

OTTOMANS – CRIMEA – JOCHIDS

*Studies in Honour of Mária Ivanics*



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*Studies in Honour of Mária Ivanics*

Edited by István Zimonyi

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Cover illustration:  
Calligraphy of Raniya Muhammad Abd al-Halim

Text:  
And say, “O my Lord! advance me in knowledge” (Q 20, 114)

*Letters and Words. Exhibition of Arabic Calligraphy.* Cairo 2011, 72.

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## Preface

Mária Ivanics was born on 31 August 1950 in Budapest. After completing her primary and secondary education, she studied Russian Language and Literature, History and Turkology (Ottoman Studies). She received her MA degree in 1973. In the following year she was invited by the chair of the Department of Altaic Studies, Professor András Róna-Tas, to help to build up the then new institution at the József Attila University (Szeged). She taught at that university and its legal successors until her retirement. First, she worked as an assistant lecturer, then as a senior lecturer after defending her doctoral dissertation. Between 1980–86, she and his family stayed in Vienna (Austria), where she performed postdoctoral studies at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the University of Vienna. She obtained the “candidate of the sciences” degree at the Hungarian Academy of Science in 1992, and her dissertation – The Crimean Khanate in the Fifteen Years’ War 1593–1606 – was published in Hungarian. From 1993 to 2009 she worked as an associate professor. Her interest gradually turned to the study of the historical heritage of the successor states of the Golden Horde, especially to publishing the sources of the nomadic oral historiography of the Volga region. As a part of international collaboration, she prepared the critical edition of one of the basic internal sources of the Khanate of Kasimov, the Genghis Legend, which she published with professor Mirkasym Usmanov in 2002: (Das Buch der Dschingis-Legende. (Däftär-i Dschingis-nāmā) 1. Vorwort, Einführung, Transkription, Wörterbuch, Faksimiles. Szeged: University of Szeged, 2002. 324 p. (Studia Uralo-Altaica 44).<sup>1</sup> In 2008, Mária Ivanics was appointed to the head of the department and at the same time she became the leader of the Turkological Research Group of the Hungarian Academy operating at the department. In 2009, she defended her dissertation entitled “The Nomadic Prince of the Genghis Legend”, and received the title, “doctor of sciences” from the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. It is an extremely careful historical-philological study of the afore-mentioned Book of Genghis Khan, published in Budapest in 2017 as a publication of the Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences entitled Exercise of power on the steppe: The nomadic world of Genghis-nāmā. She was the head of the Department of Altaic Studies until 2015. Between 2012 and 2017, she headed the project “The Cultural Heritage of the Turkic Peoples” as the leader of the MTA–SZTE Turkology Research Group operating within the Department of Altaic Studies. She has been studying the diplomatic relations between the Transylvanian princes and the Crimean Tatars and working on the edition of the diplomas issued by them.

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<sup>1</sup> <https://ojs.bibl.u-szeged.hu/index.php/stualtaica/article/view/13615/13471>

Her scholarly work is internationally outstanding, well known and appreciated everywhere. Her studies have been published in Russian, German, Turkish, Hungarian and English.<sup>2</sup>

She actively involved in scientific public life. She has been a member of the board of the Kőrösi Csoma Society, a member of the Oriental Studies Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and the Public Body of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. From 2005 she was the editor and co-editor of different monograph series (Kőrösi Csoma Library, and *Studia uralo-altaica*. From 2008 to 2017, she was the vice-president of the Hungarian–Turkish Friendship Society. Her outstanding work has been rewarded with a number of prizes and scholarships: in 1994 she received the Géza Kuun Prize, in 1995 the Mellon Scholarship (Turkey). She received a Széchenyi Professorial Scholarship between 1998 and 2001 and István Széchenyi Scholarship between 2003 and 2005, the Ferenc Szakály Award in 2007 and the Award for Hungarian Higher Education in 2008.

In addition to her scientific carrier, she has given lectures and led seminars on the history and culture of the Altaic speaking peoples, she has taught modern and historical Turkic languages to her students. She has supervised several thesis and dissertations of Hungarian and foreign BA, MA and PhD students. Through establishing a new school of thought, she has built a bridge between Ottoman studies and research on Inner Eurasian nomads.

