

VÁCLAV BLAŽEK
Masaryk University

Fields of research: Indo-European studies, especially Slavic, Baltic, Celtic, Anatolian, Tocharian, Indo-Iranian languages; Fenno-Ugric; Afro-Asiatic; etymology; genetic classification; mathematic models in historical linguistics.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.35321/all81-03>

VOLGA – THE FIRST RIVER OF EUROPE

Volga – pirmoji Europos upė

Чтобы не было раздора
Между вольными людьми,
Волга, Волга, мать родная,
На, красавицу возьми!

“So that peace may reign for ever
In this band so free and brave,
Volga, Volga, Mother Volga,
Make this lovely girl a grave!”

Дмитрий Николаевич Садовников¹ in 1883

ANNOTATION

The present study summarizes all designations of the Volga River and when it is possible, in wider context of primary texts, arranged in Appendix. The second task is a survey and discussion of existing etymologies. The third goal consists in offer of new solutions, if those existing are not convincing enough. Finally, some general conclusions are formulated.

KEYWORDS: River, Volga, hydronym, etymology.

¹ Available at: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stenka_Razin> [accessed 01.11.2019].

ANOTACIJA

Šis tyrimas apibendrina visus Volgos upės įvardijimus kiek įmanoma platesniame straipsnio priede pateiktų pirminių tekstų kontekste. Antrasis tyrimo tikslas – ištirti ir aptarti esamas etimologijas, trečiasis – pasiūlyti naujus sprendimus, jeigu esami nėra pakankamai įtikinami. Straipsnio pabaigoje pateikiamos bendrosios išvados.

ESMINIAI ŽODŽIAI: upė, Volga, vandenvardis, etimologija.

With its 3,534 km of length (before the system of dam lakes it was 3,693 km) and basin 1,380,000 km² the Volga River is the biggest watercourse in Europe, the westernmost big river of Eurasia and the biggest endorheic river in the world. For such long rivers it is typical that they bear several names in various languages. The following seven hydronyms, arranged in alphabetic order, will be analyzed in detail in both etymological perspective and from the point of view of semantic motivation.

1. Ἀράξης

1.0. Herodotus [1.201–202] (c. 450 BCE) mentioned Ἀράξης as a river comparable with or even bigger than the Ister, i.e. the Danube. This Araxes needed to flow through 40 streams, but only one of them emptied into the Caspian Sea. In its delta there would have been islands of the size of Lesbos (1,630 km²). This description can only be applicable to the Volga (originally 3,693 km; basin 1,380,000 km²; discharge 8,060 m³/s in Astraxań; the delta of the Volga consists of c. 500 channels² on the area of 27,224 km²) and not to the river Ἀράξης, known in Modern Armenian as *Araks*, Turkish, Persian, Kurdish *Aras*, Azerbaijani *Araz* (1,072 km; 102,000 km²; discharge 285 m³/s by the mouth into the Kura), rising near Erzurum City in East Turkey in the same area as the source

² Available at: <<https://earthobservatory.nasa.gov/images/5650/volga-river-delta>> [accessed 01.11.2019].

of the Euphrates³. This Araks was described as swift, but narrow⁴, in contrary to the description of Herodotus.

1.1. “Swift stream” can be a convincing motivation for designation of this shorter and faster river rising on slopes of mountains with an altitude over 3,000 m, traditionally explained with help of Armenian *arag*, *erag* “quick, swift, fast” (cf. Tomaschek 1895, c. 404), which itself is of Iranian origin, cf. Parthian (Turfan) *rg* “quick, swift”, Avestan *rayu-* “leicht beweglich, flink” (Olsen 1999: 868; Bailey 1979: 359). The initial vowel represents a typical Armenian prothesis before the borrowings in *r*-⁵. Let us add that in classical Armenian sources the river was called *Erask'*, while Old Georgian had *Rakšī*⁶, still without the initial vowel.

1.2. If Herodotus really described the Volga as Ἀράξης, the ‘swift’-etymology is not applicable, since the altitude of the Volga’s source is only 228 m and with regard to the length of the stream, originally almost 3,700 km, the speed of the stream is extremely slow. In this case it would be thinkable to explain the river-name as Iranian **a-raxsa-* “harmless”, cf. Young Avestan acc.sg. (*ā*-stem?)

³ This was known already to Pompey in 68 BCE according to the witness of Plutarch in his curriculum of Pompey [33.1]: Πομπήϊος δὲ εἰς Ἀρμενίαν ἐνέβαλε τοῦ νέου Τιγράνου καλοῦντος αὐτόν ἦδη γὰρ ἀφεισιτῆκει τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ συνήνησε τῷ Πομπηίῳ περὶ τὸν Ἀράξην ποταμὸν, ὃς ἀνίσχει μὲν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν τῷ Εὐφράτῃ τόπων, ἀποτρεπόμενος δὲ πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολὰς εἰς τὸ Κάσπιον ἐμβάλλει πέλαγος, “Pompey then invaded Armenia on the invitation of young Tigranes, who was now in revolt from his father, and who met Pompey near the river **Araxes**, which takes its rise in the same regions as the Euphrates, but turns towards the east and empties into the Caspian Sea” (Plutarch 1917: *Pompey*. – Plutarch’s Lives, with an English Translation by Bernadotte Perrin. Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press – London: Heinemann, 1917). Available at: <<http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0007.tlg045.perseus-grc1:33.1>> [accessed 01.11.2019]; <<http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0007.tlg045.perseus-eng1:33.1>> [accessed 01.11.2019].

⁴ Cf. Virgil: *Aeneid* 8.728: *pontem indignatus Araxes* “the Araxes, angry at having been bridged”. See also the lemma *Araxes* in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, Vol. II, Fasc. 3 (1986), pp. 268–271, by W. B. Fisher (& C. E. Bosworth). Available at: <<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/araxes-river>> [accessed 01.11.2019].

⁵ Cf. Armenian *aroyr* “brass” < Iranian **rauda-*, cf. Manichaean Middle Persian *rwy*, Zoroastrian Middle Persian *lwd* “copper, brass”; Armenian *erang* “color” vs. Manichaean Middle Persian *rng*; Sanskrit *raṅga-* “color, dye”; Armenian *erak* “vein” vs. Zoroastrian Middle Persian *rk'* id. etc. (Olsen 1999: 869, 879).

⁶ W. B. Fisher, C. E. Bosworth. Available at: <<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/araxes-river>> [accessed 01.11.2019].

raxsqm “harm” [*Vištāsp Yašt* 2.12⁷; translation of James Darmstetter⁸]. A similar semantic motivation was used e.g. for the Pacific Ocean.

1.3.1. Among hydronyms names which are motivated by colors are relatively frequent. A promising candidate could be Iranian **raxša-* “dark-colored” > Khotanese *rrāša* “dark-colored”, Sogdian *ryš* “bay horse”, Persian *raxš* “mixed red and white, between black and fusc” > Wakhi *rakš* “grey, brown” (Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 292), Kurdish *ṛaš* “black, dark” (Bailey 1979: 362; Cabolov 2010: 194). The open question is interpretation of the initial vowel. The easiest solution would be the negative **a-*, i.e. **a-raxša-* = “non-dark”. But it would be rather strange that any word denoting a light color was not directly used instead. On the other hand, at least the middle stream of the Volga has been called “black” (see below).

1.3.2. Another possibility is the compound **ha-raxša-* “all dark”, cf. Avestan *ha-* “together”, Khotanese *ha* “all” (ESIJ 3: 345–353; Bailey 1979: 438).

1.3.3. The third possibility is the compound **āh-raxša-* “dark mouth”, cf. Avestan *āh-*, Khotanese *āha-* “mouth” (Bartholomae 1904: 345, 351, 357; Bailey 1979: 29–30; ESIJ 1: 303–304). The hypothetical meaning “dark mouth” would perhaps reflect the fact that in the delta of Volga there are oil deposits⁹.

1.3.4. In principle, it is also possible to admit that Herodotus combined two quasi-homonymous hydronyms, one with initial vowel, representing the ‘Armenian prothesis’ (Araks/Ars/Araz; in past *Erask*’, but Old Georgian *Rakšī*) and the second without it (**Raxsa-* or **Raxša-*; perhaps Volga). The result was a levelling leading to the form **Araxša-* with the analogous initial *a-*.

2. **As(a)tEl* > Ἀστῆλ/Ἀσατήλ ~ Ἀτίλας ~ Ἄτελ ~
Τίλ ~ *Ätil*

2.0.1. Byzantine sources (in chronological order; see Moravcsik 1958: 78–79):
Ἀτίλας ... river by Zemarchus, c. 570 (mediated by Menander Protector)
Τίλ ... river by Theophylactus Simocatta, *Historiae*, written c. 630 about the end of the 6th cent.

Ἄτελ ... river by Theophanes Homologetes (†818), *Chronicle* (AD 284–813; about c. 680)

⁷ Available at: <<http://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/iran/airan/avesta/avest.htm>> [accessed 01.11.2019].

⁸ Available at: <<http://www.avesta.org/fragment/vytsbe.htm>> [accessed 01.11.2019].

⁹ Available at: <<https://earthobservatory.nasa.gov/images/5650/volga-river-delta>> [accessed 01.11.2019].

Ἀσπήλ ... river and fortress in Khazaria in Byzantine geographic notices from the 8th cent.

Ἀσαπήλ ... episcopate in Khazaria according to one Parisian manuscript (c. 800?)

Ἀπήλ ... river by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (first half of the 10th cent. about the 9th cent.)

Ἀτελκούζου ... place, where Pechenegs lived in the time of Constantine (ibid.)

Ἐτέλ καὶ Κουζοῦ ... place formerly inhabited by Turks (= Hungarians), later by Pechenegs (ibid.).

2.0.2. Armenian sources (Pritsak 1956: 407):

Et'il in *Geography* of Pseudo-Mowsēs Chorenac'i in a copy of Anania Širakac'i (c. AD 700).

At'l by Gregor of Akanc' (†1333).

2.0.3. Sources written in the Hebrew script (Gaster 1899: 67, § 34.14):

Htl {התל} in Yosippon (c. AD 900).

2.0.4. Sources written in the Arabic script (Marquart 1929: 96; Pritsak 1954: 407–408):

?itil by Ibn Rusta (c. 903) and al-Muqaddasī (996)

Ātl & *?tl* by Ibn Faḍlān (922)

?tl by al-Balḥī (†934)

?itil by Iṣṭahrī (mid of the 10th cent.) and Idrīsī (1157)

?ātil by Ibn Ḥawqāl (977/8)

Ātil by Maḥmūd Kašgharī (c. 1070) and Marwazī (1120)

?atal by Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-Ġarnāṭī (1080–1170)

Itil by Yāqūt (†1229)

Ītil by Ġuwainī (†1283)

Ṣdīl in *Šağarat al-atrāk* (c. 1457)

Ṣadl by al-Iṣfahānī (c. 1509)

Ṣadal or *Ṣadil* in *Derbend-nāmeḥ* etc.

2.0.5. Records of the European travellers from the 13th cent.: Frater Richard *Ethyl*; Rubruk *Etilia*, *Ethilia*, *Edilia*; Marco Polo *Edilia*; Benedictus Polonus *Ethyl* (Gombocz 1917: 183; Pritsak 1956: 409).

2.0.6. The hydronym is attested in the Turkic languages from the 11th cent. (Maḥmūd Kašgharī) and in the Mongolic languages from the 13th cent. (Secret history of Mongols):

Karakhanid *Etil* 'river name, perhaps Volga' [Maḥmūd Kašgharī, 11th cent.; Legend about Oghuz-Qaghan from the 13th cent.] (*DTS* 187), Chaghatay *Ātil*, *Ādil* 'Volga', *Ak-Ādil* 'Kama', lit. 'White *Ādil*', Kazakh & Nogai *Edil*, Teleut *Ādäl*, Bashkir *Idäl* 'Volga', Kazan Tatar *Izäl*, *Idäl* 'Volga', *Kara Idäl* 'Volga' =

‘Black *Idəl*’ vs. *Ak Idəl* ‘Kama’¹⁰ = ‘White *Idəl*’, Chuvash *ADəl* ‘Volga’, *Šurâ-ADəl* ‘Kama’, lit. ‘White *ADəl*’ (Gombocz 1917: 183; Radlov I: 842, 857, 1509; Räsänen 1969: 52). Later occasionally in the appellative role: Chaghatay *ädil* ‘river, stream’, dim. *ädil-ča & ädil-čik* ‘rivulet’, Kazan Tatar *idəl* ‘big river’ (> Mansi *çetl* ‘water of sea’) vs. *idəl-čäk* ‘rivulet’ (Pritsak 1956: 415).

Middle Mongol *Idil* ‘Volga River’ [Secret History of Mongols, §§ 262, 270], *Ežil* ‘city destroyed by the Mongols’ [Secret History of Mongols, § 274], Kalmyk *Idžl* (*mörŋ*) ‘Volga (river)’ (Ramstedt 1935: 205).

The following etymologies or etymological comments have been (or could be) proposed:

2.1. Klaproth (1826) differentiated Ἀττίλας ‘Volga’ (p. 117) and Τίλ ‘Kama’ (p. 274), ascribing the meaning “black” to the latter one (p. 268). Arising from his conception of a relation between the ancient Avars and modern Avars from Daghestan, he compared the hydronym with Andi *dir*, but the term “black” should be *b-eçedir* in Andi, besides Karata *b-eçetiro-b*, Hunzib *çadilu*, Bezhta *çodolo* etc. (Klimov & Xalilov 2003: 354; according to NCED 556 Andi *-dir* is a derivational suffix). Concerning the attribute “black”, cf. Pritsak (1956: 411), referring to Theophylactus Simocatta’s *Historiae* [258.9]: (written c. 630 about the end of the 6th cent.), where

ἐνθα ὁ Τίλ διαρρεῖ ποταμός, ὄν Μέλανα Τούρκοις ἀποκαλεῖν <ἔθος>

“wo der Til-Fluss hindurch-fließt, den die Türken ‘den Schwarzen’ <zu>nennen<pfliegen”

(see Haussig 1953: 283, 287),

and further the frequent Turkic designation of the Volga as “black”, *Qara Idil* or *Qara Itil*. Pritsak (1956: 411) interpreted it as “big”, like the name *Qara Mören* for Huang Ho by Rašid ad-Dīn (†1318).

2.2. Haussig (1953: 426) reconstructed the form Ἀστίλ as **As-Til* = *‘river of Ἄσιοι’, where the form Τίλ was recorded by Theophylactus Simocatta (already Abel-Rémusat 1820, 320 identified in Τίλ the Volga River). But Haussig was not able to offer any witness that Τίλ represented the appellative meaning ‘river’ *vel sim.* not only in Turkic.

2.3. Pritsak (1956: 404–419; 1982: 444) analyzed both the personal and river name Ἀττίλας and the river name Ἀστίλ as a hypothetical Old Bulgarian compound, consisting of the components **as* “great, old” and **til* “sea”, i.e. “oceanic = universal {ruler}” (cf. the Mongol title *Dalaj-in Qa’an*, with its Turkic translation *Talui-nuŋ Xani* – see Pelliot 1923: 24–25: ‘le khan océanique’; Pritsak

¹⁰ Alternatively, the Kama was called *Čölmen-Idəl* in Kazan Tatar, i.e. “the river of wasteland”, similarly Chuvash *čolma* and Old Bulgarian *Čölmān-Itil* (Tomaschek 1889: 33) vs. Old Turkish *čöl*, Kazakh *šöl* etc. “steppe, wasteland” (Räsänen 1969: 117).

