

Turkic Loanwords in the Slavonic-Russian Pentateuchs Edited According to the Masoretic Text*

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Abstract: This article presents eighteen glosses and emendations borrowed from Turkic dialects into the Slavonic-Russian Pentateuch edited according to the Hebrew Masoretic Text (in manuscripts from the 15th–16th centuries). The first group of these words – including proper names – has Arabic or Persian origins; they came into East Slavonic with obvious Turkic mediation (*Skandryja* ‘Alexandria’, *Bagadad* ‘Baghdad’, *Misur* ‘Egypt’, *Šam* ‘Damascus’, *Isup* ‘Joseph’, *sturlab* ‘astrolabe’, *soltan* ‘sultan’, *olmas* ‘diamond’, *ambar* ‘ambergris’, and *brynec* ‘rice’). The second group is proper Turkic: *saigak* ‘saiga antelope’, *ošak* ‘donkey’, *katyr* ‘mule’, *kirpič* ‘brick’, *talmač* ‘interpreter’, *čalma* ‘turban’, and *saranča* ‘locust’. The author agrees with the hypothesis that this glossing/emendation was made for the East Slavonic Judaizers. Furthermore, the author suggests that there was participation of a group of merchants interested in a new and mysterious knowledge promulgated by learned rabbis.

Keywords: Biblical studies, Old Russian, Turkic, Old Testament, Jewish-Christian relations, Muscovy, Grand Duchy of Lithuania

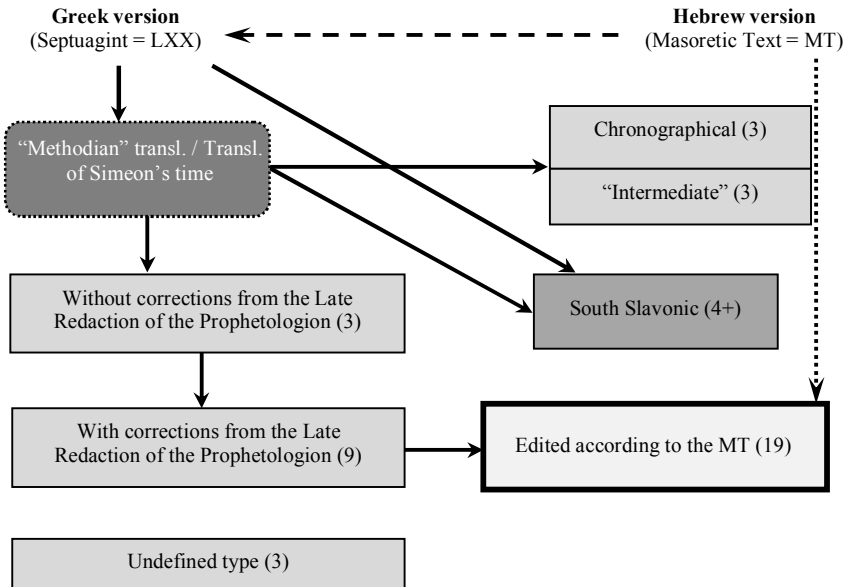
This paper relates to the extraordinary facts of interlingual, intercultural, and finally interdenominational communication. My topic concentrates on the Holy Scripture – more specifically, on the first five books of the Old Testament (the Pentateuch) which were translated from Greek to Old Church Slavonic at the dawn of the Slavic literature most likely two times: first by St. Methodius (this translation for the Octateuch, the first eight books of the Old Testament, if it really existed, was lost); and second by someone unknown, perhaps Gregory the Presbyter, in the epoch of Simeon I of Bulgaria, 893–927 (ALEXEEV 2009: 154–155, 163–169). According to Anatoly Alexeev, “with its stylistic features, the Octateuch is a compromise between the Simeonic and Cyril-Methodian texts” (ALEXEEV 2009: 169).

Scholars know several versions of the Church Slavonic Octateuch and Pentateuch. The relations between them are described in *Scheme 1*, which is based on PIČHADZE 1996 and VILKUL 2015. Of course, the LXX (Septuagint) was not translated from the MT (Masoretic Text) directly, and the earliest Slavonic translation

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was not made from the LXX as a modern textual construct, but I use these designations as common names for the Greek and Hebrew versions of the Old Testament. The numbers of MSS used for this research is indicated in the parentheses in *Scheme 1*: all the East Slavonic MSS were viewed by me (excluding the Warsaw Chronograph, *BOZ 83*¹); of the South Slavonic sources, I viewed only the four items deposited in the Moscow archives. A. A. Pičhadze supposed that the version closest to the earliest translation was retained in the MSS without corrections from the Late Redaction of the Prophetologion (three copies: *Und.1, Tr.44, and Dobr.13*); the next version was South Slavonic (ca. 13th or 14th century, only in the South Slavonic copies, with the following four copies: *Bars.3, Grig.1684, Rum.29, and Sev.1431*); and then, in Old Rus', the "Intermediate" version appeared (according to Pičhadze: *Arch.279, Tr.1, and Tr.45*). T. L. Vilkul recently objected to A. A. Pičhadze's scheme and hypothesized that the "Intermediate" version (she renamed it the "Chronographical") was the earliest; Vilkul used three copies of the so-called Jewish Chronograph dated not later than the second half of the 13th century: see *Arch.279, BOZ 83, and Vil.109* (VILKUL 2015: 12–15). Only these copies of the Jewish Chronograph (the Archive, Warsaw and Vilna Chronographs, respectively) are referred to in *Scheme 1* as the Chronographical version in the narrow sense. One additional MS could be attributed to the same "Intermediate/Chronographical" version: *Arkh.D.5*.

Scheme 1. The Slavic Translation of Octateuch and Pentateuch Versions



¹ See all the italicized sigla for MSS in the special list at the end of the article. Roman sigla mark the MSS that were not explored by me de visu. The latter also contain the abbreviated names of archives and libraries: see the corresponding list before the MSS list.

The fact is that the Byzantine tradition knows only the Octateuch, and of course only this set of books was translated from the LXX into the Slavonic *Osmoknižije*. On the contrary, the Jewish tradition knows the Pentateuch as a complete book – a *Sefer Torah* as a service book or a *Chumash* in the form of a codex for non-ritual functions. However, the oldest Slavonic copy of the Octateuch was only in the form of the Pentateuch: this was the so-called Lavra Pentateuch (*Peřtiknižije*), the Russian MS from the end of the 14th or the early 15th century (*Tr.1*). In general, most of the Church Slavonic copies of the Octateuch or Pentateuch were indeed East Slavonic, and the probable earliest redaction of the text – “Intermediate/Chronographical” – was East Slavonic, too. The rest of the versions and copies thereof are also of Russian origin. The version with corrections from the Late Redaction of the Prophetologion were composed in the 14th century in medieval Russia; see the five MSS of the Octateuch: *MDA 12*, *Bars.1*, *Bars.2*, *BAN 45.10.6*, and *BAN 45.13.4*. The Octateuch in this version was incorporated into the first full Church Slavonic Bible (the Gennady Bible, 1499: *Syn.915*; see also the copies from it: *Syn.21*, *Syn.30*, and *Uvar.652*) and then incorporated into the first printed Church Slavonic Bible (the Ostrog Bible, 1581).

The last version in the history of the Church Slavonic manuscript Octateuch was the Pentateuch itself, which was edited according to the MT and other Semitic sources, and all its copies are East Slavonic from the end of the 15th century. The fact of glossing and emendation according to Jewish texts was discovered by A. Vostokov for the MSS *Rum.27* and *Rum.28* (VOSTOKOV 1842: 29–33). Currently, the most comprehensive list of these glosses and emendations can be found in the old article by protoiereus Alexander Gorskij (cf. GORSKIJ 1860). Fourteen copies of this version were briefly described by A. V. Mihajlov (see MIHAJLOV 1912); sixteen copies were listed in PIČHADZE 1996: 21. In total, we know nineteen copies of the Pentateuch (not all of them are complete) which have glosses and emendations according to the MT and other Semitic sources; in addition to *Rum.27* and *Rum.28*, see also *Arch.354*, *Arkh.D.17*, *BAN 17.16.33*, *CGADA 790*, *F.I.1*, *KB 1/6*, *KB 2/7*, *KB 3/8*, *Muz.358*, *Pogod.76*, *Q.I.1407*, *Solov.74/74*, *Tikh.453*, *Vil.51*, *Volok.8*, *Volok.7*, and *Egor.648*. Obviously, this version of the first Old Testament books in Church Slavonic translation was very popular in medieval Russia, both in Novgorod the Great, in Muscovy, and in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. So, “[t]his revision of the Pentateuch on the basis of the Masoretic text is extremely important for the history of the Slavonic Old Testament” (THOMSON 1998: 654). However, Anatoly Alexeev writes:

Until now, there has been no exhaustive study of this work, and therefore one cannot with certainty define the time and the place of the glossing of these texts. It is also not clear if this was a single act or if the glossing was made more than once by different editors. [...] It turns out that the glosses emerge not in isolation but in combination in the manuscripts with other features originating from a Jewish source (ALEXEEV 2014: 170–171).