Szeged, 2020.

István Zimonyi

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<sup>2</sup> Complete list of her publication:  
<https://m2.mtmt.hu/gui2/?type=authors&mode=browse&sel=10007783&paging=1;1000>

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<i>Deák Ágnes</i>	<i>Kövér Lajos</i>
<i>Emel Dev</i>	<i>Molnár Ádám</i>
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<i>Hazai Cecília</i>	<i>Vásáry István</i>
<i>Hazai Kinga</i>	<i>Vér Márton</i>



## Etil in the *Däftär-i Čingiz-nāmä*

István Zimonyi

MTA-ELTE-SZTE Silk Road Research Group

The edition and translation of the famous *Däftär-i Čingiz-nāmä* with a detailed historical commentary and study of the nomadic power system are an integral part of the scientific activity of Professor Mária Ivanics. The study of the river name Etil in this Tatar source is a fitting topic for a tribute to her.

One of the historical narrative sources of the Volga region, the *Däftär-i Čingiz-nāmä* was compiled in the 1680s in the Khanate of Kasimov, a puppet state of Moscow. It is divided into six chapters: the first is the tale (*dastān*) of Chingis Khan, the second is that of Timur and his campaigns against among others Bulghār, the third is the story of Isaoghli Amet, fourth is the tale of Edige-bey, fifth is the list of rulers and their habitats (*yurt*) and finally the historical events (*ta'rīkh*).<sup>1</sup>

The hydronym Etil is written in the forms: 'ādīl ايدیل *Īd.l* ايدل and *Īdīl* ايدیل in the text:

*Insān Beg aydī ay anam mǎn uluġ Īdīl-ning ايدیل اولوغ ید [yönigä] (15) taw yerigä barurmǎn anda mǎqām yurt tutarmǎn* (Ivanics, Usmanov 2002: 77, 243, 39r 15)

Insan Beg said: O my mother! I go to the inner side of the Great Īdīl, to the mountain and I settle there (Ivanics 2017: 246).

Insan Beg is one of the two sons of a wise woman living in Bular. After the siege of Bulghar (modern Bolgary) Timur went against Bular (modern Bilyarsk) and its ruler surrendered. Timur visited the town in disguise and he heard the wise widow of Jadash Beg saying that the surrender is the order of God due to their sins. Next day Timur ordered that the clan of this woman may settle wherever they wish. The elder son Insan Beg with her mother and relatives crossed the Etil, and, after reaching the mountainous bank, they settled along the river Kubnya, the left tributary of the river Sviyaga which is now in the territory of Chuvashia. The younger brother went toward the east to their ancient habitat on the bank of the Zay, the left tributary of the river Belaya. As for the western migration of the clan, there is an interesting reference to one episode in the ethnogenesis of the Chuvash.

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<sup>1</sup> New critical edition: Ivanics, Usmanov 2002; A detailed description of the author and the work cf. Usmanov1972, 97–133; Frank 1998, 14–17.

*hān awğa çiqqanda qizni alib qaçdı (15) Züyä tağında barib ‘.dīl ايدیل ياغاسında турدی (Ivanics, Usmanov 2002: 85, 248, 43v15)*

When the Khan (Janibeg r. 1342–1357) went out to hunt, he (Isaoghli Amet) kidnapped the girl, went to the Züyä mountain and settled down on the bank of the ‘.dīl. (Ivanics 2017: 254).

< *Īd.l ايدیل (12) başına çiqdı Īd.l ايدیل başında* > *māqām yurt tutdılar (Ivanics, Usmanov 2002: 86, 248, 44r 11–12)*

(Amet) went out to the source of the Īd.l and he settled down at the head of the river Īd.l (Ivanics 2017: 255).

*Aq Īd.l.dā ايدیل salcī-mān (Ivanics, Usmanov 2002: 87, 249, 44v3)*

I am a raftman on the White Īd.l (Ivanics 2017: 256).

