül'Ferādīs, first Turkic Quran Translation and Codex Cumanicus. Moreover, this term shows parallalism with Mongolian.

### Appendix 1:

#### **Glossary of Ecclesiastical Terms in *Töre Bitigi***

*aḡpaš*: bishop.

*aḡpašliḡ*: dignity of bishop.

*alyiš*: pray, orison, precatation.

*alyišla-*: to sanctify, to ordain, to admit into the ministry of religion as a priest or bishop.

*amen/ammen* (< heb. אָמֵן *amén*, syr. ܐܡܝܢ *āmēn*): truly, verily, certainly.

*arak'äl/arak'el/arak'el* (< o-arm. ܐܪܚܘܬܐ *arak'eal*): apostel.

*arhiaḡpaš* (< gr. ἀρχι *arkhi* “first, chief” + *aḡpaš* “bishop”): archbishop, metropolitan bishop.

*arut'un* (< arm. հարություն *harut'yun*): resurrection of the dead, raising up the dead.

<sup>7</sup> For a list of Officers East-Turkestan campaign 1a14 see <http://www.battle-of-qurman.com.cn/e/list.htm>.

*Asdu(v)adžšašunč* (< o-arm. աստուածաշունչ astuacašunč): inspired by God; Bible.

*ata*: father, abbreviation of *Ata Teḡri* “God the Father”.

*Ata Teḡri*: God the Father.

*Awedaran* (< o- arm. ավետարան awetaran): Gospel.

*Awhannès* (< heb. יְהוָה יְרַחֵם Yôḥānān “Graced by God” or יְהוָה יְרַחֵם Yəḥôḥānān “God is Gracious”): John.

*Bartlomi*y (< aram. ܒܪ ܒܪ “son” + heb. תלמי Talmai): Bartholomew.

*babas* (< gr. πάππας páppas): priest.

*babasliḡ*: dignity of priest.

*bolvan*: idol.

*bošat-*: to forgive, to condone.

*bošatliḡ*: salvation, forgiveness.

*bošatmaḡ*: exemption, privilege.

*boy*: spirit.

*dalibuh* (< rus. далибуг/ далибог dalibóg): God forbid!

*dast(i)ment/tastiment* (< lat. testamentum): testament.

*din* (< ar. دین dīn): religion, belief.

*din atas*: confessor.

*dinsiz* (ar. دین dīn + turc. suff. -siz): infidel (pagan, muslim, jew).

*doktor* (lat. doceō “teach” + lat. suff. -tor -): scholarly monk, theologian.

*duḡovniḡ* (< rus.-ukr. духóвныj, pol. duchowny): ecclesiastical.

*Džnunt* (< o-arm. ծնունդ cnund “birth”): Christmas.

*džan* (< pers. جان cān): soul, spirit.

*čuhut/džhut/džuhut/džuvut* (< ar. يَهُودِيّ yahūdiyy, يَهُود yahūd): Jew.

*Errortut’iun* (< arm. Երրորդություն Errordout·youm): Trinity.

*Ērusaḡēm/Ērusaheēm/Jerusahēm* (< heb. יְרוּשָׁלַיִם Yəṛūšālayim): Jerusalem.

*Esu/Ēsu/Jesu* (< heb. יֵשׁוּעַ yeshúa’): Jesus.

*Ezegiya/Ēzègiya* (< Hebrew חִזְקִיָּה chizkiyá): Hezekiah.

*frištā* (< m-pers. frēstag “angel, apostle”): angel.

*gat’ayigos/gat’ayigos* (< gr. καθολικός katholikós): Catholicos, the head of the Armenian Apostolic Church.

*gūnah* (< pers. گناه gonâh): sin.

*hèridigos/heridigos* (< gr. αἱρετικός hairetikós): heretic.

*hercuadžoy/hercuadžoy/hercuadžoy* (< arm. ?): dissenter, sectarian, apostate.

*inam*: religion, belief.

*inan-*: to believe in, to trust.

*Jagop* (< heb. יַעֲקֹב ya‘aqób): Jacob.

*jarut* ‘iun → aruti’ un

*Jisus K’risdos* (< heb. יֵשׁוּעַ yeshúa’ + gr. χριστός khristós): Jesus of Nazareth.