It is more surprising that there are many words loaned from a Turkic dialect: they occur mainly in the glosses along with Hebrew words written in Cyrillic script. This material is almost unknown to scholars, with the exception of an article devoted to the words with the root *tagaš-* (KRIVKO 2012; see also the Russian translation: KRIVKO 2015: 289–297) and the mention of the words *Skandryi* and *čalma* (GORSKIJ 1860: 138–139, 154), *kirpičb*, *saranča*, and *brynecb* (PIČHADZE 1996: 20), *Bagadad*, *Misürb*, and *soltan* (ALEXEEV 1999: 183). Yet, the Turkic influence on the forms with *tagaš-* was supposed only by R. N. Krivko; A. A. Pičhadze did not pay attention to the origin of these examples but noted only that these glosses “indicate that the editing was made by East Slavs” (PIČHADZE 1996: 20). The words marked by Alexander Gorskiĭ and Anatoly Alexeev are actually Arabic in their origin, but transferred through certain Turkic mediation. This conclusion can be drawn only with a complex analysis of the Oriental – and non-Hebrew and non-Aramaic – loanwords in the Slavonic-Russian Pentateuch. Not all of these words have explicit indications of Turkic mediation; it is important, however, to consider all of them. See the following forms, first place-names:

(1) *Skandryja* (KB 3/8, Rum.27, Tikh.453, Volok.7, Volok.8), also *Skindyreja* (KB 2/7), *Skindirija* (KB 2/7), or *Skündyreja* (KB 2/7) < standard Arabic *al-'Is-kandariya* ‘Alexandria’. This is an emendation or a gloss in the text of Gen 41: 45, 41:50, and 46:20 – instead of *Gradb Solnečnyj* ~ *Ἡλίου πόλις* in the earlier versions (of course, the identification of Heliopolis with Alexandria is chronologically and geographically wrong). Replacing *-a-* in the root with *-i-* is very similar to the Turkic vowel harmony realized in concordance with the penultimate syllable, so the most harmonized – and therefore the clearest Turkic – form could be **Skindirijä*. The MS KB 2/7 contains three different spellings and the Greek form *Aleksandria*; some MSS contain this form in one place only (KB 3/8, Rum.27) and some MSS do not contain this gloss or emendation at all (CGADA 790, Rum.28, Solov.74/74). It should be noted that this strange Slavic form could probably “go back to the Arabic vulgarism *سكاندريا* [*skandrya*] (now preserved, e.g., in Berber languages, instead of the regular Arabic *اسكندرية* [*eskendereyya*, Egyptian Arabic! – A. G.]), which is hardly imaginable under the pen of a somewhat educated scribe writing in any Semitic or Turkic language” (LOURIÉ 2, footnote 5). Also note the standard Balkan (here, Serbo-Croatian) forms *Skénder* ‘Alexander’ and *Skendérija* ‘pertaining or related to Skénder’ originating from Turkish *İskender* and *iskenderi* respectively (ŠKALJIĆ 1966: 567); cf. Albanian *Skënder* and *Skenderije*.

(2) *Bagadadb* (from the list of glosses in Q.I.1407) or *Bagada(t)* (KB 2/7 and BAN 17.16.33) < Arabic *Baghdad*. This is a gloss for *Vavilonb* ‘Babylon’ in Gen 10:10. The epenthetic vowel *-a-* (also with the Turkic vowel harmony) could have been evidence of improbability of the consonant group *-gd-* in Turkic. The alternative interpretation for the epenthetic vowel – based only on the Slavic evidence – is less probable: **Bagbdadb* (with the usual epenthetic *-b-*) > **Bagodadb* (with the bookish vocalization of *-b-*), and finally > *Bagadadb* (with the *akanje*). However, the form *Bagadadb* is very rare for the Slavonic-Russian literature, as one

can find primarily the form *Bagdatъ* in *The Tale of Temir Aksak* (1402–1418, also *Bagdaty* and *Bagdatъ* in different chronicles)² and in later *Azbukovniki* (Alphabet books): see “bagadatъ, vavilon” in RNB O.XVI.1, 1620s (KOVТUN 1989: 160); but cf.: “v Zlatoj bo čepi Vavilon Bogadatom imenujet” (Alphabet book BAN 33.4.7 from the 17th century), “vъ Zlatoj čepi Vavilonъ Bagadatomъ imenujetsja” (Alphabet book GIM 353 from 1654), i.e., ‘in *The Golden Chain* [= a kind of Church Slavonic florilegia], Babylon is named *Bogadat/Bagadat*’.³

Actually, the remains of ancient Babylon were more than 50 miles south of medieval Baghdad, and then there is a special problem of identification of these two cities in a bookish tradition. To the best of my knowledge, such a topos was circulated in the Armenian historical literature, e.g., in the *History of Armenia* by Hovhannes Draskhanakertsi (ca. 845–929) (EREMJAN 1986: 395); it was probably borrowed from Armenian literature into the Georgian tradition, e.g., in *The Conversion of Kartli* (10th century) (ČHARTIŠVILI 1989). According to the TLG, this topos occurred in the Byzantine literature only in the writings of the Komnenos epoch: in the *Synopsis of Histories* by John Skylitzes (the end of the 11th century), in the *Alexiad* (ca. 1137–1148) by Anna Komnene, and in her husband Nikephoros Bryennios’ *Materials for a History* (the early 12th century).

(3) *Misurъ* or *Misürъ* (with *uk* or *izhitsa*, KB 2/7, BAN 17.16.33, Egor.648, and the list of glosses in Q.I.1407), also *Misyръ*, *Misyръ*, *Misirъ* (KB 2/7), *Misirъ* (KB 2/7 and BAN 17.16.33) < Arabic *Miṣr*. This is a gloss for *Egipetъ/Egupetъ* ‘Egypt’ and *Egipetъskij/Egupetъskij* ‘Egyptian’ in Gen 12:10, 13:1, 37:36, and 41:46, and in Ex 8:26 and 10:7. There is an epenthetic vowel again harmonized in concordance with the front one. The vowel *ü* could be substituted with *u*, *’u* (*ü*), *i*, or even *y*: all these variations are found in different MSS. Moreover, in two MSS, in Gen 37:36, there is a unique gloss *misi(ръ)da* (KB 2/7) or *misürъda* (BAN 17.16.33) – for *otdaša Iosifa vъ Egipetъ* ‘sold Joseph into Egypt’: this form is very similar to the Turkic locative with affix *-da* but replacing the lative by the locative is rather tricky.

The root *misür’-* (or *misjur’-*) was widely known in the Middle Russian (Muscovite) language, first of all, in personal names: the best known was a Muscovite secretary (*đjak*) Mihail Grigor’evič Munehin (†1528), who acquired the nickname *Misjur’* after his voyage to Egypt (probably in 1492–1493). According to Alexander Zimin, the personal name *Misjur’* was common in Muscovy and Lithuania in the 15th and 16th centuries (ZIMIN 1972: 361). He mentioned two Lithuanians with the name or nickname *Misjur’* (Grand Prince Vasily I of Moscow [r. 1389–1425] bought a Tartar called Misiur’ from his father-in-law, Vytautas the Great, the Grand Duke of Lithuania, and there were two Lithuanian voivodes, Čerkas Hreptov and Misjur’, in 1518); he also mentioned eight Muscovites (Dmitrij Misjur’ Levašov,

² According to the Middle Russian Corpus: http://ruscorpora.ru/search-mid_rus.html (hereafter MRC).