These parts are from the story of Isaoghli Amet, who was the son of Isa-beg, the son-in-law of Özbek, and his *ulus emir* (1335–1347). He kidnapped the daughter of Janibeg and married her. Their son was Salcī. Earlier, Janibeg had promised his daughter’s hand to Amet, but finally he gave her to someone else to marry. Amet was indignant at this and when the khan Janibeg went out to hunt, he kidnapped the girl and escaped to Züyä-mountain (Züyä = river Sviyaga) near the river Etil. The Khan sent against him an army. At that time, their son was born, but they could not take him with them so they put him in a golden cradle and hid the child among the branches of a tree. After a successful escape Amet settled down near the spring of the Etil. The boy was found by raftsmen from Astrakhan and they gave him to the queen of Astrakhan. When he grew up he wrote a poem mentioning his orphanhood and his different jobs as, among others, raftsmen on the Volga referring to the etymology of his personal name (*salji* ~ *salcī* ‘raftman’) (Ivanics 2017: 68–69, 126–127).

*Baba Tükläs-ning oğli Termä atliğ (21) erdi bu Termä Īdīl ايدیل Jayıqda hāşil boldi anıñ oğli Qazıcı (22) atliğ erdi ol hām Īd.l ايدیل Jayıqda hāşil boldi anıñ oğli Islām Qıya ol [f.45v] (1) hām Īdīl ايدیل Jayıqda hāşil boldi anıñ oğli Qadir Qıya ol hām Īdīl ايدیل Jayıqda (2) hāşil boldi (Ivanics, Usmanov 2002: 88, 249–250, 45r 20–21, 45v 1–2)*

The son of Baba Tükläs was called Termä. This Termä settled on the Īdīl and the Jayıq, his son Qazıcı settled on the Īd.l and the Jayıq, too, his son Islām Qıya settled on the Īdīl and the Jayıq, too, his son Qadir Qıya settled on the Īdīl and the Jayıq, too (Ivanics 2017: 257).

*wā} biri-ning atı Termä turar ol hām" Īdīl ايدیل Jayıqda (10) hāşil boldi (Ivanics, Usmanov 2002: 89, 250, 45v1–2)*

(The three sons of Baba Tükläs) one of them was called Termä, he settled on the Īdīl and the Jayıq, too (Ivanics 2017: 257).

These data are from the tale of Edige-bey. His genealogy is not connected to Chingis Khan, but it reflects an Islamic legitimization coming from Abū Bakr, the first Caliph through his fictive descendent Baba Tükläs who played significant role in the Islamization of the Golden Horde (Ivanics 2017: 65–67).

(5) *Aq Īdīl* ایدیل *tamaği Qara Hān birlä Bogra Hān-ning yurti-dur* (Ivanics, Usmanov 2002: 90, 250, 46r5)

The abode of Qara Hān and Boghra Hān was at the mouth of the White Īdīl (Ivanics 2017: 259).

The final datum is from the list of rulers and their habitats. The names of the rulers refer to the tradition of the Oghuz-name and they seemed to be legendary figures.

The name Etil appeared first as a river name and later as the name of the Khazar capital at the mouth of the river Volga. The earlier data from the Greek sources were collected by Moravcsik: τίλ Theophylactus Simocatta; ἄταλ Theophanes; ἀτηλ Constantinus Porphyrogenitus (Moravcsik 1983 II: 78–79). Golden added the forms from Arabo-Persian (‘.t.l; *Āt.l* Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawqal, Muqaddasī, Ibn Rusta, Mas‘ūdī, Ibn Faḍlān, Yāqūt, Ḥudūd al-‘Ālam) Hebrew (‘.t.l; *Āṭīl* Letter of Qaghan Joseph, The Cambridge Document) and Armenian (*At’l* Armenian Geography) sources (Golden 1980, I: 224–229). The first component of the Hungarian compound Ἀτελκούζου and Ἐτέλκαι κουζού *Etel* is an Old Turkic loanword in Hungarian mentioned as the habitat of the Hungarians before the conquest of the Carpathian Basin in the work of Constantinus Porphyrogenitus (Róna-Tas, Berta 2011: 345–347). The oldest form can be reconstructed as *Ātil* in the West Old Turkic between 7<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries. The Hungarian *Etel* is from this West Old Turkic form.