1956: 417), with evidence in the following Turkic forms: Chuvash *as-lâ* “gross, vornehm”¹¹, Chaghatay *äs-li* “great, strong”, Old Uyghur, Middle Turkic *äs-ki* “old” etc. (Räsänen 1969: 50), and Old Turkic *talūy* “sea”, Old Uyghur *taluj* “sea” or “lake”, Sary-Uyghur *talej*, *tali*, *tal'i* “lake, sea, ocean” etc. (Räsänen 1969: 130; Clauson 1972: 502). The term could be of Chinese origin, if it represented an adaptation of the Chinese river-name 大濼 *dà(i)lěi*¹² < Late Middle Chinese **tha(j)lyj* < Early Middle Chinese **da'lwī* or **daj'lwī* (Hirth 1895: 18). But it is questionable that this Chinese borrowing could have been transformed into the component *Tíl* already in the 6th cent. More probable is another idea of Pritsak that *Tíl* corresponded to the Chuvash hydronym *TilŽe* (> Russian *Tel'ča*), where the last syllable reflected the Turkic diminutive suffix **-ča/*-če*, Pritsak (1956: 410–412) identified the same root in the rather enigmatic river-name *Qara Tīl* from the basin of the Syr-Darya by Nizām ad-Dīn (†1404), alternatively called *Qara Tal* by ‘Anonymous author of Iskander’ from 1414. Another *Qara Tal* emptied into Balkhash Lake according to *Ḥudūd al-Ṣālam*. The real appellative use of the root **til-/*tīl-* was found by Pritsak (1956: 413) only in Tungusic: Evenki *tilkan* “flood”, Even *tīlqa*, Ulchi *čilčan*, Nanai *čilqā* id., besides the verb in Evenki *tilka-*, Even *tīlqən-*, Ulcha *čilčan-*, Nanai *čilqa-* “to overflow, splatter” (Cincius 1977: 180–181). In *EDAL* it is compared with Turkic **d(i)āl(i)-* “to overflow” > Old Uyghur, Karakhanid *taš-*, Turkmen *dāš-*, Kirghiz, Tatar *taši-*, Yakut *tahij-* etc., id., besides Oirat *tašqin* “flood” (Räsänen 1969: 466; Clauson 1972: 559; ESTJ 3: 169–170), and Mongolic **čilga-* / **čalgi-* “to overflow” > Written Mongolian *čilga-*, *čalgi-*, Khalkha *calgi-*, Ordos *čalgi-*, Buryat *salgi-*, *šalšagana-*, *šald*. The Chuvash hydronym *Til-* and its Central Asiatic counterparts *Tīl* / *Tal* can be connected with Turkic **d(i)āl(i)-* “to overflow”. In this case the hydronym Ἀστίγλ is analyzable as the Old Bulgarian compound **as-tial* “super-overflowing” or “{river bringing} big floods”.

Note: It is necessary to mention that Eugene Helinski (2000, 2004; plus Evgenij Xelimskij 2000, 2003) tried to present arguments about a Tungusic component in language(s) of the Avar Kaganat. It is natural to add the Tungusic candidate for the first component **as-* of the hydronym Ἀστίγλ etc. It could be

¹¹ Pritsak (1956: 414) tried to identify the component **äs-* in the Hunnic name Ἐσκάμ = **äs-kam* “great priest”, and in the name of the Khazarian majordomus, called *?starhān* (Ṭabarī), i.e. ‘great tarxan’, or *rāstarhān* (Yaṣqūbī), with the first Arabic component *raʿs* “head; top; leader”, i.e. **“over-tarxan”*. He added, the same etymology could be ascribed to the city-name *Astraxān*, although it was known only from the 14th cent.

¹² 大 *dà*, *dài* “big, great, large, wide, deep” < Late Middle Chinese **tha*, **thaj* < Early Middle Chinese **da*, **dajh* & 濼 *lěi* ‘river name’ < Late Middle Chinese **lyj* < Early Middle Chinese **lwi* (Pulleyblank 1991: 69, 185).

the Tungusic root **as-* “very; many” > Udihe *asa^{hi}* “very”, Ulča *asūr* id., Nanai *asō*, *asor* “not very”, Manchu *asi*, *asuru* “very; many, much, frequently” (Cin-
cius 1975: 54–55). The compound **as(V)til* would mean *“{river bringing} ve-
ry {big} floods”, i.e. almost the same as the Old Bulgarian interpretation.

2.4. Axmetjanov (2001: 76) derived the forms of the type Karakhanid *Etil* from **ertil*, perhaps via **ettil*, and proposed the same origin as for the hydro-
nym *Irtyš*; which should be derived according to him from the verb attested in
Old Uyghur, Cumanic, Shor *ert-*, Khakas, Chuvash *irt-*, Yakut *irdē-* “to pass”
(Räsänen 1969: 46).

2.5. Taking in account the record Ἀστήλ, there is an alternative Turkic solu-
tion, based on the hypothetic compound **ast*¹³–(*h*)*ōl*¹⁴ “lower dampness”, which
could be ascribed to the delta of the Volga River.

2.6. Alternatively, the form Ἀστήλ allows us to think about an early Hunga-
rian compound, consisting of Old Hungarian (AD 1055) *azaa*, *azah* “Fluß, Bach”
(UEW 3) ~ ‘fehe rea’, Modern Hungarian (dial.) *aszó* “Wasserriß, zeitweiliger
Wasserlauf; Trockental” (EWU I: 54), “Tal, Niederung; ein Tal, in dem in Re-
genperioden und zur Zeit der Frühjahrschneeschnmelze ein kleiner Bach fließt,
das aber sonst trocken ist” (UEW 3); and Hungarian *tele* (first 1372), *teli*, dial. *tel-*
le ‘voll, gefüllt’, *tel-* ‘voll werden, sich füllen’, *teljes*, arch. *teles* ‘ganz, vollständig,
total, komplett; voll’, *tölt-* ‘(Flüssigkeit) schütten, gießen, (Getränke) einschen-
ken; füllen, anfüllen’ (EWU II: 1497–1500; UEW 518: together with Mansi TJ
täwl, P *taγl̥* and Khanty Vj. O *tel* ‘voll’ are derivable from FU **tälkz* or **täwde*).

The hypothetic compound *asz(a)tele* could designate ‘valley full {of water}’
or ‘river full {of water}’.

Note 1: Constantine Porphyrogenitus had also recorded the compound
Ἄτελοῦζου [§ 38.30], explained as places, in which the nation of Pechenegs
lived in his time. Further it appeared in the syntagm Ἐτέλ {ποταμὸς} καὶ¹⁵

¹³ Turkmen, Crimea-Tatar, Crimea-Karaim, Karakalpak, Uyghur *ast*, Uzbek *äst*, Kirghiz, Tatar *as(t)*,
Bashkir *aş(t)/aθ(t)* “below” (Sevortjan 1974: 195–196); cf. Karakhanid (11th cent.) *astin* “under,
beneath”, (13th cent.) *astindaki* “situated below”, Chaghatay *ast(i)* “beneath”, Cumanic *astinda*
“beneath” etc. (Clauson 1972: 242).

¹⁴ Proto-Turkic *(*h*)*ōl* > Old Turkic (Manichaeen), Old Uyghur (Buddhist) (both 8th cent.) *ōl* “moist”
(about land), Karakhanid *ōl* [Maḥmūd Kašghari; Qutadyu Bilig] “moist, wet”, Middle Turkic *ōl*
(Sanglax) id., (Pavet de Courteille) “marsh”, Chaghatay (15th cent.) *ōl* “moist”, also used for *darya*
“sea”, Turkish *öl* “moist, wet”, Osman *öl* “pool”, Turkmen *ōl*, dial. *hōl* “moist, wet”, Khalaj *hēl*, *hēl*,
Kirghiz *ōl*, Karakalpak *hōl*, Uzbek *hul* id., Uyghur *hōl* “damp, moist”, Khakassian *ōl* “moist, wet”,
Shor *ūl*, Oyrat *ūl*, Tuva, Tofalar *ōl*, Yakut *ūōl* “moist, wet”, Chuvash *vilē* id. (Räsänen 1969: 371;
Clauson 1972: 124; Sevortjan 1974: 524–525).

¹⁵ Marquart (1903: 33, fn. 3) explained the conjunction as a mistake of a copist, who thought that
Kouζού was an alternative name for Ἐτέλ.

Κουζού [§ 40.24], which was explained more explicitly as “the place in which the Turks (= Hungarians) used formerly to be is called after the name of the river that runs through it, Etel and Kouzou, and in it the Pechenegs live now” (translated by Jenkins). Menges (1944–1945: 259) thought that this term designated either another river or it became an appellative. Following Zeuss (1837: 751), Markwart (1903: 33) speculated that the word Κουζού was an equivalent of Greek μεσοποταμία, identifying in Κουζού Hungarian *köze* (3 sg. possess. of *köz* “center, middle”), which was also used in Hungarian names of districts, e.g. *Szamos-köz*, *Mura-köze*, *Rába-köze*. Hungarian *köz* is derivable from Feno-Ugric **kütz* (UEW 163; EWU II, 827) ~ **küti* “middle” (Sammallahti 1988: 544).

Note 2: Müllenhoff (1906: 75) proposed that the hydronym Δάϊξ [Ptolemy 6.14.2,4,5], Δαίχ [Zemarchus], Γεήχ [Constantine Porphyrogenitus 37.2], later *Jajik*, cf. Chuvash *Jejək*, Kazakh *Žajyk*, from 1775 called the *Ural River* (Vasmer IV: 551–552), might be of Uralic origin, connecting it with Uralic **joke* “river” (UEW 99) ~ **jukā* (Sammallahti 1988: 537), although usually the Turkic etymology has been assumed (cf. Menges 1944–1945: 260, who compared Turkish *jaj-yk* “expanded, open”, part. perf. pass. of *jaj-* “to expand”, Tuva *čat-*, Middle Turkic [MK] *jad-*, Old Uyghur *jad-*, but Altai *d’ajyq* “flood”, Tuva *čajyq* “deluge, downpour” are semantically closer to the river-naming and cannot be derived from Common Turkic **jād-*, but only from **jāj-*, continuing in Tuva *čaj-* “to swing, pump”, Altai *d’aj-* “to overflow, inundate, spread (on a river)” – see ESTJ 1989: 76–77).

3. JUL

3.0. Mari: KB *Jəl*, B *Jul*, U *Ju-l-βüt* Wolga (Wichmann 1953: 54, #264); East *Jul* (Paasonen 1948: 29).

3.1. Paasonen (1926: 38) connected the hydronym with Khanty of Konda *ᶯtp̄z* “spring, source”, *ᶯtp̄p̄-η* “die Mündung eines aus einer Quelle fliessenden Baches”, Yugan *ᶯLp̄* “kleiner reissender Bach, Giessbach”. The final syllable was explained by Toivonen (1933: 382–383).

3.2. Markwart (1929: 96) speculated about adaptation of this Mari hydronym from its Chuvash equivalent *ADəl* via **Ajəl*. But such a development has no analogy in Chuvash loans in Mari.

3.3. Most probable seems to be the solution of Sinor (1964: 1–8), seeking origin of Mari *Jul* ‘Volga’ in Turkic **jul* “stream, brook, fountain” > Old Uyghur *yuul* “mountain brook, spring”, Karakhanid *jul*, *jul* “brook”, Oirat, Salar *jul*,

Koibal *jul* “brook, mountain stream”, Khakas *čul* “brook”, Chuvash *śv^wl* “spring” (Räsänen 1969: 209–210; Clauson 1972: 917–918; Sevortjan 4, 244; *DTS* 277).

3.4. Tatar, Bashkir *jul* “road, way” vs. Old Turkic *jol* id., etc. (Räsänen 1969: 205–206; Sevortjan 4: 217–219). Specifically the Volga River was a superhighway connecting the Russian North with Pontic-Caspian steppes since prehistoric times. Concerning relation of the meanings “road” and “river” there are suggestive semantic parallels in Cushitic and Chadic, concretely North Cushitic: Beja *lagi* f., pl. *-a* “path, pathway, beaten track” (Roper); East Cushitic: Somali *laag* “water-channel” (Luling), Bayso *lāga* “river-bank” (Hy); Oromo Macha *laga* “river”, *lage* “valley” (LVS) > Highland East Cushitic **laga* “river” (Hudson 1989: 124); Konso *lak-a* “plain, outside”, D’irayta *lak* “place, vacancy, room, space” (Bl), cf. Sasse 1982: 131; South Cushitic: Qwadza *lagalako* “path, road” (Ehret); and Central Chadic: Wamdiu *lāgu*, Margi *lagù*, West Margi *lakù*, Kilba *lākù* “road” (Kraft 1981: 73, 93, 112, 122).

4. Λύκος

4.0. Herodotus [4.123] mentioned four great rivers flowing from the country of the Thyssagetæ through a wasteland and further into the land of the Maeetians, and issuing into the lake called the Maeetian; their names are Lycus, Oarus, Tanaïs, (S)yr̥gis. Tomaschek (1889: 32) speculated about identification of the Lycus with the Jajik (today the Ural River) or the upper stream of the Volga, while the Oarus should belong to its lower stream.

4.1. At least indirectly Tomaschek (1889: 32–33) connected the river-name Λύκος with the Udmurt hydronym *Jug*, besides *Ług*, with its Russian counterpart *Belaja*, a tributary of the Kama. He explained it from Udmurt Malmyž *ju-g-ak* adv. “hell, klar, rein”, Malmyž-Uržum *l’u-g-ak*, *d’ug-ak* “auf einmal und hell”; Sarapul, Malmyž, Jelabuga *jugit*, Jelabuga, Malmyž-Uržum *l’ugit*, Ufa *d’ugit* adj. “hell, klar” etc. (Wichmann 1987: 82), Komi *jugid* “light (n., adj.), lightning”, *jug* “lightning”, *jugör* “ray, light”, *jugdini* “to grow light, illuminate” (KESK 334). This solution is undoubtedly satisfactory for the hydronym *Jug/Ług*, but difficult for Λύκος. The reason consists in historical phonetics: the Udmurt initial *l’-* and *d’-* are secondary variants of *j-* and the Permic medial *-g-* corresponds to Mari & Mordovian *-ŋg-* < FU **-ŋk-* (cf. KESK 14). The Permic root **jug-* regularly corresponds to Mari *jongeštaš* “to brighten up”, *jongêdo* “spacious” (KESK 334; Paasonen 1948: 27).

4.2. Perhaps more promising is to speculate about a motivation implied from the fact that Λύκος flowed through a wasteland described by Herodotus. Cf. also Kazan Tatar *Čölmen-Idal* ‘Kama’, i.e. “the river of wasteland”, similarly Chuvash

čolma and Old Bulgarian *Čōlmān-Itil* (Tomaschek 1889: 33) vs. Old Turkish *čöl*, Kazakh *šöl* etc. “steppe, wasteland” (Räsänen 1969: 117). If this is the case, the Baltic term **laukas* “terrain without trees” seems to be a good candidate, cf. Lithuanian *laukas* “terrain without trees, free space, field”, Latvian *lauks* “clearing, opening (in forest), free space, field”, Prussian (III) *laucks*, acc.sg. *laukan* “field” (ALEW I: 561–562), all from IE **leuḱ-* “to light” (Pokorny 1959: 687–689).

4.3. Another solution might be based on the fact that the Volga turns its stream from an easterly direction to the south by the mouth of its biggest tributary, Kama. In the Mari language, now spoken near this bend, and in the past, around it, there is the word *luk* (P, B, M, U, CÜ), *lūk* (CK, Č, J), *lâk* (K) “corner, nook” and also “bend of river or lake” < Proto-Mari **lukâ* (Bereczki 1992: 34, No. 165; 2013: 124–125). Just this meaning perfectly corresponds with the bend of the Volga from the east to the south. Other relatives confirm priority of this meaning: Finnish *loukka*, *loukas* “den, lair”, *loukku* “Spalte, Höhle”, *loukko* “Ecke, Winkel, Versteck, Höhle”, *?laukku* “Öffnung, Loch”, *?liukku* “Schneehöhle”; Hungarian *lyuk* (dial. *gyuk*, *juk*, *lik*, *luk*) “Loch, Leck; Höhle; Hinterbacken”; Nenets O *loxe?* “Winkel (z. B. in einem Zimmer, in einem langgestreckten See)” (UEW 252: **lowkkε*).