³ According to the data of the card catalogue for the *Dictionary of the Russian Language of the 11th–17th Centuries* (SIRJa) deposited in the Vinogradov Russian Language Institute, Moscow.

the second half of the 15th century; Misjur' Zjuzin, a chiliarch (*tysjackij*) in Suzdal, 1550; a yasak collector Misiur' Liharev, 1553; Misjur' Ivanov Drozdov, 1563 and 1565; Ivan Mihailovič, the son of Misjur', 1568; Misjur' Bestužev, the mid-16th century; Misjur' Trofimov, 1576; and Pantelejmon Misjur' Solovcov, 1627). Based on the MRC, I can add several others: an Astrakhan chief jailer Misjur (*Reči* by Semen Jelizar'ev, 1569); an equerry Misjur Perfuškov/Pervuškov (*Razrjadnaja Kniga*, 1586, 1587, 1590); a Kashira inhabitant Stepan Misjurev (*Piscovaja Kniga* of Ryazan uyezd, 1594–1597); Misjur' Danilov (Testament of Prince Aleksandr Vasil'evič Volkonskij, 1601); Ivaško the Small, the son of Bestužev (The List of Boyar Children of Vodskaja Pjatina, 1604); and Aleksandr Misjurov Tovaryščev (Boyar Book, 1658). The name of the village Stolbično-Misjureskoe (now Misi-revo) in the Klin uyezd near Moscow (Donation of Princess Euphrosyne to the Joseph-Volokolamsk Monastery, 1517) was derived from its owner's personal name.

The toponymic meaning of the root *misjur'*- was much less frequent in Middle Russian: *Misjurь* 'Egypt' occurs two times in the *Journey Beyond the Three Seas* (1466–1472) by Afanasy Nikitin and one time in the ambassadorial report (*statejnyj spisok*, 1570) written by Ivan Novosil'cev in Istanbul (the wording *Misjurskaja zemlja* 'Egyptian land' also appears there three times).

The earliest usage of the adjective *misjurьskii* 'Egyptian' was found in the testament of Prince Mihail Andreevič Verejskij, 1486 (SIRJa 9: 179). He was a prince of the Muscovite Rurikids, whose principality was near Moscow, thus, there can be no doubt about the dialectal characteristics of this document. One also can find the words *misjurka* 'a kind of helmet with an iron top and net' in Middle Russian (SIRJa 9: 179) and *misurka* 'the same' in Ruthenian (Old Belorussian) (HSBM 18: 69) in the 17th century as well as *misjurь* 'cup with lid (*stavec*), or measure (*měrka*), or ladle (*čumič*)' in the *Azbukovnik* (KOVČUN 1989: 226).

The standard Turkish form for Arabic *Miṣr* is *Mısır*, and this root can also be found in Serbo-Croatian *Misīr* 'Egypt', adjective *misīrski* 'Egyptian', *Misirlija* 'the Egyptian', *misir* 'corn', *misirača* or *mesirača* 'pumpkin', *misirka* 'pumpkin; guinea fowl', *misirlija* 'a shirt made of Egyptian silk; a gold coin from Egypt; or a horse trained in the Egyptian style', *misirlika* 'Egyptian silk', *misīrbaba* 'beardless man' (ŠKALJIĆ 1966: 465, RSHKJ 3: 383). Bulgarian has two correlates for the Turkish *Mısır* – the standard *Misīr* and the old form *Māsār* – and many derivative words, e.g., adj. *misīrski* (*māsārski*) 'Egyptian', *misirlija* 'the Egyptian', etc., and Romanian and Old Albanian also have the *Misīr* form, while Modern Greek has *Μισίρι* (BER 4: 123–124, 432).

It is obvious that the roots *misir*- (or *māsār*- in Bulgarian) and *misür*- (with the labialization of the second vowel) originate from different Turkic idioms. However, I cannot interpret the alternation of these two forms in the East Slavonic MSS of the Pentateuch.

(4) *Šamь* (KB 2/7, BAN 17.16.33, the list of glosses in Q.I.1407) < Arabic *ash-Shām* 'Damascus'. This is a gloss for *Damaskь* in Gen 14:15. In this case, the Turkic mediation can be hypothesized by the fact that it is used without the article

(like *Skandryja* instead of *al-'Iskandariya*). This form and its derivatives were used in Old Serbo-Croatian and in Old Bulgarian, cf. *Šâm* 'Syria; Damascus', *šâmskî* 'Syrian', *šamâjlîja* 'Syrian saddle', *šâmdud* 'Syrian mulberry', *šamlîjanka* 'Syrian sword', etc. (ŠKALJIĆ 1966: 580, RSHKJ 6: 923–925), and *Šam* 'Damascus' (GEROV 5: 574).

The name *Šama* and the derived adjective *šamskij* occur in Middle Russian texts (according to the data of the card catalogue for SIRJa), cf. *Turki nazývajúť Damaskъ Šama, a dělajúť vъ nemъ taftu šamskuju* 'The Turks name Damascus as Šama, and taffeta of Šama is made there' (*The Travels of Trifon Korobeynikov*, 1593–1594); *Šama – Damask grad. Po nemu že slovet šamskaja kamka* 'Šama [is] the city of Damascus. And *šamskaja kamka* [damask from Šama] is named after this' (The Alphabet book from the 17th century: BAN Arh.d., No. 446); *A na polunoščnoj stěně grada Jerusalima vrata boljšija, šamskija zovutsja, a po grečeski damasskija* 'And on the northern wall of the city of Jerusalem, there is a large gate named *Šamskija* [Gate of Šam(a)], in Greek *Damasskija* [Damascus Gate]' (*Proskinitarium* by Arsenius Sukhanov, 1649–1653).

The last three place-names were adopted – probably from the Pentateuch – into a very curious Russian chronographic manuscript collection from the 18th century: *Skazanie o grade(h): novye imena. Jegipe(t)skoe c(s)rtvo: misjurъ. Vavilon-skoe c(s)rtvo, bagodatъ. Damaskъ gradъ, šamъ* 'A Tale of Cities: New Names. The Egyptian Kingdom is *Misjur*'. The Babylon Kingdom is *Bagodat*. The city of Damascus is *Šam*' (*Rum.253*, f. 6d).

(5) *Isup* (*isôpъ* in the list of glosses in *Q.I.1407*; *isupou* in *BAN 17.16.33*; *isupu* in *KB 2/7*; but *iôsifъ* in *Rum.27*) < Arabic *Yūsuf*. This is a gloss for *Iosifъ* in Gen 41:41 and in one MS for Gen 41:54 (*Isupъ*, *KB 2/7*). This form is undoubtedly Turkic, derived from the Arabic name of Joseph. Replacing *f* for *p* is typical of rural Turkic dialects which, in contrast to urban dialects, borrow this sound from Arabic and Persian. The elision of *j* in anlaut could have been a rare phonetic phenomenon in some Turkic languages and dialects, for example, in Karachay-Balkar in the North Caucasus or in Kyrgyz in Central Asia (TENIŠEV 1984: 269). Furthermore, the initial *j* could merge with the front vowel *ü* into the single sound *i*. The form *Isup* is known as a personal name in Middle Russian sources from the 15th century. According to the MRC, the first usage of this form in Middle Russian literature can be found in *The Tale about Edigu's Invasion* (1412–1414), in the list of Tatar princes who attacked Moscow in 1408. Later, this name was linked mostly to the Lower Volga area: Nogai Horde, Astrakhan Khanate, and later the Noqrat Tatars' area in the middle range of the Cheptsá River (presently Udmurtia), where the Nogais migrated in the 15th century.

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So, these are five *proper names* of Arabic origin which were mediated by some Turkic dialect and occurred in the Slavonic-Russian Bible primarily as glosses. Also, I found four *common nouns* borrowed – with Turkic mediation – from Arabic and one from Persian.

The strangest among them is the following gloss and emendation:

(6) *sturlabъ* (BAN 17.16.33, KB 2/7, KB 3/8, Tikh.453, Volok.8, and Egor.648) placed instead of or near the word *kumirъ* ‘an idol’ (*image* in King James Bible) in Gen. 31:19, 34, and 35.⁴ I can suggest just one version for this hapax legomenon – from Arabic *ašturlāb* ‘an astrolabe’.⁵ Perhaps the name of an astronomical device was associated with impious astrology, and then this name was transferred to an idol. At present, this is the only hypothesis concerning this unusual word. The Turkic mediation can be suggested owing to the usage of this word without the article-like initial *as-*, similar to the cases for *Skandryja* and *Šam*.