*Johanēs / Johannès / Johanneš / Jovaneš / Jovanneš / Ohaneš / Ohanneš / Ovanēs / Ovvanēs*  
→ Awhannès

*Johanēs Awedaranič*: John the Evangelist, John the Apostle (John the Theologian).

- Jovsep'/Jovsep'/Ovsep'/Ovsep'/Ovsep* (< heb. יוסף Yosef “God shall add”): Joseph.
- Juta* (< heb. יהודה Yehuda): Judah.
- k'ahana* (< o-arm. ܦܘܗܢܢܘܟܟ'ahanay): priest, clergyman.
- k'ahanaliç*: assembly of priests.
- k'arozçi* (< arm. քարոզիչ karožitich): confessor, preacher.
- köktägi*: celestial.
- k'risdân/k'ristân/kristân* (< gr. χριστός khristós “Christ, anointed one” + lat. suffix -anus):  
The Christian, Christian.
- k'risdânlik/kristânlik/k'ristânlik*: Christianity.
- K'risdos* (< gr. χριστός khristós “the anointed one”): Christ.
- çaç* (< arm. խաչ xaç “cross” or pers. چاه khāç): cross.
- çosdovanut'ium* (< arm. խոստովանութիւն khosdovanoutyou): recognition, confession.
- çosdovanut'ium anti(i)*: the oath of recognition, the oath of renunciation; the oath including,  
the formulas of credo, creed and elements of a confession.
- marabed* (< arm. մարաբէտ maïrabéd): abbess, prioress.
- mardirosluç* (< arm. մարտիրոս mardiros + turc. suff. -luç): martyrdom.
- markare* (< arm. մարգարէ markare): prophet.
- markareuhi/markareuhu* (< o-arm. մարգարէուհի margarēuhi): prophetes.
- Mgrdiç* (< arm. մկրտիչ meguerditich): John the Baptist.
- mgrdut'ium* (< arm. մկրտութիւն meguerdotyou): baptism.
- Mikael/Mik'ajel/Mik'ajel/Miçal* (< heb. מיכאל mikhael): Archangel Michael.
- Movşes* (< heb. משה moshé): Moses.
- nahabed* (< arm. նահապէտ nahabéd): patriarch.
- Napeut'* (< heb. נבֹּת, gr. Ναβουθα): Naboth.
- neř/ner/nerin/nerin* (< o-arm. ներն neřn): antichrist.
- Noj* (< heb. נֹחֹ nóakh, nōah): Noah.
- Onesimos/Onesimōs* (< gr. Ὀνήσιμος Onēsimos “useful”): Saint Onesimus, The Holy  
Apostle Onesimus.
- pa'rawon/pa'rawon* (< heb. פַּרְעֹ par'ōh or egypt. pr '3): Pharaoh.
- pargendak'/Paregendan* (< arm. բարեկենդանս paréguéntan): Maslenitsa.
- Pet'gęgem/Pet'gęhem* (< heb. בֵּית לֶחֶם bet láchem): Bethlehem.
- probošč* (< o-rus. пробошѣ/ пребошѣ probošč'/ prebošč'): abbot, priest (Catholic).
- prorok* (< o-slav. пророкъ prorok'): prophet.
- proroklar*: Holy writings of prophets.
- Provod* (< ukr. проводи provodj): Day of Rejoicing (the second Tuesday of Pascha or the  
second Monday of Pascha).
- sadaya* (< ar. صدقة şadaqa): sadaqah, alms, almsgiving.
- sargawak/sargawark* (< arm. սարկաւազ sargavak): deacon.
- Sdep'annos/Sdep'anos* (< gr. στέφανος stéphanos “crown, wreath”): Stephen.
- Simeon/Simeon* (< heb. שמעון shamá' “to hear, listen”): Simeon.
- Sinaj* (< heb. סֵנְיִ סֵנְיִ Senneh): Sinai.
- Soçomon/Soçomon* (< heb. שלמה Shlomo < שלום shalom “peace”): Solomon.

*surp* (< o-arm. սուրբ surb): holy, sacred, saint.

*svätiiy* (< o-slav. свѣтъ svet’): holy, sacred, saint.