Note: It is possible to identify an analogous semantic motivation in the Old Russian hydronym *Erelb* (today *Orel*), denoting the left tributary of the Dnieper, which was first mentioned in Hypatian redaction of The Russian Primary Chronicle to AD 1183: *Ерель, егоже Русь зовуть Уголь*. Vasmer (III, 151) etymologized it with help of Osman *ājri* “schief, krumm”, *ājrilā* “sich biegen” (Radloff I: 661–662), Turkish *eğri* “krumm; Kurve”, *eğrilik* “Krümmung”, Old Uyghur *ägri* “schief”, Karakhanid, Cumanish, Chaghatay *ägri* “krumm, gebogen”; Chuvash *avâr* “tiefe Stelle, Grube in einem Fluss oder See” etc. (Räsänen 1969: 37–38).

5. RAV & RAVO

5.0. Mordovian Erzya *Rav*, *Ravo* ‘Volga’, Moksha *rava* “river”, *Rav* ‘Volga’ (UEW 420). Ibn Ḥawqāl, AD 977/8: *naḥr al-Rōs* ~ Mordovian determined form *Rav-ś* (Aalto 1976[79], 37). The predecessor of the Mordovian hydronym has been reconstructed as (i) **rava* (Keresztes 1986: 127), but there are at least two other alternatives, (ii) **raya* and (iii) **raḡa*; cf. ad (ii) Mordovian Moksha *pavaz* ~ *pavas* “God” < **paγas* < Indo-Iranian **b^hagās* and ad (iii) Moksha *ov(ə)* “Schwierigersohn” < Fenno-Volgaic **wāḡe* (see Keresztes 1986: 106, 103). The comparison with Khanty DN *rōḡ*, DT *rāḡ* “Unreinigkeit, Abfall, Moder (im Wasser)”, Likr. *rāγz*, Mj. *rāḡγz* “Moder, Schlamm (im Wasser)” (Korenchy 1972: 65), supporting the possibilities (i) & (ii), is weak in semantics.

5.1. Schlözer (1771: 306) was probably the first to connect the Mordovian hydronym with the Greek designation Ῥᾱ of the Volga River¹⁶, recorded by Ptolemy [6.14.1,4]. He was followed e.g. by Klaproth (1826: 82), Šafarik (1837: 402) and Kiepert (1878: 346, fn. 3). De Lagarde (1866: 263) connected Ptolemy's Ῥᾱ with the name of the mythical river in Avesta *Raṅhā-*, but concerning the identification of these hydronyms with Volga he was reserved¹⁷. Later (1868, 62) he added Sanskrit *Rasā* and in both studies Phrygian Ῥῆα, i.e. *Réha?*, and the Armenian hydronym *Rah* mentioned by Koriwn in his 'Life of Mesrop Maš-tots' [11.33]. Kuhn (1887: 214–215) added Avestan *Raṅhā-* and Vedic *Rasā-*, both the mythical rivers. He expressed doubts concerning their identification. He mentioned the attempt of Geiger who tried to identify *Raṅhā-* with Iaxartes and commented it: die *Raiṅha* wiedererkennen will, führte jedenfalls bei seinen anwohnern einen anderen namen, aus dem das moderne *Sir* hervorgegangen ist und der bei den Griechen als *Silis*, bei den Indern als *Sidā* erscheint (Kiepert 1878, § 58). Further he said that ... *Sidā* ist selbstverständlich als die iranische, nicht etwa als die indische form des namens zu betrachten.

Let us mention that *Rasā-* (see Blažek 2016a: 13) was the name of a mythical stream flowing around the earth and the atmosphere [e.g. RV IX.41.6; 10.108., also Nirukta of Yaska], only in RV V.53.9. is it described as the western tributary of the Indus River. In Puranas and Mahabharata *Rasā* is connected with the underworld or hell (MW 870c). The form *rasā-* is the feminine to the masculine *rasa-* “the sap or juice of plants, juice of fruit, any liquid or fluid, moisture, humidity, essence, marrow” [RV] (MW 869b, 870c: *rasā-* = “moisture, humidity”, but Mayrhofer in EWAI II: 441–442 expressed doubts about any appellative sense of *rasā-*). In Iranian the corresponding hydronym is identified in Young Avestan *Raṅhā-* ‘a mythical river’ [Yašt 5.63, 5.81, 10.104, 14.29, 15.27; Vidēvdāt 1.19 etc.], transcribed in Zoroastrian Pahlavi as *Arang* (Bartholomae 1904: 1510–1511).

Note 1: Marquart (1903: 378–379, fn. 4) interpreted the ethnonym *Rogastzans* by Jordanes [*Getica* 23, § 116] as **Rauwa-stadjans* “die Anwohner des Wolgastrandes”. The same hydronym he saw in the ethnonym Ῥόβωσσοι recorded by Ptolemy.

¹⁶ Die Wolga nennen sie noch jetzt Rhau, so wie sie bey Ptolemäus Ῥᾱ heißt.

¹⁷ Ich denke der name des bekannten flusses Ῥᾱ werde nichts anderes sein als *Raiṅha*: natürlich meine ich nicht dass der mythische *Raiṅha* der texte die Wolga sei. Das מרוא {*zarūm*} der pehlewiiübersetzung Vd 7, 9 wird, was Spiegel kommentar 46 als möglich hinstellte, das neupersische *Harūm* (die stadt der Amazonen) sein: Ptolemaeus lässt ε 9.19 die Amazonen μεταξὺ τοῦ Ῥᾱ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν Ἰππικῶν ὀρέων wohnen.

5.2. Schrader (1890: 633f) and Schrader & Nehring (1917–1923: 329) saw in the hydronym an adaptation of IE **srouā* “stream”, cf. Epic Sanskrit *giri-sravā-* “mountain stream”, Lithuanian *sravà* “Fließen, Blutfluß, Menstruation” etc. (Pokorny 1959: 1003).

5.3. In his review of Schrader (1890), Bartholomae (1890: 1108) tried to explain the Mordovian hydronym and Ptolemy’s *Ῥᾶ* on the basis of Avestan *rauuan-/raon-* “river, water-course” [Yt. 14.21, 18.6, V. 5.1f / Y. 10.17, V. 2.23] (Bartholomae 1904: c. 1512) < Iranian **hrau̯o* < **srau̯o* (cf. EWAI II: 784).

5.4. Paasonen (1897: 122–123) rejected Schrader’s idea and offered his own etymology based on Finnish *rapa* “Kot, Schlämm; etwas sprödes, brüchiges”, Estonian *raba* “Moor; Treber; morsch, brüchig”, Livonian *raba mā* “lockerer Boden”; Saami N *rappe* “coenum existens in loco, quem homines vei pecudes saepe calcant”. In reality the Saami term is of Finnish origin and the Balto-Fennic forms are of Scandinavian origin, cf. Old Norse *draf* “Bodensatz, Hefe” (de Vries 1962: 79–80; SKES 735–736).

6. *U̯ar(ī)- > Ῥαρος

6.0. The hydronym Ῥαρος was first recorded by Herodotus [4.123–124] around 450 BCE. The same component **uar-* may be identified in the hydronym Οὐαρδάνης, recorded by Ptolemy [5.9.5, 28], which probably designated the Kuban River (cf. Abaev 1949: 188: **uaru-dānu-* “broad river”).

6.1. Marquart (1903: 378–379, fn. 4) thought that the hydronym Ῥαρος should be an alternative designation of the Volga river, interpreted as Iranian **uaru-* “broad”¹⁸, cf. Avestan *vouru-*, e.g. in Old Avestan *vouru-čāšāni-* “weithin

¹⁸ Rogastadzans ist die gotische Übersetzung von Ῥόβοσχοι, eines von Ptol. 6.14 p. 426, 28 Wilberg an den östlichen Rhaquellen verzeichneten Volkes, bei Orosius I, 2, 2 *Rhobasci*, das mit den unter den Rhipaeen sitzenden Βοροῦσχοι Ptol. 3, 5 p. 201, 15 identisch ist. Ῥόβοσχοι, *Rhobasci* ist vom finnischen Namen der Wolga abgeleitet, der noch heute bei den Mordwinen *Raw*, *Rau*, in bestimmter Form *Rawś* lautet und wahrscheinlich dem Ῥᾶ des Agathemeros zu Grunde liegt. Derselbe ist wohl dem skythisch-iranischen **Raha*, bei Ptol. Ῥᾶ (nur Gen. und Acc), aw. *Raiha*, ved. *Rasā* entlehnt. Neben letzterem Namen kannten die iranischen Skythen für die Wolga noch die Bezeichnung Ῥαρος (Herodotos 4, 123. 124) d. i. **waru-* „der breite“ (vgl. Βορυ-σθένης, hunnisch *War*), wovon der Volksname Βοροῦσχοι abgeleitet ist. Vgl. Zeuss 1837: 80; Müllenhoff 1906: 98; Tomaschek 1889: 20. Für die Gleichung Ῥᾶ = *Raiha* haben sich ausgesprochen P. de Lagarde 1866: 263; Id. 1868: 62.

blickend” ~ Vedic *uru-cákṣas-*; Ossetic *urux* “weit, geräumig” (EWAI I: 227). Similarly Herrmann (1937: cc. 1680–1681¹⁹).

6.2. Kretschmer (1928: 101) explained the hydronym with help of Sanskrit *vār(i)* “water”, mentioning the meaning ‘rain’ of the corresponding Avestan counterpart *vār-*. In reality, there are Vedic *vār-* ‘water’ [RV, AV, VS], besides Sanskrit *vāri-*, meaning both “water” and “rain” [Mn, MBh], which corresponds to Avestan *vār-* “rain”, but also Sanskrit *vāri-*, pl. *varyās* “river”, corresponding to Avestan *vāri-* “sea, sea bay” [Y. 42.2, 65.4, 71.10; Yt. 5.37, 8.46.8, 10.14, 19.51, 19.56, 19.59; Aog. 28; Ny. 5.5; S. 2.9] > Zoroastrian Pahlavi *var* “lake” (Bartholomae 1904: 1364–1365; Eilers & Mayrhofer 1960: 110–111; Nyberg 1974: 203). Kretschmer also connected this hydronym with Tocharian A *wār* “water” and further with the Ligurian river-name *Vārus*, first recored by Caesar [BG 1.86.8]. Later Krahe (1964: 38–40) included it in his ‘Old European’ hydronymy.

6.3. For Herodotus’ Ὠάρος Napolskix (p.c.) sought its origin directly in Tocharian A *wār*, B *war* “water”, B *-wār* “stream”, e.g. *ñoru-wār* “downstream” (Adams 2013: 627–628), assuming in this hydronym a trace of the eastward Proto-Tocharian migration.

6.4. Schramm (1973: 115) rejected Ὠάρος as the designation of the Volga at all and preferred its connection with the Dnieper, explicitly named as *Var* by Jordanes 52: *ut vix pars aliqua hostium remaneret, quae in fuga versa eas partes Scythiae peteret, quas Danabri amnis fluente praetermeant, quam lingua sua Hunni Var appellant*²⁰, and Βαρούχ by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*De administrando imperio* 38.68). This hydronym was also etymologized in several ways:

6.4.1. Seeing here a trace of the ancient Avars, Klaproth (1826: 245) tried to explain *Var* with help of modern Avar from Daghestan, where the word *ŕor* “river” appeared. Nikolayev & Starostin (NCED 537) compared it with Tindal *reha* “water reservoir”, Bezhta *rühi* “artificial brook”, Lezghin, Tabasaran *hül* “sea” etc., reconstructing North Caucasian protoform **hwiV/ *lihwV*.

¹⁹ Oaros – nach Herodot [IV 123] neben dem Lykos, Tanais und Syrgis ein Zufluss der Maiotis, entspringend bei den Thyssagetai. Aus Herodot [IV, 124] ergibt sich, dass der O. ein grösserer Fluss war, an dem Dareios sein Heer lagern liess und acht Burgen baute, als er bis zur Einoede zwischen den Budinen und Thyssagetai vordrang. Danach (c. 1681) kann es sich nur um die Wolga handeln, die Herodotos irrthümlich in die Maiotis münden laesst statt in das Kaspische Meer. Kiessling u. Bd. IA s. 1f. vergleicht den Namen O. mit avest. *Vouru* “der breite (Fluss)”, was die Türkstämme durch *Atl* uebersetzten;

²⁰ “The remnant turned in flight and sought the parts of Scythia which border on the stream of the river Danaper, which the Huns call in their own tongue the Var.” See *The Gothic history* of Jordanes in English version with an introduction and a commentary by Charles Christopher Mierow. Princeton: University Press – London: Humphrey Milford – Oxford: University Press 1915: 128.

6.4.2. Tomaschek (1889: 20) compared Βαρούχ with Yakut *üräχ* “river” (Böhtling 1851: 49). Related may be Chuvash *vârâ*, used in formulation *šav vâri* “mouth of river”. The loss of the final velar can be compared with homonymous Chuvash *vârâ* “seed” vs. Old Turkish *uruy* id. (Egorov 1964: 49; Räsänen 1969: 516).

6.4.3. Vasmer (1923: 66), Abaev (1949: 187) and Schramm (1973: 99) explained Βαρούχ on the basis of Ossetic: Iron *wæræx*, Digor *urux* “broad” < **uaruka*-/**uruka*- (Abaev 1989: 90).

6.4.4. Pritsak (1954: 124–134; cf. also Schramm 1973: 99) offered the Old Bulgarian explanation of *Var*, applying Chuvash *var* “valley, flume, ravine, gorge; inside, center, middle, belly”; Anatolian Turkish poet. *öz* in the river-names *Egri öz*, *Qiliğ özü*, further Kazan Tatar *üzän* “valley, lowland”, Baraba Tatar *üzön* “rivulet, brook”, Kazakh *özän* “river; inside”, besides the designation *Yozu* (= *özü* < **özi*) of the Dnieper in a late copy of Pseudo-Mowsēs Chorenac’i’s “Geography”, perhaps from Anania Širakac’i rewritten around AD 700, and Oghuz-Cumanic name *Özi* of the same river (*-i* is the possessive suffix of the 3rd person, serving for determination).

Note: It is attractive to speculate that the Old Bulgar predecessor of Chuvash *var* “valley, flume, ravine, gorge; inside, center, middle, belly” in the name of the Dnieper could be calqued by the term -κούζου, Κουζού, recorded by Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the compound Ἀτελκούζου [§ 38.30], and in the syntagm Ἐτέλ {ποταμὸς} καὶ Κουζού [§ 40.24]. Zeuss (1837: 751) and Markwart (1903: 33) identified in -κούζου & Κουζού Hungarian *köze* (3 sg. possess. of *köz* “center, middle”), which was also used in Hungarian names of districts, e.g. *Szamos-köz*, *Mura-köze*, *Rába-köze*. Hungarian *köz* is derivable from Fenno-Ugric **küts* (UEW: 163; EWU II: 827) ~ **küti* “middle” (Sammallahti 1988: 544). In this case the forms -κούζου & Κουζού were an equivalent of Greek μεσοποταμία, and Old Bulgarian *Var* probably played the same role.

7. VOLGA

7.0. The hydronym *Volga* first appeared as Old Russian *Volga* in Russian Primary Chronicle written around 1100, in events dated to AD 964.