The Volga Bulghar form of this name is reflected in the following sources: Arabic: ‘.t.l Maḥmūd al-Kāšgharī (1074); Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnatī (c. 1150): (Kaplony 2008: 210; Ferrand 1925: 115); ‘.t.l Idrīsī (Konovalova 2006: 77, 78, 79, 95, 100, 107); Latin in the Hungarian Kingdom: Anonymus (c. 1200) *Etyl* (SRH I: 41); Riccardus (1235) *Ethyl* (SRH II: 539), Iulianus (1237) *Ethil* (SRH II: 718). The Secret History of the Mongols contains three variants: *Idil*, *Adil*, *Ejil* (Rachewiltz 2006: 960–961) which is explained by Ligeti from *Edil* or *Etil* (Ligeti 1986: 479). Similarly, the early Latin travelers to the Mongol Empire have also *Etil*: Benedictus Polonus *Ethil* = Volga (Sin. Fr. I: 136); Rubruq *Etil* (Sin Fr. I: 195, 210, 223, 315; *Ethil* 205, 212, 216, 313). It was copied by Hungarian which became *Etil* in Hungarian as reflected in the chronicles (Simon de Keza *Etul* = Don SRH I: 145, 146).

I quote the Muslim sources from the Mongol period, compiled by Konovalova and Tiesenhausen.

<b>Arabic</b>	<i>Name</i>	Reference
Ibn Sa'īd (second half 13 <sup>th</sup> c.)	<i>ʿ.ṭ.l</i>	Konovalova 2009: 20, 21, ~ al-kabīr 'Great Etil' = Volga and ~ al-ṣaġīr 'Small Etil' = Lower Don 23, 24; <i>ʿ.ṭ.l</i> 19; Russian translation: 26, 28, 29, 32, 33
Abū-l-Fidā' (1329)	<i>ʿ.ṭ.l</i>	Konovalova 2009: 96, 98, 105 Russian transl: 113, 117, 126) <i>ʿ.ṭ.l</i> (95, 98, 104; Russian transl: 112, 117, 124, 125
Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir (d.1239)	<i>ʿ.ṭ.l</i>	Tizengauzen 2005: 482 <sup>9</sup> , Russian transl. 75
Rukn al-Dīn Baybars (d. 1325)	<i>ʿ.ṭ.l, ʿ.ṭ.l</i>	Tizengauzen 2005: 489 <sup>6</sup> , 505 <sup>8</sup> , Russian transl. 89, 107
al-Nuwayrī (d. 1333)	<i>ʿ.ṭ.l</i>	Tizengauzen 2005: 522 <sup>4</sup> , Russian transl. 131
al-Mufaḍḍal (1358)	<i>Ḥ.ṭ.l</i>	Tizengauzen 2005: 538 <sup>5</sup> , Russian transl. 150
al-'Umarī (d. 1349)	<i>Ḥ.ṭ.l</i>	Tizengauzen 2005: 554 <sup>12,15</sup> , Russian transl. 176
Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 1377)	<i>ʿ.ṭ.l</i>	Tizengauzen 2005: 592 <sup>10</sup> , 594 <sup>16</sup> , 595 <sup>3</sup> Russian transl. 227, 231, 234
Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406)	<i>ʿ.ṭ.l</i>	Tizengauzen 2005: 625 <sup>2</sup> , Russian transl. 272
<b>Persian</b>		
Juwaynī (1260)	<i>ʿ.ṭ.l</i>	Tizengauzen 2006: Russian transl. 56. 60
Raṣīd al-Dīn (1311)	<i>ʿ.ṭ.l</i>	Ali-Zade 1980: 130, 131; Tizengauzen 2006: Russian transl. 84, 85, 119, 123, 124
Wassāf (1328)	<i>Итил</i>	Tizengauzen 2006: Russian transl. 169
Nizām al-Dīn Šāmī (1404)	<i>Идил</i>	Tizengauzen 2006: Russian transl. 236
Anonym Iskandar (1415)	<i>Ḥ.ṭ.l</i>	Tizengauzen 2006: 578 <sup>7</sup> Russian transl. 262
Dhayl Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh	<i>ʿ.ṭ.l</i>	Tizengauzen 2006: 584 <sup>21</sup> Russian transl. 277
Šaraf al-Dīn Yazdī (1425)	<i>Итил</i>	Tizengauzen 2006: Russian transl. 324–326, 335, 343–344
Šajarat al-Atrāk (1457)	<i>ʿ.ṭ.l</i>	Tizengauzen 2006: 605 <sup>4</sup> Russian transl. 392
Ġaffarī (1565)	<i>ʿ.ṭ.l</i>	Tizengauzen 2006: 609 <sup>1</sup> , 611 <sup>3</sup> Russian transl. 402, 404