*Taniel/Taniel* (< heb. דָּאֲנִיֵּל Daniél < דָּן dan “one who judges (of)” + אֲנִי –i “me” + אֱלֹהִים el “God” = “God is my judge”): Daniel.

*Tapor/T’apor* (< heb. ?): Mount Tabor.

*Tawit’/Tawit* (< heb. דָּוִד Dāwīd “belowed”): David.

*Teyri*: God.

*Teyri Oylu/Teyriniiy Oylu*: Son of God, Jesus Christ.

*Teyrilik*: deity, divinity.

*Törä* (~ heb. תּוֹרָה torā “instruction, law or teaching”): Laws of Moses, first five books of Hebrew Bible.

*tum* (< arm. ?): sacred gifts (bread and wine).

*učmax*: heaven, kingdom of heaven.

*Ulukün*: Easter, Holiday.

*vank’* (< o-arm. վանք vank): monastery.

*vartabed* (< o-arm. վարդապետ vardapet): vardapet, scholarly monk, doctor of divinity.

*vartabedlik/vartabedliç*: doctrine.

*yariç*: light (about Jesus Christus, in Christianity Christ is light of light).

*yaziç*: sin.

*yaziçli*: sinner.

*yaziçsiz*: innocent.

*yüçöv/yuçöv*: church.

*Yordan* (< heb. יַרְדֵּן yardén): Jordan.

*yüügün-*: to stoop to God, to worship.

*žamgoč* (< arm. ժամղոչ jamgotch): the bell ringer.

## Appendix 2

1. *Bügün boliiyir munda bu bitikniy tügällänmäçi, çaysi ki ündäilir Törä bitiki, yazilgandır yergäsinä. Äväl burun položenâsi, Törä bitikiniy aççiçi. Andan soyrä dayi da yazilgan kendi yergäsinä 124 törädür; çaysi ki ne türlü iş bilä toxtaldı. Äväldän bar edi ermeni töräsi, ne türlü ki ari vartabedläer yasap edilär da toxtatip edilär kendiläriniy džinsina, ulu ermenilikkä, ne türlü gat’oyigoslarniiy çoltçasi bilä da çanlarimizniy çoltçasi bilä vartabedlärdän yasalip edi. Xaysi ki bügün Ilöv ermenilärindä bardir ermeniçä. Da andan soyrä ne türlü özgä millätiniy säbäplärindän boldu, alay çanliçtan buyruç, ki törälärni ermeniçädän tatarçaga köçürüldi, da andan soyrä (113r) latängä, ne türlü ki çanliçka biliklik boldu, da, körüp, biyändi da toxtatip berkitti Ilöv ermenilärinä, ne türlü yazıpbiz 124 kapitula çanniiy berilgäni ermenilärgä. Dayin da yazıldı tvagan 1017- sinä, pedrvarniiy 15-inä, açpaşliçina der Krikor, arhiaçpaşniy Vanli, çanimizniy çanliçina Zigmunt Agusdusnuç, çaysi ki töräni berkitti.*

“Now here comes to end this script, which is called the Law Code, written [based] on the canon. At the first initial position is a key to the Law Code. Thus, according to



their order 124 laws are stated, which are definitely established. In the beginning, the Armenian laws existed, they were created by vardapets for their nation, for the great Armenia, as they have been composed by vardapets at the request of Catholicoses and our kings. Today these laws, exist among the Lvov Armenians, in the Armenian language. And afterwards, at the behest of other nations, and by royal command, these laws have been translated from Armenian to the Tatar language, then into Latin, then they were brought to the notice to a royal court, and when king saw them, he liked it, and he approved them and affirmed them for the Lvov Armenians, as well as we have recorded those 124 entries, which the king has bestowed on the Armenians, also it is written in the year 1017 [= 1568], on the 15<sup>th</sup> of February, at Bishop Father Krikore, Archbishop of Van, in the kingdom of our king Sigismund August, who has approved these laws.” TB-112v

2. *Da andan sojra ne türlü özgä millätinij säbäplärindän boldu, alay xanlıxtan buyruş, ki törälärni ermeniçädän tatarçaga köçürüldi, da andan sojra (113r) latıngä, ne türlü ki xanlıxka biliklik boldu, da, körüp, biyäнди da toxtatıp berkitti İlöv ermenilärinä, ne türlü yazıpbiz 124 kapitula xännij berilgäni ermenilärgä.*