7.1. The Byzantine historian and archivist, theologian and astronomer, Nicephorus Gregoras (1290/1–1360), formulated the hypothesis that the designation of Bulgarians Βούλγαροι is derived from the river-name Βούλγα ‘Volga’ in his *Byzantina Historia* 1.26.19–21 (cf. also Moravcsik 1958: 105). Another *Volga* is a tributary of the Dnieper. In Poland, there are two tributaries of the Vistula, which are named *Wilga*, one with its mouth in Kraków (25 km long), the second

with its mouth in the south neighborhood of Warszawa (67 km long). These hydronyms are transparently derivable from Common Slavic **Vblga* “dampness, moistness” (Vasmer I: 336–337). It is necessary to add the direct Baltic cognates, which can also etymologize the hydronym *Volga*, namely Latvian *val̃gs* m., *valga* f. “feucht”, *vilgt*, *°gstu*, *°gu* “feucht werden” (ME IV: 454, 587), Lithuanian *vilgti*, *vilgstu*, *vilgau* “anfeuchten” etc. (Pokorny 1959: 1145–1146: **uelg-*).

There are also alternative etymological attempts:

7.2. Tomaschek (1889: 32) and Rozwadowski (1913: 49; 1948: 227–230) tried to explain the hydronym from Fenno-Volgaic **walkeða* “white”²¹, but Vasmer (I: 336–337) rejected it as phonologically impossible. It is right concerning **walkeða* “white” and its continuants, but there are also other forms, which are not derived by the suffix *-*ða*, especially Mari *wolyem* “ich leuchte, glänze (Feuer, Wasser, Gold, Glas)”. Its 3rd person sg. *wolya* “it is light” looks like a good candidate with regard to the fact, that the biggest tributary of the Volga, Kama, is called “white”, namely Chaghatay *Ätil*, *Ädil* ‘Volga’, *Ak-Ädil* ‘Kama’, lit. ‘White *Ädil*’, Kazan Tatar *Izəl*, *Idəl* ‘Volga; big river’, *Kara Idəl* ‘Volga’ = ‘Black *Idəl*’ vs. *Ak Idəl* ‘Kama’ = ‘White *Idəl*’, Chuvash *ADəl* ‘Volga’, *Šurə-ADəl* ‘Kama’, lit. ‘White *ADəl*’ (Gombocz 1917: 183; Radloff I: 842, 857, 1509; Räsänen 1969: 52). Tomaschek (1889: 32) still mentioned the Lake Volgo (61 km²), the lowest of four natural lakes which the Volga flows through.

7.3. According to oral witness of Roman Jakobson, his former countryman Nikolaj Sergeevič Trubeckoj proposed a Baltic etymology of the hydronym *Volga* during his lectures in Vienna in the 1930’s. According to him the etymology of *Volga* was as follows: in primitive eastern Slavic, unrounded front vowels changed into rounded back vowels before a tauto-syllabic *l*, so that *jilga* must have changed to *julga*; the initial *j* was lost before rounded vowels in eastern Slavic, and the initial *u* acquired an obligatory prothetic *v*. Thus the form *vulga* arose, and short *u* changed in the 12th–13th centuries into *o*. So through a long series of changes *Jilga* became *Volga*. Cited according to Gimbutas 1963a: 69; 1963b: 33, 205. See also Toporov 1980: 40. Among the Baltic hydronyms there are really such names which are formed from the Baltic adj. “long” continuing in Lithuanian *ilgas*, Latvian *ilgs* id., besides Prussian adv. *ilga* “for long time”,

²¹ Fenno-Volgaic **walkeða* > Finnish *valkea* “weiß; leuchtend, hell; Feuer, leuchtende Flamme, Licht des Feuers; Blitz”, Ludic *valged*, Estonian *valge* “weiß, hell, blond; Weißes, Licht”, Livonian *vālda* (SKES: 1619–1621); Saami N *viel’gād* “white; light, pale”, Kildin *vilkeð*, Nöt *vielkeð* id.; Mordovian Erzya *valdo*, Moksha *valdä* “hell, licht”; Mari (J) *walyəðə*, (U B) *wolyəðo* “klar, hell; Helle, Klarheit”. Further cf. Mari *wolyem* “ich leuchte, glänze (Feuer, Wasser, Gold, Glas)”; Hungarian *világ* “Licht; Welt; Leute”, (arch.) “Menschheit, Leben”, indicating Fenno-Ugric **walkə* “white, light; to shine” (UEW: 554–555; Bereczky 2013: 315–316). Sammalahiti (1988: 551) reconstructed Fenno-Ugric **wilki-* “light”, besides Fenno-Permic **vəlkitä*.

e.g. in Lithuania rivers *Īlga*, *Īlgė*, *Īlgės*, *Īlgupỹs* etc., and lakes *Īlgai*, *Īlgis*, *Īlgỹs*, *Īlgažeris*, *Īlgežeris* etc. (Vanagas 1981: 129); Latvian rivers *Īlga upe*, *Īlgupe*, and lakes *Īldza-ēzērs*, *Īldzes-ēzers* etc.; Prussian lakes *Īlgayn*, *Īlgen See*, *Īlgolwen* etc. (Toporov 1980: 39). The longest ‘Long River’ is Chinese 長江 *Cháng Jiāng*, with length 6,379 km and basin 1,808,500 km², called ‘Long’ from the period of Six Dynasties (220–589 CE). The present name 揚子 *Yángzǐ* originally was used for the lowest stream of the river²².

7.4. Still less probable is the attempt of Mikkola (1929: 127–128) to identify a source in Proto-Mari **Jyly*²³, really attested as West Mari *Ĵâl*, East Mari *Jul* ‘Volga’ (see below). For an explanation of difference in the anlaut Mikkola (1929: 127) mentioned the Old Russian transcription *Омов(ъ)ѣа*, *Омовыѣа* of the Estonian river-name *Emajõgi*. The existence of Old Russian **Vьlga* should be demonstrated by the Udmurt folklore loan *Bulga* ‘Volga’ (Mikkola 1929: 128). Vasmer (I: 337) added that the hypothetic Proto-Mari **Jyly* would have been borrowed from such Turkic languages as Baraba Tatar, Bashkir *jyly* ‘river, brook’, Kazakh, Nogai *žyly* ‘rivulet, river’ (Räsänen 1969: 200: borrowed from Mongol *žyly* ‘bed of river, brook, slope’ – see Ramstedt 1935: 109).

7.5. A quite new solution may be offered on the basis of Hungarian *völgy* ‘valley, vale, dale’ (1211); (obsolete) ‘Mark, Kern eines Geschwürs’, cf. the Old Hungarian place-names: *Furizuelgi* (1211), *Welg* (1220), *Sasweolgy* (1256), *Weulgzad* (1338), *Worrewlabvelgu* (1342) etc. (EWU 1653). Related are Ob-Ugric **wǎγǎl’* > PKhanty **wǎγǎl’* > Khanty Trj. *wǎγǎl’* ‘ein Zufluß des Ob’, O *ǒχal’*, Kaz. *wǒχal’* ‘Zufluss; Wogule’, *wǒχal’-jǒχaŋ* ‘Богулка (rivulet)’; PMan-si **wāl’* > Mansi (LM) *vuol’* ‘Flußkrümmung’, (KU KM P LO) *wól’*, (So.) *wól’* ‘Flußstrecke’ (Honti 1982: 193, #677); Komi (S) *voł’*, *voł’-ju* ‘ein kleiner Fluß’, (Vö) *veł’* ‘ein rechter Nebenfluß der oberen Vyčegda’; Nenets (Nj.) *wäej* in *jaχaw wäej* ‘längere gerade Strecke des Flusses zwischen zwei Krümmungen; плёсо’ < Uralic **wadkə* ‘small river; river bend or portion of river between two bends’ (UEW: 550–551).

7.6. For completeness Tocharian B *walke* (indeclinable) adj. ‘long (of time)’, adv. ‘for a long time’ should be added as a hypothetical source too. The semantic motivation is the same as in Lithuanian *Īlga* f. ‘long’ (cf. § 7.3). The synchronic shape stands also very close to the form *Volga*. The traditional projection back to **uH₂go-*, perhaps derived from the verb **uel-* ‘to turn’ (Adams 2013: 631–632), is also applicable to *Volga*. But the etymological analysis **uḷ-dḷH₁gʰo-* (see Blažek 2015: 62), if correct, probably would exclude this solution.

²² Available at: <<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yangtze>> [accessed 01.11.2019].

²³ The loss of *y* after the fall of the final vowel is regular, cf. Mari KB *jal* ‘foot’ vs. Mordovian Moksha *jalga* ‘on foot’, Finnish *jalka* ‘foot’ (Mikkola 1929: 127; UEW: 88–89).

8. SUMMARY

hydronym	Slavic	Baltic	Iranian	Tocharian	Mordovian	Mari	Hungarian	Turkic
Ἀράξης			* <i>araxsa-</i> harmless * <i>haraxša-</i> all dark * <i>āhiraṣša-</i> dark mouth					(cf. Tatar <i>Kara Idəl</i> Volga)
*As(a)TEL							<i>asz(V)ele</i> valley full {of water}	* <i>astial</i> with big floods * <i>ast(h)öl</i> lower dampness
<i>Jul</i>								* <i>jul</i> stream Tatar <i>jul</i> road
Λύκος		* <i>laukas</i> treeless terrain				<i>lūk</i> bend		
<i>Rav(o)</i>			* <i>rahā-</i> dampness > Avestan <i>Raṃhā-</i>		<i>rava</i> river < * <i>rava</i> / * <i>raṃa</i> / * <i>raṃa</i>			

hydronym	Slavic	Baltic	Iranian	Tocharian	Mordovian	Mari	Hungarian	Turkic
Ῥοαγοσ			Avestan <i>vāiri-</i> sea, sea bay Pahlavi <i>var</i> lake * <i>u₂ariti-</i> broad	B <i>war</i> water B - <i>wār</i> stream				
<i>Volga</i>	* <i>vblga</i> dampness	Latvian <i>valga</i> f. wet					<i>völgy</i> valley	Bashkir <i>jylga</i> river
		<i>ilga</i> long f.		B <i>walke</i> long		<i>wolya</i> is light		

9. CONCLUSION

9.1. The preceding table (§ 8) summarizes all more or less probable solutions, although they are often mutually exclusive. Evaluating their semantic motivations, they can be divided into two sets. The first group consists of the fully ‘hydronymical’ names motivated by meanings connected with “water”, namely “water” itself, further “river”, “(river-)valley”, “stream”, “flood”, “dampness”, “lake”, “sea”. The second group includes the terms characterizing the river stream or shores, here namely “broad”, “long”, “bent”, “treeless”, “harmless”, “white/light”, “black/dark”. It is apparent that the first semantic group is directly connected with water and should be preferred. In the case of several etymological candidates the semantic motivation, which is repeated in different designations, seems more promising than isolated explanations. So, Old Russian *Volga* < Common Slavic **vblga* “dampness” corresponds to Iranian, perhaps Scythian, **rahā-*, whose meaning “moisture, dampness, humidity” is reconstructed according to Vedic [RV] *rasā-*, which is the feminine to the masculine *rása-* “the sap or juice of plants, juice of fruit, any liquid or fluid, moisture, humidity, essence, marrow”. The third counterpart could be identified in the hypothetical Turkic compound **ast-(h)ōl* “lower dampness”. It would be possible to imagine that it described the Volga delta. It is tempting to conclude that the Slavic and maybe Turkic hydronyms represent calques on their Iranian predecessor.

9.2. Chronologically first seem to be the mythical river-names *Rasā*, known already from the *R̥gveda* composed probably between 1500–1100 BCE, and its Young Avestan counterpart *Ranjhā*, from the beginning of the 1st mill. BCE. Mordovian *Rav* or *Ravo* can reflect both **raṇa* and **raya*. The first case preserves the specific Avestan-like development of the sequence **āhā*, the latter case probably represents the form **Rahā*, reconstructible for several Old and Early Middle Iranian dialects, namely Scythian, Sarmatian and Sakan with regard to their geographic distribution. Ptolemy’s *Ῥᾶ* and Pseudo-Agathemeros’ *Ῥᾶς* are still close to **Rahā* in the 2nd and 3rd cent. CE respectively. In the mid of the 5th cent. BCE Herodotus recorded three various river-names, which may perhaps belong to the Volga: Ὀαρος, Ἀράξις, Λύκος. The Ὀαρος is etymologizable on the basis of Young Avestan *va’ri-* “sea, sea bay” and Pahlavi *var* “lake”. This solution indicates a river emptying into a big water reservoir. In competition with the no less attractive Tocharian etymology (B *war* “water”, *-wār* “stream”), the Iranian origin should be preferred with regard to the Ptolemy’s hydronym Οὐαρδάνης, probably designating the Kuban River emptying into the Azov Sea/Maeotis, which is analyzable explicitly as **uār(V)-dānu-* “river emptying in a sea/lake”, where the second component is Iranian **dānu-* “river” > Young Avestan *dānu-* “river, stream”, Ossetic *don* “river, water”, without any known

Tocharian counterpart. The river Ἀράξης was described by Herodotus as a stream divided into 40 arms before its mouth into the Caspian Sea. This description is applicable only to a really big delta. If the delta of the Volga was meant, at least three Iranian interpretations are thinkable, namely **a-raxsa-* “harmless” with respect to its quiet stream or **ha-raxša-* “all dark”, with variant **āh-raxša-* “dark mouth” with regard to the black mud in the delta (cf. also Kazan Tatar *Kara Idəl*). The third Herodotus’ hydronym, probably belonging to the Volga, Λύκος, looks like a Greek transcription of Proto-Mari **lukâ* “bend”, which can designate the bend of the Volga from the east to the south by the mouth of the biggest tributary, the Kama River. This solution seems more convincing than the alternative Baltic designation **laukas* “treeless terrain”, which would have designated the wasteland around the Kama River, described by Herodotus. Although such an interpretation is quite legitimate, it is not generally typical for semantic motivations of hydronyms. In the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE Ptolemy and Pseudo-Agathemerus recorded the Volga-names Ῥᾶ and Ῥᾶς respectively, which represent continuations of Iranian **Rahā*, discussed above. From the 6th cent. CE the new name of the Volga is known, which is reconstructible as **As(a)tEl*. There are at least three alternative etymologies. Old Bulgarian **as-tial’* “with big floods” can be supported by the fact that e.g. the Astraxan and Volgograd regions are more or less regularly flooded once every 5 years²⁴. A weakness of this solution consists in the fact that there is no appellative continuant in Chuvash, only the hydronym *TilĴε* (see § 2.3). The hypothetical compound **ast-(h)ōl* “lower dampness” should probably be ascribed directly to some mainstream Turkic dialect, since none of components continue in Chuvash. The third etymological attempt presents the hydronym as a predecessor of the hypothetical Hungarian compound *asz(V)-tele* “river valley full {of water}”. It should not be any surprise to take into account the possibility of a Hungarian etymology as well. The trajectory of migration of ancestors of the Hungarians very probably followed the stream of the Kama and further the Volga from their confluence to the basin of the Don, which brought them to the Pontus and along its shores further to the Danube basin (cf. Blažek 2013: 181). The etymology implies the presence of ancestors of the Hungarians in the basin of the lower Volga before c. 570 CE, when Zemarchus crossed the river and recorded its name as Ἀπίλας. This interpretation may be reinforced by one of alternative etymologies for the hydronym *Volga* proper, namely Hungarian *völgy* “valley”. The *Volga* itself was first mentioned in the Russian Primary Chronicle dated AD 964. Its Slavic protoform **vblga* “dampness” seems safe; corresponding hydronyms are known from basins of the Dnieper and Vistula. But *Volga* may be an

²⁴ Available at: <<https://www.climatechangepost.com/russia/river-floods/>> [accessed 01.11.2019].