The Venetian Iosaphath Barbaro (1436–1452) mentioned it as *Ledil*, which can be reconstructed as *Edil* (Skrzinska 1971: 114; Russian translation 137, comments note 16, 163–164).

The basic form can be reconstructed as *Etil* in the 13<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries, but there are some data referring to the voicing of the *t* in the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

The hydronym in European maps in 15<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries published by János Tardy shows all forms with *-d-*: *Edil* - Frau Mauro map 1459 (Tardy 1982: 190), Battista Agnese 1525 (Tardy 1982: 197), Anthony Jenkinson 1554–1572 (Tardy 1982: 205), Gerard Mercator 1538, 1587, Rumold Mercator 1595 (Tardy 1982: 210–211), Willem Janszoon 1630 (Tardy 1982: 213); *Edel*, Baron Sigismund Herberstein 1546 (Tardy 1982: 200), Anthony Jenkinson 1554–1572 (Tardy 1982: 205), Abraham Ortelius 1570 (Tardy 1982: 206), Gerard de Jode 1578 (Tardy 1982: 207), Plantius Petrus 1592 (Tardy 1982: 208), Matthias Quad 1600 (Tardy 1982: 212).

The forms in the maps reflect the voicing of the *t* in the 16<sup>th</sup> century in Volga Kipchak dialects and the variant *Edel* shows the process of reduction (or laxing) of the vowel *i* in the second syllable.

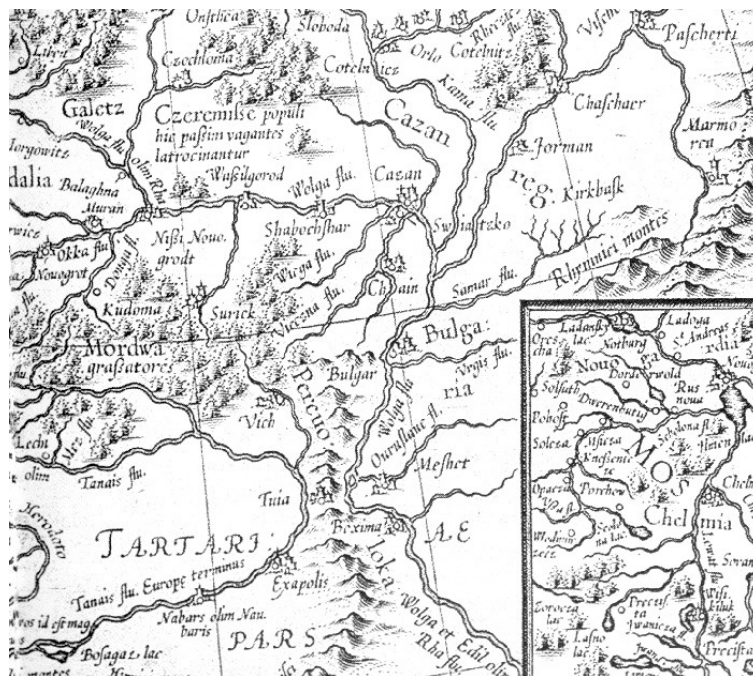


Figure 1 Fragment of the Mercator map 1630 [http://tat-map.ru/do1800/\\_1630.jpg](http://tat-map.ru/do1800/_1630.jpg) (downloaded 25.05.2020)