The remainder of the words that are not properly Turkic are as follows:

(7) *soltanъ* (KB 2/7 and BAN 17.16.33) or *saltanъ* (in the list of glosses in Q.I.1407) < Arabic *suḷṭān*. This is a gloss for *цъсаръ jegipetъskyi ~ βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτου* ‘king of Egypt’ in Gen 40:1. The form with the *o/a*-vocalism in the first syllable seems to be specifically East Slavonic. In Middle Russian literature, the *o*-form was mentioned for the first time under 1393 in the Nikon Chronicle (MS from the 1550s): *četvertyj Mahmetъ-Soltanъ vъ gornej zemli, iže poslē vsěhъ carstvovati načjaty* ‘the fourth Mahmet Soltan [Sultan Mehmed I] in the high land, who began to reign after everyone’; the *a*-form appears under 1407 in the Novgorod Karamzin Chronicle (MS RNB F.IV.603, from the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century): *Togo že lěta Bulatъ saltanъ sъgnalъ Šadiběka, a samъ sěde na carstvě* ‘In the same year, Pulad Saltan deposed Shadi Beg and himself became a Khan’. This word (*saltan* ten times) also occurred in Afanasy Nikitin’s *Journey*. For other examples, see SIRJa 23: 25. In the Ruthenian literature, there appeared the forms *solъdan* (*The Tale about Three Kings-Magicians*, MS RNB Q.I.391, from the end of the 15th century), *solъtan* (Lithuanian Metrica under 1484), *soltan* (Epistle by Sigismund I the Old to Meñli I Giray, 1508) (HSBM 33: 70–71), etc. The form with the *u*-vocalism was also widespread in Ruthenian (HSBM 33: 70–71) and in Middle Russian (SIRJa 29: 20), as well as in Balkan Slavic (see, e.g., ŠKALJIĆ 1966: 574) and other European languages.

(8) *olъmasъ* (KB 2/7) < Arabic *’almās* ‘a diamond’. This is a gloss for *pazii ~ τοπάζιον* in Ex 28:17. The Turkic mediation for this word is generally accepted by linguists (see RES 1: 166, although the author does not exclude a Persian mediation for this word); the original Turkic forms meaning ‘diamond’ are Kazakh, Kirghiz, Tatar, Cuman, Karaim, and Uighur *almas* (VWT 1: 438), Turkish *elmas*, etc.

⁴ For this word in the plural form *sturlaby* with the definition ‘idols, images of gods’, see SIRJa 28: 222. The source of the dictionary entry is the Russian Chronograph of the year 1512 redaction (MS from 1538). The cited context is Gen 31:34. However, in Gen 31:19 and 34, there is an accusative plural form *sturlabi* in all the MSS; and the genitive plural forms *sturlabii* (Volok.8) or *sturlabei* (Tikh.453) in Gen 31:35. Therefore, I reconstruct the form *sturlabъ* (*i*-declination type) for nominative singular.

⁵ In Arabic, this word was derived from the Greek *ἀστρολάβος* or *ἀστρολάβον* (*ὄργανον*) (see HARTNER 1986: 722).

Among the Slavic languages of the Balkans, there are Serbo-Croatian *almās*, *èlmāz* and *almās*, *èlmāz* (ŠKALJIĆ 1966: 90) and Bulgarian dialectal *elmáz*, *almáz* (BER 1: 492). As for East Slavonic usage, the earliest was fixed in Afanasy Nikitin's *Journey* (*almaz* appears eight times, *almaznik* 'a lapidary' appears once, and *olmaz* appears once) (see also SIRJa 1: 30, SORJaMR 1: 45). However, an earlier usage can be found in the place-name *pustošb* 'wasteland' *Almazovskaja* in the Charter of Prince Andrey Dmitrievich of Mozhaysk to the Kirillov Monastery (1397–1432): the adjective *Almazovskaja* was derived from the personal name *Almaz*.

The root *almaz-* was known also in Ruthenian literature: see *almaz* 'diamond' in the Ukrainian Herbal Book from the 16th century (SUM 1: 98) and in *The Slavonic-Ruthenian Lexicon* by Pamvo Berynda (Kiev, 1627) (SUM 1: 98, HSBM 1: 103), where this word was defined as "Muscovite". That is why A. I. Žuravskij characterized the Old Belorussian and Old Ukrainian (actually Ruthenian) *almaz* as borrowed from Middle Russian, not directly from Turkic (see ŽURAVSKIJ 1969). However, the earliest Ruthenian usage of this root (inside the adjective *almasnyi*) was synchronic to the first Middle Russian appearance, and its source was not related to Muscovite literature. This usage appears in the well-known Vilna Biblical Collection (*Vil.262*) – the MS from the first quarter of the 16th century written in the Supraśl Monastery. This word appeared in Job 28:9: *vo almasnuju prosterb ruku svoju prevrati(l) s koreņ gory: ou skala(h) õzera rosčepļ(l)* 'He reached forth His arm upon the diamond, overturned the mountains by the root; He cut out the lakes in the rocks' (*Vil.262*, f. 23b). The translation of Job – together with the books of Ruth, the Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Proverbs, Lamentations, Daniel, and Esther – was made directly from Hebrew into Ruthenian, without any reference to the Church Slavonic translation. In accordance with the believable hypothesis by Sergejus Temčinas, this translation could be attributed to Zacharia ben Aharon ha-Kohen, who lived and wrote scholarly literature in Kiev in the second half of the 15th century (TEMČINAS 2006: 303–309). It is remarkable that the translator used the Turkic loanroot *almas-* for Hebrew שֶׁמֶטֶט *hallāmīš* 'a flint' because the latter is phonetically similar to the former.⁶

(9) *ambarb* (*KB 2/7*, *BAN 17.16.33*, *Volok.7*, and the list of glosses in *Q.I.1407*) 'something aromatic?' < Turkish *amber* < Arabic '*anbar* 'an ambergris'. This is a gloss for *vonę licb* 'face fragrance' ~ *στακτή* 'oil of myrrh' ~ *לֵט* *lōt* 'mastic' in Gen 37:25. In Middle Russian literature, this word is a hapax legomenon (not to be confused with its very frequent homonym *ambar/anbar* 'a store', also borrowed from Turkic), but one can note the forms *ambarb* and *amborob* – evidently, in the same sense – in the Vilna Biblical Collection: *větka ambarova milostnikb moi mně* 'my beloved is an aromatic branch for me' (Song of Sol. 1:14, *Vil.262*, f. 83b); *poi-di milostnyi moi vyidetb na pole õbitujetb v ambarehb* 'come, my beloved, go out into the field, lodge in the aromata [instead of "villages"]' (Song of Sol. 7:12, f. 85c); *natrusila jesmi lože moje mbskusomb i amboromb i cinamonomb* 'I have

⁶ Cf. another Ruthenian translation made by Francysk Skaryna, without *almasnyi*, but with *kremenb* 'a flint': *Na kremenb protęgnulb je(s) ruku svoju, i podvratilb õi koreņ gory* (Prague, 1517).

scattered my bed with the musk, aroma, and cinnamon' (Prov. 7:17, f. 96c).⁷ In the first case, there is the Hebrew word כֹּפֶר *kōfer* 'henna', but in the second there is another word with the same consonant structure: plural כְּפָרִים *kfarím* from *כִּפָּר *kafár* 'village'. In the third case, there are the words מֹר *mōr* 'myrrh' and אֲהָלִים 'ahālím' 'aloes' in the Hebrew text for the first two fragrances.