East Slavic adaptation of the Baltic name of the type Latvian *valga* f. “wet” too. The close semantic motivation is proposed for the Vedic mythical river *Rasá*, and its Avestan counterpart *Raṣhā*, which have been connected with the Iranian / Indo-Iranian homeland and identified with the Volga. The hypothetical Turkic compound **ast-(h)öl* “lower dampness” would express the same characteristics. But there are several alternative etymologies based on languages spoken along the Volga earlier than the time the first Slavs reached the river (perhaps c. 600 CE with regard to the glottochronological dating the disintegration of Common Slavic to the 6th cent.), namely Baltic (Latvian *valga* f. “wet”; less probable is Lithuanian *ilga* f. “long” with respect to the difficult explanation of Slavic *v-*); Mari *wolya* “is light”; Hungarian *völgy* “valley”; Tocharian *walke* “long”. Bashkir *jyly̆a* “river” can be directly excluded as a late Mongolic loan. Although the Mari, Hungarian and Tocharian interpretations are not compatible, they could have been applied to the same river in various times. It is possible to imagine that an older designation was replaced by a new one on the principle of quasi-homonymy, independently of semantic difference. An illustrative example may be found e.g. in the Old Russian hydronym *Erelb*, translated in the Russian Primary Chronicle as *Уголь* “angle”, in agreement with its Turkic etymology (Osman *ājri* “schief, krumm”, *ājrilä* “sich biegen”), but by today it has been modified to *Orel*, i.e. “eagle” (see § 4.3). From the last three alternatives the Tocharian one had separated as first. According to the glottochronological analyses separation of the Tocharian branch from the Indo-European mainstream (the Anatolian branch was already separated in the 5th mill. BCE) is dated to 3,810 BCE and 3,900 BCE by Sergej Starostin and Georgij Starostin respectively (see Blažek & Schwarz 2017: 203–204), while disintegration of the Fenno-Ugric protolanguage is dated only to 2,350 BCE by Blažek (2012: 34; 2016b: 89), to 2,180 BCE by S. Starostin (see Blažek 2012: 32), and to 2,160 BCE by G. Starostin (2015: 569); on average 2,230 BCE. The separation of the Mari and Permic branches is dated to 1,370 BCE by S. Starostin and to 1,200 BCE by Blažek (see Blažek 2012: 32, 34; 2016: 89) and the separation of Hungarian from Ob-Ugric is dated to 1,340 BCE by S. Starostin and to 1,480 BCE by Blažek (see Blažek 2012: 32, 34). This means that the Tocharian branch was separated c. 1,5 millennium before disintegration of the Fenno-Ugric unity and c. 2,5 millennia before separations of the Mari and Hungarian. The Tocharians were the easternmost Indo-European branch in the 1st mill. CE. They probably occupied the easternmost position in the Indo-European homeland too. If the North Pontic localization of the Indo-European homeland, at least after separation of the Anatolian branch, is accepted, the Volga could represent the eastern borderline of the Indo-European dialect continuum, first crossed just by the ancestors of the Tocharians, perhaps in the first half of the 4th mill.

BCE. In such a case, it would seem natural that the designation of such a mighty river, important for orientation, transfer and fishing, was kept for a long time, and when new populations inhabited its shores, they preferred to use quasi-homonymous names, although their meanings were reinterpreted. Besides the longest chain represented by Tocharian B *walke* “long”²⁵ → Hungarian *völgy* “river valley” → Mari *wolya* “is white” → Latvian *valga* “wet” → Old Russian *Volga* * “dampness”, there is also the series consisting of Tocharian B *war* “water”, *-wār* “stream” → Avestan *vāri-* “sea, sea bay”, Pahlavi *var* “lake” → Chuvash *var* “valley, flume, ravine, gorge; inside, center, middle, belly”, or Young Avestan *Raṇhā* or ‘Scythian’ **Rahā* → Mordovian Erzya *Rav*, *Ravo* ‘Volga’, Moksha *rava* “river”, *Rav* ‘Volga’. This hypothesis implies a continuity of populations in spite of periods of massive migrations, probably in the form of relic settlements along important rivers mediating the original hydronyms. Thanks to this mechanism, names of many important rivers were preserved, although languages on their banks changed. Naturally, besides old names also new ones are introduced. In the case of the Volga the youngest example of this type is probably Mari *Jul*, adopted from some Turkic source of the type Old Uyghur *yūul* “mountain brook, spring”.

10. APPENDIX: TEXT FRAGMENTS

The Russian Primary Chronicle

Laurentian redaction

[6472 (964)] Кнѣзю Сѣославу възрѣстѣшю . и възмужавшю^o . нача вои совкуплати . многи и храбры и легъко хода . аки пардусъ . воины многи твораше хода . възъ по собѣ не възаше . ни котъла ни масъ вара . но потонку изрѣ^{3a}въ . конну ли . звѣрину ли . или говадину . на оугле^x испчкъ ѡдаху . ни шатра имаше . но подькладъ пославъ . и сѣдло в головахъ . такоже и прочии вои его вси бѣ^x . [и] посылаше къ странамъ глѣ . хочю нѣ въ ити . и иде на Сѣку рѣку и на **Волгу** . и налѣзе Вѣтичи . и речѣ Вѣтичемъ . кому дань даете . вни же рѣша Козаромъ по щѣлагу . и ѡ рала даемъ .

Available at: <<http://litopys.org.ua/lavrlet/lavr03.htm>> [accessed 01.11.2019].

²⁵ If Tocharian B *walke* was really derived from **ui-d/H₁g^ho-*, it should be abandoned from candidates for protoform of the *Volga*. In this case the oldest member of this chain copying the stream of the Volga would be Mari. The chain should look as follows: Hungarian *völgy* ← Mari *wolya* → Latvian *valga* → Old Russian *Volga*.

Нупатian redaction

[6472 (964)] Кнѣзю Сѣославу възрѣстьшю . и възмужавшю . нача воѣ съвокуплати . многы и храбры . бѣ бо и самъ хоробръ и лежокъ . хода акы пардусъ . воины многы твораше . возъ бо по себѣ не возаше . ни котла ни масъ варѣ . но по тонку изрѣзавъ . конину . или звѣрину . или говадину на оугълехъ испекъ ѿдаше . ни шатра имаше . но подѣклѣдъ постилаше . а сѣдло въ голова^х . тако же и прочии вои е^р вси баху . и посылаш^е къ страна^м . глѣа хочю на вы ити . и иде на Оку рѣку . и на Волгу . и налѣзе В^атичи . и ре^ч имъ кому дань даете . вни же ркоша Козаро^м . по щелагу ѿ рала дае^м

Available at: <<http://litopys.org.ua/ipatlet/ipat03.htm>> [accessed 01.11.2019].

English translation of the Laurentian redaction

6472 (964). “When Prince Svyatoslav had grown up and matured, he began to collect a numerous and valiant army. Stepping light as a leopard, he undertook many campaigns. Upon his expeditions he carried with him neither wagons nor kettles, and boiled no meat, but cut off small strips of horseflesh, game, or beef, and ate it after roasting it on the coals. Nor did he have a tent, but he spread out a horse-blanket under him, and set his saddle under his head; (65) and all his retinue did likewise. He sent messengers to the other lands announcing his intention to attack them. He went to the Oka and the Volga, and on coming in contact with the Vyatichians, he inquired of them to whom they paid tribute. They made answer that they paid a silver-piece per ploughshare to the Khazars.”

The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text, Translated and edited by

Samuel Hazzard Cross & Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor

Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Medieval Academy of America, No. 60, 1953.

Available at: <<http://www.mgh-bibliothek.de/dokumente/a/a011458.pdf>> [accessed 01.11.2019].

Witness of Greek authors

Herodotus 1.201–202:

201. ὡς δὲ τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος κατέργαστο, ἐπεθύμησε Μασσαγέτας ὑπ’ ἐωυτῷ ποιήσασθαι. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτο καὶ μέγα λέγεται εἶναι καὶ ἄλκιμον, οἰκημένον δὲ πρὸς ἦν τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολάς, πέρην τοῦ Ἀράξου ποταμοῦ, ἀντίον δὲ Ἰσσηδόνων ἀνδρῶν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἵτινες καὶ Σκυθικὸν λέγουσι τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος εἶναι.

Available at: <<http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0016.tlg001.perseus-grc1:1.201.1>>

“When Cyrus had conquered this nation, too, he wanted to subject the Massagetae. These are said to be a great and powerful people dwelling towards the

east and the sunrise, beyond the **Araxes** and opposite the Issedones; and some say that they are a Scythian people.”

Available at: <<http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0016.tlg001.perseus-eng1:1.201.1>>

202. ὁ δὲ Ἀράξης λέγεται καὶ μέζων καὶ ἐλάσσων εἶναι τοῦ Ἰστροῦ: νήσους δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Λέσβῳ μεγάθεα παραπλησίας συχνὰς φασὶ εἶναι, ἐν δὲ αὐτῇσι ἀνθρώπους οἱ σιτέονται μὲν ῥίζας τὸ θέρος ὀρύσσοντες παντοίας: καρποὺς δὲ ἀπὸ δενδρέων ἐξευρημένους σφι ἐς φορβὴν κατατίθεσθαι ὠραίους, καὶ τούτους σιτέεσθαι τὴν χειμερινήν.

ὁ δὲ Ἀράξης λέγεται καὶ μέζων καὶ ἐλάσσων εἶναι τοῦ Ἰστροῦ: νήσους δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Λέσβῳ μεγάθεα παραπλησίας συχνὰς φασὶ εἶναι, ἐν δὲ αὐτῇσι ἀνθρώπους οἱ σιτέονται μὲν ῥίζας τὸ θέρος ὀρύσσοντες παντοίας: καρποὺς δὲ ἀπὸ δενδρέων ἐξευρημένους σφι ἐς φορβὴν κατατίθεσθαι ὠραίους, καὶ τούτους σιτέεσθαι τὴν χειμερινήν. ἄλλα δὲ σφι ἐξευρησθαι δένδρεα καρποὺς τοιοῦσδε τινὰς φέροντα, τοὺς ἐπεῖτε ἂν ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν συνέλθωσι κατὰ εἶλας καὶ πῦρ ἀνακαύσονται κύκλῳ περιζομένους ἐπιβάλλειν ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ, ὁσφραινομένους δὲ καταγιζομένου τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ἐπιβαλλομένου μεθύσκεσθαι τῇ ὁσμῇ κατὰ περὶ Ἑλλήνας τῷ οἴνῳ πλεῦνος δὲ ἐπιβαλλομένου τοῦ καρποῦ μᾶλλον μεθύσκεσθαι, ἐς ὃ ἐς ὄρχησίν τε ἀνίστασθαι καὶ ἐς αἰοιδὴν ἀπικνέεσθαι. τούτων μὲν αὕτη λέγεται δίαιτα εἶναι. ὁ δὲ Ἀράξης ποταμὸς ῥέει μὲν ἐκ Ματινηῶν, ὅθεν περὶ ὁ Γύνδης τὸν ἐς τὰς διώρυγας τὰς ἐξήκοντά τε καὶ τριηκοσίας διέλαβε ὁ Κῦρος, στόμασι δὲ ἐξερευγεται τεσσαεράκοντα, τῶν τὰ πάντα πλὴν ἑνὸς ἐς ἑλεὰ τε καὶ τενάγεα ἐκδιδοῖ: ἐν τοῖσι ἀνθρώπους κατοικῆσθαι λέγουσι ἰχθυῶν ὠμοὺς σιτεομένους, ἐσθῆτι δὲ νομίζοντας χρᾶσθαι φωκῶν δέρμασι. τὸ δὲ ἐν τῶν στομάτων τοῦ Ἀράξεω ῥέει διὰ καθαροῦ ἐς τὴν Κασπίην θάλασσαν.

Available at: <<http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0016.tlg001.perseus-grc1:1.202>> [accessed 01.11.2019].

The **Araxes** is said by some to be greater and by some to be less than the Is-ter. It is reported that there are many islands in it as big as Lesbos, and men on them who in summer live on roots of all kinds that they dig up, and in winter on fruit that they have got from trees when it was ripe and stored for food; and they know (it is said) of trees bearing a fruit whose effect is this: gathering in groups and kindling a fire, the people sit around it and throw the fruit into the flames; then the fumes of it as it burns make them drunk as the Greeks are with wine, and more and more drunk as more fruit is thrown on the fire, until at last they rise up to dance and even sing. Such is said to be their way of life. The **Araxes** flows from the country of the Matieni (as does the Gyndes, which Cyrus divided into the three hundred and sixty channels) and empties itself through forty

mouths, of which all except one issue into bogs and swamps, where men are said to live whose food is raw fish, and their customary dress sealskins. The one remaining stream of the **Araxes** flows in a clear channel into the Caspian sea.

Available at: <<http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0016.tlg001.perseus-eng1:1.202.1>> [accessed 01.11.2019].

Herodotus 1920: *Histories*, with an English translation by A. D. Godley. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Herodotus 4.123–124:

4.123.3

ὕπερ δὲ τῆς ἐρήμου Θυσσαγέται οἰκέουσι, ποταμοὶ δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν τέσσαρες μεγάλοι ῥέοντες διὰ Μαιητέων ἐκδιδοῦσι ἐς τὴν λίμνην τὴν καλεομένην Μαιητίν, τοῖσι οὐνόματα κέεται τάδε, Λύκος Ὀαρος Τάναις Σύργις.

Available at: <<http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0016.tlg001.perseus-grc1:4.123.3>> [accessed 01.11.2019].

Beyond this desolation live the Thyssagetae; four great rivers flow from their country through the land of the Maeetians, and issue into the lake called the Maeetian; their names are Lycus, **Oarus**, Tanaïs, Syrgis.

Available at: <<http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0016.tlg001.perseus-eng1:4.123.3>> [accessed 01.11.2019].

4.124.1.

ἐπεὶ ὃν ὁ Δαρεῖος ἦλθε ἐς τὴν ἔρημον, παυσάμενος τοῦ δρόμου ἴδρυσεν τὴν στρατιὴν ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Ὀάρῳ. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ὀκτὼ τείχεα ἐτείχεε μεγάλα, ἴσον ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀπέχοντα, σταδίους ὡς ἐξήκοντα μάλιστα κη: τῶν ἔτι ἐς ἐμὲ τὰ ἐρείπια σοά ἦν.

Available at: <<http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0016.tlg001.perseus-grc1:4.124.1>> [accessed 01.11.2019].

When Darius came into the desolate country, he halted in his pursuit and camped on the **Oarus** river, where he built eight great forts, the ruins of which were standing even in my lifetime, all at an equal distance of about seven miles from one another.

Available at: <<http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0016.tlg001.perseus-eng1:4.124.1>> [accessed 01.11.2019].

Herodotus 1920: *The Histories*, with an English translation by A. D. Godley. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Ptolemy, 6.14.1–4:

<p>Ἡ ἐντὸς Ἰμαίου ὄρους Σκυθία περιορίζεται ἀπὸ μὲν δύσεως Σαρματία τῇ ἐν Ἀσίᾳ κατὰ τὴν ἐκτεθειμένην πλευρὰν, ἀπὸ δὲ ἄρκτων ἀγνώστῳ γῆ, ἀπὸ δὲ ἀνατολῶν τῷ πρὸς τὰς ἄρκτους ἀνιόντι Ἰμάῳ ὄρει κατὰ μεσημβρινὴν πῶς γραμμὴν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰρημένου ὀρητηρίου μέχρι τῆς ἀγνώστου γῆς _____· ρμ ξγ</p> <p>ἀπὸ δὲ μεσημβρίας καὶ ἔτι ἀνατολῶν Σάκαις μὲν καὶ Σογδιανοῖς καὶ Μαργιανῆ κατὰ τὰς ἐκτεθειμένας αὐτῶν γραμμὰς μέχρι τῶν τοῦ Ὠξοῦ ποταμοῦ εἰς τὴν Ὑρκανίαν θάλασσαν ἐκβολῶν, ἔτι δὲ τῷ ἐντεῦθεν μέχρι τοῦ Ἰαῦ ποταμοῦ μέρος τῆς Ὑρκανίας θαλάσσης κατὰ περιγραφὴν τοιαύτην.</p> <p>Ἡ δ' ἐπιστροφὴ τοῦ Ἰαῦ ποταμοῦ, ἐν ἣ τὸ ὄριον τῆς τε Σαρματίας καὶ τῆς Σκυθίας _____· πε νδ μετὰ τὰς τοῦ Ἰαῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκβολὰς, αἱ ἐπέχουσι μοίρας _____ πζ _ μη _γ</p> <p>Ῥυμοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί _____· α μη _δ</p> <p>Δάϊκος ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί _____ δ μη _δ</p> <p>Ἰαξάρτου ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί _____ ζ μη</p> <p>Ἰάστου ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί _____· ρ μζ γ</p> <p>Πολυτιμήτου ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί ___ ργ με _</p> <p>Ἀσπαβότα πόλις _____· ρβ μδ</p> <p>μεθ' ἣν αἱ τοῦ Ὠξοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί.</p>	<p>Scythia within the Imaus mountains is terminated on the west by the side of Asiatic Sarmatia, as we have said; on the north by Terra Incognita (unknown land); on the east alone by the Imaus mountains running toward the north along the meridian line which, as we have stated, extends to the Terra Incognita; on the south by eastern Sogdiana and Margiana and along their indicated boundary to the mouth of the Oxus river which flows into the Hyrcanium sea, and by a part of the Hyrcanium sea as far as the Rha river, a description of the coast of which is the following:</p> <p>Next to the mouth of the Rha river</p> <p>mouth of the Rhyrnus river 91 48 15</p> <p>mouth of the Daix river 94 48 15</p> <p>mouth of the Jaxartes river 97 48</p> <p>mouth of the Istauss river 100 47 20</p> <p>mouth of the Polytimetus river 103 45 30</p> <p>Aspabota town 102 44</p> <p>Next to this the mouth of the Oxus river 100 43</p>
--	---

English translation by Edward Luther Stevenson (1932).