I collected some data from the historical works and travelers fixed in the 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries. The Pagan Oghuz-name was written in Uyghur script in the 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries somewhere in Eastern European steppe. It contains the forms *ʿydʿl* and once *ʿdʿl*, which Danka reads as *Etil* (Danka 2019: 86–89, 96–97, 314), but other reconstructions are possible: *Edil*, *Idel*. The Muslim contemporaries of the *Dāftār-i Čingiz-nāmā* are selected to present the variants of the hydronym. The Khanate of Kasimov was the home of Kadir Ali Bey (1602): *ʿ.t.l* (Alimov 2015: 27<sup>5</sup>, 82, 68). In the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century Ötemiş Hajji wrote his *Qara tawārīkh* in the Khanate of Khiva. He mentioned the river as *ʿĪdīl* (Utemiš-hadži 2017: 18b<sup>1,5</sup>, 23b<sup>12</sup>, 27a<sup>3, 10, 17</sup>, 44a<sup>11</sup>, 47a<sup>14</sup>, 47b<sup>3</sup> (*ʿAydīl*), 53a<sup>11</sup>, 53b<sup>8</sup>, 55a<sup>14</sup>, 61a<sup>2, 4, 5</sup>, 67b<sup>6, 7</sup>, 71b<sup>2, 3, 13</sup>); *ʿdīl*, *Āq Īd.l* (Utemiš-hadži 2017: 16a<sup>12</sup>, 76a<sup>14</sup>). The Khan of Khiva, Abū-l-Ghāzī (1660) mentioned *Ā.t.l*, *ʿ.d.l*, *ʿdīl* (Kononov 1958: 127); *ʿ.t.l* (Kononov 1958: 294, 297, 1215); *Ā.t.l* (Kononov 1958: 317, 1317, 1395). I quote the data from the author of the Khanate of Crimea: ‘Abdu-l-Ghaffar Qirimī (1748): *ʿAdīl* (Abdulgaffar Kyrymi 2014: 258a<sup>1</sup>, 258b<sup>2</sup>) *ʿAdīl* without kesra under the *d* (Abdulgaffar Kyrymi 2014: 258b<sup>7, 22</sup>, 259<sup>10, 16</sup>, 261a<sup>14</sup>, 263a<sup>2</sup>, 267b<sup>14</sup>, 268a<sup>22</sup>, 268b<sup>6, 15</sup>, 270b<sup>2, 15</sup>, 271b<sup>1</sup>, 276a<sup>14</sup>, 279b<sup>2</sup>) *ʿdīl* without kesra under the *d* (Abdulgaffar Kyrymi 2014: 258b<sup>18</sup>, 266a<sup>8</sup>, 273b<sup>4, 7, 8, 11</sup>, 277b<sup>22</sup>, 278a<sup>2</sup>, 278b<sup>10</sup>, 282b<sup>17</sup>, 284a<sup>20</sup>).

In 1733/4 under the leadership of Gerhard Friedrich Müller an Academic research group visited the Volga region travelling to Siberia. Müller wrote about the peoples of the Volga region. He noted that the river Vyatka is called *Naukrat Idel* by the Tatars and the meaning of *Idel* is ‘river’. Another example is the Kama which is named as *Čolman Idel*. The Tatars called the Volga *Idel*. There are Tatar dialectal forms: *Atel* and *Etel* and the Kalmyk variant is *Ečil*. The Chuvash *Adal* is the equivalent of the Tatar *Idel* and *Atel* whereas the Kama is called by them *Šorog Adal* i.e. ‘white river’ (Müller 1759: 337–338; Skvorcov 2001: 109–110, comments 139–140).

In modern Volga Turkic languages, the hydronym is well-known. Garipova wrote a monograph on the Tatar hydronyms. The Tatar *Idel* as an appellative means ‘great river’, the term *Idel yort* is used as designation of the Bulgar and Kipchak states on the river Idel. *Ana Idel* ‘Mother Idel’ *Idel su* ‘Idel water’ is well-known in Tatar folksongs and legends. As an appellative it is used with other names of the rivers: *Čulman idele*, *Kama idele* ‘Kama’, *Vyatka idele*, *Nokrat idele* ‘Vyatka’ *Ak Idel* ‘White River, Kama’. The name *Idel* is known as the name of villages and microtoponyms and personal names by itself or in compounds (Garipova 1991: 121–122). The modern Tatar form can be reconstructed as the analogy of the following parallels: Volga Kipchak *ešik* > Tatar: *išək* ‘door’; Volga Kipchak *jeti* > Tatar: *jidě* ‘7’; Volga Kipchak *sekiz* > Tatar: *sigěz* ‘8’; Volga Kipchak *elli* > Tatar: *illě* ‘50’ (Berta 1989: 61, 162, 207, 268). The Middle Kipchak form in the Volga region was *Etil* in the 13<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries, the voicing of the *t* started in the 15<sup>th</sup> century it followed by the reduction of the *i* in the second syllable, finally the initial *e* changed to *i*: *etil* > MKipchak *etil* > *edil* > *edīl* > Tatar: *iděl*. The Bashkir *iđel* is the result of the same process.