Furthermore, I know of only one occurrence of the word *abar̃/abar̃* 'ambergris' in the chrism recipe which was included in the Slavonic-Russian *Rite for the Preparation of Chrism* translated from Greek. The *Rite* can be found in the two following MSS: RNB Sof. No. 1462, ff. 98–112 (an autograph of Efrosin of Belozero, 1500) and GIM Syn.693, ff. 1–92, from the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th centuries (BOBROV 2007: 845). The chrism recipe seems to be of proper Russian origin, not translated from Greek. Many components in this recipe were mentioned in Afanasy Nikitin's *Journey* (BOBROV 2007: 848–850), which underscores the conclusion made by Alexander Bobrov: "Apparently, the recipe for the chrism composition was written in the last quarter of the 15th century by a scholar who was familiar with the work by Afanasy Nikitin and with West-Russian dialects" (BOBROV 2007: 850). The word *abar̃* (Syn.693) or *abar̃* (in Sof.1462) can be interpreted both as the corrupt form (from *ambar̃* – with a graphical elision of the superscript letter *M*) and as the borrowing from Greek ἄμβρα (six entries in the TLG), ἄμβραρα, ἄμβραρος (one entry apiece), or – more probably – ἄμπαρ (eighteen entries in the TLG). The most likely pronunciation for Medieval Greek ἄμπαρ was /ábar/.

(10) *brynec̃* (*KB* 2/7 and the list of glosses in *Q.I.1407*) < Persian *birinj* 'rice'. This is a gloss for *pyro* ~ ὄλυρα 'spelt' in Ex 9:32. Before the data of the East Slavonic Pentateuch were known, the first usage of this word had been connected to Afanasy Nikitin's *Journey*; and Ananiasz Zajaczkowski supposed Turkic mediation for this (he mentioned a Cuman form *brinč*, see ZAJĄCZKOWSKI 1953: 55), cf. the usual Turkish *pirinç* 'rice', Crimean Tatar *pirniç* (VWT 4: 1333, 1335). The initial *p* could become voicing *b* in a Turkic dialect but there is no exact information about this word. The Serbo-Croatian *pìrinač* and *pìrinč* (*pìrmič*) (ŠKALJIĆ 1966: 518) and the Bulgarian dialectal *pirinč* (BER 5: 254) were derived from this Turkish form. Unfortunately, Alexander Anikin does not give us any essentially new information (RES 4: 301). See also other examples from the 16th through the 17th centuries in Middle Russian (SIRJa 1: 341, SORJaMR 1: 293–294). Regarding the Ruthenian language, this word is lacking in HSBM and in SUM.

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For the above ten words originating from Arabic and Persian, the Turkic mediation is apparent from the phonetic adaptation (*Skindirija*, *Bagadad*, *Misür̃/Misyrb̃*, and *Isup*) and from the usage without the Arabic article (*Skindirija*, *Misür̃/Misyrb̃*, *Šam*, and the elision of the article-like initial in *sturlab̃*). The Turkic mediation for Arabic and Persian words, including proper names, was common in the

⁷ See these verses with the definition 'ambergris' for *ambar̃* and *am̃bor̃* (HSBM 1: 109, 110).

medieval East Slavonic literature. Thus, Marija Račeva convincingly proved that several Arabic names of planets were borrowed through some of the Turkic languages into the Slavonic-Russian MSS from the 15th and 16th centuries (RAČEVA 2015; cf. the earlier version of her paper: RAČEVA 1981); she proposed a Russian localization for this borrowing and reasonably renounced the unsubstantiated hypothesis by Yevgeny Vodolazkin about a West-European mediation in this process (VODOLAZKIN 1996, VODOLAZKIN 2008: 239–251).

*

However, one can find *originally Turkic words* in the glosses and emendations of the Slavonic-Russian Pentateuch edited according to the Masoretic Text. See the following words:

(11) *saigakъ* < common Turkic *sajğaq* ‘a saiga antelope’ (in some peripheral sources, also ‘chamois’ and ‘wild goat’) (ESTJa 7: 163–164, ANIKIN 2000: 475). This is a gloss or an emendation for the erroneous *velbud* ‘a camel’ ~ *καμηλοπάρδαλις* ‘a camelopard, giraffe’ in Deut 14:5 (in the Hebrew text, there is *זָמֵר* *zāmer* ‘perhaps mountain sheep or goat; kind of gazelle’). It is one of the animals from the list of kosher mammals, and the extremely remarkable fact is that this entire list was translated from Greek very inaccurately, but then, in the East Slavonic area, it was corrected according to kashrut (see *Scheme 2*).

Scheme 2. The Corrections of the List of Kosher Mammals (Deut 14:5)

Old Slavonic Versions	New East Slavonic Versions	
Greek <i>πύγαργος</i> ⇔ ‘a white-rump (antelope)’	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{plotunъ} \text{ ‘?’} \\ \textit{i jazvnъ} \text{ ‘a badger’} \\ \text{(non-kosher)} \end{array} \right\}$	⇒ <i>turъ</i> ‘an aurochs’
Greek <i>τραγέλαφος</i> ⇔ ‘a goat-stag’	$\Rightarrow \textit{purargъ} \text{ ‘?’}$	⇒ <i>zoubръ</i> ‘an European bison’
Greek <i>ὄρυξ</i> ⇔ ‘an antelope’	$\Rightarrow \textit{rysъ} \text{ ‘lynx’}$ (non-kosher)	⇒ <i>losъ</i> ‘an elk’
Greek <i>καμηλοπάρδαλις</i> ⇔ ‘a camelopard, giraffe’	$\Rightarrow \textit{velъbodъ} \text{ ‘camel’}$ (non-kosher)	⇒ <i>saigakъ</i> ‘a saiga antelope’

} (kosher)

These corrections are found in all the MSS edited according to the Masoretic Text (in some of them, there is the corrupted form *saiganъ*: *Egor.648*, *Muz.358*, *Rum.27*, and *Arch.354*) and in three of the five MSS of the version with corrections from the Late Redaction of the Prophetologion (*MDA 12*, *Bars.2*, and *BAN 45.13.4*).⁸

⁸ Much later, the words *zubrъ* and *saigakъ* went back into the first printed Slavonic Bible, the Ostrog Bible (1581), and we can find these words in the Elizabeth Bible (1751), the latest Russian Church Slavonic version of the Holy Scripture. The words *losъ* and *zubrъ* were in Skaryna’s Ruthenian Bible printed in Prague, 1519.

The question then arises if these corrections were made before the glossing and emendation according to Jewish texts of the same time. As the MSS of these two versions of the Slavonic-Russian Octateuch (and Pentateuch) were written synchronously, I cannot exclude the influence of the latest version (edited according to the Masoretic Text) on the earlier ones.

The usage of the word *saigakъ* in the Slavonic-Russian Pentateuch turns out to be the first evidence of this form in the whole of Slavic literature; the next usage is fixed in dictionaries only in 1654 (SIRJa 23: 21), although in 1549, Baron Sigismund von Herberstein mentioned this mammal in his *Notes on Muscovite Affairs* (in the chapter “On Lithuania”, the subchapter “On Their Wild Beasts”):

In the desert plains about the Dnieper, the Don, and the Volga, is a wild sheep, called by Poles “solhac”, by the Russians “seigack”, of the size of a doe, but with shorter hoofs, with high stretching horns, marked with rings, of which the Russians make transparent knife-handles. They are swift of foot, and take very lofty leaps (HERBERSTEIN 1852: 97).

Alexander Isačenko hypothesized that this word went into the Middle Russian, Ruthenian, and Middle Polish languages through the Karaim mediation (ISAČENKO 1957: 507).

(12) *ošakъ* (KB 2/7, BAN 17.16.33, and the list of glosses in *Q.I.1407*) ‘a donkey’ is a gloss for *oseľъ* ~ *ὄνος* ‘a donkey’ in Gen 45:23. One can compare it with the Turkic forms *ešek* (Crimean Tatar, Turkish, Karachay-Balkar, etc.) or, better, *ešak* (Uzbek < Chagatai) (ESTJa 1: 317–318), an obvious basic word for the East Slavic *ošakъ* (the Modern Russian form is *išak*, for which see ANIKIN 2000: 228). The original Turkic form for the word *ošakъ* is similar to the Old Uzbek (or Chagatai) *ešak*. The fact is that Chagatai was the koiné language not only in Central Asia but also in the Golden Horde and later in the Crimean Khanate. See other Middle Russian examples with the initial *i-* from the end of the 16th century (SIRJa 6: 358): *išakъ* (1670), *išečokъ* (1567), and *išečiško* (1618). Also, according to the data of the MRC, in the Cadaster of Prince Jurij Meščerskij and Molčan Rostopčin for the Uzolskaya and Vezlomszkaya volosts of Balakhna uyezd (1558–1559), there was *Ošačee boloto* ‘Ošačee Swamp’: the place-name *Ošačee* was derived from the personal (nick)name *Ošakъ*. The Turkish form *ešek* gave rise to the Serbo-Croatian words *ěšek* ‘a donkey’ and *ešèkluk* ‘stupidity’ (ŠKALJIĆ 1966: 271–272) and to the Bulgarian dialect words *ešék* ‘stubborn (person)’ and *ešekčija* ‘donkey-man’ (BER 1: 518).