[Anonymi] *Geographiae expositio compendaria* (usually ascribed to Agathemerus; 3rd cent. CE)

§ 29. Ἰαξάρτης μὲν καὶ Ὡξος καὶ Ῥύμμος καὶ Ῥᾶς καὶ Κῦρος καὶ Ἀράξης εἰς τὴν Ἴενται θάλασσαν

“Iaxartes et Oxus et Rhymmus et **Rhas** et Cyrus et Araxes Caspio mari miscentur.”

Note: The editor made the conjecture Ῥᾶς for Ῥῶς

Geographi Graeci Minores, Vol. II, ed. by Karl Müller. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1861, 502.

Byzantine sources

Zemarchus, c. 570 (mediated by Menander Protector, born around the middle of the 6th cent.)

ὁ δὲ Ζήμαρχος κατὰ δὴ τὸ ψαμαθῶδες τῆς λίμνης παροδεύων ἐπὶ ἡμέρας δέκα καὶ δύο δυσβάτους τέ τινας χώρους παραμειψάμενος ἐγένετο κατὰ τὰ ῥεῖτρα τοῦ Ἰχ, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὸν Δαίχ, καὶ διὰ λιμνῶν ἑτέρων αὐθις ἐς τὸν Ἄτιλαν

“Zemarchus travelled along the sandy shore for twelve days and when he had skirted some difficult terrain came to the river Ikh, then to the Daikh and, passing some other lakes, to the **Attilas** {river}.”

Edited and translated by Blockley 1985: 124–125.

Further see Moravcsik (1958: 78–79):

Theophylactus Simocatta (Θεοφύλακτος Σιμοκάτ(τ)ης): *Historiae* (written c. 630 about the end of the 6th cent.)

258.9: ὁ **Τίλ** ... ποταμός, ὃν Μέλινα Τούρκοις ἀποκαλεῖν <ἔθος>

Theophanes Homologetes (†818), *Chronicle* (AD 284–813; about c. 680) 356.23: Ἄτελ

ἐν τοῖς ἀρκτέροις περατικοῖς μέρεσι τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου, ἐν τῇ λεγομένῃ Μαιώτιδι λίμνῃ, εἰς ἣν εἰσάγεται ποταμὸς μέγιστος ἀπὸ τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ καταφερόμενος διὰ τῆς τῶν Σαρματῶν γῆς, λεγόμενος Ἄτελ, εἰς ὃν εἰσάγεται ὁ λεγόμενος Τάναϊς ποταμὸς καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰβηρίων πυλῶν ἐξερχόμενος τῶν ἐν τοῖς τοῖς Καυκασίοις ὄρεσιν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς μίξεως τοῦ Τάναϊ καὶ τοῦ Ἄτελ, (ἄνωθεν τῆς προλεχθείσης Μαιώτιδος λίμνης σχιζομένου τοῦ Ἄτελ) ἔρχεται ὁ λεγόμενος Κοῦφισ ποταμὸς, καὶ ἀποδίδει εἰς τὸ τέλος τῆς Ποντικῆς θαλάσσης πλησίον τῶν Νεκροπήλων εἰς τὸ ἄκρωμα τὸ λεγόμενον Κριοῦ Πρόσωπον.

“In northern parts of the Black Sea, by the lake called Maiotis, in which empties a big river flowing from Ocean through the country of the Sarmatians, called **Atel**, in which empties the river named Tanais rising from the Iberian Gates in the Caucasian Mountains; from the confluence of the Tanais and **Atel** (above named lake Maiotis, when the **Atel** is divided) a river called Kuphis flows and empties in the extremity of the Pontic Sea near Necropela by the cape, called Ram’s lip.”

Byzantine geographic notices from the 8th cent.

ὁ Ἄσσηλ ἐν ᾧ λέγεται ὁ Ἄσσηλ ὁ ποταμὸς τῆς Χαζαρίας, ἔστιν δὲ κάστρον “{Episcopate} Astil, it means Astil – the river in Khazaria, but there is also a fortress {of the same name}” (see Moravcsik 1958: 78). Seibt (2017: 301) mentions the variant record Ἄσατήλ of this episcopate according to one Parisian manuscript.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus (Κωνσταντῖνος Πορφυρογέννητος; AD 905–959): *De Administrando Imperio* (c. 950)

37.2–4: Ἰστέον, ὅτι οἱ Πατζινακῖται τὸ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν Ἄσηλ τῆν αὐτῶν εἶχον κατοίκησιν ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν, Γεήχ, ἔχοντες τοὺς τε Χαζάριους συνοροῦντας καὶ τοὺς Οὔζους “Originally, the Pechenegs had their dwelling on the river Atil, and likewise on the river Geïkh, having common frontiers with the Chazars and so-called Uzes.”

38.30 εἰς τόπους ἐπονομαζομένους Ἄτελκούζου, ἐν οἷς τόποις τὰ νῦν τὸ τῶν Πατζινακῖτῶν ἔθνος κατοικεῖ “in places called Atelkouzou, in which places the nation of Pechenegs now lives”

38.66–71 Ὅτι ὁ τῶν Πατζινακῖτῶν τόπος, ἐν ᾧ τῷ τότε καιρῷ κατώκησαν οἱ Τοῦρκοι, καλεῖται κατὰ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῶν ἐκεῖσε ὄντων ποταμῶν. Οἱ δὲ ποταμοὶ εἰσιν οὗτοι· ποταμὸς πρῶτος ὁ καλούμενος Βαρούχ, ποταμὸς δεύτερος ὁ καλούμενος Κουβού, ποταμὸς τρίτος ὁ καλούμενος Τρουλλος, ποταμὸς τέταρτος ὁ καλούμενος Βροῦτος, ποταμὸς πέμπτος ὁ καλούμενος Σέρετος.

“The place of the Pechenegs, in which at that time the Turks lived, is called after the name of the local rivers. The rivers are these: the first river is that called Baroukh {Dnieper}, the second river that called Koubou {Bug}, the third river that called Troullos {Dniester}, the fourth river that called Broutos {Prut}, the fifth river that called Seretos {Seret}.”

40.23–25 Ὁ δὲ τόπος, ἐν ᾧ πρότερον οἱ Τοῦρκοι ὑπῆρχον, ὀνομάζεται κατὰ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τοῦ ἐκεῖσε διερχομένου ποταμοῦ Ἐτέλ καὶ Κουζοῦ, ἐν ᾧ ἀρτίως οἱ Πατζινακῖται κατοικοῦσιν.

“The place in which the Turks (= Hungarians) used formerly to be is called after the name of the river that runs through it, Etel and Kouzou, and in it the Pechenegs live now.”

Edited by Gy. Moravcsik; translated by R. J. H. Jenkins 1967: 166–179.

Nicephorus Gregoras (1290/1–1360)

1.26.19–21 Χῶρος τις ἐστὶν ἐς τὰ ἐπέκεινά τε καὶ βορειότερα τοῦ Ἴστρου κείμενος, καὶ ποταμὸς ῥέων δι’ αὐτοῦ οὐ μικρός· **Βούλγαν** αὐτὸν ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ ἐγγύριοι· ἀφ’ οὗ δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ τῶν Βουλγάρων μετελήφεσαν ὄνομα, Σκύθαι τὸ ἕξ ἀρχῆς ὄντες.

“Trans Istrum versus Septentrionem locus est, quem fluvius non exiguus, ab incolis **Bulga** dictus, interfluit: unde et ipsi Bulgarorum nomen obtinuerunt, cum a prima origine Scythae essent.”

Nicephori Gregorae *Byzantina Historia*, Graece et Latine, cum annotationes Hier. Wolfii, Car. Ducangii, Io. Boivini et Cl. Capperonnerii. Bonn: Weber, 1829 (*Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, editio emendatior et copiosior, consilio B.G. Niebuhrii, Pars XIX: Nicephorus Gregoras, Vol. I), 26.

Available at: <<https://ia800207.us.archive.org/31/items/byzantinahistor00bekkgoog/byzantinahistor00bekkgoog.pdf>> [accessed 01.11.2019].

Young Avestan witness

Avestan *Raṇhā*- ‘a mythical river’ (Bartholomae 1904: 1510–1511)

yim baraiti Karō masiīō upāpō yō Raṇhaiiā dūraēpāraiīā.

jafraiīā hazarō vīraiīā varāsō.stauuaṇhəm āpō uruuāēsəm māraiīeite

“die der im Wasser lebende Fisch Kara besitzt, der einen haarbreiten Wasserwirbel

der fernbegrenzten tiefen, tausend Männer(größen) tiefen Ranhā bemerkt”

[Yt. 14.29].

tqm yazata yōištō yō friiananqm paiti pēduuaēpē Raṇhaiiā.

satəm aspanqm aršnqm hazarəm gauuqm baēuuarə anumaiianqm

“Ihr opferte Yōišta, der (aus der Familie) der Fryana’s, auf der umbrandeten Insel der Ranhā hundert männliche Pferde, tausend Rinder, zehntausen Schafe”

[Yt. 5.81].

xšuuas.kasəm asanḥqmca šōiθranqmca | vahīštəm frāθβərəsəm azəm

yō ahurō mazdā | upa aodaēšu Raṇhaiiā | yō. asārō. aiβiīaxšaiieinti:

“Als den sechzehntbesten der Orte und Stätten schuf Ich, der Ahura Mazdāh,
(das Land) *upa aodaēšu Raṇhaiiā* (= an den Quellen der Ranhā),
wo die wohnen, (die) keinen Oberherrn haben”

[Vd. 1.19].

yaṭciṭ ahi raṣṇuuō aṣāum upa aodaēšu raṇhaiiā
yaṭciṭ ahi raṣṇuuō aṣāum upa sanake raṇhaiiā

“Auch wenn du dich, o ašaheliger Raṣnu,
an der Quelle der Ranhā befindest, wir rufen an ..
Auch wenn du dich, o ašaheliger Raṣnu,
an der Mündung der Ranhā befindest, wir rufen an”

[Yt. 12.18–19].

yaṭciṭ sanake raṇhaiiā yaṭciṭ vīmaidīm aiṅhā zəmō
“auch wenn (Mithra) an der Mündung der Ranhā
auch wenn (er) im Mittelpunkt der Erde hier (wäre)”

[Yt. 10.104].

təm yazata naire.manā kərəsāspō upa guḍəm apayžārəm Raṇhaiiā mazdaḍātaiiā.
“Ihm opferte der heldensinnige Kərəsāspa an der Guḍa,
dem Arm der mazdāhgeschaffenen Ranhā”

[Yt. 15.27].

Arəduuī sūre anāhite | moṣū mē jauua auuayhe | nūrəm mē bara upastqm
hazaṅrəm tē azəm zaoθranqm | haomauuaitinqm gaomauuaitinqm |
yaoḍdātanqm pairiaṅharštanqm | barāni | aoi āpəm yqm Raṅṅqm |
yezi jum frapaiemi | aoi zqm ahuraḍātqm | aoi nmānəm yim x^aaēpaiθīm

“O gewaltige makellose Arədvī! Eil mir rasch zu Hilfe, bring mir jetzt Unters-
tützung! Ich, will dir tausend haomahaltige, milchhaltige, in gehörigen Stand
gesetzte, durchgeseigte Zaoθra’s bei dem Wasser Ranhā (dar)bringen, wenn ich
lebend zu der ahurageschaffenen Erde hingelange (und) zu meinem Haus”

[Yt. 5.63].

Available at: <<http://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/iran/airan/avesta/avest.htm>>

German translation by Wolff 1910.

Vedic witness

I.112.12

yāb^hiḥ rasām kṣódasā udnáh pipinvát^huḥ anaśvám yāb^hiḥ rá^ham ávatam jiṣé
yāb^hiḥ trisókaḥ usríyāḥ udájata táb^hiḥ ū sú ūtí^hiḥ aśvinā á gatam

Ja: “Those with which you swelled the Rasā (River) with a gush of water, with which you helped the horseless chariot to victory, with which Triśoka drove up ruddy cows for himself – with those forms of help come here, o Aśvins.”

Gr: “Wherewith ye made Rasā swell full with water-floods, and urged to victory the car without a horse; Wherewith Triśoka drove forth his recovered cows,—Come hither unto us, O Aśvins, with those aids.”

Ge: “Durch die ihr die Rasa mit Wassers Flut angeschwellt habt, mit denen ihr den Wagen ohne Roß zum Sieg verhaltft, durch die Trisoka die Kühe heraustrieb, mit diesen Hilfen kommt doch ja her, ihr Asvin!”

IV.43.6.

*sínd^huh ha vām rasáyā siñcat ásvān g^hṛṇāḥ ! váyaḥ aruśásaḥ pári gman
tát ū sú vām ajirám ceti yānam yéna páti b^hávat^haḥ sūryáyāḥ*

Ja: “The Sindhu River sprinkles your horses with the Rasā; your ruddy birds avoid the glowing heat. Your speedy vehicle has just appeared, with which you two become the masters [/husbands] of Sūryā.”

Gr: “Let Sindhu with his wave bedew your horses: in fiery glow have the red birds come hither. Observed of all was that your rapid going, whereby ye were the Lords of Sūrya’s Daughter.”

Ge: “Sindhu mit der Rasa benetzte eure Pferde; die rötlichen Vogelrosse entgingen den Glutten. Diese eure schnelle Fahrt machte fein Aufsehen, durch die ihr die Gatten der Surya werdet.”

V.41.15

*padé-pade me jarimá ní d^hāyi vārūtrī vā śakrá yá pāyúb^hiḥ ca
sīśaktu mātá mahī rasá naḥ smát sūrib^hiḥ ṛjuhástā ṛjuvāniḥ*

Ja: “Step after step old age has been secured for me, either (by her) who is the able Shielding Goddess or by the protectors. Let the mother, the great Rasā, accompany us along with our patrons, she with hands outstretched, with winnings outstretched.”

Gr: “Duly to each one hath my laud been offered. Strong be Varūtrī with her powers to succour. May the great Mother Rasā here befriend us, straight-handed, with the princes, striving forward.”

Ge: “Auf Schritt und Tritt sei mir das Alter sichergestellt, sei es durch die mächtige Varutri und durch die Schutzgeister. Es sollen uns samt den Lohnherren die große Mutter Rasa zur Seite stehen, die eine redliche Hand hat, die redlichen Gewinn bringt.”

V.53.9.