There are widely used forms in historical and even linguistic works: *Idil* and *Itil*. Togan and following him Ligeti called the attention to the fact that these forms were used by the Kazan Orientalists, especially Fraehn (Ligeti 1986: 479). The *Idil* reflects the transliteration of the form with Arabic script: *Īd.l* ايدل or *Īdīl* ايديل, which is almost identical with the modern Tatar pronunciation *Idēl*. Following this tradition, the form of *ˈt.l* in the Muslim sources of the 9<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries was transcribed as *Itil*. These variants are ghost-words, and it is better the use the term Etil or the modern Tatar form Idel.

The Chagatay Turkic texts (e.g. Abū-l-Ghāzī) reflect the original Middle Turkic vowels and the voicing of the consonant *t*.

The Chuvash *Atāl* [*Adāl*] can be reconstructed on the analogy of the West Old Turkic word *ālik* ‘door’ cf. East Old Turkic and Middle Kipchak *ešik*. The Volga Bulgar dialect 3 had the form *ālik*, which became *ālik* in the first phase of Middle Chuvash, *alīk* in the second period and finally *alāk* in modern Chuvash (Agyagási 2019: 236).

The reconstruction of the Turkic forms:

WOT *\*etil* ~ *\*ätıl* > VB *\*ätıl* > MChuvash1 *\*ätıl* > MChuvash2 *\*atıl* > Chuvash *atāl*

→ H *\*etil* > *etel*

EOT *\*etil* > MKipchak *\*etil* > *edil* > *edıl* > Tatar: *idēl*, Bashkir *iđel*

> Chagatay *edil*

→ Kalmyk *idžl*

→ H *etül*

In the text of the *Dāftār-i Ćingiz-nāmā* the hydronym *Etil* has two attributives: *Ulu Idel* and *Aq Idel*. Mária Ivanics noted that the *Aq Idel* is the Belaya, whereas the *Idel* may refer to the Volga or the Belaya (Ivanics 2017, 246, note 586; 255, note 627). Schramm reconstructed a system in which the *Qara* or *Ulu Idel* was identical with the Volga, whereas *Ak* or *Small Idel* was a term for the Belaya and lower Kama (Schramm 1973, 121; Podosinov 1999:46, Göckenjan 2003–2004: 165). According to Garipova the peoples of the Middle Volga region called the main river as *Aq Idel*, *Nokrat Idel* (Vyatka), *Kük Idel* (Upper Volga), *Kara Idel* (Ufa), *Ćulman* (Kama) were tributaries of the *Aq Idel* (Garipova 1991:122).

N. I. Egorov wrote comments regarding Müller’s description and he noted that the Chuvash and their predecessors used *Aslā Atāl* ‘Great Volga’ for the water system including the Belaya-Lower Kama – Lower Volga. Its upper part was called *Šurā Atāl* ‘Belaya – Lower Kama’, and the Lower Volga was called the *Kāvak Atāl*. Its tributary was the *Xura Atāl* ‘Upper Volga’ (Skvorcov 2001: 140, notes 92, 93). Semenova wrote a dissertation on Chuvash hydronyms. She has the following data: *Vilē Atāl* ‘the old riverbed of the Volga’; *Kāvak Atāl* ‘Blue Volga’ (used only in

folksongs); *Kěšěn Atāl* ‘Small Volga’; *Mān Atāl* ‘Great Volga’; *Šurā Atāl* ‘Belaya-Lower Kama’ (Semenova 2005). According to Ligeti *Atāl* means Volga in Chuvash, *Xura Atāl* ‘Black Etil’ appeared only in folksongs and *Šurā Atāl* is ‘Belaya-Lower Kama’ (Ligeti 1986: 479).