“And afterwards, as at the behest of other nations, and by royal command, these laws have been translated from the Armenian to Tatar language, then into Latin, in this way they were brought to the notice of the royal court, and when king saw them, he liked it, and they have been approved and affirmed for the Lvov Armenians, as we have recorded, those 124 entries, which the king has bestowed upon the Armenians.” TB-113r

3. *Yazıldı bu Törä bitiki, xaysi ki aňlanıyır «Ganunk’», asrı ayız [=aziz] da tügäl orınagdır, xaysi ki tügälländi ermeni tvagan 1024 sanına, tegdemper ayınıñ 20-sinä, mämläkätindä Frankniñ, şähärindä Kamenecniñ, padşahlıxına nemiçniñ k’risdân Stefan Batoriñ, xaysi ki aňlıyır, biylixinä şähärimizniñ Briskiy pan Mikolayniñ, gat’ayigosluxuna der Krikorisniñ, axpaşlıxına der Barsamniñ.*

“Here also is written this *Law Code*, called “Canon”, this is very valuable and perfect model that was completed in the Armenian chronology in 1024 [1575], on 20 December, in the state of the Polish (Catholics ~ Poles), in the city of Kamyenyets, in the administration of memorable Christian Polish King Stephen Báthory, in the administration of our city Pan Mikołaj Bryski, at the patriarchate of Father Grigor and archbishop Father Barsam.” TB-126v

4. *Tilindän ermeniniñ latıngä çıxargandı, latindän polskiygä, a polskidän bizim tilgä, xaysi ki başlanıyır bu sözlär bilä.*

“It is translated from the Armenian into Latin, after that from Latin into Polish, and also from Polish into our language, which begins with these words.” TB-54r/209r

5. *Munda bu kün bu bitik tügälläniyir, xaysi ki ündäliр Törä bitiki. Yasaganı ari vartabedläriñ barça ermeniliktä, xaysi ki yasadılar da toxtatılar ermeni tili bilä kendiläriniñ dżinsına, xaysi ki yazılğan bar edi ermeniçä İlöv ermenilärinä, işlätirlär edi anı yazılğanına da toxtalğanına körä. Andan sojra boldu Zigmunt xännij zamanında,*

*ki turdular Ilôv radcaları ermenilär bilä korol'nuñ alnına Krakov šähärindä, da ayttılar korol' alnına, ki ermenilärniñ töräläri yoxtur, tek ermen[i]lär ayttılar: «Milostivi korolü, bardir törälärimiz, çaysi ki saçlanıyırbiz törälärimizniñ çatına» (142r/297r) Andan soñra korol' anıñ bi[y]liki buyurdu ermenilärgä, ki köçürgäylär kendiläriniñ törälärin ermeni tilindän nemiç tilinä.*

“Here today this book, called the *Law Code*, comes to an end. This creation of vardapets of all Armenians, which they have composed and have established in the Armenian language for their nation and have developed on the basis of script and regulations (canons) and which there was among the Lvov Armenians written in Armenian. Then in the days of King Sigismund, the Lvov counselors (members of city council) together with the Armenians appeared before king in the city of Krakow and declared before the king that the Armenians have no laws, only the Armenians said: “Merciful King, we have laws, and we adhere to these laws”. After that his majesty, the king ordered the Armenians to translate the laws from the Armenian language into the Polish language.” TB-141v/296v

6. *Da çaçan köçürdilär törälärni, köp türlü emgäk kördilär. Da andan soñra eltilär korol'ga. Da anıñ bi[y]liki kördi da biyändi, ki asrı igi törälärdir ermenilärniñ. Çaysi ki toxtatıp berkitti da berdi ermenilärgä kendiläriniñ törälärin. Ne türlü ki bu bitiktä yazılıptır, eki türlü til bilä, nemiçä da tatarça, kendi sanlarına 124 kapitula, a<açabank'tan başça, çaysi ki yazılıptır başta. Dağı da muni yazdır[d]i ketçoyalıç işadag kendilärinä, da kendiläriniñ keçmişlärinä, kim ki körüp sarnasa, «Uçmaç» aytkaylar emgängänlärä da yazdırğanlarga, amen. Yazıldı tvağannıñ 772-sinä, 1523.*