*má vaḥ rasā́ ánitabhā́ kúbhā́ krúmuḥ má vaḥ síndhū́ ní rīramat
má vaḥ pári sthāt sarayūḥ purīṣīṇī́ asmé́ ít sumnám astu vaḥ*

Ja: “Let not the Rasā {River}, the Anitabhā, the Kubhā, the Krumu, let not the Sindhu bring you to a halt. Let not the overflowing Sarayu hem you around. On us alone let your favour be.”

Gr: “So let not Rasā, Krumu, or Anitabhā, Kubhā, or Sindhu hold you back. Let not the watery Sarayti obstruct your way. With us be all the bliss ye give.”

Ge: “Nicht soll euch die Rasa, Anitabhā, Kubhā, Krumu, nicht euch die Sindhu aufhalten, noch euch die quellenreiche Sarayu im Wege stehen. Bei uns soll eure Huld sein.”

VIII.72.13.

ā́ suté́ siñcata śríyam ródasyoḥ abhīśríyam rasā́ dadhīta vṛṣabhām

Ja: “Into the pressed soma pour glory {= milk}, the full glory of the two world-halves. The Rasā (River {= water} should receive the bull.”

Ge: “Gießet die Herrlichkeit in den ausgepreßten Saft, die beiden Welten überstrahlt! Den Bullen soll die Rasa annehmen!”

IX.41.6.

pári ṇaḥ śarmayāntyā́ dhārayā́ soma viśvātaḥ | sára rasā́ iva viṣṭāpam

Ja: “O Soma, flow for us in, protecting stream all around on all sides, like {the heavenly river} Rasā, along the upper surface {of the filter}.”

Gr: “On every side, O Soma, flow round us with thy protecting stream, As Rasā flows around the world.”

Ge: “Fließe für uns in schützendem Strome, o Soma, ringsum wie die Rasa um die Erderhöhung!”

X.75.6

*tṛṣṭāmā́ práthamám yātave sajúḥ susártvā́ rasáyā́ śvetyā́ tyá
tvám síndhū́ kúbhā́yā́ gomatīm krúmuḥ mehatnū́ sarā́m yābhī́ iyase*

Ja: “To travel first joined with the Tṛṣṭāmā, {then} with the Susartū, the Rasā, and this Śvetyā, you, o Sindhu, {come} with the Kubhā to the Gomatī, with the Mehatnū to the Krumu, on the same chariot {with all these}, with which you go speeding.”

Gr: “First with Tṛṣṭāma thou art eager to flow forth, with Rasā, and Susartū, and with Śvetyā here, With Kubhā; and with these, Sindhu and Mehatnū, thou seekest in thy course Krumu and Gomatī.”

Ge: “Zuerst mit der Tristama zum Laufe vereint, mit Susartu, Rasa, mit dieser Svetya kommst du, Sindhu, mit der Kubha zur Gomati, mit der Mehatnu zur Krumu, mit denen du auf gleichem Wagen dahineilst.”

X.108.1–2

*kīm ic^hántī sarāmā prá idám ānaṭ dūrē hí ád^hvā jáguriḥ parācaih
ká asméhitiḥ ká páritakmyā āsīt ka^hám rasáyāḥ ataraḥ páyāṃsi
índrasya dūtīḥ iṣitá carāmi maháḥ ic^hántī paṇayaḥ nid^hin vaḥ
atiṣkádaḥ b^hiyásā tát naḥ āvat tát^hā rasáyāḥ ataram páyāṃsi*

Ja: [Paṇi] “Seeking what has Saramā arrived here, for far is the road, swallowing up (the traveler) in the distance? What is your mission to us? What was the final turn (bringing you here)? How did you cross the waters of the Rasā?”

[Saramā] “Sent as the messenger of Indra I travel, seeking your great hidden treasures, Paṇis. With a fear of leaping across – that helped us! – in that way I crossed the waters of the Rasā.”

Gr: “What wish of Saramā hath brought her hither? The path leads far away to distant places. What charge hast thou for us? Where turns thy journey? How hast thou made thy way o’er Rasā’s waters.”

“I come appointed messenger of Indra, seeking your ample stores of wealth, O Paṇis. This hath preserved me from the fear of crossing; thus have I made my way o’er Rasā’s waters.”

Ge: “Mit welchem Ansuchen ist Sarama hierher gekommen? Der Weg so weit in die Ferne ist ja aufreibend. Was bedeutet die Sendung zu uns? Welches war der entscheidende Wendepunkt? Wie kamst du über die Fluten der Rasa?”

“Als Indra’s Botin komme ich abgesandt, eure großen Schätze suchend, ihr Paṇi’s. Aus Furcht vor dem Überspringen half sie uns dabei. So kam ich durch die Fluten der Rasa.”

X.121.4.

*yásya imé himávantaḥ mahitvā yásya samudrám rasáyā sahá āhúḥ
yásya imáḥ pradīśaḥ yásya bāhú kásmai devāya havīṣā vid^hema*

Ja: “Whose are these snow-covered mountains (= the Himalayas) in their greatness; whose is the sea together with the world-stream, they say; whose are these directions, whose (their) two arms (= the zenith and nadir?) – Who is the god to whom we should do homage with our oblation?”

Gr: “His, through his might, are these snow-covered mountains, and men call sea and Rasā his possession: His arms are these, his are these heavenly regions. What God shall we adore with our oblation?”

Ge: “Durch dessen Macht jene Schneeberge sind, durch dessen Macht, wie sie sagen, der Ozean samt der Rasa ist, durch dessen Macht diese Himmelsgegenden dessen beide Arme sie sind. – Wer ist der Gott, dem wir mit Opfer dienen sollen?”

Available at: <<http://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/ind/aind/ved/rv/mt/rv.htm>>

Translations: Ja = Jamison & Brereton 2013; Gr = Griffith 1889[1987]; Ge = Geldner 1951.

Note: The abbreviations without special explanations, namely the parts of Avesta or dialects of the Uralic languages, follow standardly the abbreviations used in the quoted sources.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aalto Pentti 1976[79]: Kara-kala, le poisson. – *Études Finno-Ougriennes* 13, 29–38.
- Abaev Vasilij I. 1949: *Osetinskij jazyk i fol'klor* I. Moskva–Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR.
- Abaev Vasilij I. 1958–1973–1978–1989–1995: *Istoriko-étimologičeskij slovař ossetinskogo jazyka* I–V. (Moskva)–Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR.
- Abel-Rémusat M. 1820: *Recherchers sur les langues tartares, ou Mémoires sur différents points de la grammaire et de la littérature des Mandchos, des Mongols, des Ouigours et des Tibétains*. Paris: Imprimerie Royale.
- Adams Douglas Q. 2013: *A Dictionary of Tocharian B* (Revised and Greatly Enlarged) 1–2. Amsterdam–New York: Rodopi.
- Aufrecht Theodor 1955: *Die Hymnen des Rigveda*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Ахметжанов Р. Г. (Әхмәтъянов Р. Г.) 2001: *Татар теленең кыскача тарихи-этимологик сүзлеге*. Казан: Тат. кит. Нәшр
- Bailey Harold W. 1979: *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Bartholomae Christian 1890: Review of Schrader 1890. – *Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie* 7, 1105–1110.

- Bartholomae Christian 1904: *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Bereczki Gábor 1992: *Grundzüge der Tscheremissischen Sprachgeschichte* II. Szeged: Studia uralo-altaica, 34.
- Bereczki Gábor 2013: *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Tscheremissischen (Mari). Der einheimische Wortschatz*, Nach dem Tode des Verfassers herausgegeben von Klára Agyagási und Eberhard Winkler. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Blažek Václav 2012: Was there a Volgaic unity within Finno-Ugric? – *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen* 61, 29–91.
- Blažek Václav 2013: Northern Europe and Russia: Uralic migrations. – *The Encyclopedia of Global Human Migration* I, ed. by Immanuel Ness & Peter Bellwood. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 178–183.
- Blažek Václav 2015: A Long Way to “Far”: Tocharian A *lo*, B *lau* and A *lok*, B *lauke* adv. “(a)far (off); away” in perspective of the Indo-European etymon “long”. – *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 43(1–2), 57–80.
- Blažek Václav 2016a: Hydronymia Ṛgvedica. – *Linguistica Brunensia* 64(2), 7–54.
- Blažek Václav 2016b: On the classification of the Samoyedic languages. – *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen* 63, 79–125.
- Blažek Václav & Schwarz Michal 2017: *Early Indo-Europeans in Central Asia and China. Cultural relations as reflected in language*. Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft, Neue Folge, Band 13.
- Böhtling Otto 1851: *Die Sprache der Jakuten*, Theil 2: *Jakutisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*. St. Petersburg: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Bongard-Levin G. M. & Grantovskij E. A. 1983: *Ot Skifii do Indii*. Moskva: Mysl'.
- Cabolov Ruslan L. 2001–2010: *Ėtimologičeskij slovař kurdsogo jazyka* I–II. Moskva: Vostočnaja literatura.
- Cincius Vera I. (ed.) 1975–1977: *Sravnitel'nyj slovař tunguso-mańčžurskix jazykov* I–II. Leningrad: Nauka.
- Clauson sir Gerard 1972: *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Collinder Björn 1960: *Comparative Grammar of the Uralic Languages*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Constantine Porphyrogenitus 1967: *De administrando imperio*, ed. by Gyula Moravcsik, translated by R. J. H. Jenkins. Dumbarton: Center for Byzantine Studies.

Cf. Available at: <<https://epdf.pub/de-administrando-imperio.html>> [accessed 01.11.2019].

Eilers Wilhelm & Mayrhofer Manfred 1960: *Namenkundliche Zeugnisse der indischen Wanderung? Eine Nachprüfung.* – *Sprache* 6, 107–134.

ERS – *Érztjansko-russkij slovař*, ed. by M. N. Koljadenkov & N. F. Cyganov. Moskva: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo inostrannyx i nacional'nyx slovarej, 1949.

ESIJ – *Étimologičeskij slovař iranskix jazykov* I–IV, by V. S. Rastorgueva (I–III) & Dž. I. Ėdel'man (I–IV). Moskva: Vostočnaja literatura, 2000–2011.

ESTJ – *Étimologičeskij slovař tjurkskix jazykov* 1 (glasnye), 2 (B), 3 (V, G, D) by Ė. V. Sevortjan. Moskva: Nauka, 1974, 1978, 1980; 4 (Ž, Ž, J) by Ė. V. Sevortjan & L. S. Levitskaja. Moskva: Nauka, 1989; 5 (K, Q). Moskva: Jazyki ruskoj kul'tury, 1997 & 6 (K) by L. S. Levitskaja, A. V. Dybo, V. I. Rassadin. Moskva: Indrik, 2000; 7 (L, M, N, P, S) by L. S. Levitskaja, G. F. Blagova, A. V. Dybo, D. M. Nasilov. Moskva: Institut jazykoznanija RAN, 2003.

EWAI – *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen* I–III, by Manfred Mayrhofer. Heidelberg: Winter, 1986f.

EWU – *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Ungarischen* I–II, ed. by Loránd Benkő. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994.

Gaster M. 1899: *The Chronicles of Jerahmeel, or the Hebrew Bible Historiale*. London: Royal Asiatic Society.

Geldner Karl Friedrich 1951: *Der Rig-Veda aus dem Sanskrit ins Deutsche übersetzt* (3 vols.). London and Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. Available at: <<http://www.sanskritweb.net/rigveda/rigveda.pdf>> [accessed 01.11.2019].

Gimbutas Marija 1963a: Ancient Baltic Lands. – *International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics* 6, 65–102.

Gimbutas Marija 1963b: *The Balts*. London: Hudson & Thames.

Gombocz Zoltán 1917: A magyar őshaza és a nemzeti hagyomány. – *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 45, 129–194.

Griffith Ralph T. H. 1884[2002]: *Hymns of the Atharvaveda* I–II. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.

Griffith Ralph T. H. 1889[1987]: *Hymns of the Rgveda* I–II. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.

Hauszig J. 1953: Theophylakts Exkurs über die skythischen Völker. – *Byzantion* 23, 275–462.

- Helimski Eugene 2000: On probable Tungus-Manchurian origin of the Buyla inscription from Nagy-Szentmiklós. – *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* 5, 43–56.
- Helimski Eugene 2004: Die Sprache(n) der Awaren: Die mandschu-tungusische Alternative. – *Proceedings of the First International Conference on Manchu-Tungus Studies* (Bonn, VIII–IX, 2000), Vol. 2: *Trends in Tungusic and Siberian Linguistics*, ed. C. Näher. Wiesbaden (Tunguso–Sibirica 9), 59–72.
- Herrmann Albert 1937: Oaros. – *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, neue bearbeitung von Georg Wissowa und Wilhelm Kroll, 34. Halbband. Stuttgart: Druckenmüller, cc. 1680–1681.
- Hirth Friedrich 1895: Nachworte zur Inschrift des Tonjukuk. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert nach chinesischen Quellen. – *Die Alttürkische Inschriften der Mongolei* von Wilhelm Radloff. St. Petersburg: Académie imperiale des sciences, 1–140.
- Honko Lauri et al. 1993: *The Great Bear. A Thematic Anthology of Oral Poetry in the Finno-Ugrian Languages*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Honti László 1982: *Geschichte des obugrischen Vokalismus der erste Silbe*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Horn Paul 1893: *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie*. Strassburg: Trübner.
- Humbach Helmut, in collaboration with Josef Elfenbein & Prods O. Skjærvø 1991: *The Gāthās of Zarathushtra and the Other Old Avestan Texts*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Jacobsohn Hermann 1922: *Arier und Ugrofinnen*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Jamison Stephanie & Brereton Joel P. 2014: *The Rigveda. The Earliest Religious Poetry of India* Vol. I–III. Oxford: University Press.
- Joki Aulis J. 1973: *Uralier und Indogermanen*. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seura (*Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* 151).
- Keresztes László 1986: *Geschichte des mordwinischen Konsonantismus*. II: *Etymologisches Belegmaterial*. Szeged: Studia uralo-altaica, 26.
- KESK – *Kratkij étimologičeskij slovar' komi jazyka*, by Vasilij I. Litkin & Evgenij I. Guljaev. Moskva: Nauka, 1970.
- KEWA – *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch I–IV*, by Mannfred Mayrhofer. Heidelberg: Winter, 1956f.
- Kiepert Heinrich 1878: *Lehrbuch der alten Geographie*. Berlin: Reimer.

- Klaproth Julius 1826: *Tableaux historiques de l'Asie, depuis la monarchie de Cyrus jusqu'à nos jours; accompagnés de recherches historiques et ethnographiques sur cette partie du monde*. Paris: Schubart.
- Klimov Georgij A. & Xalilov Magžig Š. 2003: *Slovar' kavkazskix jazykov. So-postavlenie osnovnoj leksiki*. Moskva: Vostočnaja literatura, RAN.
- Korenchy Éva 1972: *Iranische Lehnwörter in den obugrischen Sprachen*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Krahe Hans 1964: *Unsere ältesten Flussnamen*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Kretschmer Paul 1927: Weiteres zur Urgeschichte der Inder. – *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der Indogermanischen Sprachen* 55, 75–103.
- Kuhn Ernst 1887: Miscellen. – *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 28, 214–216.
- de Lagarde Paul 1866: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*. Leipzig: Brockhaus.
- de Lagarde Paul 1868: *Beitraege zur baktrische Lexikographie*. Leipzig: Teubner.
- Lehtiranta Juhani 1989: *Yhteissamelainen sanasto*. Helsinki: Suomalais-ugrilainen Seura (*Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* 200).
- Lewy Ernst 1937: Merja und Tscheremissen. – *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 16, 79–81. Available at: <http://real-j.mtak.hu/7008/1/MTA_UngarischeJahrbucher_16.pdf> [accessed 01.11.2019].
- Lytkin Vasilij I. & Guljaev Evgenij S. 1970: *Kratkij etimologičeskij slovar' komi jazyka*. Moskva: Nauka.
- Macdonell A. A. 1971: *Vedic Mythology*. Delhi–Varanasi: Indological Book House.
- Markwart Josef 1929: Kultur- und sprachgeschichtliche Analekten. – *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 9, 68–103. Available at: <http://real-j.mtak.hu/7008/1/MTA_Ungarische-Jahrbucher_9.pdf> [accessed 01.11.2019].
- Marquart Josef 1903: *Studien zur Geschichte des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts (ca. 840–940)*. Leipzig: Dietrich.
- ME – Mühlenbach K. & Endzelin J. 1929–1932: *Lettisch-deutsches Wörterbuch* IV. Band. Riga: Herausgegeben vom lettischen Kulturfonds.
- Menander 1985: *The history of Menander the Guardsman*. Introductory essay, text, translation, and historiographical notes R.C. Blockley. Liverpool: Cairns.
- Menges Karl H. 1944–1945: Etymological notes on some Pächänäg names. – *Byzantion* 17, 256–280.