The initial *e* or *je* in foreign forms corresponds precisely to the East Slavic initial *o*. For example, in the several Pentateuchs edited according to the Masoretic Text (Rum.27 and KB 3/8), one can find the following glosses: the Hebrew loanword *jevelъ* (Lev 25:30, for *ōstavlenije* ~ ἄφεσις) or *ievelъ* (Lev 25:10, for *zname-nije* ~ ἄφεσις), which correspond to Hebrew יְבִלִּי *yōbēl* ‘jubilee, remission’. As there was no initial syllable *jo-* in Church Slavonic, this form had to start with *je-*. Then, the initial *je-* was replaced with *o* as in the East Slavic (Old Russian, Middle Russian, and Ruthenian) vernacular form of canonic personal names, for example,

Jelena became *Olena*, *Iosif* – with initial *io-* as in *iovel* – became *Osip* (and there was a vernacular form *Jesip*), *Jevstafij* became *Ostap*, and so forth. In this way, the adjective form with the initial *o-* arose, see *ōvilisko lěto* ‘Jubilee Year’ (the head of a chapter on the margin near Lev 25). Thus, the following reconstruction shows this process: Hebrew *iovel* > Church Slavonic *jevelb* > **jevěl'* (with the so-called secondary *jat'* that was typical for the West part of the East Slavonic area) > *ovilěi* (with *i*-reflexion for the secondary *jat'*, Ukrainian or Novgorodian, and probably contamination with Latin *iobeus*)⁹ > Ruthenian (?) adjective *ovilějskь/oviliskь*. Similarly in the Pentateuch, in Ex 18:1, one can find the form *Oforь* transformed from *Iofor* that corresponds to the Hebrew name *Yitro*, i.e., Jethro.

(13) *katyrь* (*KB* 2/7, *BAN* 17.16.33, and the list of glosses in *Q.I.1407*) ‘a mule’ < Turkic (Crimean Tatar, Karaim, Azerbaijani, Turkish, Nogai, etc.) *qatyr* ‘the same’ (*VWT* 2: 286, *ESTJa* 5: 339–340, *ANIKIN* 2000: 273–274). This is a gloss for *тѣскѣ* ~ *ἴμιονος* ‘the same’ in Gen 45:23. In *SIRJa* 7: 93, with the definition ‘a hinny’), the earliest use of this word in Middle Russian is noted for 1567 (the letters about the journey to China of Ivan Petrov and Burnaš Jalyčev). However, from the end of the 15th century there was known a Prince Ivan Andreevič Katyr’ of Rostov, from whom the princely family Katyrevy-Rostovskie descended.

(14) *kirpičь* ‘a brick’ (*Volok.8*, *Volok.7*, *KB* 2/7, *Tikh.453*, *Egor.648*, *Rum.28*, and *Vil.51*) was a gloss or an emendation in Ex 1:14 for the words *kalь* (~ *πηλός* ‘a clay’) or *bernije* (~ *πλιθεία* ‘manufacturing of bricks’). The word is similar to the Tatar *kirpič* or Turkish *kirpiç* (*VWT* 2: 1365, 1411; *ANIKIN* 2000: 291). The root *kirpič-* is fixed in Middle Russian under 1450 (*Ermolin Chronicle*, the MS RGB Muz.17 from the end of the 15th century) and has many derivatives (*SIRJa* 7: 134–146). This word is lacking in *HSBM* and *SUM*, and this absence allowed I. Kozyrev to make the following conclusion:

The Turkic loanword *kirpič* comes into Middle Russian in the 14th century in this meaning but even in the 15th century the word *kirpič* was not widespread; only since the 16th and 17th centuries did it become considerably more active. [...] In Belorussian, the word *kirpič* is not used, and that is an important argument for its absence in Old Russian and for its borrowing from the Turkic languages bordering with Russian in the east and in the southeast (*KOZYREV* 1974: 15–16).

Nevertheless, it is possible that not all Ruthenian texts were employed in the compiling of the Ruthenian dictionaries. It is because of this sort of lacuna that Žuravskij did not know about the adjective *almasnyi* in the Vilna Biblical Collection.

(15) *talmačь* (*KB* 2/7 and *BAN* 17.16.33) is a gloss for *тѣлкѣ* ~ *ἐρμηνευτής* ‘an interpreter’ in Gen 42:23. The word *тѣлмачь* (in the Old Russian form) was initially a Common Slavonic word borrowed from some ancient Turkic language,

⁹ This word in the forms *ovilěi*, *ovileo*, and *ovilejus* was used in the anti-Judaizers literature (*SIRJa* 12: 222).

probably either Bulgar or Pecheneg (ESRJa 4: 72, ANIKIN 2000: 551), cf. the Old and Middle Russian usage (SIRJa 29: 405–406). About its usage in Ruthenian (HSBM 33: 355–356), Žuravskij wrote:

... [these words] became widespread in Belorussian also due to the influence of the Turkic languages on Belorussian in the epoch of the independent development of Belorussian; these words were not a conservation of the Common Slavic antiquity. One of the words in question is a Turkic loanword *talmačъ*, the usage of which became more prevalent in Belorussian in the period of the wide dissemination there of lexica of Turkic origin (ŽURAVSKIJ 1974: 87–88).

The same could be said about the Middle Russian word *tolmačъ*. But the interesting fact is that in the Slavonic-Russian Pentateuch edited according the Masoretic Text, this word reflects the *akanje*.

(16) *čalma* (*Rum.27, Rum.28, Volok.7, Vil.51*, and the list of glosses in *Q.I.1407*) ‘a turban’ < Turkic *čalma* (Turkish, Crimean Tatar, Karaim, Tatar: VWT 3: 1892, ESRJa 4: 313). This is a gloss or an emendation for *klobukъ ~ κίδαρις* in Lev 16:4. It is noteworthy that the gloss more accurately corresponds to the historical meaning of the Greek word than the old word *klobukъ* ‘headdress (in general)’, as the Greek *κίδαρις* did specifically denote an Oriental headdress, primarily just the turban. The earliest use of this loanword in the card catalogue for SIRJa and in the MRC is fixed in the *statejnyj spisok* by Novosil’cev (1570) in the form *čolma*, and the next entries are primarily from the 17th century.

(17) *saranča* (*KB 3/8, KB 2/7, Arkh.D.17, and BAN 17.16.33*) or *saranca* (*F.I.1, Vil.51, Pogod.76, Volok.8, Volok.7, Q.I.1407, KB 1/6, and Egor.648*) ‘a locust’ is a gloss or an emendation for *usenecъ ~ βροῦχος* and for *prugъ ~ ἀκρίς* in Lev 11:22 and elsewhere (e.g., Deut 28:38: *Vil.51, Ex 10:4: Egor.648*). This form is probably connected to Kipchak *sarynčqa* (ESRJa 3: 560, ESTJa 7: 226–227) and used first of all in the list of kosher insects. This list was extremely tricky even for the rabbis of Western and Central Europe in the Middle Ages. They did not know what each insect name meant and, just to be on the safe side, prohibited all kinds of locust. Although the Septuagint permitted eating these kinds of insects and the Old Slavonic translation also gave such permission, the new, Russian versions of the Pentateuch initiated a ban on the locust, just as the European rabbis had done.