The Bashkir toponymic dictionary contains the following data: *Agiidel* ‘White Etil’ is the official Russian Belaya, the greatest river of Bashkiria. In Bashkir folklore, literature and everyday usage it is called *Iidel*. In the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries Russian literature the river is called *Belaya Voložka*. There are two other compounds with colours: *Kariidel* (*Kara+iidel*) ‘Black Etil’ is the river Ufa, the right tributary of the Belaya, but it is used as the name of Kama, too. *Kügiidel* ‘Blue Etil’ is the river Demy, the right tributary of the Belaya. The Kama is called as *Sulman Iidel*, *Iidel* and *Kariidel* (STB 18–19, 70, 79, 90).

There are two possibilities to reconstruct the river system on the basis of the analogies. The river Irtysh is divided into an Upper section called White Irtysh which flows into the Lake Zaysan and Lower part called Black Irtysh from Zaysan to the estuary. The other possibility can be the example of the Hungarian river Körös. The rivers Black Körös and White Körös originated in Transylvania, their confluence is near the town Gyula and from it to the estuary it is called Körös. In the first case the White Etil is the Belaya – Lower Kama – Lower Volga until the estuaries of the Ufa (Bashkir: *Kariidel*) or Kama (up to the confluence with Belaya) or the upper Volga (from the confluence with the Kama). As for the second analogy the White Etil is the Belaya – Lower Kama, the Black Etil is the Upper Volga and Etil is from the confluence of the Volga and the Kama to the Caspian Sea. The central territory of the Volga Bulgar state in the 10<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries was south and southwest of the Volga–Kama estuary, whereas the capital of the Khanate of Kazan was transferred to the north of the Kama. The modern state of Tatarstan inherited the territory of the Khanate of Kazan, the Bashkirs lived east of them, and the Chuvash west of them. The original concept used by the Volga Bulgars may have been altered through the adoption of new habitats by the Tatars, Bashkirs and Chuvash.

Trepavlov noted that the Etil occurs in pairs with river Yayıq (Ural) in historical and folklore texts. Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentioned that the Pechenegs lived on the Etil and Jayıq. Abū-l-Ghāzī (1660) recorded that Yaphet settled on the river Etil with Yayıq in his Oghuz name (Kononov 1958: 127). In the Tatar historical tradition, i.e. *Kunak babay žyrdy* and *Idegey* the two rivers appeared in pairs. The Etil and Yayıq are brother and sister in the Bashkir legends (Trepavlov 2002: 143–144). In addition, in the Secret History of the Mongols the river Etil was also mentioned together with the Jayıq.

In a recent article I studied the river Etil in the Muslim maps of Ibn Hawqal, Maḥmūd al-Kāšgharī and al-Idrīsī. The maps and descriptions reflect a waterway commercial network called Etil originating from Central Asia via Siberia to the Volga–Kama region, a northern way on the Kama and perhaps the Vyatka, and a northeastern network including the Oka, Unzha and upper Volga. From its central region including the territory of Volga Bulgaria, the lower Volga reached the

Caspian Sea where via the Volga–Don portage it followed the lower Don until its estuary flowing into the Sea of Azov (Zimonyi 2020: 135–155).

In conclusion, the Etil in the *Dāftār-i Ćingiz-nāmā* can be reconstructed as *Edīl* or *Idēl*. The *Uluĝ Edīl* in the first paragraph can be identified as the Volga north of the Kama estuary reflected in the Tatar tradition and the context refers to the territory where the Chuvash live. The *Aq Edīl* is the Belaya-Lower Kama in paragraphs 4 and 7. The Etil and Yayik together in paragraphs 5 and 6 refer to the steppe between the Lower Volga and the river Ural. The *Edīl* meant Volga south of the Samara knee in these cases. In paragraph 2, the first element of the Züyā mountain can be identified with the Sviyaga, the right tributary of the Volga and the *Edīl* must have been the Volga north of the Kama confluence. Mária Ivanics noted that the river *Edīl* in paragraph 3 can be identified with the Belaya (Ivanics 2017: 255, note 627). So, the hydronym *Edīl* may have been used for the whole river-system.

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