“And when they translated the laws, they faced many types of difficulties. And after that they sent it to the king. And his majesty saw (it) and was pleased that the Armenian laws were very good. He confirmed and established (them) and gave to Armenians their own laws. In this way, they are recorded in this book, in two languages – in Polish and in the Tatar language, in 124 numbered entries, besides the introduction written in the beginning. Also, elders ordered to make this record in memory of them and of their ancestors, so that those who will see and will read [it], will say the “Kingdom of heaven” for those who labored and those who caused it to be written, Amen. It is written in 772, id est in 1523.” TB-142r/297r

### Abbreviations 1

AOH	<i>Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>	CSCO	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i> → Hovhannēs 2004
AY-III	<i>Altun Yaruk III. Kitap</i> → Ölmez 1993	CC-G	<i>German Part of Codex Cumanicus / Missionary Book</i>
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>	DA	<i>Dil Araştırmaları Dergisi</i>
CAS	<i>Central Asiatic Journal</i>	DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>

DTS	<i>Drevnetyurkskiy Slovar'</i> → Nadelyayev et al. 1969		<i>Tefsirinini Söz Varlığı</i> → Borovkov 2002
EDPT	<i>An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish</i> → Clauson 1972.	MA	<i>Mukaddimat al-adab</i>
GET	<i>A Glossary of Ecclesiastical Terms</i> → Shipley 1872	MS	<i>Mongolian Studies</i>
HSh	<i>Istoriko-Sravnitel'niy Slovar'</i> Tyurkskih Yazykov XIV Veka. Na materiale "Hosrau i Şirin" Kutba → Nadjip 1979	RÉAB	<i>Revue d'Études Arméniennes Bazmavep</i>
HAL	<i>The Heritage of Armenian Literature</i> → Hacikyan et al. 2002	SAV	<i>Sermon by Anton Vartabed</i> → Tryjarski 1997
JIABS	<i>Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies</i>	SSS	<i>Studia Slavica Savariensia</i>
IJCAS	<i>International Journal of Central Asian Studies</i>	KD	<i>The King's Dictionary</i> → Golden 2000
İKPÖ	<i>İyi Ve Kötü Prens Öyküsü</i> → Hamilton 1998	TB-	<i>Töre Bitigi Kipchaksko-połskaya Versiya Armyanskogo Sudebnika i Armyano Kipchakskiy Protsessualniy Kodeks, L'vov, Kamenets-Podolskiy 1519–94</i> → Garkavec, Safargaliyev 2003
İML	<i>İbn-i Mühennâ Lûgati</i> → Battal 1988	TDA	<i>Türk Dili Araştırmaları Dergisi</i>
JRAS	<i>The Journal of Russian and Asian Studies</i>	TDAY-B	<i>Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı-Belleten</i>
JTS	<i>The Journal of Theological Studies</i>	TKT:	<i>Türkçe İlk Kur'an Tercümesi</i> → Ata 2004
KCh	<i>Kamenets Chronicle</i> → Vásáry 1969	TMEN	<i>Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen</i> → Doerfer 1963–75
KE	<i>Қысаһу'л-Енбиә</i> → Ata 1997	UW	<i>Uigurisches Wörterbuch</i> → Röhrbohn 1977
K-EF	<i>Kitâbü'l-Ef'âl</i> → Eminoğlu 2011	ZDGM	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
KT	<i>Orta Asya'da Bulunmuş Kur'an</i>		

## Abbreviations 2

ar.	Arabic	o-fr.	Old French
aram.	Aramaic	o-slav.	Old Slavic
arm.	Armenian	pers.	Persian
bur.	Buriat	pol.	Polish
egyp.	Egyptian	rus.	Russian
gr.	Greek	s-oir.	Spoken Oirat
heb.	Hebrew	suff.	suffix
kalm.	Kalmyk	tu.	Tungusic
kh.	Khalkha	turc.	Turkish
ord.	Ordos	w-oir.	Written Oirat
lat.	Latin	w-lan.	Written Language (Schriftsprache)
m-pers.	Middle Persian	wmmo.	West Middle Mongolian
mong.	Mongolian		
o-arm.	Old Armenian		

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