Another interesting fact is that late medieval Russian lexicons contained the word *saranča* with the notes ‘which is Polish’ (*Pogod.1143*) or ‘which is Czech’ (KOVTON 1989: 153, according to the MSS RNB O.XVI.1, from the 1620s and GIM Uvar.311 from the mid-16th century). The Czech attribution was a mistake, of course, but the connection to Polish was real because this word – primarily in the form *szarańcza* – is documented in Polish sources from the first half of the 16th century (the earliest entry can be found in the Warsaw Garden Books, 1542) (RYTTER 1992: 83). This word was characterized by G. Rytter as “very frequent (more than 100 items in SJP 16) and widespread, predominantly in the biblical

prose” (RYTTER 1992: 83). Actually, there are many appearances of the form *szarańcza* in the Psalter of Jakub Lubelczyk (1558), the Leopoldta Bible (1561), the Brest Bible (1563), etc. (see SJP 8: 405, SJP 24: 240, SJP 26: 233). Aleksander Brückner was of the opinion that the Polish *szarańcza* had been borrowed from the Russian *saranča* (BRÜCKNER 1985: 540); see also the special paper devoted to Polish *szarańcza* (KOWALSKI 1947). Furthermore, the variant *sarańcza* occurs in the works of authors from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, therefore this variant does not coincide with the Old Belorussian form *saranča* known from the first half of the 16th century, i.e. before the form *šaranča* appeared. In the loanword borrowed in the 16th century with Ruthenian mediation, the consonant [š] was established. Scholars expound this through the assimilation [s...č] → [š...č] or the hypercorrect “demazuration” (RYTTER 1992: 84).

Actually, the form *sarańcza* was normal for the Borderland Polish dialects (in *polszczyzna kresowa*) up to the 19th century (KAWYN-KURZOWA 1993: 239). In Ruthenian, the form *saranča* has been fixed since the 16th century, and the form *šaranča* since the 17th century (HSBM 31: 62–63); see also several Middle Russian examples beginning from the Pentateuch (SIRJa 23: 64).

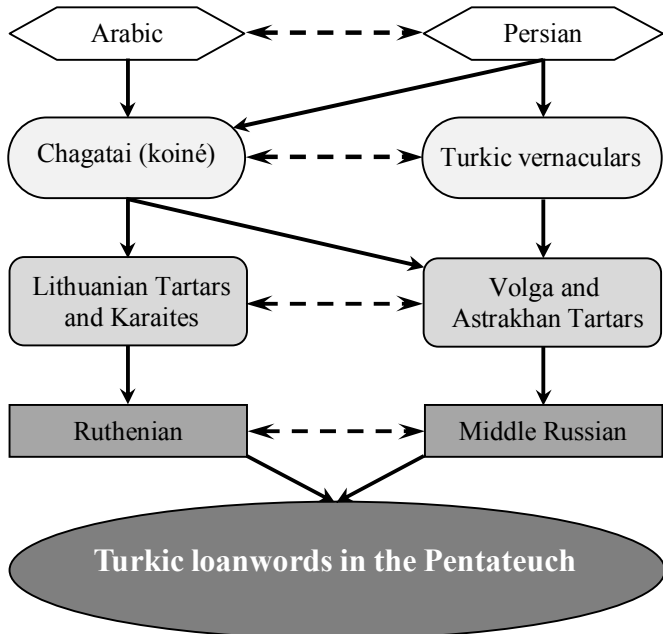
(18) The adjectives with the root *tagaš-* (see entries *tagaševyj*, *tagašij*, and *tagašinyj* in SIRJa 29: 173–174) are emendations in Num 4:6, 8, 10, 11, 12, and 14 (*KB 2/7*, *Rum.27*, *Rum.28*, *Solov.74/74*, *Volok.8*, *Egor.648*, and *Tikh.453*); these forms were glossed with the adjective *sinij* ‘blue’ corresponding to the Greek *βάκινθρος* ‘blue-colored’ which was translated from the Hebrew *תַּהַשׁ* *tāḥaš* or *תַּהַשׁ* *tāḥaš* ‘a porpoise’. The cover for the Ark of the Covenant mentioned in the Bible was made of porpoise skin; the editor understood that it was leathern or skin and tried to translate the obscure word *tāḥaš* keeping its formal shell. It is possible that the editor found the Turkic loanword for a very rare and expensive animal *toġuš* or *tugaš* ‘one-year-old elk’ (ANIKIN 2000: 548, 559) known from the 17th century (SIRJa 29: 386, SIRJa 30: 217), and contaminated it with the Hebrew *tāḥaš*. Moreover, in one of the MSS (*Rum.28*) the form *tugaševb* appears which is very similar to the original Turkic word. This subject was examined by R. Krivko (see KRIVKO 2012, KRIVKO 2015) and in my own work (GRISHCHENKO 2015). The hypothesis of contamination between the Turkic loanword and the Hebrew word is most strongly supported within the broader context of Turkic forms in the Slavonic-Russian Pentateuch. A secondary factor, one that is not as strong, is suggested by the fact that the Slavonic translation of the Hebrew *h* by Cyrillic *g* was extremely infrequent.

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I thus found eighteen forms from the Slavonic-Russian Pentateuch edited according to the Masoretic Text that could be characterized as Turkic loanwords or Arabic/Persian words borrowed into Slavonic through Turkic mediation. Where, when, by whom, and for what purpose was this version of the Russian Church Slavonic Bible made? These questions are most intriguing and complex. Inside the East Slavonic region, all these glosses and emendations could have occurred in either Muscovy or Lithuania, provided that we do not archaize this version of the Penta-

teach down to the pre-Mongolian times (cf. ALEXEEV 2014: 172, USPENSKIJ 2012, USPENSKIJ 2013, USPENSKIJ 2014, etc.). The fixed Ruthenian parallels refer to seven forms mentioned above (*misurka*, *Isupъ*, *soltanъ*, *olmazъ*, *ambarъ*, *tolmačъ*, and *saranča*), especially the two forms from the Vilna Biblical Collection translated from Hebrew in the mid-15th century. However, most of these words were used in the East Russian, that is, the Muscovite, sources, and it is significant that four of these forms (*Misiürъ*, *saltanъ*, *almazъ* or *olmazъ*, and *brynecъ*) occurred in the *Journey Beyond the Three Seas* (1466–1472) by Afanasy Nikitin. As a whole, all these glosses and emendations are characterized not by their interpretive function but by their encyclopedic nature: the glossator or interpreter seems to be demonstrating his geographic and ethnographic erudition; the glosses such as *Skandryja*, *Bagadadъ*, *Šamъ*, and so forth do not explain obscure names (on the contrary, the names *Aleksandrija*, *Vavilonъ*, *Damaskъ*, etc. are more clearly understood by medieval scholars), and these words give the impression of encoding a mystery or signs accessible to perception by an initiate. Also, I have noted six forms connected to the Balkan Slavic idioms (*Skenderija*, *Misir*, *Šam*, *almas*, *pirinč*, and *ešek*). Such vocabulary could be available for merchants (like Afanasy Nikitin) speaking Turkic and interested in a new mysterious knowledge promulgated by learned rabbis. In this context, the hypothesis by protoiereus Alexander Gorskij about the Pentateuch’s provenance from the Judaizers (GORSKIJ 1860: 167–168), which was supported by F. J. Thomson (see THOMSON 1998: 651–654), looks very impressive.

Scheme 3. The Sources of Turkic Loanwords in the Slavonic-Russian Pentateuch Edited According the Masoretic Text



I cannot name an exact place where the editor or glossator was from, whether he was Ruthenian, Muscovite, or Novgorodian. These three literature and language traditions did interact in the 14th and 15th centuries (see *Scheme 3*), with the Muscovite–Ruthenian literature and language relations of special interest. A fundamental research on this topic was carried out by András Zoltán (see ZOLTÁN 2014) but it needs much more detailed studies. If the editor was a Ruthenian, the Turkic words could have been borrowed from Lithuanian Tartars or Karaites. The Karaites, by the way, belonged to a confession which split off from the Jews, and they used the Hebrew Pentateuch. If our editor or glossator was a Muscovite or Novgorodian, he might have borrowed these words from Volga and Astrakhan Tartars. All these Turkic groups and their dialects interacted as well. Finally, the Chagatai koiné constantly borrowed words from Arabic and Persian, which, of course, also interacted in the wider Muslim world. The peculiarities of the words mentioned above do not allow us to identify exactly the dialect of Turkic because in the Chagatai language – that is, the Turkic koiné – dialectal differences were effaced and dissolved.