- Mikkola J. J. 1929: Der name Wolga. – *Finnisch-ugrische Forschungen* 20, 125–128. Available at: <<http://fennougrica.kansalliskirjasto.fi/handle/10024/92995>> [accessed 01.11.2019].
- Montgomery James E. 2000: Ibn Faḍlān and the Rūsiyyah. – *Journal of Arabic & Islamic Studies* 3, 1–25. Available at:<<http://www.unm.edu/~doug/montgomery.ibn-fadlan.2000.pdf>> [accessed 01.11.2019].
- Moravcsik Gyulya 1958: *Byzantinoturcica II: Sprachreste der Türkvölker in den byzantinischen Quellen* 2. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Morgenstierne Georg 1974: *Etymological Vocabulary of the Shughni Group*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Müllenhoff Karl 1906: Die Nord- und Ostnachbarn der Germanen. – *Deutsche Altertumskunde* II, 1–416.
- Munkácsi Bernát 1910: Review of *Arische Urzeit* von Hermann Brunnhofer (Bern: Francke 1910). – *Keleti Szemle* 11, 150–158.
- Munkácsi Bernát & Kálmán Béla, ed., 1986: *Wogulisches Wörterbuch*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- MW – Monier-Williams Sir Monier 1899 (reprint 1993): *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- NCED – *A Northern Caucasian Etymological Dictionary*, Sergei L. Nikolayev & Sergei A. Starostin. Moscow: Asterisk Publishers, 1994.
- Nobbe C. F. A. 1966: *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia*. Hildesheim: Olms.
- Nyberg Henrik S. 1974: *A Manual of Pahlavi* Vol. II. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Olsen Birgit A. 1999: *The Noun in Biblical Armenian Origin and Word-Formation – with special emphasis on the Indo-European heritage*. Berlin–New York: de Gruyter Mouton (Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs 119).
- Paasonen Heikki (Henrik) 1897: Indogermán eredetű-e a Volga folyónak legrégebb ismeretes mordvin neve? – *Nyelvudományi Közlemények* 27, 121–123.
- Paasonen Heikki 1926: *Ostjakisches Wörterbuch (nach den Dialekten an der Konda unda am Jugan)*, ed. Kai Donner. Helsingfors: Société Finno-Ougrienne (Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae II).
- Paasonen Heikki 1948: *Ost-Tscheremissisches Wörterbuch*, ed. P. Siro. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura (Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae XI).
- Pelliot Paul 1923: Les Mongols et la papauté. – *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* 23, 3–30.

- Pokorny Julius 1959: *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Bern–München: Francke.
- Pritsak Omeljan 1954: Ein hunnisches Wort. – *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 104(1), 124–135.
- Pritsak Omeljan 1956: Der Titel Attila. – *Festschrift für Max Vasmer*, ed. by Margarete Woltner & Herbert Bräuer. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 404–419.
- Pritsak Omeljan 1982: The Hunnic Language of the Attila Clan. – *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* VI(4), 428–476.
- Ptolemäus 1990: *Cosmographia. Das Weltbild der Antike*. Stuttgart: Parkland.
- Ptolemaeus Claudius 1998: *Geography*, book 6: *Middle East, Central and North Asia, China*, eds. Humbach Helmut & Ziegler Susanne. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Ptolemy Claudius 1932 (repr. 1991): *The Geography* by Claudius Ptolemy, translated and edited by Edward Luther Stevenson. New York: The New York Public Library. Available at: <<http://www.heritageinstitute.com/zoroastrianism/reference/ptolemy/index.htm>> [accessed 01.11.2019]; <<http://rbedrosian.com/Classic/Ptol/ptol6toc.html>> [accessed 01.11.2019].
- Radloff Wilhelm (Radlov Vasilij V.) 1893: *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte* 1. Band. St. Pétersbourg: Commissionnaires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences.
- Ramstedt Gustav J. 1935: *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch*. Helsinki: Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae, 111.
- Räsänen Martti 1969: *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türkischen Sprachen*. Helsinki: Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae, XVII.1.
- Rédei Károly 1986: *Zu den indogermanisch-uralischen Sprachkontakten*. Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften (Sitzungsberichte, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Bd. 468).
- Rozwadowski Jan 1913: Kilka uwag do przedhistorycznych stosunków wschodniej Europy i praojczyzny indoeuropejskiej na podstawie nazw wód. – *Rocznik slawistyczny* 6, 39–73.
- Rozwadowski Jan 1948: *Studia nad nazwami wód słowiańskich*. Kraków: Polska Akademia umiejętności (Prace onomastyczne Nr. 1).
- Sammallahti Pekka 2001: The Indo-European Loanwords in Saami. – *Early Contacts between Uralic and Indo-European: linguistic and Archaeological Considerations*, eds.

Christian Carpelan, Asko Parpola & Petteri Koskikallio. Helsinki: Suomalais-ugrilainen seura (*Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* 242), 397–415.

Schlözer August Ludwig von 1771: *Allgemeine nordische Geschichte aus den besten nord. Schriftstellern und eigenen Untersuchungen beschreiben & als eine geogr. & histor. Einleitung zur richtigern Kenntniß aller Skandinavischen... Völker in alten & mittleren Zeite bes.* Halle.

Schrader Otto 1890: *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte* 2. Jena: Costenoble.

Schramm Gottfried 1973: *Nordpontische Ströme. Namenphilologische Zugänge zur Frühzeit des europäischen Ostens.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Seibt W. [Zajbt V.] 2017: *Iakov, mitropolit Gotii, i ego pečat'* (XIV v.). *Materialy po arxeologii, istorii i etnografii Tavrii*, vypusk 22, 299–305.

Sevortjan Ėrvand V. 1974–1980: *Ėtimologičeskij slovař tjurkskix jazykov* I–III. Moskva: Nauka.

Sinor Denis 1964: *Yul.* – *Studia Orientalia* (Helsinki) 28(7), 1–8.

SKES – *Suomen kielen etymologinen sanakirja*, ed. Y. H. Toivonen et al. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen seura, 1955f.

Starostin Georgij S. 2015: *K istokam jazykogo raznoobrazija. Desjať besed o sravnitel'no-istoričeskom jazykoznanii.* Moskva: Izdatel'skij dom Delo.

Steblin-Kamenskij Ivan M. 1999: *Ėtimologičeskij slovař vaxanskogo jazyka.* Sankt-Peterburg: Sankt-Peterburgskij Gosudarstvennyj universitet.

Strabonis *Geographica* recognovit A. Meinecke. Lipsiae: Teubner, 1907.

Šafarik Pavel Josef 1837: *Slowanské starožitnosto. Oddjl děgepisný.* Praha: Spurný.

Tereškin Nikolaj I. 1981: *Slovař vostočno-xantyjskix dialektov.* Leningrad: Nauka.

Toivonen Y. H. 1933: Kleiner Beitrag zur Geschichte der finnisch-ugrischen Sibilanten. – *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* 67, 377–384.

Tomaschek Wilhelm 1888: Ueber das Arimasische Gedicht des Aristeas. – *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 116, 715–780.

Tomaschek Wilhelm 1889: Kritik der ältesten Nachrichten über den skythischen Norden II: *Die Nachrichten Herodot's über den skythischen Karawanenweg nach Innerasien.* *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 117, Abh. Nr. I, 1–70.

Tomaschek Wilhelm 1895: Araxes. – *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 2.1. Stuttgart: Meltzer, cc. 403–404.

Toporov Vladimir N. 1980: *Prusskij jazyk. Slovař (I–K)*. Moskva: Nauka.

Toporov Vladimir N. 1981: Ob iranskom vlijanii v mifologii narodov Sibiri i Central'noj Azii (1–2). – *Kavkaz i Srednjaja Azija v drevnosti i srednevekovje (istorija i kultura)*. Moskva: Nauka, 146–162.

Turner Ralph L. 1966: *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*. London: Oxford University Press.

UEW – *Uralisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, ed. Károly Rédei et al. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1986–1988.

Vanagas Aleksandras 1981: *Lietuvių hidronimų etimologinis žodynas*. Vilnius: Mokslas.

Vasmer Max 1923: *Untersuchungen über die ältesten Wohnsitze der Slaven I: Die Irannen in Südrussland*. Leipzig: Markert & Petters.

Vasmer Max 1986–1987: *Étimologičeskij slovař russkogo jazyka I–IV*, translated in Russian by Oleg N. Trubačev. Moskva: Progress.

Wichmann Yrjö 1953: *Tscheremissische Texte mit Wörterverzeichnis und grammatikalischem Abriss*. Turku: Turun sanomalehti ja kirjapaino osakeyhtiö.

Wichmann Yrjö 1987: *Wotjakischer Wortschatz*, bearbeitet von T. E. Uotila & Mikko Korhonen. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura / Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae XXI.

Wolff Fritz 1910: *Avesta. Die heiligen Bücher der Parsen*. Strassburg: Trübner.

Xelimskij Evgenij 2000: Jazyk(i) avarov: tunguso-mañčžurskij aspekt. – *Folia Orientalia* 36, 135–148.

Xelimskij Evgenij 2003: Tunguso-mañčžurskij jazykovyj komponent v Avarskom kaganate i slavjanskaja étimologija. – *Zbornik povzetkov* 13. Mednarodni slavistični kongres (Ljubljana, VIII, 2003), I. del: *Jezikoslovje*, ed. F. Novak. Ljubljana, 140–141.

Zeuss Kaspar 1837: *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*. München: Lentner.

Acknowledgement

The article was prepared under the auspice of the research Fund of Masaryk University, Nr. 2817. I am grateful to John Bengtson for his correction of English.

Volga – pirmoji Europos upė

SANTRAUKA

Šiame tyrime apibendrinami visi Volgos upės pavadinimai, kurie, kai įmanoma, yra aprašomi platesniame pirminių tekstų, pateiktų priede, kontekste. Taip pat straipsnyje tiriamos ir aptariamąs esamos etimologijos bei nurodomos naujos etimologijos, kai senosios atrodo nepakankamai įtikinamos. Volga yra ilgiausia Europos upė (ilgis – 3534 km (prieš užtvankų sistemą ji buvo 3693 km) su didžiausiu baseinu (1 380 000 km²)), vakariausia ir didžiausia Eurazijos upė bei didžiausia endorėjinė upė pasaulyje. Tokioms ilgoms upėms būdinga, kad jos įvairiomis kalbomis vadinamos keliais pavadinimais: septyni hidronimai (Ἀράξις, *As(a)tEl, Jul, Λύκος, Rav(o), Ὅαρος, Volga), išdėstyti abėcėlės tvarka, yra išsamiai išanalizuojami tiek etimologiniu, tiek semantinės motyvacijos požiūriais. Nors šių hidronimų etimologijos yra dažnai nesuderinamos, įvertinus jų semantinę motyvaciją, jos gali būti suskirstytos į dvi grupes. Pirmąją grupę sudaro visiškai hidroniminiai vardai, pagrįsti reikšmėmis, susijusiomis su „vandeniu“, t. y. „vanduo“, toliau „upė“, „(upės) slėnis“, „srovė (tėkmė)“, „potvynis“, „drėgmė“, „ežeras“, „jūra“. Antroji grupė apima terminus, apibūdinančius upę ar krantus, būtent: „platus“, „ilgas“, „išlenktas“, „be medžių“, „nekenksmingas“, „baltas / šviesus“, „juodas / tamsus“. Akivaizdu, kad pirmoji semantinė grupė yra tiesiogiai susijusi su vandeniu ir turėtų būti svarbesnė. Keliems etimonams skirtinguose varduose pasikartojanti semantinė motyvacija atrodo yra perspektyvesnė nei pavieniai paaiškinimai. Taip senovės rusų *Volga* < bendrinės slavų **volga* „drėgmė“ sutampa su iranietų, greičiausiai skitų, **rahā-*, kurio reikšmė „drėgmė“ gali būti rekonstruojama pagal vedų [RV] *rasā-* (vyriškos giminės *rasa-* „augalų sultys ar sula, vaisių sultys, bet koks skystis ar skystis, drėgmė, esmė, čiulpai“ moteriškos giminės forma). Trečiąją atitikmenį būtų galima identifikuoti hipotetiniame tiurkų junginyje **ast-(h)öl* „apatinis drėgnumas“. Tikėtina, kad tai apibūdino Volgos deltą. Kyla pagunda daryti išvadą, kad slavų ir galbūt tiurkų hidronimai kilo iš iranietų kalbos.

Remiantis senoviniiais tekstais, prieinama prie išvados, kad Volga galėjo žymėti rytinę indoeuropiečių tarmės kontinuumo ribą, kurią pirmiausia kirto tik tocharų protėviai, galbūt pirmojoje 4-ojo tūkstantmečio prieš Kristų pusėje. Tokiu atveju atrodytų natūralu, kad tokios galingos upės vardas, kuri yra svarbi orientavimuisi, laivybai, krovinių gabenimui ir žvejybai, buvo išlaikytas ilgą laiką. Kai šios upės krantuose apsigyveno naujų tautų, teikusių pirmenybę kvazihomonimiškiems vardams, pradėtos naujai interpretuoti šių vardų reikšmės. Šalia ilgiausios vardų grandinės – tocharų B *walke* „ilgas“ → vengrų *völgy* „upės slėnis“ → marų (finougrų) *wolya* „yra baltas, balta“ → latvių *valga* „šlapias“ → senovės rusų *Volga* * „drėgnumas, drėgmė“ – egzistuoja dar viena: tocharų B *war* „vanduo“, *-wār* „srovė, tėkmė, upė“ → avestų *varri-* „jūra, jūros įlanka“, pechlevų *var* „ežeras“ → čiuvaišų *var* „slėnis, pylimas, vaga, tarpekis; viduje, centre, viduryje, pilvas“, arba naujoji avestų *Raḥhā* arba ‘skitų’ **Rahā* → mordvių erzių *Rav, Ravo* ‘Volga’, mokšų *rava* „upė“, *Rav* ‘Volga’. Ši hipotezė, nepaisant masinių migracijų laikotarpių, rodo populiacijų tęstinumą, greičiausiai atsispindintį

VÁCLAV BLAŽEK

reliktinių gyvenviečių prie svarbių upių varduose, kurie yra kilę iš pirminių hidronimų. Šis mechanizmas padėjo išsaugoti daugelio svarbių upių vardus, nors jų krantuose keitėsi kalbos. Natūralu, kad šalia senų vardų atsiranda naujų. Volgos atveju jauniausias tokio tipo pavyzdys yra greičiausiai marų (fino-ugrų) *Jul*, paimtas iš senovės tiurkų šaltinio senovės uigūrų *yuul* „kalnų upelis, šaltinis, versmė“.

Įteikta 2019 m. lapkričio 4 d.

VÁCLAV BLAŽEK

Ústav jazykovědy a baltistiky

Filozofická fakulta Masarykovy University

A. Nováka 1, CZ-60200 Brno

blazek@phil.muni.cz