Abbreviated Names of Archives and Libraries

BAN	Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences (<i>Biblioteka Akademii Nauk</i>), St. Petersburg
BN	National Library of Poland (<i>Biblioteka Narodowa</i>), Warsaw
GIM	State Historical Museum (<i>Gosudarstvennyj istoričeskij muzej</i>), Moscow
LMAB	Wróblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences (<i>Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių biblioteka</i>), Vilnius
RGADA	Russian State Archives of Ancient Acts (<i>Rossijskij gosudarstvennyj arhiv drevnih aktov</i>), Moscow
RGB	Russian State Library (<i>Rossijskaja gosudarstvennaja biblioteka</i>), Moscow
RNB	National Library of Russia (<i>Rossijskaja nacional'naja biblioteka</i>), St. Petersburg

Manuscripts

Arch.279 = RGADA, f. 181 (= Collection of the Moscow Main Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), op. 3, No. 279: *Archive Chronograph*, the third quarter of the 15th century.

Arch.354 = RGADA, f. 181 (= Collection of the Moscow Main Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), op. 4, No. 354: *Pentateuch*, the end of the 15th century.

Arkh.D.17 = BAN, Arkhangelsk Collection, No. D.17: *Pentateuch*, the end of the 15th and the early 16th century.

Arkh.D.5 = BAN, Arkhangelsk Collection, No. D.5: *Historical Miscellany*, the 15th and 16th centuries.

BAN 17.16.33 = BAN, No. 17.16.33: *Pentateuch*, the 15th century.

BAN 45.10.6 = BAN, No. 45.10.6: *Convolute*, the end of the 15th century, containing the Pentateuch (1487), ff. 1–322.

BAN 45.13.4 = BAN, No. 45.13.4: *Chorographical Miscellany*, the last quarter of the 16th century.

- Bars.1* = GIM, Collection of E. V. Barsov, No. 1: *Octateuch with Other Biblical Books*, the end of the 15th century.
- Bars.2* = GIM, Collection of E. V. Barsov, No. 2: *Octateuch with Other Biblical Books*, the end of the 15th century.
- Bars.3* = GIM, Collection of E. V. Barsov, No. 3: *Octateuch*, the 15th century.
- BOZ 83* = BN, BOZ, No. 83: *Warsaw Chronograph*, the first quarter of the 16th century.
- CGADA 790* = RGADA, f. 188 (= Collection of the Central State Archives of Ancient Acts), op. 1, No. 790: *Pentateuch*, the first quarter of the 16th century.
- Dobr.13* = BAN, Collection of P. Dobrohotov: *Octateuch with Other Biblical Books*, the second quarter of the 16th century.
- Egor.648* = RGB, f. 98 (= Collection of E. E. Egorov), No. 648: *Pentateuch*, the 16th and 17th centuries.
- F.I.1* = RNB, f. 550 (= Main Collection), No. F.I.1: *Pentateuch*, the end of the 15th century.
- Grig.1684* = RGB, f. 87 (= Collection of V. I. Grigorovič), No. 1/M.1684: *Octateuch and Tetrabasileion*, 1523–1543.
- KB 1/6* = RNB, f. 351 (= Collection of the Kirillo-Belozersky Monastery), No. 1/6: *Pentateuch*, the mid-16th century.
- KB 2/7* = RNB, f. 351 (= Collection of the Kirillo-Belozersky Monastery), No. 2/7: *Pentateuch*, 1490s.
- KB 3/8* = RNB, f. 351 (= Collection of the Kirillo-Belozersky Monastery), No. 3/8: *Pentateuch*, 1490s.
- MDA 12* = RGB, f. 173.I (= Fundamental Collection of the Moscow Theological Academy), No. 12: *Academic Chronograph*, the early 16th century.
- Muz.358* = GIM, Museum Collection, No. 358: *Illustrated Chronicle of Ivan the Terrible. Museum Miscellany*, 1560s and 1570s.
- Pogod.1143* = RNB, f. 588 (= Collection of M. P. Pogodin), No. 1143: *Miscellany of Lexicons (Azbukovnik)*, the 17th century.
- Pogod.76* = RNB, f. 588 (= Collection of M. P. Pogodin), No. 76: *Pentateuch with Additions*, the 16th century.
- Q.I.1407* = RNB, f. 550 (= Main Collection), No. Q.I.1407: *Pentateuch*, the 16th century.
- Rum.253* = RGB, f. 256 (= Collection of N. P. Rumjancev), No. 253: *The Russian Chronicle*, the 18th century.
- Rum.27* = RGB, f. 256 (= Collection of N. P. Rumjancev), No. 27: *Pentateuch*, the end of the 15th century.
- Rum.28* = RGB, f. 256 (= Collection of N. P. Rumjancev), No. 28: *Biblical Miscellany*, the second quarter of the 16th century.
- Rum.29* = RGB, f. 256 (= Collection of N. P. Rumjancev), No. 29: *Octateuch and Tetrabasileion*, 1537.
- Sev.1431* = RGB, f. 270.II (Collection of P. I. Sevast'janov), No. 1/M.1431: *Octateuch*, the early 15th century.
- Solov.74/74* = RNB, f. 717 (= Collection of the Solovetsky Monastery), No. 74/74: *Pentateuch*, the 15th and 16th centuries.
- Syn.21* = GIM, Synod Collection, No. 21: *Bible*, 1558.
- Syn.30* = GIM, Synod Collection, No. 30: *Bible*, 1570–1571.
- Syn.915* = GIM, Synod Collection, No. 915: *The Gennady Bible*, 1499.
- Tikh.453* = RGB, f. 299 (= Collection of N. S. Tihonravov), No. 453: *Pentateuch with Additions*, the first half of the 16th century.

- Tr.1* = RGB, f. 304.I (= Main Collection of the Trinity Lavra of St. Sergius), No. 1: *Lavra Pentateuch*, the early 15th century.
- Tr.44* = RGB, f. 304.I (= Main Collection of the Trinity Lavra of St. Sergius), No. 44: *Pentateuch with Additions*, the end of the 15th century.
- Tr.45* = RGB, f. 304.I (= Main Collection of the Trinity Lavra of St. Sergius), No. 45: *Pentateuch*, the end of the 16th century.
- Und.1* = RGB, f. 310 (= Collection of V. M. Undol'skij), No. 1: *Biblical Miscellany with Additions*, the last quarter of the 15th century.
- Uvar.652* = GIM, Collection of A. S. Uvarov, No. 652: *Bible*, the 16th century.
- Vil.51* = LMAB, F19, No. 51: *Pentateuch*, 1514.
- Vil.109* = LMAB, F19, No. 109: *Vilna Chronograph*, the first third of the 16th century.
- Vil.262* = LMAB, F19, No. 262: *Miscellany*, the first quarter of the 16th century.
- Volok.7* = RGB, f. 113 (= Collection of Joseph-Volokolamsk Monastery), No. 7: *Pentateuch* (uncompleted), the first third of the 16th century.
- Volok.8* = RGB, f. 113 (= Collection of Joseph-Volokolamsk Monastery), No. 8: *Pentateuch*, 1494.

Abbreviated Names of Databases and Multivolume Dictionaries

- BER = *Български етимологичен речник*. Т. 1–7. София, 1971–2010.
- ESRJa = ФАСМЕР Макс: *Этимологический словарь русского языка*. Т. 1–4. Москва, 1964–1973.
- ESTJa = *Этимологический словарь тюркских языков*. Т. 1–7. Москва, 1974–2003.
- HSBM = *Гістарычны слоўнік беларускай мовы*. Т. 1–35. Мінск, 1982–2015.
- MRC = *Middle Russian Corpus*. http://ruscorpora.ru/search-mid_rus.html.
- RES = Аникин А. Е. *Русский этимологический словарь*. Вып. 1–10. Москва, 2007–2016.
- RSHKJ = *Rečnik srpskohrvatskoga književnog jezika*. Knj. 1–6. Novi Sad–Zagreb, 1967–1976.
- SJP = *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku*. Т. 1–36. Warszawa, 1966–2012.
- SIRJa = *Словарь русского языка XI–XVII вв*. Вып. 1–30. Москва, 1975–2015.
- SORJaMR = *Словарь обиходного русского языка Московской Руси XVI–XVII вв*. Вып. 1–6. Санкт-Петербург, 2004–2014.
- SUM = *Словник української мови XVI – першої пол. XVII ст.* Вип. 1–16. Львів, 1994–2013.
- TLG = *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae. A Digital Library of Greek Literature*. <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu>.
- VWT = RADLOFF Wilhelm: *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türkdialecte*. Bd. 1–4. St. Petersburg, 1893–1911.

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